THE *INDIO LADINO* AS A CULTURAL MEDIATOR IN THE COLONIAL SOCIETY

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In Spanish colonial times individuals of indigenous American roots who were acquainted with Spanish language and customs were commonly described as *ladino*. Those individuals were "Hispanized" Indians who played the role of critical intermediary and mediator between the indigenous societies and the conquerors. Implying the idea of cultural assimilation the phrase *indio ladino*, applied to Amerindian natives, could refer to such diverse social types as the first natives who served the Spaniards as interpreters during the conquests (e.g., La Malinche), the ethnic lords who became the negotiators between their local communities and Spanish colonial officials, and persons of any rank or status who worked under Spanish masters. The example of La Malinche in Mexico as an interpreter is very important, because she was the one that established the protocols and the style of communication between the Indian and Spanish societies. She created a methodological discourse in the use of the language that would be the basic pattern for future interpreters. In addition, persons of mixed Spanish and Amerindian parentage (*mestizos*) as well as African slaves were also referred to by the adjective ladino (*"un mestizo muy ladino"*, *"negro ladino"*) in order to indicate their acquaintance with Spanish language and culture.

Evidently, ladino was not a term of self-identification; it was employed instead from the outside by those who considered themselves Castilian or Spanish and therefore able to discern and judge how successfully non-Castilians handled the Spanish language and adapted themselves to Spanish customs (Adorno 1994:378).

In Medieval Spain the word *ladino* was applied to the common Romance vernacular languages excluding Catalonia. Ladino, then, was derived from Latin and is the ancestor of Castilian-Spanish language. Also the term was used to refer to the language spoken by Sephardic Jews (Adorno 1994:379).

Although the term referred specifically to language use, the descriptions presented by early chroniclers of the Indies suggest as well the meaning of acculturation to Spanish ways. As an illustration, we find Fernández de Oviedo's vivid description of the cacique Enriquillo of Hispaniola: "Among these modern and most recent lords of this island Hispaniola, there is one who is called Don Enrique, who is a baptized Christian and knows how to read and write and is very ladino and speaks the Castilian language very well" (Fernández de Oviedo 1992: v. I).

We have mentioned the positive meanings, but the connotations of the word ladino were multiple and diverse. For example, it connoted the qualities at one extreme of prudence and sagacity and, at the other, slyness and craftiness. At the opposite pole of the positive values of linguistic expertise and practice of Christian customs, it could refer to the "big talker" and the charlatan (Adorno 1994).

In modern Mexican Spanish, the expression "un ladino" may mean a *mestizo* person, but the expression "una persona muy ladina" may signify a tricky, sly or deceitful person. I believe that both the positive and negative connotations are continuities of the original colonial meanings, given the ambivalent role of *indios ladinos* in the eyes of their contemporaries.

Next, we will analyze diverse manifestations of *indios ladinos* in Colonial Mexico, in order to better understand the complex threads of transculturation, that eventually led to the creation of a new identity.

a) *Indios ladinos* as petitioners or *pleitistas*

The *pleito* (plaint or suit) was the only recourse that the native communities had for defending themselves against the abuses of the clergy and other colonial authorities, and this type of suit existed in great numbers. The role of *indio ladino* as petitioner and plaintiff (*pleitista*) against the colonial establishment and its personnel appears consistently in both European and Indian sources. An example of this can be found in the archive of the town of Cuauhtinchan. In 1521, the cacique don Diego Quauhquiyauacatl of Tepeaca invaded some lands that belonged to the town of Cuauhtinchan. There was a long litigation in which the Tepeacans were refusing to give back the Lands. The Cuauhtinchans asked the intervention of the Spanish authorities, and finally the viceroy Antonio de Mendoza solved the case allowing the Cuauhtinchans to recover their lands (*Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca*, Kirchhoff *et al* 1989:233). It is evident that the negotiators in this kind

of suits which required the interaction of Indians and Spaniards were *indios ladinos*. More concrete examples of these cases can be found in Lockhart 1992 (Chap. 4) and Cline 1986 (Chap. 8).

b) *Indios ladinos* as messianic leaders

In the Colonial times, there were Indian movements that preached the triumph of ancient gods over Christianity and advocated rejection of all that was European. This kind of prophetic or messianic movement implied the coming or return of liberating supernaturals, that would destroy the Spaniards and would free the Indians. About 1565 in Peru there was an important religious-political movement of this nature known as the *Taki Unquy* where *indios ladinos* played a key role (Adorno 1994: 239).

In México, there was not an extended movement as in the Andes, but there were cases of self-proclaimed man-gods that brought a subversive unrest in the Indian communities that were under the process of evangelization. We know the cases of two *indios ladinos*, Andrés Mixcoatl and Martín Ocelotl who played the role of man-gods or Indian messiahs. They were judged by the Inquisition as idolaters and sorcerers (AGN, Inquisición, v. 38, exp. 4 and 7; Gruzinski 1989:34-62).

In his confession before the Inquisition, Andrés Mixcoatl said that he had been baptized by a friar at Texcoco in 1532, learned the catechism and was told in the sermons to abandon native idols and rites and believe in the new God. He admitted instead that, for three years, he had been preaching that the friars' sermons were good for nothing, as he was a god and, furthermore, that the Indians should practice sacrifices to him and return to the idols and sacrifices of the past. He attacked the Articles of the Christian Creed, reciting them as "I throw God in the fire", "I drive him away with a stick", and so on. On some occasions, he insinuated the possibility of mobilizing an armed uprising as a means of resistence against the political and religious system of the Spaniards. He also said that in the rainy season he made it rain. For these reasons many people presented him with paper, copal, and other things, including property.

Andrés had indisputably been performing the functions of a *nahual* (shaman): he practiced divination with grains of corn (*tlapoualli*), he was a healer, he acted upon the clouds and the elements, and he used hallucinogens (mushrooms). He could easily be taken for one of those *tlaciuhque* who communicate with the deity and, if the oracles are confirmed, "are adored and held to be gods." In short Andrés was a man-god at liberty, outside the norm, on the fringes of a religious sys-

tem itself in the process of disintegration as a result of the Spanish Conquest. He used to say: "We who are gods, we shall never die."

Andrés was not alone. Divine fire was one, the man-gods many, and Andrés belonged to a network of man-gods linked by a subtle interplay of acknowledgment and reciprocal tribute: "He was the brother of Martín Ocelotl and of Juan Tlaloc..."

We know through the archival data, that Martín Ocelotl was a rich merchant and considered himself a healer and a prophet. He showed an apocalyptic anticlericalism with the strong purpose of discrediting the monks and terrifying his entourage or his public. Ocelotl's view was mixed with a measure of epicureanism and licence that took him far from the mystical asceticism of the man-gods. He used to exhort the people to enjoy freely the pleasures of this life without following the law of the Christian friars (Gruzinski 1989: 31-62).

