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## **“The rupture generation” : nineteenth-century Nahua intellectuals in Mexico City, 1774-1882**

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**“THE RUPTURE GENERATION:”**

**NINETEENTH CENTURY NAHUA INTELLECTUALS**  
**IN MEXICO CITY, 1774-1882**

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Argelia Segovia Liga

## Archival Abbreviations

|              |  |
|--------------|--|
| AGN          | Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico.  |
| AHASC        | Archivo Histórico de la Academia de San Carlos, Mexico.                          |
| AHDF         | Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal, Mexico.                                  |
| AHMNAH       | Archivo Histórico del Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico.         |
| AHN          | Archivo Histórico de Notarías, Mexico.   |
| AHSMGE       | Archivo Histórico de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística, Mexico.    |
| ARASC-FAUNAM | Archivo de la Real Academia de San Carlos-Facultad de Arquitectura UNAM, Mexico. |
| BMNAH        | Biblioteca del Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico.                |
| BNM          | Biblioteca Nacional de México, Mexico.   |
| LLLAC        | Lilly Library Latin American Collection, USA.                                    |
| SAMANM       | Spanish and Mexican Archives of New Mexico, USA.                                 |

## Introduction

### **“The Rupture Generation:” Nineteenth-Century Nahua Intellectuals in Mexico City, 1780-1882**

The study of intellectuality in general is a fascinating topic that has encouraged several scholars to approach the study of this human experience from diverse perspectives and areas of knowledge. Therefore, studying intellectuals and intellectuality as a social phenomenon is not a new interest among scholars. From the nineteenth century onward scholars, most of them European, have questioned the role and social importance of intellectuals.<sup>1</sup> The early works produced by those scholars who initially approached the study of intellectuals and their role in society began with their first attempts to define the process of intellectualism, and hence, to give a definition to the term “intellectual.” By identifying intellectuals as a specific group prevailing within western societies, these early scholars approached the understanding of this phenomenon by examining the way in which this group interacts with different social circles within a society. By identifying the characteristics of intellectuals in these early studies, scholars attempted to assess the impact that intellectuals of the past had on their contemporary societies and the impact which their works had on certain social issues within them.

Nevertheless, the recognition of the existence of diverse intellectual spheres in non-Western societies remains a topic still under construction and development among modern scholars. The recognition of the existence of intellectuals and intellectuality within non-westernized societies has raised other types of challenges to current scholars. Sociologists, political scientists and anthropologists were the first to point out the importance that indigenous intellectuals had on the modern world. On the other hand, current scholars have revisited the study of indigenous intellectualism in the Americas in order to recognize the agency of indigenous communities to interpret the historical events which concerned them through their own means and from their own perspectives.

Thus, current historians have revisited the works produced by indigenous intellectuals in order to variously emphasize their existence, to place them into the historiography, and to point out the important social roles that they played in the past. In the specific case of the Spanish colonial history of Mexico, there are extensive secondary studies of scholars who have reviewed the importance of Nahua intellectuals and their works as historians, such as Diego Muñoz Camargo (1529 - 1599), San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Cuauhtlehuanitzin (1579-1660?), Fernando de Alva Cortés Ixtlilxóchitl (1568-1648) or Fernando Alvarado Tezozomoc (1525-

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<sup>1</sup> A summarized reviewed about these works is offered by Homi Bhabha in his article entitled “The World and the Home,” *Social Text*, No. 31/32, (1992): 141-153.

1606).<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, the study of indigenous intellectuals' production during the last years of the Spanish colonial era in New Spain, and the early years of independent Mexico, still deserves more attention from current scholars. The major contributions of these secondary works, besides their revision of these early indigenous intellectuals' works, reside in the fact of recognizing the existence of indigenous intellectuals during the period of the Spanish colonization in New Spain. Additionally, these secondary works also recognized the influence of both Mesoamerican and Western knowledge in the works of these intellectuals, which represents a feature of major importance in this intellectual phenomenon.

These recent secondary studies have challenged the precepts of official Mexican historiography, which in general has denied Indigenous Peoples their participation in history as active agents. Contrary to Mexican official historiography, which has divested Indigenous Peoples of their agency in creating history from their own perspectives, we can see that similarly to the rest of intellectuals from other epochs and places throughout the world, indigenous intellectuals played an important role in the development of history. Considering indigenous intellectuality as an existing and constant phenomenon from early Mesoamerican times results in the recognition of Indigenous Peoples' continued agency to interpret history from their own perspective, even after the tragic years of the European colonization. This recognition also suggests that this intellectual tradition continued after the early decades of the nineteenth century, when the transformation of the political regime changed the Spanish Americas.

Both the political and social changes that occurred in early nineteenth century in Mexico, passing from a colonial regime to the establishing of an independent nation, represented a major break in the periodization of Mexican history. This period of transition remains as one of the most dramatic historical processes that the country experienced since this change transformed both the institutional life and social organization of the country. There is no doubt that these transformations influenced the life of Mexicans in general, and especially the works that

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<sup>2</sup> For instance, see Susan Schroeder, *Chimalpahin and the Kingdom of Chalco* (Arizona: Arizona University Press, 1991); James Lockhart, Susan Schroeder, and Doris Namala, trans., *Annals of His Time Don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006); Arthur J. O. Anderson, *Codex Chimalpahin: Society and Politics in Mexico Tenochtitlan, Tlatelolco, Texcoco, Culhuacan, and Other Nahuatl Altepetl in Central Mexico* (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997). Also see Amber Brian, Bradley Benton, and Pablo García Loaeza, trans., *The Native Conquistador: Alva Ixtlilxochitl's Account of the Conquest of New Spain* (Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press, 2015); Ernst Mengin, *Diferentes historias originales de los reynos de Culhuacán, y México, y de otras provincias* (Berlin: Baessler Archive, 1944). About this work see José Rubén Romero Galván, "Posible esquema de las Historias originales de Chimalpahin," *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, número 1 (1976): 73-78. See also Domingo Francisco de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Cuauhtlehuanitzin, *Relaciones originales de Chalco Amaquemecan*, Silvia Rendón, trans., (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1965). See also Domingo Chimalpahin, *Diario* (México: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 2001); Domingo Chimalpahin, *Memorial Breve acerca de la fundación de la ciudad de Culhuacan*; Victor M. Castillo, ed., (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1991); also Domingo Chimalpahin, *Las ocho relaciones y el memorial de Culhuacan*, 2 vols., Rafael Tena, trans., (México: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 1998).

intellectuals in the country produced. Consequently, the work of Nahua intellectuals' did not remain excluded from this process.

The rapid transformation that occurred in New Spain, and later on in the newly formed country called Mexico during the first three decades of the nineteenth century, still represents a challenge for any historian studying this time period due to several reasons. The constant changing in the federal administration, along with the transformation of the institutional life, in combination with constant revolts and foreign invasions that the country endured, makes the task of tracing historical and official documentation very difficult. This quick transformation affected the way nineteenth century institutions organized their documentation and preserved contemporary information. Throughout this process and the turmoil of the early post-independent period, much of the existing documentation became lost and often reorganized and redistributed throughout various institutions. This fact allowed for the fragmented information that before might have been archived in one file in a specific institution in one place, to later be relocated and scattered across several different institutions organized in a disarticulated way placing parts of any one specific case or type of documentation in different files and archives.

Even facing these difficulties and the constant transformation that institutional life experienced in Mexico during the early decades of the nineteenth century, intellectuals did not stop producing their different works. Similarly to their non-indigenous counterparts, Nahua intellectuals continued with their work during the last years of the Spanish colony in Mexico, and continued producing their work during the subsequent decades after independence of Mexico.

This current dissertation emerged while seeking answers for a series of basic questions that attempted to understand indigenous intellectualism as an integral phenomenon in Mesoamerica, New Spain and eventually Mexico. This research first began by seeking answers to the central question of asking about the way in which the Mesoamerican intellectual tradition continued after the Spanish invasion and the process of European colonization. At that point in the research, it became necessary to focus the research on providing elements to properly define both intellectuality and the intellectual phenomenon in their Mesoamerican historical context. Similarly, I questioned myself about the similarities and differences that existed between indigenous intellectuals and non-indigenous ones. By assuming that the Mesoamerican intellectual tradition continued during the period of the Spanish colonization, through this research I sought to know how, and under which circumstances and conditions, this intellectual tradition continued. I also remained interested in knowing more about the lives of those indigenous intellectuals who continued this work throughout the period of the Spanish colony. Additionally, one of the main questions that framed this research focused on providing an answer to the question of how Nahua intellectuals in Mexico City had experienced the transition from the colonial regime to the independent political establishment prevailing in Mexico after 1821. About this period of transition, I remained interested in discovering the ways and means by



which these Nahua intellectuals had interpreted their own context, and how they responded to the turbulent and changing years when the shaping of Mexico took place.

Initially led by these inquiries, the proposal of this current dissertation resides in locating and identifying a few of the members of a much larger generation of Nahua intellectuals who received their education under the Spanish colonial regime, and who all eventually experienced the political transition that occurred in the second decade of the nineteenth century, which resulted in the independence of the territory. It is the proposition of this dissertation that the process of political and social transformation that these Nahua intellectuals experienced during the early decades of the nineteenth century determined the character of their own intellectual works. Also, following the premise that during the second decade of the nineteenth century Mexico experienced a historic moment of political transition that marked the end of the colonial regime in Mexico, in this present work I identify several of the major individuals who experienced this transition and I classify them as being members of a “rupture generation.” This work also aims to offer an initial identification of the social elements that characterized the life and works of Nahua intellectuals who shaped this “rupture generation.”

Similarly, in this dissertation, I attempted to also theoretically approach the definition, in the Nahua indigenous context, for diverse concepts, such as “intellectual” and “indigenous intellectual.” By establishing these definitions at the start of this study, I hope to set the basis for encouraging a more in depth debate about the use and understanding of these concepts within the context of historical research.

Additionally, from the identification of a few members of this “rupture generation” and through the exploration of their works, this study’s proposal defends the idea that indigenous intellectualism remains as a long term process. This phenomenon of indigenous intellectualism remained rooted in Mesoamerican knowledge and traditions. Moreover, during the period of the Spanish invasion Indigenous Peoples experienced a process of synergy that eventually resulted in the continuation of their intellectual traditions. The process of synergy in which both Mesoamerican and European elements of knowledge resulted in an unique indigenous intellectual tradition, also continued throughout the years of the Spanish colonization and the first five decades of the nineteenth century.

In this sense, during the time that Spanish colonization lasted in Mesoamerica, colonial authorities created spaces and cloisters in which indigenous intellectuals continued with their production under the sponsorship of colonial authorities in an institutionalized way. On the other hand, indigenous intellectuals did exist who continued their intellectual work outside the Spanish institutions and without the sponsorship of the colonial authorities. Still, the institutionalized intellectual tradition led by Indigenous Peoples during colonial times thrived for three centuries, and continued long after the end of the colonial era in Mexico.

Through the process of identifying the individuals who shaped this “rupture generation” by examining the available documentation, I was able to follow the lives and works of at least four Nahua individuals. For the purpose of this research, these individuals will serve as a representative sample of a much larger group of Nahua intellectuals. Through this process, I identified several of the names of other individuals who also shaped this “rupture generation.” These individuals all shared common characteristics, such as their ethnic identity as Indigenous Peoples, and the fact that these individuals all lived in Mexico City during their early and adult lives. The members of this group also gained access to education through their attendance at colonial institutions, as well as the fact that later they all experienced the political changes of having been inhabitants of a colonial territory and then later becoming citizens in a newly declared independent country. Finally, these four representative Nahua intellectuals played an active role in matters that concerned them as Indigenous Peoples. Based on the documentation reviewed for this study a considerable number of intellectuals existed who shared these characteristics during this period of time. Nevertheless, it was not possible for me to trace all of their individual careers and lives through extant documentation, which is the reason why these other intellectuals do not make up a part of this current research. Nevertheless, the fact that many of these other Nahua intellectuals were not included in this work does not mean that these intellectuals did not play an important role in society. In future research I intend to expand the examination of the lives and careers of many of these other Nahua intellectuals, but this will necessitate significant and detailed archival research that is not possible now. The names of the Nahua intellectuals upon which this study is based include Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque (1774-1834), Juan de Dios Rodríguez Puebla (1798-1848), Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma (?-1866?), and Faustino Galicia Chimalpopoca (1805-1882). These four Nahua intellectuals served in this research as a small case study sample that aims to offer a contribution to the understanding of the indigenous intellectual phenomenon in the last decades of New Spain and the first decades of Mexico.

In this current work, the revision of the material created by these Nahua intellectuals also did not pretend to be exhaustive or complete. The documentation reviewed in this present study is rather also a representative sample that serves as an example for understanding a larger intellectual phenomenon in Mexico. Thus, these Nahua intellectuals in Mexico City represent only a small sample whose analysis enables us to understand Nahua indigenous intellectuality in Mexico during the early decades of the nineteenth century.

Based on the discussion above, this dissertation project begins by including a discussion of definitions. I consider that one of the current problems that we have as scholars in approaching the phenomenon of indigenous intellectuality resides in the lack of proper definitions of the terms. In this current work, I include an initial section in which I aim to present a basic definition of the key concepts involved in this research. Terms such as “intellectual,” “indigenous intellectual,” and “Nahua People” are reviewed in order to present a conceptual delimitation that can contribute to the identification and understanding of the

phenomenon of Nahua intellectuality as an autonomous manifestation with its own characteristics.

In order to understand the early influences that Nahua intellectuals received during their lives, a subsequent section of this work includes a series of life sketches with the biographical information of these selected intellectuals. An examination of the extant information about these Nahua intellectuals' lives and scholarly formation, as well as the positions that they held in society, will lead us to better understand their later involvement in specific issues that affected them both as individuals and also as members of an indigenous community. By identifying the problems that these Nahua intellectuals faced during the last years of the Spanish colony and the early years of Mexico as an independent nation, I became able to trace and follow the works that these Nahua intellectuals produced. Consequently, the following section of this work focused on the study of these Nahua intellectuals' production with a focus on attempting to understand the role that they played in the shaping of their immediate social group.

Considering that these Nahua intellectuals also represented the work and interests of a specific generation in Mexico City, the final section of this research views the representative life and work of Faustino Chimalpopoca as the best example of the culmination of the long term Nahua intellectual phenomenon in the capital of the country. The work that Faustino Chimalpopoca conducted from 1830 and until his death in 1887, revealed the leading role that Mr. Chimalpopoca played in the society of the capital as the last surviving member of this generation of Nahua intellectuals. Through the copies and transcriptions that Faustino Chimalpopoca made of Nahua indigenous documents we can see the way in which Mexican society quickly changed to the detriment of indigenous societies in the capital of Mexico. The work of Faustino Chimalpopoca epitomized both the main characteristics of the members of the "rupture generation" and the way in which its members worked on behalf of the autonomy of Indigenous Peoples in Mexico. As with any research project, this current dissertation does not pretend to make any definitive or conclusive observations about the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Nahua intellectual phenomenon in Mexico City. Instead, this dissertation aims to present and research what I considered the most important historical aspects used to identify, observe, understand and recognize the Nahua intellectual experience in Mexico City during a determined point in history.

From a wider perspective, the contribution of this work resides in its recognizing and giving evidence to Nahua intellectuals as major participants in their own history. By identifying Nahua intellectuals' agency, this dissertation hopes to contribute to the questioning of the disenfranchising arguments promoted by official Mexican historiography. Finally, this dissertation attempts to present Nahua intellectuality, especially during the early years of the Mexican republic, as a phenomenon similarly comparable and approachable to other intellectual manifestations throughout the world.

## Chapter 1

### Studying Early Nineteenth-Century Nahua Intellectuals in Mexico City

#### Introduction

The study of intellectuals, intellectualism and intellectual elites in Latin America is a relatively recent field in the humanities, especially in the area of history. This enthusiasm for the study of intellectuals has resulted in the development of an interesting literature that has contributed to the study of indigenous intellectual production in a broader context; nevertheless, scholars need to explore more on the topic of indigenous intellectuality. Much of the literature and secondary studies that are currently available on the analysis and study of intellectuals in Latin America consider this indigenous intellectuality as a phenomenon mostly rooted in the nineteenth century, specifically as a result of national public education reforms. These scholarly arguments center on the premise that educational reforms resulted in the indigenous populations' access to higher education in their homeland or abroad during the first half of the twentieth century in Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador and Chile.<sup>3</sup> As Gloria Castillo Félix mentioned about these intellectuals and the discourse that they produced during this period of the twentieth century:

[...] se observa en estos discursos de los setentas una actitud contestataria y de reafirmación hacia adentro que tiene como interés principal reconocerse a sí mismos como indios y defenderse de los embates de los grupos hegemónicos. En sus discursos se observa una primera construcción identitaria de los pueblos indios, que comienzan a reconocerse entre sí mismos y frente al otro cultural.<sup>4</sup>

On the other hand, there is also a historical semantic association between intellectualism and a European tradition of thought related with the classical cultures of the Western tradition. Under this assumption, it is easy for some to argue that intellectualism in the Americas started with European colonization, and that colonial institutions influenced the inhabitants of the continent, imposing upon them a Western influence of thought deeply rooted in the Medieval European traditions of philosophy and theology. Consequently, the study of intellectualism among indigenous populations is usually associated in the literature with the influence that the newly adopted westernized ideas had on these individuals.

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<sup>3</sup> See Claudia Zapata Silva, compilador, *Intelectuales indígenas piensan América Latina* (Quito: Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar, Ecuador: Abya-Yala; Santiago de Chile: Centro de Estudios Culturales Latinoamericanos, 2007), 11-13.

<sup>4</sup> See Gloria Alicia Caudillo Félix, *El discurso indio en América Latina* (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 2005).

In Mexico, the study of intellectuals has been mostly guided by the precepts of nationalism and a lineal historiography that pretends to justify and explain the origins and virtues of the modern Mexican state.<sup>5</sup> This position is rooted in the official historiography developed by the Spaniards at the time of the conquest, which was characterized by eliminating the plurality of the official discourse, and therefore officially denying the participation and diversity of the Indigenous Peoples of the Americas.<sup>6</sup> This characteristic caused historians to focus on the analysis of Spanish-descent intellectuals and the work that they produced during the colonial period and more recently also on intellectuals who either played a role in the shaping of Mexico during the late nineteenth century, or during the period of the Mexican Revolution. Under these traditional historiographic guidelines, Indigenous Peoples usually remain alienated from the official history and they are equally excluded from the possibility of even being considered as intellectuals.<sup>7</sup> Even though the contribution of all these studies about Mexican intellectuals contributes immensely to our understanding of intellectualism in Mexico and its historical importance, still it is essential in our own modern studies that we consider and attempt to understand indigenous intellectualism as a long-term process that already existed among Mesoamerican communities and that currently continues.

Humanistic disciplines such as anthropology, sociology and political science have already approached the study of modern indigenous intellectuals in Mexico and their role, as well as their impact on the development of their environment and communities. Other studies have examined their participation in issues of regional or national importance.<sup>8</sup> Also, by considering the recent number of studies, publications, and literature related to indigenous intellectuals, it seems that this topic received a special interest particularly among historians of the indigenous conflict that emerged in Chiapas in 1994, led by the *Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional*, EZLN.<sup>9</sup> These historians' contributions gave evidence to the limited previous research made in this field before the armed conflict. Their work also revealed the lack of recognition and importance that indigenous intellectuals have received from Mexican society in general. The rise of the EZLN also made it evident that considering and recognizing the existence of intellectual elites among Indigenous Peoples remained a neglected topic that required extensive discussion.

Mexican nationalism, deeply rooted in the nineteenth-century's political ideas of liberalism, as well as Mexican official historiography, is characterized by its exclusive nature.

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<sup>5</sup> See Horacio Labastida, "Elites intelectuales en la historia de México," *Anuario Mexicano de Historia del Derecho* (1995): 73-92.

<sup>6</sup> Enrique Florescano, *Memoria mexicana* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1993), 315.

<sup>7</sup> Mardonio Carballo, *Las plumas de la serpiente* (México: Amoch Libros, 2012), 7.

<sup>8</sup> See Natividad Gutiérrez Chong, *Mitos nacionalistas e identidades étnicas: los intelectuales indígenas y el Estado mexicano* (México: Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales-Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Plaza y Valdés, CONACULTA-FONCA, 2001).

<sup>9</sup> Natividad Gutiérrez Chong, "Liderazgo intelectual indígena en México y la frontera," in *Nuevos actores en América del Norte, Volumen 2: Identidades culturales y políticas*, ed. Edith Antal (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Centro de Investigaciones Sobre América del Norte, 2005), 111-121; 113.

According to official Mexican historiography many members of society, specific groups, and even geographical regions have been underestimated or ignored. Even in the best of cases, including these other actors into the nationalistic lineal history of Mexico only as minor accessories, nameless and voiceless. For instance, we can mention the exclusion of the Afro-Mexican population from the interpretation of Mexican history, as well as the indigenous population's general exclusion as actors in the official history of Mexico, to mention just a few cases.<sup>10</sup> According to the modern historian Antonio García de León in the official historiography places existed in Mexico where “nothing happened.” Since neither the heroes nor the events that shaped the Mexican nation took place in these regions, he argued, entire geographical regions were excluded from the national point of view and were considered as isolated, peaceful and without historical glories.<sup>11</sup> In this sense, it is not a surprise to us that indigenous groups from Mexico have been excluded from history. Thus, the consideration that these indigenous groups had intellectuals, at the outset, offers a historical problem for historians to solve in terms of definition and contextualization.

Consequently, it is necessary to approach the topic of indigenous intellectualism by affirming that this phenomenon did not start with the establishment of the Spanish colonial regime in Mexico. Similarly, it is also important to consider the premise that this intellectual tradition did not end with the fall of the racially segregated educational institutions that were abolished during the period of Mexican Independence in 1821. Thus, one of the main premises that guides this present study states that indigenous intellectualism already existed in Mesoamerica before the arrival of the Europeans to the Americas, and that this tradition continued during the colonial era through a complex process of synergy from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries, and is still vital today in the twenty first century. Likewise, in this study I support the idea that the process of indigenous intellectuality experiences and develops certain characteristics according to the context in which indigenous intellectuals interact. These major components, as well as the reasons, motivations, interests, politics, social class, and ethnic affiliations can be identifiable through the study of context and the works these indigenous intellectuals produced. The major objective of this current study is to identify early 19<sup>th</sup> century Nahua intellectuals and approach their work in order to understand their context and their social characteristics as a defined group of intellectuals.

### **1.1 Statement of the Research Project**

The basic thesis of this dissertation project focuses on a few key questions concerning intellectualism and the intellectual creation of Mesoamerican societies both before and after the collapse of the Spanish regime in the former colony of New Spain. It is essential for the development of this dissertation project to come to an understanding of the basic characteristics

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<sup>10</sup> See Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, *La población negra en México* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1946).

<sup>11</sup> Antonio García de León, *Resistencia y Utopía. Memorial de agravios y crónica de revueltas y profecías acaecidas en la provincia de Chiapas durante los últimos quinientos años de su historia* (México: Editorial Era, 1985), 15.

of early nineteenth-century Nahua intellectuals in the area of Mexico City. Thus, this study centers on exploring the main characteristics of a group of Nahua intellectuals who lived and worked in Mexico City after the end of the Spanish colonization in Mexico. At the same time, this study focuses on learning about the interests that these early nineteenth-century Nahua intellectuals had according to political and social contexts in which they lived and worked.

This study, therefore, relies on the basic premise that Mesoamerican intellectual production in the capital of New Spain continued under the sponsorship of colonial authorities after the Spanish process of conquest and colonization in Mesoamerica. The Spanish colonial educational system allowed Indigenous People to continue with their intellectual traditions, but only in a “colonized” and synergic manner. At the end of the eighteenth century, the last indigenous students who attended colonial educational institutions embarked upon their education in the colonial system. However, shortly afterward, in 1822, Mexico declared its independence from Spain and these indigenous students became the last generation of Indigenous Peoples educated under the colonial system. An examination into the way in which these Nahua intellectuals, who served as the last Nahua students to graduate from colonial educational institutions, acted during the aftermath of the Mexican independence is a central key question of this study. This specific group of indigenous students formed a particular “rupture” generation that marked a breaking off point from the former colonial education system and a generational attempt to find a role in the beginning of a new national system.

All of these premises follow from the reasoning which relies on the unquestionable fact that an indigenous intellectual tradition existed in the area of Mesoamerica and varied according to the region and the particularities of the diverse Mesoamerican societies. This tradition continued after the European invasion of the Americas, and its eventual establishment of the Spanish colonial regime in the former area of Mesoamerica. Moreover, the Spanish conquest did not stop the development of indigenous intellectuality. On the contrary, the preservation of history became a rebellious act of resistance.<sup>12</sup> In spite of the oppression exercised over the Indigenous Peoples of Mesoamerica by the Spanish authorities, Indigenous Peoples found various ways to successfully preserve their knowledge, either through the immersion of some of their members into Spanish colonial institutions, or through the performance of diverse practices outside the regulations that the colonial institutions imposed upon them.

This complex process of encountering diverse intellectual traditions due to a process of violent conquest and institutionalized colonization resulted in diverse syncretic intellectuality. This process became manifested differently among each indigenous group according to their region, environment, historical context, and their relations with the Spanish colonial

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<sup>12</sup> Miguel León Portilla, *El destino de la palabra* (México: El Colegio Nacional, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1996), 29-30.

establishment and the colonial social organization. Thus, we need to consider that indigenous intellectualism remained as a heterogeneous, mobile, variable, and non-linear phenomenon.<sup>13</sup>

During the era of Spanish colonization, this indigenous intellectual tradition continued either sponsored by the colonial authorities through several colonial institutions, or in an independent and autonomous manner outside the colonial system. The indigenous intellectuals who found a place within the colonial institutions learned new skills that allowed them to preserve their indigenous knowledge in different ways, often combining western literacy with their traditional writing systems. This way, those who learned how to write by using the Latin alphabet were able to preserve traditional ideas, interpretations of their political and cultural environment, or copy other texts that were written in an indigenous writing system into alphabetic documents.<sup>14</sup> In this manner, there are several examples of documents from all of the regions of the New Spain that display both a Catholic influence, but also evidence of an indigenous worldview. Some of these documents, such as the texts known as books of *Chilam Balam* in the Maya area,<sup>15</sup> were written by following an intricate code that did not allow either the Spanish authorities,<sup>16</sup> or people who lacked the knowledge or the social authority of the community, to read and interpret the content of these texts.<sup>17</sup> The same occurred with other types of documents,<sup>18</sup> including architectural elements in buildings such as facades or religious alter pieces, as well as paintings or sculptures.<sup>19</sup> Especially considering that those Indigenous Peoples who participated in the construction of these colonial buildings or monuments under the order of the Spaniards were not simply improvised laborers, but rather people already specialized in these types of labor.<sup>20</sup>

The documents produced by Indigenous Peoples and the information that they contained often remained limited and restricted to be read and interpreted by a specific elite group that,

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<sup>13</sup> For a good approach to the analysis of cultural continuity see Marteen Jansen and Gabina Aurora Pérez Jiménez, "Mixtec Cultural Vocabulary and Pictorial Writing," in *Linguistics and Archaeology in the Americas: The Historization of Language and Society*; ed. Eithen B. Carlin and Simon von de Kerke (Leiden-Boston, 2010), 45-82; 77.

<sup>14</sup> See Mark Z. Christensen, *Nahua and Maya Catholicisms: Texts and Religion in Colonial Central Mexico and Yucatan* (Stanford: Stanford Press University, 2013), 318.

<sup>15</sup> See the work of Francesc Ligorred Perramón, "El lenguaje de Zuyua y la resistencia literaria yucateca colonial," *Colonial Latin American Review* 9 (2000): 49-61.

<sup>16</sup> See Argelia Segovia Liga, "Los indios del Mariscal. Revisión de un manuscrito yucateco del siglo XVII" (Thesis, UNAM, 2008), 203.

<sup>17</sup> For more information about this idea, see Munro S. Edmonson, *Heaven Born Merida and Its Destiny: The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986). Also see, John F. Chuchiak, "Writing as Resistance: Maya Graphic Pluralism and Indigenous Elite Strategies for Survival in Colonial Yucatan, 1550-1570," *Ethnohistory* 57, Number 1 (2010): 87-116.

<sup>18</sup> María del Carmen Romo Rodríguez, "Arte tequitqui en el siglo XVI novohispano," in *Anuario Saber Novohispano* (Zacatecas: Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, 1995), 323-331.

<sup>19</sup> See George Kubler, *La arquitectura mexicana del siglo XVI* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1983).

<sup>20</sup> Margarita Loaera Chávez y Peniche, "Memoria indígena en templos católicos. Siglo XVI, Estado de México," in *Convergencia. Revista de Ciencias Sociales* 10, núm. 31 (enero-abril 2003): 153-281; 259.



during the period of the colony, continued to be recognized as such by the rest of the members of the indigenous communities.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, these remained indigenously produced documents, even though they created them under the sponsorship of a colonial institution, such as schools, churches, tribunals, notaries, monasteries or convents.<sup>22</sup>

In this manner, indigenous intellectuality survived Spanish colonization through basically two means: either those works sponsored by the Spanish authorities mentioned above, or other works created outside the newly established colonial system. The first group refers to indigenous intellectuals who, under diverse circumstances and contexts, joined the institutionalized colonial tradition, which was characterized by those individuals who kept the indigenous knowledge alive under the sponsorship of Spanish institutions. Nevertheless, this last condition does not necessarily imply that the works of those who formed part of this group avoided or abandoned the Mesoamerican character in their intellectual production.<sup>23</sup> The second example mentioned refers to indigenous intellectuals who continued producing their intellectuality autonomously from the colonial system. In this case, several of these independent intellectuals were persecuted, excluded, stigmatized and sanctioned by the colonial authorities for continuing with their intellectual production.

### 1.1.1 Statement of the Problem

In the capital of New Spain, diverse institutions sponsored by the Spanish colonial authorities flourished, including those institutions where Indigenous Peoples participated in order to gain education and instruction in literacy and western knowledge.<sup>24</sup> The founding of the *Colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco*,<sup>25</sup> an institution whose initial main purpose focused on educating members of the indigenous nobility into Catholicism and the new cultural values promoted by the colonizers, probably represented the beginning of an institutionalized indigenous intellectual tradition that emerged within and with the sponsorship of the colonial authorities.<sup>26</sup> Even though this institution served as the first one that had the purpose of teaching young Indigenous Peoples the western cultural system, there were other institutions and enclosures, such as churches or

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<sup>21</sup> Serge Gruzinski, *La colonización de lo imaginario. Sociedades indígenas y occidentalización en el México español. Siglo XVI-XVIII*, trad. Jorge Ferreiro (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2000), 24-33.

<sup>22</sup> See David Tavárez, *The Invisible War. Indigenous Devotions, Discipline, and Dissent in Colonial Mexico* (California: Stanford University Press, 2011), 124-151.

<sup>23</sup> David Tavárez, "La idolatría letrada: un análisis comparativo de los textos clandestinos rituales y devocionales en comunidades nahuas y zapotecas, 1613-1654," in *Historia Mexicana* 49, número 2(1999): 197-252.

<sup>24</sup> Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru, *Educación y Colonización en la Nueva España, 1521-1821* (México: Universidad Pedagógica Nacional, 2001), 44.

<sup>25</sup> Silver Moon, "The Imperial College of Tlatelolco and the Emergence of a New Nahua Intellectual Elite in New Spain (1500-1760)" (PhD diss., Duke University, 2007).

<sup>26</sup> David Tavárez, "Nahua Intellectuals, Franciscan Scholars, and the *Devotio Moderna* in Colonial Mexico," in *The Americas* 70, Number 2 (October 2013): 203-235.

courts where the participation of Indigenous Peoples occurred through their participation as translators, scribes, copyists, assistants, or even altar boys.<sup>27</sup>

During the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, several Nahua individuals such as Antonio del Rincón, Pablo Nazareno, Cristóbal del Castillo, Tadeo de Niza, Domingo Chimalpahin, Fernando Alvarado Tezozomoc, Fernando de Alva Ixtlixochitl, Gabriel de Ayala, Pedro Ponce de León, Juan Buenaventura Zapata, among others, were part of this select group of Indigenous Peoples who attended educational campuses created by the Spanish colonial authorities in Mexico City.<sup>28</sup> As members of an intellectual elite, and also as members of the indigenous aristocracy, the content of their works focused on preserving their own interests as members of the indigenous nobility.<sup>29</sup> Consequently, their intellectual production focused on lineage chronicles, stories about the ruling families that existed before the invasion of the Spaniards, and other collaborations or relationships that existed between some members of these indigenous aristocratic families and the Spanish conquistadors, as well as the zealous faith that these members practiced towards Christianity. Others, such as Antonio del Rincón centered his interest on the writing of a Nahuatl grammar;<sup>30</sup> or in the case of Antonio Valeriano, in writing texts in Nahuatl with religious content in which both elements of Christianity and Mesoamerican religions are present.<sup>31</sup>

After the *Colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco* lost its good reputation among both Spaniards and Nahuas for preparing scholarly and religiously trained members of the indigenous nobility, and turned into a school of primarily *primeras letras* around the year of 1595,<sup>32</sup> other institutions continued the mission of educating Indigenous People. The *Colegio de San José de*

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<sup>27</sup> John Charles, "Trained by Jesuits," in *Indigenous Intellectuals. Knowledge, Power and Colonial Culture in Mexico and the Andes*; ed. Gabriela Ramos and Yanna Yannakakis (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2014), 60-78.

<sup>28</sup> See the brief list of indigenous chroniclers for the 16<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century in New Spain made by Ramón Troncoso in "Cronistas indígenas novohispanos de origen nahua. Siglo XVI y principios del XVII", in *Hombres de a pie y de a caballo. Conquistadores, cronistas, misioneros en la América colonial de los siglos XVI y XVII*, ed. Álvaro Baraibar, Bernat Castany, Bernat Hernández y Mercedes Serna (Barcelona, Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, Instituto de Estudios Auriseculares (IDEA), 2013), 147-160; 147.

<sup>29</sup> See Troncoso Pérez, *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> Kelly S. McDonough, "Indigenous Intellectuals in Colonial Mexico: The Case of Antonio del Rincón, Nahua Grammarian and Priest," *Colonial Latin American Review* 20, No. 2 (August 2011): 145-165.

<sup>31</sup> Miguel León Portilla, *Tonantzin Guadalupe. Pensamiento náhuatl y mensaje cristiano en el "Nican mopohua"* (México: El Colegio Nacional-Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2000), 208.

<sup>32</sup> One of the reasons the *Colegio de Santiago de Tlatelolco* declined in importance was because the main purpose for the institution had been the Franciscans desire to create an indigenous clergy, which eventually became a questionable idea for the authorities of the New Spain. After the prohibition of the admission of Indigenous People to holy orders, both the religious and civil colonial authorities withdrew their support to the school. For more information see the work of Margarita Menegus y Rodolfo Aguirre, *Los indios, el sacerdocio y la Universidad den Nueva España, siglos XVI-XVIII* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Centro de Estudios Sobre la Universidad, Plaza y Valdés, 2006), 21.

*Belén de los Naturales*, founded by Fray Pedro de Gante,<sup>33</sup> served as another institution that focused on teaching the basic elements of Christianity, literacy, and the western canon of artistic creations to the Indigenous Peoples. Similarly, students who graduated from the *Colegio de San Jose de los Naturales*, exhibited their perfectionism in artistic and aesthetical skills, and among them is included sculptors such as Francisco Xinmámatl, Martín Mixcohuatl, Pedro de San Nicolás, Pedro Cocol, Pedro Chachalaca; and the painters Marcos Cipac, also known as Marcos Aquino,<sup>34</sup> and the *mestizo* Diego de Valadés.<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless, this school also experienced a decline in its reputation when its founder died in 1572, leaving a gap in the instruction of the arts for the peoples in the capital of the New Spain. It was not until the foundation of the *Real Academia de las Nobles Artes de San Carlos* in 1785 when the teaching of fine arts was formally taken up again by the authorities of the Spanish colony.<sup>36</sup> The access that Indigenous Peoples had to this institution occurred almost immediately after it was founded,<sup>37</sup> and in this way Indigenous Peoples once again had the opportunity to continue with their professional education in the field of the arts.<sup>38</sup> As a matter of fact, Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, a Nahuatl from Chalco, and a painter and sculptor, was one of the best known indigenous students that graduated from this *Academia*.<sup>39</sup>

Another colonial institution that focused on the education of the sons of indigenous caciques and *indios principales* in Mexico City was the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, founded by the Jesuits in 1586.<sup>40</sup> Throughout the time that this school existed, several indigenous students graduated and successfully gained positions as school teachers, professors, lawyers, and scribes at some of the colonial institutions in Mexico City. While the school experienced ups and downs during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it regained its importance as a learning center at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when some modern educational reforms were

<sup>33</sup> Elisa Ramírez Castañeda, *La educación indígena en México* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2006), 33.

<sup>34</sup> Luis González Obregón, *México Viejo. Época colonial. Noticias históricas, tradiciones, leyendas y costumbres* (México: Librería de la Viuda de C. Bouret, 1900), 518.

<sup>35</sup> See Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art of Colonial Latin America* (London: Phaidon Press, 2005), 214.

<sup>36</sup> Jean Charlot, *Mexican Art and the Academy of San Carlos, 1758-1915* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1962), 19.

<sup>37</sup> See the document in which another indigenous person requests financial aid to continue studying in the *Academia de San Carlos*, *Ramo de escultura: José Narciso de los Ángeles Mártires, indio pretendiente a la pensión vacante*, ARASC-FAUNAM, Documento 16, número 793, Gaveta 7, 1793 [números del 764 al 821]. Classification made by Justino Fernández and published in *Guía del Archivo de la Antigua Academia de San Carlos, 1781-1800* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 1968). The current document is filed at the Archivo Histórico de la Academia de San Carlos, at the Facultad de Arquitectura, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Campus Ciudad Universitaria, Mexico City; consulted on June, 2013.

