PROMISCUOUS POWER

An Unorthodox History of New Spain

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INTRODUCTION

Michoacán was "enclosed like Eden," according to Alonso de la Rea, a Franciscan chronicler of the seventeenth century. He added, "The waters which irrigate this terrestrial paradise and fertilize its cup are the most abundant which this kingdom [of New Spain] enjoys; they are as sweet and drinkable as one could hope for."[1] A region of breathtaking physical beauty, it is home to lush green hills and mountains, lakes and rivers, cascading waterfalls, abundant fish, pine forests, and rolling valleys buffeted by volcanic peaks in mountainous highlands (the Tarascan Plateau).[2] In De la Rea's time, the subtropical zones were rich in avocadoes, papayas, and zapotes as well as river crocodiles, scorpions, and hallucinogenic mushrooms. Spaniards thought Michoacán was a kind of American paradise, a place where one could grow crops year-round, populated by tranquil and pious indigenous peoples.

Encompassing the modern-day states of Michoacán and Colima, as well as parts of Jalisco and Guanajuato, the viceregal province of Michoacán was topographically and ethnically complex. Prior to Spanish arrival, it remained independent from the Aztec (Mexica) Empire of central Mexico. Composed of a hereditary kingdom or federation, the Tarascans (Purépecha), and overseen by a hereditary king known as the *caltzontzin*, the province had satellite states of influence in Colimotl and the Motines mountain regions and was bounded to the north by the vaguely defined "Chichimec" groups. After contact with Spaniards and putative political conquest, the Spanish Crown divided the region into *encomiendas*. In exchange for spiritual oversight of their indigenous charges, the *encomenderos* received rights to labor drafts of these charges. In all practical terms, encomiendas developed into land grants, even if, technically speaking, the encomenderos held no formal title to land.[3] The region remained ethnically mixed, composed of Purépecha, Otomí, Colima-Nahua, Xilotlanzinca, and Piñol groups, followed by Spaniards and, later, mestizo and mulato peoples. Missionaries saw Michoacán as a region ripe for a kind of New World utopian communal Church overseen by

simple friars. With its dense population, seemingly endless subtropical warmth, long growing seasons, and near-limitless freedom, Spaniards believed it could become a sort of cultural utopia. A dramatic showdown had already taken place between the Mexica Empire and Spanish conquistadors allied with Tlaxcalan auxiliaries. After the fall of the Mexica capital, Tenochtitlan, in 1521, Spaniards set their sights on the large kingdom of Michoacán to the west in the interest of imperial expansion.

In the century after Spanish-indigenous contact, in 1521, Michoacán hosted a series of antics so outlandish in all their macabre glory that it seems like some sarcastic deity has narrated the stories. The hereditary king, the caltzontzin, flayed Spaniards and made costumes of their skins, dancing inside them. The first Spanish missionaries demolished indigenous religious materials with glee. The region had no resident priest or magistrate for the first two decades of Spanish rule. Spanish landowners and settlers lived in an un-Christianized, stateless zone, free to drink, smoke, steal, gamble, screw, and do as they pleased. After Christianity arrived decades later, priests loyal to the bishop burned down a monastery in a factional dispute—while the friars were asleep inside. Parish priests hired their own personal militias and stabbed agents of the very Church they served when reminded of their legal duties. Friars gossiped that certain cardinals in Rome offered jobs for their male lovers. Ranchers laughed at inquisitional agents and called them punks, rogues, and thieves. The first inquisitional agent of the region was an inveterate gambler who loved a good dance party and silk suits. Priests punched each other out in the cathedral. Missionaries said the bishop was a lazy egotist. A gouty friar rode in a litter to preach to the indigenous for miles around, because local priests did not speak the local language, Purépecha. Royal magistrates ran drunkenly through the streets of small towns in their underwear, only to be reappointed for lack of royal representation on the ground. Other magistrates were murdered by their rivals. One had his ear chopped off in revenge. Mammoth coconut plantations supplied most of the illegal wine of the region. River crocodiles ate travelers but magically bore missionaries across river rapids. And the proverbial last man standing, a priest and inquisitional agent, stole so much land that the royal court was obliged to steal the land back. When it attempted to do so, the priest set his personal militia on the judge in attempted murder. A century after the conquest, an inquisitional agent was dispatched to Michoacán's countryside to deliver the good news that he was from the government and there to help the residents. They wondered, "What is this Inquisition you speak of, good sir?" And these are just a few of the true stories which littered the juridical and political landscape and which this book retells in an effort at rescuing largely forgotten histories of everyday forms of making (or undoing) empire.[4]

The case of western Mexico, the province of Michoacán, offers a detailed case

study of the endemic difficulties of a transoceanic imperial authority, Spain, imposing a colonial order on a province of New Spain. This book provides a detailed portrait of Spanish agents of a global order relentlessly pursuing their own interests. Michoacán developed into a kind of outpost of empire, where the ordinary rules of law, jurisprudence, and royal oversight collapsed in the entropy of decentralization. In due course, Michoacán became a kind of region of refuge—refuge from imperial oversight, from juridical control, and from formal Catholicism.[5]

In the following pages, I examine the everyday exercise of authority by colonial agents of the Spanish Crown in Michoacán in the first century of Spanish presence. The Spanish Crown in the sixteenth century exercised far-flung global influence. Yet the Spanish Empire was diffuse, represented by a conquistador class that was largely a private enterprise in service of a state; an administrative class allied to local political interests; and a Christianization enterprise fractured into competing corporate groups. The Spanish Empire in the sixteenth century was less a cohesive empire than a "confederation of principalities held together in the person of a single king."[6] Nowhere was this loose archipelago of power more obvious than in sixteenth-century Michoacán.

This book examines the ground-level application of an imperial project in a viceregal province, avoiding interpretations of empire as all-powerful or empty. As one modern historian has put it, agents of empire lived in a sixteenth-century world where "power relationships . . . were intermittent, incomplete, and complicated by many conflicting obligations and loyalties . . . [without] a single, unified, coherent ruling class."[7] In the quotidian activity of making, or, rather, unmaking, empire, one sees the remarkable ability of local political actors to flout royal will even when tasked with defending royal justice, global Catholicism, or a universalizing Inquisition. Analysis of Spanish actors who presumably represented the imperial project—landowners, magistrates, missionaries, priests, bishops, inquisitional agents, and notaries, for example—reveals divided mini-empires. Indigenous aristocrats, *pipiltin*, also acted as agents of empire, as the Spanish Crown delegated to them rights and privileges in exchange for acting as intermediaries between indigenous commoners, or *macehuales*, and the Crown. In this frontier, a few men wielded what amounted to promiscuous power, drawing strength and authority from overlapping institutions (such as royal court, municipal government, parish church, mendicant order, cathedral chapter, and Inquisition).

Resident Spaniards, acting as the little hands of empire, worked toward their own goals, usually to the detriment of royal justice. The book's focus on Spaniards inverts the usual ethnographic practice of studying indigenous responses to colonial authority. The sustained analysis of Spanish perceptions and practices articulates the instability of empire. The focus on local, quotidian politics distinguishes this study from the many excellent global treatments of Spanish Empire

and the transatlantic world.[8] We know a good deal about the obverse side of this book's analysis. Studies about indigenous polities (*altepeque*) and their collective responses to Spanish imperial or colonial rule abound.[9] But given the stark silence about the ordinary enforcers of Spanish rule, I set out to write a book about the banality of local imperial rule.

Activities of the everyday and local representatives of colonial rule reveal the domestic quality of the enterprise of making empire. This study focuses on ranchers and encomenderos as representatives of Spanish control of land; on magistrates and judges as functionaries of royal law; on missionaries as ideological agents of Catholic evangelization; on parish priests and bishops as representatives of the Spanish royal control of the Church; and on inquisitional deputies as agents of social discipline. Conquistadors, land speculators, ranchers, and encomenderos presumably served to expand the Spanish orbit literally at the ground level by usurping indigenous land claims. In practice, they were concerned with personal enrichment. Royal legal agents—magistrates—were supposed to enforce the royal law. Yet their distance from centralized jurisprudential oversight (in Mexico City and Madrid) lent them an impunity to enforce civil law in capricious ways. Religious officials sought to Christianize Michoacán for diverse reasons. Friar-missionaries—Augustinians and Franciscans—hoped to convert the indigenous population to Christianity. But these friars were relatively uninterested in making the indigenous peoples into Spanish citizens or members of a secular empire. The bishops and parish priests who followed in the wake of the missionaries more clearly identified with a project of Hispanicization. Secular priests—that is, priests who were not monastics—viewed friar-missionaries as too independent—financially and administratively—for the broader good of global Spanish Catholicism. And the Inquisition viewed Michoacán as culturally out of control. Scholarship and popular imagination presumed the Inquisition to be the highest expression of a global Spanish Catholicism in a negative, punitive way. Yet Spanish citizens in the region mocked the Inquisition. Overall, one sees a deeply quotidian enforcement of imperial theory.

MICHOACÁN'S FIRST SPANISH CENTURY, SERIALIZED

Individual narrative dramas organize this book. Each chapter offers a snapshot of the everyday processes of colonialism of a particular region during a delimited period of time. These narrative chapters portray the extent to which local interests pursued their own powers with few overarching political-legal theories of empire or colonialism. Microhistorical biography fleshes out colonial actors as individuals caught up in the intrigues, violence, and drama of imperial showdown just as residents of indigenous towns resisted Spanish control.[10]

While methodologically microhistorical, this book takes epistemological and stylistic cues from Russian theorist Mikhail Bakhtin. In his study of Dostoyevsky, Bakhtin made a critical point that has influenced my thinking about human biographies.[11] In telling their stories, a novelist may utilize life-stories to represent concepts (piety, redemption, sensualism, cynicism)—as Dostoyevsky did so famously, for example, in *Brothers Karamazov*. Michoacán's imperial agents represent conceptual explorations—a friar might represent idealism; a bishop, regalism; an encomendero, colonial territorial expansion; a cathedral canon, *caudillismo*—rule by a strongman; a drunken womanizer, anarchism; a rancher, sedition. But these symbolic biographies are implicit rather than explicit, hiding behind the mask of the ordinary.

Stylistically, I have long found inspiration in Bakhtin's assessment of Rabelais (to say nothing of Rabelais himself). In Bakhtin's telling, Rabelais, an erudite, elegant, and witty theologian and writer, combined the language of the market, of the street, of the "lower-bodily stratum," with the language of the monastery, the classroom, and the court.[12] Rabelaisian style was thus a perfect synthesis of the crass and the elegant, of the grotesque and the sublime, of the ordinary and the exceptional, of the scatological and the angelic. The stories of everyday Spaniards in Michoacán reveal in their ribald detail the kind of symphonic range that might have pleased Bakhtin's sensibilities.

Slippage between official and popular comes out in the language and mentality of those who were accused of doctrinal offenses. In 1577, a Franciscan friar preached a sermon in Celaya in which he claimed that the Virgin Mary gave birth to Jesus like any other woman.[13] The naval captain Andrés López claimed (in 1566) that "Saint Catherine was an adulterous whore, and Saint Magdalene, a dyke."[14] Friar Joan Díaz, the guardian of the Franciscan monastery of Pátzcuaro in 1605, thought that "the guardian of Naples and definidor (regional superior) of the Roman province was Cardinal Matteo's lover and the cardinal was his bitch and that the Cardinal had given him the position as guardian because he was so handsome."[15] Others had more mundane ideas. The ecclesiastical court accused Alonso Gómez of blasphemy in 1563 in Pátzcuaro. His crime was that he had traveled from Michoacán to Mexico City, where he said he "rode a horse in Mexico without a bit and that he had gotten the horse to stop like a seraphim, to which the witness asked, 'How do seraphims stop?'" Alonso Gómez replied that "it was simply a manner of speaking."[16] In 1561 in Ensamala, in the *tierra caliente*, the diocesan court accused a rancher named Hernando de Coca for blasphemy. While eating a spicy stew he had casually remarked that it "had a chile sauce as red as the blood of Christ."[17] He had only thought to compare the sacred with the ordinary. In 1569, a Spanish rancher named Pedro de Ávila of Tangancícuaro found his servants' request to attend an Ash Wednesday mass to be ridiculous. He told them "to go

down to the river which passed by his ranch and bring back a lot of willows and burn them and from them they could make ash which he would apply to their foreheads."[18] Such a naturalistic approach seemed easy enough, but inquisitors were not satisfied, since it rejected the liturgical tradition of burning the palm fronds blessed on the previous year's Palm Sunday to make the ashes. Such everyday associations of the lurid and natural with the sacred were ubiquitous in Michoacán and serve, stylistically, to reiterate the prosaic nature of global Catholicism.

I begin my tale in 1521 with the first contact between Spaniards and Purépecha. Chapter 1 examines the sketchy military-spiritual conquest and colonization of Michoacán from 1521 to 1538. The main goal of the Spaniards was, theoretically, to claim the region for the Crown. More plainly, their goal was to get rich. The early period of conquest and colonialization set the tone for decades to come. The Crown quickly divided much of Michoacán's best lands into encomiendas.[19] The encomenderos came to wield outsized political and economic power in the region.[20] In 1529, a high court (*Audiencia*) with known antipathy to Hernán Cortés ruled New Spain.[21] The court's president, Nuño de Guzmán, led a notoriously violent campaign of conquest of New Galicia (modern-day Jalisco); en route, he blazed a fiery trail through Michoacán, executing Tzintzincha Tangaxoan, the last independent caltzontzin of Michoacán, in 1530.[22] The initial contact period in Michoacán set the stage for the political culture of the region. Between 1521 and the early 1530s, the region was home to only the occasional priest and itinerant friar. In May 1522, Pope Adrian VI issued a series of bulls, known as the Omnimoda, that empowered Franciscans with privileges ordinarily restricted to the parish clergy—the construction of churches and celebration of the mass, marriage, and confession. The mendicant missionaries, in turn, claimed that the American mission needed a special, zealous kind of priest—a friar.[23] In due course, Franciscans, in 1525, and Augustinians, in 1537, established the first residential Catholic presence in Michoacán, forming a bulwark against attempts at diocesan centralization.[24]

Chapter 2 examines the spiritual conquest of Michoacán, which was fitful and corporatist.[25] Rather than a centralized religious program, or even a unified missionary expansion, the earliest stages of Christianization in Michoacán engendered bitter factional feuds. Analyzing the topic through the lens of the disputes between friars and diocesan powers, the chapter covers the years 1538 to 1565. A lawyer and former court judge, Vasco de Quiroga, became bishop of Michoacán at the beginning of this period, and a vicious struggle for political supremacy erupted. Quiroga sought to rein in the corporate powers of the friars while simultaneously taking aim at the social and economic power of the encomenderos. It did not end well, and Michoacán became ground zero of the battle for the soul of Mexican Catholicism. Ideologically, the friar-mendicants promoted an idealized mission project focused on Christianizing the indigenous population without oversight of

bishops or any parish priests. Quiroga was having none of this, and the mendicants dug in their heels. Franciscans and Augustinians enjoyed economic support from the region's encomenderos and the indigenous elite. The bishop was the agent of the Crown, sent to centralize the region under a firm imperial grasp. The bishop's supporters became, in turn, armed partisans. In 1561, under the tutelage of Don Diego Pérez Gordillo, a priest and cathedral canon, the bishop's partisans torched the Augustinian monastery of Tlazazalca as punishment for refusing to obey Quiroga's reform.[26] The rivalry between bishop and friar smoldered for decades.

These two initial chapters set the stage for a region perennially unfriendly to centralized rule. Chapter 3 tells the story of an Inquisition that did not frighten anyone. Much recent scholarship has shown that the Inquisition was much less effective in its repression than the old stereotype presumed.[27] Yet the popular imagination and even some modern scholarship continue to see the Inquisition as an institution of omnipotent power, or capable of harnessing sociological paranoia and cultural hatreds for religious and cultural minorities.[28] How did Spanish residents—the judicial subjects of the inquisitional court—react to this supposedly omnipotent apparatus? Yes, the inquisitional court had the power to arrest, imprison, punish, and even torture suspects. But in that respect, the Inquisition functioned like other criminal courts of the early modern Hispanic world.

Chapter 3 thus examines the widespread resentment and mockery of inquisitional attempts to impose social control. For example, diocesan officials threatened the wealthy encomendero Pedro Muñoz with legal action in 1569 for refusing to pay the tithe. When told he would be excommunicated if he did not pay up, he told the church officials that he would "shit on the excommunication order."[29] The local inquisitor was not amused, but the rancher suffered no long-term consequences for this response. If Spanish residents mocked the Inquisition, how did inquisitional agents understand their role as defenders of orthodoxy? Their goals appear to be largely financial. Don Pedro de Yepes, a cathedral treasurer, was the diocesan inquisitor from 1569 to 1571. He made a fortune on land speculation and real estate.[30]

Chapter 4 describes a judicial theater of the absurd in which the Mexican Inquisition could not even seat its own agent in the province. A centralized Inquisition took office in Mexico City in November 1571, voiding the claims of inquisitional power by the bishop of Michoacán. The new inquisitor general dispatched a deputy, the law professor Cristóbal de Badillo, to Michoacán to establish order. It was a farce. The cathedral canons opposed his installment, assaulting the new inquisitional deputy both physically and legally. These expressions of masculine public power functioned as variations on the semiotics of power.[31] Thus expressions of violence in the public sphere were often about the most ordinary slights. A lawyer refuses to don his bonnet; a priest deliberately sits in the presence of a

presumed social superior. While much of the rivalry between friars and diocesan priests in Chapter 2 centers on questions of ecclesiological power, the politics of everyday masculine violence detailed in Chapter 4 was often an expression of this most quotidian semiotics of power.

Chapter 5 offers a case study of a quintessential region of refuge from the norms of royal oversight. Colima, located in the far west and southwest of Michoacán, was a province within a province. It also was a good place to escape the law, murder one's rivals, or start a secret cult. Geographically and topographically remote, with its principal city 120 miles south of the government of New Galicia in Guadalajara, Colima was nonetheless subject to Mexico City, which was 500 miles away. It was therefore an excellent place to escape governmental authority. Simultaneously, however, Colima's residents found themselves cut off from practical attempts to appeal abuse of local power: since the court of appeal was in Mexico City, any journey to make such an appeal would be arduous and costly. Thugs and criminals ruled Colima at the local level. How could a region nominally under the rule of royal law become a sort of outpost of criminal governance? The region was home to a vast plantation economy (in cacao and later coconut) as well as some of New Spain's most coveted encomiendas.[32] The outsized wealth from the plantation system combined with isolation to produce a culture of impunity. A long, illustrious series of criminals and scammers held the office of *alcalde*, or town magistrate, in the region; they were famed as drunken womanizers through the end of the sixteenth century.

Chapter 6 recounts another part of the saga: the tale of the caudillo-priest Diego de Orduña. In 1583, Badillo's career in Michoacán ended when the bishop exiled him for assaulting another priest, and Badillo fled to Spain to seek legal redress. Orduña stepped into the jurisdictional vacuum and applied to become the inquisitional deputy of Michoacán's capital city. In 1592, he succeeded in becoming the inquisitional deputy.[33] Then, in 1598, Mexico's Audiencia condemned Orduña for an elaborate theft of indigenous lands and dispatched a royal inspector to seize his ranch and livestock. When the royal judge arrived, Orduña attempted to have him murdered, mocking him and calling him a *calabaza*, or "squash," an insult implying arrogance.[34] The Mexican Inquisition voided the judgment against Orduña, and he remained in office for nearly two more decades, until his probable death in 1616.

How could a man who was both an ordained priest and a felon with multiple offenses establish himself in Michoacán as the province's most influential and powerful churchman? Chapter 6 examines the concept of caudillo-priests. A *caudillo* today is usually associated with Latin American strongmen, such as the nineteenth-century Argentine dictator Juan Manuel de Rosas.[35] Yet even as early as 1602, court cases in Mexico show, the term was used to refer to a man who com-

manded a private militia and who looked to the maintenance of his clients in the patron-client relationship.[36] Local factotums, priests even, mocked the royal monopoly on military force.

The book's conclusion reflects on the state of Michoacán's church in the 1620s. The Franciscan monastery of Valladolid, built as an affront to Quiroga's Pátzcuaro project, was falling down, and the Franciscans had to plead for a massive loan to restore it.[37] The new inquisitional agent made a tour of the region only to discover that most places not only had no resident priest but had never seen an agent of the Inquisition.[38] Armed bandits who worked for caudillo-ranchers assaulted the inquisitional mailmen in order to destroy evidence.[39] Spanish citizens were eating hallucinogenic mushrooms and peyote in open defiance of the law.[40]

(UN)MAKING EMPIRE

The story of decentralized power in Michoacán offers a finely grained case study of the complexities of making church and empire at the ground level. Even though Philip II had a "grand strategy" (which, ahem, did not turn out very well), or if a grand vision of empire existed in royal courts, personal gain, not love of king, motivated prosaic agents of colonialism, who were emboldened by the lack of oversight, and deeply committed to their own corporate memberships.[41] The king dispensed justice and ruled as the defender of Christendom while defending rights of the citizenry. By the time Cortés arrived in Mexico in 1519, the Spanish Crown was united under Charles V, a Hapsburg, and the old Castilian kingdom had become a truly global empire.[42] The Crown presumably owned a monopoly on justice—meaning the resolution of legal disputes—but it drew its power as a representative of the collective interests of the citizenry.[43] When the Crown flouted the will of the citizenry, armed revolt occurred, as in the *comunero* revolt of 1520, effectively demonstrating the limits of royal authority.[44] The establishment of a viceregal system in Mexico in 1535 after fourteen years of political chaos following Cortés's spectacular defeat of Tenochtitlan was subject to such exigencies.[45]

What were the aspirations and goals of the Spaniards involved in the various themes analyzed in this book? What motivated them to travel to or live in Michoacán? Did *letrados*—the legally trained royal functionaries assigned to the region to enforce royal law—and other magistrates have a fully articulated understanding of empire? How interested in colonial hegemony were the encomenderos? Did friar-missionaries support Spanish globalism? Did bishops and parish priests want to centralize colonial power? And did the Inquisition succeed in imposing its version of cultural-ideological order? Such are perennial questions of political theory. There is a state, a king, or an empire. For most people the concept of a state that oversees their lives is vague. In western Mexico in the sixteenth century, no one

ever saw the king, and rarely, if ever, the viceroy. Why do people go along with the system when they have such a tenuous connection to the state itself? People agree, usually unconsciously, to support the state apparatus in the most banal and ordinary ways. Answering questions about the motives of colonial representatives and royal subjects means examining their public lives and personal attitudes.