The Franciscan Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo (one of the "twelve"), praised Ocelotl's knowledge of Christianity as being worthy of a theologian. Ocelotl showed the cleverness of an *indio ladino* who knew how to take advantage of his position, his contacts with the Christians, his social relations, and his command of the supernatural to stand up more or less overtly against Christianity.

c) *Indios ladinos* as catechists

Since the Franciscan friars were a small number, they would never have developed the teaching of the catechism effectively without the help of Indians of their confidence who were outstanding auxiliaries in religious and civil functions. These *indios ladinos*, called *fiscales* or *mandones*, in Spanish, and *tepixque* or *tequitlatoque*, in náhuatl had to perform several kind of activities: to gather the people of their *barrios* to take them to the teaching of the catechism and the mass; to introduce the unconfirmed children and adults to the bishop during his parochial visits for Confirmations; to check that everybody would be baptized and have Confession during Lent; to monitor the celebration of marriages, the good course of the behavior of the married people and to repress and denounce to the authorities the cases of adultery or concubinage; to denounce the drunken people and the liquor sellers that promoted this vice; to denounce sorcerers, witches and in general all kind of pagan beliefs or practices. In the *visita* towns (towns without permanent priest), they were in charge of the cleaning and preservation of the church, they carried a register of baptisms and in cases of emergency they performed priestly functions (Ricard 1947: 182-183).

The Franciscans themselves gave the training to the *fiscales*. They taught them to read, write, and count; to use the Books of Hours that contained prayers for the Virgin Mary that needed to be prayed during certain hours of the day; to know with some degree of mastery the catechism, in order that they could help in the religious instruction of their hometown people. We can say that there was an organization of *indios ladinos* that were catechist-censors (Ricard 1947: 183-184).

We know that around 1534-1538 under the auspices of bishop Zumárraga, there were eight schools for indigenous girls in Texcoco, México, Coyoacán, Tlaxcala, Cholula, Huejotzingo, Otumba and Tepeapulco. In this labor of feminine formation, the contribution of the Franciscan nuns was considerable, most noticeably that of some Indian nuns, who anonymously served as interpreters and bridges between the cultures. They are forgotten *Malinches* left behind by the official History (Fernández 1992: 212; *Códice Franciscano*).

d) *Indios ladinos* in the indigenous *cabildos* (Municipal governments)

In Tlaxcala, the notaries of the cabildo were indigenous noblemen and persons of importance who ranked not far below the voting members. In fact, in the period 1545-1627, six of the eight notaries that appeared in the *Actas* (records) were definitely electors. Two of those notaries, Fabián Rodríguez and Diego de Soto had beautiful, legible hands, knew the Hispanic-indigenous legal conventions well, and could express the essence of a matter concisely. But Soto was apparently the better of the two in all departments. It must have been realized at the time, because Soto wrote far more than half of the Actas as we know them, and when two notaries were present, if one was Soto he always did the writing, no matter whether the other was Rodríguez or some novice. Even though Diego de Soto was an *indio principal*, he seems to have advanced to his position and flourished in it because of his high gifts as a writer and reporter (Lockhart *et al.*, 1986: 9-10).

Soto, Rodríguez and the other notaries must have learned to read and write in their later teens and then have undergone some sort of intensive apprenticeship with a Spaniard. One readily imagines the Franciscans as the source of the instruction, and some aspects of the calligraphy do put one in mind of the Spanish ecclesiastics, yet Soto and Rodríguez had absorbed so much specifically legal and notarial lore that is hard to imagine the total absence of a Spanish lay notary at some point of their education (Lockhart *et al* 1986: 11).

To have an idea of the quality and bi-cultural skills of these *indios ladinos* of the cabildo of Tlaxcala, we show an *Acta* written in 1550 by the notary Rodríguez [Fig. 1].

e) *Indios ladinos* as cultural "informants" and linguists

The Franciscan Pedro de Gante founded the famous school of San José de los Naturales in 1527. This was a school of arts and crafts, and also the children learned how to read and write, the catechism and Latin. Later a fine arts departrnent was added where a great number of masterpieces, necessary for adorning the temples and convents of the Indian Church, were produced. It is said that San José de los Naturales came to have more than a thousand students, and that it was that blend of liberal arts and mechanics which permitted the formation of the future mayors, aldermen (city counselors) and judges for the recent settlements of New Spain. From its workshops came young and adult men trained as painters, sculptors, goldsmiths, silversmiths, cabinetmakers, carpenters, embroiderers, blacksmiths and all the other forthcoming guilds. More over, the educational program of the school contemplated the formation of people that would help to create the City of God in America: religious singers, stone-carvers, artists and artisans, mural painters, bell smelters, scribes and bookbinders (Fernández 1992: 212-213).

The successful experience of the basic training provided in San José de los Naturales motivated the creation of an institution of higher education, the Colegio Imperial de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco, whose ambitious purposes covered everything from bringing the cultures closer together, to the formation of indigenous clergy. Inaugurated in 1536, thanks to the support of the Archbishop Juan de Zumárraga, the bishop and president of the second Audiencia Sebastián Ramírez de Fuenleal and of the viceroy Antonio de Mendoza, Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco was a determining factor in the conservation of knowledge of American civilizations (Fernández 1992: 214).

The Colegio counted among its faculty the most distinguished Franciscan scholars of that time, such as Bernardino de Sahagún, Andrés de Olmos, Juan de Gaona, García de Cisneros, Juan Focher, Francisco Bustamante and Arnaldo Bassacio. Precisely in Tlatelolco, the outstanding scholar fray Bernardino de Sahagún with the colaboration of his Indian informants wrote the most substantial portion of his monumental work: *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España* (*Florentine Codex*), that is a model of anthropological research

(Ricard 1947: 109-113). Sahagún in the Prologue of his book (1975: 9) gives the names of those brilliant *indios ladinos* that participated actively in the great project as translators and researchers: Antonio Valeriano of Azcapotzalco, Alonso Vegerano and Pedro de San Buenaventura of Cuauhtitlan, and Martín Jacobita from the *barrio* de Santa Ana and Director of the Colegio. The writers (*escribanos*) were: Diego de Grado and Bonifacio Maximiliano of Tlatelolco, and Mateo Severino of Xochimilco.

Regarding the transcultural process occurring in Tlatelolco, León-Portilla and Hernández de León-Portilla (1990; 37) aptly say:

> 'In fact, the Franciscans who taught at Santa Cruz were men formed in the humanistic thought, while the first students of the Colegio shared the cultural legacy that their parents had acquired in the *Calmecac*, the pre-Hispanic centers of study. Actually in a way, the Colegio de Santa Cruz adopted the tradition of those centers where the best of the Nahua society was formed. Both institutions, the Colegio and *Calmecac*, were different in many aspects, but similar in others. For example, they were similar in asceticism and sobriety of life and in the pedagogical significance they had in their respective cultural contexts. This reality made an open and profound dialogue possible between American wisdom and Renaissance humanism in the first century of life in New Spain.'

The brilliant indigenous students and teachers of the Colegio de Tlatelolco were admired by the people of their time for their trilingual skills: they mastered Latin, Spanish and Náhuatl. According to the Franciscan chronicles, we know that among the most prominent Latinists and writers of the Colegio were: Antonio Valeriano, Martín Jacobita, Diego Adriano, Juan Berardo, Francisco Bautista de Contreras, Esteban Bravo, Pedro de Gante (name adopted after the great Franciscan), Agustín de la Fuente, Hernando de Ribas, Pablo Nazareno, Juan Badiano who translated from Náhuatl to Latin the book written by the Aztec physician Martín de la Cruz (*Codex De la Cruz-Badiano*) and the very unique case of Pedro Juan Antonio. Pedro Juan Antonio was a specialist in the Classical writers, who, in 1568 went to the University of Salamanca to study civil and canonic law, and in 1574 published in Barcelona a Latin grammar (Ricard 1947:340-341; Vargas Lugo 1994:18).