<sup>38</sup> Dorothy Tanck de Estrada, *Pueblos de indios y educación en el México colonial, 1750-1821* (México: El Colegio de México, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1999), 414-415.

<sup>39</sup> *Escultura. Pedro Patiño Estolinque* [sic], ARASC-FAUNAM, Documento 7, número 384, Gaveta 2, 1784-1785-1786 [números del 49 al 246].

<sup>40</sup> See Ileana Schmidt-Díaz de León, "El Colegio Seminario de indios de San Gregorio y el desarrollo de la indianidad en el Valle de México" (PhD Diss., Tulane University, 2001).

implemented in the curriculum of the school.<sup>41</sup> The good reputation and prestige that the *Colegio de San Gregorio* enjoyed between the years of 1790 to 1820<sup>42</sup> allowed some of their former indigenous students to incorporate themselves successfully as members of the newly independent institutions that were founded after Mexico gained its independence from Spain. Some of these prominent students included Juan de Dios Rodríguez Puebla, Faustino Galicia Chimalpopoca, among others, who played a vital role in politics during the first decades of the nineteenth century and who will be the subject of this study.<sup>43</sup>

While it is true that education in the New Spain remained basically segregated, between the eighteenth century and nineteenth century, the *Colegio de San Juan de Letrán*,<sup>44</sup> originally founded in 1547 for the education of the *mestizo* population in the capital of the New Spain, accepted some Indigenous Peoples as students.<sup>45</sup> Also, the Jesuits schools that were originally not destined to serve as institutions where Indigenous Peoples could be enrolled as students, such as the *Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo*, founded in 1576; the *Colegio de San Ildefonso*, founded in 1583, and the *Real y Pontificia Universidad de la Ciudad de México*, founded in 1551, eventually all accepted indigenous students into their enclosures.<sup>46</sup>

Nevertheless, the existence of these institutions, and the fact that certain Indigenous Peoples found a place in them, should not lead us to consider that indigenous intellectual production did not also flourish outside the Spanish colonial institutions. There are several sources that demonstrate that Indigenous People continued practicing and perpetuating their religious ideas as well as other cultural manifestations throughout the period of the colonial era in New Spain. Examples of these indigenous intellectual creations included such works as the reproduction of religious or political texts, and translation of documents from pictorial to indigenous languages texts using the Latin alphabet, as well as the creation of “*títulos primordiales*,”<sup>47</sup> and creative copying and “forging” of land titles,<sup>48</sup> all of which are documented to a great extent throughout the territory of the Kingdom of New Spain.<sup>49</sup> While it is true that

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<sup>41</sup> See Lilian Álvarez Arellano, “El Colegio de San Gregorio: modelo de educación para los indios mexicanos,” *Boletín Chicomoztoc*, número 8 (noviembre 2008): 101-117.

<sup>42</sup> Sobre el nombramiento de don Juan Rodríguez Puebla para Rector del Colegio de San Gregorio, y de don Manuel Ortiz de la Torre para vocal de la Junta Directiva del mismo colegio, 1829, AGN, Justicia-Instrucción Pública, Expediente 44/45, Vol. 1, foja 322.

<sup>43</sup> *Representación que varios indios hacen a la Junta Directiva del Colegio de San Gregorio*, 1829, impreso, Vol. 1, AGN, Justicia-Instrucción Pública, Expediente 46, fojas 291-291v.

<sup>44</sup> Dorothy Tanck de Estrada, *La educación ilustrada, 1786-1836. Educación primaria en la ciudad de México* (México: El Colegio de México, 1984), 188.

<sup>45</sup> Margarita Menegus and Rodolfo Aguirre, *Los indios, el sacerdocio y la Universidad en Nueva España*, 155.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Yukitaka Inoue, “Fundación del pueblo, cristiandad y territorialidad en algunos títulos primordiales en el centro de México,” *Cuadernos Canela* V, XVIII, (marzo 2006): 113-127.

<sup>48</sup> Margarita Menegus Bornemann, “Los títulos primordiales de los pueblos de indios,” *Estudis: Revista de historia moderna*, N° 20 (1994): 207-230.

<sup>49</sup> The cases in which Indigenous Peoples were involved in practicing in religious rituals, ceremonies, and other activities that demonstrated the existence of their Mesoamerican thought and intellectualism even after the Spanish conquest are vastly documented. Since Mesoamerican thought and the practices related to it were

indigenous intellectual production during the colonial era also occurred outside of the colonial institutions, it is also true that in several cases conducting research on these creations represented a serious challenge for the individuals due to the repressive character that colonial institutions wielded against these types of autonomous indigenous intellectual activity.

On the contrary, institutionalized indigenous intellectualism emerged from a more stable position, sponsored both by civil and ecclesiastical authorities in the New Spain. This sponsorship resulted in a prolific production of indigenous intellectual sources, both pictorial and written. It is important to emphasize that this referred to institutionalized indigenous intellectual tradition already existed before the invasion of the Spaniards. The existence of institutions among the Nahuas, such as the *calpulli* and the *calmecac*, are clear examples of how structured and solid this institutionalized tradition existed among the Nahuas before the arrival of the Spaniards to the Americas.<sup>50</sup> This indigenous tradition continued thriving through the Spanish colonial institutions in New Spain once the Spanish colonial government was established in the territory. Moreover, the indigenous intellectual tradition that continued among those Indigenous

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considered as idolatry by the Spanish authorities, therefore it is only possible to know about them by reading documents associated with the Catholic Church. One of the famous cases is the one of Don Carlos Ometochtzin in Mexico City, who was sentenced to death in 1539. In the case made against Don Carlos, it is possible to evidence the Mesoamerican ideas that could conduct into an indigenous rebellion threaten the stability of the Catholic Church. See Luis González Obregón, ed., *Proceso inquisitorial del cacique de Tetzaco, don Carlos Ometochtzin Chichimecatecotl* (México: Publicaciones del Archivo General de la Nación, 1910). The case in which Don Carlos Ometochtzin was involved is one of many documented and currently housed in different archives. There are current studies published about this topic in which we can find a correlation between literacy, intellectualism and indigenous resistance during the period of the Spanish colony. For the case of the area of Oaxaca, see the work of Maarten Jansen and Gabina Aurora Pérez Jiménez, *Historia, literatura e ideología de Nuu Dzaui. El Códice Añute y su contexto histórico-cultural* (Oaxaca: Instituto Estatal de Oaxaca, 2007); from the same authors “The Search for History in Mixtec Codices,” in *Ancient America*, Volume 1, 1990, pp. 99-112. Also David Tavárez, “Escritura, espacios sociales y cosmologías indígenas en la Nueva España: una aproximación a los calendarios zapotecos,” *Revista de Indias* LXIX, núm. 247 (2009): 39-62. Kevin Terraciano, *The Mixtecs of Colonial Oaxaca* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001). For the area of the Sierra Gorda, in the current Mexican state of Queretaro, see Gerardo Lara Cisneros, *El cristianismo en el espejo indígena: Religiosidad en el occidente de Sierra Gorda, siglo XVIII* (México: Archivo General de la Nación- Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2002). Some important works that refer this experience in the Maya area are Frans Blom, “Gaspar Antonio Chi, Interpreter,” *American Anthropologist* 30, No. 2 (April-June, 1928): 250-268. Also John Chuchiak, “Pre-Conquest Ah Kinob in a Colonial World: The Extirpation of Idolatry and the Survival of the Maya Priesthood in Colonial Yucatan, 1563-1697,” in *Maya Survivalism: Acta Mesoamericana*, edited by Ueli Hostetler and Matthew Restall, 135-160. Germany: Verlag Anton Sarwein, 2001. While trying to list and analyzed the series of indigenous rebellions that occurred in the New Spain during the colonial era, the book of Alicia Barabas, *Utopías indias. Movimientos sociorreligiosos en México* (México: CONACULTA, INAH, Plaza y Valdés, 2002). Another interesting work that demonstrates how this phenomenon of intellectual resistance from the Indigenous Peoples of the Americas share similar elements, see Martin Lienhard, ed., *Testimonios, cartas y manifiestos indígenas: Desde la Conquista hasta comienzos del siglo XX* (Caracas: Biblioteca Aracuch, 1992).

<sup>50</sup> For more about Mexica education and institutions see Alfredo López Austin, *Educación mexica. Antología de documento sahuaguntinos* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, 1985). Also, Patrick Johansson, *La palabra, la imagen y el manuscrito. Lecturas indígenas de un texto pictórico en el siglo XVI* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 2004). Also see Jacques Soustelle, *Daily Life of the Aztecs on the Eve of the Spanish Conquest*; trans. George Weidenfeld and Nichols Ltd. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1961).

Peoples educated in colonial institutions was not solely limited to the learning of literacy and production of written texts by using the Latin alphabet, but it also included the artistic creation of sculptures, paintings, feather working, etc.<sup>51</sup> By considering this statement as valid, it is then possible to learn about the transformation of this indigenous intellectual tradition by reviewing the documentation that Nahua intellectuals, who passed through these colonial institutions, left behind.

The work that several Nahua intellectuals created in the first two centuries of the Spanish colony has generated high interest among current scholars.<sup>52</sup> As a result, the studies published about this topic have resulted in the uncovering of a vast literature.<sup>53</sup> These works reveal the intellectual independence that the Nahuas kept even during the period of the colony, but they also reveal the interest that these Nahua intellectuals had in keeping their social history alive, or at least the history in which their ancestors had actively and victoriously participated.<sup>54</sup> The diverse documents that these intellectuals created also reveal the cultural synergy that existed among the indigenous elite at the time when the colonial system was already well established in the territory. A review of this documentation lends evidence to the interpretation that pre-colonial Nahua elements of knowledge were still vivid and in practice among these educated intellectuals, who were instructed under the zealous Catholic sponsorship of the colonial authorities.<sup>55</sup>

Consequently, there is a vast quantity of information to show us that every generation of these indigenous intellectuals had their own interests in their cultural productions, linked to their social, political and cultural background. However, this statement does not pretend to typify each generation of indigenous intellectuals as if they and their works were classifiable. Instead, this hypothesis considers the possibility that we might come to know more about the political positions, opinions and interests of a generation of indigenous intellectuals through the analysis of their own works within their social and historical context.

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<sup>51</sup> About the diversity of indigenous education that also offered the colonial authorities more control over the inhabitants of the New Spain consult Lourdes Tourrent, *La conquista musical de México* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1993).

<sup>52</sup> See Susan Schroeder, ed., *The Conquest All Over Again* (Ontario: Sussex Academic Press, 2010).

<sup>53</sup> Some recent examples: Susan Schroeder, *Chimalpain and the Kingdom of Chalco* (Arizona: Arizona University Press, 1991); James Lockhart, Susan Schroeder, and Doris Namala, trans., *Annals of His Time Don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006); Arthur J. O. Anderson, *Codex Chimalpahin: Society and Politics in Mexico Tenochtitlan, Tlatelolco, Texcoco, Culhuacan, and Other Nahua Altepetl in Central Mexico* (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997). Amber Brian, Bradley Benton, and Pablo García Loaeza, trans., *The Native Conquistador: Alva Ixtlilxochitl's Account of the Conquest of New Spain* (Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press, 2015).

<sup>54</sup> See James Lockhart, ed. and trans., *We People Here: Nahuatl Account of the Conquest of Mexico; Volume I* (Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 1993).

<sup>55</sup> Elizabeth Hill Boone and Tom Cummins, eds., *Native Traditions in the Postconquest World, A Symposium at Dumbarton Oak* (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998).

In this sense, it is important to recognize that even considering the violent and subjugating nature of the period of the Spanish conquest and colonization in the New Spain, the outcome resulted in a relatively strong institutional stability that encouraged certain groups of indigenous intellectuals to engage in a vast production of materials. On the other hand, the nineteenth century in Mexico represented an institutional rupture that started with the declaration of independence of Mexico from Spain. This historical period remained characterized by a general political instability and lack of institutional strength. These major changes deeply influenced and affected the Nahua intellectuals who had earlier gained access to education through the colonial institutions which the independence movement abolished. As a result of the war of Independence, these Nahua intellectuals also lost both their juridical identity as “*indios*,” along with the concomitant loss of their rights and obligations; as well as their segregated collective corporate communities’ status as legal entities.<sup>56</sup>

Thus, the main objective of this study is to analyze the works produced by what I have identified as some of the most important members of the last generation of Nahua intellectuals who had access to higher education through their attendance at the already mentioned colonial institutions before the decade when Mexico became an independent nation. The analysis of the intellectual production of this generation of Nahua scholars and artists will focus on an examination of how the movement of independence in Mexico and the first years of independent government influenced and affected the lives of this generation of Nahua intellectuals. Also, the central objective is to analyze how the abolition of segregated educational institutions affected or contributed in the development and continuity of this institutionalized intellectual Nahua tradition, and how these events influenced the further development of the political and cultural ideas of these intellectuals.

### **1.1.2 Identifying Nineteenth Century Nahua Intellectuals**

Through the study of the available sources it is possible to examine the continuity of an institutionalized indigenous intellectual tradition during the years of the Spanish colony. This tradition remained deeply rooted in Mesoamerican cultural understandings. In the area of central Mexico, the continuity of this Mesoamerican tradition, its transformation and inheritance by indigenous intellectuals remained possible due to a complex process of synergy<sup>57</sup> in which several cultural elements, both from the Mesoamerican and Spanish peoples, played an important

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<sup>56</sup> Erika Pani, “La calidad de ciudadano. Past and Present. The Nature of Citizenship in Mexico and the United States: 1776-1912,” *Latin American Program Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars*, Number 258, (2002).

<sup>57</sup> Although the term synergy has its origins in biology, the term offers several advantages to the study of societies in the humanistic field. In this sense, the term synergy must be defined as “a term used to emphasize that post-colonial cultures are the product of a number of forces variously contributing to a new and complex cultural formation.” Leading to the combination of “[...] equal but different elements that the various historical periods and forces have contributed in forming modern post-colonial condition.” See Bill Ashcroft et al, *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies* (London/New York: Routledge, 1998), 229.

role as transcultural agents. As part of this complex process, several colonial institutions somehow sheltered the intellectual production of Indigenous People from the surveillance and supervision of colonial authorities.

Nevertheless, the resulting independence of New Spain at the beginning of the nineteenth century disrupted the institutional stability provided by the colonial establishment.<sup>58</sup> By the time that Mexico achieved its independence from Spain, the legal status of the original inhabitants of the Mesoamerican region changed substantially.<sup>59</sup> During the colonial era the Spanish authorities viewed the Indigenous Peoples as subjects and vassals, whom they considered to have “child-like” capacities, labeling them juridical and administratively as “*indios*.” In contrast, during the nineteenth century Spain recognized the citizenship of these independent “*indios*,” first by the decree of the Constitutions of Cadiz in 1812, and later on by the declaration of independence.<sup>60</sup> The promulgations and statements made by the contents of the Constitution of Cadiz served as the first historical event that marked the beginning of a judicial transformation that New Spain’s “Indians” experienced, with subsequent changes in the way they were treated, taxed and judicially perceived by the Spanish Crown.<sup>61</sup> This transformation however, continued to be conflictive and even led to outright aggression during the first decades after Mexican independence.

The interest in studying the last generation of Nahua intellectuals educated under the sponsorship of colonial institutions in the New Spain focuses mainly on an attempt to learn how these Nahua intellectuals experienced this conflictive transition. In other words, the interests of this study came about by examining the historical and juridical events that the independence movement in Mexico brought about with the abolition of the juridical concept of the separate legal entity of “*indio*” and its social consequences.

The suppression of the juridical entity of the “*indio*” did not affect these individuals in an isolated manner, but rather it also transformed the legal approach and the administration of the institutions and properties that had been under their control and which they had used for their own benefit.<sup>62</sup> As a consequence, all of the educational institutions created for the exclusive

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<sup>58</sup> See Ferrer Muñoz, Manuel, *La formación de un estado nacional en México: el Imperio y la República Federal: 1821-183*. (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas, 1995), 379.

<sup>59</sup> Andrés Lira, *Comunidades indígenas frente a la ciudad de México. Tenochtitlan y Tlatelolco, sus pueblos y barrios, 1812-1919* (México: El Colegio de Michoacán-Consejo Nacional para la Ciencia y la Tecnología, 1983), 426.

<sup>60</sup> See, *Constitución de Cádiz de 1812*, “Capítulo IV, Artículo 8, De los ciudadanos españoles: Son ciudadanos aquellos españoles que por ambas líneas traen su origen de los dominios españoles de ambos hemisferios, y están, avecindados en cualquier pueblo de los mismos dominios.”

<sup>61</sup> See Stanley C. Green, *The Mexican Republic: The First Decade 1823-1832* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1987).

<sup>62</sup> Manuel Berganzo, “Colegio Nacional de San Gregorio,” in *México en el Diccionario Universal de Historia y Geografía. Volumen 3*, Antonia Pi-Suñer, coord. (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2000), 145-159.



access of the Indigenous Peoples during the colonial era upon independence were taken away from their administration and access. Without access to these educational institutions, indigenous intellectuality itself on an institutional level became threatened.<sup>63</sup>

### 1.1.3 Analysis on a Few Nineteenth-Century Nahua Intellectuals

During the research for this project in the archives that belonged to these colonial institutions, I found the names and works of several of the Nahuas who formed the last generation of indigenous intellectuals educated in these colonial institutions. During the independence period in Mexico, schools such as the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, the *Real y Pontificia Universidad de Mexico* and the *Real Academia de las Nobles Artes de San Carlos* continued to serve as institutions that allowed Indigenous Peoples to enroll as students. This fact does not mean that at other institutions, such as the *Colegio de San Juan de Letrán*, the *Colegio de San Ildefonso*, or the *Colegios de San Pedro y San Pablo*, indigenous students were not accepted, since diverse studies have demonstrated that an important number of indigenous students enrolled and attended these institutions as well.<sup>64</sup> However, the large number of indigenous students enrolled in institutions in which they had a legal preference to be accepted, as juridical defined “*indios*,” such as the *Colegio de San Gregorio* and the *Academia de San Carlos*, resulted in a certain number of sources that have facilitated the study of several of those who were part of this generation by means of examining their intellectual productions.<sup>65</sup>

As stated above, between the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first decade of the nineteenth century, the institution that remained the primordial place for the education of Indigenous Peoples was the *Colegio de San Gregorio*. A group of Nahua intellectuals that made themselves visible both before and after the year of 1820 graduated from this institution, the same year when Mexico gained its independence from Spain, and also the year in which the newly Independent Mexican state abolished the juridical entity of “the Indian.” Several of these intellectuals from the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, included men like Juan de Dios Rodríguez Puebla, a Nahua student at the *Colegio de San Gregorio* and later on its director, also recognized for publishing political pamphlets on the defense of indigenous rights during the first years after Mexican independence; José Calixto Vidal, deputy of the *Congreso Constituyente*, director of the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, and also an enthusiastic defender of these indigenous institutions; Faustino Galicia Chimalpopoca, professor of Nahuatl and Otomi languages at the University of

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<sup>63</sup> Manuel Ferrer Muñoz, “La difícil andadura del Colegio de San Gregorio durante el siglo XIX: unos episodios críticos,” in *Liber ad Honorem Sergio García Ramírez I* (México: Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas, 1998), 193-209.

<sup>64</sup> See Menegus and Aguirre, *Los indios, el sacerdocio y la Universidad en Nueva España*. In this book the authors explain that the records about indigenous students enrolled at the University of Mexico are vast. However, due to the characteristics of the book, the authors admit that they were only able to review a small sample of the records associated with these indigenous students.

<sup>65</sup> This is considering the affiliation that these Nahua intellectuals had with the colonial institutions such as Linda Tuhiwai Smith mentioned in her book *Decolonizing Methodologies. Research and Indigenous Peoples* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1999), 69-72.

Mexico, a copyist and lawyer, and during the period of the French Intervention in Mexico, chief interpreter and translator of the Nahua language for the emperor Maximilian of Habsburg, as well as a member of the *Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística*.

From the *Real Academia de las Nobles Artes de San Carlos* the documentation available demonstrates that one of the most prominent students was Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, a Nahua sculptor, artist, illustrator, and during the first years of the War of Independence a soldier and guerrilla who joined forces with Vicente Guerrero. After 1825, Pedro Patiño also appears as member of the *Cabildo de la Ciudad de México*, and eventually as Director of the *Academia de San Carlos*. Similarly, Estanislao Rincón appeared as a former student from the *Academia* who joined the group of Nahua intellectuals who defended the right to keep the *Colegio de San Gregorio* under the control and administration of Indigenous People. Another Nahua with the name of Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma does not seem to be affiliated either as a professor or as a former student at any of the mentioned institutions, but he does appear as an advocate and representative of Indigenous Peoples after 1820, also serving as a promoter of the idea of keeping the former indigenous institutions under the administration of Indigenous People after 1820.

As the basis of this present research, I will take into consideration the works of the above-mentioned intellectuals in order to attempt to gain a glimpse into the collective context in which they lived and the common and individual interests that they had as members of a specific generation. Without a doubt this list of intellectuals is by no means complete in comparison to the total number of possible Nahua intellectuals that may have existed during the nineteenth century. In order to achieve a reconstruction of all existing Nahua intellectuals, it would be necessary to carry out a much longer term archival research project in which a much wider variety of archival documentation could be reviewed. However, due to the time constraints of this current project, it is not possible for me to conduct such exhaustive archival research for this dissertation project. Nevertheless, I consider that the sources available for the study of these above-mentioned Nahua intellectuals are accessible, and they can provide us with a good comparative group sample of the problems, backgrounds, and personal and collective interests shared among other Nahua intellectuals who might have been part of this generation, or who are only sporadically mentioned in the historical sources.

#### **1.1.4 Studying Indigenous Intellectuals through Primary Sources**

The intellectual production of the Nahua during the period of the Spanish colony was vast and it was not limited to the creation of written documents, but as mentioned above also included the creation of other types of sources such as sculptures and paintings. Nevertheless, it is important to consider that the colonial establishment highly valued literacy and written documents over other types of intellectual production. Therefore, the intellectual production created by indigenous intellectuals that emerged from the colonial institutions can be currently found not

only in archives, but also in public spaces, such as churches, religious buildings, mural paintings, and sculptures, all of which clearly displayed the cultural syncretism that emerged from the violent contact that occurred during the conquest.

The intellectual sources produced during the Spanish colonial period in Mexico have been preserved in different ways. Since the education of Nahua nobility and Indigenous People remained under the administration of different religious orders, such as the Franciscan and the Jesuit orders, several written documents as well as sketches or drafts are preserved in the archives of the said orders, and they are currently housed in diverse archives in Mexico, the United States, and throughout Europe.

Nevertheless, it is not possible to make a similar statement about the conservation of non-written documents created by Nahua intellectuals during the Spanish colonial period. Several documents such as religious altarpieces, paintings, religious sculptures, works on canvas or embroidery perished due to either deterioration over time, renovations, or warfare and conflicts that occurred throughout the colonial era and during the political instability of the nineteenth century. Also, some of the authors of several non-written documents remain unknown, making the contextualization and the identification of the authors of these intellectual works harder to achieve.

Even though the study of the work of Nahua intellectuals during the colonial era represents a challenge, it is also true that the institutional stability that these intellectuals enjoyed between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries in many ways facilitates the study of their works and the localization and identification of their authors. However, this is not the case of many of these early nineteenth century Nahua intellectuals. The major political changes that occurred during the first two decades of the nineteenth century disrupted the organization of the institutions that had focused on the education of Indigenous People in the capital of the former colony of New Spain. This disruption resulted in the loss, dismemberment, or destruction of many archives that belonged to these colonial institutions, regardless of whether they were civil or ecclesiastical.<sup>66</sup>

Thus, the numbers of written sources produced by the above-mentioned generation of intellectuals is vast, but they are currently dispersed and held in a variety of different institutions. The case of other documents such as sculptures, paintings, works on canvas or murals barely survived the Wars of Independence, and many were destroyed during the later period of the Reform which began in 1864.<sup>67</sup> Nevertheless, some copies and sketches of these works, or

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<sup>66</sup> As an example see the guide made by Justino Fernández, *Guía del Archivo de la Antigua Academia de San Carlos*. This book includes only a classification of the material housed at the Academia de San Carlos in downtown Mexico City. However, half of this collection is housed at the Facultad de Arquitectura de la UNAM, at Ciudad Universitaria, in Mexico City. This collection housed at UNAM lacks of any kind of classification.

<sup>67</sup> See Ida Rodríguez Prampolini, *La crítica de arte en México en el siglo XIX: Estudios y documentos I (1810-1850)* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México; Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 1997).

written references about their existence and former location, as well as the identification and information on the authors of these works, are currently filed in separated archives either in Mexico City or in other countries such as the United States.

The sources produced by these Nahua intellectuals that will be used for the purpose of this study are currently housed in numerous archives. Some of these archives are located at archival institutions in Mexico City, such as the *Archivo General de la Nación*; the *Archivo de la Academia de San Carlos*; the *Archivo de la Academia de San Carlos* at the Faculty of Architecture at the National Autonomous University of Mexico, on the Campus of the *Ciudad Universitaria*; the *Archivo General de Notarías*; *Archivo Histórico de la Ciudad de México*; *Archivo de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística*; *Archivo de la Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia*; and the *Biblioteca Nacional*. In the United States it was possible to gather documents created by these Nahua intellectuals already mentioned at the Nattie Lee Benson Latin American Collection, at the University of Texas, at Austin; at the New Mexico State Library, in Santa Fe, New Mexico; at the Center of Southwest Research at the University of New Mexico; as well as at the Latin American Library at Tulane University, in New Orleans Louisiana. In Europe, I consulted documentation at the National Archive of Austria, located in Vienna. Most of the sources that will be used as a basis for this research are sources directly written by this generation of Nahua intellectuals to whom I previously referred. By using these sources written directly by the Nahua intellectuals, it is the purpose of this study to gain an understanding of the ideas that these indigenous intellectuals expressed by reading their own works and rescuing their own voices dispersed in these various archives.

## **1.2 Conclusion to Chapter 1**

One of the main purposes of this study is to locate and analyze the existence and work of nineteenth-century Nahua intellectuals in Mexico City as a starting point for reviewing their indigenous intellectual tradition in independent Mexico. Although current scholars have revisited the topic of indigenous intellectuals in New Spain and also have created a new historiographical perspective about this topic, more attention is needed to examine the work of nineteenth-century intellectuals. In terms of temporal or chronological delimitation of this topic, most scholars demonstrate that they agree with the idea that the independence of Mexico from Spain marks the beginning of a new period in history. This argument rests upon the idea that the independence of Mexico from Spain resulted in a major change in the political, social and economic organization of the country, forcing adaptations in the way in which the inhabitants responded to these changes. These transformations in the establishment did affect the intellectual production in former New Spain, and consequently the life and organization of indigenous communities in the territory. The way indigenous intellectuals acknowledged and approached the diverse issues that affected them individually and collectively during this turbulent time also became transformed after the period of the independence. Another aspect of this study centers on the fact that early nineteenth century Nahua intellectuals in Mexico City represented the last

group of indigenous students who received education under the colonial Spanish system. This represents an important gap between this group and the indigenous people who eventually gained access to higher education under the Republican or independent system after the year 1822. In this sense, we are talking about two different generations of indigenous people who had access to very different systems of education at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the second decade of the nineteenth century in Mexico. The group I will analyze in this work is formed by individuals who grew up in the last decades of colonial New Spain, within a semi-segregated society that also provided them with the status of “*indios*,” and who held different rights and obligations in comparison to the rest of non-indigenous inhabitants of New Spain. This group of indigenous students also had access to higher education under the sponsorship of the Spanish colonial system; thus, the type of education that they received in colonial segregated cloisters influenced their collective identity, as well as the way they acted and worked after the colonial system changed when the independence of Mexico occurred in 1822. After the third decade of the nineteenth century, there is a second group of Indigenous Peoples who gained access to higher education in the newly sovereign country of Mexico, which also determined their new judicial status as Mexican citizens, and not as “Indians,” which also dictated their newly acquired social obligations and rights. This second group also grew up under a political system characterized by liberalism and other political influences that also determined their collective identity and the means that they found to participate in the newly independent society.

In agreement with this idea, I propose in this study to identify the individuals from the first group previously described (those who represented the last generation of indigenous individuals who had access to education in the colonial institutions and who also experienced firsthand the political transition from the colonial to the independent system in Mexico, former New Spain), as the representatives of a “rupture generation” for the study of indigenous intellectualism.

My proposal refers to the term of a “rupture generation” in order to identify the work of Nahua intellectuals who lived under determined and specific characteristics influenced by the process of independence of Mexico, and the subsequent armed conflicts that the country faced. As I will attempt to demonstrate in the following study, the term “rupture generation” does not pretend to classify, minimize or homologize the social phenomenon of indigenous intellectuality, but rather to provide a series of social characteristics about Nahua intellectuals’ works as well as their social interests and historical context. Through this analysis, we may be able to see the continuity and differences in indigenous intellectual work and recognize the particularities of this generation of indigenous intellectuals. Additionally, through an analysis of the intellectual material produced by members of this “rupture generation,” we will be able to understand the social role these intellectuals played and the way in which they interpreted the events that affected their communities and the assessments of the well-being of the indigenous population in this period of Mexican history.

## Chapter 2

### Methodology: On the Analysis of Primary Sources

#### Introduction

In terms of the methodology of this dissertation, I propose to study a variety of primary sources produce by early nineteenth-century Nahua intellectuals. For the purpose of this work, I will review an important number of primary sources, such as letters, essays, pamphlets and official documents that need to be interpreted in order to understand the interests and motivations that these indigenous intellectuals had at the time they produced this material. The method offered by the principles of hermeneutics seems appropriate to understand both the meaning and importance of the works produced by Nahua peoples during the early decades of the nineteenth century. Hermeneutics refers to the discipline that focuses on the study of texts, written or graphic ones. This methodology also considers the position or context in which the authors of these works lived and the values in order to understand their motivations, fears and interests.

In order to begin this study, methodologically speaking it is necessary to establish the basic guidelines to be used to analyze the primary sources as well as the definition of concepts, which represents one of the initial steps in the process of historical investigation. The use of clearly defined terminology is necessary in order to limit the scope of this present study and will aid in understanding the topic and the elements analyzed in this research project. It is of vital importance to define, at the outset, a series of terms that will be consistently used throughout this study. Among those terms there is the word "*indio*," the concepts "Indigenous Peoples," "Nahua people," "indigenous intellectuals," "generation units," and "ethnic bonds." By both clarifying and adopting certain definitions for these terms this study will contribute to the understanding of the social complexity of these peoples' works as well as their perspectives about certain issues that concerned them directly.

Also in order to understand the concept of a "generation" as a social cohort it will be vital to understand both the temporal breaks and delimitations of this work. In this sense, in this study I will follow the guidelines proposed by Karl Mannheim (1893-1947) about the understanding of generations as a social construction, rather than a concept referring to people related to a direct line of descent or kinship. Under Mannheim's arguments this study will consider that a generation refers to a group of individuals who experienced similar social events that determined either their collective identity or the way in which they interpreted their social circumstances. Thus, the brief definition of terms included in this section will begin the process of the research analysis of this study.

## 2.1 On the Analysis of Primary Sources

The general purpose of this study is to utilize the extant sources written by these nineteenth-century Nahua intellectuals in order to better understand their interests and actions, both individually and collective, by attempting to interpret their own voices. However, these texts will require a historical and contextual interpretation that avoids the use of opposing dichotomous terms, such as “objects” and “subjects,” since this position praises the existence of two separate and often unequal parts in the analysis of historical material: that is active and passive agents.<sup>68</sup> This study will take this position because I consider that dichotomous approaches reduce the possibility of understanding historical material from a less biased position. With the purpose of leaving behind these considerations, the approach to these sources will be based on the principles of hermeneutics.<sup>69</sup> A hermeneutical analysis is generally considered as the series of theoretical practices that collaborate in the interpretation of texts, by also taking into account the existence of texts that are more than words and sentences.<sup>70</sup> The brief definition provided by Michel Foucault (1926-1984) about hermeneutics and its purpose as a methodology contributes to guide the process of research that is the purpose of this study:

Let us call the totality of learning and skills that enable one to make the signs speak and to discover their meaning, hermeneutics; let us call the totality of the learning and skills that enable one to distinguish the location of the signs, to define what constitutes them as signs, and to know how and by what laws they are linked, semiology [...] To search for a meaning is to bring to light a resemblance. To search for the law governing sign is to discover the things that are alike. The grammar of beings is an exegesis of these things. And what the language they speak has to tell us is quite simply that the syntax is that which binds them together. The nature of things, their coexistence, the way in which they are linked together and communicate is nothing other than resemblance.<sup>71</sup>

Added to this is the consideration that true objectivity in historical studies is not possible to achieve, but the guidelines of hermeneutics contribute to the approaching of primary sources from a perspective in which the validity of interpretations is regulated by intermediate and inclusive ways of interpretation.<sup>72</sup> This statement makes sense if we acknowledge that the author of any text from the past had a specific intention or intentions in writing that document, and the

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<sup>68</sup> See Maarten Jansen, “Postcolonial Hermeneutics,” in *The Mixtec Pictorial Manuscript. Time, Agency and Memory in Ancient Mexico*, ed. Maarten Jansen and Gabina Aurora Pérez Jiménez (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011), 181-216.

<sup>69</sup> Richard E. Palmer, *Hermeneutics* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1969), 3-73.

<sup>70</sup> Mauricio Beuchot, *Tratado de hermenéutica analógica. Hacia un nuevo modelo de interpretación* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2005), 13.

<sup>71</sup> Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of Human Sciences* (New York: Vintage Books Edition, 1994), 29.

<sup>72</sup> Beuchot, *Tratado de hermenéutica analógica*, 8.

purpose of the historian is to come to know these intentions in more depth. However, it is important to also take into consideration that according to the guidelines provided by hermeneutics on the interpretation of any document from the past, the historical document out of its authors' context and time period no longer expresses what the author originally intended. So, any historical document goes much further than the author's intention when that document is met with our own context and intensions in our conducting of an historical analysis of that source.<sup>73</sup> Consequently, the interpretation that we can provide for this text is therefore different from the intention that the author originally had when he created that document. Thus, since our own interpretations and historical context have been influenced by our motivations, we cannot know for sure, but can only approximate, the original intensions of the document's author.

From this perspective, the methodological interpretation offered by the field of analogical hermeneutics requires us to consider both the document, the author, and who it is that interprets the text in equal terms.<sup>74</sup> However, this methodological precept also obligates the person who is in charge of interpreting the text to necessarily contextualize, in depth, the author of the texts and the document. The historian must also have examined for the probable intentions and interests of the supposed receptor of the message expressed in the said document or text in order to reduce the possibilities of misinterpretation and miscontextualization.<sup>75</sup> In the practice of interpreting historical texts any relativism<sup>76</sup> must be avoided by a methodological and careful contextualization of the text and the context of the author in order understand the message contained in the document, reducing the possibility of wrongly interpreting it.<sup>77</sup> This careful contextualization is conducted by verifying the hints and the code in which the text or document was produced. Nevertheless, there should be coherency between the author of the text and the context, and *vice versa*.<sup>78</sup> Consequently, Mauricio Beuchot defined this type of exercise of analogical hermeneutics as follows:

¿Qué es interpretar analógicamente o basados en la analogía, o utilizándola? Es interpretar un texto buscando la coherencia interna, una coherencia proporcional (sintaxis) entre sus elementos constitutivos. La analogía misma es orden, o el orden es analógico. Y la sintaxis es orden, coordinación. Pero la analogía no es un orden unívoco; tampoco es un es orden equívoco. Es un sentido analógico. – También es interpretar buscando la relación proporcional del texto con los objetos o hechos que designa (semántica). Es la correspondencia o adecuación entre el texto y el mundo que designa. Mundo, aquí, no necesariamente es realidad, sino

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 24

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Alberto Carrillo Canán, coord., *Hermenéutica, analogía y diálogo intercultural* (México: Consejo Nacional para las Artes, la Ciencia y la Tecnología-Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, 1999), 13.

<sup>77</sup> Beuchot, *Tratado de hermenéutica analógica*, 27.

<sup>78</sup> Umberto Eco, *Los límites de la interpretación*; trad. Elena Lozano (Barcelona: Editorial Lumen, 1992), 100-102.



que puede ser un mundo posible. Es una referencia analógica, no unívoca, pero tampoco una irreferencialidad equívoca.- También es interpretar buscando proporcionalmente el uso del autor, su intencionalidad expresiva y comunicativa (pragmática). La lectura del intérprete debe ser proporcional- no unívoca, pero tampoco equívoca- a la escritura del autor.<sup>79</sup>

In this sense, analogical hermeneutics advocates for creating a dialogue between the text, the author and its context, the audience to which the text was directed, and the person who interprets the text out of its original context. In this dialogue, the one who interprets the text must recognize the cultural, contextual and historical differences that exist between the author of the texts and the one who interprets it outside of its temporal and historical context. However, the one who interprets a historical text or document is also obligated to recognize the historical and contextual similarities that prevail between the author and the one who interprets the text.<sup>80</sup> In this sense, the dichotomy of subjects and objects is suppressed in order to create a series of elements in common that contribute to a better understanding of the text and the author in their own context.<sup>81</sup>

In this sense, I consider that the perspective of analogical hermeneutics offers a valid methodology that is based on the recognition of diversity in its vast representations, but its use also enables us to avoid relativism in the interpretation of documents. Relativism, as Beuchot explained, could possibly lead the historian to affirm that *all* interpretations made on a text are correct and possible, or to erroneously state that *any* interpretations made on a text are correct.<sup>82</sup> While this position recognizes the whole range of possibilities of interpretation between those that can be considered as accurate and others as inaccurate, analogical hermeneutics invites the historian, or the interpreter of the text, to find an intermediate place in which both contexts, the one that belongs to the author and the one in which the interpreter of the text live, could have a reciprocal dialogue. Consequently, this study will consider the inclusive characteristic of these theoretical interpretations and terms as a valid perspective for both approaching the content of the sources that will be reviewed and their interpretation.