How did letrados effect the royal legal system in local, rural settings?[46] Magistrates (alcaldes and *corregidores*) were the direct representatives of the royal legal system and acted as judges of first instance.[47] Appeals thus could be sent to a royal court (Audiencia)—in the case of Michoacán, the one in Mexico City. Magistrates were supposed to enforce imperial rule, but, in practice, to be adapted to local circumstances, the application of law required flexibility.[48]

What were the goals of encomenderos? In a word—wealth. Empire was an instrument for enrichment through channels of conquest and the spoils of war. The Spanish Crown dispensed grants of labor drafts to encomenderos after the political-military conquest of Mexico and Michoacán. This practice continued the centuries-long tradition of the Reconquest in which private armies fought wars of conquest for Iberian kings. Victory ensured social promotion, titles, and lands. Theoretically, the encomenderos were to oversee the doctrinal conversion of indigenous peoples and act as Catholic models of behavior.[49] Yet the encomenderos of Michoacán had a complicated relationship to Catholicism. They were often irreverent but often supported missionary-building projects in Michoacán as a method of political diversification.

How did the Christianization program proceed? Why was Catholicism in Michoacán so variegated? Answering these questions means examining the fractured loyalties that derived from two conflicting versions of Catholicism: one based on friar-missionary complexes and a second overseen by a strong bishop and loyal parish priest class. Michoacán's Catholicism was born out of a primal struggle between these two visions of the Church.[50] The mendicant church answered to Rome and its corporate overseers in Spain. The diocesan church answered to the Spanish Crown, which controlled the institutional Catholic Church in Mexico through its system of royal patronage (*real patronato*). This system prohibited direct communication between the Mexican Church and the hierarchy in Rome; it also allowed the Crown to appoint bishops and archbishops with perfunctory approval from Rome.[51] The Church in the Americas answered only indirectly to the pope; the Crown placed the Council of the Indies as the direct intermediary between Spanish America and Rome.[52] This created a religious sociology of layered and overlapping jurisdictions and claims to authority.

What did inquisitional agents hope to achieve in Michoacán? Theoretically, their charge was to police the Spanish population's beliefs and religious behavior, but inquisitional agents found that a lot of Catholics did not like being told

what to do. The Inquisition acted as the enforcer of orthodoxy and social orthopraxis throughout the Spanish Empire. And here, too, the Inquisition was a pawn of the royal state. In the 1470s, the Catholic Monarchs extracted privileges from the papacy that allowed the Spanish Crown to appoint and oversee its Inquisition and inquisitors; only in theory did the pope have any say in the operation of the institution.[53] By extension, the Spanish Crown oversaw the appointment of bishops in New Spain, who from the 1520s through the 1560s oversaw a series of diocesan Inquisitions. In 1569, the Spanish Crown revised this system and created a central Mexican Inquisition under the direct purview of the Crown.[54]

How did ordinary Spanish residents react to this system of cultural and ideological control? This study analyzes the inquisitional prosecutions and investigations of Spanish residents of Michoacán in the period, stories that unfold in all their insolent glory. The idyllic and utopian visions of Michoacán as a pristine and unspoiled paradise ripe for easy Christianization provide a clear contrast with the "elemental, instinctive materialism" of rural peoples, both encomendero and rancher.[55] By analyzing the mentalities of those targeted by the Inquisition in Michoacán one can appreciate the nuances of early modern Catholicism in a rural area—and the inability of the Inquisition to impose social discipline. So, too, do the political lives of inquisitional agents elaborate the human element of a presumably repressive institution.[56] These "agents of orthodoxy" adapted to and profited from local politics even when their orthodoxy was questionable.[57]

The biographies of the varied and often bizarre individuals who made up the Spanish order in Michoacán elucidate the humanity of empire. To that end, this book does not presume to explain the theories of empire imposed from above—from pope, Crown, inquisitor general, or viceroy. Instead, the focus here is on the practical, the lived, the experiential, and banal.[58] Yes, royal law existed in large tomes, such as the *Leyes de Toro*, *Fuero Real*, *Siete Partidas*, and *Digest*. The *Decretum* and the *Decretales* explain Catholic, ecclesial law. Inquisitional manuals, including the *Directorium Inquisitorum*, instructed inquisitional agents on how to pursue cases. But one cannot find extensive discussion of these codes in Colima, Pamatácuaro, or Apatzingán, because few people in Michoacán owned these books. In fact, sixteenth-century New Spain in general encountered a chronic shortage of such books, and local officials rarely possessed even a single printed law code.[59] The argument in the ensuing pages relies on a reading of more than one hundred inquisitional trials and hundreds of testimonies in civil lawsuits and land disputes, as well as voluminous official and officious correspondence. In only a small handful of cases, as in Quiroga's lawsuits against the Augustinians, did citation of law even occur. By following how individual actors interpreted empire in customary, practical ways, this book elucidates how ordinary Spaniards effected ground-level rule.

OUTPOSTS OF EMPIRE

Some of the still highly readable and influential scholars from a much earlier generation have shown that logistical complications characterized Spanish imperial projects at local levels.[60] Recent scholarship on colonialism and empire has emphasized themes such as negotiated empires, the limited influence of empire on frontier regions, the ethno-political variegation of new conquest history, and the persistence of indigenous culture.[61] With these traditions in mind, this book looks to the "ambivalent conquests," political and religious, of western Mexico even as they were begun by the agents who had been sent to undertake them.[62] Thus it offers a cultural interpretation of political and religious violence.[63]

The stakes in Michoacán were high for a variety of reasons. It was the first large-scale attempt by the Spanish Crown to expand imperial power out of the core region of central Mexico. Michoacán had incredible wealth—a large, dense population for labor exploitation; extensive mining deposits (copper, silver, and gold); and a fertile landscape for agricultural and livestock development. The region was strategically important: if the Spanish could dominate the region, they could settle it and employ it as a locus of power from which to expand ever northward into the Chichimec frontier.[64]

Given the high economic and political stakes in securing Michoacán, the effort at colonial hegemony was remarkably haphazard. For example, in 1570, some 200 Spanish families lived in Valladolid and Pátzcuaro, in a region which still counted in the central Tarascan Plateau (or *meseta tarasca*) close to 100,000 indigenous residents.[65] These colonial agents and families represented a simulated hegemony. Colonial representatives were all too human; theoretically, they represented an imperial project, but in practice they sought advantage where they found it. Scholars have written reams on the men in the high ranks of empire—king, viceroy, conquistador, inquisitor—but little about these provincial agents.[66] Likewise, there is a full historiography regarding indigenous contestations of imperial authority.[67] This study builds on such work by reconstructing the history of Spaniards who were charged with implementing royal justice in a largely rural, frontier, and provincial region.

These local imperial agents were all subaltern to the upper echelons of power—king, viceroy, royal judge, archbishop, inquisitor general. Yet in their local setting, for all practical purposes they *were* the Crown, Church and Inquisition.[68] The argument of this book calls attention to the political, cultural, personal, and ideological diversity of royal representatives. New scholarship on the Americas has reoriented our understanding of a presumably top-down Spanish sociopolitical conquest,[69] showing that in reality, the Spanish conquest was semi-privatized, incomplete, multidirectional, and composed of multiethnic alliances.[70] Indigenous

peoples of Mexico operated less as oppressed and conquered victims and more as shrewd and self-interested operatives involved in a complex process of mitigation.[71] By contrast, we know little about the more prosaic Spaniards who benefited from representing imperial rule; in the account that follows I aim to rectify that situation.[72]

In this book I also engage five themes about conquest, colonialism, and imperial aspirations. First, I consider the theoretical construction of regions of refuge. Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán conceived regions with topography hostile to the intrusions of state power as zones of refuge, where indigenous peoples and escaped slaves fled the authoritarian or colonial pretentious of empire.[73] I invert the model to interrogate the extent to which agents of the empire tasked with imposing state power fled the royal oversight of their local power.

Second, I examine the efforts to impose Catholic social orthodoxy in Michoacán. Landowners, settlers, traders, priests, and bureaucrats were freewheeling in their behavior and attitudes toward orthodox Catholicism. Inquisitional investigations reveal the extent of Spanish hostility to the Inquisition's conservatism and the venality of its own agents. While some see in the Inquisition a precursor to modern totalitarianism, this book analyzes the limited nature of inquisitional power in Michoacán.[74]

A third consideration of everyday empire is the extent to which the Spanish Crown struggled to maintain a monopoly on coercive power. Michoacán's royal agents asserted particularist authority. Even the earliest colonial efforts in Michoacán were expressions of a type of caudillo rule, or rule by individual strongmen. Michoacán's most notorious conquistador, Nuño de Guzmán, clearly sought out the conquest of Michoacán for pure and simple spoils. But what were the goals of later colonial agents? To what extent did the Crown succeed in maintaining that monopoly on force? And how did the corporations—mendicant orders, the cathedral chapter, plantation owners—respond to assertions of might in the region? My analysis focuses on local representatives of royal interests and how they operated as local power brokers within the theoretical orbit of the Crown.

Fourth, Michoacán historiography has tended to describe the region as a kind of terrestrial paradise. In this interpretation Quiroga was a beloved father figure who oversaw a utopian ordering of indigenous communities.[75] I examine instead how Quiroga undertook his Edenic mission and sociopolitical utopian system. Rather than offer hagiography, I scrutinize the granular, local struggles between Quiroga's regalist view of the Church and the mendicant ideal.

Fifth, I engage the history of colonial political authority by generally rejecting the Black Legend, or the depiction of the Spanish Empire as an especially egregious form of imperialism. Although a generation of historians has now demonstrated the limits of colonial rule in Latin America, few have challenged the as-

sumption that the royal state and the institutional Church colluded to produce a powerful Catholicism that crushed heterodoxy, punished cultural difference, and ruined indigenous worlds. I thus ask whether the Crown-Church alliance produced effective regulation of everyday life in Michoacán.[76]

The following chapters lay out in stark relief the everyday negotiation of empire. There was spectacular personalism in this project, a collective middle finger for officialdom. In place of sobriety one finds mockery of order, insult to the dignity of law, and uproariously sarcastic contempt for decorum. I tell the story of the lives of ranchers, priests, lawyers, missionaries, land speculators, judges, murderers, rapists, drunks, scammers, thieves, saints, sinners, and everyone in between. Stylistically, I evoke the mood of the region, adding layer upon layer of improbability. Their stories remain all too human; their home was Michoacán, a mordant simulacrum of empire.

CHAPTER 1

THE CONQUEST OF MICHOACÁN, PARADISE'S LOST AND FOUND

Setting: Tancítaro, Taximaroa, Tzintzuntzan
Years: 1521–1538

On 14 February 1530, Nuño de Guzmán, president of Mexico's First Audiencia, ordered the execution of Michoacán's hereditary king, Tzintzincha Tangaxoan, the caltzontzin. The charges were treason, human sacrifice, idolatry, and sodomy. The real reason Guzmán had him killed was that he stood in the way of westward colonial expansion and led stubborn indigenous resistance to Spanish land and labor claims in Michoacán. A villain of Mexican history, Guzmán personified the earliest royal officials of the region—personalist and drastic.

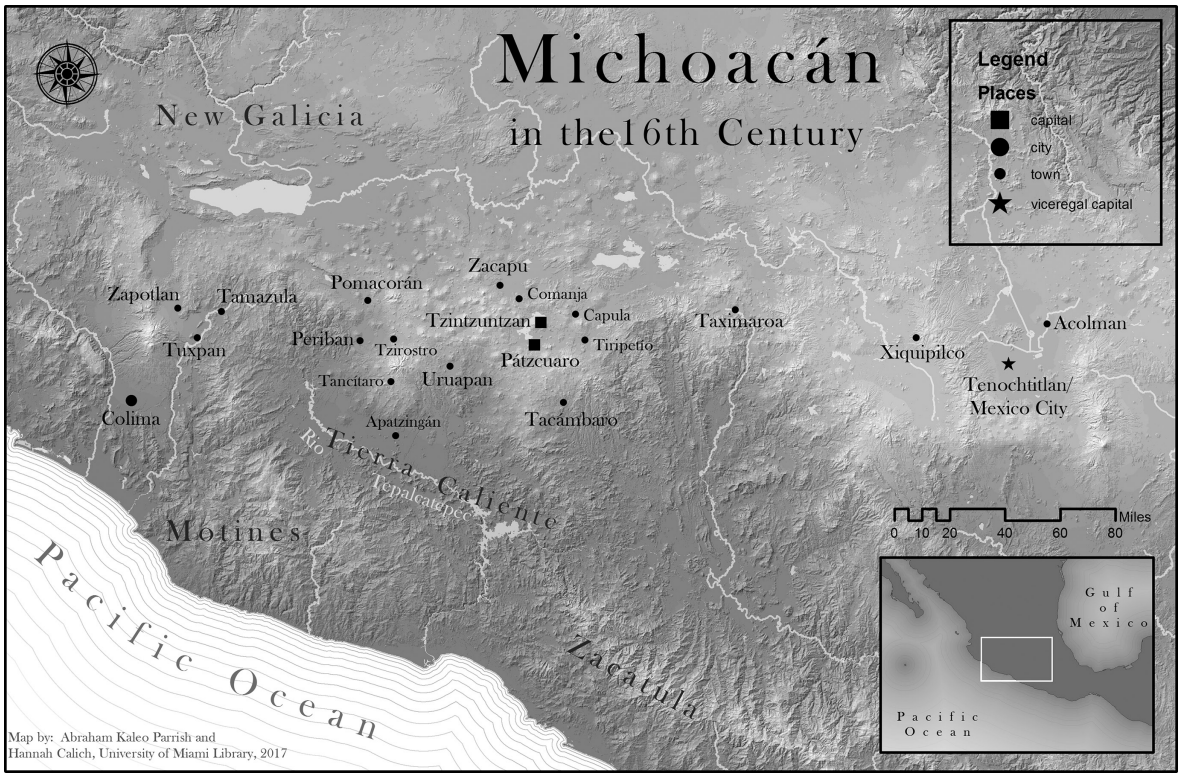
Guzmán has been one of the single most reviled conquistadors in the popular imaginary. Juan O'Gorman's 1941 mural depicting the conquest of Michoacán, painted in Pátzcuaro's public library, succinctly expresses the revulsion for Guzmán felt by later generations.[1] Scholars also depict Guzmán as particularly vicious, starting with his days as a slaver in Pánuco in the 1520s.[2] The venerable historian Leslie Byrd Simpson described the conquistador as "one of those rare characters whose exclusive function seems to have been that of destroyer . . . [and whose] capacity for hatred was only equaled by an apparent delight in sadistical orgies of burning, torture and destruction."[3] Against this image of barbarity, historians and muralists found a convenient foil in Michoacán's first bishop, Vasco de Quiroga, whom they depicted as a benevolent humanist—faithful to study of the classics but also dedicated to the idealized betterment of indigenous communities.[4]

The trial and execution of the caltzontzin represented a crucial turning point in Michoacán's political culture. Although Spanish expeditions had made tentative contact with the Purépecha kingdom as early as 1521, Spanish efforts at military conquest and spiritual conversion in Michoacán had been itinerant in the 1520s. In 1533, the Crown formally recognized the central part of Michoacán, in and around Pátzcuaro and Valladolid, as part of New Spain.[5] In 1538, the region was organized

FIGURE 1.1. Juan O'Gorman, mural in Pátzcuaro public library, 1941. Photo by Ernesto Perales Soto (2006), Creative Commons license, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:242292072_ab49824e72_b.jpg.

as a diocese of the Catholic Church. By this time any hope among the Purépecha that Michoacán could remain an independent indigenous federation had vanished. Accordingly, Guzmán's actions set the tone for the development of political and religious culture in Spanish Michoacán as particular and corporatist. The first practical Spanish rulers were not judges, magistrates, bishops, priests, or inquisitors. They were planters, ranchers, and friar-missionaries.

Guzmán and his allies—dozens of Spanish horsemen and thousands of indigenous forces—swept through Michoacán with furious, terrible violence. The terror he inflicted on Michoacán through an especially cruel form of warfare, in which



MAP 1.1. Michoacán in the sixteenth century, by Abraham Kaleo Parrish and Hannah Calich.

Michoacán's elites often sacrificed their own subjects for fear that Guzmán would enslave them, is well known. It presaged his invasion of New Galicia and the spectacularly vicious Mixtón War, where even Guzmán's indigenous forces engaged in human sacrifice and cannibalism.[6]

Guzmán's invasion of Michoacán and concomitant execution of the caltzontzin illustrate the early stages of conquest and imperial rule on multiple levels. First, these events traumatized Purépecha society. Although the indigenous residents were accustomed to warfare, the scale of Guzmán's brutality must have been shocking. Furthermore, Guzmán departed without establishing any lasting form of governance, leaving the region in literal and sociopolitical ruins. After the trauma of 1530, Spanish incursions in the region let up, and a semblance of governing order emerged. Taking office in 1535, New Spain's first viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, was eager to assert a peaceable transition of authority to a royal system of governance, but it proved difficult given that the region had experienced wars, territorial divisions, and encomendero predation for fourteen years without royal or viceregal oversight.[7]

Guzmán's entrada and assassination of the caltzontzin opened the door to a corporatist and privatized form of governance. No residential magistrate was vested in these early years; a magistrate (corregidor) was assigned to Tzintzuntzan in 1529, though there is no evidence that a regularly installed residential magistrate oversaw the city of Michoacán before the 1540s.[8] Guzmán's bloody actions also set the stage for a coercive form of evangelization, even if it was undertaken by corporations presumably opposed to conversion by the sword—Franciscan and then later Augustinian friars. Ultimately, these first seventeen years established Spanish Michoacán as a region where private interests dictated imperial efforts in the wake of political violence, and where corporatist rivalries and alliances of cynical convenience dominated the political landscape.

DECENTRALIZED CENTRAL RULE, NO HOME OFFICE

From 1521 to 1538, Spanish colonization of Michoacán developed against the backdrop of a sparse Christianization project, expansive encomendero wealth, and a small number of residential royal officials. An itinerant string of royal inspectors traveled to Michoacán, and many of them arrested their predecessors on charges of abuse of authority. The province's capital (first Tzintzuntzan and then Pátzcuaro) had its first residential magistrate in October 1536.[9] Evidence of judicial activity by a resident magistrate did not occur until 1542.[10]

Encomenderos formed the most politically powerful group of Spanish residents in the 1520s in Michoacán. They developed a well-deserved reputation for flouting the normal rules of Catholic decorum. But by the 1530s, they also began

to forge a calculated political relationship with the Franciscans and Augustinians in efforts to solidify their cultural and economic power against royal and diocesan oversight. In 1525, the Franciscans became the first Catholic religious to reside in Michoacán. They had been dispatched from Mexico City, where they had already established a missionary presence. In Michoacán they claimed special status as the Crown's favored agents of evangelization. In May 1522, Pope Adrian VI issued the bull *Exponi nobis fecisti*, known also as the Omnimoda, which gave the Franciscans (and, later, the Augustinians) the right to engage in activities normally under the purview of a bishop—to build friary-churches, to hear confession, to celebrate the mass, and to perform weddings.[11] The friars relied on the bull as legal precedent and customary proof that they had free reign to act without oversight of diocesan power.

Michoacán became a region of refuge from global imperial oversight. Neither of the twin pillars of Spanish global expansion—the Crown or the Catholic Church—was represented in the first seventeen years of Spanish presence there. Instead, state and church were only present in corporate entities—in the form of encomenderos and mendicants, respectively. The only royal officials in Michoacán in the 1520s and 1530s were a series of royal inspectors (*visitadores*). Encomiendas formed the socioeconomic backbone of the Spanish project. In religious terms, the province was home to no parish priests, and only to a couple of Franciscan friars prior to 1537, when Augustinians arrived. It was not until the summer of 1538 that a bishop arrived to oversee the Church. The foundations of Michoacán's missionary project were moored entirely in the Franciscan and Augustinian orders.

A detailed portrait of how the colonial project played out in its earliest years enumerates the decentralized politics of the region. On the eve of Spanish contact, the ethno-geographic world of Michoacán was variegated. Encomendero wealth fostered distrust of external authority, setting up a constitutional disregard for imperial monopolies of force and for religious programs of social discipline. The earliest forms of spiritual conquest were punitive: militias strove not to Christianize the indigenous population, but to extirpate the pre-Hispanic religious culture. The region ceased to be (if it ever was) idyllic once these extirpation campaigns arrived.

Michoacán was strategically important for the early colonial project in Mexico. Cortés's hold on power in central Mexico was tenuous after the fall of Tenochtitlan. The Spanish Crown viewed westward and northward expansion as useful for its broader imperial designs on Mesoamerica. Yet the privatized and caudillo style of conquest of Michoacán meant that the Crown never had a firm control over the conquistadors, encomenderos, or missionaries of the region. These early speculators successfully established a pattern of political, economic, and martial power only theoretically overseen by the Crown.