In Santa Cruz, there were a library and a *scriptorium*. In the library were kept first editions of books in native tongues as well as European and classical authors like Aristotle, Pliny, Cicero, Flavius Josephus, Saint Augustin, Saint Thomas Aquinas, Erasmus and Vives. This is why it is

considered as the first *academic* library of the New World. For its part, many of the Mexican incunabula were conceived and written in the *scriptorium*. Perpetuating the best medieval tradition, the principal texts of ancient times were copied on its tables. With infinite patience, friars and ladino Indian scribes undertook the task of illuminating manuscripts and translating complete volumes. In addition, from their minds and hands carne Doctrines and Vocabularies, the *Florentine Codex*, the *Mendoza Codex*, the *De la Cruz-Badiano Codex* and the *Map of Mexico-Tenochtitlan* of 1550 (today in the University of Uppsala in Sweden) (Fernández 1992: 216-217). In some way, we can say that the Colegio de Tlatelolco was a kind of center for Mexican studies in the sixteenth century.

In San José de los Naturales the "Occidentalization or Hispanization" of the Indians took place, but in Santa Cruz Tlatelolco the "Indianization or Nahuatlization" of the European Friars took place.

f) *Indios ladinos* as artists

As we have seen, the major patron of sixteenth-century art was the Church (the Mendicant Orders) who trained, commissioned, and helped motivate the large group of native artists that produced most monastic art. The friars controlled the resources available to these artists: their tools, materials, and subject matter. But, because of the remarkable skill and versatility of the native artists, the stone carvings and the mural painting made a significant and unique contribution (Ricard 1947:328-329; Peterson 1993:178).

Although the murals' strong overall European character is unquestionable, a clearer picture has emerged of the artists, not as slavish copyists, but as independent participants and creative collaborators. Those native *ladino* painters could rely on their own heritage as *tlacuiloque* (scribes and painters), drawing on a still-viable symbolic vocabulary and reinterpreting Euro-Christian themes in light of persistent cultural constructs. The outstanding paintings of the monastery of Malinalco, as well as the stone carvings of the open chapel of Tlalmanalco confirm the surviving practice of using pre-Hispanic natural metaphors for categories of social hierarchy, supernatural beings, and afterlife destinies. While convergences of meaning between native and European imagery may have promoted the new Catholic faith, dual readings would have as readily, if dissimulated, endorsed the resilient indigenous belief system. In this sense, sixteenth-century mural painting and stone sculpture are a visual text with the same

multiplicity of meanings common to all colonial dialogue (Peterson 1993:178).

The majority of those *ladino* artists remained anonymous, but we have the testimony of their work, like the portrait of fray Domingo de Betanzos made by a native tlacuilo on *maguey* paper in a chapel in Tepefaoztoc (today stolen). We also have the amazing images of a pre-Columbian battle in the walls of the church of Ixmiquilpan and the many murals in the cloisters and porterías of the monasteries. In a few cases, we know the names of some of those artists, like Marcos Aquino (Cipac) who in 1554 made the retablo of the open chapel of San José de los Naturales; Miguel Mauricio, who in about 1610 made the wood-carving of Santiago *Mataindios* in the church of Tlatelolco, and Juan Gerson a *tlacuilo* who in 1562 made the outstanding cycle of paintings of the Apocalypse on amate paper (fig tree bark) in the church of Tecamachalco (Ricard 1947:329).

g) *Indios ladinos* as map-makers

The history of the mapping of America after 1492 shows that geographies were made and remade by a process of transformation in which members of both the colonized as well as the colonizing cultures entered into an interactive dialogue (Harley 1992).

In order to read the maps from Mesoamérica, we also have to learn a new set of cartographic rules. The physical forms of such maps (*lienzos*, *tiras*, *códices* or screenfolds) is very different from the sheet, book, wall, or atlas maps of early modern Europe. Similarly, the pictographic conventions for signifying places is different from the European maps that contained labels in recognizable languages to identify toponyms.

Considering the existence of a pre-Hispanic Nahua cartography, we must acknowledge that pre-Hispanic "maps" were much more than mere geographical instruments, even more than a symbolic appropiation of space. They maintained a mythical, social, political, and economic memory of the past (Gruzinski 1987).

In Mesoamérica, as in other cultures in the Old World, the mapping impulse extended to representations of the cosmos. A good example of this complex subject is the map that appears in the opening page of the pre-Conquest *Codex Fejérváry-Mayer*. This screenfold presents an image that would undoubtedly have been rejected as a map, by both the sixteenth-century Spanish conquerors of Mexico and the modern cartographic historians of the nineteenth and twentieth cen-

turies. Although social concepts rather than Euclidean space are represented, the mapping of cosmic principles and rituals nevertheless embodied rational ordering and careful measurement and often geometrically precise execution. A recent description of the map notes that it is a Mesoamerican model of time and space. It depicts the 260-day calendar oriented to the four directions of the Universe with associated gods, birds and trees [Fig. 2]. The central Mexican god of fire and time, Xiuhtecuhtli, stands in the centre of the scene as a warrior backed by four streams of blood. The source of this blood appears near the four birds at the outer corners of the page: it originates from the severed arm, leg, torso and head of Tezcatlipoca, one of the greatest gods of central Mexico. Although this precise mythic episode is not known from other sources, the scene suggests that the casting of Tezcatlipoca's dismembered body to the four quarters by Xiuhtecuhtli was equivalent to the creation of the calendar and directions, that is, the delineation of time and space (Taube 1995:14).

Early colonial manuscripts such as the *Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca* (1550-1570) and *Codex Xolotl* (before 1542) still show a mapping style of representation similar to the pictographic style of the eighteen pre-Conquest Codices that we know. In the *Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca* (Kirchhoff *et al* 1989), there is a map in f.32v and f.33r that shows the boundaries of the towns of Cuauhtinchan and Tzouacxilotepec, that presents an entire pre-Columbian pictographic style [Fig. 3] (Also see Yoneda 1991). In addition we find in the same document another map in f.26v and f.27r that shows the city of Cholula with all the Tolteca and Chichimeca *tlatoque* (rulers), and their first institutions: the xiuhcalco (ruling palace), calmecac (academy) and the characteristic elements and glyphs that identify Cholula, as a Tollan (place of the reeds), the prototype of a very civilized capital [Fig. 4]. We also have the map of Cholula that appears in the *Relación Geográfica* of Gabriel de Rojas, made in 1581 by an anonymous *ladino* Indian [Fig. 5]. It already shows the typical Spanish grid plan, but we still find indigenous glyphs, like the one that identifies the city as *Tollan Cholula* (place of the reeds) and other inscriptions such as, *Tlachiualtepetl* (man made mountain) that identify the huge pyramid dedicated to Quetzalcoatl. All these pictographic elements and Nahuatl inscriptions in this map are evidence of the strong pre-Columbian tradition.

Manuscripts such as the *Codex Colombino* and the *Codex Xolotl* are examples of how the changing relations of domination and subordination became enshrined in cartography. In the case of *Codex Xolotl*, we can trace the work of an Indian aristocracy seeking to restore its legitimacy in the Valley of Mexico [Fig. 6.]. This seems to have been a

dynastic history that is also a cartography, linking genealogy and territory and serving as proof of ancient nobility (Harley 1992).

