Pames, Jonaces, and Franciscans in the Sierra Gorda

Pames, Jonaces, and Franciscans in the Sierra Gorda:

Mecos *and Missionaries*

By

Robert H. Jackson

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Cadereyta

A panel of the lower cloister Culhuacán *tebaída* series

San Miguel de Fuenclara (Concá, Querétaro)

La Nopalera

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The study of missions on the fringes of Spanish America has evolved over the past several decades beyond the institutional focus and self-study by members of the same religious orders that administered the missions. There are studies of discrete groups of mission that place them into the larger historical context, and consider a spectrum of issues such as economics, ethnohistory, cultural and religious change and persistence, indigenous accommodation and resistance, and demographics, among others. Most studies concentrate on the colonial period, but there are also monographs that document missions following independence.[1]

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[1] See, for example, Susan Deeds, *Defiance and deference in Mexico's colonial north: Indians under Spanish rule in Nueva Vizcaya*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010); Erick Langer, *Expecting Pears from an Elm Tree: Franciscan Missions on the Chiriguano Frontier in the Heart of South America, 1830–1949*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009); James Saeger, *The Chaco Mission Frontier: The Guaycuruan Experience*. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2000); Guillermo Wilde, *Religión y poder en las misiones de guaraníes*. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sb, 2009; Rafael Carbonnell de Massy, S.J., *Estrategias de desarrollo rural en los pueblos guaraníes (1609-1767)* (Barcelona: Antoni Bosch Editor, 1992); Barbara Ganson, *The Guaraní under Spanish rule in the Río de la Plata*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003); Cynthia Redding de Murrieta, *Wandering Peoples: Colonialism, Ethnic Spaces, and Ecological Frontiers in Northwestern Mexico, 1700-1850*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997); Cynthia Radding de Murrieta, *Landscapes of Power and Identity: Comparative Histories in the Sonoran Desert and the Forests of Amazonia from Colony to Republic*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); Julia Sarreal, *The Guaraní and Their Missions: A Socioeconomic History*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014); Robert H. Jackson, *Indian Demographic Decline: the Missions of Northwestern New Spain, 1687-1840*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994); Robert H. Jackson and Edward Castillo, *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995); Robert H. Jackson, *Demographic Change and Ethnic Survival among the sedentary populations on the Jesuit Mission frontiers of Spanish South America, 1609-1803:*

This current study examines the first frontier of evangelization in sixteenth century Mexico along and beyond the Chichimeca frontier, the porous cultural boundary between the sedentary native populations of central Mexico and the groups of nomadic hunters and gatherers collectively known by the derogatory Náhuatl term Chichimeca. The initial thrusts of Spanish colonization beyond the frontier resulted in a prolonged conflict known as the Chichimeca war (1550-1600), as groups of non-sedentary natives resisted the invasion of their lands, and particularly the competition for food resources as Spanish livestock consumed food plants that were important sources in the Chichimecan diet. Livestock also displaced wild animals that the Chichimecas hunted, and the natives began to hunt cattle which became an additional point of conflict.

Missionaries played an important role in efforts to pacify the Chichimecas, but the methods and approach employed among the sedentary indigenous populations of central Mexico were not well suited for conditions beyond the frontier. Efforts to force the Chichimecas to adopt a sedentary lifestyle largely failed, as the natives resisted the imposition of a new way of life with social and cultural norms alien to their own. Groups of natives settled on what proved to be ephemeral missions, but soon returned to their traditional way of life. The competing interests of missionaries and settlers became a point of conflict that also influenced and in some cases modified the course of evangelization.

At the same time there was official ambivalence regarding the evangelization of the Chichimecas in light of shifting royal policy. The initial Spanish response was to wage a war of extermination, a policy Church officials initially supported. However, Church officials changed their position in the 1580s, and participated in a debate that resulted in a sea-change in royal policy with the abandonment of the war of extermination in favor of evangelization and integration. The Augustinian missionary Guillermo de Santa María, O.S.A., was a key proponent of the shift in royal policy, and his writings based on several decades of contact with different Chichimeca groups on and beyond the frontier were very influential.[2]

The Formation and Persistence of Mission Communities in a Comparative Context (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

[2] For a collection of transcribed documents regarding the debate over the Chichimeca war see Alberto Carrillo Cázares, *El debate sobre la Guerra Chichimeca, 1531-1585* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2000). Also see Guillermo de Santa María, O.S.A., *Guerra de Chichimecas (México 1575 Zirosto*

Guillermo de Santa María wrote two reports that were the first ethnohistoric descriptions of the Chichimecas. Moreover, he analyzed the causes of Chichimeca resistance, which he attributed to the Spanish enslavement of natives, including women and children, during the Mixtón war (1540-1542), and the ecological effects of the introduction of large numbers of Spanish livestock and particularly cattle and sheep. Spanish livestock displaced animals the Chichimecas hunted, and consumed plants they harvested. In response Chichimecas raided Spanish livestock which resulted in retaliation and an escalation of the conflict. He also defined the territories that the different groups occupied. Of the Pames he wrote in his short report:

> The nation of these [Chichimecas] closest to Mexico [City] are the pames, and they are mixed with otomies and tarascans [P'urépecha]. Their territory [*habitación*] begins at almost 20 degrees [of lattitude], in the second climate [*clima*], from Yuririapúndaro and Acámbaro, communities in Mechuacan, to Izmiquilpa and the *pesqueria* [?] of Miztitlán and the borders [confines] of Pánuco. They are the people who have done the least damage to the Spaniards. The reason should be the contact with those they are intertwined with and the doctrine [*doctrina*] that reaches them from Augustinian, Franciscan, and secular clergy [clérigos].[3]

In the longer report the Augustinian provided details regarding Pames resistance. He noted that the Pames killed and ate Spanish livestock. This was a reaction to the invasion of cattle and other livestock that undermined the Pames' subsistence base. They also chased off ranchers and cowboys tending Spanish livestock, and in 1571 killed a *mulato* named Juan Dominguez.[4]

Guillermo de Santa María described the other Chichimeca groups. He noted that the Guamares were the bravest and most bellicose, and inhabited western and northwestern Guanajuato including San Miguel el Grande and San Felipe to the border with Michoacán. The Copuzes were divided into three groups that the Augustinian defined as *parcialidades.*

1580) (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2003) for the text of the two reports on the Chichimecas.

[3] Ibid., 197-198. In the long text Santa María provides additional detail regarding thee territory occupied by the Pames. In Michoacán the southern border of Pames territory was near Ucareo which was the site of an Augustinian *doctrina*. Communities established in Pames territory included Santiago de Querétaro and San Pedro Tolimán which were both subject to Xilotepeque. Others included Parrón, Pesinquia, and Xichú. Santa María also noted that a group he called the Samues spoke the same language. See Ibid., 114.

[4] Ibid., 114.

They took their name from the leader named Copuz Viejo, the second lead by Alonso Guando which had settled in the Mezquital Valley, and the third the Gucomares settled on San Bartolomé lead by don Francisco Bernabe. The Copuzes were allied to the Guaxabanes, which was a group that spoke Guachichil. The Guachichiles lived northwest of Michoacán including Ayo el Chico where Santa María established a *visita* of the *doctrina* at Huango, Arandas in Los Altos de Jalisco, Villa de los Lagos, Tunal Grande, and Mazapil. The last group Santa María enumerated were the Zacatecos who lived in the area surrounding Zacatecas, and had caused the Spaniards the most problems.[5]

Equally important was the interaction between missionaries and civil officials, and how the missionaries modified their programs in response to shifts in government policy over time, such as the implementation in the later eighteenth century of the so-called Bourbon Reforms during the administration of Charles III (1759-1788). Reform minded royal officials challenged the traditional role of the Catholic Church in Spanish dominions, and of the continuing reliance on missions as a frontier colonial institution. The mild anticlericalism of late eighteenth century royal reformers later gave way to the more radical liberal ideas of the nineteenth century that seriously challenged the role of the Catholic Church in society.[6] How did the shift in government philosophy effect change in the efforts to evangelize the Chichimecas? In the 1730s, the Crown set out to systematically colonize the northeastern frontier of Mexico including the Sierra Gorda region. Royal officials brought a no-nonsense approach designed to get the job done. What did this mean?

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[5] Ibid., 114-115, 198.

[6] For a detailed discussion of the eighteenth century reform impulse in late eighteenth century Spain see Richard Herr, *The Eighteenth Century Revolution in Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958); Richard Herr, Rural Change and *Royal Finances in Spain at the End of the Old Regime* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989). For studies of liberalism in Latin America see Charles Hale, *Mexican Liberalism in the Age of More, 1821-1853* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968); Jan Bazant, *The Alienation of Church Wealth in Mexico: Social and Economic Aspects of the Liberal Revolution, 1856-1875* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971); Charles Berry, *The Reform in Oaxaca, 1856-76. A Microhistory of the Liberal Revolution* (Lincoln::University of Nebraska Press, 1981); Robert H. Jackson, *Regional Markets and Agrarian Transformation in Bolivia: Cochabamba, 1539-1960* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994); Robert H. Jackson, ed., *Liberals, The Church, and Indian Peasants: Corporate Lands and the Challenge of Reform in Nineteenth-Century Spanish America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), among others.

