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Helen F. Pollard
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STRATEGIES OF SURVIVAL, ACCOMMODATION AND INNOVATION: THE TARASCAN INDIGENOUS ELITE IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY MICHOACAN

By

Maria de Lourdes Kuthy-Saenger

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ABSTRACT

STRATEGIES OF SURVIVAL, ACCOMMODATION AND INNOVATION: THE TARASCAN INDIGENOUS ELITE IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY MICHOACAN

By

Maria de Lourdes Kuthy-Saenger

Using archival materials the research examines strategies of survival and accommodation used by the Tarascan nobility as they became incorporated in the New Spanish colonial society. Such strategies were based on Tarascan culture, as well as on the adoption of Spanish cultural elements that were beneficial to the nobility.

The participation of the Tarascan elites in local politics, as well as in Spanish economic enterprises reinforced the dominant character of the nobility, while it also strengthened Spanish domination. The consumption of European goods tied the native elites to the larger economy and separated the nobility from the commoners. The control over resources reflected the nature of changing relations between different segments of the population. Consideration was given to the existence of competition for power, control of lands, labor, political offices, and forms of political support.

The ethnohistorical analysis of the Tarascan elite in Michoacán, suggests that the indigenous elites, especially the nobility that claimed descent from the former ucúsecha lineage, preserved some form of power after the Spanish conquest of the province. The manipulation of ethnicity, mestizisation and hispanization became assets rather than hindrances to the Tarascan elites who were able to manipulate these elements for their personal gain. This manipulation gave the nobility access to both the Spanish provincial sphere as well as the indigenous world. The Tarascan elites influenced the outcome of colonial domination and, in turn, were transformed by this domination.

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To my Parents

To my Brothers and Sisters

To the Friends who gave me their support

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ABREVIATIONS

A.G.I.	Archivo General de Indias, Biblioteca INAH
A.G.N.	Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City
AHAP	Archivo Histórico del ayuntamiento de Pátzcuaro
C.D.H.	Centro de Documentos Históricos, Biblioteca INAH
INAH	Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia
Kraus Col.	Kraus Collection, C.D.H., INAH
RI	Ramo de Indios
RM	Relación Michoacán
RG	Relaciones Geográficas del Siglo XVI, Michoacán
SM	Serie Michoacán, C.D.H., INAH

INTRODUCTION

The incorporation of New Spain as a Spanish colony in the sixteenth century changed the existing prehispanic societies as well as the elites that controlled them.

Following recent research on European-Indigenous relations in the process of colonial domination in the Valley of Mexico, Oaxaca, Yucatan, as well as in Peru[1], this dissertation focuses on the accommodation of the Tarascan native elites in the province of Michoacán. The research examines strategies of survival, innovation, and accommodation that the Tarascan elites created and used to become members of the new colonial elite. Such strategies were based on Mesoamerican and Tarascan cultural patterns and were influenced by Spanish culture. The indigenous elite's control over local politics, and their participation in Spanish economic enterprises reinforced the dominant character of the elite. The consumption of European goods tied the Tarascan elite to a larger economy. The Tarascan elite carved its own niche in the colonial provincial society and helped strengthen the character of Spanish domination.

It is also suggested that the Tarascan nobility's control over local politics and the local economy in the colonial context are manifestations of their survival and accommodation to the new colonial

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[1]For a discussion of accommodation practices among the Nahuas of the Valley of Mexico see Lockhart (1991), and Gruzinski (1989). For research centered in Culhuacán see Cline (1986). For a discussion on the Zapotecs of Oaxaca, see Whitecotton (1977), and Spores (1967, 1984) for colonial developments among the Mixtec. In addition, Stern's materials on Peru provide important information for comparisons between colonial developments in Peru and New Spain. Charlton and Nichols (1992) provide an archaeological framework for the discussion of the survival of elites in Otumba in the 16th-century. Haskett (1988) deals with the elites in Morelos.

order. Therefore, the emphasis of the research is on the local level, characterized by towns and villages, rearranged by the Spaniards into clusters of head-towns and subject-towns that, at times, belonged to different political aggregates.

As an example of a bottom-up perspective, this research shows the active role of the Tarascan indigenous elite in shaping the local colonial society. Following Wolf (1982) and Smith (1984), native communities did not remain passive when confronted with external pressures, rather they acted to shape and reshape the local level when opposing European penetration.

The focus of the research on the Tarascan native elites is not without reason. First, some historians and ethnohistorians of Michoacán have assumed that the native elites disappeared after the Spanish settled in the province of Michoacán (see Sarrelangue 1965 and Paredes 1984). According to this position, the impoverishment of the elites, the loss of their lands to Spanish settlers, as well as their rapid hispanization attest to their loss of power and social status. Second, there has been little emphasis on the study of the Tarascan indigenous elites that may support or reject the idea of their disappearance, but for Sarrelangue's work on the Pátzcuaro nobility published in 1965. Third, data from the Ramo de Indios, the archives from Pátzcuaro and Morelia, and the Serie Michoacán suggest the presence of Tarascan elites after Spanish conquest.

This dissertation contributes to the general discussion of the survival of native elites under colonial regimes. The research has implications for the general understanding of the role of elites in the

colonial societies at the provincial level, and it has implications for a model of elite accommodation.

CHAPTER I

THEORETICAL APPROACH

1.1 The Theoretical Approach

The theoretical approach is based on the general debate of the survival of the indigenous elites as an elite group after Spanish contact, and of its accommodation to colonial society by means of cultural responses to domination.

External and internal forces shaped the reconstruction of the indigenous cultures after Spanish contact. This approximation falls under the umbrella of studies of political economy[1]. As Marcus and Fisher suggest, "most local cultures worldwide are products of a history of appropriations, resistances, and accommodations" (1986:78). In this theoretical perspective, culture has a role in shaping the interactions between the dominant society and the indigenous populations. However, models based on political economy tend to see social, political, and economic issues as co-occurring whereas the model of accomodation that is presented here is more flexible. The elites who occupied upper positions were not necessarily the ones with economic power. This suggests a disjunction between social power and economic power in New Spain

The model of elite accommodation presented is based on the literature review of historical and anthropological studies in Central and Southern Mexico and on the research carried out in Michoacán.

Mesoamerican indigenous elites confronted the paradigms of Spanish conquest through the use of cultural responses derived from both their

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[1] Political economy refers to the mutual determination of political processes and economic activity in a historically viewed world system of nation states (Marcus and Fisher 1986: 79).

own culture, as well as from the adoption of Spanish culture. These elites borrowed from the Spaniards those cultural elements that were useful to their survival. The adoption of cultural elements was made from the perspective of indigenous understanding. Similar cultural patterns between Spanish and indigenous societies allowed these cultural adoptions to succeed, and permitted the indigenous elites influence over the outcome of colonial domination.

The adoption of Spanish culture did not lead to the total dislocation of the indigenous elites after Spanish contact. The loss of control over lands did not represent the loss of their political power. For example, Stern found that in Peru the indigenous elites protected their lands by claiming them as private property and left communal lands to be sold to pay for back tribute (1992:162). According to Haskett, the members of the elite who identified too much with the Spanish were not removed from the "mainstream" of their own culture (1988:35). The manipulation of ethnicity, mestizisation, and hispanization became assets rather than hindrances to the elites who were able to manipulate these elements for their personal gain. This manipulation gave the Indian nobility access to both the Spanish provincial sphere as well as the indigenous world. As Stern suggests, hispanization symbolically expressed the socioeconomic orientation of an emerging elite who became part of the exploitative class of aristocratic entrepreneurs and broadened the basis of colonial exploitation (1992: 170, 173). Therefore, the adoption of Spanish style and the creation of relationships with the Spaniards buttressed colonial domination. The close association among members of the indigenous elite, and between them and the Spaniards, curtailed the access of commoners to political

offices, and the access of the lower elites to high-ranking political offices at the local level.

According to Marcus, defining the elites by their access to, and control of, material wealth and consumption of luxury items alone is inadequate (1992:293). Elite status may be determined by membership in a social group based on kinship and descent. However, material wealth could be affected by factors like achievement. Therefore, the commoners could have wealth while the nobility could be landless (Chase and Chase 1992:7). Marcus argues that the elites are better understood in terms of relationships of power and domination buttressed in ideology. For Marcus, the concept of elite remains ambiguous at best since it generally evokes the image of the few controlling the many (1992:295) or of those who run society (Chase and Chase 1992:3). According to Hosler, elites seize control of the existing principles of legitimacy, natural and supernatural, as well as the objects that represent them (1994:249). Yet, as Marcus argues, what remains unclear is "the precise identity, organization, or social embeddedness of such persons" (1992:295). It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to deal with the theory of elites. Relationships of power are explored as a means of identifying the colonial elite in the province of Michoacán.

Prehispanic societies were altered after Spanish contact, but so were the Spanish institutions that were brought to New Spain. "In the long view, the modern world-system is as much a creation as a creator of connections" (Ferguson. et. al. 1992:4-5)[2]. Such connections brought

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[2] The expansion of Europe since the fifteenth century, resulted in a world linked in a global economic system. The European expansion fostered the development of capitalism in Europe at the expense of those areas that were colonized (see Gunder Frank 1970, Wallerstein 1976). Spain in particular, and Europe in general, depended on silver to expand

transformations and innovations at both the center and the periphery of Tarascan society.

The nature of prehispanic societies influenced the outcome of colonial society. Above all, the process of colonization was carried out amidst a demographic decline in which the economic activities and the silver mines of New Spain demanded a population drain from other areas (see Borah 1976)[3].

Although the indigenous culture largely defined the responses of the indigenous elite to the penetration of the Spanish state, the

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their commerce with Asia (see Backewell 1976, Bargalló 1955, Haring 1979, Palerm 1976, and Wallerstein 1976). Eventually, silver was also needed to finance the wars of Spain against England and France. The sustained flux of silver from New Spain to Spain required that the colonial economy be organized to produce large volumes of silver cheaply, and to export it at low costs (Palerm 1976, see also Viqueira y Urquiola 1990:14, Cubillo Moreno 1991). Colonial manufacturing stimulated silver production. The development of New Spanish woolen textile manufacturing responded to the policy of price control used to boost silver production in New Spain (see Cubillo Moreno 1991:81). Price control was imposed on clothing, corn, bread, wax, and meat which were essential to maintain the laborers in the mines. Moreover, textile production was tied to peace-keeping operations in the northern frontier which enabled silver production as well (Powell 1952). According to Wallerstein (1976), precious metals produced in Europe between the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries were not enough to supply the demands for silver to pay for products from Asia. Haring (1979) has suggested that silver was needed to pay for Asiatic imports into Europe, to finance the European wars, and to pay for manufactures and luxury products that Spain did not produce. The flow of precious metals transformed silver producing regions into "special cases" in terms of the economic and sociopolitical links that tied these regions to their metropoles (Viqueira and Urquiola 1990:21). Regions that produced silver were not enclaves, but extractive industries completely embedded in the economic fabric of New Spain (see Backewell 1976) Mexican silver permitted the intensification of global commerce and, according to Palerm, placed New Spain not at the "margins" of capitalist development in the sixteenth century, but at its center with a specialized role, albeit dependent from Spain (1980:99).

[3] Sugar production in the Caribbean, for example, allowed Spain to expand its shipping industry, and eventually, sugar benefited the growth of capitalism in England (see Mintz 1979). England without direct access to silver produced textiles to obtain it. The production of silver played a central role in the globalization of the economy (Viqueira and Urquiola 1990:25). Silver was at the same time a commodity and money and its price was, therefore, subjected to supply and demand (Palerm 1976:100). In addition, native communities were transformed to suit the internal system of silver production.

Spaniards also tried to limit the competition of indigenous peoples in colonial commercial ventures. Indian social climbers, nobles and communities competed for advantage. Stern argues that "Amerindians refused to consent meekly to the role of molded and exploited labor force" (Stern 1992:XXXVI). The Spaniards wanted to suppress any competition by the Indians and to undercut their ability to "out-organize, circumvent, or undersell" them (Stern 1992:XXXVI).

The Spaniards struggled to define "the contours of social control and legitimacy in a colonial order" (Stern 1992:XXXVII). Therefore, "the struggle" to chart the new colonial society was both political and cultural (Stern 1992:XLV). The most successful individuals were those that became incorporated into the dominant society as members of the colonial elite since they shared in the colonial domination, and therefore, reinforced this domination. This process further alienated the elites from the commoners and created class distinctions. Movements of resistance to colonial domination, as attested for example by those members of the elite who chose not to accommodate to the colonial society, are an intimate part of the process of reproducing capitalist-class relations.

1.2 Building the Theoretical Perspective: Literature Review

Following White (1983), Farris (1984), Smith (1984), Wolf (1984), and Stern (1992), the colonial domination also adapted to the conditions found in the places where domination took place. Their views focus on the dynamic interrelationships that were created between the Spanish and Indian populations. According to their perspective, both Spanish and Indian societies were transformed in the process of colonial domination. However, culture also limited the kinds of responses on both sides.

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Also in tune with the above approach are the views of Haskett (1988), Lockhart (1991, 1992), Spores (1967, 1984), Gruzinski (1989), and Whitecotton (1977). The position of these scholars is based on the idea that native cultures persisted after Spanish conquest and adapted to the colonial society based on their own cultures.

Whether we define culture as the social heritage of a nation or society that is passed on through generations; or as the system of beliefs, material culture, and social organization that distinguishes a group from other groups; or as a learned system of beliefs, feelings, and rules that a group uses to organize their lives; or as a way of life of a particular society, culture represents a means of adaptation to the environment. Humans learn how to survive, how to adapt, how to solve problems in the context of their own cultures. Culture, however, is in constant change and is negotiated and renegotiated by members of society as they interact with one another.

As members of their own societies, the Tarascan elites also adapted to the Spanish domination by means of their own cultural experiences. These experiences were also tainted by their elitist status and by adopted Spanish ideology that was based on Christian ideas, as well as on perceptions of ethnicity[4]. By ideology we mean "the consciously shared beliefs and feelings that members of a society consider characteristic of themselves" (Crapo 1993:26).

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[4] The Spanish administration adapted to the conditions found in the provinces of New Spain. Van Young for example, suggests that the existing differences in prehispanic ideologies resulted in different Church-Indian relations after Spanish contact (1989:94). Van Young suggests that collective action, local community relations with outsiders, internal political structure, religious beliefs, and world views affected and were affected by the perceptions that some priests had about their communities (1989:90).

The indigenous populations in general, and the Tarascans in particular, actively redefined the meaning of the Spanish conquest in the context of multiple contradictions, war, political conflict, population decline, disease, plundering of wealth, competition for political power and resources, the adoption of foreign cultural elements, and the coexistence of multiple ethnic groups (see Stern 1992:XXXV). Nevertheless, neither Spanish policies nor Tarascan cultural traits alone explain the mechanisms by which the Tarascan native elites created alternative strategies of survival in the new colonial order. These strategies helped them to carve a niche of their own, thereby becoming members of the colonial elite as well.

In his recent studies on the Nahua culture, based largely on a series of documents written in Nahua, Lockhart (1991, 1992, 1993) offered a revisionist perspective of previous research. Lockhart focuses on the range of Nahua responses to the dominant Hispanic culture after the conquest. Lockhart suggests that Nahua indigenous structures and cultural patterns survived Spanish conquest on a more massive scale and for a longer period of time than has seemed the case based on Spanish reports alone (1991:20). Nahua-Spanish similarities, or perceived affinity with things that were present in the indigenous culture allowed the cultural adoptions to succeed (Stern 1992:21). Therefore, coercion was not the only inducement to change. However, according to Lockhart (1992), both the Nahuas and the Spaniards remained more concerned with their own affairs.

Following Lockhart, the Nahuas actively engaged in the process of interaction with the Spaniards, pragmatically adopting Spanish-style institutions to suit their needs and interests. They also were

especially quick to adopt those elements which were similar to their own culture. Lockhart supports Gibson's idea that clash, displacement and isolation were more characteristic of marginal regions (see Gibson 1964) This idea was first introduced by Service (1955). Indeed, from the period known as Lockhart's "first stage" of indigenous contact with the Spaniards until the mid-sixteenth century, indigenous government, politics, and Nahua language remained unchanged (Lockhart, 1991:19).

In a "second stage" that spans at least a century, Lockhart noticed an increased Spanish influence without major disruptions in the general Nahua language. The indigenous world retained much of its social, cultural and jurisdictional autonomy (Lockhart 1991:20). Furthermore, Lockhart argues that in areas in which less contact occurred with the Spaniards, the indigenous sector remained in stage one.

In terms of political survival of the indigenous elites after contact, Lockhart suggests that political offices were fitted to the indigenous mold, and offices were rotated among members of the native elite (1991:10, 25). In Tlaxcala, for example, the author noticed that even the lower positions in the Indian council were associated with the indigenous nobility. He found no barriers in the way of lower officials' advancement to the council (op. cit.,:34). Although now endowed with Spanish names, Nahua officials continued to perform recognizable pre-conquest functions.

Based on Nahua wills, Cline also found a continuity of prehispanic indigenous institutions in Culhuacán in the sixteenth century, although Spanish elements were pouring into Nahua daily life (1986:13). Cline also found evidence of the wealth of the indigenous elites in Culhuacán.

According to the author, wealth was measured in terms of the type, complexity and structure of noble housing, the amounts of productive lands the elites possessed, the amount of money they lent, the accumulation of property through trade, as well as the types and origin of movable goods that were accumulated (i.e. textiles, house wares, and tools) (1986:90,95). In terms of the adoption of Spanish culture, Cline argued that the Nahua in Culhuacán adopted a host of elements that permeated all spheres of life.

Similarly, in the symbolic analysis of religious beliefs among Nahua populations of the Valley of Mexico, Gruzinski found that individuals manipulated the symbolic system to remain in power, and put into circulation original or modified cultural materials (1989:5). Based on documents from the Inquisition and the collection of provisatorios, Gruzinski also looked at cultural strategies engendered and displayed by the indigenous population in general. Gruzinski found evidence of the persistence of the Nahua nobility in the religious sphere. The native elite found a niche in activities associated with the Christian church, specifically in positions attached to the church. Nevertheless, the author suggested that the teachings of the Spanish friars became only a superficial identity. The nobility was baptized, yet retained its own ideology, and took from the new religion certain elements that it could turn to its advantage (Gruzinski 1989:39). A good example of this is Chimalpahin's writings from the seventeenth century. Chimalpahin, a descendant from the "king" of Amecameca received an education from the friars, yet according to Schroeder, Chimalpahin's writings glorified his own Indian tradition and past while

his understanding of Christianity reflected his Indian perspective (1989:22).

Archaeological research in Otumba demonstrated that Indian elites continued to play important roles during the colonial period as mediators between their communities and the Spaniards. Charlton and Nichols found no evidence that in Otumba the Indian elites appropriated imported Spanish ceramics from Europe or China in the early sixteenth century. Nevertheless, they could define the nobility on the basis of indigenous architecture, zoning, ceramic and artifact distribution. Archaeological evidence also suggested that after the conquest, members of the elite left the core of the prehispanic city and moved to the relocated community of Otumba to the north (1992:256, 258).

Studies in Oaxaca have yielded similar conclusions regarding the persistence of native culture and native nobility after Spanish contact. In the case of the Mixtecs, Spores also saw that many aspects of Mixtec culture survived "semi-unaltered" while others were eliminated (1967:28). Spores (1967) and Whitecotton (1977) emphasized that the adoption of Spanish cultural elements was made to benefit the Zapotec and Mixtec elites.

Among the Zapotecs, previously organized into city-states or independent lordships, Spanish contact also brought changes in Zapotec culture. Although Whitecotton suggests that the indigenous elites disappeared elsewhere by the seventeenth century, Zapotec caciques and <u>principales</u> continued to be recognized after Spanish conquest. Some of these caciques, especially those outside the sphere of influence of the <u>encomenderos</u>, were able to maintain their power and wealth by retaining lands and tenant farmers, as well as by participating in capitalist

enterprises like the production of cochineal dyes, the exploitation of stone quarries and salt deposits, and the ownership of wheat mills (Whitecotton 1977:186).

The participation of Indian entrepreneurs in Spanish economic activities resulted in the creation of class differences in Indian communities which furthered European domination. According to Whitecotton, in small communities caciques suffered a loss of status (op.cit.,:187). In terms of politics, Whitecotton found that officials in cabildos rotated offices (Ibid:189). Of importance in Whitecotton's position is the notion that close association with Spanish populations brought a more rapid demise of the native nobility.

Farriss (1984) has also dealt with cultural responses of the Mayan nobility to the process of incorporation and competition with the Spaniards. In other words, this cultural approach stresses "the intersection of global and local histories" (see Ferguson and Whitehead 1992:4). Approaches like those of Farriss (1984)[5] , Stern (1992), and Haskett (1988), move between the "level of the encompassing system" and the "micro-level" (Wolf 1982:23), and put into perspective the role of ideology in supporting the colonial domination.

Smith (1984), in turn, argues that the people at the local level remained active in shaping local-level institutions that often were

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[5] Farriss' study of the Maya demonstrates that the Mayan elite acted in purely pragmatic political grounds in their dealings with the Spaniards, and "..according to how they calculated their best interest" (1984:22). Farriss argues that the decision of the ruling Maya to incorporate or to resist the Spanish domination reflected their concern with political survival. The importance of cultural responses of local populations in dealing with European powers has also been studied among the Indians of the Great Lakes (see McClurken 1985). Individual actors whether intermediaries or representatives of the Indian tribes pursued their own interests.

opposed to the interests of capitalist penetration. Such institutions were a means of peasant resistance to incorporation, and responded to particular kinds of capitalism present in peripheral social formations[6]

As opposed to data presented in this dissertation, Smith argues that the more successful groups were those that resisted incorporation and formed their own particular kind of capitalism at the periphery of the dominant society (1984:194). White (1983) also moves away from the limitations of a world-system's approach to deal with cultural responses at the local level. He endows culture with a larger role in shaping the interactions between the dominant society and the indigenous populations. White argues that culture also limits the kinds of responses on both sides.

Spores (1967, 1984) found similar patterns of survival among the Mixtecs of the Mixteca Alta. Although colonial kinship, marriage, and residence patterns varied from class to class, Spores found little change in intra- or inter-class relations between 1550 and 1820 (1984:108). Like Whitecotton, Spores also found evidence of Mixtec nobility wealth, accommodation, and permanence, as well as evidence of the elites' political survival (1967:96). According to Spores, the

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[6] Smith's perspective emphasizes the existence of varieties within the capitalist system (something that has not been sufficiently stressed). Palerm (1976) argues that sixteenth century New Spain exhibited a great variety of socieoeconomic forms. He found evidence of capitalist enterprises represented by certain manufacturing, mining, and hacienda enterprises which co-existed with non-capitalist forms represented by the guilds, the native communities, some haciendas and plantations as well. In terms of labor, New Spain exhibited the same diversity including salaried workers, slavery, coerced but paid workers, and small independent producers. All of these socioeconomic varieties coexisted in different regions, in different productive activities, and were integrated in a system that was subordinated to a dominant economy and dependent on the State.

native political organizations in Yucatan, Tlaxcala, and Oaxaca persisted as well (Ibid:118).

Three aspects are clear from the above perspectives. The first is the aspect related to the survival, adaptation, and accommodation of the indigenous populations in general, and of the elites in particular, to the colonial society. The second is the assumption that the indigenous elites selected and adopted those elements of Spanish culture that were beneficial to them, and that they adopted these elements from the perspective of their own understanding. The third is the idea of similar patterns of adaptation of the native populations of Central and Southern Mexico to the Spanish society. Such similarities may relate to either existing and similar cultural patterns in Mesoamerica, and/or to the implementation of the same types of Spanish policies throughout the Mesoamerican area.

1.3 An Approach to the Study of Tarascan Elites

In contrast to the colonial studies in Central and Southern Mexico, colonial studies related to Michoacán have assumed that the indigenous elite disappeared soon after Spanish contact or were destroyed by changes brought on by the Spanish. Sarrelangue (1965) and Paredes (1984) consistently argued for a dismemberment of the native elite, especially after the death of the last cazonci Tangaxoan in 1538.

However, both authors failed to recognize key issues of flexibility vis-a-vis Spanish penetration. The murder of the last cazonci by the Spaniards, did not represent the destruction of the Tarascan nobility, as Paredes (1984) and Sarrelangue (1965) suggested. It represented the destruction of a centralized power in the hands of the uacúsecha ruling

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lineage. It was also the end of a perceived competition for the control of resources between the last cazonci and the Spaniards. The cazonci's death prompted the Tarascan elite to make individual choices of accommodation or resistance to the Spanish colonial order. Nevertheless, upward mobility was limited since the highest ranking political offices in local communities were controlled by the highest ranking elite of prehispanic origin. Trading and the residence of Indians in the convent gave way to upward mobility. According to Stern, the achievements of some members of the indigenous elite stimulated the process of class differentiation within the native society. In addition, the emergence of successful natives contributed to a more subtle dominance by the Spaniards (1992:159, 187).

The colonial role of the native nobility altered local Spanish policies and administration in Michoacán. The accommodations of both the Spanish and local indigenous elites to one another were far more flexible and more lasting than has been previously recognized. As a result of Spanish penetration, the Tarascan indigenous elite became linked to the Spanish local elite. In this process, the indigenous elite was forced into relationships that responded to the colonial formation of New Spain, and that contributed to the retention of the elitist status of the Tarascan nobility[7].

The Tarascan elite was tolerated under colonial rule, and was protected by Spanish policies. These policies favored the native elites in Michoacán during the century after Spanish contact. In addition, the

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[7] Stern also looked at the conquest of Peru in terms of relationships of power that received a response. Nevertheless, he argues that not all Indian activity had as its purpose a response to colonial domination. Some responses were quite indirect (1992:XLVIII, LI).

Tarascan nobility created alliances with the Spanish elite, which helped reproduce this group as a class. Tarascan nobles were not simple agents of the Spanish state. Tolerance and/or the acceptance of Tarascan individuals of mixed descent in public office, by the Spaniards and by the Tarascan elites, is evidence that colonial policies were flexible enough to accommodate to local events[8].

It is suggested here that the Tarascan indigenous elites were concerned with maintaining their power and social position after Spanish contact. Following Crapo, power is defined as the ability to exercise coercion in a group to obtain what is sought (1993:130). Following Haskett (1988), it is also suggested that the adoption of Spanish culture did not lead to the total dislocation of the Tarascan elite after Spanish contact. The loss of control over lands did not represent the loss of political power. The members of the Tarascan elite who identified too much with the Spanish were not removed from the "mainstream" of their own culture (see Haskett 1988:35).

The Tarascan native elite not only remained separated from the commoners, but also, as an elite group, they became members of the dominant colonial class. The manipulation of ethnicity, mestizisation, and hispanization became assets to the Tarascan elites and gave the Indian nobility access to both the Spanish provincial sphere as well as the indigenous world.

There were various means to define who was a member of the Tarascan elite. The consumption of luxury items, the exemption from tributary payments, membership in Tarascan lineages, the use of special

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[8] Lockhart also saw that Spanish administrative decisions were made in response to the social and cultural constitution of the indigenous population (1991:21).

titles of address, the access to and control of political offices, and marriage endogamy, defined the Tarascan nobility in the sixteenth century. In addition, the role of the Tarascan native elites affected not only the relationships between the native elites and the Spanish colonial society but, also, affected the relationships among the elites and their own communities by en large. Rivalries among the Tarascan elites for access to and control of wealth, land and labor were not uncommon in Tarascan prehispanic society, and were reshaped as a result of the Spanish penetration. The Tarascan elite found a niche in some activities associated with the Christian church, specifically in the personnel attached to the convents and hospitals. The nobility was baptized, yet retained its own ideology and took from the new religion certain rudiments that it could turn to its advantage.

The group that prehispanically was at the top of the socio-political hierarchy managed to keep its prominence in the colonial society through political leverage, participation in colonial economic enterprises, the creation of patron-client relations and factionalism, and the control of political office. This preeminence was, in part, the result of matrimonial, political, and economic alliances with the Spaniards and with other members of the indigenous elite within Michoacán and outside the province. Often marriage was the means for remaining in a prominent position or for claiming family property. All of the above attest to the use of survival strategies based on Tarascan cultural patterns.

Conflict for power among the Tarascan indigenous elites in the sixteenth century reflected both prehispanic tendencies of conflict, and the control over resources, as well as different choices of

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accommodation or resistance to the colonial system. Members of the former Tarascan elite that chose not to accommodate to the new colonial society were eventually assimilated into the class of commoners. Conflict, factionalism, and co-option defined some of the relationships that existed between the Tarascan nobility and the general population at the local level.

The large body of colonial documents preserved in local archives suggest the continuity of various Tarascan institutions which were transformed in the sixteenth century. Among these institutions were political offices that reflected prehispanic offices. The old Quataperas were transformed into Tarascan "town-hospitals" where the presence of rituals and offerings that reflected prehispanic religious traditions could be found. Data also suggest that the Tarascan elite actively engaged in the adoption of Spanish cultural elements that defined the colonial Spanish elite as well.

Marriage alliances between the Tarascan nobility and the non-Tarascan elites gave rise to kinship connections that advanced the political and economic survival of the indigenous elites. The persistence of marriages between uncles and nieces, and between parallel cousins among members of the highest ranking Tarascan elite continued to provide the means to control prominent political offices at the local level. Therefore, the role of Tarascan noblewomen and of women's wealth are explored in terms of the benefits they brought to children of mixed marriages, to the indigenous elite in general, and to the provincial Spanish elite as well. In all of these instances, each group (the native nobility, the mestizo nobility, and the Spaniards) stood to gain something from the alliances established among them. Nevertheless, the

close association among members of the indigenous elite, and between these and the Spaniards, curtailed the access of commoners to political offices, and the access of political offices of high-rank to individuals of lower social status.

Paredes (1984) and Sarrelangue (1965) suggested that because mestizisation was a rather fast process in the sixteenth century, and especially among the Tarascan elite, this should be indicative of the rapid disappearance of the Tarascan nobility in the colonial era. What they did not recognize is that, in spite of a biological mestizisation of the population, there was a cultural manipulation of ethnicity by the Tarascan elite who would claim Indianess when necessary.

The manipulation of ethnicity, as well as claims based on descent from members of the highest ranks of the social hierarchy, whether Spanish conquerors or native rulers, added to the legitimacy of the indigenous Tarascan elite. Such claims furthered the political control of the native elite and secured them a position in the local colonial society. Therefore, the most successful Tarascan noblemen and noblewomen were those who were able to benefit from their position vis-a-vis the Spanish and their own communities by both using their own and borrowed cultural patterns, and by creating innovative ways to access political power. Thus, individual actors among the indigenous elites pursued their own political interests.

Stern defines success as the "improvement of one's condition" (1992:188). However, such improvement created social strata that were antagonistic. In practical terms for the Tarascans, success was defined as the ability to move between Spanish and native societies being accepted in both. Success is measured in terms of the preservation of

some form of power by the Tarscan elites, and by the adoption of Spanish cultural patterns and ideology that helped the elite adapt to the colonial society. Success is also measured in terms of the creation of viable alliances with the local Spanish elite and with the indigenous communities, and by the control of political office and wealth. Personal success seems to have become redefined by European categories of success. According to Stern, the ability of Indians to employ the tactics of institutions of Hispanic politics to reshape, within limits, the boundaries of their existence gave the process of political domination a greater sophistication (1992:187).

In the context of this research, political survival is defined as the access to and the control of political office(s) in Indian communities. Political control is also defined by either the length of the term in office, or the number of political offices controlled over time. Elite networks were important for political favors. The game of politics allowed for the creation or the strengthening of alliances and mutual favors among those who had power.

During the sixteenth century, the Tarascan native elite consistently worked to preserve their political control over the native populations of the province, and used their political influence, co-option, and leverage to achieve this control. The very fact that the Tarascan native nobility capitalized on their followers is also an indication that their followers recognized their status as elite, and as political representatives of their communities.

Accommodation[9] is defined as the creation of a space in which the Tarascan nobility could interact with the provincial Spanish elite and

with their own communities thanks to the adoption of elements of Spanish culture that made the Tarascan elite identify with the Spaniards, and with the preservation of elements of the Tarascan culture that allowed the Tarascan nobility to survive within their own communities. In addition, accommodation also refers to conformation to the rules of the game. As a means of accommodation , the native elite manipulated those aspects of the Spanish and Indian cultures that suited them. Therefore, these non-European peoples learned to manage two worlds simultaneously, not necessarily as a means of resistance, but rather, because each of these worlds had something to offer. Indeed, according to Stern, the emerging Indian elite embraced strategies and relationships drawn from the dominant society (1992:166).

Therefore, the most successful individuals were capable of moving between the Spanish and the Indian societies, and were able to maintain political power and influence in both ethnic groups. The position of the native elite was such that they benefited from their connections with the Spanish local elite while, at the same time, keeping political support in their own communities. The Tarascan nobility not only operated under the constraints of their own culture, but also transformed the nature of colonization in the province.

Through the creation of alliances with the Spanish elite, the use of Spanish terms of reference for nobility ("Don"), and the hispanization process, the Tarascan native elite of the sixteenth century separated themselves from the rest of the population to become linked to the colonial dominant class. The indigenous elite's control over local politics, and their participation in Spanish economic

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[9] Other synonyms of accommodation are to acclimate, to accustom, to adapt, to adjust, and to conform.

enterprises reinforced the dominant character of the elite. Finally, the consumption of European goods tied the Tarascan nobility to a larger economy. Through this process, the Tarascan elite carved its own niche in the colonial provincial society and helped strengthen the character of Spanish domination.

The Tarascan nobility proved to be useful to the Spanish as power brokers and intermediaries. However, these were not the only roles the Tarascan elite played. The pursuit of personal benefits was essential to the native elite. Individual members of the Tarascan nobility launched their own initiatives in the competition for wealth, land and labor against the Spanish residents of the province, and against other native nobles within the region as well. These initiatives, as Stern points out, were set on fragile collaborations between Spanish and Indians (1992:XXXVIII).

Not only did the Tarascan nobility became participants in a larger economy, but some Tarascan noblemen and noblewomen were able to accumulate wealth. According to Stern, a few Indians in Peru accumulated significant funds and local property, and became creditors even for the Spaniards (1992:162). Cline also recognizes the accumulation of wealth by the Nahua elites of Culhuacán (1986:90, 95). In addition, at the provincial level, the relationships between the native elite and the indigenous communities, and between the native nobility and the Spanish colonial elite, were influenced by, and in turn influenced, the colonial economic organization. The connections that were established between Michoacán and the larger colonial society and economy were created through the production and export of silver[10].

Population decline in Michoacán prompted the Spanish to adapt to new forms of labor extraction from Indian communities. Therefore, colonial policies and Spanish institutions accommodated to the internal transformations of the province. The consumption of European goods, the acquisition of Spanish material culture, the accumulation of some forms of wealth (lands, houses, and movable goods), and the participation in the colonial economy contributed to the permanence of the Tarascan nobility as members of the colonial elite. In addition, the consumption of European goods tied the Tarascan elites to the market of luxury items, and therefore, to the colonial and global economies.

1.4 A Model for Elite Accommodation

Based on the literature review presented above, and on some preliminary views developed in the theoretical position, elements of the model of elite accommodation can be already identified. The first element of the model includes the idea that similar Tarascan and Mesoamerican cultural patterns allowed adaptations to succeed. A second

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[10] The colonial economy was based on the exploitation of silver produced and exported cheaply (Palerm 1976). The colonial organization responded to the need to produce and export silver at a low cost. The province of Michoacán specialized in cattle raising, mule and horse breeding which were necessary for the transportation of goods to and from the mines. Hides were needed to carry the minerals out of the mines. As a result of mining, many Tarascan noblemen became long-distance traders or muleteers. From this perspective, the New Spanish colonial society responded to the hegemony of silver production. Palerm's position opens the door to the exploration of linkages within provinces, as well as to cultural responses at the local level. Data suggest that between 80% and 95% of the volume of exports from New Spain, between 1580 and 1630, were comprised of silver (see Brading 1972, Backewell 1976, and Palerm 1980:100), compared to other commodities like cochineal or sugar. The volume of exports of indigo dye was second after silver. Cochineal dye trailed far after indigo (se Berthe 1960 and Heers 1961). In spite of this, little is known about the production of indigo in the town of Uruapan. Part of the Mexican silver was sent to Spain, but some 80% of this silver circulated first in New Spain. It went to repay loans, supplies, and goods. Silver also served to acquire wine, leather, meat, Asian silk, European textiles, and to maintain colonial economic enterprises. In this context, silver from New Spain was transferred to its provinces and went to Spain, and to the rest of the known world.

element of the model is that accommodation was made from the framework of native understanding. A third element is that accommodation reflects social differences of class or status. A fourth element is that accommodation is a matter of individual choice or perceived benefits. However, these choices are constrained by cultural patterns. A fifth element is that the forces behind accommodation are social, economic and political. A last element is that the native elites preserved an interest in maintaining their political position in the new colonial society. This model will be analyzed in Chapter 6.

This dissertation presents a preliminary view on the Tarascan elite. Only future research in local archives may increase the understanding of the relevant questions of the research. So far, the historical record shows that the Tarascan elites created dynamic relations that helped them become members of the colonial elite. There are not enough data on Indian entrepreneurs to fully explain class differences based on the control of wealth among the elites. The available data only point at significant economic patterns that suggest the existence of differences among the Tarascan nobility and that define the elite (Chapter 3). At present, data also reveal patterns of political domination by which some members of the indigenous nobility reinforced the character of colonial domination. These data give a good understanding of how the indigenous elites controlled local politics (Chapter 4). Marriage and kinship were significant in the control of local politics (Chapter 5). Finally, the materials presented in this study allow us to formulate a general model of elite accommodation (Chapter 6).

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES

While significant studies have focused on the native elites in the Valley of Mexico, Oaxaca and Yucatán, less attention has been given to the indigenous elites of the Tarascan region in the province of Michoacán. The Tarascans were contemporary to the Aztecs and often were in conflict with them.

Compared to the research that has been done in other areas in terms of the topics treated, as well as in terms of the use of sources in both Spanish and native languages, ethnohistorical research in Michoacán lags behind. At present, research about the Tarascans is becoming more important, but because there have been few studies that treat similar questions to this research, comparative data from other areas were included in the dissertation. Aztec cultural patterns have often been used to interpret Tarascan culture.

2.1 State of the Research in Michoacán

As Gorenstein noted "Michoacán did not have the chroniclers or visitors that came to central Mexico, the heart of Spanish administration" (in Pollard 1993:XVI). As opposed to other areas, the known chronicles of Michoacán are but a handful. Among this body of literature are a series of chronicles like the Relación de Michoacán written around 1538 or 1539, and given to the Viceroy in 1541; the Chronicles of Michoacán by Pablo de Beaumont compiled from 1776 and 1780; the Relaciónes Geográficas compiled between 1579 and 1581, and several chronicles related to Cătholic provinces like the chronicle of Friar Isidro de Espinosa on the province of the Franciscans and Crónica de la Provincia del Padre San Francisco by Friar Alonso De la Rea.

There are also a few Tarascan dictionaries with Spanish translation which shed light into Tarascan cultural changes. Among them is a dictionary and a grammar by Gilberti, originally published in 1559 and 1558 respectively, and the Lagunas dictionary from 1574. Incidental information on Michoacán comes from the chronicles of Sahagún, las Casas, and Torquemada. Nevertheless, substantial documentation is available in national and local archives.

In terms of archaeological research in Michoacán, the archaeological sites in the basin of Lake Pátzcuaro, with their limited number of public buildings, have not attracted the attention of archaeologists as other areas have. Starting in the middle of this century, archaeological research in West Mexico included research in Jalisco, Nayarit, Michoacán, and Guanajuato. The works of Gorenstein and Pollard (1980, 1982), and Pollard (1980, 1982, 1987, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994) have been the most instrumental for the understanding of protohistoric Tarascan society. Pollard's research has been influential in combining archaeological research and historical sources. Gorenstein and Pollard (1983), and Pollard (1982, 1993) have shown that the Tarascan prehispanic polity was unusually centralized. The effects of this centralization on the colonial society after contact are not yet fully understood. However, it is possible that the control of political offices by members of the Tarascan elite after Spanish contact are a continuity of prehispanic political centralization.

The field that has received more attention is the anthropological study of present day communities[1].

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[1] This field is representd by Calvo, et.al (1988); Carrasco, et.at. (1986); De la Peña et.al.(1987); Gortaire Iturralde (1971), Van Zantwijk (1964), and Pavageau (1992) to mention some researchers. Pavageau for

Prehispanic ethnohistory of the Tarascan area has received the attention of a handful of researchers starting with Nicolás de León early this century (1968, 1973). Recently, the works of Beltrán (1982, 1986), Castro-Leál (1986), Krippner-Martínez (1990), Martínez Garcia (1987), Rubí (1989), and Sepúlveda (1988) have focused on Tarascan society on the eve of the Spanish contact. In particular, Beltrán made a thorough examination of the political centralization of the Tarascan state. In addition, Lameiras compared Aztec and Tarascan politics and war (1985), and Carrasco has focused on the political economy of the Tarascan state (1986).

The colonial history of Michoacán is represented by a growing number of historians and ethnohistorians who have emphasized the influence of Spaniards in Michoacán, as well as the impact of Spanish penetration in Indian communities. Among them, the works of Paredes et.al. (1984, 1994) and Warren (1983, 1984, 1985) are the most influential. Escobar Olmedo (1984, 1989) has gathered and transcribed historical sources from Michoacán found in Spanish archives. On the other hand, the study of Spanish institutions in the province has been the concern of Bravo Ugarte (1963) and Parry (1993); whereas Martínez (1992) and Nettel Ross (1990) are interested in the influence of Spain on colonial institutional and population transformations.

Recent studies on colonial ethnohistory come from Pulido-Solís (1984), Leigh Stone (1992), Leçoin (1988), Percherón (1988), Warren (1983, 1984, 1985), and a growing number of scholars from the Colegio de Michoacán and the Universidad de San Nicolás de Michoacán, who have looked at population movements, labor, and the changes brought to the

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example, uses Aztec history to explain the historical development of the community in Tarecuato.

Tarascan communities by the Spaniards. The focus of these studies is from the point of view of the indigenous society. In particular, the studies by Warren have been crucial in rethinking local history in terms of the dynamics of Spanish-Indian relations. So far, the only study that focuses on Tarascan native elites is Sarrelangue's (1965).

In contrast to the less traveled road of research in Michoacán, stands the large volumes of research in other areas of Mexico. Recent research in the Valley of Mexico, Oaxaca and Yucatan, has stressed the continuity of indigenous institutions and the resilience of Indian culture, as well as the survival of the indigenous elites.

2.2 Research Questions

The initial proposal for research in the area of the Pátzcuaro lake basin, the core of the Tarascan prehispanic society, was abandoned. This research had as its goal to compare the relationships that existed among Tzintzuntzan, Erongarícuaro and Xarácuaro in the sixteenth century. However, the fragmentary nature of the historical record was of hindrance to this aim. Nevertheless, some major issues that stemmed from the first proposal were followed in the process of collecting data for the new research. These questions were reformulated to include the exploration of a larger geographical area that comprised the entire Tarascan province. It became increasingly apparent that some members of the former Tarascan elite had survived Spanish penetration. More importantly, it was also apparent that the Tarascan elite tried to maintain their political power, as well as their social status, within the limits imposed by the Spanish society. With the exception of Sarrelangue's study on the elites of Pátzcuaro, there was no other study available on the Tarascan elites. There were no provincial studies on

the elites either. Therefore, the new focus of the research became the exploration of the strategies that the Tarascan indigenous elites used to retain some form of power and predominance in the province.

In addition, comparative data from the Valley of Mexico, Oaxaca, Yucatan, and Peru complemented the discussion of the topic. The research questions were tailored to explore any significant differences or similarities between the native elites both within and outside the Lake Pátzcuaro basin (the core of the former Tarascan Empire).

From the original questions three issues were followed in the new research. First, the study of social, economic, and political changes as a result of Spanish colonization was examined. Second, the understanding of regional differences between the core of the former Tarascan state and peripheral areas was also considered. This was important to understand the existing variation in the composition of the elites in both areas. Third, the understanding of how resources were controlled in prehispanic society (i.e. land and labor) to assess changes in the status of the elites after contact was examined. A focus on Tarascan prehispanic society was important for the study of continuity after Spanish contact. The use of Tarascan-Spanish dictionaries contributed to the study of Tarascan culture and culture change.

A comparative analysis between the former Tarascan core and its periphery could indicate the existence of sources of potential conflict among the indigenous elites prior to Spanish contact, and the existence of relationships between these two areas that were later affected by Spanish contact. Rivalry within the Tarascan elite was soon apparent in both the prehispanic and colonial contexts. In addition, it was

necessary to see if there were any substantial differences in the survival practices used by the native elites within and outside the core area of the basin of Pátzcuaro. This would indicate the existence of changes in the social status of the indigenous elites after Spanish contact.

The study of Tarascan prehispanic society yielded information on social and political connections that were created and/or reinforced among the native elites. Later, data showed the expansion of these connections to include provincial Spanish elites. In turn, data provided clues on the role of the indigenous elites, at the local level, in shaping the particular kind of colonial formation in Michoacán at the local level. Data also suggested the existence of cultural strategies of survival and accommodation of the indigenous elites in a changing society. The control over resources reflected the nature of changing relationships between different segments of the population in the process of accommodation to the colonial society. Consideration was given to the existence of forms of competition for, and access to, resources like land, labor, political office, and forms of political support. These issues also reflected cultural strategies by which the prehispanic elites became part of the colonial elite.

Seven major questions stemmed from the general issues laid-out above:

1. How is the survival of the elite characterized? What were the strategies used by the indigenous elites to remain in power after Spanish contact? How did they accommodate to the new conditions of the colonial regime?

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2. What were the characteristics of the elite during the sixteenth century, and how were they characterized prehispanically? Was the elite a monolithic group, or were there differences within the Tarascan elite? Were there differences between the elites of the core and those of peripheral areas to the prehispanic center of power?

3. How did the Spanish colonization affected the general transformation of the prehispanic Tarascan elite throughout the province of Michoacán?

4. What was the role of the elites after Spanish colonization?

5. What impact did the role of the elites play in the transformation of the colonial society of Michoacán?

6. In what ways did the Tarascan elites relate to Spanish colonizers, as well as to their own communities?

7. How did the Tarascan elites participate in the economic, political, and social spheres of the colonial society in the region?

2.3 Methodology

This research uses the ethnohistorical approach which combines the techniques of historical analysis with an anthropological perspective. History and anthropology share the interests of a diachronic approach as well as of cultural and social phenomena (Sturtevant, 1966). For ethnohistorians, historical documents are processed into "raw ethnographic data from which meaningful cultural inferences can be drawn" (Spores, 1989:576). The relationship between ethnohistory and history has been noted by Carmack (1971). Elsewhere, Spores (1980) has pointed out the complementary character of documentary and archaeological research.

The focus of ethnohistory is to understand those peoples whose history and perspectives have been neglected. It looks at what is significant in terms of the culture, perceptions and values of native populations and their change from their own perspective. The basic accomplishment of this methodology has been to reveal certain biases regarding Euroamerican views of native people (see Trigger 1986, Simmons 1988). In addition, it has provided information on those indigenous populations that were not formerly considered of interest.

The richness of the history of the province of Michoacán is great, yet there are many unexplored areas. Sarrelangue's contribution to the topic of indigenous elites was based on the particular case of the elite in the provincial capital of Pátzcuaro. Given the historical wealth of the archival material, and the many areas of research that need to be done, this dissertation contributes to the analysis of the Tarascan native elite in a provincial context.

2.3.1 Fieldwork

For the completion of this research, fieldwork was carried out between 1991 and 1992 in three major Mexican archives. First, in the Microfilm Archives of the National Institute of Anthropology and History (Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia **CDH-INAH**) three major series of microfilms were selected: the Michoacán Series, the Kraus Collection, and the Archivo of Seville Series. A second archive was the Archivo del Ayuntamiento de Pátzcuaro (**AHAP**) in Pátzcuaro-Michoacán which was the major source of data. Finally, the Ramo de Indios Vols. 1 to 6(2) of the National Archives (Archivo General de la Nación **AGN-RI**) rendered valuable information on the province. Other primary and

secondary sources provided additional information, in particular Gilberti's Tarascan dictionary and the Relación de Michoacán.

Five months of fieldwork were spent exploring the Serie Michoacán, as well as a series of documents microfilmed from the archives of Seville and from the Kraus Collection, all housed at the National Institute of Anthropology and History in Mexico City in the Archivo Histórico. Four months were spent at the Archivo del Ayuntamiento de Pátzcuaro and four months were spent at the National Archives.

Archival materials were carefully collected from each archive, transcribed, and classified according to the questions of the research.

Historical documents that dealt with the native nobility and Spanish-native relationships, as well as with conflicts within native communities were analyzed against the research questions. Sources that referred to matters among Spaniards were used if they provided any insights in terms of the research.

In the process of the research two major databases were created. The first database compiled a list of Spanish provincial authorities useful in the study of political power and connections among the Spanish, and eventually between the Spanish and the native elite. To this list of names, key information reflecting social, political and economic relations between Spanish and Indian groups was added.

The second database was compiled for information on the native authorities in Michoacán. This information was useful in tracing some of the connections, especially kinship relations, between the native nobility in the Pátzcuaro Basin and the elites of other areas of the province. Data also helped to map out potential sources of conflict after the Spanish settled and modified the political boundaries of the

region. Finally, this database was also built to reflect information compiled on the political offices that the native nobility held during the sixteenth century. The information was useful in the study of the elite's political survival in the colonial context. Later in the research, this file helped to also assess the geographical distribution of particular Tarascan lineages whose power was maintained, as well as to establish lineage connections. Incidentally, the information of approximately seven hundred seventy two members of the Tarascan indigenous elite became part of this second file. This file is presented in Appendix 1, and it adds information to data compiled by Sarrelangue in her study on Pátzcuaro's elite (1965).

A comparative approach was methodologically important in terms of looking at diachronic and synchronic changes in the region, as well as in dealing with the geographical extension of the influence of the Tarascan elite in the colonial context. Due to the nature of the archival material which covers diverse areas within the province of Michoacán, it was possible to create a picture of changes, and survival practices of the indigenous elite between 1542 (date of the first available documents from the area in local archives) and 1620. Data from before 1542 came from the Relación de Michoacán, the Relaciónes Geográficas, as well as from various general government regulations found in archives, and from secondary sources. The date of 1620 is an artificial time-limit determined by the researcher. It was considered that the first one hundred years after the Spanish conquest were crucial in terms of the changes that took place among Indian societies. In addition, social, economic, and political transformation

that took place during this time defined the character of colonial domination.

2.3.2 Sources

Additional Primary Sources

One of the most important primary sources used is the Relación de Michoacán. This is the most significant descriptive document of the Tarascan society that recounts the history of the Tarascans as reflected through the eyes of the ruling lineage called the uacúsecha. Therefore, it is a heavily biased source that reflects the perspective of the Tarascan state. The Relación was written ca. 1538 or 1539, and was presented to the Viceroy in 1541. The Relación has been attributed to Friar Jerónimo de Alcalá (Warren 1985). The chronicle used in this dissertation is the Madrid 1989 edition introduced by Leoncio Cabrero. In addition to the Relación, other primary sources were the Chronicles of Michoacán by Pablo de Beaumont compiled from 1776 to 1780; the Relaciónes Geográficas compiled between 1579 and 1581, and several chronicles related to Catholic provinces: the chronicle of Friar Isidro de Espinosa on the province of the Franciscans and Crónica de la Provincia de San Francisco by Friar Alonso De la Rea.

Substantial documentation is available in national and local archives. Dictionaries were also an important source of information for the sixteenth century. The first of these dictionaries comes from Friar Maturino Gilberti: Vocabulario en Lengua de Michoacán, written in 1559, and transcribed by B. J. Warren. According to Warren, this vocabulary reflects the mestizisation of the Tarascan language (1989:9). The second dictionary is the Diccionario Grande. According to Warren, in his introduction to the Diccionario Grande, this dictionary was first

attributed to Gilberti and is now attributed to a native Tarascan, and is anonymous (In the introduction to the "Diccionario Grande, n.d.). This dictionary has been transcribed by B. J. Warren and is located at Tulane. Sources like dictionaries provide information on kinship, descent and other types of social relations that shed light on the Tarascan nobility and its hierarchical system before Spanish conquest. In addition, the study of the use and meaning of words reveals social changes, social relationships, accommodation, and survival that took place after Spanish contact. Many Tarascan words constantly appeared in the archival materials of the sixteenth century like the term ohcambeti that was used to designate a person in charge of tribute collection, or the term paracata, which in the dictionary means butterfly (Gilberti 1989:41). One association was found between this term and the measurement of land plots. A paracata was equivalent to twenty square brazas (AHAP5, #24, 1592 Patuán). The braza was the measurement from the elbow to the hand known in Tarascan as teruuaqua (Gilberti 1987:253). Perhaps the paracata was also a specific type of land[2].

Nahua words were also common in the documents. This was probably done because the Spaniards were more familiar with this language than they were with Tarascan, and because Nahua was a language also spoken in the Tarascan area. It was perhaps easier for the Spanish to recognize something by its Nahua term than it was by its Tarascan term. The use of Tarascan or Nahua words may eventually indicate change or persistence of the Tarascan culture.

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[2]Perhaps the term paracata derives from paracata uri which means "to measure wood that will be burned" (Gilberti 1987:103), thus, referring to land covered with woods. An alternative is the term paraquatani which means to cultivate a plot of land in its entirety (op.cit:102).

Court Cases

Most of the historical data gathered for this research was based on judicial claims, and less frequently, on criminal cases and church records. Most of the claims, whether they came from Indians or from the Spaniards, followed a predictable format with some minor variants. Following the statement of the claim, a period for the investigation of the case was established. Witnesses were called to testify on behalf of the claimant or of the accused. Every witness made an oath following a similar formula by which they confessed to tell the truth in the name of God, the Virgin Mary, the Saints, and the Gospel. Each of the witnesses was asked for their name, age and occupation if they were natives. The Spaniards were spared these questions unless the case was a criminal offense. Spaniards were only asked for their name and age.

A lack of consistency in asking all of these questions was noted. At times, the scribe or the interpreter forgot to ask the habitual questions related to the witness' age and profession, or to write them down. Often these answers came late in the body of the complaint. For the most part, as the historical record suggests, the Tarascan natives were not able to tell their age. The scribe wrote the approximate age of an individual from his/her physical appearance. Some Tarascans were able, instead, to associate historical events to their lives. These witnesses are particularly important in the reconstruction of local histories. After the presentation of witnesses the judge set the sentence and then notified the parties involved. Nevertheless, if the complainant was not satisfied, the process started again with a new set of witnesses, or the case moved to a higher court.

Judicial claims reflected the concerns and conflicts of ethnic groups of Spanish, Indian, and mixed descent alike. In terms of origin, three types of claims were found: claims that involved only Indians, claims that involved only Spaniards, and claims that involved Indians and Spaniards.

Claims involving Indian conflicts were of four types: claims that reflected conflicts of power and authority among the native elite, complaints by the indigenous elite against other members of the elite for land invasions, complaints of the indigenous elite against their communities for late payments of their tributary share, or against certain lower status noblemen for payments owed to them from crops raised in the elite's rented lands. Some wills in the Tarascan language were found. Some of them were translated into Spanish. Finally were those claims of "criminal behavior" involving native codes of honor (these claims stemmed from the Tarascan native's view of wrong doing) i.e., violating one's own word when dealing with another Indian.

Claims that involved only Spaniards referred to land and property claims (including wills), minor violations of the law, debts, and less frequently, criminal cases.

Finally, among the claims that involved Indians and Spaniards a distinction was made between complaints raised by the Spanish against the Indians, and those raised by the natives against the Spanish. This difference also reflected the specific concerns in each of the ethnic groups. They reflected cultural and ethnocentric perspectives of "the other" group.

Spanish claims against Indians emphasized absenteeism from the work place, and unkept working agreements; disputes over unpaid tribute,

religious "misdemeanors" or criminal behaviors defined by Spanish law (i.e., drunkness, theft, laziness, polygamy) that also reflected crimes committed against Catholic religious principles; and, finally, land claims.

Indian claims against the Spanish emphasized conflicts of interest: land/property claims, mistreatment and/or the selling of slaves, personal service, working agreements, Spanish intromission on Indian affairs, donations of property to the church and claims against the unfairness of such donations.

The indigenous peoples successfully used judicial institutions as a strategy of resistance. However, according to Stern, this process generated dependency on colonial patrons and power, encouraged bonds among Indians and colonial elites, and strengthened rivalries and conflicts that undermined native authority and cohesion (1992:187).

Biases

The basic biases found in written records came from the perceptions of Europeans and their linguistic and cultural barriers. Record keeping reflected the concern of the Spaniards for the administration and government of New Spain. Nevertheless, no mater how careful they were in documenting what they saw, certain biases and mistakes were observable. In addition to cultural biases and ethnocentrism, regular mistakes were consistently made in relation to Tarascan personal names in court cases (see AHAP 4, #40, 1588 Pátzcuaro; AHAP, 5 #4, 1591 Pátzcuaro; AHAP 5, #36, 1594 Pátzcuaro). When writing Tarascan personal and place names in a given document the Spanish scribe consistently wrote them in different ways. Such persistent errors reflected the Spanish lack of understanding and knowledge of the

Tarascan language, of its grammatical rules and of its unfamiliar sounds. These errors were so consistent that they should be considered standard errors. Interestingly, such errors were as persistent in the early documents of the sixteenth century as they were at the end of the century.

There are cultural biases in this documents that stemmed from the description of unfamiliar cultures to the Spanish observers. The Spanish were not impartial observers and the historical record reflects their prejudice and ethnocentrism. The reverse was probably true of the Tarascans. Stereotypes of "Indians" were common. Indians were often considered drunk and lazy, or they were patronized and considered children. Whether it was a Spanish administrator, a friar, or even a Spanish women, it is not surprising to constantly find references to the backwardness and inferiority of the natives. Conversely, in claims written by Tarascan native nobles it is not surprising to observe the opposite trend in which the Spaniards were seen in an unfavorable light by the indigenous elites.

Spanish observations were also filtered through the culture and the understanding of the translators who often, but not always, were natives. Descriptions of events, and how they were translated by Tarascan interpreters to the Spanish scribes and other authorities, had to influence whatever the scribe understood of an event. Translators were either native translators who knew some Spanish, or they were officially appointed and were either of noble native background or of Spanish background. Information was also filtered through the perspective of members of the native elite who became translators. In addition, observations were also filtered through the culture of the

Spanish scribes or of the Indian lawyers as well [These were government appointees who oversought the solution of conflicts].

2.4 Samples

The volume of data accumulated, although large in number, was insufficient to provide enough information for each particular lineage in every geographical area of the province. Therefore, to explore issues of political control of the Tarascan lineages two samples were created.

Sample One. The first sample related lineage with the geographical occupation and with the control of a geographical area. Since according to various historical sources the Tarascan lineages were strong patrilineal institutions, and since evidence pointed to their persistence after contact, it was possible to create a list in which Tarascan family names could be mapped throughout the Tarascan territory. These Tarascan names were so numerous that it was necessary to reduce their numbers by including a few of them in the sample. This sample was created after careful evaluation of the seven hundred seventy-two names compiled in the second file from this research, and from the information compiled by Sarrelangue (1965). In all, information from more than one thousand seven hundred native noblemen and noble women was available for this first sample.

Of the numerous last names (potential lineages) that were frequent in the province of Michoacán in the sixteenth century, only thirty six lineages were selected. This selection was based on three basic things. First, the amount of information found per family name was important in deciding which lineages would be included (in the sample). Second, the findings made by Sarrelangue in 1965 were considered. She had suggested

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a number of Tarascan last names that had survived until the present[3]. Finally, some of the lineage names were deliberately picked given their political importance. Among these lineages were the cazonci's lineage, known with the last name of Huitziméngari, as well as some other lineages that were related to the cazonci, either by marriage or by political alliance. Among them were the Cuiniharángari, Puruata, and Castilleja.

The information collected (following the above strategy) was transferred to a spreadsheet to see if there were any patterns of lineage clustering in specific geographical areas that would reflect political control of these lineages over particular regions. Data in the sample also helped evaluate if lineages had spread along the Tarascan area at random, which would indicate that lineage political control over geographical regions was unimportant. Some of the results of the sample were later transferred to a map.

Although these data are still preliminary, the information indicated the existence of clusters of lineages that controlled the geographical space, and did not generally show that single lineages controlled specific areas. Some exceptions were found for a few lineages, however; e.g. the Coneti lineage clustered around the town of Uruapan. This information may indicate that these few lineages were either very strong corporate groups, that were allowed to remain somewhat independent from the rest, or that these lineages were directly

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[3] Data from some secondary sources have contributed to the addition of lineages and families in the province of Michoacán. Among these studies are: Van Zantwijk's research on Ihuatzio (1964), as well as from information in Paredes et.al (1984) and Warren (1985).

subjected to the cazonci, perhaps as a special political favor. Alternatively, these lineages may have been of recent formation. An alternative explanation will only come with additional information from local archives.

The information in the sample also revealed that there was a larger concentration of royal and/or related lineages in the former Tarascan core than there were concentrations of lineages outside the core, and consequently, these lineages were concentrated in the former capital of Tzintzuntzan and the newer capital of Pátzcuaro. This information may reflect the bias of the nature of the data collected. Nevertheless, the concentration of clusters of lineages in towns throughout the Tarascan territory indicated the political control of various lineages at the local level. This information is consistent with the shift from a prehispanic Tarascan centralized political organization to a colonial organization based on competition for power among the elites at the local level. Thus, data reflected an overall shift of power from the prehispanic core to the local arena. It also reflected that native officials may have moved away from the former subject-towns to reside in the head-towns within their jurisdictions. Nevertheless, data may also reflect that during the prehispanic period, lineages were competing for power at the local level, and that there was a tendency for the local indigenous elites to reside in the administrative centers, and head-towns as well.

In addition, data suggested that the largest concentration of lineages occurred in the towns of Pátzcuaro and Tzintzuntzan located in the former Tarascan core. These concentrations were consistent with the prehispanic practice of the indigenous elite residing in the capital

city. The largest of all lineage concentrations, that of the colonial capital of Pátzcuaro, reflected the change of the government administration from Tzintzuntzan to Pátzcuaro. According to Beltrán, the Palace of the cazonci was the residence of a large group of Tarascan noblemen and noblewomen. In the palace resided the members of the ruling lineage, as well as the caciques who were the rulers of towns and villages. These caciques were, for the most part, absent from their communities. Mayordomos ruled in their place (1982: 87, 88, 90)[4].

It should also be noted, however, that the findings of the sample are preliminary and that additional archival information may change the perception of the importance of some of these lineages.

Sample Two. To explore the indigenous elite's political survival by means of access to and control of political office, a second sample was created. The importance of this sample was to explore if there were any Tarascan lineages that had accumulated, and/or had maintained political power after Spanish contact. From information obtained from the thirty six lineages in the first sample, the second sample took shape. From these thirty-six lineages, sixteen lineages were further selected for Sample Two.

Selection procedures took into account the amount of information available for each lineage and the size of the lineages based on the numbers of noblemen and noblewomen that represented each lineage. Whereas the first criteria depended on collected data, the second

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[4]This perspective may be a distortion produced by the Relación that focuses on celebrations in Tzintzuntzan. Nevertheless, it may also be a real adminsitrative arrangement. In a viceroyal mandate to the Indian mayors of Guayameo and its subject-towns in 1583, the viceroy stated that according to custom, the Indian mayors were to live in the head-town and not in the subject-towns. This assured the smooth administration of both head and subjet-towns (AGN RI, E523, F121r).

criteria depended also on data that compared the potential political importance of several lineages over others. A lineage of small size was not necessarily a less powerful one. Large, medium and small size lineages were thus determined on the basis of their perceived power according to information from archival and secondary sources. Two hundred fifty-three individuals represented the sixteen selected lineages. Large lineages included between forty and fifty noblemen and noblewomen. Medium-size lineages included between fifteen and twenty-nine noblemen and noblewomen. No lineage was found to have between twenty-nine and forty members on the basis of the information that was gathered. Small size lineages included less than fifteen members. Of the sixteen lineages in the sample two were deliberately picked. These included the Huitziméngari royal lineage, and the Puruata lineage a lineage related to the former uacúsecha lineage. Coincidentally, the information collected for both of these lineages indicated that they were of a medium-size.

The results of the analysis of each of the sixteen lineages yielded information on powerful individuals in each of the lineages. Power was measured in terms of either access to and control of multiple political offices over time, or of one office over a long period of time. Data suggested that the royal lineage continued to enjoy a predominant position after Spanish contact and that generally, political offices were controlled by the same individuals within the elite.

Research Limitations

Some problems were inescapable, particularly in dealing with archival materials. Basic problems dealt with untraceable and lost

documents that were sent to a higher court of justice. This was especially true for materials from the Ayuntamiento de Pátzcuaro (AHAP).

According to Silvio Zavala (Politica Indiana), there were three levels of justice or courts of appeal: the local-level courts, the Real Audiencia de Mexico at the level of the colonial government of New Spain, and the Spanish Consejo de Indias at the highest level. Conflicts could be solved in any of these courts. The problem for a researcher is to follow the paper trail of cases judged in a provincial court and appealed in any of the two higher levels of justice, either in the Real Audiencia or in the Consejo de Indias. In many instances, court cases have been misplaced or misfiled.

An additional problem stemmed from other technicalities. For example, in many instances, local claims stressed that a given event was recorded or took place in the "city of Michoacán". At least three cities were known by the same name: Tzintzuntzan, Pátzcuaro and Valladolid (now Morelia). The city of Michoacán could have been any of these three subsequent capital cities. This lack of clarity hindered the ability of tracing some of the social and kinship connections among members of the nobility that were located in the "Ciudad de Michoacán",

Another limitation was the nature of the research itself. The information gathered was focused on the analysis of the entire province. Therefore, an in-depth perspective into particular regions within the province had to be sacrificed. It is expected that, in the future, additional information compiled in local archives will continue to provide a better understanding of the survival strategies and accommodations of local elites within their particular communities.

The research opens more questions than receives answers especially in terms of the economic impact that colonization had on the Tarascan elite. We can only hope to stress some trends. In addition, little is also known about what happened to the lands of the Tarascan elites.

CHAPTER 3

IDENTITY OF THE TARASCAN NOBILITY IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

After the Spanish conquest of Michoacán, the native elite's socio-economic and political position changed. The native nobility innovated ways to accommodate and adapt to the Spanish, and created mechanisms to safeguard their social and political position. The Tarascan elites learned to manipulate the colonial system, which they were partially defining, by operating within the limits imposed by the colonial society. With some exceptions after 1522, the authority of the native elite shifted from the provincial level to the local communities.

There is a need to carefully explore ideas regarding the indigenous elites, since there is still little understanding about what happened to the native nobility of Michoacán after contact. Based on interpretations of Spanish laws and mandates that went against the native elites some social scientists and historians have suggested the elites' disappearance. However, the rapport between the Tarascan elites and the Spanish was unique.

Rather than being reduced to simple delegates of the Spanish, as Sarrelangue argued (1965:17), the native elites created their own niche in the province. The elites understood their role as agents of change and acted to obtain benefits in this process. The image of the elite as agents of change is, therefore, simplistic[1]. The Spanish presence also refocused existing political and economic rivalries among the indigenous

[1]The pacification of New Galicia and the conquest of Colima between 1528 and 1530, as well as other conquering enterprises extending from Michoacán to the North and West, enlisted the aid of the Tarascan elite, and amassed large quantities of food and other supplies to maintain Spanish soldiers. These supplies came from native communities and represented a burden on them. The native nobility was coerced into furnishing Tarascan soldiers and supplies (RM 1989:292,293; Warren 1985:214).

elites. Spanish and Indian elites competed against each other for political control and economic interests (RM 1989: 286, 287; León 1968:149; Warren 1985:157). Spanish colonization changed the prehispanic trend of political centralization in the hands of the native elite, and gave new meaning to the competition over the control of local politics.

In the process of interaction with the Spaniards and with their communities, the native elites fabricated a web of patron-client relations, subordinated relations, and relations of power. During the 16th-century, the Spanish recognized the power and the position of the native elites in their own communities. Therefore, the Tarascan nobility also became intermediaries between Indian communities and the Spanish government. Intermediarism was especially important to the Spaniards who used the native authorities to obtain Indian labor[2].

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[2]Indians were the primary richness of New Spain. They were used in colonial economic enterprises: encomiendas, mines, obrajes, and sugar plantations. To extract labor from Indian communities the encomenderos, or their overseers, used co-option, paternalism, intimidation, good treatment, isolation, and persuasion against the native elites. For example, the encomendero Juan Infante instructed his overseer to use all of these means to secure the help of the native authorities in his encomienda of Sivinan and Capácuaro (Warren 1984:58). Tribute and labor were necessary to the encomendero since his family was sustained by the food supplies from Indian communities. The encomendero received blankets, chili, beans, chickens, pots, and corn. Tribute and Indian labor were used in the encomendero's house as well as in the enterprises he ran, i.e. mines. Also Spanish town were supported by the tribute and labor from Indian communities (Leçoin 1988:124). Increasingly, pigs and cattle rearing became an Indian task in the encomiendas of Michoacán. Tribute was very often carried to the mines; this meant that the Indians had to travel long-distances of up to 12 leagues (Paredes 1984:24, 65; Warren 1985:191). In a footnote to the Relación, Cabrero suggested a league to measure five kilometers (RM 1989:267). Acuña estimated a league to be 5, 572 meters and 7 centimeters (1987:322). Indian service to the church also meant travelling from Indian towns (CDH-INAH, SM114, 1563 Zirosto). This was a sign of the system's abuse on Indian labor. Paredes also suggested that before 1549, even the native nobility serviced the encomenderos (1984:59). The real nature of this service remains to be described. Conflicts of jurisdiction during the first decade after the conquest of Michoacán, brought problems between encomenderos and Indians. The Encomiendas were constantly reassigned,

Certain trends can be observed in the process of adaptation and accommodation of the elite. First, the Tarascan hierarchical system collapsed, eroding the political power of the native elite at the macro-level (at the level of the province). This caused a reaccommodation of the elite within the constrictions imposed by the colonial socio-political and economic system, and refocused power at the local level. A second trend reveals the appearance of coexisting arrangements between the native elites and the Spaniards which included intermarriages, fictive kinship, the adoption of Spanish material culture, and the reinforcement of ties among the indigenous nobility. A third tendency suggests a selective process by which some members of the native elite became members of the colonial elite at the exclusion of others. Patron-client relationships between the native elite and their communities were also developed. These trends will be examined throughout the remaining chapters.

This chapter discusses the composition of the native elite and deals with the use, abuse and manipulation of attitudes, ideologies, and objects, for the gain of social status and prestige in the new colonial

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prompting discord among the Spaniards. Indian towns frequently claimed that they had to pay tribute to two encomenderos at the same time (AHAP 1, # 31, 1557 Cherán). The Indians of Cherán claimed to be under Juan Infante's encomienda, as well as under Pedro de Abrego's encomienda at the same time (AHAP 1, # 31, 1557 Cherán). Such problems represented a burden to the Indians as the Indians from Cherán claimed in this document. Following legal disputes among encomenderos, Cherán became part of Juan Infante's encomienda in 1557. Tributary payments that were contested among the descendants, heirs, and relatives of former encomenderos were often fought over in court cases. In particular, widows fought to retain some form of tribute granted as "ayuda por via de alimentos" from their dead husbands' encomiendas (CDH-INAH, SM114, 1569-1573); and in the absence of male relatives, women could inherit encomiendas (CDH-INAH, SM118, 1602). Nevertheless, those women had to remarry within a year, so that their husbands could fulfill their military duty as inscribed in the encomienda's obligations (Parry 1993:44).

system. This allows us to understand not only who was the elite in prehispanic Tarascan society, and colonial Michoacán but, also, the ways in which the nobility manipulated their position in the colonial society to become separated from the commoners.