During the sixteenth-century, because Spanish cartographers were very few, the Colonial administration relied mainly on the collaboration of Indian painters to produce the maps they needed. Far from being indifferent to their skill and knowledge of the country, it seems that the viceroys and their officers recognized the efficiency and accuracy of the sophisticated system of conventions provided by the Indian glyphs. For these reasons, during 1570-1600, the decades corresponding to the elaboration of the *Relaciones Geográficas*,[1] the forced concentration of Indian populations and the massive grants of land given to the Spaniards, Indian painters were requested to draw hundreds of maps by the new authorities. Most of these *ladino* map-makers and painters were the heirs of the pre-Hispanic nobility and clergy; the oldest among them had been trained before the Spanish Conquest (Gruzinski 1987).

In addition to serving as historical and economic documents, Colonial Indian maps proved quite capable of describing the society and reality that was emerging. While they still retained many of the old symbols and glyphs, like those related to rivers, springs, mountains, paths and habitat, they were inundated by new signs made necessary by the Colonial presence and exploitation. More specifically, Indian painters created new glyphs to design new things: churches with their *atrios* (front courtyards) and bells, grid plans (*dameros*) of Indian pueblos, new Spanish estates such as estancias and haciendas, corrals, water mills, covered carts drawn by teams of oxen, and so on. Although their content was completely new, because they corresponded to animals, buildings, and types of farming and transportation introduced by the Conquerors, these signs retained the customary canons of Indian iconography (Gruzinski 1987).

I will discuss several examples of the hundred of maps made by the *ladino* map-makers for the *Relaciones Geográficas* in the late sixteenth century. We begin with the map of the town of Huejutla (Hidalgo) made in 1580 [Fig. 7]. One can see how the Augustinian monastery was built over the platform of the old pre-Hispanic temple and its *atrio* with two posa chapels was located where today is the market (tianguis). Another example is the map of the town of Ixtapalapa (D.F.) made by the local *indio ladino* Martín Cano in 1580 [Fig. 8]. The town name means "water near the flagstones" in Nahuatl, and we can see its pictographic

[1] *Relaciones Geográficas* is the encyclopaedic work commissioned by king Phillip II in 1577, to investigate and describe all the Spanish possessions in the New World.

writing. Below the church, a hexagonal flagstone is surrounded by a blue ribbon of water, and it also displays the twin community buildings (Mundy 1996). The map of the town of Culhuacan (D.F.) was drawn by the *indio ladino* Pedro de San Agustín, 1580 [Fig.9]. We can see, at the center of the map, the toponymic glyph of Culhuacan (twisted mountain) on the house of the community (town hall). Near the "Hill of the Star" lays the Augustinian monastery and across the street from it, there is a paper mill (Mundy 1996). In the map of the town of Texupan (Oax.) of 1579 [Fig. 10] the Indian artist rendered an illusionistic landscape that contains the individual native hill symbols (*tepetl*) forming part of mountain ranges surrounding the town. There is also the Dominican monastery and the characteristic depiction of the roads with footprints and the river that cross the town (Mundy 1996). The magnificent map of the town of Zempoala (Hidalgo) of 1580 [Fig. 11] illustrates the place-name of Zempoala at the upper center of it. To the left is the local Franciscan monastery. The landscape is heavily sown with indigenous toponyms and images of native leaders (Mundy 1996). The elegant fine-line map of the town of Tetlistaca (Santo Tomás, Hidalgo) of 1581 [Fig. 12] comes from a town reknowned for its fine manuscript painting. Each of the churches, symbolizing settlements, is named both alphabetically and with pictorial toponyms. One of them has a circular image, like a wheel that represents the site of the market (tianguis). The artist included roots in the depictions of plants, following indigenous practice (Mundy 1996). The map of the town of San Mateo Macuilxochitl (Oaxaca) of 1580 [Fig. 13], from a Zapotec-speaking town in Oaxaca, includes a long inscription in rough Nahuatl. At its center, three rulers are sheltered under the branches of a flowering tree. In Nahuatl Macuixochitl means "five flower" (calendric sign: 5 Xochitl), and the five flowers of the tree are this artist's rendering of that name (Mundy 1996). The map of the town of Teotenango (Tenango de Arista, Mexico) of 1582 [Fig. 14] shows that Teotenango was laid out on an even grid (*damero*) in the wake of the Spanish conquest. The original pre-Hispanic settlement lays on the adjacent hilltop. The artist wanted to express logographically the town's name that means "place of divine walls", using the repeating stepped motifs standing for "walls" (*tenamitl*, to show the enclosure of pyramidal ruins that covers the hill above the town (Mundy 1996). The indigenous artist of the map of the town of Amoltepec (Oax.) of 1580 [Fig. 15] defined the town's boundaries with a irregular semi-circle of toponyms, written with logographs. Inside this boundary are both the church of Amoltepec ant the rulers' palace showing the ruling couple. The toponyms within the circle would seem to rep-

resent sites within Amoltepec's territory (Mundy 1996). A last. example is the map of the neighboring Teozacoalco (Oaxaca) made in 1580 [Fig. 16]. It is important to say that this map served as the "Rosetta Stone" to Alfonso Caso in 1949, for the final decipherment of the Mixtec codices. Drawn by a native hand, this map shows how an instrument of colonial power could be reappropiated by a colonized people. The map is composed of two distinct parts (Caso 1998).[2] To the left, columns of figures, based on an earlier genealogical manuscript, record the history of the native ruling dynasty of Tilantongo. To the right, the main map of the town is painted in circular form with east at the top. Since circular maps had pre-Conquest origins, even in this we see a reassertion of native concepts of space. The circle defines the jurisdictional boundary of Teozacoalco. Inside of it and close to the drawing of the church of the town, there is a column of figures that represent the dynasty of rulers of Teozacoalco. They had ancestorship in Tilantongo and the map shows the last rulers (1521-1580), that already wear Spanish attire and have Spanish names. The semicircular appendage at the top represents the town of Elotepec, once under the jurisdiction of Teozacoalco. While the map also shows signs of adjustment and acculturation to Spanish influence (representation of estancias and churches), it nevertheless captures the coexistence and dialectic of native and European cartography (Harley 1992).

As we have seen by the analysis of some of the maps, there is a common indigenous symbol that appears very often, and is the toponymic glyph *tepetl* (hill or mountain). It is used to spell out a place name or to identify places of significance (sacred landscape), some of them settlements, others sacred hills. This *tepetl* convention almost disappears from maps after 1615. There is good reason to believe that missionaries in some parishes exercised direct or indirect censorship in regard to the *tepetl*, probably feeling that the sacredness of salient points in the heathen landscape would so be recalled, impeding the process of full conversion to the new faith. The *tepetl* on the map was akin to the idol buried under the house; then a dark force to be extirpated. That idea appears to be supported by the gradual appearance of chapels and wayside crosses (*calvarios* or *humilladeros*) on the maps, alternative sacred points to be contemplated by the community. Occasionally, however, chapels or crosses are shown along lowland roads even as tepetls are woven into the skyline (Butzer 1998).

[2] This is the translation of Caso 1949 to English by Manuel Aguilar (myself) and Claudia Alarcón for the Texas Meetings Workshops at the University of Texas at Austin in 1998.

In the loyal city of Tlaxcala on the twenty-eighth day of the month of April of the year 1550 the very honorable lords the governor, alcaldes ordinarios, and regidores determined in cabildo that a litter be made, to be a proper litter for the Holy Sacrament; and as to its making, the city will make it.