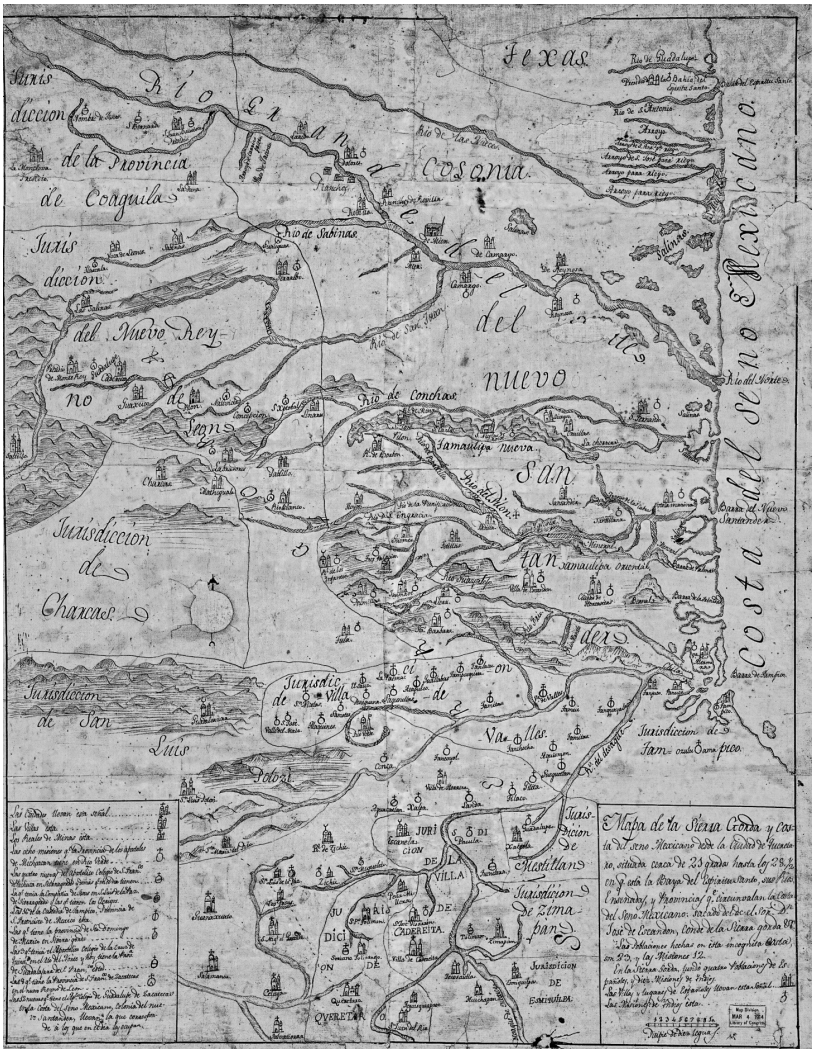
Force would be used to congregate the Chichimeca groups in the Sierra Gorda region, the Pames and Jonaces, and a new group of missionaries was brought in with a mandate to fully integrate the natives into colonial society. They were to get the job done after nearly two centuries of failure. These were the Franciscans from the apostolic college of San Fernando in Mexico City, and they developed a strategy in the Sierra Gorda that they later implemented in the California missions established beginning in 1769.

Missionaries from four orders attempted to evangelize the Chichimecas from the mid-sixteenth century to the early nineteenth century, with mixed results and considerable frustration for the missionaries as well as resistance by the native groups to the pressures to change their way of life. The attempt to accelerate the integration of the Pames and Jonaces into colonial society was successful to some extent in the short run. This study examines the methods used in the new missions and the demographic consequences of congregation.

The context is critical for understanding the development of mission communities and demographic patterns. Chapter 2 of this study sets the stage for the analysis of the Sierra Gorda missions. It discusses the first missions in sixteenth-century central Mexico in terms of their organization and urban plan. The missionaries who first evangelized along and beyond the Chichimeca frontier introduced methods and organization based on their experiences in the missions among the sedentary populations. In order to understand the first missions beyond the Chichimeca frontier, it is necessary to describe the first Mexican missions. This is followed in Chapter 3 by a summary of the efforts to evangelize beyond the Chichimeca frontier from the sixteenth century to the point of the arrival in the Sierra Gorda of the Franciscans from the apostolic college of San Fernando. It highlights the difficulties in attempting to change the way of life of the Jonaces, Pames, and other Chichimeca groups.

Chapters 4 and 5 present an analysis of the Sierra Gorda missions. Chapter 4 discusses three elements of the mission program. They are the construction of the missions and the mission urban plan, which is also important for understanding demographic patterns and the mobilization of native labor. The missionaries created compact communities, but in binging the native populations to live cheek to jowl on the missions they also facilitated the spread of contagion, which was an important demographic factor. The second is the methods of evangelization, and native responses to the introduction of a new religion. The third is the economics of the missions, and how the missionaries attempted to organize and administer the missions and control the native populations

brought to live on the missions. Chapter 5 analyzes demographic patterns on the Sierra Gorda missions. Chapter 6 offers the conclusions to this study.



Map 1: The Sierra Gorda in a c. 1743 map. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

CHAPTER TWO

THE GEOGRAPHY OF COLONIZATION AND EVANGELIZATION IN CENTRAL MEXICO

This chapter outlines the expansion and organization of missions established in central Mexico. This is crucial for understanding later efforts to establish missions beyond the Chichimeca frontier. The missionary orders adapted the existing social-political structure in central Mexico as the basis for their own organizational structure. The missionaries who ventured beyond the Chichimeca frontier attempted to use this same structure to organize their missions, as well as evangelization methods. What worked for the sedentary populations did not work beyond the frontier.