THE TARASCAN FEDERATION

Most of what became the province of Michoacán of New Spain belonged to a loose federation of ethnic groups, often called the Tarascan Federation, that, ethnolinguistically, were predominantly Purépecha. The region had a hereditary monarch, which in Nahuatl was called a caltzontzin and in Purépecha an *irecha*. It was centered in the mountainous plateau west and northwest of today's Morelia, the meseta tarasca, with Tzintzuntzan as its capital.[12] Subject regions in Motines, Colima, and Tuxpan fell within the orbit of Purépecha rule, paying tribute in cotton, copper, maize, turkeys, and pottery. The Mexica had never subjugated the region, and as such the Purépecha enjoyed relative political autonomy from Nahua states.[13] The region is topographically diverse and at contact presented a bewildering array of ethnic groups and linguistic clusters. To the east nearing the border of Mexico one found a mixture of Purépechas, Otomíes, Matlatzincas, and Nahuas.[14] To the north, in today's Guanajuato and the northern part of Michoacán state, were a mixture of various Chichimec groups. The southwestern section of the province of Michoacán, in Zapotlan and Tuxpan, was ethnographically elusive. Colima and Tuxpan-Zapotlan appear to have been outposts of Nahuatl-speaking groups.[15] This western region had never been subjected to Purépecha rule prior to Spanish-indigenous contact, so Purépecha was not used.[16] Nahuatl was probably introduced as a lingua franca after the conquest.[17]

This ethno-geographic complexity provided the backdrop to a region that proved difficult to govern. Regional micro-cultures—often separated by mountains or rivers—jurisdictional overlap, and ethno-linguistic confusion characterized the province. One finds deserts dry enough to produce mummies in Guanajuato, whereas in Colima, the lush tropical heat produces growth on top of growth, and summer thunderstorms rip through with terrifying ferocity. Rivers come raging down the mountains so intense and full of caimans that they become impassable even by canoe. Much of the tierra caliente lies below 1,000 feet above sea level, but with steep rises to the mountainous plateaus. The meseta tarasca lies high in an area of pine forest that is impossibly green. Alonso de la Rea compared Michoacán to legendary Trinacria (Sicily) of the *Odyssey*, ancient Italy's most abundant region.[18] The Augustinian chronicler Matías de Escobar called Michoacán the American Thebaida, the birthplace of Augustine, and as fertile as Italy for its array of produce—avocados, membrillos, zapotes, European-introduced limes and lemons, and apricots and peaches.[19]

While the Spanish laity saw the region as topographically ideal, missionaries viewed the religious cosmology as essentially satanic. The Purépecha practiced a polytheistic religion that included ritual human sacrifice, which was common

FIGURE 1.2. View of Lake Pátzcuaro from the ruins of the Purépecha ritual complex in Tzintzuntzan. Photo by Thelmadatter (2009), Creative Commons license, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Tzintzuntzan,_Michoac%C3%A1n#/media/File:VwPalB2.JPG.

throughout Mesoamerica. The principal deity was Curicaueri, who was represented as a massive stone figure in the ritual complex of Zacapu. The high priest overseeing the cult was called the *curicaneri*. So powerful and central to the Purépecha cosmology was the priest caste that even the caltzontzin prostrated himself before the curicaneri when he led a major annual pilgrimage from Tzintzuntzan to Zacapu to pay respects to the god—and make a human sacrifice.[20]

Franciscan and Augustinian missionaries viewed the ritual practices and polytheism with both horror and respect. Although De la Rea saw the idolatry in negative terms, he also considered the Purépecha to be naturally inclined to respect for authority and social hierarchy. Escobar praised the complex social value of ritual observance as the reason why the Purépecha were later among the best Catholics of the New World: "I say, in fact, that the Tarascans are ceremonious and as a result careful in their reverence; . . . thus today they are very reverent and serious in the [Christian] law which they profess; their churches are the best served and decorated in the Western Hemisphere."[21] The Purépecha occupied the collective missionary conscience as peaceable and controllable, ideal Christians, even when these memories came centuries later.[22]

THE CONQUEST AND NON-CHRISTIANIZATION OF MICHOACÁN, 1522–1529

Spiritual and military conquests were slow to come to Michoacán. These two strands of conquest were closely linked, with evangelization wed to military violence. Priests accompanied early expeditions, and later, in 1525, Franciscan friars began to establish a tenuous presence. Because Michoacán was never a tributary of the Mexica Federation, the Purépecha leaders saw a chance to curry favor with Cortés and the Spanish Crown. Indigenous military resistance to the Spanish was fitful at best. Spanish contact with Michoacán began in 1521. Conquistador and Cortés ally Antón Caicedo led the first expedition, arriving in Tzintzuntzan in the fall of 1521. Later, a Spanish expeditionary force, sometime in 1522, made brief contacts with Otomí border guards along the Tarascan-Mexica frontier.[23]

Early depictions of the initial contacts are not definitive. The *Relación de Michoacán*, composed between 1539 and 1541 on the orders of Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza, tells of two Spaniards arriving in Taximaroa on the festival of Purecoraqua, 23 February (presumably in 1521).[24] The *Relación de Michoacán*, the oldest illustrated manuscript chronicling pre-contact Michoacán, is a compilation of indigenous descriptions and witness statements of the history of the Purépecha world before contact and of the subsequent political fallout from Spanish conquest and the execution of the caltzontzin. Franciscan Jerónimo de Alcalá managed the project, but as with all such manuscripts, the collaboration of indigenous scribes, authors, and witnesses was central to its production.[25]

The first ideological exchange of Spanish Empire with Michoacán occurred with an expedition led by Cristóbal de Olid, who had once been a loyal lieutenant of Cortés in the conquest of Tenochtitlan. Olid later led an expedition to Honduras, where he declared his independence from Cortés, prompting Cortés's disastrous Honduran expedition. Olid died during Cortés's counterinvasion to rein in his former protégé.[26]

Olid traveled to Michoacán with Tlaxcalan auxiliaries, and the caltzontzin, Tzintzincha Tangaxoan, dispatched a relative, Don Pedro Cuinerángari, to act as his emissary and meet with him in Taximaroa. Olid's combined forces, which massively outnumbered Don Pedro's, arrived in Taximaroa for the meeting on the Purépecha festival of Cahera-cósquaro, 17 July 1522.[27] The Spaniards then questioned Don Pedro through an interpreter. It remains uncertain if Olid had Don Pedro bound or confined or if he provided testimony willingly. It is also unclear which language they used, but Olid's interpreter, Xanaqua, was a Purépecha; he had been captured by the Mexica and later given to either Olid or Cortés in Tenochtitlan as a war captive. The *Relación de Michoacán* describes Xanaqua as a *nahuatlato* (a ge-

FIGURE 1.3. Spaniards arriving in Michoacán. Illustration in Fray Jerónimo de Alcalá, *Relación de Michoacán* (ca. 1540), Creative Commons license, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Relaci%C3%B3n_de_Michoac%C3%A1n_L%C3%A1mina_18.JPG.

neric term for an indigenous language interpreter) and mentions that he spoke the languages of Michoacán (Purépecha) and Mexico (Nahuatl).[28] It is unclear, however, whether he spoke Spanish. Don Pedro later recounted the event for the *Relación de Michoacán*. According to his testimony, Olid's forces included about two hundred Spaniards.[29] Although the number of indigenous auxiliaries in Olid's forces is unknown, seventeenth-century chronicler Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl estimated it at thousands. In any case, the encounter between Olid and Don Pedro quickly turned violent, developing into an extirpation campaign against the Purépecha religious system.[30]

Don Pedro's testimony in the *Relación de Michoacán* describes the encounter as one full of mysterious rituals and swift retribution against the Purépecha gods. Olid demanded a series of tribute payments as a peace extortion, and the Spaniards celebrated a Catholic mass. Francisco Martín or Pedro Castellano, both horsemen in Olid's entourage who may have been secular priests, probably celebrated this first mass in Michoacán.[31] Don Pedro, observing the priests with their chalice, speaking ritual words, concluded that they "must be medical men like ours, since they look into the water to see what will happen."[32] Surely the confusion about the intent of Spanish visitors changed when the Purépecha began to observe the close connection between military expedition and religious evangelization.

Olid's expedition was typical in its punitive nature. Soon after the Spaniards celebrated the first mass of Michoacán in Taximaroa, Olid sent Don Pedro back with the presumed mission of negotiating a truce between the caltzontzin and the Spanish forces. With his combined Spanish-indigenous armed forces, he then traveled to Tzintzuntzan. Olid's men rooted out Purépecha stone deities, demolishing, in particular, a stone representation of Curita-caheri, a messenger of the gods, or possibly referring to Curicaueri, the principal Purépecha god. Olid ordered Purépecha religious ornaments, feathers, and masks to be gathered up and burned.[33]

Olid's entrada was a bad sign for the Purépecha ruler. There are conflicting reports about whether or not the caltzontzin fled because he heard that Olid had at least temporarily captured and then released Don Pedro, or as a preventative defensive measure before Olid and his forces arrived. Don Pedro's statement, as recorded in the *Relación de Michoacán*, suggests that the caltzontzin fled the capital.[34] Later statements, however, such as the account of service to the Spanish Crown offered by the caltzontzin's son, Don Antonio Huitziméngari, dispute the claim.[35] The Purépecha leaders worried about the Spanish presence, however. In the summer of 1522, Purépecha rulers massacred eight hundred of their own slaves, fearing that in the event of a military-political defeat by Olid's forces, the Spaniards would take the slaves as war captives.[36] Shortly after Olid's entrada it became clear to both sides of the conflict that the Purépecha could not defeat the combined forces of the Spanish and their Texcocan and Tlaxcaltecan allies. The

Spaniards quickly turned their attention to rumors of a vast fortune of gold and silver owned by the caltzontzin.

The caltzontzin and other Purépecha elites watched with dismay as the balance of power shifted. Conversion to Catholicism in Michoacán among the Purépecha elite was a strategy of political survival. Shortly after the skirmishes of 1522, Cortés ordered Don Pedro brought to Mexico City to answer to charges that he was an active idolater. He dissimulated, claiming Catholic conversion. He had seen an opportunity to remove the caltzontzin from power, and to thereby promote his own position within the Purépecha world, he told the Spaniards. If this was true, Don Pedro's gambit failed. The caltzontzin remained the indigenous ruler of Michoacán. But it was clear that the political-military balance was shifting in favor of the Spanish. Don Pedro returned to Michoacán and lived in an uneasy truce with the caltzontzin.

MISSIONARY ARRIVAL

Following Spanish forays into Michoacán, initial Christianization efforts in the region were limited in scope through the 1520s. These first efforts came, ironically enough, through the Purépecha elites' embrace of Franciscans. The caltzontzin and Don Pedro traveled to Mexico City in the summer of 1524 to meet with the Spanish rulers, and the Purépecha elites deposited several of their sons in the newly founded Franciscan friary in Mexico City to receive doctrinal instruction.[37] In what was possibly a traditional Mesoamerican show of respect for the gods of a conquering army, the caltzontzin received baptism as a Catholic and was renamed Francisco (in deference to the Franciscans) in 1525. Franciscan chronicler Juan de Torquemada claimed that the caltzontzin then asked the friar Martín de Valencia if one of the Franciscan missionaries would accompany him on his return to Michoacán.[38]

The caltzontzin's conversion was probably a political stratagem intended to appease Spanish authorities in Mexico City and retain Michoacán as a Purépecha kingdom. But the Purépecha leader was a shadow king in 1524. It was unclear if and when Michoacán would follow the path of Tenochtitlan and pass to Spanish rule. Spanish royal authorities arrested and imprisoned the caltzontzin at least twice in 1524 and 1525, doubting the sincerity of his political pacifism and Christian conversion. The royal factor Gonzalo Salazar, the encomendero of Taximaroa, imprisoned the caltzontzin in the winter of 1525 on charges of idolatry in a ploy to remove him from power.[39] For reasons that remain unclear, however, the caltzontzin was then released from prison and permitted to return to Michoacán.

At this point, the Purépecha elites allied themselves with the Franciscans. It is unclear whether the caltzontzin had personally requested Franciscan missionar-

FIGURE 1.4. Ex-Convento de Santa Ana, Tzintzuntzan. Photo by eurimaco (2013), Creative Commons license, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Tzintzuntzan#/media/File:Ex_Convento_de_Santa_Ana,_Tzintzuntzan_-_panoramio.jpg.

ies, but he did return to Michoacán in 1525 with the Franciscan Martín de Jesús (de Coruña) and one or two other Franciscan friars.[40] Friar Martín was one of the "apostolic twelve" Franciscans who came to Mexico in 1524 under the leadership of Martín de Valencia. When the small group of Franciscans arrived in Tzintzuntzan, there were no resident priests—no parish priest resided in the Tarascan highlands during the 1520s.

It is also unclear whether any other Franciscan friars had ever been to Tzintzuntzan by the time Martín de Jesús arrived in 1525.[41] The first Franciscan missionary efforts focused on the destruction of indigenous religious iconography.[42] Franciscan chronicler De la Rea described Martín de Jesús as a Moses delivering the populace from blind idolatry. Rumors claimed that the friar walked Michoacán's entire length and breadth, more than 400 miles by 150 miles.[43] Friar Martín also engaged the assistance of Purépecha elites when, convinced to do so by the caltzontzin, he had the friars and Purépecha commoners erect a small thatch church in Tzintzuntzan dedicated to Saint Anne.

Indigenous depictions of the early Franciscan mission diverge considerably from those of the Spanish chroniclers. The *Relación de Michoacán* is the earliest

source. There is considerable debate about the relative knowledge of the Purépecha about the Spanish, the authorship of the *Relación*, and the question of indigenous participation in its production.[44] But details slip out from the *Relación* indicating that the Purépecha were suspicious of the friars. The Purépecha who offered information to Jerónimo de Alcalá for the *Relación* said they initially viewed the friars as sorcerers, but when they saw that the friars had no wives, and were not interested in silver, they started to believe that they might be true emissaries of a god. Out of political circumspection, the witnesses for Alcalá portrayed themselves as good, converted Catholics, but their suspicions of the Spaniards were clear. The Purépecha witnesses said that in the earliest days of evangelization their people had been cautious because the friars wore strange robes. Some Purépecha viewed the robes as shrouds that they shed at night; they thought the friars might actually be skeletons who traveled to hell at night to visit their wives.[45]

Surely Michoacán's first Franciscan mass, which was not a particularly mellow affair, did not endear the Purépecha to the friars. Nor, presumably, did anyone understand anything on either side. The friars had not yet studied Purépecha, and the mass would have been celebrated in Latin, possibly with some Spanish or Nahuatl explanations. After Friar Martín de Jesús (de Coruña) celebrated the mass before the assembled Purépecha and the caltzontzin and his family, he systematically demolished their religious symbols:

> On finishing preaching the word of the Gospel and explaining the true adoration the population saw before it, he had to reprove their false sect, demolishing and destroying all the temples in Tzintzuntzan. And all their idols of gold and silver were gathered up and smashed into pieces and Coruña gathered them up into a great heap and tossed them into the lake with the disdain they deserved . . . so that everyone would see their gods entombed in the lake. Others he gathered up in the plaza and burned them so that the ashes snatched up by the wind would get in their eyes so that they would be removed from their blindness and realize the trickery of the past and see the truth of the present.[46]

Such early evangelization efforts placed a premium on the annihilation of religious idolatry to pave the way for active Christianization. In many ways, the approach mirrored Guzmán's political strategy, which involved removal of indigenous rule even if no permanent Spanish governance was ready to take its place.

The Franciscan presence may have been minimal, but it eagerly sought to exterminate Purépecha iconography. This harsh but diffuse approach proved indicative of Christianization efforts for decades in the region. No more than six Franciscans ever resided in Michoacán from 1525 to 1529, and there were never more than three resident friars at any given moment. The friars had mastered Purépecha to

the point of being able to act as interpreters, but six missionaries for a vast region is simply not enough to convert a population.[47] Even after the Franciscans established their primitive friary in Tzintzuntzan, they abandoned the mission "two or three times" in those early years.[48]

The activities of one other friar in Michoacán, Antonio de Ortiz, presaged the temporary end of Franciscan efforts in the region. The Crown, weary of the political disorganization of conquistador and treasury official rule in Mexico City, created Mexico's First Audiencia by decree in December 1527. The Audiencia took power in 1528 with Nuño de Guzmán as its president.[49] The new bishop of Mexico, however, the Franciscan Juan de Zumárraga, joined Ortiz as an outspoken critic of Guzmán and the Audiencia.[50] By 1529, Ortiz had returned from a short stay in Michoacán. On Easter Sunday 1529, Ortiz delivered a sermon in Mexico City lambasting the Audiencia and its predations. The sermon precipitated a brawl, during which an Audiencia judge, with the support of Guzmán, clamored for Ortiz's removal. A bailiff for the court hauled Ortiz down from the pulpit, and excommunications and lawsuits ensued.[51] Faced with lawsuits over their actions, the Franciscans fought back. In an appeal before the Council of the Indies, Zumárraga stated that as the Audiencia judge "is not content with constantly defaming the bishops and priests of Mexico before the royal court, . . . I beg you to punish him as a calumniating slanderer. His vices, his exorbitance, and his poor treatment of the natives awoke my zeal to rebuke him."[52] In response to the sermon kerfuffle, as presumed political punishment, the Audiencia forbade friars from going to Michoacán.[53]

Three salient details emerge from the primitive evangelization efforts of the 1520s in Michoacán. First, the church of Michoacán was from its very beginning one of friar-missionaries unmoored from diocesan rule. Second, by 1530, nearly a decade after the presumed conquest of Mexico, Michoacán was virtually devoid of Catholic presence. Catholicism could only count a thatch church to Saint Anne in Tzintzuntzan and presumably some roughly designed adobe chapels in places somewhere in Colima or Motines, but no one really knows. Third, the Purépecha religion continued to be robust. A royal inspection of the region in 1528 uncovered numerous idols and god-stones, which the inspector ordered demolished.[54] If one reads the missionary accounts, one might conclude that extirpation had been effective. Yet the conversion of Purépecha elites to Catholicism was a political, not a spiritual, strategy, and Purépecha religion existed parallel to the fitful introduction of Christianity in the region by the missionaries.

ENCOMIENDA DISTRIBUTION

Like efforts at spiritual control, land and labor oversight was delegated to private interests, in this case, in the form of encomiendas. Michoacán's encomen-

deros solidified their political power in the region, laying the foundation for another important corporate interest group. The cumulative effect of encomienda holdings proved telling for Michoacán's religious and political history. Unlike in Mexico City, which had an extensive royal bureaucracy, a large urban center, and professional variegation, in Michoacán encomienda and plantation holdings—particularly in cacao, coconuts, cotton, and chiles—characterized the Spanish presence. The concentration of rural estates also meant that Spanish residents in Michoacán lived in a region where oversight by magistrates, priests, or inquisitors arrived after they had already developed a modus vivendi outside the regulations of imperial rule.

From its inception, the encomienda system in Michoacán was an exercise in blatant land grabs and naked assertions of clan power, especially by Cortés. Cortés dispatched Antonio de Carvajal in the summer of 1523, for example, to conduct a judicial inspection of the region (*visita*), but, as one historian put it, the visita became a "carnage of destruction and extirpation."[55] The inspection was the first Spanish accounting of the demography and cultural geography of Michoacán.[56] The report, which described the region's dense population, its vast agricultural potential, and its silver and gold mines (which it overestimated), instantly made Michoacán a valuable target of further conquest and spoils in encomienda grants.

The Crown divided Michoacán's lands and peoples into encomiendas soon after Carvajal delivered his report in 1524. Many of the encomiendas were to be counted among the most lucrative of New Spain. The core regions of the meseta tarasca boasted a dense population, useful for labor and tribute. Regions to the north and east proved ideal for livestock. The power to award encomiendas remained in legal limbo; in theory, only the Crown could award them. Cortés nevertheless claimed vast regions of Michoacán as part of his personal estate of the Valle de Oaxaca. Zapotlan and Colima, for example, were rich in mines and had extensive populations, and Cortés personally reserved several massive encomienda estates in the region, including most of Tuxpan and Zapotlan. The estates remained personal encomiendas of Cortés's estate at least until 1528, when the Audiencia began to challenge Cortés's massive holdings.[57] By 1535, Tuxpan, Zapotlan, and Tamazula had become royal possessions: to provide a sense of their outsized worth, the *Suma de visitas* (1548–1550) listed the province of Zapotlan as bringing in more than 100,000 pesos annually. So lucrative were the mines of the region that Cortés forbade Spaniards from entering the province under pain of one hundred lashes, for fear that someone might attempt to usurp the estates.[58]

Although the population of Michoacán as a whole at contact is unknown, it was surely well above 200,000, and possibly as high as 1 million. The *Suma de visitas* indicates that mortality rates from the 1545–1548 epidemic cycle may have been as high as 15 to 20 percent in Michoacán, a rate owing in part to enslavement, mining,

and excessive tribute demands. Pátzcuaro and Tzintzuntzan surely had more than 15,000 residents combined as late as 1551; Tiripetío was rumored to be home to as many as 12,000 men (not to mention women and children) in 1551.[59] Even pueblos such as Tuxpan and Tamazula counted 4,000 residents each in 1550.[60] Smaller, more rural towns, including Capula, Zacapu, and Taximaroa, had nearly 2,000 residents each in 1550.[61] These figures, along with the mortality rates, suggest that the Pátzcuaro basin may have had a population as high as 30,000 to 40,000 at contact. In short, the province of Michoacán was surely home to well over 100,000 residents in 1520, though the claim by one member of the first Spanish expedition of 1522 that the Purépecha had an army of 200,000 men (which would imply a population of over 1 million) is probably an exaggeration.[62]

Despite the large, dense population of Michoacán, mystery surrounded much of the process of assignment, transfer, and litigation of encomiendas in Michoacán before 1528. In addition to Tamazula, Tuxpan, and Zapotlan, Cortés assigned himself the Pátzcuaro basin centered in Tzintzuntzan. The Crown vacated many of these grants. The First Audiencia also litigated these estates, endeavoring to despoil the original encomiendas held by Cortés and his partisans in Michoacán.[63] Although the history of these holdings is beyond the scope of this study, encomienda possessions proved politically crucial to the earliest development of Michoacán under shifting Purépecha-Spanish rule.

In 1528, the Crown dispatched another royal inspector, Juan de Ortega, whose report listed the status of the encomiendas and encomenderos at the time: there were no fewer than forty-seven individual encomenderos, who together possessed sixty-three distinct encomiendas.[64] The Spanish encomenderos in Michoacán were, depending on one's point of view, either typical or abusive. The use of indigenous slaves, captured in "just wars" of conquest, was common in silver mining regions. Alonso de Mata was an especially sadistic encomendero whom Ortega judicially sanctioned. But most were like Francisco de Villegas, who received Uruapan, and Diego de Medina, who received Tancítaro. They relied on tribute payments in kind, in cotton textiles, chiles, beans, and corn, for example. Indicative of the essential nature of encomiendas to Michoacán, it remained a primarily rural region throughout the colonial period, with only Pátzcuaro, and later Valladolid, as provincial cities.

The imbalance between the extensive encomienda holdings and the scarcity of Catholic priests is striking. Ortega's inspection noted the presence of only one priest in the entire province, the Franciscan Antonio Ortiz.[65] It is likely that one or two, or possibly three, other Franciscans were resident off and on in 1528—possibly Martín de Jesús and Diego de Santa María, Ángel de Salcedo, or Miguel de Bolonia.[66] Between 1522 and 1537, there is evidence of only one parish priest in the vast province: a secular priest named Francisco Martínez was in Colima as early as

1524, and became resident priest of Zacatula sometime between 1525 and 1529,[67] perhaps most likely in 1528.[68] In any case, Martínez did not stay long, and it appears that the entire Motines lacked for a parish priest until around 1546, when the priest Juan Venegas was installed.[69]

The nearly comical imbalance between land interests and Christianization is clear. In the same province that assigned forty-seven encomenderos to manage the massive, usurped landholdings, there were only one or two priests to minister to them and to Christianize the tens of thousands of indigenous residents. In 1528, Tuxpan supplied 100 men to transport provisions to mines.[70] Twenty years later, Tuxpan was a Crown possession but still had some 4,000 residents, though the mortality rate in the interim was probably as high as 15 percent.[71] Tancítaro was obliged in 1528 to provide five *cargas* (about 50 pounds each) of corn and beans and one carga of chiles daily.[72] These astronomical figures were impossible to deliver but nevertheless demonstrate the vast agricultural resources delivered to encomenderos. By 1548, half of Tancítaro was still held by Medina, though the population figures are uncertain—it had somewhere between 800 and 4,000 inhabitants, yet it was still required to provide 120 pesos every seventy days as tribute to Medina along with 10 men weekly as labor drafts.[73] In 1551, Pátzcuaro still had some 15,000 men subject to labor drafts, according to claims made by the viceroy.[74]

Although most of Michoacán's encomiendas were established by 1528, a few more continued to be assigned. The most notorious of the Spaniards to receive encomiendas between 1528 and the 1530s was Juan Infante, who, unlike many earlier encomenderos, was not a conquistador, but a sort of professional con man. On the death of the encomendero Juan de Solís in 1528, Infante asserted rights to Pomacorán, Comanja, Naranja, and several towns subject to Tzintzuntzan, and a series of lawsuits questioned the authenticity of his grants. Villegas, for example, sued Infante for infringing on his encomienda of Uruapan. No one was ever able to discern how Infante had done it, but in several lawsuits he produced copies of royal decrees of an encomienda grant for Comanja. Although most of the authorities doubted the authenticity of the documents, he was able to assert these rights for decades.[75] Infante continued to make enemies in the new world of the Spanish encomendero. Gonzalo Gómez, whom the Inquisition of Zumárraga tried for blasphemy, even hired a man to assassinate Infante as revenge, though the hit was unsuccessful.[76]

By 1530, large Spanish-held estates dominated Michoacán's landscape. The Purépecha remained culturally dominant, with the indigenous elite retaining titles of governor. But the assignment of vast tracts of land to encomenderos forever transformed the region. The outsized political-economic power vested in Spanish landowners meant that political culture responded to the interests of the encomiendas, at least through the 1540s when the encomienda system dominated the landscape.