And it is to be ordered that no one take away the precious feathers (plumes) and other feathers that are attached to all the church properties, the litter, and the case for covering the cross; that no one take them down or dance with them. And they ordered that both he who gives them to someone and he to whom they are given are each to pay 80 pesos of mine-gold for it, which will be divided into two parts: one part will belong to the treasury and exchequer of his majesty, and an equal amount will belong to the judge.

Lucas García. Juan Jiménez. Pablo de Galicia. Don Juan Maxixcatzin. Don Julián Motolinia. Gaspar de Luna. Don Juan Xicotencatl. Don Francisco de Mendoza. Don Diego de Paredes. Don Juan Martin. Don Francisco de Tapia. Antonio Flores. Feliciano Ceynos. Don Martín (Coyolchiuhqui). (And other rubrics.)

Before us, notaries of the cabildo. Fabián Rodríguez.

En la leal çiudad tlascallan xxviii dias mes de ablir de mil e qui°s e cincuenta años yn muy honrrados señores gouernador Allde̅s hordinarios yvan Regidores ypan yn cabildo mononotzque ypanpa mochivaz centetl tlapechtli santo sacramento ytlapech yectli yezqui av inic mochivaz atl tepetl quichivaz

– yvan tlanavatiloz yn isquich teopan tlatquitl yn tlapectli (sic) yva manca ynn itech catqui quetzalli yn oc cequi yvitl ayac tle oncan quicuiz ayac quixiniz yvan ayacquipan mitotiz ahv yc [qui]tenavatiya yn aquin quitemacaz yvan yn aquin macoz ynn imomestin nanapovalli p°s de minas yc tlastlavazque occan moxeloz yn cequi ytech puviz yn camara e fisco de su mg' av in oc no ysquich itech poviz yn just^a

lucas gr^a ju° ximenez pablo de galizia don juan de masiscatzin don julia motolinia gaspar de luna don ju° xicotencatl don fran^co de mendoça don di^o de paredes don ju° m̅in don fran^co dapia atoni florez fellyçiano ceynos don martin (and other rubrics)

tispan escrivanos de cabildo fabian rr°s

Figure 1. *Acta* of the *Cabildo* of Tlaxcala of April 28, 1550 (f. 58)
(Lockhart *et al.*, 1986: 71)

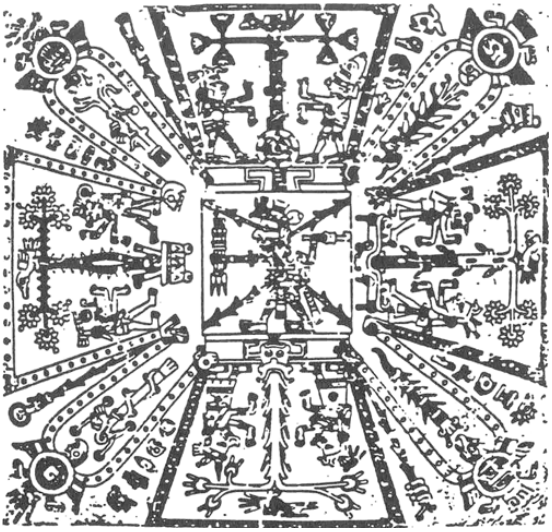

Figure 2. Pahge one of *Codex Fejérváry-Mayer*. A Mesoamerican model of time and space. Gods. day-names, trees and birds are oriented to the four directions, with Xiuhtecuhtli at the center
(photo by the Author from a facsimilar copy of the Codex

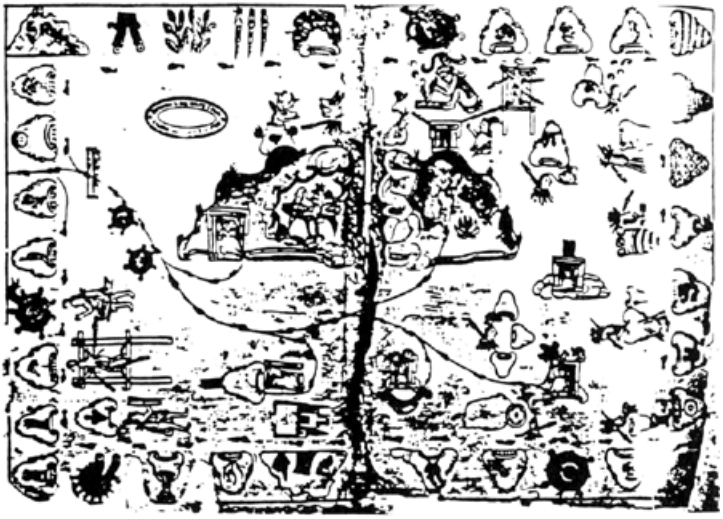

Figure 3. Map of the boundaries of Cuauhtinchan and Tzouacxilotepec (1550-70). *Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca*
(photo by the author from Kirchhoff 1989)

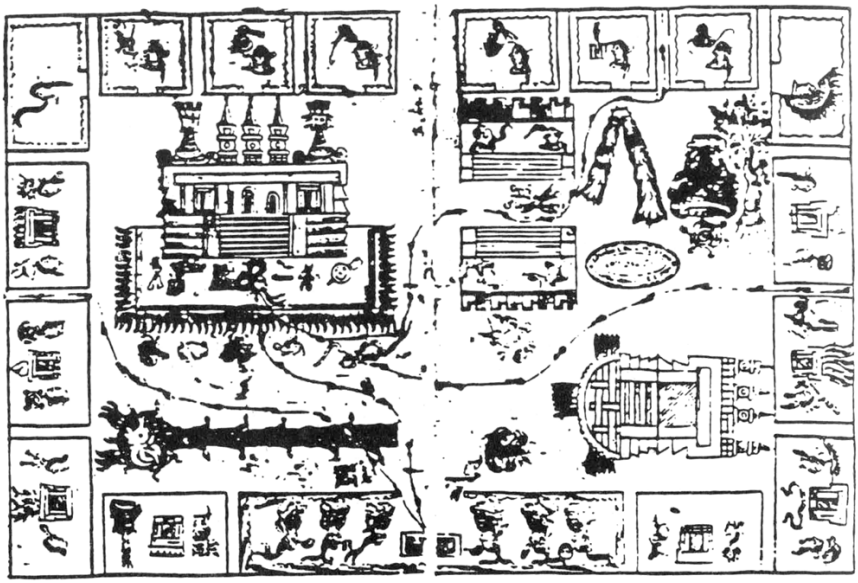

Figure 4. Map of Tollan Cholula. *Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca* (f. 26v and f. 27r) (photo by the Author from Kirchhoff 1959)

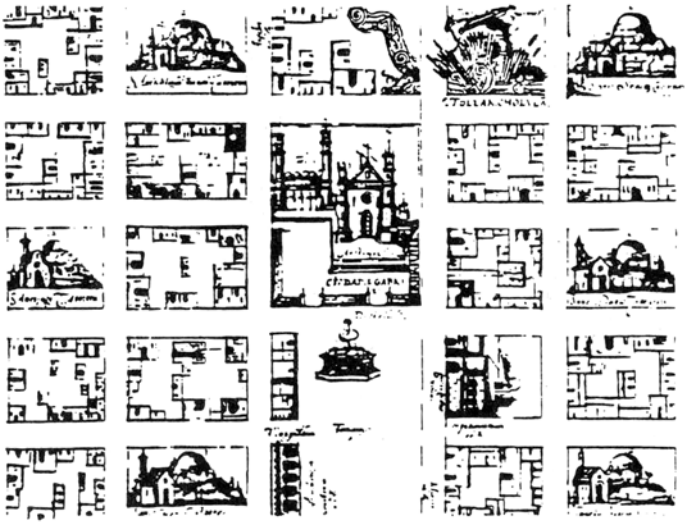

Figure 5. Map of the town of Cholula, published by Gabriel de Rojas in 1581 (From the Joaquín García Icazbalceta Manuscript Collection, [1500]-1887], Benson Latin American Collection, General Libraries, University of Texas at Austin).