Sixteenth Century Central Mexican Missions

Members of three orders arrived in central Mexico in the first decade following the collapse of the Culhua-Mexica tribute state to initiate the evangelization of the large native populations. In the first decades following the Spanish conquest of central Mexico relatively small numbers of Spaniards created a system of indirect colonial rule on the existing matrix of indigenous political structures. The new colonial order in central Mexico also had a basis in the construction of two corporate societies, the *República de Españoles* and the *República de Indios*. The Spanish imposed their rule on the existing native political structure of the *altépetl*, and granted native rulers autonomy as long as they complied with tribute and labor demands and remained loyal to the new colonial order. The *altépetl* itself was a jurisdiction that consisted of a main town known to the Spaniards as the *cabecera* and subject towns known as *sujetos*. The political leaders of the *altépetl* collected tribute and labor services from the subject communities, and in turn paid tribute to the dominant polity in the region, be it the Culhua-Mexica or later the Spaniards. The Franciscan, Dominican, and Augustinian missionaries who arrived in central Mexico after 1524 grafted their mission organization onto the existing social-political structure. The first generation of Spanish adventurers who subjugated

central Mexico divided the *altépetl* into *encomienda* grants of jurisdiction over tributaries that enabled them to accumulate wealth through tribute collection and labor demands. At the same time the Crown attempted to limit the political and economic power of the *encomienda* grant holders, and when possible escheated private *encomienda* grants to Crown jurisdiction.[1]

The Culhua-Mexica had dominated *altépetl* in central Mexico, making tribute demands in a loosely knitted political system that also lent itself to fragmentation and resistance as seen following the arrival of the first Spaniards in 1519. The Spanish eliminated the Culhua-Mexica, and adopted and modified the existing tribute and political system as the basis for their system of indirect rule. For example, the Culhua-Mexica had subjugated the region known today as Oaxaca, and established centers from which to control and direct tribute collection. One such site was Inguiteria located near the modern town of Coixtlahuaca in the Sierra Mixteca.[2] Culhua-Mexica tribute collectors based in Inguiteria collected tribute from eleven head towns in the tribute province.

Tribute reports from the mid-sixteenth century provide the earliest information on communities in central Mexico. The *suma de visitas,* a summary of tribute reports prepared around 1550, provides details regarding the political organization of communities and *altépetl*, and particularly

[1] On the origins of the *altépetl* in central Mexico as related to the Culhua-Mexicas see Federico Navarrete Linares, *Los orígenes de los pueblos indígenas del valle de México: Los altépetl y sus historias* (México, D.F.: UNAM, 2011). The classic studies of the construction of a colonial regime in central Mexico remain Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico 1519-1810* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964); and James Lockhart, *The Náhuas After the Conquest; A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992).

[2] Stephen Kowalewski, et al, "La presencia azteca en Oaxaca: la provincia de Coixtlahuaca," *Anales de Antropología* 44 (2010), 77-103. The 1581 *relación geográfica* of Guaxilotitlan (Huitzo) noted that the Culhua-Mexica tribute collectors had their seat in three towns that were Oaxaca (Oaxaca City), Guaxilotitlan, and Cuestlauaca (Coixtlahuaca-Inguiteria. The original in the report noted that: "…y tenia para recoger este tribute tres principales que los llamaban 'calpizques.' El uno estava en Guaxaca, e el otro en este pueblo, y otro en Cuestlauaca, que es en la provincial de la Misteca, a donde el calpizque deste pueblo enviaba el maiz y mantas, y lo demas llevaban a Mexico al propio Motecsuma." See Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, ed., *Papeles de Nueva España. Segunda Series Geográfica y Estadística Tomo IV* (Madrid: Tip. "Sucesores de Rivadenyra," 1905), 198.

their tribute obligations. Several communities in the Sierra Mixteca region of Oaxaca where the Dominicans later established missions were typical. The report on Yodzocahi (Yanhuitlan) noted that 16 other towns were subject to Yodzocahi, and the town with its different *barrios* had a population of some 12,007 above the age of three. The tribute obligation paid to the *encomendero* Gonzalo de las Cabras consisted of 782 gold pesos in gold dust, and planted wheat as a part of their obligation. Moreover, they provided four birds from local species and two from Europe (chickens?) daily, as well as a small jug of honey, wax, corn, cacao, corn tortillas, eggs, salt, chile, tomato, firewood, and *yerba* (herbs?). Additionally, ten natives had to provide labor services.[3]