THE KING IS DEAD; LONG LIVE THE KING

The fate of the caltzontzin is well known. On 14 February 1530, a Spanish tribunal operating under Guzmán's authority tortured and then executed him. Putatively for treason and human sacrifice, the trial was an assertion of particularist power. The impetus for the trial came from encomenderos who were vying with the Purépecha elites for economic control of the region. As encomenderos expanded their control of Michoacán's land in 1528 and 1529, disputes over land control were rampant, and Don Pedro and the caltzontzin became rivals for the title of indigenous governor. The Spanish policy throughout the Americas was to delegate local power over indigenous towns to pre-Hispanic aristocrats (or *pipiltin*), whose titles were known variously as caciques, or governors. These indigenous elites were afforded their own labor drafts from indigenous commoners, the *macehuales*.[77] Encomenderos accused both Don Pedro and the caltzontzin of deliberately hiding the provenance of their macehual labor forces.

The Purépecha—both elite and commoner—did not simply lay down their arms and give up. The defeat of the caltzontzin and the Purépecha polity was the result of being simply outnumbered—the Purépecha offered resistance, but it was not enough. The result was disastrous, since any heir to the caltzontzin inherited only vague recognition as a kind of indigenous cacique in the service of the Spanish Crown. However, the caltzontzin's actions did reveal the continued vibrancy of the Purépecha religion. While Franciscans, aided by royal officials, engaged in the destruction of Purépecha religious iconography, the trial against the caltzontzin made it clear that indigenous peoples continued to worship their deities and engage in ritual sacrifice.

Guzmán's 1530 invasion marked a turning point in Michoacán's political history, as it spelled the official end of a Purépecha kingdom and marked the beginning of a more official kind of colonialism. The expedition also set a precedent for high levels of political violence. Guzmán virtually press-ganged Nahuas and Huejotzincas to serve in his expeditionary force to pacify New Galicia and extend Spanish power out of central Mexico. In December 1529, Guzmán set out from Mexico City with a large force, including some 400 Spanish foot-soldiers and anywhere from 600 to 12,000 indigenous allies.[78] His first stop was Michoacán, where he imprisoned the caltzontzin, Don Pedro, and Don Antonio (the caltzontzin's son) in January 1530 in Tzintzuntzan. Guzmán demanded from the caciques some 8,000 subject Purépecha to serve in his expedition to New Galicia. After having tortured the caltzontzin, Guzmán reportedly told him that if he could not muster the requisite number of men, he would be sure to pay for it.[79] Before his execution, the caltzontzin said that he would raise the 8,000 men for Guzmán. When the Spaniards later arrived in Cuinao, where the presumed soldiers awaited them,

they found that the entire population had been massacred—presumably by Purépecha warriors by command from the caltzontzin and his advisers—in advance of Guzmán's arrival.[80]

The trial against the caltzontzin laid out in stark terms the extent to which Spanish landowners could manipulate a global system of imperial rule to their advantage. In fact, the principal fulminators for prosecution of the caltzontzin were encomenderos. Witnesses against the caltzontzin, such as the encomendero Fernando Villegas and the Purépecha Cuaraque, listed a series of incredible charges concerning human sacrifice, sodomy, and peculation of labor drafts.[81] Guzmán's court interrogated and tortured not only the caltzontzin but also Don Pedro and Don Alonso and two indigenous interpreters in a trial of summary justice between the 5th and 13th of February.[82]

The trial showcased lurid accusations. "Show me the skins of the Christians which you have here; if you do not bring them to me, we will have to kill you": so demanded Guzmán of Don Pedro on 11 February, referring to the most sensational charge against the caltzontzin—that he had flayed Spaniards and used their skins as ritual costumes.[83] On being threatened with the death penalty if he did not comply, Don Pedro reported that he would bring the skins the next day.[84] In a morbid twist, Don Pedro produced as exhibits human skins that the caltzontzin had used. One can only imagine the repulsion the Spaniards felt on seeing the human pelts.

On 14 February 1530, Guzmán pronounced the caltzontzin guilty of idolatry, treason, and human sacrifice.[85] The caltzontzin received a defense attorney, De la Peña, who appealed the verdict, but Guzmán ignored him. De la Peña was a known partisan of the anti-Cortés faction and could be counted on to defend Guzmán, who was Cortés's most important political enemy. The court condemned the caltzontzin to be burned alive, though he reportedly repented and was executed in a different way before his immolation at the stake—by the garrote, a cord wrapped and tightened around the neck.[86]

Guzmán's expedition represented the culmination of a series of judicial-military inspections of Michoacán. Pedro Sánchez Farfán had conducted a royal inspection in Motines in 1527, with Ortega conducting the wider inspection in 1528. These inspections were designed to regulate the newly emergent encomiendas to the advantage of the Spanish and the detriment of indigenous caciques. Additionally, the visitas were doctrinally instructive. Led by civil authorities, these quasi-evangelization campaigns offered compelling negative reasons to convert, since obdurate idolatry could lead to a death penalty. The royal officials on these expeditions engaged in widespread desecration of religious symbols. Under Ortega and Carvajal, the inspection teams demolished stone and wood deities. Sánchez Farfán executed some indigenous men for sodomy, though we will never know if they had engaged in sex between men or if these were trumped-up charges.[87] The caltzon-

tzin's presumed taste for anal sex with men was also scandalous, though certainly sex between men among Spaniards occurred with regularity, despite the fact that it was a capital offense in Spanish law.[88]

The royal inspections facilitated the ability of encomenderos to exploit the royal system of visita in order to exact terrible political revenge on their Purépecha cacique rivals. Two encomenderos, who became involved in the religious politics of Michoacán for decades, stood out for their collaboration with Guzmán. The first is Pedro Muñoz, the *maese*, or field-captain, of Roa.[89] Muñoz arrived in New Spain in 1525 and quickly acquired Acolman and Capula in encomienda, though both were removed from his ownership and reassigned as Crown possessions in 1528.[90] We do not know exactly when he acquired it, but Muñoz also held Xiquipilco as an encomienda from at least 1537, though possibly from as early as 1529.[91] When Guzmán's court called Muñoz as a witness in the caltzontzin's trial, the encomendero said that he recalled an earlier visita by Juan Xuárez in which the royal authorities had tracked down and destroyed many idols and sacrificial items.[92] Muñoz also provided important logistical support for Guzmán's expedition. After assembling his forces and departing from Mexico City in late December 1529, for example, Guzmán traveled to one of the encomiendas belonging to Muñoz, probably Xiquipilco.[93]

Other encomenderos piled on in order to secure their hold over their indigenous charges. Villegas brought the original judicial complaint before Guzmán as judge, claiming that the caltzontzin had hidden wealth from the Crown and engaged in sodomy. Villegas's complaint included testimony from nine Spaniards as witnesses, including Pedro Muñoz. Although it mentioned sodomy, most of the ire stemmed from the caltzontzin's refusal to fulfill his tribute demands in the form of macehual labor. Other Spanish witnesses, as summarized in Villegas's complaint, said that the caltzontzin had been actively involved in killing dozens of Spaniards. Don Pedro, long the caltzontzin's political rival, added the damning testimony that the caltzontzin had ordered the execution of Spaniards.[94]

These early royal inspections and military incursions folded Christianization into their activities. They set out to quash the still active if underground Purépecha religious ritual complex. Nine years after Spanish entrance into the region, the indigenous religion of Michoacán was still going strong: people were murdering and ritually sacrificing Spaniards and peeling their skin off and dancing around in them. It had to stop—it was too scandalous and scary. Thus the Guzmán expedition was a sort of militarized spiritual conquest in the truest sense—not persuasion by catechesis (a method Guzmán found decidedly effete), but old-fashioned military subjugation.

The caltzontzin's trial also exemplified the implementation of local power and the attempt by one faction (pro-Guzmán) to exercise absolute power, even when

royal oversight intended to put a check on that power. The Guzmán invasion and the trial were thus symbolic of the kind of imperial-religious politics to come: factional (Guzmán represented an unstable government that both Cortés and the Franciscans impugned) and undertaken by a caudillo (Guzmán's legal authority for the trial has long been questioned; his status as a caudillo is legendary—he had been a notorious slave-trader in Pánuco prior to his arrival in Michoacán).

The Guzmán moment in Michoacán led to no lasting political infrastructure. Instead the incursion left much of the previous system in place—a nascent Church, a wealthy encomendero class, and an extensive indigenous population. One big thing did change—any claim by the hereditary line of the caltzontzin to kingship was stopped cold. The execution was a cruel reckoning for the Purépecha elite and demonstrated the possibilities of political violence. By March 1530, Guzmán and his force had departed for New Galicia, leaving the region to rule by encomenderos. Guzmán's heavy-handed treatment of the caltzontzin and Don Pedro led to criticism from at least three friars. Martín de Jesús admonished the caltzontzin's Spanish jailers for their treatment of him. While we cannot be certain, Friar Martín may also have played a role in convincing Guzmán to garrote the caltzontzin immediately before his scheduled immolation.[95] Guzmán kept Don Pedro a captive, though he was presumably badly injured from his torture—the *Relación de Michoacán* noted that a decade later his arms were permanently marked from the cords that had dug into his flesh.[96] But after the failure to raise Purépecha troops, Guzmán continued to Jalisco with Don Pedro as his prisoner. Franciscans Jacobo de Testera and Francisco de Bolonia reportedly intervened on Don Pedro's behalf, asking Guzmán to allow him to return to Michoacán, which, presumably, he was able to do, as he remained indigenous governor until the 1540s.[97]

SEEDS OF DISSENT AGAINST CATHOLIC SOCIAL CONTROL

Michoacán's earliest Christianization program was absurdly diffuse. Simultaneously, encomienda expansion was meteoric. It is difficult to know exactly what encomenderos thought of their newfound wealth, their indigenous charges, or the oversight of a putative Catholicism. But we can surmise that encomenderos were, by and large, motivated by economic interests and a sense that as conquistadors and first *pobladores* (or settlers, a term that implied civic privileges and status), their service to the Crown entitled them to fantastic wealth.

However, it is unclear how many of Michoacán's earliest encomenderos made Michoacán their permanent home. For example, Diego de Medina, an employee of Cortés in Mexico City in 1524, received Tancítaro in encomienda along with Pedro de la Isla, another Cortés employee. Medina probably lived in Pátzcuaro and maintained his personal household there.[98] It is unclear how much time De la

Isla spent in Pátzcuaro or Tancítaro, but Michoacán's mild climate, dense indigenous populations, and attendant fabulous tribute contributions, combined with the virtual complete absence of religious oversight, created a powerful enticement for men interested in economic wealth unencumbered by social control.

Rodrigo Rangel, a captain in Cortés's conquering army of Tenochtitlan, was dying of syphilis in 1529 and was in a spectacularly terrible mood. For starters, the syphilis was giving him terrible migraines, which no amount of booze relieved. The evenings, when horrifying chills swept over his skeletal structure, were the worst. Fevers plagued him, and he awoke at night in a lagoon of his own sweat. Sores covered his scalp and legs. A gruesome sight, Rangel, like others who died of syphilis in the sixteenth century, served as a convenient example for the Dominican friars who targeted conquistador morality.

Rangel, a notorious blasphemer and enemy of the Dominican friars—and also a good friend of Diego de Medina and Pedro de la Isla—ruminated on the perceived easy life of Medina as he lay dying of syphilis: "Fucking friars. We had things good in Tenochtitlan and then that self-righteous bastard came along with his robe and rosary. I should have taken the advice of Medina and De la Isla, who told me that Michoacán didn't have any priests and only a couple friars who ignored them anyway. They sat in the warm evenings drinking pulque and doing as they pleased."[99] He hated friars, especially Domingo de Betanzos, who prosecuted and sentenced Rangel for blasphemy. Among Rangel's lewder comments was his reference to the Virgin Mary as a "whore." He was a big fan of interjecting his language with many "*goddammits*." Given his scandalous critiques of friars and Catholicism, we can also imagine his mental world. He loved booze, gambling, and hookers, and he had learned from Medina of the expansive wealth, mild climate, and superabundance of Michoacán. During his trial for blasphemy, witnesses claimed that he had encouraged his encomienda subjects to attack friars with bows and arrows as sport. He had a mordant sense of humor. He may have annulled the wedding of one of his encomienda subjects in order to make the woman his concubine.[100] Perhaps he gave her syphilis.

Rangel and Medina were typical of an early generation of encomenderos who saw Mexico as a large expanse with land and indigenous labor ripe for exploitation. Rangel received Cholula as an encomienda, among other endowments. His fame also derived from holding political office in Mexico-Tenochtitlan (*regidor*) and for being an early inquisitional target.[101] The Dominican Betanzos, who exercised inquisitional authority in Mexico between May 1527 and September 1528, deliberately targeted Cortés's friends and partisans for blasphemy.[102] Indeed, Betanzos made of Rangel a political example of conquistador hubris, encouraging Franciscan Toribio Motolinía to pass a spectacularly harsh sentence against him.[103] Rangel's punishment for the guilty verdict included a five-month imprisonment in

a monastery; the public humiliation of holding a lit candle during a mass, marking him as a convicted blasphemer; a fine of five hundred pesos, an unheard-of sum for such a trial and, in 1520s currency, a fortune. He was also ordered to use his encomienda subjects to build a hermitage in Tacuba.[104] In short, Betanzos put the political screws to one of Cortés's closest political friends.[105] And then Rangel died in 1529 of syphilis.[106]

We will never know whether Medina shared Rangel's hatred for friars, though they clearly shared an ethos of labor exploitation for personal wealth. But Rangel's story and his close friendship with the encomenderos of Tancítaro call attention to Michoacán's unique social circumstances, where Spanish colonists wielded egregious power over their indigenous encomienda subjects and openly flaunted the authority of ecclesiastical officials. By 1530, Spanish landowners in Michoacán had adapted to life unregulated by imperial oversight. The absence of resident priests and permanent royal judicial officers meant that for most Spanish residents, life was a kind of free-for-all. Spanish settlers viewed Michoacán as nothing short of paradise—spoils, physical pleasure, easy sex, and endless liquor. There was no priest—just the occasional Franciscan friar in Tzintzuntzan—and they came and went and were not interested in Spaniards in any case. In places like Tancítaro, there were only Purépecha residents, in addition to the Spanish men and an occasional Spanish woman. In fact, Tancítaro remained an encomienda as late as 1630.[107]

We know even less about Spanish women in Michoacán in the 1520s. It was common for Spanish men to have indigenous mistresses, or, in some cases, wives, so it is a safe assumption that some Spanish encomenderos in the region became involved, consensually or not, with Purépecha women. The extent to which Purépecha women exerted a kind of domesticating force on these men remains a mystery. But we do know that in the 1530s, after the execution of the caltzontzin, Michoacán had some Spanish women who held power as encomenderas, and usually they had inherited the encomiendas as widows.

ENCOMENDERAS—MICHOACÁN'S FIRST SPANISH WOMEN?

The narrative thus far has been exclusively male. There is no evidence that many Spanish women lived in Michoacán in the 1520s, though we know that wives accompanied encomenderos throughout New Spain; with the exception of Purépecha (and other indigenous) women, few women show up in the chronicles. The relative paucity of source material restricts our ability to understand the role Spanish women played in the earliest imperial efforts in the region. That women by convention were excluded from the roles of priest, magistrate, or bishop only exacerbates the analytical gaps. Perhaps some study in the future will examine the cultural influence of Purépecha women on Spanish men.

Several Spanish women did exert power and influence as encomenderas in Michoacán in the 1530s, precisely at the time the region was opening up to further Spanish ideological incursions. Although Spanish law allowed for women to hold their wealth and property as their own, the paterfamilial social system provided that husbands and fathers administered that wealth in the name of their female family members. Nonetheless, Michoacán was home to some very wealthy encomenderas beginning in the 1530s.

Among the earliest (if not the earliest) encomenderas of Michoacán was Leonor de la Peña, who had been married to Álvaro Gallego, a former encomendero of Santo Domingo and a member of Cortés's entrada to Mexico in 1519. For his role in the conquest of Tenochtitlan, Gallego had received Chocándiro in the mid-1520s.[108] The encomienda covered at least nine *estancias* (ranches), and we can safely assume that the tribute value was substantial. When Gallego died around 1530, De la Peña had inherited the rights to Chocándiro, and though she held these encomiendas with her second and third husbands, the rights remained hers. We do not know if De la Peña took up residence in the rural region, far from any Spanish settlement, or lived in Mexico City. If the latter, she could have appointed a *mayordomo* (superintendent or steward) to oversee the tribute collection. In any case, unlike male encomenderos, Spanish women who oversaw such estates did not seem to share the enthusiasm for blasphemy or sexual acrobatics that characterized men like Rangel.

Coming later to Michoacán, Doña Marina Montesdoca was perhaps Michoacán's wealthiest Spanish woman of the period. She was married to Antón Caicedo, a man of vast encomienda wealth counting 18,000 indigenous tributaries in 1535 from encomiendas including Periban, Tingüindín, Tarecuato, and Texcaltitlan (southwest of Toluca). When he died around 1535, Doña Marina inherited at the least Periban and Texcaltitlan and possibly Tarecuato.[109] Portions of Tingüindín which remained in her estate included well over 1,000 tributaries.[110] She held these encomiendas through the 1560s, though Texcaltitlan became embroiled in a lawsuit between Doña Marina and her daughter-in-law's widower in 1564.[111] While we do not know the precise extent of her wealth, it is safe to assume she did not want for economic stability.

Women like Doña Marina Montesdoca and Leonor de la Peña were exceptions in the rustic, male-dominated world of Spanish colonials in Michoacán in the 1520s and 1530s. The relative absence of Spanish women is sociologically important, however, for explaining the peculiar political culture of Michoacán. The region developed a culture based almost entirely on male perceptions of status, honor, and public power. Even in cultures like Spain or North Africa in the early modern period, which placed a heavy premium on public honor and shame, male honor was always contrasted to assumed ideals of feminine passivity and purity,

and women were seen as being responsible for the domestic softening of male brutishness.[112] That so few Spanish women were present in the earliest stages of Michoacán's imperial settlement simply added one more layer of public violence.

AN EMERGENT BUT FRAGILE STRUCTURE

When Mendoza assumed office as viceroy in 1535, he attempted to impose political order on both central Mexico and Michoacán—regions that had seen rather little of it. Neither Tzintzuntzan nor Pátzcuaro had a resident corregidor, to say nothing of an alcalde, in this period. Then, in 1536, Mendoza began to assign a handful of corregidores to towns in Michoacán. In many cases, the newly installed corregidores were also encomenderos, and it is not clear how much time these new functionaries spent in Michoacán.

It appears that for his first magisterial appointments Mendoza privileged areas perceived to be peripheral, of strategic importance, or located in densely populated encomienda regions. In the tierra caliente basin, Asuchitlan (or Ajuchitlán) probably had a corregidor as early as 1533. Though the region included valuable encomiendas, for the most part royal magistrates ignored them in the 1530s.[113] In a sign of the perceived importance of the region, Mendoza assigned a lawyer, the *licenciado* (or licentiate, recipient of a university degree conferring a license to practice law, medicine, or theology and the right to teach the subject in a university) Juan Altamirano, Cortés's mayordomo and estate governor, as the corregidor of Asuchitlan in September 1536, renewing the appointment in 1537. Altamirano received an outlandishly high annual salary of 300 pesos for his position—much higher than other corregidores in the same decade. Indeed, when the viceroy assigned Francisco Moreno to be Asuchitlan's corregidor in December 1537, the salary was reduced to 120 pesos.[114] In a harbinger of royal governance to come in Michoacán, Altamirano was also a wealthy encomendero, holding Metepec, Tepemaxalco, and Calimaya.[115]

Mendoza assigned several encomenderos as corregidores in Michoacán. Luis de Ávila became corregidor of Yuriria (Yuriripúndaro, Urirapúndaro) in September 1536. Ávila, who served as a page in Cortés's siege of Tenochtitlan, was one of Michoacán's earliest Spanish citizens; he had received Xuxupango in encomienda but the grant was never confirmed.[116] Given the town's location at the northern reaches of the province of Michoacán, Yuriria was important to Mendoza. In November 1537, the viceroy assigned not only a corregidor, Juan de Sandoval, but also a *teniente* (substitute or lieutenant), Antonio de Castro, to Yuriria. Both men had their terms renewed in December 1538.[117]

Other *corregimientos* (areas overseen by corregidores) may have paid less but were of strategic importance. The pueblos of Tamazula, Tuxpan, and Zapotlan,

subjects of bitter dispute between Cortés and the First Audiencia, appear to have had numerous corregidores who received lavish salaries. Subject to Colima's alcalde, the corregidor Andrés Ortiz was assigned in March 1536 at an annual salary of 320 pesos. Manuel Guzmán was appointed corregidor in 1537 and again in 1539 at the same salary. Presumably, the charge was to bring some form of royal stability to a region of dense indigenous population, a task entailing perennial violent attempts to control tribute labor. Neighboring Amula also had a teniente, Diego Allo, who was assigned in December 1536 at the much-reduced salary of 120 pesos annually.[118]

We cannot know how much time these earliest magistrates spent in their assigned regions. In some cases, the corregidor may have lived relatively close—Luis de Ávila, for example, became a citizen of the city of Michoacán, although whether in Pátzcuaro or Valladolid it is not clear. Other magistrates may have simply conducted judicial inspections of their assigned regions only to return to Mexico City. In the aftermath of the Guzmán invasion and the caltzontzin's assassination, the new viceroy hoped to stabilize the region. But the apparatus of royal law was far too thinly spread to be effective on a large scale, and the encomenderos by then had amassed too much control of everyday land tenure politics to provide much entrée to this handful of magistrates.

A MISSION SETTLEMENT

The uniquely male culture of Spanish imperial aspiration in Michoacán continued in its evangelization efforts. For example, the early missionary efforts by Augustinians, in particular, were construed in cultural terms associated with crusading and chivalrous knights. Martín de Valencia, the founder of the Franciscan mission in Mexico, was promoted as possessing singularly virile moral qualities.[119] Diego de Basalenque and other chroniclers emphasized the martial courage of early Augustinian missionaries to the tierra caliente.[120] Despite the establishment of friaries in Michoacán by the Augustinians and Franciscans, no nunneries were founded there during the sixteenth century, unlike in Mexico City and Puebla.