3.1 The Historical Background

Tarascan civilization has been characterized as structurally different from the Aztec society to which it was a contemporary (Beltrán, In Carrasco 1986:46, see also Carrasco 1976, Semo 1973:22). Yet the Tarascans shared many cultural traits with the rest of Mesoamerica while they remained distinct (Beltrán 1982:29, Pollard 1993:3, Warren 1985:9). Tarascan society appears to have been unusually centralized, and to have retained a frontier character.

Some additional characteristics of prehispanic Tarascan society were the nature of Tarascan state expansion (Semo 1973:22), Tarascan politics and ecology (Gorenstein and Pollard 1983, Pollard, 1980, 1982, 1987, 1993), the frontier and rural characters of Michoacán (Beltran 1982:16, 64), and contacts with Peru or Ecuador, especially related to metal working (Corona Nuñez 1988, see Pollard 1993:12, Hosler:1994:224, 225).

The Tarascan civilization was characterized also by the reliance on lacustrine, agricultural and hunting resources, by the absence of large nucleated populations throughout the entire territory and a heavily populated core located in the Pátzcuaro Lake Basin, and by the retention of a frontier character. Additional characteristics were the presence of a multiethnic society particularly located at the borders of the Tarascan empire, and the patterns of conquest and settlement used. As opposed to the Aztec settlement pattern which included sending some

dignataries to the conquered towns, the Tarascans relocated families in conquered areas and co-opted the conquered elites into obedience by creating marriage alliances with them.

Located between Central Mexico and Northern Mexico, characterized by semi-nomadic cultures, the Tarascans made of war a state objective and a means of social movement. Figure 1. shows the Tarascan Area.

Tarascan history is recounted in the Spanish chronicle of the Relación (hereafter RM) recorded probably in 1538 or 1539 and handed down to the viceroy in 1541. This most important Tarascan chronicle legitimized a specific group of Chichimecs[3], who through conquest and alliance, concentrated power and controlled political and economic resources in the Lake Pátzcuaro Basin. Although these Chichimec migrants were few in number, over time, they concentrated power in the hands of a ruling lineage, the uacúsecha, and primarily through the figure of the cazonci (the king)[4] (Beltrán 1982:18, Pollard 1993:13). Under the ruler was a wide web of elite bureaucrats who coordinated state administration and extended the political grip of the state.

Prehispanic Tarascan state centralization was reinforced by social and economic practices, and buttressed in state ideology. The centralized character of the Tarascan state was manifested in the co-option of collateral noble lineages that competed for power and resources, in the creation of alliances between lineages, in the access

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[3]The Aztecs used the term Chichimec to refer to scattered hunting and gathering bands of Indians who inhabited the North. The Spanish adopted this term as well (Bakewell 1976:200).

[4]The Spanish version of the native cultures and their past, according to Silverblatt, was structured in terms of dynasties of kings (1987: xxii)

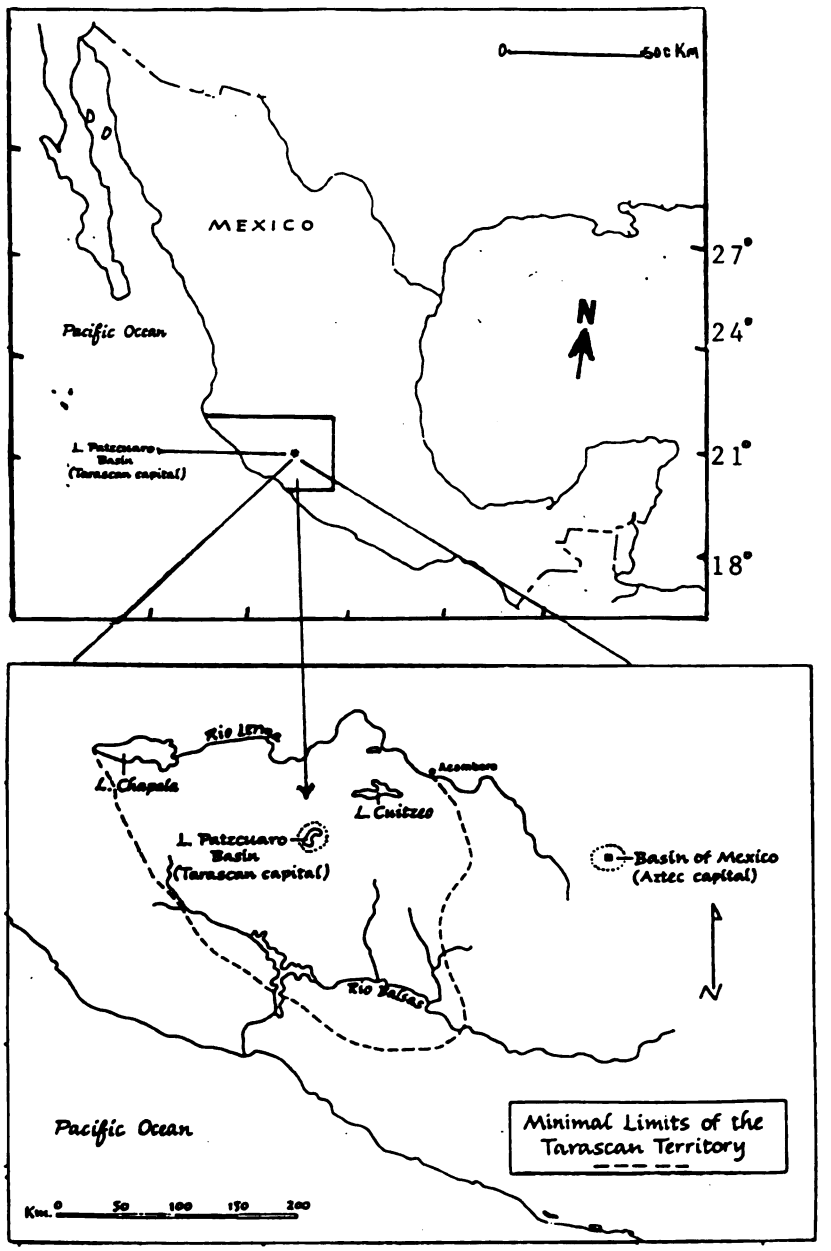

Figure 1. The Province of Michoacán

to and control of the best agricultural lands (which were scattered), and in the control of other resources like tribute and political office.

The Tarascan state developed in what is today the state of Michoacán, Mexico, some 480 kilometers West of Mexico City, and extended its domains into portions of the modern states of Jalisco, Guerrero, Colima, Queretaro, and Guanajuato. Its domains extended between the rivers Balsas in the South and Lerma-Santiago in the North. It was probably the first state to emerge in Western Mexico around the twelfth century (Beltrán 1982:64, see Gorenstein and Pollard 1983).

According to the legends in the Relación, the uacúsecha came to the area with the latest waves of Chichimecs who arrived to the Lake Pátzcuaro basin, circa 1100 A.D, although their origin remains unclear. The development of the Tarascan Empire was rather late in the Post Classic period (see Pollard 1983, Pollard 1980:693, Beltrán 1982:15, and Beltrán, In Carrasco 1986:46).

According to Pollard, consolidation of the Pátzcuaro basin by the Tarascan uacúsecha took place between the years A.D. 1250 and 1350. Full development of the state came between the years A.D. 1450 to 1520 (1993:14, 101). By a series of conquests and alliances the Tarascans became the dominant polity in Michoacán between A.D. 1350 and 1450.

The core[5] of the Tarascan state, defined historically and archaeologically, was located in the central plateau, comprised some 75,000 square kilometers (Pollard 1993:87), and was centered in the Pátzcuaro lake basin. The lake basin became the center of Tarascan domination and of the empire.

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[5]The core is defined by Gorenstein and Pollard (1983) as the locus of power. It includes the capital of the Tarascan polity and the resources to support the administrative and political apparatus.

There is evidence of occupation in Tzintzuntzan, the Tarascan capital, since the early classic period. At the height of the empire the capital had some 35,000 inhabitants, representing 36% of the population of the basin, which has been variously estimated at between 60,750, and 105,000 people, with a mean of 80,000 (Pollard, 1993:29, 33, 48, 62, 79).

Population estimates for the entire area of Michoacán by 1519 had varied as well, ranging from between 741,105 (Beltrán 1982: 126) to 1.3 million people (Cook, in Beltrán 1982:121). Beltrán's figures come from the analysis of the Carvajal visitation to the province around 1538 (in Warren 1963, 19(4):404-412). Low population densities may have characterized the Tarascan territory as a whole, and not the core itself. Pollard suggests that the semi-tropical and tropical areas of Michoacán were sparsely populated (1993:102). Nevertheless, it is possible that such sparse population was concentrated in two regions of tierra caliente: Asuchitlán and Tuxpa which were conquered by the Tarascans around 1480, and were subsequently colonized by them. These areas were protected with garrisons against incursions from either the Aztecs or other Indians from the province of Jalisco (Percheron 1988:145). The Pacific coast was not heavily populated either. It was characterized by a dispersed population more concentrated along rivers, and which lacked political unity; or in the case of the province of Zacatula, it had some small independent señorios (chiefdoms) that paid tribute to the Aztecs or at times to the Tarascans.

The area of tierra caliente eventually experienced the largest population decline in the sixteenth century after Spanish contact (Borah 1985:17, Leçoin 1988:140). Nevertheless, prehispanic population

estimates are made more difficult since population decline in some Tarascan areas spread before any significant contact with the Spanish had taken place.

In addition, the core of the Tarascan empire was densely populated in relation to the availability of agricultural lands on the lake Pátzcuaro shores. Pollard (1980) has suggested that at the height of the Tarascan empire, the lake level was higher than at present, resulting in a significant reduction of lands best suited for agriculture. The most fertile lands with irrigation may have decreased under conditions of rising waters, which, in turn, would have resulted in the displacement of populations, and the mounting competition among members of the elite for control of these lands. Recently, based on historical references of changes in the level of the lake, and on sediment cores drilled in the lake itself, O'Hara (1993) has supported the above hypothesis. Thus water-level fluctuations on available land are important in addressing issues of competition and factionalism among the native elite before Spanish contact, and between the indigenous elites and the Spaniards in colonial Michoacán.

After contact, local communities throughout the province became immersed in the larger colonial society and economy. The Spanish presence in the province forced the Tarascan elites to redefine their socio-economic and political roles under the new regime. In addition, the Spanish presence also redefined the role of the native elites in local politics and broke the previous Tarascan political centralization, thus forcing a process of provincialization of power.

Butzer has estimated that by about 1590, the total Spanish population in Michoacán was of approximately two thousand inhabitants

compared to 45,000 Spaniards in the region of the Basin of Mexico, and 22,000 in the Puebla-Tlaxcala region in Central Mexico (1991:206). These figures have implications for the nature of the relationships between the Spaniards and the Tarascan elites of highest social rank, and perhaps also affected the elitness of those Tarascans who were associated with these Spaniards. Butzer suggests that many of these so called Spaniards were second or third generation "españoles" frequently of partial native descent (op.cit:207).

The Tarascan elites fought to maintain political prominence in their communities. Within the limits imposed by their own culture, and by Spanish economic, social, and political restrictions and norms, the Tarascan elites worked to preserve their power by establishing alliances with prominent Spaniards, as well as with other prominent native elites within and outside the province. Successful individuals were able to manipulate these connections, and at the same time, were able to maintain the political support of their own constituencies. In turn, Tarascan culture, as well as the role of the native elites reshaped the local colonial society.

The province of Michoacán became the first bishropic outside the Valley of Mexico. Its conquest, rather pacific, took place in 1522, and was completed by 1530 (see Paredes 1983 and 1984). Early in the archival documents there are references of mining activities in La Huacana, Espiritu Santo, and other mines in the area. As early as 1527 the encomendero Juan Infante exploited mines in Michoacán (Paredes 1983). There are indications that the exploitation of gold and silver in these mines created economic links between the encomiendas that provided labor and other supplies, and the mines. Companies were formed

to exploit the mines as early as the 1530's. Tribute provided the encomendero the means to sustain his family at an early date.

Some references from the Archivo del Ayuntamiento de Pátzcuaro reveal that Tarascan noblemen were involved in the transportation of goods to the mines. Many Spanish colonizers from Michoacán were involved in local or long distance trade to the mines of Zacatecas, San Luis Potosi, and Guanajuato, and in raising animals for transportation.

The building of an infrastructure required to move commodities to the mines became one of Michoacán's most important priorities. Among the commodities that were sent to the mines were meat, mules, agricultural products, fish, and textiles. The participation of Tarascan nobles in transport activities reveals that commerce became an activity of high prestige in the colonial context. This activity seems to have been lucrative to the Spanish and prestigious to the native nobility as well.

3.2 Composition of the Native Elite

Beltrán argued that the prehispanic Tarascan nobility perceived themselves as members of lineages[6]. According to him, these lineages were corporate groups of relatives whose holding of office depended on the cazonci (1982:96,99,115,204; see also Beltrán 1986:56).

Beltrán also suggested that lands were attached to lineage heads. His perspective is in line with Carrasco's approach to Central Mexico, where members of a chiefly house (tecalli) were members of corporate groups with a common ancestor. According to Carrasco, the corporate nature of the tecalli was defined by office, lands attached to the house, and renters (mayeques) linked to these lands. Therefore, holding

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[6]Tarascan lineages are referred to as "siruqua" or "linaje" which in Tarascan means "the runner of a plant" (Gilberti 1989:123).

office meant controlling the resources of the chiefly house and of the people attached to it (1984:42). From this perspective, the descendants of a lineage head who had political office, could themselves become dependents of a different lineage head. In addition, a title holder could control more than one tecalli, and some of the commoners could be distantly related to the office holder. The RG[7] of Chilchota suggests a similar possibility in Michoacán by emphasizing marriage practices in which some commoners married the local cacique's kinswomen (RG Chilchota 1987:109). Over time, commoners in a lineage would become distantly related to the ruling caciques. This pattern was probably used by members of the Tarascan royal lineage who linked themselves through marriage with different Tarascan lineages, as a form of political co-option or to create alliances, and to expand over conquered territories. In turn, this may explain the presence of Tarascan Indians who bear last names which were associated with the indigenous elite in the colonial period, yet they were commoners. Cuiri, Tzintzon, Xanaqua, Cuiru, Quentze or Quenetze and Nuli noble last names, were also last names found among the commoners (AHAP 2, #7, 1561 Peribán; AHAP 2, #46 1566 Cuitzeo; AHAP 3, #5, 1570 Pátzcuaro; AHAP 3, #14, 1571 Pátzcuaro; AHAP 3,#22, 1573 Zirósto).

Holding office in Tarascan prehispanic society depended on the cazonci's approval. On the other hand, lineage segmentation and the appearance of new lords was possible. Segmentation revealed opposite processes of political fragmentation and centralization according to Beltrán (1982:56), and may indicate that a single lineage did not control various chiefly houses as occurred in Central Mexico. More

[7]From now on, RG stands for the Relaciones Geográficas.

likely, however, lineage segmentation may be an indicator of the process of Tarascan expansion into conquered territories.

In Michoacán, the prehispanic cabecera (head-town) housed the lineage head's residence with its lands. The curintziepa (sharecroppers) were attached to the lands of the house in a similar pattern to the mayeques in Central Mexico. Beltrán suggests, that when a lineage increased in size, it split and relocated in a different area, most likely in a secondary head-town (subcabecera).

Lineage segmentation gave way to the creation of "junior lineages" with lordship privileges and attached settlements (1982:177). He found this practice to be different from Central Mexico. According to Beltrán, the existence of prehispanic subcabeceras in Michoacán indicated the presence of splitting lineages (Ibid:117).

The outcome of lineage fragmentation may have been lineage competition for resources. Eventually, each lineage segment may have formed a well defined independent group in terms of the control of lands and offices attached to the lineage. Conversely, it may have also meant that through its new ramification the old lineage was able to expand its territory; therefore, extending its political influence as well. Indeed, lineages either controlled poor or wealthy areas creating differences among them. Only noble lineages accumulated wealth, and according to Sarrelangue, the nobility controlled the best lands (1965:44). Differential access to wealth may indicate the existence of various social layers within the indigenous elite as well.

The accumulation of wealth, measured by access to and control of resources by prehispanic lineages was, according to Beltrán, reflected in colonial Michoacán (1982: 117, 118, 205). Nevertheless, it is to be

considered that the native nobility who accumulated or preserved wealth after contact was able to do so, in part, by its connections with the Spanish elite. In addition the Tarascan nobility was able to capitalize on its kinship connections with the old indigenous aristocracy to claim lands as private property. Therefore, political and kin relations with both the Spanish colonial elite and with the old indigenous aristocracy were conducive to the accumulation of colonial wealth, and to the retention of some prehispanic lands as seen in Chapter 5.

In prehispanic Tarascan society, there was a relationship between the control of resources, especially fertile lands, and marriage, the creation of political alliances among nobles, the concentration of power[8] among the elites, and the transference of resources via connections with the elite. All of these indicated the existence of political centralization and of mechanisms that strengthened the position of the elite at the same time[9].

Archaeological research indicated that fertile lands around the lake were spotty in nature, and thus, were scarce. This had an impact on the centralization of the state since this scarce resource was concentrated in the hands of the elite group[10].

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[8]Power is used here as the ability of a group to exercise coercion to obtain what is sought.

[9]The availability and the use of lands and water affected the prehispanic Tarascan political economy. The control of luxury items, of natural resources that were transported to the capital, of the best agricultural lands, and of political positions were under the control of the cazonci, and by and large, of the elite. Fishing rights in particular spots of the lake were granted by the king. In Tiripitio, located outside the Pátzcuaro basin, fishermen were allotted a bay which was located within the town's jurisdiction (RG Tiripitio 1987:344-45). The same process seems to have taken place in terms of lands in the Pátzcuaro lake basin.

The Tarascan record indicates that the native nobility perceived themselves as members of lineages. The ruling lineage was the uacúsecha, and other lineages that had become related or associated to the royal lineage were called Eneani and Zacapu-Hireti (RM 1989:41). The association with the royal lineage was important in terms of access to political power and marriage connections that were beneficial to the elite. Lineages were patrilineal in terms of the inheritance of office but were bilateral in terms of inheritance of wealth (RM 1989:232-3). Offices passed from fathers to sons and/or to other male relatives (RM 1989:198).

Although kinship categories may suggest matrilineal marriage arrangements due to the prohibition of marriage between nephew and aunt (A.Beltrán 1981:172), a patrilineal tendency is revealed in the preferred marriages among paternal uncle and niece, and between parallel cousins on the father's side, especially among members of the highest elite as depicted in colonial documents[11] (CDH-INAH, SM114, 1558 Pátzcuaro; see Sarrelangue 1965:171,183).

Prehispanic Tarascan marriage patterns suggest that a woman's social position was important in terms of her children's future political office. The closer the woman was to the uacúsecha lineage, the better opportunity for a child to get a higher political office in

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[10]Pollard (1980) has indicated that at the height of the Tarascan empire, the lake level was higher than at present resulting in a reduction of agricultural lands. This in turn may have resulted in displacement of populations from around the lake basin and the increased competition for lands among the elites. A similar study after Spanish contact may be useful in assessing competition for lands between the Spanish and the indigenous elites.

[11]Colonial documents show the existence of a preference for marriages between parallel cousins on the father's side. Cross cousin marriages may have also been important but no information has been found on this yet.

the future[12]. In the case of a noblewoman married to the cazonci, the mother's lineage had the duty to help raise the cazonci's child by cultivating the lands given to the woman's child by the cazonci, and by weaving textiles for the cazonci's child (RM 1989:223). Therefore, a noblewoman's lineage was important since it supported the cazonci's descendants as well. Finally, in terms of marriage, city and town wards had marriage regulating functions and lineage endogamy was important (RM 1989:227, Pollard 1993:55).

Therefore, the presence of lineages in the prehispanic society was manifested in the practice of marriage endogamy, in the marriage regulating functions of the wards, in the system of inheritance of office through the male line, and in the participation of woman's lineages associated with the rearing of Tarascan noble children. In addition, the Tarascan vocabulary expresses the existence of lineages. Given the above manifestations, Tarascan lineages can be traced and located geographically in the sixteenth century.

The commoners may have also perceived themselves as members of lineages. According to Van Zantwijck, an occupational group was at the same time a lineage or a combination of lineages who lived in the same ward (1967:42). Wards were endogamous, and occupations were hereditary. Thus, it appears that there was an overlapping between lineage and occupational group in Tarascan society. In his study of Ihuatzio, Van

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[12]It is possible that the cazonci gave his daughters and sisters in marriage to many of the lords who submitted to him, and to noblemen of lower status and different lineage, as a means of reinforcing political alliances. As a result, subordinated groups to the uacúsecha ruling lineage were created. This trend seems to have taken place in the Valley of Mexico as well, and in particular in the region of Chalco (Carrasco 1984, Schroeder 1992).

Zantwijck found that patrilineages were present in this community in the 1960's, and wards continued to have marriage regulating functions (1964:78)

Belonging to a certain lineage conferred prestige on its members. Social prestige indicated the presence of unequal ranks among noble lineages. Lineages that descended from the last cazonci, or that were related to him, had higher status than those lineages who were either unrelated or remotely related to him. In addition, within a lineage upper and lower ranks also existed. If an occupational group was in fact a lineage, the head official of the occupational group had a higher status than the rest of the members of the occupational group.

Lineages were stratified and the entire noble class was ranked. Noblemen of higher ranks controlled other nobles of lower status, as well as various officials in the state bureaucracy. Since, according to Beltrán, only members of noble lineages were able to have political office, wealth, and lands (1982:56), this trend separated noble lineages from non-noble lineages as well.

Among members of the elite were the heads of wards. Indeed, some wards were named after these noblemen. After the conquest, this trend continued for as long as the heads of wards were alive. According to Sarrelangue (1965), the city of Pátzcuaro had 12 wards by 1553, while, according to León, it had 15 wards (1968:199). Both agreed, however, that Pátzcuaro had 73 subject-towns. In 1553 four wards still bore the names of the noblemen Don Antonio, Don Francisco Tariacuri, Don Marcos[13], and Don Francisco Cuiris (Sarrelangue 1965:68). All of them

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[13]It is likely that this D. Marcos may have been D. Marcos Irepan (also written Yrepan) a member of the highest nobility.

were members of the ruling lineage. A fifth ward of Pátzcuaro in 1573, belonged to Don Martin Tzimban (CDH-INAH, SM112, 1573).

Other towns had wards that were headed by their own local nobility. In 1576 Cotzico ward in Turicato may have been headed by Don Juan Cutzi, and most likely, the ward of Tzicun in Tzintzuntzan may have been headed by the Tzicu family (CDH-INAH, SM112). Although there is not enough evidence to fully substantiate these claims, this is possible given the similarities between the names of the wards and some of the local last names. In addition, documentary evidence suggests the prominence of the Cutzi familily in Turicato, the Tzicu family in Tzintzuntzan and Uruapan in the sixteenth century (AHAP 3, 43, 1576 Turicato; CDH-INAH, SM114, 1595 Tzintzuntzan; CDH-INAH. SM114, 1578 Uruapan).

In early colonial Michoacán some of the wards may not have belonged to the same noblemen as they did prior to the Spanish conquest. For example, Don Francisco Tariacuri, Don Antonio's brother, came to reside in Pátzcuaro, perhaps around 1538, giving his name to a ward (Sarrelangue 1965:171). Change of heads in the towns' wards after Spanish contact may have been more rapid than they probably were before contact. Change was triggered also by population decline. It is likely that the native nobility benefited from the tribute and services of Indians from their wards both before and after contact.

When the heads of wards died, their wards received the names of saints (Sarrelangue 1965:69). By the end of the sixteenth century, wards were also named after the occupational group that was associated with the ward, i.e the ward of La Asuncion olleros or pottery makers in Pátzcuaro (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1590).

The prehispanic Tarascan ward was entirely different from a Spanish city or village ward since Tarascan wards were not only territorial units, but they also had marriage regulating functions. Prehispanic wards were subdivided into smaller units, each with 25 houses, managed, controlled and ruled by the ohcambecha, who counted people for tributary and service purposes (RM 1989:194, Van Zantwijck 1964:40). Such wards were territorial units, with ceremonial, kinship, marriage, and descent functions (Pollard 1992:69). Wards that housed occupational groups, that were at the same time lineages, were regulated by endogamous marriage practices which kept lineages localized in their territorial units. If this interpretation is correct, Tarascan lineages could be studied in relation to their geographical location.

3.3 Tracing Noble Lineages

If noblemen perceived themselves as members of lineages, which indeed gave them noble status, we would expect two outcomes. First, lineages could be recognizable even after Spanish contact. Therefore, certain Tarascan last names, which are found within and outside the lake basin in early colonial Michoacán, may be remnants of pre-contact lineages[14]. Because the elites effectively managed their own family connections (especially the highest elite), and because the elites struggled to maintain their prominence after contact (a prominence that was recognized by Spanish authorities), some of these lineages are assumed to have survived after Spanish contact. This survival does not however, imply a lack of change.

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[14]It is important to notice that the historical record shows that the same kinds of last names are frequently found throughout the province.

Second, lineages, especially those of noble status, formed a separate group from the commoners by manipulating, using and abusing cultural practices (both prehispanic and colonial), and by consuming certain goods that conferred prestige upon them. Therefore, the survival of the elite as a group depended, in part, on the creation of mechanisms of alliance that bonded the elite as a group, on the creation of regulations that excluded the commoners, and on the manipulation of ideas that helped reproduce the elite as a group separated from the mass.

Following the premise that prehispanic Tarascan noble lineages were strong enough to perpetuate themselves, and to extend their socio-political influence over a geographical space, despite the prehispanic tendency of political centralization, many of these lineages survived after contact. In this process, however, such lineages changed due to population decline, population removal, Spanish alliances, and political changes between head and subject towns that affected the composition of the elite after contact. This makes the task of tracing lineages in the sixteenth century difficult.

Four trends make tracing lineages further complicated: first, the adoption of Spanish names; second, population movement and population decline; third, social mobility; and finally, the use of common names among the elite.

3.3.1 The Adoption of Spanish Names

In regards to tracing lineages after contact, the issue is complicated by the appearance of new last names which are for the most part Spanish. In many instances, data are insufficient to indicate how such names were acquired. It is possible that some Spanish names were

translations of Tarascan names. This was probably the case of Iquiba and Vacus. The former translates into courageous or valiant (Sarrelangue 1965:162). For example, Don Gregorio Valiente was a principal from Acachué n whose name may have been Iquiba (in León 1968:58). Several native noblemen and noblewomen with the last name Iquiba were also found in Capácuaro and Cuitzeo. The later name Vacus translates into águila (eagle) (León 1968:220). Don Diego Águila, governor of Acámbaro, was probably a member of the royal lineage called uacúsecha (eagles) (in RG Celaya 1987:61).

Among the nobility who adopted Spanish last names were those of Nahua descent in Michoacán, but they were not the only ones. Some members of the elite adopted both Spanish and indigenous last names, or used them interchangeably, as did the governor of Turicato Don Luis Cortés who also signed as Luis Taraxo (AHAP 3, #43, 1576-77, Turicato).

Some members of the highest Tarascan native elite adopted a Spanish last name at the exclusion of their native name. Such was the case of the Castilleja family who was closely related to the Huitziméngari family from Pátzcuaro. The former were descendants of the lords of Ihuatzio: Tecuaraque, Tecuruan and Paquingata[15] (AHAP 1, #31, 1556-1565, Periban). The later descended from the lords of Tzintzuntzan: Zuangua and Tangaxoan[16] (RM 1989:189). The lords from Tzintzuntzan, Pátzcuaro, and Ihuatzio were related, and therefore, these families were from the royal lineage. The Huitziméngari family

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[15]The lord from Ihuatzio Paquingata's daughter D. Maria Inaguit, married one of the first conquerors Francisco de Castilleja. Their daughter D. Beatriz de Castilleja married D. Pedro de Abrego (N.León 1968:169).

[16]Some of cazonci Tangaxoan's descendants married Spanish women as well (see León 1968:166,167 and Sarrelangue 1965).

increasingly used as a second last name the term "Cazonci" (king or lord). In this manner, they stressed their royal descent from the king of Michoacán. So did the Castilleja's by linking themselves to the lords of Ihuatzio and Tzintzuntzan.

In a royal mandate to the Audiencia of Mexico regarding the recognition of lands to Doña Beatriz de Castilleja, dated in 1584, the king of Spain conferred equal status to both Tangaxoan and Paquingata: "eran reyes de la Provincia de Michoacán Cacona y Panguata y que sin resistencia ninguna le dieron la obediencia..." (León 1968:182-3). It is likely that this view was influenced by Beatriz who manipulated her connections with Tangaxoan (her great uncle) and Paquingata (her grandfather) to get the lands that she claimed. Therefore, through her mother Doña Maria Inaguit, Paquingata's daughter, Doña Beatriz stressed kin connections with the males of her lineage: the lords Tangaxoan and Paquingata.

In both cases these related families (Huitziméngari and Castilleja) placed themselves in the circle of the colonial nobility of Pátzcuaro.

In addition to claims of descent from native lords, the royal lineage benefited from marriage connections with the Spanish elite. Therefore, they could successfully manipulate their Spanish or native noble descent to their advantage, a topic explored in a later chapter.

Preserving a native last name, using it with a Spanish name, or using any of those interchangeably when necessary, did not hinder the political influence of the upper native elite in Michoacán. Name manipulation became an asset. Therefore, finding documents that record

kinship relations among members of the elite would facilitate the understanding of noble lineages and their survival after contact.

3.3.2 Population Decline and Population Movement

The second difficulty in tracing lineages deals with population changes. After contact, population movement and population decline contributed to the breakup of relationships between subject-towns and head-towns (see Paredes 1984). This created conflicts among the local elites, and forced them to either move to new head-towns, to lose political importance, to fight for independence, or to die out. These events complicate tracing lineages.

Nevertheless, whenever the native population was forced to relocate into new congregations, but was given the choice of places where to move, members of the elite opted to move into towns where they had relatives. This was the case of the nobility from Ihuatzio in 1602, who either had relatives in Tzintzuntzan or in Pátzcuaro. The choice they had in Pátzcuaro was to settle in the ward of San Francisco (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1602). This also indicates a preferential status given to the members of the elite.

According to the above document, five noblemen from Ihuatzio relocated to Pátzcuaro. These were Anton Tzurequi, Pablo Uacuinchu, Joan Pacheco, Lucas Cintzu (very likely Tzintzon), and the scribe Miguel Angel. The Tzurequi, Uacuinchu, and Tzintzon last names were common to the native nobility of the lake basin in the sixteenth century. None of the above native noblemen chose to relocate to Tzintzuntzan. These noblemen consciously decided to move to Pátzcuaro, a center with

political importance although, by this time, Pátzcuaro had lost some of its prominence to Valladolid[17].

Therefore, it is possible to document some of the connections between the elites of different towns and to trace their political and economic relations in the 16th-century. Additional research on local archives may yield similar documents.

3.3.3 Social Mobility

Although it was not common, some individuals from lower ranking lineages, as well as some commoners, moved into a higher social rank after contact. This practice, however, created conflict and competition among the existing nobility. Not enough information is available to assess how social mobility affected the political and economic relations among the distinctive groups of Tarascan elites.

In prehispanic society the only apparent way to become a nobleman or a noblewoman was by being born into one of the noble lineages. Nevertheless, the Relación indicated a few instances in which an individual achieved the status of a lord in war (RM 1989:136). Military

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[17]Bishop Quiroga established his diocese in Tzintzuntzan but, by 1539 he moved the Bishopric to Pátzcuaro (Warren 1985:88). This movement was completed in 1540 and Pátzcuaro became the capital of the province (Paredes 1984:51). From a subject-town Pátzcuaro became a head-town and the capital. The former capital became Pátzcuaro's subject-town. The consequence of this political change in the increase of local conflict among the native elites will be explored elsewhere. The capital city was moved to the city of Valladolid in the 1570's. In prehispanic society local rulers, lords, and their relatives lived in the capital of Tzintzuntzan. This arrangement was beneficial to the uacúshecha lineage who could extend its control over the entire nobility. This living arrangement strengthened Tarascan political centralization, as well as the political alliances between the elite and the ruling lineage. In turn, this process served to reduce possible conflicts among the elites. On the other hand, it seems that while the caciques lived in the palace at Tzintzuntzan, some of the governors, especially those of frontier towns did not. These governors represented the cazonci in frontier towns. Their alliance with the cazonci ensured the stability of the frontiers.

achievement was probably the only means of social mobility. Beltrán suggested that social mobility gave access to authority (1982:103)[18].

According to the Relación, endogamous marriages within a lineage strengthened the social status of the nobility (RM 1989:226)[19]. Even though endogamous marriages were culturally preferred in Tarascan prehispanic society, they were not necessarily the only type of marriages. Interlineage marriages indeed took place, and connections between various individuals of higher and lower status were not uncommon. Therefore, the marriage practice followed by the cazonci of giving his women to caciques and other noblemen to establish alliances, was replicated at the local level between commoners and caciques.

A restricted and/or controlled movement between social groups and the use of special symbols of status, separated the elite in prehispanic Tarascan society. In colonial Michoacán new possibilities were opened for social mobility. It is also likely that the elites of lower status were able to fill in some vacant positions left by those who died in the early epidemics after the Spanish conquest. By participating in new

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[18]According to Beltrán, war legitimized the position of the elite since it gave the elite the means to acquire rights over lands, and perhaps over water and tribute (Beltrán 1982:69, see also Lameiras 1985:160, Pollard 1993:124). In addition, the military elite repressed and co-opted hostile populations and their elites in the territories that were annexed to the Tarascan territory, or which were already Tarascan. This pattern has been demonstrated by the division of the Otomi, and other ethnic groups, into various settlements within the Tarascan territory, and by Tarascan policies of ethnocide.

[19]Lineage endogamy in prehispanic society strengthened the centralization of power in the hands of the uacúsecha (Beltrán 1982: 95, 108). This practice concentrated power within the highest ranking elite, and may have effectively limit the sharing of power by other noble lineages which competed against the ruling uacúsecha. The association between control of power and dominant lineages has been suggested for other Mesoamerican civilizations as well (Beltrán 1982:75, see also Carrasco 1986, and Lameiras 1985, Spores, 1967).

economic activities, especially trade, Indians earned a better standing within their native communities. The highest elite, however, curtailed the influence of these individuals.

In colonial Michoacán, social mobility could be achieved in two ways: by trading and by education. The Spanish recognized that "...by having some money they [the natives] become principales" doing so by trading (CDH-INAH Kraus Col. doc 76, 1558). Some documents from the AHAP have references to members of the elite who were merchants[20]. For example, Francisco Tzurequi, a nobleman from the ward of San Lázaro, a subject-town of Pátzcuaro, was a merchant who made the trip to the mines of San Luis Potosí accompanying caravans (AHAP 5bis, #78, 1598). So too was the nobleman D. Diego de Castañeda, a trader who was related to the uacúsecha lineage (Sarrelangue 1965:255). Other noblemen worked for Spanish traders bringing merchandise to Pátzcuaro (CDH-INAH, SM112) or sold products in the mines of Zacatecas and San Luis Potosí (AHAP 5bis, #78, 1598 Pátzcuaro).

According to the historical record, being from the nobility meant having the right to use labor from Indian communities. This meant having tenant farmers do the agricultural work on the lands of the nobility, and second, having the right to receive tribute from the

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[20]There is not yet evidence of a Tarascan entrepreneurial system equivalent to the one present among the Aztecs, and there is an apparent lack of a strong marketing system. Economic exchange has not been thoroughly studied in prehispanic Tarascan society. There is evidence that some Aztec merchants came from Tenochtitlan to obtain certain dyes highly appreciated in tanning and dying (Beltrán 1982:38; RG Sirónd aro/Guayameo 1987:265). Featherworks, lacquered vessels, and metal goods (bronze) produced in the province, were highly valued in Tenochtitlan (Warren 1985:21). What can be inferred of the Tarascan marketing system is the limited number of markets, the existence of some exchange between different ecological niches, and the use of some forms of reciprocity and redistribution which were controlled by the cazonci.

indigenous population. After Spanish conquest, a third right was added: the right to be exempt from giving service to the Spaniards (CDH-INAH Kraus Col. doc 76, 1558). The first two were the rights of the nobility in prehispanic society.

In addition, higher social status was also gained by serving in monasteries (CDH-INAH Kraus Col. doc 76, Mayo 1558). According to this document, true noble status was achieved, however, the document does not mention the ways to achieve status by serving in the monasteries. Nevertheless, judging by the exclusion of the low-ranking elites from the most important political offices, by the highest native elite, some of these individuals were not fully accepted in the highest ranking political offices (CDH-INAH, SM114, 1588 Pátzcuaro and SM114, 1595 Tzintzunzan). European education was limited to the native elite (Warren, Socio-Religious Organization, n.d:17; Van Zantwijk 1967).

Therefore, by participating in long-distance trade to the mines of Zacatecas, Guanajuato, and San Luis Potosí, working for monasteries, and joining the town-hospitals, people who were formerly in positions of lower status could theoretically climb into a higher rank in colonial Michoacán (RG Tinguindín 1987:324)[21]. While some natives gained a higher status by trading, some traders were already members of the

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[21]The hospital-towns were a blend of council government, inn, storehouse, and school. They were founded by Bishop Quiroga, following St. Thomas More's Utopia for the development and expansion of Christianity. They also were socio-religious organizations in which the natives, under the supervision of the Church, administered the town hospital. Hospital officials were elected to offices which were hierarchically organized (De la Peña 1987:284-320; Warren, Socio-Religious Organization, n.d). According to Warren, the socio-religious organizations within the pueblo-hospitales resembled, at least superficially, prehispanic Tarascan temple cults which involved a hierarchy of officials, rotational service to the organization, payment of tribute, and a series of celebrations (op.cit:19).

former Tarascan elite. According to Sarrelangue, the adoption of Spanish economic activities, as well as the participation in local councils also conferred prestige (1965:95). However, most council members were already from the nobility, and therefore, had acquired social prestige by birth.

Some macehuales (native peasants) and mulattoes climbed into cacique positions through commerce and education in monasteries and occupied positions in the cabildo[22]. Some of them even married into the old native aristocracy (Sarrelangue 1965:98). Indeed, there appears to be an increase in the relative size of the nobility by claims of kinship ties to the indigenous elite after contact. In addition, the Spanish ruled in favor of the privileged elite and social mobility was restricted. Therefore, if limited access to social mobility was the rule, at least where the upper native elite were concerned, the tracing of certain upper lineages would be less difficult. In reality, Spanish policies favored the privileges of the highest ranking elites, especially benefiting the elites from Pátzcuaro, and Tzintzuntzan. This caused local power to remain in the hands of a few privileged native noblemen. By knowing who are members of the highest ranking elite it is possible to assess which families controlled local politics, and it is possible to trace family connections among noble lineages.

According to Warren, former Nahua interpreters of the cazonci became influential in the early colonial period as well (1985:9). Some

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[22]According to the historical record, the highest ranking elites were opposed to considering the participation of ohcambecha and other lower-ranking officials in the local elections of the cabildo (CDH-INAH, SM114, 1595 Pátzcuaro). According to this document, the noblemen intimidated the principales and forbade their participation and representation in local government. This effectively curtailed the actual mobility of the lower nobility.

interpreters were able to keep their prominence and capitalize on their literacy. Nevertheless, whenever possible, the old aristocracy kept these new principales away from the control of local politics.

Mechanisms of social mobility in colonial Michoacán were, thus, more flexible than they probably were in prehispanic society, and mixed ethnicity was not a problem. Mestizos could claim either Spanish or Indian ancestry, according to whatever they perceived to be beneficial to them. Therefore, manipulation of ethnic background seems to have been common among the members of the elite. Haskett (1988) has found that indeed in Cuernavaca, Central Mexico, the native elites managed ethnicity as effectively as they managed their political connections. This pattern was also common in Michoacán, especially in terms of the elites' land claims, the payment of tribute, and the use of labor. For example, Don Constantino Bravo Huitziméngari Cazonci[23] who, from the point of view of the Spaniards was the "illegitimate" son of Don Antonio (the last cazonci's son), used his two last names Huitziméngari and Cazonci to call the attention to his noble ancestry, and to eventually become governor.

Therefore, in theory, social mobility could be achieved by participating in local politics, by amassing money through trade, or by claiming connections with members of the highest elite in the sixteenth century. Hispanization was not a factor in determining who was a native noble in colonial Michoacán. According to Haskett, under the "patina" of Spanish culture many elements of the native culture persisted (1988:35).

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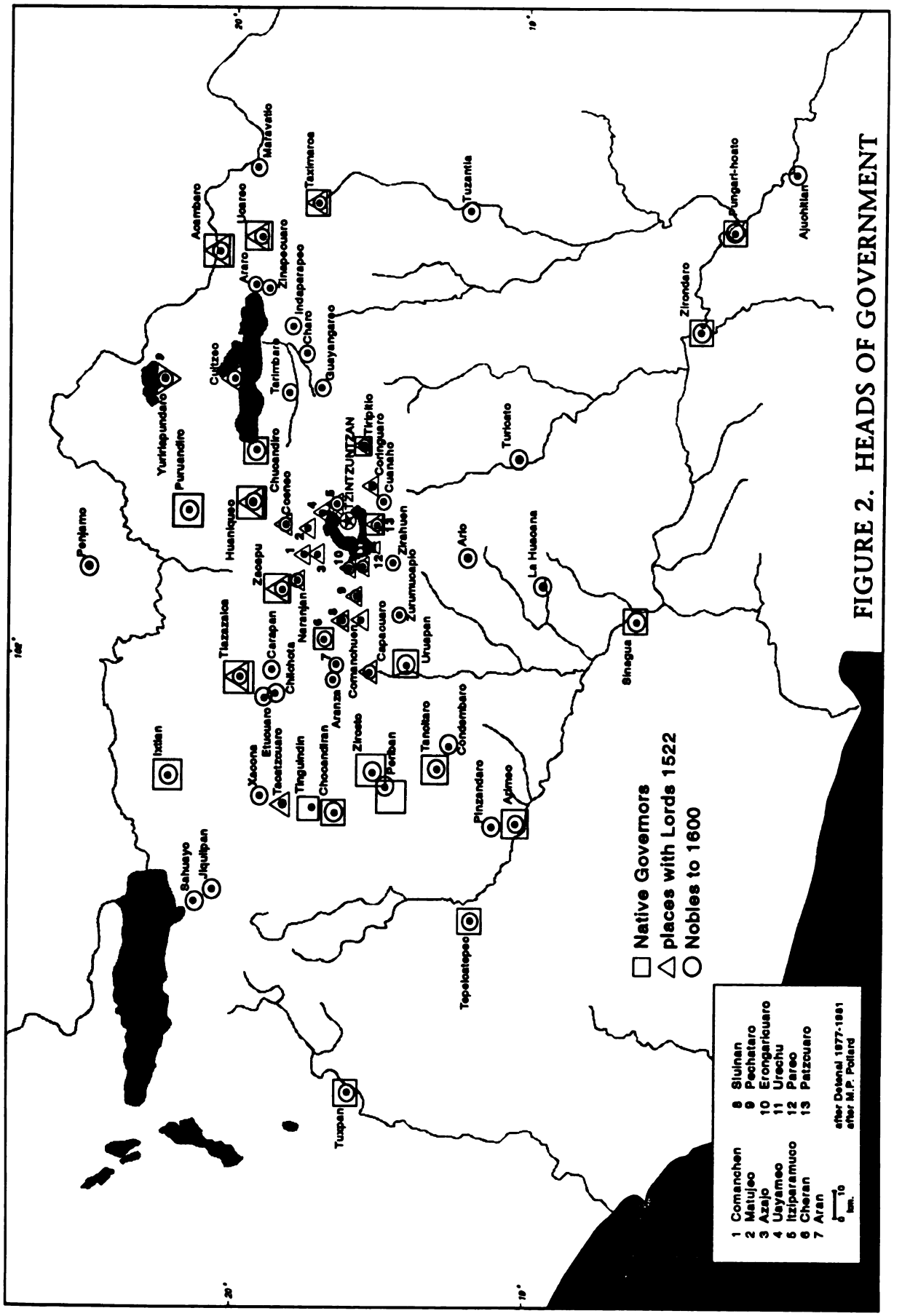
[23]In colonial documents the last name Cazonci is also spelled Calzontzin, and Caltzonci.


Native Governors
places with Lords 1522
Nobles to 1600
1 Comanchen
2 Matujeo
3 Azajo
4 Uayameo
5 Itziparamuco
6 Cheran
7 Aran
8 Siuinan
9 Pechataro
10 Erongaricuaro
11 Urechu
12 Pareo
13 Patzcuaro
after Detenal 1977-1981
after M.P. Pollard
FIGURE 2. HEADS OF GOVERNMENT

3.3.4 The Use of Common Names

In colonial Michoacán one difficulty for tracing noble lineages stems from the use of common names even among members of the elite. Since no last name appears adjacent to many of the common names in the historical records, it is difficult to trace lineage connections in these instances. The only way of distinguishing people in this context is by the use of the title "Don" (hereafter "D."). This title also distinguished between lower and upper nobility. I do not agree with Sarrelangue's indiscriminate use of the title "don" for the entire list of members of the native nobility that she compiled (see 1965: 232-290). Historical documents from the AHAP suggest that the title "don" was not given frequently, but it was conferred to members of the highest Tarascan native nobility, and to those who had perhaps achieved prominence under Spanish rule (this latter usage is not clear). Van Zantwijck found that some common names used by the native elite later became last names in Ihuatzio (1964:77).

3.4 Lineages and Noble Last Names

Although the historical record is fragmentary, enough evidence has been gathered from various archives and secondary sources to be able to trace various Tarascan lineages during the sixteenth century. Figure 2 maps the location of population centers in which the native nobility and the indigenous governors were settled in the sixteenth century, and compares this data with the seats of lords at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards. Figure 3 and Figure 4 compile information on the geographical regions over which thirty-four Tarascan noble lineages extended their political influence in early colonial Michoacán. It is suggested here, that some of these regions should be considered areas of

influence in prehispanic society. Nevertheless, with the rearrangement of subject and head-towns after conquest, population decline, and the relocation into new settlements, some areas of influence were probably lost. In addition, some formerly independent lords and caciques became subject to caciques from a different head-town[24].

Figure 3 lists thirty-four last names, of these, thirty-one were of Tarascan origin, one was Spanish, and two belonged to non-Tarascan families[25].

There are numerous native last names recorded in the historical documents, thus only few names were selected in this study. Selected names were chosen on the basis of data availability. These names are considered to be representative of some of the most important lineages in the sixteenth century. The Huitziméngari, Castilleja and Puruata lineages were selected because they descended from the lords of Tzintzuntzan and Ihuatzio and occupied relevant political offices in Pátzcuaro. Dates shown in Figure 3 relate to the actual recording of last names in the documents and do not represent the years in which last names either appeared or ceased to exist.

Some last names may have extended back in time and continued long after the latest date was recorded in Figure 3. This is the case of the

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[24]The town of Chupingaparapeo became subject to Turicato. Conflict between the nobilities of these two towns reflected jurisdictional changes after Spanish conquest. In addition, these towns were populated by different ethnic groups (AHAP 3, #17, 1572-1574). The document does not mention which were these groups.

[25]The list of names that appears in Figure 3 and Figure 4 is not exhaustive. There are numerous last names that could have been included. Nevertheless, these figures present a sample of some of the names that seem to have been important and whose influence was extended over a long period of time.

PRESENCE OF THE TARASCAN ELITE IN HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS		
LINEAGE	**ALTERNATIVE SPELLING**	**EVIDENCE OF LINEAGE PRESENCE**
Cazonci	Calzontzin, Caltzontzin	1557-1632
Castilleja	Same	1522-
Cola	Same	—
Coneti	Conete	1573-1670
Cuaca	Quaca, Guaca	1539-1624
Cuara	Same	1522-1700
Cuini	Quini	1519-1700
Cuiniharángari	Cuinierangari	1519-1675
Cuiri	Cuiris, Quiris	1519-1700
De la Cerda	Same	1570-1600
Guacuinchu	Huacuincho, Guacuincho	1542-1602
Guapean	Huapean, Uapean, Guape	1570-1650
Huitziméngari	Huisimengari,Guasimengari	1540-1700
Iquiba	Valiente	1545-1591
Oco	Hoco	—
Paqua	Pacua, Pagua	1522-1600
Paqui	Same	1560-
Puruata	Puruuata	1531-1639
Quecheme	Quehcheme, Quetzeme	—
Tareca	Same	1530-1581
Tariácuri	Same	1519-1570
Tirimarasco	Timax, Timage, Timaje	—
Tzicu	Tzico	1588-1618
Tzintzon	Sinso, Tzintzo	1528-1994
Tzira	Sira	1545-1639
Tzitziqui	Sisiqui	1539-1633
Tzurequi	Sureque, Surequi	1545-1655
Uacuxan	Huacuxan, Guacuja, Guacajane	1519-1900's
Uitzacua	Huitzaqua, Huitzacua, Uizacua	—
Vitzi	Uitzi	—
Xanaqua	Janacua, Xanacua, Guanacua	1522-1697
Yrepan	Irepan, Iripan	1545-1630
Zacarias	Tzacari, Cacari	1545-1622
Zuangua	Juanga, Juangua, Sangua, Xangua	1519- ?

Figure 3. Presence of the Tarascan Elite in Historical Documents. This figure presents thirty-four lineages with the alternative spellings used in the historical record.

Castilleja, Tzintzon, and Uacuxan (Huacuja) last names that are common in present day Pátzcuaro.

It was also clear that certain last names (with the exception of Castilleja) such as Cuini, Cuiri, Tzintzon, Quaca, Puruata, Tzitziqui, and Xanaqua appeared early in the historical record, suggesting an even older origin[26]. Castilleja is one of the oldest Spanish names used by the Tarascan nobility after Spanish contact. Other used last names like Cazonci (Caltzontzin), Tariacuri, Irecha and Tzitzincha not listed in Figure 3, are references to the "king" or to a given king's name, and were adopted by mid-sixteenth century by both the "legitimate" and "illegitimate" descendants of the uacúsecha lineage, and by those who claimed descent from members of the old aristocracy.

Descent from the cazonci, whether fictive or real was traced for socio-political and economic reasons. Members of the nobility could, therefore, manipulate descent to their benefit. Commoners also followed this practice.

According to Figure 4, Pátzcuaro concentrated all the noble last names listed in Figure 3, with the exception of the names Iquiba and Cola. Their absence is perhaps due to the fragmentary nature of the historical record. The concentration of the elite in Pátzcuaro reflects the removal of the capital city from Tzintzuntzan to this town in 1539, and hence, reflects the transference of the elite to the new capital. It also reflects the continuation of the prehispanic trend of concentration of the elite in the capital.

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[26]The spelling of names as they appear in the AHAP documents has been included in Figure 3.

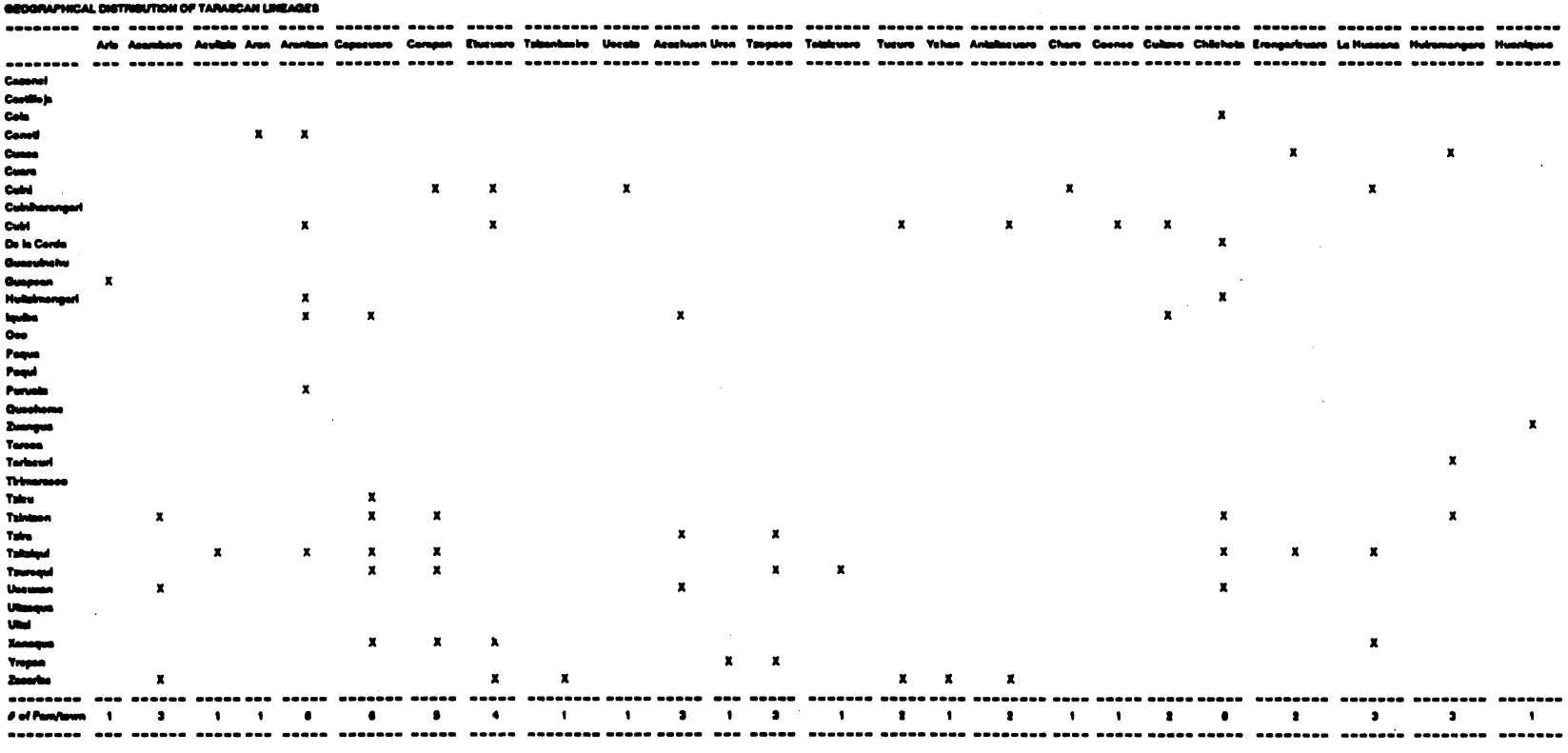

Figure 4. Geographic Distribution of Tarascan Lineages

Figure 4. Cont'd.....

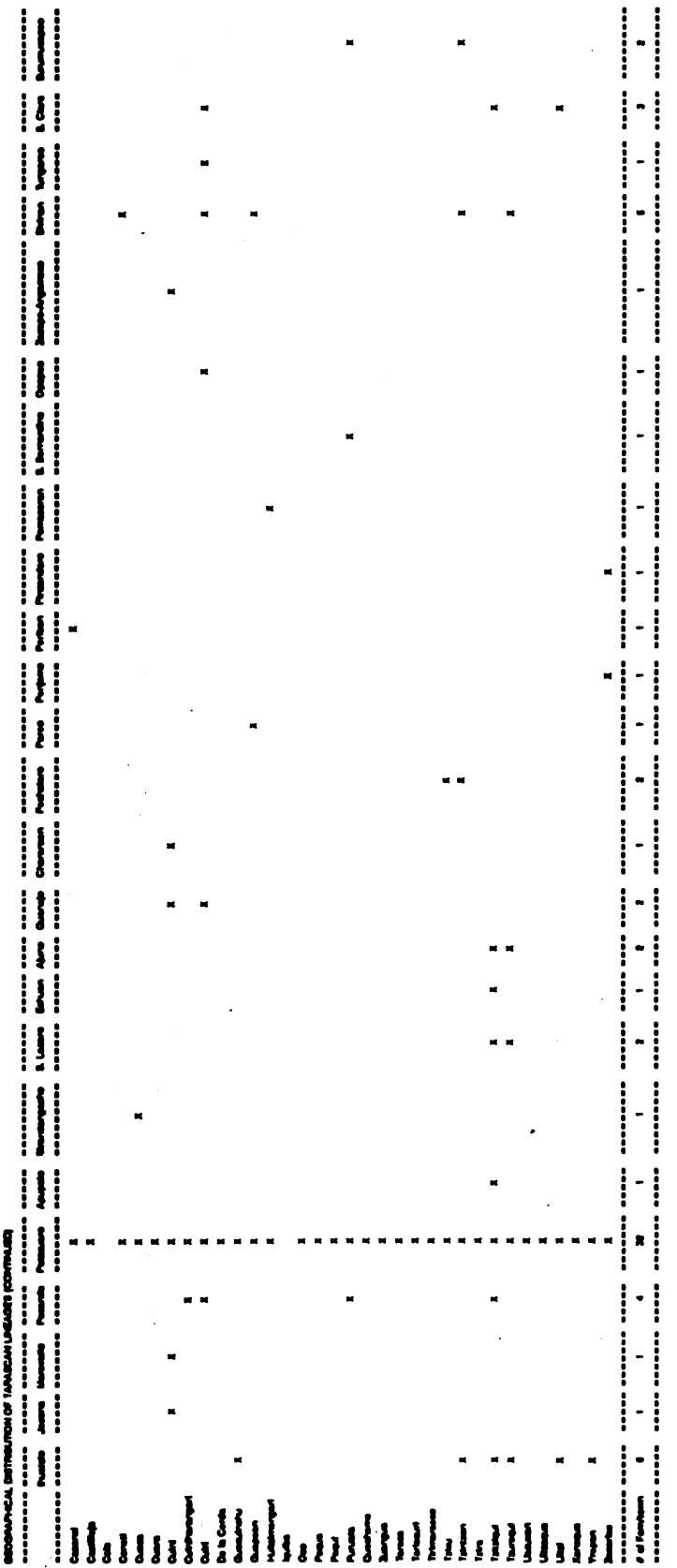

Figure 4. Cont'd.....

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF TARASCAN LINEAGES (CONTINUED)

	Tanchiro	Tarimboro	Thipitio	Thamamiro	Turiosio	Cuinhorangapeo	Ponosio	Tsitsunkuan	Tupotaro	Tsentsenoouro	Tsaymoo	Cuinoso	Urichu	Uruapan	Yatiro	Zirosio	Tarotan	Zirahuen	Zitapeouaro	Usuroo	Xanosio	Itzicuaroouru	# of Towns/Family
Casonci																							2
Castiliojo								X										X					3
Cota					X											X							3
Conodi								-						X									3
Cuaco				X				X															6
Cuaro								X															2
Cuiri					X			X	X					X				X		X			17
Cuinharangari					X	X										X							5
Cuiri								X		X				X				X				X	10
De la Corda	X													X									4
Guacuhuiru													X										3
Guapeon					X		X	X											X				6
Hollahmangari								X									X						6
Iquiliu												X											3
Oso	X																						2
Paqua								X	X					X									6
Paqui								X															2
Parunio	X							X									X						7
Quechomo																							2
Zuangua																							2
Toreo					X						X										X		4
Tortacuri								X		X													3
Tiriuaroo		X									X					X							4
Tiiru								X															4
Tsintzuo								X					X					X				X	14
Tiiro		X											X	X	X								7
Tsitsiqui			X					X					X	X				X					20
Tzurequi	X																						10
Uacusuo								X															3
Ulimquo								X															2
Ulisi								X															4
Xanaquo	X	X			X		X	X															8
Yropeo																							0
Zacarbo														X									10
# of Pops/town	3	3	1	1	6	1	2	19	2	2	2	1	4	8	1	3	2	5	1	1	1	2	

Once the former capital of Tzintzuntzan lost its preeminence after contact, it also lost population to the new capital in Pátzcuaro. Many of the members of the elite chose to relocate to Pátzcuaro to be closer to the new center of power. This indicates a conscious adaptation to the new colonial system.

Tzintzuntzan was second in terms of the concentration of noble last names. Seventeen last names listed in Figure 3 have been found in this town. Figure 5 maps six of the lineages that appear in Figure 4.

Following Figure 4, there were a series of population centers that also contained a large number of noble families in the sixteenth century. Indeed, some of these centers were locations where lords had resided in Tarascan prehispanic society (Figure 2). The largest concentration of lineages was in Uruapan with eight of the thirty-four families listed in Figure 4. Arantza, Capácuaro, Chilchota, Ihuatzio and Turicato had six of the thirty-four lineages[27] reported in Figure 4. Carapan, Sivinan, Tancítaro and Zirahuen had five of the thirty-four lineages listed. Etúcuaro and Urichu had four lineages each. Acámbaro, Acachuén, Tzopoco, La Huacana, Huiramangaro, Pacandan, Santa Clara, Tarimbaro and Zirosto had three lineages of the thirty-four listed. Finally, Tucuro, Cuitzeo, Erongaricuaro, San Lázaro (ward of Pátzcuaro), Ajuno, Cuanajo, Surumucapeo, Penoato, Tupataro, Tzentzecuaro, Taymeo and Itziparamucu had two of the thirty-four lineages in Figure 4.

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[27]Future research could focus on mapping noble lineages throughout the province to see how lineages controlled local politics. In addition, a study of Tarascan lineages would be important in understanding how these lineages branched out from a parent lineage to control territory.

These lineages represent only a sample of numerous noble names. Therefore, it is expected that in practice, many more lineages, or branches of lineages were found in these and other Tarascan and non-Tarascan towns throughout the province.

In prehispanic Tarascan society, eighteen head-towns located in the Tarascan frontier near the Balsas River were claimed by the royal lineage. The descendants of the cazonci claimed the right to dominate the headtowns of Chilchota, Yuririapúndaro, Tancítaro, Tlazazalca, Ucareo, and Xacona (Beltrán 1982:107). Ucareo and Zinapécuaro were prehispanic sources of obsidian (Pollard and Vogel 1994). Therefore, these two towns may have been under the direct control of the royal lineage[28]. According to Figure 4 only one lineage, the Cuini, was present in Ucareo, whereas the Guapean lineage was present in Zinapécuaro. No other royal families were found in either town in the historical record of the sixteenth century. In addition to Ucareo, the Cuini resided in Tlazazalca and Xacona as well. This last town was a prehispanic frontier town[29].

According to Figure 3, the Huitziméngari royal lineage continued to reside in Chilchota, Arantza, Pátzcuaro, Tzintzuntzan and Periban after contact. In addition to the Huitziméngari

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[28]It was noted above that the town of Ucareo was claimed by the royal lineage.

[29]Conquered territories were allocated to members of the Tarascan elite. Lords in frontier towns were appointed by the cazonci which ensured that conquered territories remained annexed to the state through loyal appointees (Sarrelangue 1965:37). This process would have contributed to the centralization of the Tarascan state in the hands of the ruling elite. The cazonci confided key political positions related to the security of the kingdom to members of the ruling lineage.

lineage, Cola, de la Cerda, Tzintzon, Tzitziqui, and Uacuxan lineages were also present in Chilchota. In Tancítaro de la Cerda, Oco, Quetzeme (Quecheme), Tzurequi and Xanaqua were present. The Quaca lineage settled in Tlazazalca.

The royal lineage was also found in the four frontier towns including Xacona, Taximaroa, and Yurirapúndaro. It is not clear which was the fourth frontier town. It is possible that Acambaro was this last frontier, and was populated by Chichimecs and Otomi ethnic groups. But, whereas the Otomi maintained a certain degree of political autonomy, the Chichimecs were governed by Tarascan lords (RG Celaya 1987:60-1). None of the thirty-four lineages listed in Figure 4 were present in Taximaroa or Yurirapúndaro, whereas the Cuini lineage resided in Xacona. In both Taximaroa and Yurirapundaro, other noble lineages resided: Pio, Aucha, Tzitzi, Quesuchigua, and others not included in Figure 4 (see Sarrelangue 1965:286, 271).

Pollard, and Gorenstein and Pollard suggested that in prehispanic society, lords were found in nine settlements within the basin Uayameo, Pareo, Pechataro, Erongaricuaro, Urichu, Pacandan-Xarácuaro, Pátzcuaro, and Itziparamucu (Pollard 1992:98. See also Gorenstein and Pollard 1983:77). Lords were also found in Chilchota and Cuitzeo. Indeed, of the thirty-four lineages listed in Figure 4, Huapean (Guapean) was present in Pareo; Tzicu and Tzintzon in Pechataro; Quaca and Tzitziqui in Erongaricuaro; Huacuincho, Tzintzon, Tzira and Tzitziqui in Urichu; Cuiri, Puruata and Tzitziqui in Pacandan; and Cuiri and Iquiba in Cuitzeo.

Paredes completed the list of places ruled by lords at the time of arrival of the Spaniards with Xarácuaro (mentioned by Pollard 1992), Comanja, Naranja, Tacaro, Coeneo, Sivinan, Sepeajo, Matajeo, Aracerpo, Chocatán, Axaxo, Citandaro, Cuynato, Chopicuaro, Copaquareo, Porunjaquaro, Guanamoco, Orumbaquaro, Aquisquaro, Chinchero, Parachone, Aguaqueo, Oritani, Chacarapuato, and Corinda (1984:54,55). However, many of these towns have not been located.

According to Sarrelangue, Apupato, Janitzio, Urandeni, and Pacandan were places with royal palaces (Sarrelangue 1965:32). Nevertheless, according to the Relación, these sites were only royal treasuries (RM 1989:275-276).

Local noble houses other than the royal lineage, dominated most of the head-towns within the Tarascan core. According to Beltrán, this indicated the existence of alliances among noble lineages in the core of the empire at the height of the Tarascan empire (1982:107). It is not coincidental that certain towns which formerly were the residence of lords like Pátzcuaro, Tzintzuntzan, Ihuatzio, Carapan, Uruapan, Capácuaro, Urichu, Chilchota, Tancítaro and Itziparamucu among others, continued to concentrate a series of families of royal lineage after Spanish contact. This pattern reflects three possible trends. First, that the concentration of various families in certain towns, both before and after contact, would support Carrasco's idea that in a royal house descendants from a lord could become dependant from a lord in a different region (1984:42). Second, that the various noble lineages that resided in a town did so after they had established political or marriage alliances that gave them control over a region. Third,

that lineages of noble status who controlled power at the local level before contact, did not relinquish it after contact.

Nevertheless, a reshuffling of political jurisdictions after Spanish conquest made some formerly independent lords subject to different head-towns, causing conflict within the elite (Paredes 1984:53,54; CDH-INAH, SM118, 1602; CDH-INAH, Archivos de Sevilla Rollo I Michoacán 1562, #256).

Figure 5 maps the geographical distribution of six of the thirty-four lineages listed in Figure 4. Figure 5 considers the influence of the Cuini, Cuiris, Tzintzon, Tzitziqui, Tzurequi and Zacarias lineages which by far, were the most important in terms of geographical distribution and also in terms of size and family membership. The Huitziméngari and Puruata lineages were chosen in this study for their important role in politics[30].

According to the nature of the historical record, the Tzitziqui family was the largest in terms of the numbers of towns under their influence (twenty towns were recorded). The Cuiri family controlled eighteen towns. The Cuini controlled seventeen, the Tzintzón lineage fourteen, and the Tzurequi and Tzacari ten towns respectively.

It was noted that the areas of influence of other lineages was smaller. Eight towns were controlled by the Xanaqua lineage, seven by the Quaca and Tzira lineages, and six were under the influence of the Paqua, Cuara, and Irepan families respectively. Their power extended to their subject towns as well.

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[30] The Huitziméngari lineage descended from Tangaxoan, the last cazonci. The Puruatas were related by marriage to them as well as to the Castillejas from Ihuatzio.

Cuini
Cuirio
Tzintzon
Tzitzinni

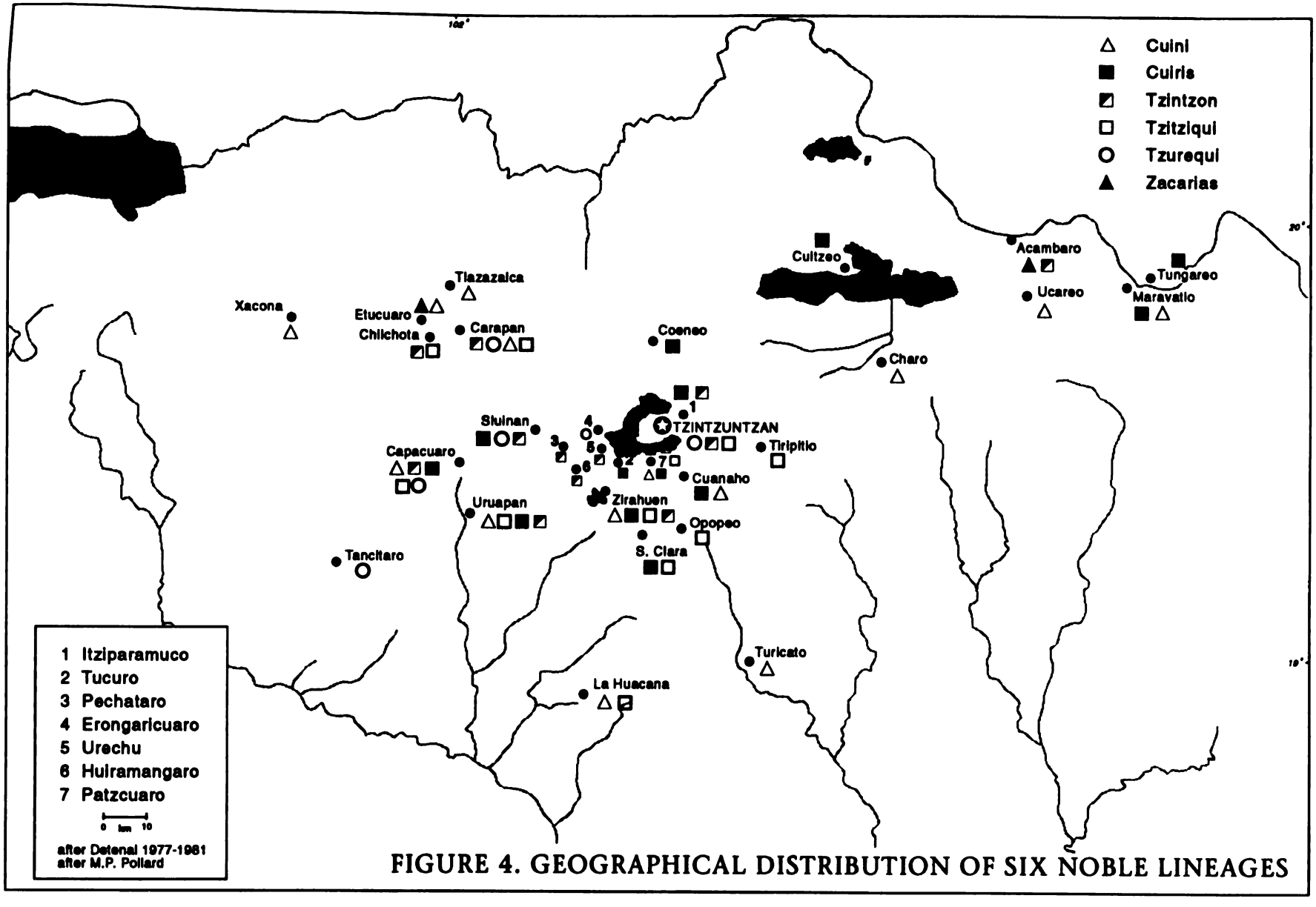

FIGURE 4. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF SIX NOBLE LINEAGES

The origin of noble last names is difficult to trace. One can only point at instances of their origin based on historical documents. It is assumed in this dissertation, however, that names tended to remain within noble lineages. Sarrelangue (1965) has attempted an analysis of Tarascan noble last names. According to this author, the names given to the royal lineages were references to the Tarascan king or were the names of particular kings. In addition, some of these names referred to the cazonci's sons (Sarrelangue 1965:50). The names of other noble lineages are more obscure.

Some of the last names that persisted in colonial Michoacán, and that were related to the royal lineage were among others: Uacus (Huacuja, Uacuxan), Cuini, Cuiris, Chapa, Hoco (Oco), Cuiniharángari, Quiriqui, Tangaxoan, Tariácuri, Ticatame, Timage, Tzitzincha, Cazonci, Yrepan, and Tzintzon (Sarrelangue 1965:162-3).

