Title
A Social and Environmental History of the Horse in Spain and Spanish America, 1492-1600

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Publication Date
2018

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

A Social and Environmental History of the Horse in Spain and Spanish America, 1492-1600

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree

Doctor of Philosophy in History

by

Kathryn Elizabeth Renton

2018

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

A Social and Environmental History of the Horse in Spain and Spanish America, 1492-1600

by

Kathryn Elizabeth Renton

Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of California, Los Angeles, 2018

Professor Teofilo F. Ruiz, Co-Chair

Professor Margaret C. Jacob, Co-Chair

In this dissertation, I examine the introduction of the horse to the Americas at the end of the fifteenth century. The dramatic arrival of horses to the American continents on Columbus's second voyage in 1493 also introduced a historical set of practices, ideals, and institutional hierarchies from the Iberian Peninsula surrounding the horse and rider. Using new archival material from more than a dozen national and municipal archives in Spain, Mexico and Peru, I demonstrate how the management of horse populations affected the social order maintained by municipal, regional, and vice-regal governments, and the negotiated limits of centralized power in the developing early modern Spanish empire. Initially, structural elements of horse husbandry in Spain directly influenced conquest and settlement strategies in the Americas, as concern about

the scarcity and supply of horses influenced acquisition of social status, access to governing positions, and legal regulations. Some environments naturally suited horse populations and others, far more challenging, required strategic intervention to support Spanish military and economic interests. Subsequently, the rapid growth of equine livestock under colonial rule shaped local indigenous adoption of horses, as well as newly developing typologies to categorize horses. Under constraints of local environment and practices of animal husbandry, governing strategies illustrated an increasing focus on regulating the physical type of the horse well into the sixteenth century. In turn, experience in Spanish America influenced horse breeding in Spain during the reign of Philip II. By focusing on the practices that defined social interactions between horses and humans, this dissertation contributes a new derivation for the complex terminology of race and caste that informed the development of controlled breeding programs in early modern Spain and colonial Spanish America. The story of the horse in Spain and Spanish America reveals the special imprint of the horse on forms of governance, social hierarchies, and the reach of empire.

The dissertation of Kathryn Elizabeth Renton is approved.

Mary Terrall

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Margaret C. Jacob, Committee Co-Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2018

For Patrick

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List of Abbreviations

AGI	Archivo General de Indias (Seville)
AGS	Archivo General de Simancas (Simancas)
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid)
BPR	Archivo y Biblioteca del Palacio Real (Madrid)
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España (Madrid, Spain)
ACRG	Archivo de la Chancillería Real de Granada (Granada)
ACRV	Archivo de la Chancillería Real de Valladolid (Valladolid)
AHMC	Archivo Histórico Municipal de Cordoba (Cordoba)
AHMB	Archivo Histórico Municipal de Baeza (Baeza)
AGNMX	Archivo General de la Nación (Mexico City)
AHMPU	Archivo Histórico Municipal Puebla, Fondo Antiguo (Puebla)
AHMO	Archivo Histórico Municipal Oaxaca (Oaxaca)
AHMPA	Archivo Histórico Municipal Patzcuaro (Patzcuaro)
ANM	Archivo Notarial Michoacan (Morelia)
AGNP	Archivo General de la Nación (Lima)
ARAC	Archivo Regional de Amazonas (Chachapoyas)
ARC	Archivo Regional Cusco (Cusco)
ARL	Archivo Regional de la Libertad (Trujillo)
LOCH	Library of Congress, Harkness Collection
NLA	Newberry Library, Ayers Collection
LHE	Legislación Histórica de España, online database of the Archivo Historico Nacional, 4ª ed. Julio 2010, http://www.mcu.es/archivos/lhe/ (LHE)

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Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank my dissertation co-chairs and committee for their support during these years of graduate study at UCLA. I am indebted for advice and endless letters of recommendation from Teo Ruiz, Margaret Jacob, Kevin Terraciano, Mary Terrall, and Jesus Torrecilla. Additional faculty offered invaluable teaching and mentorship, especially Lynn Hunt, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, and Barbara Fuchs. Staff at UCLA helped navigate this long journey, especially Marilyn Gray and Hadley Porter. Outside mentors have also inspired my academic interests and helped me to develop them along the way; for this, I would like to thank Ann Blair, Matthew Kadane, Carla Rahn Phillips, and James Amelang.

This project was made possible by the financial assistance provided by the Social Science Research Council, the Huntington Library, the John Carter Brown Library, the Spanish Ministry of Culture, the Casa Velazquez, the UCLA International Institute, UCLA Center for Europe and Eurasian Studies, UCLA Center for 17th &18th Century Studies, UCLA Graduate Division, the Mellon Institute for Paleography and the Renaissance Society of America at the Newberry Library. This support introduced me to both incredible materials and inspiring colleagues; I benefitted doubly from the journey as much as the proposed destination. Special thanks is owed to Maria José Calvo Rentero of the Archivo y Biblioteca Pública de Baeza, and Alfonso Valmore Garcia Garcia of the Associacion Nacional de Criaderos y Proprietarios del Caballo Peruano de Paso (ANCPCPP) for assistance with access to their collections. In this dissertation, translations of quotations into English are my own, unless otherwise noted. Selections from Chapters 6 and 7 are in preparation for publication in 2019.

My gratitude goes to scholars and friends who contributed to success in archival endeavors, particularly Amaruc Lucas Hernandez and Cesar Manrique, and many companions during invaluable conversations at the Archivo General de Simancas and the Archivo General de Indias. My research and writing benefitted from feedback and encouragement from numerous colleagues on the road. For reviewing portions of this work, I would like to especially thank: Rebecca Dufendach, Claire Gilbert, Joshua Herr, Maya Maskarinac, Anat Mooreville, Naveena Naqvi, Jesse Sadler, Guillermo Stovel Ruiz, and Antonio Zalidvar. On a more personal level, I am indebted to previous teachers who deeply shaped my outlook, ethics, and personal definition of success, including Andrea McCauley, Marie Claude Thompson, and Sal Princiotti.

This dissertation would not be complete without the support of my family, especially my sister, Helen, with whom I shared my first interest in the world of horses, and to my Patricks—both the equine one and my inquisitive little friend. To my mom and dad, I owe my sense of the importance of history, and to my brothers and their families the strength to finish the task. Finally, I conclude this work in memory of Chuck Miller and John Fountain, who passed during these years but whose cheerful spirits I keep close to mind.

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Chapter 1. The Horse in Spain and Spanish America

The image wild horse is one of the most enduring images of the flourishing Spanish colonies in the Americas. Columbus brought the first modern horse to the American continents in 1493, and in the grand narrative of European expansion and colonization, the horse often represents the success of military domination, alongside firearms and steel technology.[1] Chroniclers of these events commented frequently on the horses brought arduously across the Atlantic, symbolizing the victorious conquistador and his military prowess. Las Casas and others noted the fear and widespread damage caused by the Spanish on horseback in the islands of Hispaniola and Cuba. Horses culled from these first settlements participated in the conquest of Mexico, and Cortes wrote to Charles V that (after God), "We owe our successes to our horses."[2] Expeditions south to Peru fielded men who bought shares in horses in order to claim the loot distributed after conquest, and as far south as Chile these men were commemorated in full portraits in armor on horseback.

Scholars have deservedly criticized such mythologizing to emphasize the agency and complexity of indigenous language and culture groups, and in the process have rendered the

[1] See for example Jared M Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York: Norton, 2017); Pita Kelekna, *The Horse in Human History* (Cambridge University Press, 2009). In an incredible irony of history, horses (*equus caballus*) actually evolved in North America and migrated to Europe in prehistory, but fossil records conservatively would date their species-wide extinction in the Americas to 10,000-8,000 BC.

[2] R. B. Cunninghame Graham, Robert Moorman Denhardt, and J. Craig Sheppard, *The Horses Of The Conquest* (Kessinger Publishing, LLC, 2007).

horse but a symbol of Spanish conquest and colonization, rather than its key.[3] It was the ravages of disease and infighting, not charges on horseback by steel-wielding riders, which truly devastated Mesoamerican and Andean polities. Awe of horses befitted certain surprise tactics against untested enemies, but such fears were not insurmountable by existing indigenous tactics or newly gained battle experience. Indeed, the romanticized image of a conquistador on horseback, clearly harkening back to the days of medieval knights, is even at odds with the trajectory of a modernizing and technologically advanced European colonizing state.

Nevertheless, the turbulent period of contact between Europe and the Americas initiated by Columbus's four voyages comprised a broad process of political, social and ecological change, in which the horse played an important part. To establish new settlements in the Caribbean, the Spanish faced a host of different plants, animals, and landscapes. At the same time, the environment in the New World was shaped by the arrival of foreign flora and fauna — particularly large domesticated animals. The effects of this transfer, initially categorized by Crosby as the "Columbian Exchange", emphasized the rapid and widespread growth that made these animals a permanent fixture.

The model of the Columbian Exchange points to the horse's dramatic increase in population as its primary impact factor, yet without examining the reasons behind it. In fact, horses were an enormously expensive part of the early expeditions: passage for a horse cost as much as the horse itself, and survival rates were remarkably low on the trans-Atlantic passage and in the series of risky ventures searching for passage to the Spice Islands. Despite these realities, horses were indeed brought and established in successive colonial settlements. In this

[3] Matthew Restall, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003). Both Diamond and Restall emphasize the disease factor.

sense, it seems the aura of the horse's symbolism has obscured the more basic question of why these horses, scarce as they were in Spain, were then brought to tropical islands, swampy coastal areas, mountainous jungle regions and high altitude deserts—neither their natural habitats nor advantageous for the military uses of cavalry. Horses, along with other large domesticated animals like cows, sheep and pigs, were undoubtedly new and exotic creatures to the Americas — but *why* were they brought arduously across the Atlantic and how did they come to dominate settlements throughout the growing Spanish empire, if neither key to conquest nor Europe's march to modernity?

Sometime between 1550 and 1564, the images below (Figure 1) were made in the region of Tlaxcala, a town just east of current day Mexico City:

Figure 1. Battle Images in the Lienzo de Tlaxcala (1552), Reproduction in *México a través de los siglos* (1888)

Captured by local artists in a pictorial recounting of the events of the conquest, this *lienzo* highlighted the perspective of the Tlaxcalans who, after an initial confrontation with Hernan

Cortes, became crucial allies in the campaign against the (Aztec) Triple Alliance.[4] These images are remarkably accurate in depicting Spaniards on horseback. The horses are detailed even down to the brands on the horse's haunches, as well as the varying styles and harness used by the riders. They also capture clearly the iconography of the man on horseback, reminiscent of contemporaneous equestrian portraits of royalty (Figure 2). The conquistadors modeled on horseback with armor and lance closely resemble the portrait of Charles V on horseback, emanating the glory and honor of the Spanish crown:

Figure 2. Carlos V in Mühlberg, Titian (1538)

[4] These images were possibly commissioned for the second Viceroy Luis Velasco I to accompany a delegation of Tlaxcalans that traveled to the court of Philip II in 1552, seeking recompense for their assistance from the king.

While the horse was an impressive animal in itself, its presence communicated important information culturally apparent to the Spanish conquistadors, but which had to be deciphered and learned by diverse groups representing indigenous civilizations. That is, these Tlaxcalan artists were accurate not only in representing the physical shape of the horse and gear, but also in understanding the social and political function horses had for the Spanish. These images raise many questions about the presentation and knowledge of Spanish imperial power in colonial territories, and the way these images represented standard expectations and ideals of mainland Iberian culture associated with the horse. Such expectations traversed local and imperial jurisdictions, both in fact and in representation. Yet the significance of these interactions in the first century of the Spanish Atlantic is poorly understood.

Animals do not leave their own written traces. As a result, the spread of the horse is usually addressed by emphasizing the initial shock of seeing a horse, and then focusing on its longer-term trajectory from the seventeenth century and beyond. Moreover, even though the horse held a major seat of importance in the early modern period in terms of military, social, and symbolic functions, the horse was rarely used as a category for cataloging archival information. Thus, while the introduction of the horse (and other livestock) had an enormous impact, few registries give a succinct account of how this occurred. Nevertheless, small clues enable analysis of the "culture of the horse"—the specific set of practices, ideals, and institutional hierarchies around the horse and rider—in Spain and colonial Spanish America.[5] The bulk of the sources used for this dissertation fall under the category of legal documents, some for royal purposes

[5] This term I borrow from Daniel Roche. He has presented a magisterial study on the horse in France, focusing on the 18th century to the present. Daniel Roche, "Equestrian Culture in France from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century," *Past and Present* 199, no. 1 (2008): 113–45; *La culture équestre occidentale, XVIe-XIXe siècle : l'ombre du cheval* (Paris: Fayard, 2008).

(*cedularios, instrucciones, licencias*), some for municipal purposes (*actas de cabildo, pleitos, preguntarios, notariales*), and some for social recognition (*méritos, manuals, relaciones*) in order to discern evidence of horses in the initial period of contact from 1492 to 1600.

This dissertation illustrates that horses, horsemanship, and horse breeding, with ties to municipal governance and social order, formed an integral part of Spanish imperial expansion. The horse was not only one of the major domesticated animals brought by the Spanish, but itself also a tool to domesticate—to conquer new lands, to enable rapid transportation over long distances, and to facilitate elements of agriculture and trade. However, its primary purpose was not for sustenance, but for deeply embedded political and social relations in an ongoing dialogue between scarcity and regulation. Structural elements of horse husbandry in Spain directly influenced conquest and settlement strategies in the Americas, as concern about the scarcity and supply of horses influenced acquisition of social status, access to governing positions, and legal regulations. Subsequently, the rapid growth of equine livestock under colonial rule also shaped local forms of resistance, newly developing typologies and the emerging terminology of race and caste. The physical constraints of environment, practices of animal husbandry, and the experiences of the New World, in turn, influenced horse breeding in Spain. In sum, the story of the horse in Spain and Spanish America illustrates the special imprint of the horse on forms of governance, social hierarchies, and the reach of empire.

The Horse in the Columbian Exchange

Previous studies of the horse in the Americas exist, but specialist authors typically have examined them in a heroic light. For North America, Cunninghame Greene proposed, and more recently Deb Bennet has retold, the history of the American mustang as a remnant of the

mystique of pure Iberian horses.[6] Herrera Aguirre and Carlos de Luna similarly wrote nationalistic histories for the famous horses of the pampas in the Southern Cone of South America.[7] The spread of the horse is usually glossed over through a rhetorical gesture to those brought by the Spanish and then, lost or stolen, went feral and free. Very few studies aggregate the practical data to explain the arrival and spread of horses in the first decades of the conquest period.

Agricultural history, developed most extensively in Mexican historiography, sheds some light on the nature of this growth. Particularly, interest in the ranching industry drove investigations into Spanish practices as they were transferred to New Spain.[8] Francois Chevalier's seminal study of the *hacienda* system detailed the growth of large herds of domesticated animals in New Spain.[9] The wide-ranging bibliography on the *hacienda*, however, primarily considers the introduction of these animals as a precursor to elite consolidation of

[6] Graham R. B. Cunninghame, Robert Moorman Denhardt, and J. Craig Sheppard, *The Horses Of The Conquest* (Kessinger Publishing, LLC, 2007); Deb Bennett, *Conquerors: The Roots of New World Horsemanship* (Amigo Publications, Inc., 1998); José Álvarez del Villar, *Historia de La Charrería [Texto Impreso]* (México: [s.n.], 1941).

[7] Guillermo Alfredo Terrera, *El Caballo Criollo En La Tradicion Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Circulo Militar, 1969).

[8] Luis Weckmann, *The Medieval Heritage of Mexico* (Fordham University Press, 1992); Charles Julian Bishko, "The Peninsular Background of Latin American Cattle Ranching," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 32, no. 4 (November 1, 1952): 491–515; and William Howard Dusenberry, *The Mexican Mesta: The Administration of Ranching in Colonial Mexico* (University of Illinois Press, 1963); Richard J. Morrisey, "Northward Expansion of Cattle Ranching in New Spain,"*Agricultural History* (1951); Robert Denhardt, "The Horse in the New Spain and the Border-lands" *Agricultural History* (1951).

[9] François Chevalier, *Land and Society in Colonial Mexico: The Great Hacienda* (University of California Press, 1963).

capital in order to explain later political and economic ramifications.[10] As a notable exception, Spanish historian Justo Río Moreno has recently delved into this question by focusing on the early livestock trade between Seville and the Caribbean.[11]

Studies from the indigenous and ethnohistorical perspective have primarily focused on cultural adaptations in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, in particular. Pekka Hamalaian's re-assessment of Comanche empire building from plundered horses and new equestrian strategies in the eighteenth century, in fact, has little about the animals themselves.[12] More

[10] Raymundus Thomas Joseph Buve, *Haciendas in Central Mexico from Late Colonial Times to the Revolution: Labour Conditions, Hacienda Management, and Its Relation to the State* (Centre for Latin American Research and Documentation, 1984); David Brading, *Haciendas and Ranchos in the Mexican Bajío: León 1700-1860* (Cambridge University Press, 2009). For Peru, see Robert G Keith, *Conquest and Agrarian Change: The Emergence of the Hacienda System on the Peruvian Coast* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976). For Central America, see Murdo J. MacLeod, *Spanish Central America: A Socioeconomic History, 1520–1720* (University of Texas Press, 2008).

[11] Justo Luis del Río Moreno, "Comercio trasatlántico y comercio regional ganadero en América (1492-1542)," *Trocadero: Revista de historia moderna y contemporanea*, no. 6 (1994): 231–48; *Caballos Y Equidos Españoles En La Conquista Y Colonización de America (S. XVI)* (Sevilla: Real Maestranza de Caballeria de Sevilla, ASAJA y ANCCE, 1992); "El cerdo. Historia de un elemento esencial de la cultura castellana en la conquista y colonización de América (siglo XVI)," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 53, no. 1 (June 30, 1996): 13–35; "La ganadería ovina en la América del siglo XVI: El caso novohispano," in *Estudios de la Universidad de Cádiz ofrecidos a la memoria profesor Braulio Justel Calabozo, 1998* (Estudios de la Universidad de Cádiz ofrecidos a la memoria profesor Braulio Justel Calabozo, Servicio de Publicaciones, 1998), 533–40.

[12] Jack Forbes, "The Appearance of the Mounted Indian in Northern Mexico and Southwest to 1680.," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 15, no. 2 (1959): 189–212; Francis Haines, "The Northward Spread of Horses among the Plains Indians," *American Anthropologist* 40, no. 3 (1938): 429–37; and Pekka Hamalainen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Tim Leidecker, *Native American Horse Culture: Looking at the Change in Culture the Horse Brought to the Blackfoot, Cheyenne and Comanche Tribes.* (GRIN Verlag, 2003); Ronald E. Gregson, "The Influence of the Horse on Indian Cultures of Lowland South America," *Ethnohistory* 16, no. 1 (January 1, 1969): 33–50; Martin Dobrizhoffer, *An Account of the Abipones, an Equestrian People of Paraguay*, Landmarks in Anthropology (New York:

recently, Peter Mitchell has assembled diverse archaeological, ethnographic and material culture studies of the horse in the Americas, South Africa, and Australasia from the sixteenth through twentieth centuries.[13] The horse, in this sense, serves as a proxy for not only the effects of colonization, but also the indigenous and animal agency that shaped the direction of these developments. While an important invitation to interdisciplinary and cross-regional studies that demonstrate the range of possible relations between human and horse, much of this work also considers the horse a culture-free agent.[14]

New revisionist approaches to environmental and agricultural history in Latin America consider the intersection of animal, human and environment, in addition to traditional economic motivations of such historiography. Several prominent studies have demonstrated the importance of viewing conquest and colonization as a process that is ecological, as well as political and economic. In this vein, Melville documented the impact of an "ungulate" invasion of hoofed, grazing animals on Mexican ecosystems, and particularly the resulting desiccation of the central Mexican valley that limited agricultural yields and encouraged a shift to ranching.[15] Andrew Sluyter and Terry Jordan have revisited arguments about cattle ranching, moving beyond the initial spread of Iberian ranching techniques to the ecological models and effects on the

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Johnson Reprint Corp, 1970); Alvaro Jara, *Guerre et Société Au Chili. Essai de Sociologie Coloniale*, trans. Jacques Lafaye (Paris: Institut des hautes études de l'amérique latine, 1961)

[13] Peter Mitchell, *Horse Nations* (Oxford University Press, 2015).

[14] The exception being a thesis by Marion Du Bron, *Le cheval mexicain en Nouvelle Espagne entre 1519 et 1639*. Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS), 2010.

[15] Elinor G. K. Melville, *A Plague of Sheep: Environmental Consequences of the Conquest of Mexico* (Cambridge University Press, 1997).

landscape created by ranching populations in colonial territories.[16] This scholarship has linked the impact of New World environments on the animal population with the impact of these wildly growing populations on the environment itself.

Crosby's foundational work on the Columbian Exchange has also been re-considered from the lens of cultural studies to reconsider the perception of the environment as reported by colonizers. Rebecca Earle, for example, has argued that most authors writing about the New World flora and fauna favored "Providentialism" as the guiding interpretation, despite some misgivings about possible degenerate influences of American environments on European men and animals.[17] Animals played a large part in this colonization process, affecting relations between colonizers and indigenous populations over land and even the concept of domestication. For early North America, Virginia Anderson has examined the nature of raising animals and meaning of domestication for the colonizers and the colonized, showing that the English intended to Christianize Indians through the domestic work of agriculture and animal husbandry, which in turn affected policies over indigenous crops and land use.[18] Moreover, additional in-depth monographs, like Marcy Norton's work on coffee and chocolate, suggest the possibility of bi-directional influences across the Atlantic. This dissertation similarly aims to view the horse as

[16] Terry G. Jordan, "An Iberian Lowland/highland Model for Latin American Cattle Ranching," *Journal of Historical Geography* 15, no. 2 (April 1989): 111–25; Andrew Sluyter, "The Ecological Origins and Consequences of Cattle Ranching in Sixteenth-Century New Spain," *Geographical Review* 86, no. 2 (April 1, 1996): 161–77.

[17] Rebecca Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador: Food, Race and the Colonial Experience in Spanish America, 1492-1700* (Cambridge University Press, 2012).

[18] Virginia DeJohn Anderson, *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America* (Oxford University Press, 2004).

more than an agent of empire or feature of the environment, and to contribute to re-evaluations of the Columbian Exchange framework by focusing on the early stages of the sixteenth century.

Human-Animal Studies: Animality, Discourse, and Practice

This study of the horse takes its place within the broad scope of human-animal studies. If literature on horses in the Americas leaves this first century of contact mostly unexamined, so also does recent historiography on animals in history.[19] Deriving from an exploration of the unjust subjugation of animals to human concerns, this literature has expanded to include not only philosophical interpretations of human-animal relations but also their symbolic representations, economic repercussions, and historical antecedents. One primary insight of human-animal (alternatively, human and non-human animal) scholarship is that "the animal" serves as a vehicle for social and moral claims to superiority. Thus, studies of human-animal relationships focus on the ways in which the definition of the animal is deployed to undergird authority.

Foucault famously analyzed the ways that animals establish social boundaries and reinforced political authority in his theory of biopolitics, an idea later taken up by post-modern and post-humanist scholars. The "animal" served as a negative counterpart to man, and in turn, such relationships of power marginalized not only "the animal" in concept but also groups identified with animalistic qualities. In the last twenty years, therefore, a large number of essays and collections have explored primarily a post-modern orientation to deconstruct the alterity of the animal as an Other, and then applied questions of praxis in Critical Animal Theory.[20] In this

[19] Abel Alves, *The Animals of Spain: An Introduction to Imperial Perceptions and Human Interaction with Other Animals, 1492-1826* (BRILL, 2011); Martha Few and Zeb Tortorici, *Centering Animals in Latin American History* (Duke University Press, 2013).

[20] Jacques Derrida, *The Animal That Therefore I Am* trans. (Fordham Univ Press, 2009). Originally published 2002.

work, representations of animals are scrutinized as far more revealing of human-centric concerns and cultural influences than representing anything real about the animal.[21] The horse, for example, has become an important feature of cultural histories of European court life in recent years. In portraiture, in literature, and in elite practices of pet-keeping or court displays, this work highlights the dominant symbolism of horses within European culture.[22] Recognizing how we make the animal into an "Other" plays with symbolism and semiotics that have little to do with the sensibility or subjectivity of animals themselves, but point rather to discourse, desires and demands of human subjects. At its least damaging, this analysis reveals layers separating representations from realities, but in its more critical form, the animal Other reveals a fundamental asymmetrical relationship between humans and animals characterized by violence,

[21] Nigel Rothfels, *Representing Animals* (Indiana University Press, 2002); Mary J. Henninger-Voss, *Animals in Human Histories: The Mirror of Nature and Culture* (Boydell & Brewer, 2002); Linda Kalof, *Looking at Animals in Human History* (Reaktion Books, 2007); Linda Kalof and Georgina M. Montgomery, *Making Animal Meaning* (MSU Press, 2012); Joyce Salisbury, *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages* (Routledge, 2012).

[22] Karen Raber et al., *The Culture of the Horse : Status, Discipline, and Identity in the Early Modern World* (New York, N.Y.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Bruce Boehrer, *A Cultural History of Animals in the Renaissance* (Oxford [etc.]: Berg, 2007); Donna Landry, *Noble Brutes: How Eastern Horses Transformed English Culture* (JHU Press, 2008); Juliana Schiesari, *Beasts and Beauties: Animals, Gender and Domestication in the Italian Renaissance* (University of Toronto Press, 2010); Carlos Gómez-Centurión Jiménez, *Alhajas para soberanos : los animales reales en el siglo XVIII : de las leoneras a las mascotas de cámara* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 2011); Joan B. Landes, Paula Young Lee, and Paul Youngquist, *Gorgeous Beasts: Animal Bodies in Historical Perspective* (Penn State Press, 2012); Peter Edwards, K. A. E Enenkel, and Elspeth Graham, *The Horse as Cultural Icon : The Real and Symbolic Horse in the Early Modern World* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012); Karen Raber, *Animal Bodies, Renaissance Culture* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); Monica Mattfeld, *Becoming Centaur: Eighteenth-Century Masculinity and English Horsemanship* (Penn State Press, 2017).

coercion, and anthropocentrism, altering the natural existence of animal beings regardless of intentions.[23]

In this line of thought, the application of animal terminology to human populations can serve as an indicator for racial logic. Cary Wolfe, for example, "extended biopolitics" as a form of post-humanism, taking his cue from Foucault's idea of the new subject in the seventeenth century to draw contemporary parallels between speciesism and racism.[24] Alternative "firsts" have been claimed for the origins of race, depending on whether one searches for pre-biological expression of what can be called modern or biological thought, or one argues that race is unrelated to any biological underpinnings but operates purely as a construct.[25] However, numerous etymological studies of racial terminology have identified the origins of the term "race" in the Romance languages of the thirteenth century in animal husbandry.[26] In one explanation, Italian *razza* is thought to be a translation of the Norman-French *haras* for the stud,

[23] John Sanbonmatsu, *Critical Theory and Animal Liberation* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2011); Nik Taylor and Richard Twine, *The Rise of Critical Animal Studies: From the Margins to the Centre* (Routledge, 2014).

[24] Cary Wolfe, *Before the Law: Humans and Other Animals in a Biopolitical Frame* (University of Chicago Press, 2013).

[25] This debate is clearly evident in literature on race in colonial Latin American history and its relationship to the "sistema de castas" present in the eighteenth century. See for example: R. Douglas Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebeian Society in Colonial Mexico City*, 1660–1720 (Univ of Wisconsin Press, 1994); Andrew Fisher and Matthew D. O'Hara, *Imperial Subjects: Race and Identity in Colonial Latin America* (Charlotte, NC: Duke University Press, 2009); Rachel Sarah O'Toole, *Bound Lives: Africans, Indians, and the Making of Race in Colonial Peru*, (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012); Mónica Díaz, *To Be Indio in Colonial Spanish America* (University of New Mexico Press, 2017).

[26] Leo Spitzer, "Ratio > Race," *The American Journal of Philology* 62, no. 2 (January 1, 1941): 129–43.

or site where breeding stallions were kept.[27] Its appearance in Catalan and Spanish vernaculars appears to arrive through a translation of a thirteenth century veterinary treatise which refers to *raza* as an equine hoof disease.[28] Miramon traces the origin to the Norman term race in 1481 to noble hunting dogs, and argues that the *haras*/*razza* connection solely pertains to the horse until a later convergence in meaning and use.[29] Regardless, it is clear that the term "race" circulated in a limited fashion in fourteenth century (Italian *razza*, French *race*, Spanish *raza*) with its very earliest uses in relation to hunting dogs and horses.

This animal point of origin has been incorporated into larger arguments about the meaning of lineage, blood and purity in the development of racial thought. Medievalist David Nirenberg, for example, pointed out that the term "*raza*" or race emerged in the Spanish language in reference to horse's veterinary care and breeding in the fifteenth century, at the same time that it was applied to the Jewish population—a convergence which he took to mean that the terms *raza* and *casta* were: "already embedded in identifiably biological ideas about animal breeding and reproduction." The parallel between their use in animal breeding and human populations he considers significant in itself.[30] Javier Irigoyen-Garcia, examining the breeding of

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[27] Galeazzo Nosari and Franco Canova, *I cavalli Gonzaga della raza de la casa: allevamenti e scuderie di Mantova nei secoli XIV-XVII* (E.lui, 2005).

[28] *Practica equorum* of Teodorico Borgognoni de Lucca, Obispo de Cervia (1205-1208), based on the Greek/Byzantine *Hippiatrica* manuscripts, and *Medicine equorum* (1250) of Giordano Ruffo di Calabria, mariscal/veterinarian of Emperor Frederick II.

[29] Charles de Miramon, "Noble dogs, noble blood: the invention of the concept of race in the late Middle Ages," in *The Origins of Racism in the West* edited by Eliav-Feldon et al. (Cambridge University Press, 2009).

[30] David Nirenberg, "Was there race before modernity? The example of Jewish blood in late Medieval Spain," in *The Origins of Racism in the West* edited by Eliav-Feldon et al. (Cambridge University Press, 2009), 27; Andrew Benjamin, *Of Jews and Animals* (Edinburgh:

sheep in the Iberian Peninsula, traces the word race and its use to a different strain of animal husbandry, Merino sheep. Irigoyen-Garcia suggests slippage between zoological and ethnocentric language: "Because of its economic importance, its social ubiquity, and its ability to provide a visual model for issues of selected breeding and segregation, sheep herding furnished early modern racial thought with the terminology and logic needed to convey ethnocentric conceptions of social policy, mainly by borrowing its terminology from the vocabulary of marking ownership and evaluating wool quality."[31] He suggests the obvious parallel with the distinction of the Jew marked by wearing a yellow patch, and a Muslim a blue one, while in the Merino sheep, he traces the erasure of any mixture of indigenous Iberian and North African Rams in Al-Andalus, which were re-defined as "purely Spanish." Finally, Latin Americanist María Martínez demonstrated how colonial distinctions of *casta,* often considered an early form of racial ideology, from Spanish purity of blood statutes, derived from horse breeding in particular. These statutes in turn, she argued, used the lexicon of biological reproduction in the natural world, taken from horse breeding in particular. She argued that a "naturalization of a religious-cultural identity" or shift to an essentialist view took place in the mid-sixteenth century, and marked the use of *raza* as a stand-in for lineage.[32] As a result, when terms, such as race and

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Edinburgh University Press, 2010); Maria Elena Martinez, Max S. Hering Torres, and David Nirenberg, *Race and Blood in the Iberian World* (LIT Verlag Münster, 2012).

[31] Javier Irigoyen-García, *The Spanish Arcadia: Sheep Herding, Pastoral Discourse, and Ethnicity in Early Modern Spain* (University of Toronto Press, 2014), 39. He argues that the first appearance of the word raza in Spanish was in reference to a defect in cloth, and only metaphorically applied to concepts of lineage. Covarrubias's 1611 definition also refers to raza as a result of weaving technique, that is where the threads of the "weft" that were of a different color than the primary cloth, and a defect in the cloth might show these colors.

[32] Martínez, 53. Martínez refers to Juan de Pineda's *Diálogos familiares de la agricultura cristiana*, 8.3. On purity of blood statutes: Albert A Sicroff, *Les controverses des statuts de "pureté de sang" en Espagne du XVe au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Didier, 1960); Marta

caste, taken from their uses in animal husbandry are applied to human populations in the sixteenth century, this is thought to substantiate the presence of racial thought in the pre-modern period.[33]

The argument of animal origins posits that the shift towards race in grounded in specific qualities of generation in the body, that were known *practically* speaking, if not yet *scientifically*, from animal husbandry. This broader assumption is also illustrated by Justin H. Smith, when discussing the first known "racial" sketch of human populations by Francois Bernier: "We can precisely date the leap of the term 'race' from animal husbandry (pigeons, dogs, and horses, mostly) to talk of human social reality: it happened in the 1680s."[34] Despite differences in chronological points of origin, the use of terminology from animal husbandry in human populations suggests that broader conceptual issues—what we could call successively generation, reproduction and heredity—were shared in both realms. However, assuming that animality stands in for biological logic also assumes evidence of the biological permanence of race in animal husbandry. This proposition is hardly sufficient.

Canessa de Sanguinetti, *El bien nacer : limpieza de oficios y limpieza de sangre : raíces ibéricas de un mal latinoamericano : del siglo XIII al último tercio del siglo XIX* ([Montevideo, Uruguay]: Taurus, 2000); Raphaël Carrasco, ed., *La Pureté de Sang En Espagne Du Linage À La "Race"* (Paris: PUPS, 2011)

[33] Additional examples include *mestizo*, *casta*, *criollo*, and *mulata.* Rebecca Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador: Food, Race and the Colonial Experience in Spanish America, 1492-1700* (Cambridge University Press, 2012); María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford University Press, 2008); Sebastian de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española* (Madrid, 1611).

[34] Justin E. H Smith, *Nature, Human Nature, & Human Difference: Race in Early Modern Philosophy*, (Princeton University Press, 2017).

Theories of generation within natural history themselves have a complex history. As recently outlined by Müller-Wille, heredity itself depended on a convergence of cultural and epistemic developments before becoming a clear concept within "science."[35] Without a concept of gene theory or knowledge of developmental influences in reproduction, emphasis lay on the individual parents and what they transmitted, literally at the moment of conception, in terms of their physique and general overall health. In this respect, concepts of artisanal knowledge production, developed in the history of science for analyzing natural histories and biological sciences, can also be used to better understanding the taxonomies that developed within the spaces of social interaction between humans and animals.[36]

In an attempt to get at the "real" animal, some scholars take their cue from post-colonial or subaltern theorization to point out a denial of animal agency and its ability to be made to "speak."[37] These scholars demonstrate how animals "resist" and "defy" violence done to them. Erica Fudge, for instance, issued a challenge to recover the real "animal" as a new type of

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[35] Staffan Müller-Wille and Hans-Jörg Rheinberger, *A Cultural History of Heredity* (University of Chicago Press, 2012); Elizabeth B. Gasking, *Investigations into Generation, 1651-1828* (Johns Hopkins Press, 1967); Justin E. H Smith, *The Problem of Animal Generation in Early Modern Philosophy* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Stefano Perfetti, *Aristotle's Zoology and Its Renaissance Commentators 1521-1601* (Leuven Belgium: Leuven University Press, 2000); Susanne Lettow, *Reproduction, Race, and Gender in Philosophy and the Early Life Sciences* (SUNY Press, 2014).

[36] Literature to this effect includes Roy MacLeod, *Nature and Empire: Science and the Colonial Enterprise* (University of Chicago Press, 2000); Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *Nature, Empire, and Nation : Explorations of the History of Science in the Iberian World* (Stanford Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2006); Kapil Raj, *Relocating Modern Science: Circulation and the Construction of Knowledge in South Asia and Europe, 1650-1900* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Daniela Bleichmar, Paula De Vos, and Kristin Huffine, *Science in the Spanish and Portuguese Empires, 1500–1800* (Stanford University Press, 2008).

[37] Sarah E. McFarland and Ryan Hediger, *Animals and Agency: An Interdisciplinary Exploration* (Brill, 2009).

"history from below."[38] Reading against the grain, these animals challenge categorical presuppositions about marginalized groups, moral imperatives, and measures of intelligence imposed by social norms and political discourse.[39] As an example, Bankhoff has argued that native horses in the Philippines refused to "grow" according to colonial governors wishes and therefore demonstrated agency and resistance to colonization.[40] Such interventions demonstrate how interactions with real animals in daily life transgressed such boundaries and, moreover, disaggregates "the" animal into its multiple and varied historical forms. While addressing the case of the "real" animal, however, these arguments for agency and subjectivity still have to dodge issues of sentience and anthropomorphism in the scholar's construction of the animal subject.

In this sense, work in the environmental humanities has been a necessary addition for understanding human-animal relations. The most productive branch has emphasized the continuity between animals and humans, and acknowledged the impact of both on the environment by deconstructing the nature-culture binary, as a substrate for the human-animal

[38] Erica Fudge, "A left-handed blow: writing the history of animals" in Nigel Rothfels, ed. *Representing Animals* (Indiana University Press, 2002); *Brutal Reasoning : Animals, Rationality, and Humanity in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2006).

[39] Joan B. Landes, Paula Young Lee, and Paul Youngquist, *Gorgeous Beasts: Animal Bodies in Historical Perspective* (Penn State Press, 2012). The Oxford series *A Cultural History of Animals* (Oxford, 2007-) considers facets of animals in different historical time periods; Carlos Gómez-Centurión Jiménez, *Alhajas para soberanos : los animales reales en el siglo XVIII : de las leoneras a las mascotas de cámara* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 2011).

[40] Greg Bankoff and Sandra Swart, *Breeds of Empire: The "Invention" of the Horse in Southeast Asia and Southern Africa, 1500-1950* (NIAS, 2007),103.

continuum.[41] Recognizing mutual influences among man, animal, and the environment should not distort the ways that animals constitute and participate in social relations.[42] That is, rather than considering the animal as pure construction or as radical agent, this avenue considers mutual constitution and influences. Realistically, both humans and non-human animals impact the environment they live in, and also shape each other's existence. Humans consider themselves in contra distinction to animals. Animals become domesticated, or adapt to modifications of human settlement and agriculture. Indeed, I would argue, even as animals become fundamental to human social interactions not every aspect of this relationship is controllable by discourse or ideology.

Approaching this issue through the everyday practices of animal breeding allows us to first understand the use of these terms in the context of animal husbandry, and re-examine the assumption that the animal origin of racial terminology is an essential part of the ideological and discursive power of racial thought. Practices of animal breeding generated knowledge subject to environmental and practical variations. Thus, closer examination invites the development of a historical framework of "race" among animals—how it was defined, developed and regulated—on its own terms. In sum, while the framework of animal studies and biopolitics argues that the exclusion of the animal is central to the making of the political subject as a life in a modern sense, this view does not fully encompass the role of the horse, especially in the pre-modern

[41] Donna Haraway, *When Species Meet* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008); R. F. Ellen, *Redefining Nature: Ecology, Culture and Domestication* (Berg, 1996); Donald Worster, *The Wealth of Nature : Environmental History and the Ecological Imagination* (Oxford University Press, 1993); Joachim Radkau, *Nature and Power: A Global History of the Environment* (Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[42] Jennifer R. Wolch and Jody Emel, *Animal Geographies: Place, Politics, and Identity in the Nature-Culture Borderlands* (Verso, 1998); Chris Philo and Chris Wibert, *Animal Spaces, Beastly Places: New Geographies of Human-Animal Relations* (Psychology Press, 2000).

period. Rather than studying how the state makes the human by excluding the animal, this dissertation brings to light the interactions of humans, animals and environment to allow us to see the "animal imprint" in governance structures.

The Horse in the Spanish Empire

The idea of governance in Spain is often characterized by medieval ideals, an obsession with lineage, and a bureaucratic and centralizing monarchy, in order to explain its position in contrast to the modernizing narrative of early modern Europe at large. Historiography of the Spanish conquest and colonization often draws parallels between medieval Castile and the ambitions of newcomers, either to explain Spain's early decline as an imperial power or as a complement to the Catholic "black legend". The work of J. H. Elliott and Geoffrey Parker among others has been salutary in correcting a pervasive image of the weakness and inflexibility of the Castilian monarchy. Adapting the work of Norbert Elias, Elliott described the development of the court in Madrid during the transition of power from Charles V, inheritor of a large dynastic realm, to his son Philip, and proposed the model of the "composite monarchy" as a substitute for an archaic one.[43] Parker challenged the broad strokes of the military revolution and its judgments of inefficiency and lack of innovation in Spain, noting the military achievements and intensely developed paper bureaucracy in imperial territory.[44] Additionally, Keith and Cushner, among

[43] John H. Elliott, "The Court of the Spanish Habsburgs: A Peculiar Institution?" in *Politics and Culture in Early Modern Europe : Essays in Honor of H.G. Koenigsberger*, ed. Phyllis Mack and Margaret C Jacob (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); "A Europe of Composite Monarchies," *Past & Present* 137, no. 1 (November 1, 1992): 48–71.

[44] Geoffrey Parker, "The 'Military Revolution,' 1560-1660--a Myth?" *The Journal of Modern History* 48: 2 (1976), 195–214; *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567-1659 : the logistics of Spanish victory and defeat in the Low Countries' Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

others, have also revised the forms of conquest and colonization as both corporative and profit seeking, indicating creative potential in Spanish forms of governance.[45]

Further modifications to Spain's reputation of absolutism and empire continue. The model of the composite monarchy, demonstrating the inheritance of disparate self-governing territories, has also been extended to ask to what extent Spain's growing empire enforced administrative centralization or was in fact shaped by multiple centers of power.[46] Helen Nader and Ruth McKay have been key proponents for re-examining the limited nature of monarchical power, in relation to both nobles and cities.[47] This dissertation contributes to these debates by demonstrating the negotiated limits of centralized power and social categories within the Spanish context.

I argue that the horse's imprint on forms of governance and social hierarchy is crucial to the language of political and social negotiation, not merely domination. This argument relates to the question of the Spanish empire, and the military, economic, and political developments considered key to early modernity. In the early modern world, the horse figured in both physical and metaphorical terms at the intersection of state and subject, as well as between ruling elites and the rest of the populace. In Spain, for example, the horse carried explicit legal associations

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[45] Robert G Keith, *Conquest and Agrarian Change: The Emergence of the Hacienda System on the Peruvian Coast* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976); Nicholas P. Cushner, *Jesuit Ranches and the Agrarian Development of Colonial Argentina, 1650-1767* (SUNY Press, 1984).

[46] Pedro Cardim et al., eds., *Polycentric Monarchies: How Did Early Modern Spain and Portugal Achieve and Maintain a Global Hegemony?* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2012).

[47] Helen Nader, *Liberty in Absolutist Spain: The Habsburg Sale of Towns 1516-1700* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press), 1990; Ruth MacKay, *The Limits of Royal Authority: Resistance and Obedience in Seventeenth-Century Castile* (Cambridge University Press) 2007.

with social status, beyond its symbolic ties to nobility. Royal regulations harped on a fundamental scarcity of horses in Spain and in Spanish America, and as a result horses featured in negotiations over the exercise of power between urban social elites and a centralizing monarchy. In fact, the sixteenth century produced a major shift towards active regulation of the breeding of horses at the municipal level as a means to bring to heel elite urban populations to provide horses for the king's service.

Yet, if the horse shaped municipal and royal regulations of social class and political representation, it was also subject to controls on its reproduction. Interest and knowledge of breeding and training horses was a shared and hands-on interest of both the elite and the lower class professionals, and informed debates about purity and status based on concepts of generation and lineage. However, debate about the best methods for horse breeding reveals inherent tension between expectations and experiential outcomes, and moreover demonstrates awareness of the drawbacks of intensive inbreeding for the sake of purity. The ideological or discursive uses of the horse were often frustrated by the realities of actual practices with horses and the horse's relationship to or effect on the natural environment.

Researching the legislation regulating horse breeding in Spain in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries serves to recover the terminology of *raza* and *casta*, how it was employed to mark social distinctions, and how horse breeding became an integral part of conquest and colonization through the organization of colonial settlements in the Americas. The dramatic nature of the abundance of horses in colonial Spanish America, and the specific concerns it raised there, increased interest in horse breeding for purposes of imperial governance. The rapid growth of livestock under colonial rule affected the social order maintained by municipal and vice-regal governments, alongside a developing legal terminology. These indications of practice

and regulation highlight the limits of centralization with respect to municipal elites and environmental constraints. These issues also bring to light the ways in which the experience of bringing horses to the New World influenced horse breeding in the Iberian Peninsula, and helped to develop concepts of controlled breeding and maintenance of horse breeds in the later sixteenth century.

This dissertation uses the arc of scarcity to abundance, and the political and legal realities behind the use of the horse, to unearth further implications for breeding and purity as part of the social and environmental history of the horse in the Spanish empire. Practices of animal breeding generated knowledge about humans and animals that both challenged as well as confirmed development of racial language and prejudices. Techniques and discourses used to produce socially and culturally desirable traits raised debate about crossbreeding, incest, and purity of blood. But other possible interpretations of the animal-race concept existed beyond its discursive ideological use for marginalization and exclusion. This view of animal–human relationship acknowledges the animal in service of empire, but also raises the possibilities of resistance or contradiction in practices of animal husbandry. These cases delineate the unique imprint of the horse on forms of Spanish governance, early modern social relations, and imperial ecologies.

Chapter Organization

Spanish adventurers and conquistadors faced an absolute scarcity of horses in the New World. Nevertheless, horses were brought and established in successive colonial settlements extending the political and social order instilled by strategies of conquest in social position, *cabildo* governance, and land tenure. Chapter 2, “Politics of Scarcity: Horses from Iberian Reconquest to New World Conquest”, examines the political nature of the horse and its influence

on governance and legal social categories in the Iberian Peninsula and in colonial expansion first to the Caribbean, and then to mainland *Tierra Firme*. Establishing livestock breeding within the New World became an important feature for the colonies there, channeled through government officials. Successful settlements in the Greater Antilles, Mexico and Central America emphasize the interest on the part of political figures to breed horses, and municipal interest in managing these populations.

Horse populations developed in regions with widely varying conditions, both socially and geographically, and as a result the astounding abundance of horses that developed in the New World was a consequence of both natural environments and settlement strategies. Chapter 3, "From Scarcity to Abundance: the *Mesta* in Spanish America", discusses the supply of horses from the Caribbean islands for settlement and pacification further north and south. Traditions of common land usage for grazing in the Iberian Peninsula complemented the geographic pockets and strategic motivations for livestock breeding. While the protection of common land and the regulations of the *mesta* were meant to control and regulate New World livestock, it also fostered their abundance.

Ties between horses, political organization and social status extended to indigenous inhabitants of Spanish colonies. Chapter 4, “Indigenous Access to Horses: A New World Frontier Model”, examines the logic behind adoption of horses by indigenous allies. It examines the impact of abundance, as well as the adjustments to recognition of social status provoked by these colonial realities during the sixteenth century.

Next, the perception of horse types and quality is explored in relationship to influences of environment and categories of breed. Chapter 5, “*Casta*, *Cimarrón*, *Criollo*: Environment and Breed in Spanish America,” demonstrates how the distinction of domesticated and wild horses

became part of developing typologies, alongside brands and the special interests of government officials. The *cimarrón* represented both an amazing feature of New World abundance, and also a specific problem in the regulation and control of these newly introduced domesticated animals. Their growth, however, should be attributed not only to success in regional environments, but also to the promotion of breeding regulations.

The experience of the New World influenced horse breeding in Spain and helped to develop the concept of controlled breeding and maintenance of horse breeds in the later sixteenth century. Chapter 6, "Defining *Casta* and *Raza*: Reports on Horse Breeding in the Iberian Peninsula", considers a series of questionnaires (*Relaciones de la cría caballar*) seeking further knowledge about breeding practices, environmental conditions, and recommendations on how to cultivate horse breeding on a regional basis. Race, in the context of horse breeding, represented a category that was purposefully constructed and necessarily maintained rather than naturalized.