Yucundáa (Teposcolula) had escheated to the Crown. The c. 1550 report noted that the town had six *barrios*, and a population of 9,387 people above the age of three. As a Crown jurisdiction the tribute obligation had been set at an annual money payment of 832 pesos.[4] Disinuu (Tlaxiaco) was held in *encomiend*a by Francisco Vázquez. It was an important polity that counted 31 subject communities identified by the term *estancia* as well as other towns with independent ruling lineages: Santa María with a church; Choquistepeque; Chilapa; Tepusutepeque; and Comaltepeque. The population of Disinuu and its *estancias* was reported as 1,851 men, 1,356 women, 433 boys between the age of 12 and 17, and 379 girls of the same age. The tribute payment totaled 45 gold pesos in gold dust; corn supplied every 40 days, and other items. The ruling lineage at Santa María had nine subject *estancias* and counted 380 tributaries, 507 boys between the age of 12 and 17, and 102 girls. The tributaries of Santa María paid 13 gold pesos in gold dust every 60 days. Choquistepeque had six subject *estancias* and a population of 455 male tributaries, 280 women, and 233 boys above the age of seven. Its tribute was 11 gold pesos in gold dust paid every 60 days. Chilapa had five subject *estancias* and a population of 340 married men and 247 boys. The tribute obligation was 10 gold pesos in gold dust paid every 60 days. Tepusutepeque had 22 subject *estancias,* and a population of 1,322 married men 507 boys. The tribute was 33 gold pesos in gold dust paid every 60 days. Finally, Comaltepeque had six subject *estancias* and a population of 540 men, 280 women, 140 boys, and 130 girls. The tribute obligation was 20 gold pesos

[3] Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, *Papeles de Nueva España publicados de orden y con fondos del gobierno mexicano. Segunda serie geografía y estadística: Tomo I Suma de visitas de pueblos por orden alfabético* (Madrid: Tip. "Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1905), 131.
[4] Ibid., 148.

paid in gold dust every 60 days.[5] The importance of these jurisdictions explains why the Dominicans selected them as sites for missions.

The 1579 *relación geográfica* for the jurisdiction of Nexapa in what today is Oaxaca included details regarding the urban development of a community where Dominicans had established a mission. Nexapa was a jurisdiction with a population of Be'ena'a, Mixes, and Chontales located in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.[6] The Dominicans established a *doctrina* there in 1556. The report noted that: "…there is nothing more than a monastery, and there is no other town in the province that can suffer more, because they are poor, there is no hospital in the entire district if not one in this Villa [Nexapa] that his Excellent Lord don Martín Enriquez, viceroy and Captain General of this kingdom, ordered built."[7] The fact that Nexapa did not have a hospital was important enough to note in the 1579 report, and points to the practice of including hospitals in the urban plan of mission communities.

The new or existing communities modified under the Spanish-missionary urban plan incorporated different types of buildings. At the center of the community was the new sacred complex built under the direction of the missionaries in different stages. In many cases the first structures built were a primitive convent with residences for the missionaries and an "open chapel" that functioned as the church until the completion of a permanent church. "Open chapels" exist at several Dominican missions in Oaxaca including Yucundáa (Teposcolula) and Yodzocoo (Coixtlahuaca). At other sites such as Yodzocahi (Yanhuitlan) the Dominicans directed the construction of the new sacred complex on a temple platform, and had the pre-Hispanic temple demolished. This was the temple that figured in the Yodzocahi inquisition case in the 1540s.

The Dominicans directed the construction of other elements in the new sacred complexes. They included the cloister which served as the headquarters of the missionaries, their habitations, communal dining hall, and store rooms; and the permanent church generally built on a monumental scale. A large open space enclosed by walls known as the atrium fronted the sacred complex, and within the atrium there generally

[5] Ibid., 282.

[6] Del Paso y Troncoso, *Papeles de Nueva España. Segunda Series Geografía y Estadística Tomo Primero,* 30.

[7] Ibid., 43-44. The original quote reads: "…ya esta como en esta jurisdicción no hay más de un monestario in hay pueblo en la provincia que pueda sufrir más, porque son pobres, no hay hospital ninguno en todo este distrito si no es uno en esta Villa que mando hacer el muy Excelente Señor Don Martin Enríquez virrey y capitán general deste reino."

were small chapels known as *capillas posa* located at the four corners or four cardinal points. The missionaries used the *capillas* as stopping points to explain points of Catholic doctrine during the processions that were an important element in ritual life, particularly during Easter week.[8] The urban plan also contained structures for the native populations. Examples of these non-religious structures still exist at the site of Yucundáa (Teposcolula). One is the so-called *casa de la cacica.* The second was the hospital built to isolate sick natives. The practice in the sixteenth-century was to quarantine or isolate those infected with contagious diseases from the general population, and also those who had been exposed to the infected. The treatment of those infected was rudimentary, and death rates in the hospitals were high.