## 2.2 Contextualizing the Terms “Indigenous” and “Indio”

Throughout the development of this current study, I consider it important to analyze the nature and meaning of some of the terms that will be constantly used throughout this work. The most recurrent and important words that I will include in this study are the terms “indigenous,” “Indian,” and “indio.” Due to the nature of these words’ meanings, significance and their

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<sup>79</sup> Mauricio Beuchot, “Breve exposición de la hermenéutica analógica,” *Revista Teología* XLV, número 97 (diciembre 2008): 491-502; 492-493.

<sup>80</sup> Ascensión Hernández de León Portilla, comp., *Hermenéutica analógica. La analogía en la antropología y la historia* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Itaca, 2009), 211.

<sup>81</sup> Pierre Guiraud, *La Semiología*, trans., María Teresa Poyrazian (México: Siglo XXI Editores, 1972), 31.

<sup>82</sup> Beuchot, *Tratado de hermenéutica analógica*, 12.

political implications it is indispensable to explain the interpretation and the way in which I intend to use these terms in this study.

It is well known that the Europeans extensively used the word “*indio*,” the English term for “Indian,” as the result of misleading cultural presumptions that Europeans had developed during the early stages of the Age of Exploration. Later on, when the Spaniards began the process of exploration with the clear objective of conquering American territory, the term “*indios*” developed and gained cultural connotations based on Spanish experiences during the initial contact period of their expansion in the Caribbean.<sup>83</sup>

In the early sixteenth century, when Hernando Cortés arrived for the first time on the coast of the modern state of Veracruz, in Mexico, the cultural connotations associated with the word “*indio*” already referred to a colonialist semantic. The pejorative meaning that the Spaniards intended with the term “*indio*” collaborated with the psychological warfare that Spaniards engaged in against the original people from a region of the Americas. The widespread and collective use of this term by Spaniards to describe indiscriminately all Indigenous Peoples together en mass, achieved the effective erasing of the diverse collective identities and the cultural differences that existed among Mesoamerican people.<sup>84</sup> As the modern scholar Ana Zavala mentioned:

El concepto de indio durante los primeros años de contacto estuvo determinado por la imagen que el europeo difundió de los naturales para justificar su presencia en tierras americanas y la dominación de sus habitantes. De esta manera, se minimizaron las diferencias culturales entre los indios, se trató de imponerles valores ajenos a su cultura, tales como la religión y la educación, para adaptarlos al marco jurídico hispano.<sup>85</sup>

In this sense, the term “*indio*” not only ignored on purpose the ethnic and historical differences that prevailed among the inhabitants of the Americas prior the arrival of the Europeans, but this term also sought to serve as a means of cultural, historical and ethnic appropriation implemented by the Spaniards during the years that the conquest lasted in some regions of the Americas. Similarly, the term “*indio*” emerged from the idea that the territories located to the east, south or west of the region of India lacked a Christian ruler. This statement also implied a sense of superiority that prevailed among the inhabitants of the Christian world, which also justified the discourse of subjugation that existed within the Castilian Crown and its divine duty of Christianize the conquered territories.

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<sup>83</sup> See Alicia Barabas, “La construcción del indio como bárbaro; de la etnografía al indigenismo,” *Revista Alteridades* 10, número 19 (2000): 9-20.

<sup>84</sup> Paul Kirchhoff, “Mesoamérica, sus límites geográficos, composición étnica y caracteres culturales” *Suplemento de la Revista Tlatoani*, Número 3 (1960): 13.

<sup>85</sup> Ana Luz Ramírez Zavala, “Indio/indígena, 1750-1850,” *Historia Mexicana* LX, Núm. 3 (enero-marzo, 2011): 1643-1681; 1643-1644.

Thereby, once the colonial system was established in the Americas with the political and territorial creation of the entity of the New Spain, the term “*indio*” became not only a word to refer indistinctly to the original people from the Americas, but it also turned into a juridical term to define a legal status.<sup>86</sup> The definition of the nature of the people from the Americas, as well as their own history within a Western and Catholic historical model of interpretation, took several years for both statesman and members of the clergy, as well as jurists, to develop the corpus of Hispanic laws.<sup>87</sup> Consequently, the Royal Decree of June 20 of 1500 issued by the Queen Isabella of Castile stipulated one of the first legal statuses for the Indigenous Peoples from the Americas naming them as subjects of the Spanish crown and freeing them from slavery.<sup>88</sup>

Thus, the use of the term “*indio*” stopped being simply a cultural reference, but rather it also came to encompass a juridical concept that was well defined by the Spanish Crown in its jurisprudence and put into practice by the colonial authorities in the New Spain. Under this new term, the original people from the Americas started to be organized, taxed, selected, classified and differentiated from the rest of the population by constantly remarking upon their subjugated position.

The widespread use of the term “*indio*” in the territories that were conquered by the Spaniards, as well as the coinage and definition of the term within the limits of colonial law, represented one of the peaks in the process of the Spanish colonization of the Americas. This colonial achievement erased the collective identities and cultural diversity that existed among the original groups who inhabited Mesoamerica, making of the definition of the term “*indio*” as a word imbued with a negative connotation that affected the collective identity of Indigenous Peoples.<sup>89</sup>

In the colony of New Spain, the application of the term “*indio*” and its internal hierarchies (*indio cacique*, *indio noble*, *indio común*, *indio gentil*, *indio salvaje*, etc.) dictated the ultimate fate of Indigenous Peoples in the colony.<sup>90</sup> Being an “*indio*” determined the way in which indigenous individuals were treated by the colonial authorities, from the administration of justice, to the limitation of access to education, or the regulations for Indigenous Peoples’ access

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<sup>86</sup> Beatriz Fernández Herrero, “El mito del buen salvaje y su repercusión en el gobierno de Indias,” *Revista Agora*, número 8 (1989): 145-150.

<sup>87</sup> For more about the process that the American territories experienced in order to be incorporated into the new Hispanic legal system, see Antonio Dougnac Rodríguez, *Manual de Historia del Derecho Indiano* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas, 1994), 24-54.

<sup>88</sup> The status of slavery only applied to Indigenous Peoples who committed anthropophagy, or to those who were considered as prisoners of war, or if the individuals were enslaved by other Indigenous People previous arrival of the Spaniards. For more about this discussion see Rafael Sánchez Domingo, “Las Leyes de Burgos de 1512 y la doctrina jurídica de la conquista,” *Revista Jurídica de León y Castilla*, número 28 (Septiembre, 2012): 1-55.

<sup>89</sup> William F. Connell, *After Moctezuma: Indigenous Politics and Self-Government in Mexico City, 1524-1730* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011), 122.

<sup>90</sup> Agustina Yadira Martínez e Yvette Santamaría-Benz, “La manipulación del discurso en relación al concepto del bárbaro en los indios,” *Revista Venezolana de Sociología y Antropología* 14, número 41(septiembre, 2004): 561-579.

to positions within both the civil and religious institutions. Moreover, it is important to recognize that the term “*indio*” was also a term utilized in the hierarchical caste system implemented during the colonial period, which existed for almost the entire period of time that the Spanish colonial establishment ruled in Mexico.

The term “*indio*” had clear connotations of subjection to colonial power which held negative effects over the indigenous populations from the Americas. Nevertheless, this term also in its use as a legal entity not only defined the character of individuals, but also their rights to properties, their obligations to pay taxes and their access to colonial institutions. Regardless of the pejorative connotations inherent in this term and due to the historical character of this study, the use of the term “*indio*” in its definition as a legal entity is indispensable. In this study, I will have to use the term “*indio*,” or “Indian” in the English language, to refer to a category of the colonial judicial system, and its use serves a significant purpose by examining the way this juridical term impacted upon and affected those whom the colonial legal system categorized as such. Consequently, I will use the term “*indio*” in this study only to refer to the judicial entity and its application as used during the Spanish colonial period in Mexico that lasted from 1492 to 1812, the year of the promulgation of the Constitution of Cadiz. Although the history of how the term and juridical concept of “*indio*” or “Indian” changed through this extensive period of time and varied according to diverse regions of the Americas, this study will only focus on the judicial meaning that this term held in the vice regal capital of Mexico City, with special emphasis on the period at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century. The term “*indio*” and its use can be found starting in the first decades of the sixteenth century until the beginning of the nineteenth century. As a referential term, the word “*indio*” is oftentimes also included in later nineteenth-century sources revised in this work. Therefore it is important to emphasize that the use of this term in the current study will be limited, and at all times it will appear within the Spanish colonial context and its use corresponds to the terms appearance in the historical documentation.

In this study, I will refer to the original people from the area of the Americas, including the area of Mesoamerica, Central America and the Andean region, as “Indigenous Peoples” due to the two reasons that I include in the discussion below. According to Raúl Alcides Reissner in his 1983 work entitled *El indio en los diccionarios: exégesis léxica de un estereotipo*,<sup>91</sup> the term “*indígena*” appeared for the first time in Antonio de Nebrija’s dictionary of 1494. In his *Dictionarium Aelii Antonii Nebrissensis, Grammatici, Cronographi Regii*, Antonio de Nebrija included the following definitions:

*Indigena*, ae, pen. Cor. Varon, ó muger natural de alli.

*Indigenitalis*, e. Varon, ú muger natural de alli.

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<sup>91</sup> See Raúl Alcides Reissner, *El indio en los diccionarios: exégesis léxica de un estereotipo* (México: Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 1983).

*Indigenitalis, e, pro eo quod est indigena, ae.*<sup>92</sup>

The definition provided by Nebrija in his early work associated the term “indigenous” to a non-colonialist semantic, and instead the term referred to a locative nature which emphasized the origin of the people as well as their belonging to a specific geographic place. Consequently, the fifteenth-century term “indigenous” must be related to a certain legal status that did not relate directly to the term “*indio*,” which evidently remained associated within a legal context of conquest and subjugation. In this sense, it is interesting to note that the term “indigenous” did not appear either in the *Leyes de Indias* (16<sup>th</sup>-century), or in the *Diccionario de Autoridades* (18<sup>th</sup>-century) due to the colonialist nature of both of these regulations and laws; instead, the term that the Spanish legalists decided to include in the previously mentioned works was “*indio*.”

Although the definition of the term “indigenous” provided by Nebrija remains imprecise and even ambiguous according to modern contexts, the word currently has been redefined under other arguments that reclaim the importance and independent identity of the people who define themselves as indigenous. Currently in academia, especially within social and historical disciplines, the term indigenous has important connotations for carrying an anti-colonialist meaning that allows the reclaiming of the ethnic identity of both indigenous individuals and societies.

It is important to note that the inclusion of this term in the present study will be associated with the cultural and ethnic references based on the guidelines provided by José Martínez Cobo in his report written for the United Nations in 1982.<sup>93</sup> The definition of the term “Indigenous Peoples” provided by the United Nations explicitly denotes an anti-colonialist character by stating that: “Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them.”<sup>94</sup> Furthermore, the same document also describes the historical continuity of these indigenous communities, stating that they:

[It] may consist of the continuation, for an extended period reaching into the present of one or more of the following factors:

a) Occupation of ancestral lands, or at least of part of them;

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<sup>92</sup> Elio Antonio de Nebrija, *Dictionarium Aeli Antonio Nebrissensis, Grammatici, Chronographi Regii; Imo Quadruplex Ejusdem Antiqui Dictionarii*. Premium A R. P. M. Fr. Eugenio Zeballos, Matriti, Apud Viduam el Filium Petri (Marin Typographum, 174), 191.

<sup>93</sup> José R. Martínez Cobo, *Study on the Problem of Discriminations Against Indigenous Populations*, United Nations, Economic and Social Council, Commission of Human Rights (June 20, 1982), 70.

<sup>94</sup> “The Concept of Indigenous Peoples,” *Workshop on Data Collection and Desegregation for Indigenous Peoples*, (New York, 19-21 January, 2004), 2-4.

- b) Common ancestry with the original occupants of these lands;
- c) Culture in general, or in specific manifestations (such as religion, living under a tribal system, membership of an indigenous community, dress, means of livelihood, lifestyle, etc.);
- d) Language (whether used as the only language, as mother-tongue, as the habitual means of communication at home or in the family, or as the main, preferred, habitual, general or normal language);
- e) Residence on certain parts of the country, or in certain regions of the world;
- f) Other relevant factors.<sup>95</sup>

Based on the above argument, I still consider it important to emphasize the fact that Martínez Cobo's definition clearly states that the concept of indigenous identity remains as a cultural construction, either individually or collectively, and should never be considered as a racial typification.

Accordingly and due to the reasons given above, the term "native" will not be considered or used in this study because of its inherent pejorative semantic meaning. Nevertheless, historical documents may include the term "native," in which case the word will be accordingly cited and considered.<sup>96</sup>

### **2.3 An Historical Understanding of the Term "Nahua"**

Although the definition of the term "indigenous" is vital for the purpose of this study, so is the discussion of the term "Nahua," especially since this study focus on the analysis of the intellectual development of a specific group of this ethnic affiliation during the beginning of the nineteenth century. Current scholars, as well as the primary sources from the sixteenth century, constantly include the term Nahua to refer to ethnic groups that share the Nahuatl language and a common history. Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, in his collective work entitled *Historia de las Cosas de la Nueva España* (in English receiving the title of *General History of the Things of New Spain*), included what probably remains as the earliest definition of the word Nahua, as well as its historical and ethnic implications. Within the content of the *General History of the Things of New Spain*, the authors explained that the term "Nahua" referred to an ethnic affiliation based on a common history and language spoken by diverse group of peoples:

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>96</sup> Ashcroft, et al., *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies*, 158-159.

Los nahuas eran los que hablaban la lengua mexicana, aunque no la hablaban ni pronunciaban tan clara como los perfectos mexicanos; y aunque eran nahuas, también se llamaban chichimecas, y decían ser de la generación de los toltecas que quedaron cuando los demás toltecas salieron de su pueblo y se despoblaron, que fue en tiempo cuando el dicho Quetzalcóatl se fue a la región de Tlapallan.<sup>97</sup>

Similarly, in the same work Sahagún and his Nahua co-authors also specified that the term “mexicano” referred exclusively to a group who migrated to the Valley of Mexico led by Mecitl, a group that originally came from the “provinces of the Chichimecas.”<sup>98</sup> Apparently, Sahagún and his Nahua assistants clarified that the term “Nahua” better described the people who spoke the Nahuatl language, or Mexicano, regardless of their geographical origin, and that this group shared certain linguistic, ethnic and historical elements. On the other hand, the terms “*Mexicano*” or “*Mexica*” that Sahagún referred to in his sixteenth-century collective work alluded to a specific group of migrants who eventually established themselves and settled in the center of the Valley of Mexico.

Scholars currently use the term “Nahua” in order to describe the ethnic affiliation of an individual or a social group, and this term is well accepted among the Nahua people to identify themselves as having a common identity, history and traditions, although there are some other vocables such as “*macehualli*,” in a singular connotation, or “*macehualmeh*,” for a plural meaning to identify among themselves. It is also common usage for the term Nahua to be used to describe the ethnic identity and affiliation of the nineteenth-century individuals that I refer to in this study. Although the term “Nahua” is not used by the intellectuals of the nineteenth century to describe their own ethnic affiliation, the documents they authored reveal that those indigenous individuals who formed this specific group of people called themselves “*mexicanos*.” For instance, Faustino Chimalpopoca, one of the intellectuals that I will study in this work, authored a document in 1861 in which he used the term “*mexicano*” and “*nahuatl*” to refer to the language of the “ancient indigenous persons from Mexico.” However, in this same document, Chimalpopoca specified that the word “*mexicano*” referred specifically to the group of people who migrated from the northern part of Mexico and arrived to the Valley of Mexico to settle and found the city of Tenochtitlan. In this sense, Chimalpopoca emphasized the fact that the “*mexicanos*” differed ethnically and historically from other Nahuatl speaking groups such as the Chichimecas, Xochimilcas, Tecpanecas, etc.: “Los mexicanos al arribar a los tulares de

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<sup>97</sup> Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España*, Libro X, Sección 3, “Donde se declara quienes eran y se llamaban nahuas,” (México, Editorial Porrúa, 1999), 601.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., Sección 12 “De los mexicanos,” 610.

Tenochtitlan, no conocían más que a los Tultecas, Chichimecas, Tecpanecas, Cuitlahuacas, Xochimilcas y Colhuas[...]"<sup>99</sup>

In both Bernardino de Sahagún and later on in Faustino Chimalpopoca's works the authors concurred that the term "Nahua" described the people who both spoke the Nahuatl language and shared a common history.<sup>100</sup> Thus, the linguistic affiliation that these Nahua speaking group held also represented their cultural affinities, social affiliations and religious beliefs. Consequently, the ethnic identity shared by Nahua people included "[...] a fusion of many traits that belong to the nature of any ethnic group: a composite of shared values, beliefs, norms, tastes, behaviours, experiences, consciousness of kind, memories and loyalties."<sup>101</sup>

Thus, the term "Nahua" will be recurrently used in this study in order to refer to the indigenous groups that spoke the Nahuatl language before, during, and after the period of the Spanish colonization. Similarly, it is important to clarify that at the time of the Spanish conquest, the inhabitants of the Valley of Mexico were mostly, but not exclusively, Nahuas; however, other territorial entities where Nahua people inhabited existed in other regions that now make up the current Mexican states of Durango, Estado de México, Guerrero, Morelos, Hidalgo, Puebla, San Luis Potosí, Tlaxcala, and Veracruz. For the purposes of this study, the term Nahua will be used to refer to the Indigenous Peoples from Central Mexico who spoke Nahuatl as their primary language during the nineteenth century and those who recognized themselves as members of this ethnic group. That said, in this current study the term Nahua will be used to refer to a group of Indigenous People whose original language, thus cultural and ethnic identity, is based on an understanding of the Nahuatl language.<sup>102</sup>

Thus, in this study the term "Nahua intellectuals" implies and includes those intellectuals who belonged to groups of Indigenous Peoples who spoke Nahuatl as their first language, and to those who also personally claimed the Nahua culture as their heritage, by presenting themselves as direct heirs of their Nahua predecessors.

## **2.4 The Definition of the Term "Intellectual" and its Construction as a Concept**

It is difficult to date with any precision the coinage of the term "intellectual," and even more the first use of the term for describing non-Western social and historical examples. Although the

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<sup>99</sup> "Sobre el origen de la palabra México. Contestación que hace Faustino Chimalpopoca al escrito de José María Cabrera," *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía e Historia* VIII (México; Imprenta de Andrés Boix, 1861), 408.

<sup>100</sup> About this idea on the development of a historiographical Nahua tradition see Miguel Pastrana Flores, "Del castigo divino a la interculturalidad. Reflexiones sobre los nahuas coloniales del centro de México de la historiografía mexicana," in *Visiones del pasado. Reflexiones para escribir la historia de los pueblos de América*, ed. Ana Luisa Izquierdo y de la Cueva (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Centro de Estudios Mayas, 2016), 113-150.

<sup>101</sup> Bill Ashcroft, et al., *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies*, 80.

<sup>102</sup> Lockhart, *We People Here: Nahuatl Accounts of the Conquest of Mexico*, 13.



term “intellectual” is widely used in different studies to refer to specific social groups in the Western hemisphere, its use to identify Indigenous Peoples’ experiences remains still scarce. This is probably due to the conflicts over the definition of the term “intellectual” and the westernized parameters that many scholars consider necessary to describe the intellectual production of certain groups that not necessarily belong to this western tradition. Nevertheless, the core ideas included in the definition of the term “intellectual” can be used to understand a social phenomenon in non-Western societies since the creation of culture, the production of ideas, and thus intellectuality, remain as universal human activities. Similarly, the use of certain basic ideas to understand intellectual manifestations in non-Western and pre-modern<sup>103</sup> societies must take into consideration the variability that human experiences offer to historians.

Historically, the use of the term “intellectual” in western societies became popular during the nineteenth century in Europe when in France, in 1898, Mathieu Dreyfus, a French officer, was accused by the French government of espionage and selling secrets to the enemy. The widely publicized case in France became an issue that would later be known as the “Dreyfus Affair.”<sup>104</sup>

Eventually, due to the characteristics of the accusations made against Mr. Dreyfus by the members of the French government, the public opinion started an open discussion on what several French scholars considered a false accusation caused by the prejudice of the authorities on the ethnic origins of Mr. Dreyfus: who was Jewish.<sup>105</sup> The scholars who maintained the innocence of Mr. Dreyfus used the term “intellectuals” to publically describe themselves. The French writer Emile Zola also participated in the discussion about the innocence of Mr. Dreyfus and condemned the lack of veracity of the accusations made against Mr. Dreyfus. Zola then published an open letter entitled “*J’accuse*” or “I accuse” addressed to the French President of the Republic. This letter was published by a newspaper called “*L’Aurore*.” In this letter Zola stated the reasons why a group of scholars defended the innocence of Mr. Dreyfus from their own position as men of letters.<sup>106</sup> The names of some writers that had never participated in public debates, such as the writer Marcel Proust or the sociologist Emile Durkheim, appeared in newspapers and public opinion. Similarly, other characters such as Rosa Luxemburg became

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<sup>103</sup> The use of the terms “pre-modern” and “modern” in this study follows the conventionalism of history regarding the temporary dissections of periods in Western history, considering that the 16<sup>th</sup> century marks the beginning of “modernity.” The use of these terms in the current work must not be misinterpreted as a parameter to measure levels of cultures or “civilizations.”

<sup>104</sup> Eric Cahm, *The Dreyfus Affair in French Society and Politics* (London: Longman, 1996).

<sup>105</sup> See Emile Zola, “I Accuse”, the part where the author expressed that “We are horrified by the terrible light the Dreyfus affair has cast upon it all, this human sacrifice of an unfortunate man, a “dirty Jew.” ” In *The Trial of Emile Zola* (New York: Benj. R. Tucker Publisher, 1898).

<sup>106</sup> See, Emile Zola, “J’accuse,” published in the newspaper *L’Aurore*, January 13, 1898; “Manifesto of the Intellectuals,” published in the French newspaper *L’Aurore*, January 14, 1898. Also see Steven Lukes, *Emile Durkheim, His Life and Work: A Historical and Critical Study* (California: Stanford University Press, 1973), with special emphasis on the following pages that refer to the Dreyfus affair and the coming debate that took place after Emile Zola published his letter “I accuse” addressed to the President of the French Republic, 320-353.

engaged in the public discussion about the inaccuracies and false accusations that led to the trial of Mr. Dreyfus.<sup>107</sup>

The day after Zola published his letter “*J’accuse*,” a series of letters, public petitions, and statements signed by different scholars, students and artists<sup>108</sup> were published in the same French newspaper. With these publications the term “intellectual” started to be used widely by those who were part of the French Army or the government as a pejorative term associated with a public anti-establishment position and they even used it as a synonym for being non-patriotic or a being against the French government.<sup>109</sup>

Without a doubt after the Dreyfus Affair the term “intellectual” became quite popular, and its use in publications associated with the Dreyfus Affair started an interesting debate about the meaning of the term. In associating the use of this term with certain social responsibilities that this initial group held towards social conflicts, this term came to be more widely applied to other groups of thinkers and writer. Since this event marked the public involvement of a select group of writers, artists and scholars on a specific social issue, the role of the “intellectuals” started to be associated with the public sphere.

As a result of this event, the term “intellectual” started to be associated or referred to a person in an academic position, fully conscious about the importance of the ideas that they created, possessed and transmitted to the public. These so-called “intellectuals” came to be viewed as people who mainly focused on the development and the creation of ideas or other similar activities that were associated with the exercise and the challenge of the human spirit, separated from any type of physical activities. Most importantly, and according to the context, the term intellectual also made an explicit reference to a group of educated individuals who denounced the malfunction of certain governmental institutions by defending the existence of a series of moral and civil values and rights that are recognized and valid for these same said institutions. In the case of the Dreyfus Affair, the intellectuals who decided to raise their voice publically and denounce through the publication of letters, opinions and manifestos published in newspaper left behind the private sphere where they usually were positioned, and for the first time as a group they started to occupy and play an active role in society by influencing the public opinion. Even though the term intellectual had been already used in 1894 by Guy de Maupassant with similar connotations,<sup>110</sup> before the Dreyffus Affair intellectuals generally belonged to a private sphere, and they had little to do with public concerns. It was only after this nineteenth-century event when the term “intellectual” began to be associated, almost automatically, with the idea of the “public intellectual.”

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<sup>107</sup> Lawrence D. Kritzman and Brian J. Reilly, ed., *The Columbia History of Twentieth-century French Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 363-364.

<sup>108</sup> *L'Aurore*, 14 janvier 1898; in <http://gallica.bnf.fr/>

<sup>109</sup> See the columns published in the newspaper *L'Aurore*, corresponding to February 2 and February 3 of 1898 in <http://gallica.bnf.fr/>

<sup>110</sup> See Cahm, *The Dreyfus affair in French society and politics*.

As it was summarized by Gábor Tverdota and Antoine Janvier, modern French scholars, when these intellectuals decided to make public their opinion on a social event that they considered violated the rights of an individual, the social function of modern intellectuals was determined:

This symbolic gesture, however, is not limited by the introduction of a new term into the French public sphere, or the creation of a new “group of pressure” that was created for a specific purpose, but it also conveyed [...] The social function in question is the production and introduction into the public space of universalist principles, models, values and hierarchies of trans-contextual values [...], aimed at guiding the public actions of individuals [...] By not making use of other instruments than ordinary language, everyday language communication.<sup>111</sup>

Consequently, definitions of terms such as “intellectuals” and “intellectuality” began to be also associated with social activism, criticism to the current establishment, defense of what could be considered as morally correct, in essence, the defense of just causes, non-conformism towards the *status quo* and its open criticism in cases of wrong doing. As a consequence, the term “intellectual” is currently associated with debates in the defense of certain humanitarian and environmental causes.<sup>112</sup>

Even though the Dreyfus Affair was a determinant event through which the term “intellectual” and the functions of those individuals who fit into the description were defined, the resulting debate among scholars led to a diversity of perspectives on the said definition. Nevertheless, and without ignoring the importance that other works had in the shaping of this term, the 1926 work of Antonio Gramsci entitled “The Formation of the Intellectuals”<sup>113</sup> is fundamental to defining and understanding intellectualism in current studies. In his work, Antonio Gramsci discussed, in depth, the characteristics that existed between what he denominated as “traditional intellectuals” and “organic intellectuals.”

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<sup>111</sup> Gábor Tverdota et Antoine Janvier, “Editorial: Les intellectuels dans la guerre civile européenne (1914-1945). Enjeux philosophiques d’une histoire à écrire,” *Cahiers du GRM* [En ligne], 6 (27 décembre 2014): 2. Consulted on February 17, 2015. URL: <http://grm.revues.org/478>. The textual citation in the French language reads as follows: “Ce geste symbolique ne se limitait toutefois pas à l’introduction d’un nouveau terme dans l’espace public français, ou à la fondation d’un nouveau « groupe de pression » créé pour un objectif particulier, mais il véhiculait également – et surtout – une revendication politique forte d’une fonction sociale spécifique par ceux-là même qui venaient de se nommer les intellectuels, revendication reprise et perpétuée par des générations successives d’individus définissant explicitement ou implicitement leur identité en tant qu’intellectuels. La fonction sociale en question consiste en la production et l’introduction dans l’espace public de principes universalistes, de modèles, de valeurs et de hiérarchies de valeurs trans-contextuels (détachables de leur situation de référence), ayant pour but d’orienter les actions publiques des individus comme celles des groupes sociaux, en n’usant d’autre instrument que le langage ordinaire, la communication langagière quotidienne.”

<sup>112</sup> Cahm, *The Dreyfus affair in French society and politics*.

<sup>113</sup> Antonio Gramsci, *La formación de los intelectuales*, trans. Ángel González Vega (México: Editorial Grijalbo, 1967).

According to Gramsci, intellectuals have always been present in every historical society, and his analysis is based on the premise that states that every individual is in essence an intellectual, since intellectual activity is inherent to all individuals. However, not every individual plays the role of an intellectual within his or her own society:

When one distinguishes between intellectuals and non-intellectuals, one is referring in reality only to the immediate social function of the professional category of the intellectuals, that is, one has in mind the direction in which their specific professional activity is weighted, whether towards intellectual elaboration or towards muscular-nervous effort. This means that, although one can speak of intellectuals, one cannot speak of non-intellectuals, because non-intellectuals do not exist.<sup>114</sup>

Gramsci stated that the term “intellectual” denotes the professional category of the intellectuals within a determined society, in which they had an important economic function since they provide homogeneity to the dominant or the leading group that positioned the intellectuals as societies’ superior social product. In this sense, Gramsci considered that “traditional intellectuals,” as the representatives of the *petite bourgeoisie*,<sup>115</sup> came from a medieval tradition and within a historical context in which ecclesiastical groups held a monopoly on knowledge, and this medieval group was composed mostly by writers, philosophers and artists.<sup>116</sup> In opposition, Gramsci described the characteristic of the “organic intellectual” within a modern context in which other social groups, and not the ecclesiastical sphere, held and administered the production of knowledge for the sake of the benefit of the ruling group. Modern ruling and leading groups created institutions that worked as instruments where certain individuals were educated and prepared in order to represent the achievements of the ruling class.<sup>117</sup>

These are the “organic intellectuals,” those who should have leadership and technical abilities, which determine their intellectual functionality for the establishment that sponsored their existence. These intellectuals hold certain conceptions and views of the world according to the society from which they belong. Thus, the critical position that organic intellectuals may have towards the establishment that produced them is also of vital importance since this contradictory position rarely advocates for the destruction of the prevalent political and social *status quo*, but rather for its transformation. This is also beneficial to the ruling class or leading groups that put the intellectuals in that position of criticism, since this contributes to an occasional modification and revitalization of the existing *status quo* in order to not cease the

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<sup>114</sup> Antonio Gramsci, *Selection from the Prison Notebooks*, ed. and trans. Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (London: ElecBook, 1999), 140.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., 136.

<sup>116</sup> Gramsci, *La formación de los intelectuales*, 23.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 28.

existence and leadership of the said ruling class, but rather reform and solidify its future. Nevertheless, Gramsci also mentioned the existence of the hierarchical organization of this intellectual activity, which must be differentiated into different levels and categories since this also, represented a quantitative difference in the activity that different intellectuals played in the society. Concerning this, Gramsci stated:

It is obvious that such a distinction has to be made just as it is obvious that other distinctions have to be made as well. Indeed, intellectual activity must also be distinguished in terms of its intrinsic characteristics, according to levels which in moments of extreme opposition represent a real qualitative difference—at the highest level would be the creators of the various sciences, philosophy, art, etc., at the lowest the most humble “administrators” and divulgators of preexisting, traditional, accumulated intellectual wealth.<sup>118</sup>

According to Gramsci, one of the essential characteristics that defined an intellectual is that an Intellectual must have a critical consciousness about his or her importance within the establishment and a realization about the possible influence and impact that their intellectual creation could have on their society. Gramsci did not put aside the characteristics that other scholars discussed in response of the Dreyfus Affair, but these responses are included in his definition of organic intellectuals, which make of this group a complex one.<sup>119</sup>

Based on the previous characteristics and definitions, the term “organic intellectual” is currently and widely used by scholars from different disciplines who are interested in the study and analysis of this group and its role in the history of different societies and the involvement of this group of individuals in events of a diverse nature.

In this sense, the later works published by Quentin Skinner (1940- ) and J. G. A. Pocock (1924- )<sup>120</sup> during the 1970’s and 1980’s in their guidelines for the study of both political and intellectual discourses followed the basic premise of the definition sketched by Gramsci. Over time, the definition of the term intellectual has been transformed and reshaped by different social disciplines, especially in the field of political science and sociology, making any multi-disciplinary understanding of this term a very complex one.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Gramsci, *Selection from the Prison Notebooks*, 146.

<sup>119</sup> Gramsci, *La formación de los intelectuales*, 33.

<sup>120</sup> See J. G. A. Pocock, *Politics, Language and Time: Essays on Political Thought and History* (Chicago – London: University of Chicago Press, 1971).

<sup>121</sup> There is a vast number of works from the sociology and political science perspective which focus on the analysis of intellectualism, and particularly on indigenous intellectualism in the Americas. For more about this see *Nuevos actores en América del Norte, Volumen 2: Identidades culturales y políticas*, ed. Edith Antal (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Centro de Investigaciones Sobre América del Norte, 2005).

Consequently, in this work I will use and define the term “intellectual” based on the premises previously referred to, and I consider that intellectuals are individuals with a high level of self consciousness about the ability and power of transformation that they have in the way they organized their life, as well as in their personal projects. As a result, I argue that these intellectuals necessarily project these ideas into the larger group of the entire society and in this manner they seek to have an impact in a determined collective sphere. Also, based on Gramsci’s idea of the “organic intellectuals,” another characteristic must be considered and that is that in order to be considered an intellectual, one has to be educated or have had access to a higher level of knowledge adopted through existing institutions in order to gain a wider understanding about the functioning and ideological basis in which governmental institutions are solidified. As a consequence, an intellectual is also an individual who is well aware about the rights and obligations established by the prevalent *status quo*. In this way, when the “social contract” established by the parties is threatened, or certain forces seek to limit, usurp or eliminate their rights, and/or the accessibility that they, as intellectuals, as well as the members of their community, have to the institutional life and practices of their society, or attempt to limit their political participation, the intellectual will be willing to defend not only his individual rights, but also the rights of his group or community.<sup>122</sup>

This sense of self-consciousness allows the intellectual to find a place of institutional representation, as well as their active participation, for him and his community. In case the intellectuals or their communities are excluded, intentionally or accidentally, by the ruling class or the administration of the government, the intellectual they feel obligated to act accordingly in order to attack those, either institutions or individuals, who attempt against their position as participants of a social order.<sup>123</sup> As such, these intellectuals are also bearers of the worldview and moral conduct of the society to which they belong or represent.

The previous definition and the basic guidelines provided by Gramsci, in particular the elements that identify the “organic intellectual,” suggest the premises of universality that some theoretical definitions offer to modern scholars. The basic elements and characteristics that define the term “intellectual” can be used as theoretical and methodological tools to approach an

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<sup>122</sup> A similar definition of the term “indigenous intellectual” among the context of modern day Mexico is offered by Natividad Gutiérrez Chong, “Liderazgo intelectual indígena en México y la frontera.” In this book, Natividad Gutiérrez referred to indigenous intellectuals in the following words: “Ante la certeza de que no todos los indígenas educados son intelectuales, ¿qué es lo que identifica con firmeza a quienes lo son? En primer lugar, un acto de conciencia que determina una firme convicción para realizar proyectos de vida individuales y esfuerzos políticos o culturales conjuntos. Esta característica hace que el intelectual indígena reconozca, tanto en México como en Estados Unidos y la frontera, una limitación de autodesarrollo impuesta por sus niveles de integración a la nación (mestizaje como política “de inclusión”, políticas de reconocimiento, *melting pot*, derechos civiles, etc.), las políticas indigenistas de asimilación. El intelectual indígena no sólo está dedicado sistemáticamente a la búsqueda, reconstrucción o fabricación de su herencia cultural, sino que también es consciente, denuncia y se moviliza en contra de la usurpación de sus derechos universales y colectivos [...]” on page 112.

<sup>123</sup> Josep Picó and Juan Pecourt, “El estudio de los intelectuales: una reflexión” –“The Study of Intellectuals: An Overview,” *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, No. 123 (Jul-Sep, 2008): 35-58, 41.

analysis of societies in which intellectuals hold an important position. In this sense, the use of the term “intellectuals” to refer to a specific group among Indigenous People is completely valid, in such way that the term “indigenous intellectual” could be used, accordingly within the historical context, and this term is also useful for the study of diverse geographical areas, social groups and historical periods, including the societies from Mesoamerica and the colonial Americas.

## 2.5 Approaching the Concept of “Indigenous Intellectuals”

As we have seen above, the term “intellectual” is a conceptual construction initially based on the characteristics of western and/or westernized societies. Since this is the common understanding of most scholars, it is indispensable to explain the way in which this term will be used in the present study. The use of the term “intellectual” in the current work aims to refer to a specific group of “indigenous intellectuals” in the area of Mesoamerica as a way of affirming the existence of an indigenous intellectual tradition in the Americas. This idea states that there existed a diverse indigenous intellectual tradition in Mesoamerica before and after the European invasion, which synergistically continued during and after the Spanish colonization of the Mesoamerican zone. Since this particular study focuses on the analysis of some of the indigenous intellectuals who lived in Mexico City during the first decades of the nineteenth century, it is vital to consider that these individuals followed and perpetuated an intellectual tradition that can be traced from pre-conquest times and continues until today.

The discussion about the existence of a Mesoamerican indigenous intellectual tradition that continued through the centuries may be controversial due to the nature of the meaning, origins and implications of the term “intellectual.” Modern literature from diverse social disciplines argues that indigenous intellectuals in Latin America had their historical origins during the nineteenth century, but that they did not emerge as a consolidated group until the second half of the twentieth century.<sup>124</sup> Even though this modern literature does not deny the existence of indigenous intellectualism before the Spanish colonization of the Americas, it does not use the term “intellectual” to describe the indigenous knowledge tradition that existed before or during the period of the Spanish colony.<sup>125</sup> This is probably due to the westernized connotations and parameters that the term “intellectual” infers in their understanding, as well as the origins of its coinage, which are arguably not comparable with the social characteristics that prevailed in Mesoamerica before the invasion of the Americas led by the European groups.