According to Van Zantwijk, noble names like Quiriqui, Quenetze (or Quentze), Cacangari (Hacangari or Cuacangari), and Angantziqua (Hangatzicua), were associated with the ruling lineage as well (1967:33). Evidence of all of these names comes from the period of Tarascan expansion and consolidation under Tariácuri ca. 1300-1350 A.D. (Pollard 1993:14). Some of the noblemen who bore these names were Chichimec captains, as well as noblemen of uacúsecha origin, who became independent from the influence of the leader Tariácuri, and had joined Hiripan and Tangaxoan, Tariácuri's nephews, in the wars of Tarascan territorial expansion (Van Zantwijck 1967:33). Therefore, all of these names claimed some linkage with the uacúsecha lineage.

The Relación lists the names Tzitzincha, Tirimarasco, Cuini, Sirangua, Chacinisti, Timas, Taquiani, Patamu, and Chuycico as related to the sons of Cazonci Zuangua (RM 1989:253). Whereas the historical record does not indicate the existence of the last names Chacinisti, Taquiani, and Chuycico after contact, the remaining names were found in the Tarascan region after Spanish contact. The last names Tariácuri, Yrepan, and Cazonci were references to the royal family. Tariácuri, for example, was the legendary Tarascan hero who unified the empire (RM 1989:68, 128). He lived ca. 1300-1350 AD (Pollard 1992:14). Yrepan and Cazonci were titles by which a lord was recognized.

The historical record demonstrates that the names used by the native elites in colonial Michoacán indeed reflected old kinship relations among the elites[31]. In addition, the Tarascans maintained these names after Spanish contact, as a means to recognize connections with and descent from the highest ranking elite. According to the historical records, it is apparent that some other last names were not used prior to the mid-1500's, like Ohcambecha. This last name clearly referred to those officials in charge of collecting tribute but were not considered of royal lineage. Later in the century, some members of the highest ranking elite, who occupied positions of "chief" ohcambecha (or the overseers of lower-ranking tribute collectors), may have started to use the name of their office as a last name.

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[31]The last name Cazonci is not present in the record before 1557.

The following is a sample list of lineage or family names with their likely origins. When information was available it was possible to look into their relationships with other lineages.

Uapean/Guapean: It is known that Uapeani I was lord of Uayameo in the Early Postclassic (Pollard 1992:14). Uapeani II was Tariácuri's uncle ca. A.D. 1300-1350 (RM 1989:48, Pollard 1992:14). Therefore, this name is clearly linked to the uacúsecha lineage.

Hirepan/Irepan/Yrepan: Evidence for this name comes from the Late Postclassic period. Hirepan was Tariácuri's nephew, and was lord of Ihuatzio ca. A.D. 1400 (RM 1989:121, 168, Pollard 1992:14).

Tzitzincha: This was the name of the last cazonci at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards in Michoacán. This lord was also called Tangaxoan (RM 1989:189).

Vise: The earliest known reference to this name is from D. Alonso Vise the last cazonci's brother-in-law (Sarrelangue 1965:53).

Timas/Timage/Timax: This name was linked to the royal family. The Relación mentions this name as one of the sons of the last cazonci. It mentions as well, that a nobleman named Timas was called "uncle" by the last cazonci (RM 1989:266). In addition, a certain nobleman called Timax was placed by Lord Tzitzipandacuare as the ruler of Taymeo (RM 1989:276).

Cuiniharángari: Although there is not enough information on the origin of this name, the Relación mentions that D.Pedro Cuiniharángari an advisor to the last cazonci, was called "brother" by the king, although he was not (RM 1989:267). This fictive kinship category attests to the alliance that existed between the

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royal family and the Cuiniharángari family. According to Van Zantwijk, D. Pedro Cuiniharángari, one of the main contributors to the Relación from the island of Xarácuaro, was a descendant "in the male line of the chiefs of the islanders who had joined the uacúsecha during the rule of Hiripan of Ihuatzio" and helped the Tarascans in the expansion of the empire (1967:38). This suggests that Cuiniharángari's lineage achieved special privileges as a result of their help to the uacúsecha.

Cuini/Ouini: This name is known from one of Cazonci Zuangua's son. Zuangua was the king at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards (RM 1989:189). There is a reference that a certain Cuini was the overseer of the cazonci's treasure (Warren 1985:243). In addition, D. Antonio López Guin (Cuin or Cuini), claimed in 1547 to be the son of the cazonci (Sarrelangue 1965:266, León 1968:2). This suggests that Cuini was a lineage in close association with the uacúsecha lineage. There is further evidence of such association. The earliest historical record that mentions the link between Cuini and Cazonci Uapean (Uepaeni or Guapean) reveals that Sebastian Cuini from Pátzcuaro claimed to have been Guapean's grandson (CDH-INAH SM112, 1573). Uapeani II was Tariácuri's uncle around A.D. 1300-1350 (RM 1989:48, Pollard 1992:14). Although this claim may be difficult to prove in terms of the generational span between a possible Uapeani candidate and this Cuini, such association reveals that tracing lineages to common ancestors was important in terms of claims of lineage connections with the ruling uacúsecha. These types of claims were also important after Spanish contact especially to establish the legitimacy of land claims.

Tzintzon: The oldest known reference for this name refers to Tzintzun, Lord of Itziparamucu (RM 1989:96).

Cuiri: In Tariacuri's time, the most important priest was named Cuiri. This may indicate that this last name was associated with the priestly hierarchy (RM 1989:166).

Uacus/Huacuja: This was the name by which the royal lineage was recognized. It was perhaps transformed into the last name Aguila which is its Spanish meaning (León 1968:246).

Huitziméngari: The first evidence of this name comes from D. Antonio, the last cazonci's son. According to Sarrelangue, this name and the name Cazonci were generally used by the prominent "chief caciques" of the province, and their descendants (1965:163).

Castilleja: The first evidence for this name comes from the conqueror Francisco de Castilleja who married Doña Maria Inaguit, daughter of Lord Paquingata of Ihuatzio whose wife was Tangaxoan's daughter (RM 1989:169,189; León 1968:169). The Castillejas were also connected to the Puruata and Huitziméngari families, as well as with various Spanish families of prominent background: Garfias, Abrego, Ayala and Pantoja.

Xhamondague/Ohamondague: There is evidence that this name was found in Tzintzuntzan in 1522 and was of noble status (Van Zantwijk 1967:65). Furthermore, Lord Xhamondague of Arantza was mentioned in 1539. At this time he was married to D. Maria Cuetzcu perhaps a daughter of the ruler of Ihuatzio (Titulo de Tierras, In Tlalocan 1952; Sarrelangue 1965:235). In addition, the rulers of Ihuatzio and Tzintuzuntzan were related thus, making the lineages of Arantza, Ihuatzio and Tzintzuntzan related.

Xanaqua/Hanaqua/Xanacaque: This last name was a lineage associated with scribes. It is not known if this lineage was of noble status or if after Spanish contact it became so. Historical documents do not provide enough information on their social status. The first evidence for this name comes from one of Tangaxoan's interpreters from Tzintzuntzan at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards in Michoacán. This interpreter told the cazonci that Cristobal de Olid expected to receive gifts of fish and mantles from the cazonci (RM 1989: 268, León 1968:143).

Quesuchiga, Guasuchigue: This last name is known from D. Diego Tomas Quesuchiga of Pénjamo. This chief had aided the Spanish in the conquest of the Chichimecs. Later, the Spaniards granted him the title of cacique. Don Diego claimed to be the son of Cazonci Tangaxoan (León 1968:2).

Tareca: Evidence for this last name comes from the town of Xanoato where a nobleman and cacique, called by this name, claimed to have been a relative of Cazonci Tangaxoan. He was likely Tangaxoan's brother-in-law (RM 1989:288, León 1968:151).

Tixcacuxe/Tacahuaque: This noble last name is also associated with the ruling uacúsecha lineage. There is evidence that by 1522 D. Alonso Tixcacuxe one of the cazonci's governors, and a captain who lived in the town of Cinagua, was related to the cazonci. Later, records show that a D. Lorenzo Tacahuaque was the governor of Pátzcuaro, and was D. Constantino Huitziméngari's uncle (AGN, RI 6-2, E1057, F287; Sarrelangue 1965:256). In turn, D. Constantino was D. Antonio's son (Sarrelangue 1965:237).

Ocelo/Ucelo: Perhaps the meaning of this last name was related to ocelotl or jaguar. Evidence of this name comes from the Relación Geográfica of Necotlán. According to this record, Ucelo Apantze, an Otomi nobleman was allowed by the Cazonci Tzitzipanduacure[32] to settle with his people in Taymeo and Matalzingo. According to this Relación, Ucelo Apantze was fleeing the Aztecs (RG Necotlán 1987:186).

The historical record demonstrates that Tarascans linked themselves with non-Tarascans of Nahuatl and Otomi origin. Kinship and marriage relationships among the indigenous elites existed between the Tzahma, Huitziméngari, Ocelo, and Acatli families after Spanish contact (RM 1989:163, CDH-INAH SM115; AGN RI5, E802, F282, 1591; Sarrelangue 1965:251). Ties also connected Spanish and Tarascans after Spanish contact. Finally, there is also evidence that marriages among the elite cut across the Tarascan region.

3.5 Manipulation of Status Symbols

Haskett (1988), Carrasco (1975:181), and Spores (1984:99-100) have argued that the adoption of certain aspects of Spanish culture by the native elites did not lead to the total dislocation of the traditional ruling group. Indeed, Haskett suggested that the native nobles who identified with the Spaniards were not removed from the mainstream of their own culture, particularly in areas with less pressure from a larger hispanic population (1988:35).

The use of sumptuary objects, regulations, attitudes, and customs by Tarascan nobility indicate that the elite remained identifiable as a group before and after Spanish contact. The

[32]Tzitzipandacuare lived circa 1454-1479 (Pollard 1993:14).

conscious manipulation of symbols and attitudes reinforced the noble status of the elite. The granting of new prerogatives, as well as the recognition of old ones in colonial Michoacán reflects that Spaniards and commoners alike recognized the social status of the native elites as well.

There were clear distinctions between higher and lower nobility. The use of sumptuary objects and attitudes as markers of social status, as well as colonial prerogatives serve to distinguish the elite as a group and to recognize differences within the elite. Participation in the new colonial elite was not the same for all the members of the old Tarascan aristocracy. Indeed, those who accepted Spanish domination were able to keep some form of authority and prominence, as well as political leverage, at least at the local level. This point is also suggested by Piñon Flores (1984:149), by Stern in his study of Peru (1989), and by Lockhart in his study of the Nahuas of Central Mexico (1991, 1992).

The status and power of the native noblemen and noblewomen who maintained their prominence in the colonial society was recognized by both Spaniards and Indians. It was the highest ranking Tarascan elite who adjusted to and associated with the Spanish elite, and, therefore, rapidly adopted the new colonial symbols of status that identified the Spanish conquerors. Therefore, by imitating the Spanish who held power, the native nobility was asserting its own socio-political status (Haskett 1988:46).

This section explores the use and abuse of objects and practices that effectively detached the nobility from the rest of the masses. The control of certain resources, dress, wealth, lands, privileges, and access to political office marked who was a member of the elite before and after Spanish contact.

In prehispanic Tarascan society some symbols of status were associated with the elite in general. Others were exclusive to the royal lineage. The use of dress, symbols of authority, horses, servants, residences, and funerary and marriage practices are explored hereafter.

The Spaniards required that the native nobility acquire permits issued by the colonial authority for the use of Spanish dress, horses, saddles, and certain kinds of weaponry. There is no evidence, however, that the Tarascan highest native elite (the royal lineage) made requests to dress like Spaniards, or to have horses, swords, and other things considered to be Spanish status symbols. It is likely that the Spanish administration tolerated, perhaps overlooked, and maybe even encouraged, the highest native elite to use Spanish items of prestige, even without the explicit consent of the government. Indeed, the native elite was pushed into becoming an agent of change. The fact that there was never a real enforcement of laws of sumptuary consumption, indicates the existence of conscious Spanish efforts to coopt influential native nobles by securing their loyalty, and by encouraging their intermediary role (see A. Beltrán 1953:35-36, Haskett 1988:45, Taylor 1972:38, Warren 1984:43,51). In addition, the accumulation

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of material wealth by the colonial nobility became a mechanism to display social status (Haskett 1988:44).

3.5.1 Dress and Adornment

Some of the symbols of social status associated with prehispanic Tarascan society were cranial deformation, the use of turquoise (exclusive to the nobility), the use of golden necklaces, ear plugs and bracelets, and feathered headdresses (RM 1989: 157-8, 167-8, 180). The lip plug was a symbol of honor (RM 1989: 180, Beltrán 1982:91). Therefore, the use of metals was a marker of elite social status, and a source of wealth for the ruling lineage (Pollard 1992:XIV, see Hosler 1994).

The approval of the cazonci was required for carrying certain signs of status like "rich mantles, shields, and bows" (RG Cuiseo de la Laguna 1989:84). The use of "decorated woven cotton mantles", "knee-length dresses", and "capes" were status markers. While the elite used finely woven cotton mantles, the commoners in contrast, wore short capes, breach clothes, undecorated textiles, and/or went "nearly naked" (RG Ajuchitlán 1987:37, RG Cuiseo de la Laguna 1987:84, RG Tancítaro 1987:291)[33].

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[33]The symbolic means by which alliances between the nobility and the king were cemented and reinforced were reciprocity and gift-giving, as well as the use of fictive kinship terminology, and marriage among the elite. Such usages strengthened the cazonci's office and his position vis-a-vis the Tarascan elite. The king would expect gifts on certain occasions, such as when he was sick, or when ethnic groups voluntarily subjected themselves to the king (RM 1989: 213, 234). In turn, when a local ruler was confirmed by the cazonci, the later gave textiles to the ruler's wife. When a cacique lost office, he was deprived of the insignia that manifested his state office and his wife was "left naked" (RM 1989: 216, 218; Beltrán 1982:90). This was a means of expressing that former gifts from the cazonci were removed from her.

According to Pollard, cotton weaving was restricted to noblewomen. In excavations at Urichu, located in the Pátzcuaro lake basin, she found spindle whorls for spinning cotton associated with burials of elite women (Informe to the Consejo de Arqueología, INAH, 1992).

Some of the most valuable pre-contact textiles were various kinds of rich blankets called catangari, curice[34], zizupu, and echere atacata listed as precious items by Don Pedro, the cazonci's war captain, when he asked the cazonci to give mantles to the Spaniards who were entering the province (Warren 1985:45). None of these textiles appeared cited in Gilberti's Arte de la Lengua de Michoacán (1989) published in 1558, only thirty-five years after the conquest of Michoacán. This may indicate that the production of Tarascan luxury textiles associated with the native elite[35] was lost after contact. The value of this type of noblewomen's activity was also lost.

In prehispanic Tarascan society as described in the RG of Cuitzeo de la Laguna, no one was entitled to wear high status clothing without the approval of the cazonci. This control over the use of elite markers in prehispanic Tarascan society continued

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[34]There is little description in the Relación, of the kinds of luxury textiles that were produced by women before Spanish contact. The mantles called curize (curice) may have been made of crow feathers, from curize or cuervo (crow) (Gilberti 1989:59). As for the other types of mantles listed, no mention was found in Gilberti's Arte de la Lengua de Michoacán, as to the meaning of those textiles. Tarascan names for colors, textures, and materials were gathered to see if there were any indications of a Tarascan root that could shed light on this issue.

[35] Nevertheless, woolen and linen textiles already had a Tarascan equivalent thirty five years after conquest. Both types were called "tasta virambengari" (Maturino Gilberti 1989:462), from the root white (Ibid:172).

to be present in colonial society. The Spaniards determined who could use items of Spanish status.

Between 1579 and 1581 when the Relaciónes Geográficas were written, it is clear that in general the native population of Michoacán had adopted Spanish-style clothing (RG Tancítaro 1987:291, RG Taymeo 1987:277, RG Cuiseo de la Laguna, 1987: 84). Clothing for the commoners was sold in Pátzcuaro and was marketed from there to the mines in the north.

Nevertheless, in Ajuchitlán no one dressed like Spaniards (RG Ajuchitlán 1987:37). In certain areas, like Chilchota, women continued to wear decorated wrapped skirts and "huipiles" as they did before. In contrast, men dressed in Spanish clothing more often than did women (RG Chilchota 1987:108). This observation in the RG raises three questions. First, it points at differences along gender lines. Second, it assumes an unequal economic access to European-style clothing along gender lines. Third, it indicates the possibility that women adopted Spanish textiles but kept their pre-contact style of clothing. The adoption of Spanish clothing meant to the Spanish that the Indians had become "civilized", and had "policy" (rules) (RG Tancítaro 1987:291).

Even though Spanish dress was generalized among Tarascan Indians by 1580, differences in the quality of textiles remained markers of elite status. Sarrelangue suggested that from an early date after Spanish contact, the elite distinguished itself by the use of fine textiles of wool and silk, as well as by the use of

hats (1965:67)[36]. As for the kinds of textiles used, silk was forbidden (Ayer Col. 1552, f42r-v, in Paredes 1994:110).

Urquiola has made an interesting analysis of textile production in which he compared the prices of luxury woolen textiles produced in Spain, and imported to New Spain, with woolen manufactures later produced in the Mexican obrajes (textile factories). The price for the best textiles ranged between three and five pesos per vara in Spain. The author argued that imported textiles in New Spain doubled and tripled their price per vara (1990:350). This would indicate, that at least initially, the native nobility who acquired Spanish textiles did invest large sums of money to obtain them. When luxury woolen manufactures were produced in New Spain, their prices were 20% cheaper than the imported brands (Ibid:353)[37].

"Paños de Castilla" (woolen textiles), linen, silk, and velvet were worn by the indigenous elites. Whereas, "sayal" (coarse cloth) and "jerga" (produced in the obrajes), as well as

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[36]Limitations to the use of Spanish luxury items were also extended to owning cattle. In terms of cattle, if an estancia (cattle ranch) was granted to a nobleman or noblewoman, he/she could not keep newborn calves for more than two years, at the risk of losing the ranch (Ayer Col. 1552, f.154v, in Paredes 1994:129, Piñon Flores 1984:154).

[37]Some textile prices are available from documents in the 1580's in Pátzcuaro. For example, a vara of blue woolen fabric (paño azul) was sold at two pesos per vara, a vara of nava textile was 1.2 pesos, a woolen mantle was 5.5 pesos, black-blue sayal sold for three tomines per vara, and the brownish sayal was two tomines per cuartillo (AHAP 4, 21, 1584 Pátzcuaro; AHAP 4, 57, 1595, Pátzcuaro). According to these records, the cuartillo de medir was smaller in the mines than it was in Pátzcuaro which represented a profit to the merchants (AHAP 6bis, #78, 1598 Pátzcuaro). The value of a tomin was equivalent to an eighth of a gold peso (Acuña 1987:481). A vara measured approximately .837 mts. since, according to O'Hara, 8 varas were equivalent to 6.7 mts (1993:56).

narrow pieces of sewn cotton, produced locally in back-strap looms, were for mass consumption (RG Tancítaro 1987:291, RG Tiripitio 1987:344, RG Tinguindín 1987:324). Thus, wool had become an important material for clothing. There are numerous references of clothing produced in New Spanish obrajes that were sold in the stores of Pátzcuaro. Indian traders became intermediaries between these stores and native populations in the mining areas (AHAP 5bis, #68, 1597 Pátzcuaro; AHAP 5, #19, 1591 Pátzcuaro; AHAP 5, #26, 1593 Huango).

Members of the native elite engaged in economic ventures that gave them access to objects considered Spanish markers of high status. Among these ventures were some forms of textile production or its commercialization[38]. In 1557, D. Antonio Huitziméngari, governor of the province of Michoacán, was buying silk sold in auction at the Pátzcuaro's town-hall (AHAP 1, #37, 1557). D. Antonio also produced sugar in an ingenio (sugar mill) near Taretan, and had a flour mill as well (Paredes n.d.:6). In addition he also had multiple plots of land in the Pátzcuaro basin where he introduced imported fruits like peaches, quinces (membrillos) and pears, as well as bananas and sugar cane (AHAP 5bis, #58, 1596, Urichu).

Other members of the native elite hired Indian weavers to weave silk and paid them in advance. This practice, however,

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[38]Outside the textile factories that produced woolen manufactures, clothing manufacture was a household activity. Production of cotton clothing remained a woman's task, whereas, men's tasks were to clean, thread, brush, and prepare the wool for clothing. In both instances, however, women were the weavers of both cotton and wool (RG Tiripitio 1987:361).

proved risky to the noblemen since they could lose the money and the silk if the worker ran away (AHAP 5, 4, 1591, Pátzcuaro). Some noblemen were granted permits to produce coarse cloth (*sayales*) in Spanish-type looms (AGN RI5, E37, F80, 1590 Sahuayo). It is noteworthy that the caciques and *principales* conducted their businesses according to Spanish rules (Martinez 1992:64). Noblemen and noblewomen became indebted, had their Spanish "*fiadores*" (bondsman), and could name their lawyers to take care of their business problems. But, most importantly, they had kinship ties with powerful Spaniards.

Native merchants in colonial Michoacán, especially those engaged in long-distance trade to the mines, dressed like members of the native elite (RG Tinguindin 1987:324). This supports the idea that long distance trade in colonial society was a means of social mobility and/or an activity associated with the native elite.

3.5.2 Weaponry and Horse

It is important to note that the quality of certain kinds of weaponry and adornment used in war distinguished the native elite before and after contact with the Spaniards.

In prehispanic Tarascan society, some arms were symbols of authority. The *cazonci* carried a bow and an arrow to symbolize his leadership and authority (Warren 1985:11). While the commoners carried shields made of coyote and deer hide, the shields used by the nobility were made of "tiger", very likely jaguar (RG Sinagua 1987:253). Noblemen also adorned themselves with garlands of leather (RM 1989:214).

HORSE, MULES, AND ARMS LICENSES: 1547-1624									
Total: 97	**Luxury Items**	**# Licenses**	**Unknown Rank**	**Principales**	**Governor**	**Caciques**	**One Added Item**	**Multiple Items**	**Extended Use**
Total 27	Swords	13	8	-	1	2	4	9	-
	Swords and Dagger	14	-	7	5	2	-	4	-
Total 57	Horse no saddle	23	19	-	2	2	-	1	1
	Horse w/saddle	34	34	-	-	-	saddle = 1	bridle and spurs = 3 bridle = 3 other items = 2	3
Total 13	Mules no saddle	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Mules w/ saddle	8	7	-	-	1	-	-	-

Figure 6. Grants of Luxury Items This figure compares numbers and types of licences granted to the native elite, principales, governors, and caciques. Unknown rank indicates licences given to the elite whose rank is unknown. The one item column indicates the granting of one additional luxury item, usually dress, a sword or a horse. The multiple items column indicates the granting of various other concessions at the same time. The extended use column indicates the permit to use a horse or a mule in all of New Spain against the general prohibition

On the other hand, horses and arms were some of the criteria used in judging the nobility of Spanish miners and encomenderos after Spanish contact (Backewell 1976:203). Figure 6 shows the types and numbers of licenses that were granted to the native elites for certain Spanish luxuries like horses, mules and weapons, between 1547 and 1624 in Michoacán.

The possession of horses with saddles and of Spanish daggers or swords marked who was a native noble in the sixteenth century. The Tarascan native elite was able to acquire daggers and swords as markers of status only with Spanish government approval. Usually, only one type of weapon was granted and seldom were both swords and daggers given at the same time and to the same individual. Therefore, it is assumed that when both types of weapons were granted to the same nobleman, he must have been from the highest ranking elite.

Of the twenty-seven licenses granted in Michoacán for the use of sword or dagger, recorded in the Ramo de Indios (AGN) between 1547 and 1624, thirteen of them were exclusively for the use of a sword and not for a dagger, which may indicate that daggers were, therefore, granted under more controlled circumstances.

Of the thirteen licenses that were granted for swords, eight were granted to noblemen whose rank is unknown. Three of these thirteen noblemen had the rank of either governor or cacique. The earliest of these permits was from 1547 to D. Pedro Ponce, governor of Cuitzeo. The remaining licenses (two) were granted to the caciques of Acámbaro and Curinguaro between 1576 and 1590 (see Sarrelangue 1965: 233, 238, 268).

Only four of the above thirteen licenses recorded mentioned only the use of sword and did not include any additional item of social prestige. The remaining nine cases (of thirteen) included either a horse or Spanish dress accompanying the sword, but no dagger.

Following Figure 6, in fourteen of the twenty seven licenses granted for swords, recorded in the Ramo de Indios, daggers were also granted. In seven of these fourteen licenses, the rank of the noblemen was recorded. Five of seven noblemen were principales from Pátzcuaro (Sarrelangue 1965:254,255). Among these noblemen were Francisco Tzintzón and Simon Cuiris who belonged to families of high ranking. Acatli nobleman of Nahuatl descent received a permit to carry a dagger. The remaining two noblemen listed were from Turicato (AGN RI5, E528, F215, 1591) Finally, a nobleman from Tzintzuntzan whose last name was Tzitziqui, was also among the noblemen who received a permit for a dagger (see Sarrelangue 1965: 280).

In seven of the fourteen cases in which daggers were granted, permits for swords were granted at the same time. The rank of the noblemen to whom swords and daggers were conferred is known. These concessions were made to five governors (two of them from Maravatio, and one for each of the governors of Pátzcuaro, Pomacoran and Tinguindin), and to 2 caciques (Chocandiro and Periban) (see Sarrelangue 1965:246,274; AGN RI5, E267, F226v, 1590; AGN RI4, E228, F69v, 1590). In only one case, the ex-governor of Maravatio accumulated not only dagger and sword but also, a saddled horse and Spanish dress. The three other governors from Maravatio

(1624), Pátzcuaro (1590), and Pomacoran (1591) who received swords and daggers were entitled to either Spanish dress or a saddled horse. In fact, certain restrictions applied to some of these licenses. The governor of Pomacoran could only make use of his horse while he was in office, and the governor of Tinguindin had restrictions on the use of his dagger and sword during the time while he was governor (Sarrelangue 1965:246, 274; AGN RI5, E267, F226v 1590 Pátzcuaro; AGN RI3, E720, F169v, 1591 Pomacoran). These restrictions were not extended to the noblemen from Maravatio and Pátzcuaro.

This suggests that concessions made by the Spanish government to the Tarascan nobility differed. In most of the 111 requests for horses, swords, dress and daggers recorded between 1543 and 1633 in Michoacán, noblemen were granted the use of between one and three items of Spanish status. In fewer cases, the granting of all possible concessions was made (e.g. Don Miguel Cuin, the ex-governor of Maravatio received all possible licenses: saddled horse, dagger, sword, and Spanish dress) (Sarrelangue 1965:246). This was also the case of Don Pedro Tzitziqui, cacique and various times governor of Tzintzuntzan in the 1600's. The same was true for Francisco Tzintzon, a principal from Pátzcuaro, and for Simon Cuiris who was the overseer of a trade ("oficial de oficio") (Sarrelangue 1965:246, 254,255,280; AGN RI5, E835, F288v, 1591). In addition, Cuiris also benefited from the possession of six cows and a bull, as well as from plows (yuntas) and pigs. These three noblemen, D. Pedro Tzitziqui, Francisco Tzintzon, and Simon Cuiris, belonged to the old Tarascan aristocracy.

Horses, on the other hand were available under certain restrictions as well. To purchase a horse the Spanish authorities issued a permit to the native elite. Clearly, many non-Tarascan, as well as Tarascan noblemen were using horses from as early as 1550-1570. The AHAP is full of documents of complaints, purchases and robberies of horses throughout the sixteenth century. Often, the Indians purchased horses and mules from the Spaniards who resided in the province. These animals, according to Leçoin, were either privately or communally owned (1988:125-6).

The nobility paid large sums of money to purchase horses between the 1550's and 1570's. Horses bought by the members of the highest ranking elite could cost between one hundred and one hundred and forty gold pesos, with each gold peso having a value of eight silver reales (CDH-INAH SM 112, 1562; AHAP 4, #3, 1581-83, Pátzcuaro). Eventually, many horses were sold and bought in a black market. These horses were generally stolen from the Spaniards and were sold to the indigenous population. The stealing of horses for resale became a common practice in the sixteenth century as recorded in the AHAP documents.

Some members of the elite, perhaps from the lower ranks, as well as the commoners were likely to buy these cheaper and stolen horses. Such horses cost between six and twelve pesos (AHAP 5, #5, 1591 Pátzcuaro; AHAP 5, #36, 1594 Pátzcuaro; AHAP 5, #96, 1599 Pátzcuaro). These people ran the risk of losing money if these horses were claimed by their original owners. Historical documents demonstrate that this risk was willingly accepted.

If the owner of the horse was not a member of the native elite and had no proper permit, the alguacil mayor (chief constable) sued the Indian who was found in possession of the horse. Of course, the chief constable got a certain percentage of the money from each accusation made (perhaps as a salary compensation). The horse was then auctioned at the town hall or, if known, it was returned to its original owner (AHAP 3, #23, 1573 Tzintzuntzan).

When a native, either noble or not, purchased a horse that was later claimed as stolen property, the practice dictated the return of the horse to the original proprietor, or the payment of a deposit while the case was cleared (AHAP 5, #33, 1594; AHAP 5, #4, 1582 Patzcuaro; AHAP 4, #15, 1584 Pátzcuaro; AHAP 5, #36, 1594 Zirosto; AHAP 5, #74, 1597 Pátzcuaro). Regularly, members of the local elite covered this deposit, as well as the expenses of the legal case, on behalf of the Indian found in the possession of the stolen horse. And, if an Indian was incarcerated during the process, a native noble could bail him out. This became a means of developing some forms of patron-client relations in Indian communities (AHAP 5, #33, 1594 Zirosto).

Haskett has studied patron-client relationships between elites and commoners in Cuernavaca, central Mexico. According to him this practice strengthened the subordinate position of the masses, who also benefited from their connections with the native elites (1988:44).

The use of horses seems to have been more widespread than the use of saddled horses, which seems to have been associated with the highest ranking nobility (AGN RI4, E178, F56, 1589 Uruapan).

Between 1543 and 1591, twenty-three licenses recorded in the Ramo de Indios were issued for horses without saddles. Five more included the use of unsaddled mules. Nineteen of these twenty-three grants were issued to "principales" whose rank is not known. In only four cases was the rank of the nobility listed. Two of them referred to the governors of Pomacoran and Cherán (the governor of Pomacoran had also a dagger and sword as well (AGN RI3, E720, F169v, 1591; AGN RI4, E176, F55v, 1589)[39]. The remaining two licenses were for the caciques of Siróndaro and Jacona (Sarrelangue 1965:245, 289). Finally, in only one case, the license stipulated that the nobleman was entitled to make use of two horses for muleteering, in addition to his unsaddled horse. This license was conferred on Marcos Cuiris, nobleman and trader of Pátzcuaro (AGN RI6-2, E562, F124, 1563).

Of the twenty-three cases listed for horses without saddles, only one nobleman was able to use his unsaddled horse throughout New Spain in spite of the general prohibition against the practice. The case referred to Bartolomé Guavi a nobleman from Cuitzeo (AGN RI4, E610, F176, 1590). This license suggests the relatively high rank of the nobleman involved, although his horse was unsaddled.

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[39]On two other occasions the Ramo de Indios mentioned that along with unsaddled horses noblemen were granted Spanish dress, sword and dagger.

Five permits were granted to various noblemen for the use of unsaddled mules, three were from Taximaroa, and two were from Zacapu (see Sarrelangue 1965:272,287).

Thirty-four licenses were granted for saddled horses. Only three of the thirty-four licenses included both saddle, phren and spurs. These were granted to D. Pedro Cuini principal from Cuanajo (AGN RI 6-1, E797, F213, 1594), to Domingo Cuiris nobleman of S. Pedro Tungareo, subject town of Pátzcuaro (Sarrelangue 1965:269), and to Francisco Cuini a nobleman from Pátzcuaro (AGN RI5, E490, F204r,1591). All three noblemen belonged to old Tarascan noble families.

Three of thirty-four licenses included horse and saddle with bridles (no spurs) with a special grant to make use of the horse throughout New Spain, in spite of the existing prohibition. D. Andres Tzitziqui from Capácuaro (AGN RI4, E170, F55, 1589), D. Andres Cuini from Pátzcuaro (Sarrelangue 1965:260), and D. Antonio Hoco from Tancítaro (AGN RI5, E612, F238v, 1590) received such grants.

Twenty-one of thirty-four cases included only the license for saddled horses. Two out of thirty-four cases included a permit to have a saddled horse and an extra license for either the use of Spanish dress or a sword (AGN RI6-1, E797, F213, 1594; AGN RI6-2, E550, F120v, 1592; Sarrelangue 1965:246).

Finally, eight licenses included the possession of saddled mules. In only one of the eight instances was a cacique listed. The remaining cases referred to noblemen (Sarrelangue 1965:238, 244, 245, 279, 286, 289).

3.5.3 Servants and Slaves

The Relación mentioned that in prehispanic Tarascan society, the elites had "slaves" acquired by various means. Some of them came from the ranks of unsacrificed victims, some were sold by merchants, yet others were forced to sell their labor because they were hungry, they had stolen corn, or they had been loaned some corn to eat. All of them served, and according to the Relación "were still serving" the nobility on their lands, or in household activities around 1542 (RM 1989:201).

In his chronicle, Benavente stated that slavery among the Indians was different from slavery known in Europe. Although the conditions for slavery in the Valley of Mexico were similar to the ones cited in the Relación, Benavente stated that slavery was a system of labor in perpetuity in which the "slaves" went to work but did not have to leave their homes to reside in the place where they worked. Freedom was attained when a debt was repaid or when someone else substituted for the slave (Benavente 1971:324). Quiroga agreed with the idea that this type of "slavery" did not curtail the freedom of the Indian who had committed himself to work. The Indian could be freed upon the payment of his debt. Furthermore, Quiroga argued that this system of labor, albeit transformed, was used after Spanish contact to suit a system of salaried work (in Aguayo Spencer 1970:137-8, 157).

The prehispanic practice of work in exchange for debt, and freedom by payment, was similar to indentured labor practices in several economic sectors in New Spain after Spanish contact. The worker who either had received money in advance, or who had been

convicted to work, had to pay with labor until the amount of money had been served. This practice became convenient, especially during the most difficult periods of population decline where labor was scarce. It was common in the obrajes which produced woolen textiles (Dusenberry 1947, Kegan 1979, Kuthy 1984). Nonetheless, to Aguirre Beltrán this type of servitude was "slavery" (1983:249-259).

There is evidence that in colonial Michoacán the highest native elite purchased African slaves. These slaves were priced between two hundred and four hundred gold pesos (AHAP, 2, #10, 1561-1562 Pátzcuaro; AHAP 1, #14 1553, La Huacana; AHAP 1, #21, 1553 Pátzcuaro). Warren suggested that horses were as expensive as African slaves. Slaves would sell for one hundred and twenty-five to two hundred and fifty pesos between 1527 and 1528 (1985:182). It was not uncommon for the native elite to also have Indian servants (AHAP 1, #11, 1551; AHAP 5bis, #61, 1596; AGN RI6-1, E397, F105; E.Olmedo 1989:147).

Whenever the Spanish authority recognized the importance of a given nobleman it assigned Indians for his service. The quota for Indian service at the nobleman's house between 1574 and 1592 was of one male and one female Indian per week (AGN RI6-1, F105v, 1592 Pinzándaro). These "servants" were used for clearing lands and for household services (AHAP 4# 24, 1586,Pátzcuaro). Both men and women were assigned to these tasks. In the case that the nobleman was considered an "illegitimate" son of a cacique these workers had to receive a salary (Zavala 1939:4). Some historical records reveal that these Indians were paid twenty to twenty-five cacao

seeds per day for their services (AGN RI1, E123, F45v, 1574-77, Tiripitio and Teremendo). In addition, the Spanish authorities commanded the Indians to plant corn and/or cotton for the noblemen, to provide them with service, and to repair their houses (AGN RI1, E25, F10v, 1575, Siróndaro; AHAP 4, #42, 1595 Pátzcuaro).

Some noblemen and noblewomen "rented" lands to the "curintziepa" or sharecroppers, who were obligated to pay some form of tribute to the caciques or descendants of former lords whose lands they worked. The Spaniards also saw this practice as a form of "slavery" (AHAP 1, #31, 1556-1565 Periban; AHAP 5bis, #58 1596-97 Urichu). Nevertheless, according to Haskett, land rentals provided the nobility with a good income (1988:51).

These forms of services provided to the native elite may have created patron-client relationships in which obligations between the noblemen and the curintziepa (tenant farmers) were recognized by both parties. The curintziepa recognized that the noblemen and noblewomen for whom they worked were "lords" (AHAP 1, #31, 1556-1565, Periban). This status conferred upon the nobility also gave them the right to receive a certain portion of the crops raised by the curintziepa. The obligations of the elite to the curintziepa are unknown.

Some Indian criminals were condemned to give service to the Spaniards. Nevertheless, under the pressure of a general population decline, and a subsequent generalized labor shortage in New Spain, a common practice was for the Spaniards to "steal" the labor force from other Spaniards who had also received this type of labor. They did so by paying the Indians larger sums of money to

lure them into working for them and to abandon their original employer. The result was runaway and absentee delinquents who had abandoned their jobs (Kuthy 1984). The law required that those runaway criminals be returned to the Spaniard to whom their labor was assigned in the first place. Commonly, native noblemen paid for the labor of native delinquents who could potentially become runaways. In this manner, the nobleman could make use of the labor of condemned Indians as well (AGN RI3, E903, F220, 1591). This practice may have reinforced certain patron-client relationships between native elites and the commoners, and may have created new obligations among them.

3.5.4 Residence

Residence was an indicator of authority and rank. In prehispanic Tarascan society, the status of lord was associated with the control over populations, granaries to support a noble house, cloistered women who wove cotton mantles, numerous elders who lived in the house, and perhaps craft specialists (RM 1989:157, 158).

The native elite was also housed in certain areas of the city. Residential areas specifically associated with the native elite have been found in Tzintzuntzan (Pollard 1993: 34-42, and Charlton and Nichols 1992 for a discussion of elites in Otumba). Therefore, residence location indicated status as well as separation from the commoners.

In colonial Michoacán, residence was also a marker of social status. The RG of Cuiseo de la Laguna mentioned that "some wealthy Indians have their houses in the same manner as we have them in

Spain" (1987:89). The highest native elite in Pátzcuaro resided in the main plaza where the Spaniards and the Spanish authorities resided. Don Antonio Huitziméngari's house was located in a corner of the main plaza in Pátzcuaro where it still stands.

3.5.5 Funerary Practices

Funerary practices reveal noble status as well. Members of the prehispanic Tarascan elite had elaborate funerary rites, of which those of the cazonci were unique. When the cazonci died he was dressed with decorated clothing and his body was adorned. The body was carried only by his sons and lords from the "Eneani, Tzacapu-Hireti and Uanacase" lineages (RM 1989:237). Men and women who had been in the service of the king, and who had headed several of the offices or activities carried out in the king's palace were sacrificed. They were clubbed and buried behind the temple. The king was cremated with all his jewelry and his ashes were tied up in a bundle of mantles. A turquoise mask adorned the bundle. He was laid to rest in a new tomb at the bottom of the temple (RM 1989:234-9). Ugarte adds that a golden shield, a labret and ear plugs adorned the king's remains (1963:42). No activities were carried out for five days following this ceremony. Lords and caciques remained in vigil at the priestly house during this time.

This practice contrasts with burials for other members of the elite. For a lord killed in war, the cazonci gave mantles to his women. Women wrapped the lord's body and decorated it with insignia that symbolized war: bows and arrows, garlands of leather and colored feathers on the head. His body was cremated and his ashes placed in a pot that was buried in his yard (RM 1989:214).

There was a certain prestige attached to death in war since in this instance the body was cremated replicating the funerary event of the cazonci.

In other instances, members of the nobility, men and women alike, were buried after sacrificing "numerous people" (RM 1989: 148-9). Sacrificial victims were to be both their afterlife companions and the "bed" on which the nobility were laid on to rest so that dust did not touch their bodies (RM 1989: 148-9). Excavations of noble burials have been made in Tzintzuntzan, Huandacareo, Zinapécuaro, Zacapu, and Tres Cerritos (Lake Cuitzeo). In these cases, funerary practices did not include cremation, which seems to have been exclusive to the cazonci and to the lords killed in war. Nevertheless, the sacrifice of people seems to have been the privilege of the nobility.

In colonial Michoacán, funerary practices also indicated noble status. Of all Catholic sacraments, the "extrema unción" (the sacrament associated with death) "was generally administered by Agustinian friars, and was administered to the Indian nobility by the Franciscan friars" (Ugarte 1963:62). In addition, when a member of the native elite was a benefactor of a given church or convent he or she could be buried in that convent or church. Permission had to be granted nonetheless.

Indians could be buried in monastery graveyards. If they were of "más calidad," meaning of higher status, they were buried inside the church (RG Tancítaro 1987:290). In the 1590's a series of burial licenses were granted to certain noblemen and noblewomen. Records show licenses granted to Miguel Cuara, a nobleman who had

been in the service of D. Antonio Huitziméngari, the governor of Michoacán. A license was also granted to Cuara's wife D. Ana Quentzu, as well as to other relatives, including D. Magdalena Quentzu (Ana's sister) and her husband Agustin Tzurequi (Sarrelangue 1965:248, 256). D. Pedro Pehmu, D. Antonio's "mayordomo" (steward) and his relatives D. Pedro Pehmu and Diego Pehmu received equal permits (Ibid:249, 255). In addition, D. Juan Cuiris also received such a permit. Cuiris was a featherworker (Ibid:250). D. Juan Paqui, D. Antonio's nephew, and his wife D. Maria Popoche (D. Juan Cuiri's sister), received such grants (Idem:251,256). All of these nobles had been benefactors of the Jesuit School. Therefore, social status was significantly shown in burial practices.

3.6 Additional Prerogatives of the Native Elite

The manipulation of public office by the native elite was tied to the manipulation of privileges that the elite was able to master in colonial society.

In his essay "Intercambio y Comercio entre los Tarascos" (n.d.), Paredes suggested that with the cazonci's death, and the subsequent break-down of the tributary system as a source of support for the native elite, previous privileges of the native elite were lost. Gerhard suggested, that these privileges were preserved for some time (1985:14).

The Spanish crown financed the elite with a portion of the tribute that was collected from the elite's own jurisdictions[40]

[40]For example, in a King's letter to the Viceroy, D. Antonio Huitziméngari was granted a portion of tribute for his support, during and after his tenure as a governor. This grant was extended to his wife and children (CDH-INAH, Indias, Rollo 1, doc 256, 1562).

(Paredes 1984:86). Even though some former noble privileges may have been lost, new privileges were created as well. For the most part, the elite of highest ranking continued to receive some tribute. In addition, certain lands were recognized as their private property, and workers who were previously in charge of clearing and cultivating those lands were retained. The native nobility also controlled and even appropriated additional tribute for their benefit. Money and/or corn were diverted from the tribute to pay for the maintenance of the native nobility (Paredes 1984:89). The Spanish authorities complained against the abuse by the native elite in appropriating additional tribute (CDH-INAH, Kraus Col. 75, 1558; Kraus Col. 76, 1558).

Lands granted to the elite contributed to their maintenance, and were an additional prerogative left to them. These lands were perceived by the Spaniards to be the private property of the indigenous elite. According to Piñon Flores, this view stemmed from the Spaniards' lack of understanding about indigenous land tenure systems (1984:149). The outcome was beneficial to the elite. But prerogatives did not come without obligations in exchange. The elite was responsible for overseeing the smooth operation of tribute collection, and were held responsible for late tributary payments. To meet these obligations, they were forced to sell their lands which, according to Paredes, resulted in the gradual absorption of the elite into the commoner class (In Intercambio y Comercio entre los Tarascos, n.d:6). Nevertheless, Stern (1989) has shown that in Peru the indigenous elites protected their lands and sold communal lands to pay for back tributes.

The most powerful members of the native elite were able to keep their lands by establishing marriage connections with the Spanish. Through this process, the indigenous elite could retain their elitist status and, technically, their lands as well.

Major abuses by the elites, regarding the payment of tribute, were punished by expelling the nobility from their towns for a period of up to four years. These noblemen were forced to pay back stolen tribute, or to work for a given time equal to the amount of money stolen. This represented their temporary loss of political office and/or their wealth (AHAP 3, # 43, 1576-77, Turicato). Parheps it meant the loss of their lands. This document reveals that D. Luis Cortés, governor of Turicato was forced out of his town because of a back tribute equivalent to $17,000 pesos. According to the town authorities, Indians had already paid their annual tribute and held their governor responsible. Although he was expelled from the town and from the governorship, Don Luis soon returned to govern his town once more. Therefore, the loss of noble lands did not mean the loss of the elite's political power.

Other prerogatives of the Tarascan elite include the following: the nobility was protected from incarceration, their lands were generally protected from invasion, and most importantly, their political offices were protected as well (AHAP 3, #17, 1572-1574). Additional rights included a salary for office tenure, and the right to be exempted from tribute and services to the Spaniards. Salaries were apportioned from the remainder of tributary payments. They varied in relation to regional wealth. In those cases where there was not enough tribute left, the viceroy

ordered that the salaries of indigenous governors be paid in corn and/or beans cultivated in communal lands.

The accumulation of wealth was an important marker of political and social status. Markers of status in precontact Tarascan society like dress and adornment, weaponry, the use of servants, residence, and funerary practices, were re-contextualized in the new society. Spanish markers of social status became markers of status for the indigenous elite. Investment made by the elite in dress, horses, swords and daggers, as well as in economic enterprises like trade, textile production, and the introduction of new crops, among others, indicated a conscious accommodation to the new socio-political and economic system after contact, and were a means of securing and maintaining power within their communities. At the same time, this wealth provided a means to keep the existing separation between the indigenous elite and the commoners. The consumption of luxury items by the indigenous elite, and the adoption of Spanish business and judiciary practices, linked the elite to regional and global markets, and in the process, linked the elites to the colonial administration.

While in prehispanic Tarascan society, the elite drew power from its relationship to the king, in colonial society, the native elite drew power from its relationships with the Spaniards and with the old Tarascan aristocracy. At the local level, the elite's political power was maintained through membership in noble lineages, the manipulation of descent, kinship connections with both prominent Spaniards and prominent Indians, and the creation of patron-client relations that were beneficial to both the commoners

and the elite. The Spanish protected the role of the native nobility and the elections of native public officers. This allowed the indigenous elite to control local politics. The political connections of the native elite with the Spanish elite, as well as their participation in the colonial economy reflected the unequal relationships that existed between the elite and their own communities. The following chapter addresses mechanisms by which the elite maintained political power at the local level by controlling political office.

CHAPTER 4

MANIPULATION OF PUBLIC OFFICE

In the previous chapter, the idea that the native elite survived and became part of the colonial elite was presented. Its presence was manifested in the existence of Tarascan lineages, as well as in the consumption of luxury items of Spanish origin, and in the connections that the nobility established with other indigenous noblemen and noblewomen and with the Spanish local elite. The political survival of the native elite, measured in terms of the control of public office in Indian communities, is explored in this chapter. It is argued that in spite of the new form of Spanish government that permeated the local level, an underlying "tarascanization" of some of the Spanish-type political offices is evident.

Although Spanish political offices were new to the native elite, some of them were transformed into equivalent Tarascan categories. Among these were offices of religious character, especially in community-hospitals (pueblo-hospitales). In addition, Tarascan offices were adapted to suit the Spanish economic system because they aided it. This was the case of the ohcambecha, who oversaw the collection of tribute at the local level.

This chapter addresses three major issues. First, it deals with the apparent collapse of the Tarascan hierarchical system and with social and political transformations of the elite after contact. Second, it looks at the appearance of new social categories of Spanish origin. Finally, it explores the political survival of sixteen noble lineages in the province of Michoacán through their control of political offices.

4.1 Social, Political and Religious Transformations

4.1.1 The Collapse of the Tarascan Hierarchical System

The prehispanic Tarascan hierarchical system reflected the centralization of power and the control of resources by the elite. One of the outcomes of Spanish contact was the apparent simplification of the Tarascan hierarchical system[1]. This simplification is only apparent since the reality reveals a complex socio-political organization at the local level in colonial Michoacán[2].

The social structure of the Tarascan elite with the cazonci at the top can be viewed as a pyramid. The fact that a ruling cazonci was generally elected/chosen from among the former king's sons reinforced the Spanish perspective that the natives' history was structured in terms of dynasties of kings[3] (see Silverblatt 1987:XXII for a similar

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[1]The Tarascan state was based on a large bureaucratic network that controlled the functioning of the state and ensured that power held by the Tarascans was maintained through war (Craine 1970:14, Lameiras 1985:160)

[2]The high degree of political centralization seems to have been a rather unique characteristic of the Tarascan state. It is reflected, among others, in the concentration in Tzintzuntzan, of workshops that produced luxury items associated with elite consumption. Coppersmiths, featherworkers, pottery makers, and other artisans who produced for the elite were taken to Tzintzuntzan. In many instances, luxury items were produced at the palace (Pollard 1993:45). Featherworking and lacquerworking, were indeed so valuable, that luxury items produced by its artisans were likely to have been under the direct control of the king (Beltrán 1982:56, Warren 1985:21). Thus, the production of specialized luxury items was under the ultimate control of the cazonci.

[3]The cazonci could designate and remove state functionaries (Beltrán 1982: 94; RM 1989: 181; Sarrelangue 1965: 41). Following the death of a lord or cacique, the king named any of the dead man's brothers, sons, or nephews as the new local ruler. The new cacique was then called "brother" by the cazonci (RM 1989:217, 218). The use of such kinship terminology indicates that the cazonci bounded the new functionary into an alliance of "brotherhood" which put pressure on the cacique, or lord, thereupon, securing his obedience by honoring such alliance, and the political duties that the alliance entailed.

Unlike the king, who had the right to marry all of the former king's wives, the new cacique was forbidden from marrying the former cacique's wives (RM 1989:218). This practice may well indicate that the

discussion among the Incas). This Spanish interpretation blurs the complexities of the Tarascan sociopolitical organization.

The Tarascan prehispanic society was multi-layered. According to the Relación (1989), there were three distinguishable groups within the

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cazonci's lineage would be strengthened by incorporating former wives into the ruling lineage, and by using them to extend alliances with the lords. Whereas collateral lineages, or lineages of lesser nobility, would be forced to become difuse or dispersed by disincorporating women from the dead cacique's lineage. This re-enforced the character of the centralized ruling lineage, versus the descentralized character of other lineages. But marriage was used as a form of co-option as well. In many instances, the king gave his daughters or sisters to a lord as a form of establishing alliances, thus, ensuring the obedience of the lord, and co-opted him into this alliance as well. This practice nonetheless had the advantage of strengthening the status of the elite as a group, while furthering the centralized character of the state. As much as the position of state functionaries depended on the king's recognition, he also "depended" on the nobility for warfare, tribute, and conquest (Beltrán 1982: 203). Recognition by all the nobility legitimized the cazonci's position and his office (RM 1989:239). Therefore, a relationship of interdependence between the nobility and the ruling lineage existed.

The symbolic means by which alliances between the nobility and the king were cemented and re-enforced were reciprocity and gift-giving, as well as the use of fictive kin terms and marriage among the elite. Such usages strengthened the cazonci's office and his position vis-a-vis the Tarascan elite. The king would expect gifts on certain occasions, such as when he was sick, or when ethnic groups voluntarily subjected themselves to the king (RM 1989: 213, 234). In turn, when a local ruler was confirmed by the cazonci, the latter gave textiles to the ruler's wife. When a cacique lost office, he was deprived of the insignia that manifested his state office (Beltrán 1982:90), and his wife was "left naked" (RM 1989: 216, 218). This was a means of expressing that former gifts from the cazonci were removed from her.

Further evidence of centralization comes from the concentration of political functions in the office of the cazonci. Even though the Petamuti (chief priest) was in charge of justice, final decisions always came from the king (RM 1989: 40). This process was replicated at the local level. The governor of Tiripitio, and presumably all other governors, had judicial functions. Nevertheless, his power was limited to the gathering of information in any judicial case. The case was then submitted to and ruled by the cazonci (RG Tiripitio 1987:343). "A governor did only what he was asked to do" (RG Ajuchitlán 1987: 37). In addition to the functions of government, military, and justice, the cazonci had religious functions. He was the chief priest, thus, he was the chief sacrificer and the head of the priestly hierarchy.

The power of the king's office translated into the various functions of his office. Conversly, the political office of state functionaries depended on the cazonci's recognition. The distribution of wealth and political authority were obtained via the cazonci, whereas, mobilization of resources was carried out by noblemen closely associated to the king (Beltrán 1982:90, RM 1989: 218).

elite: lords, caciques and principales with the cazonci at the top. The existence of different status groups, in the overall society, is revealed in the archaeological excavations at Tzintzuntzan. Material remains provide evidence of three groups: King/lords, nobles, and commoners/slaves (Pollard 1992:86).

Lords: According to Sarrelangue, the group formed by the lords included the descendants of old Chichimec chiefs, the lords of frontier towns and garrisons, and the lords of Tzintzuntzan, Pátzcuaro and Ihuatzio. Among them, the cazonci was "the universal lord" (1965:37). The lords or achaecha were of the highest ranking Tarascan nobility and came from, or became related to, the royal lineage. Therefore, they ruled the most powerful señorios (lordships) and were appointed/confirmed by the cazonci in key positions concerning the security of the state. The lords were considered the cazonci's "brothers" (RM 1989:69, 173, 267). This fictive or real kinship category points to the alliance that existed among members of the highest elite

Caciques: The caciques or angamecha ruled the provinces that had been conquered (Lagunas 1983 [1574]:221). They replaced the local authorities after any Tarascan war of conquest and were appointed by the cazonci to ensure the alliance of conquered towns to the central government. The appointment of the caciques was, according to Beltrán, a manifestation of the "total dependence of the cacique on the central authority to hold office" (1982:99; see also RM 1989:181)[4].

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[4]According to Sarrelangue, the caciques, who were of a lesser status than the lords, also received agricultural workers (1965:44) as did the lords, perhaps in the form of corvees. This author argues, however, that most of the work was performed by slaves (Ibid:44). Nevertheless, according to the historical record, a more likely practice in early colonial Michoacán, and one that extended to the end of the 16th-

Principales: The principales seem to have been a series of noblemen who controlled other nobles of lesser social rank, or controlled certain sectors of the economy. Some of these noblemen followed right under the cazonci and resided in the capital of Tzintzuntzan. Therefore, this group was ranked as well.

Garcia Alcaráz refers to the principales as señores (lords). Thus, he lumps both categories in one but recognizes certain differences within this group according to whether they held important office, whether they were members of a special group of noblemen that always accompanied the cazonci, or whether they were in charge of overseeing a particular economic activity (G. Alcaráz 1976:233). Garcia Alcaráz places the caciques as the last group of nobles since their power was confined to local jurisdictions. On the other hand, Sarrelangue refers to the principales as noblemen who had some kind of office and lived in the palace (1965:38). In her interpretation of the social hierarchy, she considers the principales after the caciques.

What seems clear from these interpretations is that the upper strata was undoubtedly multilayered. Based on the Relación, the first layer was for the cazonci and perhaps for his governor since the governor was the only official to dress like him and, therefore, the only one who impersonated him (RM 1989:192; Beltrán 1982:90).

A second layer may have been for the four lords placed by the cazonci in the four frontiers of the territory, as well as for all other

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century, was for the lands of the elite to be worked by the curintziepa or renters, who rented the lands of the elite. They in turn, paid the elite with a percentage of the crops raised in those lands which was deposited at the elites' residences (AHAP 1, #31, 1556-1565, Periban; AHAP 5bis, #58, 1596, Urecho; CDH-INAH, SM112, 1568). It is likely that this system of rented lands was used prior to Spanish contact in the lands of the indigenous elite.

noblemen considered as lords in the Tarascan territory (RM 1989:192). A third level was perhaps for the administrators of specific and important economic activities, namely tributary collection and agricultural production. The caciques were in the next level since they had a regionally based power although they also resided in the capital city. Finally, there was a layer of officials associated with specific offices that included overseers of artisans, flag carriers, couriers, and other trades concerned with the operation of the state.

Whatever interpretation is given, it is clear that this noble strata was not homogeneous and had at least three or more ranks. The ranking system reveals a gradation based on status among the elite. One layer was for the nobles of highest rank who controlled politics and economics; another layer that had medium to low ranking nobles was associated with overseeing diverse productive activities; this was followed by the layer of functionaries whose jurisdictions were concerned with the local, not with the provincial level.

From the point of view of the Tarascan society, the hierarchy embodied a wide variety of civil servants, military and religious personnel. The Relación (RM 1989) tells us of at least 28 types of functionaries overseeing a series of assistants of lesser status who, in turn, supervised the smooth operation of the state. Their duties covered a broad spectrum of activities geared at collecting tribute, overseeing food production and storage, attending to specialized activities aimed at supplying the ruling class with fish, meat, poultry, and crops, as well as with luxury items produced by specialized craftsmen. All of these activities maintained the political apparatus

of the state, contributed to political centralization, and reproduced the elite as a group.

All offices within the state were inherited in the male line and were confirmed by the cazonci (RM 1989:198). This system has been described as "elective-hereditary" (Sarrelangue 1965:34). The confirmation of the officer by the cazonci gave legitimacy to the nobleman in office. This also suggests that the noblemen were dependent on the cazonci to hold office (Beltrán 1982:99).

The religious hierarchy was, according to Warren, independent from the socio-political hierarchy, although both were closely related (1985:16). The Petamuti, highest ranking priest, represented the cazonci as a judge. According to the Relación, the cazonci and the lords were "sacrificadores" (1989:199). They carried out sacrifices. Priests within the hierarchy had well defined activities. They were responsible for burning incense, were drum players or flute players, or told the Tarascan myths and legends (RG Cuiseo de la Laguna, 1987:82-3; RM 1989:199). According to the Relación de Cuiseo de la Laguna, all the priests were elected by "popular vote" for a period of a year from among the principals (RG Cuiseo de la Laguna, 1987:82-3). According to this document, these elected priests were celibate until after the completion of their year in office and lived off the offerings brought by women to the temples. On the other hand, these women were probably the ones kept in the Quatapera, where they dedicated their lives to the god Curicaveri, and produced luxury textiles that were used on ceremonial occasions and as state gifts.

4.1.2 Religious Transformations

Social changes targeted the religious hierarchy[5]. After contact, the prehispanic religious structure was transformed to "fit" the new Christian ideology.

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[5]Centralization and conquest by the Tarascan state were legitimized and justified by ideology. The Relación expresses this when in the most important celebration among the Tarascans, that of Equata-consquaro, the deeds of the Tarascan conquests were recounted by the highest ranking priest, the Petamuti (RM 1989:40-41).

The Tarascan god Curicaueri was considered to be the eldest "brother" of other deities from the lake Pátzcuaro basin, notably of those deities associated with populations of Chichimec origin, who were related to the Tarascans and were established on the lake before the Tarascans. Nevertheless, this may not have excluded other deities that were associated with populations conquered or allied to the Chichimec uacúsecha.

The conceptualization of the god Curicaueri as both the most important deity in Michoacán, as a warring god, and as a relative of other gods of the area, and, indeed, their eldest brother (RM 1989:51, 88), also justified the position of the uacúsecha lineage as the ruler of the state, and glorified their ruling lineage. In addition, it also justified the war-like character of the Tarascan state and legitimized their conquests. "Mirad que esta piedra es la que se debe llamar Zirita-cherengue, y a esta Uacúsecha, que es su hermano mayor, y esta tingarata y esta Miequa-axegua. Pues mirad que son cuatro estos dioses" (RM 1989:60). Dreams in which deities appeared to the members of the uacúsecha lineage, confirmed and legitimized their status as lords of the Tarascans (RM 1989:156-57).

The fact that social mobility could come through participation in war indicates the importance of conquest and its religious legitimation and ideological justification. The uacúsecha lineage was conceived of as the "eldest brother" of other lineages to whom the Tarascans were related (RM 1989:60) or that eventually were incorporated into the Tarascan polity.

Kinship terminology used to describe the relationship among gods, clearly reflected the conceptualization of Tarascan political relations. The ruling lineage had the prominent position. Therefore, their god Curicaueri reflected this prominence. Legitimization of authority was thus, ritualized, and was reflected in state ideology as Beltrán has suggested (1982:79). Ideology, therefore, served to furthered the goals of the elite which was then manifested to the population (Wolf 1984:57).

The cazonci, as the representative of the god, embodied the deity. Such manifestation had an impact upon his lineage and his authority. The legitimization of authority came in the sharing of the god as Beltrán points out (1982:80). Perhaps by sharing Curicaueri with those who submitted to the cazonci's rule, the Tarascan king embodied that "brother" figure which, in turn, Curicaueri represented, therefore, tightening the political control over "fictive" kin groups through religious constructs.

The worship of the god Curicaueri and the Quatapera, where women were kept in the service of this god, disappeared as such. Sacrifices and offerings associated with Curicaueri also disappeared (Van Zantwijck 1964:175-6). The Quatapera was transformed to suit the new Christian ideology. According to Van Zantwijck, following Saint Thomas Moore's Utopias, Bishop Quiroga established "community-hospitals" in Indian towns (Ibid:64-65). These were social centers in which members devoted themselves to various specialized activities and cared for the sick (AGN RI2, E146, F36v, 1582, Taximaroa; Ayer Col., F29r-30r, 1552, Tuxpan in Paredes 1994:106-7; Warren 1963). These hospitals became a "transformed continuation of the old Quataperas", and thus, were named after them (Van Zantwijk 1964:64-65).

Through the administration of religious-ceremonial offices, the native elite could recapture a portion of its prehispanic religious power. The elite financed, organized and participated in town fiestas for the saints, administered pueblo-hospitales, and church cofradias[6] (Van Zantwijk 1964:146; CDH-INAH, SM118, 1654, Michoacán; see Farriss 1984:10 for a similar discussion among the Maya). To the extent that the Spaniards, especially the friars, were also seen as operating within the prehispanic world-view, gave some individuals (and some families) the

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[6]Cofradias or religious brotherhoods are socio-religious groups devoted to public worship especially in the celebration of the saints (Warren: Socio Religious Organizations in Early Colonial Michoacán, n.d; Van Zantwijck 1964:66). They were especially important in hospital-towns (quataperas). In the case of Pátzcuaro, several cofradias were present. Membership in the cofradia of the Santo Sacramento was expensive, as were the expenses made to finance ceremonies, Mass, and other religious activities (CDH-INAH, SM118, 1645). Therefore, membership in this group was perhaps reserved for wealthier Spaniards and Indians most likely of highest social ranking.

understanding of having a quality of 'elitness' that confered them an ideological basis for the elite class.

According to Warren, "cofradia celebrations involved special Masses, processions, feasting, music, dance, and special decorations" (Warren, n.d:18). Thus, it is possible that the former Tarascan priestly hierarchy became the administrators, priostes, mayordomos, and fiscales of town-hospitals (the transformed Ouataperas).

In addition, native "doctors" (AHAP 5, #35, 1594 Pátzcuaro) in community-hospitals may have come from former lineages of curers who had adopted certain Christian symbols to be able to practice. Such a transformation was necessary since, according to the RG of Chilchota (1987), all those male and female Indians who were "medicos de curar" (curers) were seen as sorcerers by the Spaniards. Their way of curing was by "...filling a vase with water, and there they blow and look to the sky, and go blowing while walking in the house, and they say words that no one understands" (RG Partido de Chilchota 1987:109, see Sepúlveda 1988)[7]. Therefore, through mediation of adopted saints, recovery from illness was possible. Thus, prehispanic religious ideas survived in "Christian garment" (Van Zantwijk 1963:177). The incorporation of the church was done within the predominant "traditional character of Indian organization" (Ibid).

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[7]In prehispanic Tarascan society various forms of curing were used. One was through divination, "reading" water contained in vases (RM 1989:285-6). Such practitioners or diviners were called "ytsieramansti" or "diviner" (Gilberti 1989:87). Curing was also done by removing foreign objects from the body of the patients. This process was called "vecatantztani" meaning "to take something from someone's body through sorcery" (Gilberti 1989:161). According to the Vocabulario en Lengua de Michoacán, "tzinapeti" means "curor or doctor", and "nizcutspeni" "is the sorcerer who uses enchantments" (Gilberti 1989:142, 96). Therefore, the use of sacred formulas was part of the curing practice.

The old priestly hierarchy survived in the "new" *quataperas* as the *priostes*, *mayordomos*, and other hospital officials. Therefore, contrary to the idea of the disappearance of the nobility, and in particular of the priestly hierarchy, it may have survived, albeit transformed, finding new avenues to cope with the changes brought by the Spaniards.

4.1.3 Socio-Political Transformations

After Spanish contact, the Tarascan society's hierarchical system collapsed into fewer social categories. For instance, as of 1530 the category "lord" was prohibited. Therefore, all the former nobility was, in the eyes of the Spanish, recognized as either caciques or *principales*. The question remains whether this Spanish perspective was true from the perspective of the native communities. Social differentiation at the local level remained in place despite Spanish categorization of the native elite. Subtle variations among the local elite were noticeable to the native communities. This point is hardly mentioned in written documents of the 16th-century, although it is recognizable in many of them. Status differences among the native elite have been pointed out in more recent studies, such as in Ihuatzio (see Van Zantwijk 1963). Political and religious offices in the early 1960's in Ihuatzio were held by Indian "*principales*". The community of Ihuatzio honored the high status, political standing, and principality of these leaders.

After contact, the conqueror Hernan Cortés saw the advantage of preserving various administrative offices held by the native elite. He gave the elite enough power to help the new system, but not enough to make them a threat to the Spanish. According to Simpson, Cortés recognized their importance and chose to honor and favor them (1969:29).

Between 1524 and his death in 1530, the cazonci remained the king in the eyes of the Tarascans and continued to receive tribute from his people. Thus, he became an obstacle for the full control of the province (Warren 1985:102; Gorenstein in Pollard 1993:XIV). According to Gorenstein, since the caciques continued to spend time in the court, the Spanish could not co-opt the absent native authorities, making colonial administration difficult (Gorenstein in Pollard:1993:XIV). When the balance of power changed, and the cazonci was removed, the power of the native elite shifted to the local arena. Thus, competition for local power in the towns and regions where the elite resided became important.

It is clear from the Relación (1989) that some elite members whose activities were important to the success of the Spanish state were maintained. Among them survived the officials in charge of the operation of some economic activities like the chief leather dresser (maker of leather war coats), net fishermen, mason and quarry workers, canoe makers and paddlers, wood craftsmen and lumberers, messengers and couriers, and finally, the officials who counted people for rotational labor called ohcambecha (RM 1989:194-5). Any economic activity useful to the Spanish was essentially supported, maintaining portions of the infrastructure of the former society. Therefore, those individuals who supervised a given sector of the economy, especially tribute collection and rotational labor, were recognized by the Spanish as "diputados" or "mayordomos mayores" (Garcia Alcaráz 1976:233).

One of the trends experienced in colonial Michoacán was the transformation of certain types of Tarascan offices, as well as the collapse of the former Tarascan hierarchy and its rearrangement into

different categories. A first outcome of such reduction was pertinent to the cazonci and to the lords. According to Sarrelangue, immediately after the Spanish conquest of Michoacán, the cazonci was allowed to continue governing in the name of the king of Spain. But, by 1530, after the cazonci's death, the category of lord was forbidden. Only the king of Spain could be referred to as lord or señor (Sarrelangue 1965:51). Thereafter, the prehispanic nobility was constricted into two categories: caciques and principales. Therefore, all lords became caciques. Furthermore, Sarrelangue distinguished two types of caciques in the 16th-century, first, impoverished caciques who had been deprived of tribute and service, and second, those who had preserved their power thanks to their associations with the Spanish and to the extensive use of corruption (op.cit., 1965:88).

Nevertheless, contrary to Sarrelangue's point of view, documentary evidence shows that the terms cacique and señor natural (cacique and native lord) were in use as late as the end of the 16th-century to refer to the descendants of former lords. Even though they were now commonly referred to by the term cacique they were also referred to as señores (RI 6-1, E342, F91v, 1592, Pinzándaro). The term "native lord" indicates that the Spaniards did, in fact, recognize differences between the social status of a "former" lord and/or his/her descendants, and the status of a former cacique. Status differentiation was identifiable not only within the group considered by the Spanish as caciques. There were differences among all the groups that comprised the native elite; lords, caciques and principales.

An indicator of highest social rank among the elite was the use of the title "Don." This title was restricted to members of the highest

ranking nobility, something Haskett (1988) has argued for the nobility of Cuernavaca as well. This title was not widely spread among the Spaniards either. Therefore, the compilation of Tarascan native nobility made by Sarrelangue in which she used the title "don" for all of the names compiled is inaccurate (see Sarrelangue 1965:232-290). The opposite trend seems more likely. The use of the title "don" indicated high ranking, and, therefore, it appeared adjacent to the name of most governors and alcaldes and in the case of caciques and some principales whether they held political office or not during a given year (see Appendix One).

The manipulation of ethnicity became an important factor for the native elite's political survival. The long-term control of public office by the same noblemen indicate their political success. Clearly, those noblemen who conformed to the changes brought by the Spanish made conscious efforts to manipulate the system in order to legitimize their power in the new order. On the other hand, it is also clear that the native elite, as well as the Indian communities, distinguished between higher, middle, and lower strata within the native nobility in colonial Michoacán.

4.2 Political Survival and Conflict

Conquest and factional and political rivalries in the Tarascan state before the arrival of the Spanish are well documented in the Relación (1989). After the arrival of the Spaniards rivalries and competition among the elite revitalized and found new avenues for development and expression. Native noblemen struggled to retain their power both locally and at the level of the province by becoming members of the new colonial elite. They used political leverage, social

connections with the Spaniards and their own communities, and various forms of co-option, partidism and competition to influence the outcome of political elections at the local level, thus, maintaining their elitist position. In particular, they used conflict and competition as forms of political leverage.

4.2.1 Conflict and Competition

It is difficult to separate conflict from the competition generated among the native nobility, and between the Spaniards and the native elite as a result of Spanish contact. Changes and accommodations of the native elite to the Spanish society created new as well as exacerbated existing conflict[8].

Several types of conflict are readily observable in the historical record[9] and are facets of the process of change and accommodation that permeated native communities of Michoacán: first, conflicts generated by

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[8]Local rulers, lords, and their relatives lived in the capital of Tzintzuntzan. Such concentration was beneficial to the elite, and was a means of control over the nobility. This living arrangement made possible the strengthening of political centralization, and of political alliances between the elite and the ruling lineage. In turn, this process served to reduce possible conflicts among the elite. On the other hand, it seems that while the caciques lived in the palace at Tzintzuntzan, some of the governors, especially those of frontier towns did not. These governors represented the cazonci in frontier towns. Their alliance with the cazonci ensured the stability of the frontiers.

Through the exercise of his political rights, the cazonci centralized power. He could sentence to death the disobedient, the traitor, or the thief. Within the context of the security of the state, disobedience was a crime and a means of political co-option. Some forms of co-option that re-enforced the centrality of the ruling lineage were expressed, for example, when the cazonci was sick. Those caciques and lords who would not visit him were considered traitors (RM 1989:234).

[9] Beltrán suggested that the Tarascans were forced to share this political domination by giving more centers a recognized political status (1982:103). This would imply an opposite trend to political centralization. It is however likely that, if during the Tarascan expansion the uacúsecha were forced to share power with adjacent noble lineages of the core, at the same time, the process of concentration of power in a single lineage, the uacúsecha, was strengthening perhaps because of lineage endogamy.

jurisdictional changes (changes in subject-head-town relationships); second, conflicts generated from population movements[10]; third, competition between the Spanish and the native elite, and among the native elite, generated by the allocation of key resources (use of land, water and labor); finally, conflicts of power among the native elite: control of local politics and resources.