Finally, discussions of horse breeding highlighted the problems of incest and inter-species breeding in the phenotype of Spanish horses, made evident numerous obstacles to formulating concepts of purity of lineage in establishing desired physical types. Chapter 7, "The King's Race: Breed, Purity, and Nobility", assesses the development of the king's royal stable in Cordoba and reactions of nobility to the program to improve the king's horses, and illuminates the changing ideals of purity evident in the growing Spanish empire.

Chapter 2. Politics of Scarcity: From Iberian Reconquest to New World Conquest

In 1492, the Catholic Monarchs defeated the last Muslim polity in the Iberian Peninsula with their Andalusian cavalry and firepower the same year that Columbus reached new islands in the Atlantic. On the heels of this victory, and despite the momentum to continue the extension of Castilian lands across the Strait of Gibraltar and the Atlantic Ocean, the Crown complained of a serious shortage of horses, and the ruinous effect such a lack of horses would have on "the nobility of the cavalry Spain has always had."[48] Practically, royal measures focused on legally requiring horse ownership and limiting the movement of horses, even within provinces in Spain, to maintain strong local populations.[49] More generally, scarcity of horses threatened not only political control but also the social and cultural quality of nobility: the role of the horse was written into law so that municipal governance and social order would provide a sufficient horse population for the Crown.

While the scarcity of horses featured in the political debate in Castile and Andalusia, in the outward expansion of Spain beyond the Iberian Peninsula, Spanish adventurers and

[48] "Los RR. CC.: ordenando a los que estuviesen obligados a mantener caballos," 2 May 1493. Legislación Histórica de España, online database of the Archivo Historico Nacional, 4ª ed. Julio 2010, http://www.mcu.es/archivos/lhe/ (LHE).

[49] Juan Carlos Galende Díaz, *El Control Del Ganado Equino En España Durante La Edad Modern: El Libro Registro de Caballos de Toledo Del Año 1535* (Toledo: Ayuntamiento de Toledo, 2008); Carmona Ruiz and María Antonia, "El Caballo Andaluz Y La Frontera Del Reino de Granada," *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 80 (December 2006): 55–63. The first decree from Alfonso X at the Cortes de Valladolid prohibited extraction of horses from Castille, and tithes or *diezmos* established in 1351 to pay for taking horses out.

conquistadors faced an absolute scarcity of horses in the New World. Despite the longer-term growth of animal populations that reinforced memories of a New World paradise, horses in the first decades were both extremely scarce and phenomenally expensive. Nevertheless, horses were brought and established in successive colonial settlements to extend the political and social order instilled by conquest strategies affecting social position, municipal governance, and land tenure. In essence, social and political necessity drove the demand to bring horses, rather than practical or physical need. Scarcity of horses justified the king's regulations in Castile, and shaped the colonial setting equally. In the initial period of arrival and settlement from the Caribbean islands to mainland *Tierra Firme*, the scarcity of the horse contributed to its immense value, shaping the ordinances imposed on individual settlements, and determining the elite status that could be claimed by providing a horse.

The Knight's Horse in Reconquest Municipalities

The famous *Siete Partidas* (produced 1252–1284), summarizing standards of law and jurisprudence throughout Castile under Alfonso X, emphasized a close association of the horse and nobility by admonishing that: "among all things that knights have to know, this is the most noble: to know the horse."[50] In Iberia, similar to many other cultures, horses contributed to hierarchical social formations and, once adopted into the military order, re-enforced social distinctions. On one hand, this distinction derived functionally from the military abilities of the mounted rider and the economic power of maintaining a horse. On the other hand, the social distinction derived from the horse acquired complex symbolic significance. In fact, regardless of

[50] R. I. Burns, ed. *Las Siete Partidas* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2001), Partida 2 Titulo 21 Ley 3.

its use, the horse in general symbolized the wealth and power of the noble estate, and especially the personal virtues of leadership.[51]

James Powers characterized medieval Castile as a "society organized for war", where the demands of the frontier during the eleventh through thirteenth centuries rewarded those who voluntarily maintained the horse and arms of a knight and thus gained new privileges, such as tax exemptions. The definition of the knight in Castile derived from a specific legal tradition of the Reconquest, first recognized simply for service on horseback. In newly taken frontier territory, towns were established with charters (*fueros*) that granted privileges of tax exemption and access to municipal government offices to "non-noble knights"—mounted men at arms who were not of the noble estate — in service to the Crown. In particular the influential model of the "Cuenca-Teruel" *fueros* granted status to a foot soldier for unhorsing a Muslim rider, thus improving his options in future combat, share in the division of booty, and even *usufruct* rights of municipal lands. For example, after the capture of Cordoba in 1236, the city *fueros* guaranteed *caballeros* exemption from taxes, protected inheritance if they were residents (*vecinos*) of the city, and granted legal rights if accused of particular crimes (such as exemption from the requisition of one's horse in repayment of debt).[52] By the fourteenth century, legal privileges—including exemptions from certain taxes and rights to municipal government positions—were further

[51] The symbolism of the horse for nobility has been the focus of several studies, among them: Walter A Liedtke, *The Royal Horse and Rider : Painting, Sculpture, and Horsemanship, 1500-1800* (New York: Abaris Books in association with the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989). See also Karen Raber et. al, *The Culture of the Horse : Status, Discipline, and Identity in the Early Modern World* (New York, N.Y.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

[52] James F. Powers, *A Society Organized for War : The Iberian Municipal Militias in the Central Middle Ages, 1000-1284* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 211.

refined by the formation of secular and municipal confraternities of knights, and their related codes of chivalry, into a distinct section of the urban patriciate.

Concentrated primarily in urban settings, these knights allied with the king to temper the military strength of feudal and seigniorial lords, in a bid to strengthen the monarchy's position. This arrangement fostered a close, even exclusive, association of non-noble knights with urban municipal government positions. From the time of Ferdinand III on, cultivation of an armed and loyal class of *caballeros* was in the interest of the monarchy's growth, and efforts in this respect divided the knightly class into those of higher and lower rank. As a result, even the most elite nobility sought to belong to the prestigious orders of knights formed during the years of the Reconquest (namely, Santiago, Calatrava, Alcantara). When, in 1330, Alfonso XI established the first "secular" order of knights in the *Orden de la Banda*, he attempted to capture the strength and allegiance of the frontier militia by establishing a more exclusive form of knightly association among *caballeros*. Formalized at the Cortes of Alcalá in 1348, it stipulated two essential requirements: to have a fortune of at least 12,000 *maravedís*, and to maintain a horse and arms in readiness.[53] In exchange, one would be eligible for the privileges of certain tax exemptions and participation in municipal government.

In formalizing the institution of the non-noble knight, the king generalized the privileges of the non-noble knight by tying it to a measure of wealth: any resident whose estate was valued

[53] "Los RR. CC.: ordenando a los que estuviesen obligados a mantener caballos," 2 May 1493, LHE. The requirement about having to own a horse before riding a mule applied to everyone, Article 64 included *hidalgos* and Article 77 established the cuantía for "frontier" regions of Murica, Aragon, as well as border of Portugal and Navarra. The amount itself varied by region: (1) Seville: 5,000 maravedis = 1 horse; 10,000 = 2 horses; 50,000 = 3 horses (2) Cordoba & Jaen: 4,000 = 1 horse; 10,000 = 2 horses; 40,000 = 3 horses (3) Murcia: 8,000 = 1 horse; 20,000 = 2 horses; 70,000 = 3 horses.

above a minimum amount, known as the *cuantía*, was eligible for the privileges of the non-noble knight. Initially set in 1348, this was re-iterated in 1493 and 1528. The level of the *cuantía* applied in the southern parts of New Castile and Andalusia considered frontier territory, although in the thirteenth century the push to conquer the peninsula had slowed and was later thwarted by internal struggles and civil war among opposing noble factions. A tri-annual review conducted by the village judge (*alcalde*) confirmed the formal registry. The horse thus had explicit monetary and legal associations with social status, in addition to its symbolic ties. In these early precedents, we see the transition from a voluntary provision of horses in exchange for the privileges of a town *fuero*, to an obligation from the crown enforced at the municipal level for men of a particular wealth to maintain horse and arms at the ready.

The social and legal apparatus around this phenomenon of the non-noble knight—variously called the *caballero villano*, *caballero de premia*, *caballero de cuantía*—became a channel for upward mobility, linking the horse with social status. Even though militia privileges fostered an urban patriciate and enabled their identification with elements of noble status, at the same time, not being compelled by force to provide a horse for military service exemplified the coveted nature of noble liberties and privileges. Moreover, the ability to assume municipal government positions offered by the institution of the non-noble knight formed a distinct section of the urban patriciate able to grant themselves and their *cofrades* the desired legal exemption from horse ownership. Long-term control over these offices also afforded the legal leeway to recognize such exemptions among themselves and to pass it on to family members.[54]

[54] The original research on the *caballeria villano* and its social ascension was outlined in the work of María del Carmen Pescador del Hoyo, "La caballería popular en León y Castilla". *Cuadernos de Historia de España* (Buenos Aires), XXXIII-XXXIV (1961), 101-238; XXXV-XXXVI (1962), 56-201; XXXVII-XXXVIII (1963), 88-198; XXXIX-XL (1964), 169-260. Her

Despite the importance of the horse in the social identities of *caballero* and noble, complaints about chronic shortages of horses appear in royal documents as a result of this identification of the urban elite with noble privilege. In 1499, the Catholic Monarchs railed against the loss of horses among the warrior class of Castile, describing how, after the fall of Granada, many subjects had sold their horses and others had stopped breeding them, content instead with mules. The Catholic Monarchs ordered every man in Castile— "be he even Duke or Marquis or Count or of other major or minor estate"—to own a horse that could serve as the mount for a man at arms. The actual numerical scarcity of horses within Spain is difficult to ascertain.[55] But, it is clear that while these decrees were made in reference to the defense and security of Spain, the frontier push had abated in the thirteenth century and only rekindled in a final ten-year campaign against the Nazarí kingdom of Granada.[56] In this sense, the Crown used complaints about the scarcity of horses as rhetorical weight to justify greater military expenditures and rein in claims to noble liberties and privileges. The shift from privilege to obligation for both knights and nobles to provide horses became central for the continuing role of

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initial observations have been developed by scholars including Rafael Sánchez Saus, and Juan Torres Fontes, among others writing about the formation of the nobility in the high to late middle ages.

[55] Possible sources include military campaigns and accounts, and tax figures. However, counts of troops and supplies are notoriously inaccurate, and the *diezmos* or tithe on new livestock in the frontier kingdoms rarely refers to the number of animals. The required registers of the knights were not kept with regularity to provide a sufficient set of data.

[56] After the early thirteenth century, military engagements slowed, interrupted by civil unrest and wars over succession within Castile and between Castile and Aragon and the vassalage of remaining independent polities. Isolated battles and skirmishes persisted (for example, the Batalla de Higueras, 1431), but a formal campaign was only initiated in the 1480s before the Catholic Monarchs benefited from internal conflicts to take the kingdom of Granada.

the horse in determining the relationship between the monarchy and different segments of the elite population.

The King's Horses in Conquest Municipalities

Trade and transport of horses was closely regulated to protect the horse populations in Spain, and even more rigorously in the New World colonies. Horses in Europe as a general rule were considered a matter of state interest, and their export forbidden except by special permission. It is possible to trace these permissions in the *cédulas de paso*, although generally rare, since it was both expensive to ship one's personal horse and also a stress on the horse's own health to travel long distances overland or by sea. This history also explains why the king appropriates all new livestock produced in the New World to his own royal *hacienda*, not for commercial sale or export. Restrictions on moving horses came from frontier conquest provisions within Iberia. In the *realengo*, or land acquired by conquest and subject to the king's personal jurisdiction, the crown established the payment of tithes or *diezmos* in 1351 on all new livestock multiplying naturally in conquered territory. Practically, these royal measures limited the movement of horses, even within provinces in Spain, to maintain strong local populations.[57] Given such rhetoric of scarcity in Spain, it was actually forbidden to bring any stallions from Spain to the Americas in 1492.

The careful controls on the export of breeding horses to protect their numbers and inspections by municipal officials also shaped the early formation of the Caribbean settlements. Such controls extended the dialogue about the scarcity of horses and the general negotiation of

[57] Carmona Ruiz, 24.

social status to new terrain. With specific permissions from the king to the governors, each of the earliest shipments brought livestock to supply Santo Domingo. After Columbus's voyages, horses arrived with the governors Bobadilla (1499-1502) and then Ovando (1502-1509). Not only were there controls on bringing animals to the New World, but there were also controls on moving animals (and people) among different jurisdictions. Governors were tasked with defense of the new colony, as well as offered licenses for further military expeditions seeking to encounter and control new swathes of land. Animals were only moved with specific permissions for new settlements, like to provide for the entradas to the mainland *Tierra Firme*.

The signal importance of horses to these continued imperial projects can be identified in the large expedition outfitted for Columbus's second voyage to establish a colony on the promising island foothold of Hispaniola. Columbus brought a total of 25 horses.[58] These horses however were not primarily for battle, nor simple beasts of burden. Instead, these horses were brought as the mounts of the men who would be the face of order in the new colony, from the *Hermandad*, or policing force, of Granada. In this sense, the settlements in the Caribbean reproduced the importance of a sufficient horse population against the threat to political and social order that a scarcity of horses threatened to bring. For these reasons, the horses introduced to the New World on the second voyage of Columbus should be regarded as an important component for ordering the social spaces of empire.

Oversight for the horse belonged to the king's representatives, as horses were viewed as government property under the concept of the *realengo* in the new land acquired by conquest.

[58] "Apresto de armada para ir a Indias: Colon y Juan de Fonseca." May 24, 1493, AGI,PATRONATO,295, N.8, authorizing 20 horsemen with lances of "the brotherhood" or *Hermandad* from kingdom of Granada, and five to take second horses ("dobladura") that are mares.

Columbus complained early in 1494 that, "the king ought to buy the horses belonging to private individuals in Española because the owners would not permit their use unless they themselves were riding them." King Ferdinand replied that these men should keep ownership of their horses but gave Columbus authority to commandeer them if in best interest of colony.[59] The question of horses within Iberian culture touched on the liberties and privileges of the noble estates, as well as the social mobility or inherited privileges of those occupying the posts of municipal government.

Frontier rewards for military service can be found in the position of the *encomendero* in the New World, who was in return required to provide a horse for defense based on his income.[60] In particular, Ovando oversaw the movement or establishment of cities using the model of an Andalusian layout, instituting the system of *encomienda* in 1503. That is, he distributed the *repartimiento* of land (including both *solares* in town, and *caballerías* outside of town) to those who had provided service of a horse and arms in the initial conquest to the town founders (*pobaldores*). The *encomienda* grants referred primarily to legal jurisdiction over the fruits of the land and rights to service from the inhabitants of the towns and villages, rather than pure land ownership. To match these rewards, then, the obligations of the so-called *encomenderos* promised a supply of horses from those estates, with this responsibility calculated in proportion to the population of *indio*s awarded in their jurisdiction. For 1000 *indio*s, one was obliged to

[59] "Torres Letter" 30 January 1494, in Joaquín Francisco Pacheco et al., *Colección de documentos inéditos, relativos al descubrimiento* (Madrid, 1864*)*, vol. XXI, 535.

[60] L. P. Wright, "The Military Orders of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century: The Embodiment of a Historical Tradition," *Past & Present* 43, May (1969): 34–70.

maintain at least 1 horse and set of arms, and with 500 *indio*s at least arms, and if possible a horse as well.[61]

Additionally, requirements for the provision of horses underwent inspections (*alardes*) conducted by the governor of the colony. Rodrigo de Albornoz, accountant of New Spain, wrote to Charles V in 1525 in favor of the *encomienda*, saying that the settlers should be obliged to plant certain things on their land, and keep horse and arms according to the number of *indios* he has. Subsequently, these men were actually inspected for following the requirements of horse ownership. For example, governor Diego Colon called *alardes* in the new colony for those vecinos to present their horses in the same year.[62] The *encomenderos*, rewarded doubly for serving on horseback, also had the simultaneous privilege and obligation of providing a horse and arms under the new governor.

As in Castile, these obligations linked to access to municipal government positions. In Puerto Rico, for example, a report looked for confirmation that someone who would take on the role of councilman (*regidor*) within the municipal council had maintained his horse and arms accordingly. Witnesses were asked if Hernan Perez had served the king and kept arms and horse for defense of the city ("assisted and assists in the town with his arms and horse at his own cost") and confirmed that Perez had served as a captain, "como buen caballero," and moreover maintained very good horses and arms all at his own expense.[63] In the Iberian Peninsula, the

[61] Juan de Solorzano, *Politica Indiana* (1548) vol. 1, 376. Ordenanzas issued in 1524 refers to the obligation to bear arms as soon as 4 months of receiving title.

[62] AGI,SANTO_DOMINGO,73,I,4; AGI, SANTO_DOMINGO,73, I, 19.

[63] AGI,SANTO_DOMINGO,168: "tenia muy buenos caballos e armas e otros pertrechos de guerra todo a su costa."

kings had developed a system for ensuring their own supply of horses, and in the process made the horse a central element to defining upward claims to social status as a measure for distributing land and political office. In the first New World settlements we can see similarly these terms of municipal office and land distribution, tied to horse ownership and horse breeding, similarly shaped how the initial colonial settlements were organized. The laws that regulated horses in this period extended to horses to the first settlements in the New World with the intent to demonstrate the king's dominion and to reproduce the governmental organs that ensured their presence.

The Horse as a Political Animal

Horses were both scarce and granted enormous weight in the first entradas, according to conquistadors and their chroniclers. The ships from Columbus's second voyage had landed in 1493 at the scene of a completely destroyed and abandoned Fort la Navidad, with new supplies for a settlement that included the first group of horses. One report circulated in Europe described the area *cacique*'s awe at the horses in this way: "Guancanagari... fixed his eyes most upon the horses... the formidable appearance of these animals was not without terror to the Indians, for they suspected that they fed on human flesh."[64] Las Casas's account of the conquest of Hispaniola epitomizes this image of the power of the new Spanish horses in the massacre of Higüey. Describing how Spaniards on horseback took down disproportionately large numbers of

[64] "The Syllacio-Coma Letter", in Christopher *Columbus: His Life, His Works* edited by JB Thatcher (1903), Vol II, 256.

defenseless natives, Las Casas implied that the horse not only instilled fear in the natives, but also gave a concrete and unsurpassable advantage to the Spanish. However, considering the broader logistical and strategic realities of the military uses of horses on expeditions, this perception of outright advantage should be acknowledged as an exaggeration, without denying that the horse, new to the Americas on the arrival of the Spanish conquistadores, came as a shock to many native peoples in their first encounter, and the Spanish purposefully used this surprise to their advantage when possible.

The advantage of surprise referred to one basic qualities of the horse: speed. Speed on horseback was conducive to hit and run raids on villages, known as *cabalgadas*, general reconnaissance, or harassing the outlying flanks of an opposing force to sow confusion and disorder. Secondly, a concentrated charge at a troop formation used momentum to break their ranks, allowing infantry to follow into the breach behind the horses' lead. Such tactics, however, were quick rather than sustained, deployed at strategic moments in which the cavalry had a significant influence on the course of events. Yet, the advantages of horses on a practical level were not so straightforward. The impact of these charges relied on a minimum quorum of men on horseback, subject to fluctuations based on the casualties of war and the tenuous reaches of re-supply.[65]

Horses, while powerful and presenting a serious advantage of strength and speed, were also of limited supply and vulnerable to the varied environments encountered on the way. For every example of a decisive charge in a *relación*, there is also plentiful evidence of these pitfalls.

[65] Horses of course received wounds in engagements, and regularly wore horseshoes, which were prone to coming off. It was common to carry shoes, nails and files to fit the shoes on the trail.

There were no corrals to contain the horses, so the chance of losing one at night was high. Swollen rivers to swim across posed frequent danger and loss of mounts.[66] In swampy or marshy terrain, horses would have to be led by hand to not founder in the mud and injure their legs, rendering them useless.[67] Further, sheer exhaustion from forced marches took its toll on horses as well. Alvarado's report on his campaign from Oaxaca to Guatemala noted that the mountainous terrain had such poor footing, that the men laid down their cotton-padded armor on the rocks to allow the horses to pass. When Cortes marched south after Cristobal Olid, he lost 68 of his 93 horses in attempting to cross a mountain pass, reporting that many fell to their deaths due to the footing, and the surviving horses took three months to recover enough for battle service.[68] In this sense, horses on expeditions were useful in particular, rather than all, moments. Ironically, their transport itself was often difficult to achieve, even while the animal offered greater mobility in friendly terrain.

The notion that horses struck terror in indigenous groups is a standard theme in Spanish reports on engagements with opposing forces, but should not all be taken at face value. More likely, this image sketches initial indigenous reactions to horses that quite likely were short-lived, even if awe-struck, or indeed more generally indicates the nature of rumors and speculations about such reactions. Spanish attempts to play on misperceptions of the horse's qualities clearly

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[66] "Fifth Letter" in *Hernan Cortes - Letters from Mexico* edited by Anthony Pagden and J. H Elliott, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 384. Two horses drowned trying to cross because of currents.

[67] "Fifth Letter" in *Hernan Cortes - Letters from Mexico*, 361. Because of the ratio of weight to pressure and the exceptionally slender legs of the horses, a broken leg equalled a lost horse in swamp where horses were sinking up to their ears.

[68] Cortes began his march to meet Alvarado with 93 horses, yet arrives in the end with a group of only 30 horsemen.

were quickly limited. While misunderstandings of the horse, like eating habits, for example, persisted, these did not present an on-going impediment to indigenous military strategy.[69]

Nevertheless, horses were undoubtedly impressive creatures on first sighting, as they can boast upwards of 1200 pounds of muscle and sinew in sensitive, flight-oriented animals. We can see the strategic use of this awe when Cortes tied up a mare within scent range to make his stallion act out – a message that indicated the horse's role as a symbol of Spanish power as much as its potential threat to life and limb. The chapters of the Florentine Codex describing the Spanish arrival into Tenochtitlan emphasized the pounding of hooves and the sweat and foam thrown by the horses shaking their heads in parade. They were compared to deer "as tall as the roof" with thundering hooves: "As they went they made a beating, throbbing and hoof-pounding like throwing stones."[70] Clearly, these animals were paraded with an intention to impress, just like the soldiers among them. The Incan reaction to horses from Titu Cusi's account in 1570 equally conveys admiration: "Even their sheep, who carry them, are large and wear silver shoes.

[69] Cortes had left his horse with an injured foot with a Mayan group under chief Iztaec / Canac to care for it, and the horse died, presumably for lack of understanding of what it ate. Later seventeenth century missionaries found a stone relief of a horse, interpreted as a type of god (Villagutierre in Ursua Expedition of 1697). In the northern Tarascan kingdom in New Spain for example, an informant reported to a Franciscan friar that locals might have thought that the horses talked and were able to understand the commands of their riders, that "indians who thought the [horses] talked and were able to understand the verbal orders of their riders" (*Chronicle of Michoacán*, 1504 compiled from Tarascan informants by Franciscan, cited by JH Elliott in "Spanish Conquest", 173). Garcilaso likewise describes the death of Pizarro's horse as a result of an *indio* servant mistakenly giving the animal cold water after exertion (Garcilaso Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru 1616*, trans. Harold Livermore, 2 vols. (Austin: University of Tex, 1966), 1153.)

[70] James Lockhart, *We People Here: Nahuatl Accounts of the Conquest of Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). Book 12.

They throw thunder like the sky."[71] As a result, both novelty and scarcity affected the role of horses in campaign strategies.

Indeed, the awe of horses could be used in diplomatic encounters, using tropes and traditions from within Iberian culture. For example, when Cortes meets the first envoys from Moctezuma on the beaches of Veracruz, he and some of his men perform "skirmishes" on horseback.[72] What this describes in reality is a *juego de cañas*, a traditional performance used in Spain to display prowess on horseback as a statement of wealth and social status, and a proxy for conflict. These uses of horses mimicked other festival and ritual engagements intended to generate friendship or goodwill, in addition to displaying the skill and strength of their horses.

The special cultural significance of the horse for the Spanish became apparent to their indigenous opponents, the Mexica, who, for example, displayed horse heads alongside human heads as trophies of battle to intimidate their opponents (Figure 3).

[71] Titu Cusi Yupanqui, *An Inca Account of the Conquest of Peru*, trans. Ralph Bauer (Sebastopol: University Press of Colorado, 2011).

[72] Eugenia Ibarra Rojas, *Intercambio, política y sociedad en el siglo XVI: historia indígena de Panamá, Costa Rica y Nicaragua* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2003).

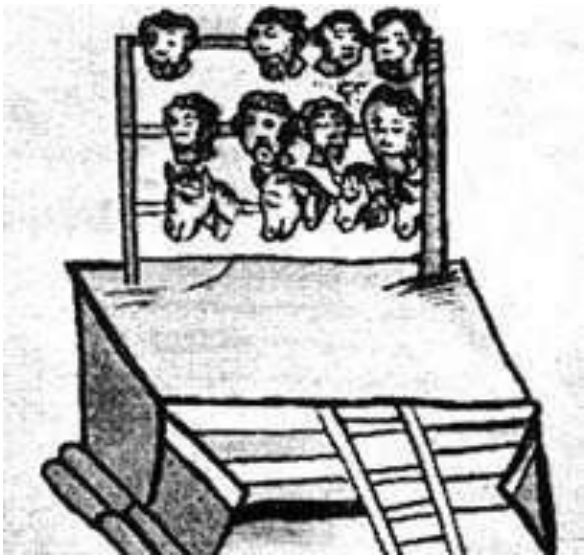

Figure 3. Display of trophies from Florentine Codex Book 12 from Anderson and Dibble, eds.

Another example from Bernal Diaz records that when Cortes was repulsed from Tenochtitlan, Guatemoc had sent "the heads of the horses and the flayed hands and feet of the soldiers they had sacrificed" to the towns of Matlazingo, Malinalco and Tulapa to appeal for assistance.[73] Similar tactics demonstrate the grasp of the symbolism of the horse in Peru, as well, when the Incan general Quizuiz and his men "repeatedly celebrated in a fetishized manner every horse they killed, turning their tales and manes into battle emblems."[74] In other words, the shock value of the horse had symbolic and persuasive powers that could be used strategically, without relying on the physical fighting from horseback that endangered a limited number of animals difficult to resupply. However, the assumption of the horse's invincibility would not last long beyond initial posturing.

[73] Bernal Díaz del Castillo, Janet Burke, and Ted Humphrey, *The True History of the Conquest of New Spain* (Indianapolis, Indiana: Hackett Pub. Co., 2012), 422.

[74] John Hemming, *The Conquest of the Incas* (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1973), 104: citing accounts of Cieza and Trujillo.

Military actions in the New World emphasize the horse's natural traits of speed and mobility over long distances — a true advantage over the peaceful Taino in cases of surprise attacks and massacres at first. But the outsize influence of horses should more accurately be analyzed in regards to its role in social hierarchy within Iberian culture. The horse's absolute scarcity and prohibitive expense makes it not the standard tool of war, but a supplement that upheld important social hierarchies in reference to its Iberian precedents, for example in the distribution of the proceeds of conquest and settlement. Horses served both diplomatic and political functions, while their military usefulness was limited to specific moments, and their success depended greatly on the personal expertise of the leaders of the entradas. Thus the awe of the *caciques* of the Antilles and the displays of horsemanship to indigenous emissaries form part of the stories of Spanish conquest that have rich symbolic significance, related to the political and social influence of horses on Spanish forms of governance.

The Governor's Horses in the New World Entrada

Although horses had a certain strategic military value, why were horses, scarce as they were in Spain, brought to tropical islands, swampy coastal areas, mountainous jungle regions and high altitude deserts -- neither their natural habitats nor advantageous for the military uses of cavalry? Natural awe or fear of horses benefitted certain surprise tactics against untested enemies, but such fears were neither supernatural nor insurmountable by existing indigenous tactics or newly gained battle experience. Moreover, horses were an enormously expensive part of the early expeditions. Despite these realities, horses were brought and established in successive colonial settlements at the behest of the king's representatives in the New World.

Figure 4. Horse in a sling for shipping from Weiditz, *Trachtenbuch* (1550)

Horses were not only expensive to purchase and ship, but also frequently distressed by the voyage itself. Río Moreno has estimated that a horse that cost 10 ducats in Seville would end up triple the cost to pay for its passage and supplies across the Atlantic.[75] Shipped in slings or hammocks, the main limiting factor for the horse was water.[76] In the course of transport (2-3

[75] Justo L. del Río Moreno, *Caballos Y Equidos Españoles En La Conquista Y Colonización de America (S. XVI)* (Sevilla: Real Maestranza de Caballeria de Sevilla, ASAJA y ANCCE, 1992), 94. Río Moreno estimates that horse might be 4000 maravedis, then also another 3-4000 for pasage on the boat with a man to take care of them, another 1000 maravedis for supplies (1 bota de agua, 1 halda de paja, 7-8 fanegas de cebada), for a total cost of 14,000 maravedis to get horse to Santo Domingo.

[76] An average-size 1,000 lb horse will eat anywhere from 15 to 25 lb of food and drink 10 to 12 gallons of water per day. Digestion problems from lack of water are serious as horses do not have a vomit reflex and can quickly suffer from colic, a leading cause of death.

months), Cunningham Greene has estimated a loss of about 50% of horses brought as cargo.[77] In the first shipment under Columbus about one-third of the horses died in passage, probably from dehydration, leaving just 16 to disembark. Moreover, Columbus sent a letter via Antonio de Torres complaining that the horses shipped were not the quality originally purchased, or at least not worth the 2000 maravedís paid for them — either a scam from the agent, Juan de Soria, or a consequence of their deteriorated condition on arriving after the transatlantic crossing.[78]

The demand for horses on further colonial expeditions frequently had catastrophic results, exacerbating this scarcity. Among the series of risky ventures undertaken to search for passage from the first settlements on Hispaniola to the ultimate desired destination of the Pacific Spice Islands, it was not uncommon for entire shipments meant for seeding new settlements to be lost to shipwreck or other disasters. Subsequent shipments of horses from Spain, between 30-100 horses, went to fund major *entradas* to explore other territory, like those of Nicuesa and Ojeda in 1508. But losses were huge. Ojeda sailed in 1509 with 300 men and 12 brood mares, and despite striking gold, in just a few days the crew had been decimated. Joining forces with Nicuesa's camp in San Sebastian, they were repulsed by hostile indigenous groups. Lope de Olaño reported that the Nicuesa-led settlement was so desperate for food they ate the foals of the mares, and in fact the ill-fated colony ate all 220 horses they had brought—a fortune of 125,000 pesos.[79] The pitiful foothold maintained by Balboa was then taken over by the large and ambitious party of

[77] Robert Moorman Denhardt, *The Horse of the Americas.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1947).11. Denhardt estimates a loss of 50% as common, and that horse cargo would be discarded overboard if water shortage became dire.

[78] "Torres Letter" 30 January 1494 includes the complaint that Juan de Soria, after being paid for certain horses, then substituted inferior ones on the actual shipment.

[79] Charles Loftus Grant Anderson, *Old Panama and Castilla Del Oro: A Narrative History of the Discovery, Conquest, and Settlement* (Page Company, 1914), 134.

courtiers and officials under Pedraris in 1513. This party brought 100 mares from Spain, but subsequently lost these valuable additions. Other infamous expeditions also lost large numbers of horses, along with their entire crew, such as Ponce de León's disastrous trip to Florida in 1521, and Panfilo Narváez's to Florida in 1527.[80]

Such hardship and lack of food affected the horse's health as well, as forage on such expeditions was limited to what was naturally available on the trail.[81] The harsh geography of Peru was no exception in the early expeditions further south. Pedro Anzúrez in 1536 reported being forced to drink the blood of his horses for nourishment. The high altitude crossings of the Almagro and Valdivia expeditions from Peru down to Chile left many dead horses on route. In fact, during Valdivia's second attempt to cross over, the trekkers ate the frozen carcasses of horses left from the first attempt.

Given the expense and death rates, trans-Atlantic shipping was not the primary or most sustainable model for seeding new settlements. Instead, establishing livestock breeding within the New World became an important feature for the colonies there, channeled through government officials. The capitulations granted for settling newly "discovered" areas typically permitted a specific ratio of supplies for the new settlements. Exemption to duty tax, the *almojarifazgo*, assisted these enterprises. Horses first moved with permissions, granted by the

[80] Ponce de Leon took a group of settlers and 200 men and 50 horses in 1521, but ambushed by the resident Calusa people were repulsed and Ponce de Leon died of his wounds on his way back to Cuba. Panfilo Narvaez took a new expedition in 1527, but his ships were split and shipwrecked, leaving just a few survivors.

[81] Stephen Budiansky, *The Nature of Horses: Exploring Equine Evolution, Intelligence, and Behavior* (New York: Free Press, 1997). Unlike cows and other ruminants which process grasses in multiple stomachs, horses have only one stsomach but can digest cellulose in an organ called the cecum. This means that horses extract less nutrition from grasses, but can subsist on lower quality grasses.

Crown to the provincial governor, from the Caribbean Islands to the mainland (*Tierra Firme* and *Castilla de Oro)* in 1508 and to Panama in 1513. Stock would remain concentrated in the hands of government officials who profited from the supply and provisioning of these animals.

While the Crown claimed ownership of animals multiplying in its new territories, the governors of each territory controlled the movement of horse populations. Authority for caring for the horses brought over on expeditions defaulted to the acting governor and judges in the courts of the *Audiencia* and *cabildo*s. As a result, often the governor or viceroy became responsible for breeding horses on a royal *hacienda* for the benefit of the public good of his jurisdiction. The link between governors and horse breeding can be seen in the command to Bobadillo, who replaced Columbus in office, that he return the broodmares that he had taken from Columbus's ranch. The governor's ranch under Ovando had 60 mares, and he brought another 10 stallions specifically for breeding on the island, as well as a subsequent shipment with 106 mares for this same purpose. The king moreover allocated specific lands for his own equine stock (a *caballeriza*, or stable for stallions), given in capitulations to the governor to manage on behalf of the crown.

Horse breeding on the islands therefore supplied new expeditions, although funded and originating from Spain. Settlers in Santo Domingo used these supplies for their expeditions, taking advantage of the sponsorship of breeding allowed to particular officials representing the king's interests. Although commercial breeding was prohibited, for example, the animals were taxed according the tithes on the new offspring each year, giving revenue to the parish and the king. As a result, clergy were heavily involved with the horse breeding and trading process, being beneficiaries of the tithing process as well as land donations tied to the arrival of the First

Audiencia in 1528.[82] Supply for further expeditions increased in the available land denuded of indigenous settlements. While not on an open commercial market, the growing population of horses enabled further expeditions looking for passage further west to the Spice Islands.

Caribbean Island *Entrepôts*

The early expeditions drew a large number of animals from the Caribbean Islands. Robert Denhardt made a list of expeditions from the first fifty years, noting that in 27 expeditions more than 2500 horses were reported, with an average of about 50 horses included on any sponsored expedition.[83] Some of these horses would have come directly from Spain, where the provisioning began, but Caribbean islands served as stops for supplies frequently found in the possession of the same men granted the charter for the expedition. The settlement of Puerto Rico, Jamaica and Cuba in particular served this role outfitting and re-suppling horses for numerous expeditions. Española, Jamaica and Puerto Rico tended to supply the Central American isthmus and regions south, while Cuba supplied Mexico and Florida.

The increase of controls on shipments of horses after 1507, and especially the need for specific licenses to bring broodmares, essentially transferred the monopoly of horse supply from Seville to the Caribbean islands where breeders established themselves to supply expeditions. For example, such licenses were granted in Hispaniola to Pasamonte and Colon, in Puerto Rico to Narváez, in Jamaica to Garay and Bastidas, and in Cuba to Velázquez. Merchants who

[82] Bishop Marroquín in Guatemala and Bishop Rodrigo Gonzalez Marmolejo in Chile provide two notable examples of this overlap.

[83] Denhardt, 35. He provides a list of expeditions from first 50 years, noting in 27 expeditions more than 2500 horses were reported, making an average of 50 per expedition.

transported horses often also traded in slaves and other merchandise, although certain colonies became better known for breeding horses than others. Breeders typically were also governing officials, and the two roles reinforced each other in terms of the privileges of participating in the royal monopoly on supplying *entradas* with horses. That is, horse breeding was not a primarily commercial enterprise but a political and social one, with economic benefits for only a few.

In general, early competition led to an initial transfer of livestock, while difficulty in securing island settlements and eventual depopulation led to the growth of the livestock populations. In May 1509, the first governor of Puerto Rico, Juan Ponce de León, brought horses from his hacienda in El Higüey, Española. Later, Ponce de León led two expeditions each with 200 men from Puerto Rico in 1514 and again in 1521 with 50 horses.[84] The Spanish turned to settle Jamaica at nearly the same time they ventured into in Puerto Rico. On this expedition Francisco Garay took 130-150 horses from the land he had received five years earlier in eastern Hispaniola. In the 1530s, Martin Garay continued to manage the supply of livestock from the king's estates in Jamaica.[85] Cuba followed in 1511, with a company of men well known for their later investments in horses: Hernan Cortes, Pedro de Alvarado, Bernal Diaz del Castillo, Juan de Grijalva, and Francisco Fernandez de Cordoba. Velázquez himself personally arrived in Cuba in 1514 with 8 horses, decked with bells, and imported more from his Hispaniola ranches. The interest exhibited among the leaders of these expeditions to move their own estates originated from the privilege of transferring livestock without additional import taxes that came with

[84] Vicente Murga Sanz, *Juan Ponce De Leon: Funador Y Primer Gobernador Del Peublo Puertorriqueno Descubridor De La Florida Y Del Estrecho De Bahamas* (Editorial Universitaria Universidad De Puerto Rico, 1971), 248. Overall, Jamaica was not as well known for its horses as Puerto Rico, but heavily invested in the cattle and pigs, and figured prominently in colonizing supplies for *Tierra Firme* and South America (Venezuela, Colombia, Peru).

[85] AGI,PANAMA,1531.

appointment to particular municipal offices. By 1514, Velázquez reported that 30,000 hogs and an unspecified number of horses covered the island savannahs, or grass-covered clearings, in evidence of a huge transfer of wealth and livestock from Hispaniola.[86] A peak in Cuba's prosperity between 1515-1518 was tempered by the immediate outflow of goods to the next stop in exportation and expansion. Cuba outfitted Cortes' expedition to Mexico, including the 16 horses described in detail by Bernal Diaz del Castillo, as well as the expeditions of Francisco Hernandez de Cordoba (1517, Yucatan) and Juan de Grijalva (1518, Costa Rica).

From the perspective of conquistadors, "wealth" referred almost exclusively to the presence of gold on land granted in *encomienda*, leading to complaints about depopulation (*despoblación*) as they abandoned such holdings for whatever seemed more promising in newer ventures. Nevertheless, import-tax-free trade privileges remained an important factor for those who stayed. Certain men known for their wealth in the settlement of Santiago (Hispaniola) received access to gold found in rivers and used the accompanying land for livestock to sell meat, horses and mules to expeditions departing from Cuba. Notably, they also held key official positions, such as Gonzalo de Guzmán *procurador*, Nunez de Guzmán *tesorero*, and Pedro de Paz *contador*, among other *encomenderos*, and indeed were accused of a monopolizing these sales to expeditions.

Ensuring a supply of horses from the islands formed part of Cortes' strategy as well, and a relatively swift conquest generated opportunities for breeding his own horse supply in New Spain shortly thereafter. Even in 1520, before victory was assured, Cortes sent Diego de Ordaz

[86] Elizabeth S. Wing, "Evidences for the impact of traditional Spanish animal uses in parts of the New World" in *The Walking Larder: Patterns of Domestication, Pastoralism, and Predation* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 77.

and Gregorio de Villalobos to forge a settlement in Vera Cruz and raise, protect and manage livestock brought from Jamaica.[87] Sluyter credited Villalobos with establishing the first ranches in the Veracruz region.[88] Additionally, after 1521, Cortes fostered the development of agriculture, animal husbandry and transport of livestock from the Caribbean islands. The high price of horses on Cuba and Hispaniola served as his motivation, which had grown to be outrageous due to the demand for horses on the mainland expeditions. Island breeders, on the other hand, asked the king for restrictions on exporting breeding stock from Islands to protect their herds, which was issued November 24, 1525.[89] Subsequently, a complaint was lodged from the *cabildo* in Mexico City that Hispaniola and Cuba did not let the New Spain colonists take the horses they needed. Rodrigo de Albornoz, accountant of New Spain, wrote to Charles V December 1525 and asked that "the officers of Española, San Juan and Cuba permit the free shipment of cattle, cows, mares, sheep and rams to this country because there is an abundance there and a lack here…" and despite the king's permission for livestock to go from Hispaniola and Cuba for the new settlements, the islands "do not let mares leave for these parts."[90] The success of these appeals features in the *Ordenanzas para Poblaciones* in 1525, conceding sites (*mercedes*) for lands intended to raise imported domesticated animals.

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[87] Andrew Sluyter, "The Ecological Origins and Consequences of Cattle Ranching in Sixteenth-Century New Spain," *Geographical Review* 86, no. 2 (April 1, 1996): 161–77.

[88] Andrew Sluyter, *Black Ranching Frontiers: African Cattle Herders of the Atlantic World, 1500-1900* (Yale University Press, 2012), 29.

[89] Julius Klein, *The Mesta; a Study in Spanish Economic History, 1273-1836* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1920), 21

[90] "Letter from Rodrigo de Albornoz, accountant of new Spain, to Charles V" December 1525, AGI,MEXICO,95.

Horse Trade in *Tierra Firme*: Governor Francisco de Castañeda

In some ways the diplomatic and symbolic importance of the horse was supplemented by its concentration in official power. Spanish arrival to Central America was complicated and not thoroughly successful. But as the major passageway to the "south sea" and points further west and south, Nicaragua and Panama became the second major pivot point for supplying horses for *entradas* after the islands of Cuba, Puerto Rico and Jamaica. The case of the Governor of Nicaragua, Francisco Castañeda, provides an extreme example.

The story of Francisco Castañeda emerges in a *residencia* of his period of governorship of Nicaragua begun in 1536 as a key figure in the trade of horses among the early colonial settlements in *Tierra Firme*. He was a lawyer, or *licenciado*, and had held posts in Spain and in the Canary Islands before coming to the New World, where he joined the large expedition of Pedrarias to *Tierra Firme*. Pedrarias was given license in 1519, for a new settlement in Panama (Asunción). At the same time, Pedrarias's lieutenant Hernandez de Cordoba founded the settlement of Vila de Bruselas in 1524, later moved to Granada, Nicaragua in 1526. There, Hernandez de Cordoba founded a stock of breeding horses (*yeguada*) in Nicaragua to rival those founded by Colon in Santo Domingo. Pedrarias wrested control as governor in 1527, and Francisco Castañeda served as treasurer (*contador*). He was elected *alcalde mayor* in Leon first in 1529, and then on the death of Pedrarias in 1531, was elected — after putting himself forward — as the replacement governor.

Castañeda used the benefits of his position to the maximum extent in this new settlement of Leon. In his role as *alcalde mayor* (and then governor) Castañeda was given permission to leave the province of Nicaragua and to sell both horses and slaves (*yeguas, caballos y*

esclavos).[91] This went around the typical control over the import and export of goods such as slaves and livestock, where individuals were not intended to act as itinerant merchants selling livestock and slaves from one area into another. The complaints lodged against him in his tenure as *contador* (1527-1531) under Pedrarias included not collecting the *almojarifazgo* or the 7.5% import duties on goods shipped between the provinces (from Mexico, Guatemala and Honduras to Nicaragua) for an outstanding amount of 10,000 pesos. Castañeda asserted that the governor did not order him to value the horses or indigenous slaves that passed from the north into Nicaragua. This practice he continued under his own tenure as governor.

Interest in the wealth of the Incan empire and the audacious plans of Pizarro and Almagro to subjugate it contributed to the high volume of horses passing through. Francisco de Castañeda shows one facet of this heightened interest in the potential economic rewards of moving ones person and goods to Peru, through the ports of Realejo on the Pacific coast of Nicaragua, or from Nombre de Dios in Panama. In fact, the coastal trade in horses to Peru included Mexican, Nicaraguan and Panama actors.[92] Sea ports were the primary point of entry for goods to South America; although settlements and expeditions had been introduced through Venezuela and even further south in *Río* de la Plata in the 1520s and 1530s, the difficult terrain limited the supply of horses to sea entries from the Pacific Coast into Ecuador to Peru, and then proceeding overland.[93]

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[91] AGI,GUATEMALA,401,L.2,F.54; Real Cedula, 1531.

[92] Woodrow Wilson Borah, *Early Colonial Trade and Navigation between Mexico and Peru.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954).

[93] Gabriel Taboada, *El caballo criollo en la historia Argentina: siglos XVI a XIX* (Planeta, 1999); Guillermo Alfredo Terrera, *El Caballo Criollo En La Tradicion Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Circulo Militar, 1969).

Castañeda's profit came from his position as governor, which allowed him to arbitrarily decide what animals could come into or leave his province of Nicaragua. In the residencia, Anton Montero reported that he had purchased a horse for 150 pesos (from Alonso Lorenzo and Francisco Lopez) and after four months Castañeda said he liked the horse and would take it at the current price. Because of the news of gold in Peru, the witness said the price of his horse was 300 pesos, but the governor only gave him in exchange for his animal a mare that was worth 130 pesos. Apparently Anton Montero complained so much about this exchange that Castañeda also gave Montero a license to go to Peru and to bring the mare with him.[94] Castañeda defended his actions by saying that the demand for going to Peru had depopulated the area and taken the best horses ("los mejores caballos de la tierra para ir al Peru"). Therefore, he proclaimed that no one could buy a horse in order to send it out of the province, and if any citizen of Leon or Granada sold a horse in this way, Castañeda would confiscate it. But a second witness confirmed that Montero's horse was taken unjustly and as evidence of this view reported that it was later seen in possession of Castañeda's nephew, Vasco de Guevara.[95]

Castañeda cultivated this monopoly on such transfers, so that anyone who wanted to go to Peru with his goods had to go through him. To join the rush in Peru, one had to pay for the passage on one of the ships, which might be 200-300 pesos, and over and above that Castañeda would make and pocket his own charges for his permission to go to Peru from Nicaragua.[96] Moreover, not only did the master of the ship and Castañeda make out with money, he also used his governing muscle to profit from the shipping itself. In 1536, Gaspar Rodriguez and Diego de

[94] AGI,JUSTICIA,293,fol. 612/27

[95] AGI,JUSTICIA,293 fol. 619/29

[96] AGI,JUSTICIA,293, fol. 33.

Rojas reported that Castañeda wouldn't allow ships to leave the harbor without taking his merchandise on board for sale in Peru. The two men had formed a *compañía* in a ship called San Jorge, and carried cargo from Nicaragua to Peru. They testified that no ship left the port without Castañeda first taking (at sale price) their best horses and merchandise in exchange for permission to leave the port, or else the ship might be held for as long as 5 months, in their case. They complained that this delay and forced sale of merchandise cost them 5,000 pesos.

Castañeda therefore was involved in several *companías* to profit off of his own supply of horses, confiscated or bred in the governor's lands with the choice supply he was able to pick from all those moving through his domain. The third part of his swindle then was to turn around and sell those commandeered good horses at inflated prices. One charge asked if he had given license to a particular company of three men to take his horses to sell in Peru. Castañeda explained that he had given the mares to Rodrigo de Villa Gomez to ship in the *navio* San Miguel, and entrusted him to sell them on his behalf for 4000 pesos, or 800 each, when at that time in Peru the mares would have been sold for 1000 each. Other testimony however stated they were only worth 200 in Nicaragua.