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<sup>124</sup> See the works of Claudia Zapata Silva, “Origen y función de los intelectuales indígenas,” *Cuadernos Interculturales* 3, número 4 (enero-junio 2005): 65-87.

<sup>125</sup> See Natividad Gutiérrez Chong, *Mitos nacionalistas e identidades étnicas*; and Gloria Alicia Caudillo Félix, *El discurso indio en América Latina*.

The utilization of the term “intellectual” or “indigenous intellectuals” would be erroneous if we consider that the concepts suggested by theoretical currents in the area of the humanities or the social sciences work as absolute concepts. This misconception about theoretical concepts and the construction of historical definitions leads ultimately to wrongly formulated interpretations, considering these concepts as templates, molds or immovable parameters through which societies are measured, hierarchized, or judged. Under these circumstances, if we consider that the word “intellectual” is an exclusively western and/or westernized term that works as a template, or mold to measure and compare Mesoamerican societies with western ones, the use of the term “intellectual” must indeed be scholarly erroneous, biased and colonialist.<sup>126</sup>

Consequently, in this study I advocate for the use of theoretical concepts, such as the use of the term intellectual, and ideas such as “institutionalized intellectualism” as open terms, in constant construction. As a result, I will attempt to consider these terms as inclusive structural models, not exclusively westernized concepts. The usefulness of theoretical approaches and concepts focuses mainly on the fact that they are formed based on the observation of collective experiences rather than on individual examples. This inclusive feature of theoretical concepts and their use serves to give us collective guidelines that are based on sets of social similarities that contribute to providing us with common elements that are familiar to us for our analysis.<sup>127</sup>

The inclusive character of the use of various theoretical methodologies, such as analogical hermeneutics, mentioned above, and concepts such as “institutionalized intellectualism” serve to highlight the similarities that exist between cultural systems and they are frequently used as resource in several social science disciplines: the field of history is not an exception.<sup>128</sup> Nevertheless, this scholarly position would be unilateral and exclusive if the approach to “the otherness” is made without the inclusion of the worldview and cultural context of the parties that collaborate in the development of this study, which in this particular case would be the Nahua people.<sup>129</sup> Thus, the use of hermeneutical methodological elements in the process of this analysis will attempt to create a mutual dialogue between the parties involved in this study, in such way that a scholarly approach from dichotomic statements, such as “subjects” and “objects,” can be effectively alienated from this study. In this sense, the review, reading and understanding of the primary sources written by Indigenous Peoples, both in the Nahuatl language and/or in Spanish, is fundamental to achieving the hermeneutical exercise in this study.

The word “intellectual” and its theoretical implications is still restrictive and only a few modern scholars use such a term from the historical perspective to refer to a certain group of learned specialists among the people from the Americas, both before and after their colonization

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<sup>126</sup> See Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies. Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London & New York: Zed Books Ltd, Dunedin and University of Otago Press, 2006), 28-29.

<sup>127</sup> Pierre Guiraud, *La Semiología*, 31.

<sup>128</sup> See James Lockhart, *We People Here: Nahuatl Accounts of the Conquest of Mexico*, 4.

<sup>129</sup> See Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (London: Routledge, 1998), 289.



by the Europeans. However, the recognition of the existence of educated elites among Indigenous Peoples, especially during the Spanish colonial period in the Americas, has led several scholars to use the term “lettered” or “literate” to refer and define several of the characteristics of these groups in the Americas or others in similar non-western societies.

The term “lettered” is mostly associated with the ability that one or various individuals have acquired to read and write. Such a term also defines the group of individuals who are able to decode and/or interpret the graphic pluralism and/or other means that certain societies’ developed to keep records about the history of the community, the actions of the ruling class, governmental administration, issues relating to cultural worldviews, among other aspects worthy of recording. Nevertheless, the term “lettered” is also associated in a limited way with literacy, its learning and practice,<sup>130</sup> while the term “intellectual” is associated with the creation, transformation, and divulgation of knowledge in a way that directly impacts upon or influences the fate of the society, not in its totality, but rather only for a certain sector of individuals in that society.

The connotation of the term “lettered,” or in its Spanish version using the term “letrados,”<sup>131</sup> extols the importance of literacy as a primordial activity to keep and maintain a collective memory and provide security to the institutions created under the sponsorship of the dominant establishment. From this perspective, oral history and the spoken word both reflect the precariousness and uncertainty of their users and their society.<sup>132</sup> In this sense, the lettered individuals in modern western societies would be considered members of a learned hierarchical educated group such as the clergymen, administrators, educators, professionals, writers and all those who are alphabetized and are associated with the social group in power. In other words, the term lettered emphasizes the importance of the written word and the ability to reproduce it. This statement implies a limited ability of those considered as “lettered” to only reproduce and copy information, not to organically produce it.

Summarizing, the term “lettered” praises and implies the sacralization of the written word and also demonstrates its clear disdain for the pictorial, the oral tradition, and the spoken word, as if these activities were less important than the other. The use of the term “lettered” subtly implies the superiority of the written word over all other expressions, including the use of diverse codification and/or even instances of graphic pluralism where multiple cultures use several concurrent systems to keep their collective memory alive and trace their history. In this sense, the use of this term “lettered” openly refers to western or westernized societies that had developed or adopted certain types of writing systems that were influenced by the European

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<sup>130</sup> Gabriela Ramos and Yanna Yannakakis, “Introduction,” in *Indigenous Intellectuals. Knowledge, Power and Colonial Culture in Mexico and the Andes*, eds. Ramos and Yannakakis (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014), 1-17.

<sup>131</sup> See Ángel Rama, *La ciudad letrada*; pról., Hugo Archugar (Montevideo: Editorial Arca, 1998).

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

writing systems. By following the guidelines that praise the term “lettered” non-western or non-westernized societies, including the social strata that these societies supported or created to keep and record their historical records are excluded.<sup>133</sup> Thus, the use of the term “lettered,” or other similar terms, for the study of indigenous intellectuals is, by its own definition, exclusive and limiting, and this is a reason why I personally do not consider the use of the term “lettered” as synonymous with the term “indigenous intellectuals” in this study.

Some scholars prefer to use the term “lettered” instead of the word “intellectual” because this last term, they argue, has a “westernized” connotation that the definition itself implies. Based on this statement, there are several series of early essays and scholarly works that argue against the use of the term “intellectual” to refer to any indigenous group before the European colonization of the Americas. The refusal of using the term “intellectual” to refer to specific groups in Mesoamerica and post conquest-Latin America in general are based on the assumption that the term “intellectual” follows an immobile character that only considers the social characteristics of European and/or western or westernized societies. Another argument against the use of this term derives from the fact that the term “intellectual” took shape, as we have discussed above, in nineteenth-century France, therefore some have argued that the term’s meaning and its conceptual implications seem to be anachronistic. This is one of the main arguments that scholarly detractors have used to deny the existence of intellectuals in the early Americas, especially in Mesoamerica, denying the existence of these indigenous intellectuals among the peoples of colonial Mexico and the Andes.

In following this argument, there are some modern scholars who defend their position by arguing that it is inaccurate to talk about intellectuals and intellectuality in the early Americas. One of these authors is Oscar Mazín<sup>134</sup> who argues that it is imprecise to state that an “intellectual” elite existed during the period of the Spanish regime in the Americas. Mazín denied the existence of intellectuals in New Spain due to the fact that he argues that the division of systematic knowledge as it is currently conceived by scholars was inexistent. According to this hypothesis, this division of the production of knowledge was eventually substituted and evolved into its specialization by following the division of areas of knowledge created during the period of the European enlightenment during the eighteenth century.

Mazín also proposed to eliminate the term “intellectual” and substitute it by the term *gente de saber* to refer to people who were considered as “lettered.” According to Mazín, the term *gente de saber* applies to the contact that peoples in the Americas had with the knowledge produced through the European influence of the Enlightenment. This knowledge included the

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<sup>133</sup> For a brief and summarized discussion about this topic and the way American ethnohistorians have approached this subject, see the introduction to the issue on *Graphic Pluralism: Native American Systems of Inscription and the Colonial Situation*, *Ethnohistory* 57, Number 1 (Winter 2010): 1-9.

<sup>134</sup> Oscar Mazarín, “Gente de saberes en los virreinos de Hispanoamérica (siglos XVI a XVIII),” in *Historia de los intelectuales en América Latina. La ciudad letrada de la conquista al modernismo*, ed. Carlos Altamirano (Argentina-España: Katz Editores, 2008), 53-78.

practice of classical letters, classical languages, and in the particular case of the New Spain, alphabetic writing in indigenous languages.

Mazín argued that while the term “*letrados*” could also seem appropriate to describe the educated elites that emerged in New Spain, the reality was that this term was used to describe all those who “*ejercían las letras*” during the first centuries of the Spanish colonization. Nevertheless, after the 18th century the word became limited to only refer to those who practiced Law and other types of disciplines that Americans, Indigenous Peoples or *mestizos*, learned directly from the European colonizers. The historical limitation and reason that Mazín found in the colonial American context is the fact that colonial power and institutional authority did not flourish in an independent way in the Americas, since the institutions that existed in New Spain lacked autonomy. In other words, Mazín advocated for the idea that scholarly institutions in Spanish America merely represented the leading intellectual institutions that existed in Europe, specifically those in Spain. The article written by Mazín seems to be one of the more eloquent works that opposes the use of the term intellectual to the educated elites that existed in the territory of New Spain, and it is included in this review in order to consider a different perspective and definition of the term “intellectual.”

In opposition to Mazín’s hypothesis, this study reaffirms the existence of intellectual elites in early America, specifically in the area of Mesoamerica and the Andes. As this present study argues, both of these regions experienced the development of an early indigenous intellectual tradition. Therefore, I also argue that this indigenous intellectual tradition continued after the Spanish conquest in Mexico, the area where this study focuses, and persisted during the colonial period and even continued after Mexico declared its independence from Spain in 1820. The existence of this intellectual tradition, originated and created from the core belief systems of the indigenous societies, continued in the tumultuous and conflictive nineteenth century and the available documentation will demonstrate that this tradition lasted even after the period of the Mexican Revolution of 1910.

By considering this argument about the longevity and validity of the existence of an indigenous intellectual tradition in Mexico it is important to review its main historical characteristics by tracing it from its origins in pre-conquest Mesoamerica.

## **2.6 “The Rupture Generation:” On Generation Units and Ethnic Bonds**

The selection of a relatively reduced number of Nahua intellectuals for this particular study is based on two elemental criteria: first, available documentation; and second, the identification of

a group of individuals who shared similar characteristics based on their common historical experiences.<sup>135</sup>

With the purpose of rigorously approaching a group that I insist in defining as the “rupture generation” in indigenous intellectualism in New Spain and early national Mexico, it is necessary to define a few concepts in which this study is based upon. One of these ideas is the definitions of “group” and “generation.” This is a vital step for the purpose of this study since the word “group” does not necessary imply homogeneity in this particular case study, but the contrary. In the specific case of the Nahua intellectuals, the term “group” should implicate ideas associated with collective historical experiences shared by the members of this group. Even though the definition of such a term is essential, it is also primordial that its definition recognizes also a level of individuality among its members. In the first instance, a group can be defined as:

1. Two or more people who share a common social identification of themselves, or, [...] perceive themselves to be members of the same social category.
2. A collection of individuals whose existence as a collective is rewarding to the individuals.
3. A set of individuals who share a common fate, that is, who are interdependent in the sense that an event which effects one member is likely to affect all.
4. Two or more persons who are interacting with one another in such manner that each person influences and is influenced by the other person.”<sup>136</sup>

Based on this outline, I selected these intellectuals out of a large list of names of Indigenous Peoples for specific reasons. As I continuously have emphasized, these Nahua intellectuals were the last generation of Indigenous Peoples who gained access to higher education by attending racially segregated or semi-segregated Spanish colonial educational institutions; consequently, this group of intellectuals formed the last generation of students whom the colonial system labeled as *indios*. Thus, this group of intellectuals consciously remained and self defined themselves as members of a specific group. The process of gaining access to a higher education sphere or the political arena provided them with the elements that made them aware of their social condition, both as individuals and as members of a larger community, which relied on a series of shared historical experiences. These elements also contributed to make these intellectuals aware of their ethnicity as an element of political advancement for their community.<sup>137</sup> Consequently, these Nahua intellectuals not only encountered, but also documented the transition that they experienced from living under a colonial regime, to residing into a new political order based on political liberalism.

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<sup>135</sup> Bertrand M. Roehner and Leonard J. Rahilly, *Separatism and Integration: A Study in Analytical History* (Boston: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2002), 74-195.

<sup>136</sup> Brian Mullen and George R. Goethals, eds., *Theories of Group Behavior* (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1987), 2.

<sup>137</sup> Bill Ashcroft, et al., *Key Concepts of Post Colonialist Studies*, 83.

In terms of the definition of a “generation,” according to basic sociology, there are several concepts that try to define the term “generation,” as well as their multiple meanings. Nevertheless, and according to the case in question, there are at least four major semantic meanings for this term:

1. Generation as a principle of kinship descent.
2. Generation as a cohort.
3. Generation as a life stage.
4. Generation as a historical period.<sup>138</sup>

By considering the historical elements of the Nahua intellectuals’ works analyzed in this study, the sociological principle of cohort as a social effect, which is broadly defined as “[...a group or members who] in one generation react the same way, but differently from members of another. So when responses to the same phenomenon are similar within, but different between generations, this is cohort effect.”<sup>139</sup> In this sense, the “cohort effect” may be explained as the way a group of individuals experience specific historical events together under similar circumstances closely related with the access that these individuals had to wealth and power. This closeness or distance from having access to social justice, social mobility, education, and other collective rights deeply influenced the way these individuals socialize, relate and/or antagonize with other social spheres that are either closer or farthest from their own collective benefits or social privileges. Consequently, this cohort effect is not necessarily related specifically to age, but rather to an intricate series of factors that conceptualize the existence of these groups as heterogeneous and dynamic constructions.

In this sense, this study will follow the theoretical proposal made by Karl Mannheim about his definition of generation as a historical construction rather than a biological-lineal definition commonly used by natural sciences. Mannheim proposed the use of the term “generation units” instead of the term “generation” in order to identify specific groups of individuals who share among them common interests and social experiences. The use of the term “generation units” allows us to understand the complexity in which different groups of individuals converge in one historical moment and geographical space.<sup>140</sup> Thus, the basic guidelines provided by Mannheim in order to conceptualize the generation units are:

1. A generation unit is made of by a concrete group, the union of a number of individuals, through natural developed or consciously willed ties.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> David I. Kertzer, “Generation as a Sociological Problem,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 9 (1983): 125-149, 126.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, 128.

<sup>140</sup> Karl Mannheim, “The Problem of Generation,” in *Collected Works. Essays on Sociology and Social Psychology*, ed. Paul Kecskemeti (London: Routledge, 1952), 276-322.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 282.

2. This group of individuals shared a common location in to specific historical and social processes. This group is determined by the way these individuals approach to determine social factors, approach to material of action and they way they assimilate it and apply it.<sup>142</sup>
3. The members of a specific generation unit must share similarities in their geographical location. This element positions them to experience similar events and data as their counterparts. The members of this generation units must have born in the same cultural and historical region, as well as to share a similar social strata within the society in which they lived.<sup>143</sup>
4. The members of this group willingly participate in the common destiny of the historical and social unit they belong.
5. The members of this generation unit experience the same concrete problems within a similar period of time, thus, they had a similar perception toward collective issues.<sup>144</sup>
6. The members of this generation find cohesion through their membership or sense of belonging to this specific group based on both their ethnic similarities and circumstances determined by the geographical region where they reside.
7. In the case of generation units of intellectuals, it is also possible to consider that the members of this specific unit develop their own entelechy, but not necessarily.

The use of generation units, as Mannheim manifested, allows this study to consider that within any generation -considering this term as a biological temporary consequence- there can exist a number of differentiated antagonistic units that converge within the same historical and geographical space.

Thus, the concepts of “generation units” defined under historical terms and based on the principles of a cohort are understood as “[...] a set of individuals who pass some crucial state at approximately the same time, like marriage, first employment, [etc.]”<sup>145</sup> Even though birth or social mobility are notoriously considered as a cohort in sociological studies, in historical disciplines a cohort remains mostly defined by collective experiences and the reactions or behaviors that one selected group or groups experience and perform towards these occurrences. These elements make of the concept of generation as a cohort and its members as a unique social and historical phenomenon that also reinforce a bond among those who experience similar events; that is to say, among the members of this generation. Consequently, and based on the premises postulated by Mannheim, these specific historical and social experiences profoundly

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<sup>142</sup> Ibid., 289.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 303.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., 304.

<sup>145</sup> Gosta Carlsson and Katarina Karlsson, “Age, Cohorts and the Generation of Generations,” *American Sociological Review* 35, Number 4 (1970):710–718.

influenced certain sectors of a specific population, regardless of the size or number of individuals who conform a “generation unit.”

In this sense, the theoretical approach provided by José Ortega y Gasset (1883-1955), complements the historical guidelines exposed by Mannheim, which contribute to the understanding of the generational experiences from a historical perspective that goes beyond the kinship conceptualization of the term generation.<sup>146</sup> According to Ortega y Gasset, generations became influenced by their intellectual antecessors and are determined to act according to their agency:

Life, then, for each generation, is a task in two dimensions, one of which consists in the reception, through the agency of the previous generation, of what has had life already, e. g., ideas, values, institutions and so on, while the other is the liberation of the creative genius inherent in the generation concern. The attitude of the generation cannot be the same towards its own active agency as towards it has received from without. What has been done by others, that is, executed and perfected in the sense of being completed, reaches us with peculiar unction attached to it: it seems consecrated, and in view of the fact that we have not ourselves assisted in its construction, we tend to believe that is the work of no one in particular, even that it is reality itself.<sup>147</sup>

In this sense, the historical meaning and conceptualization based on the basic premises exposed by Mannheim and Ortega y Gasset are closely related to the history of ideas also expressed in the studies of Quentin Skinner in relation with the development of intellectualism, or as Mannheim called it, *entelechy*.<sup>148</sup>

Consequently, the term “generation unit” in the case of this particular study, has been used as an element to identify one specific group within a society that had experienced a series of changes that represent a rupture or deep transformation in the political, social order or *status quo*.<sup>149</sup> In these cases, political ideas, historical experiences, as well as agency, play an important role in defining a generation unit and in understanding the way this said group historically act within its own context and reality.<sup>150</sup> In this sense, the concept of generation unit must not be

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<sup>146</sup> See José Ortega y Gasset, *The Modern Theme* (New York: Harper & Row, 1961).

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 16-17.

<sup>148</sup> See Quentin Skinner, “Conclusion,” in *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought. Volume II: The Age of Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 348-358.

<sup>149</sup> This is interesting to see in studies focused on the transformation of the Soviet system. See Mark R Kissinger, “In Search of Generations in Soviet Politics,” *World Politics* 38, Number 2 (1986): 288–314.

<sup>150</sup> Also in the case of studying intellectualism in China, see Nora Sausmikat, “Generations, Legitimacy, and Political Ideas in China: The End of Polarization or the End of Ideology?,” *Asian Survey* 43, Number 2 (2003): 352–84.

attached to a lineal, progressive or evolutionary character since this construction follows historical patterns of multilineal continuities, characterized by social heterogeneity.

This major element is the recognition or construction of shared experiences that self defined these Nahua intellectuals as members of a specific group, generation or units as we just reviewed, outside the “dominant group,” or in counter position with the establishment.<sup>151</sup> This can be defined as ethnicity. Thus, ethnicity not only defined the persona of each one of the Nahua intellectuals referred to in this study, but it also delineates a sense of belonging that goes beyond the definition of social class or the Spanish colonial *casta* to which these Nahua intellectuals were assigned. Nahua intellectuals shared this social phenomenon as a result of common experiences from both the political and cultural transition that Indigenous Peoples of New Spain went through in the early years of the nineteenth century.

In this sense, R. A. Schermerhorn offered a definition of ethnicity that provides us with some basic elements to understand this phenomenon in the case of these Nahua intellectuals:

An ethnic groups is [a] collectivity within a larger society having a real or putative common ancestry (that is, memories of a shared historical past whether of origins or historical experiences such as colonization, immigration, invasion or slavery); a shared consciousness of a separate, named, group of identity; and cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood.<sup>152</sup>

This collective ethnic identity relies on the individuals’ recognition about their collective historical and social experiences. Frequently, the construction of the ethnic identity, as it is in the case of these Nahua intellectuals, remained based on the perception of a common ancestry, mythical, imaginary and/or historical. It is important to refer to the ethnic identity of these Nahua intellectuals since it persisted beyond “cultural assimilation” and centuries of living under the colonial regime.

Thus, the conscious recognition of their ethnicity at a time of drastic social and political transformations made of these Nahua intellectuals an interesting case of study, especially since this phenomenon will not be found in later intellectuals from indigenous backgrounds. This is the case of Benito Juarez (Oaxaca, 1806-1872), or Ignacio Manuel Altamirano (Guerrero, 1834-1893), to name a few, for whom the nineteenth-century political liberalism of the post independence period contributed to define the ethnicity of these authors as separated from their original indigenous backgrounds, making of them members of another generation unit.

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<sup>151</sup> See, Richard A. Schermerhorn, *Comparative Ethnic Relation: A Framework for Theory Research* (New York: Random House, 1970), 12-13.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.



Without a doubt, during the eighteenth century there remained an important number of indigenous students who had access to higher education through attending educational institutions. In this sense, both the *Colegio de San Gregorio* and the *Academia de San Carlos* remained the higher educational institutions that received an overwhelming number of indigenous students who came from all over the territories of New Spain. Also, in these institutions being an “*indio*” student remained a necessity for admission, which provided with a sense of collective identity to their indigenous students that was not promoted by other schools, in which being an “*indio*” did not have the same importance for the admission criteria due to diverse reasons.

This ethnic identity remains present in the documentation that these Nahua intellectuals wrote, in combination to their general sense of being subordinated and underrepresented by the political system that came after the Independence of Mexico. These are a few of the social characteristics that define this group as a minority among the rest of the establishment or the so-called “dominant group.” In this sense, the term minority must be understood as a social group, among many others, whose interests are underrepresented by the prevalent political system, or whose interests and needs are subordinated to the groups in power, excluding them from participating in the process of decision making that concerned the group to which these “minorities” belonged. In this sense, the term minority is not used in this study as a demographic characteristic, but rather to measure the political representation of a very specific group after the second decade of the nineteenth-century in Mexico. This situation makes of these Nahua intellectuals a reduced but interesting sample for the study of intellectuality among Indigenous Peoples in the capital of New Spain.

These intellectuals shared either a common ethnicity or ethnic background. Since ethnicity is a cultural and personal construction of individual identity, it may not be confused or used as a synonym for the concept of *casta*. This is an important feature to consider, especially in understanding the case of Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, whose biographical data will be reviewed later, who belonged to the *castizo* caste, but who identified himself as Indigenous instead. Based on this premise, the documentation reviewed for the purpose of this study reveals that the above mentioned Nahua intellectuals proudly assumed themselves to be either Nahuas, or in their own words “*mexicanos*,” a term frequently used in New Spain to refer to Indigenous Peoples with Nahua origins and/or indigenous population from Mexico City, or as *indios*. Based on these characteristics, the documentation reviewed in the next section of this study remains diverse. Thus, the primary sources collected for this study range from personal letters to political pamphlets, bureaucratic material, notary accounts, without leaving aside artistic creations.

In order to understand both the life and work of these intellectuals, I consider it also pertinent to include brief biographical sketches of information about the Nahua intellectuals who are the focus of this study. Despite the fact that the biographical historical genre is not the

purpose of this study, it is indispensable for the purpose of this work in order to understand the basic context and information about these intellectuals.

## **2.7 Recent Historiography on Indigenous Intellectuals in Colonial and Nineteenth-Century Mexico**

Currently there are several studies that focus particularly on the study and analysis of indigenous intellectualism, especially several studies that have centered on the analysis of indigenous intellectualism in Mexico and the Andean region after the Spanish conquest. In general, there is a consensus in these studies about indigenous intellectualism during the early colonial period that proposes that the conquest, due to its violent nature, disturbed the intellectual tradition that already existed in the Americas before the contact with the European conquistadors. Nevertheless, all these studies argue that this tradition continued during colonial times.

In New Spain, the main characteristics of indigenous intellectualism obeyed the pre-existing cultural and geographical colonialist character where the different indigenous intellectual traditions developed (i.e. the Nahua, Mixtec, Zapotec, and Maya cultural regions). Most of the scholars interested in the study of indigenous intellectualism agree upon the existence of an indigenous intellectual tradition in New Spain, and particularly a vibrant one in the capital of the colony, where this indigenous intellectual tradition thrived in religious enclosures established by different religious orders, such as the Franciscans, Dominicans, and the Jesuits.

The idea that Mesoamerica produced specialized elite “intellectuals” is not a new idea at all. Angel Rama (1926-1983) in his work entitled *La ciudad letrada* already suggested the existence of indigenous intellectual groups in the Americas previous to the European conquest. The basis of Angel Rama’s work focused on noticing the existence or influence that indigenous intellectualism had on the shaping of Latin American intellectualism and a Latin American mentality, even though Rama’s work centered mostly on the analysis of colonial urban centers.<sup>153</sup>

Georges Baudot (1935-2002), much earlier in his work *Las letras precolombinas*<sup>154</sup> also emphasized the fact that intellectualism among Mesoamerican societies was prevalent among the members of the aristocracy. In a similar way, more recently Patrick Johansson and Miguel Pastrana, in their respective works,<sup>155</sup> argued for the conceptualization of indigenous intellectualism through the analysis of the content of different Nahua sources from pre-conquest times, and an examination of the function that the content of these sources played even after the Spanish conquest and the establishment of colonialism in Mexico. In this sense, both authors

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<sup>153</sup> See Angel Rama, *La ciudad letrada* (Montevideo: Arca, 1998).

<sup>154</sup> Georges Baudot, *Las letras precolombinas* (México: Siglo XXI Editores, 1979), 291.

<sup>155</sup> See Patrick Johansson, *La palabra, la imagen y el manuscrito*.

advocate for the analysis of an intellectual Nahua tradition through the perspective of a *longue durée* analysis of Nahua sources and the impact of the ideas that people such as the *tlamatinime* (or those who were in charge of preserving the collective memory of the Nahua people) were able to transmit their knowledge to a generation of Nahuas that were educated under the tutelage of the diverse Catholic religious orders established in the New Spain.

On the other side, studies made by Margarita Menegus and Rodolfo Aguirre<sup>156</sup> about the indigenous intellectuals who were educated under sponsorship of the Spanish authorities, both the civil and religious ones, show the importance that the *Colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco* had in the shaping of the first generation of indigenous intellectuals under the Spanish regime following them until the final decadence of the college. At this point, Menegus and Aguirre argue that the intellectual activity among indigenous intellectuals continued in an institutionalized way even after the decline of the *Colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco*, since the *Real y Pontificia Universidad de México* also opened its doors to the education of indigenous students and did not have any racial restrictions for access to members of different *castas* in New Spain. In their book entitled *Los indios, el sacerdocio y la Universidad en Nueva España, siglos XVI-XVIII*,<sup>157</sup> Menegus and Aguirre also point out how the *Colegio de Tlatelolco* declined mostly due to the fact that the main purpose of the existence of the *Colegio* was to prepare Indigenous People for the creation of an indigenous clergy. This reason, they argued, was the cause of the decadence of the college after 1560 since the educational policy of the Spanish colony gradually changed and the Crown and Church reconsidered the creation of an indigenous clergy, with bitter arguments over this issue between and among both the religious and civil authorities. Nevertheless, almost at the same time, the opening of the *Real y Pontificia Universidad de México* represented another opportunity for the indigenous elites, since this university accepted students from all of New Spain, which quickly made this institution into a place where students from diverse *castas* and from different backgrounds converged.

The authors of this book state that without a doubt, studying at the University of Mexico was an enriching experience for all the students, but especially for those indigenous ones, who found the ability to engage in intellectual exchange with other indigenous pupils from different regions from throughout New Spain. This opportunity of coexisting with a diverse population of university students inspired in the indigenous pupils an ambition as a group to replace the “*letrados criollos*” from their positions of privilege that they occupied within the colonial system. By recognizing themselves as “*indios letrados*” the indigenous students at the *Universidad de Mexico* or at another institution not only re-appropriated their identity, diversified their intellectual tasks as well as their economic activities, but most importantly, their

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<sup>156</sup> Margarita Menegus Bornemann, “El colegio de San Carlos Borromeo: Un proyecto para la creación del clero indígena en el siglo XVIII,” in *Educación, universidad y sociedad: El vínculo crítico*, ed. Hugo Casanova and Claudio Lozano (Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, 2004), 289-301.

<sup>157</sup> Margarita Menegus Bornemann and Rodolfo Aguirre, *Los indios, el sacerdocio y la Universidad en Nueva España*.

educational stay in the capital of New Spain and their studying in a prestigious university, made the indigenous students self-aware about the social influence that they could have if they were able to gain an influential position in the colony. Nevertheless, the authors argue that this did not represent a threat against the establishment of the colony insomuch as the number of privileged indigenous students who had access to be educated at the university was minimal in comparison to the total indigenous population in New Spain. Additionally, both Menegus and Aguirre emphasized the fact that for the members of the indigenous elites in the capital of New Spain it was indispensable that their heirs had access to higher education, and not only simple access to the “*primeras letras*” which many caciques considered as insufficient.

In his prolific work referring to the study of indigenous intellectuals in colonial Mexico, David Tavárez is one of the scholars who supports the importance and analysis of the characteristics of indigenous intellectualism, with a special comparative emphasis on two regions of New Spain: Oaxaca and central Mexico.<sup>158</sup> In his works, David Tavárez explores the intellectual expressions materialized by indigenous intellectuals during the colonial era, emphasizing their role as translators, or copyists, and interpreters of religious documents written originally in Latin or Spanish and transcribed into indigenous languages by using the alphabet. Tavárez’ interest in studying these documents is to reveal and evaluate the importance that these indigenous intellectuals had during the colonial period, by emphasizing the fact that these intellectuals did not simply transcribe and translate these documents. Tavárez argues that by doing these activities these indigenous intellectuals revealed their knowledge of Christianity, and through their Mesoamerican world-view, they made their own interpretations about western knowledge. According to Tavárez, the access that these intellectual had to literacy not only helped them to write down their own knowledge, but it also aided them in their own interpretation about religious texts and political situations, which provided them an intellectual independence that was utilized in their favor in order to preserve their socially privileged positions within the colonial establishment.

A critical revision about the importance that indigenous intellectuals had in the collaboration of the colonial regime established in New Spain is also conducted by Silver Moon in her dissertation, entitled *The Imperial College of Tlatelolco and the Emergence of a New Nahua Intellectual Elite in New Spain (1500-1760)*.<sup>159</sup> In this work, Moon critically reviewed the relationship that Fray Bernardino de Sahagún had with some of the pupils of the *Colegio de*

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<sup>158</sup> David Tavárez, “Nahua Intellectuals, Franciscan Scholars,” “Letras clandestinas, textos tolerados. Colaboraciones lícitas: la producción textual de los intelectuales nahuas y zapotecos en el siglo XVI,” in *Elites intelectuales y modelos colectivos. Mundo ibérico (siglos XVI-XIX)*, eds. Mónica Quijada and Jesús Bustamante, (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas- Instituto de Historia de América, 2002), 59-82. From the same author, see “La idolatría letrada; un análisis comparativo de textos clandestinos rituales y devocionales en comunidades nahuas y zapotecas, 1613-1654,” *Historia Mexicana* 49, Núm. 2 (octubre-diciembre, 1999): 197-252.

<sup>159</sup> Silver Moon, “The Imperial College of Tlatelolco,” 359.

*Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco*, in Mexico City, who collaborated with him in the production of the *Historia General de las Cosas de la Nueva España*. The central hypothesis in her work is to focus on the role that former students of the *Colegio de Tlatelolco* had in the process of writing the *Historia General* with Fray Bernardino de Sahagún. According to the author, the collaboration that Nahua intellectuals had in the process of co-authoring the work with Sahagún had been diminished by many previous scholars, who are mostly interested in what is mostly considered as Sahagún's independent work. This dissertation provides the names and backgrounds of most of the Nahua intellectuals who collaborated with Sahagún in his research on the Nahua culture. The second major contribution of this dissertation is the examination that the author did about the career of the Nahua students and how the education at the *Colegio de Tlatelolco* determined their social roles, indigenous spaces and their agendas, both inside and outside of the college. Also, this study demonstrates that the different backgrounds of these Nahua intellectuals deeply influenced the content of the *Historia General*, from its content, its historical perspective, the selection of topics treated and the information included in this volume.

Another important contribution about the study of indigenous intellectuals is the work of Kelly S. McDonough. Both in her dissertation<sup>160</sup> and later on in her published book entitled *The Learned Ones. Nahua Intellectuals in Postconquest Mexico*<sup>161</sup> she focused on the study of Nahua intellectualism, and considers that intellectual production among the Nahuas started long before the Spanish conquest, and that it continued until today. McDonough considers that the vibrant intellectual tradition among Nahua people was revitalized and transformed after the Spanish conquest due to the deep engagement that some Nahua intellectuals had with the written word. As she argues, the elaboration, production and interpretation of wisdom, as well as cultural, historical and political knowledge through writing defines the vitality and validity of these Nahua intellectuals over time. Based on this premise, McDonough reconstructs and traces the intellectual activity of diverse characters that better represent the diverse historical contexts through which Nahua intellectuals transitioned throughout the history of Mexico. Thus, McDonough revisited the works of people from different historical periods by starting with Antonio del Rincón, a Nahua grammarian educated under the sponsorship of the Franciscans during the sixteenth century; then on to reviewing the work of Faustino Chimalpopoca, a politician and professor during the period of the Second Mexican Empire in nineteenth-century Mexico; and ending with the review of the work made by Ildefonso Maya Hernández, a modern day Nahua educator, playwright, artist and activist. McDonough's analysis of the intellectual work produced by different Nahua intellectuals aims to demonstrate their dynamism by being able to adapt themselves to their historical circumstances in order to preserve their knowledge and traditions, which includes their ability to speak other languages besides their maternal one, and being able to write either in Spanish or in other languages. According to the author, it was

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<sup>160</sup> Kelly S. McDonough, "Indigenous Experience in Mexico: Readings in the Nahua Intellectual Tradition" (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 2010).

<sup>161</sup> See Kelly S. McDonough, *The Learned Ones. Nahua Intellectuals in Postconquest Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014).

indeed this dynamism and the ability that these Nahua intellectuals had to adapt themselves to harsh conditions that made of this intellectual tradition something that still prevails among Nahua communities. The collaboration of two Nahua intellectuals in this book demonstrates the capacity of analysis and critical thinking that they had towards their own intellectual tradition.

Most recently, Gabriela Ramos and Yana Yannakakis in their 2014 work entitled *Indigenous Intellectuals: Knowledge, Power, and Colonial Culture in Mexico and the Andes*, offered a more broadly focused view about indigenous intellectualism in some regions of Latin America, essentially the Andean region and New Spain, by comparing and contrasting the patterns and characteristics that intellectual development among Indigenous Peoples experienced after the Spanish conquest and during the first centuries of colonization in the said regions.<sup>162</sup> The contribution made by the authors who collaborate in this book offers a diversity of examples, cases and different interests that motivated indigenous intellectuals in the Spanish Americas to adopt literacy in order to continue with their intellectual production. By considering that the characteristics of the Spanish colonies varied from region to region and were based on the characteristics of the various pre-conquest societies, the authors who collaborate in this volume also present the features that indigenous intellectuals shared independently of their geographical and social differences, and illustrate how their positions as intellectuals allowed them to preserve their privileges within the colonial establishment. Since the geographical approach in this book is broad, the authors' and their collaborators definition of "indigenous intellectuals" apparently views in terms of equality that these Indigenous intellectuals were simply a type of *indios letrados*, which included the entire scope of all indigenous scholars, poets, fiscals, sacristans, scribes, and caciques. According to the contents of the various essays in this book, the main characteristic that these intellectuals shared in spite of their diverse background is the positions that they held as cultural mediators between the colonial reality and the indigenous one. This work again emphasizes the impact that literacy had in the shaping of indigenous intellectual communities. Nevertheless, it is important to clarify that the contributors of this book stated that the indigenous intellectual tradition did not start with the adoption and learning of the alphabet after the process of the European colonization, instead, the collaborators agree that literacy both after and during colonial times demonstrated that indigenous societies in the Americas were well familiarized with literacy and the Mesoamerican practice of graphic pluralism.

Nevertheless, studies of indigenous intellectualism are not reduced mainly to the Mesoamerican and Andean traditions. The studies conducted on this topic among North American indigenous communities, however, also have the tendency to focus on indigenous intellectuals who existed during the last decades of the nineteenth century and currently in North America. This is probably due to some basic shared characteristics in the history experienced by

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<sup>162</sup> See Gabriela Ramos and Yana Yannakakis, *Indigenous Intellectuals: Knowledge, Power, and Colonial Culture in Mexico and the Andes* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014).

both the United States and the Native American population during this period of time: particularly with the removal policies issued by the government of the United States during the nineteenth century which threatened and endangered the survival of several Native American groups, as well as the shaping of American nationalism, and the adoption of literacy among some Native American groups all of which are highly considered by scholars who study Native American intellectualism.

Consequently, one of the works written on this topic is the study of James W. Parins, *Literacy and Intellectual Life in the Cherokee Nation, 1820-1906*,<sup>163</sup> which offered a perspective about the intellectual independence that the Cherokee Nation obtained not only through literacy and the ability that some Cherokees had to develop a means of writing and translating from English into Cherokee, but also by the creation of their own alphabet. The creation of the Cherokee syllabary by Sequoyah around 1820 provided the Cherokee people not only intellectual independence, but it also allowed them to have more control over their affairs and to have access to spheres of power that were mostly restricted to Anglo-Saxons. The use of the syllabary also not only allowed the Cherokee people to express their ideas in their own language, but also to record sacred texts which helped them to preserve their heritage, religion and social cohesion during the harsh periods of Cherokee history.