The Franciscan mission province of Tepeaca (Puebla) provides a second example of the organization of early sixteenth century missions. Tepeaca was an important and populous jurisdiction, and the Franciscans established five *doctrinas* in the province: San Francisco Tepeaca (1530); Asunción de Nuestra Señora Tecamachalco (1541); Santa María Magdalena Cachulac (modern Quecholac) (c. 1550); Señor Apóstol Tecali (1554); and San Juan Evangelista Acacingo (modern Acatzingo) (1558).[9] The *suma de visita* report for Tepeaca reported a population of 9,878 in the *cabecera* and *sujetos*, which included Acacingo. This suggests a population of about 49,000. This figure did not include the populations of Cachulac, Tecali, and Tecamachalco.[10] The 1580 *relación geográfica* report on Tepeaca reported a population of 8,000 native heads of household including Acacingo, or some 45,000 people. It was 7,000 heads of household in Tecamachalco and its *sujetos,* or some 35,000 people. Tecali counted 5,000 heads of household, or some 25,000 people.[11]

Several of the main towns in Tepeaca province were still held in *encomienda* in the early 1580s. Tepeaca itself had escheated to the Crown,

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[8] On the architectural elements of the sixteenth century mission complexes see Kubler, *La arquitectura mexicana;* Robert J. Mullen, *Dominican Architecture in Sixteenth-Century Oaxaca* (Tempe: Arizona State University Press, 1975); Roberto Meli, *Los conventos mexicanos del siglo XVI: Construcción, ingeniería estructural y conservación* (México, D.F.: Editorial Miguel Ángel Porrúa, 2011).

[9] George Kubler, *La arquitectura mexicana del siglo XVI.* (Mexico, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1983), 553-554, 576, 577-578, 581.

[10] Del Paso y Troncoso, *Suma de visitas,* 206.

[11] Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, *Papeles de Nueva España publicados de orden y con fondos del gobierno mexicano. Segunda serie geografía y estadística: Tomo V: Relaciones Geográficas de la Diócesis de Tlaxcala* (Madrid: Tip. "Sucesores de Rivadenyra," 1905), 19.

but Tecamachalco was jointly held in *encomienda* by Rodrigo de Bierro and Melchora de Aberucha. Tecali was held in *encomienda* by Jusepe de Ovduña. Cachulac was held in *encomienda* by Gonzalo Coronado and Nicolása de Villanueva. Spaniards had also begun to settle in several of the head towns. Sixty Spaniards reportedly lived in Tepeaca, and were involved in raising livestock in the region, and another 100 Spaniards reportedly lived in Tecamachalco. As noted above, the Franciscans established their *doctrinas* in the head towns, and designated subject towns as *visitas*. In the 1580s Tepeaca counted 73 *sujetos*, which included Acacingo. Tecamachalco had 29 subject communities, Cachulac had 34, and Tecali had 19.[12]

The Franciscans also introduced a new urban plan to the native communities in Tepeaca province, and relocated communities to new sites. For example, the Franciscans relocated Tepeaca to a new site in 1543. Similarly, they relocated Tecamachalco to a new location at about the same time, in 1541.[13] The Franciscans directed the construction of the new sacred complex; the church and convent, located at the center of Acacingo. Kubler reported that the construction of the church and convent San Juan Evangelista began around 1558.[14] Antonio de Ciudad Real, O.F.M., reported that construction of the church and cloister had been concluded prior to his visit in the mid-1580s.[15] The Franciscan noted that: "The convent is completed, with its church, cloisters, dormitories and orchard. Two friars reside there."[16] The Franciscan reported that the construction of the new sacred complexes at the other missions in Tepeaca province had also been completed by the same period.

The arrival of the Spaniards led to processes of demographic change that included shifts in settlement patterns as well as population decline. Introduced disease such as smallpox and measles was an important cause of demographic decline, and the late sixteenth century *relaciones geográficas* reports referenced the lethal consequences of epidemic.[17] The

[12] Ibid.
[13] Kubler, *Arquitectura Mexicana,* 578, 581.
[14] Ibid., 553-554.
[15] Antonio De Ciudad Real, O.F.M., *Relación breve y verdadera de algunas cosas de las muchas que sucedieron al padre Fray Alonso Ponce en las provincias de la Nueva España* 2 vols. (Madrid: Imprenta de la Viuda de Caero, 1875), 144.
[16] Ibid.
[17] The reports prepared around 1580 that are known today as the *relaciones geográficas* mentioned the effects of disease, and in some instances make estimates of population loss. One example is the report for Tepoztlán, which describes the newly introduced diseases. See René Acuña, ed., *Relaciones*

report for Tepeaca (Puebla) noted that "…today, of the people that were [here] when the Spanish entered [the country], out of ten nine [are missing]."[18] The report on Teitipac (Oaxaca) also estimated the degree of population decline:

> This town of Teticpaque used to be a town with many natives [*naturales*], and there was something like two thousand Indians [yndios], and now a thousand; the cause for there being fewer now are the diseases and pestilences they have had[.][19]
>
> Periodic epidemics killed thousands of natives. The report for Coatzacualco, also located in Oaxaca, provides additional details on the chronology and effects of contagions:
>
> What they have reports on about the reduction [in number] of these people was smallpox that broke out in the year one thousand, five hundred, and thirty four, and measles that broke out in the year one thousand, five hundred, and forty five. And it is clearly seen that they are becoming fewer [in number] every day [.][20]

Civil and religious officials instituted a policy known as *congregación* to shift and resettle population because of population decline. Some communities disappeared as a result of depopulation and/or population shifts to new settlements. Population decline, however, was not the only motive for *congregación*, and in some instances civil officials or the missionaries relocated existing towns from hilltops to valley locations where they were easier to manage when trying to organize labor drafts, collect tribute, or enforce attendance at catechism or mass. An example was Yucundáa (Teposcolula) located in the Sierra Mixteca of Oaxaca, which was the site of an early Dominican mission established around 1529 or 1530.[21] The Dominicans directed the construction of a primitive church and convent at

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geográficas del siglo XVI: México tomo primero (México, D.F.: UNAM, 1984), 190-191.