Castañeda was last seen fleeing from his post and subsequent "residencia" calculating his gains during his tenure as governor.[97] The residencia, with nearly 100 charges to investigate, of which at least ten were specifically related to his trade in horses between Nicaragua and Peru, was conducted by Rodrigo Contreras, and concluded in 1541.[98] In 1543, Castañeda was

[97] AGI,PANAMA235,L6, F48R.

[98] AGI,JUSTICIA,293 and AGI,JUSTICIA,294

condemned to pay in fines over 1.2 million maravedís (2400 *pesos de oro* approximately) plus another 2000 *pesos de oro*.[99]

Conclusion

In Spain's growing empire, the model frontier institutions for the organization of new territory were extended to new expeditions and settlements. Horses were brought as an extension of the political and social order instilled by conquest strategies in social position, *cabildo* governance, and land tenure. The expansion of such control along with the first shipment of horses to the New World demonstrates the link between settlements and role of local government in managing horse populations and land use.

To establish elite identity in Spanish society, knights, nobles and the king relied on the symbolism of the horse, but in a more practical sense, horses defined social status in specific laws and policies regulating their use and establishing particular relationships between municipal governments and horse breeding. In Spain, the interest in horses revolved around the problem of scarcity, and how to ensure enough men rode horses, and to ensure that these horses were large enough. For these same reasons, horses and horse breeding would become an integral part of conquest and colonization through the organization of colonial settlements in the Americas.

There was a clear political and social interest in creating a supply of horses. These interests appear in new settlements, and shape the way in which horses were introduced. Breeders of all kinds of livestock had influence, primarily because those with breeding privileges were also royal officials and the two reinforced each other. The establishment of towns and their

[99] AGI,INDIFERENTE,423,L.20,F.649 - 652R

forms of governance, especially the social benefits of *encomendero* status, drew on patterns from conquest settlements in Andalusia in the distribution of land and its uses for livestock breeding. The benefit of exemptions from import/export duties of the *almojarifazgo* granted to island officials and individuals in approved expeditions both bolstered the exclusive access to horses and also gave them the incentive to seed horse populations in each new successive venture.

Horses flourished under specific controls and interests of the state, through government officials and exemptions to import duties. Their spread was not spurred by the search for profit as commodity but a result of the colonization projects. Growth of infamous numbers of horses, which gained a reputation in the Caribbean by the 1520s and New Spain by the 1530s, shifted the overall outlook and discourse from one of scarcity to one of abundance.

Chapter 3. From Scarcity to Abundance: The *Mesta* in Spanish America

Notices of incredible abundance flowed back to Spain from the New World. Enciso, in his *Suma Geográfica* (1519) explained the rapid multiplication of livestock on the Caribbean islands due to available space: "because there is no other animal."[100] Oviedo, in his *Historia General y Natural de las Indias* (1535) not only emphasized the general fertility and variety to be found in the new land, but also noted that the horses brought to Española had increased so that there was no need to bring any others. The island supplied horses to all the other regions, and the price of a young horse was no more than 5 pesos de oro.[101] By 1579, Juan Suarez de Peralta's *Noticias Históricas de Nueva España* wrote about the bountiful effects of such growth: "there are today a very large number of horses and mares, so many that they go wild in the country, without owners, which ones are called *cimarrones*; they grow old without knowing man."[102]

Historiography about the Columbian Exchange repeats the image of the chroniclers. Crosby emphasized rapid growth, combining primary source accounts of fertility, and leaving the impression that the New World was not only incredibly fertile, but that horses expanded

[100] Martin-Fernandez de Enciso, *Suma de geographia, que trata de todas las partidas e provencias del mundo en especial de las indias* (Seville: Jacob Cronberger, 1519), 140.

[101] Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias* (Madrid, Impr. de la Real academia de la historia, 1851), Part I, Chapter IX, 399, "de los animales terrestres que se trujeron de ESpaña a esta Isla Española."

[102] Juan Suárez de Peralta, *Tratado Del Descubrimiento de Las Indias (Noticias Históricas de Nueva España)*, Testimonios Mexicanos, Historiadores 3 (México: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1949).

indefinitely until they escaped into the wild -- particularly on the fringes of empire and borderland territory, as far north as the Great Plains and as far south as the southern cone nearing Patagonia. Chroniclers reported repeatedly on the explosive nature of livestock growth in the first decades to emphasize the incredible fertility and capacity of the new lands. Yet, the interests of these chroniclers should also temper descriptions of abundance. Rebecca Earle has argued that most authors writing about the New World flora and fauna favored "Providentialism" as the guiding interpretation, despite some misgivings about possible degenerate influences of American environments on European men and animals. As a result, their reports emphasized high yields in print, regardless of the reality of conditions across such a wide swath of territories and ecosystems.

Other scholars have exposed ecological limits to such abundance. Chevalier and Melville in Mexico, and Macleod in Central America, noted limited phases to expansion.[103] In his famous study of Mexican hacienda and ranching culture, Chevalier estimated the growth of livestock populations doubled in less than one year (each year) between the 1530s and 1550s. These domesticated animals, which had limited reproductive capacity back in Europe, could even produce more than one set of offspring within one year to the amazement of a *corregidor* in New Spain. But such fertility was not indefinite, and within a few generations had re-adjusted to new circadian rhythms, peaking by the 1570s. In a similar vein, Melville documented the impact of an "ungulate" invasion specifically for hoofed, grazing animals on Mexican ecosystems,

[103] François Chevalier, Land and Society in Colonial Mexico: The Great Hacienda (University of California Press, 1963); Elinor G. K. Melville, *A Plague of Sheep: Environmental Consequences of the Conquest of Mexico* (Cambridge University Press, 1997); Murdo J. MacLeod, *Spanish Central America: A Socioeconomic History, 1520–1720* (University of Texas Press, 2008).

particularly its resulting desiccation of the central Mexican valley, which limited the agricultural yields.

Although growth might have been a natural environmental adaptation, the political and cultural regulation or promotion of horse breeding needs closer examination to better understand what drove this growth, and how people gained access to these horses. In this chapter, I argue that abundance, presented as a natural, providential phenomenon, actually emerged in specific places and for strategic reasons. In particular, traditions of common land usage for grazing livestock in the Iberian Peninsula complemented the geographic motivations for livestock breeding to cultivate an abundant population of horses. Moreover, while the protection of common land and the regulations of the *mesta* were meant to control and regulate new world livestock, it also fostered their abundance. Conflicts over common land between the king and *encomenderos* were encased in the regulations for livestock present in the 1542 New Laws. Use of the commons had an important tradition in the Iberian Peninsula, and its effect in the New World territories was to increase free-ranging livestock as it multiplied, despite interest in controlling and regulating it.

Despoblación* and *Encomiendas

Abundance was not only due to natural geography but also a systematic freedom of livestock, and the reclamation of previously cultivated lands as commons through the displacement and removal of indigenous people. In Jamaica, for example, early competition over rights to land led to an initial transfer of livestock, while difficulty in securing the island and eventual depopulation led to the growth of the livestock populations. During his governorship in

Jamaica, Diego Colón employed up to 5,000 *indio*s to keep his herds of thousands of pigs. The extermination of the local Taino populations on Hispaniola and Cuba had similar effect of leaving land vacant. Many of the domesticated animals raised in Santo Domingo (Hispaniola) followed the reach of new settlements and need for beasts of burden in mining activity, found in Buenaventura, then in Santo Domingo and Concepcion de la Vega. In fact, from the area of Higüey, livestock on the haciendas of Ponce de Leon, Juan Esquivel and Francisco de Garay would be used to seed the islands of Puerto Rico, Jamaica and Cuba. The areas of greatest displacement were easily used for raising livestock without huge amounts of supervision.[104]

Abundance not only satisfied the demands of entradas seeking windfalls of gold and silver: oversupply also became a problem in the Caribbean island economies. Local cycles within this general perception of abundance generated specific problems and complaints for municipal government and royal officials. The first phase of growth punctuated with initial worries of scarcity caused changes to restrictions on importing and breeding by residents for noncommercial purposes, until the price for horses within Hispaniola matched that of horses coming from Seville around 1510.[105] Río de Moreno has estimated a growth of the initial livestock populations of the Caribbean islands in a 100-fold over the first 15 years. The second phase of growth fed on demand for mainland expeditions, so that despite growing populations,

[104] The use of abandoned or unimproved land for livestock has been studied by Chevalier for New Spain and Macleod for Central America. They both emphasize that this was not the primary use of uninhabited land, but a tertiary and less profitable use that eventually superceeded other avenues of recuperating value from encomiendas, after mining, indigenous labor, and raw materials. This process, which reached a critical mass in New Spain by the 1570s and in Central America in the 1590s, seemed to have greater effect earlier in the Caribbean due to the general depopulation and draw of new financial opportunities in additional colonial territories.

[105] Oviedo noted the success in breeding horses on Española and shipment to other islands in abundance, bringing down the price of a broken colt at 4-5 pesos de oro.

prices also increased through the 1530s. A horse that might have cost 10 pesos, initially, cost closer to 500-600 pesos in the 1530s.[106] It was also during this time that the shipment of horses from Seville stopped. In New Spain, initially horses were extremely scarce and expensive, but livestock in New Spain experienced a period of explosive growth in the first decades after settlement between the 1530s and 1550s, further reducing prices by 75%.[107] On the other hand, this development of local mainland supply alongside the multiplication of livestock in Caribbean islands created a dramatic drop in prices for island breeders supplying mainland expeditions by the 1540s. The explosion of domesticated livestock, including horses, by the 1540s made horses available far more cheaply than they were in Spain. The third phase, then, witnessed an overpopulation of horses, lowered demand for horses from entradas, and the replacement from mainland sources by the 1550s.

In fact, the Caribbean islands faced two problems in terms of depopulation — not only the depletion of indigenous people and traditional uses of those lands, but also the depopulation of the Spanish beneficiaries, continually looking for the next opportunity and charter. Supply outpaced demand, or as also happened on the islands, settlers initially invested in these areas moved on to the newly opened frontier opportunities, leaving former settlements with fewer people and more land for roaming livestock. For example, Puerto Rico became the primary origin of the horses going to re-supply Panama and Florida as a stocking location. By the 1530s, shortage of gold had caused many settlers to move on, but those that remained complained of the

[106] *Río* Moreno, 94.

[107] Noted by Chevalier for cattle, and a similar method used by Melville for sheep and Ramirez for livestock in Peru. However, price drops are not a sufficient way to measure population growth, as prices were also influenced by changes in demand, as well as royal decrees limiting prices. A major drop in 1542, for example, seems to correlate with institution of New Laws.

effects of depopulation on the overuse of pasture. The issue of depopulation exacerbated the lack of management of the livestock on the island. In Puerto Rico, complaints made in 1537 noted that the *ganados* destroyed the *pastos comunes*, and recommended the use of enclosures, or *corrales*, to collect those animals that were of good quality.[108] These animals had been in such high demand in the 1520s that there were fears of depleting entirely and arguments about allowing their movement to the mainland settlements. But then many former *vecinos* left for more promising opportunities as mining options came to an end, while they were just opening up in New Spain and in Peru. By the 1540s, the same animals were in evident oversupply.

Common Land and Iberian Husbandry Practices

Settlements drew on patterns from the conquest in Andalusia in the distribution of land, directing the way in which municipal governments allocated the use of land to foster livestock production. The division of land in New World settlements mimicked the process of accumulating common land rights within the town's jurisdiction and among the lands allocated for each citizen-resident (*vecino*.) The reward or *repartimiento* of land went to those who provided service in conquest, with the rights of original *pobladores*.[109] *Caballerías* (also known as *estancias* in Latin American case) and *solares*/*huertas* were granted to individual *vecinos* as part of their membership in an incorporated town. Each *vecino* was given a plot of land for a house and garden, which they had to cultivate within a specific period of time (6 years usually), as well as pasture within 6 leagues of the city. These grants to specific plots of land or pasture

[108] AGI,SANTO_DOMINGO,168, fol. 147, 12 November 1542.

[109]Land grants referred primarily to legal jurisdiction over the fruits of the land and rights to service from the inhabitants of the towns and villages, rather than pure land ownership.

were only loosely defined by distance within a circular radius from the village center, rather than having specific boundaries (although made occasional use of *mojones*, or boundary marking stones). *Encomenderos* easily started the herds of livestock of various kinds required by the town incorporation (12 pigs, 1 mare, cows, chickens, etc.).

The Iberian tradition of protecting common lands had two sources, the king's *realengo* and the *Mesta*. First, common pasture stemmed from the king's protection of the *realengo* or land taken in conquest and not granted in *encomienda*, or that land which reverted back to the king from an *encomienda*. Typically uncultivated or unused lands were re-allocated to individual municipalities as *tierras baldíos* for use by municipal residents as public or common pastures. This tradition had been especially strong in the lands of *repoblación* where the Spanish king had eminent domain over all land, especially conquered or ownerless land.[110] The ordinances on common lands considered the fruits of forestland (*montes*) as common property (aside from collecting wood, which did require approval), as well as all "pastos y tierras de señorio" or uncultivated lands. *Tierras baldíos* could be owned by the king or granted to the jurisdiction of villages and cities, available for public use; *ejidos* also referred to public land within the city limits most often used for pasture. In common practices for Iberian villages, horses as beasts of burden might also be held in common for transportation to and from fields that were not necessarily contiguous or near the central village, and for the harvest. These were often kept on communal pasturelands known as *baldíos* alongside the oxen (although sometimes the oxen were

[110] David Vassberg, *Land and Society in Golden Age Castile* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

designated their own special pasture land, *dehesa boyales*).[111] The emphasis on protecting common land grazing rights was re-emphasized by the Crown in Castile and also in the Indies, so that pasture and water be held in common. This was extended to the Indies, repeatedly, in 1510, 1533, 1536, and 1541.

Land grants in the New World typically were parceled out in large portions in order to lay claim to territory, but enclosures were rare. Livestock was able to travel freely over the terrains belonging to each municipality, which typically included fifteen leagues around each city.[112] Moreover, many of these grants were held temporarily, in absentia, and never developed for actual settlement. Thus the lands of the commons—whether it was royal or municipal—and the lands of the encomendero's *caballerías* and *estancias* were difficult to differentiate at a glance. Moreover, the designation of common lands not only afforded protection, but also served as a potential method to claim additional land for herds of livestock through habitual grazing practices. Displacement of *indio*s and further reinterpretation of *indio* land as *baldíos* expanded available commons — that is, if not cultivated actively, land could be claimed under communal grazing rights.

It appears that claiming unimproved lands from agriculture production in indigenous depopulated areas was widespread. An early documented example of this comes from a lawsuit

[111] Fermín Marín Barriguete, *La Mesta en América y la Mesta en Castilla: los intentos de traslado y las ordenanzas de 1537 en Nueva España* (Madrid: s.n., 1996). *Recopilación de Leyes de indias,* libro IV, título XVII, leyes VI, Vil y VIII.

[112] Chevalier cites order from Monarchs 22 July 1497; and also a cedula of 10 Agosto 1530 asking audiencia about the use of pasture, and about maintaining as least 15 leagues around the city, as they had as law in Spain.

in Antequerra (Oaxaca) in the territory of the Marques del Valle, Cortes, in 1537.[113] The *indios principales* of Etla presented a petition about their mistreatment by an *estancia* owner, Alonso Morcillo, who prevented them from planting crops with a violent guard on horseback, in order to keep the land for his herd of mares. In the testimonies, some claimed that the area had been in the *baldíos* of the town of Antequerra, focusing on how long it had been either cultivated or abandoned. Morcillo had been granted the *estancia* shortly after the town founding, and over a span of at least five years had cultivated a herd of mares from an original three to four horses. However, testimony from the *indios principales* concluded that they had previously cultivated these fields, but had abandoned them because of the growing livestock eating the tender shoots of maize.[114] This case provides an early example of conflict over pasture and indigenous agricultural fields, which they needed for producing tribute to their *encomenderos*. The two uses seemed like they could be complementary, because a livestock owner could use uncultivated land for his livestock, even grazing on the afters of a harvest, as long as the flock had a guard and the land was part of the commons. This practice established many so-called *estancias,* which fundamentally referred to grants of land habitually used by particular livestock owners and therefore granted access for a certain density of use. Morcillo argues on his behalf for the "ennoblement" of the land through these domesticated animals, and specifically horses. However, this case shows that the *estancia*s were not only established on unoccupied or cultivated land, but could actively crowd out other uses within a span of a few years.

[113] "Manuscripts concerning Mexico, Alonso Morzillo of Oaxaca against Hernan Cortes and Indians of Etla about land cultivation" Document 4, Harkness Collection, Library of Congress (LOCH).

[114] "Manuscripts concerning Mexico" LOCH,12v.

These same herds not only caused trouble for the *indios*, but also for the Spaniards. The increased number of animals led to conflicts fighting over boundaries and control of the animals as the use of the common pastureland increased. The Etla case therefore is also witness to an early stage of jockeying for land among Spaniards. It was surmised, for example, by one witness that the Marques del Valle's *mayordomo* was encouraging *indios* to go occupy other people's *estancias* outside of his own areas of control. The southern Valley of Oaxaca, and the city of Antequerra, had been founded in 1521 but then Cortes contested control of certain lands once he received the Marques del Valle title. The city, however, petitioned (1526) and received (1532) designation as a city that put them independently under the jurisdiction of the king. In this particular case the decision fell in favor of Etla, and Morcillo was ordered to remove his flock within nine days.

Common grazing rights also were derived from the practices of transhumance, or long-distance, seasonal migration of flocks of sheep, within the Iberian Peninsula. The *Mesta*, a corporation of sheep owners established in the thirteenth century, granted the protection of the Crown, for *fueros* or rights for passage of flocks through towns and farmland. These routes (*cañadas*) gained quasi-public designation through the protections of this very powerful interest group, representing stockmen raising the well-known Merino sheep. In addition to preventing enclosures, the *Mesta* also established methods for identifying individual owners animals by branding registries and the auction of stray animals. While methods of transhumance for raising livestock did not apply to all the new regions of the New World, insistence on free-ranging livestock generally did.

Access to the use of common lands for grazing and passage, so well founded in the Iberian cases, transferred naturally to the new setting. While the *Mesta*, as the titular organization

proper to Castile, did not form a branch in the New World, local and municipal *mesta* regulations— dealing with the protection of common pasture rights and identifying ownership of stray animals—did emerge in early localities as a complement to the distribution and use of common lands. The municipalities desired to implement some kind of control of these herds. One method was to establish local *mesta* ordinances to adjudicate land use disputes, while protecting claims to common land for access to pastures. Municipalities began to establish additional features for managing their horse populations, specifically, with the local *caballeriza*, *yeguarizo*, and dedicated *dehesas* for horses near town. They also identified animals for owners, requiring a bi-annual *rodear* or round up of the herds in order to brand the new offspring, decide claims over ownership, and impose penalties for animals that were encroaching on improved agricultural lands. The introduction of *mesta* practices took place in a piecemeal fashion, rather than being directed from a central *Consejo de la Mesta*, as had been the case in Castile.[115] The earliest in 1520, for example, takes the form of a *cédula real* from the king to Hispaniola, where it had been noted that there was such an amount of livestock that it was necessary to make some ordinances or "hacerse la mesta."[116]

In New Spain, the *cabildo* of Mexico City organized the *mesta* as a matter of course, rather than by royal decree. In 1524, the *Actas de Cabildo* first mentions the problem of livestock getting into crop fields.[117] In June of 1529, the city assigned two *mesta* judges for recording the

[115] Fermín Marín Barriguete, "La Mesta en América y la Mesta en Castilla: los intentos de traslado y las Ordenanzas de 1537 en Nueva España," *Revista Complutense de Historia de América* 22 (January 1, 1996), 53.

[116] AGI,INDIFERENTE,420,L.8,F.274-275R

[117] Ignacio Bejarano, *Actas de Cabildo de La Ciudad de Mexico*, 27 vols. (Mexico: Aguilar e hijos, 1889), Vol. 1, 1524: "bestias no andan sueltas por el campo sin guarda."

brand markings for the livestock owners. Among the first applicants to register brands were El Colegio del Nombre de Jesus for mares, Miguel Lopez for mares, Bautista Marin for horses, Bartolome de Perales for mares and cattle, and Geronimo Ruiz de la Mota for cows, sheep and mares.[118] The first royal decrees about the *mesta* followed under Viceroy Mendoza in 1537, to establish a bi-annual meeting that would review strays by the *alcalde*s de la *mesta*. One was held in Tepeapulco (HIdalgo) in February and one in Matalcingo/Toluca in August. Attendance was required if one held livestock of at least 20 head.[119] This policy was not only recommended by the king, but represented Viceroy Mendoza's own interests as he had substantial investments in sheep ranching and also raised horses.[120]

In Santiago de los Caballeros, Guatemala, on the other hand, the founding documents foster the breeding of horses and only present a few regulations once they see problems. In 1529, the *cabildo* established ordinances for the breeding of horses, requiring a minimum *salario* of 2 *pesos de oro* for each mare that one rode, and each colt of one year and above, plus the necessary maintenance of a "fanega de maiz" per month to maintain them in the city's holding pen for mares, the *yeguarizo*.[121] But quickly, complaints emerged about the lack of order maintained by the city, as the mares and their untamed foals (*potros cerriles*) wandered about in the streets, the

[118] José Álvarez del Villar, *Historia de La Charrería* (México: [s.n.], 1941). "Relación de los hierros de bacas y abejas y bestias" established in Mexico City in 1530.

[119] William Dusenberry, "Ordinances of the Mesta in New Spain," *The Americas* Vol. 4, No. 3 (Jan., 1948).

[120] AGI,JUSTICIA,258,f.122. In the testimony of Rodrigo Castañeda we learn that Mendoza bred merino sheep and paid tithes on the animals, some of which were in Maravatiío, and others in Orizaba and Tecamachalco.

[121] Constantino Bayle, *Los cabildos seculares en la América Española* (Sapientia, 1952). From the Libro Viejo Santa Fe, in Guatemala (6 septiembre 1529).

markets, and even in the church. This created corollary problems as the locals, in order to chase them away, abandoned their fields, which in turn would be grazed on. The *cabildo* ordered that the owners maintain some person to guard the animals, on penalty of 1 *peso de oro* per animal that entered the city. They also instituted a *corral* for the *cabildo* to enclose troublesome livestock without guards, and to retrieve them the owners would have to pay a fine.[122]

The city of Puebla de los Angeles was founded in 1532 with specific aims for breeding cargo animals. Located on the plains on route from Veracruz to Mexico City, it was set apart from the nearby indigenous city of Cholula in order to be a model city.[123] The *Actas de Cabildo* note that the site was chosen specifically for this reason on the road from Mexico to Veracruz: "the residents in 1534 ensured that it was possible to run horses without impediment, and better than in any other part of New Spain."[124] Because travelers complained of the inconvenience of herds of animals on the road, in the same year the *cabildo* also required that all herds of mares and mules be kept at least 1 league apart from the *Camino Real* that ran from Veracruz to Mexico City.[125] The following year it was forbidden to keep hogs or mares inside the city itself. Instead, individuals were given permissions to keep *corrales* or enclosures for their mares in the neighboring area of Atlisco.[126] Another ordinance in 1536 prohibited mares from entering the city, requiring the guard of a *yeguarizo*. While grazing originally was allowed in the *sementeras*

[122] Bayle, *Cabildos Seculares*. From the Libro Viejo de Guatemala.

[123] Bayle, *Cabildos Seculares.*

[124] Cristobal Niño y José Baez, "La Cronica de la Ciudad", Archivo Municipal de Puebla (AHMPU), *Tesoros de las actas de cabildo del siglo XVI. (*Publicaciones Electrónicas de México, CD ROM, 1996).

[125] AHMPU, *Actas de Cabildo* Vol. 3, f. 27v,1534.

[126] AHMPU, *Actas de Cabildo* 1535.

and *ejidos*, the *corregidor* of the king amended this practice, specifying that the mares be kept in Atlisco under a guard and on a designated pasture (*dehesa de la ciudad*) there.[127] Originally, two *guardas de las yeguas* or *yeguarizos* were named in 1538 (Jorge Baez in Puebla and Hernando Robledo in Atlisco, both *vecinos* of Puebla).[128] The city also had a *caballeriza de la venta* or stable for the sale of horses in the town of San Martin Texmelucan in 1538.[129]

In review, the combination of the common land practices and the general depopulation movements contributed to the presence of livestock without intensive oversight in the early decades of the first 50 years (1490-1540). Allowing all uncultivated land to be used as common pasture led to unsupervised breeding populations, and as a result lack of oversight of animals as a whole runs throughout — ill-defined land claims, lack of enclosures and lack of guards for the animals. The period of initial scarcity, superseded by a period of abundant livestock, now required greater management.

New Laws of 1542 and Livestock Regulations

The meaning and use of common land brings into relief where the interests of the king and the interests of the *vecinos* and *encomenderos* begin to overlap. Municipalities desired the common lands for controlling their jurisdiction or *terminos* and for having space for animal pasture, especially for supplying the meat market or *carnicería*. They were presumably also

[127] AHMPU, *Actas de Cabildo*, 155F: 2 mayo 1536

[128] AHMPU, *Actas de Cabildo* Vol. 4, f. 208f ; AHMPU, *Actas de Cabildo* Vol. 4, f. 213f.

[129] AHMPU, *Tesoros de las actas de cabildo* June 4, 1538.

interested in collecting fees for damages from unguarded livestock to fields and roads. The *encomenderos* on the other hand were interested in making claims to land formerly abandoned by *indios* as *baldíos* – including habitual grazing rights that were precursors to claims to *estancias*. Additionally, some *encomenderos* based on the prestige and size of their herds would have interest in keeping grazing lands access open for their passage. The king adamantly wanted to protect the common lands and his distribution of it rather than protect the special interests of either group; at the same time, the increase in livestock and the need to regulate its encroachments created a need for the king to apply *mesta* regulations as royal policy. While efforts to create a *mesta* organization at the municipal level to control livestock within the reach of a municipality began in the 1530s, it was implemented more thoroughly alongside the New Laws of 1542. In effect, though, these regulations fostered the growing livestock population with very limited controls.

Conflicts over common land rights came to a head in the Caribbean islands in the 1540s. In 1541, Alvaro Cavallero notified the crown of the need to establish a *mesta*. The Crown replied with a royal *cédula,* that due to "many animals in this island it is suitable to have *alcaldes de mesta*." In 26 August 1541, Charles V issued a re-confirmation of the *pasto comun* in the islands and Indies in general. The proclamation of the commons in Puerto Rico, for example, caused a major problem for the *ganaderos* by revoking ordinances established by the *cabildo* to have their land claims or *asientos* within the *terminos* of the city. It was enough of a problem that a full *preguntorio* was issued to 46 witnesses and livestock owners about the status of pasture in Puerto Rico and the effects of the common land ordinances.[130] The conflict centered on the role of the *mesta*, the crown's support of common pasture, and the ordinances of the city officials in

[130] AGI,JUSTICIA,976,libr. 2 ff 320v-321.

distributing and regulating land use. The testimony investigated limitations on the pastures for the city, the mountainous terrain, and the use of enclosures or *corrales* for the herds of individuals. It seemed to some that their land was being taken away for use as common land, while to others it seemed that entrenched privilege was the problem. Francisco Aguilar, *vecino*, wrote to the king to complain about the results of the "ordenanzas de pastos y aguas" (1542) asking that these be held "in common" rather than appropriated to the special prerogative of the *alcaldes* and *regidores* of the town. The *procurador* only acted "por su propio interés" and the *regidores* were divided over their opinions of what to do with the situation. Others were staking claims to water and putting structures where they liked, rather than fulfilling the order that the "pastures, woodlands and water be held in common."[131]

A standard *mesta* was implemented in the New Laws of 1542; yet responsibilities for managing the livestock was up to the *cabildo*, leading to its different manifestations in New Spain and Peru. If the *mesta* was implemented in Puerto Rico in 1541, and in Puebla in the same year, in Oaxaca, the *mesta* was introduced in 1543.[132] The New Laws outlined the *mesta* and membership of breeders or *criaderos* by the number of livestock owned — 300 *ganado menor*/20 *ganado mayor*. It also required registration of unique brands and their protection to prevent fraud and theft. It limited the number of horses per parcel of land, beyond the initial requirements for settlement guidelines. Thereafter, an *estancia* formed in 1542 *mercedes* allowed

[131] AGI,SANTO_DOMINGO,164,Tira 1, 22 (1542, 12-Feb); Tira 2, 23 (1542, 12-Nov); Tira 3, 24 (1542, 13-Nov).

[132] Chevalier, p118. Archivo Histórico Municipal de Oaxaca (Antequerra), Actas de Sessiones, (CABILDO), VOL. 1, 1574-1642. The Actas de Sessiones records begin in 1577, show an annual election of two alcaldes de la mesta.

for 200 mares. A *caballería* of land allowed for 20 mares.[133] It required electing *alcaldes de la mesta* for the purpose of dealing with the livestock and land use within the jurisdictions of the new communities. The *mesta* members had to own livestock and also gained rights to sell their livestock to the *carnicería*, so the animals to be fattened were kept closest to the town for the market. These regulations applied generally to both New Spain and Peru. While not implementing the *Mesta* as a corporation the same as in Castile, the king was interested enough to implement *mesta* regulations, ensconced in the New Laws, to deal with two issues: encroachments on *indio* lands through claims of *tierras baldíos*; and also complaints that officials or individual stockmen overstepped their privilege to access common lands presumably held in fief. In keeping with the general tenor of the New Laws, this would prevent encomenderos from acting like feudal lords with jurisdiction over their lands.

In one sense, the New Laws decreased the demand for horses because it limited the approval of new conquest expeditions and also limited potential rewards as a result in terms of control over indigenous populations. But reduced demand decreased the high prices once achieved for livestock bred on the islands. Río Moreno described a letter from a forlorn stockman in Mexico, Jeronimo Lopez, complaining to the king about his investments made in mares for producing horses and mules for these expeditions, which were now selling for much

[133] Marcela Irais Piñon Flores, "La Tenecia de la Tierra" in *Michoacán en el siglo XVI* (Morelia, Michoacán, México: Fímax Publicistas, 1984), 108. Cites 18 June 1513, decree from Fernando V to define "una caballeria" as "un solar de cien pies de ancho y doscientos de largo ; y do todo lo demas como cinco peonias, que serian quinientas fangas de labor para pan de trigo o cebada, cincuenta de maiz, diez huebras de tierra de huerta, cuarenta para plantas de otros arboles de secadal, tierras y pastos para cincuenta puercas de vientre, cien vacas, veinte yeguas, quinientas ovejas, cien cabras."

lower prices.[134] Similar complaints were echoed on Santo Domingo in 1545, where the trade situation was very bleak: "the stallions and mares and other things that leave from this island for the broader region have not left, for there are no ships and trade has been stopped."[135] Another report in 1545 explained that the indigenous slaves had supported raising livestock, but many had died and the shipments that normally came to pick up horses and other supplies were not coming as often.[136] The livestock surplus, compounded with the departures for more promising land holdings, led to another petition in 1559 to allow collection of the *ganado mostrenco* or loose livestock that was living in the mountains.[137] This refers to the free-ranging animals as a problematic feature rather than a normal feature of livestock raising, coinciding with not merely the rapid growth of the animals, but particularly the nature of over-supply. Other references emerged to *montear* — to go into the *montes* or undeveloped royal forest lands where animals might be kept during seasonal grazing to collect livestock — or similarly to *ranchear*.[138] Aside from the collection of hides (which later became a main export product), these animals did not serve a valuable economic purpose anymore. While the stockmen were not supposed to allow

[134] Letter of Jeromino Lopez, 25 October 1543, *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Ibero-América* (Madrid, 1927), tomo 1, pp. 19-21. The new laws restricted collection of armadas for discovery rights, and the horse breeders market was radically reduced, as well as the value of the estancias on which they were raised.

[135] AGI,SANTO_DOMINGO,73 (1545).

[136] AGI,SANTO_DOMINGO,73.

[137] AGI,SANTO_DOMINGO,164, Tira 4, no. 47.

[138] *Ranchear* and *cabalgar* are also used in reference to slave raids in Caribbean and Central America, and *rancherias* referring to temporary encampments often found among more nomadic groups.

their animals to encroach on planted fields, in practice this was often a problem for a lack of guards and ill-defined boundaries for cultivated lands.

Complaints of *Daños*

Emphasis on common land meant that agricultural land could be claimed as pasture with grazing animals. Conversely, *indios* could use the distinctions of common lands to argue that cultivated and improved land was not open for common grazing with help of the friars. To return briefly to the story of the *indios* of Etla, Morcillo had complained that they were injuring his horses on purpose, as they had other animals in the area. He describes their strategy as coming to sow in this spot precisely so that the mares would do it damage and they could complain about it.[139]

Addressing such claims to *daños* to *indio* fields became common under the viceroys implementing the New Laws. These incidents reveal the diffuse responsibility assigned for livestock herds, aside from claiming rights to pasture land. The reforms of Luis Velasco I in New Spain starting in 1550 specified the density of livestock on an *estancia*-size land grant: "one may not bring more than 200 head of mares, 3000 head of sheep, 500 goats… and for the keeping of livestock bring one man on horseback and one Spaniard… the offspring and the mares must be enclosed two nights each week."[140] The New Spain *Mesta* gained rights in 1551 to graze horses on stubble from Indian field harvests during a limited period of time, about the same time that

[139] "Manuscripts concerning Mexico" Doc. 4, LOCH.

[140] "Royal Order Book 1548-1552 (Viceroys Velasco and Mendoza)", Library of Congress, Hans P. Kraus Collection of Hispanic American Manuscripts, Item 140.

the viceroy established greater use of guards for these livestock. The Spaniards were responsible for installing guards for their herds and paying damages. For every 2,000 head of cattle, either one Spaniard or four *indio*s/*negro*s (two on horse, two on foot) were required.[141]

In fact, in 1551, Velasco banned cattle and horse in the Valley of Mexico altogether because of problems with transhumance and grazing in Indian and communal lands.[142] December 20, 1551, Francisco de Santa Cruz *vecino* of Mexico was ordered to take his cows and mares from the town of Chichilacachoca within in 30 days. The town of Maravatio in 1552, ordered all vecinos to "recojen, guarden" livestock in Maravatio within 15 days and establish a guard because "without the care to retrieve them, they are a huge number and the *cimarrones* do damage to the *indio*s." The following year, the town verified the damages made by the livestock, particularly those of "Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, Pedro Salcaedo que se nombran de Quirio y de çanameo, y las de don Francisco de Mendoza tienen en su termino de Maravatio y Hirimbo," even including some bulls (*toros)* that had killed some of the locals (*maceguales*.)[143] The problem, although addressed by the Viceroy, was a difficult one to manage due to the set of accustomed grazing practices. Finally a royal *cédula* in 1567 established a mandatory distance of 1000 *varas*, or 1 league, from indigenous settlements.[144]

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[141] Collection Ayers, Newberry Library (NLA), f. 26v.

[142] María Justina Sarabia Viejo, *Don Luis de Velasco, virrey de Nueva España, 1550-1564* (Editorial CSIC - CSIC Press, 1978), "Las Ordenanzas de Agostadero de 1551".

[143] Collection Ayers, NLA, f. 321r.

[144] John F. Richards, *The Unending Frontier: An Environmental History of the Early Modern World* (University of California Press, 2003), 100.

To enforce these restrictions, Velasco gave *indio* petitioners the right to corral the animals found on their fields, and to collect fees for damages per head from the owners. In the Puebla region, for example, in 1550 permission was given to the pueblo of Zacatlan to build a corral and retain the animals that invaded their fields until collected by their owner. Presumably in cases when these animals were not claimed, some were kept. By 1555, the nuisance had reached a point that *indios* were also permitted to kill the *ganados cimarrones* on their lands. Dealing with livestock invading their own village often meant giving the *indio* leaders rights to round up such livestock, at times kill it, and at other times receive monies per head.

These measures were accompanied by permissions for some *indio*s to keep and breed their own set of livestock – often sheep or oxen, but also at times groups of mares of less than 12. It served a dual purpose -- the promotion of *reducciones* as a way to civilize the *indio* populations also increased their contact with European domesticated animals. It was not necessarily preferable to allow *indio*s to raise animals like horses. Yet, the idea of having indigenous people learn the proper types of settled agricultural practices included these, too. Indeed, the letter from Rodrigo de Albornoz, accountant of New Spain, to Charles V in December 1525 asked for more Franciscans to convert the *indio*s in New Spain and also advertises the native's propensity for raising fowl and cattle as a promising sign for potential conversion: "being as much given to it as are the farmers of Spain, and being much more subtle and quick."[145] The 1536 Instructions to Viceroy Mendoza subsequently instructed him to cultivate *ganados* among the *indio* populations, which most often meant *ganados menores* or

[145] "Letter from Rodrigo de Albornoz, accountant of new Spain, to Charles V" December 1525, AGI,MEXICO,95.

goats, sheep and pigs.[146] These New Laws gave greater access to these animals in their abundance to the *indio* populations, as well as causing immense damages to traditionally cultivated land.

Regulation vs Control of Livestock

Regulation of livestock implemented in the *mesta* ordinances did not equate to a clear method of control over the breeding of livestock; rather it provided a means to claim common pasture rights and designate ownership over animals that spent the majority of the year out at pasture. Moreover, while similar controls were instituted in both of the viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru in the 1542 New Laws, the effects differed. In the New Spain regions of Puebla and the Chichimeca, the expansion of livestock and the minimal controls afforded by branding and round-ups emerge clearly. In the Peru regions around Cuzco and Trujillo, instituting *mesta* regulations demonstrates the growth of livestock without indicating concern about over-supply or brand forgery.

Mesta in New Spain

The *mesta* in Puebla formed in reaction to the growth of the livestock, affecting the transport of goods along the *Camino Real* between Veracruz and Puebla. For example, herds of mares blocked these highways for merchandise and travelers in the 1540s. Tension between the municipality and the livestock owners led to the establishment of the *mesta*. They named

[146] AGI,INDIFERENTE,415,L2,f65.

alcaldes de la mesta to enforce the use of common lands so that owners vacated the *ejidos* and did not misuse *dehesas* of the city.[147] One ordinance in Puebla ordered there be no livestock in the *terminos* of the city, outside of the *ejidos* and *dehesas*, because of problems that these mares had caused en route to Veracruz from Mexico City.[148] The city asked the viceroy for the privilege of having a *dehesa* dedicated for mares in 1542,[149] designating the actual boundaries in 1545 and setting a guard for the city lands in 1546.

The *alcaldes de la mesta* chosen in 1544 held two annual meetings of the *mesta* as roundups, the first organized in Nopalucan/Ozumba and the other in Atlisco. Later, these expanded to a larger area, so that the first included Huejotzingo, Cholula and Atlixco, while the second included Tlaxcala and Tepeaca/Tecamachalco. The city government voted to institute additional ordinances specifically to deal with the encroachments of the herds of mares for these transportation purposes: "relative to the mares because they cause much damage to the ejidos of the city and in the Camino Real to Veracruz."[150] The rapid rise of the penalties for grazing ones mare within 1/2 league of the *Camino Real* reflects these damages. In 1544, this rose from two to three pesos de oro per head, and in 1546 it rose dramatically to 20 pesos per head.[151] In 1547, the city determined that the mares that did cause damage would be kept in a *corral concejil* attached to the town jail, until claimed with fines paid to the city.[152] These had the express interest in

[147] AHMPU, *Actas de Cabildo* Vol. 4, f. 93r, f. 250v.

[148] AGNMX,MERCEDES, Vol. 3. fs. 125.

[149] AGNMX, MERCEDES, Vol. 1, exp. 173, fs. 81v.

[150] AHMPU, *Actas de Cabildo* Vol. 5, f. 147v.

[151] AHMPU, *Actas de Cabildo* Vol. 5, f. 147v.

[152] AHMPU, *Actas de Cabildo* Vol. 5, f. 190v.

protecting the *Camino Real* from herds using it to graze: "the preventative measures to avoid the damages caused by the mares and cows that residents and other persons pasture in the Camino Real that goes from this city to Veracruz."[153] In 1548, the city expelled any livestock from houses within the city, and moreover, anyone who had license to raise livestock needed to register and provide a brand at their own cost with the city council, so that they actually could determine who to charge for these growing damages in the 1540s.[154]

While these changes seemed to have controlled the problem temporarily in Puebla, the issue rose again in the 1560s, demonstrating the impact of the herds of mares in the plains surrounding Puebla and Tlaxcala. The everyday presence of horses in Puebla can be seen in an ordinance in 1561 that horse races not be held in the street next to the cathedral.[155] In 1562, the *cabildo* issued a warning to take out all the mares and other livestock in the terminos of the city. In 1567, the *cabildo* of Puebla had to coordinate a joint examination with Tlaxcala and Tehuacan to remove all mares from the *ejidos* and to move them at least 1/2 a league from the *Camino Real*. The case of Puebla demonstrates the spread of livestock over a relatively short period of time and the difficulties in controlling these populations, even if desirable, given the typical practices of land use and common pasture. It also demonstrates the great demand for horses and mules for these particular regions, and demonstrates the treatment of mares as livestock very closely akin to cattle, despite a vested interest in breeding horses and maintaining certain municipal boundaries for its own governance.

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[153] AHMPU, *Actas de Cabildo* Vol. 5, f. 201f (1547).

[154] AHMPU, *Actas de Cabildo* Vol. 5, f. 261v.

[155] AHMPU, *Tesoros de las actas de cabildo del siglo XVI*. 28 July 1561.

In the northern border of New Spain with the Chichimeca region, the situation of the abundance of livestock was exacerbated. This frontier territory was only ill-defined as a northern border not fully under Spanish control. As a result, many Spaniards were granted approximate *estancias* in the Chichimeca territory as a means of claiming territory, and contributed to the large horse populations found on this ongoing frontier territory. Discovery of the mines of Zacatecas (1546) and Guanajuato (1548) brought new populations to the frontiers. In the Chichimeca region, more than 120 *estancias* of *ganados mayores* and *menores* were granted. Assuming 200 mares permitted per *estancia,* the population would easily reach several thousand. North of Tlazazalca across the Río Lerma/Río Grande and up to Guanajuato/San Francisco Penjamo, *estancias* were granted in the 1550s to some of the richest men in New Spain, including Hernando Hidalgo, Miguel Herrera, Francisco del Rincon, Juan Borrallo, Luis de Avila, Juan Fernandez, Francisco Velasco, Andres de Vargas, and Alonso de Villaseca. Pastures in Queretaro boasted of herds estimated at 10,000 mares by the second half of the sixteenth century.

Growth led to problems. In 1560s, examples of complaints of horse theft that reference the brands required by the m*esta*. In 1563, Michoacán founded a m*esta*, the same year that complaint to viceroy made that Guayangareo (in Morelia) was having its own *mesta* but not following the normal rules.[156] In 1567, for example, the *alguacil* denounced Bartolome Garcia for rounding up the livestock on the *estancias* without calling the other *vecinos* to claim their animals, taking the mares and their *crías* from neighbors Luis Blasquez and Hernando Yanez at

[156] Marcela Irais Piñon Flores, *La Tenecia de la Tierra*; *Suma de Visitas* Vol. 1, 79. The complaint about Guayangareo is found in AGNMX,MERCEDES,VI, 294v.

the m*esta* de Yuriria [Yurirapandoro].[157] Thus, growth made containing and identifying these animals more difficult, overwhelming basic *mesta* regulations.

New tension emerged between claiming lands as *baldíos* that could be used for supporting these herds, and the agricultural lands identified as cultivated historically by indigenous groups. These tensions in part stemmed from the claims to habitual grazing rights, or *estancias*. The problems of abundance therefore also refer to the developments over customary claims of land. *Estancias* for example began operating as personal enterprises, establishing their terms in the 1560s and 1570s, with new requirements about the use of guards when accessing common pastures. Non-land owning men with livestock had many of these ordinances directed against them. If they were not part of the m*esta* registration, they were using land without a claim to sell their animals at market. Along with these *estancia* grants, we find the first mention of specific dedication to raising mares (*yeguas*) or for having an enclosed space for young colts (*potrero*), for more specialized use of land that was not in the *cabildo*'s jurisdiction.

Animal population expansion led to changes in the way that lands were assigned for grazing in an overall shift from common land to private *estancia*s in New Spain. Attempts to replicate institutions of *cabildo* and land grants for frontier service in place, but finally structures differed and resulted in less regulated (more private, more isolated terrain and open land) maintenance of livestock. However, most of these *estancia*s were held in absentia. *Mesta*s attempted to stem the tide of problems in abundant herds, but controlling their range and regulating their breeding emerged as major concerns.

[157] Patzcuaro Archivo Municipal (AHMPA)Fondo Antiguo, Caja 2.

Mesta in Peru

In Peru, the Spanish arrived through the northern region, where the local population had been reduced by the plague that arrived before the conquistadores. A 1540 *visita* noted many abandoned houses in the pueblos.[158] This region also employed a vertical division of land to cultivate crops in microclimates with irrigation, although not known for raising llamas. Early encomiendas were granted around Cajamarca, Chimú (Trujillo) and Chachapoyas, but most Spaniards were attracted to potential gains further south around Cuzco.

In Cuzco, *mesta* regulations applied earlier, in part because of existing uses of pasture and commons for grazing llamas and alpacas. The penalty for *daños* by grazing herds applied in 1549, identifying the region of Jaquijaguana as the general commons for the city.[159] While for sheep such damages required a fine of 1 *tomín* per head, for a horse or mare, the penalty was for 2 pesos if left unguarded *during* the day, and 4 pesos if during the night. Around the same time, the new viceroy re-issued *estancia*s permissions aside from those that had been distributed by the Pizarros.[160] These same *pastos comunes* were protected by the *cabildo*, and marked with *mojones*. However, encroachments by local residents in the valley of Jaquijaguana created cause for complaints in 1559 as they turned pasture for the Spanish domesticated animals into land for planting crops.[161]

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[158] Susan E. Ramírez, *The World Upside Down: Cross-Cultural Contact and Conflict in Sixteenth-Century Peru* (Stanford University Press, 1998), 44.

[159] Archivo Regional Cusco (ARC) Pena del Ganado, fol. 99. 1 Marzo 1549.

[160] ARC, fol. 123. 2 December 1549; ARC fol. 128v. 31, January 1550.

[161] ARC, fol. 22v, 1559.

Development in northern Peru began with a second wave of Spaniards who had not received the plumb encomiendas further south, but earned a new living from the redistribution of agricultural lands under Marques de Cañete (Mendoza) in the 1550s. Despite its early founding, the registry of brands in Trujillo only first appeared in 1551. Ramirez noted that the Spanish began a serious effort to populate the northern valleys in 1560s.[162] Viceroy Conde de Nieva ordered 40 vecinos to found the Spanish town in Saña in 1563. Thus, while settlement generally took place later than in the south, the *reducciones* of local populations started earlier in northern Peru than those that Viceroy Toledo later instituted in the 1570s.

The thriving livestock in the valleys surrounding the Trujillo region is evident from the local *cabildo* records. In 1550, complaints about the livestock roaming in the plaza and streets of the city were registered.[163] The growth of livestock also led to the registry of brands because the herds were growing apace, many were not branded, meaning that many livestock was lost or stolen by natives and other Spaniards. In 1552, all were called before the *cabildo* to ensure that each owner had a distinctive brand.[164] The corral for keeping unbranded or wandering livestock, retrieved on payment of fines, was also instituted shortly thereafter.[165]

Individual cases demonstrate active trading of horses in this region, around Trujillo, Lambayeque, Valle de Saña and Valle de Tucume. Don Francisco Nieto complained of the loss of a bay mare that he had left in the care of Maria Lezcano and her son Pedro, but then found in

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[162] Ramirez, 66. "Archivo de Fuero Agrario"

[163] Archivo Regional de la Libertad (ARL), Corregimiento de Trujillo 22 December 1550.