These studies on indigenous intellectuals which have recently flourished have also specially focused on the role that modern day indigenous intellectuals had in countries such as Ecuador, Peru, Colombia and Bolivia. In most of these studies, the research of different scholars focuses on the importance and impact that indigenous intellectuals had in their communities, mostly as activists, political leaders and cultural figures. However, the focus on this research is not limited solely to those topics since these modern intellectuals centered their efforts on dealing with current racism, discrimination, education, bilingualism, and advancing their struggle for Indigenous Peoples' incorporation as participants in modern democracy by speaking out against genocide and violence, as well as trying to focus their work on gender issues, or towards strengthening the Pan-Indigenous movement in the Americas.<sup>164</sup>

In the case of Mexico, there is an increasing interest from scholars of diverse disciplines on analyzing the process of empowerment that Indigenous People have acquired throughout history, and their specific struggles for being adequately represented by the corresponding authorities before official institutions in charge of "indigenous development." The works of Natividad Gutiérrez Chong and Gloria Alicia Caudillo are some of the examples that illustrate the interest that exists among scholars for having and constructing a scholarly approach to

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<sup>163</sup> James W. Parins, *Literacy and Intellectual life in the Cherokee Nation, 1820-1906* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013), 276.

<sup>164</sup> Martina Masaquiza and Pakal B'alam, "A Pan-Indigenous Vision of Indigenous Studies," *Indigenous Nations Studies Journal* 1, No. 1 (Spring 2000): 3-9, 6.

indigenous intellectualism in modern-day Mexico. The main topics analyzed in these types of studies are the construction of indigenous identities in Mexico and its contrast with the policy of unilateral nationalism constantly promoted through public education and other means in modern states.<sup>165</sup>

However, even considering the recent interest of academia to focus on the study and analysis of indigenous intellectualism in the Americas, it is evident that the study of indigenous intellectuals in nineteenth-century Mexico needs more specific attention. In her book, Kelly S. McDonough presents the historical analysis of the figure of one Nahua intellectual from nineteenth century Mexico: Faustino Chimalpopoca Galicia. Although she offers a very insightful glimpse about the historical situation that Nahua intellectuals experienced during the period of the French Intervention in Mexico, I consider important to analyze more in depth how other Nahua intellectuals experienced and lived some of the most turbulent periods in Mexican history, which is the nineteenth century and the fall of the colonial establishment.

In this sense, the present studies' review, reading and understanding of the primary sources written by Indigenous Peoples, both in the Nahuatl language and/or in Spanish, is fundamental to achieving a more complete understanding of the nineteenth-century Nahua Intellectual experience. Before further advancing the hypothesis about the longevity and validity of the existence of an indigenous intellectual tradition in Mexico it is important to review its main historical characteristics by tracing it through its origins in pre-conquest Mesoamerica.

## **2.8 Conclusion to Chapter 2**

As we have seen, the appropriate definition of the term “indigenous intellectuals” is still developing in the area of history for studying the intellectual phenomenon of Indigenous Peoples in early nineteenth-century Latin America.<sup>166</sup> In the case of the history of Mexico, there are a few scholarly works that have already pointed out the importance of considering several indigenous' works as intellectual production.<sup>167</sup> Moreover, the term “intellectual” has not been widely used in scholarly works pertaining to the study of indigenous intellectuals, which could derive from diverse factors, most probably because of the westernized connotations that the term “intellectual” holds, or the colonial perspective that prevailed in many current approaches to the topic. Nevertheless, as we have seen here, there are important advances towards the recognition and study of indigenous intellectuality which have contributed to the process of understanding this activity from a non-traditional perspective.

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<sup>165</sup> Norma Molina Fuentes, “Inserción laboral en espacios académicos de intelectuales indígenas en México. Exbecarios del International Fellowship Program,” *Revista Ibero-americana de Educação/Revista de Educación* 72, núm. 1(15/09/2016): 69-88, 72-74.

<sup>166</sup> See Ramos and Yanna Yannakakis, *Indigenous Intellectuals*.

<sup>167</sup> See Tavárez, “Nahua Intellectuals, Franciscan Scholars,” and McDonough, *The Learned Ones*.



Current scholars have studied indigenous intellectuality in Mexico, especially the intellectual work created by Indigenous Peoples during the colonial era in New Spain. Similarly, there is also a relatively new historiographical interest in analyzing Mesoamerican cultural production as intellectual works. Regardless of the important contribution that several of these studies have presented in the field of history, early nineteenth-century indigenous intellectuals still receive little attention from current scholars. This neglect of the study of nineteenth century indigenous intellectuality must be the result of several factors; one of them is probably because of the break or abrupt change in the political and social system that Mexican independence brought to the colonial system. Also, under the Spanish colonial regime in New Spain both ecclesiastical and educational institutions maintained a certain stability that allowed them to both produce and preserve an important quantity of documents that permits current scholars to successfully trace primary sources of their interest. On the contrary, nineteenth-century Mexico is characterized by the dramatic change that former colonial institutions endured, and consequently, the organization of their archives also suffered from the calamities of the early independence period. The constant changing social status of Indigenous Peoples during this period also represents a difficulty for the study of nineteenth-century intellectuals in Mexico due to the constant transformation of governmental institutions and their jurisdictions. Additionally, the convulsive period from 1820 to 1890, when several armed rebellions as well as foreign interventions occurred in Mexico, makes it further difficult for scholars to locate and uncover pertinent archival material for the study of the actions of Indigenous Peoples.

The particularities of this historical period are marked by structural changes that influenced both the intellectual and social shaping of the last generation of Indigenous People from Mexico City who had access to education under the Spanish colonial administration. That is why I propose to identify the members of this group as the “rupture generation.” As we have seen above, according to scholarly material regarding the study of generations, the transmission and reception of a group’s memory, identity, and knowledge from one to another determines the construction of a generation. This generation of early nineteenth-century Nahua intellectuals in Mexico City transformed the mechanisms of transmission and recollection of their collective memory, as well as the manner in which they performed and disseminated their collective knowledge, according to the social circumstances of their historical context.

Although there remained a continuous phenomenon of transmission and persistence of identity between the early nineteenth-century Nahua intellectuals and their eighteenth-century predecessors, the means of this transmission developed along substantially different forms.<sup>168</sup> This phenomenon of transformation resulted in changing the way that this early nineteenth-century generation worked, allowing them to serve as mediators between individuals from their social group while at the same time conserving their own collective memory as members of a

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<sup>168</sup> See Monika Palmberger, *How Generations Remember: Conflicting Histories and Shared Memories in Post-War Bosnia and Herzegovina* (Vienna-London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 6-40.

specific group. Consequently, early nineteenth-century indigenous intellectuals' works have their own characteristics due to their social background, level of education and accessibility to the means for expressing their ideas. Considering these previous elements, this present research will allow me to appreciate the phenomenon of indigenous intellectualism as a variable and heterogeneous activity that must be carefully studied according to their Mesoamerican traditions, as well as their own contemporary and regional aspects.

## **Chapter 3**

### **The Nahua Intellectual Tradition in Mesoamerica and New Spain**

#### **Introduction**

There is a long history of Indigenous Peoples' intellectual, which originates in the earliest societies in the area of Mesoamerica and continues to the present day. This intellectual tradition flourished among the diverse Mesoamerican societies and also continued during the centuries of the Spanish colonization. As I have mentioned before, this tradition cannot be considered as homogenous and lineal, but rather heterogeneous and variable according to the cultural and linguistic context of all Mesoamerican various peoples.

Based on this premise, it is important for this present study to consider that the Mesoamerican intellectual tradition continued under the period of the Spanish colonial system albeit under difficult and very particular circumstances. The characteristics of the works and production of indigenous intellectuals under the Spanish colonial regime also vary. Nevertheless, the characteristics that transformed and shaped the way indigenous intellectuals rechanneled their production in the colonial context also demonstrates a continuity with the Mesoamerican intellectual roots of their ancestors. Several secondary studies about this topic evidence the existence of Mesoamerican elements and ideas that prevailed in the intellectual work of Indigenous Peoples under the colonial system. The works produced by those Indigenous Peoples who had access to westernized knowledge during the period of the Spanish conquest resulted in an interesting process of synergy that permeated the way these individuals conducted themselves as members of a specific group. Nevertheless, another element that we must consider for the understanding of Indigenous Peoples' intellectuality is the social hierarchy and the position that these intellectuals held during the colonial era. In this light, the case of early nineteenth-century indigenous intellectuals does not represent the exception.

Indigenous intellectuals' works during the period of the Spanish colonization continued by following two separate paths of production: the non-institutionalized means of production, and institutionalized one. The non-institutionalized intellectual production remained active, but without the acceptance and sponsorship of the Spanish colonial authorities. There are several examples about this type of intellectual production and practices all over the Spanish colonized territories of Mesoamerica throughout the entire period of the colonial regime and up until the present. Diverse practices that kept a record, memory and performance of traditional pre-conquest knowledge did not cease to exist during the colonial era; but Spanish colonial authorities persecuted and condemned these cultural expressions. On the other hand, the institutionalized intellectual production of Indigenous Peoples enjoyed the colonial Spanish

authorities' acceptance by promoting the creation of this intellectual work through authorized cloisters for their own interests.

The creation of diverse colonial schools or *colegios* had the purpose of educating, indoctrinating, forcefully converting and instructing Indigenous Peoples into a westernized religion and economical activities. For instance, the first *colegio* founded in New Spain by the Spaniards was the *Colegio de San José de los Naturales*, founded in 1527, which had the purpose of teaching young Indigenous People the Spanish language, literacy and introducing these individuals into westernized skills and crafts. The main purpose of the *Colegio de San José* mainly focused on creating a solid group of indigenous craftsmen that could reproduce the religious European-styled sacred images for future religious buildings that otherwise Spanish authorities had to have brought directly from Europe at great expense, increasing the costs of the religious entrepreneurship.<sup>169</sup>

Colonial Spanish authorities founded diverse schools with the purpose of educating Indigenous Peoples in both Catholicism and Western values. This chapter will briefly explore the history and objectives of diverse Spanish institutions founded for the indigenous population in the capital of New Spain, Mexico City. By doing so we will be able to appreciate the way in which indigenous intellectuals continued and developed their cultural memory under the sponsorship of the colonial institutions during the early and final years of the Spanish colonial regime.

### 3.1 On Intellectualism in Mesoamerica

Mesoamerican societies have developed their intellectual activity over a long period, influenced by both social and geographic factors. Examples of this Mesoamerican intellectual activity are numerous and they include a wide variety of materials, knowledge and practices. In this regard, it is important to consider the social and geographic characteristics of Mesoamerican societies in order to define or determine the meaning of both the terms intellectual and what intellectual activity meant to the various cultures under study.

The previous chapter of this work established a few of the basic historical and theoretical concepts to necessarily define the role of intellectuals within Mesoamerican societies. The main objective of this current chapter is to examine a few of the general characteristics of intellectuals within these early Mesoamerican societies. The discussion below is based on the interpretation of the theoretical elements and historical evidence discussed in the previous chapter. As this

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<sup>169</sup> For more information about the education of indigenous artists under the *Colegio de San José de los Naturales*, see Penny C. Morriff, *La Casa del Deán. New World Imagery in a Sixteenth-Century Mexican Mural Cycle* (Austin: University of Texas at Austin Press, 2014); and also the work of Elena Fitzpatrick Sifford, "Hybridizing Iconography. The Miraculous Mass of St. Gregory Featherwork from the Colegio de San José de los Naturales in Mexico City," *ReVisioning: Critical Methods of Seeing Christianity in the History of Art*, eds. James Romaine and Linda Strafford (London: The Lutterworth Press, 2013), 133-142.

previous chapter argued, this intellectual tradition continued and survived the Spanish invasion and process of colonization. Similarly, all Mesoamerican societies experienced this phenomenon of intellectual survival during the Spanish invasion and long after the process of colonization began. Nevertheless, every Mesoamerican society experienced this process in different ways, which resulted in a wide diversity of indigenous intellectual traditions developing during the period of the Spanish colony.

The process of the Spanish colonization, due to the trauma it caused over the indigenous population and its grievous character, dismantled and damaged the institutional structure that supported indigenous intellectual life within these Mesoamerican societies. However, even considering the traumatic elements of social decomposition inherent in violent conquest, intellectual activity among Mesoamerican peoples survived the process of colonization. This process of survival can be traced by current historians through two basic means: by either studying the clandestine manifestations of surviving intellectuals; or through an examination of those indigenous intellectuals who adapted to and used the new colonial institutions. Nevertheless, as any other social phenomenon, the division between these two types of intellectual responses is not easily separated. As a matter of fact, and according to the sources, there are several examples that demonstrate that clandestine practices could also be performed by Indigenous People who mainly functioned within the colonial institutionalized realm. In this regard, it is important to avoid considering these two spheres as radically opposite or completely independent from each other.<sup>170</sup>

The pre-Hispanic Mesoamerican intellectuality that survived the Spanish colonization through non-colonial traditional manifestations did so by continuing certain prohibited practices outside the institutional realm enforced by the colonial authorities. These intellectual practices ranged from traditional non-Christian religious ceremonies performed in secrecy from the supervision of the colonial authorities, to popular medical practices which combined elements of both the European worldview and elements from traditional indigenous knowledge. Since these non-authorized manifestations happened outside the institutional and permissible fields approved by the colonizers, the performers of this knowledge became the object of persecution and punishment by the colonial authorities.

There is significant historical evidence, both archaeological and archival, about this phenomenon that occurred in secrecy. Currently, archaeological reports exist which have identified and discovered places that were used as sacred spaces by Indigenous Peoples during

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<sup>170</sup> For more about the clandestine intellectual material that Indigenous People produced during the period of the Spanish colonization in Mesoamerica, see: David Tavárez, "Zapotec Time, Alphabetic Writing and the Public Sphere," *Ethnohistory* 57, No. 1 (2000): 73-85. Also see, John Chuchiak, "The Images Speak: The Survival and Production of Hieroglyphic Codices and Their Use in Post-Conquest Maya Religion, 1580-1720," *Maya Religion and Practices: Processes of Change and Adaptation. Acta Mesoamericana* 14 (Saurwein Verlag: Markt Schwaben, 2004): 71-103.

and after the period of the Spanish conquest.<sup>171</sup> In these sacred ritual spaces, the members of the former Mesoamerican elites continued to perform ceremonies to their ancient deities that the Spanish authorities considered as prohibited due to their supposed “demonic” nature.

On the other hand, historical documentation concerning these traditional non-Christian practices exists in the surviving archives of the bishop’s courts known as the *Provisorato de Indios*, and sometimes called the “Indian Inquisition.”<sup>172</sup> This ecclesiastical institution remained in charge of the proper social and religious control over the Christianized indigenous communities after the founding of the Inquisition which did not have jurisdiction over Indigenous Peoples. It was these ecclesiastical courts, and not the Inquisition, that oversaw the social and religious behavior of the new converts in the Americas.

In this regard, these non-institutional activities led by Mesoamericans during the colony remained open acts of resistance against the process of subjugation exerted by the Spaniards on the Mesoamerican population. Due to its nature, this non-colonial sponsored intellectuality requires a particular perspective in the analysis of the social and cultural elements that triggered this phenomenon.

Another facet of this phenomenon of Mesoamerican intellectual continuity during the period of the Spanish colony occurred through the indigenous use of permitted institutions of colonial society. This institutionalized phenomenon was led by Mesoamerican individuals who looking to ensure their survival, decided to continue their intellectual tradition by learning and adapting the methods of the European colonizers, and by themselves becoming disciples of the colonizers within some colonial institutions.<sup>173</sup> Some of these indigenous individuals were members of the former elite Mesoamerican noble families, while others saw an opportunity to

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<sup>171</sup> See Stanislav Chládek, *Exploring Maya Ritual Caves: Dark Secrets from the Maya Underworld* (Maryland, Altamira Press, 2011). Also, James A. Brady and Keith Pruffer, edit., *In the Maw of the Earth Monster: Mesoamerican Ritual Cave Use* (Austin, University of Texas at Austin Press, 2005). Also, Fátima Tec Pol, “El uso de las cuevas mayas a través del tiempo,” in *Las cuevas de Yucatán. La región de Valladolid* (Montrauil, Ediciones Xibalba, 2001), 42-53; David Tavárez, *Nicachi Songs: Zapotec Ritual Texts and Postclassic Ritual Knowledge in Colonial Oaxaca*, FAMSI Report, 2005:

<http://www.famsi.org/reports/02050/02050Tavarez01.pdf>. For the reuse of ritual elements of Mesoamerican culture, see the example of the Purepecha in Verónica Hernández Díaz, “El reuso colonial de los *janamus* en Tzintzuntzan, Michoacán: Una exaltación del pasado prehispánico,” *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 32, número 96 (2010): 5-35. For other cases of religious resistance and synergy of Mesoamerican religion in the Maya area, see, John F. Chuchiak, “Colonial Maya Religion and the Spanish World: The Role of “Idolatry” *Axis Mundi: Journal of the Slovak Association for the Study of Religion* 9, no. 1 (2014): 47-66.

<sup>172</sup> Jorge E. Traslosheros, “Los indios, la Inquisición y los tribunales eclesiásticos ordinarios de la Nueva España. Definición Jurisdiccional y justo proceso, 1571-1750,” in Jorge Traslosheros y Ana de Zaballa Beascochea coord., *Los indios ante los foros de justicia religiosa en la Hispanoamérica virreinal* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 2010), 47-74; also see John F. Chuchiak, “The Indian Inquisition and the Extirpation of Idolatry: The Process of Punishment in the *Provisorato De Indios* of the Diocese of Yucatan, 1563 – 1812 (PhD. Diss. Tulane University, 2000).

<sup>173</sup> A clear example of this phenomenon is the case of the Maya Gaspar Antonio Chi, who worked as interpreter and scribe for the Maya people in the Colonial Spanish Courts. See Frans Blom, “Gaspar Antonio Chi, Interpreter,” *American Anthropologist*, 30, No. 2 (April-June, 1928): 250-262.

integrate themselves into a new social sphere that allowed them upward mobility. These individuals gained access to the European knowledge and way of thinking by participating primarily in colonial religious institutions. Within these institutions, a select group of these indigenous individuals learned new social skills and they quickly learned how to survive serving as mediators between the Spanish colonial society and their original communities.

In the case of the Nahua people from central Mexico, these colonial institutions that offered them a chance for survival were mainly educational compounds directly administrated by one or more of the Catholic religious orders. As we will see, the first of these institutions was *Colegio de San José de los Naturales* (run by Franciscans); the *Colegio Imperial de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco* (also run by Franciscans), later on, the *Colegio de San Juan de Letrán*, the *Colegio Seminario de San Gregorio* (run by the Jesuit order), and the major institutions of *the Real y Pontificia Universidad de México*, and finally the *Academia de San Carlos de las Nobles Artes de la Nueva España*.

The institutional pathway for survival that these indigenous individuals followed was not an easy task, since several of these institutions openly restricted the access of Indigenous Peoples. Nevertheless, even though the colonial institutions legally restricted the access of Nahua peoples to higher education, in reality it was not impossible for certain members to gain access to these institutions through various means. In this sense, it is not the intention of this chapter to make a summary or historical sketch about all of the educational institutions that existed in New Spain. The purpose of this chapter is rather to demonstrate that by these institutional means a significant number of Nahuas used these institutions to ensure that their indigenous intellectuality continued. Consequently, by analyzing this process this chapter does not pretend to minimize this social phenomenon –i.e. indigenous intellectuality- but rather to show that there is indeed a continuity of this indigenous tradition from pre-conquest Mesoamerican societies until the nineteenth century. In this regard, it is also important to note that regional variations existed in the way indigenous intellectuality developed and prospered institutionally. However, the main purpose of this research is to use the case study of Nahua intellectuals as an example of this Mesoamerican social experience of synergy during colonial times. Thus, it is important also to note up front that when I refer to the continuity of the indigenous intellectual tradition in the area of central Mexico I do not imply that the characteristics of this intellectuality did not become transformed by colonial contact. On the contrary, in order to ensure the continuance of Mesoamerican knowledge, these colonized indigenous intellectuals had to transform that knowledge and constantly recreate it.

### **3.1.1 The Mesoamerican Intellectual Tradition**

Mesoamerican societies such as the Maya, Nahua, Ñuu Dzaui (Mixtec), Bèñizàa (Zapotec), Mixe, Otomi, Purepecha, just to name a few, developed a complex social organization divided into diverse hierarchies. Intellectuals made up one of the social groups that formed part of these

complex societies' hierarchical organizations. Nevertheless, Mesoamerican intellectuals had specific obligations and duties that remained indispensable for the sake of their communities' survival.<sup>174</sup> Before the fifteenth century, Mesoamerican intellectual elites had already developed their own regional traditions based on their various historical backgrounds, geographical locations and social needs.<sup>175</sup> The knowledge produced by Mesoamerican intellectuals constantly transformed and changed according to the development of the social order within their communities. These Mesoamerican intellectuals mastered literacy, developed a complex graphic pluralism, and created a series of manifestations of knowledge, in various forms such as music, oratory, and other types of performances.<sup>176</sup>

In terms of social hierarchies, similarly to other regions of the world, the “fundamental” social group in Mesoamerican communities became constituted by a restricted sphere limited to those who held the disposition and exercise of power and leadership over other groups that constituted the rest of the society. This specific group counted upon one or more types of intellectuals in order to provide their strata of society with certain homogeneity and ideological stability within the community.<sup>177</sup> In this sense, it was the main duty of the intellectuals to create and re-create the collective knowledge and to keep the memory alive about the experiences that they lived within a specific collective group.

Mesoamerican intellectuals had diverse social responsibilities across all of these cultures. Among these duties included the preservation of knowledge, the communication of their expertise, the preservation and communication of the history of their community, as well as the reenacting of historical or divine events that influenced the sake of the community. Due to this level of specialization and the importance that they held among their society, Mesoamerican intellectuals became members of a separate class or social group that enjoyed a high level of prestige.<sup>178</sup> In this manner, Mesoamerican intellectuals constantly worked toward the maintenance of the establishment to which they belonged. These intellectuals achieved this task by constantly transforming and revitalizing the ideological basis of the establishment.

In this way, Mesoamerican intellectuals' work became characterized by the preservation and creation of demonstrable and commensurable political, cultural and/or economic ideals and values. These values influenced the society and their leaders, either temporally and/or

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<sup>174</sup> Maarten Jansen y Aurora Pérez Jiménez, *La lengua señorial de Nuu Dzauí. Cultura literaria de los antiguos reinos y transformación colonial* (Oaxaca: Gobierno del Estado de Oaxaca, Secretaría de Cultura, 2009), 23.

<sup>175</sup> J. G. A. Pocock, *Politics, Language and Time*, 237: “A tradition, in its simplest form, may be thought of as an indefinite series of repetitions of an action, which on each occasion is performed on the assumption that it has been performed before; its performance is authorized-though the nature of the authorization may vary widely-by the knowledge, or the assumption, or previous performance,” p. 237.

<sup>176</sup> See Margaret Bender, “Reflection on What Writing Means, Beyond What It ‘Says:’ The Political Economy and Semiotics of Graphic Pluralism in the Americas,” *Ethnohistory* 57, No. 1 (Winter 2010): 175-182.

<sup>177</sup> Gramsci, *La formación de los intelectuales*, 21-26.

<sup>178</sup> See Mónica Quijada y Jesús Bustamante, *Elites intelectuales y modelos colectivos*.



spatially.<sup>179</sup> Intellectuals in Mesoamerica preserved and created knowledge as their major practical activity, which constantly influenced the physical, social and ideological realm of their societies. Consequently, there is a diversity of intellectual products (monuments, codices, ceramics, etc) that preserved both the thinking and the mentality of Mesoamerican societies.<sup>180</sup> Various documents such as texts written in diverse Mesoamerican writing systems, oral traditions, rituals, music, and a diversity of performances currently provide testimony about the complex historicity of Mesoamerican memory. Consequently, due to their diverse nature, both tangible and intangible intellectual manifestations survived throughout time. Also, the content and the way in which these intellectuals materialized this knowledge both reveal the intense ideological production of Mesoamerican intellectuals.

Mesoamerican societies formed their historicity based on recording series of notable events, even though some of these events appear to have been the work of a single historical individual protagonist. This Mesoamerican recollection of the past reflects events in which the collective community also participated in one way or another.<sup>181</sup> In brief, Mesoamerican intellectuals kept and recorded this collective memory by considering it as a communal process rather than an individual one.<sup>182</sup> Another element observed in Mesoamerican sources is the diversity of historical and literary genres included in these texts.<sup>183</sup> This attestation evidences the specialization that Mesoamerican societies reached in recording their historical processes.

Mesoamerican literary sources also are characterized by both their diegetic and mimetic nature. The diegetic character of these literary sources can be briefly defined as a narrative conceptualization of an experience within the realm of language. In other words, this diegetic character of Mesoamerican texts included the linguistic narration of an act or event, such as a reading or an oral interpretation, regardless of whether or not the event was written down or preserved through oral tradition. The mimetic nature of these texts served as a representative physical imitation of the historical experience such as the use of gestures, motions, sounds, and performances. For Mesoamerican intellectuals these two elements were fundamental in the configuration of the past. Both the diegetic and mimetic elements were essential for the re-creation of knowledge, which could be modified according to the needs of their society's

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<sup>179</sup> Gramsci, *La formación de los intelectuales*, 26.

<sup>180</sup> The word "monument" should be understood as any cultural creation, regardless of its size or material, which keeps the memory of their creators and their historical context. See Reginald G. Haggard, *A Dictionary of Art Terms. Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, and the Graphic Arts* (Poole-Dorset: New Orchard Editions, 1962), 217.

<sup>181</sup> There are several examples about this idea on the importance of the collective character of Mesoamerican historiography. In this sense, diverse codices show in their content the history of different peoples, interpreted by the feats and events in which the leaders of these peoples appear as major characters. See María Castañeda de la Paz, "La Tira de la Peregrinación y la ascendencia chichimeca de los tenochca," *Estudios de Cultura Nahuatl*, Núm. 38 (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 2007), 183-212.

<sup>182</sup> See Pierre Guiraud, *La Semiología*.

<sup>183</sup> Alfredo López Austin, *Los mitos del tlacuache* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, 1998), 256-258.

contemporaneity. The use of these two elements in the creation of knowledge evidences the need that Mesoamerican societies had for relying on a group of “specialists” to record and perform this collective knowledge. In order to adequately preserve the collective history of their people, Mesoamerican intellectuals required specific training. In this process of learning, other intellectuals with greater experience and expertise prepared future specialists in all of these Mesoamerican societies.

The recording of the existence of sacred places, time and objects remained highly necessary elements for the development of the said knowledge. These places, times and objects were manipulated and reserved for the use of these intellectuals, who through their training knew the code and regulations about the way in which these elements worked and how they should be used and performed.<sup>184</sup> Therefore, these intellectuals remained responsible for constantly performing both the configuration and re-configuration of cultural knowledge. As dynamic as this process appears, this collective comprehension concerning cultural knowledge remained in constant transformation. Since this activity always became associated with the cognitive affinities of the peoples who created it, the re-creation and re-interpretation of knowledge contributed to the development of both a cultural consciousness and a collective identity. Given the degree of specialization of this work, Mesoamerican societies created a series of specific terms that referred to those in charge of the creation, re-creation, memorization, performance and capture of the memory of their peoples.<sup>185</sup>

The specific terms that these diverse Mesoamerican societies created to refer to their intellectuals, gives evidence to the highly specialized nature of these intellectuals and offers hints at a few of the duties that these intellectuals performed. Just to name a few out of an extensive number of examples, the Ñuu Dzau used the term *Tay saque* to refer to their priests and both to their ability to speak eloquently and their power to convince people.<sup>186</sup> Meanwhile, the term *Yya toniñe*, refers to the ruler, who without a doubt held special characteristics that he did not share with the rest of the members of the community.<sup>187</sup> These specialists also used sacred substances such as tobacco and copal, incense, hallucinogenic mushrooms and medicinal herbs in their rituals and performances.<sup>188</sup>

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<sup>184</sup> Emile Durkheim, *Las formas elementales de la vida religiosa* (Madrid: Akal Editor, 1982), 27.

<sup>185</sup> J. G. A. Pocock, “Time, Institutions and Action: An Essay on Traditions and Their Understanding,” in *Politics, Language and Time*, 233-272.

<sup>186</sup> Jansen and Pérez Jiménez, *La lengua señorial de Ñuu Dzau*, 21.

<sup>187</sup> Kevin Terraciano, *The Mixtecs of Colonial Oaxaca*, 103.

<sup>188</sup> See Terraciano, *Ibid*, 134; Jan G. R. Elferink, José Antonio Flores and Charles D. Kaplan, “The use of plants and other natural products for malevolent practices among the Aztecs and their successors,” *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, Núm. 24 (1994): 27-48. See also Ferdinand Anders, Maarten Janen and Luis Reyes García, *Los templos del cielo y de la oscuridad. Oráculos y liturgia. Libro explicativo del llamado Códice Borgia* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1993), 62-69.

Other Mesoamerican peoples also had specialists who conducted these same performances of historical memory. For instance, other terms in the Zapotec language also reveal the level of specialization that the intellectual elite achieved in their culture. During the sixteenth century the word *colaní*, referred to a calendar specialist; and the terms *pigana*, *bigana* or *vigana*, referred to a young assistant of the ritual specialist.<sup>189</sup> Also, for the people from the region currently denominated as the Mexican State of Michoacán, the terms *t'arhēsī* referred to the imposing character of an old sage or wise-man; while the terms *tachátiicha* or *acháecha* referred to their rulers, who they also considered as the personification of their gods in both ceremonies and on the battlefield.<sup>190</sup> Similarly, for the Mayan area, there are specific terms that describe the duties and activities performed by these intellectuals. Terms in Yucatec Maya such as *Ah Kino'ob*, meaning “day keepers” or Sun-Priests; *Chilam Balam*, or a sage or the “one who speaks and prophesizes”; as well as *ah ts'ibo'ob*, referring to scribes, all reveal the social importance of this intellectual class and the variety of the assignments under their individual charge.<sup>191</sup>

Both specialization and precision of these historical documents written by Mesoamerican peoples give evidence to the formal instruction of the intellectual leaders of a community. The result of this specialized instruction resided in the complex materialization that these Mesoamerican intellectuals made of their collective knowledge.<sup>192</sup> Since “the broad definition of writing embraces both verbal and nonverbal systems,”<sup>193</sup> pursuits associated with the ability to interpret knowledge remained broadly based. These activities included creating a discourse, reading and interpreting texts, memorizing events, leading or participating in ceremonies, as well as singing and playing instruments. Mesoamerican intellectuals performed all of these specialized and highly appreciated activities in order to configure and re-configure time and knowledge. This characteristic placed them into a realm that went beyond the human sphere. For instance, Mesoamerican intellectuals occupied a position on the threshold, between the human and the sacred realm. In this position, the intellectuals were intermediaries between the collective group and the sacred world. Consequently, these intellectuals had the appropriate knowledge to maintain the harmonic relationship and balance between both the sacred and the human sphere. The ability to deal with the sacred realm was restricted and available only for certain members of the society, such as these intellectuals. As Miguel Pastrana stated:

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<sup>189</sup> See David Tavárez, *The Invisible Wars. Indigenous Devotions, Discipline, and Dissent in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011).

<sup>190</sup> Carlos García Mora, *Los tarascos y los purépechas. Dos formaciones históricas* (México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2011), 159.

<sup>191</sup> See Kevin J. Johnston, “Dedos rotos. La captura del escriba en la cultura maya clásica,” in *FAMSI-Reports*, URL: <http://www.famsi.org/reports/03101es/62kevin/62kevin.pdf>, last retrieved on April, 2015. Also see Chuchiak IV, “Writing as Resistance.” See also Michael D. Coe and Justin Kerr, *The Art of the Maya Scribe* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1997).

<sup>192</sup> Robert Michels, *Political Parties. A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy*, trans. Eden & Cedar Paul (New York: Heart's International Library Co., 1915), 80-81.

<sup>193</sup> Elizabeth Hill Boone, *Stories in Red and Black. Pictorial Histories of the Aztecs and Mixtecs* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 31.

Dada la cercanía del sacerdote con lo sagrado, claramente se comprende que es más fácil que él (el sacerdote) entre en lo sagrado que cualquier otro profano y por lo tanto, es menos peligroso para la colectividad que representa que él realice las prácticas de intermediación necesarios y no alguien que no esté adecuadamente preparado. En pocas palabras, se necesita de un especialista religioso capaz de mediar entre lo sagrado y lo profano y que, hasta donde sea posible, garantice el buen éxito de la empresa que la comunidad le encomienda.<sup>194</sup>

Hence, these series of re-enactments belonged to the sacred realm, and consequently the performer underwent a liminal experience, or in other words, the experience of being at the threshold:

[...] the “first manifestation” of a reality is equivalent to its creation by a divine or semi divine being; hence, recovering this time of origin implies ritual repetition of the god’s creative act. The periodic reactualization of the creative acts performed by the divine beings *in illo tempore* constitutes the sacred calendar, the series of festivals.<sup>195</sup>

Both the level of specialization and social appreciation, regardless of its religious importance, indicate the institutionalization that knowledge held among Mesoamerican societies. In this sense, Victor W. Turner stated that “[...] liminality may be institutionalized in societies with a high degree of specialization and complexity and develop a dialectic relationship with the surrounding structured society.”<sup>196</sup> In this sense, additional characteristics that Mesoamerican cultures shared in the process of the production of knowledge focused on the strict transmission, memorization and learning of the past. The learning of these processes served as part of the intellectual training of these specialists.

These activities or formal training processes became regulated by the establishment through the administration and supervision of specific institutions,<sup>197</sup> such as the *calmecac*, or the place of higher instruction where the priests and religious men lived;<sup>198</sup> the *telpochcalli*, which worked as an educational center for young *macehualmeh*, or commoners, in order to get

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<sup>194</sup> Miguel Pastrana Flores, *Entre los hombres y los dioses. Acercamiento al sacerdocio de calpulli entre los antiguos nahuas* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México- Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas 2008), 19.

<sup>195</sup> Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane. The Nature of Religion*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York: A Harvest Book Harcourt, Brace and World Inc., 1987), 85.

<sup>196</sup> Victor W. Turner, *The Ritual Process. Structure and Anti-Structure. The Lewis Henry Morgan Lectures* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1966), 125.

<sup>197</sup> See, Serge Gruzinski, *La colonización de lo imaginario*.

<sup>198</sup> Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia de las cosas de la Nueva España* (México: Editorial Porrúa, 1999), 50.

some instruction;<sup>199</sup> and the *cuicacalli*, a compound where only a selected number of Nahua people studied singing for the benefit of the rulers and the religious people,<sup>200</sup> all educational and formative venues established by Nahua people from Central Mexico.<sup>201</sup> Since the establishment regulated and arbitrated the production, interpretation and diffusion of ideas according to the state's needs (which were indeed diverse in Mesoamerica). There were also a myriad of productive activities that became divided among scribes, interpreters, ritual specialists which all together created varying regional and ethnic traditions of interpretation throughout the Mesoamerican territory.

Since the creation and preservation of knowledge, as we have seen, had a diegetic character (based on orality) among Mesoamericans, it was vital for these specialists to count upon the basic elements of verbal communication: transmitter, receptor, reference, medium and message.<sup>202</sup> Additionally, practicing and creating knowledge, as well as interpreting it and materially capturing it, remained only a few of the privileged activities reserved for these selected members of the society.<sup>203</sup> This privileged position also provided these intellectuals access to the consumption and/or administration of special substances, foods or beverages.<sup>204</sup> Hence, some practices performed by these intellectuals became associated with sacred space. In this sense, intellectuals came to share this sacred place, where gods and goddesses continuously performed divine actions that took place *in illo tempore*.<sup>205</sup>

In this way, Mesoamerican intellectuals, personified as variously the political leaders, wise-men, scribes, healers, and ritual specialists, all acted as mediums between the sacred and the profane realms. Therefore, the main duty of Mesoamerican intellectuals' was to influence the lives of the members of the society through the performance of specific liminal rituals and ceremonies.<sup>206</sup> Similarly, these intellectuals preserved the history, traditions, knowledge and the heritage of their ancestors through ceremonial discourses learned from their ascendants.<sup>207</sup>

### 3.1.2 The Nahua Intellectual Tradition in the Valley of Mexico

The intellectual activities produced by the Nahua peoples are extensive and certainly impossible to condense completely in this dissertation. Nevertheless, this chapter supports the hypothesis

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<sup>199</sup> Ibid., 105.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid., 466.

<sup>201</sup> See, Miguel León-Portilla, ed., *Huehuehlatolli. Testimonios de la antigua palabra. Recogidos por fray Andrés de Olmos hacia 1535*; trans., Librado Silva Galeana (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1991), 13-45.

<sup>202</sup> Pierre Guiraud, *La Semiología*, 11-31.

<sup>203</sup> See, Miguel Pastrana, *Entre los hombres y los dioses*, 18-22.

<sup>204</sup> Enrique Florescano, *El patrimonio cultural de México* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1993), 66-67.

<sup>205</sup> Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*, 69-70.

<sup>206</sup> See, Victor W. Turner, "Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in *Rites de Passage*," in *The Forest of Symbols* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1967), 93-111.