[18] Quoted in Jackson, *Conflict and Conversion,* 20.

[19] In Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, *Papeles de Nueva España. Segunda Series Geografía y Estadística Tomo Primero* (Madrid: Tip. "Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1905), 110. The original quote reads: Este pueblo de Teticpaque solía ser pueblo de muchos naturales e avía en el cómo dos mil indios, e a presente ay mil; la causa de aver al presente menos son las enfermedades y pestilencias que an tenido... [.]"

[20] In René Acuña, ed., *Relaciones geográficas del siglo XVI: Antequera. Tomo Primero* (México. D.F.: UNAM, 1984), 151.

[21] Ronald Spores, "Yucundáa: Su etnohistoria y consideraciones de relaciones arquitectónicas y patrones de urbanismo con españa," in Ronald Spores and Nelly M. Robles Garcia, eds., *Yucundáa: La ciudad mixteca y su transformación prehispánica-colonial*, 2 vols. (México, D.F.: INAH, 2014), 628.

the hilltop site of Yucundáa. Archaeological excavations at the site uncovered the remains of the primitive church and convent, as well as burials associated with epidemics in the first half of the sixteenth century. The primitive church built of stone taken from pre-Hispanic buildings measured 33 x 12 meters, and the convent 57 x 18 meters.[22]

The Dominicans later had the population of Yucundáa relocated to the valley, and established the new mission San Pedro y San Pablo Teposcolula at a new site around 1552.[23] The Dominicans directed the construction of a new complex that included an open chapel, church, and cloister, as well as a hospital for the native population. The ruling lineage had a complex know today as the *Casa de la Cacica* built a short distance from the new religious complex. It was an *aniñe* or residence of a Ñudzahui ruling couple. The complex was the residence of doña Catalina de Peralta, who took up residence there in the mid-1560s with her husband don Diego de Mendoza.[24]

The organization of evangelization and social-cultural change among the P'urépecha of Michoacán provides a third example of the approach taken among sedentary natives in central Mexico, and the Michoacán *doctrinas* also served as bases to move beyond the Chichimeca frontier. At the time of the Spanish conquest the P'urépecha state was independent of the Culhua-Mexica, and had its capital at Tzintzuntzán located on the shores of Lago Pátzcuaro, where the Franciscans established one of their first *doctrinas* as

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[22] Christina Gertrude Warinner, "Life and Death at Teposcolula Yucundáa: Mortuary, Archaeogenetic, and Isotopic Investigations of the Early Colonial Period in Mexico," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2010, 194-196. There may be as many as 2,000 burials in the great plaza most likely dating to the 1540s. On the Dominican complex see Elizabeth J. Galeana Cruz, "La iglesia vieja-casa religiosa dominica de Yucundáa y la casa de la cacica e iglesia y convento de San Pedro y San Pablo Teposcolula. Dos ejemplos de sincretismo arquitectónica en la primera mitad del siglo XVI: Mixtecos y dominicos," in Spores and. Robles García, *Yucundáa*, 335-348.

[23] On the early Dominican mission at Yucundáa and the resettlement of the community see Ronald Spores, et al, "Avances de investigación de los entierros humanos del sitio Pueblo Viejo de Teposcolula y su contexto arqueológico," *Estudios de Antropología Biológica* 13 (2007), 285-305; James B. Kiracofe, "Architectural Fusion and Indigenous Ideology in early colonial Teposcolula the Casa de la Cacica: A Building at the Edge of Oblivion," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* vol. 17, No. 66 (Spring, 1995), 45-84.

[24] Kevin Terraciano, "The Colonial Mixtec Community," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 80:1 (February 2000), 1-42; James B. Kiracofe, "Architectural Fusion and Indigenous Ideology in early colonial Teposcolula the Casa de la Cacica: A Building at the Edge of Oblivion," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* vol. 17, No. 66 (spring, 1995), 45-84.

early as 1526. The Franciscans and secular priests attempted to evangelize the P'urépecha in the communities of the Sierra P'urépecha, whereas the Augustinians initially focused their attention on the porous Chichimeca frontier, but then assumed responsibility for several mountain communities.