According to Borah, Tlaxcala and Michoacán were the exception to the pattern of territorial disruption experienced throughout Mesoamerica due the invaluable service rendered by the natives to the conquerors (Borah 1985:17). Nevertheless, there was a break of prehispanic jurisdictions and a constant reassignment of encomiendas to different encomenderos, essentially triggered by the re-accommodation of subject-head-town relations (Warren 1985: 158, 165, 167). Beltrán suggested that the Spaniards did not understand the indigenous organization. Therefore, and especially since the Carvajal visitation that assessed tributary payments, the towns where caciques resided were granted head-town status disregarding the previous organization by which centers of tributary collection were formerly the head-towns (1982:114). In addition, the very removal of the capital city from Tzintzuntzan to Pátzcuaro around 1539, and from Pátzcuaro to Valladolid in the 1570's[11], pitted native nobilities in these towns against each other (CDH-INAH, Indias No.1, E256, 1562, Pátzcuaro). Changes in indigenous territorial

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[10]Population decline, voluntary migration for various reasons including jobs in the mines, and forced migrations, imprisonment, population removal and congregation policies are examples of population movements.

[11]The alcalde mayor changed his residence from Pátzcuaro to Valladolid in 1576 but continued to return to Pátzcuaro (Paredes 1984:79). The fight between Spanish authorities, at various points in time, to change capital cities in the province of Michoacán has a long history.

organization fuelled competition for authority and resources at the local level (León 1968:43; AHAP 3, #17, 1572-74 Turicato; AHAP 3, #28, 1574 Turicato; AHAP 3, #43, 1576-77 Turicato; AHAP 1, #32, 1557 Cherán; AHAP 1, #1 1544 Zinapécuaro).

4.2.2 Factionalism

Increased rivalry among the native nobility was manifested in the creation of opposing factions which favored the political control of members of their faction (RI 2, E420, F100, Tancítaro 1583). In many instances, however, political rivalry was rooted in differences of ethnicity and language (AHAP 3,#43, s.f 1576 Turicato; AGN RI2, E685, F155v, Tacámbaro 1583; AGN RI2, E727, F166r, Jiquilpan, 1583).

Factionalism included alliances of the native noblemen with the commoners as well. Domingo de la Cruz, ex-mayor and principal of Xiquilpan, expelled from his town by the Spanish justice system in 1583, complained to the viceroy that Bernardino Juan, who was a commoner, and the new mayor of the town, had joined forces with other commoners and nobles to send him into exile. "Hatred and enmity" of his rivals were the cause of his misfortunes (AGN RI2, E727, F166r, 1583). This particular document points at an instance of rivalry and factionalism that elevated a commoner to power. Cases like this may have prompted Paredes (1984) to believe that eventually all noblemen blended into the masses. This particular case suggests the existence of an open door for people in lower ranks of the hierarchical system to gain social status in colonial Michoacán.

In particular, the loss of power of some of the members of the native elite was more apparent in areas which were formerly at the periphery of the Tarascan state. This problem is perhaps associated

with the loss of population in these areas already characterized by a scattered population compared to the former core of the Tarascan state. Among them were Azuchitlán and Tepalcatepec (RG Tancítaro, 1987:286).

4.2.3 Political Co-Option

Although competition among members of the native elite took place, the political survival of the elite was either successful, in terms of preservation of political office, or unsuccessful, in terms of their lack of political power and political survival[12]. The preservation of

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[12]Conquered territories were allocated to members of the Tarascan elite. Lords in frontier towns were appointed by the cazonci, which ensured that conquered territories remained annexed to the state through the use of loyal appointees (Sarrelangue 1965:37). This process would have contributed to the centralization of the Tarascan state in the hands of the ruling elite. The cazonci confided key political positions related to the security of the kingdom to members of the ruling lineage. According to Beltrán, war legitimized the position of the elite since it gave the elite the means to acquire rights over lands, and perhaps over water and tribute (Beltrán 1982:69, see also Lameiras 1985:160, Pollard 1993:124). In addition, the military elite repressed and co-opted hostile populations and their elites in the territories that were annexed to the Tarascan territory or which were already Tarascan. This trend has been demonstrated by the division of the Otomi, and other ethnic groups into different towns, and by policies of ethnocide.

In the process of expansion of the Tarascan state, a complex social organization developed in the lake basin. A bureaucracy of nobles controled this centralized system. Noble lineages from settlements in the area, whether Tarascan or not, became linked by marriage or were co-opted into alliances with the conquering uacúsecha. It is likely that the process of Tarascan expansion triggered competition for power among various competing noble lineages. Beltrán suggested, that the uacúsecha were then forced to share power with other lineages of the area by having to appoint and/or recognize members of other lineages as rulers of head-towns (1982:103,108). Nevertheless, the dominant lineage remained the uacúsecha, suggesting a tendency toward the centralization of power in the hands of a dominant lineage, and perhaps the tendency for lineage endogamy, a practice suggested by Beltrán (1982: 95-108). Consequently, this practice concentrated power within the highest ranking elite, and may have effectively limited the sharing of power by other noble lineages which competed against the ruling uacúsecha lineage. The association between control of power and dominant lineages has been suggested for other Mesoamerican civilizations as well (Beltrán 1982:75, see also Carrasco 1986, and Lameiras 1985).

The role of conquest and war among the Tarascan elite should be viewed not only as a means of territorial defense or expansion, but also, as an activity that probably became a means of social mobility by merit among the nobility and noble lineages. Beltrán suggested that social stratification may have been determined by military activity

political office by the native elite goes beyond explanations based on the association of the native nobility with the Spaniards, their wealth, or their use of corruption. The "extensive" use of corruption by the native elite as a means of political survival, as manifested in the historical record, requires further attention. These accusations should be treated as manifestations of two opposing perceptions of what the rights of the native elite ought to be. Therefore, while the native elite considered it still had rights to decision-making, tribute and the labor of Indians as it had been in the past, the Spanish perception was the opposite. When a nobleman went beyond what the Spanish considered to be the limits of his rights, he was considered corrupt, such as when Indian communities accused their governors of overcharging additional tribute to pay for ceremonial expenses (CDH-INAH, SM114, 1586 Pátzcuaro). This does not mean that abuse of power and co-option did not take place. Rather, these instances should be weighted in specific situations.

Corruption of native authorities could be curtailed by claims made to the Spanish authorities. Most importantly, through the creation of town alliances, a faction could remove any native authority. For example, in 1588, a series of principales voted to oust governor D. Constantino Bravo Huitziméngari who, according to the claim had been imposing excessive tribute to the community. The governor had "allied"

(Beltrán 1982:83). Nevertheless, little is known about mechanisms of social mobility among the commoners to suggest social stratification through war.

The institutionalization of Tarascan military conquest resulted in the formation of a tributary state and in the incorporation of conquered population, the control of large territories, and the defense of numerous hostile borders (Pollard 1993:106-108, Semo 1976:22). By extension, the activities of expansion brought the Tarascans into the creation of alliances that, ultimately, consolidated their power in the core, and later-on in Michoacán.

with several noblemen: with D. Juan Paqui who was also his brother-in-law and cousin and with "friends" like D. Francisco Tzitziqui and D. Lucas, a nobleman and a mayordomo elected that year (CDH-INAH, SM114, 1588, Pátzcuaro). This faction proved to be problematic to a series of competing nobles who won political offices after D. Constantino and his followers were ousted.

Another example to illustrate local politics comes from Pátzcuaro as well. In 1609, the principales of various subject-towns complained against their governor, D. Luis de Castilleja y Puruata, since he had allowed the Spanish authorities to set the town mayor, Gabriel Ramirez, free from his imprisonment. According to the Indians raising the complaint, Ramirez charged excessive tribute. They claimed that the governor and his "allies" supported the mayor and had spent considerable amounts of money in parties, celebrations, and banquets prepared for Spanish visitors of high rank like the archbishop. The complaint stated that the governor had allied with various powerful Spaniards among them: Francisco de Garfias and Juan Rodríguez Laines, both don Luis' relatives. In addition, the royal scribe Martin Codina as well as various local indigenous authorities had sided with the governor. The alleged claim mentioned that the governor "with his powerful hand created dissention" in the wards of Pátzcuaro (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1609 Pátzcuaro).

Most importantly, however, is the fact that when a member of the native elite was perceived by his community to have removed himself from the interests of the community that he represented, he became a liability to the community itself. Therefore, in order to maintain power at the local level, the native nobleman had to carefully balance

his relationships with the Spanish and with his constituency, as well as with potential contestants of power within the community.

The power of the native elite at the local level was substantial. The RG Ajuchitlán stated that the nobility was so powerful that:

> "if they want to destroy a Spaniard or an Indian, all the town will swear whatever the elite says is true. And, if the commoners, moved by a principal, want to get rid of their governor, all the town will go against him and take away the governor's office. But if the governor invites them, they will abandon the governor's enemy and go back to him" (1987:31).

The boundaries that existed between political factions seem to have been fluid since at any given time followers of one faction could ally to the nobleman in the opposite faction. This suggests that the native nobility relied on their followers and rallied for their political support while co-option became a means of subduing opposition. It was important for the nobleman not to lose contact with his community, as it was for the community not to perceive the nobleman as losing contact with them. This was an important measure of political success. Family connections served to support the various factions.

Control of political office and the political survival of the native elite were, therefore, also manifested by the development of factionalism, co-option, the use of certain forms of abuse and corruption, the establishment of patron-client relationships, and the creation of political alliances at the local and provincial level (AHAP 3, #17, 1572-74 Turicato; AHAP 3, #28, 1574 Turicato; AHAP 3, #43, 1576-77 Turicato).

According to Warren, co-option was not only used by the Spanish to control the native elite, it was also a means used against entire native communities by the indigenous elites as well (1985:170). The law

punished rebellious nobles with a month of incarceration (albeit prohibited against the native elite), and 170 slashes (AHAP 3, #17, 1572-74 Turicato; AHAP 3, #28, 1574 Turicato; AHAP 3, #43, 1576-77 Turicato). Equally, native governors threatened their communities with the same kinds of punishments, especially in jurisdictional conflicts. Disobedience in prehispanic Tarascan society was punished by death (RM 1989:212, 213, 244). Therefore, co-option as a political strategy of survival served to control both the local indigenous authority as well as the Indian community.

In addition, membership in a Tarascan lineage buttressed the access to political office. According to Haskett, "supposed descent from both first conquerors and the authentic indigenous nobility could doubly legitimize an individual's claim to power and high social status" (1988:40). In addition, descent from and kinship relationship with a former lord were important as well.

The question remains whether the take-over of political office by macehuales and other low ranking individuals was circumscribed to certain regions within the province, or whether in fact the loss of power of the native elite was a generalized phenomenon. It is suggested here that the loss of power of the native elite was more apparent in areas formerly considered outside the core of the Tarascan empire, whereas in the former Tarascan core the power of the native elite was entrenched and consolidated. Not only did the native nobility ally with prominent local Spaniards and with prominent indigenous elite, they used such connections for political gain as well. In addition, the indigenous elite continued marrying among themselves, effectively creating a barrier against political competition. The highest elite at

the core constantly refused participation of the ohcambecha in local elections (CDH-INAH, SM114, 1595 Tzitzuntzan). This decided opposition by the highest elite to curtail claims of political office made by non-noblemen in the former core of the Tarascan state was also supported by the Spanish authorities of the province.

Whereas in prehispanic Tarascan society evidence points at the elimination of any concerted opposition (Warren 1985:50, 71,90), in colonial Michoacán opposition and factionalism became open and were means of enlisting followers within a community or jurisdiction to ensure the control of local political power. Factionalism acted as a system of checks and balances of the performance of the native elite.

4.2.4 Patron-Client Relationships

Finally, social relations and the creation of patron-client relations served to create alliances and factions that could broadened the basis for the support of the elite at the local level. Some of these relationships were created by marriage and ceremonial kinship (compadrazgo). For example, D. Jerónimo Conete and D. Luisa Huitziméngari were godparents in a baptism ceremony in Pátzcuaro in 1598 (Sarrelangue 1965:256).

Among the means of creating patron-client relationships were bailing someone out of prison or paying an outstanding debt on behalf of an Indian commoner. This issue is illustrated by D. Agustín Pinto, mayor of Tiripitio, who in 1590 complained that delinquent Indians, condemned to give service to the Spaniards to whom their labor was sold, were constantly being offered a larger amount of money to abandon these Spaniards who had paid for their labor in the first place. This was an illegal practice that disregarded the obligation of Indian prisoners

with the Spaniards to whom they had been condemned for service. As a result, the second Spaniard, the one offering a larger amount of money, personally benefitted from this practice in a time of labor scarcity. D. Agustín Pinto offered to pay the debt of condemned Indians. By freeing them he could benefit from their labor (AGN, RI3, E901, F220, 1591, Tiripetio).

Eventually, however, the creation of patron-client relations may have established some forms of obligations toward these noblemen. And may have broadened the basis for political support.

4.3 Tarascan Indigenous Elite's Political Offices

According to Simpson, the Spaniards sought to recreate the life of Spain in the New World mainly by reproducing the Spanish community as a political organization (1969:93). Nevertheless, Spanish institutions were adapted to the geographic and socioeconomic conditions of the New World (Borah 1985:15). Borah argued that Spain had a heterogeneous politico-administrative structure that persisted to the 16th-century. After the defeat of the Arabs, all conquered territories were the possession of the king of Spain. The Castillian nobility received ample faculties to govern their provinces (Borah 1985:19). Uniformity in terms of provincial government in Spain was not present at that time. Whereas some functionaries like the attorneys had only legislative powers, others (the alcaldes) had governing and legislative powers. Yet others (regidores, councilmen) were only endowed with peace keeping and legislative functions. In addition, functionaries like the merinos were administrators, attorneys, and military officers at the same time. According to Borah, the overlapping functions of alcaldes, regidores, and alcaldes mayores came into conflict in Spain (Borah 1985:19). Over

time, the Audiencia Real reduced the jurisdiction and the function of some of the above functionaries.

Nevertheless, the legislative and judicial body of the Spanish village was generally recognized as the cabildo or council formed by the elders called regidores or councilmen. These regidores elected/appointed the mayors and the constables.

In New Spain, some differences emerged: the alcalde mayor became the prototype of governing official, whereas in Spain he had judicial functions only. The councilmen were also appointed as they did in Spain. The mayordomo became the treasurer of the village, and the communities had an attorney (procurador), as well as a chief constable (alguacil mayor) with various assistants, a jailor, and a town crier (Simpson 1969:95; Borah 1985:27). In addition, all Spanish citizens in New Spain were given either a caballeria or a peoneria[13] of land according to whether they had provided a horse during the conquest of New Spain or whether they had been foot soldiers. At the end of the 16th-century, Michoacán itself had 49 alcaldías mayores and corregimientos, and 40 encomiendas (B.Ugarte 1963:92-93).

In comparison, there were the native communities. The Spanish presence transformed the overall socio-political organization of native societies. New congregation of Indians, as well as population decline, and the territorial division into different administrative units under Spanish rule, favored certain changes of the prehispanic society.

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[13]Simpson argued that by 1536 Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza had standardized the official size of the caballeria at "1,104 by 552 varas de Castilla, which comes to about 105.4 acres" (Simpson 1969:97). The peoneria measured approximately 300 by 50 pasos. Each paso of about 2 yards.

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The Second Audiencia recognized the status of native communities as towns in 1531. In areas where the native population was scattered, or became scattered due to the epidemics, congregations became an important means of administration and taxation of Indian communities. According to Simpson, these congregations received public grazing ground or ejidos (lands for cultivation), and sufficient water and woods (Simpson 1969:101).

As to the political organization of the native community, in theory the church was to be the center of society. In reality, in spite of the Spanish influence on the organization of native towns and the introduction of new types of offices of Spanish origin, the local native authorities continued to dominate and control power at the local level and adapted various of these offices to their own Tarascan political categories.

Indians were organized into "republics" (B. Ugarte 1963:94). These were former señorios that had an Indian governor that ruled over his own territory, composed of a head-town and its subject towns. Depending on the size of a given Indian republic, the number of indigenous officers organized into councils differed. There could either be a mayor, or a mayor an one or two councilmen, or two mayors and four councilmen (op.cit:94). Gerhard argued that the power of former caciques was transferred to the indigenous governors, and that political elections of indigenous officers were dictated and controlled by the Spaniards (1986:14). Although instances of that may have taken place, the Spanish government protected Indian elections against

outsiders (CDH-INAH, SM114, 1573; AGN RI6-1, E956, F259r Tzintzuntzan 1595; AGN RI6-2, E148, F35 Chilchota 1591; AGN RI6-2, E169, F39 Chilchota 1591; AGN RI6-2, E580, F130r S. Andrés Tzicun 1592).

According to Haskett, laws prohibiting elections of non-Spaniards in Indian communities were not followed (1988:40). Individuals of mixed ancestry, and especially those who were connected with the former Tarascan royal lineage, continued to dominate the political scene.

4.3.1 Political Office and High Ranking Elites

Among the offices held by the native elite in colonial Michoacán were the following:

The Governor: According to Gilberti, the Tarascan word for governor is camahchacupeti (1989:41). This was the highest position in Tarascan communities. In many instances the governors were also caciques (in this sense, descendants of former lords), which indicates the association between the office of governor and the highest ranking elite, and between the office of the governor and the former status of lord. According to Spanish law, the governor was to be elected each year to prevent cases of corruption (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1580 and 1622, Michoacán and Tlaxcala). The reality in Michoacán was very different and is associated with the prehispanic Tarascan practice of succession to office. Historical documents mention that in the 16th-century, it was common for the son of a native governor to become governor at his father's death (Kraus Col., 41, 1551, F152r; see also Paredes 1994:60; and Ayer Col. F72v, 1552, Capula, in Paredes 1994:120).

In prehispanic Tarasacan society, the office of the cazonci was hereditary within the family of the king and could go to the eldest son or to any other male relative on the father's line (RM 1989:198; Beltrán

1982:94; Warren 1985:10). This practice was replicated in every political office in Tarascan society. Thus, not surprisingly, D. Constantino Bravo Huitziméngari, considered by the Spanish to be the "illegitimate"[14] son of D. Antonio, the last cazonci's son, after the death of his "half-brother" D. Pablo, was elected to the office of governor from 1588 to 1595 with a brief break in 1592 when D. Lorenzo Tacahuaque was elected. Following the prehispanic tradition, he succeeded his father in the gubernatorial office of the province in accordance with the former pattern of succession/election to office. This case is not unique however.

Juez Gobernador or "Judge-Governor": On a larger scale, native authorities with a regional power were the judge-governors. In the 16th-century, this office was given to indigenous noblemen of high rank, and was similar to the offices of prehispanic governor, sent on special commands to various towns, and to the office of the Petamuti, the highest priest who in his office of judge was the cazonci's governor (RM 1989:37,40). According to the RG of Cuiseo de la Laguna, in prehispanic Tarascan society, the judge-governor was sent by the cazonci to oversee tribute collection in a given area. This judge carried a special shaft of tapinziran wood "as long as a man's height, and as thick as a man's thumb" as his symbol of authority (RG Cuiseo de la Laguna 1987:83). In his role of judge he was also considered to be the cazonci's governor. The use of a shaft or vara de justicia remained a symbol of authority for native envoys who represented the colonial administration and who were sent to the towns on judicial affairs (AHAP 2, #7, 1561 Periban).

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[14]Issues of illegitimacy/legitimacy and polygynous marriages have been discussed in Chapter 3. They manifest different Indian and Spanish perspectives of social norms.

The office of judge-governor was entrusted to the most important principales. In 1581 D. Juan de la Cerda a nobleman, scribe and translator of Pátzcuaro, was named judge-governor of Tancítaro (AGN, RI-4, E23,F6v). D. Constantino Bravo Huitziméngari[15], son of D. Antonio the last cazonci's son, was sent to Capula, Tiripitio, and Tarímbaro (AGN,RI-1,E304,F138r, 1581 Pátzcuaro). According to this document, the function of this nobleman in particular took place in the absence of governors or elders in the above towns. This suggests that the function of judge-governor was that of an interim governor for a certain period (usually a year). Among the functions of judge-governors were to oversee the religious aspects of the community where they were assigned, to deal with any possible conflict in the area, and to oversee tribute collection, something similar to the office of prehispanic governors (Ayer Col., 1552, F167r-v, in Paredes 1994:130-1).

Additional judges included the jueces de residencia (judges of residence) whose activity was to check the performance of native governors and of other officers in the province (Kraus Col. 1522, F421v-422r, in Paredes 1994:99).

The Alcaldes or Mayors: The office of mayor is roughly equivalent to the prehispanic office of caciques in Tarascan society. According to Simpson, each native village was to have one or more mayors and two or more regidores (councilmen) to be elected yearly (Simpson 1969:101). These and other offices involved the election of noblemen in the entire jurisdiction (composed of a head-town and its subject wards and towns)

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[15]According to the Spaniards he was an "illegitimate" son of Don Antonio. Nevertheless, polygynous marriages among the elite had been considered legitimate in prehispanic Tarascan society. Therefore, it can be argued that from the point of view of the Indians, this nobleman was a "legitimate" descendant of the cazonci.

who moved to reside in the head-town while in office. The native mayors could conduct investigations and arrest individuals for minor grievances such as drunkenness or missing Mass (Simpson 1969:101). Regulation of all other offenses was the duty of Spanish authorities. In a viceroyal mandate to the alcaldes of Guayameo in 1583, the alcaldes were ordered to live in the head-town and not in the subject-town. The viceroy argued that otherwise, the head-town was left without proper administration. "...they leave the head-town without administration" (AGN RI2, E523, F121r, 1583; see also Paredes 1994: 201). This custom is prehispanic in origin. The Tarascan nobility lived in the capital of Tzintzuntzan leaving the administration of the towns to a series of minor officials (RM 1989:223, Beltrán 1982:94).

The Regidor (Councilman) or Mandón: The regidor or councilman was perhaps the mandón as well since their functions as political officers overlap. In the Tarascan language there are two terms to describe these offices. The mandón was known as huramuti and refers to mandate, or to order, and to condemn (Gilberti 1989:76), thus indicating that a councilman or mandón had some judging powers at the local level of towns and city wards. There is also the term ureuandari, which refers to a principal or mandón from the root "ure, ureta" that means the first (Gilberti 1989:172). Ureta refers to high ranking officials who were probably the heads of a ward. Thus, the functions of regidor overlapped with the functions of the former mandón. It is known from historical documents that each ward in the city of Tzintzuntzan, before the arrival of the Spaniards had a head or mandón (Sarrelangue 1965:69). For an unknown reason, the term mandón was not found to be common in the local records before 1581 (see Appendix One). The term regidor was used

before 1581. Therefore, it is assumed that the regidor and the mandón represented the same office or that the council of regidores was constituted by mandónes who represented their respective wards.

The Mayordomos: Various types of mayordomos were present in prehispanic Tarascan society. They were the hayndi, guardian of the house or town, and the quengue or mayordomo, from the term "quengueni" to climb to the barn (troxe) (Gilberti 1989:69, 118). This was undoubtedly an important official in the agricultural sector in the prehispanic Tarascan society. This indicates that, essentially, mayordomos in Tarascan prehispanic society were of three kinds, depending on whether they guarded a house, a town, or a storehouse of grain in public lands. There is some indication that the quengue survived as an office after contact. They oversaw the curintziepa, land renters in private land holdings of local native noblemen and noblewomen, in exchange for payment in agricultural produce delivered to the house of the nobility (AHAP 1, #31, 1556-1565 Pátzcuaro; AHAP 3bis, #52, 1578 Patuán). The town mayordomo was also important in colonial Michoacán.

In addition, those individuals who were formerly in charge of a given sector of the economy, especially tribute collection, were recognized by Spaniards as diputados or mayordomos mayores (Garcia Alcaráz 1976:233). However, the prehispanic role of the oficial de oficio, overseer of specific trades, overlaps with the office of mayordomo in colonial Michoacán.

Alguaciles and Alguaciles Mayores: These were the policemen (constables) and chief constables. The alguaciles were known as catape from the terms "catapeni" to imprison, and "cataperaquaro" jail

(Gilberti 1989:43). Therefore, the duties of the constables related to the enforcement of law and order in Indian communities. They were in charge of prisoners and the prisons (AHAP 3, #14, 1571, Pátzcuaro). The chief constables oversaw the constables. There is no evidence that the office of chief constable existed in the first half of the 16th-century. The creation of this position supports the idea of competition for political office from lower social ranks of society by the end of the 16th-century. Therefore, whereas the high ranking elite occupied the office of constable before the office of chief constable was created, there is no evidence that they did after the office of chief constable was in place. Rather, the office of constable became associated with individuals who either were of a lower noble rank or who had no noble title.

The Interpreter: In 1581 the terms cambeau and curaeme appear in the historical records (CDH-INAH, SM118, Pátzcuaro). The first term remains undecipherable and may be a corruption of the second term. The second term refers to "curanditi" or interpreter, also known with the Nahuatl term "nahuatlato" (Gilberti 1989:57). Native interpreters had the advantage of moving back and forth from the Spanish to the native society with ease. Therefore, they were considered ladinos (who had adopted Spanish culture) like Francisco de la Cerda in 1588 and Melchor Gonzalez de la Cerda in 1622, both from Pátzcuaro[16] (AHAP 3bis, #46, Pátzcuaro 1588; CDH-INAH, SM118, 1622), D. Bernardino Aucha from Matalcingo (CDH-INAH, SM112, 1565), and D. Andrés Hurtado from Pátzcuaro (AHAP 3, #3, 1573) to mention some.

[16]In the Chronicles of Friar De la Rea, the De la Cerda family was identified by their political prominence and by their mastery in sculpturing with a paste made of corn (De la Rea Chronicle, Gómez de Orozco (ed) 1972:53).

The Scribe: This term is self-explanatory. The scribe worked in record keeping for the local Spanish court. This position was held in colonial Michoacán either by Spaniards, or by a handful of indigenous elite. Among the few native scribes were D. Diego Tzitziqui from Ajuno, a subject-town of Pátzcuaro (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1590) and Francisco de la Cerda who was also an interpreter, judge-governor in Taximaroa in 1593, and mayor of Pátzcuaro in 1606 (CDH-INAH, SM112, 1587; and SM117, 1609; AHAP 3bis, #46, 1587 Pátzcuaro; RI 6-1, E670, F179r).

The Tarascan term for a scribe is "carari", which means scribe or painter (Gilberti 1989:42). The political leverage of interpreters and scribes rested in their bilingual communication. This gave them the additional benefit as power brokers and mediators since they could penetrate both their own society and that of the Spanish. Writing and language conferred a double potential on these individuals (see Hagedorn 1988 for a similar discussion on the natives of the Great Lakes).

The Oficiales de Oficio: These were the "guild" masters or the former overseer of various trades. They appear listed as noblemen (principales) in historical records and, therefore, they were exempted from tributary and service obligations. Viceroy Velasco in a mandate to the mayor of the province of Michoacán D. Rodrigo de Vivero in 1592, entrusted him to oversee that none of the offices (guilds/trades) was lost, since "the knowledge of these offices is transmitted from father to son" (CDH-INAH, SM114, 1592 Mexico City).

The term "anataquareni" means "to have office or to be an official" (Gilberti 1989:31). Among some of these officials for whom documentary evidence could be found for the 16th-century, were included masters of feather work (AHAP 4, #57, 1590 Pátzcuaro; AHAP 4, #63, 1590

Pátzcuaro); pottery makers (olleros) (AHAP 4, #39, 1588 Pátzcuaro); laquer artisans (AHAP 4, #55, 1590 Pátzcuaro), shoemakers (AHAP 4, #41, 1588 Pátzcuaro), bread makers (AHAP 5, #39, 1594 Pátzcuaro); copper workers (AHAP 4, #37, 1588 Pátzcuaro); lapidary workers (AHAP 2, #7, 1561 Pátzcuaro); and candle makers (AHAP 3bis, #49, 1577 Pátzcuaro). Further research will probably render additional data on other masters of guilds. Some of the most prominent members of the elite of Pátzcuaro who held political offices in the 16th-century, were overseers of feather workers (see Appendix One).

4.3.2 Political Office and The Low Ranking Nobility

Some of the lower ranking offices within the native political system were the following:

Ohcambecha: In prehispanic Tarascan society, as well as in 16th-century Michoacán, the ohcambecha were in charge of "counting the people" for public work and taxation purposes (RM 1989:178). According to the historical records, the ohcambecha (tequitlatos or calpixque in Nahuatl) were probably not considered nobles, or at least not nobles of high status. This idea is buttressed by the fact that they were stopped by members of the highest native elite from participating in the election of officers in Indian councils (CDH-INAH, SM114, 1610, Tzintzuntzan). The term "ohcambeti" became a last name by 1594 (AHAP 5, #42, Pátzcuaro). In addition, there is an overlap between the functions of mandónes and the functions of ohcambecha of a higher rank in colonial Michoacán. Or perhaps the mandónes oversaw the ohcambecha.

Data suggests, however, that there was an upper strata of ohcambecha, the overseers who were of noble class[17] and whose responsibility was to count people for tributary purposes, and a lower level of ohcambecha who may have actually collected tribute. These were either of lower noble class or were non-nobles. The RG of Cuseo de la Laguna stated that each of the subject towns had "a head called huganbete, and he is obeyed by them [the Indians], and he obeys and carries out what he is told to do by the mayor" (1987:79 my translation).

The Petahpecha: These individuals were in charge of "taking the people" from the term "petahpeni" that means "to take the people out of their houses" (Gilberti 1989:106). According to B.Ugarte, since attendance at mass was compulsory, the petahpecha made sure Indians were sent to church (1963:62). Nevertheless, it is more likely that the petahpecha's function was to collect Indians for rotational labor.

Historical documents from the end of the 16th-century reveal the creation of various new political offices like the office of lieutenant governor, chief constable (alguacil mayor), and fiscal mayor (CDH-INAH, SM117, Ajuno). It is likely that these offices were introduced to accommodate a growing number of indigenous people seeking political office. By 1598, the ohcambecha were pushing to participate in council elections, a move still opposed by the indigenous elite in 1610 (CDH-INAH, SM114, Tzintzuntzan)[18]. It is either an increased competition for

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[17]Noblemen like D. Andrés Guapean and D. Damian Cuiniharángari from Pátzcuaro were listed as ohcambecha. Their role was to count Indians for rotational labor (León 1968:116; CDH-INAH, SM 116, 1610 Pátzcuaro).

[18]The ohcambecha pushing for elections were the non-noblemen or noblemen of lower ranking positions since the overseer of the ohcambecha, who were very likely the mandónes of the wards, were already members of the nobility and, therefore, of the council.

political power by the non-elite, or a push by the lower-level nobility, and non-nobles to move upward, or a combination of both, that instituted these offices. Once created, they were appropriated by members of the highest elite. This created a stronghold of political control vis-a-vis an increased political competition from the lower ranks of the native society. Therefore, positions in the lower offices like constables, jailers and petahpecha (the official of low rank in charge of taking people out of their homes for rotational labor) could be filled by non-nobles and by the lowest ranking nobility. Yet, what seem to have been the most important offices within the native communities, mainly the governor, mayors, councilmen, and mayordomos or mandones, remained under the control of the highest elite.

The Tarascan prehispanic system that combined election and transmission of office through the father's line, as well as political connections among the nobility, continued to be part of the colonial native elite's access to political power (RM 1989:198; Beltrán 1982:94; Warren 1985:10). If this is correct, we have the basis for a colonial native system in which the custom of prehispanic election/succession was extended through the colonial period. In addition, if people of lower status pushed for representation in the indigenous council at the end of the 16th-century, they were likely to get lower-level positions (pethapecha or jailers). On the other hand, among the highest ranking elite, the general trend in the electoral process that took place each year reflected a reshuffling of the available political seats around the same individuals (to be discussed later in the chapter).

According to the historical records, at least three types of functionaries: lieutenants, constables, and mayordomos, had members of

both lower and upper strata of the nobility. The same is not the case for the office of governor, mayor, and lieutenant governor, in the regions that comprised the former core of the Tarascan state, at least not during the 16th-century. In the few recorded exceptional instances when a non-nobleman became governor, he was rapidly curtailed by the elite and forced out of office with claims that made him appear unfit to govern (AGN RI2, E727, F166r, 1583; CDH-INAH, SM114, Tzitzuntzan, 1595).

Finally, certain points should be stressed. First, the native elite who had been in power before the arrival of the Spaniards struggled to maintain their political position in the 16th-century. Second, control of public office at the local level in colonial Michoacán holds certain parallels with the Tarascan practice of transmission of office through the father's line. Third, in theory, elections were carried out in native communities each year to elect public officials but, in reality political office was controlled by the highest native elite. This suggests again a parallel with the prehispanic practice of the concentration of power by an elitist group. Fourth, there is certain overlapping between the functions of the office of governor with the prehispanic office of lord; of the mayor with the prehispanic office of the cacique; of the mayordomos, mandónes, and oficiales de oficio with the overseers of certain prehispanic economic activities; and of the judge-governors with the functions of prehispanic governors or with the petamuti, the highest priest.

Finally, it seems that an increased competition from the non-elite, and from the lowest ranking levels of the native elite, was two-fold. First, an apparent increase of the transference of power via elections rather than through lineage seems to have taken place.

Whereas elections may have served to appease the Spaniards who favored this system to curtail corruption, in reality lineage continued to play an important role in the concentration of the most important native offices among members of the elite who were related to the former uacúsecha lineage (explored in the following chapter). Elections served to re-shuffle offices of high rank among members of the highest ranking elite. Second, new political offices were created to accommodate a larger number of individuals contesting for power in the lower ranks of society. The creation of the office of lieutenant governor and chief-constable developed a new stronghold for the highest ranking elite. Until at least the beginning of the 17th-century, control of certain key political offices remained in the hands of the highest ranking elite, and close kin connections among the elite remained important.

4.3.3 Compensation of Public Office

Native political organization in colonial Michoacán had some Spanish elements (the offices of mayors, constables, mayordomos) that were transformed to suit the indigenous' own political concepts and practices. The number of officials in each town varied from town to town. It is likely that their numbers as well as their compensation per annum varied accordingly. Therefore, the size of the political unit (head-town and subject-towns) and the wealth and resources of these units were reflected in the numbers of native officers elected in a jurisdiction and in their salaries. Figure 7 from information compiled in Appendix Two (see this appendix for bibliographic references), correlates salary with public office and jurisdiction. It demonstrates the existence of wealth differences in various regions of the province of Michoacán.

Beltrán (1982) suggested that in prehispanic Tarascan society such difference existed as well. Nevertheless, he argued that differences did not stem from wealth and size of a jurisdiction, but from the slaves that were granted to the noble lineages directly from the palace. This, in his view, contributed to differences in relative wealth among Tarascan lineages. In addition, according to this author, wealth, or the lack of it, may have reflected areas characterized by scattered population. A study of various jurisdictions in prehispanic Michoacán would be necessary to confirm Beltrán's hypothesis.

Although documentary material on wealth is scarce for colonial Michoacán, a correlation between the wealth of a jurisdiction and its population size, observable in colonial Michoacán, may parallel prehispanic Tarascan society. After contact, in areas considered to have been outside of the former core of the Tarascan state, especially the west coast, the noble lineages seem to have been less wealthy than they were closer to the capital city in the former core of the empire. This is especially true if we consider access to political office and economic resources in towns located in the former Tarascan core, the concentration of luxury items in the capital of Pátzcuaro and other towns in the former core, and the possibility of the creation of links with the Spanish who were established in the important towns of the province but, especially so in the capital city of Pátzcuaro and later in Valladolid.

Figure 7 presents information on the numbers of officers in various towns and of their salaries paid. Figure 8 compiles information on payments to the indigenous governors in Michoacán.

ANNUAL SALARY OF NATIVE OFFICERS: 1552-1583														
Year	Place	Mayor		Councilman		Mayordomo		Constable		Scribe		Singer		Source
		Number	Pesos	Number	Pesos	Number	Pesos	Number	Pesos	Number	Pesos	Number	Pesos	AGN-RI, Vol I
1552	Ajuchitlan	?	6 pesos	_	–	?	6p	?	6 pesos	_	–	_	_	Kraus, No 369
1577	Jacona	_	–	3	6 pesos	2	6 pesos	_	_	2	6 pesos	10	2 pesos	E110, 40
1579	Tepalcatepec	2	2 pesos	2	2 pesos	_	–	1	2 pesos	_	–	_	_	E213, 83
	Indaparapeo	2	8 pesos	2	6 pesos	1	6 pesos	_	_	1	6 pesos	_	_	E209, 81
1580	Tancitaro	2	12 pesos	4	6 pesos	1	6 pesos	_	_	1	6 pesos	_	_	E260, 115
	Tarimbaro	?	12 pesos	2	6 pesos	1	6 pesos	_	_	1	6 pesos	_	_	E261, 116
	Zacapu	2	12 pesos	2	6 pesos	1	6 pesos	_	_	1	6 pesos	12	2 pesos	E264, 117
1581	Huaniqueo	2	6 pesos	2	4 pesos	_	–	1	4 pesos	1	4 pesos	6	2 pesos	E305, 138
1582	Uruapan	2	12 pesos	4	8 pesos	1	6 pesos	_	_	1	6 pesos	_	_	E319, 144
	Zinapecuaro	?	6 pesos	2	5 pesos	1	5 pesos	_	_	1	5 pesos	8	2 pesos	E322, 145
1583	Pátzcuaro	2	40 pesos	4	12 pesos	2	12 pesos	_	_	1	10 pesos	_	_	E282, 124
	Ucareo	2	8 pesos	4	6 pesos	1	6 pesos	_	_	1	6 pesos	12	2 pesos	E280, 123
	Sevina	2	8 pesos	2	6 pesos	1	8 pesos	_	_	1	6 pesos	12	2 pesos	E285, 125

FIGURE 7 Annual Salary of Native Officers: 1552-1583. Different salaries paid in various towns (jurisdictions) indicate a disparity in wealth and size of political units in 16th-century Michoacán.

SALARY PAID TO INDIGENOUS GOVERNORS OF MICHOACAN: 1574-1591									
Year	Place	Salary	Corn	Beans	Service of Indians		Worker's Salary	Land Plots	Source
					Fem	Male			
1574	Texupa in Zacatula	$10 pesos							RI 1,E6,F2v-3v
1574	Tiripitio[1]	$90 pesos	30 fanegas	300 fanegas	1	1	20 cacaos/ day		RI 1,E123,F45v
1575	Ziróndaro	No tribute left						80 brazas en cuadra	RI 1,E25,F10v
1577	Teremendo	None	20 fanegas		1	1	25 cacaos/ day		RI 1,E123,F45v
1577	Jacona	$40 pesos	No further service						RI 1,E110,F40v
1579	Indaparapeo	$20 pesos	No further service						RI 1, E209,F81r
1580	Zirosto	$15 pesos	No further service						RI 1,E248,F107r
1583	Ucareo	$30 pesos	No further service						RI 1,E280,F123r
1583	Tlazazalca	$30 pesos	12 fanegas						RI 2,E1029,F235v
1583	Sevina	$80 pesos	No further service						RI 1,E285,F125v
1586	Pátzcuaro[2]	$100 pesos	salary paid to a descendant of the lord of Ihuatzio, from the governor's salary.						AHAP 4, #24
1591	Pátzcuaro	$900 pesos	75 fanegas						RI 3,E39,F91v

FIGURE 8 Salaries Paid to Indigenous Governors in Michoacán: 1574-1591. Differences in the salaries of indigenous governors in various jurisdictions indicate better salaries paid in Pátzcuaro and Sevina.

[1]The salary shown for the governor of Tiripitio was paid to an elected judge-governor that was sent from Pátzcuaro for a period of a year

[2]The information regarding the governor of Pátzcuaro reveals that the governor's salary supported other noblemen who were his kin and who were descendants from the Lord of Ihuatzio

It is evident from Figure 7 and Figure 8 that variations existed in terms of the salaries paid to various officers in different regions. Tepalcatepec shows the lowest salaryrange, whereas Pátzcuaro is at the upper range of the scale.

This marked difference may reflect the creation of core/periphery differences in colonial Michoacán. Although salaries may have changed throughout the 16th-century in Michoacán, the range of salaries from 1577 to 1583 seems to be similar. Salaries were controlled by Spanish government policy.

Figure 7 shows that the number of mayors was the same for the various towns recorded. The number of mayors in head-towns was two. Where there is no information available for the number of mayors in Tarimbaro and Zinapécuaro, it is assumed that their number was the same as for the remaining towns. The salaries for the mayors, however, varied. The highest salary recorded was for Pátzcuaro, where each mayor was paid forty pesos of common gold each year. The next range is of twelve pesos per mayor, per annum, in Zacapu, Tarimbaro, Tancítaro, and Uruapan. Eight pesos of common gold were paid to the mayors in Indaparapeo, Sevina, and Ucareo. Six pesos were paid in Huaniqueo and Zinapécuaro, and at the lowest range was Tepalcatepec where the mayors were paid two pesos of common gold per year.

In the office of councilman, the numbers of councilmen varied according to town. It is possible that this office shows, more than the office of mayor, the population size of a given jurisdiction. It is likely that larger jurisdictions, measured in terms of the numbers of subject-towns and of population, had more regidores. Their numbers were, however, either two or four, with the exception of Jacona with

three regidores. Towns with only two regidores were Tepalcatepec, Indaparapeo, Zacapu, Tarimbaro, Huaniqueo, Zinapécuaro, and Sevina. The mean salary for those in the towns cited above was of six pesos of common gold per regidor, per annum, with the exception of Zinapécuaro where the salary was slightly lower at five pesos per regidor. Jacona with its three councilmen paid six pesos each as well. Not surprisingly, the salary for regidores in Tepalcatepec is the lowest at two pesos per regidor, per annum. In contrast, towns that seemed to be wealthier than the above, or whose constituency was larger, not only had four councilmen each but their salaries were also higher. The highest salary was in Pátzcuaro where each regidor received twelve pesos of common gold per annum. Uruapan followed with four councilmen paid at the rate of eight pesos each. Tancítaro and Ucareo both had four regidores each but their salary range fell within the range of payment of six pesos.

The number of mayordomos elected is not known. Data in Figure 7 suggests that mayordomos were generally one per town with the exception of Pátzcuaro and Jacona where two mayordomos were appointed. Tepalcatepec does not have mayordomos. This cipher is in line with data presented in chapter three. There was a mayordomo or head of a ward in each Tarascan town ward. Nevertheless, additional research may shed light on this topic. In seven of the ten towns listed, the payment per mayordomo was of six pesos of common gold per annum (Jacona, Indaparapeo, Zacapu, Tarimbaro, Tancítaro, Uruapan, and Ucareo). Zinapécuaro paid five pesos, and the highest salary was for Pátzcuaro, where both mayordomos received twelve pesos each.

According to Figure 7, the number of alguaciles (constables) is not generally listed. Therefore, they were not taken into consideration. It is important to notice, however, that Tepalcatepec had a constable who was paid two pesos per annum, and had no other listed official, at least for the year 1577. The town had no scribes or cantores (singers), which is expected for a town that had scarce resources. Following information in the historical record, the cantores (a position not clarified by the documents but which does not seem to have been related to the town crier) were paid a small salary. Singers were probably a church-related activity (AGN, RI 1, E110, F40v 1577 Jacona; RI 1, E264, F117v, 1580 Zacapu).

According to Figure 7, the number of scribes was one per town, with the exception of Jacona, which had two. With the exception of Huaniqueo and Zinapécuaro, where the salary for the scribes was of four and five pesos respectively in eight of the ten towns, the mean payment was six pesos. The largest payment went to Pátzcuaro, where the scribe earned ten pesos of common gold per year.

Finally, the singers, whose numbers differed in the various town shown in Figure 7, received all the same salary of two pesos per annum each and were either hired or appointed by the civil government or the cabildo. The fewest number of singers shown were in Huaniqueo (six). Five singers were in Zinapécuaro; Jacona had ten, and twelve were in the towns of Zacapu, Sevina, and Ucareo. This seems to have been an office with a regulated salary since all of the singers received two pesos per annum in every town recorded in Figure 7.

According to the historical record for the towns of Jacona, Indaparapeo, Zinapécuaro, Uruapan, Tepalcatepec, Pátzcuaro (with the

exception of the office of the governor), Sevina, Huaniqueo, Ucareo, Tarimbaro, and Tancitaro, salaries did not include any additional payments to the officers, nor did they include the service of Indians to the office holders. The only exception was in Zacapu, where corn from communal plots, cultivated by the macehuales, was part of the salary given to all the functionaries in 1580 (AGN RI 1, E264, F117v, 1580).

The information about the salary of governors is scattered and generally follows the above differences. Figure 8 presents some information on salaries paid to the governors. For example, as a judge-governor for Tiripitio in 1581, D. Constantino Bravo Huitziméngari received a salary of ninety pesos of common gold per year, plus thirty fanegas of corn all paid in three parts, and three hundred fanegas of beans all deposited at his home. In addition, he received the service of two male and two female Indians. Nevertheless, he had to pay a salary of twenty cacaos per day to each Indian in his service (AGN RI 1, E17, F7v-8r, 1574). A similar monetary stipend was allocated to the governor of Sevina (AGN RI1, E285, F125v, 1583). He received eighty pesos but no other services. This cipher differed from the salaries received by the governor of Jacona, who was paid forty pesos per annum with no further services; or the governor of Indaparapeo, who received twenty pesos per annum and no further services (AGN RI 1, E110, F40v, 1579). The governors of Ucareo and Tlazazalca received thirty pesos per year each (AGN RI1, E280, F 123r, 1583 and RI 2, E1029, F235v, 1583). The governor of Tlazazalca, however, received twelve fanegas of corn per year as part of his salary. On the other hand, the governor of Ucareo received no further services.

Lower salary payments were made to the governors of Zirosto and Texupa in Zacatula. Both salaries are at the bottom of the scale in Figure 8. The governor of Zirosto received fifteen pesos with no other service (AGN RI1, E248, F107r,1580). The governor of Texupa received ten pesos and no further service (AGN RI1, E6, F2v-3v, 1574). Some salaries did not include monetary payments, only the service of Indians. Since there were no left-overs from the tribute in Zirondaro in 1575, the provincial mayor ordered that the Indians of Zirondaro cultivate a plot of eighty "brazas en cuadra" (square brazas) to cover the governor's salary (AGN RI1, E25, F10v, 1575). In Teremendo, the governor's salary included only twenty fanegàs of corn and the service of two Indians, a male and a female. Nevertheless, the governor had to pay twenty five cacaos per day to each servant (AGN RI1, E123, F45v, 1577).

Since differences in wealth are apparent in the payments of salaries and other stipends to native officers, it is therefore suggested that in the sixteenth century, those members of Tarascan lineages located in areas formerly closer to the core of the Tarascan state, were wealthier than those who inhabited peripheral areas of the former state. A case in point is Pátzcuaro versus Tepalcatepec. In addition, entrepreneurial individuals may have been in a better position to benefit from commercial and other enterprises as well as from their associations with the Spanish to supplement their salaries.

4.4 Control of Public Office by the Tarascan Native Elite

The aim of this section is two-fold: first, to explore the existence of patterns of association between a noble lineage and the type of political office held by the members of the lineage in colonial

Michoacán. Second, to discuss the existence, or lack thereof, of powerful lineages in the Tarascan political arena by exploring various political offices under their control.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, various noble lineages controlled a series of towns throughout the province. Control of the political sphere at the local level is explored here. According to the law, the elections of indigenous authorities had to be pursued every year (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1580 and 1622, Michoacán and Tlaxcala). The intent of this practice was to curb abuse by the native authority and to limit the concentration of power in their hands. The reality was a different one for the region where the prehispanic practice of patrilineal transmission of office [in the father's line] was preserved in the 16th-century. Nevertheless, elections may have limited the power of some members of the elite, especially of those in the lower ranks since they were forbbiden from occupying the most important political offices (governor, lieutenant governor, councilman, and mayor).

For the most part, it became a common policy not to interfere with local native politics as long as it did not pose a danger to Spanish economic and political priorities. This policy was generally observed. Some court cases reveal that Spanish civil authorities and encomenderos seeking to gain certain benefits interfered in Indian elections to favor a particular nobleman for their own gains (AGN RI2, E73, F18r, 1582 Tancítaro; AGN RI2 E189, F48r, 1582 Maravatio). Any intrusion was handled through lawsuits and appeals to the Spanish courts.

Three Tarascan influences that persisted after contact were the control of local politics by the native elite, the transmission of some

offices through lineage connections, and the election of political functionaries from among the native nobility.

Patterns of political control of several lineages in the province are explored. Since there is a need to gather more evidence from local archives in the region, this exploration is preliminary. Nevertheless, it sets the basis for further research on the management of local politics. Special attention is given to the following lineages: Cuiri, Cuini, Coneti, Tzintzon, Tzitziqui, Tzira, Tzicu, Tzurequi, Tzacari (Zacarias), Guapean, Xanaqua, Uacuxa, Paqua, Quaca, Huitziméngari[19], and Puruata lineages, who controlled political offices and the gubernatorial scene in the city of Pátzcuaro in the 16th-century.

Information for this section comes from archival material gathered during field work (1991-1992) in the AGN Ramo de Indios, the Archivo del Ayuntamiento de Pátzcuaro, and the CDH-INAH microfilmed historical archives. In addition, related information comes from secondary sources, in particular from Sarrelangue (1965: 232-290), and Paredes (1984, 1994). This exploration extends from the period between 1542 to 1630. A few later dates are included only whenever it became necessary to do so. These come primarily from Sarrelangue's work (1965).

For this preliminary exploration dealing with the control of political office in local communities, a sample of Tarascan lineages was created. Of the thirty-four lineages discussed in chapter three a selection of sixteen lineages was made. Selected lineages for the sample included large, medium and small lineages. Lineage size is based on the amount of documentary evidence found for each lineage hereby

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[19]The Huitziméngari lineage descended from the last cazonci Tangaxoan. According to the historical record, the Puruata lineage was related by marriage to the Huitziméngari family.

discussed and is expected to change when additional information is gathered in the future. In addition, some of the lineages included were perceived to be important politically, i.e. the Huitziméngari and Puruata lineages that controlled Pátzcuaro.

Large-size lineages are represented by the Tzitziqui and the Cuini lineages each with fifty and forty individuals respectively. Medium-size lineages range from between fifteen to twenty-nine members. Among them are the Tzintzon, the Huitziméngari, and Puruata lineages with fifteen individuals each, as well as the Tzurequi and Cuiri lineages with nineteen and twenty-nine individuals respectively. Small-size lineages are considered to be those with fewer than fifteen individuals represented in each lineage. Among these are the Xanaqua with eleven members, the Tzira with ten individuals, the Coneti and Quaca lineages with nine members respectively, the Guapean with eight members, the Tzacari (Zacarias) and Tzicu with seven members, and the Uacuxan (Guacuja) and Paqua lineages with five individuals respectively. The total number of individuals in the sample of sixteen lineages is two hundred and fifty-three. Future archival research may render additional information on members of the various Tarascan lineages hereby discussed.

Based on documentary evidence, the lineages of the sample either descended from the ruling uacúsecha lineage, or were related through marriage and fictive kinship relations (to be discussed in chapter five). They continued to share social and political relations in the 16th-century. Data for each lineage is analyzed separately and compared with data collected for other lineages. The results of these comparisons are compiled in Figure 9 and Figure 10.

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STRATEGIES OF SURVIVAL, ACCOMMODATION AND INNOVATION: THE TARASCAN INDIGENOUS ELITE IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY MICHOACAN

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Figure 9 analyzes data from individuals who held or did not hold political office in each of the sixteen lineages selected for the sample. Information in Figure 9 correlates the total number of individuals available in each lineage with the numbers of native nobles who had or did not have office, as well as with the number of political offices controlled by those individuals who held office. For the purposes of this section, noblemen who were listed only as principales in every lineage were considered as not holding office, or in the category "no office" in Figure 9 and Figure 10. In addition, for comparative purposes, data on the number of caciques per lineage, as well as the number of individuals with the honorary title "don", were included. Since the title of cacique was also a honorary title, it does not always reflect political office. Therefore, the caciques are not considered in the "no office" category since many of them held office as well. Any discrepancies in the numbers presented reflect that a cacique, or various caciques in a lineage, may have had one or various political appointments at the same time, or none. On the other hand, the title "don" indicated the number of individuals who were of the highest social rank within each lineage. This data when compared with the total number of individuals in the lineage should provide information on the potential power of the lineage, or on its overall social status compared with other lineages in the sample. Not all of the individuals who held the title "don" had political office. If they were considered only as principales in the historical documents, they are counted in the "no office" category. However, if they were caciques with the title "don", and had no office, they were not counted in the"no

office" category. It was only the principales with no office who were included in the category "no office".

Figure 10 deals specifically with the types and numbers of political appointments controlled by members of the sixteen lineages who held office. Of importance is the contrast made between these individuals and those without office.

Figure 10 shows the variety of offices held by particular lineages. Those individuals who were elected for more than one office held between two and five consecutive offices in their jurisdictions. The total number of offices held or, "total number of appointments" category in both figures, reflects the number of times in which a specific office was held by members of a lineage. Of importance to a nobleman in colonial Michoacán was to hold an office in the local political arena and not necessarily to hold a gubernatorial office. Indeed, the most powerful individuals in colonial society were those who were able to control either one office for an extended period of time or a series of diverse political appointments regardless of the type of office held.

4.4.1 Large Size Lineages: Tzitziqui and Cuini

The Tzitziqui Lineage: By far, this lineage seems to have been the largest of all both spatially, in terms of its spread across a large geographical area (see Figure 4), and numerically, in terms of the numbers of individuals from whom information was available in the historical record. The total number of individuals from the Tzitziqui lineage is fifty.

THE NATIVE ELITE'S POLITICAL OFFICES: 1545-1630																				
Lineage	**# Individuals**	**C[1]**	**G**	**LG**	**M**	**CO**	**MY**	**MN**	**ALM**	**CN**	**LT**	**S**	**I**	**PRI**	**FIS**	**DY**	**OF**	**O**	**Total Offices**	**No Office**
Tzitziqui	50	2	4	3	10	9	4	4	2	2	5	4	1	0	0	0	0	1	48	18
Tzintzon	16	2	1	0	3	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	10	8
Huitziméngari	15	8	6	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	3
Puruata	15	1	6	2	3	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	6
Tzurequi	19	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	3	0	10	9
Zacarias	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	5
Cuiris	29	1	2	1	3	4	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	16	14
Cuini	40	2	4	1	1	7	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	3	1	26	15
Tzicu	7	1	2	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	2
Tzira	10	0	3	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	4
Guapean	8	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	6	2
Uacuxan	5	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2
Paqua	5	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2
Quaca	9	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	6
Coneti	9	2	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	5
Xanacua	11	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	4	6

Figure 9. The Native Elite's Political Offices: 1545-1630. This figure compares the number of inviduals in each lineage with the numbers and types of office held by each lineage. The total number of individuals with office is compared with individuals who had no office but are listed as principales in historical documents.

[1]Explored in this figure are the following offices **(C)**=cacique, **(G)**=governor, **(LG)**=lieutenant governor, **(M)**=mayor, **(CO)**=councilman, **(MY)**=mayordomo, **(MN)**=mandon, **(ALM)**=alguacil mayor, **(CN)**=constable, **(TE)**=lieutenant, **(S)**=scribe, **(I)**=interpreter, **(PRI)**=prioste, **(FIS)**=fiscal, **(DY)**=deputy, **(OF)**=oficial, and **(OH)**=ohcambeti

TARASCAN LINEAGES AND POLITICAL OFFICE: 1545-1630								
Lineage	**# Individuals**	**Title Don**	**Caciques**	**No Office**	**One Office**	**Multiple Offices**	**Total With Office**	**Total Appointments**
Tzitziqui	50	16	2	18	24	8	32	48
Tzintzon	16	6	2	7	7	1	8	10
Huitzimèngari	15	8	9	5	4	1	5	7
Puruata	15	13	1	7	4	3	7	14
Tzurequi	19	4	1	9	10	0	10	10
Zacarias	7	6	1	5	1	0	1	1
Cuiri	29	12	1	14	12	2	14	16
Cuini	40	12	2	15	19	3	22	26
Tzicu	7	5	1	2	3	1	4	6
Tzira	10	6	0	4	6	0	6	6
Guapean	8	2	1	2	6	0	6	6
Uacuxan	5	5	0	2	1	1	2	3
Paqua	5	1	0	2	3	0	3	3
Quaca	9	2	0	6	3	0	3	3
Coneti	9	9	3	7	3	1	4	5
Xanaqua	11	6	1	6	4	0	4	4

Figure 10. Tarascan Lineages and Political Office: 1545-1630. The figure compares political offices held by noblemen of sixteen Tarascan lineages[2].

[2]The figure relates the number of individuals in each lineage with the number of noblemen of high rank, with those who were recognized as caciques. The figure also compares the total number of individuals in the lineage with those who held political office with those who held one office and with those who held multiple offices. Numbers reveal a discrepancy between the total number of individuals in the lineage and the number of offices under their control. Political power and survival is partly measured by the number of individuals in the lineage who had office. Individual power is measured in the number of offices controlled by particular members of the elite, and/or by the duration of a given office. Numbers indicate that in each lineage few individuals controlled either one or various political offices.

TZITZIQUI LINEAGE: POLITICAL OFFICE						
Place	**Name**	**Office**	**Year**	**Office**	**Year**	**Source**
Acambaro	Juan	cacique	?			Krauss Col., F163r
Apupato	D. Francisco	principal	1573			Sarrelangue 1965:249
Arantza	Francisco D. Juan D. Miguel	principal mayor councilman	1539 1573 1624			Sarrelangue 1965:235 CDH-INAH, SM114 CDH-INAH, SM115
Capacuaro	D. Andrés D. Lucas	principal principal	1589 1624			AGN RI 4, E170, F55
Carapan	D. Pedro	mayor	1589			Sarrelangue 1965:237
Chilchota	Ambrosio D. Domingo	scribe mayor	1545 1545			N. León 1968:61
Erongaricuaro	D. Juan D. Francisco	ex-governor lieut. governor	1568 1633			CDH-INAH, SM114 CDH-INAH, SM115
Ihuatzio	Anton	lieutenant	1602			CDH-INAH, SM117
La Huacana	Pedro	principal	1630			Sarrelangue 1965:243
Pacandan	D. Magdalena Beatriz Maria Julio	principal principal principal principal	1609 1609 1609 1609			Sarrelangue 1965:247
Santa Clara	Gabriel	mayordomo	1592			CDH-INAH, SM114 & Sarrelangue 1965:269
Tiripitio	Juan	councilman	1585			Sarrelangue 1965:274
Turicato	Andrés	ohcambeti	1574	lieutenant	1574	AHAP 3, #43
Urichu	Francisco	principal	1622			Sarrelangue 1965:285
Uruapan	D. Miguel	councilman	1624			AGN RI6-1, E1123, F308v

Figure 11. The Tzitziqui Lineage: Control of Political Office

Figure 11. The Tzitziqui lineage cont'd....

Pátzcuaro	D. Domingo	principal	1573					Sarrelangue 1965:249
	Bernabé	councilman	1588					CDH-INAH, SM114
	D. Pedro	mayor	1581	mayor	1589	councilman	1595	CDH-INAH, SM114 & SM118
								Sarrelangue 1965:252
	Andrés	principal	1590					AGN RI4, E856, F221
	D. Lorenzo	principal	1591					Sarrelangue 1965:256
	Lucas	principal	1606					op.cit.258
(Echuan)	Baltasar	mayor	1608					Ibid
(Ajuno)	Gabriel	lieut.governor	1608					CDH-INAH SM118
	Diego	mayor	1590	governor	1596	scribe	1609	Sarrelangue 1965:259;
								SM 118, AHAP 4, #53
	Damian	mayor	1618					CDH-INAH, SM116
	Pedro	mayordomo	1624	councilman	1626			CDH-INAH, SM116, 1965:260
	D. Juan	mayor	1557	mayordomo	1577	principal	1581	SM 117; AHAP 1, #31;
								AHAP 3bis, #48
	Gregorio	scribe	1581	mandon	1622			CDH-INAH SM117 & SM118
	Miguel	principal	1589					CDH-INAH SM118
	Rafael	principal	1589					Ibid
	Gaspar	constable	1594					AHAP 4, #53
	Gabriel	lieutenant	1609					CDH-INAH SM117
	Anton	principal	1597					AHAP 5, #4
	Lázaro	principal	1597					AHAP 5bis, #72
Tzintzuntzan	D. Pedro	mayor	1592	constable & mandon	1595	governor	1606 & 1611	CDH-INAH SM116; & Sarrelangue 1965:280, 282
	Pedro	councilman	1595					CDH-INAH SM114
	Joseph	councilman	1595					Ibid
	Juan	mandon-scribe	1595	mandon	1618	mandon	1612	SM114, SM116, 1965:282
	Bernabé	councilman	1588					CDH-INAH SM114
	Anton	mandon	1618					Ibid
Zirahuen	Cristobal	lieut.governor	1609					CDH-INAH SM114
	Juan	mayor	1624					CDH-INAH SM116

According to Figure 11, of the fifty noblemen from the Tzitziqui lineage, fifteen were from Pátzcuaro. By far, the largest documentary evidence for this and other lineages comes from the town of Pátzcuaro, a former capital of the province.

Six Tzitziqui noblemen were from Tzintzuntzan, and the remaining thirty-one were from various other towns: Acámbaro, Arantza, Capácuaro, Carapan, Chilchota, Erongarícuaro, Ihuatzio, La Huacana, Pacandan, Santa Clara, Urecho, Uruapan, and Zirahuén. It is assumed that these numbers will increase with additional documentary research in local archives.

According to Figure 11, sixteen of the fifty Tzitziquis had the noble title "don". Among these individuals (in Figure 11) were a mayor and a councilman from Arantza, two principales from Capácuaro, a mayor from Carapan, a mayor from Chilchota, an ex-governor and lieutenant governor from Erongarícuaro, and a noblewoman from Pacandan. There were also four principales, and a series of individuals with multiple offices; among them were: a mayor/councilman, and a mayor/mayordomo from Pátzcuaro. In Tzintzuntzan a nobleman who held various offices also had the title "don". He was a mayor, constable and mayordomo who had been governor. There was also a nobleman who had been[20] a councilman from Uruapan at various times.

There were only two caciques in this lineage, one of whom also held the offices of governor on three occasions. Of interest is the fact that those individuals who had the title "don" and who held a political office at the same time had a variety of appointments. They were mayors, constables, mayordomos, mandones, councilmen, and

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[20]This individual held various political offices.

governors, thus suggesting that it was indeed important to be in the political scene whether the office was or not that of governor.

According to Figure 9, of the fifty Tzitziqui individuals for whom information is available, eighteen of them were listed only as principales, and, therefore, in the "no office" category. It is not known if they ever held any political office. A total of thirty-two (of the fifty) held political office. Of these thirty-two, twenty-four held only one office. The eight remaining individuals held multiple appointments. Therefore, these were the powerful members of the Tzitziqui lineage.

Among those individuals who were elected for multiple offices we find D. Pedro from Pátzcuaro, who was alcalde mayor (mayor) in 1581 and in 1589 and councilman in 1595 (CDH-INAH, SM117 and SM118 Pátzcuaro; Sarrelangue 1965:252). In addition, there was a D. Pedro listed also in Pátzcuaro in 1626, who was elected to the council in 1626 (CDH-INAH, SM116) and became mayordomo in 1642 (Sarrelangue 1965:269). Given the time span between the two series of public offices it is possible that these Don Pedros were two different individuals, especially if we consider that the earliest office held was in 1581, and the latest in 1642, therefore, supporting the idea of the transmission of office through the father's line. Or, if it was the same individual we see the expansion of a political career for over sixty years.

Yet, another D. Pedro, a cacique from Tzintzuntzan, was elected mayor in 1592, chief constable in 1595, and was governor in 1606, 1611, and again in 1612 (CDH-INAH, SM114 and SM116; Sarrelangue 1965:280,282). This D. Pedro was not only a member of the highest nobility (he holds the title "don"), but also a cacique (descendant from former lords of

Michoacán) and held the office of governor three times. This indicates that indeed some members of the highest elite were not only able to control the political arena by holding various types of offices, but were able to control the highest offices various times, perhaps because they were from the highest ranking elite.

D. Diego from Ajuno, a town subject to Pátzcuaro, was listed as a principal in 1587, was elected mayor in 1590, and scribe in 1609. In addition, according to historical records, he was the son-in-law of governor D. Pedro Tzicu of Tzintzuntzan (CDH-INAH, SM117 and SM118; AHAP 4, #53, 1590; AHAP 5bis #50, 1596). D. Juan from Tzintzuntzan was twice elected mandon in 1595 and 1618, and twice to the office of scribe in 1595 and 1612 (CDH-INAH, SM114 and SM116; Sarrelangue 1965:282). D. Juan Tzitziqui from Pátzcuaro was elected mayor in 1557 and mayordomo in 1577 (AHAP 1, #31,1557; AHAP 3 bis, #48, 1577).

Gregorio, from Pátzcuaro's Saint Lázaro ward, was elected to the office of interpreter in 1581 and was a mandon in 1622 (CDH-INAH SM117, and SM118). And, finally, Andrés Tzitziqui was an ohcambeti and lieutenant from Turicato (AHAP 3,#43, 1576 Turicato). Neither Gregorio nor Andrés held the title "don".

It is significant that of the eight Tzitziquis controlling a series of multiple offices, six also had the title "don". This suggests that, in general, the control of political office in the local arena continued to be in the hands of the elite.

According to Figure 10, the Tzitziqui lineage controlled forty-eight appointments. Therefore, the thirty-two noblemen listed as having political office controlled forty-eight offices of various kinds.

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According to the distribution of offices in Figure 10, the largest number of elections for any given office was for the office of mayor. The Tzitziqui controlled ten mayoral appointments. They controlled the office of governor four times and of lieutenant governor twice. The number of elections for the office of councilman among the Tzitziqui was nine. Four times the Tzitziqui were elected as mayordomos and four times as mandones. The office of scribe was held four times by a Tzitziqui nobleman, and five times they held the office of lieutenant (teniente). The offices of chief constable and constable were held two times each by members of the Tzitziqui lineage. And only once Tzitziqui noblemen held the offices of interpreter and ohcambeti. What is absent among the Tzitziqui are the oficiales de oficio (overseers of trades), as well as the priostes and fiscales from the socio-religious hierarchy.

It is important to notice that despite the large number of Tzitziquis, there is a relatively low number of gubernatorial offices under their control. Nevertheless, a powerful individual in this lineage, D. Pedro, a cacique from Tzitzuntzan, held the office of governor three times in 1606, 1611 and 1612, after being elected to two other prior offices; he was mayor in 1592 and chief constable in 1595 (CDH-INAH, SM114 and SM116; Sarrelangue 1965:280,282). Therefore, Don Pedro controlled the office of governor three out of the four times listed in Figure 10. On the other hand, because this is a large lineage, the Tzitziqui were able to participate in a large variety of political offices compared to smaller lineages.

According to the historical records, the distribution of the Tzitziqui officers was as follows. Of the fifty Tzitziqui individuals only two were elected governors, one was from Erongarícuaro sometime

before 1568 since, according to the historical record, he was already dead that year (CDH-INAH, SM114). The other was D. Pedro from Tzintzuntzan, discussed above.

Of the Tzitziquis who became lieutenant governors, one was from Erongaricuaro in 1633 and one from Zirahuén in 1609 (CDH-INAH, SM115 Erongaricuaro; Sarrelangue 1965:241; CDH-INAH, SM114 Zirahuen). The mayors were from Arantza, Carapan, Chilchota, Tzintzuntzan, Pátzcuaro(4), and Zirahuen. The councilmen were from Arantza, Tzintzuntzan(2), Pátzcuaro(2), Tiripitio and Uruapan; the mandones were from Tzintzuntzan(3) and Pátzcuaro; the mayordomos were from Tzintzuntzan(3) and Santa Clara. The chief constables were from Pátzcuaro and Tzintzuntzan, while the constables were from Pátzcuaro(2). The lieutenants were from Ajuno, Pátzcuaro(2), Ihuatzio and Turicato. Scribes were found in Ajuno, Chilchota, and Tzintzuntzan(2), and, finally, one interpreter was from Pátzcuaro, and one ohcambeti from Turicato.

The Cuini Lineage: This is the second largest lineage in the sample, represented by forty members. According to Figure 12, only twelve of the forty Cuini members in the lineage sample had the title "don". These were six noblemen from Carapan, Cuitzeo, Etúcuaro, Pátzcuaro, Tiripitio and Tzintzuntzan; two caciques from Carapan and Pénjamo; three governors from Comanja, Jacona and Maravatio; and a councilman in Pátzcuaro. Only four of the twelve members of the highest elite (with title "don") had political office. Of the forty members of the lineage only two were caciques. They were from Carapan and Pénjamo. In Figure 9, fifteen of forty Cuini members had no office, whereas twenty-two of forty had political office. Of these twenty-two, nineteen

CUINI LINEAGE: CONTROL OF POLITICAL OFFICE

Place	Name	Office	Year	Office	Year	Office	Year	Source
Carapan	D. Andrés D. Juan	principal cacique						N. León 1968:58 Ibid
Comanja	D. Sebastian	governor	1624					CDH-INAH, SM115
Etucuaro	D. Miguel	principal	1545					N. León 1968:58
Cuanajo	Pedro	principal	1594					AGN Rl6-1, E798, F213
Cuitzeo	D. Agustin	principal	1592					AGN Rl6-1, E780, F208r
Jacona	D. Juan	governor	1559					Sarrelangue 1965:245
Maravatio	D. Miguel Juan	ex-governor mayor	1624 1633					Sarrelangue 1965:246 Ibid
Pátzcuaro	Cuini Mateo Francisco Gregorio Pedro Anton Pablo	oficial oficial principal principal singer councilman principal	1522 1590 1581 1590 1593 1606 1606	principal councilman	1590 1608			Sarrelangue 1965:243 AGN Rl5, E65, F18v AGN Rl4, E856, F221; SM117 Sarrelangue 1965:257 Ibid Ibid op.cit.:258
	Andrés Luis Marcos Diego D. Francisco D. Sebastian Zacarias Diego Francisco	principal principal principal principal councilman principal prioste mayordomo mandon	1618 1639 1639 1639 1642 1573 1609 1577 1622	 councilman principal	 1608			Sarrelangue 1965:260-1 Ibid Ibid Ibid CDH-INAH, SM116 AHAP 3, #24 CDH-INAH, SM118 CDH-INAH, SM118 CDH-INAH, SM117
Pénjamo	D. Antonio López	cacique	1545					N. León 1968:253
Tiripitio	D. Cristobal	principal	1580					RG Tiripitio 1987:339

Figure 12. The Cuini Lineage: Control of Political Office.

Figure 12. The Cuini Lineage cont'd.

Tupataro	Andrés Francisco	prioste linut governor	1655 1590					Sarrelangue 1965:276 AGN RI4, E644, F174
Tzintzuntzan	D. Gonzalo Diego Anton	principal councilman principal	1536 1598 1595	mandon councilman	1618 1610	councilman	1618	Sarrelangue 1965:277 CDH-INAH, SM114 Ibid
	Francisco Lorenzo Pedro Lucas	mandon mandon mandon principal	1618 1618 1618 1588					CDH-INAH, SM114 Ibid Ibid Ibid
Ucareo	Andrés	ohcambeti	1600					Sarrelangue 1965:284
Uecato	Andrés	principal	1545					N. León 1968:58
Urichu	Bartolomé	principal	1596					AHAP 5bis, #78
Uruapan	Lázaro	prioste	1624					CDH-INAH, SM114

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had only one office, whereas three of twenty-two held more than one office. Overall, these twenty-two individuals in office controlled twenty-six political appointments of various kinds.

Among those members of the Cuini lineage who held a number of offices were D. Juan Cuini, twice governor of Maravatio before 1624 when he was listed as ex-governor (Sarrelangue 1965:246).

Anton Cuini, a nobleman from Pátzcuaro, was a councilmen twice, in 1606 and in 1608 (Ibid:256); and Anton Cuini from Tzintzuntzan was four times councilmen in 1595, 1598, 1610, and 1618 (CDH-INAH, SM114, and SM116 Tzintzuntzan).Only one of the three individuals who controlled more than one office was a member of the highest elite with the title "don".

According to Figure 10, the political appointments controlled by the Cuini lineage were as follows: four times the Cuini held the gubernatorial office. Of these, two times the governor of Maravatio controlled the office, and only one time each the governors of Comanja and Jacona. Nevertheless, this does not mean that governors, or any other officer were in power only for one year. In reality, some of these offices were extended for more than one year, generally, but not necessarily, through elections (CDH-INAH, SM112, 1562 Pátzcuaro). Many offices were probably held on a long-term basis.