<sup>207</sup> See Ubaldo López García, "Sa'vi: Discursos ceremoniales de Yutsa To'on (Apoala)" (Ph.D. Diss., Leiden University, 2007), 9-26.

that Nahua intellectuality shared several of the main characteristics of intellectual production with the rest of Mesoamerican societies. One of the main characteristics of the intellectual production in Mesoamerica before the arrival of the Europeans focused on its institutionalized character. This type of institutionalized intellectuality relied on the existence of a solid ideological system promoted either by the state or the elite sphere that represents the prevailing political system within societies. In the specific case of the Nahua people from the area of central Mexico, the prevailing state sponsored a series of educational institutions that instructed both boys and girls on certain intellectual or technical practices. These Nahua institutions included at least the *telpochcalli*, the *calmecac*, the *cihuacalmecac*, or the compound where women received religious education, and the *cuicacalli*.<sup>208</sup>

The way these various institutions functioned depended on the highly hierarchical and complex structure of Nahua society. In this way, the access which certain individuals had to one of the already mentioned institutions depended on each individual's social ranks and position. Both females and males had access to education in Nahua society from central Mexico; however, admittance to these institutions remained restricted and not accessible to all. Those who were able to attend these institutions came from specific family and economic backgrounds from those groups and families who proved able to sponsor their child's internship in one of these institutions. In this regard, the work attributed to the Franciscan Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, but which was mainly authored by Nahua intellectuals, *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España*, mentions the moral qualities and virtues that the aspiring students should possess in order to gain access to one of these institutions. Moreover, the family of the aspiring student should also possess certain economic status in order to satisfactorily cover the expenses generated by their student once he or she entered into the institution.

For instance, a student from the *calmecac* enjoyed a higher social status in comparison to the individual Nahua child who gained entrance into the *telpochcalli*. Nahua girls who enrolled in one of these institutions also enjoyed different privileges and social status which determined the activities that these girls and women performed and learned within these educational institutions. In this sense, and by taking into consideration the definition of intellectual activity, it is possible to state that within the *calmecac* Nahua students produced the most important number of intellectual activities and knowledge for Nahua society.<sup>209</sup>

The *calmecac*, had the purpose of preparing future intellectuals, regardless of whether they would end up practicing their duties in either the religious or the political sphere. The

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<sup>208</sup> Pilar Alberti Manzanares, "Mujeres sacerdotisas aztecas: las cihuatlamacazque mencionadas en dos escritos inéditos," *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl* 24 (1994): 171-217; 175-176.

<sup>209</sup> Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia de las cosas de la Nueva España*, 401-405: "Capítulo XXXIX. De cómo los padres y madres deseando que sus hijos e hijas viviesen, prometían de los meter en la casa de religión, que en cada pueblo había dos, una más estrecha que la otra, así para hombres como para mujeres, donde los metían en llegando la edad conveniente."

condition that these future intellectuals had to achieve by occupying this privileged position within this elite institution focused on the creation and recreation of Nahua collective knowledge.<sup>210</sup> As different Mesoamerican societies also experienced, Nahua intellectuals trained in these institutions held the responsibility for reviving, re-telling and remembering the history of their divinities, rulers, people, outstanding events, among other memorable cultural elements.

For the Nahua people from Central Mexico the preservation and elaboration of their collective memory remained in the hands of different groups of specialists. One of these groups of specialist, the *tlamatinime*, served as the group of sages or intellectuals who preserved the collective memory of the Nahua peoples through the writing of books, which the Nahua called *amatl* or *amoxtl*. However, these *amoxtl* were not the only material constructions in which intellectuals preserved their knowledge, since extensive examples of monuments, such as sculptures, codices, embroidered fabrics, objects of pottery, and all other kinds of ceremonial paraphernalia existed. The *tlamatini* or *tlamatinime* (sages),<sup>211</sup> also preserved the collective memory of the Nahua peoples through the creation of diverse literary genres. A few of these categories of literary and poetic creations included the *cuicatl*, or singing;<sup>212</sup> *tlahtolli*, or speaking;<sup>213</sup> *teotlahtolli*, divine discourse or words;<sup>214</sup> *zazanilli*, understood as riddle<sup>215</sup> or as a fable;<sup>216</sup> *tlatlatolli*, proverb;<sup>217</sup> *machiotlaolli*, metaphors;<sup>218</sup> *huehuetlatolli*, history;<sup>219</sup> *cuicayotl*, hymn;<sup>220</sup> among an extensive list of other terms.<sup>221</sup>

The diversity of the intellectual production of Nahua people mirrored in many ways the status and type of instructional institutions that they founded. These institutions led to the creation of an important number of specialists that performed diverse duties and preserved knowledge and collective memory in specific ways. For example, the Nahua terms *tonalpouhque* referred to “those who read the books and refer about fate.” These *tonalpouhque* served as the specialist who had the ability to read the *tonalamatl* (the book of days-260 day calendar) and the *xiuhamatl* (the book of the years), or “the books about the days and the books

<sup>210</sup> Pierre Guiraud, *La Semiología*, 11.

<sup>211</sup> Alonso de Molina, *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana y mexicana y castellana* (Leipzig: Julios Platzman, 1880), 126.

<sup>212</sup> Remi Simeon, *Diccionario de la lengua náhuatl o mexicana* (México: Siglo XXI Editores), 136.

<sup>213</sup> Molina, *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana*, 141.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

<sup>215</sup> Maarten Jansen, “Las lenguas divinas del México precolonial,” *Boletín de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe* 38 (Junio 1985): 3-1; 6.

<sup>216</sup> Fray Alonso de Molina transcribed this term as “consejuelas para hacer reir,” see Molina, *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana*, 13.

<sup>217</sup> Jansen, “Las lenguas divinas del México precolonial,” 3-1, 6.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>219</sup> Molina, *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana*, 76.

<sup>220</sup> Frances Karttunen, *An Analytical Dictionary of Nahuatl* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 71.

<sup>221</sup> Dominique Raby, “Xochiquetzal en el cuicacalli. Cantos de amor y voces entre los antiguos nahuas,” *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl* 30 (1999): 203-229.

about the years.”<sup>222</sup> Another category of specialist included the *cuicapicque*, “the one who creates and shapes the singing,” while the *tlamatinime*, served as the “sages or those who were expert on doing something specific.” The term *ticitl* or its plural variation as *titici*<sup>223</sup> referred to the terms for doctors, surgeons or midwives. The terms *cichuatlamacazque* referred to women who devoted their lives to serve in religious temples. In this sense, while women played a pivotal role as intellectuals within Nahua society, the violent process of colonization under the Spaniards destabilized their privileged post-conquest position. Therefore, some of the Nahua sources that referred to the role and importance of Nahua women in society either faced destruction or are still understudied by current research specialists. Equally unfortunate, the colonial sources written by Europeans included only a few limited mentions or misinterpreted information concerning the role that women played as intellectuals within Nahua society.

The work of some of the European colonizers who did deal with the study and observation of Nahua women, whether intellectuals or not, and the role that they played in Nahua society often resulted in a mere series of references that emphasized both the differences and similarities that these authors found between European and Nahua women. Whether intentionally or not, these European authors “saw” several common elements between the way in which Nahua authorities administrated education for women and the way that European religious institutions, such as convents and boarding schools, dealt with women in the European context. For instance, the scholar Pilar Alberti Manzanares conducted a study on two lesser known colonial manuscripts, which are currently housed in the *Real Academia de la Historia*, in Madrid. These manuscripts, authored by unknown Spaniards, included information about the role that *cihuatlamazque*, or Nahua priestesses had in Nahua society.<sup>224</sup> The anonymous authors of these manuscripts emphasized the importance and complex duties that these women had within the religious lives of the Nahuas. Nonetheless, the authors of these manuscripts did not hesitate in comparing European nuns to the work and role of the *cihuatlamazque*, which resulted in a limited comprehension of the social complexity that permeated these Nahua women in their own context.

Nevertheless, several colonial authors recognized and referred to the level of specialization that both female and male intellectuals reached within Nahua society. Regarding this, the cultural compilation directed by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún referred to this level of

<sup>222</sup> Miguel León Portilla, *Obras. Tomo II. En torno a la historia de Mesoamérica* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 2004), 332-333.

<sup>223</sup> See Fray Juan de Torquemada, *De los veinte y un rituales y monarquía indiana compuesto por Fray Juan de Torquemada de la Provincia de el Santo Evangelio de Nueva España* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1975), 198-200: Volumen IV, Libro XIII, Capítulo XVI. “Donde se trata de la costumbre y ceremonias que hacían estos indios en los nacimientos de sus hijos; y se dice de un cierto bautismo o lavatorio con que los lavaban o bautizaban.”

<sup>224</sup> See Pilar Alberti Manzanares, “Mujeres sacerdotisas aztecas,” 171-217. The title of the documents are “Noticias de las vestales mexicanas escrita por Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, año de 1684” and “Daré noticia de las doncellas que al modo de las vírgenes vestales consagraban los indios para el servicio y culto de sus templos.”



specialization by listing a series of intellectual activities practiced by Nahua peoples.<sup>225</sup> These activities ranged from transforming bird feathers into artifacts, to the activities of doctors, merchants, jewelers, vendors, mechanics, astrologers, singers, musicians, etc. The European colonizers referred to the members of these elite strata of society in the Mesoamerican territory by using various words that denoted the social parallelism that Europeans found between their societies and Mesoamerican ones. The perception that European colonizers had about Mesoamerican societies also revealed their own medieval mentality, since the terms that they used to call the Nahua intellectuals varied widely. A few of these concepts and terms included words such as *caciques*, *nigromantes*, *adivinos*, *sátrapas*, *sabios*, *ministros*, *viejos sabios*, *hechiceros*, *encantadores*, *parteras*, *bruja*s, or *señores nobles*.

The extensive production of these Nahua intellectuals existed in both tangible and intangible forms. Most of the knowledge that we have about these intellectuals is contained in both Mesoamerican and European sources from the period of the Spanish conquest. After the Spanish conquest, the conquistadors destroyed a large number of Nahua intellectual creations. Nevertheless, there is documental evidence concerning a wide variety of sources that Nahua intellectuals created.<sup>226</sup> Without a doubt, one of the most important works, considered as the best compilation about the life and organization of the Nahua people from Central Mexico, is the work entitled *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España*.<sup>227</sup> Fray Bernardino de Sahagún wrote this manuscript in conjunction and collaboration with several Nahua intellectuals.<sup>228</sup>

The knowledge gathered in this work demonstrates the variety of facets and duties that intellectuals performed in Nahua communities. These activities ranged from soothsaying, performing medicinal practices, and providing moral advice. Even though the *Historia de las cosas de la Nueva España* has been referred to by multiple scholars as one of the greatest compilations about Nahua knowledge, this work is only a small glimpse of the Nahua intellectual greatness. From the perspective of the Spanish colonizers, this vast realm of Nahua intellectual production remained difficult to classify. For instance, “[For fray Antonio de] Molina, history is

<sup>225</sup> See, David Tavárez, “Letras clandestinas, textos tolerados,” 59-82.

<sup>226</sup> See Maarten Jansen, “Ideology and History in the Pictorial Narratives of Ancient Mexico,” *Quaderno 6. Historiography: Practitioners & Public* (Milano: Istituto di Studi Storici, Facoltà de Scienze Politiche, Università degli Studi di Milano, 2015).

<sup>227</sup> For more information about the political positions that influenced the content of the Florentine Codex, see Silver Moon “The Imperial College of Tlatelolco.”

<sup>228</sup> According to Silver Moon in her dissertation (Ibid.), the name of several of the intellectuals who collaborated with Sahagún in the production of this work were Antonio Valeriano (Azcapotzalco), Pedro de San Buenaventura (Cauhtitlan), Martín Jacobita (Tlatelolco), Alonso Vejarano, Andrés Leonardo (Tlatelolco), Diego de Grado (Tlatelolco), Bonifacio Maximiliano, Francisco Bautista Contreras (Xochimilco), Pedro Juan Antonio (Azcapotzalco), Martín de la Cruz, Anton Hernández, Juan Badiano (Xochimilco), Agustín de la Fuente (Tlatelolco), Miguel (Cauhtitlan), Mateo Severino (Xochimilco), Pablo Nazareno, Gregorio Medina, Antonio Ramírez de Fonseca, Bernaldino Jerónimo, Joaquín, Gaspar de Torres, Mateo Sánchez, Gregorio, Martín Exidio, Josef de Castañeda, Hernando de Ribas (Texcoco), Juan Bernardino (Huejotzingo), Diego Adriano (Tlatelolco), Pedro de Gante (Tlatelolco), Bernabé Velázquez, Bonifacio Maximiliano, Francisco Acaxitli, (Tlalmanalco). According to Silver Moon’s research most of these intellectuals were either students at the Colegio de Tlatelolco or political leaders in their communities.

both *tlatollotl* (“speech or oral discourse”) and *nemiliz amatl* (“life paper” or “life book”); a chronicle or a history is *nemiliz tlacuillo*, *nemiliz tlatollot* (“life painting, life saying”). In describing the concepts related to history and historians, Molina used the words for painting (*tlacuillo*) and speech or oral discourse (*tlatolli*) almost interchangeably.<sup>229</sup> The cultural gaps that existed between the Nahua people and the Spaniards and their understanding of the recording or recreation of historical knowledge resulted in a misunderstanding of the complexity of intellectual production among the Nahuas. This confusion also led to misconceptions about how gender remained an important element in intellectual activities.

The misunderstanding that Spaniards had about gender and intellectuality among the Nahuas determined the way in which colonial institutions administrated education and collaborated in intellectual production during the colonial era.<sup>230</sup> Thus, the conceptions and misconceptions that Europeans had both about education and intellectuality influenced the role that gender played in the construction and production of intellectuality in New Spain. As a direct consequence of this European perception about gender roles, the type of education that women received during the colonial period in the capital of New Spain become more limited in comparison to the access that their male counterparts had to diverse institutions. These inequalities resulted in the high social recognition that Nahua male’s received for their achievements and the virtual lack of any recognition of female Nahua specialists in the colonial period.

A diverse series of colonial institutions that educated and indoctrinated Nahua people during the period of the Spanish colonization replaced these former Nahua organizations or the places of higher instruction where the priests and religious men lived;<sup>231</sup> the *telpochcalli*, which worked as an educational center for young *macehualmeh*, or commoners, in order to gain some instruction;<sup>232</sup> and the *cuicacalli*, a compound where only a selected number of Nahua people studied singing for the benefit of the rulers and the religious people.<sup>233</sup> Consequently, only a few of the institutions founded by the Spaniards remained accessible for certain sectors of the Nahua population. Moreover, this access became restricted according to the limitations of gender, social status, abilities, and learned practices. In the case of Nahua intellectual women, the access that they gained to colonial educational institutions became much narrower in comparison to those that their male counterparts enjoyed during colonial system.

European gender perceptions determined the restricted access to institutional life that Nahua women received from the colonial authorities.<sup>234</sup> This limitation came in direct detriment to the social position that Nahua women occupied within the colonial society as intellectuals.

<sup>229</sup> Elizabeth Hill Boone, *Stories in Red and Black*, 21.

<sup>230</sup> Pilar Alberti Manzanares, “Mujeres sacerdotisas aztecas,” 171-217.

<sup>231</sup> Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia de las cosas de la Nueva España*, 50.

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid.*, 105.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid.*, 466.

<sup>234</sup> See Mónica Díaz, *Indigenous Writings from the Convent. Negotiating Ethnic Autonomy in Colonial Mexico* (Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 2010).

However, this asseveration should not be interpreted as a statement that supports the idea of an absence or lack of Nahua women intellectuals in New Spain. Nevertheless, it is important to consider that, as a result of this institutional limitation, several of the intellectual activities that Nahua women had practiced before the Spanish invasion, became either marginal or fell outside of the limits of institutional life during the colonial era. This condition of institutional exclusion does not mean that Nahua women and their knowledge became less valuable or less appreciated by the rest of the Nahua community, but rather that the lack of access that Nahua women had to institutions that the colonial authorities recognized and regulated, marginalized their practices and kept them outside the main-stream acceptable institutional realm.

### **3.2 The Spanish Colonial Period: Continuity of the Nahua Intellectual Tradition in the Capital of New Spain**

Once the Spaniards conquered Mexico-Tenochtitlan in 1521 and established their colonial regime, the city, as William F. Connell described, “[...] became over the course of the sixteenth century both an indigenous and a Spanish city.”<sup>235</sup> Consequently, the administration of the territory conquered by the Spaniards initially utilized the original indigenous social, political, and demographic organization, both territorially and economically. At the time of the conquest, those Nahuas who really knew how the system functioned before the arrival of the Spaniards were the Nahua intellectual elite. However, in this process of colonization the organization of labor from the new subjects remained equally important due to the exploitative character of the Spanish colonial system. Moreover, the Spanish colonizers required a highly organized administration of goods and labor that they hoped to obtain from the new subjects. Nevertheless, the successful administration of the colony depended on the knowledge that Spaniards could obtain from Nahua leaders and intellectuals.

When the Spanish conquistadors established the colonial system in New Spain, they consolidated their authority by creating diverse institutions throughout the territory. For the better management and administration of the territory, the Spanish conquistadors divided their colony into two political entities: the *República de indios* and the *República de españoles*.<sup>236</sup> In the beginning, these institutions had the purpose of dividing the population between those natives originally from the Mesoamerican territory (*naturales* or *indios*), and the conquistadors (*españoles*). Originally, the idea focused on maintaining the separation between the *indios* and the *españoles* in terms of their privileges, rights and obligations. Over time, as Pilar Gonzalbo asserted “(...) this system considered the differences [between these two republics], so that rather than being two separate bodies of law, they were integrated into one involving the provisions,

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<sup>235</sup> William F. Connell, *Indigenous Politics and Self-Government in Mexico City*, 3.

<sup>236</sup> Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru, *Historia de la educación en la época colonial. El mundo indígena* (México: El Colegio de México, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1990), 22-25.

mutual commitments and mutual obligations of both Spaniards and Indians.”<sup>237</sup> This integration resulted in the creation of segregated colonial institutions, and social privileges such as the access to education and social prestige, remained accessible or unreachable for certain individuals.

Even though the *República de indios* eventually resulted in providing some level of autonomy to indigenous societies over certain matters, education did not fall under the direct control of indigenous communities in central Mexico.<sup>238</sup> In this sense, it is important to emphasize that early on during the colonial period in New Spain, indigenous communities did not lose their interest for education, but rather they just lost their control over its access. So, despite the limitations that the *República de indios* imposed on them, Nahua political leaders quickly learned the way to successfully lobby and negotiate with the Spanish authorities in order to gain access to different services, one of the most important being their access to education.

In the beginning of Spanish colonization, Indigenous People in general, including the members of the former indigenous nobility, resisted accepting the education and new religion provided by the colonizers. Mostly this rejection occurred because this education came with forceful religious and cultural indoctrination since Spaniards or European clergymen took charge of this task. However, Indigenous People soon realized that gaining access to European education offered them the opportunity to maintain their social status and/or upward mobility within in otherwise exclusive colonial society. Thus, during the early years of the colony, collective efforts from different indigenous communities resulted in the creation of “*escuelas de primeras letras*.”<sup>239</sup> Most of these schools survived due to the sponsorship that colonial authorities provided to these projects, and also because the members of the indigenous communities usually covered the expenses of the instructor assigned.<sup>240</sup> Therefore, available documentation demonstrates that for the members of the indigenous nobility, the instruction of their younger relatives in elemental literacy was not enough to maintain their elite intellectual status.

Even though the colonial authorities sponsored and regulated educational institutions during the colony, diverse religious orders remained in charge of the direct administration of education and its institutions for both Indigenous People and Spaniards alike. These institutions sought to exclusively educate the sons of indigenous leaders and former nobles. The clergymen

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<sup>237</sup> Ibid., 23. Original quotation: “Sin embargo, en este mismo sistema se consideraban ya las diferencias, de modo que en vez de constituir dos cuerpos de leyes separados, se integraban en uno solo las disposiciones que implicaban compromisos mutuos y recíprocas obligaciones de españoles e indios.”

<sup>238</sup> For more information about how the *barrios de indios* worked within the concept of the “*República de indios*,” see Felipe Castro Gutiérrez, “Origen y conformación de los barrios de indios,” in *Los indios y las ciudades en Nueva España*, coord. Felipe Castro, 105-122 (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 2010).

<sup>239</sup> Pilar Gonzalbo, *Historia de la educación en la época colonial*, 25-41.

<sup>240</sup> Dorothy Tanck de Estrada, “El gobierno municipal y las escuelas de primeras letras en el siglo XVIII mexicano,” *Revista Mexicana de Investigación Educativa* 7, núm. 15 (mayo-agosto 2002):257-278, 263.

in charge of these institutions further divided the population into gender, ages, and social classes. In the capital of New Spain, Nahua adults and Nahua children received different types of education according to their social status. Thus, the Nahua pre-conquest terms *pipiltin*, interpreted as noble people, and *macehualtin* or *macehualmeh* as terms used to refer to commoners, became the categories that determined the type of education Nahua children received during the colonial period.

The colonial authorities offered education to the Nahua people from central Mexico through two main educational pathways: One of these pathways focused on the immediate preparation of the Nahuas for the type of labor that the colonial system required, followed by the teaching of basic elements of the Spanish language and principles of Christianity. The other pathway of education sought to achieve the already mentioned goals, but at a much deeper level. Thus, the children of Nahua noble families, those considered as *pipiltin*, received intense education on Spanish, Latin, Christianity, and western knowledge. These children from noble Nahua families were under the care, tutelage and surveillance of clergymen. The Spanish colonial authorities expected that these children, once they were prepared, would become the authorities and cultural intermediaries in their respective communities. Several of these noble children remained in the *apostas*, or chambers, of the convents administrated by the members of diverse religious orders, in order to avoid the contact with their cultural heritage and any possible non-Christian religious influences from their Nahua parents. About this initiative, the author of the *Código Franciscano* stated:

Los que miran y consideran las cosas conforme a la calidad y necesidad de cada una dellas, no enseña indiferentemente a los niños hijos de los indios, sino con mucha diferencia, porque a los hijos de los principales, que entre ellos eran y son como caballeros y personas nobles, procuran de recogerlos en escuelas que para esto tienen hechas, a donde aprenden a leer y escribir y las demas cosas que abajo se dirán, con que se habilitan para el regimiento de sus pueblos y para el servicios de las iglesias, en lo cual no conviene que sean instruidos los hijos de los labradores y gente plebeya, sino que solamente aprendan la doctrina cristiana, y luego en sabiendola, comiencen desde muchachos a seguir los oficios y ejercicios de sus padre, para sustentarse a si mismo y ayudar a su republica, quedando en la simplicidad que sus antepasados tuvieron [...]<sup>241</sup>

Knowing the benefits of literacy, the colonial Spanish authorities restricted the access to both schools and religious institutions only to those members of the nobility who could contribute to the consolidation of the colonial system. As the previous primary source stated, the colonial

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<sup>241</sup> Joaquín García Icazbalceta, ed., *Código franciscano. Informe de la provincia de Santo Evangelio al visitador Lic. Juan de Ovando. Informe de la provincia de Guadalajara al mismo. Cartas de religiosos, 1533-1569* (México: Imprenta de Francisco Díaz de León, 1889), 62.

Spanish authorities originally planned to educate the sons of the *pipiltin* in order to keep them as the representatives of the Spanish Crown in their original towns. However, some *macehualmeh* quickly ascended their social status based on the services they provided to the Spaniards. Some of these commoners rose in prominence because of the interest that they demonstrated in spreading Christianity in the conquered territory among their fellow Nahuas, or for their abilities and aptitudes for European learning. This social mobility became the result of the organization established by the Spanish colonial system. This social phenomenon contributed both to the deterioration of the former Nahua social order, and to the preservation of intellectual knowledge within the colonial institutions. This statement is not contradictory if we consider that the Nahua intellectual tradition did not come to an end with the establishment of the colonial government. Rather, Nahua intellectuals received influence from Western ideas and they incorporated some of them into their traditional knowledge. However, this process was not smooth, but it involved all of the complexity and difficulties that any process of conquest and colonization represented.<sup>242</sup> One of the consequences of this intricate process of learning under the colonial system resulted in the minimization or reduction of the multi-dimensionality that characterized the Nahua tradition of knowledge.

Thus, in effect, both traditional Nahua literacy and indigenous intellectual activities adopted a Western dimensionality, which reduced much of this knowledge to the European canons of the time. Thereby, the colonial system forced surviving Nahua intellectuals to synthesize their traditional knowledge and refashion it by adopting alphabetic writing and westernized style drawings.<sup>243</sup> This method of learning fragmented the original complexity of Nahua intellectuality. Thus, this process of reduction fragmented the diegetic and mimetic characteristics of Nahua knowledge and turned it into different disciplines. As a result, under Spanish colonial institutions both indigenous intellectuality and literacy started to function as semi-isolated spheres of knowledge and performance.<sup>244</sup> In other words, colonial education fragmented the supra-segments that constituted Nahua intellectuality into semi-independent European-styled disciplines of knowledge such as painting, playing and composing, or playing music, sculpting, singing, dancing, drawing, writing, reading, and etcetera.<sup>245</sup>

Based on European mentality and conceptions, most conquistadors and clergymen referred to the Nahua pictographic tradition as “drawings,” or as “monstrous drawings” denying them the complexity of synthetic knowledge production that the writing process had among Mesoamerican societies. The Spaniards also considered the sculptural or architectonic representations, as well as music and other performances, as “demonic” or “horrendous,” or at

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<sup>242</sup> Federico Fernández Christlieb y Ángel Julián García Zambrano, *Territorialidad y paisaje en el altepetl del siglo XVI* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2006), 34-36.

<sup>243</sup> Patrick Johansson K., *La palabra, la imagen el manuscrito*, 23-24.

<sup>244</sup> Matthew Restall, Lisa Sousa and Kevin Terraciano, *Mesoamerican Voices. Native-Language Writings from Colonial Mexico, Oaxaca, Yucatan, and Guatemala* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 12-13.

<sup>245</sup> See Jacques Le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination*; trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

best the Spaniards interpreted them as sloppy aesthetic constructions. Nahua music, dance and other manifestations shared the same fate.<sup>246</sup> As a consequence of this perspective and also due to the process of colonization, Nahua intellectuals transformed and re-organized both their moral and aesthetic values during the colonial period. Moreover, the Spanish colonial authorities founded institutions of education that only helped to consolidate this process of fragmentation.

During and after the period of colonization, institutionalized knowledge in the Western style influenced the way that surviving Nahua intellectuals developed their own knowledge. Both the ecclesiastical and civil colonial authorities classified and dictated the way colonial Nahua intellectuality developed, and this remained limited within westernized parameters. Colonial authorities divided Nahua intellectuality into different disciplines, such as painting, playing music, drawing, writing, dancing, sculpting, among others, without considering their internal integrity and the way in which these manifestations of knowledge worked and interconnected before European colonization. The division and hierarchy of all these intellectual activities followed the cultural guidelines established by the western tradition of the Middle Ages and which developed through the parameters of the European Renaissance. This perspective about knowledge indeed transformed the way Nahua intellectuals faced the production of ideas under the new colonial regime.<sup>247</sup>

### 3.3 Systematization of Nahua Education as a Process of Colonization

From initial contact, Spaniards had a vested interest in gaining the support of the Nahua intellectual elite for the efficient administration of the colony. This interest resulted in the creation of a few limited educational institutions, but not in the creation of a widespread educational system, that focused on the indoctrination of the Nahua elite during the colonial period. Hence, the Spanish crown authorized the construction of the first religious institution for Indigenous People in the capital of the New Spain. This institution, run by the Franciscan order, became the *Colegio de San José de los Naturales*. Later, Spanish authorities founded a second institution, the *Colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco* for indigenous instructions.<sup>248</sup> The *Colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco* had a more ambitious and sophisticated plan of study than the *Colegio de San José de los Naturales*, since the college at Tlatelolco mainly focused on the education of an Nahua intellectual elite, but at a much higher level.

The educational acculturation that Spanish authorities offered through these institutions allowed the Nahua intellectual elite to preserve their heritage and re-interpret it according to their immediate needs in a long term process. For instance, the scholar James Lockhart suggested that

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<sup>246</sup> Maarten Jansen, "The Search of History in Mixtec Codices," *Ancient Mesoamerica*, Number 1 (1990): 99-112, 99.

<sup>247</sup> See Lourdes Tourrent, *La conquista musical de México* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1993), 17 -45.

<sup>248</sup> Miguel León Portilla, *Visión de los vencidos: Relaciones indígenas de la conquista* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2005), 48-49.

this long term phenomenon endured because of the organizational similarities that existed between Spanish and Nahua institutional life and administration. Lockhart called this phenomenon a “double mistaken identity.”<sup>249</sup> Thus, the intellectual tradition in Mesoamerica continued after the period of the Spanish conquest and during the entire period of the Spanish colonization. The characteristics and goals of the Nahua intellectual tradition that prevailed during the centuries that came after the Spanish regime changed according to the social needs of the Nahua intellectuals and their historical backgrounds and contemporary experiences, all of which led to the creation of several generations of Nahua intellectuals. This process resulted in what is called the *novohispano* intellectual tradition in New Spain.<sup>250</sup> Thus, the capital of New Spain became the focal point of the manifestation of this historical process that the Nahua intellectual elite experienced during the first years of colonization. This process together with continued access of the elite to certain educational institutions created a culturally syncretic Nahua intellectual tradition.

The elements that characterized this cultural synergy retained some of the main elements of the Nahua tradition and incorporated some other elements from Catholicism. This process of synergy resulted in the authentic Mesoamerican historicity that indigenous intellectuals developed during the colonial period. The indigenous intellectual tradition in New Spain also included regional elements, which directly resulted from the Mesoamerican cultural pluralism that existed before the Spanish conquest. The different impact that Spanish colonization and its policies had over different Mesoamerican regions, ethnic groups with varied social strata and economic activities, resulted in a varied Mesoamerican intellectual tradition. As Susan Schroeder stated:

[A]mong Nahua intellectuals in the capital at the turn of the century there was surely a keen sense of urgency to keep to tradition while securing vestigial positions of high status within the colonial system. Writing local histories seemed to furnish at least temporary solutions for both concerns. Typically, each author focused on his home region in order to champion his particular royal lineage and the unique qualities of his own altepetl [...] Tezozomoc wrote about the grandness of Mexico Tenochtitlan, Alva Ixtlixochitl did the same for his Texcoco altepetl, and Chimalpahin portrayed Amaquemecan Chalco as equal to if not better than any other place in the world.<sup>251</sup>

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<sup>249</sup> James Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest. A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 445-446.

<sup>250</sup> Javier Garciadiego, *Autores, editoriales, instituciones y libros: Estudios de historia intelectual* (México: El Colegio de México, 2015).

<sup>251</sup> Arthur J. O. Anderson and Susan Schroeder, eds., *Codex Chimalpahin. Society and Politics in Mexico Tenochtitlan, Tlatelolco, Texcoco, Culhuacan, and Other Nahua Altepetl in Central Mexico. The Nahuatl and Spanish Annals and Accounts Collected and Recorded by don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 6.



Accordingly, the diverse places of origins of these indigenous intellectuals, as well as their noble background, determined their intellectual production and the way that they interpreted and utilized their ancestral knowledge. For instance, a clear example of this synergy is present in the content and writing style that is evident in the *Diary* of a Nahua intellectual from Amecamecan, Domingo Francisco de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin. This document demonstrates how both European and Nahua cultures merged into a synergic intellectual production. Suffice it to say, Chimalpahin's diary presented a lineal and descriptive succession of historical events similar to the way in which Europeans kept accounts of their historical events. While the section in which he described the history of his people, the Chichimeca-Mexicas, and the chronology of its rulers followed the Nahua system of narrative using the ancient Nahua calendar to record the historical dates. The content of Chimalpahin's *Diary*, as Schroeder suggested, is also characterized by the incorporation of the history of Chimalpahin's ancestors as major players in the history of the Anahuac region and even showing their important role after the conquest. In other words, through his *Diary*,<sup>252</sup> Chimalpahin had the purpose of justifying the social position of both himself and his family in the colonial establishment.

Through the written testimonies that many of these early Nahua intellectuals provided about the sources that they consulted in order to write their own perspectives about Mesoamerican history, we know that some of them had access to Mesoamerican manuscripts that previous indigenous intellectuals had written before the arrival of the Spaniards. The way sixteenth-century Nahua intellectuals interpreted the content of earlier documents offers us an invaluable perspective on what these early manuscripts meant to Nahua intellectuals from the period of the Spanish colony.<sup>253</sup> The interpretation that many early Nahua intellectuals, such as Chimalpahin, created about the content of these ancient Mesoamerican manuscripts influenced their own perspective about their ancestors and their own past.

### 3.3.1 The *Colegio de San José de los Naturales* (1527)

The first institutionalized attempt to educate select members of the Nahua nobility took form in 1527, with the construction of the chapel of *San José de Belén de los Naturales*,<sup>254</sup> built nearby the *Colegio Grande de San Francisco*, in the capital of the New Spain. This enclosure became the first *Escuela de Artes y Oficios* for Indigenous Peoples. However, as the first name of the institution suggested, this school had the objective of teaching select indigenous children how to sing in Latin during the ceremony of the Catholic mass; as well as how to play the pipe organ. The school also taught these children how to reproduce European-styled sacred images and religious sculptures that otherwise would have been very expensive to bring to the Americas

<sup>252</sup> Domingo Chimalpáhin, *Diario* (México: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 2001), 440.

<sup>253</sup> Arthur J. O. Anderson and Susan Schroeder, *Codex Chimalpahin*, 14.

<sup>254</sup> On November 26, 1545, by Royal Decree, the *Colegio de San José de los Naturales* started to receive 300 ducados to Fray Pedro de Gante with the purpose of sustain and maintain the school. See Tomás Zepeda Rincón, *La educación pública en la Nueva España en el siglo XVI* (Guadalajara: Editorial Progreso, 1993), 51-62.

from Europe. This institution also had several economic advantages for the administration of the colony. The sons of indigenous noblemen made up the majority of the students of this school. However, admission to this school remained opened to other promising non-noble Nahua children who also received education in this compound.<sup>255</sup> The *Codex Franciscano* includes specific mention about the importance and goals of this *colegio*:

Tiene este monasterio de S. Francisco, a las espaldas de la capilla mayor de la dicha iglesia, una escuela adonde se enseñan a leer y escribir y la doctrina cristiana a los hijos de los principales indios, y lo mesmo tienen todos los demas monasterios de los otros pueblos; y desta escuela tiene cargo Fr. Pedro de Gante, [...] y este fue el primero que enseñó a los indios a cantar u la musica que ahora tañen, y les ha hecho aprender el pintas y otros oficios en que se igualan y exceden a los españoles.<sup>256</sup>

Nevertheless, the basic character of this school distanced itself from evolving into an institution of higher education, although some of its students mastered several techniques. Instead, the *Colegio de San José de los Naturales* focused on training Indigenous People in productive activities that could contribute both to the economic benefit of the church and the maintenance and support of the indigenous students. Consequently, former students from this school maintained their economic independence and additionally many played or sang independently from the school and the confines of the Church for their own economic benefit.<sup>257</sup> The reduced number of qualified musicians and singers that operated in Mexico City enabled many of the former students of this school to enjoy greater economic mobility due to the skills they learned in this *colegio*.

For the members of the Nahua nobility, the creation of this college represented another opportunity to gain access to certain spheres of social prestige. However, in the beginning some Nahua noblemen resisted the idea of accepting the westernized education that Spanish clergymen offered in the religious institutions that were under their supervision. Concerning this resistance, in the sixteenth century Fray Pedro de Gante mentioned how Nahua noblemen refused to send their sons to the *Colegio de Belén de los Naturales*, and instead they sent the sons of their servants and commoners in replacement.<sup>258</sup> However, native noblemen quickly realized how “much” these commoners learned in these schools and the value of their adopted skills in alphabetic literacy and the other arts from Europe. Their withholding of their own sons had

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<sup>255</sup> Jonathan Truitt, “Adopted Pedagogies: Nahua Incorporation of European Music and Theater in Colonial Mexico City,” in *The Americas* 66, No. 3 (Jan. 2010): 3311-330, 311.

<sup>256</sup> Joaquín García Icazbalceta, ed., *Códice franciscano, Informe de la provincia de Santo Evangelio al visitador Lic. Juan de Ovando. Informe de la provincia de Guadalajara al mismo. Cartas de religiosos, 1533-1569* (México: Imprenta de Francisco Díaz de León, 1889), 6.

<sup>257</sup> Jonathan Truitt, “Adopted Pedagogies,” 319-320.

<sup>258</sup> Tomás Zepeda Rincón, *La educación pública en la Nueva España*, 46-47.

placed the heirs of the Nahua noblemen in a disadvantaged position. This realization made the Nahua nobility change their minds, and they quickly started to send their own sons to this school.

Alongside the foundation of the *Colegio de San José*, the Franciscan order in conjunction with the civil authorities founded another school for indigenous women.<sup>259</sup> However, the main purpose of this said school was not to teach these indigenous women alphabetic literacy or other “arts,” as its male counterpart set out to do, but rather to protect these women and keep them away from the inherent sexual abuses that both indigenous caciques and Spanish conquistadors committed against them.<sup>260</sup> This measure, instead of empowering indigenous women, reinforced their vulnerable position; hence the intellectual activity within these enclosures remained more discrete and much less publicized.<sup>261</sup>

In 1532 the *Colegio de San José de los Naturales* first started to teach Latin to its Nahua students.<sup>262</sup> This practice, according to the sources, became so successful that the indigenous students mastered the Latin language and grammar. Nevertheless, the *Colegio de San José de los Naturales* only enjoyed a short period of prosperity. In 1572 fray Pedro de Gante, the founder of the *colegio*, died and the school rapidly declined in its importance. Moreover even those indigenous musicians educated in this institution later faced difficulties. For instance, in his study, Dr. Ross-Fábregas mentioned that:

(...) the situation of Indian musicians seems to have deteriorated for many reasons, such as the rivalry between religious orders, secular priests and the Spanish crown. Thus, the economic and social condition of indigenous musicians relapsed due to the fact that Indians were not allowed to be ordained priests, which also frustrated one of the original goals of the Franciscans who advocated for the education of Indigenous Peoples in New Spain.<sup>263</sup>

This phenomenon of decline in the arts helped to ensure that the once vibrant *Colegio de San José de los Naturales* turned into only a school of “*primeras letras*,” that eventually closed

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<sup>259</sup> *Colegio de las niñas*, document without date, AGN, Instituciones coloniales, Gobierno virreinal, Real Junta (099), Volumen único, fojas 40-40v.