[164] ARL, Corregimiento de Trujillo 18 July 1552.

[165] ARL, Corregimiento de Trujillo, October 1555.

possession of a Francisco Sanchez. Using the brand marking and claims about transfer of the horse and in whose possession it was found demonstrates that the horse was kept in *la sierra* with a guard, and had been branded by the Juan and Luis Roldan family, and kept under the auspices of another breeding and merchant family, the Lezcanos.[166] Another records an exchange of a sword for a colt, although when the sword was not procured, the seller demanded the return of his colt. The colt had already been traded, and found in possession of another in the Valle of Tucume, who on having the colt held for the case by the *cabildo*, demanded the return of the grey horse he had traded for the said colt.[167] Finally, a third case demonstrates the special status of these horses within north Peru, when vecino Luis Roldan brought a case against Alonso Gutierrez Maldonado, another *vecino*, over the trade of a chestnut horse and a young colt "hovero". These two youth, in their 20s had been boasting of their horses, suggesting that the other had overpaid for the horse and its quality. The elder Roldan protested the exchange, calling in witnesses that the chestnut horse should be valued between 150-200 pesos, based on what people had seen it do, where as the colt, perhaps not even trained, was not worth more than 50 pesos. Alonso Maldonado, on the other hand, was held in the *cabildo* jail until he paid the difference in the value of the horse, which eventually he did by having a slave brought from his possessions on his behalf.[168]

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[166] "Don Francisco Nieto sobre la perdida de una yegua baya." ARL, Corregimiento de Trujillo, Causas Ordinarias Legajo 147, doc. 12. 20.oct.1561. Lambayeque.

[167] "Alonso Rengel en nombre de Anton Gutierrez, contra Alonso Gutierrez, sobre entrega de un caballo alazan por una venta que salió incierta." ARL, Corregimiento de Trujillo, Causas Ordinarias Legago 147, doc. 9. 26 September 1561.

[168] "Hernando de Guzman como cesonario de Luis Roldan contra Alonso Gutierrez Maldonado," Archivo Regional de la Libertad *Cabildo* Causas Ordinarias Legajo 1, Doc 7. Trujillo 1562.

In Peru, *indios* were used right away for keeping livestock, presumably because of familiarity with domestic llama and alpaca ranching.[169] In descriptions of the Inca *ganaderia*, herds were divided between the "sacred" and the "regular" llama flocks, with dedicated herders for each. Aside from public use regulated by the Incan state, individuals privately kept 1-4 of their own for clothes and meat. Jacobsen argues that, "in the Andes . . . the extension of the *mancha india* was practically identical with what may be called the *mancha cameloida.* . . . In other words, the survival of an Indian community peasantry was most marked precisely where the continuity of Indian livestock raising had been strongest."[170] In south Peru, there is strong evidence of ease with which local *indios* became *pastores*, especially *yanaconas*. But also in other regions, like Arequipa, *indio* towns were allowed to have some livestock, with limits on the number of offspring they were allowed to keep.

In nothern Peru as well, the *encomenderos* made use of local herders. In the Licapa Valley for example, 60 *indios* watched the mares of Francisco de Fuentes.[171] Other *encomenderos* that had *indio*s raising their livestock included: Pedro de Barbaran, Lorenzo de Samudio, Juan Roldan, Salvador Vasquez, Francisco Perez de Lescano, and Luis de Atiencia. Los Hermanos Ortiz of Trujillo had *indio*s in Chicama (about 70 km away) raising their animals.

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[169] John V. Murra, *The Economic Organization of the Inca State* (University of Chicago, 1956), and also Jane Wheeler, et al. "A Measure of Loss: prehispanic llama and alpaca breeds" / "Razas prehispanicas de llamas y alpacas: la medida de lo que se ha perdido" Archivos de Zootechnica, 41: 467-475, 1992; "The prehispanic specimens exhibit a uniformity of fiber color, distribution and fineness characteristic of controlled systematic breeding which is absent in contemporary animals."

[170] Nils Jacobsen, "Livestock Complexes in Late Colonial Peru and New Spain: An Attempt at Comparison," in *The Economies of Mexico and Peru during the Late Colonial Period, 1760–1810*, eds. Nils Jacobsen and Hans-Jürgen Puhle (Berlin: Colloqium, 1986).

[171] Ramirez, 132. AGI,JUSTICIA,460,336.

Even Pedro de Morales, who was not an *encomendero*, used the *indios* of Cherrepe for raising livestock by Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. Further inland, to Chachapoyas, in 1598, Spaniards Miguel Rubio de Molina and Juan Baptista de Molina complained that in the pastures of the *cacique*s some of their horses had died, while *cacique*s on the other hand complained of overload on their land.[172]

In Peru complaints of *danos* from *indios* seem to appear after instituting the New Laws, and even slightly later in Trujillo/Chiclayo and Chachapoyas when they were settled intensively. During the Visita of Cuenca in 1568, *indio*s complained about livestock in their fields and Cuenca ordered that the corrales not be in *indio* land and at least 1/2 league from fields.[173] In 1580, Don Mateo, *cacique* of Cherrepe established a suit against Don Cristobal Chiquero, in Guadalupe, for *daños* that his flocks of goats and sheep had done to the lands and irrigation canals in the *estancia* of Nocotón.[174] In 1585, Alonso Tanta condor, *cacique* of the Pachaca in the town of Usquil entered a suit against Alonso Ortiz and Alonso Zoffe for *daños* resulting from putting 100 mares in the fields (*chacras*) of the town in Chuquisongo, without license.[175]

Conclusion

[172] Inge Schjellerup et al., *Incas y españoles en la conquista de los chachapoya* (Lima, Perú: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo Editorial : IFEA Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, 2005), citing Municipalidad de Chuquibamba, f.20,1786-1787, p.180.

[173] Ramirez, 142.

[174] ARL, Cabildo, Causas Criminales Leg. 77, Doc. 1258. 25 fols. Asiento de Nuestra Sennora de Guadalupe, 1580.

[175] ARL, Corregimiento de Trujillo, Causas Ordinarias Legajo 154, doc. 222. 22.feb.1585. 5 fols.

In 1574, the ordinances of the m*esta* formally applied to all of the Spanish territories. It required having one Spaniard on each *estancia* with 2000 head of livestock, or four *negros*/*indios* (two on foot and two on horseback) round up the loose animals in a *rodeo* once a week, from late June to the middle of November. Requirements for membership of livestock owners in the m*esta* grew tenfold, from 300 *menor*/20 *mayor* in 1541, to 3000 *menor* /1000 *mayor* in 1574. In retrospect, regulation of livestock implemented in the *mesta* ordinances did not equate to a clear method of control over the breeding of livestock; rather it provided a means to claim common pasture rights and designate ownership over animals that spent the majority of the year out at pasture. The *mesta*, founded on an as needed basis in the individual colonial cities, raised conflicts between *encomenderos* and protection of common pasture lands. While attempting to replicate institutions of *cabildo* and land grants for frontier service, actual structures differed and resulted in less regulated maintenance of livestock. Governed by typical Spanish animal husbandry practices, animals were kept under a loose control, with the little manpower and large expanses of land made available in the process of colonization and depopulation. Livestock encroached on indigenous settlements and agricultural plots, entered cities and took over pastures, demonstrating that abundance created strains on colonial regulations and governance. *Mesta*s attempted to stem the tide of problems in abundant herds, but controlling their range and regulating their breeding emerged as major concerns.

Chapter 4. Indigenous Access to Horses: A New World Frontier Model

The domesticated animals of Spain were both essential to the conquest and new to the Americas. Growing horse populations had initiated conflict over use of agricultural lands and access to livestock. What, then, were the effects of such abundance on Iberian colonial organization? The horse was deeply embedded in political and social relations, and the Spanish zealously protected these advantages, considering the horse dangerous in the hands of enemies or rebellious subjects. A prohibition against *indios* riding horses instituted in 1528 would not be formally lifted until 1653. Nevertheless the complex reality of colonial New Spain challenged such expectations, and the abundance of horses raised questions about their role in marking social hierarchies.

The horse spread across vast reaches of the American continents as a symbol of conquest but also became a tool of resistance in new formulations of social and political control in frontiers and borderlands among New World polities. Horse theft and eventually raids on horseback would characterize the tactics of those resisting resettlement and "pacification" by the Spanish missionaries and colonizers in the northern borderlands of Mexico and the southern terrain of Chile, outside of direct Spanish control. In a remarkable adaptation, native cultures without previous knowledge of horses incorporated their use into characteristic practices by the seventeenth century, an astonishing transformation that has garnered individual studies highlight their flexibility and adaptability during post-conquest developments, as well as their capability to maintain independent polities and organize resistance against the Spanish.

Notwithstanding this model of resistance, initial access to horses came through Spanish channels in bolstering their moving frontiers. The spread of horses within Spanish controlled territory demonstrated that the social status of horse ownership could be extended to indigenous allies. Although a contentious issue, this impulse was aided by generally increasing access to horses. In other words, the use of horses among indigenous leaders might be considered a complement to the expanding horse population, but it was not driven by abundance; licenses recognized *de facto* access, as well as demarcated a unique demand for acknowledgment of status based on wartime alliances. This kind of access in effect replicated frontier mobility via horses, as in Spain. Recognition of *cacique* privileges in the colonies reached a peak in the 1560s, and then policy shifted as the Royal Audiencia overrode the more generous policies of individual Viceroys. The year 1568 highlights sharpening divisions between *indio* and Spanish communities, and new forms of reading horse ownership into social status in Spanish colonial society. Nevertheless, just as access to horses originally bypassed the prohibition in exchange for military services of allies, these *indio* conquistadors leveraged this service for recognition of inherited privilege during the second half of the sixteenth century.

The first section of this chapter considers the internal avenues to indigenous access to horses, through the growing horse population as well as the granting of licenses for riding and breeding these animals. The second section of this chapter reviews the threats to social order perceived by the Spanish as a result of growing access to horses, in terms of theft, rebellion, and social distinction, in order to explain the backlash and confiscation of horses that intensified in the mid-sixteenth century. The final section discusses the ways in which horses mediated status and lineage in a colonial environment.

Indios de a Caballo

Horses symbolized domination by Spanish invaders in the person of governors and *encomenderos*. Just as the Spanish kings had prohibited the Muslims subjects in conquered lands from riding horses, so too the kings issued a blanket prohibition against *Indios* riding horses in their New World gains.[176] The prohibition against subjugated *indios* from riding horses or carrying arms, issued by order of the First Audiencia established in New Spain in 1528, reinforced the symbolic importance of the horse in a newly established regime and echoed laws of the Iberian frontier. Instructions expressly forbid any *indio* from riding horses under saddle or carrying arms. It also prohibited them from taking care of horses or learning how to ride them, and issued penalties for theft. Only young horses, unbranded, might be sold to *indios*.[177]

At the same time, the Spanish mounted their local allies as reinforcements. Reliance on allies also meant leaders of some *pueblos* were recognized for their service, overriding the blanket prohibition against allowing *indios* to ride horses. The Viceroys granted specific licenses to ride horses to *indio caciques* for service as allies, in addition to confirming other privileges of land and tribute. The permission to ride horses stemmed from their service in war and pacification, primarily in the decades following the initial conquest when allied groups provided necessary manpower for the expanding conquest frontier. Although documented on an anecdotal basis earlier, the year 1542 opened the official offer of licenses to ride horses by the Viceroy

[176] Miguel Abad Gavin, *El Caballo En La Historia de España* (Salamanca: Universidad de León, 2006).

[177] Chevalier, 86. 5 abril 1528. *Esclavos*, *negros*, *mulattos*, and *mestizos* were not allowed to carry arms, but not specifically prohibited from riding horses.

Mendoza in the *Mercedes* records. He granted 23 distinct licenses to *indios*—either *caciques*, *gobernadores* or *principales*—between 1542 and 1544.

The initial licenses spell out the terms of services rendered that justified the permission to ride a horse for indigenous allies.[178] The licenses follow a standard and simple form, identifying the *indio* by first name, and region. The licenses are usually given in a location outside of the town of the *indio*, meaning he traveled to be received by the viceroy's representative, in Mexico City itself or on a *visita*. They do not consistently place the location or the reason for submitting the license, and do not always copy the full template. The full license usually indicates that the *indio* can go on a *haca*—a smaller horse used for travel—with bridle and saddle, without molestation by *corregidores* or *justicias* of the region. Occasionally, these are limited for the term of service as governor, and always qualified as long as it is the viceroy's pleasure. The highest concentrations combine beneficial geography for horse populations with historic alliances and frontier conflict.

In this sense, the *indios* riding horses in these early years coincides with the concept of the *indio conquistador*.[179] Cultivating horse ownership for *indios* clearly correlated with the use of original allies from the conquest of central Mexico (rather than subsequently conquered groups) as the frontier moved towards the north and south. Recognizing such service with the

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[178] John K. Chance, *Conquest of the Sierra: Spaniards and Indians in Colonial Oaxaca* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2001), 126. Difficulty dealing with the "Provincia de los zapotecas" meant that "horses and often burros were virtually useless as pack animals on the steep slopes of the highlands. Vecinos of Villa Alta complained in 1533 that many of their horses had fallen off cliffs."

[179] Laura Matthew, ed., *Indian Conquistadors: Indigenous Allies in the Conquest of Mesoamerica* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2007); Laura Matthew, *Memories of Conquest: Becoming Mexicano in Colonial Guatemala*.

benefits of horse ownership had a long tradition in the wars of the Iberian peninsula, a tradition that had formed a clear continuity between the "caballero" and the "hidalgo" and extended also to the *encomendero* in the first decades of New Spain.

Yet the permission to ride the horse does not indicate that the horse was used in military tactics by *indios*. Rather, it was a symbolic recognition of service and of importance within the community as a Spanish ally. Indeed, initial reactions to horses from early accounts uniformly appear to be attempts to kill or maim the animals, in both New Spain and Peru. Indigenous opponents used theft to eliminate the horse from Spanish advantage, although these stolen horses were not necessarily put to use. Despite the development of legends like that of Erendeni, the Tarascan princess who reputedly tamed a stolen horse to lead a party against the arriving Spanish, a pattern appears in multiple accounts that escaped horses were killed rather than kept.[180] Theft, however, did lead eventually to a type of trade leading horses north into the North American plains from central Mexico north, as documented by Haines, helping to explain the expansion of the general horse population.[181] Moreover, this spread was not due to strays or feral horse populations, but rather due to regular acquisition and expansion, particularly in the years of the 1560s.[182] Horses reached Texas and New Mexico, especially in the central section of Nueva

[180] "Probanza del Capitan Don Gonzalo de Alvarado, conquistador de Guatemala", *Coleccion de Documentos sobre la Historia de Centro America*, in reference to "nos empeçaron a dar guerra con pensamiento de echarnos de la tierra o matarnos a todos fue causea este alzamiento de nos matar muchos caballos que hera toda la fuerza de los españoles y valia un caballo 600 pesos (DC) y si sabe que me mencaron un caballo en este tiempo y ube de comprar otro de uno que se decia Cristobal Lobo en 400 pesos."

[181] Francis Haines, "The Northward Spread of Horses among the Plains Indians," *AMAN American Anthropologist* 40, no. 3 (1938): 429–37.

[182] Jack Forbes, "The Appearance of the Mounted Indian in Northern Mexico and Southwest to 1680," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 15, no. 2 (1959): 189–212, 196.

Vizcaya, via frontier mining, revolts and raiding between 1550s and 1600, and somewhat more slowly in the western Sonora region.[183] This sketch implies that the spread of horses, beyond simple numbers of an expanding wild horse population, had more to do with growing knowledge of and familiarity with them among indigenous inhabitants.

The decision to request such permissions from the viceroy implies previous access and familiarity with horses, and in general the petitions correlate with the areas of rapid livestock growth and its tenuous control by Spanish officials, monasteries and municipalities. On closer examination, these permissions follow the cooperation of specific indigenous groups among the rich variety of regional civilizations and ethnicities encountered in the fabric of New Spain and Peru. It served as a symbolic recognition of service and importance within the community as a Spanish ally, according to Spanish traditions of frontier warfare. Primarily, these licenses favored *cacique*s, governors and *principal*s in strategic population centers, and they signaled a desire to be socially recognized as leaders and elites according to Spanish customs of reading horses into social status.

New Spain and the Gran Chichimec

Individual cases or *probanzas de méritos* submitted by or on behalf of the early indigenous allies *(indios amigos*, *indios auxiliares*) have emerged in anecdotal fashion in several studies, demonstrating the presumption of horse ownership in the very earliest phases of

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Cites account of Francisco de Ibarra 1565 expedition by Baltasar de Obregón, saying that Indians of Yaqui river were "astonished at the sight of horses, negroes [and other] things never seen by them."

[183] Forbes, 194.

interaction with Spanish forces. These alliances represent a broad range of ethnic and linguistic sub-divisions: Nahua, Zapoteca, Mixteca, Tlaxcala, Cholula, Coyoacan, Oaxaca, Quauhquechollan, Tenochca, Texcoca, Otomi, etc. Estimates of indigenous allies from different campaigns range from several hundred to ten thousand, rallied by competing interests or forcefully enlisted. Some of these episodes appear retroactively in petitions submitted after campaigns, protesting rewards retracted in changing colonial policies, and others by later generations. Privileges to be exempt from tribute figure among the most sought after, as a kind of proof of nobility among indigenous elites, although it is not always clear whether or not permission to ride a horse, dress in Spanish clothing, and carry arms were always included.[184]

It does appear, however, that the horse presumed to indicate status for these individuals. One record exists from the town of Huejotzingo, whose leader, Don Tomé, lead a contingent of soldiers on Nuño de Guzmán's ill-fated campaign into Nueva Galicia in 1530-31. Testimony from *indio* Tamavaltetle says that "a Christian Spaniard who was at the time overseer in the said town of Huexotzingo asked the lord and leading men of the said town to give him gold to buy a horse so that Don Tomé the lord of the said town, could go to the war on horseback."[185] Later, apparently, Don Tomé fell ill in Chiametla, and went to see Guzman carried on the back of another man, who led Don Tomé's horse by the hand. It appears in this case that the horse was

[184] Michel Oudijk, "Introduction," *Indios Conquistadors*, citing AGI,PATRONATO,245,R.10,4v. Record of Don Joachin de San Francisco, cacique of Tepexi de la Seda, in 1584 testimony with 30 witnesses of service of his grand-father Don Gonzalo Matzatzin Moctezuma.

[185] LOCH, documents 104, 109, 114, 117, 119. Lawsuit transcribed and translated by J. Benedict. Warren, *The Conquest of Michoacán: The Spanish Domination of the Tarascan Kingdom in Western Mexico, 1521-1530* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 153.

not being ridden, even as a physical support; its purpose was essentially to mark status rather than for personal use.[186]

Initially, these services correspond to the uprisings in the states of Colima, Jalisco, and Zacatecas, which began in 1537, reached full rebellion in 1539, and endured ongoing conflict in 1541-1542.[187] The first license in the Viceroy's Mercedes lists simply Francisco, *cacique* of Tlalmanalco, for assistance in the "guerra de Jalisco," or the uprisings that followed Guzman's rapacious treatment of northern territory in Guadalajara.[188] In fact, this *cacique* wrote an account of his service, in a manuscript later translated and titled *Conquista y Pacificación de los Indios Chichimecas,* under the name Francisco de Sandoval Acacitli. The town of Talmanalco (Tlalmanalco) is located southeast of Mexico City, near Chalco, and in Bernal Diaz's account of Cortes' expedition, this is one of the regions where Cortes had a favorable reception. Francisco had accompanied viceroy Antonio de Mendoza on the 1541 campaign to relieve the remaining settlers in Guadalajara. His account not only describes the splendid dress he wore but also records his use of a horse, noting the hardship of campaigning when there was nothing to eat other than some "which the people of Tlalotlacan gave him, and his horse no longer ate

[186] Ida Altman, "Conquest, Coercion and Collaboration: Indian Allies and Campaigns in Nueva Galicia" in *Indios Conquistadors*, 157. Guzman apparently took the horse but did not let the sick man return home, and who died shortly after. The *Relación* of Pedro de Carraza, used in Zaragoza's *Cronicas de la Conquista,* confirmed that he later saw this horse in Guzman's stable.

[187] The Mixtón Rebellion in Nueva Galicia (Jalisco) opposed the rule of Beltran Nuño de Guzman. The arrest of 18 rebellious Indian leaders and the hanging of nine of them, lead to uprising and death of Juan de Arze in 1539, and a rebellion that swelled from multiple areas and took shape under the leadership of Francisco Tenamaztle (also Tenamaxtli). The city of Guadalajara (then governed by Cristóbal de Oñate) was beseiged in 1541.

[188] AGNMX,MERCEDES. Vol. 1, exp. 24, fs. 13v

maize."[189] Three other licenses were granted for assistance in the pacification of the uprising in Nueva Galicia, a continuation of the same frontier conflict. Spanish forces under Pedro de Alvarado and later Viceroy Mendoza ended the Mixtón rebellion in 1542, taking the fortress of Mixtón, with Tlaxcalan, Mexica, Tarasca, Huejotzinca and Chalca indigenous allies. These included Alonso, *cacique* of Cuitlavaca; Juan of Coyoacan (under the direct service of Cortes as Marques de Valle); Francisco, *gobernador* of Suchimilco and Olaque.[190]

While individual licenses do not represent the full gamut of military service, they do indicate the areas in which such services deserved compensation per request to the viceroy, assisting in the northward movement into Michoacán and Jalisco. A number originate in the Oaxaca territory, and William Taylor has noted the role of indigenous nobility in the colonial administration in Cuilapan, including the military service of the governor *indio* Don Luis Cortes in 1525, 1547 and 1549, similarly for at his own cost.[191] Additionally, two licenses granted indicated services for the "Tierra Nueva" on the expedition of Francisco Velazquez de Coronado. Luis de Leon was given this honor as interpreter, to both ride a horse and carry arms.[192] The other to Damien, *indio principal* of the city of Mexico, *barrio* de San Sebastian mentioned his service on the same expedition.[193] In these examples, frontier social logic from Spanish practices

[189] Ida Altman, "Conquest, Coercion and Collaboration", 147.

[190] AGNMX,MERCEDES.1542. Vol. 1, exp. 101, f. 51v.

[191] William Taylor, *Landlord and Peasant in Colonial Oaxaca* (Stanford, Calif.: University of California Press, 1972), 5. Titulos of Cuilacan in Tierras 1016, exp. 5, fol. 10r.

[192] AGNMX,MERCEDES Vol. 2. exp. 240.

[193] AGNMX,MERCEDES Vol. 2. exp. 23.

applied to indigenous allies, including the common phrase that this service was undertaken at their own cost.

Another kind of license appears for accommodating elderly or physically unfit *cacqiues*. In this case, permission to ride a horse sustained the dignity of office for an indigenous leader of advanced age and poor physical condition. In 1539, the first recorded in the viceregal Mercedes series, Don Hernando of Tepeaca asks for permission to ride a horse due to his age: "he is an old man and for this reason would like to go on horseback, and asks that because he is a good Christian he be given a license to ride a horse."[194] The judgement of the viceroy in this initial case is indifferent: "if it seems no inconvenience will follow to grant this license." In the subsequent year 1542, two additional licenses were granted for similar reasons, one to Alonso *gobernador* of Tuxchupa (near Tetela de Ocampo) and the other to Francisco *cacique* of Gamelula. The governor permitted it because "he is old and fat" but still acting as governor to oversee his town, and the *cacique* was permitted the privilege specifically of riding a mare because of his age.[195]

These licenses were given singly in some cases, but in others seem to represent all the *principal*es of the local government. Many are identified by the honorific "Don", but others identified singly by name, as governor, *cacique*, *principal*, or simply "natural." According to the original ideal of a self-governing republic of *indio*s, local notables were elected to serve in the *indio cabildo*. Known as *principales,* their role mirrored that of the *regidores* in Spanish

[194] AGI,MEXICO,1088,L3,F242v.

[195] AGNMX,MERCEDES. 1542. Vol. 1, exp. 280, fs. 130; MERCEDES.1542. Vol. 1, exp. 267, fs. 126.

municipal government.[196] The Tlaxcalans were the most famous of the initial allies, both on campaigns to the south to Oaxaca, Chiapas and Guatemala, as well as to the north to Michoacan, and correspondingly are well represented among licenses for riding horses. In 1542, three licenses were granted to the governor and *indios principales* of Tlaxcala (Don Valeriano de Castañeda, Sebastian, and Lucas Gracales).[197] Likewise, many of the towns represented demonstrate allegiance to Spanish interests. In the Obispado of Tlaxcala, these were also granted in Tepeaca/Tecamachalcos and Atrisco. In the Oaxaca region, Francisco, *cacique* of Achiutla, an important town of the Alta Mixteca in Oaxaca, received a licenses similar to the above, "except that it was not said for any reason."[198] Three were also given in Tlalixtac. In the area surrounding Mexico City, they were given in Malinalco and Toluca. Moving to the north, similar licenses were also granted in Ucareo and Jacona (Michocan) and Tlaquepaque (Jalisco). In the case of the City of Michoacán (Valladolid and later Morelia), these licenses are given to "*principal*es" as well as a variety of other administrative offices held by *indio*s, including: *sacristan de la iglesia; escribano de la communidad; principal de los pintores*; and *capitan de los elronijeros.* On occasion, other occupations or reasons apply, such as a profession like an *indio herrador lengua mexica* in Matalcingo (Michoacán).[199] Primarily, these permissions indicate status, and one in

[196] Almost universally these are granted to males. One notable exception is one granted to india cacica of Tetula, Doña Madalena, in 1552 to "montar a caballo, andar en una mula o haca." LOCK, Reel 2 No. 140, f.426.

[197] AGNMX,MERCEDES Vol. 2. exp. 151, exp. 156, exp. 157.

[198] AGNMX,MERCEDES. 1542. Vol. 1, exp. 25, fs. 13v.

[199] AMHPA, Ramo de Patzcuaro, Caja 131, Legajo 2.

this time period even indicates specifically that the governor of Ucareo (Michoacán) be given the license to ride because his father, the previous governor, had received the same privilege.[200]

Nine years later the Chichimeca War broke out, this time pitting mostly Zacatecos against their former allies, the Caxcan, who had now allied with the Spanish. In this context, the Mexica, Tlaxcalans, Tarascans, Otomi and even formerly militant Caxan people became potential allies for the Spanish in frontier military action.[201] On the active border with the Chichimeca, the Spanish made use of the intact Purepecha/Tarascan army as well as the minority Otomi groups in the Toluca Valley between Mexico and Michoacán.[202] Correspondingly, a large number of permissions, nearly 300, appear in the years 1550-1555, which magnifies the granting of licenses by an order of 10. In terms of geographical distribution, the majority came from the Michoacán region (at least 90). Additionally, a significant portion of licenses came from Puebla/Tlaxcala (about 25 from Mexico, and 30 from Puebla), another set of allies that would be brought north as part of a colonization effort to protect the Zacatecas mines and set an example for the nomadic

[200] Library of Congress, Coleccion Kraus, f.171v, Reel 2 No. 140, s.f.

[201] Chichimeca = plural; Chichimecatl = singular. This term applied to 8-9 separate Indian groups or nations with distinctive languages (Guachichiles, Zacatecos, Pames, Otomis, Guamares, Tepehuanes, Tecuexes, Cazcanes). The Caxans (in alliance with Cora and Guahichiles) were largely defeated in Nueva Galicia, so the Chichimeca war primarily pitting the Zacatecos against the Spanish and their allies.

[202] David Wright, *Conquistadores otomíes en la Guerra Chichimeca* (Dirección de Patrimonio Cultural, Secretaría de Cultura y Bienestar Social, Gobierno del Estado de Querétaro, 1988). Regarding the Otomí, David Wright reproduced Lamina 2, an image of Otomi allies pictured with a horse, with the caption: "El Capitan General don Pedro Martin de Torro y senor de los indio conquistador guachile, cayó murió don Masadin, capitan don Mazandin, caballo de guerra." Otomí from Xilotepeque region then populated San Miguel (Allende) in Queretaro, and also the pubelo of Chamacuero (San Francisco) "pueblo de uachichile chimecos manzos los amigos" as part of their role as conquistadores.

groups in those areas. Powell records that in 1557 a *cacique* of Tula was declared *hidalgo*, reward for having captured Chichimeca leader Maxorro.[203]

The idea of rewarding *indio* leaders with permission to ride *after* their military service seemed to also have shifted in the 1550s to awarding permission to ride in order to develop auxiliaries in this ongoing conflict. In 1553 in Michoacán for example, the Viceroy issued an order for all the *encomenderos* and *corregidores* to supply to Juan Torres "armed *indio*s to go against the Chichimecas and Guachichiles."[204] Luis Velasco distributed horses to *cacique*s that had distinguished themselves in the war with the Chichimeca. Río Moreno noted the remarkable gift from Velasco to Don Nicolas de San Luis, descendent of the "Reyes de Tula y Xilotepeque" of 1000 horses, and similar gifts to the *cacique*s of Tacubaya, Coyoacán, and Michoacán.[205] It seems that the reign of Viceroy Luis Velasco the elder attempted to stem the destruction of the roaming livestock, and at the same time was liberally minded about the role of an indigenous elite within Spanish colonial society represented by access to horses. While such permissions do not always indicate use of horses for war tactics, they do clearly demonstrate recognition of the horse's social and symbolic importance among *cacique*s and governors, considered by the Spanish to be the representatives of indigenous nobility.

Some towns are better represented than others during this liberal granting of licenses during the 1550s, reflecting a historical association with Spanish interests or particular strategic

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[203] Philip Wayne Powell, *Mexico's Miguel Caldera: The Taming of América's First Frontier (1548– 1597)*, 68.

[204] Collection Ayers, NLA, f. 212v. "indios armados para ir contra los chichimecas y guachichiles."

[205] *Río* Moreno, 64; Wright, 82.

value as former seats of indigenous elites or important crossroads. In Michoacán, this could be said of Ciudad de Michoacán (at least 29 licenses). In the region of Mexico, licenses were issued in multiples to Otumba (4), Tenango (2), Xilotepeque (2), Toluca (4), Cuernavaca (2). Otumba, probably of Otomí ethnicity under Mexica rule, had allied with Cortes after his retreat from Tenochtitlan and became an important crossroads for accessing Veracruz and Hidalgo. In the region of Puebla, several towns received large representation in the viceroy's licenses. These include Tlaxcala (11), Huejotzingo (7), Cholula (5), Tetela (2), Tecamachalco (3), Tepeaca (2). The Tlaxcalan and Huejotzingos served as allies to Cortes in numerous campaigns, while Cholula was a site of parlay with Moctezuma that became site of a massacre against the local population. Tecamachalco and Tepeaca are all situated along the eventual route of the main roadway to Veracruz moving east from Cholula. Finally, in the region of Oaxaca, the notable towns with prestigious populations appear to be grouped around: Yanhuitlán (2), Teposcolula (2), Zimatlan (6), Huazolotitlán (4), Tehuantepeque (6). Huazolotitlan and Tehuantepeque were both ports south of Oaxaca city. Further south to Chiapas and the Yucatan, just a few appear and the one named, Totolapa, is located in the Grijalva River valley of Chiapas region. A native language document supporting land disputes indicate the presence of such *indio* conquistadors.[206]

Peru

The link between allies and access to horses also applied in the Viceroyalty of Peru. When the Spanish conquistadors arrived in Peru, *yanaconas* typically declared themselves for the

[206] Archive San Cristobal de Chiapas. Traslado of acta de cabildo of pueblo indigena "Villa de Chiapa" 6 JUNIO 1541, translated from "lengua Chiapaneca" by Bernardino Seiba y Claudio Nuricumbo, as support for why the *encomienda* of Pueblo de Chiapas de los Indios was given to Baltasar Guerra: "D. Francisco Doho Cacique de este pueblo de chiapa de indios real corona y vinieron tambien con los españoles capitanes D. Luis de Marariegos."

Spanish, and benefitted from this assistance after the Spanish took Cajamarca and Cuzco swiftly in succession. This term also became applied to those indigenous servants and slaves brought from other regions by incoming would-be conquistadors. One ally of Pizarro, Don Martin, an *indio* taken on his first 1528 trip, was given a share in Cajamarca treasure, and received an *encomienda*. He not only converted to Christianity, but also went to Spain and "fought as a cavalryman" for Spain.[207]After conquest, the potential *yanacona* population exploded, as many preferred this status to the obligations imposed by the distribution of Inca *ayllus* to encomenderos.

The Spanish likewise made use of groups distinct from the Inca imperial rulers, such as the Chachapoyans in the Amazon region inland from Cajamarca. They were known particularly for using a lance as the weapon of the region. The region had gained a warlike reputation as a result of their own history with the Inca, staging rebellions against the Inca in Cajamarquilla, Pomacocha, and Pacllas. One important Chachapoyas ally was *cacique* Guaman, an Incan official in Cochabamba under Atahualpa. [208] Allies also came from the Cañari, around the northern territory near Ecuador. According to Titu Cusi's account, the Cañari indios (from the

[207] Hemming, 281.

[208] Waldemar Espinoza Soriano, Solomon Machover, and Universidad Nacional del Centro del Perú, *Los Huancas, aliados de la Conquista: tres informaciones inéditas sobre la participación indígena en la conquista del Perú, 1558-1560-1561* (Huancayo: Universidad Nacional del Centro del Peru, 1972), 137. Espinoza cites the *questionario* of 1572 taken by Sarmiento de Gamboa, BNLA585f127. Guaman followed Pizarro to Andahuaylas in November of 1533, and was baptized as Francisco Pizarro Guaman. He was then sent back in the company of Alonso Alvarado to conquer Chachapoyas, along with another *Cacique* of Chilcho. Francisco Pizarro later made Guaman the *cacique principal* of Chachapoyas with *ganados, charcas, yanaconas* and *hamaqueros*. Guaman further aided Alonso Alvarado in 1535, at the founding of the city of San Juan de los Chachapoyas in 1538, and in his conquest of Moyobamba, along with the *Cacique* of Chilchos. He probably died in 1542-3.

conquest of Quito, Ecuador) and the Chachapoyas (from the conquest of Chachapoyas province) remained on the side of the Spanish when Manco Inca rebelled.

The Spanish had made ground until the rebellion of Manco Inca, who utilized his insight into horses and cavalry from his brief time as an ally of the Spanish and puppet Inca.[209] Manco was one of several princes who had supported Huascar's competing claim, and like others saw the Spaniards as potential strategic allies. Manco had already fought alongside the Spanish against rebellious Cañari natives from Quito, and he was considered a Spanish protégé. Both Manco Inca and then his son Titu Cusi were taught how to ride and deal with horses under the tutelage of Pero Oñate while royal captives of the Spanish. Manco served one year in power under Pizarro, and then remained another year as a royal captive. In the 1535 siege of Cuzco, and then also in his last battle against Diego Almagro at Ollantaytambo (1537), Manco Inca used tactics against horses such as seizing higher ground to prevent cavalry charges, digging pits to break horses legs, and even flooding entire fields by re-directing river and irrigation to make them impassable for men on horseback.[210] The “bolas” or weighted leather straps/lassos targeted the horse’s legs. Manco himself appeared on horseback to guide his own party, before retreating

[209] Hemming, 169.

[210] Spanish reports over-emphasize the utility of horses, for example this passage about the siege of Cuzco reported by Garcilasco: "They saw how numerous the Indians were, and as they could not tell what weapons they had against the horses (which were what the Indians most feared), it was agreed to withdraw into the main square, where, owing to its great size, they could more easily dominate the enemy than in the streets. This was done, and they drew up there in formation. The infantry, numbering 120, were in the middle, and the 80 horse stationed themselves in twenties on either side and in front of and behind the square, so that they would be able to resist the Indians from whichever direction they launched their attack." (Garcilasco, 799) But nonetheless Manco Inca's forces held them in the square for 17 days. In one sally, Francisco Mejia was isolated and beheaded along with his white horse. In total, the siege continued for 8 months.

to the isolation of Vilcambamba. In the battle over Lima, which Manco Inca attacked after Cuzco, the Inca's forces stayed up on the hill and Spanish cavalry could not dislodge the siege until they exerted their horses to the max in a concentrated, 70-horse charge, demonstrating the clear command of counter-cavalry tactics in the Incan party.[211] When Pizarro's partisans were forced to retreat in 1541, Manco took in seven men who stayed at the Inca camp in Vilcabamba, teaching Manco Inca how to use Spanish weapons, how to race on horses, and shoot guns.[212] Ironically, however, they also assassinated Manco Inca in a bid to flee, ending his attempt to train his men in the use of European weapons and horses.

In a case parallel in some ways to that of Manco Inca is the instigation of the Mapuche rebellion in Chile, under the figure of Lautaro. In the campaigns to Chile, *indio*s *amigos* and *indios de servicio* could include those from Picunches, Promacuaes, and Moluches in northern Chile. But they also included *yanaconas* brought from Peru. Lautaro (d. 1557) was 20 years old at time of the Battle of Tucapel, known by the Spanish name Alonso. He was not a captive but had offered his service to Spanish, serving Valdivia as groom or stable boy for multiple years. Ocaña places him from the Arauco valley, which means that he would have been taken in service as a "tame" (*manso) indio* from Valdivia's push south in 1550-1551 and in his service until 1553. Marmolejo also calls him *ladino*, which means he would have had to have time to learn Spanish in his captivity, before joining the Arauco side. In 1553, he led the Batalla de Tucapel, which left for dead the entire Spanish force of 55 Spaniards and 2000 *yanacona*s. This offensive continued with success using the cavalry knowledge of those like Lautaro. For example, in the 1554 Batalla de Marigarenu (e.g. Catirai), Lautaro fielded 8000 men against Villagra with 154 Spanish, and it

[211] Hemming, 211.

[212] Hemming, 274. Montesinos, Anales of 1545; Zarate, Book 4 Ch 21.

ended in a Mapuche victory as they were able to drive the Spanish cavalry off a cliff. Following another victory in 1557 (Battle of Mataquito), however, the Spanish surprised and killed Lautaro while celebrating his victory (Combate de Peteroa, 1557).[213]

Prohibition of 1568

In 1555, the Franciscan missionary Motolinía wrote to King Carlos V and commented on how many Indians were by then already riding. He recommended that future licenses be given only to those of highest status. Motolinía based his reasoning on preserving the social symbolism of the horse for the Spanish, "because if the Indios learn to deal with horses, many will become riders wanting to be equal for a time with the Spanish."[214] This same complaint was echoed in Puebla about the number of *indio*s riding horses in 1556.[215] In these anecdotal examples, it is clear that distribution and availability of horses by the 1550s challenged the political and social order symbolized by the horse. The crown renewed the prohibition against *indios* riding horses in 1568, the same year when two new viceroys arrived to both Mexico (Martin Enrique Almanza) and Peru (Antonio Toledo).

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[213] Kathryn Renton, "Horses in the Arauco Wars" conference presentation, 2013. Drawn from chronicles of Alonso Gongora Marmolejo, 1575; Pedro Mariño de Lovera 1595; and Jeronimo de Vivar.

[214] "Carta, Fray Toribio de Motolinía a Emperador Carlos V, January 9, 1555" in Joaquín García Icazbalceta, Juan Bautista Pomar, and Alonso de Zurita, *Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de México* (México, D.F.: Editorial Salvador Chávez Hayhoe, 1941), Vol. 1, 264-265.

[215] "Carta al Emperador, de Gonzalo Díaz de Vargas, alguacil mayor y regidor de la ciudad de los Ángeles", *Epistolario de Nueva España* edited by Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, (México: José Porrúa, 1939-1942). Vol. 8, 99-114,

How many of these complaints were driven by "illicit" access to *cimarrones*, and how many referred to a problem of enforcing status? Livestock was “domesticated” but in reality ranged with little supervision over large swathes of land, and posed a problem for the Spanish vision of the horse as the defining symbol of their new form of governance. In general, petitions correlated with the areas of rapid livestock growth and its tenuous control by Spanish officials, monasteries and municipalities. Between the 1550s and the 1580s, *indios* especially in the region lying between Zacatecas and Saltillo acquired horses, mules and cattle and learned to ride. *Indio caciques*, as we saw, learned how to handle livestock on *estancias* of Spanish grant holders, and also managed their own livestock. In the case of the northern frontier in New Spain, Steiguer writes: “Throughout the length of the conflict, the Chichimecas caused immense bloodshed among the new inhabitants and stole and loosed thousands of horses, in the process mastering the art of riding, thus constituting an even greater threat to the Europeans."[216] Juan Suarez Peralta, who noted the numerous horses wandering the northern country, also noted that the Chichimeca practiced a form of horse breeding in temporary corrals (*rancherías*).[217] The unsettled nature of the frontier and the roads through the ‘tierras de Guerra” along the route to the Zacatecas mine also influenced continued permissions for specific services of *indio* governors to enable collection of tribute from their towns.

Tension existed between the threat presented by the horse, and the growing normalcy and even need for indigenous labor to have access to horses for general work purposes. Means of accessing horses included being *guardas de ganado*, merchants, *arrieros* and *carreteros*, or

[216] J. Edward De Steiguer, *Wild Horses of the West: History and Politics of America’s Mustangs* (University of Arizona Press, 2011), 71.

[217] *Libro de Albeyteria*, book 2, ch 6, published by Francois Chevalier in “Noticia inedita sobre los caballos en Nueva España” *Revista de Indies* No. 16 (1944), 324.

simply breeding animals for sale. The growth of livestock also required numerous new guards to keep the livestock from crowding the main roadways and harming agricultural lands. Denhardt noted that the religious orders wanted agriculture and needed horses (mares) for ploughing, often training *indio*s to be *vaqueros*. Ranch hands were frequently permitted to use horses.[218] Recognition of the widespread use of *indios* on horseback surfaced as Spanish landowners and ranchers facilitated requests for allowing "*indio*s *de servicio*" to go mounted and armed in order to protect their livestock, and maintain the guard necessary to prevent them from invading *indio* pueblos. Thus, while very few new licenses issued in the 1560s permitted *principales* and *caciques* to ride horses, many were issued to permit them to use workhorses for trade and agriculture and carry cargo along the network of the *Camino Real*, as well as specific permission to ride horses for guarding livestock.[219]

Despite the potentially equalizing force of the man on horseback at all levels – where admiration presumably went to ones mastery of the horse, rather than one's social background – it is crucial to note that there were many forms of social markers – not least of which were the kind of horse and the type of harness that one could afford or decided to choose. Riding bareback did not carry the same dignity as riding in a saddle made for a knight with silver plating. Permissions for *indio*s to ride horses often addressed these specific qualities. One of these was the distinction of riding a "haca" rather than a "caballo" — that is, a horse of a smaller stature than a full warhorse. There were also distinctions between the permissions to ride a horse under

[218] Denhardt, 87.

[219] The Camino Real, as a title of main arteries and roadways supported by the Crown, included an expanding network connecting major ports and central mines. Ross Hassig, *Comercio*, *tributo y transportes*. *La economía política en el Valle de México en el siglo xvi*, (México: Alianza editorial mexicana, 1990), 213; Thomas Calvo, *Por los caminos de Nueva Galicia*. *Transportes y transportistas en el siglo xvii*, (México: Universidad de Guadalajara, 1997); Sergio Florescano, *El camino México-Veracruz en la época colonial*, (Jalapa, 1987).

saddle, and the permission to mount a horse as a guard for livestock or for its use as an animal transporting cargo. Even for those granted based on status as *principal,* licenses were needed to travel outside of a known area. Similarly, only Spaniards were entrusted with the "trademarks" for sale, rather than intermediary of *mestizo*, *mulatto*, *indio*, or *negro*. *Indios* were not supposed to be "wandering" and the idea of the *vacquero* resembled that of the shepherd in Spain going on the *agostadero* or summer treks looking for pasture land for their herds, a role that gave them certain amounts of freedom but also rendered them outsiders from civilized places. This idea was exemplified in Puebla, a major crossroads for such transfers of animals. The city tried to prohibit any *vaqueros*, and especially the *indio*, *mestizo* and *mulatto* ones, from entering the city at all for fear of theft and general disruptions.[220]

Beyond the initial dangers of *indios* harming or killing horses, by the mid-century theft also posed a threat. Theft of horses supplied the rebellion in the Chichimec territory against the encroachments of mining and punitive slaving practices the Spanish used to maintain access. Cases documenting legal restitution in cases of horse theft appear in the local archives of Michoacán in the 1560s, and demonstrate thorough knowledge of horses from indigenous agents. In fact one documents an *indio* from Queneo/Cuenlo complaining that another *indio*, Pedro Cuini/Quiniz of Tzintzontzan (*barrio curandeno*), stole his horse. [221] Another *indio* of Patzcuaro complained that he had bought a horse in Uruapan, but it was taken away from him by a Spaniard claiming it as a stolen horse; in order to pay the fine, this *indio* then stole the horse in

[220] AHMPU, *Libro de Cabildo*, 6 october 1596.

[221] AHMPA, Fondo Antiguo, Caja 2, Exp. 27. According to accompanying local testimony, the horse itself had cost 10 pesos.

question in the suit to give to the Spaniard. As the stolen horse was worth 4 pesos, this is what the *indio* of Patzcuaro was fined.[222]

Rebellions also loomed far south in the reign of Peru, enabled by a continual state of civil unrest. The Vilcabamba state under Titu Cusi (1560 - 1571), had actively assisted in spreading the anti-Christian millenarian sect, Taqui Ongo, which reached its peak in 1565, the same year as a narrowly avoided uprising in Jauja. Castro, Governor of Peru, complained to the king of the great carelessness in allowing *indio*s to have horses in Peru, even after their second uprising and continued unrest in the 1560s, proposing that they be confiscated (although offering to pay damages to said *indio*s). Further south, the Spanish faced more serious and deep-seated struggles controlling strategic territory around the Strait of Magellan against the coalesced forces of the Mapuche speaking groups (and English pirates). Although horse breeding had become self-sufficient in Chile and ended the specter of scarcity, it raised a new major problem as the Mapuche already fielded a cavalry by the 1560s. Marmolejo reported on the alarming nature of Mapuche facility with horses during an attack in 1566 at the fort of Reinoguelen, where an Arauco took down Cristóbal de Buiza, and then mounted his horse and proceeded to ride it as well as the best in Andalusia: "The *indio* took a horse, and in the presence of the Spanish mounted it, and began to manage it as if he were a horseman from Andalusia."[223] These threats accumulated in the 1560s, generating a point of concern about the role of the horse.

Just as the permissions for *indios* turned from riding horses under saddle and bridle to using horses for cargo in the 1560s, so also confiscation of their equine mounts peaked.

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[222] AHMPA, Fondo Antiguo Caja 4, Exp. 15, 1584.

[223] Marmolejo, 170.

Confiscation of horses became an issue for the status of the elite *indio cacique* or governor, which then required new confirmation of licenses from the viceroy.[224] In 1567, one *vecino* in Patzcuaro declared that he had found two of his horses in the possession of two *indio*s (Felipe, Pedro). However, he complains that because the *indio*s were *caballeros,* they had refused to turn over their horses without legal process.[225] The renewed prohibition against riding in 1568, coupled with the installation of *corregidores* to provide oversight of *indio gobernador*es and *caciques*, led to an increase in harassment over riding, meant to enforce the inferior status of the Indio Republic. Spanish *justicia*s harassed *indio*s actively despite their legal papers, and petitions in response to harassment appear more concentrated in the 1570s and 1580s.

The effects of a renewed ban on indigenous horse-riding is apparent from a *residencia* into the tenure of the official of the Audiencia of Lima, *Oidor* Gregorio Gonzalez de Cuenca, for issuing such licenses under questionable circumstances. These were concentrated primarily in the northern region of Trujillo, where access to horses seemed to have been greater from the beginning, perhaps tied to military assistance to Spanish campaigns further south and inland into the heart of the Incan territory. The *residencia* conducted in 1573 accused Cuenca of selling licenses for *indio*s to ride horses and then abusing or falsifying those privileges in order to collect penalties. Cuenca was *visitador general* for San Miguel Piura, Chachapoyas, Guanuco, and Trujillo, which he visited between 1563-1566. In the *residencia*, among other charges, it is recorded that he issued 200 individual licenses to *indio*s to ride horses in 29 towns in these provinces of Peru.