In the aftermath of the Guzmán expedition, a new phase of missionary activity began that reflected this ethos of chivalry and conquest. Christianization solidified the interests of two corporations: the Franciscan and Augustinian orders. The execution of the caltzontzin paved the way for the entrance of more Spaniards. During the next eight years, from 1530 to 1537, there was a rise—though far from meteoric—of a more organized Christianization project in Michoacán. But this Christianization continued along its corporatist lines, far from metropolitan oversight (whether by Mexico City or Madrid). Even the friar-missionaries were conflicted about the early results. De la Rea tells us that it was not until the arrival of

the Franciscan Jacobo Daciano, probably in 1545, that indigenous peoples first received the Eucharist.[121] Friar Juan de San Miguel traveled to Uruapan, probably sometime between 1533 and 1535, to form a monastery there, though the dates are uncertain.[122]

The Franciscan mission emphasized a kind of primitivism—baptism accompanied by destruction of idolatry. Curicaueri, the principal Purépecha deity, was represented as a kind of massive obsidian stone idol. Purépecha elites and priests led elaborate pilgrimages to the site of the deity in Zacapu. Franciscan missionaries viewed the Purépecha religion as clearly pagan and vaguely satanic with its worship of a stone god, which they found horrifying. The friars eagerly sought out the religious iconography of the Purépecha in order to destroy it.

Yet Franciscans viewed the social and clerical hierarchy of the Purépecha as signs of political sophistication.[123] De la Rea, for example, associated Zacapu with Rome in his description of Purépecha veneration of Curicaueri. On the one hand, De la Rea noted that the Purépecha sacrificed people to their deity, extracting a beating heart from each sacrificial victim. On the other, in describing the social order of the annual pilgrimage from the Purépecha capital in Tzintzuntzan to the site of Curicaueri in Zacapu, he called the capital the "metropolis of Michoacán and womb of its greatness, as Rome in all the world."[124] An elaborate procession accompanied the caltzontzin in this annual rite, in which the caltzontzin kissed the hand of the high priest and offered obeisance to the Purépecha god.

Franciscans praised the cultural circumspection and subtlety of the Purépecha. According to De la Rea, one of the most admirable and notable things about the Purépecha was their "liveliness of spirit." Moreover,

> In everything one admires their readiness of wit and . . . their egalitarianism. . . . [T]hus as much in their politics as well as their ancient religion they were so circumspect that they lacked nothing in comparison with how Saturn, Lysanias, Radamanthus, or the lawmaker Lycurgus established laws, that as much in rectitude as in observance that they are judged to be the most severe in the compliance of laws concerning government, republics and temples, which today is repeated in the west [in Michoacán].[125]
>
> Circumspection is so native to the Tarascans that one sees it daily in the vividness of their words and in the subtlety of their actions and business. They are preeminent in all trades, especially in sculpture in which they are considered to be the most famous in New Spain.[126]

Here the creation of an idyllic imagination expanded far beyond mere topography and encompassed what missionary chroniclers imagined as the sociocultural purity of Michoacán.

If the Franciscans emphasized the religious naïveté of the Purépecha, the first friars engaged in extirpation campaigns. Franciscan Pedro de las Garrovillas may have been the first friar to promote Purépecha conversion.[127] From Extremadura, he was considered the first Franciscan of the tierra caliente, though he probably had spent time in Tzintzuntzan to learn Purépecha—the sixteenth-century Franciscan chronicler Diego Muñoz tells us that Garrovillas was among the first Franciscans to learn the language.[128] Muñoz described Garrovillas as a pious and devout man who had no patience for trivial conversation. These earliest linguistic-catechetical activities remain vaguely understood, and the dates of Garrovillas's activity in Michoacán are unclear.[129] He traveled to Motines de Zacatula, where, Muñoz reported, idolatry was rife. Garrovillas was a kind of crusading warrior. According to Muñoz, the indigenous people "used horrendous and abominable sacrifices. . . . [I]t was a land of extreme heat and incredible harshness. . . . [I]n every town [Garrovillas] destroyed idolatry, often putting himself in mortal danger, planting the holy catholic faith in which the residents remain today, liberated from diabolic subjection. He burned more than 1,000 idols together and made those who adored them help him in burning them."[130] It is unclear which language he employed in the tierra caliente, though Nahuatl and Coacoman were dominant there.[131] Because there were so few priests with any skill in Purépecha, Garrovillas returned to Tzintzuntzan to instruct baptized Purépecha in the Catholic doctrine. We do not know when Garrovillas was active in Zacatula. Nor do we know when he returned to Tzintzuntzan, though the seventeenth-century chronicler Agustín de Vetancurt claims that the friar died there on 19 July 1530.[132]

Linguistic study was emblematic of Franciscan efforts in Mexico, but the extent of their early studies in Michoacán was limited. Although Garrovillas may very well have been part of the early nucleus of Franciscans in Tzintzuntzan in 1525–1530, others took up more expansive Purépecha study as part of a broader Christianization effort. Jerónimo de Alcalá, who was notable among the earliest Franciscan friars to study Purépecha, composed a Purépecha language doctrine around 1537. Zumárraga approved the doctrine in his capacity as bishop and it was published, but no copies are extant.[133] Alcalá's involvement in the production of the *Relación de Michoacán* established him as a key missionary Spanish-Purépecha cultural mediator.[134] It fell to later missionaries in Michoacán, such as Maturino Gilberti, to produce a fuller corpus of Purépecha-language pastoral material. It is symptomatic of the diffuse efforts in Michoacán that the first comprehensive works on doctrinal instruction and sacramental education for priests came not in the sixteenth but at the very end of the seventeenth century.[135]

The Franciscans' founding of Uruapan exemplifies their goal of restructuring indigenous society in the image of idealized communities through forced resettlement and spatial organization into grid-style towns. Originally Uruapan and Tzi-

rostro were included in a single encomienda granted to Francisco Villegas, a mine operator and a proponent of the introduction of pigs into Uruapan as livestock to be raised for food, as his workforce needed to be fed.[136] The region was home to the earliest social experiments in radical socio-spacial and ecological reconstruction, since the pigs were an invasive species. Some animals, especially sheep, wrought environmental havoc in New Spain, although some studies suggest that the introduction of European livestock impacted Mexico's environment less than previously assumed.[137]

Friar Juan de San Miguel viewed Uruapan as having the perfect climate but believed it was inhabited by savages in dire need of sociopolitical reeducation. Franciscan chroniclers idealized Friar Juan as a brave and fearless David in the face of a Goliath; in these accounts, he seems to be unfazed by danger or adversity, exemplifying the chivalric ideal of the spiritual conquistador:

> He went through mountains and canyons looking for souls to convert, and the barbarians, showing him claws as if to tear him apart, did not frighten him, but rather the virtue of his words turned them docile, and when he would return to his convent they would seek him out, bleating, following his footprints, to return as if to be reborn in his tender arms. There was no summit, grotto, or mountain in the entire province that he did not cross by foot, barefoot, fasting almost the entire time, without missing once the hours of the divine office, even though he was among lions and tigers whose rudeness would have challenged more ordinary disciples.[138]

The deconstruction of idolatry emphasized both the agility of friar-missionaries and the religious savagery of indigenous peoples, especially those outside the Purépecha core.

Friar Juan traveled extensively up and down the steep escarpments of the Uruapan region as early as 1532, becoming guardian of the *doctrina* (proto-parish for indigenous peoples) by 1536.[139] He told Quiroga during the Audiencia judge's 1533 inspection that the residents in and around Uruapan were little better than savage beasts: "They go about naked and flee priests in order to hide their idolatry and in their drunkenness serve the devil."[140] Having decided to apply a forcible resettlement (*congregación*) of the residents in order to establish good government, he used his authority as an agent of royal will—though he was only a friar—to order at least seven pueblos in the region to be reestablished in the new town of Uruapan.[141]

A crusading, masculine ethos thus formed a central part of missionary memory. In De la Rea's estimation, Friar Juan was the lawgiver that David requested in the Old Testament—to support the belief that it was up to the Spaniards to

make the indigenous peoples civilized, he invoked Psalm 20: "Appoint, O Lord, a lawgiver over them that the Gentiles will know themselves to be but men." This, he believed, was the best way to establish *policía* (good government). De la Rea argued that

> to deprive someone of their normal and natural tastes can only be done by force. And thus we see the impossibilities that this servant of God would face in trying to tear these Indians away from their natural place, from the delights that they had enjoyed with the ease of barbarism, without tightening their liberty, toward the law that impedes the power of appetite, and to make submit forcefully to the will of a head or ruler those who had never had one before. This is because for Chichimecs' nature this is the most repugnant thing in the world, because their life, being, and nature is to go about like vagabonds in the mountains, hunting beasts and clothing themselves in their skins.[142]

De la Rea echoed common beliefs among the Spanish about the incivility of the Chichimec peoples, contrasting them with the Purépecha, whom he viewed as having more pacific and devout qualities.

Friar Juan relocated thousands of indigenous people into towns with plazas surrounded by straight-line streets, comparing the locations to the Flemish countryside and the towns to the orderly cities of the ancient Romans.[143] The Purépecha and vaguely defined Chichimecs who were resettled probably did not view this process through the same rosy lens. The ideological seeds of the later, more widespread congregación project of 1598–1605 were already planted in the "fecund soil" of Uruapan.[144]

When the Augustinians arrived in Michoacán, they viewed the Franciscan project as woefully inadequate and set out on an ambitious project of wide-scale Christianization. Having arrived in Mexico in May 1533, they quickly established their earliest house in Mexico City and resolved to send missionaries "to go to Michoacán to set out nets and fish, since many of the nets set by the Franciscans were breached, and there were many more fish to be caught."[145] Whereas the Franciscans had sent only two or three friars to Michoacán in the years after 1525, the Augustinians determined to establish a college, in Tiripetío. It became a center of indigenous education and an important educational and catechetical center for western Mexico.[146] The Franciscans' rudimentary evangelization project in Michoacán focused on didactic, but not necessarily doctrinal or theological, instruction. The Augustinians, in contrast, while engaged in moral didacticism, dedicated themselves to educating the Purépecha nobles along with Augustinian friars. Alonso de la Veracruz and other friars adopted indigenous elites, such as Don Antonio Huitziméngari, as their tutors in Purépecha language.[147]

During the earliest years of the college in Tiripetío, then, Purépecha nobles and Spanish novice friars sat in the same classrooms for training in scripture, logic, and theology. The experience of Augustinians in the mountains southeast of Mexico steeled them for their ambitious project in Michoacán. The Augustinians fretted over the perceived idolatry of the Purépecha. But unlike the Franciscans, the Augustinian chronicler Matías de Escobar explained, the Augustinians arrived in Tiripetío with the experience of a previous encounter with un-Christianized Nahuas in central Mexico behind them.[148] In Escobar's version, when the friars Juan de San Román and Agustín de la Coruña had gone to Chilapa (southeast of Mexico, near the border of Puebla), unfriendly pagans surrounded them. Escobar even evoked a kind of knightly tradition of the type one could find in popular medieval novels, such as the *Amadís of Gaul*.[149] Thus the friars "encountered Circes and Medeas, even visible demons in the form of dragons," at every step of their journey. They were trapped in the mountains of Ocuituco (east of Cuernavaca) and, huddled on humble *petates* (woven mats), defending the souls of the soon-to-be-converted, blessed their first indigenous Catholic congregation.[150]

The Augustinians recalled their mission in apostolic terms. At the beginning in Tiripetío, there were only two friars—Juan de San Ramón and Diego de Chávez. The devil was no match for San Ramón, however, who had already faced down the devils of Ocuitulco. Upon their arrival, the two Augustinians had spent an extraordinary amount of time instructing the local residents in Catholic doctrine, though the content and extent of this instruction are unclear. It is also unknown whether San Ramón and Chávez studied Purépecha in Mexico City prior to their arrival in Michoacán. If not, perhaps they administered their doctrinal instruction in Nahuatl.

Despite the potential confusion that the language barrier may have caused, Escobar was effusive in explaining the success of the first Augustinians in Tiripetío in 1537. The friars presumably convinced the Purépecha to form monogamous marriages and abandon their veneration of Curicaueri. During Easter week of 1538, Escobar claimed, when some 30,000 indigenous residents confessed en masse before the two friars, they were so numerous as to appear like a swarm of "rational locusts."[151]

The most impressive aspect of the Augustinian missionary triumph was their presumed victory over idolatry. According to Escobar, San Román and Chávez were so persistent and patient in their doctrinal instruction that the Purépecha happily tossed their deities onto bonfires of extirpation. When the Augustinians expanded to Tacámbaro in 1538, again led by San Ramón and Chávez, they encountered more veneration of idols (Xarantaga and Curicaueri). So beloved was the peaceful yet firm evangelization of these friars that Escobar invoked a martial victory in telling the story: "Entire pueblos came dancing in their ancient tradi-

tion, filling the countryside with boughs and flowers in triumph, . . . whose happy jubilation made the death of idolatry apparent to all."[152] Once again, religious images went into the bonfire through the happy acquiescence of the Purépecha catechumens.

The founding of the Augustinian project in Michoacán was not all abstruse intellect; it also foreshadowed the abiding ties the missionaries developed with encomenderos. Diego de Chávez was the nephew of encomendero Don Juan de Alvarado. The very first Augustinian mission—linked by family wealth and encomendero land—could scarcely have been more corporatist. The Franciscans also eventually developed ties with encomenderos, though their connections were less explicitly familial. In either case, the Franciscans and Augustinians shared a common belief in the need for Christianization as well as a corporatist interpretation of Catholicism. Both orders claimed special privileges for the evangelization of Michoacán as derived from the Omnimoda. They viewed parish priests as unnecessary—the Christianization of the indigenous populations of Michoacán, and, indeed, of New Spain, was, in their view, best left to the friars.

REFLECTIONS

Paradise is relative, and the paradise for Spanish settlers in Michoacán came at the rather obvious hell of indigenous peoples. Several tendencies in the earliest colonial order in Michoacán are clear, some of which became more pronounced throughout the sixteenth century. The religious trend reflected coercion and corporatization. Christianization efforts were largely punitive, as seen most symbolically in the trial and execution of the caltzontzin Tzintzincha Tangaxoan. The extirpation and demolition of the physical artifacts of Purépecha religion were central to the missionary program. Yet extirpation campaigns were less prominent after the 1530s, when conversion efforts tended to become more parochial and patronizing, both in the sense of patron-client relationships and in terms of the friar-missionaries' treatment of indigenous peoples. There were no resident parish priests—it is possible that some encomenderos attempted to fulfill their Christianization duties by appointing curates to oversee their indigenous charges, but no evidence exists for this as a regular practice.[153] Only two or three itinerant Franciscan friars had been working in the region prior to 1537 when the Augustinian friars arrived. The friars of both orders hoped to turn the idyllic region into a Catholic paradise.

In the public political realm, power in New Spain was untethered from royal reach. The conquest of Michoacán from 1521 to 1538 took place without the oversight of a viceroy. In fact, most of this earliest conquest-period was removed from all oversight. By extension, the conquest itself (undertaken by Guzmán) was re-

markably privatized. Guzmán himself engineered a largely private armed force composed of Spanish shareholders in the endeavor and indigenous allies. Moreover, land and political authority at the local level were vested in private corporate interests in the form of encomiendas. In many cases, the local corregidor was also an encomendero, setting up a corporatized state. The sheer economic wealth of the encomenderos resulted in centralization of political power in personal, clan, and corporatist groups.

Finally, Spanish political culture in Michoacán in the 1520s and 1530s was exceptionally male-oriented. The inscribed record tells us of military and spiritual conquest in the manner of crusade and masculine virtue. It falls to a different study—a new kind of psycho history—to examine the so-called hidden transcripts of male-female interactions in Michoacán during the period.[154] Surely unspoken power dynamics characterized such encounters. Michoacán had its share of micropolitics, much of it concerning everyday gender relations.[155] Indigenous women, as we know, sometimes voluntarily entered relationships or marriages with Spanish men, while others were coerced; the Spanish women who accompanied Spanish male landowners also engaged in subtle forms of interactive power. But those moments remain largely hidden from historical recall.

This political culture of masculinity set the tone for a region of Spanish men performing public power by appealing solely to other men. In a Hispanic culture of honor and shame, such concentration of masculine public order laid the foundation for future interactions.[156] The overwhelmingly male presence among early Spanish colonials in Michoacán influenced the type of political culture it developed—in this case a culture of violence and demonstrative public power, which became ever more complex in the second half of the sixteenth century.

These early years set the stage for the ways in which Spanish residents of Michoacán expressed power for generations. Thus, in 1538, when agents of the Crown and Church began to try to assert oversight over the region, the result was rebellion, political violence, mockery, and satire.

NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS

ACCM	Archivo del Cabildo de la Catedral de Michoacán (Archive of the Cathedral Chapter of Michoacán), Morelia, Mexico
AGI	Archivo General de Indias (General Archive of the Indies), Seville, Spain
AGN	Archivo General de la Nación (Mexican General National Archive), Mexico City, Mexico
AHEC	Archivo Histórico del Estado de Colima (Historical Archive of the State of Colima), Colima, Mexico
AHMC	Archivo Histórico del Municipio de Colima (Municipal Historical Archive of Colima), Colima, Mexico
AHMP	Archivo Histórico Municipal de Pátzcuaro (Municipal Archive of Pátzcuaro), Pátzcuaro, Mexico
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional (National Historical Archive), Madrid, Spain
AVC	*Archivo de la Villa de Colima de la Nueva España: Siglo XVI*, ed. and trans. José Miguel Romero de Solís, 2 vols. (Colima, Mexico: Archivo Histórico del Municipio de Colima, 1998–2005)
De la Rea	Alonso de la Rea, *Chronica de la Orden de N. seraphico P.S. Francisco, prouincia de S. Pedro. y S. Pablo de Mechoacan en la Nueua España* (Mexico City: Por la viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1643)
Escobar	Matías de Escobar, *Americana Thebaida: Vitas patrum de los religiosos hermitaños de N.P. San Agustín de la provincia de S. Nicolás Tolentino de Mechoacán* (Mexico City: Imprenta Victoria, 1924 [1729])
exp.	expediente (file)
Gerhard	Peter Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain, 1519–1821*, rev. ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993)
Himmerich y Valencia	Robert Himmerich y Valencia, *The Encomenderos of New Spain, 1521–1555* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991)
Inq.	Inquisición (section of AGN)
leg.	legajo (section of an archival file)
Muñoz	Diego Muñoz, *Descripción de la provincia de San Pedro y San Pablo de Michoacán, en las Indias de la Nueva España*, intro. José Ramírez Flores (Guadalajara, Mexico: Instituto Jalisciense de Antropología e Historia, 1965 [c. 1585])
Quiroga v. OSA	"El obispo de Mechoacán: Vasco de Quiroga contra el provincial de la órden de San Agustín de Nueva España, fray Agustín de Coruña, sobre el asiento de dicha órden en la iglesia de Tlazazalca. AGI Justicia 163," versión paleográfica de Alberto Carrillo Cázares y Silvia Méndez Hernández, in Alberto Carrillo Cázares, *Vasco de Quiroga: La pasión por el derecho*, 2 vols. (Zamora, Mexico: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2003), 1:219–524, 2:525–721

RM	[Jerónimo de Alcalá], *La relación de Michoacán* (Barcelona: Editorial Linkgua, 2011 [c. 1541])
s/n	*sin número* (without number), for unnumbered file or folio references
UNAM	Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (National Autonomous University of Mexico)
Vida michoacana	Rodrigo Martínez Baracs and Lydia Espinosa Morales, eds., *La vida michoacana en el siglo XVI: Catálogo de los documentos del siglo XVI del Archivo Histórico de la Ciudad de Pátzcuaro* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1999)

INTRODUCTION

1. Alonso de la Rea, *Chronica de la Orden de N. seraphico P.S. Francisco, prouincia de S. Pedro. y S. Pablo de Mechoacan en la Nueua España* (Mexico City: Por la viuda de Bernardo Calderón, 1643) ("De la Rea" hereafter), 2. The original: "Las aguas, que riegan este Paraýso terrenal, y fertilizan su copia, son las mas abundantes, que goza el Reyno, tan dulces, y potables como las pide el desseo: y assí no ay Pueblo, Ciudad, o Villa que no tenga su Socorro en Fuentes, o Rios."

2. In Spanish, *meseta tarasca*.

3. See classic studies such as José Miranda, *La función económica del encomendero en los orígenes del régimen colonial de Nueva España (1521–1535)* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México [National Autonomous University of Mexico, UNAM hereafter], 1965); Leslie Byrd Simpson, *The Encomienda in New Spain: The Beginning of Spanish Mexico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950); Silvio Zavala, *La encomienda indiana* (Mexico City: Porrúa, 1973).

4. I will cite all these stories in due course.

5. The term derives from Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, *Regiones de refugio: El desarrollo de la comunidad y el proceso dominical en mestizo América* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1967). I discuss the analytical model below.

6. Anthony Pagden, *Spanish Imperialism and the Political Imagination: Studies in European and Spanish-American Social and Political Theory, 1513–1830* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 3.

7. William B. Taylor, "Between Global Process and Local Knowledge: An Inquiry into Early Latin American Social History, 1500–1900," in Olivier Zunz, ed., *Reliving the Past: The Worlds of Social History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 145.

8. For a short listing, see J. H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492–1830* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007); Jack P. Green and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Henry Kamen, *Empire: How Spain Became a World Power, 1492–1763* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2004).

9. The literature is too extensive to cover here. For overviews, see James Lockhart, *Nahuas and Spaniards: Postconquest Central Mexican History and Philology* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press; Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, University of California, Los Angeles, 1991), esp. 159–201, and Matthew Restall, "The History of the New Philology and the New Philology in History," *Latin American Research Review* 38 (2003): 113–134.

10. Here I am indebted to some of the "classics" of microhistory: Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983); Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. John and Anne Tedeschi (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); Luis González y González, *Pueblo en vilo:*

Microhistoria de San José de Gracia (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1968); Emanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error*, trans. Barbara Bray (New York: Vintage, 1979), as well as the more recent Craig Harline, *Miracles at the Jesus Oak: Histories of the Supernatural in Reformation Europe* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011). For a brilliant reconstruction of an infamous event (the Albigensian Crusade) using a microhistorical approach, see Mark Gregory Pegg, *A Most Holy War: The Albigensian Crusade and the Battle for Christendom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). Also see the genre's historiographic elaboration: Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero, eds., *Microhistory and the Lost Peoples of Europe* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991).

11. Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoyevsky's Poetics*, ed. and trans. Caryl Emerson, intro. Wayne C. Booth (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984).

12. Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Hélène Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984). I make no claim about the relative merit of Bakhtin's theories of the carnivalesque, interpreting carnival as a time of cultural liberation, inverting the oppressive order of things. Natalie Zemon Davis offered an influential counterargument, suggesting that carnival reiterated cultural hierarchies by putting them on display, albeit in mockery, in "The Reasons of Misrule: Youth Groups and Charivaris in Sixteenth-Century France," *Past & Present* 50 (1971): 41–75.