The office of lieutenant governor, as well as the offices of mayor, mayordomo, and ohcambeti were held only once by a Cuini individual. The office of councilman was held seven times by the Cuini lineage; the office of mandón was held five times, and the offices of prioste and oficial de oficio were held by the Cuini three times respectively. Nevertheless, the office of oficial de oficio (overseer

of a trade) may have been a long-term position due to the nature of office, which required mastery on a trade.

Following Figure 12, in terms of the geographical distribution of Cuini officers, the governors were from Carapan, Jacona and Maravatio, the mayor from Maravatio; the councilmen were from Pátzcuaro and Tzintzuntzan. The oficiales de oficio were from Pátzcuaro(3). Of these, two were feather workers and one was a singer. The listed priostes were from Uruapan, Pátzcuaro and Tupataro; the mayordomos were from Paázcuaro; the mandónes were from Tzitzuntzan and Pátzcuaro; the lieutenant governor was from Tupataro, and the ohcambeti was from Ucareo.

4.4.2 Medium-Size Lineages

Medium size lineages are represented by Cuiri, Tzurequi, Tzintzon, Huitziméngari, and Puruata.

The Cuiri Lineage: This lineage is represented by twenty-nine members, twelve of whom held the title "don". Following Figure 13, these noblemen were the governors of Carapan and Sevina, a cacique from Coeneo, six principales from Etúcuaro, Pacandan, Pátzcuaro(2), and Tzentzénguaro, a councilman from Arantza, a mayor from Uruapan, and a mayor/scribe from Pátzcuaro. Of the twenty-nine Cuiris, only one cacique is known to have been from Coeneo so far (Sarrelangue 1965:238).

Only two members of the Cuiri lineage were governors; one was from Sevinan (CDH-INAH, SM116, 1624 Sevinan; Sarrelangue 1965:270), and one was from Carapan (León 1968:58).

According to Figure 9, of twenty-nine individuals who had been associated with the Cuiri lineage, fourteen had no office. The total

CUIRIS LINEAGE CONTROL OF POLITICAL OFFICE

Place	Name	Office	Year	Office	Year	Source
Arantza	D. Gaspar	councilman	1624			CDH-INAH, SM115
Carapan	D. Pablo	governor	1589			N. León 1968:58
Coeneo	D. Juan	cacique	1576			Sarrelangue 1965:238
Cuitzeo	Agustín	principal	1591			AGN RI5, E982, F155
	Francisco	principal	1592			Sarrelangue 1965:239
	Domingo	principal	1592			Ibid
Etúcuaro	D. Juan	principal	1545			N. León 1968:58
Cuanajo	Juan	lieut.governor	1655			Sarrelangue 1965:242
Pacandan	D. Juan	principal	1609			Sarrelangue 1965:247
Pátzcuaro	Marcos	principal	1563	mayor	1596	RI2E562F124, AHAP5bis,#62
	Juan	oficial	1590			AGN RI5, E65, F18v
	Lucas	councilman	1588			CDH INAH, SM114
	Simón	oficial	1592			AGN RI6-2, E1076, F293
	D. Juan	principal	1592			Sarrelangue 1965:255
	Francisco	principal	1592	principal	1606	RI6-2,E632,F142,& 1965:258
	Gaspar	principal	1589	principal	1606	SM118, Sarrelangue 1965:258
	Gabriel	principal	1625	scribe	1626	CDH INAH, SM115
	D. Marcos	principal	1595	mayor	1596	SM116, AHAP5bis,#62,
	D. Domingo	principal	1633			Sarrelangue 1965:269
	D. Pedro	principal	1577			CDH INAH, SM118
	Miguel	principal	1588			Ibid
	Pedro	principal	1597	principal	1614	AHAP 5bis, #64
Santa Clara	Francisco	lieutenant	1592	interpreter	1592	CDH-INAH, SM112; SM114 Sarrelangue 1965:269
Sevina	D. Julian	governor	1624			CDH-INAH, SM116
Tzentzécuaro	D. Juan	principal	1633			CDH-INAH, SM115
Itziparamuco	Marcos	ohcambeti	1579			Sarrelangue 1965:284
Uruapan	D. Francisco	mayor	1592			AHAP 5, #15
Zirahuen	Gabriel	councilman	1624			Sarrelangue 1965:189
	Juan	councilman	1624			Ibid

Figure 13. The Cuiris Lineage: Control of Political Office

number of individuals who had office was fourteen. Of these fourteen, twelve had only one office, and two had various offices.

The Cuiris with various offices were D. Marcos, a nobleman from Pátzcuaro who was mayor in 1596 and a scribe in 1626 (AHAP 5bis, #62, 1596 Pátzcuaro; CDH-INAH, SM116, Pátzcuaro) and Francisco Cuiri, a lieutenant and scribe in 1592 in Santa Clara (CDH-INAH, SM112, and SM114 1592 Pátzcuaro; Sarrelangue 1965:269). Only one of the two listed individuals who had various offices had the title "don".

According to Figure 9, the fourteen individuals who had political office in the Cuiri lineage controlled sixteen appointments. According to Figure 10, these appointments were: the governor's office, which was held twice, the office of lieutenant governor, which was held once, the mayoral office, which was held three times, and the council's office, which was held four times by noblemen of this lineage. The offices of lieutenant, scribe, ohcambeti and interpreter were held only once by noblemen of the lineage and, finally, the office of oficial de oficio was held twice by the Cuiri noblemen. The overseers of trades were Juan Cuiris, a feather worker from Pátzcuaro (AGN RI5, E65, F18v, 1590) and Simon Cuiris, a maker of organs from Pátzcuaro as well (AGN, RI6-2, E1076, F293r, 1596).

In terms of the geographical distribution of Cuiri officers, the governors were in Carapan and Sevinan, the lieutenant governor in Guanajo, the councilmen in Arantza, Pátzcuaro and Zirahuén(2). In addition, the mayors were from Pátzcuaro(2) and Uruapan, the lieutenant from Santa Clara, the oficiales de oficio from Pátzcuaro(2), the scribe from Pátzcuaro, the interpreter from Santa Clara, and the ohcambeti from Itziparamucu.

Following Figure 10, missing among the Cuiri are the offices of mayordomo, mandon, chief constable and constable, as well as offices from the socio-religious organization, i.e prioste, fiscal, and deputy.

The Tzurequi Lineage: According to data gathered in Figure 14, the lineage sample is represented by nineteen members. Of these, only four had been found to have had the title "don"[21]. These noblemen are D. Antonio cacique of Carapan (N.Leon 1968:58), D.Domingo, governor of Sevinan (Sarrelangue 1965:270), D. Andrés a principal from Pátzcuaro (AGN RI6-2, E624,F139r, 1592), and D. Pedro a principal from Tancítaro (RG Tancítaro, 1987:281).

Of the nineteen Tzurequi individuals in Figure 9, and Figure 14, only one was listed as cacique and it was the same D. Antonio cacique of Arantza listed above. Of the nineteen Tzurequi in the sample, nine had no political office and ten of the nineteen Tzurequis controlled ten offices. In this lineage no data were found on multiple political offices. Therefore, there is evidence that the ten individuals who held political office had only one office. In this as in other cases, it is not possible to estimate the length of time of office tenure since the nature of the data is preliminary.

According to Figure 9 and Figure 14, among the Tzurequi only one individual was a governor (D.Domingo from Sevinan). Of the remaining offices, the office of mayor was held twice, the lieutenant, fiscal

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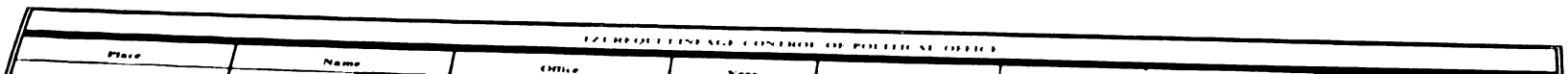
[21]It is not known for sure, for this and for other lineages, the exact number of noblemen who had the title "don". In Sarrelangue's (1965) compilation of native nobility, she used this title for every nobleman or noblewoman whose name she gathered. I find that the use of this title was restricted to fewer individuals. When possible, the references were cross checked. Nevertheless, when this was not possible, I used Sarrelangue's reference (1965).



TZUREQUI LINEAGE CONTROL OF POLITICAL OFFICE						
Place	**Name**	**Office**	**Year**	**Office**	**Year**	**Source**
Ajuno	Francisco	lieutenant	1624			CDH-INAH, SM116
Carapan	D. Antonio	cacique	1545			N. León 1968:58
Ihuatzio	Anton	principal	1602			CDH-INAH, SM117
Pátzcuaro	Alonso	councilman	1590			Sarrelangue 1965:252
	Matias	oficial	1590			AGN RI5, E65, F18v
	Maturino	oficial	1590			Ibid
	Pedro	oficial	1590			Ibid
	Agustin	principal	1590	deputee	1606	Sarrelangue 1965:256
	Antonio	principal	1591			Ibid
	Pablo	principal	1606			Ibid 257
	D. Francisco	constable	1596	principal	1606	AHAP 5bis, #78, 1965:258
	Juan	fiscal mayor	1608			CDH-INAH, SM117
	Diego	principal	1589			CDH-INAH, SM118
	Andrés	principal	1592			AGN RI6-2, E624, F139r; AGN RI6-2, E626, F140
Sevina	D. Domingo	governor	1590			AGN RI4, E446bis, F139
	Hernando	councilman	1590			CDH-INAH, SM116
Tzopoco	Alonso	principal	1545			N. León 1968:58
Tatzicuaro	Alonso	principal	1545			N. León 1968:58
Tancitaro	D. Pedro	principal	1580			RG Tancitaro, 1987:281
Zirosto	Diego	principal	1594			AHAP 5, #36

Figure 14. The Tzurequi Lineage: Control of Political Office

and deputy offices were held once respectively, and the oficial de oficio office was held three times. The overseers of trades were Matias, Maturino and Pedro Tzurequi feather workers from Pátzcuaro (AGN, RI5, E65, F18v, 1590; and AGN, RI4, E856, F221v-222r, 1590).

In the particular case of the Tzurequi lineage, each office discussed was represented by single individuals since no Tzurequis have been found yet to have held more than one office. On the other hand, it seems clear that the oficiales de oficio were noblemen and perhaps had their office in perpetuity, since their trade was inherited through their father's line. It is also important to notice that until now, available information from the historical record on the sixteen lineages selected mentions the oficiales de oficio as mostly feather workers. This suggests that the overseer of this "guild" continued to be important after contact and may have been very important as well in prehispanic society.

The geographical distribution of Tzurequi officers was as follows: a cacique from Carapan, a governor from Sevinan, a lieutenant from Ajuno (Pátzcuaro), two councilmen from Pátzcuaro and Sevinan three oficiales de oficio from Pátzcuaro, a deputy from Pátzcuaro, and a fiscal from Pátzcuaro.

According to Figure 10, missing among the Tzurequi were the offices of lieutenant governor, mayor, mayordomo, mandón, constable and chief constable, scribe, interpreter, and prioste.

The Tzintzon Lineage: The analysis of the Tzintzon lineage includes information about sixteen people found to have been members of this lineage so far. Of the sixteen people listed in Figure 15, six Tzintzon noblemen held the title "don". They were a cacique from

TZINTZON LINEAGE CONTROL OF POLITICAL OFFICE/SOCIAL RANK								
Place	**Name**	**Office**	**Year**	**Office**	**Year**	**Office**	**Year**	**Source**
Acambaro	D. Marcos	cacique	1528	mayor	1528			Sarrelangue 1965:233
Capacuaro	D. Angel D. Lucas	principal principal	1589 1624					AGN Rl4, E174, F155 CDH-INAH, SM115
Carapan	D. Francisco	cacique	1545					N. León 1968:58
Chilchota	D. Marcos Juan	mayor principal	1590 1591					Sarrelangue 1965:240 AGN Rl6-2, E32, F10r
Huiramangaro	D. Baltasar	prioste	1624					Sarrelangue 1965:244
Ihuatzio	Lucas	councilman	1602					CDH-INAH, SM117
Patzcuaroy (Opopeo)	D. Francisco Pedro Juan Gabriel	councilman principal principal principal	1606 1589 1606 1616	councilman	1610	councilman	1626	AGN Rl5, E829, F218; Sarrelangue 1965:254 op.cit.:258 op.cit.:259 CDH-INAH, SM118
Sevina	Alonso	governor	1602					CDH-INAH, SM118
Surumutaro	Pedro	principal	1648					Sarrelangue 1965:270
Uruapan	Lucas	councilman	1624					CDH-INAH, SM116
Zirahuen	Diego	mayor	1624					CDH-INAH, SM116

Figure 15. The Tzintzon Lineage: Control of Political Office

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Acambaro, two noblemen from Capacuaro (subject-town of Carapan), a cacique from Carapan, a prioste from Huiramangaro, and a councilman from Pátzcuaro.

Of the six noblemen found to have been of the highest elite who held the title "don", four of them had political office as well. These were Don Marcos Tzintzon from Acambaro, who was cacique and mayor in 1528 (Sarrelangue 1965:233), D.Marcos, who was mayor of Chilchota in 1590 (Ibid:240), D. Baltasar, who was prioste of Huiramangaro in 1624 (Ibid:244), and D. Francisco, who had been three times councilman (listed above).

According to Figure 9, of the sixteen Tzintzon recorded, seven had no political appointment, seven had at least one office, and one Tzintzon nobleman had more than one office. Therefore, eight people controlled ten political appointments. The nobleman holding multiple offices was D. Francisco Tzintzon from Pátzcuaro listed in 1590 as a principal, councilman in 1606, 1610, and in 1623 (AGN RI5, E829, F218r 1606; AGN RI5, E835, F219v, 1610; Sarrelangue 1965:254).

Figure 10 shows the political offices held by the Tzintzon, which were as follows: the office of governor was held once, the office of mayor was held three times, the office of councilman was held five times, and the office of prioste was held one time by a nobleman of this lineage. Missing among the Tzintzon are the offices of lieutenant governor, mayordomo, mandon, chief constable and constable, lieutenant, scribe and interpreter, oficial de oficio, ohcambeti, as well as the offices of fiscal and deputy, which were related to the administration of community-hospitals.

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According to Figure 15, the geographical distribution of political offices held by the Tzintzon lineage was as follows: the caciques were from Acambaro and Carapan, the governor from Sevinan, the mayors from Acambaro, Chilchota and Zirahuen. The prioste was from the hospital in Huiramangaro, and, finally, the councilmen were from Ihuatzio, Pátzcuaro(3) and Uruapan.

The Huitziméngari Lineage: This lineage is directly related to the descendants of the last cazonci. The names of fifteen noblemen related to this lineage were gathered. The largest numbers of Huitziméngari noblemen and noblewomen for whom information was available for the sixteenth century were centered in the area that was the former core of the Tarascan state, Tzintzuntzan and Pátzcuaro basically. All of the fifteen members of this lineage held the title "don" which suggests their close relationship with the former ruling uacúsecha lineage, as well as the high status of the lineage compared to other lineages during this century. In addition, eight of the sixteen noblemen in the lineage held the title of cacique as well. Of the eight caciques listed, five had no political office.

According to Figure 9, Figure 10, and Figure 16, five of the fifteen Huitziméngari noblemen did not have political office and were listed as principales. One of them was a noblewoman from Pátzcuaro, a principal listed in 1596 (Sarrelangue, 1965:256).

Of the noblemen who held office, four of a total of fifteen noblemen had only one office for a long period of time, and one of fifteen noblemen held the gubernatorial office three times. The five noblemen who held office controlled seven appointments, of which six were the gubernatorial office and only one the council's office.

HUITZIMÉNGARI LINEAGE: CONTROL OF POLITICAL OFFICE								
Place	**Name**	**Office**	**Year**	**Office**	**Year**	**Office**	**Year**	**Source**
Arantza	D. Juan	principal	1539					Sarrelangue 1965:235
Chilchota	D. Antonio	governor	1590					AGN RI5, E1044, F267 AGN RI5, E1052, F268
Pátzcuaro	D. Antonio	cacique/governor	1536	to 1564				CDH-INAH, SM112
	D. Juan[1]	cacique	1562					CDH-INAH, SM112
	D. Pablo	cacique	1568					CDH-INAH, SM112, SM114
	D. Miguel	cacique	1568					CDH-INAH, SM112
	D. Juan Bautista	principal	1570					AHAP 3, #14
	D. Constantino[2]	cacique/governor	1588	to	1591	governor	1595	CDH-INAH, SM112, SM114
	D. Magdalena[3]	principal						CDH-INAH, SM115
	D. Luisa	principal						Sarrelangue 1965:256
	D. Fernando	cacique	1610					Sarrelangue 1965:257
	D. Antonio	cacique	1610					Ibid
	D. Gerónimo	principal	1636					op.cit:261
Tzintzuntzan	D. Francisco Tito	cacique	1598	regidor mayor	1598			CDH-INAH, SM114
Pomacoran	D. Baltasar	governor	1564					Sarrelangue 1965:268

Figure 16. The Huitziméngari Royal Lineage: Control of Political Office

[1]According to the historical record, D. Juan was D. Antonio's half brother, D. Pablo was D. Antonio's son, and D. Miguel and D. Juan Bautista were D. Pablo's half brothers (CDH-INAH, SM112, n.f. 1562, AHAP 3, #14, n.f. 1570).

[2]D. Constantino was the son of D. Ana Ocelo, cacica. D. Ana's uncle, D. Antonio Ximenez Acatli, was councilman of the nahuatl-speaking population in Pátzcuaro (AGN RI5, E802, F213v).

[3]D. Magdalena was D. Constantino's sister. In 1606 she was married to D. Juan Paqui, a nobleman from Pátzcuaro and previously married to D. Maria Popoche. D. Constantino and D. Juan Paqui were cousins as well. D. Constantino is said to have been "...hijo del hermano del padre de D. Juan Paqui." This makes D. Antonio Huitziméngari and D. Juan Paqui's father brothers.

GOVERNORS OF PATZCUARO: 1522-1639

YEAR	GOVERNOR	FAMILY INFORMATION	SOURCE
1522	Don Miguel Cuara	Miguel Cuara was perhaps the father of the Miguel Cuara who was brought up in D. Antonio's house and married to D.Ana Quentzu in 1590.	N.León 1968:110; Sarrelangue 1965:248 AGN-RI 6-1, E408, F107v, 1593
1532	Don Pedro Cuiniharangari	He was call "brother" by cazonci Tangaxoan	
1536-1564	Don Antonio Huitziméngari	Tangaxoan's son	CDH-INAH, SM112 various documents
1567	Don Martin Tzimban	He had a ward named after him	CDH-INAH, SM112, n.f. 1567
1568-1583	Don Juan Puruata	Married to D. Antonio Huitziméngari's widow	CDH-INAH, SM112, SM114, various doc.
1583	Don Francisco de Olines		
1587-1588	Don Juan Puruata	He was re-elected as the governor of Pátzcuaro	CDH-INAH, SM112, SM114, various doc.
1588-89	Don Constantino Bravo Huitziméngari	D. Antonio's "illegitimate" son. His mother was D.Ana de Ocelo, cacica of Uruapan, niece of D.Antonio Jimenez Acatli councilman of the Nahuatl population of Pátzcuaro in 1591.	RI 5, E802, F213v, 1591; RI 4, E399, F117v, 1590; Sarrelangue 1965: 251, 237
1589	Don Pablo Cuiru		
1590	Simon González	Although Sarrelangue(1965) stated that Simón was governor in 1590, a source in the RI mentions him only as principal in 1590. Therefore, if he was governor, he was probably in office for a few months.	Sarrelangue 1965:253. RI 5, E567, F157v, 1590
1590-1592	Don Constantino Huitziméngari		RI 1, E304, F138r, 1595; Paredes 1984:87-88; AHAP 4, #53, 1590
1592-1595	Don Lorenzo Tixcacuxe (Tacahuaque, Tacaguato)	D. Constantino's uncle and very likely related to D. Francisco Tixcacuxe, captain of cazonci Tangaxoan and also D. Constantino Huitziméngari's uncle.	AHAP 5bis, #62, 1592-92; Sarrelangue 1965:256
1595	Don Constantino Huitziméngari	Son of D. Antonio Huitziméngari and D. Ana de Ocelo cacica.	AHAP 5, #
1595-96	Don Lorenzo Tixcacuxe (Tacahuaque?)		AHAP 5bis, #62, 1592-96; RI 6-1, E1057, F287, 1596
1609	Don Luis de Castilleja y Puruata	Son of D. Juan Puruata, ex-governor of Pátzcuaro	CDH-INAH, SM117, various documents
1610	Damian Martinez		Sarrelangue 1965:259
1612	Don Francisco Uacuxan		CDH-INAH, SM114, n.f., 1612
1622-1624	Don Luis de Castilleja y Puruata		CDH-INAH, SM117, SM118, various doc.
1639	Don Francisco Tzira		Sarrelangue 1965:261

Figure 17. Indigenous governors of Pátzcuaro 1522-1639. This figure compiles information on the native governors of Pátzcuaro, their terms of office, and some of their family connections.

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Therefore, the office of the governor, the highest in the native community continued to be in the hands of members of the Huitziméngari family. This control of the highest office in the most important centers (Pátzcuaro and Tzintzuntzan) suggests the continuation of the political domination of the royal elite in the sixteenth century and beyond.

Following Figure 16 and Figure 17, among the Huitziméngari governors we find D. Antonio, the last cazonci's son, who governed from approximately 1536 to 1562 (CDH-INAH, SM112, Pátzcuaro), D. Constantino Bravo Huitziméngari[22], D. Antonio's son, who governed in 1588-89, in 1590-92, and in 1595 (CDH-INAH, SM114, 1590 Pátzcuaro; AGN RI3, E242, F55v, 1591, Pátzcuaro; AHAP 4,#53, 1590 Pátzcuaro; Paredes 1984:87-88). There were also other Huitziméngari noblemen as well. These were D. Baltasar, who governed Pomacoran in 1654 (Sarrelangue 1965:268) and D. Antonio, governor of Chilchota in 1590 (AGN RI5, E1044, F267v-268r 1590; AGN RI5, E1052, F268v, 1590). There was also a councilman, D. Francisco Tito in 1598, who was also a cacique from Tzintzuntzan and D. Constantino's nephew (CDH-INAH, SM114, Tzintzuntzan).

All of the members of this lineage had the title "don". This included people with political office, without political office, and even those considered by the Spaniards as "illegitimate" descendants of any of the members of the lineage, i.e. D. Constantino Bravo Huitziméngari, D. Antonio's son, and grandson of the last cazonci. Therefore, the use of this honorary title was widespread across the lineage as opposed to its occurrence in other lineages. More on the royal lineage in the following chapter.

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[22]D. Constantino was referred to in the historical records as an "illegitimate son" of D. Antonio.

The Puruata Lineage: The Puruata lineage is represented by fifteen noblemen. This lineage was related by marriage with two of the most important lineages in Michoacán the Huitziméngari and Castilleja lineages (the later is treated in the following chapter). According to the historical record, after D. Antonio Huitziméngari's death in 1562, his widow D. Maria Maruacuescu (Maruacuetzcu) married D. Juan Puruata (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1662 Pátzcuaro; Sarrelangue 1965:182). D. Juan Puruata became various times governor of Patzcuaro (see Figure 18). The relationship with the Castilleja lineage came also by marriage. D. Juan Puruata later married D. Juana de Castilleja a descendant from the lord of Ihuatzio (León 1968:169).

At the time of Spanish contact, Paquingata "..one of the most important lords of the province" and a descendant of Tariacuri was the lord of Ihuatzio and was as suited for the "throne" as Zuangua's son Tangaxoan was (AHAP 1, #13, 1556-1565; León 1968:137). Tangaxoan and Paquingata were cousins related through brothers, therefore, in Tarascan kinship they were considered to be "brothers" (RM 1989:69,121,164). Paquingata's daughter D. Maria Inaguitza married Francisco de Castilleja, one of the conquerors of Michoacán. D. Maria's grand daughter, D. Juana, married D. Juan Puruata governor of Pátzcuaro.

According to Figure 10 and Figure 18, the number of Puruata noblemen who had the title "don" was twelve. These were D. Andrés, mayor in 1609 and D. Alonso a nobleman, both from Apupato (Sarrelangue 1965:254). There was also D. Gerónimo a nobleman from Arantza (op.cit.:235) and D. Pablo a nobleman from Pacandan (ibid:247).

PURUATA LINEAGE CONTROL OF POLITICAL OFFICE								
Place	**Name**	**Office**	**Year**	**Office**	**Year**	**Office**	**Year**	**Source**
Apupato	D. Andrés D. Alonso	principal principal	1591 1591	mayor	1609			Sarrelangue 1965:254 Ibid
Arantza	D. Gerónimo	principal	1539					Sarrelangue 1965:235
Pacandan	D.Pablo	principal	1609					Sarrelangue 1965:247
Pátzcuaro	D. Juan Alonso D. Gerónimo D. Juan	governor principal lieut. governor councilman	1568 1588 1626 1626	governor	1576-83	governor	1587	AHAP 3bis, #48, SM112 CDH-INAH, SM114 CDH-INAH, SM116 Ibid
	D. Pablo	lieutenant	1603	mandon & mayor	1622 1622	councilman mayor	1624 1626	CDH-INAH, SM117 Sarrelangue 1965:257
	D.Luis de Castilleja	governor	1609	governor	1622	governor	1624	CDH-INAH, SM114; SM117; SM118
San Bernardino	Pablo	lieut.governor	1603					CDH-INAH, SM115
Surumucapeo	D. Domingo D. Domingo	cacique principal	1531 1606					Sarrelangue 1965:270 Ibid
Taretan	D. Juan	principal	1587					AHAP 4, #35
Tzintzuntzan	D. Francisco	principal	1536					Sarrelangue 1965:278

Figure 18. The Puruata Lineage: Control of Political Office

In Pátzcuaro there were governor D. Juan Puruata, who was related to the Huitziméngari and Castilleja lineages (AHAP 3bis,#48, CDH-INAH, SM112, 1568), lieutenant governor D. Gerónimo (CDH-INAH, SM116, 1626), D Pablowith various offices (CDH-INAH, SM117 1624; Sarrelangue 1965:253), a councilman named D. Juan (CDH-INAH, SM116, 1626), and various times governor D. Luis de Castilleja y Puruata de son of D. Juan Puruata and D. Juana de Garfias, a descendant of the lord of Ihuatzio (CDH-INAH, SM114, SM117, SM118). In addition, there were also the following noblemen: D.Domingo cacique in 1531 and D. Domingo a principal in 1606 both from Surumucapeo, D. Juan principal of Taretan, who also claimed kinship relationship with governor D. Juan of Pátzcuaro (AHAP 4,#35, 1587), and finally, D. Francisco, a principal of Tzintzuntzan in 1536 (Sarrelangue 1965:278).

Of the fifteen Puruatas, only one had the title cacique. Seven of the fourteen Puruatas recorded were listed only as principales and, therefore, held no office, four held only one office, and three of them held multiple offices. Among those individuals with only one office were D. Gerónimo Puruata lieutenant, governor in 1626 in Pátzcuaro (CDH-INAH, SM116), D.Juan Puruata, councilman of Pátzcuaro in 1626 (ibid), D. Andrés, mayor of Apupato in 1609[23] (Sarrelangue 1965:254), and D. Juan, councilman of Pátzcuaro in 1626 (CDH-INAH, SM116).

According to Figure 9, the seven noblemen who held office controlled fifteen appointments. Three Puruatas with multiple appointments held eleven offices among them. This attests to the powerful standing of these individuals in both their own lineage and the

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[23]The election of D. Andrés Puruata as mayor of Apupato in 1609, seems to have taken place before Apupato became congregated in the town of Zurumutaro.

local political arena. In Figure 18, among those Puruatas with multiple offices were governors D. Juan (three times governor of Pátzcuaro) who was married to D. Antonio Huitziméngari's widow and later to a descendant of lord Paquingata of Ihuatzio. D. Juan held the office of governor in 1568, 1576 to 1583, and 1587 to 1588 (AHAP 3bis, #48, 1583 Pátzcuaro; CDH-INAH, SM112, 1587). In addition, D. Luis de Castilleja y Puruata was governor of Pátzcuaro in 1609, 1622, and 1626 and was the son of D. Juan Puruata as well (CDH-INAH, SM117, SM118, 1609, 1622, 1626 Pátzcuaro). Finally, D. Pablo Puruata from Pátzcuaro's Saint Bernardino ward was lieutenant in 1603, councilman in 1624, and mandon and mayor in 1622 and 1626 respectively (CDH-INAH, SM117; Sarrelangue 1965:257).

Figure 10, shows the kinds of political offices controlled by the Puruata lineage. Six times they controlled the office of governor in Pátzcuaro. Twice they held the office of lieutenant governor, three times the mayoral office, twice the office of councilman, and once each the offices of mandon and of lieutenant. Therefore, the most frequent appointment among the Puruata was the governor's office, and the second most frequent was the office of mayor. The control of a wide variety of political offices relative to the size of the lineage, and the number of government appointments in relation to the number of Individuals in the lineage, makes this lineage one of the most powerful in Michoacán, and especially in Pátzcuaro.

Most of the Puruatas were found in Pátzcuaro (seven of them) one was found in Tzintzuntzan and was considered "muy principal" (Sarrelangue 1965:278), and the remaining Puruatas were from Arantza, Pomacoran, Zirosto, and Surumucapeo.

XANAQUA LINEAGE: CONTROL OF POLITICAL OFFICE

Place	Name	Office	Year	Office	Year	Source
Capacuaro	D. Diego	principal	1589			AGN RI4, E171, F55
Eucuaro	S. Sebastian	principal	1697			Sarrelangue 1965:242
Pátzcuaro	D. Pedro Agustín	principal mandon	1606 1622			Sarrelangue 1965:258 CDH-INAH, SM117
Tarimbaro	D. Juan	principal	1578			Sarrelangue 1965:273
Tancitaro	Francisco Pedro	ohcambeti mayor	1574 1573			AHAP 3, #27 AHAP 3, #23
Turicato	Melchor	principal	1576			AHAP 3, #43
Tzintzuntzan	Xanaqua D. Domingo	interpreter principal	1521 1567			N. León 1968:143 CDH-INAH, SM112
Yztlan	D. Cristobal	cacique	1569			De la Fuente y Escobar 1989:137

TZIRA LINEAGE CONTROL OF POLITICAL OFFICE

Place	Name	Office	Year	Office	Year	Source
Acachuen	D. Marcos	principal				N. León 1968:69
Pátzcuaro	D. Francisco	principal	1590	governor	1639	AGN RI4, E856, F231 Sarrelangue 1965:261
Tarimbaro	Lucas	councilman	1578			Sarrelangue 1965:237
Tiripitio	Cristobal	governor	1580			RG Tiripitio 1987:339
Tlazazalca	Diego	principal	1555			Sarrelangue 1965:275
Tzintzuntzan	Pedro D. Pedro Andrés	mayor governor councilman	1595 1595 1595			CDH-INAH, SM 114 Ibid Ibid
Urichu	Juan	principal	1595			AHAP 1, #31
Uruapan	D. Maturino	governor	1624			AGN RI6-1, E1123, F308v

Figure 19 Xanaqua and Tzira Lineages: Control of Political Office

4.4.3 Small-Size Lineages:

Small-size lineages are represented by Xanaqua, Tzari, Coneti, Quaca, Guapean, Tzicu, Tzacari, Uacuxan, and Paqua.

The Xanaqua Lineage: This lineage is represented by eleven noblemen from Capacuaro, Etucuaro, Pátzcuaro, Tancítaro, Tarimbaro, Turicato, Tzintzuntzan, and Yztlan. According to historical sources collected in Figure 19, six of eleven noblemen had the title "don" and only one was listed as a cacique. Noblemen with the title "don" were: D. Diego, a principal from Capacuaro (RI4, E171, F55, 1589), D. Cristobal, a cacique from Yztlan in 1569 (De la Fuente y Escobar 1989:137-8), D. Sebastian, a principal from Etucuaro in 1697 (Sarrelangue 1965:242), D. Juan, a principal from Tarimbaro in 1587 (Ibid:273), and D. Domingo, a principal from Tzitzuntzan in 1567 (CDH-INAH, SM112).

According to Figure 9, of eleven Xanaqua noblemen six were listed as noblemen and, therefore, had no office. Only four of those eleven had one office each. No one was found to have had multiple appointments. Therefore, the total number of political offices held by the four Xanaqua in office was four. In Figure 10 the distribution of political office is demonstrated. Xanaqua noblemen controlled one mayoral office, one mandón office, one interpreter office, and one ohcambeti office.

The Tzira Lineage: This lineage is represented by a total of ten noblemen. There were no caciques recorded in the records obtained from the archives so far. Following Figure 19, six of the ten Tzira noblemen recorded held the title "don". These were D.Francisco, governor of Pátzcuaro in 1639 (Sarrelangue 1965:261), D.Lucas, councilman of

Tarimbaro in 1578 (Ibid:273), D.Diego, principal of Tlazazalca in 1555 (Ibid:275), D. Maturino, governor of Uruapan in 1624 (AGN, RI 6-1, E1123, F308v), and D. Pedro, principal and governor of Tzintzuntzan in 1595 (CDH-INAH, SM114).

Figure 9 shows that four of the ten noblemen did not have office, and six from among the ten had one political office. No one had multiple appointments. Therefore, six individuals controlled all six political offices. According to Figure 10, however, of the six Tzira noblemen in office, three were governors, one was a mayor, and two of them had the office of councilman. Therefore, the highest proportion of appointments fell in the category of governorship.

The Coneti Lineage: This lineage is represented by nine noblemen. Following Figure 20, all Coneti noblemen had the title "don". Three of the nine noblemen have the title of cacique as well. In Figure 9, the number of Coneti noblemen without political office was six. Of the nine representatives of the lineage, three held only one office, and one Coneti had two offices. Therefore, the four Coneti with office controlled five appointments.

Figure 10 shows that the Coneti principales held the governorship four times and they held office of mayor once. Therefore, this lineage controlled some of the highest political appointments at the local level. This further suggests that prior to Spanish contact this lineage may have been one of the most important lineages especially in the area of Uruapan, Arán and Arantza (see Figure 4).

The Quaca Lineage: This lineage is represented by nine noblemen. Following Figure 20, only D. Pedro, nobleman of Tzintzuntzan in 1533,

CONETI LINEAGE: CONTROL OF POLITICAL OFFICE						
Place	**Name**	**Office**	**Year**	**Office**	**Year**	**Source**
Aran	D. Juan D. Felipe	cacique principal	1591 1589			AGN RI4, E178, F56 AGN RI4, E179, F56
Arantza	D. Juan	cacique	1577			AHAP 1, #31
Cheran	D. Josephe	principal	1589			AGN RI4, E180, F56r
Pátzcuaro	D. Gerónimo	principal	1591	mayor	1592	AGN RI5, E791, F280 AHAP 5, #15
Sevina	D. Juan	governor	1579			Sarrelangue 1965:270
Uruapan	D. Juan D. Felipe D. Juan Bautista	governor cacique/governor principal	1579 1591 1592	governor	1592	Sarrelangue 1965:270 Ibid AHAP 5, #15
QUACA LINEAGE: CONTROL OF POLITICAL OFFICE						
Place	**Name**	**Office**	**Year**	**Office**	**Year**	**Source**
Erongaricuaro	Pedro	councilman	1588			L. Sarrelangue 1965:241
Huiramangaro	Francisco	lieutenant	1624			CDH-INAH, SM116
Pátzcuaro	Luis Francisco Jacobo Pedro[1]	principal principal principal constable	1588 1590 1590 1551			L. Sarrelangue 1965:251 AGN RI4, E856, F221 Ibid AHAP 2, #7
Sirandangacho ward	D. Alonso	principal	1571			CDH-INAH, SM112
Tlazazalca	D. Melchor	principal	1555			L. Sarrelangue 1965:275
Tzintzuntzan	Luis	principal	1588			CDH-INAH, SM114

Figure 20. Coneti and Cuaca Lineages: Control of Political Office

[1]According to this record, Pedro Quaca, constable in 1551 was sent by the mayor to arrest another Pedro Quaca from Periban who was Pedro Quaca's relative and a "macegual"

GUAPEAN LINEAGE CONTROL OF POLITICAL OFFICE								
Place	**Name**	**Office**	**Year**	**Office**	**Year**	**Office**	**Year**	**Source**
Cuanajo	Gregorio	prioste	1587	principal	1606			AHAP 4,#42; Sarrelangue 1965:257
Pareo	Bartolomé	lieut. governor	1648					Sarrelangue 1965:269
Pátzcuaro	Juan Andrés	principal mayor	1587 1624					CDH-INAH, SM118 CDH-INAH, SM116
Sevina	Andrés	mayor	1624					CDH-INAH, SM116
Turicato	Pedro	principal	1575					AHAP 3, #43
Tzintzuntzan	Francisco	mayor	1598					CDH-INAH, SM114
Zinapecuaro	D. Alonso	cacique	1567	governor	1567			Sarrelangue 1965:288
TZICU LINEAGE: CONTROL OF POLITICAL OFFICE								
Place	**Name**	**Office**	**Year**	**Office**	**Year**	**Office**	**Year**	**Source**
Capacuaro	D. Francisco	principal	1592					AGN RI6-1, E181, F46v
Pátzcuaro	Melchor	principal	1588					Sarrelangue 1965:251
Tzintzuntzan	D. Pedro D. Francisco Rodrigo Gaspar[1]	councilman cacique councilman governor	1588 1598 1595 1619	governor governor	1595 1620	councilman	1597	CDH-INAH, SM114; Sarrelangue 1965:279 CDH-INAH, SM114; Ibid Sarrelangue 1965:283
Pechataro	D. Pedro	councilman	1588					CDH-INAH, SM114

Figure 21. Guapean and Tzicu Lineages: Control of Political Office

[1]According to Sarrelangue, this individual was a macehual (peasant/agricultural worker) who was elected governor. He was dismissed from office due to his non-noble background.

and D. Melchor, principal of Tlazazalca in 1555 (Sarrelangue 1965:275, 278) possibly held the title "don." No caciques had been found for this lineage.

Figure 9 and Figure 10 show that six of the nine noblemen represented in this lineage had no political office. Three noblemen held political office, but none of them had multiple appointments. The three offices under the control of Quaca noblemen were councilman, lieutenant, and constable. Data suggest that the existence of a small percentage of noblemen with the title "don", the absence of caciques in the lineage, and the control of offices of low status (lieutenant, constable and councilman), gave this lineage a lower social position when compared with other lineages in the sample. Therefore, members of this lineage, when compared with the rest of the sample, were perhaps in a middle to lower position. However, data may vary with additional information.

The Guapean Lineage: Following Figure 21, the Guapean lineage is represented by eight noblemen of whom two had the title "don". These were D. Alonso, cacique and governor of Zinapécuaro in 1567 (Sarrelangue 1965:288), and D. Bartolomé, lieutenant governor of Pareo in 1618 (Ibid:269). Only one cacique was recorded.

Figures 9 and 10 reveal that of the eight Guapean noblemen, two had no office, six of the eight Guapean had political office, and none of them had multiple appointments. Therefore, the six Guapean noblemen with office controlled six political positions. The office of governor was held once, the office of lieutenant governor once, the office of mayor three times, and the office of prioste once. Therefore, there is a larger concentration of Guapean noblemen in the office of mayor.

The Tzicu Lineage: Following Figure 21, this lineage is represented by seven individuals of whom four had the title "don". These were a cacique from Tzintzuntzan, D. Francisco Tzicu (CDH-INAH, SM114,n.f. 1598), D. Francisco, nobleman of Capacuaro in 1592 (AGN RI6-1, E181, F46v), D. Pedro, nobleman of Tzintzuntzan who held multiple offices (CDH-INAH, SM114, 1595-98; Sarrelangue 1965:279), and D. Pedro, councilman of Pechataro in 1588 (CDH-INAH, SM114). Only one cacique was recorded and he had no office. In addition, Gaspar from Tzintzuntzan held the title of governor in 1619, even though, he was considered to be a macehual (commoner or purepecha) (Sarrelangue 1965:283) and, therefore, had no title "don".

Figure 9 and Figure 10 reveal that of the seven Tzicu individuals recorded in this lineage, only two held no political position. Two of seven noblemen who had political appointments held one office each, and two of seven had multiple positions. Therefore, four Tzicu individuals with office controlled seven appointments.

A nobleman with multiple offices was D. Pedro Tzicu from Tzintzuntzan, councilman in 1588, governor in 1595 both times in Pázcuaro, and again councilman in 1597 in Tzintzuntzan. The other individual who had various offices was Gaspar Tzicu, accused by members of the cabildo to be a commoner[24]. Nevertheless, he was twice governor of Tzintzuntzan in 1619 and 1620 and pressed for his re-election in 1620 but was later dismissed by the viceroy on the grounds that he was a macehual (CDH-INAH, SM114, Tzintzuntzan; Sarrelangue 1965:283). He was replaced by the oldest mayor of the town. Hence, the Spanish

[24]This accusation may have been a tactic used by the highest elite to prevent non-members from taking political positions of high rank. Documents do not clarify how Gaspar became governor in the first place.

administrators protected the interests of the nobility. Governor Gaspar's case is an example of upward mobility curtailed by the elite and sanctioned by the Spanish administration.

Following Figure 9 and Figure 10, the political appointments under the control of Tzicu noblemen were: the governorship, which was held three times (two of them were under the care of Gaspar, a commoner), and the office of councilman, which was held four times.

The Tzacari Lineage: The number of noblemen who represent the Tzacari (Zacarias, Cacari) lineage is seven. According to Figure 22, six of these noblemen had the title "don", which constitutes a large percentage of the noblemen of high status in the lineage. Noblemen with the title "don" were: D. Zacarias, principal of Acámbaro in 1591 (Sarrelangue 1965:233), D. Pedro Zacarias of Tzitzambasiro, D. Pedro of Tucuro, and D. Diego Tzacari of Etúcuaro, all subject to the head-town of Carapan in 1545 (N.León 1968:58). In addition, there were also D. Agustin principal of Pénjamo in 1569 (Sarrelangue 1965:266), and D. Juan, cacique of Pinzándaro in 1592 (Sarrelangue 1965:267). There is only one cacique listed in the lineage.

Figure 9 and Figure 10 show that of the seven Tzacari noblemen, five were listed as noblemen and had no office. Only one of the seven Tzacari noblemen, Miguel Quatzacuxa (Huacuja?) Tzacari, had the office of fiscal in the hospital of Uruapan. He did not hold the title "don" but may have been of the highest elite nonetheless (CDH-INAH, SM114, 1578), in spite of the fact that the large majority of noblemen held the title "don".

The only Tzacari individual who did not have such title had political office. This suggests that the survival of the elite should

ZACARIAS LINEAGE: CONTROL OF POLITICAL OFFICE

Place	Name	Office	Year	Office	Year	Source
Acambaro	D. Zacarias	principal	1591			Sarrelangue 1965:233
Etucuaro	D. Diego Pedro	principal principal	1545 1545			N. León 1968:58 Ibid
Pénjamo	D. Agustin	principal	1569			Sarrelangue 1965:266
Pinzandaro	D. Juan	cacique	1592			Sarrelangue 1965:267
Pátzcuaro	D. Zacarias	prioste	1622			CDH-INAH, SM118
Tucuro	Pedro	principal	1545			N. León 1968:58
Uruapan	Miguel	fiscal	1578			CDH-INAH, SM114

UACUXAN (GUACUJA, HUACAJANE) LINEAGE: CONTROL OF POLITICAL OFFICE

Place	Name	Office	Year	Office	Year	Source
Chilchota	Francisco	principal	1545			N. León 1968:61
Pátzcuaro	D. Francisco D.Pedro Díaz U. Mateo	governor principal councilman	1612 1624 1618	regidor mayor	1626	CDH-INAH, SM114 CDH-INAH, SM118 CDH-INAH, SM116

PAQUA LINEAGE: CONTROL OF POLITICAL OFFICE

Place	Name	Office	Year	Office	Year	Source
Huiramangaro	Zacarias	mayor	1624			CDH-INAH, SM116
Pátzcuaro	Benito Pedro Diego	principal principal mandon	1588 1592 1622			CDH-INAH, SM114 AGN RI5, E835, F219 CDH-INAH, SM117
Tupataro	D. Marcos	lieut. governor	1655			CDH-INAH, SM115

Figure 22. The Control of Office: Zacarias, Uacuxan and Paqua Lineages

not be measured only in terms of control of political office, as the control of office was only one of several manifestations of the survival process.

The Uacuxan Lineage: The Uacuxan lineage is represented by five individuals. Following Figure 22, three of the five noblemen listed in this lineage had the title "don". These were D. Francisco, governor of Pátzcuaro in 1612 (CDH-INAH, SM114), D. Mateo, councilman in 1618 and in 1626 (CDH-INAH, SM116), and D. Pedro Diaz Guacuxan, a principal in 1624 (CDH-INAH, SM118). The three were from Pátzcuaro. There are no known caciques.

Figure 9 shows that the number of noblemen without office was two; only one nobleman had one office, and one had several appointments. Between these two noblemen they controlled three political positions. According to Figure 10, these positions were one gubernatorial office and two council offices. The nobleman who held two offices was D. Mateo, who was a councilman twice in the early seventeenth century. If indeed the last name Uacuxan derived from uacus, águila (eagle) (Gilberti 1989:215) then this lineage may have been related to the former ruling uacúsecha lineage, and, therefore, to the Huitziméngari and Castilleja lineages as well. This idea, however, needs further exploration when additional data on lineage members is collected.

The Paqua Lineage: Finally, the Paqua lineage is also represented by five noblemen, of whom only one had the title "don." This was D. Marcos, a lieutenant governor of Tupataro in 1655 (see Figure 22). In this lineage, there are no known caciques or governors. Figure 9 and Figure 10 show that two of the five Paqua noblemen held no office, whereas the three remaining held only one political position each. No

one was listed as holding multiple appointments. The offices held by the three noblemen were councilman, constable and lieutenant. In this case, as well as in the Quaca lineage discussed above, the absence of gubernatorial office, of caciques, of lieutenant governors, and mayors, suggests that the members of the Paqua lineage, when compared with the rest of the lineages in the sample, may be of lower social status.

4.5 General Observations

An apparent collapse of the prehispanic hierarchical system in colonial society is manifested in the appearance of an encompassing ranking system that lumped all of the former layers of the nobility into fewer categories. The constriction of the two social categories, lords and caciques into one (caciques), suggests the loss of rank, especially of those noblemen in the position of lords, and the real loss of sovereignty by the royal lineage. Nevertheless, this loss reveals the Spanish perception of government as expressed in the historical records. In reality, a multilayered upper strata within the local indigenous elite persisted in the sixteenth century. Native political offices at the local level reflect that the indigenous elite was ranked according to various levels of status and importance, and very likely according to their kinship closeness to the former royal uacúsecha lineage.

The period of time selected for the study of the lineages in the sample, between 1536 and 1630, is arbitrary since many of the lineages treated here extended beyond these dates. Data suggest that members of the highest native elite who held the title "don" were not necessarily limited to the political position of governor. They were found to have controlled various different types of office. There is, however, an association between the title of cacique and the title "don." The title

of cacique suggests a close connection with, or descent from, a former Tarascan lord. There is also a relationship between the title "don" and the office of governor. In addition, noblemen bearing the title "don" did not always hold political office, nor did the caciques.

Considering all the caciques in the sixteen lineages of the sample, the number of caciques without office was seventeen (see Figure 9 and Figure 10). The number of caciques with office was seven, of whom five were governors, one was a mayor, and one was a regent. Perhaps the majority of governors in the province were caciques, but that information is not conclusive as of yet.

There is no correlation between the title "don" and a political appointment. Indeed, of the total of two hundred and fifty-four noblemen represented in all sixteen lineages, 114 had the title "don". Of these, sixty-six did not have office as opposed to the forty-eight with political office. Therefore, more than fifty percent had no political office, or their offices have yet to be documented in the historical record.

This suggests that what mattered to the native elite who held political office was to have office in the native society regardless of the type of office held. However, political office is only one of the means to document the survival of the native nobility as an elite group. Indeed, data suggest that all political offices, with the exception of constables, were filled by both the highest elite and perhaps by individuals of middle/lower ranks of the nobility.

Looking at the distribution of office in Figure 10, there is a large concentration of political tenure associated with the most important offices. In all, there were thirty-five governors and eight

lieutenant governors, twenty-seven mayors, and thirty-nine councilmen. Thus, it is assumed that although all political offices were important to the native elite, there was an association between the highest native elite and the highest levels of political office. The offices of governor, lieutenant governor, mayor and councilman became a stronghold of the native elite with the highest social status, whereas the offices of constable, ohcambeti, and those associated with the religious hierarchy (prioste, fiscal, diputado) may have been filled by members of the elite with lower social status or by members of the elite who came from the ranks of the priesthood. This however needs further research.

Finally, two of the most powerful lineages, both in terms of the number of caciques and the number of governors within their ranks, were the Huitziméngari, descendants of the last cazonci Tangaxoan, and the Puruata, associated through marriage with the Huitziméngari as well as with a third powerful lineage, the Castilleja (treated in the following chapter). They continued to control the most important offices within the native elite's political system, especially in the capital of Pátzcuaro as well as in the former capital of Tzintzuntzan. This suggests that the former ruling uacúsecha lineage continued to concentrate political power in the new center of government after Spanish conquest.

On the other end of the scale were the Paqua and Quaca lineages which appeared to have been in the lowest position relative to all the lineages in the sample. Their lack of members who held the title of caciques or who held high ranking political offices suggests their lower status.

A social categorization by rank of the various political offices was of concern to the elite. Data have shown that the elite, including the highest ranking elite shared most types of political office. The tendency was, however, for a more consistent control of offices of high rank by high ranking nobility. The exception were the oficiales de oficio, who perhaps required specific skills. Therefore, it was valuable to have a political office in the community.

Finally, political competition within the elite, for the control of political office at the local level, was not uncommon. The creation of alliances (social, economic and political), as well as marriage, played an important role in securing access to political office, and were a key to the political survival of the indigenous elite. These topics are addressed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5

WOMEN, MARRIAGE, WEALTH AND POLITICS

The political success and survival of the Tarascan elite, as well as their access to office and wealth after Spanish contact, were influenced by descent and marriage connections. Alliances with prominent Spaniards increased the ability of Tarascan noblemen and noblewomen to become members of the colonial elite.

Women and marriage connections were essential to the survival of the Tarascan elite and to the preservation of political office. Both were a means to extend political influence and social relations among the native nobility, as well as with non-Tarascans. The role of Tarascan noblewomen in facilitating political alliances, access to political office, and the acquisition of wealth (dowry/lands) was important to the function of pre-colonial and colonial societies. Kinship relations reflected the importance of lineages, both politically and socially. Lineages closer to the former royal lineage had higher status than lineages further removed from it. This had an impact on the kinds of political offices held by the indigenous elite in colonial Michoacán, in the concentration of governorships in the hands of former lords and prominent noblemen, and in the use of the honorary titles "don" and "cacique" by members of the highest ranking Tarascan elite. Individuals who descended from, or who had been married to, the former uacúsecha lineage, continued to intermarry after Spanish contact. Such was the case of the Huitziméngari and Castilleja lineages related to former lords from Ihuatzio and Tzintzuntzan, and of the Puruata lineage which was related to these lineages by marriage. These lineages controlled much of the political scene in the capital city of Pátzcuaro

and their relatives, who resided throughout the region, benefited from kinship connections with them.

Control over lands and access to additional sources of wealth, namely "dowry", associated with women, continued to be important to the native elite in the sixteenth century. Although the possession of lands may not have hindered the elite's access to political office under Spanish rule, native nobles claimed family lands in a manner that suggests prehispanic Tarascan cultural patterns.

This chapter explores the impact of social connections and of elite women in the creation of kinship and marriage alliances that supported the political survival of the native elite. Control over lands alone is not seen as the sole means of preserving the political power of the indigenous elite, since lands were divided and sold after Spanish contact. Two major sections of the chapter deal with alliance and wealth. The creation of political alliances by marriage and the establishment of kinship networks were socially and politically useful to both the Tarascan and Spanish elites. Second, wealth both in the form of "dowry" and lands served to enhance the chances of economic and political survival of the native elite, and were useful in the creation of marriage alliances between Spaniards and Tarascan elites.

Through the sharing of women, certain lineages were perpetuated. In turn, access to political office in the Indian communities was determined by the closeness to the former royal lineage and, in the most important towns, to the new Spanish elite as well. Manipulation of ethnicity became an effective tool in preserving political office and in claiming lands. Kinship relations with influential Spaniards increased

the political survival of the indigenous nobility, and especially of the mestizos who were closely associated with the former royal lineage.

5.1 Marriage and Politics

5.1.1 Prehispanic Marriage Patterns and Political Connections

Van Zantwijck has suggested that Spanish influence changed women's position; their status decreased, rules regulating marriage changed, and polygamy was prohibited (1964:66). This assertion has to be considered then: weighed carefully. In addition, the impact of status difference between women of noble birth and women of commoner descent had a significant effect on women's position in colonial society. Commoner women's social status remained low, as it had been prior to Spanish contact. No evidence has been found that suggests they had access to political power, yet they participated in the colonial economy. Likewise, noblewomen's social, economic and political status varied according to birth, and to their own connections with the Spaniards and with other native elite.

Nevertheless, there was a shift in noblewomen's access to economic, religious and political activities related to the new economy as previously discussed. Yet, according to the historical record, noblewomen's descent continued to play an important role in their children's political position and marriage arrangements after contact. Not surprisingly, noblemen and noblewomen closely related to the former uacúsecha lineage continued to have a prominent political position after Spanish contact.

According to the Relación (1989), there were various types of marriages which reflected the social ranking of the Tarascan people. Before contact, polygamy was important among the nobility and those who

could afford to have several wives (Warren 1985:17). Related to the role of women was the creation of political alliances by marriage. Noblemen and noblewomen of various social ranks intermarried.

According to Sarrelangue, in prehispanic society daughters of commoners were part of the tribute paid to the cazonci. This, according to the author, contributed to strengthen polygamy among aristocrats and was a form of abuse by the indigenous elite against the masses (Sarrelangue 1965:90).

To consider polygamy as a form of abuse is to misunderstand the indigenous practice in its cultural context. It is likely that Sarrelangue's position reflects the general bias of Catholic priests on Indian practices at contact. An example of such position is portrayed by Friar Francisco de Mena, and was shared by Bishop Zumárraga (in Sarrelangue 1965:90). In his information to the King regarding D. Antonio Huitziméngari, the last cazonci's son, Mena considered D. Antonio a vicious person, and he accused him of going "..against the honesty of Indian women" (extract..Fr. Francisco de Mena, CDIAI, XI:191-192, in Sarrelangue 1965:177). Therefore polygyny, the marriage of a man to various women, was considered by the Spaniards to be an example of immoral behavior. Nevertheless, it continued to play an important role in extending the social network of the Tarascan elite after contact.

According to the historical record, in colonial society Tarascan noblewomen and Spanish women of high status married at an early age (AHAP 3, #27, 1573 Pátzcuaro; AHAP 4, #57, 1595 Pátzcuaro; AHAP 5, #28, 1593 Pátzcuaro). Both widows and widowers commonly remarried several times. The Relación (1989) describes many such cases. Garza Tarazona

has argued that while in prehispanic society the tendency was for men and women to marry when they were older, in colonial society they tended to marry earlier. Men married between twenty-one and forty years of age, or if they were lords or noblemen, they did not marry until they had defeated four enemy captains in war. Women married between twenty and twenty-five years of age, while in colonial society they married between fourteen and sixteen years old (as Spanish women did). This change was adopted by the Indians of Mesoamerica to counteract the effects of population decline (Garcia Tarazona 1992:93). Population decline may also explain why polygynous relations continued to be practiced after Spanish contact in spite of their prohibition. The Tarascan prehispanic practice of polygyny may have become an adaptive strategy in colonial Michoacán.

According to the Relación, the Tarascans married their own relatives to benefit one another (RM 1989:227). At least three forms of marriage have been described in the Relación. First were the marriages arranged by the king in which his female relatives were given to lords and caciques and to noblemen of various social ranks. In these marriages, the bride's father and the groom were consulted. The woman to be married was sent to her father-in-law's house accompanied by some priests. She was sent with her belongings, her dowry, and with other female relatives to care for her and to serve her (RM 1989:223). Pollard suggested that a woman brought with her not only her personal effects and jewelry, but also her tools with which she would take charge of her household duties (1993:178). Since it seems that marriage arrangements were overwhelmingly carried out by men, it is not

surprising that the word for matchmaker was curahpehperi or casamentero (male matchmaker) (Gilberti, 1987:268).

Second were the marriages among the nobility which seem to have been dictated and/or approved by the cazonci, or that were arranged among the nobility (RM 1989:226). In this case, the father of the bride was involved in the marriage arrangement of his daughter, as were women of the bride's family (RM 1989:227). Priests accompanied the bride as well, and other women accompanied the bride. In both instances, food, mantles, and other gifts were exchanged as part of the ceremony and the bride's father got to see the fields that the groom's father gave to the newlyweds.

Third were marriages among commoners (RM 1989:232,233). In these marriages the priests did not go with the bride to the groom's house. Nevertheless, women also brought their belongings and a dowry of corn and mantles (RM 1989:231).

In all instances the Relación mentions the importance of lineage endogamy and membership in a city ward (barrio); "...por que soy de aquella familia y cepa y morador de aquel barrio" (RM 1989:227). Therefore, wards, as territorial units, had kinship and marriage regulating functions (Beltrán 1982:102, Pollard 1993:55). The term hangueguaecha means to be neighbors of the same barrio or ward (Gilberti 1987:71).

In practice, rules of lineage endogamy were not always clear cut, especially in the case of some members of the highest ranking elite. In such instances, the Relación mentions that noblemen of various ranks either gave some of their women's relatives to the cazonci, or women were forcibly taken by the cazonci and his captains after a war of

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conquest (RM 1989:129, 170). In both cases, these women were not necessarily from the cazonci's lineage and many of them may have been of lower noble ranks or of non-noble status, and of different ethnic groups as well.

Daughters and female relatives of noblemen came to reside at the palace of the king. Given the various ranks of their parents, the types of marriage alliances that were formed between these noblemen and the cazonci differed. For example, whereas a lord who was married to any of the cazonci's female relatives was considered to be the cazonci's "brother" (RM 1989:224), the relationship between the cazónci and a cacique depended on the woman in the exchange. A cacique could receive one of the cazonci's female relatives (perhaps not a closely related female), or he could receive one of the women from the palace, a former wife of the king, but not one of his relatives.

The exchange of women was essential to the political life of prehispanic Tarascan society. The fragility of marriage could endanger a political alliance as well (RM 1989:10). The terms and benefits of alliances that followed the exchange of women are unknown. One can only speculate, based on colonial documents, that access to political office was determined by political alliance and closeness to the Tarascan royal lineage.

The mother's lineage influenced the type of office that the cazonci granted to or approved for an individual, since wives were of various ranks. The types of alliances that were created between women and noblemen of various ranks depended on the woman's status at birth and on the type of marriage that was arranged. Therefore, it is expected that the children of women of highest social ranks were

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preferred for political positions of high status as opposed to children of women of lower noble ranks or non-noble status.

It is plausible to argue that a woman's status was important in terms of her future child's political position and in terms of a suitable alliance through marriage.

According to Beltrán, the sons of women given to the king headed separated lineages (1982:101). Marriages between the king's female relatives that were given to other noblemen, of both high and low noble ranks, generated "collateral lineages" as Beltrán has suggested (1982:101). Yet, in both cases, the ranking of separate or collateral lineages may have differed depending on the status of women (especially in the former case), and on the degree of closeness in kinship connection between the noblewoman and the cazonci (in the later case).

According to the Relación, any of the children that the cazonci had fathered with women in the palace was given a house (with lands) and slaves. The relatives of the children's mothers were called upon to cultivate the children's lands and to weave blankets for them (RM 1989:201). The mother's lineage became involved in tasks conducive to the rearing and support of the cazonci's child. This strengthened the liaison of the mother's lineage with the cazonci's lineage via marriage and the children. This also indicates the importance of kinship networks and of the maternal lineage both economically, by supporting mother and child, and politically, in terms of a future political position, and/or a suitable marriage connection. Therefore, a noblewoman's role included the reproduction of the elite in general, it facilitated the future political office of her sons, and endowed her daughters with a social status that was useful in future marriages.

Marriages were negotiated by the parents and residence seems to have been either patrilocal, at the groom's father's house, or neolocal, at the new couple's house (RM 1989:228, 230). Marriage practices included sororate (marriage with the widow's sister), close degrees of consanguineal marriages were permitted[1], and polygyny with prospective mothers-in-law and subsequently with their daughters were also common (RM 1989:227, 230, 233). According to the Relación, marriages were not permissible among first degree relatives[2] , but all other relatives could be married. Therefore, mother and son, brother and sister, father and daughter, and nephew and aunt marriages were not permitted (RM 1989:233). Nevertheless, marriages between uncle and niece were permitted. Yet, in the Relación, male paternal cousins were called by the term "brother" (RM 1989:69), and a paternal uncle called his son, as well as his brother's sons with the term "sons" (RM 1989:164). In the Relación, terms used for paternal aunt and female paternal cousin were not differentiated (1989:118). This suggests first that kinship terms

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[1]Various terms recorded by Gilberti reflect kinship relationships. Yauanequa nah hambuhpeni means to be distantly related (1989:79). The term mitehperani means to be related, from mitequa=relative (Ibid:89). Nahambuhperani means to be related in any degree (op.cit:93). To be related in second degree was either papaequaro mitehperani or teruuazquareni nah hamburini (ibid:102, 136). Blood relatives were mitequa (Ibid:464), and relatives by marriage were tembuchaquaro herambuhperaqua (Ibid). Finally, a lineage was called siruqua whereas sirasirarupani meant to multiply a lineage (op.cit:123).

[2]The term first degree relatives, which in the Relación includes father, mother, sister and brother, seems to reflect Spanish categorization of kinship relations since, Tarascan terminology extended this degree to cousins as well. Cousins were considered brothers and sisters (RM 1989:69). Yet, cousins could marry. However, the Relación mentions that brothers and sisters of the same father did not marry "Y no se casaban los hermanos de padre no más" (RM 1989:233). Although the Relación is not clear in this concept, it seems that marriage between brothers and sisters who had the same father, regardless of the mother, could not marry. Therefore, marriage prohibition extended to step-brothers.

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were extended to include various relatives in the same category, and second, that members of the same lineages were important in terms of marriage and political connections. Based on colonial documents that deal with marriages among the indigenous elite, parallel cousin marriages may have been preferred to cross cousin marriages[3], although both were present (to be discussed later).

There is some controversy between Beltrán (1992) and Aguirre Beltrán (1981) in terms of the interpretation of the types of marriages portrayed in the Relación. According to Beltrán, kinship networks were established by sharing women (forced or voluntary) among lineages with patrilocal rules of marriage (1982:101). Aguirre Beltrán has argued that the Tarascans had matrilineal rules of marriage and supported this idea with the Tarascan practice of prohibition of marriages between a nephew and his aunt. In a matrilineal society, he argued, the mother and her sisters are all called with the kinship term "mother" (1981:172).

Pollard (1993) has studied Tarascan kinship system following the Relación and Gilberti's Tarascan vocabulary originally written in 1559. Following Pollard (1993:58), Figure 23 shows the system of kinship used by the Tarascans. In Figure 23, five generations are represented, Generation I consisted of grandparents or nimathperi, grandfather or grandmother (Gilberti 1989:94). In this generation, all male and female members were recognized as either cura, grandfather or grandfather's brothers or cucu", grandmother or grandmother's sisters (op.cit,:57,52).

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[3]Cross cousins are cousins related through parents of the opposite sex (brother and sister). Parallel cousins are cousins whose parents are either two brothers or two sisters. In Tarascan terminology, paternal cousins were "brothers" (RM 1989:69)

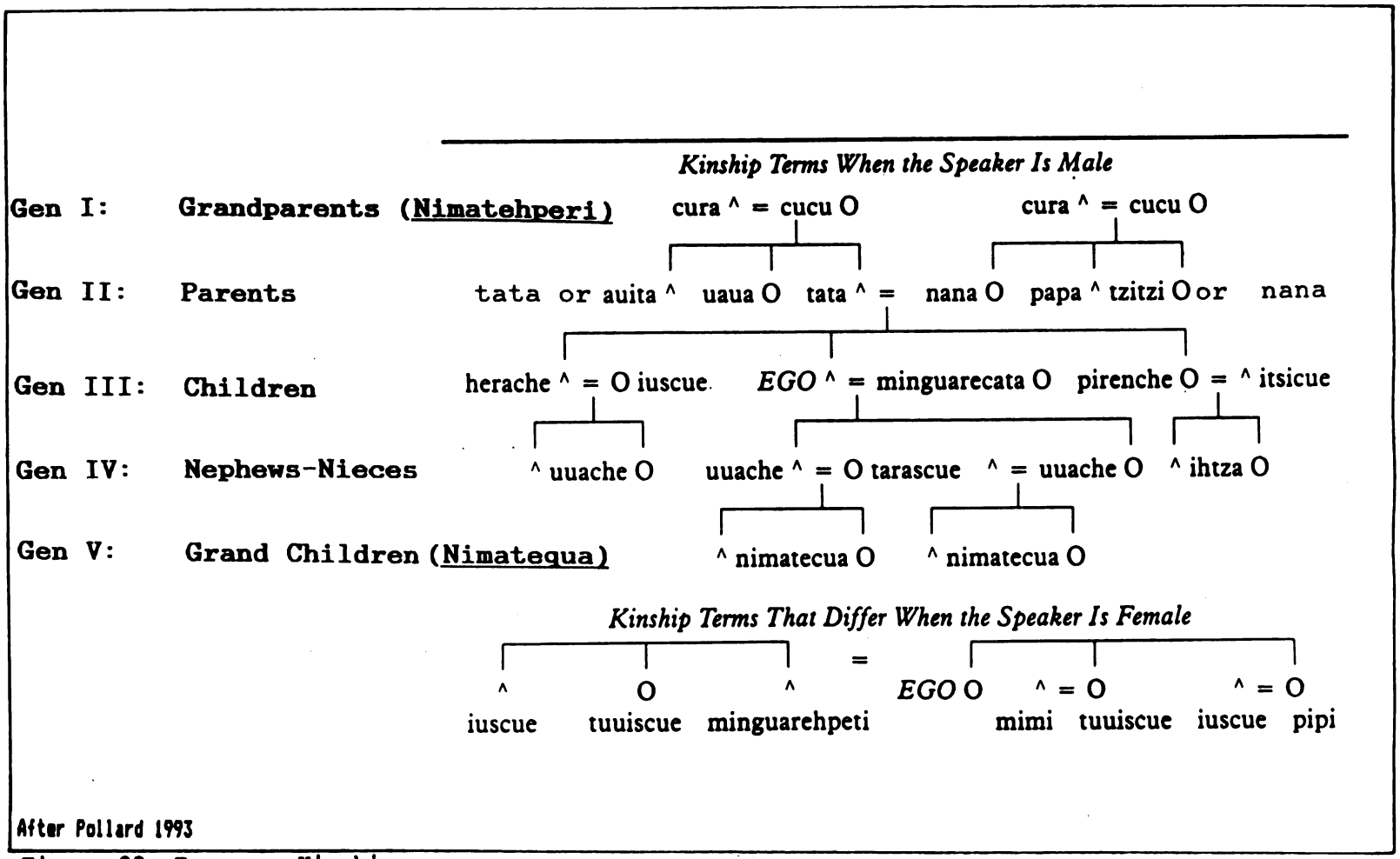

Figure 23. Tarascan Kinship

Gender was the only distinction within this generation, regardless of descent.

In Generation II, corresponding to Ego's parents, gender as well as father's and mother's lineages were recognized. This is clear in the difference made between mother's sister, who Pollard called tzitzi only, but who is also recognized as nana[4], and the father's sister called uaua. Note, however, that Gilberti gave the mother's sister the sameterm he gave to Ego's mother (nana). Therefore, regarding the mother's sister, the two terms nana and tzitzi seem to have been equally used. This complicates our understanding of Tarascan kinship. But, in this sense, it also buttresses Aguirre Beltrán's claim that since mother and mother's sister were called nana, a marriage between "Ego" and nana could not have taken place. In the case that nana was called tzitzi, a marriage between "Ego" and Tzitzi could have taken place. It is unknown under which circumstances were these terms interchanged.

Likewise, in this same second generation, Pollard considered the father's brother as auita (Pollard 1993:58). Gilberti gave the father's brother two terms: auita and tata (1987:532). This would mean that a father and his brother were called tata as well. Yet, the mother's brother received a different term papa or tio hermano de madre (mother's brother) (op.cit:532).

This term suggests that the mother's brother was of a different lineage than the father's brother. Yet, according to the Relación, a marriage between an uncle and his niece was possible. The Relación,

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[4]In the Tarascan to Spanish vocabulary Gilberti translated uaua as aunt (1987:158). Nevertheless, in his section of Spanish to Tarascan, Gilberti recognizes the maternal aunt: "tia hermana de la madre" as tzita or nana (op.cit:532).

however, does not mention if this marriage took place between the mother's brother and his niece, or between the father's brother and his niece.

In Figure 23, in Generation III or "Ego's" generation, gender and lineage (maternal and paternal cousins) were also differentiated, and kinship terminology differed depending upon the gender of the speaker.

In addition, younger and elder sisters were identified by the use of different terms. The former was uece, the later pipi (in Pollard 1993:57). In the same manner, the older brother was also called ureca (Pollard 1993:57). In this generation brothers and sisters in-law were differentiated according to the gender of the speaker[5].

Generation IV or nephews and nieces recognized lineage differences by lumping all of the nephews and nieces on the father's line as uuache regardless of gender. Nephews and nieces on the mother's side were called ihtza (Gilberti 1987:522).

Finally, in Generation V of grandchildren or nimategua, all the males and females have been lumped again into the same category regardless of gender and lineage.

The following generation of great grandchildren or angandingasti (Gilberti 1987:550), not included in Figure 23, also lumped males and females into the same category regardless of gender and lineage. Likewise, in generations above the grandparents' generation, the great grandparents were recognized by gender and, presumably, by lineage. Gilberti only gives the kinship term for the male's line. The great

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[5]Ytsicue is a man's brother-in-law; yuscue is a man's sister-in-law; tuuiscue is a woman's sister-in-law; and yuscue is a woman's brother-in-law (Gilberti 1987:290).

grandfather's brother was tsihuandihperi, and the great grandfather's sister was thsiuandihpensti (1987:359).

These ideas indicate that although wards had some marriage function, membership in these wards was probably through the father's line given the fact that residence after marriage was patrilocal, whereas the rules of marriage show a matrilineal and patrilineal mixture.

The prohibition of marriage between nephew and aunt, which would be considered incestuous, reveals a matrilineal tendency in the rules of marriage[6]. The acceptance of uncle-niece marriages, regardless of lineage, followed a different arrangement which may reflect the concern of keeping family wealth and political office within the family, rather than with the concern of a matrilineal arrangement. Therefore, the Tarascan system suggests bilateral kinship (Pollard 1993:178). The influence of both maternal and paternal lineages were important. Patrilineal influence was especially important in residential arrangements (patrilocal), in inheritance of political office from father-to-son (or to other males in the patriline), and in access to lands. The mother's lineage was important in the development of marriage connections conducive to the children's political position, and in the support of her children, as well as in the inheritance of wealth associated with women's activities in the house.

Based on colonial documents, it is plausible to argue that in prehispanic Tarascan society, the most common marriages between members of the highest elite were those between parallel "cousins" or between

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[6]The Relación clearly indicated a different kinship term for the mother's brother, he was not referred to as "father", whereas a fathers's brother was also referred to as "father" (1989:119, 121).

uncle and niece. Through time, these intermarriages would connect matrilines and patrilines in a web of relationships which are difficult to disentangle. This is perhaps why generations of great grandchildren were all lumped into the same category without any differentiation of lineage or gender. Polygyny has to be added to this complicated picture. Likewise, variety was also present in terms of residential arrangement. Families were nuclear or extended and included various kinds of relatives.