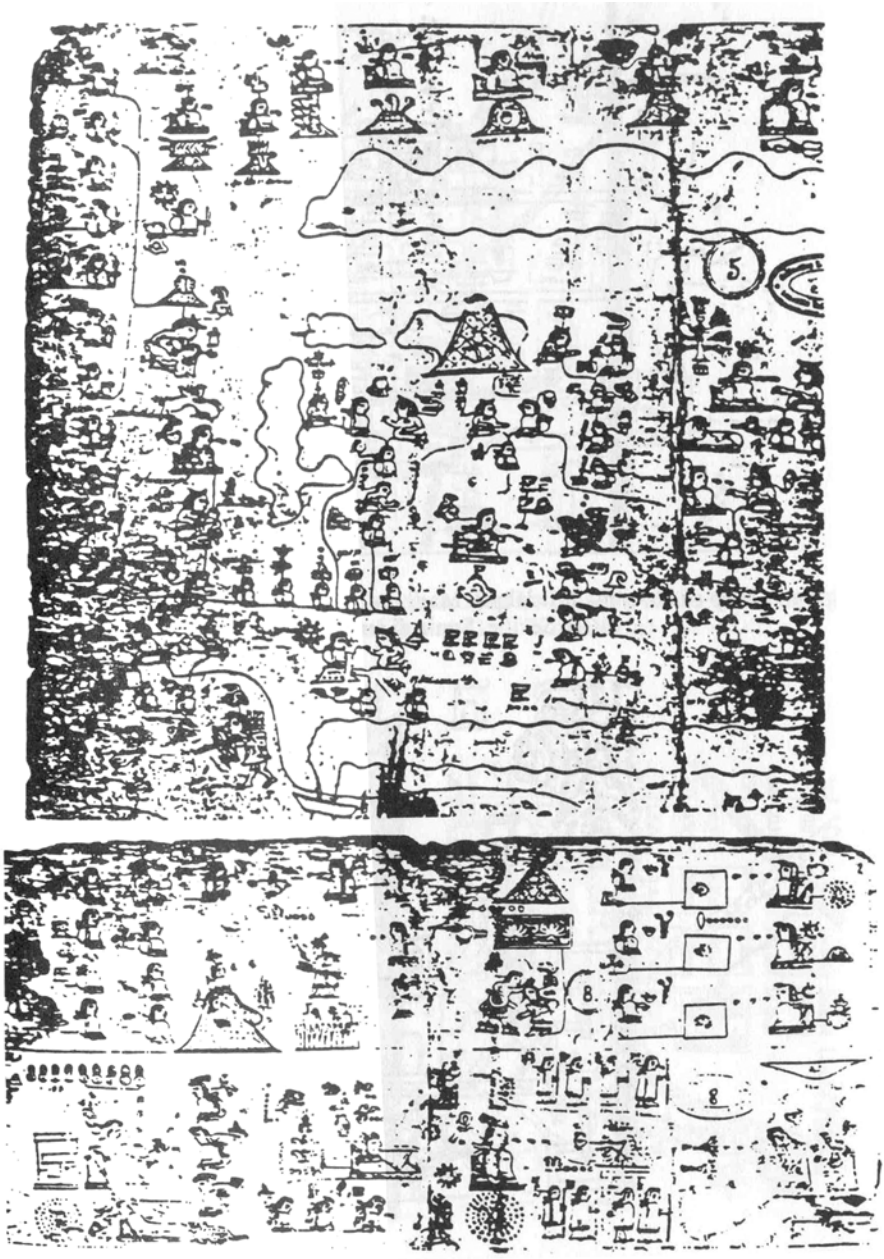

Figure 6. *Codex Xolotl* (before 1542) (Robertson 1959)

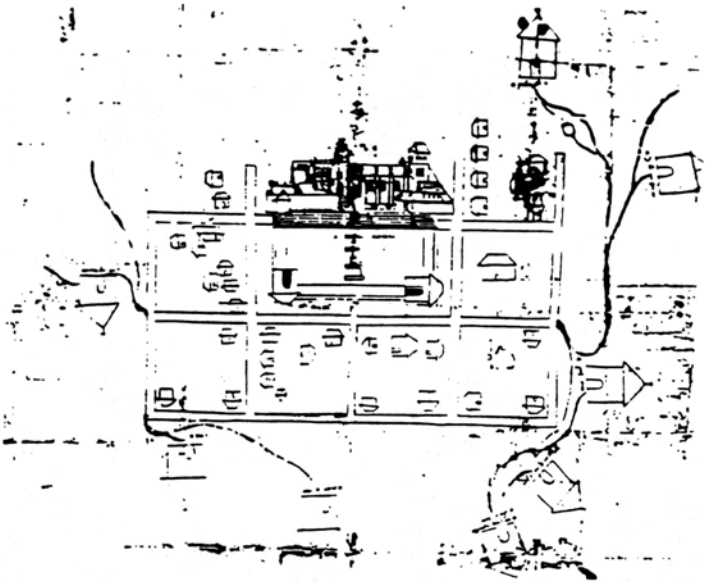

Figure 7. Map of Huejutla (Hidalgo). Made in 1580. Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Seville, Spain (Sartor, 1992)

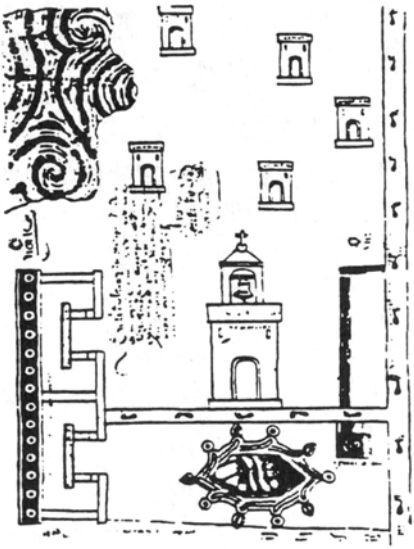

Figure 8. Map of Ixtapalapa (D.F.). Made in 1580 by the *indio ladino* Martín Cano. (Benson Library, University of Texas at Austin)

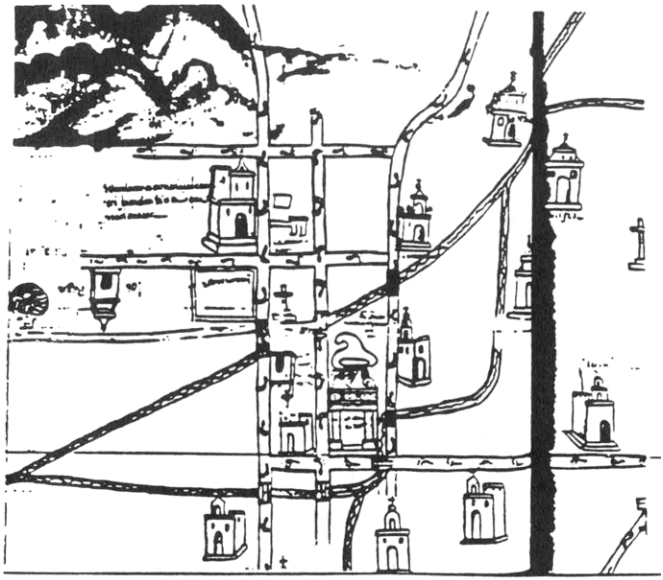

Figure 9. Map of Culhuacan (D.F.). Made in 1580 by the *indio ladino* Pedro de San Agustín. (Benson Library, U. of T. at Austin)