13. Archivo General de la Nación (Mexican General National Archive), Mexico City (AGN hereafter), Inquisición ("Inq." hereafter), vol. 228, expediente (file; "exp." hereafter) s/n (without number), fols. 157–159.

14. AGN, Inq., vol. 5, exp. 17, fol. 326: "Santa Catalina era cornuda puta y Santa Magdalena era buxarrona." The English translation is a little tricky. Generally, the masculine form *cornudo* (cuckold) is common; using the feminine of the word, *cornuda*, presents a complicated linguistic question. Did López mean to say that Saint Catherine was an adulteress or that she was the object of a philandering husband? Sebastián de Covarrubias, in *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1611), 240–241, offers a tellingly lengthy discussion of the term *cornudo*, and at no point does he mention a concept of a cornuda. No succinct single word in English really captures the meaning, so I have opted for "adulterous whore" for the phrase. Likewise, *buxarrona* is unusual, since the masculine, *bujarrón* (roughly equivalent to a negative use of the word "queer") was more common. Covarrubius, *Tesoro*, 157, identifies "buxarrón, vale tanto como horadado, quasi bucorón." That is to say, a buxarrón was the bottom in anal sex and, as such in early modern Spanish culture, an object of scorn for having taken the "female" role in sexual penetration. Again, "buxarrona" has no specific English equivalent, so the pejorative word for a lesbian, "dyke," seems like an appropriate translation, given the intensely negative emotion expressed in the modern word. Curiously enough, *buga* and *bugarrón* in modern parlance refer to hyper-macho men who have sex with other men but are socially identified as heterosexual and limit themselves to the active role.

15. AGN, Inq., vol. 281, exp. s/n, fol. 28 [528]: "El cardenal protector estaua amancebado con el guardián de Nápoles, diffinidor de la prounicia romana, y era la putana, y por su respecto le auían hecho guardián y diffinidor." True, *puttana* in Italian technically means "whore," but like *puto*/*puta* in Spanish, it can take on more generic terms that do not always specifically translate as "whore"/"prostitute" in English. It is not entirely clear whether the speaker meant to say that the entire situation was whorish, but it seems likely that he was implying that the cardinal gave the position to the friar because he was good-looking and that he was the cardinal's lover.

16. AGN, Inq., vol. 18, exp. 1, fol. 4: "En la calle del padre Francisco de la Çerda junta a la puerta este testigo le dixo que abía parado bien y entonces el dicho Alonso Gómez dixo que abía corrido en México en un caballo desbocado y que le abía hecho parar como un serafín y a este testigo le

dixo como paraban los serafines y el dicho Alonso Gómez dixo que era así una manera de dezir y que no le oyó dezir otras palabras malsonantes."

17. AGN, Inq., vol. 17, exp. 4, fol. 109: "De axí muy colorado que tenía color de sangre de Cristo," and fol. 114: "Caldo que venía colorado de chile o especias como sangre del justo."

18. AGN, Inq., vol. 10, exp. 8, fol. 306: "Pedro de Áviles les abía dicho y respondido que fuesen al rrío que por allí pasaba e trajesen cantidad de çauzes y los quemasen y que dellos hiziesen çeniça que el se la pondría."

19. The classic study remains Simpson, *Encomienda in New Spain*.

20. 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).

21. For discussion of the functions and evolution of the Audiencia, see Pilar Arregui Zamorano, *La Audiencia de México según los visitadores, siglos XVI y XVII* (Mexico City: UNAM, 1981); Ismael Sánchez Bella, "Las audiencias y el gobierno de las Indias (siglos XVI–XVII)," *Revista de Estudios Histórico-Jurídicos* 2 (1977): 159–186.

22. France V. Scholes and Eleanor B. Adams, eds., *Proceso contra Tzintzicha Tangaxoan, el caltzontzin formado por Nuño de Guzmán año de 1530* (Mexico City: Porrúa, 1952).

23. Pedro Torres, "La 'bula omnimoda' de Adriano VI (9 Mayo 1522) y su aplicación durante el primer siglo de las misiones de Indias," *Missionalia Hispánica* 3 (1946): 7–52.

24. De la Rea, 29–33; Matías de Escobar, *Americana Thebaida: Vitas patrum de los religiosos hermitaños de N.P. San Agustín de la provincia de S. Nicolás Tolentino de Mechoacán* (Mexico City: Imprenta Victoria, 1924 [1729]) ("Escobar" hereafter), 71–73.

25. Robert Ricard coined the term, which retains considerable explanatory power. See *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico: An Essay on the Apostolate and the Evangelizing Methods of the Mendicant Orders in New Spain, 1523–1572*, trans. Leslie Byrd Simpson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982 [1933]).

26. I discuss his assaults, referenced in contemporaneous correspondence, in Chapter 2 (see AGN, Inq., vol. 43, exp. 7, and vol. 226, exp. s/n, fols. 64–66), and in a lengthy lawsuit between Quiroga, in "El obispo de Mechoacán: Vasco de Quiroga contra el provincial de la órden de San Agustín de Nueva España, fray Agustín de Coruña, sobre el asiento de dicha órden en la iglesia de Tlazazalca. AGI Justicia 163," paleographic version by Alberto Carrillo Cázares and Silvia Méndez Hernández, in Alberto Carrillo Cázares, ed., *Vasco de Quiroga: La pasión por el derecho*, 2 vols. (Zamora, Mexico: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2003), 1:219–524, 2:525–721 ("*Quiroga v. OSA*" hereafter).

27. The literature is vast. The classic model of the Inquisition as an omniscient, malevolent force was elaborated over a century ago. See Henry Charles Lea, *History of the Inquisition in Spain*, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1906–1907). The Chilean bibliographer and book historian José Toribio Medina offered similarly negative, if slightly less anti-Catholic, conclusions in *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la inquisición de Lima (1569–1820)* (Santiago: Imprenta Gutenberg, 1887), and *Historia del tribunal del Santo oficio de la inquisición en México* (Santiago: Imprenta Elzeviriana, 1905). Modern studies, which have tended to see a less effective form of repression, include Richard Greenleaf, *The Mexican Inquisition in the Sixteenth Century* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1969); Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision*, 4th rev. ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014); William Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy: The Spanish Inquisition from the Basque Lands to Sicily* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); and Stuart B. Schwartz, *All Can Be Saved: Religious Tolerance and Salvation in the Iberian Atlantic World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009). One can also look to the extensive literature of the social history of the Inquisition developed among French, Spanish, and Latin

American historians of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s as indicative of a shift away from the Black Legend. For noted examples of this literature, see Solange Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México, 1571–1700* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1988); Ángel Alcalá, ed., *Inquisición española y mentalidad inquisitorial* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1984); Jean-Pierre Dedieu, *L'Administration de la foi: L'Inquisition de Tolède (XVIe–XVIIIe siècle)* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1989); Laura de Mello e Souza, *O diabo e a Terra de Santa Cruz: Feitiçaria e religiosidade popular no Brasil colonial* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1986); René Millar Carvacho, *Inquisición y sociedad en el virreinato peruano: Estudios sobre el tribunal de la Inquisición de Lima* (Lima: Instituto Riva-Agüero, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú; Santiago: Instituto de Historia, Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile, 1998); Joaquín Pérez Villanueva, ed., *La Inquisición española: Nueva visión, nuevos horizontes* (Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno de España, 1980); Joaquín Pérez Villanueva and Bartolomé Escandell Bonet, eds., *Historia de la Inquisición en España y América*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, Centro de Estudios Inquisitoriales, 1984–[2000]); Ronaldo Vainfas, *Trópico dos pecados: Moral, sexualidade e inquisição no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Campus, 1989). For a more recent reprisal of both the historiographic debates as well as a comprehensive treatment of contemporaneous debates about the Spanish Inquisition, see Stefania Pastore, *Il vangelo e la spada: L'inquisizione di Castiglia e i suoi critici (1460–1598)* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2003).

28. Irene Silverblatt, *Modern Inquisitions: Peru and the Colonial Origins of the Civilized World* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), claims that the Inquisition was a harbinger of twentieth-century totalitarianism. In *Escravidão, homossexalidade e demonologia* (São Paulo: Icone, 1988), and *O sexo proibido: Virgens, gays e escravos nas garras da Inquisição* (Campinus, Brazil: Papirus Editora, 1988), Luiz Mott draws a direct line from the Portuguese Inquisition to modern homophobia and the murder of gay men. Christine Caldwell Ames, in *Righteous Persecution: Inquisition, Dominicans, and Christianity in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), makes a compelling argument that the Inquisition was born of a mentality of persecution within the Dominican order. Similarly, and while not explicitly treating the Inquisition, Franco Mormando's spellbinding study *The Preacher's Demons: Bernardino of Siena and the Social Underworld of Early Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999) shows how sociological factors could undergird a socially repressive cultural message.

29. AGN, Inq., vol. 11, exp. 4, fol. 304: "Mierda para la notificación y para la de escomunión y para quien me lo notificare."

30. His will of the 1570s indicates considerable wealth. See Archivo del Cabildo de la Catedral de Michoacán (Archive of the Cathedral Chapter of Michoacán)(ACCM hereafter), Ramo Colegio de San Nicolás, legajo ("leg." hereafter) 4, exp. 20.

31. See Alejandro Cañeque, *The King's Living Image: The Culture and Politics of Viceregal Power in Colonial Mexico* (New York: Routledge, 2004), and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, *Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico, 1750–1856* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012).

32. Claudia Paulina Machuca Chávez, "Cabildo, negociación y vino de cocos: El caso de la villa de Colima en el siglo XVII," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 66 (2009): 173–192.

33. AGN, Inq., vol. 182, exps. 3, 6.

34. Archivo Histórico Nacional (National Historical Archive), Madrid (AHN hereafter), Consejo de Inquisición, 1728, exp. 8. The term squash (*calabaza*) also implied superciliousness and pretension. See Covarrubias, *Tesoro*, 171.

35. John Lynch, *Argentine Dictator: Juan Manuel de Rosas, 1829–1852* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981); and Domingo F. Sarmiento, *Facundo: Civilización y barbarie*, ed. Roberto Yahni (Madrid: Cátedra, 1990 [1845]).

36. AGN, Tierras, vol. 3702, exp. 5, and Inq., vol. 316, exp. s/n, fols. 594–599.

37. Archivo General de Indias (General Archives of the Indies), Seville (AGI hereafter), México 28n26.

38. AGN, Inq., vol. 510, exp. 22.

39. Ibid., vol. 316, exp. s/n, fols. 594–599.

40. Ibid., vol. 340, exp. 5, and vol. 346, exp. 11.

41. For a short listing, see J. H. Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989); Henry Kamen, *Philip of Spain* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997); Geoffrey Parker, *The Grand Strategy of Philip II* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998). For a classic study of court grandees, see Francisco Tomás y Valiente, *Los validos en la monarquía española del siglo XVII (estudio institucional)* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1963).

42. Standard discussions include John Edwards, *The Spain of the Catholic Monarchs, 1474–1520* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2001); J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469–1716* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1964); Benjamín González Alonso, *Sobre el estado y la administración de la Corona de Castilla en el Antiguo Régimen: Las comunidades de Castilla y otros estudios* (Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno de España, 1981); John Lynch, *Spain, 1516–1698: From Nation State to World Empire* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1994), and *Spain Under the Hapsburgs* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1964).

43. José Luis Bermejo Cabrero, *Poder político y administración de justicia en la España de los Austrias* (Madrid: Ministerio de Justicia, Secretaría General Técnica, 2000); John B. Owens, *"By My Absolute Royal Authority": Justice and the Castilian Commonwealth at the Beginning of the First Global Age* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2005).

44. Aurelio Espinosa, *The Empire of the Cities: Emperor Charles V, the Comunero Revolt, and the Transformation of the Spanish System* (Leiden: Brill, 2009); Joseph Pérez, *Comuneros* (Madrid: Esfera de los Libros, 2001). On the relationship between law and state in early modern Spain, see Franciso Tomás y Valiente, *Gobierno e instituciones en la España del antiguo régimen* (Madrid: Alianza 1982). An homage to Tomás y Valiente followed up on the debate about the relationship between rule and consent in early modern Spain: Francisco Javier Guillamón Álvarez and José Javier Ruiz Ibáñez, eds., *Lo conflictivo y lo consensual en Castilla: Sociedad y poder político, 1521–1715. Homenaje a Francisco Tomás y Valiente* (Murcia, Spain: Universidad de Murcia, 2001).

45. For a classic of high-level viceregal politics, see Jorge Ignacio Rubio Mañé, *Introducción al estudio de los virreyes de Nueva España, 1535–1746* (Mexico City: Ediciones Selectas, 1955). Perhaps the best study of Viceroy Mendoza's politics is Ethelia Ruiz Medrano, *Gobierno y sociedad en Nueva España: Segunda Audiencia y Antonio de Mendoza* (Zamora, Mexico: El Colegio de Michoacán, Gobierno del Estado de Michoacán, 1991).

46. An excellent study of the political culture of letrados is Stafford Poole, *Juan de Ovando: Governing the Spanish Empire in the Reign of Phillip II* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004).

47. On the colonial state in general, see Mario Góngora, *El estado en el derecho indiano: Época de fundación (1492–1570)* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1951); Clarence H. Haring, *Spanish Empire in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947); José María Ots Capdequí, *El estado español de las Indias* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1941). Also see Lorenzo Santayana Bustillo, prologue by Francisco Tomás y Valiente, *Gobierno político de los pueblos de España, y el corregidor, alcalde y juez en ellos* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios de Administración Local, 1979).

48. For a good discussion of this cultural flexibility, see António Manuel Hespanha, *La gracia del derecho: Economía de la cultura en la edad moderna* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Constitucionales, 1993).

49. See Simpson, *Encomienda in New Spain*. A complex and deeply researched study of land and society in colonial Guerrero is Jonathan D. Amith, *The Möbius Strip: A Spatial History of Colonial Society in Guerrero, Mexico* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005).

50. For an overview of the conflict, see Margarita Menegus, Francisco Morales, and Oscar Mazín, *La secularización de las doctrinas de indios en la Nueva España: La pugna entre las dos Iglesias* (Mexico City: UNAM, Instituto de Investigaciones sobre la Universidad y la Educación, 2010).

51. See Pedro de Leturia, *Relaciones entre la Santa Sede e Hispanoamérica*, 3 vols. (Caracas, Venezuela: Sociedad Bolivariana de Venezuela, 1959–1960); Jesús María López Andrés, *Real patronato eclesiástico y estado moderno: La Iglesia de Almería en época de los Reyes Católicos* (Almería, Spain: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1995); John F. Schwaller, *The Church and Clergy in Sixteenth Century Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987).

52. For recent discussion of the phenomenon, see Ashley D. Ellington, "The Council of the Indies and Religion in the Spanish New World" (MA thesis, Georgia Southern University, 2014).

53. For excellent overviews of the legal history of the Spanish Inquisition, see José Antonio Escudero, ed., *Perfiles jurídicos de la inquisición española* (Madrid: Instituto de Historia de la Inquisición, 1989). For an excellent microhistory of the earliest years of the Spanish Inquisition in the 1480s, see Gretchen D. Starr-Lebeau, *In the Shadow of the Virgin: Inquisitors, Friars, and Conversos in Guadalupe, Spain* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002).

54. The standard-bearer English-language studies are Richard Greenleaf, *Mexican Inquisition in the Sixteenth Century*, and *Zumárraga and the Mexican Inquisition, 1536–1543* (Washington, DC: American Academy of Franciscan History, 1961). For more recent studies, see John F. Chuchiak IV, ed. and trans., *The Inquisition in New Spain, 1536–1820: A Documentary History* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012); David Tavárez, *The Invisible War: Indigenous Devotions, Discipline, and Dissent in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011). Among Mexican scholars, see Alberro, *Inquisición y sociedad en México*, and Noemí Quezada, Martha Eugenia Rodríguez, and Marcela Suárez, eds., *Inquisición novohispana*, 2 vols. (Mexico City: UNAM, 2000). For discussion of the installment of an inquisitor general in Mexico, see Stafford Poole, *Pedro Moya de Contreras: Catholic Reform and Royal Power in New Spain, 1571–1591* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

55. Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms*, 61.

56. For a defense of the importance of human biography in understanding inquisitors and, thus, the Inquisition, see Laurent Albaret, ed., *Les Inquisiteurs: Portraits de défenseurs de la foi en Languedoc (XIIIe–XIVe siècles)* (Toulouse, France: Editions Privat, 2001), and Karen Sullivan, *The Inner Lives of Medieval Inquisitors* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

57. The phrase comes from James E. Wadsworth, *Agents of Orthodoxy: Honor, Status, and the Inquisition in Colonial Pernambuco, Brazil* (Boulder: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006). An excellent study of the intersection of local interest and inquisitional agents is Maria Sofia Messana, *Inquisitori, negromanti e streghe nella Sicilia moderna, 1500–1782* (Palermo, Italy: Sellerio, 2007). For other excellent studies of "agents of orthodoxy," see Bruno Feitler, *Nas malhas da consciência: Igreja e inquisição no Brasil* (São Paulo: Alameda, 2007), and Kimberly Lynn, *Court and Confessional: The Politics of Spanish Inquisitors* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

58. In this vein I am indebted to Paul J. Vanderwood's final book, *Satan's Playground: Mobsters and Movie Stars at America's Greatest Gaming Resort* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), which helped me think about how to evoke the mood of a place in a particular moment in history.

59. For a superb study of the ways that local magistrates interpreted law in colonial Latin America, often without access to printed law codes, see Víctor Tau Anzoátegui, *La ley en América hispana: Del descubrimiento a la emancipación* (Buenos Aires: Academia Nacional de la Historia,

1992). Inquisitional interviews of passengers entering Mexico in Veracruz also provide a detailed portrait of the books entering Mexico. The numbers are only representative because inspections are not extant for every year. But in the 1580s, eight such inspections, with 130 witness statements, reveal at least 48 editions of Hours, by far the most popular kind of book of the sixteenth century. These same inspections reveal only one copy each of: civil law, canon law, works of Bartolus, the *Siete Partidas*, the *Recopilación*, Justinian's Institutes, the *Leyes de Toro*, and a work of jurist Covarrubius. For ship inspections, see AGN, Inq., vol. 43, exp. 12; vol. 169, exp. 2; vol. 170, exps. 3, 4; vol. 171, exps. 1, 1a, 1b. These figures are consistent with the secondary literature, which shows that, while books of chivalry (such as *Amadís* and *Primaleón*), adventure tales and epic poetry (*Orlando Furioso*, for instance), devotional works (for example, by Luis de Granada), and, in the seventeenth century, *Don Quijote*, were extremely popular, law books generally only belonged to high-level jurists, inquisitors, and bishops. See Teodoro Hampe Martínez, *Bibliotecas privadas en el mundo colonial: La difusión de libros e ideas en el virreinato del Perú, siglos XVI–XVII* (Frankfurt: Vervuert; Madrid: Iberoamericana, 1996); Irving A. Leonard, *Books of the Brave: Being an Account of Books and of Men in the Spanish Conquest and Settlement of the Sixteenth-Century World* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1949); Pedro Rueda Ramírez, *Negocio e intercambio cultural: El comercio de libros con América en la carrera de Indias (siglo XVII)* (Seville, Spain: Universidad de Sevilla, 2005).

60. Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519–1810* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1964); Irving A. Leonard, *Baroque Times in Old Mexico: Seventeenth-Century Persons, Places and Practices* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1959); Leslie Byrd Simpson, *Many Mexicos* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1946).

61. For more recent but by no means exhaustive examples of the literatures on negotiated empires and the ethno-political complexities of empire, see Mark Christensen, *Nahua and Maya Catholicisms: Texts and Religion in Colonial Central Mexico and Yucatan* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013); Susan M. Deeds, *Defiance and Deference in Mexico's Colonial North: Indians Under Spanish Rule in Nueva Vizcaya* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003); Raphael Brewster Folsom, *The Yaquis and the Empire: Violence, Spanish Imperial Power, and Native Resilience in Colonial Mexico* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014); Laura E. Matthew, *Memories of Conquest: Becoming Mexicano in Colonial Guatemala* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014); Gabriela Ramos and Yanna Yannakakis, eds., *Indigenous Intellectuals: Knowledge, Power, and Colonial Culture in Mexico and the Andes* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014); Ethelia Ruiz Medrano and Susan Kellogg, eds., *Negotiation Within Domination: New Spain's Indian Pueblos Confront the Spanish State* (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2010).

62. Inspired by Inga Clendinnen's masterful study of the conflicts of early Christianization in the Yucatán, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517–1570* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). For a riff on the term while analyzing conversion processes, see Rick Warner, "'Ambivalent Conversions' in Nayarit: Shifting Views of Idolatry," *Journal of Early Modern History* 6 (2002): 168–184.

63. A model of the approach is Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Carnival in Romans*, trans. Mark Feeny (New York: G. Braziller, 1979).

64. This approach proved to be crucial in the second half of the sixteenth century. See Philip Wayne Powell, *Soldiers, Indians and Silver: The Northward Advance of New Spain, 1550–1600* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952).

65. Peter Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain, 1519–1821*, rev. ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993) ("Gerhard" hereafter), 349.

66. One can compare the studies of viceroys, such as Rubio Mañé, *Introducción al estudio de los*

virreyes, with studies of ordinary colonials, such as Clare Anderson, *Subaltern Lives: Biographies of Colonialism in the Indian Ocean World, 1790–1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

67. The classic of this model, the New Philology, is James Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992).

68. This is not a book about the fashionable kind of subalterns, as described in works such as Rosalind C. Morris, *Can the Subaltern Speak? Reflections on the History of an Idea* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography," in Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravotry Spivak, eds., with a foreword by Edward Said, *Selected Subaltern Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 3–34.

69. See Matthew Restall, "The New Conquest History," *History Compass* 10 (2012): 151–160. Also see Florine G. L. Asselbergs, *Conquered Conquistadors: The Lienzo de Quauhquechollan. A Nahua Vision of the Conquest of Guatemala* (Leiden: CNWS, 2004; Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2008); *Defending the Conquest: Bernardo de Vargas Machuca's Defense and Discourse of the Western Conquests*, ed. Kris Lane, trans. Timothy F. Johnson (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010); Laura E. Matthew and Michel R. Oudijk, eds., *Indian Conquistadors: Indigenous Allies in the Conquest of Mesoamerica* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012); Matthew D. Restall, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Susan Schroeder, ed., *The Conquest All Over Again: Nahuas and Zapotecs Thinking, Writing, and Painting Spanish Colonialism* (Portland, OR: Sussex Academic Press, 2010); Stuart B. Schwartz, ed., *Victors and Vanquished: Spanish and Nahua Views of the Conquest of Mexico* (New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000); Stephanie Wood, *Transcending Conquest: Nahua Views of Spanish Colonial Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012).