There is no research on Tarascan marriage alliances equivalent to Carrasco's study on central Mexico. In his analysis of central Mexico, Carrasco (1984) argued that polygamy, characterized by different types of marriages in which both commoner women as well as noblewomen were given to noblemen of high and low rank, gave rise to various forms of political alliances simultaneously. These various marriages were "a consequence of stable, repeated marriage alliances among dynasties determined by their political relations of succession rules" (Carrasco 1984:75)[7]. Relationships created in this way were useful in the event of shifting powers. Therefore, the advantage of polygamy was the large number of sons "on reserve" that could accommodate the rise of any situation (Ibid:75).

Carrasco's insights are interesting on a general level. In the Relación, marriages between nobles and non-nobles, as well as between nobles of high and lower ranks are appreciated. It is very likely that these types of marriage were also operative among the Tarascans as they were useful in central Mexico. Nevertheless, to speculate about

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[7]Carrasco believed that changes in the type of marriage practices would reveal changes in succession practices and in political relations (1984:75).

Tarascan marriages without enough information could lead into the trap of portraying Tarascan society as being similar to societies in central Mexico. Suggestive, however, is Carrasco's idea that polygamy provided a pool of sons that could accommodate to diverse circumstances. This is important especially with respect to Tarascan succession to the office of the cazonci in the event that the father-son line was broken for a lack of sons in line. Suitable candidates for this office were other male members of the lineage as well. This may explain why D. Constantino Huitziméngari, grandson of Tangaxoan II, and an "illegitimate" son of D. Antonio, governor of the province, claimed the right to become governor of Pátzcuaro in the absence of other suitable male relatives in 1588 (CDH-INAH SM112, Pátzcuaro).

From the Relación it is known that sisters, spouses and other female relatives of various ranks were exchanged among lords, caciques, and other members of the nobility for the purpose of establishing or cementing political alliances both among Tarascans, and between Tarascans and non-Tarascans (RM 1989:106). The cazonci's female relatives served as liaisons in these ventures. These royal women were also given to dependent rulers, something that Carrasco has found for the Toltec-Chichimec in central Mexico as well (1984:54). In turn, the cazonci received women from various noblemen. They served in his palace (RM 1989:106, 246).

Carrasco has argued that in central Mexico all of the king's wives represented various types of alliances with a lord or ruler, and her sons were preferred for positions connected with their mother's background (whether she was of a higher status or lower noble status). This was probably similar in the Tarascan area where not only alliances

were cemented through marriage, but access to political office may have been measured in terms of the closeness to the royal uacúsecha lineage, and to the rank of the mother. Although a conclusive view can only be obtained after further exploring local archives, it is nonetheless plausible to argue that as in prehispanic Tarascan society, men's access to political office in colonial society was heavily determined by his mother's rank and by his mother's marriage connections. This may explain why political office in the sixteenth century was either rotated among the same high ranking individuals, or was preserved for long periods of time in the hands of the same individuals. Second, it may also explain why high-ranking offices tended to remain in the hands of the highest elite. And, finally, this may explain why the office of governor remained in the hands of individuals more closely connected to the former royal lineage and was likely to be inherited through the father's line as seen in the previous chapter.

5.1.2 Marriage in Colonial Society

Marriage alliances among prominent Spaniards in Michoacán were useful in monopolizing lands. Families such as the Infante, Oñate and Pantoja, concentrated lands through marriage ties with other Spanish land owners, miners, and encomenderos, as well as with individuals who had public offices. This eased the judicial process to obtain land grants (Piñón Flores 1984:140, 141, 143). Marriages connected encomenderos with other Spaniards in public office, with members of the Audiencia, with conquistadors who had received land gifts, and with royal scribes. Undoubtedly, they benefited from such political and economic relations. In addition, indigenous noblewomen became important in the consolidation of alliances between conquistadors and the Tarascan

elite. This opened the possibility for the Tarascan elite to accommodate to the new society. Warren has suggested that women from the cazonci's palace were given to the Spaniards as wives (1985:12-13; see also RM 1989:265). Other Tarascan lords may have done the same as well.

The practice of prehispanic marriages between conquerors and conquered is well depicted in the Relación (1989). Therefore, marriages between Tarascan noblewomen and Spanish conquistadors were a continuation of an old Tarascan practice. As in the former case, these marriages linked the lineages of the conquerors and the conquered and are considered to be a survival practice of the indigenous elite, as well as a means of sharing power and/or of maintaining some form of power after Spanish contact.

Marriages between Spaniards and the Tarascan elite were important in terms of access to political office and land claims. However, they were important among the native elite as well. For example, Juan de Páez, conquistador and encomendero of Ecatepec, Coatitlán and Acolhuácan in the valley of Mexico, had married D. Marina de Moctezuma (also known as Leonor de Moctezuma). This marriage ensured that the conquistador would use his encomienda in perpetuity. In addition, when Leonor Moctezuma became widowed, the encomendero Valderrama of Tarímbaro, married her as a means of obtaining the benefits of the encomienda of the valley of Mexico as well (Piñón Flores, 1984:265). In the same manner, conqueror Francisco de Castilleja could claim the lands inherited by his wife D. Maria Inaguit, from his father Paquingata, lord of Ihuatzio. Eventually, Pedro de Abrego, the husband of Castilleja's daughter, Beatriz, helped his wife claim these lands as well (AHAP 1,

#31, 1556, Periban). Among the indigenous elite, marriage also became an important means of retaining claimed ancestral lands within the nobility. D. Constantino Huitziméngari (Tangaxoan's grandson), who married doña Agustina of Chilapa, a descendant of Netzahualpilli, lord of Texcoco, inherited his wife's cacicazgo (lands attached to a former lord's house) in the Valley of Mexico after her death.

Polygynous relationships continued to be important as well, although they were not recognized by the Spaniards as a legitimate form of association. The clergy struggled to destroy this cultural pattern. According to the historical record, a priest was to deny all sacraments to the Spaniards for the following reasons: first, if having married in Spain they had not lived with their wives for more than three years; second, if Spaniards behaved with their wives as if they were not married; finally, if they had rejected Catholicism. As for the Indians, the priests could forgive anything in confession but polygamy (AHAP 4, #30, 1587 Pátzcuaro).

For Bravo Ugarte, a change in the native culture was the acceptance of monogamy through time (1963:63). Nevertheless, this was not a change that took place uniformly among the Tarascan elite during the sixteenth century. Indeed, documents reveal a series of accusations against Indians who were adulterous, polygamous, or who had sex before marriage, which were made by Indian authorities of town wards. These accusations served only as an apparent deterrent of polygyny since the practice continued to be generally accepted, especially among the indigenous elite of highest social rank (AHAP 4, #43, 1558 Pátzcuaro; AHAP 5bis, #33, 1587 Pátzcuaro; AHAP 5bis, #72, 1597; Pátzcuaro). Spaniards were also accused of the same "sins" [polygamy] as were the

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Indians (AHAP 4, #55, 1590 Pátzcuaro). Punishment for violations of Catholic moral codes included thirty lashes for the first time the man and the woman were caught, and the prohibition of meeting with each other. For a second accusation the punishment was harsher and included two hundred lashes and banishment from the town (AHAP 4, #39, 1558 Pátzcuaro).

There is no indication that these punishments were ever used against Tarascan noblemen and noblewomen of high rank who continued to have polygamous associations. Indeed, many of the governors of Pátzcuaro, among them D. Antonio Huitziméngari, son of the last cazonci, his "illegitimate" son D. Constantino, and other noblemen who were their relatives and supporters, had various children from relationships with different noblewomen. They were not only tolerated by the Spaniards, but their children claimed rights to lands and political positions on the basis of Tarascan family connections (AHAP 3, #9, 1570 Tzintzuntzan).

Therefore, polygyny was recognized by the Indian elite as a valuable custom judging by the numbers of Spanish-called "illegitimate" (or bastard)[8] children and their women in the historical records. In addition, children of polygynous relationships called their fathers'

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[8]According to Gilberti, the Tarascan term for "bastard" is cunaricata tembuhtaquaro peuacata (Gilberti 1987:246). Breaking down this term, it is plausible to argue that the terminology for illegitimacy or bastardy reflects a Spanish colonial perspective. According to Gilberti's vocabulary, the term cunaricata referred to mestizo (1987:246), from cunari or to join (juntarse) (Ibid:56). Tembuhchaquaro comes from tembuchaqua meaning marriage (Ibid:133), and the root "ro" meaning place. Finally, is the term peuacata. Gilberti's vocabulary mentions that quahta means outside of (1987:380). Therefore, it is possible that this meaning of bastard was "a mestizo [born] outside of marriage." Likewise, in the Relación, the Tarascan concept of illegitimacy does not have to do with children from polygynous marriages, but with children of adulterous relationships (1989:228).

sons with the term "brothers", therefore, recognizing them as full brothers (AHAP 3, #9, 1570 Tzintzuntzan). According to this document, D. Pablo Cazónci, son of governor D. Antonio Huitziméngari and D. Maria Maruacuezcu, recognized D. Juan Bautista Huitziméngari as his brother even though they had different mothers. Likewise, D. Constantino Huitziméngari, another of D. Antonio's sons, and of cacica D. Ana Ocelo of Uruapan, considered D. Pablo as his brother although they had different mothers (AGN RI5, E802, F213v, 1591). Yet, according to the historical record, D. Antonio treated all of his children equally, and all of them called each other "hermano" (AHAP 3, #9, 1570 Tzintzuntzan; AGN, RI4, E399, F117v-118r, 1590 Pátzcuaro; see Sarrelangue 1965:211). Therefore, some Tarascan kinship relationships and cultural practices continued to be used in early colonial society.

As in prehispanic society, various forms of marriage patterns were present among the Tarascan nobility after contact, including marriages among close kin. The historical record presents instances of levirate, in which a brother of a deceased man married his brother's widow[9]. D. Maria, cacica of Tuzantla, was the widow of governor D. Diego. She married D. Diego's brother, D. Bartolomé (Ayer Col., 168, F 150v, 1552 in Paredes 1994:127-128).

There were also instances of marriages between cousins and uncle-niece marriages in the manner of prehispanic Tarascan cultural patterns. Don Francisco, the son of D. Francisco Tariácuri, nephew of D. Antonio Huitziméngari governor of Pátzcuaro, and grandson of cazónci Tangaxoan,

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[9]According to the author of the Relación, after contact, sororate was prohibited by the Catholic church. "Uno se casó en su infidelidad con una mujer y murió. Dejó una hermana su mujer; no se puede casar con ésta siendo fiel, porque contrajo afinidad, aunque era en infi[de]lidad" (RM 1989:234).

married his cousin, D. Catalina Quimbus, who was grandaughter of D. Pedro Cuiniharángari, former captain of Tangaxoan and governor of the province (Sarrelangue 1965:171). D. Pedro, in turn, was married to one of Tangaxoan's relatives (a sister or a daughter). This made him Tangaxoan's "brother" (RM 1989:267).

Likewise, D. Pablo Cazónci, son of D. Antonio Huitziméngari, governor of Pátzcuaro, married his niece, D. Mariana de Castilleja, who was the daughter of D. Pablo's cousin, D. Beatriz de Castilleja, grandaughter of lord Paquingata of Ihuatzio (CDH-INAH, SM112, 1568 Pátzcuaro).

According to Sarrelangue, Paquingata was married to one of Tangaxoán's daughters (1965:183)[10]. Nevertheless, this woman could have been Tangaxoán's sister as well. Based on Tarascan kinship, D. Beatriz called both Paquingata and Tangaxoan by the term "grandfather" (N. León 1968:182). However, no document has been found yet that reveals the true connection between Paquingata's wife and Tangaxoan[11].

These brief examples reveal that marriages between cousins, and the ones that involved uncle-niece relationships were especially important among members of the highest ranking elite (the former uacúsecha lineage), and/or their descendants after contact, and were a mechanism to maintain political power and the most important offices

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[10]Paquingata was cazonci Tangaxoán's cousin and a suitable male in the lineage to become cazonci when Tangaxoán's father (Zuangua) died at the arrival of the Spaniards (RM 1989: 263, N. León 1968:117, U. Beltrán 1982:189).

[11]Nevertheless, based on testimonies and land claims from Beatriz Castilleja, Paquingata's grandaughter, it is also likely that Paquingata was married to one of Tangaxoan's sisters (AHAP 1, #31, 1556 Periban; AHAP 5bis, #58, 1596 Urichu).

under the control of closely related individuals both before and after Spanish contact (more on this later).

As in prehispanic society, there continued to be marriages and polygynous associations that linked the indigenous elites of different towns: i.e., Ana, daughter of D. Juan Tzitziqui, ex-governor of Erongaricuaro and of D. Maria Guajo (Guaca or Quaca?), married D. Juan, lord of Ihuatzio in 1579 (Sarrelangue 1965:244). D. Antonio Huitziméngari governor of Pátzcuaro and D. Ana Ocelo, cacica from Uruapan were also associated (their union was not recognized as a legitimate marriage by Spanish moral codes) (Ibid:211). Noblemen and noblewomen from Ihuatzio claimed, in 1602, to have married nobles from Tzintzuntzan and Pátzcuaro (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1602 Ihuatzio). The ex-governor of Chilchota, who had the same name as the governor of Pátzcuaro, D. Antonio Huitziméngari, was married to D. Magdalena Huitziméngari of Tzintzuntzan (Sarrelangue 1965:224). D. Diego Tzitziqui, a nobleman from Pátzcuaro had married the governor of Tzintzuntzan's daughter in 1596 (AHAP 5bis, #50, Tzintzuntzan).

Marriages that connected the indigenous elite throughout the region in prehispanic Tarascan society continued in the sixteenth century. Although the purpose for these kinds of marriages seems to have disappeared when the need to establish political alliances among lords and the cazonci was broken, in reality their continuation may indicate the need of the elite to maintain political alliances and political support among the native aristocracy. The persistence of marriages among the native elites in the region suggests that marriage was a means to keep political power within the elite, to the exclusion of non-nobles. At a local level, a general shift in marriage patterns included

marriages with prominent Spaniards, as well as the continuation of marriages among local indigenous elites which effectively preserved their political power within their own communities, and served in claiming property[12] (AHAP 2, #8, 1561 Cuanajo; AHAP 2, #15, 1562 Huaniqueo; AHAP 4, #35, 1587 Tarétan; AHAP 5, #24, 1592 Patuán).

New forms of political connections developed from Spanish-Tarascan marriages which benefited the mestizo children of high ranking indigenous women and prominent Spaniards. Among these beneficial marriages was the one that linked conqueror Don Francisco de Castilleja and Doña Maria Inaguit discussed above, and later linked their descendants with other Spanish families like the Pantojas, who were wealthy landowners (AHAP 4, #57, 1590 Pátzcuaro). In such instances, their children were also able to capitalize on the support of kin of various ethnic backgrounds. This was the case for governor D. Luis de Castilleja y Puruata whose supporters were counted among the ranks of the Pátzcuaro indigenous nobility and of prominent local Spaniards (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1609 Pátzcuaro).

In terms of politics, marriages between prominent Spaniards and prominent noblewomen became somewhat equivalent to the former Tarascan marriages that existed among individuals of the highest ranking elite (among lords of the uacúsecha lineage). This meant that children of such marriages could count on manipulating their mother's lineage and her social rank, as well as they could count on their father's own position (especially if he was a prominent hijodalgo), and on his

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[12]Witnesses used in many of such claims favored the various parties involved in the disputes. In general, political allies, and good relations with their relatives, were beneficial to the nobleman or noblewoman making the claim (AHAP 1, #31, 1556 Periban; AGN, RI2, E773, F175r, 1583 Acámbaro).

lineage and connections, for political gain. In terms of marriages in which the indigenous noblewoman was married to a less prominent individual of Spanish origin, their children could count on the benefits of having at least one Indian parent, grandparent, or great grandparent of indigenous prominent ancestry (see Haskett 1988:38).

The history of Canadian métis' since the seventeenth century parallels that of mestizo populations in New Spain (see Friesen 1994, Hagedorn 1988, and Hunter and Calihoo 1991).

Marriages among the indigenous elite and between Tarascan elites and Spanish elites were also important in excluding non-nobles from sharing power with the indigenous elite. Marriages strengthened the power of some families in Michoacán as revealed in various historical documents, especially in terms of land claims (AHAP 2, #15, 1562 Huaniqueo. In this document Doña Beatriz de Castilleja's husband claimed rights to lands by virtue of his marriage to a descendant of lord Paquingata. See also Piñon Flores 1984:140). In this sense, the Tarascan nobility maintained its position as an elite group after contact. Bonds between Spaniards and Tarascan noblemen and noblewomen were of benefit to their mestizo children who held power. This benefit extended to their parents as well since the Spanish parent could benefit from lands claimed from their noble Indian spouse, and the Indian noblewoman was recognized as Spanish, and therefore, as member of the Spanish elite, while she could keep her lands based on ancestral bonds with an Indian lineage (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1609 Pátzcuaro; AHAP 4, #57, 1590 Pátzcuaro; AHAP 5, #42, 1595 Ajuno).

The benefits that resulted from marriages among the Tarascan nobility included the support of kin in those instances that involved

political conflict, like competition for political office (AHAP 4, #35, 1587 Tingambato). Kinship relations as well as political alliances were crucial in fighting competing political factions among indigenous noblemen. For example, in conflicts deriving from jurisdictional changes which brought shifts in local power, Indian noblemen enlisted supporters and kin in defending certain noble rights, like receiving a grant of land, a portion of tribute or a political office, in claiming a head-town's prominence, or in protecting patrimonial lands (Ayer Col., 182, F187r-v, 1592, In Paredes 1994:134-5; CDH-INAH, SM117, 1609 Pátzcuaro; AHAP 2, #8, 1561 Cuanajo; AGN RI2, E340, F82r, 1583 Zacatula; AHAP 3, #9, 1570 Tzintzuntzan)[13].

5.2 Women's Wealth: Dowry and Land

5.2.1 Land and Wealth in Prehispanic Society

When the cazonci married any of his female relatives to a lord, he sent her to her husband's house with a series of priests called curitiecha[14]. This woman took her dresses, necklaces, and earrings, and

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[13]As an example, D. Francisco Cuiniharangari wanted to make the town of "Chupingo Parapeo" a head-town and become independent of Turicato, the assigned head-town. D. Francisco was a relative of D. Pedro Cuiniharangari the former governor of the province and captain of cazonci Tangaxoan. Since D. Francisco was a descendant of the lords from the island who had helped the Tarascans in the conquest of tierra caliente (U. Beltran 1982:176), it was only normal that D. Francisco felt he had the right to become independent from Turicato which was of a different language, and enlisted followers and relatives to fight for this cause (AHAP 3, #17, 1572 Turicato; AHAP 3, #28, 1574 Turicato; AHAP 3, #43, 1576-77 Turicato). Turicato had been an independent señorio before Spanish contact (Gerhard 1986:75).

[14]Interestingly, in Gilberti's vocabulary of Tarascan language (1559), some of the men's function was matchmaking; from the word curahpeperi which means "casamentero" (1989:268). The idea of men as matchmakers may have stemed from accounts in the Relación of priests taking the royal bride to the groom's father's house. At the root of the word curahpeperi is the word "cura" which refers to an old person or to a priest (Gilberti 1989:57).

was accompanied by many women. Many more carried her belongings. The lord that was to be married received all his relatives and offered them food. He was called "brother" by the cazonci (RM 1989:223). Thereafter, he had to care for his wife and for the needs of the cazonci[15]. The king gave a gift of land to his brother-in-law, and since he married many women throughout the region, this may account for the spotty nature of Tarascan land holdings.

Gilberti's Tarascan vocabulary, written in 1559, mentioned the existence of dowry. To give dowry in the Tarascan language was hapindahperaqua (1987:331). To give dowry to a daughter or to someone else was hapindahpeni (Ibid). Finally to give ajuar (household equipment, personal belongings) or arras[16] (dowry) was called tsiripeta, perhaps from the root tsiri which means corn (Ibid:234, 243).

In marriages among lords or among caciques, women leaving for their husband's house carried their ajuar (personal belongings), along with their jewelry and the tools necessary for their activities in the household, cooking and preparing clothing. They brought various presents to their husbands which included mantles, hatchets used for cutting wood, and mats. In turn, the husband offered food as well as

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[15]In general, women's household chores included taking care of their husbands, preparing food, and weaving mantles (RM 1989:223). However, in a noble house servants did much of the household work. The Relación mentions women slaves at the palace (RM 1989: 200). Gilberti's Tarascan dictionary has many references about women's roles, some of them are related to textile production.

[16]In colonial documents the ajuar included personal items of dress, jewelry, linen, blankets, pillows, and housewares. The arras were coins (money, dowry) and/or some form of wealth in cattle, slaves or land. Colonial documents make such distinctions as part of the general category of "matrimonial aid" (CDH-INAH, SM112, 1592 Tiripetío; AHAP 5bis, #59, 1596 Puruándiro; AHAP 3bis, #46, 1577 Pátzcuaro; AHAP 3, #27, 1573 Pátzcuaro).

clothing to the guests. Later, a woman's father-in-law showed the woman's father, as well as the new couple, the lands he gave the couple as a wedding present[17] (RM 1989:227, Pollard 1993:178).

In non-noble families marriage was a family affair since a woman's parents and relatives were consulted. The woman also took with her to her husband's house personal belongings (ajuar) as well as maize and mantles, given to her by her father and mother (RM 1989:228, 231).

If a man and a woman married for a second time, the Relación mentions that the man gave her a dowry (RM 1989:230). But if a man and a young woman came to live together without proper marriage, her mother had the right to enter the house of the young man and to take from his house mantles, grinding stones and take possession of the lands[18]. If they were of the same ward, the couple was married. If they did not belong to the same ward, they were not married (RM 1989:231-232)[19].

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[17]The spotty nature of land tenure in the Tarascan region may be explained, in part, by gifts of lands given during the course of marriage arrangements, especially when the marriage involved the cazonci and noblewomen who resided in other areas than the capital city. Van Zantwijck found the same pattern of scattered land holdings in Ihuatzio in the 1960's. At marriage, a father gave his son a piece of land that was probably located in a different ward (1967:75).

[18]The Relación does not clarify if the young man's family lands were invaded, or if it was the young man's lands that were taken over.

[19]Women's roles in religious ceremonies were limited to preparing offerings of bread and fruit (RM 1989:118,126). Many of these noblewomen were cloistered and devoted to preparing these offerings for ceremonial purposes (Ibid:130). Some Spaniards witnessed that cotton textiles (made by women), water, tamales (prepared by women), copper bells, feathered masks, and paper were also offered to the temples (AGI, Justicia, leg189, numero1, ramo2 in El Michoacán Antiguo, pp:399,402,404).

According to the RG of Cuseo de la Laguna, women did not dance in religious ceremonies as did men (1987:83). Although there is no further evidence of other women's religious roles, the Relación mentions that occasionally, a woman could be possessed by the goddess Cuerauaperi and thus, she would personify her. Cuerauaperi was the goddess of fertility and of famine. She was the mother of Xaratanga, the goddess of the new moon (RM 1989:48). One of the signs of such personification was a

5.2.2 Land and Wealth in Colonial Society

After contact, in both Spanish and Indian societies, some form of dowry was present in marriage arrangements. Some marriages that took place among Spaniards, and between Spaniards and the native elite, were entered into for economic reasons[20]. According to "Senatus Consultos Geliano's Roman law", followed by the Spaniards to regulate property, Spanish married women, or widows with adult sons, had to renounce their rights to administer their property and economic affairs in favor of the male head of the household (AHAP 3, #27, 1573 Tancítaro; AHAP 5bis, #58, 1596-98 Urichu).

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woman's desire to eat blood (RM 1989:252). In such an event, the priests of the goddess Cuerauaperi "bathed her [the woman] and dressed her, and offered her wine and incense" (op.cit:252). The role she may have played is not further discussed in the Relación. Significantly, however, is the fact that the male priests in charge of Cuerauaperi "mother" goddess were called "mothers", and were named Uatarecha (Ibid:48, 253).

Indigenous women participated in other ceremonial-religious activities as well. Gilberti's vocabulary (1559) mentioned the existence of witches or sicuame cuiri (brujas) (Gilberti 1987:254). Apparently, the witches were only women and not men since the vocabulary does not mention the presence of "brujos" (male witches). There were also women diviners or teruhcha curahperi (1987:209), and of women who had visions in their dreams ahtzangariqua hangasqua (Ibid:550). Since Gilberti's vocabulary was written in 1559, it is plausible to argue that these women's roles were present in the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, it is not known how these so called "diviners" and "witches" practiced their trades. The Relación mentions that when a woman was a diviner by dreams she was regarded with seriousness by the Tarascans since the outcome of such dreams could bring good or evil alike (RM 1989:50,246,260). Male and female "medicos de curar" in town-hospitals were regarded as sorcerers by the Spaniards (AHAP5, #35, 1594 Pátzcuaro).

[20]D. Floriana de Velasco (widow of Pedro de Pantoja) remarried D. Francisco de Ayala. She had contributed 4, 000 pesos in dowry to her marriage with Pantoja. After her death, Floriana's children fought to retrieve the money that was D.Floriana's dowry, and which had passed to Ayala when he married doña Floriana. Floriana's children argued that Francisco de Ayala "had no capital, and in the end he acquired 20,000 pesos" of which half belonged to Floriana's children. "Now.. [the children claimed]..he [D. Francisco].. has remarried and is spending our mother's money" (AHAP 5, #28, n.f. 1593, Pátzcuaro). In another case, D. Juan de Pantoja arranged the marriage of his daughter doña Elvira with Alonso Marin, son of D. Luis Marin and doña Maria Mendiola, and offered a dowry to be paid in installments (AHAP 2, #18, 1562 Pátzcuaro).

Money from a dowry (called legítima), usually came from a bride's father, and could be paid in installments in the event that it represented a substantial sum of money (AHAP 2, #18, 1562 Pátzcuaro)[21]. It was invested by a woman's husband to increase his capital or was used to conduct his business (AHAP 2, #19, 1562 Pátzcuaro; AHAP 3, #27, 1573 Pátzcuaro). Therefore, a woman's dowry benefited her husband's economic position. However, when a husband died, or when divorce occurred, the dowry brought by the woman to the marriage had to be returned to her since a dowry was a woman's property (CDH-INAH, SM112, 1556 Pátzcuaro; AHAP 2, #19, 1562 Pátzcuaro; AHAP 3, #27, 1573 Pátzcuaro; AHAP 5bis, #70, 1597 Pátzcuaro). In some instances widowed women claimed to be poor and in need ("pobre y necesitada") to get their dowry back (AHAP 3, #27, 1573 Tancítaro). Indeed, dowry played an important role in a woman's economic position, but it also revealed her social position, especially when her marriage was to be arranged[22]. A larger sum of money contributed by a woman meant a better marriage arrangement. God-parents

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[21]Some forms of dowry included only textiles: silk, taffeta, satin, damascs, and wool, embroidered with silver and gold (AHAP 3, #27, 1573 Pátzcuaro). Their value has been discussed in Chapter Four. In addition, most of the dowries that appear in documents of the AHAP show a sum of money, luxury textiles, and others items of dress, jewelry, and sheets, beadspreads, pillows, mattresses and other items required in the house, including slaves (AHAP 3, #27, 1573 Pátzcuaro). Then, other dowries only included the money (AHAP 5bis, #59, 1596 Pátzcuaro). Other dowries included only a property: a house or a ranch (AHAP 5bis, #58, 1596 Tancítaro). Finally, a dowry was called legítima when it included a woman's inheritance given to her at the time of her marriage (AHAP 5bis, #59, 1596 Pátzcuaro). In comparison, women whose dowry included all categories specified above were wealthier than women whose dowry was in money or in textiles alone.

[22]Some records reveal the self appreciation of women as powerless because of the amount of their legítima (dowry), "because she is poor and is a woman" (AHAP 5bis, #59, 1596 Pátzcuaro). In claiming their dowry women often said "I am a widow and poor" (AHAP 3, #27, 1573 Pátzcuaro; AHAP 3, #21, 1573 Indaparapeo). This claim opens an interesting window into the treatment of women in the sixteenth century, and the protection of widows' rights.

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became an important resource for a woman since they could contribute to her dowry as well (AHAP 4, #57, 1595 Pátzcuaro).

In cases where a woman was an orphan, any member of her family could contribute to her dowry (AHAP 3bis, #46, 1557 Pátzcuaro; AHAP 5 bis, #58, 1596 Tancítaro). However, dowry could be accumulated by a woman herself, by working at the house of any of her relatives. Sometimes this was the only means for the orphan to get money for her future matrimony (AHAP 5bis, #83, 1592 Zacapu[23]; AHAP 3bis, #27, 1573 Pátzcuaro; AHAP 5bis, #59, 1596 Pátzcuaro). The status of these women may not have permitted them to obtain a good sum of money, and, therefore, to marry a wealthy man.

Widowed Tarascan noblewomen remarried several times. This was also common among Spanish women. Documents from the AHAP frequently show the problems that were created when children claimed the dowry of their dead mother, especially when their mothers had married various times, and had children from different husbands. Among Spaniards, a Spanish woman could inherit the property of her dead son, but she had to turn over its administration to her husband (AHAP 1, #25, 1554 Pátzcuaro). In case a woman remarried and had inherited from any of her male relatives, her new husband would administer her property and inheritance (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1622 San Pedro Charanxén). If a woman was not married or was a widow, with either no children or small children, she was independent and allowed to manage her economic affairs until she remarried.

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[23]In this document, Francisca Gómez was paid fifty pesos per year, and spent six years working in the house of Bartolomé Alexandre to accumulate money for her dowry.

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A man could keep his wife's dowry in the event that she died before him, and they had no children (AHAP 4, #51, 1595 Pátzcuaro). A man could also receive some help to deal with the expenses of a marriage ("ayuda para la carga y sustentación del matrimonio" or "aid for the burden and the support of marriage") from any of his male relatives (CDH-INAH, SM112, 1556 Tiripitío).

In terms of Indian noblewomen, little is understood about the use of dowry in the colonial period. Nevertheless, following prehispanic custom, they probably brought with them their personal belongings, clothing and jewelry that may have been inherited from their mothers, as well as whatever tools and house wares they may have needed to complete their tasks in their households.

In terms of lands, it is known that the Spanish authorities gave gifts (mercedes) of lands to indigenous noblemen and noblewomen who had accepted the Spanish colonization, although these gifts were not as frequent as the ones made to the Spaniards. Lands that the Spaniards believed to have been the property of Tarascan noblemen and noblewomen before their arrival were recognized as their possessions and were protected (Piñón Flores 1984:123, 149, 152). The Spaniards received land grants or simply bought the lands from Indian communities, claiming that the lands had been abandoned (Piñón Flores 1984:115). The Spanish crown, in increasing financial trouble during the sixteenth century, frequently sold lands in the Tarascan region to those Spaniards who could pay for them. Therefore, wealthy Spaniards accumulated lands in this manner (Piñón Flores, op.cit:111). Nevertheless, in some instances the Spaniards claimed lands that belonged to Indian communities or put pressure on the principales to sell their lands (AGN, RI2, E607, F139v,

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Pajacuarán; AGN, RI4, E596, F173, 1590 Cuitzeo; CDH-INAH, SM114, 1578 Uruapan). Indeed, many noblewomen sold their lands to the Spaniards (Piñón Flores 1984:152).

The lands of Spanish women, as well as the lands of the Tarascan nobility, Indian women's lands included, were targeted by the church[24], and many capellanías were established in this manner. The capellanía was a levy (contribution) on the products cultivated in a piece of land that was given to the chaplain of a town (AHAP 5bis, #58, 1596 Tamáquaro). It was a common practice among the Tarascan elite, especially among former lords, to place an overseer on their lands, and to have renters (curintziepa) who paid the nobility a percentage of the crops raised in those rented lands[25] (AHAP 5bis, #24, 1592 Patuán; AHAP 5bis, #58, 1596 Tamáquaro).

According to Gerhard, Spanish single women could not inherit encomiendas, and, therefore, widowed women tended to remarry as soon as possible (1986:10). Nevertheless, women of Spanish descent did in fact inherit encomiendas if there were no other men who could take care of them (Paredes 1984:46; AHAP 3, #27, 1573 Guyangareo). In the case of native noblewomen who descended from former lords, they received encomiendas that were later passed on to their children (Piñón Flores, 1984:265).

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[24]As an example, in 1592, noblemen from Santa Clara sold to the Jesuits lands that extended "... from the water [shore of Lake Pátzcuaro] in Zacapu Angangueo and go to the hill of Andumucuaran". They also sold their lands of Quiriguien (CDH-INAH, SM114, 1592 S.Clara)

[25]According to these documents, the custom of taking a portion of the crops to the nobleman's or noblewoman's house, was done in recognition of their "señorío y patronazgo".

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Marriage between a Tarascan noblewoman and a Spaniard did not mean that the woman lost the land that she claimed as hers. Technically, a Tarascan noblewoman could claim ancestral lands and administer them if she was a widow or had not married. Some documents show, however, that Tarascan noblewomen and noblemen relied on maternal relatives to administer their lands. Following a common Tarascan practice, close relatives on the mother's side were placed in charge of the lands of the highest ranking elite (RM 1989:223). This practice seems to have continued after contact. For example, D. Marcos Cuini, doña Beatriz de Castilleja's maternal relative was in charge of her lands in Yaguangarícuaro (AHAP 1, #31, 1556 Peribán); D. Juan Timaje, brother-in-law of D. Juan Paqui, was in charge of Paqui's lands in Huiramangaro (AHAP 5bis, #58, 1596 Tamáquaro). Nevertheless, adhering to Spanish Roman law that regulated property in cases of mixed marriages, while the Tarascan noblewoman had the right to claim lands that came from her Indian lineage, her husband acted as her representative in land claims, and perhaps contributed to the overall administration of his wife's property, although the administration of smaller land units was in the hands of her maternal relatives as discussed above (AHAP 1, #31, 1556 Periban; AHAP 5, #58, 1596 Urichu).

Inheritance of Tarascan lands seems to have been patrilineal (from the father or the mother's father), although some historical documents claim that lands came from the mother's side. For example, when Pablo Cazónci (discussed below) died, he bequeathed one third of his lands to his wife Mariana de Castilleja, and two thirds went to his mother Maria Maruacuezcu[26]. Don Pablo's lands were inherited from his father D.

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Antonio (Tangaxoán's son). When Mariana died, her portion of the inheritance from D. Pablo went to her mother D. Beatriz de Castilleja. In turn, Maruacuezcu's lands went to her second husband, D. Juan Puruata, after her death. Since later Puruata married a Castilleja, the lands coming from Mariana, as well as the lands coming from Maruacuezcu, ended up in the Castillejas possession (see Sarrelangue 1965: 182). Doña Beatriz's lands in Zirahuén, Ihuatzio, Periban and Urichu, which she claimed to have come from her mother, Maria Inaguit, were protected by Spanish mandate (AHAP 1, #31, 1556 Periban, AHAP 5, #58, 1596 Urichu, Sarrelangue 1965:187). It is likely that these lands came not from Beatriz's mother's lineage, but, rather, from Beatriz's grand father, lord Paquingata of Ihuatzio. According to these documents, Beatriz's lands had come to her from Tecuruan, Paquingata's father, and since Maria Inaguit had been Paquingata's only daughter, she had inherited her father's lands and transferred them to her only daughter Beatriz.

In the same manner, lands that came to the Castillejas or the Puruatas through marriages could be traced back to a male line. Therefore, whereas a Tarascan noblewoman contributed to marriage with personal jewelry, linen, house wares and other tools that she needed for the functioning of her household, and that were inherited from her mother's lineage; the lands that she claimed are likely to have been inherited through the male line, or through a woman from her male ancestors.

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[26]It is not possible to prove from the historical record, if a portion of the lands that these women received after don Pablo died, was a portion of their dowry or if in fact, they had been D. Antonio's. In addition, not all of D. Pablo's lands went to these women. Later, D. Pablo's brother, Constantino, inherited the lands that had been from D. Pablo's cacicazgo. Therefore, it is possible that the lands formerly attached to a lord (the cacicazgo), were different than the lands that were acquired by marriage.

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5.3 Descent, Marriage and Political Office: a Powerful Connection

To look into the relationship between politics, women's status, marriage and descent among the indigenous elite in colonial Michoacán, three governors of Pátzcuaro are herein explored. They were chosen because of the amount of information available on them in colonial records. They are D. Antonio Huitziméngari, son of the last cazonci, D. Juan Puruata married to D. Antonio's widow, and D. Constantino Huitziméngari, the so called "illegitimate" son of D. Antonio. Figure 17 (in Chapter Four) is a compilation of the names of the governors of Pátzcuaro during the sixteenth century.

5.3.1 Don Antonio Huitziméngari

Warren has recognized that the cazonci's family remained prominent until the eighteenth century (1985:244). D. Antonio was a descendant of Aramen, the cousin of Tariácuri the Tarascan culture hero, ca. 1300-1350 AD (Pollard 1993:14). Aramen's son was Tangaxoan I, who was established by Tariácuri as the leader (king) in Tzintzuntzan, sharing power with Tariácuri's son, Hiquingari, in Pátzcuaro, and Tariácuri's nephew, Hiripan, in Ihuatzio. Tzitzipandáquare was Tangaxoan's son, and D. Antonio's great-grandfather who continued the Tarascan expansion. In turn, D. Antonio was the son of Tangaxoan (II)[27], the cazonci who governed at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards in Michoacán, and of D. Maria Guatique Vacujane (RM 1989: 128, 163; N. León 1968, Warren 1985:99, Escobar Olmedo 1989:24). In Figure 24, D. Antonio's kinship

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[27]Two of Tangaxoán's sons are mentioned in the Relación as being sent to Mexico with the Spanish missionaries to be instructed (RM 1989:287). These were likely D. Francisco Tariacuri and D. Antonio Huitziméngari. Unfortunately, the Relación barely mentions other sons of the cazonci from polygynous marriages.

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relationships are presented. D. Antonio's grandfather, cazonci Zuangua had died in 1519. Zuangua's death unchained a series of conflicts of power among members of the elite in Tzintzuntzan (RM 1989:272). As a consequence, Tangaxoan (II), Zuangua's successor, had his brothers killed to curb the problem of succession (RM 1989:270). Later, some of the noblemen who had conspired in the discord against Tangaxoan II were also killed (N. León 1968:116, 136).

D. Antonio had several brothers and sisters about whom little is known. The Relación mentions the existence of Tangaxoan's children, yet it is difficult to account for all of the children that D. Antonio's father had from his several polygynous relationships (1989:189-90).

Figure 24 presents D. Antonio's lineage. Figure 25 lists don Antonio's property.

According to Sarrelangue, D. Antonio's brothers and sisters included the following: D. Francisco Tariácuri who was the older brother and who died in 1545; following him was D. Antonio himself; then a sister whose name is not known; then Martha Calzónci[28], Maria Tzitzincha, and another sister of unknown name (1965:171). According to Warren, one of Tangaxoán's daughters, called D. Maria Cuhtaqua, was married to D. Alonso Vise (or Ecangari) who supported the transference of the capital of Tzintzuntzan to Pátzcuaro (1985:228) around 1539. Maria Cuhtaqua may be one of the missing names above, or it could also be a different name given to Maria Tzitzincha.

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[28]D. Martha Cazónci's son was D. Juan de Arrue (a painter) who was born in de province of Colima (Avalos) (Sarrelangue 1965:201).

Don Antonio Hultzimengarl's Lineage

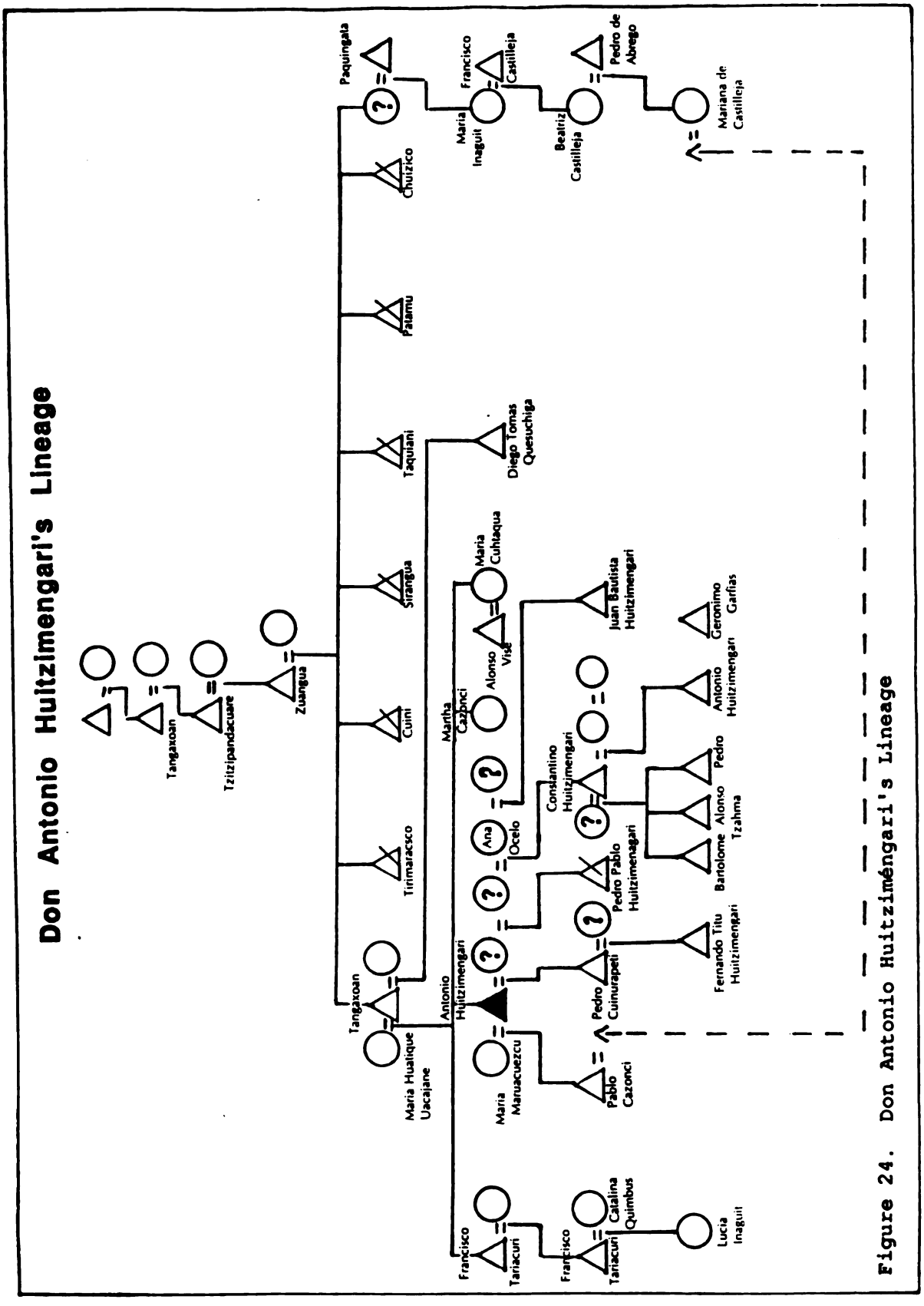

Figure 24. Don Antonio Huitziméngari's Lineage

DON ANTONIO BUELZINGARES LANDS

Place	Land	Extension	Features/Limits	Other Limits	Renters/Guardians	Water Source	Status	Source

DON ANTONIO HUITZIMENGARI'S LANDS								
Place	**Land**	**Extension**	**Features/Limits**	**Other Limits**	**Renters/Guardians**	**Water Source**	**Status**	**Source**
Caraspan	Huuata- Angatecua Cuijniqui Chatamtiro Chapichan Canitzeo Ucazangangueo Mautangaguetiro	-	-	-	-	-	bequeathed to Francisco Tzitzincha and Pablo Cazonci	N.Leon 1868:55-56
Opopeo	house and mill	-	has a mill	-	-	-	-	Sarrelangue 1965:175
Patuan	Bramatacua	8 paracatas	two rivers_	lands of D. Beatriz	-	wet lands	bequeathed to Maruacuezcu and to her husband Juan Puruata	AHAP 5bis, #24, 1592
Pátzcuaro ward	Sirandangacho	unmeasured	-	-		-	contested between D. Pablo and Juan Bautista	AHAP 3, #9, 1570
Pátzcuaro	plot of land	-	-	-	The Colegio de S. Nicolás was established here	-	bequeathed to D.Maria and D. Juan Puruata	Sarrelangue 1965:182
San Pedro Charanx	unnamed	20 paracatas	-	-	-	-	bequeathed to J. Puruata; contested by Hospital of Santa Martha and Félix de Sarria	CDH-INAH, SM118 1622
Taretan	La Hoyada Zembeo Vega-Guayabal	-	-	road to Uruapan, near Patuan	-	-	existence mentioned	AHAP 5bis, #24,
Urichu	Tamacuaro	4 paracatas	-	-	-	wet land and irrigation	bequeathed to D. Beatriz	AHAP 5bis, #24,
Xaracuaro	unnamed	rivers: Capaceo & Jarscuangapeo	-	-	-	rivers	-	AHAP 5bis, #24,
Zacapu	Antzitacuaro Cachangueo Cuinato Enteparscutiro Unamucu Urumbecuaro	30 zitacuas 50 zitacuas 40 zitacuas 12 zitacuas 20 zitacuas 20 zitacuas	-	-	-	-	bequeathed to D. Pablo, invaded by D. Pedro, governor of Zacapu	Piñón F.1984:150

Figure 25. Don Antonio Huitziméngari's Lands

Figure 25. Don Antonio Huitzmengari's Lands (Cont'd...)

Place	Land	Extension	Features/Limits	Other Limits	Renters/Guardians	Water	Status	Source

Figure 25. Don Antonio Huitzimengari's Lands (Cont'd....)

Place	Land	Extension	Features/Limits	Other Limits	Renters/Guardians	Water	Status	Source
Cacatzeo	paraje	_	_	_	_	_	cacicazgo of D. Pablo	Piñón F. 1984:288
Cuitzeo	lands	_	_	_	_	_	mentioned	Sarrelangue 1965:179
Querétaro	paraje	_	_	_	_	_	cacicazgo of D. Pablo	Piñon F. 1984:288
Tombendán	ingenio	-	-	_	_	_	_	AHAP 4, #59,1590
Tarimbaro	lands	_	_	_	_	-	in conflict between Indians of Tarimbaro and D. Pablo	Piñón F. 1984:288
Tzintzuntzan	Hapo Pareo & Querequeo	unmeasured	_	_	don Diego Curintzan	_	contested by D. Pablo and Juan Bautista	CDH-INAH, SM112, 1568
Tzintzuntzan	unnamed	_	_	_	_	_	bequeathed from D. Pablo Constantino, sold it to don Pedro Tzicu for the cabildo and hospital	Sarrelangue 1965:279
Tzintzuntzan	unnamed	_	_	_	_	_	bequeathed from D. Pablo, Constantino sold it to don Antonio Para for the ayuntamiento and hospital	Sarrelangue 1965:279
Tzintzuntzan	unnamed	_	_	_	_	_	bequeathed from D. Pablo, Constantino sold it to don Pedro Tzitzipui for cabildo and hospital	Sarrelangue 1965:279
Tzintzuntzan	Ucatsiro	23 medidas	at the border of Cucupao	land of Juan Ziguangua Epithni	_	river	bequeathed from D. Juan Bautista to Francisco Titu	N.León 1968:179
Tzintzuntzan	San Roque	2 solares	_	_	_	_	bequeathed from D. Juan Bautista to Francisco Titu	N.León 1968:179

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In addition, Sarrelangue documented that one of Tangaxoan's daughters was given to the lord of Ihuatzio, Paquingata, to be his wife (1965:184)[29]. Paquingata[30] and this noblewoman were the parents of D. Maria Inaguitza[31] (or Inaguitzin), mother of D. Beatriz de Castilleja who is discussed later.

One of Tangaxoan's known "illegitimate" son was D. Diego Tomás Quesuchiga, a captain of war in 1532 (he claimed to have been Tangaxoan's son, in N. León 1968:168). He helped the Spaniards achieve the pacification of the area around Pénjamo, and for that he received a gift of land, the titles "Don" and "president of the Guachichil frontier", as well as the office of "judge-governor" (León 1968: 253, 254, 256). According to N. León, the lord Aramen (which also was a name to designate Tangaxoán II), had a son called D. Antonio Siriani, cacique (lord) of Surumútaro in 1522; his son D. Cristobal Siriani had lands in Pátzcuaro (in Reyes Tarascos 1968:113).

D. Francisco Tariácuri, D. Antonio's older brother, was first in the line of succession to the office of cazonci after Tangaxoan II was tried and killed by the Spanish Captain Antonio de Olid in 1530. Nevertheless, since D. Francisco was still young, D. Pedro Cuiniharángari[32], also called Pero Panza, known as the angatacuri or

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[29]In this type of marriage, uncle and niece (brother's daughter) were married. Evidence in colonial documents suggests a strong tendency for a paternal uncle to marry a paternal niece.

[30]Paquingata, who was Tangaxoán's "cousin," was as suitable an heir as Tangaxoán was to succeed as cazonci after Zuangua's death (RM 1989:263).

[31]D. Francisco (son of D. Francisco Tariácuri, D. Antonio Huitziméngari's nephew), who was married to his cousin D. Catalina Quimbus (grandaugther of D. Pedro ex-governor of cazonci Tangaxoán), named his daughter Lucia Inaguitza (or Inaguitzin).

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captain general of war, and governor of the cazonci (RM 1989:40), took over the governorship of the province in 1529, according to Paredes (1984:33), or 1533, according to Warren (1985:100). After D. Pedro Cuiniharángari's government, D. Francisco Tariácuri succeeded in the governorship of the province for a brief period of time until his death in 1545[33]. D. Francisco Tariácuri left a son with the same name as his, who later married his "cousin" D. Catalina Quimbus, grandaughter of D. Pedro Cuiniharángari (Sarrelangue 1965:171).

Following D. Francisco Tariácuri in succession was D. Antonio Huitziméngari, who at the death of his brother became the governor of the province in 1545 until his death in 1562 (N. León 1968:163). Don Antonio had been educated first in Mexico City and later in the convents

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[32]D. Pedro descended in the male-line from the lords of the island of Xarácuaro, who had allied with Ihuatzio in the period of Tarascan expansion and consolidation of the empire. D. Pedro's relatives had conquered tierra caliente (U. Beltrán 1982:176). Van Zantwijck suggested that because people of Xarácuaro aided the Tarascans, they later enjoyed special privileges and were endowed with the office of captain general of the cazonci (1964:38). In 1573, D. Pedro's relatives in Chupingo-parapeo, tierra caliente, fought with other noblemen to become independent from the head-town of Turicato (AHAP 3, #17, 1573). As for Don Pedro, he married various wives, one of whom was given to him by the cazonci for which he was called "brother", but he was forced by Catholic priests to choose one of them. D. Pedro chose D. Inés (E. Olmedo 1989:98). He played an active role in politics before and after Spanish contact and was captured with the cazonci (RM 1989:270, 272, 283, 288). He testified in the trial of the cazonci, siding with the Spaniards at times (Warren 1985:240). He also testified on behalf of the smelters who were forced to smelt the treasures that the cazonci had left to his sons (In: El Michoacán Antiguo, 1994:339-437). He has been misidentified as being D. Pedro de Arellano, the Spanish corregidor of Tzintzuntzan who robbed the treasure. D. Pedro had a son D. Bartolomé who fought to keep the capital at Tzintzuntzan (Justicia, Leg 163, in Escobar y Olmedo 1989:126). D. Pedro's brother, D. Francisco (Tashuaco) Huitzitzili had a son named D. Francisco Sirangua Robledo who, according to Sarrelangue, served D. Antonio (1965:257).

[33]D. Pedro was still listed as governor of Tzintzuntzan in 1539. In this document, a nobleman called D. Francisco, listed as the cazónci's son, is said to have been killed by Guzmán. (Justicia, Leg 187, N.1, Ramo 2, in Escobar y Olmedo 1989:87). This may have been a second "illegitimate" son of Tangaxoán.

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of San Nicolás in Pátzcuaro and in Tiripítio. He mastered several languages and while he was governor he also held the title of royal scribe (N. León 1968:170). Sarrelangue (1965), Paredes (1984), and Warren (1985), have written extensively on D. Antonio Huitziméngari. Therefore, only a few additions will be made to their respective studies.

D. Antonio's governorship faced significant political conflicts from the noblemen of Tzintzuntzan after the capital was transferred to Pátzcuaro in 1539. The removal of the capital created rivalries between the noble families of Pátzcuaro and Tzintuzntzan. D. Antonio was accused by noblemen of Tzintzuntzan of charging more tribute than was required, and of demanding large numbers of workers to labor on his fields and to construct the new church in Pátzcuaro (AGI Justicia, leg.287; AGI Justicia, leg.157, n.1. in Escobar y Olmedo 1989:120-123). Interestingly, in these documents we learn that D. Bartolomé, one of the noblemen from Tzintzuntzan who was in conflict with D. Antonio, was D. Pedro Cuiniharángari's son, and a relative of D. Antonio. Indians from Ihuatzio and the ward of San Andrés (perhaps Ziróndaro) raised the same charges against D. Antonio (AGI, Justicia, leg 278, n.2, in Escobar y Olmedo, op.cit.:125).

As the general of the army (called by the Spaniards "capitán"), D. Antonio had to meet his obligations to the Spaniards by helping them in the conquest of the Chichimecs. He did this by assembling an army of a "thousand" soldiers (Paredes 1984:76). Of most concern, however, are D. Antonio's social relationships and kinship connections that help explain his political and economic prominence. D. Antonio actively participated in the colonial economy, introducing Castillian crops in his lands (AHAP

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3bis, #52, 1578 Patuán). With his own money Don Antonio financed the construction of the roads that connected Pátzcuaro with Zacatecas, and Zitácuaro with Acámbaro (Sarrelangue 1965:179). He had money invested in silk at a time when the use of silk was forbidden to indigenous noblemen and noblewomen (AHAP 1, #37, 1557 Pátzcuaro; Ayer Col., 1552, f.42r in Paredes 1994:110). He named D. Pedro Diaz de Villalba, a prominent Spaniard of Pátzcuaro, as his administrator to take care of his silk dealings in his name. Later this Spaniard bought certain lands in San Pedro Charánx from D. Inés de Castilleja, a daughter of D. Juan Puruata, the governor after don Antonio (CDH-INAH, SM117 1662). It is likely that these lands were originally D. Antonio's property and were inherited by D. Maria Maruacuezcu, D. Antonio's widow, who then bequeathed them to her second husband, governor D. Juan Puruata.

Among his economic ventures, D. Antonio was involved in colonial commerce and bought merchandise from Juan Díaz, merchant in the mines of Guanajuato (AHAP 2, #20, 1562 Guanajuato mines). Unfortunately, this document does not reveal which types of merchandise D. Antonio purchased from the mines of Guanajuato. He also associated with other prominent Spaniards like Antonio de la Cadena, the royal accountant (treasurer), to whom he gave his power to recover certain run-away African slaves that he had bought, and to oversee the payment of his debts (AHAP 1, #11, 1551 Pátzcuaro; AHAP 2, #20, 1562 Pátzcuaro). D. Antonio associated as well with D. Pedro de Abrégo, lawyer on behalf of Indians, who was married to his niece D. Beatriz de Castilleja, and who became D. Antonio's will keeper and the tutor of his son D. Pablo (AHAP 2,#16, 1562 Pátzcuaro; AHAP 2, #18, 1562 Pátzcuaro). In addition, he also had relationships with the royal scribe D. Francisco Toche (AHAP 2, #15,

1562 Pátzcuaro), and with Juan de Baeza, Indian lawyer, interpreter and scribe (AHAP 2, #19, 1562 Pátzcuaro). Among his counselors were a series of indigenous noblemen, including D. Miguel Cuara[34] and D. Francisco Sirangua Robledo, Francisco López, Marcos Chocho, and Pedro Pehmu. Cuara was listed as governor of Pátzcuaro in 1522 and was D. Antonio's counselor, although from the point of view of the Spaniards, he was listed as a servant. This term does not clarify the type of role Cuara played. Don Francisco Sirangua Robledo, D. Pedro Cuiniharángari's nephew, also served D. Antonio, as did many other native noblemen (Sarrelangue 1965:247, 248, 257).

D. Antonio married D. Maria Maruacuezcu (or Cuezcu) (CDH-INAH, SM112, 1568 Pátzcuaro; CDH-INAH, SM114, 1569-70 Pátzcuaro). There is little information as to the lineage affiliation of this noblewoman[35]. Nevertheless, following Tarascan marriage practices among the highest elite, she may have been either D. Antonio's paternal cousin or his paternal niece.

As for D. Antonio's children, Sarrelangue (1965) mentioned three sons, while León (1968) mentioned four sons, and Ugarte added one more

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[34]Don Miguel Cuara was listed as governor of Pátzcuaro in 1522 (N.León 1968:109). In 1540 he was listed as "criado" (servant) of D. Antonio and married to D. Ana Quentzu (Sarrelangue 1965:248). According to Gilberti "criado" in Tarascan was "mimi" which also translated as relative (kin) (1989:89). Therefore, the term "criado" reflects the Spanish concept of "servidor" (to serve, servant) but overlooks the relationships between relatives who may have provided counseling or guidance services.

[35]While there is little information on this noblewoman, we do know that the lord of Arantza, D. Pedro Qhuamondague, son of a Tarascan noble from Tzintzuntzan, was married to a D. Maria Cuezcu at the time he claimed lands in Charán Hatzicurín in 1539 (Título de Tierras in Tlalócan 1952:224; Van Zantwijck 1964:65). D. Maria Cuezcu's name might be purely coincidental with D. Antonio's wife's name or it may be that as Qhuamondague's widow she married D. Antonio.

(1963). Five of D. Antonio's sons are known from the historical record. They were D. Pablo Cazónci (or Calzónci), D. Juan Bautista Huitziméngari, D. Constantino Huitziméngari, D. Pedro Pablo Huitziméngari, and D. Pedro Cuinurapeti. Following the Tarascan cultural practice of polygyny, some of D. Antonio's sons were of different women, as mentioned previously.

D. Pablo Calzónci was the son of D. Antonio and D. Maria Maruacuezcu. He was recognized as a lord in 1571 and was governor from 1573 until 1577 when he died (CDH-INAH, SM112, 1568 Pátzcuaro; Sarrelangue 1965:180). After D. Antonio's death, Pablo's step-father, D. Juan Puruata, became his tutor. Later, when Puruata was mayor of Pátzcuaro and D. Pablo was governor of the province, D. Juan became D. Pablo's counselor (Ibid:193).

D. Pablo was young when D. Antonio died. He had various Spanish curadores (guardians of his wealth and finances) and tutors who took care of his possessions and of his education. The lawyers for the Indians, D. Pedro de Abrego and Miguel Angel Medina, and the accountant Cristobal López (all of them Spanish) were keepers of D. Antonio's will (AHAP 2, #18, 1562 Pátzcuaro; CDH-INAH, SM114 1569 Pátzcuaro). D. Pedro de Abrego remained as D. Pablo's only guardian. Abrego was married to D. Pablo's cousin, D. Beatriz de Castilleja, grandaughter of Paquingata, lord of Ihuatzio. D. Pablo later married their daughter D. Mariana de Castilleja or his own "niece". Mariana was considered by the Spaniards as a Spaniard[36] (N. León 1968: 166). Through his tutor Pedro de Abrego,

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[36] ot only D. Mariana de Castilleja was considered as a Spaniard, even though she descended from a mestizo woman and from the lord of Ihuatzio. D. Antonio Huitziméngari was also considered by the Spaniards as a Spaniard as well, even though, he was an Indian (Sarrelangue 1965:177,180). In both cases D. Mariana and D. Antonio were of the

and his step-father Juan Puruata, D. Pablo and his mother D. Maria Maruacuezcu continued receiving nine hundred gold pesos each year from the tribute that was left after the encomendero of the area received his payment (AHAP 2bis, #70 1567 Pátzcuaro; CDH-INAH, SM112, 1571 Pátzcuaro). The indigenous nobility was supported by the remanents of the tribute that went to the Spanish encomenderos.

D. Antonio Huitziméngari fathered several other children with different noblewomen. Among them were D. Constantino Huitziméngari, the son of cacica D. Ana de Ocelo of Uruapan, and also a future governor of Pátzcuaro (of later concern in this chapter), D. Juan Bautista Huitziméngari, D. Pedro Cuinurapeti; and possibly D. Pedro Pablo Huitziménagari whose affiliation is not clear. According to B. Ugarte, D. Pedro Pablo Huitziméngari[37] was Tangaxoan's grandchild, and one of D. Antonio's sons (1963:122). He wanted to be a Jesuit and was a school teacher, a scribe and a "good ladino" who died in the epidemics of 1576. Little is known about the mothers of D. Antonio's sons.

D. Juan Bautista Huitziméngari may have been from Tzintzuntzan since he resided there. He was an interpreter in 1578 (AHAP 3,#53 Tzintzuntzan). He and his "half" brother D. Pablo fought for various plots of land in the wards of Sirandangacho, Hapo Pareo (Apupato?) and

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highest noble status and were "hispanisized". Therefore, the perception of ethnicity, from the point of view of the Spaniards, was related to the economic and social status of the Indian.

[37]Sarrelangue's view is that this Pedro Pablo is no other than D. Pablo, son of D. Antonio who was the governor of Pátzcuaro after his father D. Antonio. She suggested that due to an error of the scribe, the name Pedro was added. Nevertheless, there are reasons to believe that there were in fact two different noblemen. In dealing with the time of his death, Sarrelangue confirmed that D. Pablo, the governor, died in 1577 (1965:180), unlike Pedro Pablo who died in the epidemics of 1576. D. Pablo, considered a Spaniard, was still listed as governor of Pátzcuaro in 1577 (see Figure 23), and he was not a widower at that time. There seems to be no reason for D. Pablo to have sought refuge in a convent as Sarrelangue has suggested.

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Querequeo in Tzintzuntzan, where D. Diego Curintzan[38] took care of D. Juan Bautista's lands (AHAP 3, #9, 1570 Tzintzuntzan; CDH-INAH, SM112 1568 Tzintzuntzan). Following litigation in the local court and in the Real Audiencia of México, D. Juan Bautista won this conflict and retained the lands of Hapo Pareo, since according to the documents his father had bequeathed them to him[39]. Later, D. Juan's nephew, D. Fernando Titu Huitziméngari, claimed these lands (N. León 1968:180). D. Fernando Titu was the son of D. Pedro Cuinurapeti, D. Antonio's son as well and was married to D. Agustina Huitziméngari, who was later married to D. Juan Pablo Huitziméngari (N.León 1968:178).

It is known that D. Juan Bautista had two sons, Alonso de Cáceres and D. Antonio Enriquez Huitziméngari (married to Gerónima, D. Constantino Huitziméngari's sister). Cáceres was a merchant, interpreter, scribe, defensor (lawyer) of Indians, and a mayor in 1598 (AHAP 3, #34, 1576; AHAP 5bis, #65, 1596-1598 Tamáquaro-Urichu, Sarrelangue 1965:222,224).

D. Antonio Huitziméngari's political power undoubtedly derived from his father's line. Yet his wife may have been a very close kin, as

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[38]Following a common Tarascan practice, close relatives on the mother's side were placed in charge of the lands of the highest ranking elite (see RM 1989:223). Therefore, although in this document no kinship relationship was mentioned between Curintzan and D. Juan Bautista, the likelihood of their being relatives is based on similar records. D. Marcos Cuini, Beatríz Castilleja's relative, was in charge of her lands in Yaguangarícuaro (AHAP 1, #31, 1556 Peribán). D. Juan Timaje, brother-in-law of D. Juan Paqui, the cousin of D. Constantino Huitzimengari, was in charge of Paqui's lands in Huiramangaro (AHAP 5bis, #58, 1596 Tamáquaro).

[39]According to Indian testimony the lands of Hapo Pareo belonged to D. Juan Bautista and they had belonged to D. Antonio and to D. Miguel. This individual is unknown, but given the existence of polygynous marriages, he may well have been a close relative of D. Antonio and/or a son or a nephew of Tangaxoán.

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it was customary among the highest Tarascan elite (either a cousin or a niece). Following Tarascan cultural tradition, the status of both D. Antonio's father and mother, as well as of his wife served D. Antonio's political position. Politically, he became a "cazonci", now called governor of the province, which indicates that his influence was still extended at the level of the province. Following the Tarascan practice of inheritance of office through the father's line, after the death of his brother D. Francisco he assumed the office of governor. His associations with prominent Spaniards included royal scribes, politicians, merchants, miners, entrepreneurs, and priests, some of whom resided in México City. These associations also helped D. Antonio's inclusion in the colonial elite as well. Although he was hispanizised, data suggest that he continued practicing Tarascan customs like polygamy and marriage among very close kin (a niece or a cousin). This type of marriage effectively excluded non-nobles from becoming members of the elite.

5.3.2 Don Juan Puruata

Following D. Martín Tzimban's governorship in 1567, after the death of don Antonio and of his son D. Pablo, don Juan Puruata obtained the governorship of Pátzcuaro (CDH-INAH, SM112, 1567 Tzintzuntzan, see Figure 23 chapter six). After D. Antonio Huitziméngari's death, his wife D. Maria Maruacuezcu remarried, as was customary among the Tarascan elite. She remarried D. Juan Puruata (CDH-INAH, SM112, 1568 Pátzcuaro).

Little is known about Puruata's origin. According to one source he was the son of the lord of Surumucapeo, but testimony in his will names him the son of D. Domingo Cuiris and D. Maria Puruata, nobles from Surumucapeo (CDH-INAH, SM116 1591 Pátzcuaro; N. León 1968:170).

According to Don Constantino Huitziméngari (son of D. Antonio), D. Juan Puruata was "hermano entero" of D. Antonio Huitziménagari, something that Sarrelangue considered to be impossible. She argued that since Puruata had married D. Antonio's widow, this made him D. Antonio's in-law and a "brother" in Tarascan terminology but not a "full" brother (Sarrelangue 1965:192). Although it is difficult to speculate without enough information, it is clear that Tarascan marriages among noblemen and noblewomen of the highest elite were made among close kin. In addition, based on polygamous marriages, Puruata's affiliation with D. Antonio Huitziméngari's as his "full brother", was not impossible since, "half" brothers and paternal cousins called each other "brother" (AHAP 3, #9, 1570 Tzintzuntzan; AGN RI4, E399, F117v-118r, 1590 Pátzcuaro). Then again, if Puruata was a paternal cousin of D. Antonio, he would have been a "brother" and, therefore, from the same lineage (RM 1989: 69,121,164; AHAP 3, #9, 1570 Tzintzuntzan; CDH-INAH, SM 112, 1568 Tzintzuntzan). It is known that Puruata contributed to the information recorded in the Relación Geográfica de Pátzcuaro, where he was considered "hombre muy ladino en lengua castellana" (an Indian man who was well versed in Castillian language) (RG Pátzcuaro 1987:197).

Given the Tarascan pattern of access to political office (the closer the link with a uacúsecha woman, the higher the office), it is possible that Puruata was also of uacúsecha descent. If not, his ascension to the office of governor would indicate the possibility of upward mobility after Spanish contact. While married to D. Maria Maruacuezcu (D. Antonio's widow), Puruata acted on her behalf to obtain 576 gold pesos still owed to her from tributary payments (CDH-INAH, SM112, 1571 Pátzcuaro).

Puruata governed Pátzcuaro various times between 1568 and 1588 (1568-1573, 1577-1583, 1587-1588. See CDH-INAH, SM112, SM114). He was mayor of the city of Pátzcuaro from 1573 to 1577 when D. Pablo was the governor of the city. Puruata's political success, based on the number of years during which he was governor and mayor of Pátzcuaro, was linked to his marriage with D. Antonio's widow which, in turn, connected him with the descendants of the cazonci, if he was not already related to them. His own lineage may have been either uacúsecha, or he may have been closely related to them.

Puruata also established different links with prominent Spaniards. His social connections and economic dealings with the Spaniards of Pátzcuaro are well documented in the AHAP. He owed large sums of money to various Spaniards, some of whom he was related to. He owed Alonso Rodriguez del Vado, merchant, the amount of $448 for wine (from Jerez) and cacao beans from Guatemala. Horses, wine and cacao were luxury items. Puruata also gave his power to the lawyer Sebastian Almaforas to look after the payment of his debts (CDH-INAH, SM112, 1581 Pátzcuaro). In addition, he owed $125 pesos to the church (AHAP 4, #1, 1581 Pátzcuaro), $140 pesos to the royal scribe Francisco Toche for a horse, and had borrowed money various times from D. Pedro de Pantoja[40] (AHAP 4, #57, 1590 Pátzcuaro). In addition, some of his relatives took advantage of his position to ask for special favors. Don Juan Puruata a nobleman from Taretan, subject-town of Zirosto, who had been incarcerated for

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[40]D. Pedro de Pantoja was the father-in-law of D. Félix de Abrego, son of D. Pedro de Abrégo and D. Beatriz de Castilleja. In turn, D. Félix was D. Juan Puruata's brother-in-law. Félix was the brother of D. Juana de Abrégo y Castilleja who became Puruata's second wife (AHAP 4, #57, 1590 Pátzcuaro).

stealling forty pesos, expected the governor to free him due to their kinship relationship (AHAP 4, #35, 1587 Zirosto).

After the death of his step-son D. Pablo Cazónci (1577), and of his wife D. Maria Maruacuezcu, Puruata inherited some of the lands that had belongued to D. Antonio Huitziméngari (or to his wife). Among these lands were properties in San Pedro Charánx that he later gave to his daughter D. Inés de Castilleja[41], listed as a Spaniard, who, with her husband Juan Rodriguez Laínez Calvo, sold them. These properties of Charánx were claimed by the Hospital of Santa Martha in Pátzcuaro, as well as by Francisco de Sarria, the keeper of the will of Francisco Díaz de Villalba, who claimed to have bought these lands (CDH-INAH, SM118, 1621 and 1622 Pátzcuaro). It is likely that these lands, as well as the lands in San Andrés Ziróndaro and San Gerónimo Purenchécuaro, which had belongued to D. Antonio Huitziméngari or to his wife, passed on to Puaruata as well (N. León 1968:170). Additional lands that belongued to Puruata were lands in Axamótaro and Numarán (AHAP 5bis, #65, 1596 Tlazazalca)[42].

In a second marriage, Puruata married D. Juana de Abrego y Castilleja, also known as Juana de Garfias. They had four children D. Mariana (the second), D. Beatriz (the second), D. Inés, and D. Luis de Castilleja y Puruata (Sarrelangue 1965:194), later a governor of Pátzcuaro as well. In due time, Don Luis created his own political

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[41]In this land claim, D. Félix de Abrego (Puruata's brother-in-law) testified on behalf of the Puruata/Castilleja family.

[42]Puruata sold this property to the priest Juan Baraxas, who, in turn, sold it to Pedro de Aranda. Half of the property later went to Pedro's daughter Mariana del Villar and to her husband Luis Gentil. The other half went to Dominga Sánchez, wife of Juan de Aranda, Pedro's son, perhaps as dowry.

alliances in which he included prominent Spaniards and Indians alike. His political allies included D. Francisco de Garfias, his uncle, listed as a priest, Martin Codina the royal scribe, his brother-in-law Juan Rodriguez Laínez Calvo[43], D. Francisco Cuiniharángari mayor of Pátzcuaro, who was a descendant of D. Pedro Cuiniharángari, former governor of Tangaxoan, and Francisco de la Cerda, interpreter, scribe and prominent political figure of Pátzcuaro, among others (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1609 Pátzcuaro).

Doña Juana de Garfias, Puruata's wife, was the daughter of D. Pedro de Abrego (guardian and tutor of D. Pablo Cazónci, the son of D. Antonio Huitziméngari) and of cacica D. Beatriz de Catilleja (grand daughter of the lord of Ihuatzio).