<sup>260</sup> Fray Juan de Torquemada also mentioned in his *Monarquía indiana* that at this school Indian young women learned “trabajos mujeriles” since these indigenous women did not prepare themselves for being nuns, reason why they stayed in this compound only ten years. See Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1983), 167-168.

<sup>261</sup> It is important not to confuse this effort for educating indigenous girls with the colonial efforts made on behalf of the education of Spanish girls in New Spain. For more about the efforts of the colonial authorities for educating Spanish or mestizo girls, see Josefina Muriel, “Notas para la historia de la educación de la mujer durante el virreinato,” in *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* V (1974): 97-100. From the same author “La legislación educativa para las niñas y doncellas del virreinato en la Nueva España” in Josefina Muriel ed., *La sociedad novohispana y su colegio de niñas I* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2004).

<sup>262</sup> Pilar Gonzalbo, *Historia de la educación en la época colonial. El mundo indígena*, 111.

<sup>263</sup> Emilio Ros-Fábregas, “‘Imagine all the people...’ polyphonic flowers in the hands and voices of Indians in 16<sup>th</sup>-century Mexico,” *Early Music* 40, No. 2 (May 2012): 177-189, 184-185.

its doors as a school forever. However, the Franciscan initiative of education and its initial success led to the creation of a new institution that centered its efforts on providing access to higher education for New Spain's Indigenous Peoples.

### **3.3.2 The *Colegio Imperial de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco* (1536)**

Even before the closure of the *Colegio de San José de los Naturales*, the Franciscans further advanced their religious and educational agenda in New Spain by founding the *Colegio Imperial de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco* in 1536. The colonial Spanish authorities in conjunction with the Franciscan order had in mind the making of the *Colegio de Tlatelolco* as a school of “*artes mayores*” for the indigenous population. Thus, the college offered a humanistic westernized and Catholic education to some members of the indigenous elite of central Mexico, especially to the sons of the Nahua noble families.

The *Colegio Imperial de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco* became the cornerstone of the education of Nahua noblemen in the capital of New Spain. Due to the purpose and the advanced curriculum of the *Colegio de Santa Cruz*, this institution can be considered as a paradigm for indigenous education in the Spanish colonies. For the Nahua people from Mexico City, especially for the members of the Nahua nobility, the *Colegio de Santa Cruz* had its parallels and similarities with the Nahua *calmecac*. Hence, the *colegio* prepared a significant number of privileged Nahua with a special emphasis on European-styled humanistic education.

The *Colegio de Tlatelolco* introduced young members of the indigenous nobility to all the fields of westernized-Christian knowledge, including the religious principles of Catholicism, alphabetization, and the basics precepts of current European scientific knowledge.<sup>264</sup> The effectiveness of the curriculum and organization of the *Colegio* resulted in the creation of the first generation of Nahua intellectuals in New Spain during the colonial period. These Nahua intellectuals also worked with fray Bernardino de Sahagún in writing the work known as the “*Primeros Memoriales*,” which became the precedent for the later monumental work of *Historia de las cosas de la Nueva España*. The invaluable contribution of the Nahua intellectuals from the *Colegio de Santa Cruz* on this project reveals the reciprocal process of learning that existed under this institution.

The Franciscans originally founded the *Colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco* with the purpose of serving as the official institution in charge of the process of acculturation for the members of the indigenous nobility with the ultimate goal of creating the first of indigenous clergy in the Americas. This multi-phased process involved first the religious conversion of both the members of the Nahua nobility and their intellectuals; and secondly, the ideological indoctrination of these elites through the supplantation of Nahua ideology and intellectual

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<sup>264</sup> Silver Moon, “The Imperial College of Tlatelolco,” 3.

activities for westernized ideas. At this early point, the college had a promising future, both for the purpose of the Franciscans and for the Nahua peoples. For the members of the Nahua nobility the *Colegio de Tlatelolco* represented an opportunity for learning the manners, forms and alphabetic literacy used by the conquerors. According to the regulations of the Spanish authorities, the *Colegio de Tlatelolco* sought to house “two children from every *altepetl*, or two children from indigenous communities that had been led by a *tlatoani*.”<sup>265</sup> Just as the *Colegio de San José de los Naturales* did, the *Colegio de Tlatelolco* used the vernacular languages to evangelize and to publish religious and intellectual materials for Indigenous Peoples.<sup>266</sup> The usage of the Nahuatl language in the *Colegio de Tlatelolco* favored both Spanish clergymen and Nahua intellectuals by creating an authentic exchange of knowledge between the two cultures.

Even though the educational project of the *Colegio* existed for only a short time, it witnessed an abundant Nahua intellectual production. Under the sponsorship of the Spanish authorities, Nahua intellectuals produced many works with the collaboration of their Spanish tutors. This collective effort resulted in a variety of important works, such as Alonso de Molina’s Spanish-Nahuatl Dictionary, the *Historia de las cosas de la Nueva España*, the *Codex Cruz-Badiano*, and many other translations of important religious documents from the medieval tradition such as the Nahuatl language version of the *Imitatio Christi*.<sup>267</sup>

These works demonstrate how Nahua students from the *Colegio de Tlatelolco* learned to write both in Nahuatl and Spanish, and similarly how they mastered the discipline of interpretation and translation of texts in Latin.<sup>268</sup> The successful practice of these activities also demonstrated how the Nahua artfully adopted and appropriated religious ideas and western knowledge.<sup>269</sup> Thus, the works produced by the alumni of the *Colegio de Tlatelolco* displayed the influence of both Christianity and Nahua traditions, reflecting the adaptation and synergic knowledge elaborated by the Nahua of the *Colegio*.

However, it did not take long for the Spanish authorities to complain against the Nahua intellectuals’ exercise of translation and interpretation of religious texts conducted by the Nahua students at the *Colegio de Tlatelolco*.<sup>270</sup> According to the religious authorities in New Spain and

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<sup>265</sup> Gonzalbo, *Historia de la educación en la época colonial. El mundo indígena*, 112.

<sup>266</sup> See Martin Austin Nesvig, “The Epistemological Politics of Vernacular Scripture in Sixteenth-Century Mexico,” *The Americas* 70, No. 2 (October 2013): 165-201.

<sup>267</sup> David Tavárez, “Nahua Intellectuals, Franciscan Scholars,” 203-235.

<sup>268</sup> For a short list of the prolific work of Nahua intellectuals see Willard P. Gingerich, “A Bibliographic Introduction to Twenty Manuscripts of Classical Nahuatl Literature,” *Latin American Research Review* 10, No. 1 (Spring, 1975): 105-125.

<sup>269</sup> David Tavárez, “A Banned Sixteenth-Century Biblical Text in Nahuatl: The Proverbs of Solomon,” *Ethnohistory* 60, No. 4 (2013): 759-762.

<sup>270</sup> For more information about the conflict that translation and interpretation of religious texts into indigenous languages generated among the clergy and the colonial Spanish authorities in the Americas, see Esperanza López Parada, “Poder y traducción coloniales: el nombre de Dios en lengua de indios,” *Revista Chilena de Literatura*, Núm. 85 (noviembre 2013): 129-156, 138. See also the research of Mariana C. Zinni, “De la metáfora náhuatl: construcción de la divinidad en dos textos sahuagustinos,” *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 61, No. 2 (Julio-diciembre 2013): 629-646, 632-633.

members of other religious orders, especially the Dominicans, the translation of religious texts conducted by indigenous students from the *colegio* demonstrated clear misinterpretations and misunderstandings on the Catholic faith. These complaints argued that the conversion and interpretations of religious terms in Spanish could change their meaning when the native students translated them into indigenous languages. According to the detractors of this practice, these interpretations and their translations of the basic elements of the Christian faith put the success of the process of evangelization at risk.<sup>271</sup> Consequently, the texts translated into indigenous languages quickly came under the scrutiny of the colonial religious authorities and eventually the Inquisition. The colonial authorities considered that halting the translation of religious texts into indigenous languages would protect Christian orthodoxy in the Americas and keep the recently converted Indigenous Peoples away from any “heretical contamination.”<sup>272</sup> Due to this strict surveillance, the colonial authorities either suppressed or censored the intellectual production from the *Colegio de Santiago de Tlatelolco*. The culmination of this strict censorship at the hands of the Spanish Inquisition, the *Consejo de Indias* and other Spanish authorities came about in 1575. Consequently, this policy had a detrimental impact on the curriculum of the *Colegio de Tlatelolco*, which led to a decline in its intellectual production, and the defeating of the initial purpose of the founders of the *Colegio*. This situation, coupled with the opposition of the ecclesiastical and civil authorities to the eventual formation of a native clergy, became the main causes that led the ultimate decline of the *Colegio de Tlatelolco* as a leading institution of higher education for Indigenous Peoples.<sup>273</sup>

As if this were not enough, the Mexican provincial Church councils, or *Concilios Provinciales*, as early as 1555 and 1565 excluded Indigenous Peoples from receiving sacred orders and also prohibited them from the reading of printed books and other manuscripts concerning religious topics. Finally, the *Tercer Concilio Provincial* in 1585 limited Indigenous Peoples to merely receiving a basic elemental education in the Christian faith, without the possibility of gaining access to institutions of higher education or obtaining a position in the clergy.<sup>274</sup> As a consequence of these royal policies, the *Colegio de Tlatelolco* definitively closed its doors to Nahuatl students around 1649.<sup>275</sup> Nevertheless, in the mid-eighteenth century several attempts by secular Spaniards and clergymen attempted to seek the reopening of the *Colegio* in order to recover its intellectual splendor. Nevertheless, these later attempts did not succeed in reviving the college.

<sup>271</sup> Carlos Sempat Assadourian, “Hacia la “Sublimis Deus”: las discordias entre los dominicos indios y el enfrentamiento del franciscano padre Tastera con el padre Betanzos,” *Historia Mexicana* 47, No. 3 (January-March, 1998): 465-536, 481.

<sup>272</sup> See Martin Austin Nesvig, “‘Heretical Plagues’ and Censorship Cordons: Colonial Mexico and the Transatlantic Book Trade,” *Church History* 75, No. 1 (Mar., 2006): 1-37.

<sup>273</sup> For a more complete discussion about the idea of creating an indigenous clergy in the Americas, specifically in the capital of New Spain, see Margarita Menegus y Rodolfo Aguirre, *Los indios, el sacerdocio y la Universidad*.

<sup>274</sup> Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuri, “Del Tercero al Cuarto Concilio Provincial Mexicano,” *Historia Mexicana* 35, núm. 1 (jul.- Sept., 1985): 5-31, 9-10.

<sup>275</sup> Pilar Gonzalbo, *Historia de la educación en la época colonial. El mundo indígena*, 129.

### 3.3.3 The *Colegio de San Juan de Letrán* (1548)

By the middle of the sixteenth century the population of *mestizo* children who lived in social vulnerability increased dramatically. Most of these children, the products of illicit sexual relations between Spaniards and indigenous women and despised by both parents, lived on the streets of the capital of New Spain, contributing to an increasing level of delinquency and social unrest. To alleviate this social burden, the colonial authorities, specifically the *Cabildo*, or Town Council of the City of Mexico, founded the *Colegio de San Juan de Letrán* in the mid-sixteenth century for male *mestizo* children. From the beginning, the idea of founding a new *colegio* counted with the support of the Archbishop of Mexico, Fray Juan de Zumárraga, and the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza. The original purpose of this institution focused on preventing homeless *mestizo* children from the vices that derived from poverty. However, the high number of non-*mestizo* children who lived in similarly precarious conditions obliged the authorities to accept children who were not necessarily *mestizos*, but who also needed the attention of the authorities:<sup>276</sup>

[...] es cosa útil y necesaria en aquella república, porque muchos mestizos y otros muchachos que andan perdidos se recogen allí y son doctrinados, y unos salen para oficios y otros para religiosos y para otras cosas de Nuestro Señor se sirve, y se quitan de muchos vicios y aprenden virtud. [...] son muchos así con clérigos que les enseñan la doctrina cristiana y buenas costumbres y leer y tienen cargo de regirlos y gobernarlos, como con un preceptor que enseña gramática, y con médicos y otros gastos necesarios [...]<sup>277</sup>

In a letter written by the Viceroy don Antonio de Mendoza, the Viceroy explained the importance of having an institution of this nature in the capital of New Spain:

[...] me mandaron por muchas veces que yo diese orden como los hijos mestizos de los españoles se recojiesen, porque andan muchos dellos perdidos entre los indios. Para remedio desto y en cumplimiento de lo que sus majestades me mandaron, se ha instruido un colegio de niños donde se escojen no solo los perdidos, mas otros muchos que tienen padres que los ponen a depender la doctrina cristiana, y a leer y escribir, y a tomar buenas costumbres [...]<sup>278</sup>

Even though the *colegio* primarily focused on the education of *mestizo* children, Margarita Menegus mentioned that there existed a few known cases that demonstrated that indigenous

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<sup>276</sup> Ibid.

<sup>277</sup> France V. Scholes, "The Colegio de San Juan de Letrán in 1552," *The Americas* 1 (Jul., 1945): 99-106.

<sup>278</sup> "El Colegio de San Juan de Letrán de México," in Joaquín García Icazbalceta, comp., *Obras* II (México: Imprenta de V. Agüeros, 1898), 189.

children also attended the *colegio*,<sup>279</sup> and that the school even counted upon “Indian instructors” of the Nahuatl language and Latin Grammar.<sup>280</sup> Unfortunately, as Dr. Menegus also stated, little archival work has been done in studying the circumstances and particularity of the cases of these indigenous students.

The large plurality of the students from this *colegio* explains the higher number of employees and personnel that were in charge of this institution. Moreover, the population of this institution gradually increased if we consider that not including the workers and other personnel, the school housed nearly 200 students in its early years.<sup>281</sup> Nevertheless, indigenous students had restricted access to the *Colegio de San Juan de Letrán* due to one of the goals of this school: to create a clergy from New Spain. Since the creation of indigenous clergy failed in New Spain, the *Colegio de San Juan de Letrán* came to substitute for the failure of the original goals and ambitions of the *Colegio de Tlatelolco*’s attempts at creating an indigenous clergy. However, the main difference between these two colleges was that the *Colegio de San Juan de Letrán*, in opposition to the original idea of the *Colegio de Tlatelolco*, had as its main goal the creation of a *mestizo* clergy.

The *mestizo* population in New Spain represented an attractive sector of the population to some religious orders since several of these children spoke both Spanish and at least one indigenous language. The founders of this *colegio* saw in these *mestizo* children an opportunity to create a *novohispano* clergy. As the following document gives evidence, the colonial authorities had special interest in seeing the former students from the *Colegio de San Juan de Letrán* to collaborate in the evangelization of the Indigenous Peoples:

[Que estos niños] se inclinen a las letras y a ser eclesiásticos:... religiosos o lo sean, porque de allí salgan personas que aprovechen en los naturales, porque sabrán las [len]guas de ellos y ayudarán mucho más que los que de acá van, uni más que diez, por ser naturales y tener la lengua y conocer y saber las flaquezas y condiciones de ellos para los convertir y atraer. Enseñar y conservar en la fe y doctrina; y serán para más trabajo y suplirán la falta que hay de religiosos y de sacerdotes allá en muchas maneras [...]<sup>282</sup>

Consequently, and considering the pragmatism of this goal, the document continues stating that:

[...] porque [estos estudiantes] se compadecerán más de las necesidades de los indios y les dolerán más sus trabajos por ser sus naturales, y entenderlos han

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<sup>279</sup> See Menegus and Aguirre, *Los indios, el sacerdocio y la Universidad*, 60-65.

<sup>280</sup> *Carta del Consejo de las Indias a su Majestad*, Madrid, 23 de octubre de 1552, as cited in France V. Scholes, “The Colegio de San Juan de Letrán in 1552,” 100.

<sup>281</sup> *La orden que se tiene en el colegio de niños de México*, AGI, Indiferente General, legajo 737, as cited in France V. Scholes, “The Colegio de San Juan de Letrán in 1552,” 101.

<sup>282</sup> *Ibid.*, 104.



mejor que los que de acá van, que de ciento se vuelven los noventa acá; y más si es de hace universidad que esté junto a la casa y colegio de niños recogidos en México, y aun ordenándolo de manera que se enseñen todas las lenguas en la dicha casa para que de allí salgan algunos predicadores para enseñar tanta diversidad de lenguas de gentes como hay en aquellas provincias.<sup>283</sup>

It is highly possible to consider that the need that the *colegio* had for instructors of indigenous languages served as one of the conditions that allowed at least a few indigenous pupils to enroll as students in the school. In this way, the indigenous former students of the *colegio* could have been trained to teach the rest of their classmates one or more indigenous languages. In this sense, due to the restricted opportunities for education that Indigenous Peoples had in the *Colegio de San Juan de Letrán*, it is important to emphasize the ability and effort that apparently some indigenous families found to make higher education available for their children. Archival information also demonstrates that some indigenous parents wrote and sent letters to the authorities of diverse *colegios*, such as the one of San Juan de Letrán, asking for special permission for their children to attend the school. Margarita Menegus mentioned that one of these cases focused on the petition of the indigenous student Pascual de Roxas, cacique from Texcoco, who in 1749 narrated how he had attended the *Colegio de San Juan de Letrán* for learning of his “*primeras letras*.” After this period of basic education, Mr. Roxas gained admission into the University of Mexico and graduated as a *bachiller* in Philosophy. Another case, also mentioned by Dr. Menengus, is the case of Tomás Damián, an indigenous male from Ixmiquilpan, who also initially attended the *Colegio de San Juan de Letrán* and later on also became a student at the *Seminario Conciliar* of the Archbishopric of México, where he studied Theology around 1808.<sup>284</sup> Nevertheless, at this point it is not possible to determine if these few cases were an exception rather than a rule since very little archival work has been made on this topic.

### 3.3.4 The *Real y Pontificia Universidad de México* (1551)

Since the *Colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco* faced an economic decline during the last years of the sixteenth century, the opportunities for Indigenous Peoples to gain access to higher education declined dramatically by the end of the sixteenth century. However, the creation of the *Real y Pontificia Universidad de México* in 1551 represented a new opportunity for indigenous caciques, members of the indigenous nobility, and other interested Indigenous People in order to continue their intellectual preparation. These interests in pursuing higher education derived both from the social status and economic benefits that holding an academic degree and title from the University of Mexico represented for Indigenous Peoples.

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<sup>283</sup> Ibid.

<sup>284</sup> Menegus and Aguirre, *Los indios, sacerdocio y universidad*, 115-116.

The regulations of the university did not specifically include the exclusion of any student due to their ethnic origin, with the exception of those who were considered by the Spanish colonial system as “*personas prohibidas*” or anyone who was a “*persona no infame por infamia vulgar*,” which mostly became associated with the social quality of the student and his family, not his ancestry or “*race*.” In this sense, the university did not explicitly exclude any Indigenous People, including those from the Spanish colonies in Southeast Asia, but rather it excluded only those individuals with a reprehensible judicial status, such as enslaved people, *mulatos* or *chinos morenos*.<sup>285</sup> Even though initially petitions existed in favor of keeping the university free from *indios*, *mulatos* or members of other *castas* as students,<sup>286</sup> as the ethnic and social diversity increased in New Spain it became harder to keep certain institutions racially segregated.

Meanwhile, the *pueblos de indios* and their indigenous leadership remained engaged in a constant battle for gaining both the human and economic means to continue the teaching of the *primeras letras* for the youngest Indigenous Peoples from their populations. This phenomenon and the heightened interest that the indigenous population of New Spain showed towards education reflect the appreciation and importance that they had for maintaining their high social status or improving it through obtaining a degree from the university or any other *colegio*.

In Mexico City the attendance of Nahua and other Indigenous Peoples at the university continued until 1696, when the regulations of the university officially excluded everyone except the ethnic Spaniards from being enrolled as students at the university. The constant changes in the internal regulations concerning the requirements for the enrollment of students demonstrated the dynamic environment that existed within the University of Mexico. However, it is also a fact that being a student of the university represented a large investment of financial and social resources that limited many indigenous students’ access to this institution of higher education. Nevertheless, some self denominated “*indios caciques*” managed to attend and obtain a university degree following the procedures established by authorities from the university.

In the beginning, the number of indigenous students enrolled at the University of Mexico became far reduced in comparison to the number of Indigenous Peoples that attended one of the other *colegios*, especially those later sponsored by the Jesuits.<sup>287</sup> However, it seems that social factors, such as the increasing diversity of *castas* excluded them from gaining access to higher education, as well as the interests and social pressure that some sectors of the population exerted over the colonial authorities, limited the University of Mexico in mid 18<sup>th</sup>-century to only accepting Spaniards, criollos or so-called “*indios puros*.”<sup>288</sup> Still, a few cases demonstrate that

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<sup>285</sup> Ibid., 60-65.

<sup>286</sup> *Acta del claustro pleno celebrado el 19 de octubre de 1674*, AGN, Instituciones Coloniales, Regio Patronato Indiano, Universidad (114), Volumen 17, Expediente 1, fojas 3-5.

<sup>287</sup> Menegus and Aguirre, *Los indios, sacerdocio y universidad*, 105.

<sup>288</sup> *Acta del claustro celebrado el 14 de mayo de 1727*, AGN, Instituciones Coloniales, Regio Patronato Indiano, Universidad (114), Volumen 21, Expediente 308, fojas 35-38: “se ordena no admitir ningún acto dedicado a la Universidad, ni matricular en ella, a los que no sean españoles criollos o indios puros.”

Indigenous Peoples indeed studied in the Universidad de México and continued with the corresponding bureaucratic procedures to be able to legally practice or hold their corresponding professional degrees.<sup>289</sup>

By the seventeenth century, the image of the “*indio letrado*” became prevalent since an important number of Indigenous Peoples who had gained access to the educational system in major urban centers, such as Mexico City, Puebla and Oaxaca, offered their services for the elite of their indigenous communities. According to the work of Dr. Menegus, several indigenous students decided to study Law instead of pursuing a direct career within the religious realm, which also required that indigenous students enjoyed a good economic position, which was not always the case. In other words, as Dr. Menegus suggested, for indigenous students from rural areas, studying Law represented a shortcut to achieving a position within the religious sphere without becoming an ordained member of the clergy. The social status and local power that ecclesiastical authorities held in medium-sized and smaller towns remained a bastion for aiding in the maintenance of social privileges for Indigenous People former noble families. Nevertheless, indigenous students who lived in urban centers diversified their economic activities and their professional opportunities were not limited to studying Law.

By the mid-eighteenth century the University of Mexico openly expressed the idea that Indigenous Peoples had the right to attend to university. In the *Constituciones de la Real y Pontificia Universidad*, published in Mexico City in 1775, article number 246 openly expressed the availability for indigenous students to attend the University:

Ordenamos , que qualquiera que hubiere sido penitenciado por el Santo Oficio, o sus Padres , o Abuelos, o tuviere alguna nota de infamia, no sea admitido a grado alguno de este [sic] Universidad, ni tampoco los Negros, ni Mulatos, ni los que comúnmente se llaman Chinos morenos, ni qualquiera género de esclavo, o que lo haya sido: porque no solo no han de ser admitidos a grado , pero ni a la matricula; y se declara, que los Indios, como Vasallos libres de su Magestad, pueden, y deben ser admitidos a matricula, y grados.<sup>290</sup>

As we can see, access to the *Universidad de México* in the mid-seventeenth century remained opened for all the subjects of New Spain, except for those with enslaved ancestry or those with a family history of heresy by having had relatives who were penitents of the Inquisition. In this

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<sup>289</sup> See the case of Isidro del Espíritu Santo in the document entitled *Licencia de Ysidro del Espíritu Santo, indio cacique natural de la ciudad de México, y que ha deliberado el estado eclesiástico, para portar los hábitos en atención a estar cursando la sagrada teológica, en la Universidad*, México 8 de noviembre de 1713, AGN, Instituciones Coloniales, Indiferente Virreinal, Cajas 5000-5999, Caja 5152, Expediente 002 (Clero Regular y Secular) Caja 5152, 6 fojas.

<sup>290</sup> *Constituciones de la Real y Pontificia Universidad de México, Segunda edición, dedicada al Rey Nuestro Señor Don Carlos III* (México: Imprenta de Don Felipe de Zuñiga y Ontiveros, 1775), 132.

sense, gaining access to the *Universidad* represented a possible improvement in the social status for the Indigenous Peoples of New Spain.

### 3.3.5 The *Colegio Seminario de San Gregorio* (1586)

A radical expansion in indigenous access to education came with the arrival of the first members of the Company of Jesus, or the Jesuit Order, who quickly upon their arrival in 1586, founded another school for the education of the sons of regional caciques, the *Colegio Seminario de San Gregorio*. This *colegio* initially remained under the economic dependency of the *colegio Máximo*, also known as the *Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo*, founded by the Jesuits for the sons of Spaniards. While the *Colegio Máximo* centered its attention on the education of Spaniards, the original plan for the *Colegio de San Gregorio* focused on the instruction of a few indigenous children, sons of regional indigenous caciques, who were willing to live in a boarding school system while they remained as students in the *colegio*.

The internal organization of the *colegio* counted upon a seminary for a reduced number of “*hijos de principales*,” a school of “*primeras letras*” for *macehual* children, and a church where indigenous adults could attend the ceremony of the mass. The *Colegio de San Gregorio* did not represent an isolated effort of the Jesuits for the education of indigenous children. The Jesuits also founded the *Colegio de San Martín de Tepoztlán*,<sup>291</sup> for the education of indigenous children, sons of caciques and *principales* from both nearby areas and those from remote locations. Similarly to the policies of the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, other indigenous children, the sons of *macechuales*, also received instruction in a variety of technical skills, along with the study of the “*primeras letras*” and basic Catholic religious doctrine.<sup>292</sup> Juan de Tovar, the first rector of the *colegio* and a *mestizo*, pointed out that the main objective of this school was to educate indigenous children from an early age in the Christian faith and in “good manners and education.”<sup>293</sup> By educating these indigenous children into what the Spaniards called “proper manners of living,” these children would be able to return to their communities and influence their entire environment.<sup>294</sup>

During its first years of existence, the *Colegio de San Gregorio* counted upon a relatively small number of students who remained under the direct economic sponsorship of the *Colegio Máximo*. However, an important donation made in 1651,<sup>295</sup> which consisted of sufficient

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<sup>291</sup> Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Organización de la Iglesia en el Reino de Granada y su proyección en Indias siglo XVI* (Sevilla: Publicaciones de la Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla, 1979), 246.

<sup>292</sup> Lilian Álvarez Arellano, “El Colegio de San Gregorio: Modelo de educación para los indios mexicanos.”

<sup>293</sup> Andrés Pérez de Rivas, *Crónica y historia religiosa de la provincia de la Compañía de Jesús de México en Nueva España I* (México: Imprenta del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús, 1896), 120-121.

<sup>294</sup> *Testimonio de la fundación de Colegio Seminario de San Carlos para Indios en el de San Gregorio*, AGN, Instituciones Coloniales, Indiferente Virreinal, Colegios Caja 2257, Cajas 2000-2999, Caja 2257, Expediente 024, 4 fojas.

<sup>295</sup> Pilar Gonzalbo, “Del Tercero al Cuarto Concilio Provincial Mexicano,” 169.

resources to build the church, allowed the authorities of the *colegio* to build the *Capilla de Lotero*.<sup>296</sup> In 1683, the *colegio* received another important donation from Juan de Chavarría, a wealthy colonist who was also a member of the knightly order of Santiago. Mr. Chavarría donated to the *colegio* the resources to build another church, and also granted the *colegio* a bequest of his former hacienda of “San José de Oculman,” along with its cattle, and other valuable goods,<sup>297</sup> including “some slaves.”<sup>298</sup> This last donation greatly increased the revenue of the school, and consequently by the beginning of the eighteenth century the *colegio* enjoyed a surplus in its rents. The school then became a semi-independent institution from the *Colegio Máximo*. At the same time, this economic independence allowed the members of the *colegio* to improve the compound and the classes that the *colegio* offered. Nevertheless, in 1767, with the expulsion of the Society of Jesus from New Spain, the college became transferred to the administration of the smaller religious educational order known as *Compañía de María de Nuestra Señora*. However, due to the independent rents and economic resources that the *colegio* still had, the authorities of the *colegio* remained semi-independent, turning the *Colegio de San Gregorio* into one of the last bastions of education for the Indigenous People.

The intellectual production of the many generations of students of the *Colegio de San Gregorio* cannot be directly or appropriately compared with the productivity of the indigenous students of the *Colegio Imperial de Tlatelolco*. First of all, we have to recognize that the objectives of the two colleges were very different. Also a comparison between the two is not appropriate because the Jesuits founded the *Colegio de San Gregorio* under the strict guidelines stipulated by the *Concilios Provincial Mexicano* II in 1585 which limited access to education and the training for the Indigenous People to professions other than the goal of obtaining positions within the Catholic Church. Nevertheless, the students from the *colegio* did not stop their intellectual production and these limitations did not halt their advancement. As a matter of fact, the alumni and students who graduated from the *Colegio de San Gregorio* eventually occupied positions as professors and teachers at the University of Mexico, as well as lawyers and positions as important as public notaries. However, there were some students, both from the *Colegio de San Gregorio* and from the *Seminario de Tepoztlán*, who excelled in their scholarly skills allowing them to attend either the *Colegio de San Juan y San Pablo* to continue with their learning of Latin, or to gain access to the University of Mexico as students of higher education and advanced degrees.

Unfortunately, the exact number of students from the *Colegio de San Gregorio* who were able to attend the University or other institutions of higher education currently remains unknown.

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<sup>296</sup> José Ignacio Rubio Mañé, *El virreinato IV. Obras públicas y educación universitaria* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México- Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas- Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2005), 298.

<sup>297</sup> *Constituciones del Real Colegio de San Gregorio de México aprobado por el Ecsmo. Virrey don Félix Calleja, por el superior decreto de julio de 1815*, AGN, Ramo: Justicia-Instrucción Pública, Volumen 1, Expediente 52 o 46, número 8, legajo 13, fojas 389-408, f. 390.

<sup>298</sup> Lucas Alamán, *Diccionario universal de historia y geografía* II (México: Librería de Andrade, 1853), 398.

Margarita Menegus and Rodolfo Aguirre in their collective work mentioned the existence of an important number of files that demonstrate the large number of indigenous students enrolled in the University of Mexico during the late eighteenth century; however, the authors did not include either the number of referred students, or the references to their sources. This fact demonstrates that the policies of restriction and acceptance for indigenous students remained relatively flexible and operated according to the particularity of the case of each student.

### 3.3.6 The *Real Academia de San Carlos de las Nobles Artes de la Nueva España* (1784)

In 1784 the colonial authorities in New Spain founded the *Real Academia de Pintura, Escultura y Arquitectura de San Carlos de la Nueva España*.<sup>299</sup> Following the example of the University of Mexico, the statutes of the *Real Academia de San Carlos de Nueva España*, published in 1785, specified that the access to this school was “open to anyone who wishes to attend,” making special emphasis on the opportunity that this school offered to Indigenous People:

En la sala de principios se admitirán indistintamente todos quantos se presenten, ya sea con el fin de estudiar completamente qualquiera de las tres Artes, ó la del Gravado, ó ya sea con el ánimo de adquirir solo el dibujo para aprender despues con mas perfeccion qualquiera oficio.<sup>300</sup>

Similarly, this *estatuto* also mentioned the importance of accepting Indigenous Peoples as students, due to their “natural ability” for the arts, which represented an archaic idea dating from the period of the first arrival of the Spaniards. As a matter of fact, the “*artículo XIX*” from the *estatuto*, regarding the “*Discípulos pensionados*,” states that those who could receive the *pensiones* (pensions or financial aid) could be either Spaniards or “*naturales*.” This statute also emphasized the importance of accepting Indigenous Peoples as students of the academia and ordered the: “[...] permanent inclusion of four pure Indians from New Spain who were willing to study any of the Arts offered by the Institute of the Academia, by considering both their poverty and this interest united [...]”<sup>301</sup> Consequently, the acceptance of indigenous students in the *Academia de San Carlos* became a very common practice. As available documentation shows, the number of students in the *Academia* in 1794 fluctuated around 67, and approximately 20 out of these 67 enjoyed the status of “*pensionados*.”<sup>302</sup> It is difficult to accurately determine the

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<sup>299</sup> *Bando relativo a la fundación de una nueva Real Academia de Pintura, Escultura y Arquitectura con el título de San Carlos de Nueva España*, 1784, AGN, Instituciones Coloniales, Indiferente Virreinal, Cajas 1-999, Caja 0136, Expediente 008, Bandos, Caja 0136.

<sup>300</sup> *Estatutos de la Real Academia de San Carlos de Nueva España*; México (México: Imprenta nueva mexicana de Don Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, 1785), 33-34.

<sup>301</sup> *Estatutos de la Real Academia de San Carlos de Nueva España*, 38. The original quotation states: “(...) con inclusión precisa y perpetua de quatro Indios puros de Nueva España que quieran aplicarse a cualquiera de las Artes del Instituto de la Academia, teniendo todos la pobreza y la particularidad unidas (...)”

<sup>302</sup> *Relación de alumnos que asisten a la Real Academia*, Noviembre 15 de 1794, and *Relación de los alumnos pensionados*, file without date, ARASC-FAUNAM, documento número 25, Número de referencia 10092.

ethnic or indigenous status of students who received financial aid since this information is not always specified in the documents. However, independent files and documentation submitted by a significant numbers of indigenous students expressed their status as “fellows” of the *Academia*.

The attendance of Nahua students in the *Academia* offered them a prestigious social position not only among their communities, but also among the rest of the population of the region. This social prestige also represented real economic benefits for the graduates since indigenous students enrolled in the *Academia* were exempt from tribute.<sup>303</sup> This exemption of tribute represented only one of a series of social benefits that indigenous students at the *Academia de San Carlos* had, especially after they graduated. Once a student graduated from the *Academia*, whether the student was indigenous or not, he received a certificate that “approved them” or “certified them” as specialists in the specific discipline that they studied, such as painting, sculpture, etc. This official recognition served as a type of license which allowed them to perform their abilities while pursuing personal economic benefits. This status placed graduated students from the *Academia* above indigenous artisans in New Spain, who lacked any official certification and, thus, performed their work at a cheaper rate than the graduates from the *Academia*. For example, in 1799 the Protector of the Indians, in an attempt to protect the privileges and licensing of these indigenous graduates from the *Academia* stated that:

pulsan graves dificultades en la práctica, siendo muy duro que a tantos infelices como los hay, principalmente indios sin contar con otra cosa para su subsistencia que lo poco que ganan en hacer estas o las otras pinturas ligeras y de poca dificultad, se les prive de algún destino [...]; que lo mas que podría hacerse en el casi es que se pusiese algún distintivo en las casas u obradores de los pintores aprobados y así el público no se engañarían [...]; que se forme una lista de todos los pintores aprobados que hay en el reyno [...]<sup>304</sup>

As this document illustrates, the commercial competition that former students from the *Academia* faced from non-licensed indigenous artisans represented a very common phenomenon which challenged their prestige. This is the reason why the authorities of the *Academia* later appealed to the higher authorities in New Spain to pass legislation to avoid common indigenous artisans from usurping the artistic and creative work that former students from the *Academia* were licensed to do.<sup>305</sup>

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<sup>303</sup> *Memorial del indio Juan de la Cruz Fortes, del Ramo de Escultura, sobre que se le obligaba a pagar tributo*, 1791; and *Real Orden revelando a los indios pensionados de la Real Academia de San Carlos del pago de tributo*, 1 de julio de 1794, ARASC-FAUNAM, gaveta 8, 1794-1795, documento 18, número 124.

<sup>304</sup> *Oficio del fiscal protector de indios (Saparsurieta), diciendo: que en el adoptar una providencia general sobre los pintores no examinados*, diciembre 31, 1799, ARASC-FAUNAM, Documento 20, Gaveta 9. 1796-97-98-99-800.

<sup>305</sup> *Ibid.*

The intellectual opportunities that the *Academia de San Carlos* offered indigenous students did not remain limited to the teaching of artistic skills. Along with the learning of aesthetic values, the students of the *Academia* also remained in close contact with innovative ideas and literary works produced in Europe. These ideas arrived to the *Academia* either through published works acquired by the institutional authorities for the improvement of the library, or through the visits of intellectuals from Europe who served as temporary visiting faculty. Consequently, during the early nineteenth century these students became involved in social issues that concerned them as members of a specific social group in New Spain, as we will see in the next chapter.

### **3.4 Conclusion to Chapter 3**

As we have seen, all Mesoamerican societies practiced institutionalized intellectual activity. Mesoamerican states created several institutions that sponsored the creation and maintenance of intellectual activity, and those who practiced these activities must be considered as intellectuals. Regional, cultural and gender variations determined the characteristics of the institutions that sponsored this intellectual activity. In this sense, even though we can refer to the existence of a Mesoamerican intellectual tradition, we need to clarify that this tradition was heterogeneous and diverse.