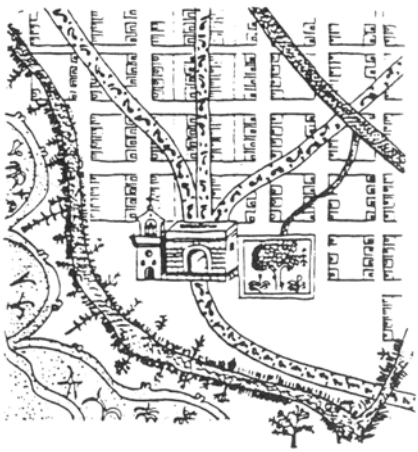

Figure 10. Map of Texupan (Oaxaca). Made in 1579. Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid (Drawing: John Mc Andrew)

Figure 11. Map of Zempoala (Hidalgo). Made in 1580. (Benson Library, U. of T. at Austin)

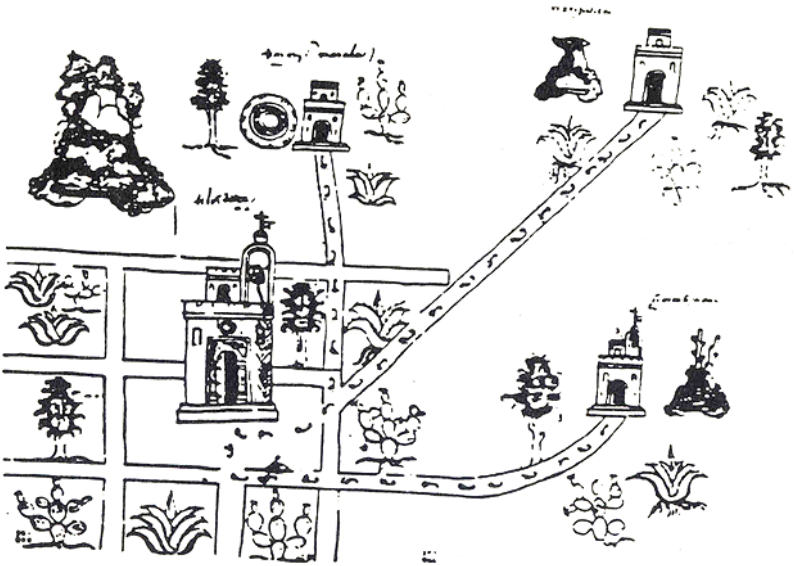

Figure 12. Map of Tetlistaca (Hidalgo). Made in 1581. (Benson Library, U. of T. at Austin)

Figure 13. Map of Macuilxochitl (Oaxaca).
Made in 1580. Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid (Mundy 1996).

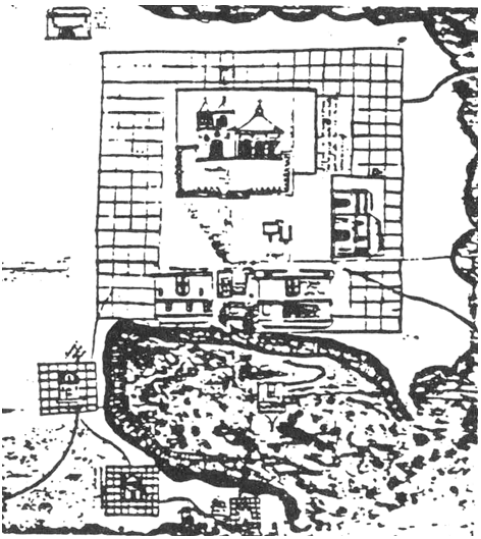

Figure 14. Map of Teotenango (Tenango de Arista, Mex.). Made in 1582. Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Seville (Mundy 1996)

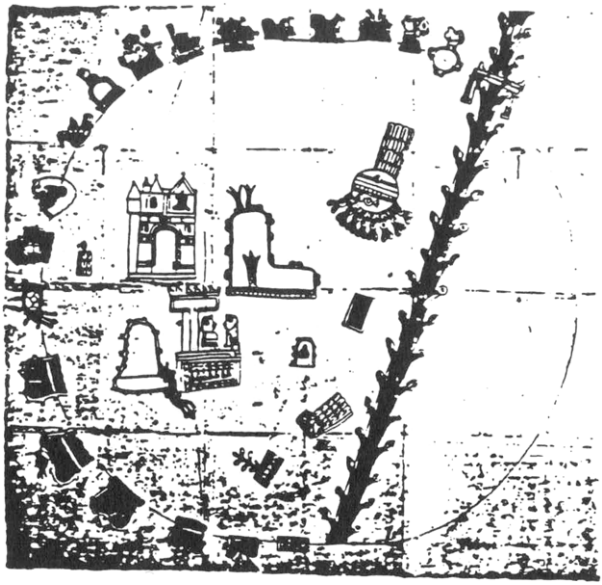

Figure 15. Map of Amoltepec (Oaxaca). Made in 1580.
(Benson Library, U. of T. at Austin)

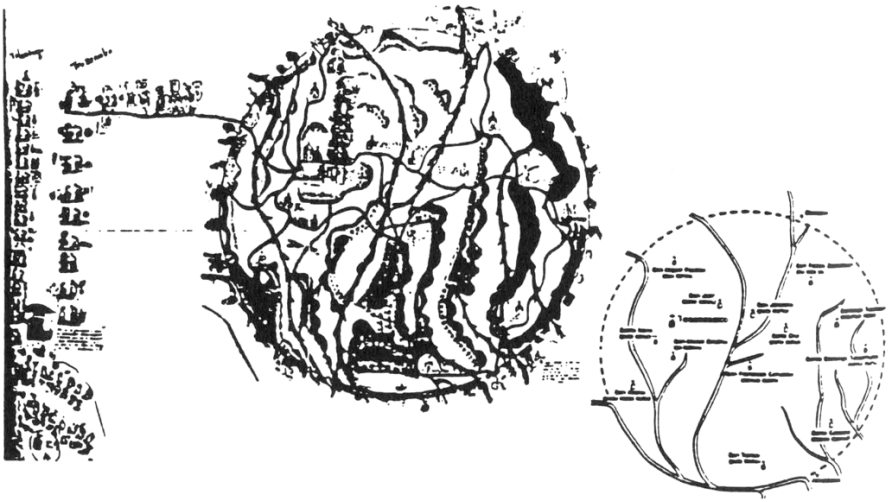

Figure 16. Map of Teozacoalco (Oaxaca). Made in 1580.
(Benson Library, U. of T. at Austin)

It is reasonable to suspect that the phasing out of the *tepetl* as a convention, early in the 1600s, was indeed related to the complex process of indigenous conversion, not as a conscious conversion to the externalities of the new religion, but as more complete accommodation of the map-maker's inner self to the new cosmology. In this way, the new Christian symbol of the cross, along the road or in the *atrio* of a church, added significant meaning to new points in the landscape and became an effective presence in the minds of the people of the community. The footprints on the road were never loaded with meaning, but they were simply explanatory signs. They persisted somewhat longer than the *tepetls*, perhaps until they became redundant or were perceived as "primitive". In effect, it appears that the transformation of cartographic conventions reflected the long, cumulative process of transgenerational conversion (Butzer 1998).