The marriage with D. Maria Maruacuezcu had connected Puruata with the Huitziméngari lineage of royal descent (if he was not connected with them before). This marriage made Puruata a step-father of D. Pablo Cazónci, whose mother-in-law became D. Beatriz de Castilleja. In turn, Beatriz later became Puruata's mother-in-law as well. The marriage to his second wife, D. Juana de Abrego y Castilleja, connected Puruata with the Castillejas, of both uacúsecha lineage and of Spanish hijodalgo (high status) position. Mariana descended on the mother's line from Tariácuri, the legendary Tarascan culture hero, and from Paquingata lord of Ihuatzio, cousin of Tangaxoan II. In addition, on the mother's side she could also claim a connection with D. Francisco de Castilleja a

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[43]Lainez Calvo was a merchant who sent honey and fish to be sold in the mines of San Luis. Incidentally, according to this record, the measurments used to measure merchandise in the mines, were smaller than the ones used in the stores in Pátzcuaro (AHAP 5bis, #78, 1598 Pátzcuaro). Merchants expected to make moderate profits by shortening measurments and by using regatones (bargaining) (AGN, RI 2, E282, F69v, 1582 Tlalpujahua).

prominent conqueror of Michoacán. In her father's line, Juana de Abrego descended from another prominent Spaniard, D. Pedro de Abrego, a captain and encomendero[44].

In Spanish kinship terminology, D. Juana de Abrego would have been D. Pablo Cazónci's niece, but she was also Don Pablo's sister-in-law since Pablo had married D. Mariana, Juana's sister. On the other hand, D. Juan Puruata, who had been D. Pablo Cazónci's step-father, was married in a second marriage to D. Pablo's sister-in-law Juana (Mariana's sister).

5.3.3 Doña Beatriz de Castilleja

Since the Puruatas, Huitziméngaris and Castillejas were related, it is important to briefly discuss the Castillejas. The focus is on D. Beatriz, a Tarascan cacica (considered a Spaniard as well)[45].

According to various documents, D. Beatriz de Castilleja was grandaughter of Paquingata, lord of Ihuatzio at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards in Michoacán, and was not the great grandaughter of Paquingata as Sarrelangue has suggested (see Sarrelangue 1965:184; AHAP 1, #31, 1565 Periban; AHAP 5, #42, 1595 Pátzcuaro; AHAP 5bis, #58, 1596 Urichu; N. León 1968:169). Paquingata was a descendant of Tariácuri's

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[44]No Information has been found that substantiates the claim of Abrego as encomendero. However, since he claimed his wife's lands (cacicazgo), he received payments of maize and other produce that were deposited at his house in a manner similar to the prehispanic recognition of lordship (AHAP 1, #31, 1556 Periban).

[45]As with other Castilleja, and Castilleja Puruata women, D. Beatriz was considered a Spaniard because she had married a prominent hijodalgo, and because her mother D. Maria Inaguitza had also married an important Spaniard as well. Interestingly, therefore, is the fact that a mestizo or an Indian (like D. Antonio) of high rank, was viewed by the Spaniards as one of them (see Israel 1975). The advantage of this situation was that the native elite of high social rank was considered a member of the colonial elite.

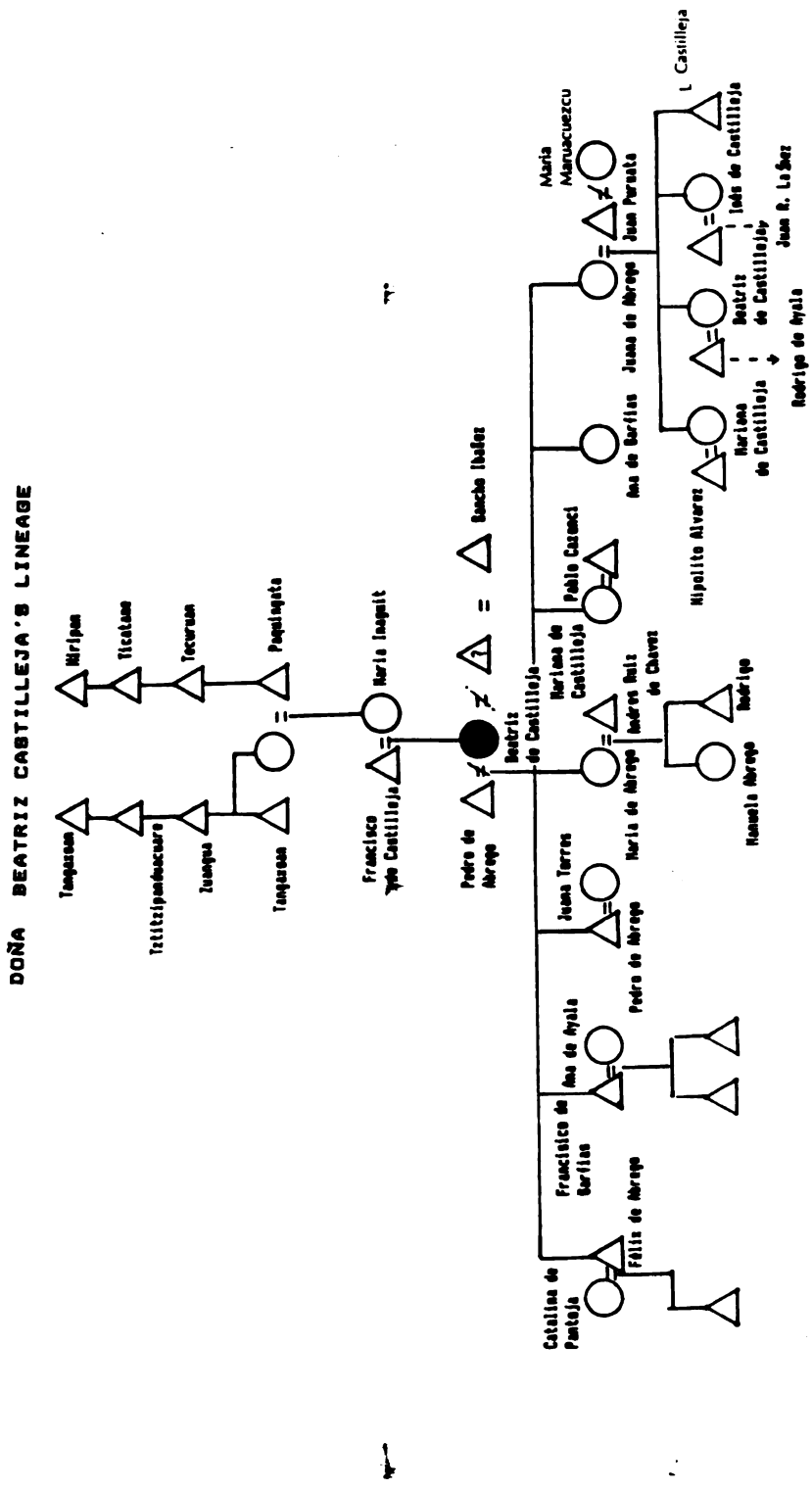

Figure 26. Doña Beatriz de Castilleja's Lineage

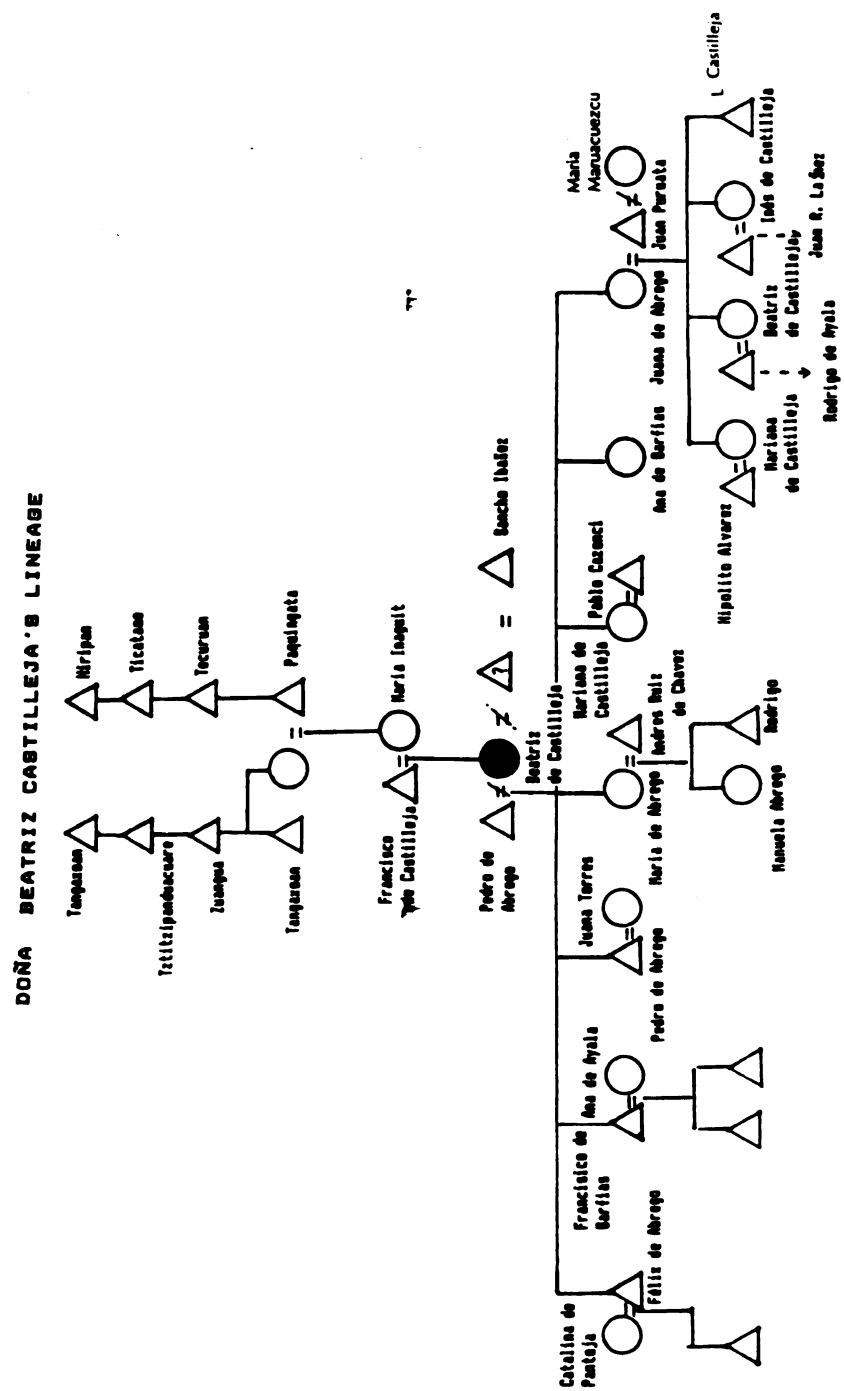

Figure 26. Doña Beatriz de Castilleja's Lineage

BEATRIZ DE CASTILLEJA'S LANDS AND PROPERTIES

Place	Land	Extension	Fetaures/Limits	Other Limits	Renters/Guardians	Water Source	Status	Source
Arantza	Anchen Yguenchama	"	Pasto hill, Tamatiro river, Yguenchama hill	lands Aran and Cheran	Marcos Cuini, Francisco Cumbiche, Pedro Cuiriqui, Francisco Yrepan, Domingo Tero, Alonso Uche	"	in conflict with don Domingo, governor of Cheran	AHAP 1, #31, 1556
Condiro	"	"	"	"	"	"	existence mentioned	AHAP 1, #31, 1556
Ihuatzio	"	"	"	"	"	"	existence mentioned	AHAP 1, #31, 1556
Pátzcuaro	solar/house	"	near the <u>auari</u>	"	"	"	shares with husband Sancho Ibañez, purchased from Villafana	AHAP 5, #42, 1595
Peribán	Atenjenjo	"	"	lands of Atecheme, Curupecuaro plains, estancia S. Francisco	"	"	family lands	AHAP 1, #31, 1556
Peribán	Catangueo[1]	20 <u>suertes</u>	cherry tree in the middle	"	"	dry creek	family lands	AHAP 1, #31, 1556
Peribán	Catingo	20 <u>suertes</u>	creek	lands of Alonso Nuli, Pedro Cuiru, Alonso Angaxuqua		creek	family lands	AHAP 1, #31, 1556
Peribán	Churoam	"	river, hill called Hunguran	lands of Francisco Cutro, A. Huitzimèngari,& Pato (Patuan?)	Pedro Guacuinchu	river	family lands	AHAP 1, #31, 1556
Peribán	Curuchecuaro	20 <u>suertes</u>	ravine	lands of nobleman Tucuro and descendants, lands of Nanatetemba	"	"	family lands	AHAP 1, #31, 1556
Peribán	Curuscato	"	Zumbian hill	lands of Martin Cotaran	"	"	family lands	AHAP 1, #31, 1556
Peribán	Huruacicuaro	"	row of abocado trees, path, & river	lands of Indians from San Francisco	"	river	family lands	AHAP 1, #31, 1556
Peribán	Oparo	"	"	"	"	"	family lands	AHAP 1, #31, 1556
Peribán	Patamo-parangaricuaro	"	Tezanena hill	lands of San Francisco	"	"	family lands	AHAP 1, #31, 1556

Figure 27. Doña Beatriz Castilleja's Lands and Properties

[1]The lands called Catangueo and Catingo may be the same

Figure 27 (Cont'd...)

Place	Lands	Extension	Fetures/Limits	Other Limits	Renters/Guardians	Water Source	Status	Source
Periban	Tanepo	-	-	land of Alonso Chapingua from Pomacoran, lands from Alonso Angaxuqua	-	-	family lands	AHAP 1, #31, 1556
Periban	Tecuaguaricucua	-	Huretani hill, Yaguaro valley	-	-	-	family lands	AHAP 1, #31, 1556
Periban	Teretiro	-	Zumbian hill	lands of Atapan	-	-	family lands	AHAP 1, #31, 1556
Periban	Yntipetiro	-	Iguaci hondo river, Patambahue river	lands of don Antonio Huitziméngari	-	two rivers	family lands	AHAP 1, #31, 1556
Periban	Yracuaroha	-	abocado trees, cliff, Parohacicuaro hill	lands of Francisco Tzira, Juan Untzaqua, Martín Patachen,	-	-	family lands	AHAP 1, #31, 1556
Tinguindín	unnamed	-	-	-	-	-	mentioned as family lands	AHAP 1, #31, 1556
Urichu	Tamacuaro	4 paracatas	creek	lands of don Antonio Huitzimengari & don Clemente Chavez	don Domingo Huitzaqua	creek	bequeathed to Mariana Castilleja, formerly from D Pablo She pays a capellanía of 40 pesos	AHAP 5, #58, 1596

son Hiripan, and of Hiripan's son, Ticátame, whose son was Tecuruán, Paquingata's father (RM 1989: 189; AHAP 1, #31, 1565 Periban). Paquingata was Tangaxoán's cousin (RM 1989:189). Paquingata's daughter, D. Maria Inaguit, married the Spanish conqueror D. Francisco de Castilleja (N. León 1968:169; RM 1989:189).

D. Francisco de Castilleja and D. Maria Inaguit fathered doña Beatriz de Castilleja, the cacica in question.

It is known that Beatriz married captain D. Pedro de Abrégo y Garfias, conqueror, encomendero[46], hijodalgo, and a prominent political figure in Michoacán (AHAP 1, #31, 1565 Periban; AHAP 5bis, #65, 1596 Tamácuaro). Beatriz was Abrégo's widow by 1593. According to some documents, she married three times. In 1595 she was married to Sancho Ibáñez de Agurto, her third husband (AHAP 5bis, #24, 1595 Patuán)[47]. This marriage was confirmed in a different document as well (AHAP 5, #42, 1595 Pátzcuaro). Therefore, if she married three times, her second marriage would have taken place between 1593 and 1595.

Beatriz received numerous concessions in monetary grants which included 7,400 ducats, and 1,500 ducats in perpetuity, as well as the right to receive a portion of money from the governor of Pátzcuaro's salary, equivalent to a hundred pesos and seventy five fanegas of maize, and various other land and cash grants (Sarrelangue 1965:188, AGN, RI3,

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[46]Some incidental information reveals that the encomienda of Taximaroa was contested by Castilleja's descendants, as well as by Moctezuma's descendants. Félix de Abrego wanted this encomienda and claimed that his mother D. Beatriz had owned it (RG Cuseo de la Laguna 1987:80-81; Sarrelangue 1965:190).

[47]No reference has been found as to the second husband of D. Beatriz. Francisco de Sarria seems a likely candidate for Beatriz's second husband but, the information is only incidental. According to Sarrelangue, Sancho Ibañez was Maria de Castilleja's third husband (Sarrelangue 1965:182).

E394, F91v, 1591 Pátzcuaro). In addition she had also asked Viceroy D. Luis de Velasco for the right to have five hundred mares in her lands in Charaparátaro (AGN, RI3, E415, F96r, 1591 Pátzcuaro). Figure 27 contains information on some of the lands that were claimed by D. Beatriz.

Beatriz's husband don Pedro de Abrego became the will keeper of D. Antonio Huitziméngari, and became D. Pablo Cazónci's tutor and guardian. He testified in favor of paying D. Maria Maruacuezcu a stipend from collected tribute (CDH-INAH, SM112, 1571 Pátzcuaro). Later, Pedro became D. Pablo's father-in-law since D. Pablo married D. Mariana, Abrego's daughter. According to the historical record, it is known that Abrego was teniente de alcalde mayor (chief lieutenant mayor) in 1559 in Pátzcuaro, and a lawyer for Indians in 1562. However, he also represented Spaniards in court cases (AHAP 1, #41, 1559; AHAP 2,#16, 1562; AHAP 2, #18, 1562). In addition, Abrego received a merced (gift of land) for an estancia (ranch) to raise sheep, and one for cattle in 1564 near Pátzcuaro (Piñón Flores 1984:128). One of his estancias was in Umbaceo (Ibid:145).

D. Pedro de Abrego became Beatriz' representative and lawyer in various land claims in which she was actively involved during the course of the century. She did not always have her husband represent her as was customary among Spanish women. According to the Roman law of Senatus Geliano Consultus, women relinquished their powers in favor of their husbands, and vowed not to do anything against this arrangement (AHAP 1, #25, 1554 Pátzcuaro; AHAP 5bis, #83, 1592 Zacapu;). In case women were widowed, they gave their power to either their sons or to lawyers (AHAP 2, #19, 1562 Pátzcuaro; AHAP 3, #27, 1573 Guyangareo).

Castilleja's connections with the indigenous and Spanish elites are revealed in these claims. Among their witnesses and relatives were prominent Indians like Alonso de Cáceres, son of D. Juan Bautista Huitziméngari (D. Antonio's son), and Beatriz's relative who acted as a witness on Beatriz' behalf. Don Alonso was a merchant, interpreter, scribe, lawyer of the Indians, mayor and lieutenant mayor in Pátzcuaro between 1578 and 1598 (AHAP 3, #34, 1576; AHAP 3, #53, 1578 Pátzcuaro; AHAP 5bis, #65, 1596-1598 Tamáquaro-Urichu, Sarrelangue 1965:222). Other connections were D. Gerónimo de Garfias, D. Constantino's son from his marriage with the descendant of lord Netzahualpilli of Texcoco, who became a supporter of the Castillejas as well (CDH-INAH, SM116).

Other relatives were D. Domingo Huitzacua, lieutenant of Urichu; Francisco de la Cerda, interpreter, scribe and governor of Pátzcuaro in 1598; D. Juan Paqui (D. Constantino Huitziméngari's cousin and ally)[48], who was also Castilleja's neighbor in the lands they both had in Huiramangaro, and testified on behalf of Castilleja in her land claims. In addition, there were D. Juan Hidalgo (an attorney as well), and Don Pedro de Abrego's nephew; Juan de Garfias[49], Castilleja's attorney; and Antón Tzira in charge of Beatriz's lands in Tamáquaro (AHAP 5bis, #65, 1596-1598 Tamácuaro). In addition, other <u>principales</u> were D. Diego de Castañeda, Beatriz's relative, married to D. Isabel Galindo[50] (CDH-INAH,

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[48]D. Juan Paqui was married in 1592 to D. Maria Popoche, sister of chief featherworker D. Juan Cuiris. In 1603, he married D. Magdalena Huitziméngari (AGN. RI5, E64, F87r 1592 Pátzcuaro; CDH-INAH, SM115, 1603 Pátzcuaro; Sarrelangue 1965:251). In addition, D. Juan Timaje (Timax), chief constable of Pátzcuaro in 1596, and brother-in-law of de la Cerda, was also in charge of Paqui's lands in Huiramangaro as well (AHAP 5bis, #56, 1596). Paqui and Timaje were very likely related on the mother's side.

[49]No information has been found related to Juan de Garfias.

SM117, 1598 Pátzcuaro); D. Pedro Guacuinchu and Marcos Cuini, in charge of Beatriz's lands in Huruacícuaro and Yaguangarícuaro in Periban (AHAP 1, #31, 1556 Periban).

Pedro de Abrego and Beatriz de Castilleja had various sons and daughters including D. Félix de Abrégo, D. Pedro de Abrego, D. Francisco de Garfias, D. Mariana de Castilleja, D. Maria de Abrego y Castilleja, D. Ana de Garfias, and D. Juana de Abrego y Castilleja who was married to D. Juan Puruata treated above (N. León 1968:169, Sarrelangue 1965:189).

D. Félix de Abrego married Catalina de Pantoja[51], daughter of the Spaniard D. Pedro de Pantoja[52], a land owner, and of D. Floriana de Velasco (AHAP 4, #57 1590 Pátzcuaro; Sarrelangue 1965:189). Later,

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[50]Castañeda, and later on his wife Isabel, bought and sold lands in Apupato that had belongued to Beatriz de Castilleja (Sarrelangue 1965:254). Castañeda had an ingenio (sugar mill) in Tonbendan, 2 leagues away from Tingambato (AHAP 4, #59, 1590 Tingambato). Together, they were god-parents in the baptism of Felipe, son of Diego Arias Puebla and Maria de Velasco (CDH-INAH, SM118, 1599 Pátzcuaro).

[51]Pedro de Pantoja, Catalina's father, married D. Floriana de Velasco. Their children were D. Catalina de Pantoja, D. Isabel de Velasco and D. Petronila de Velasco (AHAP 4, #57, 1595 Pátzcuaro) and D. Pedro de Pantoja married to Beatriz de Sosa (CDH-INAH, SM118, 1599 Pátzcuaro). The Pantojas were related to other prominent Spaniards like doña Lucia de Velazquez, daughter of the encomendero of Tancítaro. In her will, she left property to various Pantojas (AHAP 3, #27, 1573 Tancítaro).

[52]D. Pedro de Pantoja was a rich encomendero and landowner who had accumulated lands in various parts of Michoacán. According to his will, Pantoja exploited the copper mines of Inguarán with Francisco Bernal and Francisco de Ayala who later married Pantoja's widow, D. Floriana. With Francisco de Ayala they smelted metals in the town of Tzatzeo, and had carboneras (charcoal production) in Inguarán as well. Some of the copper was sold in Zacapu. Pantoja was involved in selling mules and pigs. He had a sugar mill and exploited the copper mines in Aronícuaro, and had formed a company with a clergyman to sell mules and horses to the mines. In his will, many Spaniards owed Pantoja up to 4,000 pesos. Among them were Francisco de Sarria and the merchants Alonso Gómez and Agustín Francisco. The inventory of Pantoja's possessions included lands, houses, cattle, luxury items, as well as tools used for smelting (AHAP 4, #57 1590 Pátzcuaro; AHAP 5, #10, 1591). A copy of Pantoja's will was in the care of Francisco de Sarria, D. Floriana's relative (AHAP 4, #57 1590 Pátzcuaro).

representing his wife Catalina, Félix helped her to recover a portion of Catalina's mother's dowry, that was taken by her second husband, Francisco de Ayala. They claimed Francisco de Ayala had taken 20,000 pesos of Floriana's dowry (AHAP 5, #28, 1593 Pátzcuaro). Subsequently, Francisco de Ayala married for a second time, with D. Juana Hurtado Corona (AHAP 5bis, #70, 1599 Pátzcuaro). According to Sarrelangue, D. Félix de Abrego later ceeded some of the lands that he had inherited from his mother to his brothers-in-law D. Rodrigo de Ayala and D. Andrés Ruiz de Chávez (Maria Abrego y Castilleja's husband) (Sarrelangue 1965:190).

The second son was D. Francisco de Garfias. He became a supporter of his nephew D. Luis de Castilleja y Puruata (son of D. Juan Puruata and D. Juana de Garfias, D. Francisco's sister) when he became governor of Pátzcuaro in 1609 (CDH-INAH, SM118, 1624 Pátzcuaro). Some confusion sorrounds D. Francisco de Garfias. According to Sarrelangue, D. Francisco married D. Ana de Ayala[53] a descendant of another prominent Spaniard (1965:190). With her, they had two sons a priest D. Pedro López Montemolín and D. Nicolás Ayala Montemolín (Ibid). Two documents dating from 1609 and 1624, referred to D. Francisco as a "criollo", a priest (presbitero), the uncle of D. Luis and his supporter (CDH-INAH, SM118, 1609 and 1624 Pátzcuaro). According to these records, father Francisco de Garfias, a "genuine criollo", was fifty-two years old in

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[53] D. Ana de Ayala was the daughter of conqueror Pedro Calero and was married to another conqueror, Pedro Moreno Gallegos. With her husband Gallegos, they asked the king of Spain for a land grant based on Gallego's claim as a conqueror (AHAP 1, #26, 1555 Pátzcuaro). No information has been found about D. Ana's marriage to D. Francisco de Garfias who was listed as a priest in Pátzcuaro (CDH-INAH, SM118, 1609 Pátzcuaro). Therefore, Sarrelangue's information on this individual requires further exploration.

1589. This would make his date of birth the year 1534. Then again, if he died in 1606 as Sarrelangue suggested (1965:190), he could not have possibly been the supporter of D. Luis de Castilleja from 1609 to 1624. Therefore, it is very likely that there were indeed two individuals with the same name one who was the priest and the supporter of governor D. Luis, and one who was perhaps the brother of D. Pedro de Abrego senior. Then, there was a second D. Francisco who married Ayala, and with her they were god-parents of Esteban (son of [sic] and Maria Marcela Altamirano) at his baptism in Pátzcuaro in 1598 (CDH-INAH, SM118) and who died in 1606 as Sarrelangue (1965) suggested. There is evidence that a Francisco de Grafias participated as witness in various kinds of claims in Pátzcuaro (AHAP 5bis, #50 1596; AHAP 5bis, #58, 1596).

A third son was D. Pedro de Abrego (jr) married to D. Juana de Torres (Sarrelangue 1965:191).

Maria de Abrego y Castilleja, D. Pedro and Beatriz's daughter, married D. Andres Ruiz de Chávez a Spanish landowner (Sarrelangue 1965:191). Their children were D. Manuela de Abrégo y Castillejas, D. Rodrigo Ruiz de Chávez (N. León 1968:176). Mariana de Abrego married D. Pablo Cazonci, the son of D. Antonio Huitzimengari and later married D. Luis Ruiz de Pontechada (Sarrelangue 1965:182). Because Pontechada owed money to Pedro González merchant of Pátzcuaro, their house was seized and offered for sale. Mariana's relative don Diego de Castañeda paid the sum owed by Pontechada (AHAP, #23,1585 Pátzcuaro). According to Sarrelangue, Mariana also married D. Sancho Ibáñez de Agurto (1965:182)[54]. Nevertheless, historical records from the AHAP show that

[54] It is known that D. Beatriz lived longer than D. Mariana since she inherited the lands that D. Mariana had received from her first husband D. Pablo (AHAP 5bis, #65, 1596-1598 Tamáquaro).

D. Sancho Ibañez was not D. Mariana's husband but D. Beatriz de Castilleja's third husband, with whom she fought for lands in Patuán (AHAP 5bis, #24, 1592 Patuán; AHAP 5, #42, 1595 Pátzcuaro). These lands had been D. Antonio Huitziméngari's, as well as his son D. Pablo's, at whose death they were divided between D. Mariana, Pablo's wife, and his mother D. Maria Maruacuezcu. Maruacuezcu's portion became D. Juan Puruata's property after her death. Mariana's portion became D. Beatriz Castilleja's after Mariana's death (AHAP 5bis, #24, 1592 Patuán).

Finally, D. Juana de Abrego y Castilleja married D. Juan Puruata, and at his death she married the Spanish conqueror Juan Ponce de León[55] (N. León 1968:169).

Marriage effectively united indigenous royal lineages with Spanish lineages, allowing individuals like the Puruatas, Huitziméngari, and Castillejas to retain government positions in Pátzcuaro, but also to remain members of the colonial elite. In addition, marriage transferred wealth from the indigenous elite to their mestizo children.

5.3.4 Don Constantino Huitziméngari

Constantino was considered the "illegitimate" son of D. Antonio Huitziméngari, as seen above, and of a very prominent cacica, Ana de Ocelo from Uruapan, whose uncle was D. Antonio Ximenez Acatli, councilman of the "Nahuas" of Pátzcuaro (AGN, RI5, E802, F213v). Constantino was recognized by the Spaniards as a descendant of prominent indigenous nobles, and was endowed with land grants and with Indian servants to work in his house (AGN, RI4, E399, F117v Pátzcuaro; AGN,

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[55]His grandson, named Hernán Ponce de León received from his uncle, the priest García Rodríguez Pardo, three caballerías of land and a ranch for sheep in Tiripitío as help for his marriage. He married D. Maria de Castro daughter of Pedro Maldonado and Ana de Oviedo (CDH-INAH, SM112, 1592).

RI6-2, E1000, F260v 1595). Constantino's lineage was therefore prominent, counting among its ranks lords and captains like Acatli, Tixcacuxe and Ocelo, some of them of Nahuatl origin.

At the death of D. Antonio and of his son D. Pablo, Constantino succeeded his brother Pablo, not only in the rights to D. Antonio's lands, but also in his claims to the governorship of Michoacán (AGN, RI4, E399, F117v, 1590; Paredes 1984:89). However, his government was plagued by conflicts from the begining (CDH-INAH SM114, 1988 Pátzcuaro).

The native nobility, especially from Pátzcuaro, and in particular the Castillejas and Puruatas, fought against him, for which he sought to establish closer ties with the nobility of Tzintzuntzan and ultimately pressed for the independence of this town from Pátzcuaro. According to a complaint raised by noblemen of Pátzcuaro, D. Constantino, starting four years before 1590 (1586), when he became governor of Pátzcuaro, using the influence he had with the viceroy of New Spain, Don Martin Enriquez, imposed excessive work and tribute demands of the Indians, and demanded additional loads of maize, zacate (fodder) and other products. He had also pressed featherworkers, painters, carpenters, and other officers to make for him large amounts of crafts. The complaint stated that Constantino's mother and relatives behaved like governors (AGN, RI4, E856, F221v, 1590 Pátzcuaro). Yet, D. Constantino was not the governor of Pátzcuaro prior to 1588. At that time the governor was D. Juan Puruata (see Figure 17). However, this date may have been used by Indian nobles in the complaint to make their case stronger against D. Constantino. Prior to the governorship of Pátzcuaro, he had already been named judge-governor for the towns of Capula, Tiripitío and Tarímbaro (AGN, RI1, E304, F138r, 1581).

Constantino was governor of Pátzcuaro from 1588 to 1592 and from 1595 to 1596 (AHAP 4, #53, 1590; AGN, RI5, E304, F138r, 1595; Sarrelangue 1965:257). From 1592 to 1595, his uncle D. Lorenzo Tacahuaque (Tixcacuxe[56]) served as governor of Pátzcuaro and testified in favor of D. Beatríz de Castilleja's land claims in Tamáquaro (AHAP 5bis, #58, 1596). In 1595-96, Lorenzo governed again after Constantino had been accused by members of the Indian council of embezzling money from the tribute and of having levied more tribute than necessary. He was ousted as governor (AGN, RI4, E856, F221-222; RI3, E242, F55v; and RI6-2, E1057, F287, 1595; Paredes 1984:87; AHAP 5bis, #62, 1596 Tamácuaro).

One of Constantino's allies was his cousin D. Juan Paqui[57]. "Don Juan Paqui es primo de D. Constantino e hijo del hermano del padre de D. Juan Paqui" (CDH-INAH, SM114, 1588 Pátzcuaro) (D. Juan Paqui was D. Constantino's cousin and the son of Constantino's father's brother). Therefore, D. Antonio Huitziméngari (son of Tangaxoan and father of D. Constantino), and Paqui's father were brothers (or cousins). So far, no document has clarified Paqui's father's identity.

It is known that Constantino had a sister called Gerónima Ocelo (D. Antonio Huitziméngari was not her father), who married the son of D.

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[56]There is evidence of the existence of another uncle of Constantino, from the town of Sinagua, where in 1522 D. Alonso Tixcacuxe (Tacahuaque?) was governor and captain of the cazonci (Sarrelangue 1965:237).

[57]Paqui was Constantino's cousin, and had been his ally, as well as his witness in Beatriz de Castilleja's land claims (AHAP 5bis, #65, 1596 Tamáquaro). Paqui had been previously married to D. María Popoche in 1592. In turn, D. María was sister of D. Juan Cuiris, listed as featherworker of Pátzcuaro (AGN, RI5, E64, F87v, 1592). Paqui later married Magdalena Huitziméngari, sister of D. Antonio Huitziméngari ex-governor of Chilchota (Sarrelangue 1965:251).

Juan Bautista Huitziméngari, named D. Antonio Enríquez Huitziméngari (Sarrelangue 1965:224). Therefore, according to the common Tarascan custom among members of the upper elite, Doña Gerónima married her cousin.

Constantino married twice. His second marriage was with D. Agustina de Chilapa, a descendant of Netzahualpilli lord of Texcoco. Therefore, by 1607 D. Constantino became governor of Coyoacán in the Valley of Mexico and inherited a cacicazgo when his wife died (Sarrelangue 1965:215). His son D. Constantino (the second) was from this marriage, whereas D. Gerónimo de Garfias may have been the second son of this marriage, and was a member of the Indian council in 1626 (Sarrelangue 1965:216; CDH-INAH, SM115, 1626, Pátzcuaro).

D. Constantino had various sons with different women. Three of them were perhaps from a noblewoman of Tzintzuntzan. They were D. Pedro, D. Bartolomé and D. Francisco Thzama (AGN, RI6-1, E412, F108r, 1593 Pátzcuaro). D. Francisco Thzama held some political offices. He became chief constable in 1592, mayor of Pátzcuaro in 1608, and was a councilman in 1609 (CDH-INAH, SM114, 1592 Tzintzuntzan; CDH-INAH, SM117, 1609 Pátzcuaro; Sarrelangue 1965:216).

Since no reference has been found yet as to the name of Constantino's first wife, it is possible that the Thzama brothers were the children of Constantino's first wife. Although Sarrelangue suggests that because the Thzama retained this last name, they were probably illegitimate (1965:216). This may not be necessarily the case, D. Constantino was considered an "illegitimate" son of D. Antonio, yet, he carried D. Antonio's last name. This may mean that choosing the name of a prominent member of one's own lineage may have been a common practice.

Likewise, choosing a different last name may have also been associated with the possible inheritance of lands that were the property of either parent. D. Gerónima Ocelo retained the last name of D. Constantino's mother, instead of the last name of her father (whoever he was).

Constantino's additional sons were D. Antonio Huitziméngari Bravo, D. Gerónimo de Garfias Cazonci, and D. Constantino (the second).

This brief overview on various members related to the former uacúsecha lineage reveals that marriage and kinship connections continued to be essential to the native elite. Marriage connected nobles with other nobles (Spanish or Indian). Mestizo children of prominent lineages were successful in manipulating both of their parents' lineages in order to claim lands, and to establish themselves as members of the colonial elite. In addition, marriages with prominent Spaniards propelled their mestizo children to seek further contacts with other wealthy Spaniards through more marriages of the same kind. The lands that they inherited from their parents, as well as the dowry that a woman could bring to marriage, helped to attain a good marriage arrangement. Nevertheless, some of these mestizo children were also able to maintain connections with the Indian elite by supporting their native relatives who held political offices. Marriages among Indian noblemen and noblewomen enforced political alliances that were already present before the arrival of the Spaniards. In particular, marriages between uncle and niece, and parallel cousins, effectively excluded non-nobles from sharing in the benefits of the local power. Finally, it is likely that a woman's social position influenced the type of office that her husband, or her children could hold. This becomes true especially

in the case of D. Constantino and his governorship of Coyoacán in the Valley of Mexico.

Data demonstrated that marriage favored the creation of political alliances before and after Spanish contact. These alliances were beneficial to the elites of Tarascan and Spanish origin. Through their Indian relatives, the Spaniards had access to Tarascan lands that were claimed as Indian property by descent from former members of the ruling elite. Through their Spanish relatives, the Tarascan nobility strengthened their political position in Indian communities by securing the support of their Spanish kin. In addition, marriage increased the economic, political, and social ties between the indigenous elites and the colonizers, thereby tying the indigenous elites to the dominant society.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

This dissertation has taken an ethnohistorical approach to examine the strategies of survival, innovation and accommodation of the Tarascan native elite in the sixteenth century colonial society of Michoacán. The evidence presented in this research has a preliminary character and only further research on the ethnohistory of the region may allow us to understand more about the accommodation of Indian nobilities to colonial societies. Nevertheless, this research lays out ideas for future ethnohistorical research in Michoacán as well as in other similarly colonized regions.

Data presented give substantial support to some of the questions developed in the research as well as to the theoretical approach of the dissertation. The theoretical approach was based on the idea that culture shaped the interactions between the dominant society and the indigenous populations.

As they became incorporated in the New Spanish colonial society the Tarascan elite recreated strategies of survival, accommodation, and innovation that were based on their culture and on cultural elements adopted from the Spanish. Some of the cultural patterns that helped the Tarascans accommodate to the colonial society may have been also rooted in general cultural characteristics developed in the Mesoamerican region. It was also suggested that those natives who identified too much with the Spanish culture were not eliminated from the mainstream of their own. The reason for this may lie in the fact that these elites held a role as intermediaries between the colonial powers and the native communities that were the source of labor.

It was also argued that the participation of the Tarascan nobility in local politics, and in Spanish economic enterprises reinforced the dominant character of the elite, while it also strengthened Spanish domination and furthered the creation of class differences in colonial society. The consumption of European goods tied the native elites to the larger economy and helped incorporate them into the colonial economy as well.

Proposing a model of elite accommodation may be premature since data presented refers mostly to the sixteenth century and does not cover the centuries after the initial contact between Indians and Spaniards. However, it is in the sixteenth century that the ground work for accommodation was laid out. It is possible that the accommodations of Spanish and Indians to one another were further transformed by new social, economic, and political trends in subsequent centuries. Nevertheless, a preliminary exploration toward a model of accommodation is in line with data presented throughout the dissertation.

The first element of the model of elite accommodation includes the idea that similar cultural patterns allowed adaptations to succeed. A second element of the model is that accommodation was made from the framework of native understanding, i.e. from the perspective of their own culture. Therefore, accommodation also implies the adoption of new cultural elements.

The incorporation of Spanish cultural elements was selective since the elite took those elements that were beneficial to their survival and adopted them from the framework of their indigenous understanding. The adoption of Spanish culture helped some Tarascan noblemen and noblewomen become members of the colonial elite and help them create and

expand their social, economic and political ties with the Spaniards. Both Spanish and Indian societies were transformed in the process of colonial domination.

Cultural similarities allowed the cultural adoptions to succeed. In terms of accommodation to the colonial society this dissertation suggested the idea that under the patina of Spanish adopted culture an underlying "tarascanization" existed. Nevertheless, it is plausible to argue that since the Tarascan area shared similar cultural patterns with the rest of Mesoamerica, some general patterns of accommodation of the elite throughout the region may reflect these connections. However, under the umbrella of general Mesoamerican patterns there are uniquely Tarascan underpinnings which give the region its own cultural characteristics.

Some of the cultural traits that the Tarascans shared with other Mesoamerican civilizations were certain types of ceremonial sacrifices, ball games, the use of metals associated with the gods and certain ideological precepts, the inheritance of office through the father's line, the creation of alliances by marriage, and the control of power by royal lineages. In addition, some architectural patterns regarding the design of cities in western Mexico were influenced by contacts with Teotihuacan.

The late development of the state, which occurred in the Postclassic period was unique to the Tarascans. No direct correspondence existed between Aztec and Tarascan pantheons. Other Tarascan characteristics were the unusually centralized character of the state, the predominantly rural character of the empire, the lack of monumental architecture, the concentration of large populations in the core of the

state, the incorporation of conquered groups, and the ramification of Tarascan lineages as a means to expand and settle into conquered territories.

As opposed to the Aztecs who placed an acculturated leader as the governor of conquered societies, the Tarascans moved Tarascan families into conquered towns and created marriage alliances with the conquered populations. Whereas the Aztec empire was a collection of loosely associated kingdoms, the Tarascans favored a tightly knit organization under a centralized government where the conquered territories were included in a larger society. In addition, the Tarascan elites favored the economic domination of the territory by controlling various ecological zones and the trade of luxury items. Unique to the Tarascans were the central control of craft specialization and the control of metallurgy and trade within Tarascan territory. The production of ritual items of metal was controlled by the Tarascan elites prior to Spanish conquest. Tarascan merchants did not operate outside of the Tarascan borders. In addition, metallurgy represented a distinctive technology of western Mexico.

The existence of the Quataperas that were later transformed into hospital-towns and of the marriage regulating functions of the wards were also uniquely Tarascan.

The centralized Tarascan state was characterized by the concentration of power in the hands of a ruling lineage. Their power was expressed in the ideology of brotherhood between the gods, that, in turn, represented the relationships among Tarascan and non-Tarascan lineages in the region. The Tarascan god Curicaueri, considered the eldest brother of all other deities of the Tarascan area, represented

the creation of political alliances cemented by marriage and kinship that characterized Tarascan social and political relations and justified the position of the uacúsecha lineage as ruler of the state. Kinship terminology used to describe the relationship among gods, clearly reflected the conceptualization of Tarascan political relations. Ideology, therefore, served to further the goals of the elite which were then manifested to the population through religious constructs.

Land "ownership" was also uniquely Tarascan. Whereas the calpulli characterized the Aztec society, the rights to the use of lands and fisheries were derived from the cazonci. The private use of lands as well as communally exploited lands seem to have been present in Tarascan society. Evidence shows that the best lands were in the hands of the nobles of highest social rank. These noblemen and noblewomen had tenant farmers (curintziepa) who worked the lands and paid the nobility with a portion of the crops raised in these lands. Access to highly productive lands may have resulted in social differences among the lineages that controlled them.

A third element of the model of elite accommodation is that accommodation reflects social differences of class or status.

From the dissertation, one can conclude that there were various layers or social strata within the Indian society prior to the arrival of the Spaniards. Although Spanish documentary data shows the presence of nobles and commoners, a careful analysis of the historical materials, and in particular of the Relación (1989), showed that indeed an intermediate group of nobles was present in prehispanic and colonial societies. This intermediate group was also ranked into discrete but distinctive strata. Social differentiation within these middle strata

depended upon the degree of closeness (measured by marriage connections) of individuals in the middle strata to the elites of the highest social ranks. These intermediate strata also occupied ranked political offices and/or economic activities. The Relación (1989) was clear in establishing that every functionary within the Tarascan state oversaw other functionaries of lower ranks.

It is not unreasonable to argue that accommodation to the colonial society occurred in all of these layers differently according to previous political and economic arrangements in the prehispanic society and to the connections Tarascan individuals were able to create with Spaniards of different social rank. Therefore, the highest-ranking native elites tended to identify with the Spaniards of highest social rank and to adopt those Spanish cultural elements that legitimized their socio-political position as elites.

Nevertheless, accommodation to the Spaniards took the form of individual choices as well. By individual choices, it was argued that those members of the Tarascan elite who chose not to marry Spaniards, or who chose not to establish direct links with them, lost their ability to become incorporated as members of the colonial elite, although they may have retained their social status within their own communities. In contrast, those Tarascan noblemen and noblewomen of highest rank who married Spaniards who considered themselves nobility were incorporated into the group of colonial dominators. Therefore, the fourth element of the model of elite accommodation is that accommodation was also a matter of individual choice and perceived benefits.

Individual choices, however, may have also been constrained by Tarascan cultural patterns such as the patrilineal inheritance of

office, the practices of marriage and descent, or the fact that in prehispanic society political offices were associated with social rank. Yet, some non-nobles or nobles of lower social ranks were able to climb the social ladder by participating in Spanish economic enterprises or by participating in church-related activities after Spanish contact.

To argue that accommodation was a matter of individual choice alone is, therefore, inaccurate. Individual choices of accommodation were politically and economically bound. The materials presented argued in favor of the idea that accommodation to the colonial society was a cultural, economic, and political phenomena. Although Spanish laws supported the election of native officials, in reality the Spanish favored the Tarascan elite over the commoners and the nobles of lower social ranks. Likewise, data showed that the highest ranking Tarascan elite continued to use mechanisms of prehispanic origin to maintain their power at the local level.

Therefore, a fifth element of the model is that the forces behind elite accommodation are economic and political. It was seen that marriage to noble Spaniards brought political and economic advantages to Tarascan noblemen and noblewomen in the new colonial society. The indigenous elites continued to marry among themselves, thereby effectively creating a barrier against political competition from non-elites and from members of the lower ranks of the native nobility.

Marriage alliances between the Tarascan nobility and the non-Tarascan elites gave rise to kinship connections that advanced the political and economic survival of the indigenous elites. The persistence of marriages between uncle and niece, and between parallel cousins among members of the highest ranking Tarascan elite continued to

provide the means to control prominent political offices at the local level after Spanish contact.

It was shown that the most successful individuals were those that became incorporated into the dominant society as members of the elite since they shared in the colonial domination, and therefore, reinforced this domination. This was particularly true among Tarascan families who were formerly related to Tarascan lords like the Huitziméngaris, descendants from the last cazonci, the Castillejas, descendants from the lord of Ihuatzio, the Puruatas, related by marriage to the Huitziméngaris and the Castillejas, and the members of other lineages who had married into prominent Spanish families in the province. This process further alienated the elites from the commoners and created class distinctions.

Through the creation of alliances with the Spanish elite, the use of Spanish nobility terms of reference ("Don"), and the hispanization process, the Tarascan native elite of the sixteenth century separated themselves from the commoners to become linked to the colonial dominant class. In this process, the Tarascan elite carved its own niche in the colonial provincial society and helped reinforced the character of Spanish domination. In addition, the Tarascan nobility's control over local politics and the economy in the colonial period, manifest the survival and accommodation of the native elite to the new order.

The native nobility, the mestizo nobility, and the Spaniards stood to gain something from the alliances established among them. The close association among members of the indigenous elite, and between these and the Spaniards, curtailed the access of lower ranking elites and commoners to political offices of high rank.

In terms of the hypothesis presented, the dissertation suggested that the accommodations of both the Spanish and local indigenous elites to one another were flexible and pervasive. The Tarascan indigenous elite, and in particular the former uacúsecha lineage, became linked to the Spanish local elite by marriage and joined them in economic ventures and in the political control of Indian communities. This process contributed to the retention of the elitist status of the native nobility. But, most importantly, descent continued to play an important role in the political life at the local level. Political offices were controlled by members of the former Tarascan elite of high ranking status.

Clearly, those noblemen who conformed to the changes brought by the Spanish made conscious efforts to manipulate the system in order to legitimize their power in the new order. The association between control of power and dominant lineages has been suggested for other Mesoamerican civilizations as well.

The last characteristic of the model of accommodation is the idea that the native elites were interested in maintaining their political position in the new colonial society. The members of the Tarascan elite who identified too much with the Spanish were not removed from the mainstream of their own culture. The Tarascan nobility became members of the dominant colonial class. The manipulation of ethnicity, mestizisation, and hispanization became assets rather than hindrances to the Tarascan elites who manipulated these elements for their personal gain and gave them access to the Spanish provincial sphere as well as to the indigenous communities. The manipulation of ethnicity, as well as claims based on descent from members of the highest ranks of the social

hierarchy, whether Spanish conquerors or native rulers, added to the legitimacy of the indigenous Tarascan elite. Such claims furthered the political control of the native elite and secure them a position in the local colonial society. The tolerance and/or the acceptance of Tarascan individuals of mixed descent in public office by both Spaniards and Tarascans indicates that colonial policies were flexible enough to accommodate to local events.

If indeed marriage endogamy strengthened the social position of the Tarascan elite before Spanish contact, a rearrangement of marriage patterns that included the Spanish colonial elite strengthened the elitist character of the former Tarascan aristocracy and, therfore, helped them preserve their power after Spanish contact.

The role of the Tarascan native elites affected not only the relationships between the native elites and the Spanish colonial society but, also, affected the relationships among the elites and their own communities. The elites used rivalries, political leverage, patron-client relations, factionalism, co-option, and the control of political offices as a means to establish political legitimacy and political control over local communities. Conflict for power among the Tarascan indigenous elites in the sixteenth century reflected both prehispanic tendencies of conflict, and the control over resources as well as different choices of accommodation or resistance to the colonial system.

The most successful individuals were capable of moving between the Spanish and the Indian societies, were able to maintain political power and influence in both ethnic groups, and could keep the political support of their communities.

Future research in local archives would greatly increase the understanding of the relevant questions of the research. So far, the historical record shows that the Tarascan elites created dynamic relations that helped them become members of the colonial elite. At present, the data give a good understanding of how the indigenous elites controlled local politics. Marriage and kinship were significant in this control. There is not enough data on Indian entrepreneurs to fully explain class differences based on the control of wealth among the elites. The available data only point at significant economic patterns that suggest the existence of differences among the Tarascan nobility. Likewise, data reveal patterns of political domination by which some members of the indigenous nobility re-enforced the character of colonial domination.

Data derived from the prehispanic period added to the understanding of culture change and culture continuity after Spanish contact. In particular, it was noted that certain prehispanic cultural patterns continued to be important to the elites in their relationships with other elites, with their communities, and with the Spaniards. "Disguised" polygamy, the use of symbols of status, preferred marriages between uncle and niece, marriage endogamy, membership in Tarascan lineages, and the transference of political offices in the male line continued to be important after the Spanish conquest.

The Tarascan nobility hindered the political competition of people of lower social status or non-status. Native officials continued to perform recognizable pre-conquest functions. Transformed Tarascan political offices reflected a process of accommodation from previous prehispanic patterns. Similar patterns of adaptation related to the

political offices among Nahuas and Tarascans may reflect underlying similarities in Mesoamerican cultural patterns.

An evaluation of the first set of research questions that deal with the survival of the elite, the strategies they used to remain in power after Spanish contact, and their accommodation to the new conditions of the colonial regime, indicates that some members of the nobility became members of the colonial elite. Indeed some members of the former uacúsecha ruling lineage became dominant in the colonial context. Preliminary data suggested that some members of the Tarascan nobility accumulated substantial wealth through the payment of salaries as political officers and because of their social rank. These individuals also received land grants, claimed properties as private lands, were involved in trading to the mines, and invested in capitalistic enterprises like mills, textile production, and the selling of silk.

There is not yet any research describing the economic enterprises in which the elites participated in the colonial period to evaluate the economic success of the nobility. A future study on this issue will be useful to understand class difference and the dominance of the elite as a group. Of particular importance would be the exploration of land grants and the economic ventures of the elites in the region of Michoacán. The Ramos of Mercedes, and Justicia in the Mexican national archives, as well as the search in local archives would be useful.

The exploration of particular economic ventures would be important as well. For example, there is evidence of the production of dyes in Uruapan, but the economic impact of this industry is not known for the elites. In particular, an economic study could deal with the income

that the elites of Uruapan made in this industry. Other economic ventures need further exploration, in particular trading since, according to the Spaniards, it was through this economic activity that social mobility took place after Spanish contact.

The dissertation provided enough evidence to support the idea of the political survival of the elites. Such survival was manifested by the general support of the Spanish authorities, by the control of local elections by members of the highest ranking elite, by the concentration of the highest ranking offices in the hands of individuals of high rank, by the creation of new political offices when competition from the lower ranks of the nobility strengthened, by the rotation of political offices in the hands of a few noblemen, by the use of forms of co-option, factionalism, partisanship, and clientelism between the elites and the commoners. Data suggested that factional alliances were dynamic and were subject to change, and depended also on changes in the balance of power. There is enough evidence to suggest the re-focusing of political control from a provincial level to a local level as a result of Spanish penetration in the province. In addition, data revealed the appearance of new forms of competition for power at the local level.

To expand the study of the elite's political survival attention could be paid to exploring the ways in which connections among the native elites from inside and outside the province strengthened their political and economic position. Some data support the idea that these connections were beneficial to the highest ranking elite as shown in the case of Don Constantino Huitziméngari.

In addition, documentary evidence showed the benefits of political connections between Spaniards and the higher ranking nobility. Further

research would be useful to understand the relationships that existed between Indians of higher and lower social ranks. These relationships need to be better understood. Of use would be a study of comparative politics to assess the political survival of competing elites of different ethnic groups. Such competition is not well understood although it is known from documentary evidence of Turicato and other areas.

Socially, the elites survived and accommodated to the colonial society by creating various kinds of alliances with the Spaniards, with other elites throughout the province, and with the elites in their own communities. In turn, these alliances gave way to the appearance of patron-client relations and compadrazgos. Data indicated the existence of these kinds of social and economic relations. These patterns of behavior were only suggested and future research could focus on the importance of co-parenthood and patron-client relations in explaining the dynamics of Indian Spanish relations, as well as of Tarascan nobility-community relations. The exploration of baptismal records could identify who became compadres, although this information may not explain the dynamics of the relationship. Research could also look at the economic impact of the creation of compadrazgos as well as at the obligations that they created. Future research would be useful in exploring issues like the origins and consequences of clientelism and compadrazgo, and their implications for community relations.

It was argued that the adoption of symbols of status, as well as the adoption of Christian ideology reinforced the character of Spanish domination as well. The research supported the idea that the Tarascan elites adopted Spanish status symbols, that they invested considerable

amounts of money to obtain these goods, and that in doing so, the elite was also becoming incorporated in the world economy.

The research addressed various issues related to the influence of Christian ideas, i.e., changes in marriage patterns, the work in convents and town-hospitals, and the adoption of Christian ceremonies. A future study could analyze the function of ideology in the support of the elite as they became members of the colonial dominant group. It was pointed out that members of the Tarascan elite paid some of the expenses of Christian celebrations and paid for membership in religious brotherhoods. It was also suggested that compadrazgos were beneficial to the indigenous elites. Ideologically, compadrazgos created obligations and reciprocity. Further studies should focus on the economic obligations related to the creation of these forms of ritualized behavior.

In terms of the second set of questions related to the characterization of the elite, the dissertation demonstrated that the nobility was far from being a monolithic group in either the prehispanic or colonial periods. In the prehispanic period, at least three social ranks were recognizable. There was a high rank, a middle rank, and a low rank. Social rank was ascribed by birth and maintained by marriage. Under the colonial rule the contradictions that existed between elites of high rank and low rank were readily observable especially as they related to the elections of political offices. In addition, information also suggested that there were social differences among members of the same lineage, and that there were also differences between lineages. Only future research could account for these differences.

Although it is known that social mobility was possible in the colonial society, it was also argued that the highest ranking nobility blocked the lower ranking elites from fully becoming members of their group. During the colonial period the nobility continued to be a heterogeneous group. There are certain hints that suggest the existence of a strata with social middle rank. For example, when one explores the control of political offices, there were certain offices associated with members that belonged to former Tarascan trades. Some individuals in these occupational groups seem to fit a description of a middle-level in the social hierarchy. These were, for example, the feather workers, who were the most important artisans in the prehispanic period, with the lacquer workers and the metal workers.

In addition, differences based on new marriage connections with Spaniards of various social backgrounds may have reinforced the existing differences among the native elites as shown in the case of the Castilleja and Puruata lineages. Additional studies on social mobility will be needed in the future. Local archives may be a good source to study social mobility within the communities of an area.

The third question of the research related to the general transformation of the prehispanic Tarascan elite as a result of Spanish colonization. The conquest eliminated the competition from the cazonci, but not from the remaining elites. The sixteenth century was a dynamic period of accommodation for both the Spaniards and the nobility. The dissertation showed that the loss of status was not a homogeneous process and neither did it affect all of the members of the nobility equally. Those noblemen and noblewomen who did not "play" by the Spanish rules were affected the most over time. The apparent loss of

social status, associated with the nobility who did not establish economic or social ties with the Spaniards, was perhaps experienced most by the nobility related to the former ruling lineage whose power was refocused from the level of the province to a community level.

However, it was also shown that some individuals that claimed descent from the uacúsecha nobility were particularly favored as members of the colonial elite. In general, the elites became more interested in local politics, as well as in the political control of their own communities, head-towns and subject-towns. This idea supports Lockhart's (1991) view that the elites were concerned with their own affairs.

The political competition for power that existed among the elites of the former prehispanic core is not well understood after contact. In addition, the data are also insufficient to explain any political differences that might have existed between the elites from the core of the former Tarascan state, and from outside the core after contact. However, there is evidence to suggest that competition for power was similar after the Spanish conquest, and was strengthened by changes in the relations of head-towns and subject-towns. It is not well known how the competition for resources (lands) especially affected those elites who were subject to a new head-town as jurisdictions changed.

It was suggested that competition for lands may have escalated as a result of claims of lands as private property by the descendants or the relatives of the uacúsecha after Spanish conquest, as well as to jurisdictional changes. In particular, the church received lands from the indigenous nobility, especially from noblewomen, in the form of capellanías.

In addition, there are also data that suggest that the former priesthood may have found a new niche in the convents and hospital-towns after contact. Catholic festivities increased pressure on both the native nobility and the commoners to support the ceremonies by using communal funds. The exploration of the role of the elites in religious festivities would be of importance to the understanding of their economic position as well.

Little is known about the impact of Spanish conquest on the transformation of noblewomen's religious activities. Evidence suggested that women of the nobility lost their roles as priestesses and diviners after contact. However, little is known about the position of Tarascan women in general. Although this dissertation presented some preliminary exploration on women, their impact on political and social alliances, and on women's wealth, a substantive research on women would be necessary in the future. Preliminary information shows that some noblewomen became very vocal in terms of protecting their rights after Spanish conquest as suggested by documentary evidence on Beatriz de Castilleja. Many women relied on their male kin to claim their rights, and learned to conduct business in the Spanish fashion, using the influence of males in the society.

Of special concern is the emergence of a new group of nobles, the mestizo and the ladinos, who moved between Spanish and Indian societies. Their most important asset was the manipulation of their ethnic background as well as of their linguistic and writing skills. These individuals were particularly suited as leaders of their communities.

In the question dealing with the role of the elites after Spanish colonization, data suggested that far from being only intermediaries

between Spaniards and Indian communities, the elites were also entrepreneurs, politicians, creators of alliances, transformers of their communities, political activists, representatives of their communities, and agents of change. In addition, there were also the incompetent and the abusers. The Tarascan elites added a range of responses to colonial domination. Data showed that the elites were dynamic contributors to the Spanish domination since many elites shared power with their Spanish relatives. In the case of alliances between Spaniards and Indian noblemen and noblewomen, the evidence may indicate that their relations acted as checks and balances in the quest for local political control.

Data also suggested that the alliances between the Tarascan nobility and the Spaniards increased the conflicts between the communities and their elites, as well as conflicts among the native elites at the local level, thus increasing the level of alienation of some members of the elite from their constituencies. Therefore, the elites helped transform the colonial society, especially at the local level.

Some ladinos and mestizos were successful at bridging the gap between Spaniards and native communities. Mestizo elites were able to claim lands by using fictive or real connections with former Tarascan lineages. These lands were either maintained within the mestizo family, or were transferred to the members of their Spanish lineage. Little is known about those Spaniards who identified with the native elites or with the native communities. Some evidence from the Serie Michoacán suggests that some Spaniards who were married to Indian noblewomen preferred attending Christian services in Indian churches. Their Indian spouses, therefore, continued to identify themselves as Indians

although, according to Spanish rules, they were "españolas." This issue, and the manipulation of Indian ethnicity, have potential implications especially for the discussion of "indianness."

The data were considered adequate to deal with the question of the Tarascan elites' relations with Spanish colonizers and with their communities.

Contributions

Anthropology helps understand multicultural societies in politically unequal circumstances. Historical documentary evidence can be effectively used to develop and analyze societal models and to test social science theory.

APPENDIX 1
TARASCAN NATIVE NOBILITY

Acambaro
1522? *Acamba*, nobleman, wife of a Tarascan lord sent by the cazónci to settle in this place (RG Celaya 1987:61).
1551 *don Cristóbal*, nobleman (Kraus Col F42v-43r).
Juan Tzicique, from the Otomi area, received a license for a horse (Kraus Col., 1551, F167r).
1553 *Martin Cortés*, nobleman, received a license for a horse (Ayer Col., 1553, F213r).
don Baltasar, nobleman, received a license for a horse (Ayer Col., 1553, F213r).
1593 *don Diego Aguila*, governor (Sarrelangue 1965:233).

Aran
1591 *don Juan Coneti*, cacique, received a license for a horse with saddle and briddle (AGN, RI4, E178, F56).

Arantza
1561 *don Juan Coneti*, listed as cacique from 1561 to 1577. He fought for lands in Cherán (AHAP 2, #41, 1565; CDH-INAH, SM114, 1577).
1577 *don Francisco Coneti*, governor (CDH-INAH, SM114).

Araro
1522 *Therucicata*, lord (RM 1989:132).
Thiacari, lord (RM 1989:132).

Arimao
1500? *Zumite*, lord in early 1500's (RG Tancítaro, 1987:302).
1520 *don Juan*, governor, Zumite's son (RG Tancítaro, 1987:302).
1579 *don Lázaro*, nobleman and don Juan's eldest son.
don Juan Gómez, nobleman, don Lazaro's son. According to the RG Tancítaro, they were not obeyed because they had lost prominence (RG Tancítaro 1987:302).

Capacuaro
1589 *don Andrés Tzitziqui*, nobleman (AGN, RI4, E170, F55).
don Diego Xanaqua, nobleman (AGN, RI4, E170, F55).
don Francisco Iquiba, nobleman (AGN, RI4, E170, F55).
don Cosme Maxe, nobleman (AGN, RI4, E170, F55).
don Andres Tzintzon, nobleman (AGN, RI4, E174, F155v).
don Pedro de Vega, nobleman (AGN, RI4, E174, F155v).
1592 *don Francisco Tzico*, nobleman (AGN, RI6-1, E181, F46).

Capula
1552 *don Pablo Buenaventura*, became governor after his father died (Ayer Col F72r, In: Paredes 1994:120).

Carapan
1519? *Carapu*, lord of Carapan (N.León 1968:58).

1519 *Thurucazcu*, nobleman, Carapu's grand son, resettled Carapan after it had been abandoned (N.León 1968:58).
Cuenetze, nobleman, resettled Carapan it had been abandoned (N.León 1968:58).
Ieuemaquare, nobleman, Cuenetze's brother, with the other two he also resettled the town (N.León 1968:58).
1545 *don Antonio Tzintzon*, Carapu's great grand son, descended from one of the three resettlers (N.León 1968:58).
don Antonio Tzurequi, Carapu's great grand son, descended from one of the three resettlers (N.León 1968:58).
don Juan Cuini, Carapu's great grand son, descended from one of the three resettlers (N.León 1968:58).

1589 *don Pablo Cuiru* elected governor after the elections of this year (N.León 1968:59).
don Pedro Tzitziqui became mayor after the elections of this year (N.León 1968:59).
don Marcos Ochoa became mayor after the elections of this year (N.León 1968:59).
don Alonso Tzurequi, elected councilman (N.León 1968:59).
don Bernabe Diego elected scribe (N.León 1968:59).
don Gerónimo Tzintzón elected lieutenant in San Andres Etúcuaro (N.León 1968:59).
don Domingo Tzitziqui, elected mayor of Chilchota and summoned to obey Carapan (N.León 1968:61).
don Francisco Vacuru, elected councilman (N.León 1968:61).
Ambrosio Tzitziqui, scribe (N.León 1968:61).

Subject Towns Of Carapan

Acachuen subject town
1545 *don Miguel Gerónimo*, nobleman, (N. León 1968:58).
don Marcos Tzira, nobleman, (N. León 1968:58).

Antzitacuaro subject town
1545 *don Nicolás*, lord, (Altamirano 1989:63).

Catzupucuaro subject town
1545 *doña Margarita*, cacica, (Altamirano 1989:62).

Cuitzpatsario subject town
1545 *don Mateo Gregorio*, nobleman, (N. León 1968:58).

Etucuaro subject town
1545 *don Diego Tzacari* (Zacarias), nobleman, (N. León 1968:58).
don Miguel Cuini, nobleman, (N. León 1968:58).

Thatzicuaro subject town
1545 *don Alonso Tzurequi*, nobleman (N. León 1968:58).

Tucuro subject town
1545 *don Juan Miguel*, nobleman (N. León 1968:58).
don Francisco Sipiriqua, nobleman (N. León 1968:58).
don Juan Cuiris, nobleman (N. León 1968:58).

Tzizambasiro[1] subject town
1545 *don Francisco Sipiriqua*, nobleman, (N. León 1968:58).
don Pedro Tzacari (Zacarias), nobleman, (N. León 1968:58).

Tzopoco subject town
1545 *don Marcos Yrepan*, nobleman (N. León 1968:58).
don Juan Bautista, lord (N. León 1968:58).

Uecato subject town
1545 *don Domingo Charandu*, nobleman, (N. León 1968:58).
don Andres Cuini, nobleman, (N. León 1968:58).

Urén subjet town
1545 *don Gerónimo Valiente* (Iquiba?), nobleman, (N. León 1968:58).
don Marcos Tzira, nobleman, (N. León 1968:58).

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[1]People from Tzizambasiro were considered to be "very rebellious" (muy rebeldes).

Ychán subject town
1545 *don Pedro Tzacari* (Zacarias), nobleman (N. León 1968:58).
don Pedro Lázaro, nobleman (N. León 1968:58).

Charo or Matalcingo
1565 *Juan Motzil*, councilman (CDH-INAH, SM112).
don Bernardino Aucha, interpreter (CDH-INAH, SM112)
1567 *Francisco Molotl*, mayor
Anton Molotl, mayor
don Juan de San Miguel, councilman and ladino. He was probably for the ward of San Miguel and was listed as nobleman in 1567.
Juan Tuza [Toche?], councilman. He was elected mayor in 1567.
don Bartolomé [Polo]suchitl], councilman. He was elected mayor in 1576.
Francisco Tuza [Toche?], councilman, and elected again councilman in 1567.
Diego Chimal, councilman. He was elected again as a councilman in 1567.
Cristobal Tecpatl was listed as a pincipal in 1567.
don Antonio Tecpa, nobleman from the ward of San Miguel. He was listed as principal in 1567.
Francisco Chimal, nobleman.
Francisco Tumache, nobleman.

Chenaro
1591 *Marcos Vipinichu*, nobleman (CDH-INAH, SM114).

Cherán
1519 *Puutzua*, lord of Cherán (Título de Tierras de Cherán Hatzicurín, In: Tlalocan 1952:241).
1557 *don Domingo Quitziqui* (Tzitziqui?), governor. He contested lands in Cherán against don Pedro de Abrego (AHAP 1, #32, 1557 Cherán).

Chilchota
1519 *Pochundira*, governor (RG Chilchota 1987:107).
1557 *Pedro Curinde*, nobleman. He was a relative of don Domingo Quitziqui, governor of Cherán and was in conflict with him for some lands (AHAP 1, #31, 1556-57, Periban).
1589 *don Domingo Tzitziqui*, mayor, was asked to obey the head town of Carapan (N.León 1968:61).
don Francisco Uacuru, councilman, was asked to obey the head town of Carapan (N.León 1968:61).
Ambrosio Tzitziqui, scribe, as the above noblemen, he had to obey Carapan (N.León 1968:61).
1590 *don Antonio Huitziméngari*, governor, he complained against the correqidor Pedro de Salazar who claimed that he and other noblemen from Chilchota, had misled the Spanish authorities during the last population count giving a lower number of Indians for tributary purposes (AGN, RI5, E1044, F267v-268r).
1591 *don Domingo Mexia*, principal.
don Juan Zinzunza, principal. He has lands in Chilchota but is probably not from the town (AGN, RI6-2, E32, F10r).

Cincoque
1551 *don Alonso*, nobleman, is sent to organize the Chichimecs for the teachings of the Christian doctrine (Kraus Col, doc 46, F159v, 1551).

Comanja
1532 *Buenaventura*, lord, his town was subject to the encomienda of Juan Infante (Warren 1985:191).

Condémbaro
1552 *Francisco*, nobleman, he was granted a license to have a horse (Ayer Coll, 1552, F65v, in: Paredes 1994:116).

Corínquaro
1300? *Chansori*, lord, Tariácuri's father-in-law (RM 1989:129).
Chapa, lord, allied of Xarácuaro. According to the Relación, his mother had been a slave (RM 1989:130).
Hucaco, *Hotzeti*, *Uacus-quatzita*, *Quata-maripe*, and *Xaracato* were all Chapa's sons (RM 1989:130).

Cuanajo
1588 *don Gregorio Guapean*, prioste of the hospital of Cuanajo (subject town of Pátzcuaro) (AHAP4, #42, 1588 Cuanajo). He fought against Andres Tari for lands (AHAP 4, #42, 1588 Cuanajo).

Cuitzeo
1553 *don Juan*, cacique, complained with his wife *doña Maria*, to receive mal treatment from their encomendero (Ayer Col, 1553, 3 Marzo, F224v-225r, in: Paredes 1994:143).

Chucandiro
1556 *Juan Chapi*, nobleman who testified on behalf of Beatriz Castilleja's lands in Periban (AHAP 1, #31, 1556 Periban).
1587 *Pedro Guaquin*, councilman. He was from Tacatzcuaro, subject town of Chucandiro.

1590? *Miguel García*, nobleman, was granted license to have a ranch to raise sheep in the town of Marijo. When he became governor, he received two caballerias of land (Piñón Flores 1984:151).
1594 *Mateo Tzitziqui*, governor, received a grant for a ranch to raise sheep and two caballerias of land (Piñón Flores 1984:151).

Cuitzeo
1579 *don Fernando de Sotelo*,cacique, encomendero of Tarimbaro (RG Cuseo de la Laguna 1987:80).
1580 *don Agustín*, nobleman was granted an estancia (a ranch for sheep) (Piñón Flores 1984:151).
Antón Gerónimo, nobleman was granted a labor de pan (Piñón Flores 1984:151).
Juan Cuna and *Cristobal* nobleman had a ranch to raise sheep near Cuitzeo (Piñón Flores 1984:151).
1590 *don Juan Iquiba*, nobleman.
Matias Guanota, nobleman, his lands in Curisineo were legally protected (AGN, RI4, E596, F163r, 1590 Cuitzeo; Piñón Flores 1984:151).
don Pedro Miguel, nobleman
don Bartolomé Miguel, nobleman who received a license for a saddled horse with briddles and could travel throughout New Spain (AGN, RI4, E608, F166r, 1590).
don Agustin Cano, nobleman, was granted a license to have a horse. He could travel throughout New Spain (AGN, RI4, E609, F166r, 1590).
don Bartolomé Guavi, nobleman, received a similar grant than the one above (AGN, RI4, E610, F166r, 1590).
1591 *don Agustín Cuiri*, nobleman, receives a license to have a horse with saddle and briddle (AGN, RI5, E982, F155, 1591).
Bartolomé Coaxanda, nobleman, receives a license to have a horse with saddle and briddle (AGN, RI6-2, E48, F13, 1591).

Cumanchén
ca1400 *Henziua*, lord allied to the Tarascans (RM 1989:133).
Tangaxoan, lord, Henziua's son (RM 1989:133).
Nando, nobleman, Henziua's son (RM 1989:133).

Carata, lord, Henziua's son (RM 1989:133).
Hueresta, nobleman, Henziua's son (RM 1989:168).

Cutzamala
1551 *don Pedro*, nobleman, received a license to have a horse (Kraus Col, F49r).

Erongarícuaro
ca1450 *Cuinba*, nobleman, Tangaxoan (I) and Hiripan's maternal uncle (RM 1989:119).
1584 *Francisco Quama* (Tzama?), councilman (AHAP 4, #12).
Andrés Gabriel, interpreter (AHAP 4, #12).
1590 *don Juan Marcelino*, nobleman, received various grants to have sword, and saddled horse with frains (CDH-INAH, SM115, 1590; Sarrelangue 1965:241).
1591 *Francisco Amacua*

Guayameo
1591 *don Diego Sumo*, cacique and governor, received a license to have a saddled horse with frains (AGN, RI5, E431, F185).