The Franciscans and Augustinians organized the missions among the P'urépecha along the same lines as other missions in central Mexico with main communities designated as *cabeceras* and subject communities as *visitas* (see Table 1 and Table 2). They established the main mission center in the dominant polity in a district, and periodically visited other communities designated as *visitas*. As more missionary personnel became available they elevated some *visitas* to the status of independent *doctrinas.* They followed the urban plan and architectural elements found in other parts of central Mexico: the monumental church and convent, a walled atrium, and in larger communities barrio chapels. Other elements included a hospital located at a short distance from the convent complex and identified in P'urépecha communities by the term *huatápera*, and a structure or structures for the indigenous community government. At the same time the indigenous population experienced decline during the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a consequence of disease and other factors (see Table 7). As the populations declined civil officials and the missionaries themselves resettled people on a smaller number of communities.

The *suma de visitas* discussed above also contained the earliest descriptions of the *doctrinas* established among the P'urépecha. The tribute reports provided information on population size. In the case of the Michoacán *doctrinas* the population category was the number of people, but this did not include very young children who still breast fed. The reports also noted the hierarchy of head and subject towns, and contained geographic descriptions of the jurisdictions. The P'urépecha provided labor services and tribute payments in crops, salt, textiles, and in some instances silver or gold. Several of the reports also mentioned the provision of food to the *calpisque*, or the agent of the holder of the *encomienda* grant and tribute collector.[25]

[25] Del Paso y Troncoso, *Suma de visitas.* Appended here are the texts of the reports for the Franciscan *doctrinas:*

Cinapequaro

Este pueblo son dos cabeceras, y esta tiene quatro barrios y todos son ciento y treinta y tres cassas y en ellas quinientas y sesenta y quatro personas de tres años para arriba Dan de tributo ciento y cinquenta pessos de tipuzque y mas quinientas hanegas de maiz y treinta cargas de sal y treinta cargas de axi.

Peribán

Este pueblo tíene otras tres estancias sugetas, y esta cabecera de Periuan por si tiene quatro barrios y son todas las casas noventa y siete y en ellas ay quinientas y ochenta y vna personas: da cada ochenta dias treynta y siete pesos y medio de tipuzque y ginco xicaras y cinco pares de cutaras, dos panes de sal y media hanega de axi, y vna sementera de maiz y hazen vna sementera de maiz de dos hanegas y tres almudes de sembradura, y da de comer al Calpisque dos meses en el año, y da dos yndios de servicio. Esta asentado en llano, tiene agua de pie de que ríegan, danse morales, algodon y frutas de Castilla.

Xaratango, otra cabecera sugeta tiene ochenta y quatro casas y en ellas ay quinientas y treinta y dos personas sin los niños de teta; dan de tributo cada ochenta dias treynta pesos de tipuzque y cinco xicaras y cinco pares de cutaras y dos panes de sal y media hanega de axi y hasen vna sementera de maiz de dos hanegas de sembradura y labran mill arboles de morales, y mas dan tres yndios de servicio hordinariamente, y dan de comer al Calpisque dos meses en el año; esta asentado en vna mesa de tierra llana, tiene buenas aguas y riegos.

Atapa, otra cabegera sugeta, tiene dos barrios y son setenta y vna casas y en ellas trezientas y ochenta personas sin los niños. Dan cada ochenta dias treynta pesos de oro común y dos panes de sal y cinoo pares de cotaras y cinco xicaras y media hanega de axi, y hazen vna sementera de maiz de dos hanegas de sembradura y dos meses en el año dan de comer al Calpisque, y dan quatro yndios ordinarios y labran mill morales; esta asentado en llano en vna mesa que se hazeen vn cerro, tiene buena agua y riegan con ella.

Charapa, otra cabegera sugeta, tiene quarenta y cinco casas y en ellas dozientas y ochenta personas; dan cada ochenta dias veynte y dos pesos de tipuzque y dos panes de sal y cinco pares de cotaras y cinco xicaras y media hanega de axi, y hazen vna sementera de maiz de hanega y media de sembradura, y curan ochocientos morales, y dan de comer dos meses en el año al Calpisque, y cinco yndios de servicio hordinarios. Esta asentado en vn cerro llano, tiene vna fuente, es tierra fria.

Tiene el dicho pueblo de Periuan con las dichas cabeceras sugetas doze leguas de largo, parte términos al leuante con Urmapa y Pumacoran y con Chilchota al poniente, y Tapilcatepeqne. Al norte ooh Teguandin y al sur con Tancitaro. Tiene de ancho quatro leguas, ay buenos montes y tierras para hazer yngenios de acucar, puédese sembrar trigo y hazer molinos; esta de Mechuacan veynte leguas y de México cinquenta y cinco.

Purengécuaro

Este pueblo tiene ciento y setenta y siete casas y seiscientos y quarenta y siete personas: da cada ochenta dias vn marco de plata baxa y dos mantas torcidas que tienen tres brazas y media de largo: son de quatro piernas. Esta en la orilla de la laguna, beuen de posos.

Hazcuaro tiene treinta y siete casas y en ellas mili y nouenta personas en que ay quatrocientos casados: dan de tributo vn marco de plata baxa y dos mantas cada