70. For an overview, see Restall, *Seven Myths*.

71. See Camilla Townsend, *Malintzin's Choices: An Indian Woman in the Conquest of Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006). Emblematic of this emphasis on fluidity are Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); William F. Connell, *After Moctezuma: Indigenous Politics and Self-Government in Mexico City, 1524–1730* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011); Dana Velasco Murillo, *Urban Indians in a Silver City: Zacatecas, Mexico, 1546–1810* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2016); Yanna Yannakakis, *The Art of Being In-between: Native Intermediaries, Indian Identity and Local Rule in Colonial Oaxaca* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).

72. Rebecca Earle's study of food and colonial Latin America, *The Conquistador's Body: Food, Race and the Colonial Experience in Spanish America, 1492–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), is an excellent study of "everyday" colonialism.

73. Aguirre Beltrán, *Regiones de refugio*. James Scott applied the model to Southeast Asia in the modern era in his study *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009).

74. An example of this assumption of the Inquisition as oppressor par excellence is Silverblatt, *Modern Inquisitions*.

75. James Krippner, *Rereading the Conquest: Power, Politics, and the History of Early Colonial Michoacán, Mexico, 1521–1565* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001); Bernardino Verástique, *Michoacán and Eden: Vasco de Quiroga and the Evangelization of Western Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000).

76. Julián Juderías coined the term "Black Legend" in his study titled *La leyenda negra y la verdad histórica: Contribución al estudio del concepto de España en Europa, de las causas de este*

concepto y de la tolerancia política y religiosa en los países civilizados (Madrid: Tip. de la Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1914); for a comprehensive overview of the history of the idea of generalized Spanish villainry, see Ricardo García Cárcel, *La leyenda negra: Historia y opinión* (Madrid: Alianza, 1998).

CHAPTER 1

1. The story is so well known that it forms a central place in Juan O'Gorman's mural in the Pátzcuaro public library. Begun in 1941, the same year in which Bernal Jiménez's opera *Tata Vasco* premiered in Pátzcuaro, the mural depicts Quiroga, who is contrasted with the sadistic Nuño de Guzmán, as a gentle father figure. For discussion, see Hilary Masters, *Shadows on a Wall: Juan O'Gorman and the Mural in Patzcuaro* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005).

2. Donald Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán and the Province of Pánuco in New Spain, 1518–1533* (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1967), offers a less one-sided view of the slaver. "One reader assessed my book as having improved the image of Nuño de Guzmán from that of an ogre to a scoundrel" (personal correspondence with Donald Chipman, 24 July 2017).

3. Leslie Byrd Simpson, *Many Mexicos*, 4th ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 38. David J. Weber, in *Myth and the History of the Hispanic Southwest: Essays* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 12, described Guzmán as a "rapacious thug."

4. The mythology was incorporated into the collective mainstream assumptions of historiography by Edmundo O'Gorman, *Santo Tomás More y "La Utopía de Tomás Moro en la Nueva España"* (Mexico City: Alcancia, 1937). One of Mexico's greatest social historians, Silvio Zavala, lionized Quiroga as a Renaissance visionary in *Ideario de Vasco de Quiroga* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1941). One can also find an expression of this rose-tinted legend in Ross Dealy, *The Politics of an Erasmian Lawyer: Vasco de Quiroga* (Malibu, CA: Undena Publications, 1976); Francisco Miranda Godínez, *Vasco de Quiroga, varón universal* (Mexico City: Editorial Jus, 2007); and Bernardino Verástique, *Michoacán and Eden: Vasco de Quiroga and the Evangelization of Western Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000). For relatively neutral treatments, see José Aparecido Gomes Moreira, "Don Vasco de Quiroga: Pensamiento indígena y jurídico-teológico" (Tesis de Maestría, Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia [Mexico], 1989). Further studies include Benjamin Jarnés, *Don Vasco de Quiroga, obispo de utopía* (Mexico City: Ediciones Atlántida, 1942); Carlos Pellicer, *Don Vasco de Quiroga y los hospitales pueblos* (Mexico City: Ediciones Monroy Padilla, 1968); Manuel Ponce, ed., *Don Vasco de Quiroga y arzobispado de Morelia* (Mexico City: Editorial Jus, 1965); Felipe Tena Ramírez, *Vasco de Quiroga y sus pueblos de Santa Fe en los siglos XVIII y XIX* (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1977).

5. Gerhard, 346.

6. See Ida Altman, *The War for Mexico's West: Indians and Spaniards in New Galicia, 1524–1550* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010).

7. For excellent analysis of the period's politics, especially relating to land policy, see Ethelia Ruiz Medrano, *Gobierno y sociedad en Nueva España: Segunda Audiencia y Antonio de Mendoza* (Zamora, Mexico: El Colegio de Michoacán, Gobierno del Estado de Michoacán, 1991).

8. Gerhard, 346. The various Spanish words *alcalde*, *corregidor*, and *teniente* pose dilemmas for translations. To some extent they all mean "magistrate," as they were judges of first instance at the local level. Although they exercised judicial authority, however, they also formed part of the local town council, or *cabildo*, if they were assigned to a town (*villa*) that had such an organization. I have used the Spanish terms and the general English equivalent (magistrate) interchangeably throughout the book.

9. Rodrigo Martínez Baracs and Lydia Espinosa Morales, eds., *La vida michoacana en el siglo XVI: Catálogo de los documentos del siglo XVI del Archivo Histórico de la Ciudad de Pátzcuaro* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1999) ("*Vida michoacana*" hereafter), 234–235.

10. Judicial activity in Michoacán between 1522 and 1542 involved lawsuits over encomiendas and visitas as well as trials against indigenous peoples for idolatry, as in the notorious execution of the caltzontzin in 1530. The earliest extant case of a royal authority undertaking a regular judicial proceeding comes from November 1542, when the corregidor prosecuted two Spanish men for usurping land belonging to the indigenous cacique of Zacapu. See *Vida michoacana*, 29.

11. Reproduced in Jesús García Gutiérrez, ed., *Bulario de la Iglesia mejicana: Documentos relativos a erecciones, desmembraciones, etc., de Diócesis mejicanas* (Mexico City: Editorial "Buena Prensa," 1951), 35–36. For a good discussion of the bull's ecclesiology, see Pedro Torres, "La 'bula omnimoda' de Adriano VI (9 Mayo 1522) y su aplicación durante el primer siglo de las misiones de Indias," *Missionalia Hispánica* 3 (1946): 7–52.

12. Marcia Castro Leal, *Tzintzuntzan: Capital de los tarascos* (Morelia, Mexico: Gobierno del Estado de Michoacán, 1986).

13. There is extensive discussion of the cultural geography of the region. See Ulysis Beltrán, "Tarascan State and Society in Prehispanic Times: An Ethnohistoric Inquiry" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1982); Donald D. Brand, "Bosquejo histórico de la geografía y la antropología en la región tarasca," *Anales del Museo de Michoacán* (Morelia, Mexico: [Imp. y Lit. del Gobierno en la Escuela de Artes], 1952), and "An Historical Sketch of Geography and Anthropology in the Tarascan Region: Part I," *New Mexico Anthropologist* 6–7 (1943): 37–108; Shirley Gorenstein and Helen Pollard, *Tarascan Civilization: A Late Prehispanic Cultural System* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 1983); Alfredo López Austin, *Tarascos y mexicas* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1981); Pedro Márquez Joaquín, ed., *¿Tarascos o Purépecha? Voces sobre antiguas y nuevas discusiones en torno al gentilicio michoacano* (Morelia, Mexico: Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo, 2007); Lucio Mendieta y Núñez, *Los tarascos: Monografía histórica, etnográfica y económica* (Mexico City: UNAM, 1940); Helen P. Pollard, "Ecological Variations and Economic Exchange in the Tarascan State," *American Ethnologist* 9 (1982): 250–268; Dan Stanislawski, "Tarascan Political Geography," *American Anthropologist* 49 (1947): 46–55.

14. The 1532–1533 report to the Audiencia on the region noted the dominance of Otomí in the region of Matalzingo (on the Michoacán-Mexico border). See Pedro Carrasco, *Los Otomíes: Cultura e historia preshispánicas de los pueblos mesoamericanos de habla otomiana* (Mexico City: UNAM, 1950); Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las islas y en tierra-firme de el mar océano*, prologue by J. Natalicio González, 10 vols. (Asunción, Paraguay: Editorial Guaranía, 1944– [c. 1601–1615]), década 4a, lib. 9, cap. V.

15. The Colima group was also called Xilotlanzincas. See discussions of the Tarascan Federation and its attempts at expansion in the west in Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, *Problemas de la población indígena de la Cuenca de Tepalcatepec* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1952); Carl O. Sauer, *Colima of New Spain in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948). For discussions of the Tarascan expansion toward the east and the uneasy détente with the Mexica in the Maravatío and Tuzantla regions, see Mary Ann Hedberg, "Conflicts and Continuities: Chapters in the History of Tuzantla, a Town in Colonial Mexico," 2 vols. (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 1994). Also see Shirley Gorenstein and Helen Pollard's excellent study of Mexica-Purépecha border towns, *Acámbaro: Frontier Settlement on the Tarascan-Aztec Border* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 1985).

16. The region may have spoken proto-Nahuatl (Xilotlanzinca) prior to the 1520s. See Donald

Brand, *Coastal Study of Southwest Mexico* (Austin: Department of Geography, University of Texas, 1957–1958); Gerhard, 78–80.

17. The region represented the westernmost reach of Nahuatl use in Mesoamerica. The original location of Tuxpan is where the Spanish villa of Colima was established; indigenous residents were forcibly moved to higher regions near Tuxpan. See Sauer, *Colima*.

18. De la Rea, 5.

19. Escobar, 5–15.

20. Ibid., 27–28; De la Rea, 16–17; [Jerónimo de Alcalá], *La relación de Michoacán* (Barcelona: Editorial Linkgua, 2011 [c. 1541]) (RM hereafter), 43, 89–90.

21. Escobar, 30: "Ceremonioso el tarasco, y por consiguiente cuidadoso mucho en el culto y reverencia; y así hoy en la ley nuestra que profesan, es muy reverente y serio; que sus iglesias son las más bien servidas y adornadas de este Occidente, cuya relación reservo para adelante."

22. Pablo de la Purísima Concepción Beaumont, *Crónica de Michoacán* (Mexico City: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1932).

23. 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), 29.

24. RM, 179.

25. See J. Benedict Warren, "Fray Jerónimo de Alcalá: Author of the *Relación de Michoacán*?," *The Americas* 27 (1971): 307–326. Rodrigo Martínez Baracs, in *Convivencia y utopía: El gobierno indio y español de la "ciudad de Mechuacan," 1521–1580* (Mexico City: INAH; Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2005), 297n1, argues that the question mark in Warren's study should be eliminated, given the discovery in Carlos Paredes Martínez, ed., *Lengua y etnohistoria purépecha: Homenaje a Benedict Warren* (Morelia, Mexico: Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo, 1997), of incontrovertible evidence that Alcalá was the primary "author" of the chronicle. For good discussions of the relationships between indigenous peoples and Spaniards in the construction of hybrid texts, see three works by Mark Christensen—"The Tales of Two Cultures: Ecclesiastical Texts and Nahua and Maya Catholicisms," *The Americas* 66 (2010): 353–377; *Translated Christianities: Nahuatl and Maya Religious Texts* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014); and "The Use of Nahuatl in Evangelization and the Ministry of Sebastian," *Ethnohistory* 59 (2012): 691–711—and also Gabriela Ramos and Yanna Yannakakis, eds., *Indigenous Intellectuals: Knowledge, Power, and Colonial Culture in Mexico and the Andes* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014); David Tavárez, "Nahua Intellectuals, Franciscan Scholars and the *Devotio Moderna* in Colonial Mexico," *The Americas* 70 (2013): 203–235.

26. See Rafael Heliodoro Valle, *Cristóbal de Olid, conquistador de México y Honduras* (Tegucigalpa, Honduras: Secretaría de Cultura, Artes y Deporte, 1997).

27. Gil González Dávila, *Teatro eclesiástico de la primitiva iglesia de las Indias occidentales, vidas de svs arzobispos, obispos, y cosas memorables de svs sedes* (Madrid: D. Díaz de la Carrera, 1649), 107.

28. RM, 181. On the term *nahuatlato*, see Ascención Hernández de León-Portilla, "*Nahuatlahto*: Vida e historia de un nahuatlismo," *Estudios de Cultura Nahuatl* 41 (2010): 193–215.

29. RM, 180.

30. The auxiliaries were Nahua or Totonac. See Warren, *Conquest of Michoacán*, 296n7, citing Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, ed. Alfredo Chavero, 2 vols. (Mexico City: Oficina tip. de la Secretaría de Fomento, 1891–1892), 1:383. Alva Ixtlilxochitl claims that when Cortés partitioned his indigenous allied forces for the conquest of Tenochtitlan, the brother of the first Ixtlilxochtil (Fernando's grandfather), Tetlahuehuezquititzin, provided 50,000 men from Tziuhcohuac to Olid's contingent, and that Olid's Spanish contingent consisted of 33 men on horseback

and 180 foot-soldiers. Alva Ixtlilxochitl describes them as "people . . . from northern provinces subject to the kingdom of Tezcuco." See Amber Brian, Bradley Benton, and Pablo García Loaeza, eds. and trans., *The Native Conquistador: Alva Ixtlilxochitl's Account of the Conquest of New Spain* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015), 37. Also see Gerhard, 228.

31. Ricardo León Alanís, *Los orígenes del clero y la iglesia en Michoacán, 1525–1640* (Morelia, Mexico: Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1997), 153, and Warren, *Conquest of Michoacán*, 82. Both discuss the presence of these men.

32. RM, 182: "Esta gente todos deben ser médicos, con nuestros médicos que miran en el agua lo que ha de ser."

33. RM, 177, 186.

34. RM, 182–186.

35. Martínez Baracs, *Convivencia y utopía*, 123–126; Warren, *Conquest of Michoacán*, 51–52.

36. RM, 185.

37. RM, 193.

38. Juan de Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Nicolás Rodríguez, 1723), 3:332.

39. Warren, *Conquest of Michoacán*, 84.

40. De la Rea, 29; Diego Muñoz, *Descripción de la provincia de San Pedro y San Pablo de Michoacán, en las Indias de la Nueva España*, intro. José Ramírez Flores (Guadalajara, Mexico: Instituto Jalisciense de Antropología e Historia, 1965 [c. 1585]) ("Muñoz" hereafter), 36.

41. De la Rea, 34–36; Muñoz, 36–37.

42. Though not limited to Michoacán, a good overview of the phenomenon in Mexico is Joaquín García Icazbalceta, "La destrucción de antigüedades," in *Obras*, vol. 2 of 10 (Mexico City: Imprenta V. Agüeros, 1896).

43. De la Rea, 33.

44. See Angélica Jimena Afanador-Pujols, *The* Relación de Michoacán *(1539–1541) and the Politics of Representation in Colonial Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015), and Cynthia L. Stone, *In Place of Gods and Kings: Authorship and Identity in the* Relación de Michoacán (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004).

45. RM, 194.

46. De la Rea, 36: "De assentar el fin del Euangelio, y cortó el lazo de la carne y nudos de los casamientos: con que tuuo lugar para assentar los preceptos de nuestra ley, é introducer la verdadera adoración, y reprobar la professión de su falsa secta: derribando, y destruyendo todos los Templos de Tzintzuntzan, à vista de toda la Ciudad. Con que tuuo lugar de coger todos los Ídolos de oro, y plata, y otras piedras preciosas, y hazerlas pedaços: y haziendo dellos vn gran montón, los arrojó en la laguna con el desprecio ygual á su falsedad; con que cayeron en la cuenta de todos los concurrentes, pues veían á sus Dioses sepultados en la laguna. Otros juntó en medio de la plaça, y los quemó, para que las cenizas arrebatadas del viento, les diessen en los ojos, y los sacasse de su ceguedad, y aduirtiessen el engaño passado, y la verdad presente."

47. Muñoz said that among those who assisted in this early mission were the friars Ángel de la Salzeda, Juan Badía, Miguel de Bolonia, Juan de Padilla, and one whom Muñoz identified simply as "Fray Gerónimo," and whom he said was the first Franciscan to learn Purépecha—probably Jerónimo de Alcalá. See Muñoz, 36. Francisco Gonzaga, *De origine Seraphicae Religionis Franciscane* (Rome: Ex typographia Dominici Basae, 1587), and Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana*, 3:332, repeat Muñoz's list verbatim. Another friar was Diego de Santa María, whom friar Antonio de Ortiz identified in a 1532 deposition as a resident friar and interpreter of Purépecha. See Warren, *Conquest of Michoacán*, 86–87.

48. RM, 194.

49. Peggy K. Liss, *Mexico Under Spain, 1521–1556: Society and the Origins of Nationality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), 52.

50. Juan de Ortega's 1528 visita also identified Ortiz as a resident at the time. See Warren, *Conquest of Michoacán*, 86.

51. The incident is well known. See Joaquín García Icazbalceta, *Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga: Primer Obispo y arzobispo de México*, 2 vols. (Mexico City: Antigua Librería de Andrade y Morales, 1881), 2:66–67.

52. Ibid., 2:63, quoting from Zumárraga's response to the judicial complaint of the Audiencia judge (Delgadillo) in the Consejo de Indias: "No contento Delgadillo con infamar constantemente en esta corte al obispo y religiosos de México. . . . Suplico, constando lo que digo, que le castigue como calumnioso infamador. . . . Sus vicios, sus exorbitancias, los malos tratamientos a los naturales dispertaron mi celo para amonestarle."

53. León Alanís, *Orígenes*, 61–62.

54. Ibid., 85–86.

55. Ibid., 85. The visita report is found in lawsuits spread throughout the AGN's Hospital de Jesús section and in the Justicia section of the Archivo General de Indias (General Archives of the Indies), Seville, Spain (AGI hereafter). J. Benedict Warren transcribed and published the four descriptions in the Spanish edition of his classic work *La conquista de Michoacán, 1521–1530* (Morelia, Mexico: Fímax, 1977), 386–408.

56. Warren, *Conquest of Michoacán*, 73–80, and Warren, *Conquista de Michoacán*, 386–408.

57. Warren, *Conquista de Michoacán*, 386–408.

58. Aguirre Beltrán, *Cuenca de Tepalcatepec*, 76.

59. AGN, Mercedes, vol. 4, exp. s/n, fol. 169v [170v]. The viceroy's figures are difficult to interpret, as they were estimates made in order to determine the macehual labor requirements for the indigenous governor (Huitziméngari) and did not specify gender or age. Aguirre Beltrán, *Cuenca de Tepalcatepec*, 81–82, estimated the entire population of the meseta tarasca at 16,800 in 1565 and 23,488 in 1520.

60. "Suma de visitas," in Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, ed., *Papeles de Nueva España: Segunda serie, Geografía y estadística*, 9 vols. (Madrid: Estab. Tip. "Sucesores de Rivadeneyra," 1905–1919), 1:220–221.

61. AGN, Mercedes, vol. 4, exp. s/n, fol. 170v [171v]; "Suma de visitas," *Papeles de Nueva España*, 1:253.

62. Aguirre Beltrán, *Cuenca de Tepalcatepec*, 53; Warren, *Conquest of Michoacán*, 51.

63. Lawsuits between the Audiencia and Cortés can be found in AGN, Hospital de Jesús, leg. 265, exp. 9; leg. 276, exp. 86; and "Juicio seguido por Hernán Cortés contra los licenciados Matienzo y Delgadillo," *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación* 9 (1938): 339–407. Parts of the residencia report concerning Cortés from 1528 are in AGI, Justicia, 220–225.

64. Warren, *Conquest of Michoacán*, 260–285.

65. Ibid., 86, 260. Warren notes that the original of the Ortega visita is no longer extant, although copies exist in AGI, Justicia, 130, and in the Archivo Histórico del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Col. Gómez de Orozco, ms. 171.

66. De la Rea, 29; Muñoz, 36. In *Monarquía Indiana*, 3:332, Torquemada says there were far too few friars in all of New Spain between 1525 and 1528 for more than two or three of them to accompany Martín de Jesús in Michoacán at any given time.

67. Alberto Carrillo Cázares, *Vasco de Quiroga: La pasión por el derecho. El pleito con la Orden*

de San Agustín (1558–1562), 2 vols. (Zamora, Mexico: El Colegio de Michoacán; Morelia, Mexico: Arquidiócesis de Morelia, Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 2003), 1:39. Gerardo Sánchez Díaz, in *La costa de Michoacán: Economía y sociedad en el siglo XVI* (Morelia, Mexico: Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo, 2001), 45–46, and León Alanís, in *Orígenes*, 154, estimated that Martínez began as parish priest of Zacatula in 1525.

68. There is no direct evidence, but Francisco Martínez is referenced in an inquisitional trial as parish priest of Zacatula. See AGN, Inq., vol. 2, exp. 2. In *Conquest of Michoacán*, 82, Warren claims that Martínez was parish priest of Zacatula "as early as November 3, 1525, and as late as 1529." León Alanís, in *Orígenes*, 154, claims there were parish priests in Colima and Zacatula as early as 1525 and that they were Michoacán's first secular parish priests.

69. Carrillo Cázares, *La pasión por el derecho*, 1:39.

70. Warren, *Conquest of Michoacán*, 281.

71. "Suma de visitas," *Papeles de Nueva España*, 1:220, lists Tuxpan as having 986 married men (the number of wives is not listed), 626 widows and widowers, and 1,093 children over the age of eight. One can assume there were hundreds of uncounted children below the age of eight. These numbers indicate a population of somewhere around 4,000, suggesting an adult mortality rate as high as 15 percent, though we cannot know how many of those 626 widowed adults had spouses who died of non-epidemic-related causes.

72. Warren, *Conquest of Michoacán*, 279.

73. "Suma de visitas," *Papeles de Nueva España*, 1:254.

74. AGN, Mercedes, vol. 4, exp. s/n, fol. 169v [170v].

75. The provenance of the *cédulas*, the rightfulness of the grant, and the legality of the First Audiencia, operating as an arm of the queen with secret instructions to despoil Cortés of encomiendas, are all a subject of controversy and complexity, covered by Robert Himmerich y Valencia, *The Encomenderos of New Spain, 1521–1555* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991) ("Himmerich y Valencia" hereafter), 177; Martínez Baracs, *Convivencia y utopía*, 143–146; Warren, *Conquest of Michoacán*, 165–171.

76. Warren, *Conquest of Michoacán*, 171.

77. For good overviews, see John K. Chance, "The *Caciques* of Tecali: Class and Ethnic Identity in Late Colonial Mexico," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 76 (1996): 475–502; Stephen M. Perkins, "*Macehuales* and the Corporate Solution: Colonial Secessions in Nahua Central Mexico," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 21 (2005): 277–306. For specific analysis of Michoacán's indigenous elites, see Delfina López Sarrelangue, *La nobleza indígena de Pátzcuaro en la época virreinal* (Mexico City: UNAM, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1965); María Teresa Martínez Peñalosa, "Noble purépecha, intérprete en el Juzgado de Indios," in *Uandani, Mensaje Cultural Michoacano* (Morelia, Mexico: Imp. Elite, 1982); Carlos Salvador Paredes Martínez, "La nobleza tarasca: Poder político y conflictos en el Michoacán colonial," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 65 (2008): 101–117.