In conclusion, I join Butzer (1998) in the idea that indigenous cartography survived even outside of the limited sphere of indigenous map-makers. The vocabulary had been Europeanized, but the context and content remained indigenous. The Creole and Mestizo craftsmen had learned to understand the context and content, and had accepted them as their own. In other words, the Creoles and Mestizos over the generations had learned to see and read their landscapes through indigenous eyes. They had become *americanos*, indigenous in their own right, and they saw their environments and their human landscapes through the eyes of a new identity. This is the meaning and the message; the map evolved as a dialogue, perhaps largely unspoken, between two peoples and two traditions. The indigenous voice in that dialogue had the monopoly on authenticity, while the Creole-Mestizo had the advantage of a more versatile cartographic methodology, an advantage sustained by socioeconomic dominance and the ideological sanction of the Colonial power establishment. But over time the two voices became mutually comprehensible, as each accepted the humanity and creativity of the other. Ultimately those two voices became one, neither Mesoamerican nor European, but Mexican. That is what we attempt to convey by the expression transculturation.

h) *Indios ladinos* as historians, chroniclers and ethnographers

There were culturally mixed and Hispanicized individuals that wrote historical accounts that show the positions they took in their interactions with the institutions of church and state and their representatives.

These *ladino* individuals represented a variety of Amerindian traditions and a broad range of relationships to Spanish Christian culture.

These post-conquest writers of native tradition studied here include persons of autochthonous background as well as individuals of mixed European and Amerindian parentage. In particular, the texts produced by those who wrote the history of their ethnic groups are revealing both for what they say and for what they suppress. The adjustments to the intermingling of diverse cultures in a colonial society is nowhere more problematic than in the works of history and ethnography that these descendants of native traditions wrote, with the expectation that their writings would reach audiences within and beyond their own communities. These writers had to be dual ethnographers, not only mapping their own systems of cultural practice and belief but also, and implicitly, mapping and responding to those of their culturally Spanish readers. The most sensitive topics were native religion and Christian evangelization (Adorno 1994: 383).

The time period covered by this group of historians runs from the middle of the sixteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth, from the coming age of the first native and mestizo generations born after the conquest to the maturity of those whose great-grandparents had experienced the Spanish invasion. For Mexico, the post-conquest writers of native tradition represent several of the basic ethnic divisions of the Central valley of Mexico (Gibson 1964). Most notable are Hernando Alvarado Tezozómoc (active 1598-early seventeenth century), Fernando de Alva Ixtlixóchitl (1578-1648), Domingo Francisco de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin (born 1579), Diego Muñoz Camargo (1529-1599), and Juan Bautista de Pomar (active 1582).

Alvarado Tezozómoc was of Mexica (Aztec) descent; he was a grandson of Moctezuma II. Alvarado Tezozómoc left a major narrative account of the Mexica rise to power in the late fourteenth century up to the time of the Spanish conquest in his *Crónica Mexicana* (1598); he wrote his *Crónica Mexicayotl* in Nahuatl in 1609. Alva Ixtlixóchitl was the son of a Castilian and a noble Acolhua woman from Texcoco; he left abundant accounts of Acolhua history in his *Historia Chichimeca* and various *relaciones*, all of which he wrote in Spanish. Diego Muñoz Camargo was the son of the Spanish conquistador Diego Muñoz and a native woman; he married a noblewoman of Tlaxcala. His work presents the perspective of the Tlaxcalans, who inhabited the area northeast of the Central Valley of Mexico and were unconquered enemies of the Aztecs. His *Historia de Tlaxcala* (late sixteenth century) covers the ancient migrations of the group, its dynastic history, and its role as allies of the Spanish in the conquest of Mexico. Juan Bautista de Pomar

was also of mixed European and Mexican parentage and his mother descended from the preconquest Acolhua rulers of Texcoco. Pomar's *Relación de Texcoco*, which Alva Ixtlixóchitl later read, was written in response to the 1577 questionnaire for geographic and census information for the *relaciones geográficas de Indias* and is considered a major source on native deities and other aspects of pre-Columbian and colonial culture (Garibay 1971; Gibson 1964; Adorno 1994). Each of these authors, like their counterparts in Perú, interpreted native history from the origins of the dynasties whose history they reconstructed to the period of Spanish domination. In early seventeenth century in colonial Perú there are three main chroniclers: Juan de Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua, *Relación de antiguedades deste reyno del Pirú* (1613); Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1612-1615); and El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, *Primera y segunda partes de los Comentarios reales de los Incas* (1609-1616) (Adorno 1994).

Despite the great differences among their various heritages, as writing subjects, these Mexican and Peruvian authors assumed similar subject positions. First, each presented himself as a lord or leader of his respective ethnic group, thereby claiming authority to speak on behalf of all. Second, each was involved actively in legal petitioning for the restoration of rights, privileges and properties. Third, their works were aimed at enhancing the prestige of the dynastic traditions they represented. As a result, in articulating their vantage points on native history, they inevitably emphasized certain components of their cultural traditions and suppressed or ignored others. In this regard, their efforts conformed to certain theoretical principles of cross-cultural interactions and exchange recognized today. It is what we call in modern words a process of transculturation.[3] Fourth, they occasionally appropiated to their ethnic heritage traditions not necessarily their own (Adorno 1994).

The results of these various processes may be observed in the way these authors dealt with several transcultural issues. First, for pre-Columbian times, they acknowledged the ancient existence of idolatry but they disassociated it from their own dynastic heritage. Second, they considered pre-Columbian, oral and written historiographic traditions as important sources, although they showed deference to European histories. Third, they claimed the highest achievements of autochthonous American civilization for their own ethnic traditions. Fourth, they identified their own language as the most prestigious

[3] It is pertinent to recall Fernando Ortiz's concept of transculturation: the elaboration of new cultural forms common to neither the donor nor the recipient culture, and the suppression or loss of certain traditional ones (Ortiz 1940).

among native Amerindian languages groups. Fifth, they acknowledged ancient practices of human sacrifice but distanced it from their own heritage. For the post-conquest era, *ladino* historians asserted their ancestors' incorporation as allies at the highest levels in to the Spanish military campaigns of conquest, and they claimed their ancestors' swift conversion to Christianity and subsequent leadership in evangelizing the rest of the native population (Adorno 1994:387).

For these *ladino* historians, the reevaluation of the past has a present-oriented objective. They encoded the practices of the ancient culture into formulas appropiate for advocating their rights and privileges under a new and foreign regime.

In short, upon representing native Amerindian traditions in relation to the Spanish, the ladino historians were ethnographers of their own cultural hybridization. As individuals of mixed background and loyalties, they understood that the boundary between identity and alterity was artificial and arbitrarily set in place. The purpose of their narrative efforts was not only to undertake the preservation of the past, but also to keep the present alive (Adorno 1994:401).

In sum, their accounts gave relief to the deeds of the pre-Columbian past adjusted to the ambiguity of the realities and "benefits" of the colonial present. Their "historias son muy ladinas," because they expressed directly only what was convenient to say, but their subtexts were equally informative.

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