[224] The cases that I have recorded are often the ones that do get their horse back.

[225] AHMPA, Fondo Antiguo Caja 2, Exp. 65.

Cuenca made his rounds in order to announce that it was not permitted for any *indio* to ride horses—unless they purchased a license from himself. This pronouncement was made during his *visita* in at least twenty indigenous villages, in the native language. He sold these licenses for 1-2 pesos each. The abuses reported from the *visita* that he conducted were plentiful, from demanding excessive amounts of supplies to sustain his entire entourage, to physical abuse and ridicule of indigenous leaders. The *indio*s receiving these licenses were all listed as *principal*es or *caciques*/*curaca*s. The regions where Cuenca issued licenses included Trujillo, Lambayeque, Cajamarca and Chachapoyas. In Lambayeque province, medium size towns received 4-8 licenses. The large towns received 9-10 licenses. *Indio*s in Trujillo alone were granted 68 licenses in this short period of time, of which the majority (more than 20 each) were issued in Huamachuco and Chicama. The Lambayeque area likewise received 68 licenses, divided more equally among the towns in the valley, including Jayanca, Illimo, Chuspo, Tucume and Zaña. Cajamarca received 27, including those in the town of Huambos in the same valley. Chachapoyas, located inland from Cajamarca, received an additional four. These licenses, however, rather than marking new access, confirmed existing access to horses in these areas and new abuses.

Status and Lineage Mediated by Horses

On one hand, the horse served as a symbol of power, dominance, and "domestication" of opposing forces, and on the other hand, as a tool of social mobility. This duality, in fact, suggests the spread of a particular frontier model for thinking about the link between horse and status. If 1568 marked a downturn in access to horses and reinforcing prohibitions and concerns

about the distinctions of social status, it is also true that this trend vacillated over time.[226] To a great extent, it depended on the claims made by the *indio*s that were interested in such privileges and marks of status within colonial society. Over time, the *indio* "nobility" put forward claims to ride horses as a natural matter of status and lineage.

New Spain

The episodic nature in which licenses were granted is very pronounced in the archival registries of the viceroy's permissions in New Spain. Mapping the locations where these *indio*s resided reveals a strong geographical trend over time, which shifts from central Mexico to the northern frontier in Michoacán as hostilities commence. While initially service related, the viceroy's licenses began to mention the lineage of *caciqu*es, *gobernador*es and *principal*es governing the "republic of *indios*" in the rationale for permission to ride horses under saddle in the 1550s. Then, at the end of the hostilities in the 1590s, these licenses take on the tenor of status rather than military service. It seems that applicants increasingly referred to access to horses by former generations in order to solidify their status.

The quantity of licenses leaps between 1590 and 1595, in a veritable explosion of more than 100 licenses, many of which have multiple issue in the same towns. This second peak of licenses, in the 1590s, marks the end of the Chichimeca war, and coincides with the arrival of a new Viceroy. Following the Bishop's Council in 1580, and the intervention of a *mestizo* Miguel Caldera, the Crown had diverged from the "war of fire and blood" to a conciliatory policy under

[226] One reason for this might be the reforms to the Juzago de Indios (in New Spain) and Protector of Indios (in Peru, slightly later in 1603) that allowed for hearing such petitions in the Viceroy's court. Direct links between governance of the Viceroyalty of New Spain and Peru in this moment can be found in the figure of Luis Velasco II, who served as viceroy of New Spain from 1590 - 1595, and again from 1607 - 1611. In between he acted viceroy of Peru for eight years (1596 to 1604).

Viceroy Villamanrique (1585) aimed at domesticating the nomadic groups and using Tlaxcalan settlers to establish such ideals. In 1591, these 400 families earned the status of *hidalgos* and rights to *estancia*s de ganados, as well as *caballo*/*armas* for 30 years.[227] For the region on the Chichimec border between the years 1589-1592, just over 100 licenses were issued to approximately 60 different pueblos. At least half of the other remaining towns had appeared before in the registers for receiving licenses, but many of these were new — and especially so in 1591 in which the distribution was the widest for 50 of the licenses issued at the end of the hostilities. In this sense, an earlier model using *indio*s conquistadors took on the shape of official policy.

This late sixteenth century set of permissions prioritizes status over mention of service. In these years, the licenses were granted in larger numbers, but the geographical distribution shows that these were not specifically oriented towards a frontier war. They were rather more evenly distributed around major population centers, with a substantial bulk of new occurrences in the Oaxaca Valley. Instead of being limited "for the time serving as governor", these generally confirmed existing privilege, and acknowledged that it could be passed to the next generation. Interestingly, the names do not repeat with much overlap from one generation to the next in the series. But, nevertheless, these make explicit the connection between being a son of a *principal*, *cacique* or governor, and the continuation of the license permitted as an extension of status for that lineage. In particular, the one in Oaxaca, for the town of Huajolotitlan, refers to don Luis Garçes as the "legitimate" son of don Paolo Garçes in order to confirm that the license issued to the father was still valid for the son. In this manner, the cross from service to lineage appears in

[227] Cedula Real with capitulations signed by Viceroy Velasco II, 14 March 1591. *Colección de documentos para la historia de San Luis Potosí* ed. P.F. Velázquez (San Luis Potosí: Imp. del Editor, 1897), 179.

the licenses for horse riding. Most of these licenses are perfunctory, without much elaboration, and the categorization of the individual receiving the permission often imprecise. However, it still seems clear that horse riding emerged as a natural expectation for indigenous elites seeking to maintain their social status, even if losing their political importance.[228] One possible way to challenge this loss, in fact, was the use of the license itself as a form of claiming an elite lineage—moving on from military service, to qualification for office, and then protection of such status within the family.

Peru

In Peru, the list of *Mercedes* from the Viceroy does not have a parallel due to intense upheaval and consecutive changes in leadership before the arrival of Viceroy Toledo in 1568. Yet the use of indigenous allies led to their access to horses, as well. The Chachapoyans in Cusco did not pay tribute up to the time of Toledo, and those still in Chachapoyas clearly had the benefit of raising horses.[229] Following the capture of Tupac Amaru, the *caciques* of Chachapoyas made a collective request from Toledo for liberty from tribute for their aid in getting the rebellious leader from Vilcabamba.[230] The Chachapoyans also gained recognition in a colony further south, in the Villa de Oropesa (Valley of Cochabamba) for aiding Toledo in suppressing a rebellious group of Guarani-speaking people in the Chaco region (southeastern Bolivia),

[228] Chevalier (1963) describes how lands were taken over in the north of Mexico. Likewise, Taylor (1972) describes how while keeping most of their land in the Oaxaca valley, nonetheless they lost their political representation.

[229] Schjellerup, 128.

[230] Karen Spalding, "Social Climbers: Changing Patterns of Mobility among the Indians of Colonial Peru," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 50, no. 4 (1970): 645–64.

collectively known by the pejorative Chiriguanos, in 1574.[231] In another display of indigenous agency, colonized Andeans exaggerated the danger of Amazonian Indians from whom they themselves were supposedly defending the colony, in order to win greater autonomy from the Spanish.[232] In 1582, the Aymara *principal*s of Charcas sent a letter to Philip II asking for recognition of their noble status, claiming that participation in the game of canes on horseback should be one of their signs of integration as Spanish subjects.[233] These examples demonstrate similar tactics of claiming privileges from military service, and maintaining it through defined lineages.

Moreover, descendants of Incan elites similarly pursued recognition of titles of nobility, indicating a constellation of privileges including exemption from tribute, permission to dress in Spanish clothes, carry arms, and ride a horse.[234] Descendants of Túpac Inca Yupanqui received an *escudo nobiliario* from Charles V 1545.[235] The nephew of Manco Inca and son of Paullu, Don Carlos Inca, learned to ride, educated with other *mestizo*s, and became *regidor* of Cuzco.[236] Paullu's grandson, Melchior Carlos Inca, was still listed as holding this *encomienda* in the

[231] AGI,LIMA,204,N.23.

[232] Heidi V. Scott, *Contested Territory: Mapping Peru in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (University of Notre Dame Press, 2009).

[233] Murra, xviii.

[234] Scarlett O'Phelan, *Kurakas sin sucesiones: del cacique al alcalde de indios (Perú y Bolivia 1750-1835)* (Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de Las Casas, 1997), 17-18; "to integrate into colonial society it was as important to use the book and pen as a horse and firearms."

[235] Monique Alaperrine-Bouyer, *La educación de las elites indígenas en el Perú colonial*, Travaux de l'IFEA (Lima: Institut français d'études andines, 2013), http://books.openedition.org/ifea/652.

[236] Hemming, 339

1580s.[237] In eighteenth century documents, numerous families solicited recognition of noble origins and corresponding privileges from the crown, resulting in a mixed ethnic and cultural condition evident in the subsequent rebellion of Tupac Amaru II.[238] Luis Morales described Inca nobility as natural riders, and their talents squandered on just herding horses, a sentiment echoed by Cristobal Molina and Bartolome de Vega. The indigenous chronicler, Guaman Poma, likewise claims that his father was christened with a Spanish name, Don Martin de Ayala, by a Spanish conquistador, Luis Avalos de Ayala, for his service saving his life during La Gasca's defeat of Gonzalo Pizarro, and depicts himself walking with a horse as a sign of this prestigious origin:

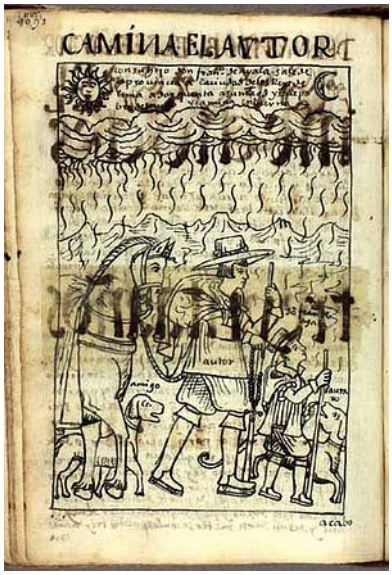

Figure 5. "CAMINA EL AVTOR con su hijo don Francisco de Ayala" from *Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno* (c. 1615)

[237] Ward Stavig, "Ambiguous Visions: Nature, Law, and Culture in Indigenous-Spanish Land Relations in Colonial Peru," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 80, no. 1 (February 1, 2000): 77–111.

[238]Scarlett O'Phelan, *Mestizos reales en el virreinato del Perú: indios nobles, caciques y capitanes de mita* (Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2013).

Measures of access to horses were also being recorded by the *Relaciones geográficas*, issued in 1577 and 1584. These provide ample evidence of the normalcy of *indios a caballo* despite their perceived threat to established order. Both Spanish and indigenous residents had herds of horses in Chachapoyas by late 1590s. In the will and testament of *cacique* Don Juan Guaman, he alone owned 70 horses.[239] In Peru, archival evidence of *indio*s raising horses and interacting with them on a daily basis grew in the second half of the sixteenth century. In the Lima *Notoriales*, one case in 1571 records the use of horses raised by *indio*s *principal*es.[240] I*ndio*s also traded and sold horses one to each other.[241] In 1585, Juan Tacori, *mitimae* of Pachacamac, bought some mares and a colt in Lima, and in 1589, Carlos de Cuniga *cacique* of Acari bought a chestnut horse for 20 pesos from Pedro de Bilbao, *indio alcalde de los naturales*.[242] In 1612, in Uchumarca near Leimebamaba, two *indio*s *principal*es from Tacac (Don Juan Anamba and Don Fernando Andaipisco), brought a suit against Don Juan Tomallaxa, *principal* of Llamac, for not guarding his mules and horses, and encroaching on lands where they themselves were already raising maize and breeding horses.[243]

The question of access to horses remained a complex and contradictory one. Certainly the ongoing conflict with the Mapuche in Chile, which drained enormous resources from Spain and essentially amounted to the creation of one of the first "standing armies" in the region,

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[239] Schjellerup, 181.

[240] "Gonzalo Ruiz Pardo residente en Lima se obliga de entregar a Nicolas Macata principal de Xongo Marca y hermano, Pedro Caquia, dos yeguas con crias." AGNP,Protocolos Notoriales,N119,217.

[241] Ramirez,129. ARL CoR,30-VI-1576.

[242] AGNP,Protocolos Notariales,N76,332; AGNP, Protocolos Notariales, N140,190.

[243] BNL,B,1514,1608.

contributed to this discomfort. A new uprising in 1598 emphasized this threat. Anganamón led this uprising, which the Mercedarian friar Ocaña depicted in an impressive portrait on horseback:

Figure 6. Anganamón and Martín García Oñez de Loyola from Diego de Ocaña's *Viaje a Chile* (1608)

Anganamón reportedly had mounted his infantry, such was the abundance of horses in Mapuche forces at this stage. He also had previously served as the *yanacona* of Captain Loyola, before he led Mapuche forces that killed Loyola and then wreaked further havoc. Captain Geronimo Serrano described the 1598 Desastre de Curalaba, where Pelantaro led 500 Mapuche and Huiliches, against 50 Spanish and their 300 *yanacona* allies. The Spanish lost 400 caballos and as many saddles and bridles, as well as gold, clothing and *yanacona*s to the Mapuche forces. Ocaña also reported that on the March 20th following, in Angol, 400 *indios de a caballo* killed many in the town and took another 250 horses from the Spanish. Just a week later, on April 8th,

1000 *indios de a caballo* killed 8 Spaniards and all their *indios amigos*. They emptied the whole countryside of all kinds of livestock, so that the town had no more than 12 horses left. Captain Serrano bitterly concluded as the Spanish retreated to Angol: "All these calamities were caused by Loyola setting a fort in Lumaco against the will of the experienced soldiers, because there 18 men died and 3000 horses were taken."[244]

Conclusion

Traditionally, when seen through the records left by Cortez or Bernal Diaz, horses played a major role in the conquest through the shock and invincibility these animals, unknown to the native inhabitants. More accurately, the role of horses in the conquest has been reduced by recognizing that the victories were not by Cortes and his few hundred men, but supported by thousands of native Indian allies against the Mexica. In fact, these allies gained access to horses according to Spanish customs that rewarded service to the crown on the frontier – a population of *indio conquistadores*. This familiarity came through Spanish-affiliated channels—*indios amigos* rather than *indios enemigos*—even if later incorporated into non-Spanish communities and mobilized for resistance. In general, these permissions primarily play off of the military objectives of the Spanish, and their ample reliance on existing resources.

Spanish colonizers imported cultural expectations about the role horses played in establishing social order, yet these expectations faced challenges from the reality of complex

[244] "Relacion de lo subcedido en Chile desde 20 de diziembre de '98 hasta primero de mayo de '99 escripta por el Capitan Gerónimo [Gregorio] Serrano proueedor general de la guerra deste Reyno para el Excelentisimo Señor don Luis de Velasco virrey del Piru", *Colección Levillier Gobernantes del Perú: cartas y papeles* (Madrid: Juan Pueyo, 1924), v. 4, 483.

colonial reliance on indigenous populations and structures, as well as new environmental conditions. The use of the horse as a military tool sometimes offset the symbolic distinctions that it provided, allowing allies to be mounted for military needs. As Spanish power was fractured in the colonial setting, with continual conflict in policy between viceroy, Audiencia, religious orders, *encomenderos*, and *indio*s, the symbolic and practical elements of the horse at times worked against each other and created possibility for social movement and mobility.

The concession of licenses to ride horses also depended on an active petition on the part of the indigenous leader. Besides strategic advantages, such petitions also stemmed from the simple opportunity to access horses. The better part of these licenses are concentrated in open regions that favor horses and other livestock, and which would later for that reason become the favored routes for the *Camino Real* transporting products from mines to flotillas. In the plains between Puebla and Tlaxcala, in the Bajío north of Mexico City, and in the valleys of Oaxaca, access to horses certainly would have been feasible. But other data suggests a *de facto* access to horses, which the licenses formally acknowledge for reasons of status. In other words, the loose control of livestock does not fully explain why indigenous leaders requested horses, but rather their use seemed to have started from within the allied communities, where horses became associated with status.[245]

[245] Laura Matthew estimates a total of several thousand of a wide range of ethnicities participated in the conquest of Guatemala under Pedro de Alvarado in distinct waves between 1524-1542. By the 1540s, however, complaints were piling up that expected privileges, such as exemption from tribute, for those that had participated in the campaign, were not being fulfilled. Matthews examines a petition collectively assembled in 1564 for this reason for for Nahua, Zapoteca warriors in Ciudad Vieja, Guatemala (AGI Justicia 291). Importantly, she argues that over the course of the petition's lifespan (active in 1560s-70s, and although not finally resolved until 1639), a shift in the language changed from emphasizing the service rendered in conquest (1564), to new language explicitly emphasized the matter of lineage (1573). Matthews writes that the 1564 case used "formulas similar to those of the *probanzas* of the Spanish conquistadors

Regardless of policy, general availability of horses increased throughout New Spain, for work as well as for status. Spanish, creoles, mixed and indigenous populations all made social claims through their access to horses. Ready access to horses, nevertheless, became a social concern. This abundance, resulting in greater access to horses, also challenged social distinctions established by horse riding and ownership, and threatened the symbolism of horses in colonial society. The effort to clamp down on Indians riding in 1568 acknowledged contemporary access to horses and a strong desire to enforce social difference. In this same period, Spanish *corregidores de indios* replaced the role of indigenous elites in self-governing *cabildo*s, and the same *indio* elites lost some of their political relevance. Prohibition became symbolically important especially in the second half of the sixteenth century – and despite widespread permission and access to horses, it was not universally repealed until 1653.

In reaction, these *indio*s made their own claims to noble lineage to inherit the benefits of service. In the Americas, as in Spain, mobility was crystalizing socially into one based primarily on lineage by end of sixteenth century, requiring documentation and proof of bloodlines. Horse privileges became a part of this trend, broadly speaking. The permissions themselves focused not so much on access to horses as much as a desire to be socially recognized as leaders and elites, making use of the Spanish model. As a result, appealing to a license to ride horses became one possible way to challenge the loss of status and a means to claim an elite lineage.

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seeking recompense", while in the 1573 case appealed "to their individual and communal qualities: as nobility, as conquistadors and allies, and as non-slaves", asserting equality with Spaniards, having always been treated as "Spanish vassals."

Chapter 5. *Cimarrón, Casta, Criollo*: Environment and Breed in Spanish America

The fertility and abundance of the Spanish colonies found its emblem in the wild horse, or *cimarrón*. Garcilaso de la Vega gave an explanation of this phenomenon, noting that the horses from southern Spain, primarily taken to the Caribbean Islands, bred in abundance:

> "[because of] the neglect of their owners and the almost incredible difficulty of the mountains there, some of the mares strayed into the wilderness and were lost. A great many of them were gradually lost in this way; and their owners, seeing that they bred freely in the mountains and came to no harm from wild beasts, even released tame animals to go with them. In this way the islands came to possess a race of wild horses that fled like deer from human beings, yet multiplied rapidly on account of the fertility of the country, which is hot and damp and never lacking in green grass."[246]

Most contemporary definitions of the term *cimarrón*, refers to wild, savage, or untamed. The 1729 *Diccionario de Autoridades* also defined it in in this manner, as well, to refer to all wild animals that might be hunted in the forest, synonymous with *silvestre*.[247] However, in what sense were these horses "wild"?

Abundance of horses in the New World evokes images of broad open plains, like those of the North American borderlands of New Spain. Yet, the environments in the New World of course were neither uniform nor consistent. The challenging nature of regional environments frustrated attempts to control the expanding sphere of Spanish territory. Some environments

[246] Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries,* Book 9 CH XVI – XXXI, 579-80.

[247] Real Academia de Historia edition of *Diccionario de Autoridades* (1729) Tomo II, "CIMARRON, NA. adj. Sylvestre, indómito, montaráz. Lat. Silvaticus, a, um."

suited horses populations, while others and suited the horse's function in Spanish strategies of colonization. Ecological areas of plains and river estuaries fostered growth of horse populations. Yet, these same areas also were often utilized for the expansion of Spanish economic activities of conquest, mining, and road networks for trade, which amplified horse populations for strategic reasons. Regulations instituted to promote these populations are crucial to understanding abundance and its impact on classification of types of horses. Thus, environment and human action each had a relative influence in establishing horse populations in the Americas.

Reforms to breeding practices in public spaces, under the auspices of the *mesta*, relied on the limited management of semi-feral populations of horses. But instead of continuing to use the categories created by the *mesta* to indicate an animal without an identified owner (*mostrenco*), a new loan-word was used to identify this problem. As a term adapted from runaway or resisting slaves or *indio*s in the 1530s, *cimarrón* emerged as a category for a specific reason, time and place, when abundance became problematic as an indication of oversupply. It falls into line with other new "problem" categories for experiences specific to the New World, like *criollo* and *mestizo* which both date to the 1560s for their first recorded use.[248] I would argue that the problem itself, as it was defined by the *cimarrón*, was also new. The *cimarrón* played a role in identifying a particular kind of horse associated with abundance, fertility and lack of domestication, but this distinction was in part rhetorical: the typical Spanish horse was not more "domesticated" than its New World counterpart. Rather than a clear typological distinction between the animals themselves, this distinction marked a new social difference.

[248] Earle, 86.

Typical breeding practices, those generating the *cimarrón* as well as other horses, tended to rely on feral populations rather than selective breeding. These animals likely exhibited what we might consider "landrace" characteristics in animals benefitting from the natural resources and characteristics of a locale rather than line breeding through a single sire's lineage. However, disputes over pasture rights and complaints about overuse of the land and depopulation of indigenous and Spanish people raised questions about the relative importance of nature and human intervention and the nature of the *cimarrón*. If the physical difference was not readily discernible, this distinction seems to indicate a form of anxiety about the quality of the horses produced in this state of abundance. Rather than referring to physiological characteristics, whether environmental or inherited, these typologies were related to social function. As a result, the rapid growth of the horse population in the Caribbean and New Spain, therefore, tested which factors determined the outcomes of animal generation—in particular, whether the desired type of horse could maintain itself naturally or required constant intervention and oversight.

Despite the perception of wild or natural New World horses, this chapter argues that human interventions, rather than natural environmental selection, characterize these populations into the seventeenth century. The first section discusses the relationship between *mesta* regulations and animal husbandry practices with the *cimarrón* in New Spain. The second section discusses the influences generated by region or environment, and the nature of horse quality expressed by the terminology of *casta*. The third section examines the regulations to promote horse populations as an extension of Iberian interests, and their influence on the development of *criollo* horses in the Southern Cone.

The *Cimarrón*

The practices of animal husbandry for livestock, represented by the use of common grazing lands and the regulations of the *mesta*, led to specific terminology and classification of these animals. Each *ganadero* or livestock owner, once their herd had reached a sufficient size to classify for membership, belonged to the *mesta* and followed particular ordinances. If one purpose was to allow access to pastures in transhumant animal husbandry, the other was to allocate new offspring to the appropriate owners in due time. For this reason, the typical twice-annual round-up of livestock in designated areas located the newest members of the herds when still close to their mothers, and applied the respective brand or marking of the owner of the mare.

For those animals that were not claimed by owners, the *mesta* offered particular terminology. Generally, animals were referred to as *alzado* (loose) when they were not enclosed and of uncertain origin. Those collected by the m*esta* for allocation were also known as *mestengo* (considered the origin of the term Mustang). Those that were kept then in *corrales* to be sold off because unbranded and unclaimed, were known as *mostrenco* as well. These standard descriptions of livestock appear earlier than the use of the word *cimarrón* in a New World context. In other words, these animals were considered domesticated in their nature, but had lost the characteristic of enclosure or ownership.

In general, livestock populations were only loosely domesticated using Iberian practices emphasizing common grazing rights. At specific times for breeding, *ejidos* or *dehesas* might be selected for keeping the mares with stallions, left to breed at liberty even if the stallion and mares were selected. But such enclosures—like *potreros* for the offspring or *corrales* for performing the work of branding or separating new foals—were rare and frequently temporary. In other words, horses of all varieties were let loose to forage in the mountains. In fact, in Garcilaso's

description of the origin of the *cimarrón* in the Caribbean islands, he notes that owners of mares had minimal commitment to them, "seeing that they bred freely in the mountains and came to no harm from wild beasts even released tame animals to go with them."[249] A combination of existing practices, common land use requirements, and dense vegetation of particular regions of the islands made it difficult to control the livestock seeking pastures. But the mares could then be "harvested" from the mountains, rounded up in an annual or bi-annual fashion to take the colts most promising for being ridden and trained. While using *cimarrón* mares, this round-up resembled the ways that horses were bred in the marshes or *marismas* of the Guadalquivir River in Andalusia.[250] Horses thus could be domesticated by nature but not tamed or trained, and left out at pasture for long periods of time. In this sense, handling the *cimarrón* did not strikingly differ from other horses.

Domestication in some sense measured the progress of Spanish colonization. Relocation of Indian towns under oversight of religious orders, for example, included instruction in not only farming but also small livestock production. Beasts of burden helped establish trade routes, and cultivate land. Such improvements were an essential element according to traditional European precepts of civil society. But, on the other hand, the division between a controlled and a feral population of livestock was not as clear-cut. The alternative of *manso*, or tamed, applied only to a select group with training to be ridden, and would not even have applied to all horses.

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[249] Garcilaso, Book 9 CH XVI – XXXI, 579-80.

[250] Karl W. Butzer, "Cattle and Sheep from Old to New Spain: Historical Antecedents," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 78, no. 1 (1988): 29–56; Terry G. Jordan, "An Iberian Lowland/highland Model for Latin American Cattle Ranching," *Journal of Historical Geography* 15, no. 2 (April 1989): 111–25. Marshes that flooded annually for pastureland along the Guadalquivir shaped the herding economy in New Spain.

It is telling that the term *cimarrón* is emblematic of the runaway slave or indigenous person who had abandoned the site where he owed tribute. For example, Guaman Poma used term "indios cimarrones de sus pueblos" to describe the migrations of *indio*s in Peru or "indios ausentes y cimarrones hechos yanaconas."[251] The terminology of *cimarrón* appears to primarily mean "without owner"—in the sense of being free-range and roaming—rather than "wild" in the sense of savage. That is, the mark of the *cimarrón* was a lack of an ownership claim rather than a meaningful distinction in how it was raised compared to other equine stock. In this sense, the *cimarrón* represented a social category, rather than discernible difference in quality of the horse or breeding—but a category that raised anxiety about the quality of the horses produced in this state of abundance.

The Meaning of Brands

The use of brands in the *mesta* registration offered a certain form of classification. This classification primarily referred to ownership and legal regulation, and did not often emerge in common parlance to the extent it has been recorded in narratives and in archival documents. Even though a legal requirement, brand descriptions were not applied systematically in documentation. Sometimes the brand was mentioned in reference to the owner/breeder, and other times drawn in the margin without explanation, or frequently simply not described at all. References to brands as registered and legal categories only infrequently match any commentary about horse characteristics and traits—which if discussed primarily included color.

[251] Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala and Roland Hamilton, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government: On the History of the World and the Incas up to 1615* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), 79.

Brands in the *mesta* indicated ownership, and when combined with local knowledge could also place a point of origin. During the first decade of the Spanish conquest of Mexico, the majority of the brands would have been ones registered in Cuba and Jamaica, and brought to the mainland. These presumably were the same recorded visually in the codex *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*.[252] Some brands were first associated with the officials benefitting from the restrictions on the movement of horses across jurisdictional boundaries. In the early years of Cortes' campaigns, conquistador Gonzalo Sandoval had a remarkable reputation for selecting the finest horses, one of which he offered to send back to the king in Spain. Distinct brands to be registered by the Mexico City *cabildo* began with the first ordinances of the m*esta* in 1528.[253] The brand of the Viceroy Mendoza of Mexico likewise achieved high prices and a good reputation in Lima's *notariales* records. Similarly, the brand of Luis de Avila in Michoacán achieved broader recognition in shipments from Mexico to Peru — perhaps because his extended family was involved in horse breeding operations, reaching from Santo Domingo to Nicaragua and Michoacán.

Looking at documents in which brands are referenced—primarily m*esta* records in *cabildo* meetings, and in specific petitions about claims of horse theft—the brand was not used to indicate essential qualities of the horse. Rather, it is used to identify the chain of ownership in buying and selling that horse. In northern New Spain, in the region of Michoacán and the Gran

[252] José Álvarez del Villar, *Historia de La Charrería* (México: [s.n.], 1941).

[253] Dusenberry lists the brands registered in Mexico City between 1530-1536: "Rui Gonzalez, hierro de yeguas y vacas"; "Pedro Sanchez, yeguas y vacas"; "Anton Cayzedo yeguas y vacas"; "Gregorio Davila oveja, vaca, yeguas" ; "Antonio Davila vacas y yeguas" ; "Juan Montero y Francisco de la Torre, ovejas, vacas, yeguas" ; "Francisco Flores, yeguas y vacas"; "Pedro Valenciano, Bartolome de Perales, Geronimo Ruiz, vacas and yeguas 1532" ; "Juan de Sandoval vacas y yeguas" ; "Juan Tirado, Juan Millan, vacas y yeguas"; "Juan Gomez Moreno"

Chichimeca, municipal records of horse-theft record how some horses were described, with the first case appearing in 1563 the same year that the *mesta* was organized in this area.[254] In 1566, Juan Herrero reported that his horse had been stolen from the "savanna" of Patzcuaro a month and a half earlier, and now he found it in the possession of his neighbor Pedro Riberas. He and his witnesses testify that he had purchased the horse from the breeder Clerigo/Fray Rodrigo Obregon, complete with the same breeder's brand. Riberas for his part claimed he had purchased the horse over two months earlier on the road from Mexico City. The horse was returned to Herrero, based on his claims of ownership through the brand and color of the animal.[255]

In the Viceroyalty of Peru, notarial transactions serve as the primary location for mention of horses. These transactions described horses by color, previous owner, and only on rare occasional by brand. In this sense, a brand continued to be a mark for tracing ownership rather than highlighting or defining qualities in the individual animal. Initially horse brands were marked with notches on the ear of the animal. However, as the *cabildo* frequently recognized, such markings were easily replicated or altered. In Quito, these markings were used early on, but limitation in the variety of such markings for creating distinctive brands did not accommodate the diverse registrations necessary. In the region of Cuenca, by the 1560s such ear notches were being imitated by the *indio* population, and the *cabildo* declared that any marked animals found in their possession would be assumed stolen. Theft of young offspring, before it had been rounded up for branding, therefore, became a target. An example of theft in Trujillo for example

[254] AHMPA Fondo Patzcuaro records supply a number of names associated with recognized brands / hierros, although far from comprehensive: "Casta de LUIS DE AVILA"; "Hierro de Tomas de Salas" ; "Hierro de Rodrigo de Villalobos" ; "Hierro de Hurtado" ; "Hierro de Juan Martin del Valle de Guanajuato".

[255] AHMPA, Fondo Patzcuaro, Caja 131, Legajo 3.

included two mares with their as-yet un-weaned foals, captured before being branded in the bi-annual *mesta* roundup.[256]

Governing cabildos clearly restricted brands geographically. But given what we know of the growing abundance of horses, the preservation of common land rights, loose definitions of *estancias*, and only slowly developing *mesta* requirements, it is unclear what these brand markings actually could indicate about a type of horse based on its place of origin. Owners could change their brands or buy out rights to another's brand, making them independent of the breeder and particular herd. Indeed, some horses were branded more than once as a form of proof in changing ownership. Such brands were not safe from fraud, however, as noted by viceroys in late 16th century. Moreover, not all horses carried a brand, regardless of the *mesta* requirements. As a result, brands did not clearly identify horses of particular regions, nor lay claims to certain qualities of *tierra*.

The *Casta Andaluz*

At this time, horse typologies primarily related to social function, even including "natural" qualities that could also be defined by physiological characteristics. Regulation and function often featured more prominently than definition of physical type. The *mesta*, for example, showed a lack of particularity about the horses' physical characteristics, focusing rather on registering brands, and dealing with strays and complaints of horse theft through tracing a

[256] "Don Luis de Valverde, vecino de la ciudad de Trujillo, sobre se le de informacion por parte de dos indios y demas testigos del hurto de dos yeguas, una rucia preñada con dos crios y otra castaña con un crio." ARL, Cabildo, Causas Criminales Leg. 77, Doc 1266. Trujillo, 1599.

chain of ownership rather than the physical build of a horse. Recognizing this limitation provides important context for distinctions, like that of the *cimarrón*, in colonial horse typology.

Spanish livestock fell into either *manso* or *mestengo* categories — that is, it could be distinguished by specific training for a task or function, like that of being a war horse, or, alternatively, based on category of ownership. Among those horses that were trained for specific uses, some were of higher quality than others. The *rocín*, for example, referred to a horse that did not have the features required for such tasks — typically horses out at pasture that had a poor level of training, but also lacked characteristics for the particular functions of war — namely size and strength. Mounts for transportation fell into several general categories, with differing values and possible price points. These included the *trotton*, the *haca*, the *quartao* and the *corser*. The *trotton* referred to the quality of the horse's trot, perhaps as in one with the ability to "pace" or the trotting motion of swaying rather than using diagonals, which led to a smoother gait and was desirable for long distance transportation. The *haca* or hackney would also refer to a general horse for transport, one of medium size presumably, and often associated with greater ease of control. These terms implied a judgment of relative quality, but primarily served as a reference to function.

There are also references to horses based on their place of origin, with some areas being praised for having good or excellent horses. The regional classification of a horse was the broadest definition of kinds of horses, prevalent in Europe as well. These categories could possibly refer to general traits, such as speed, or health, which seem to derive by association from the region in which they were raised. However, cross-breeding among the various horses of national origin was typically the common purpose of identifying such regional types in the first

place — ultimately creating hybrids that would have make such concrete distinctions much less useful.

Horses brought to the New World in the first instance would also have belonged to a similar type of classification by region. Within Spain, the regions distinguished the southern Andalusian horse from a northern variety, of uncertain qualities except by way of contrast to those of Andalusia.[257] The particular qualities of the southern Andalusian horse, moreover, were attributed to a hybrid cross of a perhaps native Spanish horse population with horses brought by the successive invading groups from North Africa, known as the Barb.[258] The exact nature of the native horse likewise is speculative, as it is known that there were ponies in the marshes or *marisma* of the southwestern coast of Spain, as well as possibly in the mountains in Granada.[259]

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[257] Difference is very difficult to recover, historically speaking. A short list of the possible terms used to refer to Spanish horses includes: *navarras, granadinas, cordobesas, rondeñas, celtas, castellanas*, etc., primarily indicating a geographical origin rather than a breed or clearly fixed physical type.

[258] Luis de Ascásubi and Asociación Nacional de Criadores Propietarios de Caballos Peruanos de Paso, *El caballo de paso y su equitación* (Lima: Asociación Nacional de Criadores y Propietarios de Caballos Peruanos de Paso, 1968); Carlos Luna de la Fuente, *The Peruvian Horse* (Lima, Peru; Camarillo, Calif.: Banco Agrario ; Distributor, Peruvian Tack Inc., 1988). Called “Barbs”, derived from Berber, these are not Arabian but a type found in the Atlas mountinas of North Africa. Almovarids under Tarik arrived in Algeciras with less than 100 horses, but all arrived at Cordoba on horseback so presumably also used native horses.

[259] The reputation of a native Spanish horse population dates from the records of the Punic wars between Rome and Carthage over imperial territories in the Iberian Peninsula, and Strabo praised the “Iberian” horse of those resident Celtic and Visigothic groups in the northern mountains of the central region of Castile, also known as the “raza castellana.” The Roman general Vegetius also indicated that "*los caballos hispanos*" along with the "*númidas*" were among the bravest types of horses. (Vegetius, *Mulomedicina*, 3, 7, 1.) Some presume this praise referred to mountain ponies, with descendants in the *Sorianas* or the *Asturcones* known today. Others assume these praises were for horses referred to as the “*cieldon*” (el caldón, celdón, thieldón o fieldón), horses of possible celtic origins but also sometimes considered synonymous with the “*castellano*” found on the plains of the central *meseta*.

Nevertheless, it is presumed that methods of breeding horses in the marshes of the Guadalquivir gave rise to what was known as the *casta andaluz*.[260]

Better understanding the difficulty in identifying and defining what constituted the Spanish horse type, it is instructive to return to the attempts by the Spanish monarchs to actually define the horses required and desired for their purposes. A sense of acute shortage of horses was blamed on the diversion of horse breeding to the dead-end of mule breeding. In 1528, Charles V reiterated the responsibility of his subjects to provide proof of horse ownership with signed testimony from the royal representative or *corregidor*, the local judge or *alcalde mayor,* and town notary to be sent to the court every six months of all such horses registered in their jurisdiction.[261] The secondary requirement emphasized the size of the horses registered. Although *caballo* could be translated as any generic horse, in this legislation it referred to a "horse suitable for war." That is, a horse of a particular size and strength to carry an armored man at arms. From an analysis of archaeological evidence and horse ecology, a typical native horse would have bordered on the size of a pony or small horse (approximately 12 hands[262]). So, a warhorse

[260] Denhardt writes, "the famous breed of Cordoba is said to have been formed by the Arabic Caliphate in Cordoba, by the four sires brought from the Yemen or the Hejaz, crossed with native mares." This revives the speculation that the horses have Arab blood, not just Barb.

[261] "Pragmática del Emperador don Carlos y de la Reina Dª Juana sobre las personas que podian andar en mulas, jacas y cuartagos y con que condiciones." AGS CCA,DIV,10,610. 1528.

[262] Stuart W. Pyhrr et al., *The Armored Horse in Europe, 1480-1620* (New York: Yale University Press) 2005; Juliet Clutton-Brock, *Horse Power: A History of the Horse and the Donkey in Human Societies* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992); F. M. L Thompson, *Horses in European Economic History : A Preliminary Canter* (Reading: British Agricultural History Society, 1983).

primarily indicated a horse above that average size, tending towards 15 or perhaps 16 hands.[263] Charles V's complaint primarily addressed the lack of horses suitable for carrying men at arms, and he consequently made the registry of horses more specific, requiring that they reach a *cierta marca*.[264] Defined as 1 and 2/3 *varas*, this *cierta marca* measurement would be the equivalent of at least 14 hands in contemporary terms. Rather than specifying a type of horse that could be understood as a breed, this legislation indicated a particular function for the horse and parameters for physical requirements of size. Nevertheless, the king's attempt to exert and maintain control of the horse quality through the size, or *cierta marca*, also indicated a shift to greater interest in defining types of horses.

In general, Andalusian horses were considered good—and often sent by Spanish kings to other princely courts for their studs. Environment or region of origin could certainly enhance the health of these horses. Such regional differences, due to natural barriers, realistically would represent a population bottleneck. But particular characteristics of height or speed in a given region may also have resulted from controlled breeding of a particular subpopulation on the part of an individual breeder considered representative of an area. Was the *casta andaluz* then also a specific breed of horse?

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[263] John Clark and Museum of London, *The Medieval Horse and Its Equipment : c.1150-c.1450* (London: H.M.S.O., 1995). Estimates of the size of the 'great horse' or 'destrier' are widely varied. Archaeological records suggest that the desire for a much larger horse actually translated to a 15 to 16 hand horse -- large in comparison to the average 12 hands of a wild mare, but median among modern horses.

[264] "Pragmática Sobre Caballos y Mulas En Que Manda Que Todos Los Que Quisieren Andar Cabalgando Anden a La Brida o a La Jineta En Caballo, 9 March 1534," in *Quadernos de Las Cortes* (Salamanca: Juan de Junta, 1543), fols. 31v–33v.

Breed itself is a complex concept, central to the mutual influences of humans, animals and environment. This is perhaps best understood through the lens of "zootechnics," or the science relating to the breeding and domestication of animals, in which breed is typically considered a subspecies, similar to a race.[265] In the Spanish designation, *raza* is used to signal "a subdivision within a domestic species"—a combination of both natural and human selection, which sometimes work at cross purposes.[266] Renieri outlined four possible types of *raza* in this respect: (1) Primitive: *raza*s *naturales* or *raza*s *geográficas*, landrace due to geographic isolation or early stage of speciation, although genetic differences at this stage are generally reversible if mixed with a broader population. (2) Secondary, standardized: artificial selection according to specific criteria, visual attention especially to outward appearance dated to the eighteenth century; requiring an association of breeders, a breed standard, and a registry. (3) Synthetic: artificial selection, created by a cross of two Secondary, or a Secondary with a Primitive. (4) Mendelian: a population that "breeds true" for a specific trait. Within each type of "sub-racial" zootechnic category, a genetic lineage is present in order to define the *raza* based on the exhibition of inherited traits transmitted from one generation to the next. The frequency with which these are expressed are often a measure of permanence, also known as "fixing" or "true to type" breed quality. On the other hand, each sub-type is also affected by natural genetic mutations, so that a desired phenotype might also need to be selected from a population without

[265] John S. Wilkins, *Defining Species: A Sourcebook from Antiquity to Today* (Peter Lang, 2009); Peter J. Bowler, "Bonnet and Buffon: Theories of Generation and the Problem of Species," *Journal of the History of Biology* 6, no. 2 (September 1, 1973): 259–81, doi:10.1007/BF00127610; Alan R. Templeton, *Population Genetics and Microevolutionary Theory* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2006); Temple Grandin, *Genetics and the Behavior of Domestic Animals* (Academic Press, Incorporated, 1998).

[266] Renieri, C., et al. "Definición de razas en llamas y alpacas" Animal Genetic Resources Information Vol. 45, 2009: 45-52.

strictly following a specific genetic line. Even "natural" races, under a specific kind of population bottleneck, still exhibit genetic mutations. Rarely are these stable enough to justify hard subtypes approaching speciation, except over evolutionary time scales. Instead, biologists and ecologists statistically characterize the inflow/outflow of populations and their genetic pools to classify subspecies.

If horse breed results from a specific lineage and depended on controlled breeding, it seems that the *casta* referred to traits of an individual specimen or health. Considered in contemporary language, the potential influence of the terrain or environment on the horse could be considered a "landrace" — where the survival of offspring in the natural elements and resources available contributed not only to the health of the specimens but their selection and success breeding. But while references to *casta* seem to be closely aligned with regions, the terminology intermixes elements of physical qualities and breeders, rather than providing a neat distinction between them.

Regional Environments

The changed longitude, re-locating the animals closer to the equator, altered the natural signals for the animals reproductive cycles—as estrous was triggered by circadian cycles of daylight and seasonality— and contributed to the notable fertility of the livestock.[267] This provides substance behind the astonishing record that cows and mares gave birth every year and a half. This also helps explain the marvel of growth doubled in less than one year, and the

[267] Benjamin S. Orlove, *Alpacas, Sheep, and Men: The Wool Export Economy and Regional Society of Southern Peru* (New York: Academic Press, 1977).

amazement at increased reproductive capabilities in these animals. However, such growth was not unlimited. While natural terrain was conducive to these new animal herds in some places there were also natural limits to the carrying capacity of the forage. As the herds increased, the intensive new uses of grazing impacted local growth. One effect of the grazing activities of hoofed mammals, or ungulates, is desiccation over time, altering the lushness of the vegetation. This would limit the populations that could be supported by the available forage. Additional changes to the fertility of the animals probably occurred— if not because of generational adaptation to the light and climate for reproductive cycles, then as a side-effect of the inbreeding necessary for sustaining such rapid growth with such small seed populations. Chevalier notes the end of such rapid rates of growth in New Spain by the 1570s.

These environmental considerations played a considerable role in where horses were introduced and how settlement proceeded. Thus, generally routes of conquest followed along plains and river basins from initial ports of entry, as routes amenable to horses. This pattern, from the perspective of topological contours, can be seen in the route of Cortes from Veracruz inland, by way of Cholula, to Tenochtitlan, as well as the subsequent forks in expansion both further northwest to Michoacán/Queretaro and further south to Oaxaca. Similarly, this pattern can be traced in South American expeditions from landing in Piura / Guayaquil, to the interior of Quito and similarly from the Bay of Margarita in coastal Venezuela up to the settlements of Tunja and Popayan. These regions can be generalized as Coastal Plains, High Plains, and Mountain Valleys, and became important centers for caching the abundance of horses because they assisted in Spanish patterns of conquest, political networks, and development of economic enterprises.

Coastal Plains

Coastal Plains served as first points of access, and also suitable for keeping horses. Initial approaches by sea typically looked for protected bays leading to rivers for the easiest access inland. The riverine approaches also would often serve as a catch basin in a larger valley or other type of depression with grasslands nearby. This configuration resembles the livestock raising used in Andalusia around the Guadalquivir River estuary, and found parallels for example in the Veracruz region of New Spain as the central point of entry towards the major inland centers. Similarly, the development of livestock herding around the Lake of Nicaragua between Leon and Granada, as well as Nata on the coast of Panama, followed this schema. Further down the coast, the landing site of Piura San Miguel became a point of supply and breeding for these contours, as well as the Pachacamac valley outside of Lima, and the region between Arequipa and the pacific coast. Santiago de Chile, too, boasted this configuration when the first bishop took on breeding responsibilities in the 1540s.

In New Spain, the original entry and expansion from the port of Veracruz was the same Cortes also designated as the first site for livestock raising. Numerous studies have investigated the transfer of Iberian animal husbandry techniques from Andalusia to Mexico, a strategy characterized by the use of *marismas* or swampy low-lying coastal areas for providing forage, and later rounding up the new offspring, and Sluyter credited Villalobos with establishing the first ranches in the Veracruz region using these methods, on the orders of Cortes.[268] While

[268] Sluyter, *Black Ranching Frontiers*, p.29. See also: Charles Julian Bishko, "The Peninsular Background of Latin American Cattle Ranching," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 32, no. 4 (November 1, 1952): 491–515; Karl W. Butzer, "Cattle and Sheep from Old to New Spain: Historical Antecedents," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 78, no. 1 (1988): 29–56; Terry G. Jordan, "An Iberian Lowland/highland Model for Latin American Cattle Ranching," *Journal of Historical Geography* 15, no. 2 (April 1989): 111–25.

documented for cattle primarily, horses raised in Andalusia from at least Roman times if not earlier, used the *marismeña* strategy in managing horse herds, rather than long-distance transhumance as was undertaken for sheep herding.[269] By 1533, the *regidores* of Veracruz ordered that the single males not be let loose because "they harass the mares even in their own stables," indicating the growth and rigor of this region.[270]

In Peru, the earliest Spanish presence arrived via the coastal area of San Miguel Piura, en route to Cajamarca. This port remained the main point of disembarking for the transport of horses and reinforcements early on. The coastal area of the Chimú and its surrounding riverine valleys, overtaken by the city of Trujillo founded by Almagro in 1534, became a center for livestock supply almost immediately. In the encomienda distributed by Pizarro from the initial blow against Atahualpa in Cajamarca, livestock was established in Saña valley in 1537, Pacora in 1539, and soon after in Jequetepeque and Chicama.[271] The coastal center of Lima was also founded in 1534, after an earlier inland settlement at the indigenous Huanca population center of Jauja had to be moved for both rebellious *caciques* and conditions unfavorable to their horses. The Actas de Cabildo of Lima in 1534 records the poor conditions of the Jauja road for their equine cargo: "the road is very deserted, with bad footing and very harsh and lots of snow where

[269] Carmona Ruiz, "El Caballo Andaluz y la Frontera del Reino Granada" *CHE*, LXXX, 2006:55-63; *La ganadería en el reino de Sevilla durante la baja Edad Media* (Sevilla, 1998). For a contemporary case: "The Retuertas horse: the 'missing link' in the Iberoamerican horse breeds origin?" in *Conservation Genetics of endangered horse breeds*. Ed. I. Bodó, L. Alderson and B. Langlois. (Wageningen, Wageningen Academic Publishers. EAAP Publication No 116, 2005). This is a practice still used today in the Doñana National Park.