78. Guzmán claimed that he traveled with four hundred Spanish horsemen and foot-soldiers, though he conveniently ignored the indigenous allied force. See Ida Altman, "Conquest, Coercion, and Collaboration: Indian Allies and the Campaigns in Nueva Galicia," in Laura E. Matthew and Michel R. Oudijk, eds., *Indian Conquistadors: Indigenous Allies in the Conquest of Mesoamerica* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012), 7; Warren, *Conquest of Michoacán*, 213–214, 319n8.

79. RM, 201.

80. RM, 203–204.

81. France V. Scholes and Eleanor B. Adams, eds., *Proceso contra Tzintzicha Tangaxoan, el caltzonztin formado por Nuño de Guzmán año de 1530* (Mexico City: Porrúa, 1952).

82. Ibid.; RM, 201–203. The trial against the caltzontzin is notorious enough, though the claim that it was judicially unusual is false. Numerous other Spanish courts in the sixteenth century engaged in judicial torture, pronounced the death penalty, or settled imperial expansion with legal tactics. See Francisco Tomás y Valiente, *La tortura judicial en España* (Madrid: Crítica, 2000).

83. This is how it is remembered in the RM, 202: "Muestra los pellejos de los cristianos que tienes; si no los haces traer aquí, aquí te tenemos que matar."

84. *Proceso contra el caltzontzin*, 65. The trial transcript simply states that Guzmán, as judge, ordered Don Pedro to bring the skins before him under pain of death: "Hizo parecer ante sí al dicho Pedro Pança, al cual le preguntó y apercibió que la diga la verdad que adónde tiene los dichos pellejos de cristianos . . . y que él [don Pedro] enviará luego por ellos y vendrá de aquí mañana. . . . Y luego su señoría le mandó que traiga en el dicho término los dichos pellejos de cristianos ante su señoría so pena de muerte."

85. *Proceso contra el caltzontzin*, 66. The sentence is vague, as it simply states that the caltzontzin was guilty of the charges against him—obfuscation of tribute resources and precious metals, idolatry, murder, and sodomy. By the standards of the day, the hastiness of the guilty sentence stands out for its brevity, as ordinarily a royal judge was required to elaborate guilt on each charge. The charge of sodomy was not proven in the case; most witnesses claimed they knew nothing of it.

86. *Proceso contra el caltzontzin*; RM, 203.

87. *Proceso contra el caltzontzin*, 35. The extent to which the Purépecha engaged in sex between men is beyond the scope of this analysis. For a discussion of the caltzontzin's trial as it concerns homosexuality, see Zeb Tortorici, *Sins Against Nature: Sex, Colonialism, and Archives in New Spain (1530–1821)* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018), chap. 2. Sex between men among the Purépecha was rumored to be common. As late as 1605, extensive networks of Purépecha men who had sex with men (in and around Tzintzuntzan) were widespread. See Zeb Tortorici, "'Heran todos putos': Sodomitical Subcultures and Disordered Desire in Early Colonial Mexico," *Ethnohistory* 54 (2007): 35–67. In 1576, a man named Juan del Vado was imprisoned in the Pátzcuaro jail on charges of sodomy. We do not know his ethnicity, though the name suggests he was Spanish. See *Vida michoacana*, 119.

88. Evidence for homosexuality in pre-Hispanic Mesoamerica is complicated by the lack of a category like the Spanish label of "sodomy." See Pete Sigal, *The Flower and the Scorpion: Sexuality and Ritual in Early Nahua Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012). For discussions of sex between men in Spain, see Rafael Carrasco, *Inquisición y represión sexual en Valencia: Historia de los sodomitas, 1565–1785* (Barcelona: Laertes, 1985); Francisco Núñez Roldán, *El pecado nefando del Obispo de Salamina: Un hombre sin concierto en la corte de Felipe II* (Seville, Spain: Universidad de Sevilla, 2002); Francisco Tomás y Valiente, "El crimen y el pecado contra natura," in *Sexo barroco y otras transgresiones premodernas* (Madrid: Alianza, 1990). For a discussion of homosexuality in colonial Mexico post-contact, see Serge Gruzinski, "Los cenizos del deseo," in Sergio Ortega, ed., *De la santidad a la perversión: O de por qué no se cumplía la ley de Diós en la sociedad novohispana* (Mexico City: Grijalbo, 1986); Tortorici, *Sins Against Nature*.

89. "Muñoz" appears in the documentation. See AGN, Inq., vol. 11, exp. 4, and AGN, Mercedes, vol. 2, exp. 567, fol. 230.

90. Gerhard, 160, 175, 312, 344; Himmerich y Valencia, 203–204.

91. Gerhard, 175–176, claims that this grant occurred between 1534 and 1537; Himmerich y Valencia, 204, says that the encomienda was granted "around 1536." AGN, Mercedes, vol. 2, exp.

567, fol. 230, notes that in 1543 he continued to hold Xiquipilco in encomienda. Guzmán stopped in an encomienda held by Muñoz in late December 1529 only three days after he left Mexico City. Xiquipilco may have already been assigned to Muñoz at this stage, since his other possessions had been despoiled by then and were, in any case, either in the wrong direction (Acolman, to the northeast of Mexico) or too far (Capula) to have been reached by Guzmán's large force in only three days.

92. *Proceso contra el caltzontzin*, 32–33.

93. Warren, *Conquest of Michoacán*, 215.

94. *Proceso contra el caltzontzin*, 26–36.

95. RM, 203.

96. Ibid., 202.

97. Ibid., 204.

98. Himmerich y Valencia, 192–193.

99. This is the only case where I offer freestyle adaptation of someone's thoughts without quoting directly from archival or chronicle sources. The adaptation owes methodological inspiration from studies on the history of emotions, including Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru, Anne Staples, and Valentina Torres Septién, eds., *Una historia de los usos del miedo* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 2009); Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru and Verónica Zárate Toscano, eds., *Gozos y sufrimientos en la historia de México* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 2007); Javier Villa-Flores and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, eds., *Emotions and Daily Life in Colonial Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2014).

100. For the inquisitional trial against Rangel in 1527 that was initiated by the friar Domingo de Betanzos, see AGN, Inq., vol. 1, exp. 10bis. Rangel was a frequent blasphemer. He was also accused of hating friars to the point of encouraging his indigenous subjects to shoot arrows at them when they arrived on Rangel's encomienda. For a discussion of the circumstances of the case, see Richard Greenleaf, *The Mexican Inquisition in the Sixteenth Century* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1969), 11–26, which shows that Betanzos prosecuted pro-Cortés conquistadors for blasphemy in what was surely a politically motivated Inquisition in 1527. My numeration of files in volume 1 differs from Greenleaf's.

101. Gerhard, 114; Himmerich y Valencia, 220.

102. AGN, Inq., vol. 1, exp. 10bis.

103. Motolinía made claims to inquisitional authority based on the broad privileges given the Franciscans in the Omnimoda. Mexico in the 1520s experienced a jurisdictional vacuum, because the Spanish Inquisition did not clearly delegate inquisitional authority to anyone, and there was no bishop until Zumárraga was appointed in December 1527. Canon law recognized the right of bishops to prosecute heresy in Lucius III's 1184 bull *Ad abolendam*, which was incorporated into the *Decretales Gregorii IX* in the 1230s. There are no extant inquisitional trials for Mexico prior to May 1527, but there are indications in AGN, Inq., vol. 1, exps. 1 and 2, that there was an inquisitional trial against Marcos de Acolhuacan in 1522. Martín de Valencia engaged in "Inquisition-like functions in 1524 in Tlaxcala, and in 1525 in Mexico City," according to Greenleaf, in *Mexican Inquisition*, 10. Civil authorities—for example, the alcalde Leonel de Cervantes—prosecuted blasphemy cases in 1524 and 1525, though the trials are not extant. For an overview of questions of competence and authority, see Miguel Ángel González de San Segundo, "Tensiones y conflictos de la Inquisición en Indias: La pre-Inquisición o Inquisición primitiva (1493–1569)," in José Antonio Escudero, ed., *Perfiles jurídicos de la Inquisición española* (Madrid: Instituto de Historia de la Inquisición, 1989), and José Toribio Medina, *La primitiva inquisición americana (1493–1569)* (Santiago: Imprenta Elziviriana, 1914).

104. Most of the conquistadors convicted of blasphemy in 1527 by Betanzos were fined much less. Juan Bello was fined 12 pesos (AGN, Inq., vol. 1, exp. 9). Gil González de Benavides was fined 3 pesos (AGN, Inq., vol. 1, exp. 10). The alcalde Cervantes held a criminal trial against Diego de Morales for blasphemy in 1525 or 1526; Morales was sentenced to pay a fine of 4,000 maravedíes, theoretically equivalent to about 15 pesos (AGN, Inq., vol. 1, exp. 8, fols. 29–30). The case file is not extant; only fragments of it remain in the inquisitional case file for blasphemy against Morales in 1528 (AGN, Inq., vol. 1, exp. 8). There is some confusion in general about the case, given what Greenleaf called the "nearly impossible" paleography of the existing file. Cervantes and his wife Doña Leonor testified in the 1528 trial; Cervantes stated that he remembered the sentence. For discussion of the various cases and sentences of conquistadors that Betanzos prosecuted in 1527, see Greenleaf, *Mexican Inquisition*, 11–26.

105. Rangel was a close partisan and friend of Cortés who testified on Rangel's behalf in the inquisitional trial. See AGN, Inq., vol. 1, exp. 10bis.

106. Cortés testified in the case that Rangel suffered from *bubas* (likely syphilis).

107. AGI, México, 242B, n. 44.

108. Gerhard, 345; Himmerich y Valencia, 159.

109. Gerhard, 268, 387; Himmerich y Valencia, 133–134.

110. Aguirre Beltrán, *Cuenca de Tepalcatepec*, 77–78.

111. Gerhard, 268.

112. A classic is Julian Pitt-Rivers, *The Fate of Shechem, or, the Politics of Sex: Essays in the Anthropology of the Mediterranean* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977). For an evaluation of honor and shame in colonial Latin America, see Lyman Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, eds., *The Faces of Honor: Sex, Shame, and Violence in Colonial Latin America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998).

113. Gerhard, 292.

114. Ruiz Medrano, *Gobierno y sociedad*, 352.

115. Himmerich y Valencia, 118.

116. Ibid., 124–125.

117. Ruiz Medrano, *Gobierno y sociedad*, 379.

118. Ibid., 356, 370–371.

119. For an excellent discussion of masculinity and friar-missionaries, see Asunción Lavrin, "Masculine and Feminine: The Construction of Gender Roles in the Regular Orders in Early Modern Mexico," *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 34 (2008): 3–26.

120. Diego de Basalenque, *Historia de la Provincia de San Nicolás de Tolentino de Michoacán, del Orden de N.P.S. Agustín*, intro José Bravo Ugarte (Mexico City: Editorial Jus, 1963).

121. De la Rea, 51–52; Muñoz, 41.

122. Neither De la Rea, 41–42, nor Muñoz, 43–45, gives a date for the founding of Uruapan. Aguirre Beltrán, in *Cuenca de Tepalcatepec*, 80, lists Friar Juan as *guardián* (overseer of a monastery) of Uruapan in 1536.

123. See discussions in De la Rea, 16–18, and RM, 43, 89–90.

124. De la Rea, 16: "Tzacapu, Metrópoli de Mechuacán, y Mátriz de su grandeza, como Roma en todo el mundo."

125. De la Rea, 14: "Viueza del ingenio del Tarasco . . . su ygualdad . . . y assí en su política, y religión Antigua, fue tan circunspecto, que no deuió nada al establecer sus leyes a Saturno, Lysianias, y Radamantho, ni al Legislador Licurgo: porque assí en la rectitud, como en la obseruancia, se preció de tan seuero, que reprehendía a los demás, con el cumplimiento, de sus leyes, con que su gouierno, Repúblicas, y Templos fueron los mas celebres, que repite oy este Occidente."

126. De la Rea, 15: "Porque en ellos tan nativa la circunspección, que entre todos los de esta tierra se conoce un tarasco; así en la viveza de las palabras, como en la sutileza y disposición de sus negocios. Son eminentes en todos los oficios, de tal manera que sus curiosidades han corrido a todo el mundo, con aplauso general; particularmente en la escultura son tan consumados, que confiesa la fama de ser la mejor de estas partes."

127. Muñoz, 43.

128. Muñoz, 42, says he was from the province of San Miguel, based in Plasencia, a dependent of the broader province of San Gabriel. Also see Sebastián García, "San Francisco de Asís y la Órden Franciscana en Extremadura," in *El culto a los santos cofradías, devoción, fiestas y arte* (San Lorenzo El Escorial [Madrid]: Ediciones Escurialenses; Real Centro Universitario Escorial-María Cristina, 2008), 768.

129. Torquemada describes Garrovillas as a Purépecha language expert in *Monarquía Indiana*, 3:334–335, and for "having removed the abominable sacrifices of the province of Çacatula . . . destroying in one day 1000 idols." The date is unclear. De la Rea, 55–57, cites and repeats Torquemada's story, which copies Muñoz's original recounting.

130. Muñoz, 42–43: "Pasó a estas partes, especial en los motines de Zacatula, donde usaban horrendos y abominables sacrificios, costa del mar del Sur, tierra en extremo calurosa y de increíble aspereza, a la cual iba el apostólico varón a pie, discurriendo de pueblo en pueblo y de sierra en sierra. Mostró Nuestro Señor la largueza de su divina mano para con él en el mucho fruto que hizo, porque de todo punto destruyó la idolatría, poniéndose muchas veces a peligro de perder la vida, y plantó la santa fe católica en la cual permanecen hoy día, libertados de la diabólica sujección. Acontecióle quemar más de mil ídolos juntos, y hacer que los mismos que los adoraban, los ayudasen a quemar."

131. José Eduardo Zárate Hernández, ed., *La tierra caliente de Michoacán* (Zamora, Mexico: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2001), 27, and Sánchez Díaz, *La costa de Michoacán*, 42.

132. Agustín de Vetancurt, *Menologio Franciscano de los varones mas señalados: Que con sus vidas exemplares, perfeccion religiosa, ciencia, predicacion evangelica, en su vida, y muerte ilustraron la Provincia de el Santo Evangelio de Mexico* (Mexico City: Doña María de Benavides, Viuda de Juan de Ribera, 1697), 75.

133. León Alanís, *Orígenes*, 92.

134. Martínez Baracs, *Convivencia y utopía*.

135. For example, see Juan Martínez Araujo, *Manual de los santos sacramentos en el idioma de Michuacan* (Mexico City: Doña María de Benavides, Viuda de Juan de Ribera, 1690); Ángel Serra, *Manual de administrar los santos sacramentos à los Españoles, y naturales de esta provincia de Michuacan* (Mexico City: Doña María de Benavides, Viuda de Juan de Ribera, 1697).

136. Aguirre Beltrán, *Cuenca de Tepalcatepec*, 80.

137. See Elinor G. K. Melville, *A Plague of Sheep: Environmental Consequences of the Conquest of Mexico* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), for the original interpretation; for a reevaluation, see Georgina H. Enfield and Sara L. O'Hara, "Degradation, Drought, and Dissent: An Environmental History of Colonial Michoacán, West Central Mexico," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 89 (1999): 402–419. For an excellent broad overview, see Alfred Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492*, foreword by Otto van Mering (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1973).

138. De la Rea, 38: "Cuando llevado de su espíritu trepaba los montes y se arrojaba a sus abismos buscando almas que convertir, donde los bárbaros, como fieras con cuartana, le mostraban las garras para despedazarle. Pero la virtud de sus palabras era tan activa, que las reducía y trocaba en cordilleros mansos; y al retirarse a su convento le salían a buscar balando por aquellas sierras

y siguiendo sus huellas, como de tierna madre, para volver a nacer entre sus tiernos brazos. No quedó cumbre, gruta o monte en toda esta provincia, que no discurrió a pie, descalzo y desnudo; ayunando casi todo el año, sin perder un punto las horas del oficio divino, aunque fuese entre tigres y leones, cuya descortesía tal vez corregía con las disciplinas ordinarias."

139. Aguirre Beltrán, *Cuenca de Tepalcatepec*, 80.

140. Quoted in ibid., 80: "Los naturales de la dicha provincia de Michoacán andaban desnudos, sus vergüenzas de fuera . . . huían de los religiosos . . . e se iban a los montes e no obstante esto se huían por sus costumbres de idolatrías, e a emborracharse, y hacer otras cosas muy en servicio del demonio e no de Dios Nuestro Señor."

141. Ibid., 80; De la Rea, 41–43.

142. De la Rea, 39: "Porque privar a uno de su gusto, nadie lo sabe sino el que se ve forzado. Y así veremos los imposibles que este siervo de Dios tendría para arrancar a estos indios de su natural asiento y de las delicias que gozaban con la latitud del barbarismo, sin ceñir su libertad a ley que impedía la facultad del apetito, y que forzosamente habían de sujetarse a una cabeza los que jamás superion tenerla. Cosa es ésta la más repugnante al natural del chichimeco que se ve en el mundo, porque su vida, ser y natural es andar vagueando por los montes, cazando fieras y vistiendo su ropaje."

143. Ibid., 41.

144. Ibid., 41, described Uruapan as particularly fecund. While the period 1598–1605 was the zenith of the congregación project in New Spain, there were earlier, experimental efforts: in 1557 in San Bartolomé Calpulhac (AGN, Tierras, vol. 2303, exp. 7); in 1579 in Huatlatlahuca (AGN, Tierras, vol. 2702, exp. 17); and in 1579 in Jilotepec (AGN, Tierras, vol. 2764, exp. 5). Also see Peter Gerhard, "Congregaciones de indios en la Nueva España antes de 1570," *Historia mexicana* 26 (1977): 347–395. For a classic case study from the peak period of the congregación project, see Hilda J. Aguirre Beltrán, *La congregación de Tlacotepec, 1604–1606: Pueblo de indios de Tepeaca, Puebla* (Mexico City: SEP Cultura, 1984). Also see Howard F. Cline, "Civil Congregations of the Indians of New Spain, 1598–1606," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 26 (1949): 349–369.

145. Escobar, 59–61, 72: "Era pesca de hombres y Michoacán en el nombre, quiere dezir Prouincia de pezes, y discurrieron y asertaron la gran pesca, que se les preuenía pues era tanta la multitud de pezes, que ya se les rompían las redes, a los Venerables Padres Franciscanos."

146. See Luis G[ómez] Canedo, *Educación de los marginados durante la época colonial: Escuelas y colegios para indios y mestizos en la Nueva España* (Mexico City: Porrúa, 1982).

147. For biographical overviews, see Mauricio Beuchot et al., *Fray Alonso de la Veracruz: Antología y facetas de su obra* (Morelia, Mexico: Gobierno del Estado de Michoacán; Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo, 1992); Arthur Ennis, *Fray Alonso de la Vera Cruz, O.S.A. (1507–1584): A Study of His Life and His Contributions to the Religious and Intellectual Affairs of Early Mexico* (Louvain, Belgium: E. Warny, 1957).

148. See, for example, Beaumont, *Crónica de Michoacán*. While clearly valuable as a source, Beaumont's telling, for my interpretation, is better considered a sort of secondary source, and one which says more about the eighteenth-century mentality than about sixteenth-century religious politics.

149. To this end, Lavrin's essay "Masculine and Feminine" is instructive.

150. Escobar, 62–64: "A cada paso encontraban Circes y Medeas, y muchas veces visibles demonios que en forma de dragones defendían las manzanas de oro de las almas."

151. Escobar, 87: "langostas racionales."

152. Escobar, 114: "Salieron los pueblos enteros con danzas y vailes a su Antigua usanza, po-

blando de ramas, flores, el campo de sus triunfos, cuyos alegres jubilos manifestaban ya evidentes la muerte de la idolatría."

153. Gerhard, 348, says that a curate was established in 1536 in the encomienda of San Nicolás Guango, but I have seen no mention of such curates elsewhere.

154. The term was notably used by James C. Scott in *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990).

155. For a compelling application of Scott's term, which shows that "gendered power is relayed via everyday transactions and relationships" in higher education, thus adversely affecting women, see Louise Morley, "Hidden Transcripts: The Micropolitics of Gender in Commonwealth Universities," *Women's Studies International Forum* 29 (2006): 543–551.

156. For a broad study of the phenomenon, see Scott K. Taylor, *Honor and Violence in Golden Age Spain* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008). Most of the scholarly literature on honor, violence, and shame revolves inexorably around questions of class-status and of gender, family, and sexuality. But there appears to be relatively little on the question of violence between men as expressions of competition for its own sake, bereft of these contexts of social class or family-gender. For an *abbreviated* listing of scholarship on Mediterranean sexual honor culture, see J. G. Peristiany and Julian Pitt-Rivers, eds., *Honor and Grace in Anthropology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); *El placer de pecar y el afán de normar*, Seminario de Historia de las Mentalidades (Mexico City: Joaquín Mortiz; Dirección de Estudios del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1988).

CHAPTER 2

1. The baby-snatching incident is recorded in AGN, Inq., vol. 226, exp. s/n, fol. 65r. The generally nefarious activities of Gordillo are detailed in *Quiroga v. OSA*. The Tlazazalca case is also discussed in Ricardo León Alanís, *Los orígenes del clero y la iglesia en Michoacán, 1525–1640* (Morelia, Mexico: Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1997), 220–224, and referenced by Gilberti in AGN, Inq., vol. 43, exp. 7.

2. For a good overview of the royal oversight of crimes against the indigenous peoples of Mexico, see Woodrow Borah, *Justice by Insurance: The General Indian Court of Colonial Mexico and the Legal Aides of the Half-Real* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

3. Eight decades have passed since the publication of Robert Ricard's classic study *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico: An Essay on the Apostolate and the Evangelizing Methods of the Mendicant Orders in New Spain, 1523–1572*, trans. Leslie Byrd Simpson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982 [1933]), which has provided a framework, whether consciously or unconsciously, for historians of mendicant missionaries in Mexico ever since. The study offered an elegantly simple thesis—friar-missionaries were a species of spiritual conquistador working to achieve a global Spanish Catholic empire in the Americas. Fittingly enough, Nobel-prize winning novelist J. M. G. LeClezio, a fan of Michoacán's Eden, adopted the framework for his doctoral thesis, published in Spanish as *La conquista divina de Michoacán* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1985). For a reconsideration of the phenomenon using different terminology, see James Muldoon, ed., *The Spiritual Conversion of the Americas* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004). Also, for debating the relative ongoing value of the concept, see Sarah Cline, "The Spiritual Conquest Reexamined: Baptism and Christian Marriage in Early Sixteenth-Century Mexico," in John F. Schwaller, ed., *The Church in Colonial Latin America* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2000). For an excellent study of the role of mendicant orders in urban civic development,