Huango
1551 *don Alonso*, nobleman, received a license to have a horse (Kraus Col, F56v).
1591 *Mateo Tzitziqui*, nobleman, received a merced of a sitio for large cattle, and two caballerias of land to raise sheep near Puruandiro (AGN, RI6-2, E20, F6r-v).

Huaniqueo
? *Sicuindecuma*, lord of Huaniqueo (RM 1989:133)
Cocopara, *Uacuzquatzita*, and *Tzancapari* were Sicuindecuma's sons (RM 1989:133).
1524 *Taguypu*, lord. According to Paredes he was a "calpixque" (or ohcambeti) when Huaniqueo was made head-town (1984:30).

1520's *don Pedro*, nobleman who helped conqueror Hernán Cortés to move an estancia from Naranja to Huaniqueo (Warren 1985:205).
1559 *Antón* and *Juan Axamo*, noblemen, (CDH-INAH, SM114, 1559 Huaniqueo).
1562 *don Francisco Tero*, governor (AHAP 2, #15, 1562 Huaniqueo).
don Alonso Zuangua, governor in 1559 (CDH-INAH, SM114) and became constable (AHAP 2, #15, 1562 Huaniqueo).
Juan Zuangua, constable (AHAP 2, #15, 1562 Huaniqueo). He was also listed as principal in 1559 (CDH-INAH, SM114).
Bernabé Cutros, listed as principal in 1562 and in 1559 (AHAP 2, #15, 1562 Huaniqueo; CDH-INAH, SM114).
1565 *don Lorenzo Pérez*, nobleman receives a license to raise cattle in unoccupied lands (Piñón Flores 1984:151).

Ihuatzio
ca1450 *Hiripan*, lord, Tariacuri's paternal nephew (RM 1989:169).
1519 *Paquingata*, lord, suitable heir become the cazónci after Zuangua's death (RM 1989:262).
1533 *doña Maria Inaguit*, noblewoman and daughter of Paquingata, lord of Ihuatzio, married *don Francisco de Castilleja*, Spaniard and conqueror, who was named interpreter (nahuatato) in the claim against Pedro Arellano the Spaniard who robbed the cazonci's treasure (AGI, Justicia, leg187, num1, Ramo2).
1565 *Pablo Coyote*, oficial of Pátzcuaro, testified to have been a lapidary of the lord of Ihuatzio and testified on behalf of doña Beatriz de Castilleja on her lands of Periban (AHAP 1, #31, 1556 Periban).
1602 *Antón Tzitziqui*, lieutenant. Presents with the noblemen cited below, a request to be resettled in either Tzintzuntzan or

Pátzcuaro since they had relatives in both towns (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1602 Ihuatzio).
Lucas Tzintzón, councilman
Juan Pacheco, mayordomo
Antón Tzurequi, nobleman
Pablo Guacuinchu, nobleman
Miguel Angel, scribe
Pedro Sanintzera, lieutenant

Indaparapeo
1553 *don Martin*, nobleman, due to his service in the Chichimec war he received a license for a horse (Ayer Col, 1553, F233r, in: Paredes 1994:144).
1591 *Magdalena and Isabel*, noblewomen, daughters of Francisco Atzi (AHAP, 5, #31).

Itziparamucu
ca 1450? *Tzintzun*, lord (RM 1989:96).

Iztapa
1557 *don Domingo*, governor (AHAP 1,#33, 1557 Iztapa).
Alonso Chaigua, constable in the town of Hanchangueo, subject to Iztapa, complains against governor don Domingo for mistreatment (AHAP 1,#33, 1557 Iztapa).
Francisco Pio, constable, with Alonso Chaigua accused the governor of mistreatment (AHAP 1,#33, 1557 Iztapa).

Jacona
1551 *don Manuel*, nobleman from the town of Xuroneo, subject to Jacona (Kraus Col, doc 52, F164r).
1553 *don Alonso Chapa*, nobleman received a permit to have a horse (Ayer Col, 1553, F230v, in: Paredes 1994:144).

Pacandan
? *Urapeme*, lord, succeeded his father Zuangua in the lordship of the town (RM 1989:129).

Pacapetaro
1519 *Tzuonqua*, lord (N.León 1968:49).

Paracho
1528? *Juan Catao*, nobleman, was at the service of the cazonci, later his town was subject to Turicato (Warren 1985:206).
1552 *don Gaspar*, cacique, received a license to have a horse (Ayer Col, 1552, F68v, in:Paredes 1994:116).

Patuán
1592 *don Pedro Pio*, mayordomo and mandón who was in charge of don Antonio Huitziméngari's lands in Patuán and later were bequeathed to his son don Pablo (AHAP 5, #24 1592-93 Patuán).
don Bartolomé Cuini, nobleman and don Pedro's son (AHAP 5, #24 1592-93 Patuán).
don Pedro Tzitziqui, nobleman and a renter in the lands of don Antonio in Patuán (AHAP 5, #24 1592-93 Patuán).

Pátzcuaro
? *Iquingari*, lord (RM 1989:169).
1536 *don Antonio Huitziméngari*, governor until his death in 1564 and the son of the last cazonci Tangaxoan (CDH-INAH, SM112).

? *doña Maria Maruacuezcu*, noblewoman married to don Antonio (CDH-INAH, SM112).
1552 *don Francisco*, nobleman, received license to have a horse (Ayer Col. F109, In: Paredes 1994:124).

1554 *don Marcos Quaniguata*, nobleman from Pátzcuaro, claimed to have been with the cazónci in Tzintzuntzan to receive the Spaniards (Warren 1985:51).

1557 *don Juan Tzitziqui*, mayor.
don Marcos Quaniguata, mayor.
don Baltasar Tzantzani, mandón and ohcambeti of the ward of carpenters (CDH-INAH, SM114, 1557).
Pablo Para, mandón and ohcambeti from the ward of Echuén (CDH-INAH, SM114, 1557).
Juan Gabriel Tzimbequa, mayor (CDH-INAH, SM114, 1557).
Francisco, constable (AHAP 1, #39, 1558)

1561 *Pedro Quaca*, constable from the ward of Sirandangacho. He was sent to Periban with a justice command to arrest a criminal. He had a relative in Periban who had the same name as his (AHAP 2, #7, 1561). In 1570, following a land claim between don Pablo Cazonci and don Juan Bautista Huitziméngari, he was ordered by the local Audiencia to receive in deposit the maize from the land in question, until the fight was resolved (AHAP3, #9, 1570 Tzintzuntzan).

1568 *don Juan Puruata*, governor of Pátzcuaro from 1568 to 1573, mayor from 1576 to 1577, and governor from 1587 to 1588 (CDH-INAH, SM112 1568).
don Miguel, nobleman, listed as don Pablo's half-brother (CDH-INAH, SM112 1568).

1570 *don Alonso Quaca*, nobleman of the ward of Sirandangacho, in charge of don Juan Bautista's lands in Tzintzuntzan (AHAP 3, #9, 1570 Tzintzuntzan).

1571 *don Andrés*, chief constable of the prison of Pátzcuaro (AHAP3, #14).
Pedro Tzonque, constable of the prison (AHAP3, #14).
don Andrés Tirimarasco, elected mayor (AHAP3, #14).
Pedro Cutro constable (AHAP3, #14).

1573 *don Pablo Cazonci*, governor, son of don Antonio Huitziméngari and doña Maria (CDH-INAH, SM112). He governed until his death in 1576 (or 1577).
don Martin Tzimban, nobleman from the ward of Tzimban (CDH-INAH, SM112, 1573)
Jacobo Tzapi, nobleman had lands in Guanajo-Tzotzopeo and resided in the ward of Tzimban (CDH-INAH, SM112, 1573).
don Sebastian Cuini, nobleman, claimed to have been the son of Antonio Quentze and the grand son of Guapean. he had lands called Guanajo de Paqua (AHAP 3, #24, 1573, Pátzcuaro).
Bartolomé Ozuno, chief constable (AHAP 3, #24, 1573, Pátzcuaro).
don Francisco Martin, interpreter (AHAP 3, #24, 1573, Pátzcuaro).
don Andrés Hurtado, interpreter (AHAP 3, #24, 1573, Pátzcuaro).
Pedro Zuangua, nobleman of Chiquimitio, ward of Pátzcuaro. He was elected lieutenant of Pátzcuaro in 1574. (AHAP 3, #24, 1573-74, Pátzcuaro).

1575 *Juan Bautista*, chief constable, ladino in Spanish (AHAP 3, #33, 1575 Pátzcuaro).
don Alonso de Cáceres, ladino, lawyer, merchant and a relative of doña Beatriz de Castilleja (AHAP 3, #34, 1575 Pátzcuaro).

1576 *don Juan Puruata*, governor (AHAP 3bis, #48, 1576 Pátzcuaro), governor in 1587 CDH-INAH, SM112, 1587 Pátzcuaro). He was governor from 1568 to 1573, mayor from 1573 to 1576, and again governor from 1576 to 1583 and from 1587 to 1588. He married don Antonio's widow, doña Maria, and at her death he inherited two thirds of the lands that had been bequeathed to don Pablo and that had passed to his mother doña Maria (AHAP 5bis, #24, 1592 Tamacuaro).
don Juan Tzitziqui, mayor (AHAP 3bis, #48, 1576 Pátzcuaro).

1577 *don Diego Cuini*, mayordomo
don Juan Tzitzincha, nobleman
Marcos Caraco, nobleman and don Juan Tzitzincha's cousin
Pedro Cuiris, nobleman and don Juan Tzitzincha's brother-in-law
Pedro Guaco, nobleman, merchant of Pátzcuaro (AHAP 3bis, #46, 1577 Pátzcuaro).

1580 *Pedro Tzitzincha*, nobleman of the ward of San Luis. He also was known with the last name Quecheme. He was a relative of Lazaro Huichire of Uruapan who moved to Pátzcuaro, to the ward of San Lazaro, and later married don Diego Pitahqua's sister.
Gaspar Tero, nobleman. In his will, he left his possessions to his family (AHAP 3bis, #81, 1580 Pátzcuaro).
Francisco Tero, Gaspar Tero's son (AHAP 3bis, #81, 1580 Pátzcuaro).
Margarita, Gaspar Tero's daughter (AHAP 3bis, #81, 1580 Pátzcuaro).
Elena Tenaju, Gaspar Tero's daughter, married to Melchor Taquichagua (AHAP 3bis, #81, 1580 Pátzcuaro).
Luis Tero, Gaspar Tero's son. He was a merchant who worked for Alonso Carbajal an Indian merchant as well (AHAP 3bis, #81, 1580 Pátzcuaro).
Juan Bautista, Gaspar Tero's son (cited as chief constable).
Maria Tenaju, Gaspar's youngest daughter was sent to her brother Juan Bautista so that she would take care of him (AHAP 3bis, #81, 1580 Pátzcuaro).
Alonso Cuzcacuán, Gaspar Tero's brother (AHAP 3bis, #81, 1580).

1581 *don Constantino Huitziméngari* was named judge-governor of Tiripitío, Capula and Tarimbaro with an annual salary of 90 pesos and 30 fanegas of corn (AGN, RI1, E304, F138r, 1581 Michoacán).

1582 *Francisco de la Cerda*, interpreter, ladino in Spanish language and judge-governor in Taximaroa . In 1587 was interpreter of Pátzcuaro and in 1609 he was mayor. He supported governor don Luis de Castilleja y Puruata (AGN, RI6-1, E670, F179r 1582 Taximaroa; AHAP 3bis, #46 1587 Pátzcuaro; CDH-INAH, SM117, 1609 Pátzcuaro). In 1577 he had deposited 24 pesos in the audiencia, on behalf of Cristobal Quatarán, a prisoner because he had bought a stolen horse (AHAP 3bis, #46, 1577 Pátzcuaro).

1583 *Francisco de Olines*, governor (AHAP 4, #17).
1587 *Joaquin Tero*, constable of the ward of San Francisco. He was a merchant as well (AHAP 4, #17).
1588 *don Andrés Chalchihuite*, nobleman with the noblemen cited below, signed a petition to the Spanish authorities, complained against the excessive demands of governor don Constantino Huitziméngari in terms of tributary payments and requests to the officers of trades to produce large amounts of luxury goods (CDH-INAH, SM114, 1588 Pátzcuaro). These noblemen were from various towns subject to Pátzcuaro.
Baltasar Asapi, nobleman
don Pedro Tzicu, councilman
Francisco Chatan, councilman
Diego Chatan, nobleman
Benito Ucambeti[2], ohcambeti
Anton Huitzacua, nobleman
Nicolás Acambeti, ohcambeti
Pedro Huicha, nobleman
Fernando Yrepan, nobleman
don Baltasar Tzari, nobleman

[2]This is the first time in historical documents that Ohcambeti appears also as a last name.

Gabriel Tzimbequa, constable
Marcos Puruje, nobleman
Pablo Cuaraque, nobleman
don Antonio Para, lieutenant of Tzintzuntzan
Pedro Tzira, nobleman of Tzintzuntzan
Juan Qutro, nobleman of Tzintzuntzan
Andrés Alonso, nobleman of Tzitzuntzan
Miguel Tziquitan, councilman
Melchor Tziqua (Tzicu?), nobleman
Andrés Para, nobleman
Diego Chuiciqui (Tzitziqui?), nobleman
Pedro Jupa, nobleman
Juan Guicha, nobleman
Luis Quaca, nobleman
Lucas Cuini, nobleman
Domingo Tari, lieutenant of San Gerónimo
Bernabé Tzitziqui, councilman
Juan Changari, lieutenant of San Andrés.

1588 *Andres Tari*, nobleman of Pátzcuaro, fought against don Gregorio Guapean, prioste of the hospital of Cuanajo (subject town of Pátzcuaro) for lands in Cuanajo (AHAP 4, #42, 1588 Cuanajo).
don Luis de Castilleja y Puruata, nobleman. He and the noblemen listed below signed a document ceding lands that had belongued to don Juan Puruata, in San Pedro Charanx, to the Hospital of Santa Martha in Pátzcuaro (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1622). Document includes the transfer of lands in 1581). Don Luis was governor in 1622 when the dispute for this land took place.
don Francisco Cuiniharángari mayor, from the ward of San Salvador,(CDH-INAH, SM117, 1622). In 1622 he was mayor.
don Francisco Cozinco, nobleman, signed the transference of land above.
Pedro Cozinco, nobleman
Miguel Tzitziqui, councilman
don Pedro Tzitziqui, chief constable
don Pablo Puruata, nobleman, in 1622 he was elected chief constable (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1622).
Pedro Gauloa, nobleman
Agustín Tano, fiscal mayor (chief attorney)
Damian Tutul, nobleman
Juan Tzitziqui, nobleman
Pablo Tupataro, nobleman
Francisco Cuini, listed as nobleman of Cuanajo in 1581, was elected lieutenant governor in 1622 (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1622).
Andrés Cuirangua (Sirangua?), nobleman from the ward of La Asunción Olleros (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1622).
Gregorio Tzitziqui,"cambeau" (perhaps mandon) of the ward of San Lazaro and was still a mandón in 1622 (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1622).
Miguel Macías, nobleman, all signed the transference of land indicated above (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1622).

1588 *don Constantino Huitziméngari*, governor. He was the son of don Antonio Huitziméngari and doña Ana de Ocelo, cacica of Uruapan (CDH-INAH, SM114 1588)
don Juan Paqui, mayor paternal cousin of don Constantino and his political ally signed a petition to have don Constantino remain in power (CDH-INAH, SM114 1588). In 1596, he testified on behalf of doña Beatriz de Castilleja who claimed lands in Urichu. Both had lands in Uruchu and were neighboors (AHAP 5bis, #58, 1596-98 Urichu). In 1592 he was married to doña Maria Popoche sister of don Juan Cuiris a featherworker (AGN, RI5, E64, F87v,1588). Later, he married doña Magdalena Huitziméngari, sister of don Antonio Huitziméngari governor of Chilchota (Sarrelangue 1965:251). He was listed as governor of Pátzcuaro in 1598.

don Juan Cuiris, nobleman and featherworker (AGN, RI5, E64, F87v).
don Antonio Ahui mayor
don Marcos Quecheme councilman
don Cristobal Cara, councilman
don Francisco Untzaqua (Huitzacua?) councilman
don Francisco Hirian, councilman
don Francisco Tzitziqui, mayordomo
don Lucas [Pa]rio, mayordomo
Antonio Jiménez, mayordomo
don Juan Pechamta, nobleman
Benito Paqua, nobleman
Juan Tzitziqui, nobleman
Alonso Puruata, nobleman, he was elected chief constable in 1622 (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1622).

1589 *Miguel Cuara*, nobleman. All the noblemen below, were witnesses to the lands sold by don Juan Puruata to the hospital of Santa Martha. The document includes several years in which the fight for the lands between the hospital and the relatives of Félix de Sarria took place. These noblemen were from various subject towns of Pátzcuaro (CDH-INAH, SM118, 1622).
Gabriel Cuiris, nobleman
Gaspar Cuiris, nobleman
Diego Tzitziqui, nobleman
Pedro Tzitziqui, nobleman
Rafael Tzitziqui, nobleman
Miguel Tzitziqui, nobleman
Diego Cuini, nobleman
Bartolomé Cuini, nobleman
Pedro Chanaria, nobleman
Diego Tzurequi, nobleman
Juan Guapeani, nobleman
Pedro Tzintzon, nobleman
Gabriel Tzintzon, nobleman
Francisco Cutros, nobleman
Francisco Nuli, nobleman
Agustín Nuli, nobleman
Pablo Nuli, nobleman
Diego Sirangua, nobleman
Joseph Huitzacua, nobleman
Lucas Huitzacua, nobleman
Andrés Curintzan, nobleman
Pedro Valles, also called Pedro Huacus, nobleman
Francisco Tzitzincha, nobleman
Juan Chucuare Yreti, also written "Ucariseti", nobleman
Bartolomé Hacapa, nobleman.

1589 *don Juan de la Cerda*, nobleman of Pátzcuaro, was sent to the town of Tancítaro as judge-governor, for a period of a year with a salary of one hundred pesos per year (AGN, RI4, E23, F6r, 1589 Tancítaro).
1590 *don Constantino*, governor since 1588, he stayed in power until 1592 when he was substituted by don Lorenzo Tacahuaque (Tixcacuxe), and later was again governor from 1595 to 1596 (AHAP 4#53, 1590; AGN, RI3, E242, F55v 1591 Pátzcuaro; Paredes 1984:87-88; AGN, RI1, E304, F138r, 1595 Pátzcuaro). He succeeded his brother don Pablo in the cacicazgo (AGN, RI4, E399, F117v-118r, 1590 Pátzcuaro). The lands of Apupato (inherited from don Antonio to don Pablo) were sold to pay back a debt that don Constantino owed in 1596 (AGN, RI4, E642, F173r 1596).
Alonso Carvajal, nobleman (he was cited as an Indian merchant in 1580 and a relative of Gaspar Tero, (in AHAP 3bis,#81).
Juan Huitzacua, nobleman
don Juan Iracu, nobleman

Diego Tzitziqui, constable (AHAP, #53, 1590 Pátzcuaro); appeared as a witness in the lands sold by Puruata to the hospital of Santa Martha in 1589 (CDH-INAH, SM118, 1622).
don Diego de Castañeda, nobleman, had an ingenio in the town of Tonbendan (AHAP4, #59, 1590).

1591 *Anton Tzitziqui*, nobleman and *Gaspar Yreti* made a deposit of money on behalf of Alonso Tinguiri who had committed to spinning silk for a Spaniard, but had taken the silk away and was imprisoned (AHAP 5, #4, 1591,). Anton Tzitziqui died in 1591 (AHAP 5, #4, 1591).
doña Inés de Castilleja y Puruata, noblewoman, daughter of don Juan Puruata and doña Juana de Garfias y Abrego, was married to don Rodriguez Laínez Calvo at approximately this time (CDH-INAH, SM118, 1621-22).
Pablo Ichta, fiscal, hospital of Santa Catarina in Pátzcuaro (AHAP 5, #4, 1591 Pátzcuaro).
Marcos Huitzacua, quenque, hospital of Santa Catarina in Pátzcuaro (AHAP 5, #4, 1591 Pátzcuaro).
Francisco Tonuri, nobleman, hospital of Santa Catarina in Pátzcuaro (AHAP 5, #4, 1591 Pátzcuaro).
Juan Cuini, nobleman, hospital of Santa Catarina in Pátzcuaro (AHAP 5, #4, 1591 Pátzcuaro).

1592 *Pedro Cuiriscuaro* (Tirimarasco?), nobleman, testified on behalf of the Spanish don Francisco de Sarria in the fight for lands between Sarria and the descendants of don Antonio Huitziméngari in Patuán (AHAP 5bis, #24, 1592 Patuán). According to the document, he had been "criado" (mimi criado o pariente) of don Antonio.
Juan Bautista de los Angeles, interpreter, testified on behalf of don Antonio's descendants (AHAP 5bis, #24, 1592).
Bernabé Guapeán, nobleman, tequitlato (uhcambeti) of the ward of San Pablo; had been "criado y sirviente" of don Antonio. Testified on behalf of don Antonio's descendants (AHAP 5bis, #24, 1592).
Pedro Xanaqua, mandón of the ward of La Asunción. With Diego Tzari, he had measured don Pablo's lands. With his sons Bartolomé and Mateo of Surumucapeo, they moved to Patuán to take care of this lands. Bartolomé and Mateo had been servants of the encomendero of Uruapan Francisco de Villegas (AHAP 5bis, #24, 1592 Patuán).
Diego Tari, nobleman, measured don Pablo's lands in Patuán (AHAP 5bis, #24, 1592).
don Francisco Cuiris, nobleman his lands in the ward ot San Miguel received protection (AGN, RI6-2, E632, F142 Pátzcuaro)
don Lorenzo Tacahuaque (Tixcacuxe), governor (AHAP 5bis, #62, 1592).
don Pedro Atzi, councilman (AHAP 5bis, #62, 1592 Pátzcuaro).
don Marcos Quecheme, councilman (AHAP 5bis, #62, 1592 Pátzcuaro).
Francisco Tzahma, chief constable (AHAP 5bis, #62, 1592 Pátzcuaro).

1592 *don Antonio Jiménez Acatli*, nobleman, listed as an old man (Sarrelangue 1965).
don Francisco Tzitzon nobleman, received a license to have sword and dagger (AGN, RI-5, E835, F219)
don Fancisco Tzahma, nobleman (Sarrelangue 1965).
don Bartolomé Tzahma, nobleman (Sarrelangue 1965).
don Alonso Tzahma, nobleman
Pedro Paqua
don Francisco Avalos
Simón Cuiras (Cuiris?), nobleman, (Sarrelangue 1965:282)
Pedro Tzitziqui
Marcos Cuiris, nobleman, received a license for a horse
Marcos Perez nobleman, received a license for a horse
Andrés Tzurequi, nobleman, had lands in the ward of San Andrés Tzicu[n] that were given to him by Francisco Acris (Atzi) and Maria Chimalmani, and wants to sell them (AGN, RI6-2, E626, F140r)

Miguel Tzurequi, nobleman from the ward of San Andrés Tzicun had bought lands in this ward and want them to be protected since Indians from the town had invaded his lands (AGN, RI6-2, E624, F139v-140r).

1593 *don Pedro Cuini*, nobleman (CDH-INAH, SM114).
don Diego Jimenez, nobleman
don Juan Bonifacio, nobleman
1594 *Gaspar Tzitziqui*, constable from the ward of San Pedro Echuán, subject of Pátzcuaro is in charge of collecting diezmos in the ward of Ajuno.
Juan Pangua, "doctor" (curer) of the hospital of San Francisco in Pátzcuaro (AHAP 5, #17).
Gabriel de la Cerda, nobleman
don Cristóbal Caramayo, nobleman but illiterate.
Miguel Intzaqua (Huitzaqua?), lieutenant of the ward of Pechatáro (AHAP 5, #42, 1594 Pátzcuaro)
Angel Villafama, lieutenant from the ward of Axuno (AHAP 5, #42, 1594 Pátzcuaro)
Ambrosio Tzitzincha, lieutenant from the ward of Huiramangaro (AHAP 5, #42, 1594 Pátzcuaro).
Miguel Uganbete, uhcambeti from the ward of Huiramangaro (AHAP 5, #42, 1594 Pátzcuaro).

1595 *don Constantino Huitziméngari*, governor, lost office the year after due to corruption charges (Paredes 1984:87-88).
1596 *don Domingo Huitzaqua*, lieutenant of Pátzcuaro. Testified on behalf of doña Beatriz de Castilleja in the land claims of Urichu. He rented lands to doña Beatriz (AHAP 5bis, #58, 1596).
don Alonso Cáceres, nobleman, ladino, lawyer, chief constable, relative of doña Beatriz de Castilleja (AHAP 5bis, #58, 1596).
Miguel Intzaqua, lieutenant from Pechataro subject of Pátzcuaro (AHAP 5, #42, 1596 Pátzcuaro).
Angel Villafama, lieutenant from Axuno, subject of Pátzcuaro (AHAP 5, #42, 1596 Pátzcuaro).
Ambrosio Tzitzincha, lieutenant from Huiramangaro, subject of Pátzcuaro (AHAP 5, #42, 1596 Pátzcuaro).
Manuel Ucanbeti, lieutenant from San Juan Huiramangaro, subject of Pátzcuaro (AHAP 5, #42, 1596 Pátzcuaro).

1598 *don Juan Paqui*, governor (AHAP 5bis, #58, 1596-98 Urichu)
don Francisco Tzurequi, mayor. He was from the ward of San Lazaro in Pátzcuaro (AHAP 5bis, #78, 1598 Pázcuaro).
don Juan Timaxe, nobleman, was don Juan Paqui's brother in-law, and was in charge of Paqui's lands in Huiramangaro (AHAP 5bis, #58, 1596-98 Urichu).
1609 *don Luis de Castilleja y Puruata*, governor. He had allied with several Spaniards among whom were his uncle don Francisco de Garfias, his brother-in-law Juan Rodriguez Lainez Calvo, and the noblemen cited below (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1609 Pátzcuaro).
Gabriel Ramirez, nobleman and mayor, political ally of don Luis (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1609 Pátzcuaro).
don Francisco Cuiniharangari nobleman (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1609). He was from the ward of San Salvador. He was elected mayor in 1622 (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1622).
Pedro Chamboa, nobleman (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1609 Pátzcuaro).
Pedro Pahriti, nobleman (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1609 Pátzcuaro).
Francisco Tzurequi, nobleman (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1609 Pátzcuaro).
don Francisco de la Cerda, mayor, (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1609 Pátzcuaro).
Pedro Mano, mayordomo, (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1609 Pátzcuaro).
Sebastian Jiménez, nobleman (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1609 Pátzcuaro).
Diego Tzitziqui, scribe of Axuno (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1609 Pátzcuaro).
Gabriel Tzitziqui, lieutenant governor from Axuno (CDH-INAH, SM117,).

Mateo Tziranda, constable in charge of the production of hens in Pátzcuaro (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1609 Pátzcuaro).
Francisco Pétamo, ohcambeti (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1609 Pátzcuaro).
Noblemen who opposed the above faction were the following:
don Francisco Tzahma, councilman of Tzintzuntzan (CDH-INAH, SM117).
don Pablo Quecheme, councilman (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1609 Pátzcuaro).
Gabriel Tzitziqui, constable (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1609 Pátzcuaro).
Francisco Pétamo, ohcambeti (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1609).
Sebastian Jiménez, ohcambeti of the ward of San Mateo (CDH-INAH, SM117).
Juan, ohcambeti of the ward of San Mateo (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1609).

1614 *Pedro Cuiris*, nobleman. Him and the noblemen below had witnessed the donation of lands made by don Juan Puruata to the Hospital of Santa Martha in 1589:
Diego Tsiranda, nobleman
Bartolomé Cuini, nobleman
Lucas Huitzacua, nobleman
Luis Cuini, nobleman (CDH-INAH, SM118, 1614 Pátzcuaro).

1622 *don Francisco Cuiris*, nobleman and mandón of Tzacapu Angamoco signed a petition to donate lands to the hospital of Santa Martha with the noblemen cited below, as well as with some of the noblemen who had originally signed the donation in 1581 (listed under 1581 (CDH INAH, SM117).
Juan Tao, lieutenant of Tupataro (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1622 Pátzcuaro).
Agustín Xanaqua, mandón of San Pedro Buen (CDH-INAH, SM117).
Diego Pangua, mandón of the ward of La Doctrina (CDH-INAH, SM117).
doña Juana de Garfias, noblewoman, wife of don Juan Puruata, testified about the lands that her husband had donated to the hospital of Santa Martha in 1589 (CDH-INAH, SM118, 1621-22).
Melchor Gonzalez de la Cerda, interpreter, declares on behalf of the hospital of Santa Martha (CDH-INAH, SM118).
Zacarias Cuini, prioste of the hospital of Santa Martha (CDH-INAH, SM118).

1622 *don Luis de Castilleja y Puruata*, governor, (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1622).
don Pablo Puruata, was elected chief constable but, was also a mandón (CDH-INAH, SM117).
don Francisco Cuini, elected lieutenant governor in 1622, he was from Cuanajo (CDH-INAH, SM117).
don Francisco Cuini, mandón of the ward of Zacapo Angamoco (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1622 Pátzcuaro).
Pedro Tao, mandón of the ward of Santa Cruz (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1622).
Juan Tao, lieutenant of Tupataro (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1622 Pátzcuaro).
Andres Quiagua, mandón of the ward of La Asunción Olleros (CDH-INAH, SM117).
Agustin Xanaqua, mandón of the ward of San Pedro Buen (CDH-INAH, SM117).
Diego Pangua, mandon of the ward of Cuianendaro (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1622 Pátzcuaro).

1624 *don Luis de Castilleja y Puruata*, governor (CDH-INAH, SM118, 1624).
don Pedro Díaz Huacuxan, nobleman (CDH-INAH, SM118, 1624 Pátzcuaro).

Pénjamo

1532 *don Diego Tomás Quesuchiga*, cacique, judge-governor and captain of the Chichimec, son of Tangaxoan, received a land grant known to have been the only grant made to an Indian nobleman in the area of Tlazazalca-Zacapu-Huaniqueo (Piñón Flores 1984:150, N.León 1968:251).

don Diego López Guin (Cuini?), nobleman and captain, with Quesuchiga they helped the Spaniards in the conquest of the Chichimecs (N.León 1968:253).

Periban

1552 *don Juan Caraqua*, governor until 1564 (AHAP 1, #31, 1556 Periban; AHAP 2, #35, 1564 Periban).

1556 *Domingo Choque*, mayor and witness in the land claim of doña beatriz de Castilleja (AHAP 1, #31, 1556 Periban).
Diego Quintzio, nobleman from the ward of San Francisco Periban, testified on behalf of Castilleja in her land claim for lands in Periban (AHAP 1, #31, 1556 Periban).
Domingo Charanda, mayordomo of the lands of Periban that belongued to Castilleja (AHAP 1, #31, 1556 Periban).
don Alonso, cacique of San Cristobal subject to Periban, testified on behalf of Castilleja (AHAP 1, #31, 1556 Periban).
Lucas Cunbe, mayordomo of San Cristobal, was a witness in the land claim of doña Beatriz (AHAP 1, #31, 1556 Periban).
don Antonio Cazonci, nobleman, testified for doña beatriz. He had lands in Periban in the hill called Urumao (AHAP 1, #31, 1556).

1561 *don Domingo Atzi*, mayor, San Juan Periban (AHAP 3, #33).
Francisco Curitemba (Tzuritemba?), mayor, San Francisco
Luis Hiquo, nobleman, San Francisco
Melchor Tependuapa, nobleman, San Francisco

1564 *Miguel Hernández*, interpreter of Juan de Baeza (visitador) of the Audiencia (AHAP 4).
don Andrés Ynchundari, cacique (AHAP 2, #32, 1564 Periban).
don Juan, cacique and governor (AHAP 2, #32, 1564 Periban).

1573-4 *don Andrés Ychundari*, mayor (AHAP 4, #14).
Pedro Uipi, councilman
Juan Tarunda, mayordomo
Alonso Singuata, nobleman

1587 *Lucas Clemente*, mayor (AHAP 4, #29, 1587).
Pedro Angel, councilman (AHAP 4, #29, 1587).
Andrés Morales, Mayordomo (AHAP 4, #29, 1587).

1590 *don Marcos García*, cacique

Pinzándaro

1592 *don Lázaro Hernández*, cacique, his cacicazgo was recognized (AGN, RI 6-1, E342, F91r 1592 Pinzandaro).

Pomacuarán

1565 *don Juan*, nobleman, accused of falsifying a license for a horse, that he had extended to Miguel Hernández (son of lieutenant of Uruapan,who was the son of Tlaxcaltecan noblemen residing in Uruapan (AHAP 2, #41,).

1577 *don Pedro*, governor, (AHAP 1, #31)

1591 *don Andrés Constantino*, governor and cacique, received a license for horse, sword and dagger (AGN,RI3,E720,F169).
Miguel Constantino received a license for a sword (AGN, RI3, E743, F174r).
Juan Catao nobleman
don Antonio Constantino (nobleman). He and don Gabriel were protected in the lands that they had in Pamacuarán (AGN, RI5, E1040, F337).
don Gabriel Tacera (nobleman) (AGN, RI5, E1040, F337).

Pungari-hoato

1595 *don Benito Taquibozi*, judge-governor (Sarrelangue 1965).

Puruándiro

1561 *don Juan*, governor, with the noblemen listed below, they named Angel Medina (lawyer) to look after a conflict that Puruándiro has against Indians of Cuanajo:

don Andrés, constable, and
don Pablo, nobleman (AHAP 2, #8, 1561).
1583 *Agustín Eirante*, nobleman, and
Luis Sindinica, nobleman, from the town of Panindícuaro, subject to Puruándiro, sold a caballería of land in Carapecuaro to Bartolomé Ponce (Piñón Flores 1984:115).

Sahuayo
1590 *Gaspar Clemente*, nobleman (AHAP 3).

Santa Clara
1592 *don Francisco Cuiris*, interpreter (CDH-INAH, SM114, SM112).
Gabriel Tzitziqui, mayordomo,
Tomás Uitzi (Vetzin?), nobleman,
Juan Puruze, nobleman,
Diego [C]haro, nobleman, all have lands in Santa Clara were protected. These lands extended from Zacapu Angangueo to the hill of Andumucuarán (CDH-INAH, SM114, SM112, 1592 Santa Clara). Later, Francisco Cuiris and Gabriel Tzitziqui sold their lands to father Francisco Ramírez a jesuit.

Sayula
1552 *Martin Cola*, nobleman, received a license to have a horse (Kraus Col., 1552, F453v).
1553 *don Juan*, governor, claims that his lands are constantly invaded by noblemen of his town (Ayer Col, 14 Nov. 1553, F365r-v, in Paredes 1994:160).

Sinagua
1581 *don Alonso Tarequa* (Tareca?), governor and contributor to the Relaciónes Geográficas of Sinagua along with the noblemen listed below, was 20 years old when the conquest of Michoacán took place;
Alonso Curo, prioste,
Antonio Queno (Quentze?), nobleman,
Marcos de Aguilar, interpreter (RG Sinagua 1987:253).

Siróndaro
1522 *Zembruta*, cacique of the town (RG Siróndaro/Uayameo, 1987:262).
1532 *Francisco Verotre*, nobleman, silversmith and merchant of Siróndaro, helped smelt the treasury of the cazonci for the Spanish corregidor of Tzintzuntzan (AGI, Justicia, leg187, num1, Ramo2).
1552 *don Juan*, nobleman had his lands invaded by his brother Alonso (Ayer Col, 1552, F110v-111r, in: Paredes 1984:124).
1575 *Ambrosio Arisma*, governor. His salary as governor was paid in maize cultivated in a plot of land measuring 80 square brazas, cultivated by the Indians of Siróndaro (AG, RI 1, E25, F10v, 1575 Siróndaro),

Sivinan
1590 *don Domingo Tzurequi*, governor
1609 *don Alonso Tzitzon*, governor (CDH-INAH, SM118, 1609 Sevina).
don Francisco Cheren, ex-governor, he held elections without the consent of the head-town and had called for to boycot the authorities of the head-town (CDH-INAH, SM118, 1609 Sevina)
Miguel Quieta, chief constable from the subject town of Inguatzen (CDH-INAH, SM118, 1609 Sevina).

Tacatzcuaro
1587 *Pedro Guaquin*, councilman of the town of San Antón Charato subject to Tacatzcuaro (AHAP 4, #34, 1587).
Diego Felipe, mayordomo of the town of San Antón Charato subject to Tacatzcuaro (AHAP 4, #34, 1587).

Tancítaro

1522 *don Antonio Oco*, governor, and
don Francisco Chichinizta, governor, both governed Tancítaro at the time of Spanish contact (RG Tancítaro 1987:286).
doña Catalina, noblewoman, daughter of don Antonio Oco, had lost her social status (RG Tancítaro 1987:286).

1569 *don Antonio Oco*, constable, is listed as a nobleman in 1591 (Sarrelangue 1965).

1573-4 *Francisco Xanaqua*, nobleman, ohcambecha of Tancítaro subject of Periban (AHAP 3, #27, 1573-1574 Tancitaro).
Juan Nitegua, nobleman and ohcambecha of Tancítaro subject of Periban (AHAP 3, #27, 1573-1574 Tancitaro).
Pedro Xanaqua, mayor of Tancítaro subject of Periban (AHAP 3, #27,).
Martín Quecheme, nobleman and ohcambecha of Tancítaro subject of Periban (AHAP 3, #27, 1573-1574 Tancitaro).

1580 *don Alonso Tarengo*, old nobleman who contributed with information to the Relaciones Geograficas of Tancítaro (1987:281). He is listed as a nobleman in 1591.
Benito Conapo, old nobleman who contributed with information to the Relaciones Geograficas of Tancítaro (1987:281).
Pedro Tzurequi, old nobleman who contributed with information to the Relaciones Geòqraficas of Tancítaro (1987:281).

1582 *Isabel Díaz*, noblewoman and descendant of noblemen, is obligated to pay tribute and to give personal service (AGN, RI 2, E7, F2r, 1582 Tancítaro).

1589 *don Juan de la Cerda*, judge-governor of Pátzcuaro is sent to Tancítaro for a perior of a year (AGN, RI 4, E23, F6v).

1593 *don Francisco de los Angeles*, judge-governor.

Tarecuato

1528 *Tartacha*, lord (Warren 1985:279).

1591 *don Gerónimo Cupa*, nobleman

Tarímbaro

1550 *Pedro Xuárez*, mayor was accused by the Indians of Tarímbaro of forcefully taking their wheat (Kraus Col., 1550, F3r-v).

1552 *don Francisco*, governor with *don Martin and don Juan*, noblemen, received a license to dress in Spanish dress as long as silk was not used (Ayer Col., 1552, F42r-v, in:Paredes 1994:110).

1573 *Martin Quecheme*, ohcambeti from the encomienda of Medina (AHAP 3, #27, 1573-74 Tarimbaro).
Francisco Xanaqua, ohcambeti, he was mayor when the encomendero Medina died two years before (AHAP 3, #27, 1573-74 Tarimbaro).

1579 *doña Leonor Moctezuma*, noblewoman, descendant form the king Moctezuma, (RG Cuseo de la Laguna, 1987:80).
don Fernando de Sotelo, encomendero of Tarímbaro and grandson of doña Leonor (RG Cuseo de la Laguna, 1987:80).

Tarecuato

1528 *Tartacha*, lord, he was summoned with other lords to assess tribute for the Spaniards (Warren 1985:279).

Taximaroa

1522 *Capacapecho*, cacique at the arrival of the Spaniards (RM 1989:258).
Quezencuanpaze, nobleman fled Taximaroa at the arrival of the Spaniards (RM 1989:129).

1551 *Pedro Elias*, nobleman, received a license to have a horse. In that year he also signed the petition presented below (Kraus Col., 1551, F152v; Kraus Col., 1551, F114r-v).
don Francisco [Caripecha], governor informed the viceroy that the Indians of Taximaroa had built the hospital of Santa Maria de la Concepción and ask the viceroy to protect the Indians against Spanish

clergymen who wanted to interfere on the internal affairs of the hospital. With don Francisco the following noblemen signed the petition:
don Juan, nobleman, who also received a grant to have a ranch for pigs, sheep and twelve mares (Kraus Col., 1551, F152v; Ayer Col., 1552, F151v-152r, in: Paredes 1994:128).
don Buenaventura, nobleman, and Pedro Elias also signed the petition for the hospital (Kraus Col., 1551, F114r-v). In 1552 he was named judge-governor of the town of Tuzantla for a period of a year, receiving a salary of $50 per annum, plus food (Ayer Col, 1552, 17 Nov, F167r-v in: Paredes 1994:130).

1591 *don Francisco Caripecha*, governor (AHAP 3).

1592 *don Diego Aguila*, judge-governor of Acámbaro is sent to Taximaroa for a period of a year.

1593 *doña Inés Jarinze*, noblewoman, sells lands to don Juan Velazquez de Salazar (AGN, RI 6-1, E615, F163r, 1593).

Taymeo

? *Ucelo Apantze*, Otomi nobleman, settled with other Otomies in Taymeo and Matalcingo a hundred years before Tzitzipandacuare ruled in Tzintzuntzan (RG Necotlán 1987:186).
Timax, nobleman Otomi sent to settle in the town of Taymeo when Tzitzipandacuare ruled over the region and commanded the Otomi forces in the area (RG Guayameo 1987:276).

1583 *don Cristóbal*, ex-governor (AGN, RI 2, E649, F148r-v 1583 Taymeo).

Texupa

1574 *don Juan Guzmán*, governor of Texupa subject town of Zacatula, received an annual salary of 10 pesos from the tribute (AGN, RI 1, E6, F2v-3r 1574 Texupa).

Tingambato

1587 *don Pedro Chupicua*, mayor of Tingambato subject town of Zirosto, complained against don Juan Puruata, a relative of the govern or of Pátzcuaro, don Juan Puruata, governor, because he had stolen 40 pesos (AHAP 4, #35, 1587 Zirosto).
don Juan Puruata,nobleman, from Taretan subject to Tingambato (subject to Zirosto), was a relative of the governor of Pátzcuaro, was imprisoned for stealing 40 pesos. He expected his connection with the goverbor would get him out of jail but don Juan the governor refused to help him (AHAP 4, #35, 1587 Zirosto).

1594 *don Miguel Cuara*, nobleman, in favor of don Francisco de Sarria in the claim of lands against the descendants of the cazonci in the lands of Patuán (AHAP 5bis, #24, 1592 Patuán).
Pedro Cuiris, nobleman, in favor of don Francisco de Sarria in the claim of lands against the descendants of the cazonci in the lands of Patuán (AHAP 5bis, #24, 1592 Patuán).

Tinguindín

1581 *don Lorenzo de Morales*, governor who contributed to the Relación of Tinguindín (1987:314).
don Cristobal, nobleman who contributed to the Relación of Tinguindín (1987:314).

Tiripitío

? *Tiripiti*, captain of the cazonci, was sent to found this town (RG Tiripitio 1987:340).

1522 *don Juan*, lord and governor at the arrival of the Spaniards in Michoacán (RG Tiripitio 1987:340).

1551 *don Luis*, nobleman, receives lands in Aripeo located between Necotlán and Tiripitío (Kraus Col. F149v-150r, #38).

1554 *don Francisco Quirongari*,nobleman, received the Spaniards in Tzintzuntzan with the cazónci (Warren 1985:51).

1574 *don Francico Baximbo*, governor, received a salary of 20 pesos per annum, plus Indian service in his house and in his lands (AGN, RI 1, E17, F7v-8r, 1574 Tiripitío).
1580 *don Juan de Villegas*, mayor, contributed information to the Relaciones of Tiripitio with other old noblemen listed below (RG Tiripitio 1987:339).
don Cristóbal Cuini, nobleman (RG Tiripitio 1987:339).
Juan Patziqua, nobleman (RG Tiripitio 1987:339).
Juan Quitziri, nobleman (RG Tiripitio 1987:339).
Cristóbal Pirinda, nobleman (RG Tiripitio 1987:339).
Antón Aguacho, interpreter (RG Tiripitio 1987:339).
Cristóbal Tzina, perhaps a nobleman contributed to the Relación of Tiripitío (RG Tiripitio 1987:339).
Luis Curisti, perhaps a nobleman contributed to the Relación of Tiripitío (RG Tiripitio 1987:339).
Antón Querenda, perhaps a nobleman contributed to the Relación of Tiripitío (RG Tiripitio 1987:339).
Juan Tzitzi, perhaps a nobleman contributed to the Relación of Tiripitío (RG Tiripitio 1987:339).
Juan Matziqua, perhaps a nobleman contributed to the Relación of Tiripitío (RG Tiripitio 1987:339).
1583 *don Juan*, mandón of the town of Quiringuaro has collected money from the town-hospital (AGN, RI2, E580, F133v-134r, 1583 Tiripitío).

Tlapalcatepeque
1519 *Tlazutin*, was governor at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards in Michoacán (RG Tancítaro 1987:299). Tlapalcatepeque was a head-town in the area of Tancítaro.
1522? *Francisco Coma*, governor that suceeded Tlazutin (RG Tancítaro 1987:299).

Tlazazalca
1561 *don Diego*, governor (Escobar Olmedo 1989:133).

Turicato
1525? *Antón Yringua*, nobleman declared that the Indians of this encomienda went to Mexico with a tribute of 100 silver ingots (Warren 1985:184).
1564 *don Luis (Cortés)* also known with the last name *Taraxo* [Tarepo?], governor (de la Fuente y Escobar 1989:131; AHAP 3, #17, 1573-4).
1572-74 *Antón Tihuaco*, nobleman, with the noblemen listed below formed a united front against the governor who had embezzled the money paid for the tribute. In 1576 he was elected mayor (AHAP 3, #43, 1575-76). Noblemen who were against governor Luis Cortés were:
don Francisco Cuiniharángari, nobleman (relative of don Pedro Cuiniharángari former governor of Pátzcuaro),
Juan Pimba, nobleman, and
Andrés Acuchire, nobleman. All are from the subject towns of Casindangapeo and Chupingo-parapeo subject to Turicato and wanted to become independent of the head-town because they were of different language (AHAP 3, #17, 1573-4 Turicato).
1573 *don Andrés Sima*, was elected governor and again in 1575 and 1576 (AHAP 3, #17, 1573-4 Turicato; AHAP 3, #43, 1575-76 Turicato).
don Luis Cortés, elected mayor (AHAP 3, #17, 1573-4 Turicato).
Antón Cola, elected mayor (AHAP 3, #17, 1573-4 Turicato).
Angel Tarengo, nobleman of Penoato subject town (AHAP 3, #17).
Gregorio Taguanape, nobleman of Penoato subject town (AHAP 3, #17).
Pedro Guape, nobleman of Penoato subject town (AHAP 3, #17).
don Juan Alcato, mayor of Penoato subject town (AHAP 3, #17).
Miguel Taulan, chief constable of Penoato subject town (AHAP 3, #17).
Diego Cutro, nobleman, of Penoato subject town (AHAP 3, #17). All of the noblemen of Penoato formed a front against the separatists from Casindangapeo and Chupingo-parapeo.

don Francisco Martín, interpreter (AHAP 3, #17, 1573-4 Turicato).
Miguel Sola, nobleman (AHAP 3, #17, 1573-4 Turicato).
Juan Tzombeque, nobleman (AHAP 3, #17, 1573-4 Turicato).

1574 *don Pedro Echecancha*, was condemned and hanged because he oposed the church (de la Fuente y Escobar 1989:139).
don Luis Cortés, governor of Turicato (AHAP 3, #28, 1574 Turicato).
don Juan Cotaguanutiri, nobleman from Istapato subject town of Turicato (AHAP 3, #17, 1573-4 Turicato).
1575 *Melchor Uchapara*, mayor (AHAP 3, #43, 1575-77 Turicato).
Andrés Uchapara, mayor (AHAP 3, #43, 1575-77 Turicato).
Francisco Nuli, mayordomo and elected again in 1976 (AHAP 3, #43, 1575-77 Turicato).
1576 *Sebastian Tihuacu*, mayor (AHAP 3, #43, 1575-77 Turicato).
Matías Tihuacu, mandón (AHAP 3, #43, 1575-77 Turicato).
Alonso Ticari, mandón (AHAP 3, #43, 1575-77 Turicato).
Andrés Uchapara,mayor (AHAP 3, #43, 1575-77 Turicato).
Melchor Xanaqua, nobleman from the ward of Sambago (AHAP 3, #43, 1575-77 Turicato).

The following noblemen who were listed as ohcambecha of Turicato were all listed in: (AHAP 3, #17, 1573-4 Turicato and AHAP 3, #43, 1575-77 Turicato. They are:
1576 *Juan Cutzi*, ohcambeti of the ward of Cotzeco
Pablo, ohcambeti of the ward of San Miguel
don Melchor, ohcambeti of the ward of Xambago
Pablo Xanaqua,ohcambeti of the town of San Francisco
Juan Cuani (Cuini?), ohcambeti of the ward of Oruétaro
Juan Tzina, ohcambeti of the ward of Quaraqueo
Nicolás Atzi, ohcambeti of the town of Cutzian
Juan Yrirancha, ohcambeti of the town of Papaceo
Ohcambecha of subject towns whose names are not mentioned but that may be Casindangapeo and Chupingo-parapeo are:
Juan Tzimbequa, ohcambeti
Gerónimo Cupa, ohcambeti
Cristóbal tareca, ohcambeti
Andrés Tzitziqui, ohcambeti
Josepe Osomoco, ohcambeti
1576 *don Luis Cortés*, elected governor again in 1576 (AHAP 3, #43, 1575-76 Turicato).
don Francisco Cuiniharángari wanted to be elected governor (AHAP 3, #43, 1575-76 Turicato).
Gaspar Guira, constable (AHAP 3, #43, 1575-76 Turicato).

Tuxpan
1551 *Antonio de Nava*, nobleman received a license to have a horse (Kraus Col, 1551, F147).
1552 *don Martín Cortés*, nobleman, received a gift of land and a license to have twelve mares (Ayer Col, 1552, F154 in: Paredes 1994:129). With Diego Flores they were sent in 1552, to Sayula and Amacueca as judge of residence (Kraus Col., 1552, F421v-422r).
Diego Flores, was a judge of residence sent with don Martín Cortés, to Sayula and Amacueca (Kraus Col, 1552, F421v-422r).
don Alonso de Castilla governor, received this title with don Martin Cortés' title of governor as well (Therefore, there were two governors in Tuxpan at the same time) (Ayer Col, 1552, F160v, in: Paredes 1994:129-130).

Tuzantla
1531 *Canaoci*, lord, testified against the excesses of the encomendero (Warren 1985:195). Ococetequitato, nobleman, was tortured by the encomendero Mata for not giving information of some runaway slaves (Warren, 1985:195)

Tzintzuntzan

1522 *doña Huatique Uacajane*, yreri, cazonci's Tangaxoan wife (de la Fuente y Olmedo 1989:24)
don Pedro Cuiniharangari, captain and governor of the cazonci (RM 1989:272, Warren 1985:34).
doña Inés, noblewoman and don Pedro's wife
don Alonso Vise, nobleman, son-in-law of cazonci Tangaxoan (Warren 1985:231).
Nuritan, interpreter of the cazonci (N.León 1968:129).
Piyo, interpreter of the cazonci (N.León 1968:129).

1528 *Cipaque*, captain of the cazonci, was sent to Cuinao to ambush the Spaniards (Warren 1985:228).
Alonso de Avalos, interpreter and the only Indian allowed to stay with the cazonci on his second imprisonment (Warren 1985:150).
Gonzalo Xuárez, interpreter, was engaged in sending the cazonci's treasures to Mexico City, to liberate him (Warren 1985:147).

1531 *don Carlos Tiripiti*, nobleman, testified that Guzmán had received a lot of treasure while he held the cazonci hostage (Warren 1985:218).
Case against don Pedro de Arellano, Spanish Corregidor of Tzintzuntzan who stole the treasure of the cazonci and had it smelted (AGI, Justicia, leg187, num1, Ramo2; in: El Michoacán Antiguo).

1532 *Cuini*, nobleman oversought the treasury of the cazónci (Warren 1985:243).
Guacho, nobleman oversought the treasury of the cazónci
Guata, noblewoman oversought the treasury of the cazónci. These three were tormented until they revealed the location of the treasury.
Silversmiths who had smelted the cazonci's treasure for don Pedro de Arellano (El Michoacán Antiguo, p:373):

1532 *Melchor Nono*, nobleman and silversmith (platero, smelter of gold)
Juan Chasutima, nobleman and silversmith (platero) from Amatlán
Francisco Verotre, nobleman and silversmith (platero) and merchant of Siróndaro
Pedro Matlatle, nobleman and silversmith
Bernabé Pitaqua, nobleman and silversmith
Timas Matenco, nobleman and silversmith
Juan Puze (Pure?), nobleman and silversmith
Juan Cuono, nobleman and silversmith
Juan Hapata, nobleman and silversmith
Anastacio Caci, nobleman and smelter

1533 Witnesses against the Spaniard don Pedro de Arellano corregidor of Tzintzuntzan who stole the treasury of the cazonci:
Tomas Tenco, nobleman?, interpreter of Nahuatl (El Michoacán Antiguo, p:348)
Juan Nona,
Juan Guacho, was already dead in 1533 along with Chachehuan and Uichil. (Ibid)
Juan Chachehuan
Francisco Uichil

Witnesses against don Pedro de Arellano as the case proceded several years later. The following interpreters testified:

1539 *don Alonso Davalos Acanysante*, interpreter witness against don Pedro de Arellano, called the silversmiths and the smelters to testify in the case against don Pedro de Arellano (El Michoacán Antiguo, p.359).
don Francisco Quezpal, interpreter of Nahuatl whose task is send the youth to the doctrine, testified against don Pedro de Arellano (El Michoacán Antiguo, p.372)
don Ramiro, interpreter witness against don Pedro de Arellano (El Michoacán Antiguo, p.359, 360).

Andrés, don Lorenzo, don Domingo, interpreters witnesses against don Pedro de Arellano (p.359, 360).
Servants of don Pedro de Arellano:

1532-39 *Francisco Quiauchi*, is an interpreter as well (El Michoacán Antiguo, p:381),
Juan Direta, (Yreta?), servant of don Pedro de Arellano (op. cit.
Francisco Uyzyhile, servant of don Pedro de Arellano

1539 *don Pedro Qhamondague*, cacique, son of a nobleman from Tzintzuntzan, he was also a relative of the lord of Ihuatzio (Van Zantwijck, 1964:65).

1555 *don Bartolomé*, son of don Pedro Cuiniharángari. With the noblemen cited below, they were in conflict with the noblemen ofTzintzuntzan (de la Fuente y Olmedo 1989:126). These noblemen were:
don Mateo, nobleman
don Martin, nobleman
don Pedro, nobleman

1568 *don Juan Bautista Huitziméngari*, half brother of don Pablo Huitziméngari and in conflicts for lands in Hapo-pareo and Querequeo, wards of Tzintzuntzan (CDH-INAH, SM112).
Alonso Quaca from the ward of Sirandangacho was in charge of don Juan's lands (CDH-INAH, SM112).
don Diego Curintzan, nobleman, ward of Conanto subject to Tzintzuntzan (CDH-INAH, SM112, 1568 Tzintzuntzan).
Noblemen from Tzintzuntzan who protested against governor don Constantino Huitziméngari's excesses. All are cited in (CDH-INAH, SM114, 1588 Tzintzunzan). They are:

1588 *don Antonio Para*, lieutenant
Pedro Tzira, nobleman became later a mayor (see below)
Juan Cuiro, nobleman
Andrés Alonso, nobleman
Andrés Puru (Para?), nobleman
Diego Chiqui, nobleman
Pedro Jupa, nobleman
Juan Guicha, nobleman
Diego Chatan, nobleman
Luis Guaca, (Quaca?), nobleman
Lucas Cuini, nobleman
Domingo Nuli, lieutenant of San Fernando subject of Tzintzuntzan
Bernabé Tzitziqui, councilman
Juan Changari, lieutenant of San Andrés
Miguel Tziquitan, councilman
Title of head-town for Tzintzuntzan and election of authorities. The noblemen cited below appeared in a request to make Tzintzuntzan a head-town. In: CDH-INAH, SM114, 1595-1598 Tzintzuntzan.

1595 *don Pedro Tzicu*, governor and cacique
don Pedro Tzira, mayor
don Antonio Para, mayor
don Pablo Vetzin, councilman
Rodrigo Tzicu, councilam
Martin Xundi, councilman
Joseph Tzitziqui, councilman
Andrés Tzira, councilman
Pedro Quixiqui, councilman
Pedro Tzira, councilman
Miguel Vaquina, councilman
Pedro Tzitziqui, chief constable
Juan Tzitziqui, scribe

1598 *don Diego Tzitziqui*, governor don Pedro Tzicu's son-in-law (AHAP 5bis, #50 1598 Tzintzuntzan).
Elections of officials of Tzintzuntzan. Noblemen are cited in: CDH-INAH, SM114, 1598 Tzintzuntzan.

don Francisco de Pila, governor, he was re-elected in 1608, 1609 and 1610. He was against the ohcambecha who wanted to participate in political elections (CDH-INAH, SM114, 1610).
Francisco Guape, mayor
Francisco Uetzi, mayor
don Francisco Titu Huitziméngari, cacique councilman. (He was son of don Pedro Cuinurapeti, son of don Antonio Huitziméngari, ex-governor of Pátzcuaro and descendant of cazonci Tangaxoan).
Antón Cuini, councilman
Bartolomé Tas,councilman
Juan Tuspa, chief constable. He argued that don Gaspar wanted to be governor with the support of the ohcambecha but without the knowledge of don Francisco Titu.
don Gaspar, nobleman, intimidated the population so that he could be elected governor (CDH-INAH, SM114, 1598 Tzintzuntzan).

1610 *don Francisco Pila*, governor (CDH-INAH, SM114, 1610).
don Francisco Tariacuri, chief councilman and a descendant of the last cazonci (CDH-INAH, SM114, 1610).
Antón Cuini, councilman (CDH-INAH, SM114, 1610).

Ucareo
1519 *Uiquxo*, lord at the arrival of the Spaniards (RM 1989:249).
1551 *don García*, ex-governor he was dead at this time (Kraus Col., 1551, F152v).
don Pedro Mili, governor of Ucareo after his father don Garcia died (Kraus Col., 1551, F152v).
don Antonio, governor and also a son of don Garcia, was also governor like his brother don Pedro Mili. He was granted a license to have a horse (Kraus Col., 1551, F171v).
1552 *doña Catalina*, noblewoman, she is a widow. Her husband was don Garcia (Ayer Col, 1552, F71r, in: Paredes 1994:119).

Urichu
1596-98 *Esteban Tzira*, nobleman, in favor of doña Beatriz de Castilleja's claims for the lands she had in Urichu (AHAP 5bis, #58 1596-98 Urichu).
Juan Tzira, nobleman, in favor of doña Beatriz de Castilleja's claims for the lands she had in Urichu (AHAP 5bis, #58 1596-98).
Antón Tzira, nobleman, in favor of doña Beatriz de Castilleja's claims for the lands she had in Urichu (AHAP 5bis, #58 1596-98).
don Domingo Huitzaqua, lieutenant is in charge of Castilleja's lands. He is a maternal relative (AHAP 5bis, #58 1596-98).
Miguel Tzitziqui, nobleman, in favor of doña Beatriz de Castilleja (AHAP 5bis, #58 1596-98 Urichu).
Martin Tzitzincha, nobleman, in favor of doña Beatriz de Castilleja (AHAP 5bis, #58 1596-98 Urichu).

Uruapan
1562 *Miguel Hernández*, interpreter of Nahuatl and Spanish. He called himself a "nahuatato" and a nobleman. His parents were nobles from Tlaxcala and he was born in Uruapan. He usually accompanied Spanish visitadores and judges in their visits throughout the province. He was not liked by the noblemen of Uruapan who allied with some Spaniards to expel him from the town. Conflict against him lasted until 1582 (AHAP 2bis, # 41, 1562 Uruapan; AHAP 4, #6 1582 Uruapan).
Francisco Untzaqua, mayor, with the nobles below, he was against Hernandez (AHAP 2bis, #41, 1562 Uruapan).
Pedro Xaniqua, nobleman (AHAP 2bis, #41, 1562 Uruapan).
Pedro Cuaraque, nobleman (AHAP 2bis, #41, 1562 Uruapan).
Mateo Ciro (Tzira?), councilman (AHAP 2bis, #41, 1562 Uruapan).
Pedro Nicacua, councilman (AHAP 2bis, #41, 1562 Uruapan).

Pedro Zacapa, , nobleman (AHAP 2bis, #41, 1562 Uruapan).
Francisco Curiragua, mayor (AHAP 2bis, #41, 1562 Uruapan).

1578 *don Juan Bautista Coneti*, governor (CDH-INAH, SM114, 1578 Uruapan).
don Francisco Coneti, cacique, mayor and judge of Uruapan (CDH-INAH,SM112, 1578 Uruapan).
Gaspar Sirauata, mayor (CDH-INAH,SM112, 1578 Uruapan).
Domingo Oserda (de la Cerda?), nobleman (CDH-INAH,SM112, 1578).
Ana Acutzame, noblewoman and
Maria, noblewoman, are protected in the possession of a house in Uruapan, that they inherited from their father Alonso Templado, and that their half-brother Bartolomé Templ[ado] has claimed as his property (CDH-INAH, SM114, 1578 Uruapan).

1583 *don Gerónimo Coneti*, governor (AHAP 4, #6, 1582 Uruapan).
1590-91 *don Felipe Coneti*, judge-governor, his office is extended for another year (AGN, RI6-2, E278, F61v, 1591 Uruapan).
1591 *Juan Cuchu*, nobleman, fiscal is in charge of sending Indians to the mines of Guanajuato. Indians' claims against his excess of abuse contributed to oust him from his office (AGN, RI 6-2, E8, F3).
Tomás Gabriel, nobleman is granted a license to have a horse with saddle and frain (AGN, RI5, E679, F255).
don Juan Bautista Coneti, nobleman, on behalf of other nobles asks that the Spanish authorities do not interfere in their elections (AGN, RI 5, E791, F280v 1591 Uruapan).
1592 *don Juan Bautista Coneti*, mayor (AHAP 5, #15, 1592 Uruapan).
Francisco Untzaqua, mayor (AHAP 5, #15, 1592 Uruapan). He had been mayor previously in 1565 (AHAP 2bis, #41, 1565).
Diego Uarengo, councilman (AHAP 5, #15, 1592 Uruapan).
Lucas Francisco, councilman (AHAP 5, #15, 1592 Uruapan).
Francisco Tacan, councilman (AHAP 5, #15, 1592 Uruapan).
Francisco Cuiri, chief constable (AHAP 5, #15, 1592 Uruapan).
1595 *don Miguel Angel*, received the title of governor (AGN, RI6-1, E1123, F308v, 1595 Uruapan).

Xanoato
1522 Tareca, nobleman and a relative of cazonci Tangaxoan (RM 1989:288).

Yurirapúndaro
1530? don Antonio Sosa, general of the Chichimecs, donates lands to the Augustinian hacienda of San Nicolás Yuriria (B.Ugarte 1963:113).
1552 *don Francisco*, cacique receives a license to have a horse (Ayer Col, 1552, F68v, in:Paredes 1994:117).
don Juan, cacique and
don Alonso, cacique from the town of Quipato are granted a permit to have 6 mares (Ayer Coll, 1552, F69r, in: Paredes 1994:118).

Yztlan
1569 *don Cristóbal Anaqua*, cacique (de la Fuente y Escobar 1989:137).
1591 *don Andrés Constantino*, governor of Paxacuaran subject to Yztlan.

Zacapu
? *Coromaco*, lord (RM 1989:134-5).
Quenomen, yreri, took office after her husband Coromaco died (Ibid).
1551 *don Alonso*, cacique (Kraus Col., 1551, F333r).
1570's *don Pedro*, Chichimec nobleman and general, participated in the pacification of the Chichimecs (B.Ugarte 1963:113). He had invaded don Pablo Cazonci's lands in Zacapu (Piñón Flores, 1984:150).
1591 *Benito Equa*, nobleman, son of don Pedro.

Zacatula

1582 *Francisco de Luna*, nobleman, complained against the encomendero of Tecpa who was the brother of father Francisco de Vargas (AGN, RI2, E27, F7r).

Zacualpa

1575 *don Francisco*, governor.

Zinapécuaro

1592 *Diego Tzonque*, nobleman, his lands were protected (AGN, RI6-2, E479, F106r Zinapécuaro).

1594 *don Juan Bautista*, cacique, information on the lands of his cacicazgo. They had been measured in 1591 and were recognized in 1594 (AGN, RI6-2,E900, F228r; RI 5, E1063, F340 1591).

Zirahuén

1609 *Pedro Xanusta*, interpreter (CDH-INAH, SM117, 1609).

Zirosto

1556-65 *don Pedro Cola*, governor (AHAP 1, #31, 1556). In 1560 he plowed lands that used to be flooded by the lake (O'Hara 1993:55). In 1580 he was listed as nobleman and received a salary of 15 pesos per annum, from the tribute due to his good services, (AGN, RI 1, E248, F107r, 1580 Zirosto). In 1594 he was mayor (AHAP 5bis, #33, 1594).

1583 *Antón Quatarán*, nobleman, and *Juan Irachacu*, nobleman sons of the ex-governor don Martin, are compelled by other noblemen who are their enemies to give service. They ask to have this preeminence extended to their sons as well (AGN, RI2, E420, F100r).

1587 *don Francisco Tzuritemba*, mayor of San Francisco, subject of Zirosto (AHAP 4, #35).

1592 *Martin Tzapi*, nobleman from San Juan Tiripen, subject to Zirosto, was a curintziepa and a guardian/mayordomo of the lands of doña Beatriz de Castilleja in Periban. He was originally from Periban and had moved to Zirosto (AHAP 5bis, #24).

1591 *don Pedro Vargas*, nobleman (AHAP 5bis, #24).

1594 *Diego Antonio*, constable (AHAP 5bis, #33, 1594 Zirosto).
Bonifacio Picheme,nobleman (AHAP 5bis, #33, 1594 Zirosto).
Gabriel Tziriquarasco, nobleman (AHAP 5bis, #33, 1594 Zirosto).

APPENDIX 2

POLITICAL OFFICE, AND SALARIES BY PLACE AND YEAR				
Year	**Place**	**Office**	**Salary Per Year**	**Source**
1552	Ajuchitlan	mayors (no numbers listed) constables mayordomos	6 pesos each 6 pesos each 6 pesos each	Kraus Coll, F369v, 370r
1577	Jacona	governor 3 councilmen 2 mayordomos 2 scribes 10 singers	40 pesos 6 pesos each 6 pesos each 6 pesos each 2 pesos each	AGN, RI-1, E110, F40v
1577	Teremendo	governor[1]	20 fanegas of corn, and 2 Indians	AGN, RI-1, E123, F45v
1579	Indaparapeo	governor 2 mayors 2 councilmen 1 mayordomo 1 scribe	20 pesos 8 pesos each 6 pesos each 6 pesos 6 pesos	AGN, RI-1, E209, F81r-v
1579	Tepalcatepec	2 mayors 2 councilmen 1 church constable	2 pesos each 2 pesos each 2 pesos	AGN, RI-1, E213, F83r-v
1580	Tancitaro	2 mayors 4 councilmen 1 mayordomo 1 scribe	12 pesos each 6 pesos each 6 pesos 6 pesos	AGN, RI-1, E260, F115v
1580	Tarimbaro	mayors (no numbers listed) 2 councilmen 1 mayordomo 1 scribe	12 pesos each 6 pesos each 6 pesos 6 pesos	AGN, RI-1, E261, F116r
1580	Zacapu	2 mayors 2 councilmen 1 mayordomo 1 scribe 12 singers	12 pesos each 6 pesos each 6 pesos 6 pesos 2 pesos each	AGN, RI-1, E264, F117v
1581	Huaniqueo	2 mayors 2 councilmen 1 scribe 1 chief constable 6 singers	6 pesos each 4 pesos each 4 pesos 4 pesos 2 pesos each	AGN, RI-1, E305, F138v
1581	Tiripitio	Judge-governor	90 pesos 30 fanegas of corn[2]	AGN, RI-1, E304, F138r

Appendix 2 (cont'd...)

POLITICAL OFFICE, AND SALARIES BY PLACE AND YEAR				
Year	**Place**	**Office**	**Salary Per Year**	**Source**
1582	Uruapan	2 mayors 4 councilmen 1 mayordomo 1 scribe	12 pesos each 8 pesos each 6 pesos 6 pesos	AGN, RI-1, E319, F144r
1583	Zinapecuaro	mayors (no numbers listed) 2 councilmen 1 mayordomo 1 scribe 8 singers	6 pesos each 5 pesos each 5 pesos 5 pesos 2 pesos each	AGN, RI-1, E322, F145r
1583	Patzcuaro	2 mayors 4 councilmen 2 mayordomos 1 scribe	40 pesos each 12 pesos each 12 pesos each 10 pesos	AGN, RI-1, E282, F124r
1583	Sevinan	governor 2 mayors 2 councilmen 1 mayordomo 1 scribe 12 singers	80 pesos 8 pesos each 6 pesos each 8 pesos 6 pesos 2 pesos each	AGN, RI-1, E285, F125v
1583	Ucareo	governor 2 mayors 4 councilmen 1 mayordomo 1 scribe 12 singers	30 pesos 8 pesos each 6 pesos each 6 pesos 6 pesos 2 pesos each	AGN, RI-1, E280, F123r

1.This governor received one Indian male and one Indian female to work in his home. The governor paid them each 25 cacaos annually.

2. This judge governor was ellected for a period of one year. His salary included 90 pesos of common gold per year, plus 30 fanegas of corn per year. All this was to be divided in three parts, each of 30 pesos and 10 fanegas of corn. In this document, Don Constantino Bravo Huitzimengari, a relative of the last cazonci, was appointed for the office and was trasferred from Patzcuaro to Tiripitio for the length of his tenure as judge governor.

APPENDIX 3

PROVINCIAL MAYORS IN MICHOACAN, 1528-1619	
YEAR	**MAYORS AND ALCALDES ORDINARIOS**
1528	Juan de Ortega, chief mayor, lieutenant, and general captain, in power from april to may (Paredes
1532	1984:47)
1532	Cristóbal de Benavente, first mayor (Paredes 1984:49)
–	Antonio de Godoy, mayor imposed by Nuño de Guzmán
1549	Jorge Niron Saavedra
—	—
1553-55	D. Rodrigo Maldonado
1554	Pedro de Munguía is alcalde ordinario under Maldonado
1555	Juan Velázquez, Antonio de Sierra, alcalde ordinario
1555-57	Francisco Velázquez de Lara
1558	Alonso Castillo
—	—
1561	Bachiller Martín
1561	Francisco Verduzco
1562	Bachiller Alonso Martínez
1565-66	Pedro Gomez de Cáceres
1567	Pedro Pérez de Vargas
1567-70	Juan Bautista de Avendaño
—	—
1570-72	Gabriel Manuel Pimentel
1573	Lic. Hernando Caballero
1574	Bartolomé de Osorio
1575	Alonso Martínez
1576-77	Juan del Hierro
1577	Juan de Elguero
1577	Dr. Fulgencio de Bique
—	—
1581	Dr. Alonso Martín
1582	Antonio Delgadillo
1582	Antonio Vega
1587	Juan de Farfan Lizárraga
1588	D. Alonso de Oñate
1590	D. Rodrigo de Vivero
1595-96	Bernardo Vázquez de Tapia
1596-97	D. Alonso de Zúñiga
1599	Juan de Balderrama
1599	D. Fernando de Villegas
1609	Alonso Moreno de Mendoza; Francisco de la Cerda was mayor of the city of "Michocán"
1619	D. Alonso Altamirano Estrada

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