[270] AGI,PATRONATO,180, ramo 51, f.783v.

[271] AGI,JUSTICIA,418,1573,462.

the horses cannot walk with their cargo."[272] It also lacked sustenance and a temperate climate for the mares to raise their young, such that the young foals died of the cold and sterility of the mountains.

The port of Lima, Callao, gradually overtook Piura, and also became the seat of the viceregal government in the 1540s, despite the initial prominence of Cusco. The valleys surrounding Lima, in particular Lurin and Pachacamac became the key locations for livestock and particularly horses. Records of public sales and promissory notes in the *Notariales* records of Lima indicate a measure of the activity around horse-trading for multiple purposes along coastal areas. When the bishop and viceroy instituted the collection of the tithe on agricultural production, these regions concentrated on the coastal valleys from Piura down to Ica, with evidence of major herds by the 1570s in Pachacamac, Chancay, Guanuco, Pisco, Guamey. Horses also shipped from Lima inland to Arequipa and Cusco, and further afield to Charcas and Chile. While outrageous prices of 1500 pesos de oro were common in the first decade of conquest, representing both scarce supply and high demand, in 1542 these prices level out at 200 pesos de oro which likely represents both an easing of supply and regulations implemented by the viceroy as price controls. Then in 1564, after the civil wars had ended, it became common to find exchanges of multiple horses for prices per head ranging from just 10 to 100 pesos, depending on quantity and quality.[273]

High Plains

[272] 29 November 1534, Ciudad de Xauxa (Jauja) , *Libros de Cabildo, Lima* (Vol. 1-13). Ed. Sophy E. Schofield. (Lima: Torres Aguirre, 1946).

[273] AGNP, Protocolos Notoriales

The transportation of horses overland favored flat land, and as a result expeditions would typically seek natural plains, if not already following paths established by existing trade and contacts between local groups. These high plains became central conduits for conquest, re-supplying horses, and connecting port cities and mining entrepôts. Aside from issues of general accessibility for horses on the campaigns and expeditions, horses, mules and oxen were the beast of burden used for transporting materials and merchandise, and usually found in areas intended for developing networks of roads.

To make the best use of their horses and mules, the development of the Camino Real network depended on the flat plains en route nearest to the points of economic interest. Such selection is evident in New Spain. Major arteries included the plains between Veracruz to Mexico (later extended to Acapulco), for which Puebla became a major region with herds of mares and mules for cargo trains. Further north from Mexico City, the "Bahío" region, characterized by similar grassland plains en route to mining in Zacatecas was later extended into the *Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, and the site of the most massive herds of horses cited to describe their abundance in New Spain. Finally, a similar major artery south through the Valle de Oaxaca and along the Sonocusco coast opened trade with Guatemala and points south in the mid-sixteenth century.

In Peru, the difficulty in finding similar points of entry through the regions of Venezuela-Colombia-Ecuador meant that the entry by sea remained crucial, in addition to access to Incan roads south of Ecuador. Attempts to move inland from Santa Marta into present day Venezuela and Colombia via the Orinoco or Magdalena River basins were thwarted by terrain and dispersed, independent native groups. The expedition led by Gonzalo Jimenez de Quesada only saw 166 men survive out of the original 900 through the jungle regions, before reaching the

central highland plains of Colombia in 1539, taking Tunja from the Muisca. He reached Tunja about the same time that Sebastian Benalcazar, heading north from Quito in Ecuador, arrived. Further claims of Nikolaus Federman, who took the Orinoco route, clashed with those of Pascual de Andagoya, generating complicated disputes over the settlements of Bogota and Popayan settlements in what was known as Nueva Granada. Later, the island of Margarita supplied horses to the llanos of Venezuela and Colombia, in particular the area around Popayan. This formed the first overland connection between the Caribbean and Peru, and linked a series of high plains thereafter through Columbia to Quito and into the Andes region.

Within Peru and the former Inca territory, a complex network of royal and public roads already existed, which were often used by the Spanish. However, these were developed with stairs and suspension bridges for foot traffic and llama cargo, rather than the interests of horse or mule cargo and wheeled carts. As a result, the pattern in Peru generally relied on coastal shipping to ports like Tumbes, Piura, Callao, and Quilca, with cargo routes established into the highlands from the coast, rather than through central plains. The Gran Chaco region surrounding Lake Titicaca formed the exception.

Mountain Valleys

Mountain valleys present a third area where horses congregated. Because of the difficulty of mountain passes for transporting horses, much of Central America's volcanic formations and Peruvian Andes seemed impassable and inhospitable to horses. However, select areas with mountain valleys, even at relatively high elevations, became important points of supply as well. As the conquistadors moved south from Mexico City, for example, the region of Chiapas and the Grijalva River followed plains but was encircled by mountains and thus became a breeding center—in particular Chiapas de los Indios as noted by Bernal Diaz and later travelers.

With similar geographical features, Quito in Ecuador, as well as Popayan in Colombia, also became breeding centers. Río Moreno provides an example of this when he notes that the entry from Venezuela to the *meseta* of Colombia in 1546 to Tunja, allowed for keeping livestock and horses from the islands. As a result, the price of a horse in 1544 at 500 *pesos* compared to one in 1558 at 30 *pesos*.[274] In Quito, the collection of *diezmos* or tithes on livestock offspring began its records with young horses in 1536, and later extended to other agricultural products by 1549.[275] Cuenca, also a valley at the convergence of four rivers (Tomebamba, Yanuncay, Tarqui and Machangara) in the Andes foothills served as an outpost for expeditions into the Amazon region as part of its watershed. Although surrounded by mountains on all sides, it housed a population of horses after its founding in 1557.

Additional valleys in Peru became centers for horse breeding and other livestock, situated along the former Inca highway, even although not near a series of natural plains. This is the case of Chachapoyas, in north-central Peru. Further south, the regions surrounding Cuzco with lower-altitude *puna* ringed by mountain ridges, like Andahuaylas, Cangallo, and Chumbivilca, all generated similar concentrations of Spanish domesticated livestock. Mountains, or more properly *montes* as uncultivated land, were a typical form of pasture in transhumant livestock practices and these practices transferred easily to such regions.

[274] Río Moreno, 147.

[275] Archivo Nacional Ecuador, Diezmos http://www.ane.gob.ec/diezmos/

Casta in Spanish America

Horses brought from Spain also developed *casta* reputations in some regions of the New World. New World horses were praised at a regional level, although some specific breeders also garnered special reputations. The most highly praised came from the river basin regions — related to favorable or preferred terrain for raising horses near floodplains, such as the Bahío in New Spain. It is also notable that these regions were frequently frontier zones, especially the northern portion with the Chichimec, stimulating the use and need for horses, in addition to their numbers and favorable habitat. Health, certainly was a factor, as well as what use the type of horse would be good for, depending on its particular strengths of size, sturdy hooves, temperament, and speed. These generalizations, however, were relatively broad, and they mixed region, breeding, training and performance under saddle.

Garcilaso claimed that the horses on the Caribbean islands were good enough for serving the gentlemen of the islands, enriching their stables to have 30 or 50 each, and to be good enough for the young colts broken just a few months to be used for displays of horsemanship like the *juego de cañas*. Garcilaso at least, compliments the qualities of these horses, and asks why are not more sent back to Spain to serve the gentlemen there. He specifically notes their size and color. The perceived quality of these specimens was high, and as discussed in Chapter 2, the development of horse breeding in the new colonial settings had followed the favors received by royal officials. These horses played a role in establishing the authority of the king's representatives. Moreover, colonial officials had greater control over their horses than the general rapidly expanding population of *cimarrones* on the islands and in the coastal estuaries or high central plains of Mexico. For example, in 1547, Francisco de Avila, a *regidor*, *tesorero* and *vecino* of the island of Española intended to send four colts, as prime specimens, to the prince,

Philip II. Avila had earlier written to the prince to inform him that he had achieved such excellent horses—"tan buena casta"—that the prince asked him to send some for his own stables. Avila was given license to send these horses back to Spain, with the Audiencia paying the costs of the passage in the armada of Luis Colon. Unfortunately, this pending shipment was urgently redirected to send an armada to Peru with the incoming viceroy La Gasca in order to settle the ongoing rebellion against the Crown, taking 38 horses from the stables of the Audiencia of Hispaniola, as well as 74 mules for cargo, for a price of 1,440 pesos.[276]

Vargas Machuca, from his experiences in various regions in the second half of the sixteenth century, remarked on the qualities of the horses from New Spain most admiringly. In the *Militia Indiana*, he wrote:

> "There are excellent horses for celebrations and the stables are well stocked. The best are the Mexicans, because in addition to being light and marvelously fast, they are well-trained and obedient to corrections, without viciousness or tricks that you find in [Castile], and they grow stronger with better hooves. They only have one fault that they are gaited (*pisadores*), yet because of that they are bullfighters, run better and are lighter, and at fourteen years one of these horses is not yet old."[277]

He noted their speed, being light and good for running. He also notes their health in terms of hard hooves, temperament, and aging. The horses of Michoacán also received high praise in New Spain. In a massive complement, a later traveler praised their use in the game of *cristianos y moros* demonstrated the ability (*destreza)* of the horses and riders as equal to the "celebrated

[276] AGI,SANTO_DOMINGO,868,libr. 2 ff 320v-321.

[277] Benjamín Flores Hernández, "La Jineta Indiana; En Los Textos de Juan Suárez de Peralta Y Bernardo de Vargas Machuca," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 54, no. 2 (October 20, 2010): 639–64, 36.

jerezanos," equating Michoacán with Andalusia for both excellent horses and horsemen.[278] In these ways, Mexican horses even surpassed those in Spain.

Herrera y Tordesillas, in his *Historia general*, also offers opinions on Central American regions with the best horses.[279] Herrera singled out Chiapas for having exceptional horses not surpassed by Iberian animals. This he credited to the ability of local Chiapanecas in breeding, training and riding horses. In this praise, training featured equally to physical characterizes in his assessment of the quality of breeding. Herrera also praised the province of Nueva Valladolid, in present day Honduras, as the greatest source for horse stock in the sixteenth century. He attributed the rocky ground in Valladolid ranches for the good effects of the horses' general health.

Religious organizations also showed an active interest in establishing breeding, reflected in reputation of livestock where their activities were concentrated. Breeding livestock operated under ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the tithe or *diezmos*, which applied to the multiplication of agricultural goods, both plants and animals, as the natural increase of the land. In Guadalajara, for example, the Hospital de la Veracruz gained permission to collect the *ganado mostrenco* in the province of Guadalajara in 1567.[280] Such benefits gained by the multiplication of livestock, moreover, at times seemed to be beyond charitable. In 1587, Eugenio de Salazar presented a petition to Viceroy Villamanrique, asserting that officials and clergy were raising horses and selling them for profit, using *indio*s to raise the hay and feed the horses. Salazar asked the

[278] Mathías de Escobar (1690-1748), *Americana Thebaida*, cited in Felipe Castro, *Los tarascos y el imperio español, 1600-1740* (UNAM/UMSNH, México, 2004), 284.

[279] Herera y Tordesillas, *Historia General*, Vol. 1: 26.

[280] AGI,GUADALAJARA,230,L1,F184R, 1567.

viceroy to limit such officials to just 2 horses each. The viceroy considered it reasonable that each official or clergy could have at most 3 horses for his own use, and ordered them to pay their *indio* servants in money rather than hay. One clear example of this success would be the previously mentioned brand established by Padre Obregon in the region of Patzcuaro and Morelia.

Velazquez Espinoza (1620s) offered additional opinions on the locations of the best horses in South America. He highlighted Chachapoyas in Peru as an excellent region for horses. Many were destined for the viceroys or colonial elites for their horse racing hobbies. An example of the effort and interest in breeding racing horses comes here. Two families became well known for the horses raised in Chachapoyas. One horse breeder was the *corregidor* of Chachapoyas, Juan de Orduña Pinedo. In 1584, he owned three *encomiendas* in the region (Comacocha y Colcamal, Timal.)[281] These horses, according to Velazquez Espinosa, earned the designations of "casta rica" or "luyanos". Velazquez Espinoza also praised those of Cochabamba (Bolivia, Gran Chaco), and region that similar to Chachapoyas, shared the role of a frontier outpost important for remounts.

While the available terminology did not differentiate unique breeds, it did demonstrate the general assumption that intervention improved the quality of horses. Such select horses tended to fall under the aegis of government officials or religious orders. Controls on breeding at the municipal levels as used in Spain and also applied in the New World, and generated concerns about qualities of *casta*. In areas of more scarcity, the implementation of these common breeding regulations carried more influence, such as in Peru. In regions with overabundance, the nature of

[281] Arturo Ruiz Estrada, "La Mita de Chachapoyas Del Año 1586 = The Mita of Chachapoyas in the Year 1586," *Investigaciones Sociales* 15, no. 27 (2011).

standard breeding controls was highly diluted, such as in New Spain. Mexican regions boasted reputations for good horses, which seemed to alleviate concerns about the quality of *casta*, even while generating new concern about the *cimarrón*.

Criollo Horses in South America

Considering the expansion of the *cimarrón* or free-ranging horse population in the Americas, the North American mustang and the South American *criollo* or creole horse represent the full extent of this phenomenon. Descriptions tend to be more or less romanticized, in general establishing the origin from the Iberian Peninsula, and then emphasizing the relative isolation of these horse populations as they adapted perfectly to a wide range of climates. Examination of the South American case in greater detail demonstrates a trail of colonial breeding regulations and complex trajectory of subsequent horse breeding interests. On the whole, it is unlikely that the idea of New World *castas* emerged solely from landrace characteristics, but rather due to human interventions.

Spanish settlements in the Río de la Plata, established early in 1536 by Pedro de Mendoza, also failed early by 1541.[282] This region was resettled, with a more permanent trajectory, in the 1580s, and the returning settlers were amazed to find herds of thousands of horses. What was the connection between the 40 or so horses that were abandoned in Buenos Aires and the massive herds that materialized in the intervening decades? Dobrizhoffer relied on this story to explain the presence of horses in the plains along the Río de la Plata River that spills into Paraguay and Brazil: “the mutual interaction of horses, grass and Indian carried the four-footed friend of man

[282] Capitulación del 21 de marzo de 1534 entre Pedro de Mendoza y la Corona española.

into the Plains of the Paraguay ahead of the white man; so that the first gold hunters in *Matto Grosso* were met by great tribes of equestrian Indians mounted on the descendants of the feral Andalusian steeds."[283] However, the trajectory of these herds of horses is complex, and requires piecing together multiple colonization efforts to flesh out this story.

On Mendoza's death in 1537, Domingo Martinez de Irala took over the first rocky settlement in Buenos Aires area, where he was elected as Captain General of Río de la Plata. Irala decided to move the inhabitants of Buenos Aires inland and upriver, retreating to Asunción, and formally abandoning the lowland settlement by 1541. Juan de Rivadeneyra wrote to Philip II reporting that they had abandoned Buenos Aires along with 44 horses and mares. However, Río Moreno has noted it is highly implausible that such a number could have reproduced at such a fabulous rate to reach the 80,000 horses reported in the region 50 years later, even given the abnormal fertility rates initially experienced by imported livestock.[284] Río Moreno pointed to Charcas and Asuncion as staging points, used by Cabeza de Vaca who brought mares from Charcas and Peru, as well as those of Chaves, Cáceres, Garay, and Hernandarias. The importance of the mule trade and the connections via the Andes (Potosi-Tucuman) made major contributions to the arrival of the horses and nascent *gaucho* culture in Argentina and Brazil.

The governance of the entire South American region, including Río de la Plata, remained under the Audiencia of Lima. In 1546, Philip II, as the new Prince Regent taking the reins from Charles V, took explicit interest in the breeding of horses in this region. He ordered that the governors of Río de la Plata could not breed their horses with any mares in the region unless they

[283] Martin Dobrizhoffer, *An Account of the Abipones, an Equestrian People of Paraguay*, Landmarks in Anthropology (New York: Johnson Reprint Corp, 1970), 273.

[284] Río Moreno, 170.

had been examined, on penalty of 1000 *castellanos de oro*, according to the "leyes destos reynos" dated 1546.[285] The *cédula* refers to the problems that had previously arisen due to the governors and *corregidores* abusing privileges to breed their own horses, rather than selecting the best horses as studs: “That some governors of the said province bred their horses to mares without being examined and that the form be instituted to breed to the best horses of the *pobladores*,” on penalty of 1000 *pesos de oro*. It required universal compliance with “the examination and quality that are required by the laws of these realms.” The same document had asked for relief from the requirement to pay the *diezmos*, a testament to the increase in the horse population such that paying the tithe on each new foal had become too onerous. The region was allowed a reprieve for five years (instead of the requested 15) from paying a tithe on the new *crianzas*. These rules applied not only to the region of Buenos Aires, but also the broader scope of the Rio de la Plata area from Bolivia to Paraguay and Argentina, including the critical locations of Tucuman, Asuncion, and Santa Fe.

The same language about the breeding of studs and the requirements for examinations was also issued from the new Viceroyalty of Peru in Lima in 1548. Both replicated that which had been issued in Castile in 1539: “About the examination of mares and stallions prior to any breeding by the *yeguarizo* or *albeitares* or others known for breeding horses.” The same appeared in the *Libros de Cabildo* of both Lima and Quito, and are evidence of this regulation throughout South American regions in this period.

Moreover, if there were horses in Río de la Plata by 1540s, this is the same period in which Santiago de Chile founded its horse breeding operations to support frontier military

[285] Audiencia de Buenos Aires, Registro de oficio y partes para el Río de la Plata Fol. 169v.

conflict. In 1545 the bishop Rodrigo Gonzalez spearheaded the cultivation of a horse population in estates in Quillota and Milipilla.[286] The ongoing conflict generated massive changes in horse property under the nomadic Mapuche camps. Reports from Chile place at least 500 horses in Spanish stables by 1550. The area of peace at this time suitable for breeding sat between Copiapó y Bío-Bío Rivers. In 1551, Francisco Villagarcia sent an additional 600 horses to Chile, and by the winter of 1551, there were enough mares and colts to require the use of a branding book by the *cabildo*. Valdivia's letter from 27 February, 1551 records, "because in this city there are many mares and foals that are not branded it is possible that these mares and foals are lost or go where they cannot be found or even appear so similar the owners do not know their own."[287] The *cabildo* designated men as blacksmith/veterinarians (*herraderos*) to record the brands (*hierros*) of the breeders in the *ayuntamiento* within four month's time. This was about the same time that an annual *rodeo* also began to bring all the livestock to the plaza of Santiago to be branded and selected for breeding.[288] Simultaneously, the first *mesta* ordinances were introduced, with restrictions specifically for breeding methods. In Santiago de Chile, these specifically aimed to avoid inheritance of infirmities by the young offspring, and in January of 1552, the city issued the following: "Because, as we see by experience, Patricio had a colt born with *esparavanes y alifafes* and Marco Veas another, and I another. If the *casta* continues to multiply in this manner it is a disservice to His Majesty and a great harm for this land." The aim to avoid breeding

[286] Medina, *Cartas de Pedro de Valdivia Que Tratan Del Descubrimiento Y Conquista de Chile* (Santiago: Fondo Historico y Bibliografico José Toribio Medina, 1953), 44. 4 September 1545.

[287] Medina, *Cartas de Pedro de Valdivia,* 27 February 1551.

[288] *Nuestro Caballos: Cabalgando Juntos a Través de La Historia* (Novum Editorial, 2011), 24: "el rodeo aparece en el siglo XVI cuando el citado Gobernador Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza ordena que en la fiesta del Apostol Santiago, patrono de la capital, se llevara el ganado a la hoy plaza de armas para ser marcado y seleccionado."

evidence of any particular ailments required examination and regulation, and would result in improving the *casta* of the horses from Chile.[289]

Issues of Decline

Regardless of the quality of some horses within the New World context, remarks of decline also plague the breeding of these horses, akin to the concerns voiced in Spain. This decline narrative is perhaps the best way to show that the land-race concept has many limitations and that breeding regulations remain the more important feature for emerging types of horses, even while adapting to local ecology or environments.

Ecuador early on established a reputation for breeding horses in the Quito Valley. The *Relacion Geográficas de Guayaquil* however noted, "many colts are bred but few turn out good."[290] An early traveler to Quito, Rodrigo de Paz Maldonado, also complained in 1577 that the horses there were not any good. He noted that "the cabildo had lost control of the *casta* of the stallions and furthermore the *indio*s load up the colts at just four months."[291] That is, the reputation for good horses came from controlled breeding, rather than the cornucopia of wild

[289] Bayle, Constantino, *Los cabildos seculares de la America Espanola*, 274. 2 enero 1552, Coleccion de Historiadores de Chile, I, 285. "Porque, segun vemos por experiencia, Patricio tienen un potro que nacio con esparavanes y alifafes, y Marcos Veas, otro, y yo [el procurador] otro. Y si la casta se va multiplicando de esta manera es en deservicio de SM y en muy gran daño de esta tierra."

[290] Río Moreno cites CODOIN, t. IX, p.265: "muchos eran los potros criados, pero pocos salían buenos."

[291] Karen Vieira Powers, *Andean Journeys: Migration, Ethnogenesis, and the State in Colonial Quito* (Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1995), 180.

horses benefitting from a generous terrain, and was quickly challenged by inattentive or abusive practices.

The work of Fray Lizaraga denoted key areas of the Viceroyalty of Peru with good horse breeding reputations around 1600, but he described an identical phenomenon of a flourishing horse breeding period followed by concerns about the decline of the quality of these horses. In his opinion, the best horse— "la major *casta* de todo el Peru"—had been bred in Guamanga (Ayacucho), but already by 1603 this was in decline. He considered the "negligence of the breeders" the primary cause. Similarly, across the border in Argentine, the city of Santiago de Tucuman, which became central for the production of horses and mules throughout South America, had an excellent reputation for horses. However, Lizarraga, on his own inspection, assessed that this city likewise neglected to maintain the stock ("cuidaron la estirpe"). By 1603, these horses were in poor shape.[292] As a widespread tendency, therefore, blame belonged to the breeders for not following the general system of horse breeding implemented by the Spanish through municipal regulation. After the end of the civil wars in Peru, it also seems that the breeding of horses had declined in favor of breeding mules. In 1601, Viceroy Luis de Velasco II ordered that one could only breed 25 out of 100 mares for mules.

Further south in Chile, the population of horses bred for the continuing war with the Mapuche also flourished outside of Spanish control. The chronicler Najera, writing about 1614, however, noted "la disminución de nuestros caballo." He recalled he numbers of thick bands of horses when he had first arrived in 1601 and traveled from the city of Santiago de Chile to the

[292] Río Moreno, 180.

"tierras de guerra".[293] In contrast, the horses now kept by the Spanish were stunted in size, lacked fields for sustenance, and were poorly trained. Najera noted that the colts were cared for by *indios de paz*, but many of the *potreadores* were actually captives of war, and he did not approve of their training methods.[294] He expressed dismay with the prices commanded for the poor quality of horses; if in previous times one could have found 150 horses for 30-40 pesos, now it was difficult to find even 15-20 horses at 100-150 pesos.[295]

The general sense of decline and shortage of horses might be encapsulated by this anecdote: in 1624, pirates attacked Guayaquil, and the vecinos of Quito came to their aid on mules and pack animals, "lacking sufficient horses."[296] Short of horses, the coastal guard had devolved dramatically. Decline of the *casta* emerged as a major theme after its original abundance and quality in Latin America. Mirroring concern about decline of the horse and nobility in the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the Reconquest campaigns, and the subsequent laws regarding horses issued by the Spanish monarchs, the New World had replicated some of the same issues as in Spain.

[293] Najera, 197.

[294] Najera, 199.

[295] Najera, 200.

[296] Frank Salomon, *Native lords of Quito in the age of the Incas: The political economy of north Andean chiefdoms* (1986), 220.

Conclusion

Colonial typologies related to social function as well as qualities that could be attributed to physiological characteristics, whether environmental or inherited, as well as function, brand and regional origin. If horses fell under certain government controls, the available terms and recommendations for how they ought to be controlled did not extend to a strong definition of breed. Neither does the environmental impact of landrace provide the key to explaining the development of local horse types in the colonial context, nor its connection to contemporary breeds. Without consistent attributions, it is difficult to discern from which particulars the impression of these horses and judgment of their quality derived. Nevertheless, distinctions of domesticated and wild horse became part of developing typologies for New World horses, alongside brands and special interests of government officials. The horse population that established itself in the New World lacked language of breed/*raza*, but did employ regional and personal identification, marking the assumed influences of environmental factors on the characteristics of the horse, and the social importance of categories like the *cimarrón*, *casta*, and *criollo* horse.

Chapter 6. Defining *Casta* and *Raza*: Reports on Horse Breeding in Spain

As horses grew in dramatic numbers over the first decades of colonization, they threw into stark relief the continuing concerns about the scarcity of horses in the Iberian Peninsula. Abundance presented a striking and observable difference for the Spanish monarchs, who had actively experimented with breeding their own stock of horses. At times, this took the form of a personal hobby as befitted the training and appreciation of the horse for the martial and courtly arts, and at other times for diplomatic purposes to gift to other princely courts a valuable horse. In another sense, the monarchy had a long-standing interest in the ways that horse ownership and horse breeding affected municipal governance and regulated the boundary of noble or elite status. These instructions had been applied broadly, both in Spain and also in the newly developing colonial settlements, to dictate participation in municipal governance, allocate the benefits of office, and to inspect the breeding of these animals. The monarchy's private experimentation with horses, combined with the problems of providing horses for the military class, and the new abundance in colonial settlements all provided noticeable attention on breeding practices, and attempts to identify quality horses. Considering the original state of scarcity, and the following importance of breeding regulations applied in the New World, clearly the question was of interest: what made a really excellent horse?

The interest of royal officials in breeding horses within the new colonial settings, also matched the interest of the prince, Philip II, in collecting information about these New World horses. Under the social order supported by the provision of horses, the approach of the

monarchy had shifted over time from requiring horse ownership and registries to inspections of horses for their quality. Dealing with recalcitrant opposition, royal policies in the sixteenth century had gradually focused on increasing the size of the horse, demonstrating a shift from managing horse ownership to managing the physical qualities of horses. In short, the politics of scarcity also provided a language specifying the physical types desired. In the New World settlements, a somewhat greater ability to exemplify controlled lines of breeding facilitated by government licenses and permissions was faced with the imposing challenge of a large amount of open spaces for *cimarrones* and other general livestock. The abundant breeding of the *cimarrones* and the controlled breeding of government officials also generated a contrast in the quality of the horse related to land use and social structure.

Individual cases reported in Spain pre-date attempts to issue the *Relaciones geográficas* throughout the Indies. Thus the little information gleaned from the Indies coincided with existing acute interests in horse breeding in a very different register within Spain. The horse's relation to defense was a particular concern for Philip II, as he faced several civil disturbances from internal pretenders to the throne during the first half of his reign.[297] Concerns also intensified about potential invasions by Moroccans from North Africa, corsair and privateering strongholds like Algiers, or from the growing naval ambitions of the Ottomans, in addition to the regular occurrences of both Mediterranean and Atlantic piracy. In the mid-sixteenth century, then, inter-imperial competition dramatized a long-standing fear about the shortage of horses in the Iberian Peninsula.

[297] Dueling factions supported his son Don Carlos, or his half brother Don Juan of Austria, as successors to the throne.

At this juncture, in 1562 Philip II led a new effort to reformulate the quality of horses bred in Spain. A series of centrally organized questionnaires (*Relaciones de la cría caballar*) sought further knowledge about breeding practices, environmental conditions suitable for continued horse breeding, and recommendations from local experts about how to cultivate horse breeding on a regional basis. The survey and its responses reveal features of existing horse breeding practices that engage concepts of generation, the influence of environmental conditions, and specific socially desirable features of horses, in order to ascertain how best to manipulate these factors and achieve the institutional goal of supplying horses for the king's militia. The full extent of this project applied to systems of governance at the same time that it mobilized the king's interest in shaping the natural world. Concerns about scarcity and abundance, about the proper use of municipal lands and the effects of new environments, led to increasing interest in collecting information about the outcomes of these strategies, and in the experiences of horse breeding itself.

Political interest in the relative scarcity and abundance of horses, and the particular role of the horse in generating knowledge about breeding contributed to both horizontal and vertical registers of Spanish imperial administration. That is, the embedded concern about a scarcity of horses within Castile revealed investment in municipal governance. It also led to an interest in horse breeding broadly across the empire, and specifically an increasing focus on the regulation of horse breeding through techniques of gathering information. The survey and its responses reveal not only the royal hand in attempting to control and regulate breeding outcomes, but also the widespread engagement with similar questions at a local, regional, and municipal level.

In this moment, governance converged with the question of horse breeding, and more broadly the role of horse on social hierarchies. Information specific to nature of categories and

typologies of these animals played a role in the assertion or negotiation of elite social identity, belonging and exclusion. Although the terms *casta* and *raza* have been previously traced to their application to human populations, in this instance I examine their use in relationship to horse breeding practices shaped by the municipality and by the king. In this way, recorded practices of animal husbandry become a tool for understanding differences in populations and their accompanying social distinctions, and demonstrate possible competing uses of the horse in discourses about status and nobility.

This chapter begins by examining the state of horse breeding as knowledge gained from New World experiences and from the personal projects of the Catholic Monarchs, Charles V, and Philip II on royal grounds. Then it turns to the broad survey of horse breeding begun in 1562 and its use by Philip II in governing his realms. This second section examines interest in shaping the outcome of horse breeding and the use of terminology of *casta* and *raza* to define horse quality.

Experiences of Horse Breeding

Horse breeding, as a practice of animal husbandry, had multiple streams of information accessible to the Spanish Crown. Undoubtedly, the experience of introducing horses to the New World colonies, as well as the private interests of the monarchs Charles V and Philip II in their own endeavors for horse breeding influenced the approach taken to the municipal regulation of horse breeding mid-century. Just as the regulations of horse ownership influenced the ways in which horses were seeded in the initial colonial settlements, challenges to those systems posed by the growth of horses in the New World made its way back to the Crown. On the other hand,

the king was also informed of the potential quality for these New World horses, as in the case of the *casta* of horses that Francisco Avila offered to the king in 1547.

The export of horses at the time was carefully controlled, but of course permissions for diplomats and courtiers to bring horses for their own retinue or as special gifts to other princely courts occurred frequency.[298] Thus, the Spanish monarchy had special *caballerizas* or stables for such horses, for their own use as well as for making gifts. These were primarily housed in the *Real Sitios*, or the royal retreats, palaces with extended hunting grounds. Aranjuez for example was a large garden in the Flemish style, and a home for all kinds of exotic and local farm animals.[299] It also was a repository for accumulating horses that may have been diplomatic gifts, or imported from other regions. Carlos V was known for bringing German (Fresian) horses to Spain. Horses from Naples, or at least called "Neapolitano," as well some gifts from the Dukes of Mantua, resided here.

These sites provided the opportunity for the kings to engage in joint breeding experiments with the horses of grandees. The Mexía were already famous during the time of the Catholic Monarchs for raising horses, and Altamirano records that Rodrigo Mexía was ordered to teach the Charles V the system of breeding that had been developed by his father, Don Gonzalo Mexía,

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[298] Patrice Franchet d'Espèrey and Ernest Chenière, eds., *Les arts de l'équitation dans l'Europe de la Renaissance : VIe Colloque de l'École nationale d'équitation, au Château d'Oiron, 4 et 5 octobre 2002* (Actes Sud, 2009), 60. For example, to seal possible alliances of France and the Ottomans against the Holy League, Barbarossa gave some Barbs from North Africa to Francois I in 1539. But Francois I also kept lines of communication open with Charles V, as they traded horses after negotiating a treaty in 1526. Francois I gave horses to Charles V in 1539, and Charles gave him 23 Spanish horses in return.

[299] Carlos Gómez-Centurión Jiménez, *Alhajas para soberanos : los animales reales en el siglo XVIII : de las leoneras a las mascotas de cámara* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 2011).

in creating “la casta del señor de Santo Firnia” (Santa Eufemia).[300] His son Rodrigo Mexía served as regidor of Jaen, and also served as a page of the queen (*mozo de las espuelas*).[301] When ordered to find horses for Charles V, he responded that there were not many good ones left in Andalusia.[302] This partnership continued however as Charles V corresponded him over horses he raised in Quesada, near the headwaters of the Guadalquivir River.

Moreover, the kings leveraged and connected horse centers in dynastic lands, including Naples, Sardinia, and the Low Countries, in addition to the Indies. Philip II, in training as a prince under Calvete de Estrella in 1541, learned horsemanship, jousting and an enduring interest in the courtly feats of Amadis of Gaul. Philip was left as regent in 1543 and became involved with the administration of the Indies, before presiding over the Cortes of Catalonia in 1547, and going on his tour of princely courts in 1549. On this trip, he took a special excursion from Tortosa to look at horses from Hungary. Philip II’s own investment in horses only increased at the sites of the Royal forests and palaces, indicating a nurtured interest.

In Aranjuez, horses were kept for multiple purposes — as laborers, but also as broodmares. The mules and stallions were maintained in Ocaña (about 20 km away) while the mares were

[300] Juan Carlos Altamirano, *Historia y origen del caballo español : las caballerizas reales de Córdoba (1567-1800)* (Málaga: A.M.C., 1998). Gonzalo Mexia leased pasture for his livestock during Catholic Monarchs reign (1490s) in multiple places: in Badajoz, and Beteta (east of Madrird), and Torremilano (Cordoba). AGS,RGS,LEG,149010,72; AGS,RGS,LEG,149003,165; AGS,RGS,LEG,149509,23

[301] AGS,RGS,Leg,148008,63; AGS,RGS,LEG,149204,33

[302] Altamirano, 83. Letter from Rodrigo Mejía on 5 de mayo 1530, AGS Estado Leg. 17-18 fol. 108, saying that while he had been ordered to find horses, there were not many good ones in Andalusia.

kept in another site with plentiful water on the outskirts of Aranjuez with their new foals.[303] In 1554, the head of the stables, *caballerizo mayor* Don Antonio de Toledo described the order that he installed in Aranjuez. He had brought two new stallions, and decided to pasture the mares in Andalusia for the winter. The mares in fact would be kept in Andalusia from November (Todos Santos) until they gave birth. He also decided to select two of the best colts from among these mares for the *casta* of these horses in the stud in Ocaña. The caretaker for the mares in Andalusia was supposed to follow the same order, under his lieutenant Diego de Medrano, and the mares were not to be ridden. Toledo also culled any that were not right for the *casta* of these horses, which they were working to make: "suitable for the casta of horses to be made good and beautiful as discussed."[304] From Andalusia in 1558, Diego de Medrano wrote daily dispatches to the king, although hardly ever receiving a reply. He also reported receiving 21 new mares from the Bishop of Cordoba, Leopoldo of Austria, and 12 from Luis Manrique the previous year.[305] He noted that there were just two stallions so they also added a third that seemed to be good and "from the same *casta*".[306]

Philip II, continuing this interest of his father, established a *yeguada* or site for broodmares in Segovia in 1556, and by 1560 had collected 95 mares. This mix included the horses from the Mexia family, among other grandees (Marqués de Gibraleón, the Marqués de

[303] Ana Luengo Añón et al., *Aranjuez: utopía y realidad : la construcción de un paisaje* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas : Instituto de Estudios Madrileños : Doce Calles, 2008), 180.

[304] AGS,CSR,Aranjuez Legajo 251-1&2, 47. Relacion del valor de aranjuez y lo en el yncorporado 1554-55.

[305] AGS,CSR,Aranjuez Legajo 251-1&2, 71. Diego Lopez de Medrano a SM 18 marzo 1558.

[306] CSR Aranjuez Legajo 251-1&2, 75. Diego Lopez de Medrano a SM 26 marzo 1559.

Mondéjar, Manrique, etc), as well as mares from Leopoldo de Austria (the Bishop of Cordoba, and illegitimate uncle of Charles V).[307] The stables also recorded two dozen Friesians, imported via Naples from the Low Countries (Friesland), near the Duchy of Burgundy, and another 20 mares from Denmark.[308] By 1567, the stables recorded 244 mares of different ages. In this sense the King was collecting the best of the *castas* bred by the noble families for his own breeding projects and aims.

Relaciones de la Cria Caballar

Experience and interest in horse breeding in the monarchy developed alongside a tactical shift in late fifteenth century legislation from civic responsibilities of horse ownership, to horse breeding. However, the horse's importance in establishing social status competed with a perceived underlying problem of horses available within Spain. On one hand, these complaints reflected real constraints on the supply of horses. Dire reality of drought had periodically wiped out grain crops in the Iberian Peninsula, making feed expensive and starving livestock. For example, in 1568, the requirements of the *contioso* were suspended for lack of grass and fodder for the horses to be procured.[309] Additionally, defense of dynastic claims, new imperial acquisitions, and Mediterranean coastal invasions in the sixteenth century both depleted the

[307] AGS,EST/1116/4. Fernando Gonzaga to Prince Philip, 17 diciembre 1543; AGS,EST60/93/1543

[308] AGS,CSR,LEG. 251.2, FOL 5-30; AGS OBRAS Y BOSQUES SEGOVIA LEG. 1 1556. Parece ser en 1560 ésta ya se había ampliado a "95 yeguas de vientre y de las razas del Obispo de Córdoba, del marqués de Gibraleón, del marqués de Mondéjar, de D. Rodrigo de Mexía, natural de Tarifa y de otros ganaderos. De la casta de frisonas de Nápoles para coche había 17 yeguas con 9 potrancas de hasta dos años y 21 yeguas Dinamarca con 1 potro."

[309] AGS,CCA,CED,370. 24 sept. 1568.

horse population and increased the financial obligation on the noble class to maintain and supply horses. Supply came to rather depend on the willingness to provide horses and the quality required by the crown. On a regional basis, this is evident among those who participated in martial exercises because it was possible to maintain horses cheaply. While it is difficult to determine population numbers based on anecdotal evidence, certainly the cost of keeping the horses had risen and made ownership onerous.

Within these limiting circumstances, complaints were formally brought to the Cortes, like one in 1548 that registered abuses by the municipal *regidores* for personally enriching themselves on the stud fee by choosing a stallion from among their own horses, or breeding too many mares to the same stallion.[310] A further consequence of these tricks appeared in 1559, that as a result of not picking the best stallions, the quality of horses in Andalusia decreased.[311] Even the younger Mexia wrote to the king to note that the horses that had been bred by his predecessors were greatly diminished.[312] War, drought, and changing fiscal and military demands on the noble estate had left the peninsula bereft of horses that met royal standards. In 1562, an ordinance issued by Philip II expressed concern that the realm lacked horses, that the "la cria y raça y trato" – offspring, breed and trade – had ceased, and asked for the improvement of the casta and raza of the Spanish horse.

Aware of the underlying issue, the Cámara de Castilla distributed a parallel set of inquiries to each of the kingdoms of Toledo, León, Seville, Córdoba, Jaén, Murcia, and Granada

[310] Cortes of 1548, Petition 184.

[311] Cortes of 1559, Petition 85.

[312] "Carta de Don Rodrigo Mexia a S.M. en que prometió la raza de caballos que sus antepasados le había dejado muy disminuida." AGS,CCA,DIV,17,4.

in the same year 1562. These *relaciones de la cría caballar* inquired into each region's disposition for horse breeding, seeking further knowledge about current breeding practices and recommendations from local experts about how to cultivate horse breeding on a regional basis throughout Spain. It also stated the aim of improving both the quantity and quality of horses in Spain— "what form and order should be had so that the casta of the horses is conserved and augmented in number as in quality."[313]

This breeding project related horse ownership to politics of land use and traditional estate privileges, as well as the use of the rhetoric of decline by all parties in justifying the promotion of specific regional interests. Traditionally, the nobility would provide for defense with horses for the cavalry; in reality, the supply of horses was a point of contention between the king and regional nobility. Repeated edicts issued by the king on the type and quality of horse and their registration demonstrate this friction. Thus, Philip II's 1562 initiative to increase Spanish mounted defenses had three basic components: secure an auxiliary militia force; re-establish the *caballeros de cuantía* (a registry of cavalry reserves in each municipality); and conduct an extensive geographical survey of the state of horse breeding. The horse became the centerpiece of this project.

Supplementing the type of centralization implicit in the registration of horses necessary for the *caballeros de cuantía*, this initiative focused on the quality of the horse population, asking specifically for the improvement of the *casta* and *raza* or caste and race, respectively, of the Spanish horse. This vision reset the functional and symbolic importance of the non-noble cavalry by focusing on the supply of horses itself. The new ordinances established a new method of

[313] AGS CCA,CED,370 *Libro de Cedulas Libros cuantiosos*, "los despachos tocantes a lo de la milicia que su Majestad manda que aya en estos reinos y ... de los cavalleros de quantia."

breeding and despite the many protests, indicated a continued responsibility for supplying horses from the urban elite.

The series of inquiries pressed for information on "the disposition for raising horses" and asked each city to recommend ordinances that would best ensure "the casta and *raza* of horses be conserved in number and in excellence." The instructions re-stated the existing prohibition of using mares to breed mules, punishable by temporary or permanent exile. It called for a gathering of the town council to consult experts on horses in its region in order to delimit land that could be assigned as pasture if approved by the crown and, finally, to propose ordinances that would improve the *casta* of horses in their regions. The survey followed this model *preguntario*:

1. "If there is disposition in this city and its territory for the breeding/raising of horses so that it may be conserved there.

2. If there is sufficient pasture for this.

3. In which parts and places there are pastures and if these are public (of the concejo) or the estates of particular people.

4. If any parts of the "*baldíos*" of the city and its territory can be made into pastures (*dehesar*) exclusively for the breeding/raising of horses, and if this will result in any harm or injury, and to whom and for what reason.

5. If in this city and its jurisdiction there are people who are raising horses and in what quantity, or if there have been in prior times and for what reason they stopped raising horses.

6. What form and order can be given and what ordinances can be made so that the *casta y raza* of the horses be conserved likewise in number as in quality."

In this context, the measure of the horse's *casta* clearly provides a comparison with the royal breeding projects and New World settlements, and related to systems of governing and supplying horses throughout the realm. The significance of these terms however has multiple valences. Since the survey as method of collecting information about horse breeding drew on the expertise of individual breeders rather than veterinary manuals, these sources are not limited by a top-down view of horse breeding. Instead, they provide evidence for a use-based typology for understanding *casta* and *raza* from the point of view of the practice of horse breeding (rather than the co-existing discourse of social authority). The surveys offer new data for understanding the evolution of terms like *casta* and *raza* within the framework of a cultural history of artisanal practice and the generation of knowledge about the natural world.

The tenor of the questions can be compared to other *relaciones* in Spain and its colonies between 1550s-1580s, which have been proposed as a form of empirical knowledge formation contributing to the systematization of natural history within Europe. The first *relaciones topográficas* begin with a series of 50 questions issued by Juan Páez de Castro before 1560 and made inquiries into the types of land in each province and their resources. Although this particular project was abandoned, a new variation under the direction of the royal cosmographer Juan Velasco in 1574 focused on political boundaries to make the 'Escorial Map' of Spanish territory. Based on similar projects for gathering information in the New World and Spanish colonies, sets of *relaciones geográficas* were developed and issued at various dates with broad attention to distribution of population and resources. This particular set of *relaciones de la cría caballar* represent an early appearance of this type of information management, and they were collected and used in an identifiable manner for improving the management of horse breeding

within Spain. Most importantly, these surveys indicate the types of authority and information at play in creating policies regulating horse breeding.

The survey required that the town council be assembled with the entire contingent of elected municipal leaders, including the *justicia, alcaldes, regidores* and *jurados*. It was often addressed to the *corregidor* or *juez de residencia*, if not the titled lord of a particular region. The council was required to gather and confer with resident experts, recording their testimony about the conditions and recommendations for improving the breeding of horses, and to return a judgment of this information to the crown (*Cámara de Castilla*). After consulting with experts in their vicinity (sometimes also members of the town council itself), a variety of proposed ordinances were suggested that would remedy the stock of horses available. This included the types of pasture lands, either public or private, that could be turned to this task, whether there were any people with experience breeding, or — if this expertise had disappeared — the reasons for its decline. The appointed men to oversee the breeding were supposed to have practice and experience (*platica*, *experiencia*).

The records of these surveys are found in both the register of royal orders (*Libro de Cédulas*) recording their issue, and also in the files of the *Cámara de Castilla* that received their replies. While neither set is complete, it can be estimated that at least 50 such questionnaires were issued, and close to 70 responses received in the first stages. The available responses range in length from just a single page letter, to dockets of over 100 folios, and represent a wide variety in content. A very rapid response could be returned in the vicinity of one month, while the more typical response was achieved within a few months, and some closer to six months later. Some responses simply confirmed the intention to complete these activities, other provided summaries of the information collected, and yet others provided detailed records of the discussions, the

proclamations, and even returned full lists of the newly registered horses in their jurisdiction. As the responses came in, these were followed up by the Crown's legal counsel to verify the lands that could be designated for horse pastures, and this next step in the verification of information was accompanied by additional recommendations and strictures for implementing these improvements.

Responses to Philip's survey about the state of horse breeding (*cría caballar*) in Castile addressed the request to improve this situation by focusing on the quantity and quality of horses, and specifically their *casta*. But what exactly determined these desired qualities, phrased as *raza*, and *casta*? We can outline the meanings of *casta* based on what was desired in contrast to what the existing and perceived shortcomings were. In this section, I will argue that these terms refer to a complex variety of features, including the local environment, the size of the horse, the selection process and the effects of incest or hybridity. That is, the *casta* and *raza* here does not refer to a systematized idea of generation or purity, but rather the identification of qualities of social importance.

Three basic explanations were offered for not having good horses in different regions, aside from an overall shortage of feed due to drought. The first was the explanation that the stallions used to breed subsequent generations were not "of casta". The second common explanation was that mares were allowed to breed unregulated at pasture with either *rocines* or mules, that is similarly with male contributing components that were not "of casta", and so this can be seen as a corollary of the first reason, but instead of the cause lying with the particular choice and availability of the stallion, it has to do with the management of the mares. The third common explanation is the practice of not separating the herds carefully or early enough, where the colts were allowed to stay at pasture with their mothers beyond the age of two when they had

become sexually active and could impregnate the mothers. This last targets management practices and also the problems of incest in reducing the quality of the offspring.

The towns offered a number of different solutions to the Crown as the means to improve the stock of horses. The first has to do with the environmental threats to the horses, which was to protect grazing pastures specifically for horses so that the young or pregnant mothers were not competing for resources with other livestock like oxen. The threats to young horses were numerous, not only in terms of nutrition that could be gotten from the mothers or from pastures, but also in their vulnerability to predators like wolves and many towns suggest watchmen for the pastures to eliminate the possible threat of wolves to the new foals.

The second general type of recommendations has to do with the selection and maintenance of the studs or stallions to be used for breeding purposes. Rather than dealing with the issue of the stallion's *casta* or how to possibly improve this *casta*, it is suggested that the selection of only stallions of *casta* needed to be enforced by the regulations to curb the favoritism of elite members of the community to select their own stallions for collecting the "service" fee. This takes two forms, first in having a certified and registered person who is impartial to such interests to selection the stallions to be used by the community, or to have the stallions themselves purchased and maintained by the community including the maintenance of the stallions to keep them in good health and so that they can be equally accessible for all the local mares. These were to ensure that the horses were both "casta y escogido".

The third main branch of suggestions was to deal with the management of the mares as livestock, including forbidding yet again the mares from being bred to asses for mules, to prevent the keeping of mares where they might mate at liberty with *rocines* or other pastured horses, and not to keep the mares together with the colts where inbreeding might take place. While there was

near universal agreement about the prohibition of breeding mares to donkeys, there was little in the way of novel suggestions for enforcing this ideal. Nevertheless, the methods of pasturing the mares were intended to prevent unsolicited or unsupervised breeding with horses of lesser caliber or too closely related forms of incest.

The additional solutions then that were offered by the Crown included the emphasis on using stallions chosen by the assigned overseers. These stallions were to be rigorously inspected for their health by the overseer, and to be maintained by the town with the service fees supporting the municipal costs of these stallions. However, these stallions were not to be bred without regard for number, but only 25 mares per stallion to ensure the fertility of the semen of the stallion. With regards to the mares, the crown wanted to make sure that every single mare that was registered as *vacío* was also bred to the stallion in order to improve the numbers of horses, and secondarily to improve the quality this should be limited to the *yeguas de vientre de casta*. Finally, proposals for needing to convert agricultural land to grazing would be granted with royal licenses. Philip also offered new tax incentives for maintaining mares and for training colts for saddle and sale.

Analysis of *Casta*

Many towns responded to say that they did not have horses of "good casta" because they did not have good pasture, due to cold, dry and mountainous terrain or recent drought, resulting in small horses and a local preference for mules. To counteract this effect in the town of Avila, stallions "of the casta of Andalusia" were brought in for breeding purposes. Another solution offered by the town included protecting the offspring from grazing competition with other

livestock. The Crown in turn solicited parcels of land to convert with royal license to horse pasture exclusively.

These decrees had targeted the region of Andalusia, and all cities in the realm of Toledo located below the Tagus River. Altogether, this targeted area encompassed essentially the southern half of the Iberian Peninsula, and was described as "disposed for breeding horses for military exercises of the cavalry."[314] Further efforts were similarly focused on the region south of the Tagus River, but also as far north as the cities of the province of Salamanca. On the basis that horses thrive in regions with open land and ample pastures for foraging, two major river basins and their various tributaries defined the regions most represented by the survey. The Tagus River (Río de Tajo) runs east to west from the Sierra de Albarracín at the border of Castile and Aragon to the port of Lisbon, across the mid-section of Spain. The Guadalquivir River likewise flows east to west, from the Cazorla mountain range in Jaén to the Atlantic port of Sanlúcar on the southern coast of Andalusia.

Other towns complained of a loss of *casta* over time. If the stallions and mares were not themselves "of *casta*" then the local population would suffer — the cause lying primarily with the selection of male and female horses to breed, as individual specimens and in the transfer of these qualities to their offspring. *Casta* then was result of human intervention as well as environmental conditions, and could in fact be lost over succeeding generations. In Arjona, the council made the request that the mare owners themselves select the stallions from among the best casta in the village. In the past, the Governor had selected stallions based on his personal friendships and favors, rather than the physical quality of the animal for breeding.

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[314] "dispuestas para criar caballos para exercicio de la caballería (1499)." *Colección de documentos para la historia del Reino de Murci*a. Vol. XX.

Given the regional environmental influence, one might think of *casta* as approximating the concept of a landrace or naturally occurring population bottleneck. Yet poor local conditions alone did not explain a lack of *casta*. The town of Aguilar de la Frontera near Cordoba for example reported that they had very poor and limited pasture, but that other villages still came to buy or use their stallions for their *casta*. *Casta* not only related to the conditions of a particular region (as in that of Andalusia), but also more generally to the qualities of the offspring.

Within legislation about horses in Spain, *casta* first was used by the Catholic Monarchs to indicate the kind of horse desired for cavalry mounts in 1492. They appointed overseers or *veedores* for the annual breeding of the mares in a particular jurisdiction had first been introduced in 1492, in order to ensure that the stallions "were good, and of good body and *casta*". It was also used to choose candidates for breeding in 1499, a choice guided by the selection of "good body and *casta*." Certifying a stallion's *casta* itself became a more refined concept, from generally suitable for carrying a man at arms into battle, to requiring a particular size (*cierta marca*) in 1528. In conjunction with the reforms to the militia and urban elite horse ownership, this represents a clear order to increase the number of horses, and more specifically the horses of a size suitable for war in reference to *casta*.

In 1562, the Crown asked that the stallions were both of *casta* and "escogido" — that is, specially chosen by knowledgeable and impartial inspectors. The primary determinant of a "good" *casta* had to do with size and health overall, and an impartial selection for those qualities rather than nepotism of the inspectors. Thus, beyond qualifications of environment or selection, *casta* cannot be distinguished from the possession of desirable physical traits. In other words, emphasis on selection did not equate to an insistence on lineage. Likewise, the qualities of *casta* cannot be relegated to region or environmental context, but persist in the individual specimen.

The use of *casta* seems to indicate qualities of stature and conformation. However, the specific nature of a particular physical type was not explained based on particular physical features (as in a phenotype), but rather as "quality" associated with health and size. Thus, this physical type referred to as the *casta* was as closely related to both region and environment as it was to the selection of particular stallions or mares. The false dichotomy between the environmental influences and physical influences in reference to *casta*: that it encompasses physical type and is not purely a matter of lineage, and is influenced by the environment but not dependent on the environment.

It appears as if the selection for *casta* by inspectors may have tilted towards the male contribution. The frequent complaint was that the broodmares were not closely guarded and then bred at pasture with other workhorses, called *rocines*, rather than the selected breeding stallions. But even this male productivity was fragile. The recommendations closely followed the norms of animal husbandry passed down from Latin and Greek sources. These approximated the best age of the stallions and mares, the best number of mares to breed them to, as well as what age to separate the young horses from their mothers. These new regulations for example limited the stallion to being bred to 25 mares — which has to be understood in terms of humoral theories of generation, where it was thought that semen was generated by factors of 'heat' in the body, and these limits this ensured that the stallion was not spent but retained his reproductive vigor. While *casta* generally was used to refer to physical types transmitted through blood or lineage, it is also clear that this image of heredity was also influenced by contextual conditions — a stallion that was overbred or too promiscuous would also lose the force of his own *casta*. Overall this limitation elevates the authority of an impartial selection of stallions and mares for their physical qualities specifically. In fact, the Crown asked to ensure that every single mare was bred during

the year, according to a registry of the local population. If the general determinant of a "good *casta*" rested on the population of mares available to breed, then broodmares "of *casta*" were also called for.

To read such selection control as indicating a desire for purity, however, does not appear in these surveys. Another frequent complaint is of the management of the broodmares with their own offspring, if the colts were allowed to run in pasture with their dams past the age of two when they might be sexually active. In this scenario, incest took the third portion of blame (after a lack of pastures and corrupt selection). Stallions bred back to their own offspring was both likely and probable, as the same breeding stallions maintained or selected by the town council would be used annually — so this kind of paternal "incest" was more palatable. On the other hand, the cautions against overbreeding also invoked the "chastity" of the stallion in preserving the *casta* of his own lineage. While we might surmise a desire for purity, these attempts to better manage the broodmare population and limitations on the stallion's uses also reflect the practical breeding reality of the degenerative nature of excessive inbreeding and the subsequent loss of *casta* over the generations.

If we consider the general nature of horse breeding in towns, the *casta*, as far as it could be managed by these norms was limited. Horse breeding typically used access to common land and gathered the local mares for insemination by selected stallions every year, charging a fee known as a *caballaje*. In June the mares would be bred, and then used for the harvest (San Juan to San Miguel). The mares would otherwise be kept in the common pastures for multiple tasks, under the watch of a *yeguero*. The herd in any given town would not be very large — estimates from the surveys range from 3 to 70. The methods of keeping mares in the pastures and other horses at liberty meant that only those in the *caballeriza* were trained or handled regularly.

Casta here is not a naturally occurring regional type, a lineage, or a claim to purity. While the "*casta*" of the horse might be a result of the environment and geography of breeding at liberty, it was a category that required constant maintenance rather than something that could be said to develop naturally. *Casta*, as it appears in legislation relating to horses, referred to physical quality and a generalized lineage that determined effective fecundity. Discussions of *casta* highlighted the problems of incest and overbreeding. The fear or anxiety of the "loss" of *casta* in fact required cultivation of crossbreeding these horse populations rather than relying on favoritism of elite families.

Analysis of *Raza*

Among all of these surveys, there is little to no reference to *raza* in the cases of municipal horse breeding. This stands despite insistence on registering all of the horses and offspring, selecting sires, and even occasionally branding the mares according to which stallion they were bred with. *Raza* appears only infrequently to refer to the decree, or the quality and size of the horses. In Trujillo in 1562, they reported good land for raising the *casta* and *raza* of horses together in one phrase, without distinguishing from the quality of their pasture and environs. In Seville, a slightly later report simply confirms the state of decline, that soon there were be no "race" of horses large enough for any *caballero* to ride on, making the usage distinction from *casta* as a reference to the size and quality of the animal. But it is notable that the term *raza* only appears in regulations related to horse breeding in 1562 for the first time.

Raza was new in the context of laws about horses, but had been around in relationship to horses prior to these legal changes, and indeed used in contexts regarding the question of lineage.

Raza was related to a family name for example the horses of the dukes of Mantua, or the Valenzuela/Guzman stock. The horses bred by the king were later referred to as the "king's *raza*". *Raza* in Europe was also used as a general term of the quality of the horse, in maintaining the *raza caballar*. The issues of *casta* and *raza* presented in these sixteenth century documents do show an increasing attention to cultivating selective breeding. These serve to select physical types, although not a formal pedigree.

Horse breeding had been managed locally before, based on the selection of stallions from among those quality mounts of the non-noble cavalry and municipal officials. Complaints about the quality or number of horses would have had more to do with the general practices in municipalities and lands not under the control of the king and their interests in experimenting with collecting the best quality horses for their own uses. For these regulations, there were attempts to generally provide guidelines and recommendations that would have the best effects. For example, in 1271 Alfonso X permitted *vecinos* of Ubeda who maintained a stallion to also keep three mares free of taxes. This was emphasized by the later requirement that such stallions and mares be chosen for their physical health by the appointed overseers normally by members of the *cabildo* around January or February. A *veedor* or overseer of the annual breeding of the mares in a particular jurisdiction had first been introduced in 1493, in order to ensure that the stallions "were good, and of good body and caste."[315] The veterinary tribunal itself was newly established in 1500, alogn with the requirement of purity of blood (*limpieza de sangre*) to even enter into this profession. The *alcalde* and *regidores* of the town *cabildo* regulated these horses

[315] May 2, 1493. “Los RR. CC.: ordenando a los que estuviesen obligados a mantener caballos” in *Colección de documentos para la historia del Reino de Murcia. Vol. XX.*

primarily, but they referred to their own expertise as well as appointing inspectors (*veedores)* from the blacksmiths/veterinarians (*herradores)* in the town.

While a registry of horses and oversight of the municipal council was not entirely new, these factors show tremendous growth during the sixteenth century.[316] The registry of horses in general took on a new form as a list of horses for breeding quality. Written registries seem to first emerge around in the fourteenth century for equines, in particular for those areas around the frontiers that controlled flow of horses.[317] The need for a registry of horses originally had served to certify ownership in order to issue permits for riding mules (1348) and this purpose increased in scrutiny over time, so that by 1493 all horses needed to be included in an annual registration, and in 1528 such records were to be sent to the court twice a year in order to confirm the issue of exemptions and permits. The registration of horses was supposed to be sent (although rarely was) every six months to the central court with color, age, and owner from within seigniorial lands as well as royal or incorporated towns. In these cases, color seems to be the key marker for ownership and registration, in reference to humoral theories on the health of horses expressed in the colors and white markings on their coast. In the case of municipal horse breeding reports throughout Spain, we see clear evidence for a written registration of mares and stallions and

[316] Some evidence of these include: *libros de registros, padrones de alardes, ordenanzas municipales para la cría de ganado caballar, testimonios de posesion de caballos, relaciones semestrales de los caballos*.

[317] Juan Carlos Galende Díaz, *El Control Del Ganado Equino En España Durante La Edad Modern: El Libro Registro de Caballos de Toledo Del Año 1535* (Toledo: Ayuntamiento de Toledo, 2008), 33.

offspring, sometimes including branding, but this practice did not have the same effect of defining breeds or pedigree.[318]

This new informational survey emphasized the responsibility of the city to systematically record and selectively breed their stallions and mares. It is far more specific about the role of *casta* and *raza* than any earlier decrees. The new comprehensive registration of all horses required by this initiative meant that not only would the ownership of war-worthy mounts be recorded, but also a detailed record of any and all mares and a count of their foals from year to year— for example, the death of any foals would have to be reported in order to justify the annual accounting of registered horses. Alongside the formalization and centralization of the registration of horses and their breeding, knowledge of the horse population focused not only on the quantity but also their quality. Responses to the inquiries described both the breeding (*cría*) and the "promotion of the breed of horse" (*fomento de la raza caballar*), indicating that formalizing the regulation of the breeding of horses also lead to a focus on developing a race of horses as something more than the *casta*.

Conclusion

The use of the terms caste and race here are noteworthy in the context of arguments made trying to understand the historical origins of racial thought—that is, the ways in which essentializing and embodied constructs of difference have been justified and applied. While *casta*

[318] Galende Díaz, *El Control Del Ganado Equino,* 40: "hasta la segunda mitad del siglo XVII no se exigió que los caballos fueran marcados con el hierro o sello de los criadores y el de la provincia de procedencia, como ya sabemos, aunque en el siglo XVI habia equinos que portaban esa marca."

(*castiza*) has a longer historical use, *raza* emerges in the 14th-15th century. As a term in Spain, it appeared in the early fifteenth century in a Catalan translation of an Italian agricultural manual describing the breeding of horses, "if one desired a good *raza* and *casta* of horses." By connecting animal breeding to ideas of race, some scholars argue implicitly that animal breeding established a physical logic across generations -- understanding the shift towards race and racial logic to be grounded in specific qualities of generation in the body, ones that were known practically, if not yet scientifically, from animal husbandry.

This is particularly important for the developing literature on animal studies, which often draws on references to breeding animals among the aristocracy in the late eighteenth century, a distinct phenomenon based on arbitrary pedigree standards for pure blood or breed. Direct translation of the terms *casta* or *raza* to the contemporary category of animal "breed" (first used in English in sixteenth century) takes on this cultural mythologizing of "purebred" animals. In fact, however, earlier horse breeding programs did not simply advance a case for purity, but also institutionalized arguments for hybrid health. That is, the way race emerges in animal husbandry is at a variance with the ways racial thought may have applied in human populations, despite the later convergence of social engineering and scientific discourse, especially in the nineteenth century. Animal and human race should not be conflated in the sixteenth century simply using the inference that animal origins of race terminology demonstrate implicit racial logic.

What were the implications of using the language of *casta* and *raza* for inquiry about and regulation of horse breeding and the social role of these horses? King Phillip II's survey on horse breeding provides evidence that animal breeding itself was not a source of racial logic easily transferred to people in this period. Looking at use of *casta* and *raza* in this particular instance, these terms have more to do with mixing than with purity. That the quantity and quality of horses

needed to be maintained, according to legislation in breeding, demonstrates that the experiential categories found by breeding horses could challenge as well as conform to theories of generation. So the question of race as a discourse must also be combined with race as a series of practices – how it was defined, developed or regulated, and when these features were influenced by environmental conditions or by factors of heredity, and which ones could be controlled.

Casta might be categorized in this context as interest in physical health and sexual potency from one generation to the next, whereas *raza* focused on the qualities that could be attributed to lines of descent. Discussions of *casta* highlighted the problems of incest and inter-species breeding in the phenotype of Spanish horses. The concept of *raza* on the other hand asserted that specific lineages retained a formative force — a concern most relevant to the efficacy of crossbreeding to "improve" a breed of horses and the newly required registration of all horses in defining lines of descent. The inclusion of race in this legislation implies that it was a consciously constructed rather than a natural category from the point of view of animal husbandry. *Raza* in this context becomes useful in regards to theories of crossbreeding necessary given the problems of incest brought to the fore in controlled breeding programs. A tension emerges between the requirements of breeding within a pedigree lineage proposed by *raza* and the detrimental effects to *casta* created by such close breeding.

Significantly, then, the recommended practices of animal breeding could easily be at odds with more general discursive demands of purity generally associated with their elite milieu. Although horse breeding and ownership could be used to rationalize social distinctions, it is also clear that the requirements for breeding horses with socially desirable qualities did not conform necessarily to expected doctrines of status or lineage. Thus, horse breeding served also at times a site for challenging how social distinctions were embodied or performed. In essence, the horse

itself was not a stable signifier for broader ideological implications of race, even if potentially serving in cultural discourse about purity, incest and miscegenation.

In this way, race from the point of view of animal husbandry as a tool for understanding differences in populations and their accompanying social distinctions contributes to the multiplicity of 'racisms' in a pre-modern context.[319] This conclusion is important in light of what Rebecca Earle has ably demonstrated—that the emergence of "racial thought" did not rely on contemporary frameworks of scientific thought. Rather, discussion of the deeply malleable and porous nature of the body existed side by side with cultural anxieties and desires to apply essentializing categories. What remains to clarify then, is when and how decisions to apply racial thought were made in practice.

[319] Jean-Paul Zúñiga in "Visible Signs of Belonging: The Spanish Empire and the Rise of Racial Logics in the Early Modern Period" *Polycentric Monarchies: How Did Early Modern Spain and Portugal Achieve and Maintain a Global Hegemony?* edited by Pedro Cardim et al.,(Brighton ; Portland, Or: Sussex Academic Press, 2012). Zúñiga argues that while 'casta paintings' suggested a precise and taxonomic understanding of racial mixture, in fact, colonial authorities and everyday people could use the same designations for different meanings. This confusion he attributes to multiple conceptions of "racial" difference in circulation.

Chapter 7. The King's Race: Breed, Purity, and Nobility

Just as the militias of the Reconquista had shaped the introduction of horses across the Atlantic, the experiences with horses in the Americas, likewise, influenced discourses about horses in Spain. In particular, concern over the number and quality of horses implicated the political-military structures that ensured the supply of horses, and generated important debates about horse breeding policies. Responding to the social and cultural demands raised by the experiences of breeding horses in the Spanish empire, Philip II requested surveys about horse breeding throughout Castile, at the same time that he also began a program to improve his own stock of horses in the mid-sixteenth century. The results of these surveys related to the problems of inbreeding informed Philip II's personal program pursued at a new royal stud, the *Caballeriza Real* of Cordoba (1562-1572).

Instead of relying on the privileges and obligations of the nobility for registering and raising horses, Philip II took a new initiative to gather and breed his own mares. His attempts to govern the selection and breeding of these horses elicited concerns about preserving the *casta* of Spanish horses. The overall image of the king's new *raza* emphasized more than origin or lineage, but also included training, quality, health, and even sought to introduce and cross local horses with imported types. In exchange, numerous offspring were exported to various European courts. In this sense, a breeding program designed for achieving socially desirable qualities did not simply advance the case of purity, but also institutionalized arguments for hybrid health.

These policies, however, generated criticism from high-ranking nobles. Reports from the *caballerizo mayor* in Cordoba, Diego Lopez de Haro, demonstrate the differing motivations of the royal stud and local notables. Defenders and critics debated aspects of purity, incest and miscegenation related to horses. Major trends in the sixteenth century also included the exponential multiplication and sale of titles and consolidation of large noble houses, and increasingly emphasized lineages through the recently defined "purity of blood" requirements.[320] Significantly, then, the recommended practices of animal breeding could be at odds with more general discursive demands of purity generally associated with their elite milieu.

The effort to create the "king's *raza*" reveals that consensus on how to supply horses to the Spanish courts shifted dramatically between the 1530s and the 1630s, from incorporating specimens imported from abroad to focusing on distinct, localized strains. In effect, the arbitrary definition of horse types dealt with practical and experimental results from breeding horses, but also could be used as a proxy for arguments about the state of nobility and access to noble estate. These observations have greater significance when this particular attempt to regulate horse breeding is understood in context as part of a systematic development of governing practices in the Spanish empire intended to assert control over claims to noble status, and, moreover, that the use of *casta* and *raza* to promote purity emerged as a tool for negotiation by the nobility with the crown.

[320] Joseph Perez, "La aristocracia castellana en el siglo XVI" and Antonio Dominguez Ortiz "La nobleza como estamento y grupo social en el siglo XVII" in *Nobleza y sociedad en la España moderna* ed. María del Carmen Iglesias, (Oviedo: Ediciones Nobel, 1996).

The *Caballeriza Real* of Cordoba

Philip II's ambitious plan, developed over the 1550s to 1560s, was to maintain 1200 broodmares and a stud for housing the stallions and training the colts in Andalusia. In order to select mares, he ordered his *corregidores* to find the most knowledgeable horse people, a result of his broader survey into horse breeding in 1562.[321] He enlisted his *Caballerizo Mayor*, Don Antonio de Toledo, to send a group of mares from Aranjuez they had started breeding in 1554 to pasture in the lands of the Bishop of Cordoba, and to collect additional mares from well-known breeders in Andalusia.[322] He also attempted to corral the cooperation of noble families and famous breeders of horses in Cordoba, Jaen and Jerez de la Frontera to provide for this initiative. The central location would be in Cordoba for the stable and 600 mares, but the cities of Jerez and Jaen would each shoulder 400 and 200 mares respectively. The stable itself, where the stallions were kept, began with 72 stalls in 1565 and doubled to 150 by 1578. [323] The new foals, of which there were to be 400 a year, would provide the best for the royal stables, and the rest sold (at 300 *ducados* a piece) to make up the costs of maintenance over and above the annual budget of 6,000 *ducados*.

Beyond meeting the needs of Philip II's court, this program intended to moderate the rising price of horses. A royal *cédula* addressed to the *cabildo* of Cordoba in 1567 explained that

[321] Altamirano lists these names involved in the Cordoba project: Francisco Zapata de Cisneros, corregidor of Cordoba (1567-73) and Conde de Barajas (b. 1520-d.1594); Antonio de Toledo prior of San Juan; Diego Lopez de Haro, gentilhombre de chamber; Don Diego Fernandez de Cordoba; Luis Manrique, dq de Najera; Rodrigo Mexia Marques de la Guardia.

[322] AGS CSR Legajo 273. Obispo de Cordoua [Xpobal de Reas e de Sandoual] sobre la dehesa de Alameda, 26 abril 1565.

[323] "Relacion y advertimientos cerca de la Raca de las yeguas y potros de la caualleriza de Cordoua" AGS,SGU SUP 244, 3.

by cultivating his own horses in Cordoba, the king would be able to ameliorate the lack of horses.[324] His instructions to his *caballerizo mayor* in the new facility in Cordoba in 1572 fully fleshed out this aim:

> "It being understood that thus fulfills our service and the public good of these realms so that the *cría y casta* of the horses in them be growing and our guards and men of war can be better mounted and that the price of the horses that has been growing be moderated, and for other just considerations we have agreed to breed and raise [*críar y sostener*] a quantity of broodmares with their colts and offspring and fathers in the cities of Cordoba, Jaen and Jerez, and in other parts and places of Andalusia that seem suitable to us."[325]

This project benefitted the realm, and addressed a serious problem discerned in the surveys about mounts for the militia. The king attempted to implement this project for the common good, to supply the *caballeros* de *cuantía* or *hombres de armas*, and more acutely to address the deficit of horses lost in the Alpujarras revolt. When Philip II had refused to extend the moratorium on prohibitions of Morisco customs in 1566, it shortly thereafter led to rebellion in Granada in 1568. By 1571, the uprising had been suppressed by deporting Morisco populations from Granada. This rebellion had made use of the *caballeros de cuantía* and the horses they provided. In part, the loss of horses on the campaigns led by Don Juan de Austria and others added urgency to the already long perceived shortage of quality horses and the costs they incurred on the *caballeros* de

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[324] AGS,CCA,CED,370 "La ciudad de cordoba 28 abril 1567". "para que en el precio de los cauallos que ha venido asez tan alto y crescido aya mas moderacion y baxa, hauemos acordado de tener criar y sostener en esa ciudad de cordoua y en otros algunos lugares del andaluzia un buen numero de yeguas y padres."

[325] "Instrucion original de la caualleriza de Cordoua", "La Ynstrucion y el titulo del contador cedulae y cartae a cordadae." AGS,SGU-SUP,244-2.

cuantía. The letters and reports from the officials of the *caballeriza* confirm the king's aim to moderate prices for quality horses, instituted through the sale of the new offspring each year at a lower price.[326] In fact, in 1579, 30 horses were supplied from the *caballeriza* to "los ginetes de Oran q estan mal encabalgados."[327] These projects supplemented the formation of *cofradias* or *hermandades* for improving the exercise of arms and defense of the realm.[328] Ultimately, improving the Spanish horse also meant to increase the horses available at moderate prices.

Care of the stallions was entrusted to the lieutenant *caballerizo* Don Diego Lopez de Haro, to supervise "the order and method" for the best "casta y raza." The process included care of the mares and stallions, the mating process, and the offspring. He listed in his recommendations that when it came time to breed: to only leave the stallions with the mares for 8 hours; to not give any more than 15 mares to a robust and spirited stallion and damage his strength; and to only use the stallions in the best ages for breeding, 8-10 years old. Breeding with the mares was to be supervised by hand rather than at liberty in open pastures. The mares were to be bred "each race to itself" and the offspring branded accordingly. The best colts were to be kept for training in the *caballeriza*, and regularly supplied to the court in Madrid.[329]

The instructions given by the king's *caballerizo mayor,* Don Antonio de Toledo, focused on the selection of the mares and stallions to be bred. At the time of breeding, he cautioned, there

[326] AGS,SGU-SUP 244, 15-4.

[327] "Memorial de Don Di/o de Haro sobre las cosas de la caualleriza de Cordoua 1579." SGU-SUP Legajo 244, No. 2. 6-2 (3&4)

[328] "Respuestas de los Grandes y Señores del Reino a la orden circular de S.M. sobre la formación de cofradías o hermandades de hijosdalgo para el ejercicio de las armas, fomento de la caballería y defensa del Reino 1572" AGS,CCA,DIV,25,2

[329] "Reales Cavallerizas de Cordova Ano de 1572" AGP Sección Administración legajo 1.305-2

might be fraud, substituting lesser mares ("yeguas agenas") to be served by the king's stallions. As a result, the mares would not conceive and damage the "potency" of the stallions. For this reason, the *contador* had to be present when they were bred, and to record which colts were born of which *origen* and *casta* for sale. It was crucial to have a person dedicated to choosing which mares to breed to those stallions.[330]

Caballerizo Diego de Haro had to ensure that the stallions were both good and healthy ("buenos y sanos") to breed to the mares best suited for the *casta y raza* of the offspring. While the instructions for the mares in Cordoba asked that they be bred by hand to the stallions, "each race to itself" and branded according to this race, the instructions to Jerez in a document from circa 1572 suggest that they take the best colts from their mares and breed them back to the mother.[331] Importantly, these programs demonstrate interest in restricting the breeding of these horses in the attempt to create the king's *raza* – although offering different suggestions for whether such inbreeding should take the form of father-daughter versus mother-son inbreeding.

The king's project cultivated selections of stallions of different regional origins and functional types from across Habsburg lands, from Aranjuez, Naples, and Germany. This stable in Cordoba was just one depository for the king's horses, and in fact functioned as part of a larger network of *caballeriza*s *real*es encompassed facilities involved in the breeding, training and ceremonial use of horses for the king and for the nation.[332] There was one also in Naples,

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[330] "Reales Cavallerizas de Cordova Ano de 1572" AGP Sección Administración legajo 1.305-2. Copy of Don Antonio de Toledo's instructions.

[331] "Piensos para la justin/on de la caualleriza de Cordoua Jaen y Xerez" AGS CSR Legajo 273

[332] Officials in this section of the royal house organized the mounted entrances and exits of the king from royal residences. The head of the stables, the *caballerizo mayor*, became one of

and one in Sardinia (Cerdeña), as well as the royal palace in Madrid, and the royal palace circuit like those in Aranjuez and Segovia. Haro recommended an inventory of how many of each kind of horse the king wanted, including Spanish, Neapolitan, *hacas*, *quartagos*, carriage horses, and which ones were designated for the stud.[333] The *Inventario de la caballeriza real de Cordoba de 1586* included "hacas, hacaneas, frisones, curtagos, trotones."[334]

In this climate, it was still uncertain what factors truly determined the king's *raza*. The *Junta de la Caballeriza de Cordoba* complained that Diego de Haro did not really explain what he planned to do with the *raza* of the horses. On the other hand, Diego de Haro expressed optimism about the current status in 1583 of creating the king's *raza*, "which each day is becoming more perfect, and within a few years will be at its height."[335] He noted that of approximately 500 mares this year, half of them were pregnant, and of those offspring half could be expected to put in the *caballeriza* to train. However, he cautioned that the quality of the horse really came out in the training, so it was not ideal to just have an arbitrary number for training to find the best *raza* horses. Haro's complaint reveals that the treatment and training of the horses was as much a part of the *raza* as anything else. Of the 150 stallions, some of the stallions had physical flaws that did not prevent them from breeding. Nevertheless, they were hard to sell,

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the king's closest advisors by the end of the seventeenth century, a position held by both the Duke of Lerma and Count Duke Olivares.

[333] 22 abril 1583 Madrid. AGS,SGU SUP 244, 11-2.

[334] Altamirano, f34.

[335] "Don diego lopez de haro dize que la causa porque en la caualleriza de cordoua se agastado los tres anos passados mas dinero. 1583" AGS CSR Legajo 273. 2-49.

even though they were "de la raca" and there was proof that their colts could be valuable, like the one bought by Don Diego de Argote for 400 ducados.[336]

Overall, the project struggled with inefficiencies. The plan put pressure on available resources by gathering large herds of mares for intensive breeding. In 1572, therefore, *cédula*s issued to the three cities tried to find additional *baldíos* or unused lands that could house these mares. The lack of pasture arose both in Jaen and Jerez, as well as in Cordoba, and drought exacerbated the situation. In 1579, Diego de Haro also recommended replacing the pastures of Loja for Jerez for lack of forage and then in 1580, a note directly from Jaen complained that they could not possibly provide pasture for so many mares, as experience had showed them even the *vecinos* were only able to pasture 6 or 8 mares together.[337] But even the pastures that started out as prime selections would face the strain of these herds, so that in 1583, Diego de Haro recommended moving the colts out of the first pastures of the Dehesa Alameda and Cordoba la Vieja because the foals were dying.[338]

The question of what best maintained this large number of horses remained a continual problem. The allocation from the *Junta de Bosques* (later from the *Junta de la Caballeriza de Cordoba*) of 6,000 *ducados* was not enough for the upkeep of the more that 90 stallions in the stables, and the number of horses would only increase. Each *mozo* or page took care of 4 horses, so there were about 30 to 40 employed in Cordoba, plus the *domadores, palofreneros, picadores,*

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[336] "Don diego lopez de haro dize que la causa porque en la caualleriza de cordoua se agastado los tres anos passados mas dinero. 1583" AGS CSR Legajo 273. 2-49.

[337] AGS,CSR Legajo 273. No. 57; Legajo 273, fol. 61 . 1580.

[338] "Don diego lopez de haro dize que la causa porque en la caualleriza de cordoua se agastado los tres anos passados mas dinero. 1583" AGS,CSR Legajo 273. 2-49.

albeitares, and *yeguarizos*, as salaried men, in addition to the primary *caballerizos* for the different schools of horsemanship (namely, *a la brida* and *a la gineta*). In 1583, Diego de Haro reported more precisely that they had spent 10,000 *ducados* the previous three years on upkeep for the horses.[339] The process of bringing 40 horses a year to Madrid for the king to choose the ones he liked best seemed to be a waste of funds, in a time when grain and hay costs only seemed to be rising.

Nevertheless, while sale of the colts was supposed to make up for the excess costs, Diego de Haro also implied that these sales were not adequate. He recommended that the king select 12 of the best stallions and sell the rest because of the maintenance costs. Moreover, Lopez de Haro noted. gift horses had gone to the Holy Roman Emperor and other electors, the king of France, and Don Juan of Austria, citing 45 such gift horses over the course of three years, costing enormous sums of money in transport. [340] In particular, he complained that the king spent 20,000 *ducados* (more than three times the entire budget of the royal stud in Cordoba) to bring 6-8 horses from Naples, when these horses came from breeders who had bought their colts from the king's own stables. [341]

Finally, the project generated tension among the city notables about the king's project and the burden it brought for them. Diego Lopez de Haro y Sotomayor was a *gentilhombre de chambre*, Marques del Carpio and *caballerizo mayor* of Cordoba. Within Cordoba, he dealt with local notables, such as Diego Fernandez de Cordoba Marquis of Comares, Luis Manrique the

[339] AGS,SGU SUP 244, 15 - 2.

[340] "Don diego lopez de haro dize que la causa porque en la caualleriza de cordoua se agastado los tres anos passados mas dinero. 1583" AGS CSR Legajo 273, 2-49.

[341] AGS,SGU SUP 244, 15-4.

Duke of Najera, and Rodrigo Mexia Marquis de la Guardia. Managing the king's horses played into these local relationships as well. For example, in 1578, Diego de Haro complained about abuses of privilege on the part of Don Diego de Cordoba. He and his sons were taking out the horses reserved for the king, and did not respect the order imposed by the *caballerizo*, even as far as which bits to use for those horses by their *picadores* or trainers. The conflict reached such a point that Diego de Haro asked to be sent home or to be given direct control of the training and breeding program rather than having to cater to the interests of Diego de Cordoba.[342] His complaint about Diego de Cordoba trying to sabotage the *raza* of the stables appeared again five years later in 1583.[343]

Debating Race

The municipal surveys served as a prelude to the king's own interest in establishing a new royal breeding facility in Cordoba, and guided longer-term choices about management and breeding of horses. In particular, the survey had highlighted the importance of crossbreeding in developing the *casta* and *raza* of the Spanish horse, given the problems of incest brought to the fore in controlled breeding programs. The king's program thus combatted two major issues. First, remedying carelessness or lack of oversight in breeding horses, which tended to produce a smaller average horse. Second, addressing the ill effects of extensive inbreeding by bringing in prime individual stallions to achieve the benefits of new blood, what today we might think of as the advantages of outbreeding for a locally constrained population. A tension emerged between

[342] "Carta de Don Diego Lopez de Haro a Su Mag/d, s.d." AGS,SGU-SUP 244

[343] AGS,SGU-SUP 244, 8, (folio 5) 31 Julio 1583.

the requirements of breeding within a pedigree lineage proposed by *raza* and the detrimental effects to *casta* created by such close breeding.

The crown wanted to create a "new race" of horses, and this concept of breed shows the inherent problems in deciding whether a breed is based on physical characteristics or lineage, and how one could "fix" characteristics without running into the problems of inbreeding. Although horse breeding and ownership could be used to rationalize social distinctions, it is also clear that the requirements for breeding horses with socially desirable qualities did not conform necessarily to expected doctrines of status or lineage. By bringing in choice stallions and selecting good mares, Philip II hoped to improve the horse population in general. But his moves also generated criticism from other nobles who preferred an inbreeding approach. Thus, horse breeding served also at times a site for challenging how social distinctions were embodied or performed, a phenomenon which be explored in greater detail in this section.

Questions about the inheritance of traits and the important balancing act between achieving race purity while avoiding incest would relate practical decisions about breeding to its socially symbolic aspects. Interest in these issues from noblemen appear in horse manuals which contribute to debates about the relative benefits of incest in breeding to maintain lineage, and the benefits of cross-breeding with mares from outside of Spain. This debate had ideological overtones but also dealt with practical and experimental results from breeding horses and the relative benefits of incest and cross breeding to maintain lineage and physical appearances, or *raza* and *casta*. Thus, the arbitrary definition of horse breeds could be used as a proxy for arguments about the state of nobility and access to noble estate.

Ramirez de Haro

Ensuing discussion over the best methods for improving the quality of Spanish horses addressed both practical solutions and also the symbolic importance of the horse as a reflection of status and ability. Diego Ramirez de Haro, a high ranking noble from a family that claimed descent from the founders of Madrid, contradicted the policies implemented by Philip II to improve the Spanish horse in a lengthy manuscript he wrote sometime between the initiation of the king's project in 1562 and his own death in 1587. Entitled *Tratado de la brida y gineta* this manuscript also covered aspects of horsemanship and bullfighting; and similar to other works about horsemanship that meant to demonstrate martial vitality, educate noble youth, and demonstrate one's authority in the care and breeding of horses, it circulated among an elite audience through the court in Madrid.[344]

The objections of Don Diego Ramirez de Haro illustrate the discursive uses of purity that differ from the realities of animal husbandry practices. He objected particularly to the method of choosing stallions according to their physical health and body type as individual specimens, whether via foreign imports from other nations (like the Neapolitan courser, the middle eastern Turk, or North African Barb), or from other regions of Spain. Although Ramirez considered the health and age of the parents at the moment of conception to be critical to the health and strength of the offspring (e.g. a lame and old stallion produces inferior offspring because of his condition at the time of breeding rather than his previous looks or ability), he still argued that cross-breeding with horses from other nations did nothing to benefit the Spanish horse and its *casta*

[344] Diego Ramírez de Haro, *Tratado de La Brida Y Gineta, Y de Las Caballerías Que En Entrambas Sillas Se Hacen Y Enseñan a Los Caballos, Y de Las Formas de Torear Pie Y a Caballo* (S.XVI, n.d.), MSS/9432, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Fondo Antiguo.

would be not improved by such crosses. Thus, he indicated that the direct transfer from parent to offspring was not as important as the race-purity of the horse breeding population.

Asserting requisite purity for improving Spanish horses appears to carry ideological overtones of the exclusivity of particular lineages against foreign contamination. Nevertheless, looking more closely at his use of the term *raza* suggests that Ramirez de Haro considered race a consciously constructed and purposefully maintained set of limited physical features, rather than an essentialzing or naturalistic denomination through the influence of blood. The foreign "races" he discussed were primarily regional (the Turk, the desert Arab, the mountain pony of Albania), but he expressed uncertainty as to whether their inferiority was not rather based on the carelessness of the kings in maintaining their horses, than natural environmental characteristics. The race, he argued, required proper manipulation of the *casta*.

The *casta* seemed to be the primary determinant of the quality of the individual horse in terms of size, health and beauty, and as such resided in the individual, rather than emerging from regional influences. He used *casta* to refer to the size and confirmation of the mother and father, selected as necessary for the "good race." A mare with these qualities was "of *casta*" and the stallion *castizo* or "pure." Although these categories represent physical types, he also uses *casta* to refer to the health and conditioning of the mare and stallion at the moment of conception, preferring young (between ages of 6-12), well rested, and muscular features in his selection criteria. The importance of *casta* in breeding related not only to physical type but also environmental conditions of nutrition and training; thus, the environmental elements (especially effects of injury, age and nutrition) as well as physical traits (size) might be transmitted generationally from one individual to the next.

The transfer of *casta* from parent to offspring, however, had limits. The temperament associated with the humoral composition, and deciphered by coloring, was not inherited in "*casta*". Neither were qualities of "goodness, grace, carriage, spirit, lightness" passed through this delineation of *casta*, but rather were "natural" gifts independent of parentage. Ramirez moreover emphasized the influence of discipline and training in having a horse "grow in perfection" and so also indicated that the talents and abilities of a well-trained stallion were by no means directly transmitted to his offspring, nor with any apparent consistency.

Nevertheless, the function of *casta*, according to Ramirez, was to create the *raza*. So while an individual horse might possess a good *casta* in physical terms, it was also possible to be of a *casta*, in terms of lineage. He gave the example of a classical Greek horse breeder named Philonicus of Thessaly (modern day eastern Greece) who supplied horses to Philip of Macedonia and his son Alexander the Great, including the famous black stallion known as Bucephalus. Ramirez argued that the quality of this *raza* came from the management of its *casta*; that is, rather than breeding Bucefalus to all available mares, Philonicus had created separate lineages among mares for the *casta*. As related by Ramirez, the influence of Bucefalus's blood in these mares was so strong that they would self-segregate, without prompting, from the rest of the herd. Thus, *casta* refers to the qualities of a population beyond the individual, but nevertheless relies on physical type and the immediate transfer of features from parent to offspring (rather than through some other reproductive function operating at a distance).

This sense of *casta* contributes to Ramirez's strongest critique of the king's policies in his own royal stud, as well as those promulgated throughout Castile, which favored the selection of individual horses of desirable features to the detriment of the *casta*, and consequently the *raza* as well. Ramirez de Haro lamented that the "Race of the King" produced very inconsistent horses –

"it has one good horse for 20 bad."[345] This unequal output, Ramirez argued, was the result of the great differences between the stallions and mares—many being from different countries of origin. What mattered, more generally, was to breed stallions and broodmares that were of "a *casta*" – that is, of the same lineage -- in order to produce a "good race." He had negative things to say about the "bastard" horses that emerged from other mixes, considering the consistency of the lineage essential because: "excellent mares taken by different horses do not produce such sons as are of "a *casta*." In the "King's Race," he noted that even the magnificent mares of Don Luis Manrique "shone little" for the king for no more reason than having varied the stallions too often outside of their own *casta*. Ramirez's complaint about these crosses extended to the selection of horses for breeding throughout Spain as implemented in all municipalities by the king's recent directives. The assigned overseers purchasing stallions to service local mares and selecting for health, body type followed a practice that Ramirez thought provoked the same problem of inconsistency in terms of *casta*: "It is a great inconvenience to follow this order that the towns purchase stallions to be assigned for the mares in their jurisdiction… it ought to be one that comes from the same *casta*, taking care to breed each one to one female of the *casta* in order to maintain purity."

Casta thus represented a complex association of physical type, lineage and environmental factors. In promoting "purity" as the means to arrive at a "good race", however, Ramirez's recommendations are not reducible to a simple patrilineal or matrilineal lineage, either in terms of blood transfer or a genealogical pedigree. For example, he objected to another common practice of lazy breeders which made use of incestuous relations between young colts and their own mothers by leaving them pastured together too long, rather than separating the colts as they

[345] Ramírez de Haro, 8.

mature. He attributed this problem of inbreeding to the Kingdom of Naples, where they "are destroying the best and most beautiful animals of the world" through this practice. The creation of the "good *raza*" from quality *casta* he presented as a long-term process, which could take over 80 years to create, and which could be decimated by incest, careless breeding, and continuing to crossbreed choice individuals. In these discussions, he actually does not appear concerned with any "residual" blood contamination for interaction with those that were not "of a *casta*" (aka the concept of "telegony" often attributed to the practice of allowing a donkey to breed with a mare in the process of creating mules). Thus, while "*casta*" included environmental influences at the moment of conception, it also contained some sense of a "purposeful development" into a physical type. In these ways, the ideological components of purity do not seem to drive his strategy as much as practical effectiveness of creating a unique population with traits that could be passed on with some consistency across generations.

The work of Ramirez provides evidence of cultural rhetoric in the promotion of the Spanish horse and claims for its superiority to all other "races." This promotion indicated horse breeding was a civic responsibility – one taken up by municipal leaders and made a policy affecting horses throughout Castile. Ramirez pointed specifically to the quality of the "*raza*" of two titled families in Andalusia, Dukes of Nájera (later guardians of the Valenzuela/Guzman horses) and the Marquis of LaGuardia, as the best examples to be followed. Indicating the length of time required to cultivate a clear "race" over multiple generations, and the dangers of inconsistently changing out the stallion from among those of its own lineage to achieving the *casta* necessary for a "good race", Ramirez also asserted the importance of his own and others noble authority to provide this service and maintain the qualities of the Spanish "*raza*" over generations.

Fernandez de Andrada

Pedro Fernandez de Andrada, a council member and *veinticuatro* of Seville, also engaged with the definition of *casta* in his 1599 *Libro de la Gineta de España*. In the section titled "En el qual trata el modo de hazer las Castas, y criar los Potros, y como se an de enfrenar, y castigar los Cavallos," he commented on the *casta* of horses, but never mentioned their *raza*. According to Fernandez Andrada, the *casta* seemed to imply the quality and degree of imprinting on the offspring. That is, he noticed the *casta* primarily in terms of whether the color of a horse passed on to its offspring, and the effects of the mother's imagination at the time of conception. He notes this was not only true for human generation according to Galen, but even more so for the animal, which was even more subject to the imagination: "This matters immensely to sustain the *casta* in perfection."[346] He also cited the Greek poet Oppian that to have a colt emerge with the desired color, one could allow the mare to see and desire a stallion of that color to impress it upon her imagination for the moment of conception: "contemplating the figure of the stallion that entices her, the mare's eyes embed the figure and with the strength of imagination she is disposed to conceive." This he compares to an incident recorded by Hippocrates of a white man and white woman having a black child because at the moment of conception the woman had looked at a painting of an Ethiopian.

To perfect the *casta*, then, the moment of conception was crucial, and the imagination one reason why "the *casta* errs" — that is, why the offspring does not get imprinted with the same qualities as the parents. Fernandez Andrada acknowledged that sometimes variation emerged by nature. Some stallions simply exhibited a defect where their offspring did not correspond to their

[346] Pedro Fernández de Andrada, *Libro de la gineta de España* (Alonso de la Barrera, 1599), 31

own qualities: “there are horses in which nature errs, whether for their defects, poor complexion, from that horse there is no correspondence with the quality of its caste [downstream lineage].” On the other hand, this erring of the *casta* could also proceed in the other direction to be even better than the parents. A colt might turn out excellent although the stallion was of average size and without any great features—provided that this average horse was bred back to mares of his own lineage: “breed the mares back to their own lineage because without a doubt it will restore the *casta*, and return to correspond with the quality of the grandparents as is ordinary.”[347] He calls crossing the mare with her own colt “making the *casta*” or “para que hiciessen casta”.

Fernandez Andrada emphasized the nature of this inbreeding principle on the effectiveness of the *casta*. He noted that Ovid was of the opinion that it was the daughters taken to breed by their fathers, being of the same lineage, which made the most perfect *casta*.[348] Even though Aristotle had acknowledged the usefulness of inbreeding in animal husbandry, he had also told the cautionary tales of the horses that refused to be bred back to their own mothers in horror and regret, showing a natural taboo against incest. However, while Fernandez Andrada records the same natural repugnance in a prime horse in Andalusia, he remarks “experience is certain that the *casta* cannot be perfect if the son does not take his mother.” Even Aristotle would have had to admit that the results from this cross in the offspring “correspond to the quality of their lineage.”

Fernandez Andrada discussed this breeding strategy not as single-generational but rather a multi-generational effect, so that the paternal grandfather should be the indicator of the *casta* quality. Yet, he made here the *casta* of the horses expansive — so that it included the physical

[347] Fernandez Andrada, 31v.

[348] Fernandez Andrada, 35.

type, the impression of conception, but also the "force" of *casta* present in the lineage. He again referred to an example from Aristotle of a white woman and black man having a white daughter, but that daughter then having a black child. His use of immediate comparisons to human offspring is unusual among the extant writing about horse breeding at the time in agricultural or horsemanship manuals. The connection to human generation applied not only in the question of color, but also in terms of the quality of the *casta* representing the family of breeders, through their particular brands. He recommended this branding practice, because "it is no less important to the great lords to know the good castes of horses to receive honor and service from them, than for the poor squires to know the illustrious houses of princes to be favored by them."[349]

Luis Banuelos de la Cerda and the Raza Valenzuela

In 1605, Luis Bañuelos de la Cerda traced a particular Cordoban equine *raza* to know its "origen y raça de raíz" because they were so highly esteemed in his work titled: *Of the race and descent of the Guzman horses, also known as the Valenzuelas*.[350] He praised these horses, noting that a Turkish horse the Conde de Medellin bought for 1,000 sheep and as many rams could not compare with "Lanzarote" owned by the Duque of Alba, or "Valenzuela" owned by the Duque de Medinaceli.[351] He found the origin of this quality of horse under the reign of Carlos V, when Don Luis Manrique, son of the Duke of Nájera, was given an estate in Cordoba. Tired of court life, Manrique retired there to raise horses. He bought renowned mares from Don Rodrigo Mexía the

[349] Fernandez Andrada, 36.

[350] Luis de Bañuelos y de la Cerda and Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, *Libro de la jineta y descendencia de los caballos Guzmanes by Luis Bañuelos de la Cerda (1605)*, ed. José Antonio de Balenchana (Madrid: [Imp. de Aribau y c.a], 1877).

[351] Bañuelos, 10.

Marquis de la Guardia, and Diego de Aguayo of Villaverde and a foundation stallion to breed them from Jerez de la Frontera.

This foundation stallion referred to the shrewd purchase of a seemingly broken down horse that turns out to have been the prize stallion of a Turkish sultan. Don Luis was standing at his gate one day when a muleteer came by on a grey nag in very poor condition, and he bought the horse along with the muleteer's cape for just 30 escudos (a good horse might cost 400 - 2,000 escudos). As it turned out, this horse, in fact, had been trained by a Turkish sultan *a la jineta*, and had been left at an inn by Moors claiming to be ambassadors from the sultan of Morocco. The innkeeper was instructed to keep the horse because it had colic, and they said if it survived it was a valuable horse "of the best caste of our lord, nay in all of Berberia." Manrique used this horse to breed for a long time, even though other princes offered to buy him for his weight in gold. He bred his mares carefully: "without breeding them with other stallions, nor pasturing them with mares of other races but only these" and further "without going outside of their own caste."

These same 50 mares Manrique kept for a long time, breeding them only to a singular stallion. These horses were never sold, but given as gifts to the princes and lords of their region, when the colts were worth one to two thousand *ducados*.[352] When the Duke left for a term in Italy, he left the horses in charge of Juan de Valenzuela. Subsequently, these horses were divided, some willed to Felipe II, others auctioned off by the church, and others left to Don Pedro de la Cueva of Jerez de la Frontera and Martin Fernandez de Cordoba Ponce de León. These horses, because they were so "pure" ("tan apurada"), they supposedly required different methods of training than any others. In this way, Bañuelos created a romanticized lineage for a specific set of

[352] Bañuelos, 14-16.

mares that reflected the quality and exclusive purity of Cordoban nobility: Cordoba at the time had the highest number of estate-holding *caballeros* in all Spain, a reflection on the purity of lineage gained through intermarriage.

Covarrubias

An important point of comparison for the use of these terms, *casta* and *raza*, comes from the *Tesoro de la lengua Castellana* published by Covarrubias in 1611. His definition of "*raza*" referred immediately to the quality of horses. Its first point of reference was precisely to horses that had a known lineage, marked with a brand "para q sean conocidos"— so that it be known. Covarrubias defined what *raza* meant very practically, similar to what we have seen in the development of the *raza* Valenzuela and the King's *raza,* based on the prestigious family patronage of certain populations of horses. But Covarubbias's definition also depended on the idea of the *casta*, and specifically a "casta castizo." He defined *casta* as pertaining generally to the identification of a specific lineage, one that could be either good or bad. Specifically, this meant one that was "castizo", or generally speaking one that had known antecedents in the sense of being "chaste." The definition noted the importance of chastity in the sense that "hombres viciosos" or licentious men have lesser force or potency to beget children than those men who engage with fewer women.[353] We can see that Covarrubias's definition of *raza* refers directly to the *casta*, indicated only by the singular marker of the *raza* or brand for public display.

[353] Covarrubias, *Tesoro*: "CASTA, vale linage noble, y castizo, el que es de buena linea y decendeñcia; no embargante que dezimos es de buena casta, y mala casta. Dixose casta, de castus. a.m. porque para la generacion y procreacion de los hijos, conviene no ser los hombres viciosos [dissolute, depraved], ni desenfrenados [licentious, ungoverned] en el acto venereo [venial/sexual/venereal]; por cuya causa los distraydos [seducers,hedonists] no engendran [beget, generate, conceive], y los recogidos [restrained], y que tratan poco con mugeres, tienen muchos hijos. Castizos llamamos a los que son de buen linage y casta."

Nevertheless, Covarrubias proceeded to make an explicit comparison between the *raza* of the horse and the *raza* indicating Jewish or Moorish ancestry. The Jewish population had been expelled from Spain earlier in 1492, but converts like the Moriscos continued to be treated as suspect for their adherence to older religious customs until their expulsion in 1609. The identification of these populations with their ancestors persisted despite the techniques and transformations of conversion, adhering to "purity of blood" language that originally emerged in 1449.[354] The means of providing a proof of *limpieza* required identification of several generations of ancestors — initially at least two generations of father and grandfather, but at times as many as seven generations (presumably the further out from the point of conversion the more generations were necessary). The proof of *limpieza* in concept is quite similar to a proof of nobility or *hidalguía*, which likewise required showing at least three to four generations of ancestry, but with time increased in accordance with the demands of the *Chancilleria*. The concept of purity of blood—if religious, and not ethnic or racial—at the very least, conflated religion and genealogy. In this sense, the *raza* conceptually referred to an inter-generational influence of a particular section of the lineage.

Yet, if Covarrubias spoke of the religious category as one that blended culture and nature, to essentialize the characteristics of an individual, then this cannot be related directly to the matter of race in animals. Clearly horses, or animals in general, cannot be said to belong to any particular religious orientation. They were sensible animals but not human, although imbued at times with morally impure or morally pure recognition of natural laws, like rejecting incest of

[354]Albert A. Sicroff, *Los Estatutos de Limpieza de Sangre* (Taurus Ediciones S. A. 1960) argues that the blood mentality became an obsession and a stigma of the Spanish nation. First appearing in Toledo statutes of 1449, it shortly thereafter became a founding requirement for officials of the Inquisition in 1486. As used by the Inquisition, the statute referred to the absence of *converso* or Jewish ancestry for families that could claim to be "old Christians."

son to mother and at the same time with very strong sexual desires. On the other hand, *raza* in the animal context did not only represent lineage, but more specifically reference to the family or sponsor on whose behalf it is branded. That is, the *raza* of the horse in this definition did indicate the generational influence and familial bonds of lineage, but as a necessarily constructed rather than naturally occurring phenomenon.

Alonso Carillo Lasso

A final opinion comes from a *caballerizo* involved in the management of horses for the king. In 1620, the new *caballerizo mayor* of Philip III, Alonso Carillo Lasso, examined the instructions and records of the C*aballeriza Real* of Cordoba and re-visited the question of how to breed a good Spanish horse with recourse to the original instructions given by Philip II in 1572. He later wrote a short work on this topic on the premise that despite the previous king's best efforts, the "raza" had been destroyed.[355]

Carillo Lasso dedicated his fifth chapter to "De la *Raza*", saying that in his time the race of the Spanish horse had been destroyed by the poor conditions of the horses: "the Spanish race is destroyed by the ugliness of the horses and their poor condition."[356] However, he had a specific target for the blame of this new version of decay, "the ruin of the race", which can be traced to the poor selection of stallions with poor legs and hoofs, even though these were the most beautiful looking. He believed it was certain that the selection of the stallions named Toledo, Zuniga, el Emperador, Bocanegra were the reason for "diminishing the race" because the stallions passed on and engendered defects in their offspring. This was not because the stallions

[355] Carrillo Lasso, Alonso. *Caballeriza de Cordova*. Cordoba: Salvador de Cea, 1625.

[356] "Reales Cavallerizas de Cordova Ano de 1572" AGP Sección Administración legajo 1.305-2; Alonso Carrillo Lasso, *Caballeriza de Cordova* (Cordoba: Salvador de Cea, 1625), 13.

themselves were of poor quality, but in actuality for a quality of generation that at times defied explanation: "because so many things happen in generation that being one of the best might disfigure the animal." Moreover, when faults appeared in the colt, either for the parents in this manner one was alerted that the *raza "*is beginning to wear out."[357]

Despite his commentary about the degeneration of the raza, Carrillo Lasso nonetheless insisted that inbreeding was essential. His sixth chapter was dedicated to the proposition of defining "Que cosa es Raza." He defined it as "a line of descent from father to son, handsome for the most part, based on many years' experience, and esteemed by all." He marked this characteristic quality explicitly in contrast to others that might have just one very fine specimen: "these cannot be called races nor caste, when on occasion one turns out well."[358] He noted in particular that it was "common opinion" that the phrase "raza de caballos" implied that the stallions in question had an ability to engender similar traits (in beauty and goodness) in their offspring, or at least so that "the majority of the offspring correspond to the race." This was not merely by accident, but rather because of the specific "virtue" or quality of the stallion in begetting and impressing their characteristics on successive offspring. To achieve this effect, regardless of his earlier remarks about degeneration within the Spanish race, it was necessary to inbreed: "a race cannot be conserved except within itself, with the same stallions and mares: this is what has been experienced." His general rule is that "como la conserva la propria, la destuya la estraña", or or "as one keeps its own, so the foreign destroys it."[359]

[357] Carillo Lasso, 14.

[358] Carillo Lasso, 15-16.

[359] Carillo Lasso, 16.

The primary cause of the problem with the degeneration of the horses in Spain was that the mares of the king had been bred to stallions of a different race, "caballos de otra raza." When Philip II had brought all his mares to Cordoba, even the different races from Andalusia were mixed together, so that they were considered as if one race even though there were many. Just the movement to new pasture and exposure to airs could alter the race, not to mention the cold of winter and heat of the summer making the land sterile. For this reason, it became impossible to pair stallions and mares paired of the same race and continue their distinctions or conserve their qualities. In reaction to the problems of "mixed breeding," Carillo Lasso argued that the loss of horse quality under Philip II could be remedied by greater focus on selective breeding among native stock. That is, rather than merely rejecting the interpolation of foreign blood, he suggested the maintenance of distinct strains within native Andalusian horse populations.

Nobility and Race

In the texts of expert horsemen writing about the development and maintenance of a good race of horses, a variety of opinions emerge. The recommended practices of animal breeding did not always conform to the demands of purity. In particular, while the practical outcomes from inbreeding discussed by all of these authors indicated some level of importance to purity within a single lineage, questions remained. Should it be mother-son inbreeding or father-daughter inbreeding? How was it possible to account for the confounding factors of region, environment, imagination, training, or natural "erring" in the process of generational transfer? If the general identification of horses of a single race required consistency and quality, then it clearly needed management of subdivisions in the caste of mares and their care as well, rather than emerging

from a general marker of patrilineal descent. Such connections between race and even purity moreover changed over time – a phenomenon that interrogates the nature of classifications mobilized for identifying desirable qualities among horses destined for the Spanish court as "racial" in nature.

The experiences of horse breeding and concern for conserving or perfecting the Spanish horse highlight a second major interest, namely the representation and reflection of such horses on noble families. Ramirez de Haro emphasized the civic responsibility of noble families as those able to preserve and manage a race over generations, an idea echoed by Fernandez de Andrada in his remark on the presentation of horse brands as a sign of service and a form of receiving honor in public. Bañuelos de la Cerda emphasized in greater detail the program a noble house might undertake. If Fernandez de Andrada drew parallels between horses and human primarily through a humoral theory of color inheritance evinced by multi-generational inbreeding techniques, Carrillo Lasso also noted that the degeneration of a race similarly emerged in both horses and noble houses through a fault of isolation and homogeneity.

Since the horse was a preeminent signifier of nobility, how do attempts to define a pure lineage for the horse relate to attempts by prominent noble houses to consolidate their estates? Debate about the king's program and its purpose for providing horses becomes a lens for contemporary arguments about the state of nobility and changing access to the noble estate. All of these authors provided parallels between the role of race and caste in horses and their understanding of human generation, lineage, and noble standing. Yet, these texts, taken together, support the notion that the application of the term race, even if coming from the context of animal husbandry, need not imply racial logic. In these platforms for critiquing horse breeding programs, the use of *casta* and *raza* to promote purity served primarily as a tool for elevating the

importance of the nobility vis a vis the interests of the crown to regulate social standing, as represented by the horse. It had ideological overtones but also dealt with practical and experimental results from breeding horses and the relative benefits of incest and cross breeding to maintain lineage and physical appearances, or *raza* and *casta*. That application curiously was not based on governance or regulation on animal generation imposed by the king, but rather arose from an opposing interest in championing the importance of noble lineages.

Debates about the methods for breeding these horses served as proxies for some people to argue about the ways to define nobility or *limpieza de sangre* in a moment of change. Joseph Pérez and Dominguez Ortiz traced these trends and transformations within the noble estate in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, notably the exponential multiplication and sale of offices and consolidation of large noble houses. New, educated functionaries were being raised by service to the crown as royal secretaries, known as *letrados*. Additionally, the growth in sale of titles was rapid: in 1520 there were 35 titled nobility, but by 1598 there were 99 titles, and it grew from there. Within the category of nobility, therefore, distinctions were increasingly made between the *hidalgos notorios* (nobility by lineage), and the *hidalgos de privilegio* (nobility by appointment). As the *hidalguía* was being diluted with greater numbers, the long-standing prestigious military orders within the ranks of the older titled noble families and newer *letrados* emphasized the significance of their personal lineages through the recently defined Inquisition requirements of *limpieza de sangre*. If this period represents a key turning point in how nobility is defined in Spain, through lineage, then the implications of the language of *raza* and *casta* reflected in horses as objects of elite social status appears closely related. Yet it is equally crucial to recognize the clear admission that race was something that had to be consciously maintained and cultivated rather than something "natural" — and that the ability to create the kind of horse

desired depended on concepts of generation and breeding that were still under development. The association of race and purity, in this particular realm, had not yet solidified. Significantly, even with knowledge of the transfer of traits and uses of inbreeding for "fixing" and cross-breeding for "improving", it would still require a choice to make this exposition of horse breeding and noble lineages explicitly "racial." In this sense, debates about horse breeding take on racial connotations, not because they indicate understanding of a paradigmatic shift in biological theories of racial permanence found in animal husbandry practices, but rather because of its intent to create a myth of purity. Similar to the idea that the Carthusian monks had preserved some type of Iberian pureblood horse in the fifteenth century in Seville, the "raza Valenzuela" made claims to purity that were idealized, even if having basis in reputation and fact.[360]

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the variety of horses and projects of breeding within Spain and the terminology used to discuss these classifications of horses. These terms were shared inconsistently across the individual projects and experiments of the king and noble families. Nevertheless, the king aimed to improve the *casta* of the Spanish horse as a whole throughout his kingdoms, in addition to his own stud intended to accomplish the same purpose of providing horses of good quality for breeding throughout Spain.

These examples have opened up several themes of inquiry. One conclusion is that these projects of Philip II demonstrate increasing knowledge via practice of actual horse breeding, which had both a legal focus and specific social purposes in the sixteenth century. With the

[360] Altamirano, 77.

increasing formalization and centralization of the registration of horses and their owners, over the course of the sixteenth century, correspondingly knowledge of the quantity of available horses increases, as do attempts to shape their quality. This shift to horse breeding was instigated by a real need and scarcity of horses; however, the shift to quality also had implications for the social role of horses.

In one sense, these goals operated within a general discourse of social authority — the qualities of the horses that would be suitable for mounted men at arms to preserve the symbolic status of the *caballería* for the king, and conversely the qualities and control over horse ownership desired by the *caballeros* and hidalgos at the local level. But, at the same time, as we have seen, the actual qualities of the horses did not satisfy the king, nor did the members of the *cabildo* desire to own horses of particular qualities. For both parties, then, the terms of the *casta* and *raza* indicate on one level a type of idealized projection of what the horse should represent; on the other hand, these ideals had to be embodied within a specific population of horses for concrete uses.

That the quantity and quality of horses needed to be maintained, according to this legislation, demonstrates the experiential categories found by breeding horses. Although horse breeding and ownership could be used to rationalize social distinctions, it is also clear that the requirements for breeding horses with socially desirable qualities did not conform necessarily to expected doctrines of status or lineage. The tension between the advantages of breeding within a lineage and the detrimental effects created by such close breeding were noted in practice and in theories suggested by these breeding programs. The physical generation of horses according to socially desired characteristics confronted discursive ideas about the values of purity and social status.

The coincidence of the terminology of *raza* in reference to both humans and animals is provocative in this context. But as can be seen from these debates, the exact nature of the *raza* was not fixed. The horse was an unstable signifier for the broader ideological implications of related discourses of social standing. The *raza* of the Spanish horse served to express nobility, but through its particular maintenance rather than as a direct analogy to noble blood. Ideologically some preferred to use mares strictly from within Spain to maintain their purity. Tensions between the king's intentions and the interests of noble families in these areas are revealed in how this project unfolded. Since the horse was a preeminent signifier of nobility, attempts to define a pure lineage for the horse relate to attempts by prominent noble houses to consolidate their estates. These "family" origins were considered *castas* in the sense of a lineage associated with the family.

The relationship of the survey into horse breeding and Philip II's interest in this project as a part of governance overall is an important context for these points. Regulating the *casta* of the horse was useful for corralling the responsibilities of nobles, and conversely the nobles found reason to assert these categories against the king's attempts to regulate it. Rather than simply as an expression of the power of exclusion enforced by the state, debates about lineage and heredity among horses track concerns about the proof of nobility at a time of change in the designations of noble status and privileges.

Conclusion: Horses and Empire in the Spanish Atlantic

Initially, this dissertation examined the question: *why* were horses brought, at great expense, across the Atlantic? Beyond a simple equation of military strength, economic value, or environmental suitability, the answer requires understanding the role of the horse in the social, cultural and political sphere of early modern Spain, and its incorporation and adaptation into new colonial societies established in the Americas. Conquest, understood as a process, was fundamental rather than incidental to embedding the horse in forms of governing new territory.

In frontier legal traditions, horses defined privileges and obligations affecting the distribution of territory and access to municipal posts. The provision of horses by elites to the king became a contested forum for defining nobility in the transition from late medieval to early modern Castile, and legislation focusing on horse breeding provided a central language for debating claims to nobility and social mobility in Castile. Horse breeding became well-defined as a municipal responsibility for the common good, encouraged by the crown and overseen by local *cabildo*s.

The arrival of horses on the second voyage of Columbus extended the Spanish organization of social status around permissions to own, export and ride horses. Horses extended the political and social order instilled by conquest strategies in social position, *cabildo* governance, and land tenure. Restrictions on the movement of horses benefitted royal officials, and participation of *encomenderos* in municipal posts also required horses. Replicating such forms of governing required a concerted effort to build horse breeding capabilities in new

colonial settlements. The legal and political presence of horses as the public face for social order, incorporated into the standards of municipal governance, found clear expression in new breeding policy and enforcement, namely through provisions of the *mesta* institution.

Although Spanish colonizers expected horses to establish social hierarchy over previously conquered peoples who were forbidden from riding horses, the complex reality of colonial reliance on indigenous populations and new colonial geographies challenged such expectations. Some environments naturally suited horse populations and others, far more challenging, required strategic intervention to support Spanish military and economic interests. One of these strategies included using mounted "*indio*s" as military allies and servants. Although prohibitions and ordinances suggested control over access to and multiplication of horses in colonial territory, reality enforced the limits on such pretensions to control, both for indigenous access to horses and also the outcomes of horse breeding practices.

The colonial settlements generated new issues based on perceptions of a growing abundance of horses. New categories of *cimarrón* and *criollo* horses indicated specific social definitions of horse populations. Regulations demonstrate that purposeful intervention improved the quality of horses even while the general standards of animal husbandry did not demonstrate rigorous use of in-breeding as in Spain. Complaints about declining quality of horses in Spanish America demonstrated concerns that paralleled those in Spain. The abundance of horses in the Americas also raised questions about the best methods for breeding horses. That is, concern about a scarcity of horses within Castile led to an interest in horse breeding broadly across the empire, and specifically an increasing focus on the regulation of horse breeding through techniques of gathering information. Philip II took great interest in the practices of horse

breeding in his colonies and in the Iberian Peninsula for its importance in defending and governing his realms.

These practices with horses, rather than static, were in flux. Of particular importance is the role of the horse in generating knowledge about breeding in both local and imperial registers for the Spanish monarchy and its administration. Philip II's motivation, to improve the *casta* and *raza* of the Spanish horse indicated a growing importance to regulating and defining the type of horse produced by municipal breeding practices. Approaches to regulation by the king turned to focus more heavily on breeding as a means to control local claims to privileges and exemptions. His efforts to produce a new royal stud likewise intended to reduce the prices and increase the number of publicly available horses for his militias. However, the king's interest in regulating horse populations in order to manage claims to social status did not extend to a need for purity. A tension emerged between the requirements of breeding within a pedigree lineage proposed by *raza* and the detrimental effects to *casta* created by such close breeding.

The discursive value of race was used as a proxy for similar arguments about the state of nobility and access to noble estate. Breeding made visible the problems faced in formulating concepts of purity of lineage and establishing desired physical types. Moreover, it was clear that horse breeds were considered constructed rather than natural at that time. Despite political and social interest in managing horse populations, such control was often malleable and limited in practice. Instead, the experiences of horse breeding made available alternative definitions of caste and race, and reveal competing possible uses for animals in discourses about status and nobility.

Working across national boundaries, this dissertation has examined not only the outward spread of Spanish customs, but the returning information about the New World environment in

addressing old world concerns. While horses influenced legal and social classification, they did so in ways at times that seemed contrary to expectations that they serve as a symbol of wealth, power or purity of lineage. If horse-related experiences constituted a political language of negotiation with respect to social exclusion and social mobility, they also created a range of possible meanings. Thus, while acknowledging the use of the animal in service of empire, this study also outlined forms of resistance and contradiction in practices of animal husbandry. Ultimately, this dissertation contributes a new derivation of the social meaning of race and caste, exposing the negotiated limits of centralized power and the social categories developed within the expanding Spanish empire. More broadly, the highlighted intersection of nature and culture in the case of the horse reveals ways that animals constituted and participated in early modern social relations and ecologies.

Appendix A. Major Decrees about Horses in Spain

1258 Alfonso X prohibited extraction of horses from Castille (Cortes de Valladolid).

Repeated in Cortes de Burgos de 1301, Valladolid de 1312, Palencia de 1313, Burgos de 1338 y 1345, Alcalá de 1348, Valladolid de 1351, Burgos de 1367, Toro de 1371, Palencia de 1388, Toledo de 1462, Valladolid de 1518 y de 1532.

1348 Alfonso XI confirms law of the "cuantía" (Cortes de Alcalá; Articles 56 - 83).

Estate value as the threshold to require maintenance of horse and arms: Jaén y Córdoba: 4.000 mrs; Sevilla: 5.000 mrs; Badajoz: 6.000 mrs; Murcia: 8.000 mrs; Zamora, Toro, Salamanca, Alba de Tormes, Ciudad Rodrigo y Alcaraz: 10.000 mrs; Almazán, Medinaceli, Molina de Aragón, Cuenca, Huete, Moya y Villa Real: 12.000 mrs; Logroño, Calahorra, Alfaro y Requena: 15.000 mrs; Soria y Ágreda: 16.000 mrs.

1492 Catholic Monarchs prohibit breeding mules, establish breeding inspector (veedor), "cuantía" raised to 50,000 maravedís; also prohibit bringing any stallions from Spain to New World.

1507 Catholic Monarchs require a license to bring any mares from Spain to New World.

1528 First Audiencia of New Spain prohibits "*indio*s" from riding horses.

1539 Charles V decrees horses for the "cuantía" must be of "cierta marca".

1542 New Laws modify *encomienda* and establish first ordinances for the *Mesta* in the New World.

1564 General license permitted for *indio*s to have "animales de carga".

1574 Ordenanzas de la *Mesta* issued for the Indies.

1658 Repeal of prohibition against *indio*s riding horses.

Appendix B. Schematic Diagrams of Horse Pathways

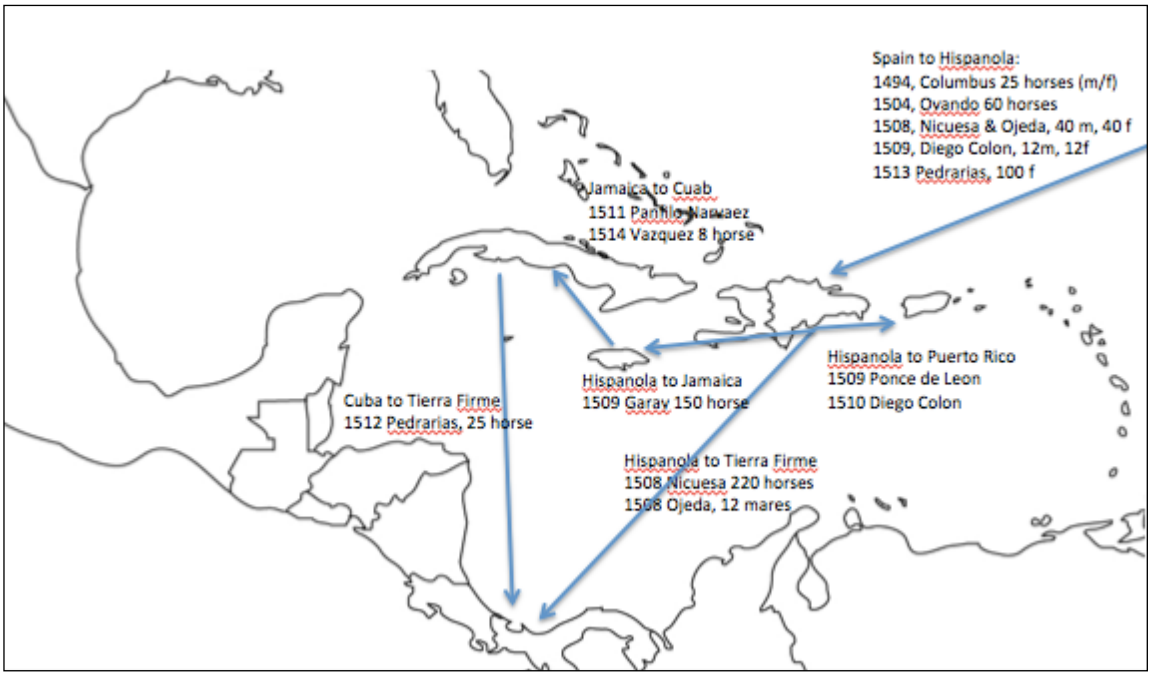

Image 1. Horses in Caribbean Gulf, 1493-1519

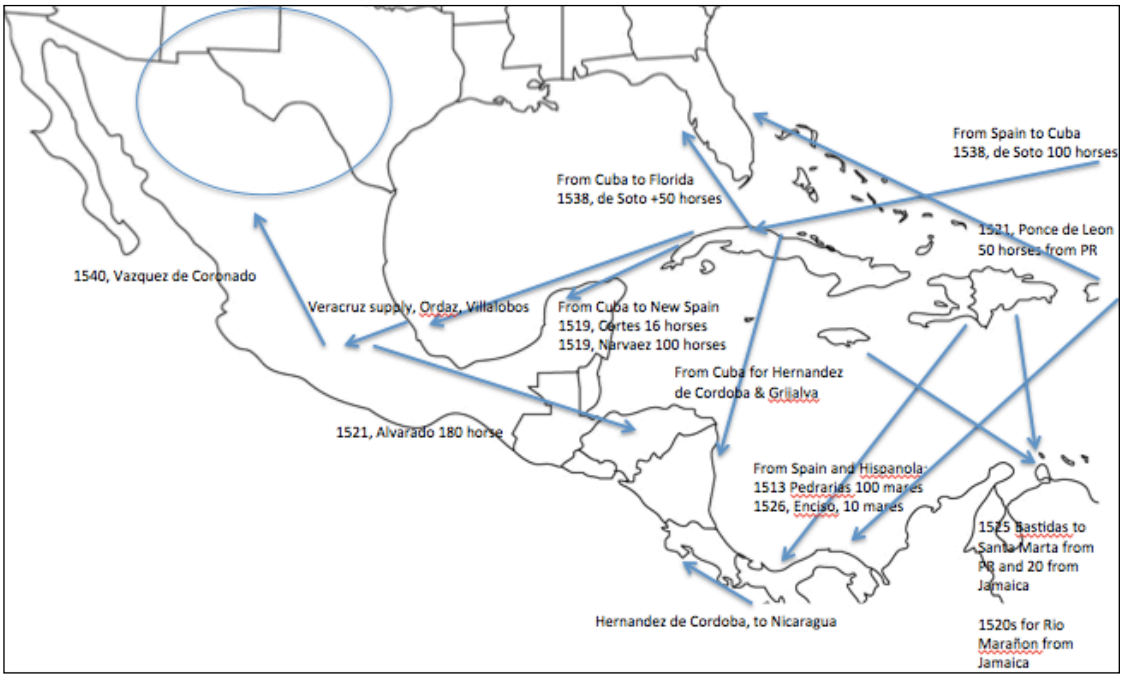

Image 2. Horses in *Tierra Firme* and New Spain, 1513-1540

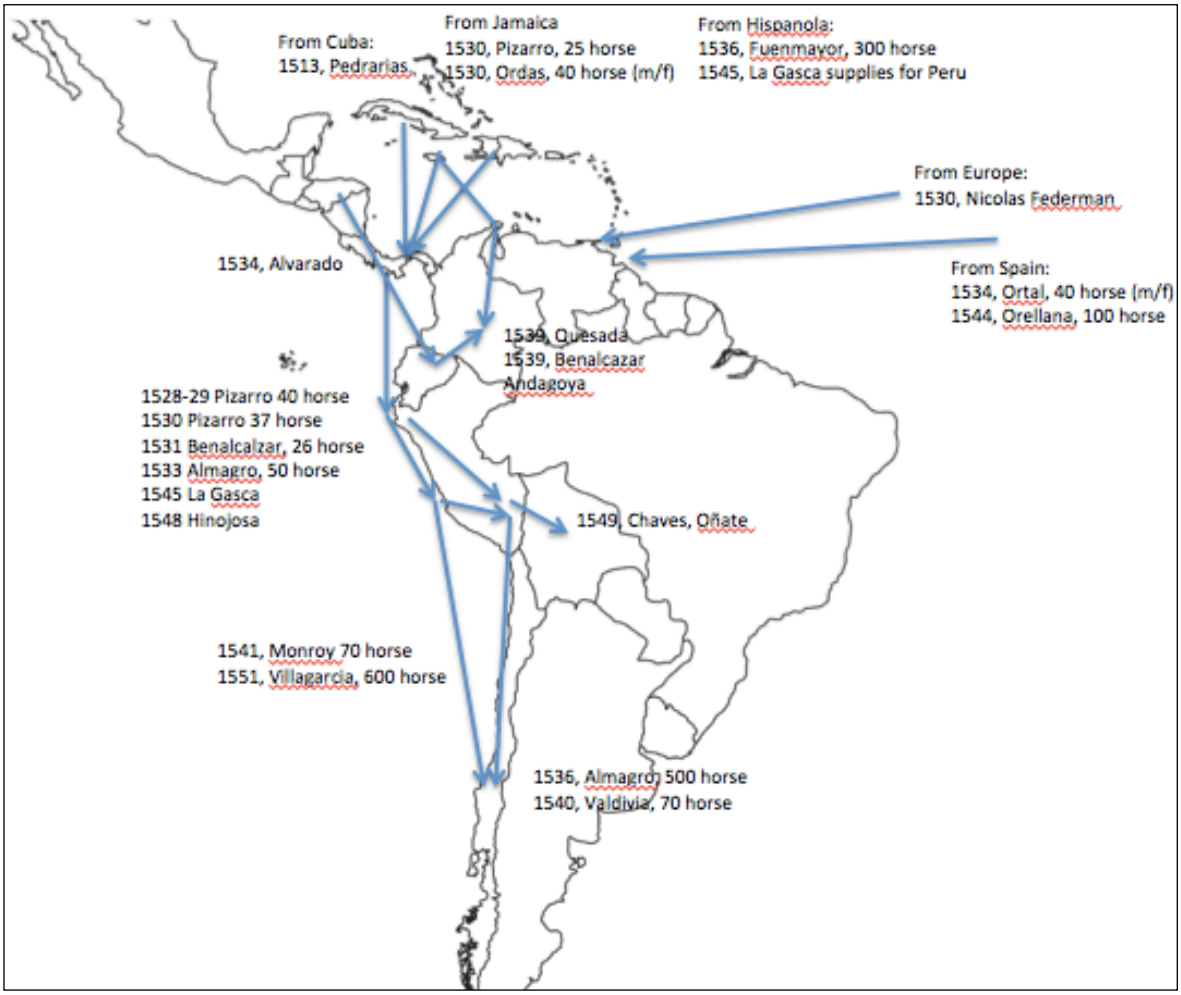

Image 3. Horses in South America via *Tierra Firme* and Peru, 1528-1550

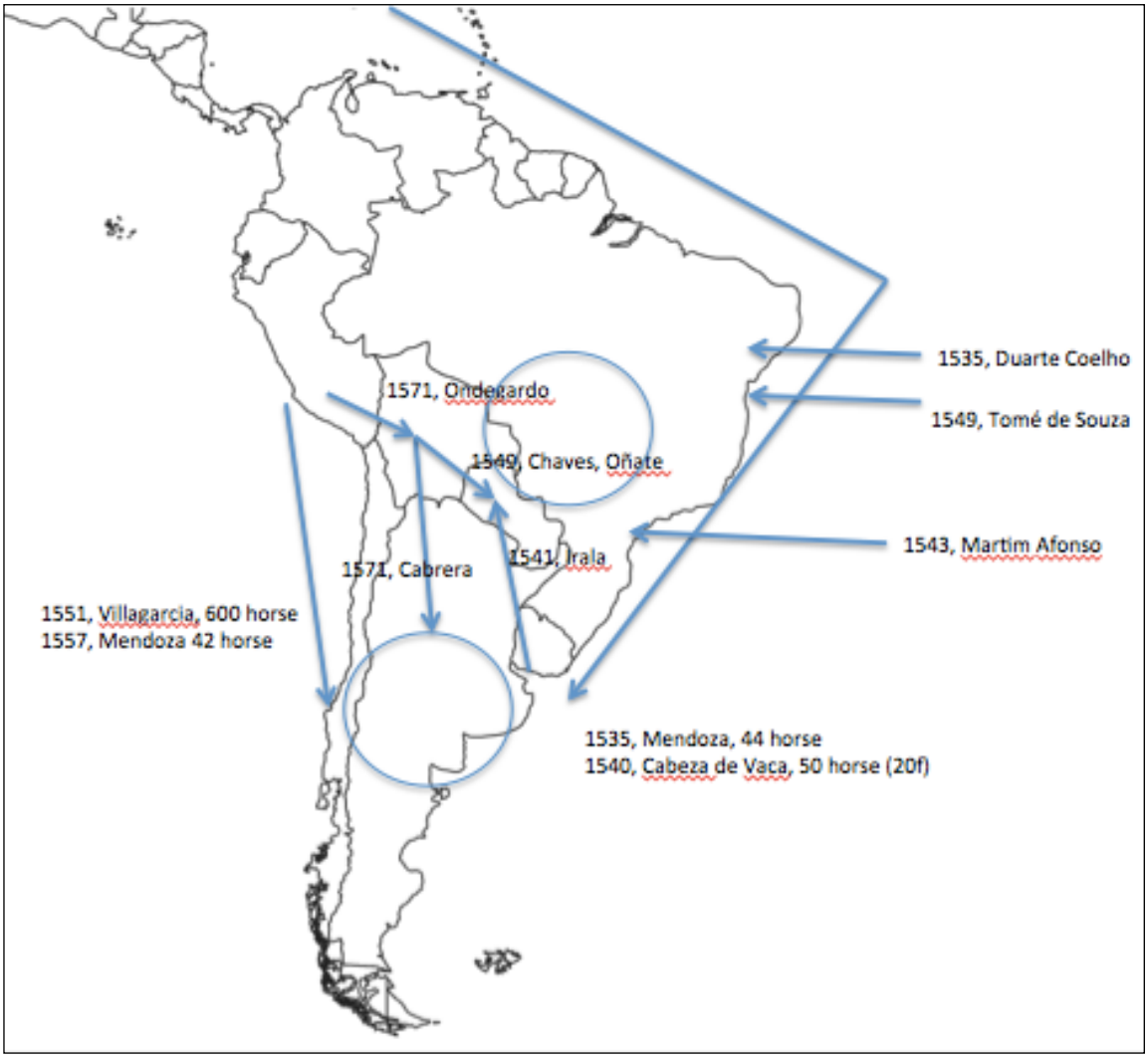

Image 4. Horses in Southern Cone, 1534-1590

Appendix C. Licenses for *Indio*s to Ride Horses in New Spain

Source: Compiled from AGN Mexico, from the sections Mercedes Vol. 1-8, *Indio*s Vol. 1-6, Indiferente Virreinal, and General de Parte, as well as the Ayers Collection at the Newberry Library and the Harkness Collection at the Library of Congress. These vizualizations represent a total of 1,192 records between the years 1537 to 1620.

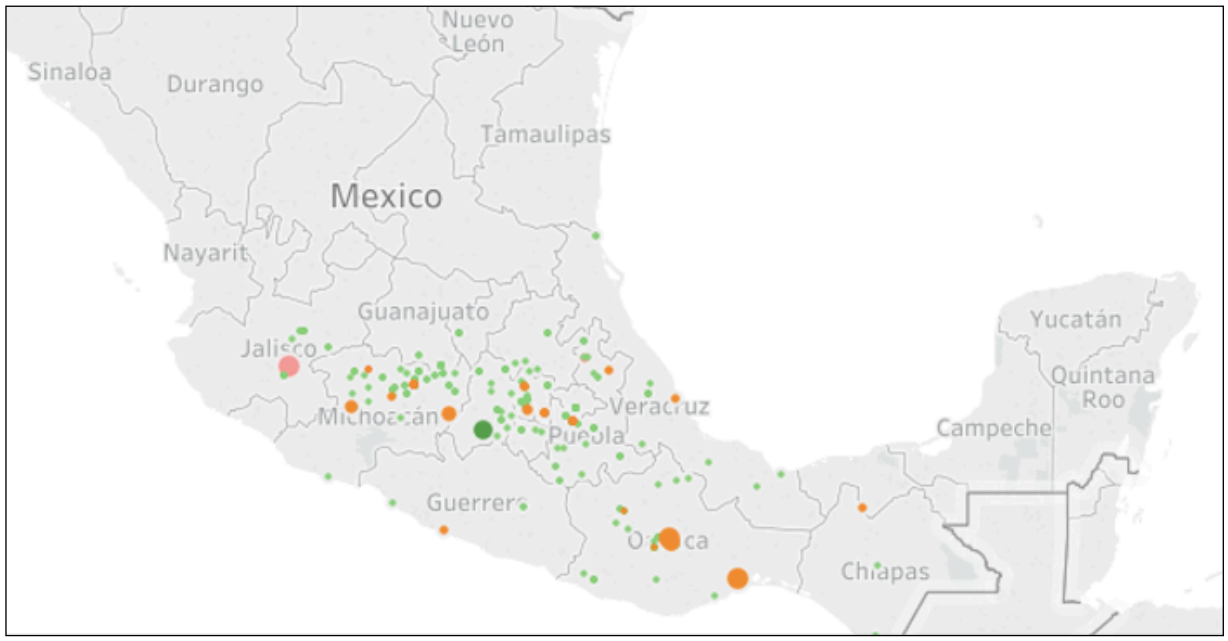

Image 5. Viceregal Licenses for *indio*s to ride horses in New Spain, 1537-1568

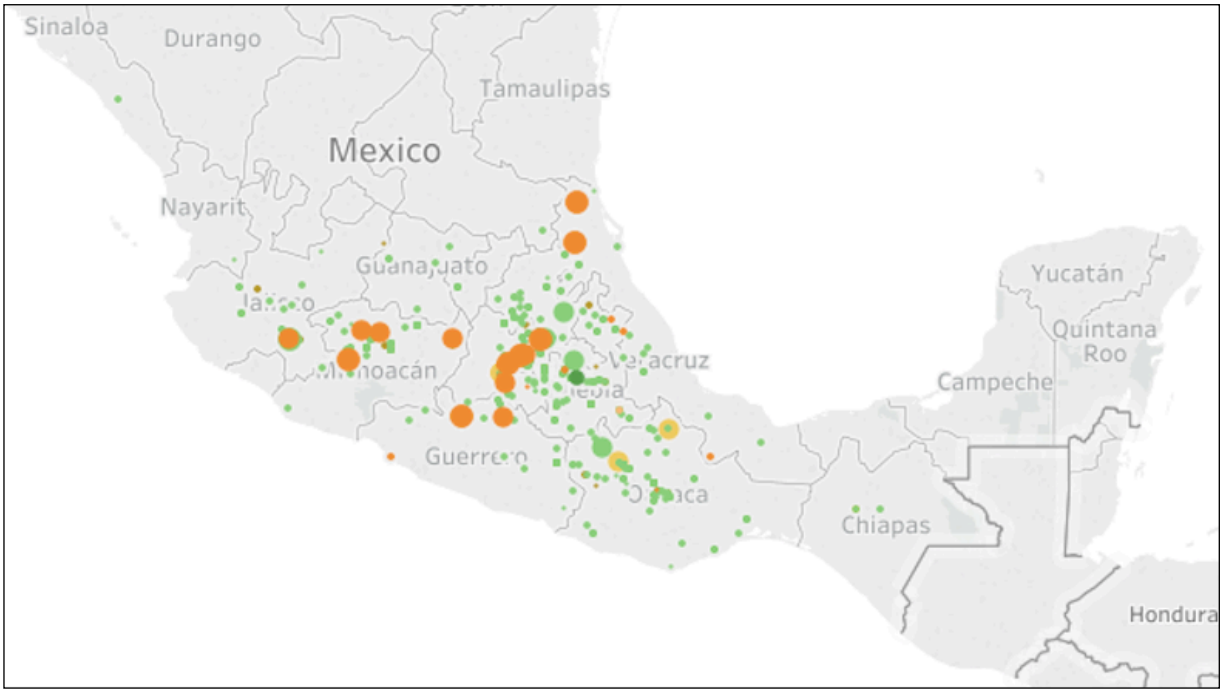

Image 6. Viceregal Licences for *indio*s to ride horses in New Spain, 1568-1600

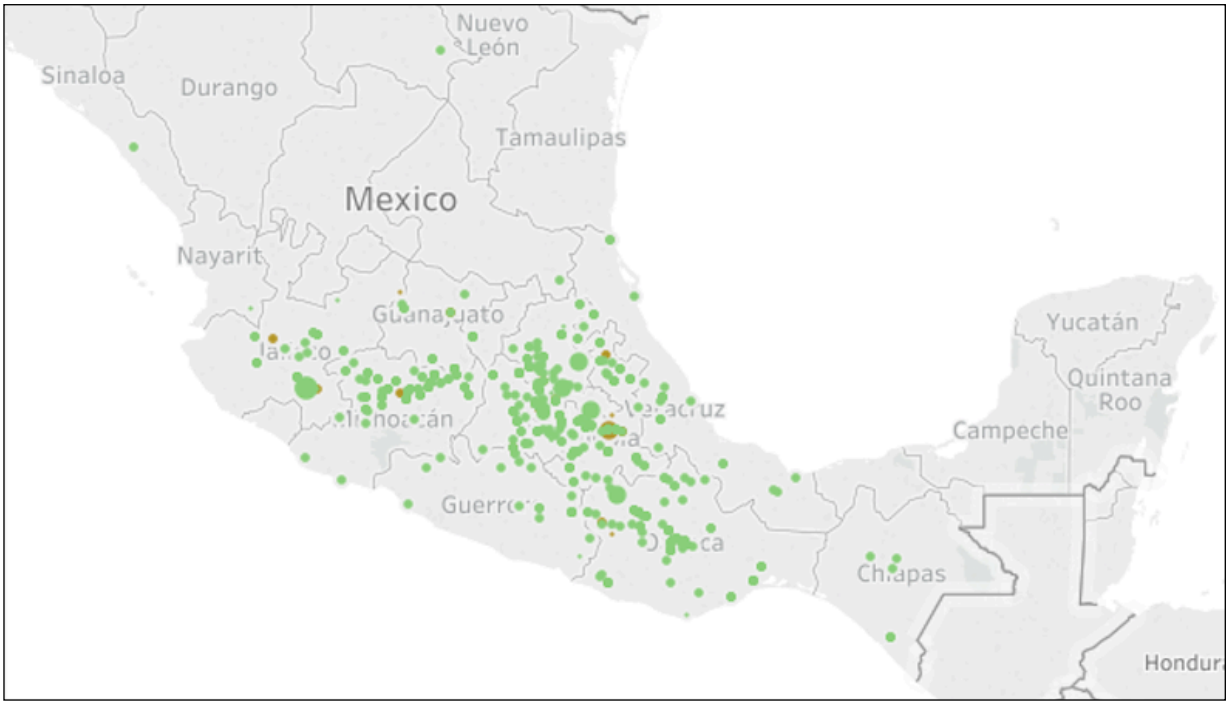

Image 7. Viceregal Licenses for *indio*s to ride horses for status and office, 1537-1620

Image 8. Viceregal Licenses for *indio*s to ride horses for labor, 1537-1620

Image 9. Table of Licenses to Ride Horses, Issued to Son of *Indio Principal*, 1550-1620

1. Michoacan: Ugareo [Ucareo], 1551, Don Antonio, hijo de Don Garcia. [LOC Kraus Collection, Reel 2 No. 140, f.171v]
2. Tatalaquia: Don Juan, hijo de gobernador, 1552. [LOC, Kraus Collection, Reel 2 No. 140, f.414]
3. Oaxaca/coastal: Tehuantepec, Don Hernan hijo de Don Johan cacique, 1553. [NLA, Collection Ayer, f. 325v.]
4. Michoacan: Tanzitaro, Angel, indio hijo de gobernador de Tanzitaro, 1555. [AGNMX,MERCEDES Vol. 4]
5. Tlaxcala: Tlaxcala, Juan Joachim [xicotenga] principal and Don Juan Joachim su hijo, 1555. [AGNMX,MERCEDES Vol. 4]
6. Bajío/Mexico: Otumba, Ipolito [don]esciero hijo de P/o Siteso, principal, 1555. [AGNMX,MERCEDES Vol. 4]
7. Veracruz: Jalapa, Pedro Grabiel hijo de Don Baltasar gobernador, 1555. [AGNMX,MERCEDES Vol. 4]
8. Mexico: Cuitlavaca, Don Pedro de Castaneda hijo de Don Francisco de Cuitliaca, cacique, 1582. [AGNMX INDIOS Vol. 2 (1582 - 1583), exp. 374]
9. Tlacotlalpa, Don Martin de Ribas indio hijo de Don Martin de Ribas governador, 1583. [AGNMX MERCEDES Vol. 12 (1583 – 1586)]
10. Chiapas: Quechula, Don Juan Cinapoata hijo de cacique, 1590. [AGNMX INDIOS. Fecha: 1590. Vol. 4, exp. 545, fs. 161]
11. Oaxaca: Quexolotitlan [Huajolotitlan], Don Luis Garçes, hijo de principal, 1590, as "hijo legitimo" de Don Paolo Garçes, confirming licence is still valid for son. [AGNMX INDIOS Vol. 3 (1590 - 1591), exp. 72]
12. Hidalgo: Apan, Don Jorge Mejia, principal y hijo de cacique, 1591. [AGNMX INDIOS. Fecha: 1591. Vol. 5, exp. 513, fs. 210v]
13. Tlaxcala: Cholula, Gaspar de Mendoza, hijo de principal, 1591. [AGNMX INDIOS Vol. 3 (1590 - 1591), exp. 308]
14. Michoacan: Zacapu, Benito Egua, hijo de principal, 1591. [AGNMX INDIOS Vol. 3 (1590 - 1591), exp. 842]
15. Queretaro: San Miguel, Francisco de Buenaventura, cacique e hijo del gobernador del lugar, 1601. [AGNMX, Indiferente Virreinal, caja-exp.: 5976-012. General de Parte. 1601.]

Appendix D. Reports of Horse Breeding in Spain

Source: AGS, Camara de Castilla, Diversos. This visualization represents more than 180 reports from at least 122 distinct jurisdictions.

Image 10. Reports on Horse Breeding, or "Relaciones de la cria caballar," 1562-1594.

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