With the arrival of the Spaniards to Mesoamerica and with the process of colonization this Mesoamerican intellectual tradition became disrupted. Nevertheless, even with this disruption, Mesoamerican peoples found ways to preserve their collective knowledge and memory through a very complex process of cultural synergy. Those indigenous intellectuals who decided to continue performing their Mesoamerican knowledge without the sponsorship and outside Spanish colonial institutions often found themselves prosecuted and punished by the colonial authorities.

In contrast, some Mesoamerican individuals, either by choice or because of the need to resist challenges to their former privileged social position within the Mesoamerican establishment, found their way to participate in the institutionalized life that the colonial system provided. The cultural adaptation that these individuals experienced implied their learning and eventual practicing of some of the features of the intellectual European tradition. In this sense, alphabetic literacy became one of the main skills acquired by the indigenous individuals who gained access to these colonial institutions. Thus, during this initial colonial restructuring, educational institutions founded by Spanish colonizers became the main route through which these Mesoamerican individuals continued producing their intellectual tradition. In the particular case of central Mexico, these institutions were mostly for the purpose of educating the members of the former Nahua nobility into the European style of life.



Through the existence of these colonial institutions, Nahua intellectuals found a limited, but very valuable, opportunity to continue with the production of knowledge and their intellectual activity. These institutions became the intellectual refuge where several Nahua intellectuals adopted new skills through which they preserved and continued developing their identity and ancestral knowledge. Consequently, even considering how disruptive and violent the process of the conquest and colonization remained for Mesoamerican people, several indigenous individuals were able to gain access into the spheres of higher education and their intellectual activity became sponsored by the colonial authorities. This intellectual continuity cannot be considered as homogeneous and lineal, but rather as heterogeneous and variable. However, it is very possible to come to an understanding about Nahua intellectuals through the study of the sources that they left behind as a result of their education, activities and membership in the many diverse colonial educational institutions.

## Chapter 4

### Nahua Intellectuals at the Dawn of the Nineteenth Century in Mexico City

#### Introduction

The Nahua intellectual tradition during the colonial era in Mexico thrived throughout the period of the Spanish conquest, in spite of the restrictions and oppression that characterized this colonial system. As several scholars have already analyzed,<sup>306</sup> the works produced by indigenous intellectuals in the American territories colonized by the Spaniards (i.e. Domingo Francisco de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin,<sup>307</sup> Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, in Mexico, and Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala for the territory of Peru,<sup>308</sup> among many others) usually, but not exclusively, had the purpose of legitimizing their position within the colonial establishment by praising both their noble lineage and history or documenting the way the Spanish conquest had disrupted their societies. Thus, the content of these indigenous intellectuals' works always included vital information that contributed to the permanence, conservation, continuation and construction of both their individual and collective identity. The content of these works also reflected the experiences, and the political and cultural backgrounds in which these indigenous intellectuals lived and produced their work. Hence, the work produced by indigenous intellectuals in the nineteenth-century Mexico reflected the political changes and the social

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<sup>306</sup> For instance and only to mention a few of the most influential works on this matter, see the works of Susan Schroeder, *Chimalpahin and the Kingdoms of Chalco*; as well as Susan Schroeder, *The Conquest All Over Again*; or the collective works compiled in *Annals of His Time*; and Susan Schroeder, *Chimalpahin's Conquest: A Nahua Historian's Rewriting of Francisco Lopez de Gomara's La conquista de Mexico* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2010); as well as Amber Brian, Bradley Benton and Pablo García Loaeza, *The Native Conquistador*; José Rubén Romero Galván, *Los privilegios perdidos: Hernando Alvarado Tezozómoc, su tiempo, su nobleza y su Crónica mexicana* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2003).

<sup>307</sup> See Ernst Mengin, *Diferentes historias originales de los reynos de Culhuacán, y México, y de otras provincias* (Berlin: Baessler Archive, 1944). About this work see José Rubén Romero Galván, "Posible esquema de las Historias originales de Chimalpahin," *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, número 1 (1976): 73-78. See also Domingo Francisco de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Cuauhtlehuanitzin, *Relaciones originales de Chalco Amaquemecan*, Silvia Rendón, trans., (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1965). See also Domingo Chimalpahin, *Diario* (México: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 2001); Domingo Chimalpahin, *Memorial Breve acerca de la fundación de la ciudad de Culhuacan*; Víctor M. Castillo, ed., (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1991); and Domingo Chimalpahin, *Las ocho relaciones y el memorial de Culhuacan*, 2 vols., Rafael Tena, trans., (México: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 1998).

<sup>308</sup> Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (Caracas: Biblioteca de Aracuco, 1980).

circumstances in which the indigenous population lived during this period of time in the capital of New Spain.<sup>309</sup>

Indigenous intellectual activity continued to thrive within colonial institutions during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. For instance in 1724,<sup>310</sup> the religious and civil authorities in New Spain founded the *Convento de Corpus Christi para Indias Caciccas*,<sup>311</sup> and in 1785 the *Real Academia de las Nobles Artes de San Carlos*, which mirrored the *Academia de las Nobles Artes* in Spain. The foundation of these two institutions demonstrates that during the last decades of the eighteenth century Mexico City continued having a vibrant intellectual life in which Indigenous Peoples participated.

Despite either the lack of resources or little interest that colonial authorities had in preserving the institutions that worked for the benefit of Indigenous Peoples, these organizations continued working at least until the first decades of the nineteenth century. In many cases, the same Indigenous Peoples remained in charge of keeping these institutions open and working efficiently, such as in the case of the *Colegio de San Gregorio* in Mexico City. These indigenous communities supported these types of institutions either through making pecuniary donations or by providing labor or other services when required. Hence, both literacy and the educational system continued being an effective way in which Indigenous Peoples in general, and several Nahua intellectuals in particular, found to continue their various intellectual activities.

Nevertheless, both the cultural and educational developments in New Spain received influences from the political background and various events that occurred in the Iberian Peninsula and in Europe. Consequently, the intellectual production of Nahua intellectuals in the colony of New Spain did not disassociate itself from all these affairs. In this context, several specific historical events occurred in Spain that influenced and changed the status of the indigenous communities in the American territories. In summary terms, the following events deeply influenced the works and even the political positions of several indigenous intellectuals in New Spain:

- a) The Bourbon Reforms at the beginning of the eighteenth century.
- b) The expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish territories in 1767.
- c) The Courts and the subsequent Constitutions of Cadiz in 1810.
- d) The French occupation of Spain under the French forces on February 1810.

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<sup>309</sup> For an interesting debate and comparison about how intellectual elites formed by Indigenous People in the Andes and in Mexico functioned, see Ramos and Yannakakis, *Indigenous Intellectuals*.

<sup>310</sup> Tovar Esquivel Enrique e Itzel Landa Juárez, "Entierros en el templo de monjas caciccas de Corpus Christi de la Ciudad de México," *Boletín de Monumentos Históricos*, núm. 9 (2007): 16-28.

<sup>311</sup> Arturo Rocha Cortés, "El convento de Corpus Christi de México para Indias caciccas, 1724. Documentos para servir en la restauración de la iglesia," *Boletín de Monumentos Históricos*, núm.1 (2004): 17-39.

- e) The issuing of the Spanish Constitution of Cadiz in 1812.
- f) The consummation of the Independence of Mexico from Spain in 1821.

These historical events transformed the Indigenous Peoples' position in later colonial society, and these events even impacted upon the way in which they administrated their collective property and educational institutions.

The main purpose of this chapter is to offer the names and biographical sketches of only a few Nahua intellectuals who thrived at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth-century in Mexico City. Therefore, the biographical information for these Nahua intellectuals will give evidence to their active role within the political spheres of the time. This information will confirm the argument that both Indigenous Peoples and their communities actively participated, along with other politicians and social leaders from other *castas*, in the higher level political discussions of their time, instead of their usual characterization in the historical literature as amorphous and apolitical “mobs” during the period of independence of 1810.<sup>312</sup> These Nahua intellectuals participated in diverse political forums where they exposed their ideas, interests and even promoted their own agenda, which reveals a clear example of what scholars call an expression political identity.<sup>313</sup>

Due to the cultural and socio-economic plurality in Mexico, the interests of these Nahua intellectuals, both as members of a specific class and individually, were beyond the simple labels of the Conservative or the liberal discourses.<sup>314</sup> Hence, this chapter aims to consider that the political participation of indigenous communities during nineteenth-century Mexico was the direct result of a strong intellectual tradition. For this reason, before we embark upon a biographical review of several Nahua intellectuals, I consider it essential to mention and briefly describe the governmental realms in which these intellectuals most frequently acted. The Spanish colonial regime created a series of organizations in order to better administrate the indigenous populations of the Central Valley of Mexico, among them were the *repúblicas de indios*, the *parcialidades*, *cabildos*, *cofradías*, and *cajas de comunidad*, among several others. These mentioned organizations contributed to help organize the social, economic and cultural life of

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<sup>312</sup> In this sense, this is one of the major criticisms that I find in the work of Miguel León Portilla and Alicia Mayer entitled *Los indígenas en la Independencia y en la Revolución Mexicana* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas-Fideicomiso Teixidor, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2010) in which the image of the Indigenous Peoples who participated in key historical processes of Mexican history are reduced too simply to vague descriptions using terms such as “people” or “mobs.” About this discussion see, Jaime Rodríguez O., *Nosotros somos ahora los verdaderos españoles I* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, Instituto Mora, 2012), 226-227, with especial attention to the work of William B. Taylor, *Drinking, Homicide and Rebellion in Colonial Mexican Villages* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1979).

<sup>313</sup> Leonie Huddy, “From Social to Political Identity: A Critical Examination of Social Identity Theory,” *Political Psychology* 22, No. 1 (Mar., 2001): 127-156.

<sup>314</sup> Jaime E. Rodríguez O., *Nosotros somos ahora los verdaderos españoles I*, 27.

Indigenous Peoples during the colonial era. Consequently, early nineteenth-century Nahua intellectuals in Mexico City had a close relationship and extensive knowledge about these governmental structures and institutions.

#### **4.1 An Overview on Indigenous Political Participation during the Spanish Colonial Era in Mexico City**

There is no doubt that the period of the Spanish conquest and the subsequent period of colonization highly deteriorated Mesoamerican communities by suppressing their history, identity and styles of life. In substitution for the existing Mesoamerican social system, the Spanish administration created a series of institutions that sought to contribute to the process of colonization of both the human and natural resources of the recently subjugated Mesoamerican people. Nevertheless, the process of colonization in the Valley of Mexico relied on the creation of a series of governmental institutions which administrated the indigenous population of the region. The political system established by the colonial regime founded diverse administrative institutions, such as *ayuntamientos*, *cabeceras*, *tribunales*, *municipios*, etc., in which Indigenous Peoples actively participated. Through these said institutions indigenous communities in general negotiated their presence and exerted influence upon the colonial system.

This colonial system was not optimum by any means, and for obvious reasons it did not provide indigenous communities with complete sovereignty over their own affairs. Nevertheless, this colonial system included the political participation of indigenous leaders, and offered institutions where commoners also found a place to channel their concerns, complaints and petitions.<sup>315</sup> There are several cases in which Indigenous Peoples denounced, either through civil or religious courts, different crimes committed against them, such as their mistreatment by either their local priests or Spanish authorities.<sup>316</sup> There is also evidence concerning Indigenous Peoples' petitions to gain financial aid in order to attend educational institutions in the capital of

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<sup>315</sup> *El intendente de Yucatán representa al virrey para que se sirva de mandar para las cajas generales de esta capital que suplan los cientos de los cuatro jóvenes destinados a la Real Academia de San Carlos descontándose algunos caudales de aquella provincia*, 1806, AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 6002, Expediente 027, Colegios, 16 fojas.

<sup>316</sup> The cases currently housed in different archives in Mexico vary. Nevertheless, we can have a glimpse about this tradition of litigation by reviewing a few of the following cases. To mention only a few of them: *Expediente formado por una denuncia que hace el P. Fray Alonso Polonio, del convento de Tepeaca, por denuncia de una mujer contra un sacerdote llamado José Tenorio, por solicitante*, 2 de enero de 1800, AGN, Instituciones coloniales, inquisición, Inquisición 61, Volumen 1468, Expediente 9, fs. 106-108; *Denuncia contra un sacerdote cuyo nombre no conoce la persona que la hace. Hacienda de La Purísima Concepción de Ocuila*, 1741, AGN, Instituciones coloniales, Inquisición, Inquisición 61, Volumen 793, Expediente 3, fs. 13-19; *Sobre algunas diligencias que se han practicado con María Rita Viveros, respecto a la denuncia que hizo contra un sacerdote por solicitante, Jalapa*, 1772, AGN, Instituciones coloniales, Inquisición, Inquisición 61, Volumen 1137, Expediente 22, fs. 241-242. As we can see through these three examples, Indigenous People in their towns continued to denounce perceived abuses to the corresponding institutions, complaining about diverse transgressions committed by local authorities against the members of the community until the nineteenth century. These examples demonstrate that people in general, especially in indigenous communities, often used the legal authorities to channel their demands and complaints.

the New Spain. In this sense, the high political participation of indigenous communities within the colonial system was not a rarity, but a norm.

Nevertheless, it is important to point out that the access that different Indigenous Peoples had to the colonial system and its institutions was not equal. The colonial authorities determined the participation of both indigenous communities and individuals based on their place of origin, town of residence, their community or individual economic activities, as well as their relationship with the metropolis. For instance, the relationship that several of the Indigenous Peoples called “*indios del norte*” had with the metropolis and their use of these institutions did not remain as effective as the correspondence that Nahua people who lived in Tacuba could exert on these colonial institutions. A clear example of this situation is the relatively high accessibility that Nahua people from the Valley of Mexico had to educational institutions from the metropolis, in comparison to their counterparts from the northern or southern provinces.

Colonial institutions such as the *Tribunal de Indios* and the *Juzgado General de Indios* worked as mediating institutions that sought to alleviate the problems that concerned indigenous communities in New Spain.<sup>317</sup> Hence, colonial Spanish institutions, as well as their tribunals, were not invisible or unknown for indigenous communities. The social complexity of Mesoamerican societies and their local legal traditions deeply influenced indigenous societies under the colonial system to adopt and use some of the Spanish institutions in the sake of their own benefit. In diverse regions, these indigenous communities developed a strong and solid institutional life based on the *República de Indios*<sup>318</sup> system and in the Valley of Mexico through the system of *parcialidades*, which counted upon their own indigenous authorities. These indigenous authorities had a relevant presence in the political life of Mexico City since they worked as mediators between the inhabitants of the indigenous *parcialidades* and the colonial authorities. Contrary to what we might think, the primary sources produced by the representatives of these communities were not characterized by having an anti-monarchical discourse.

On the contrary, the documentation available reinforces the hypothesis that nineteenth-century indigenous communities in Mexico City in general trusted the colonial institutions and

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<sup>317</sup> There are some cases in which Indigenous Peoples from places far from the metropolis traveled to the capital to denounce or make demands, and in many of the cases, these individuals were received by the Spanish authorities in the capital of New Spain as we will see in the case of the people from Sandía Pueblo, New Mexico, and their relation with Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma (*Destitución de Tierras, tercera sala, Don Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma, 1829-1841*, AGN, México Independiente, Poderes Judiciales, Tribunal Superior de Justicia, Caja 0158) or the case when the Indigenous Peoples from northern Mexico, in the present day United States of America, visited Emperor Maximilian in Mexico City on January 21, 1865: *Orden superma para que por los fondos del Ayuntamiento se eorguen los gastos que ocasione la permanencia en esta ciudad de los indios comisionados de las tribus Mascoguas y Kicapús*, 21 de enero de 1865, AHDF, Sección Hacienda General, Volumen 2109, Expediente 170, 5 fojas.

<sup>318</sup> Peter Gerhard, “Congregaciones de indios en la Nueva España antes de 1570,” in *Los pueblos de indios y las comunidades*, Bernardo García Martínez, ed., (México: El Colegio de México, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1991), 30-79.

the way they worked, and displayed a high respect for the Cortes and the constitution that was issued in Cadiz during the invasion of Spain by the French. This indigenous recognition of the royal institutions can be explained based on the fact that these colonial institutions were relatively efficient. They also allowed the indigenous communities to have a direct representative who guarded the interests of their communities, or at least, the interests of the leaders of their own communities. In this sense, the social division of indigenous communities also influenced the way their indigenous affairs were resolved within these communities. This was the specific case of Nahua communities in Mexico City at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries.

In order to demonstrate evidence of this previous statement, I will briefly describe a series of institutions and legal instances in which Indigenous Peoples politically participated in the affairs that concerned their communities in the region of Mexico City. By doing so, we will see evidence of indigenous political participation and the semi-autonomous character that these societies enjoyed before the Bourbon Reforms and the issuing of the Constitution of Cadiz.

#### 4.1.1 The *Parcialidades*

In the capital of New Spain, Nahua communities displayed their political influence and collective power through the exercise of government in their *parcialidades*. This political and territorial organization determined the life and social organization of the newly conquered territories and their inhabitants after the sixteenth century.<sup>319</sup>

After the conquest of Tenochtitlan and its surroundings, the Spaniards organized the territory of former Mexico-Tenochtitlan into four *parcialidades de indios*: San Juan Moyotlan, San Sebastián Atzacualco, San Pablo Teopan y Santa María Cuepopan.<sup>320</sup> These *parcialidades* remained as a political framework that worked within and between Spanish religious congregations and civil authorities. These *parcialidades* remained responsible for the recollection of tribute, political participation of indigenous authorities and the creation of *municipios* and *cabeceras*.<sup>321</sup>

Simultaneously to the creation of the *pueblos de indios*, there were also political institutions such as territorial *municipios* with their corresponding *cabildos*, all having their own

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<sup>319</sup> Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule*, 32.

<sup>320</sup> See Rosendo Rovisa Margado, “Las cuatro parcialidades de México Tenochtitlan: Espacialidad prehispánica, construcción virreinal y prácticas judiciales en la Real Audiencia de la Nueva España” (PhD Diss. Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2014), 57-58. In this dissertation Rovira Morgado demonstrates that the geopolitical construction of the *parcialidades de indios* in Mexico City after the conquest of Mexico-Tenochtitlan was mostly based on Spanish political regulations both from civil and religious authorities, instead of having a heavy influence on the original indigenous *traza* of the city.

<sup>321</sup> See Delfina López Sarrelangue, “Las tierras comunales indígenas de la Nueva España en el siglo XVI,” *Estudios de historia novohispana* 1(1966): 131-148

*alcaldes*, *regidores* and *alguaciles*; and the larger of them, were called *cabeceras*, each also represented by the *gobernador indio*,<sup>322</sup> which allowed for the appointment of local indigenous authorities and institutions which saw to the re-organization and control over indigenous communal property in Mexico City.<sup>323</sup> The members of these *parcialidades* had the right to elect their representative, who was also an indigenous member of the community.<sup>324</sup> This indigenous representative served as the legitimate representative of the corresponding *parcialidad* or *parcialidades* before the local *cabildo* and the Spanish *ayuntamiento*.<sup>325</sup>

Throughout the period of the Spanish colony in New Spain, the *parcialidades de indios* efficiently worked not only organizing and recollecting tribute for the Spanish colonial authorities, but they also served in creating a stable geo-political organization that allowed the permanence and administration of indigenous communal property in Mexico City. However, at the beginning of the nineteenth century the political liberalism that prevailed in Spain deeply affected these *parcialidades de indios* in Mexico.<sup>326</sup>

#### 4.1.2 Indigenous *Cabildos*, *Cajas de Comunidades* and *Cofradías*

Before the issuing of the Constitution of 1812, in Mexico City, the governor, or representative, of the *parcialidades de indios* presided over the Indian *cabildo* and also had to appear before the Spanish *Ayuntamiento*, a reason why the colonial authorities required that any “*indio*” governor of the *parcialidades* had to be able to speak both an indigenous language and Spanish. The *cabildos* were Spanish-indigenous institutions made up of offices with Spanish titles held by elected indigenous nobles.”<sup>327</sup> The indigenous *cabildos* were a very complex political government organization that counted upon the service of *alcaldes*, *alguaciles*, *regidores* and *mayordomos*.<sup>328</sup> These indigenous *cabildo* authorities, working along with the Spanish ones in Mexico City, were responsible for organizing the recollection of both indigenous tribute and the *repartimiento* or “tribute labor” needed in public works within the city.<sup>329</sup>

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<sup>322</sup> William F. Connell, *After Moctezuma*, 5-6.

<sup>323</sup> José Miranda, *El tributo indígena en la Nueva España durante el siglo XVI* (México: El Colegio de México, 1952), 29.

<sup>324</sup> *Que estas parcialidades se junten y hagan su elección de gobernador libremente*, noviembre 24 de 1664, AGN, Instituciones Coloniales, Real Audiencia, Indios (58), Contenedor 14, Volumen 24, Expediente 477.

<sup>325</sup> *Relación de los individuos que han sido cojidos por leva y estan reclamados, unos por sus parcialidades de indios, y otros por sus mujeres y madres*, document without date, AGN, Instituciones Coloniales/ Indiferente Virreinal, Cajas 4000-4999, Caja 4205, Expediente 13.

<sup>326</sup> Andrés Lira, *Comunidades indígenas frente a la Ciudad de México*, 46.

<sup>327</sup> William F. Connell, *After Moctezuma*, 23.

<sup>328</sup> See, Lara Semboloni Capitán, *La construcción de la autoridad virreinal en nueva España, 1535-1595* (México: El Colegio de México, 2014).

<sup>329</sup> William F. Connell, *After Moctezuma*, 33.



The Indigenous *cabildo* developed along with the concept of the *República de Indios* in colonial government practice.<sup>330</sup> Each *República de Indios* counted with a *cabildo*, which had its own indigenous representatives who received the titles of *alcaldes*, *regidores*, *alguaciles*, and a host of other lesser indigenous officials. Both the *república de indios* and the *cabildos* did not work homogeneously in every region conquered by the Spaniards, but their existence and various operations depended on the geography, economy and social background both of the local Spanish regime, as well as the composition of the indigenous population. Throughout the period the Spanish regime, the *cabildos indios* suffered constant attacks and rejection from both Spanish authorities and civilians due to the level of autonomy and the knowledge about politics and litigation that the *cabildos* provided for their Indigenous Peoples.<sup>331</sup> However, during the nineteenth century in the Valley of Mexico the *cabildos indios* did stand as a solid institution represented by Indigenous Peoples.

Within the *cabildos* there also existed special *cajas de comunidad* and occasionally religious confraternities which held communal lands and livestock attached to a specific community called *cofradías*. Both the *cajas de comunidad* and the *cofradías* were corporative societies that existed from the beginning of the Spanish colonial regime.<sup>332</sup> Both organizations relied upon on the paternalistic system developed by colonial administrations, putting in the hands of Indigenous Peoples the responsibility for their own collective welfare. In general terms and summarizing the complexity of their internal organization due to the purpose of this research, indigenous authorities administrated the funds of the *cajas de comunidad* in order to use them to take care of the welfare of the population and their communities' public expenses, while the proceeds of the *cofradías*' funds managed the religious obligations of the community.

The *cajas de comunidad* remained similar to cooperative societies of prevention, supported by the contributions made by the same members of the community. These contributions could be offered in the form of labor, products, manufactured goods, cattle and/or money.<sup>333</sup> Indigenous leaders and authorities administrated the savings of these *cajas* or the *haciendas de comunidad* (properties that belonged to indigenous communities), whose proceeds also constituted a part of the funds held in these *cajas de comunidades*. Although the administration of the *cajas de comunidades* sought to prevent the misuse of the revenue of the *cajas*, there was always place for corruption and bad administration.

Nevertheless, these *cajas* indeed provided indigenous communities with a level of political and economic participation within the colonial system since Spanish authorities seldom

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<sup>330</sup> Gudrun Lenkersdorf, *República de Indios. Pueblos mayas en Chiapas, siglo XVI* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Filológicas, 2001), 17.

<sup>331</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

<sup>332</sup> See Nancy Farris, *Maya Society under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984), 262-263.

<sup>333</sup> Guadalupe Nava Oteo, "Cajas de bienes de comunidades indígenas," *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*, N°. 2 (1971): 349-359, 349.

depended on these indigenous revenues. Based on the evidence, the revenues of these *caja de comunidades* depended on the region and the economic situation of the indigenous communities that administrated them. Hence, these revenues also determined and exemplified the level of political participation that the indigenous community had within the colonial system.

Throughout the entire colonial period, the *cajas de comunidades* did not experience any dramatic changes. However, in 1786 the *Real Ordenanza de Intendentes* stipulated that the upper level colonial administration of these *cajas* would be transferred from the hands of the viceroy to the *Junta Superior de la Real Hacienda* which could access these indigenous funds at will for other colonial necessities, such as colonial defense (see Chapter 5). This major change in the administration of the savings of the *cajas* provoked several misunderstandings and confusion in the field of jurisdictions, which angered the leaders of the indigenous communities who later had trouble gaining access to their own revenues and goods.

Similarly, the *cofradías* also remained as an ostensibly religious institution in which Indigenous Peoples provided social welfare or diverse types of public aid and services to the members of their own communities.<sup>334</sup> There were several types of *cofradías*: the guild, the religious, military and simple *cofradías*.<sup>335</sup> *Cofradías* in general had a secular character, but proceeded within the religious sphere of control.<sup>336</sup> The *cofradía* members usually focused on organizing the festivities corresponding to the patron saint of the community or other religious gatherings concerning the community. However, the chores of the *cofradía* members were not limit to the religious realm, but they also assisted the community with resources that helped to maintain local hospitals or schools for the benefit of Indigenous Peoples.<sup>337</sup>

In summary, these *cofradías* and *hermandades* remained mostly as urban corporations that allowed their representatives, as well as the peoples from their communities, to have a high level of political participation in the affairs that concerned them since the Indigenous People elected the representatives of these societies.<sup>338</sup> Similarly, these indigenous corporate institutions also helped indigenous communities to mitigate their economic needs during harsh times when epidemics or shortages affected the population.<sup>339</sup> In other words, these corporations generated

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<sup>334</sup> Héctor Martínez Domínguez, “Las cofradías en la Nueva España,” *Primer Anuario* (Xalapa: Centro de Estudios Históricos, Universidad Veracruzana, 1977), 45-71.

<sup>335</sup> See Charles Victor Heath, “The Inevitable Bandstand: The State Band of Oaxaca and the Politics of Sound” (PhD diss. Tulane University, 2007).

<sup>336</sup> Dagman Bethcloff, “La formación de una sociedad intercultural: las cofradías en el Michoacán colonial,” *Historia Mexicana* 2, número 43 (1993):251–63. Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25138898>.

<sup>337</sup> See Alicia Bazarte Martínez, *Las cofradías de españoles en la Ciudad de México (1526-1860)* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma Metropolitana, 1989).

<sup>338</sup> Ana María Martínez de Sánchez, “Hermandades y cofradías. Su regulación jurídica en la sociedad indiana,” in *Derecho y administración pública en las Indias hispánicas II*, Feliciano Barrios coord., (Castila-La Mancha: Ediciones de la Universidad, 2002), 1035-1064.

<sup>339</sup> For instance, the *Hospital real de los Naturales de la Nueva España* indeed had a *cofradía* which organized certain religious events concerning the sake of the hospital. See *Respuesta del Bachiller Francisco Dionisio Dean, capellán mayor del Hospital Real de Naturales, a la pretensión de los indios de la Cofradía del*

revenue that provided indigenous communities with a series of services and aids that otherwise would be hard to get from the Spanish authorities. These elements defined the semi-autonomous character of these corporations.

A lot of the revenues and resources collected and distributed by the officials who administered the *cajas de comunidades* went to the creation and maintenance of schools, and the payment of school professors in their towns. These revenues also served to assist the indigenous communities in case of epidemics, droughts, shortages or other mishaps. This does not mean that the institutions that received aid from the *caja de comunidades* remained completely independent from the colonial regime. For instance, the *Real Hospital de los Naturales*, one of the indigenous' peoples most important institutions in Mexico City, received diverse funds from the King, since it was a royal institution; however, the resources provided by organized indigenous communities kept the hospital functioning throughout the colonial period.<sup>340</sup> It is documented that indigenous communities collaborated in the maintenance of the hospital by providing a *media*, an equivalent to a half a *fánega*, of corn out of each hundred *fánega* or bushels of corn that a *pueblo* produced. These communities also paid a tax of one *medio real* per person annually and another *medio* from the *caja de comunidad*,<sup>341</sup> which provided indigenous communities with the right to receive medical attention at the hospital and free legal representation in the *Juzgado General de Indios*.<sup>342</sup> For instance, at the time of its foundation,<sup>343</sup> the hospital counted upon a pharmacy, and in the mid-seventeenth century it also counted on a theater and a coliseum.<sup>344</sup> In mid-seventeenth century, most of the resources that supported the hospital came from the *haciendas* and other productive collective properties that indigenous leaders from the diverse *parcialidades* administrated.<sup>345</sup>

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*mencionado hospital para que el bachiller Pascual de los Reyes predique su sermón en Cuaresma*, 1731, AGN, Instituciones Coloniales, Indiferente Virreinal, Cajas 4000-4999, Caja 4775, Expediente 024 (Hospitales Caja 4775), 2 fojas.

<sup>340</sup> For more about the problems, both social and economic, that the hospital faced, especially during the late seventeenth century, see Verónica Ramírez Ortega, *El Real Colegio de Cirugía de la Nueva España 1768-1833. La profesionalización e institucionalización de la enseñanza de la cirugía* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales, Comisión de Estudios Históricos de la Escuela Médico Militar, Patronato del Hospital de Jesús, Facultad de Medicina, 2010), 49.

<sup>341</sup> *Decreto del Congreso que suprime las contribuciones del medio real de Ministros, media Real de Hospital Real y medio de Cajas de Comunidad, haciéndose cargo la Regencia del sostenimiento del Hospital de Naturales*, 1822, AGN, Instituciones coloniales, Real Hacienda, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda, Volumen 1871, Expediente 46.

<sup>342</sup> Verónica Ramírez Ortega, *El Real Colegio de Cirugía de Nueva España, 1768-1833*, 49.

<sup>343</sup> Justino Fernández, "Hospital Real de los Indios de la Ciudad de México," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* I, núm. 3 (1939): 25-47.

<sup>344</sup> Carmen Venegas Ramírez, "La asistencia hospitalaria para indios en la Nueva España," *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*, Volumen 19 (1973): 227-240.

<sup>345</sup> *Superior orden para que los gobernadores de las parcialidades de San Juan y Santiago pongan en ejercicio el cobro del medio real del hospital y lo entreguen al Hospital Real de los Naturales de México*, 1817, AGN, Instituciones Coloniales, Regio Patronato Indiano, Hospitales (054), Contenedor 22, Volumen 53, Expediente 19, fojas 392-408.

Similarly, educational institutions focused on the education of Indigenous Peoples received both human and pecuniary support from indigenous communities. In several cases, the resources collected by the community served to provide them with local *escuelas de primeras letras*, or first letter schools, where most indigenous children learned the basic rudiments of literacy.

As we reviewed in the previous chapter, the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, in Mexico City, exemplified how colonial authorities and indigenous corporations worked in favor of the education of Indigenous Peoples. For the optimal performance of the *Colegio de San Gregorio* indigenous communities provided both pecuniary resources and labor for the support of these institutions when necessary. For instance, in a document written by Indigenous Peoples in 1830 they openly defended the exclusivity of funds from the *Colegio de San Gregorio* to benefit only indigenous students. The Nahuatl intellectuals who wrote this text not only claimed that the principal Indigenous Peoples from Tacuba founded this college, but also that the properties that they used for the maintenance of the school must work for the unique interest of indigenous students:

[...] pues a la vez que no alcancen los fondos de los otros colegios para sus precisas urgencias, ha de ocurrirse necesariamente a los de S. Gregorio, quedando desde hoy sujetos los propietarios a positivas escaseces contra la mente de los fundadores de su seminario, que fueron los indios principales de Tacuba, quienes acaso con privaciones de su mismo alimento establecieron esta casa, para exclusiva educación de sus descendientes, que fomentó D. Juan Echeverría levantándoles su iglesia, y cediéndoles después generosamente la hacienda de S. José Acolman con el preciso objeto de su ilustración y sustento.<sup>346</sup>

The content of the document demonstrates the sense of belonging that the indigenous communities from Tacuba had towards the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, which they considered “their college.”

The resources for supporting these types of institutions also originated in *haciendas* and properties that generated assets. In Mexico City, indigenous communities administrated these haciendas under the territorial division of their *parcialidades*.

#### **4.1.3 Indigenous Participation through Educational Institutions**

During the mid-eighteenth century important schools such as the University of Mexico, the *Academia de San Carlos* and the *Colegio de San Gregorio* as we have seen above already accepted indigenous students. However, the *Colegio de San Gregorio* remained as the only

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<sup>346</sup> *Ya les pesa a ciertos hombres que se ilustren los indios*, (México: Imprenta del Ciudadano Alejandro Valdés, 1830), AGN, Ramo Justicia-Instrucción Pública, Volumen 1, Expediente 47, fojas 292-293.

“indigenous college” by definition. At the end of the eighteenth century in a joint effort between the Spanish colonial authorities and leaders of indigenous communities, the *Colegio de San Gregorio* remained open, despite its constant ups and downs in finances, programs and personnel. Most of the resources that made the *Colegio de San Gregorio* able to offer both the financial aid and the grants to indigenous students came from the efforts of the *parcialidades*. These contributions represented the revenues of the rents of their *haciendas* or other productive properties, as well as the contributions made by the members of the *parcialidades*.

Despite the collective efforts in attempting to keep the *Colegio de San Gregorio* open and working, this institution did not completely satisfy the needs that the indigenous population had for gaining access to higher education. In this sense, the representatives of indigenous communities did not stop their own efforts at creating new schools. Hence, several indigenous leaders in Mexico City continued pressuring and litigating in order to found another college for the education of Indigenous Peoples, which would be called *Colegio de San Carlos Borromeo* under the sponsorship of the Jesuit order.<sup>347</sup> Similarly to the initial goal of the *Colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco*, the *Colegio de San Carlos Borromeo* intended to form an indigenous elite capable of occupying the higher level clergy positions. Nevertheless, the project of founding a college with such pretensions alarmed both civil and religious authorities in New Spain, making this ambitious project unrealizable.<sup>348</sup>

In mid-seventeenth century, as we have seen above, these collective efforts for having schools or other avenues to provide higher education or positions to noble indigenous women, materialized in the foundation of the Convent of Corpus Christi for *indias cacicas*. The main goal of this convent focused on providing high religious training and appropriate spiritual guidance to the daughters of indigenous noble families or *caciques*. This probably was the major effort that both colonial authorities and indigenous leaders made in providing noble indigenous women with a higher social status based on religious education.

Within this context, by the end of the eighteenth century virtually no schools remained segregated in Mexico City. As a matter of fact, the *Academia de las Nobles Artes* de San Carlos’ authorities made clear that by royal disposition the *Academia* remained open to accept indigenous students. The Statutes for the Academy clearly expressed about the disciples stating that: “En la sala de principio de admitirán indistintamente todos quantos se presenten, ya sea con el fin de estudiar completamente qualquiera de las tres Artes, o la del Gravado, o ya sea con el

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<sup>347</sup> See, Margarita Menegus Bornemann, “El Colegio de San Carlos Borromeo: un proyecto para la creación de un clero indígena en el siglo XVIII,” in *México, universidad y sociedad. El vínculo crítico*, Hugo Casanova y Claudio Lozano, Barcelona, eds. (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona-Publicacions; Edicions; 2004), 289-301.

<sup>348</sup> *Remitiendo dos reales despachos de 17 de este mes el 1o. sobre el establecimiento de un colegio seminario para la enseñanza de los niños indios con el nombre de San Carlos, y el 2o. sobre el informe actual del colegio*, 20 de febrero de 1801, AGN, Instituciones Coloniales, Gobierno Virreinal, Reales Cédulas Originales y Duplicados (100), Reales Cédulas Originales, Volumen 182, Expediente 15.

ánimo de adquirir solo el dibujo para aprender después con mas perfección qualquiera officio.”<sup>349</sup>  
And about providing financial assistance to students who needed it, and receiving indigenous students the statutes also expressed that:

1. Para que no se malogren muchos jóvenes de talento, que abandonan el estudio de las Artes por no tener mas medios para subsistir que su trabajo corporal, es mi voluntad [del rey] que la Academia elija por ahora quatro discipulos [de cada ramo], y dos de Medallas, con la pensión anual que baste a su manutención, para que puedan emplear todo su tiempo en el estudio de las referidas Artes.
2. Las calidades esenciales que han de tener los que se elijan para estas pensiones, son la de Españoles, naturales de aquellos o de estos reynos, con inclusion precisa y perpetura de quatro Indios puros de Nueva España que quiean aplicarse a qualquiera de las Artes del Instituto de la Academia, teniendo todos la pobreza y la particular habilidad unidas: de suerte que por ser muy pobre, si no es bien habil, si no es muy pobre tampoco podrá tenerla.<sup>350</sup>

Four of the mentioned scholarships for indigenous students with limited resources were especially applied for those Indigenous People who did not reside in Mexico City.<sup>351</sup> Consequently and congruently with this acceptance, there are records that demonstrate that the *Colegio de San Ildefonso*, the *Colegio de San Juan de Letrán*, the *Colegio de San Pablo* and the University also had several indigenous students enrolled.<sup>352</sup>

At the end of the seventeenth century the University of Mexico officially open its doors to Indigenous Peoples, but still excluded people from other *castas* such as *chinos*, *mulatos*, *negros* or *esclavos*, and those related with past relatives trialed by the Inquisition or either accused of committing crimes against the faith. As the Constitutions of the University referred: “[...] y se declara, que los Indios, como Vasallos libres de su Magestad, pueden, y deben ser admitidos a matricula, y grados.”<sup>353</sup> However, it is important to emphasize that the real possibilities that Indigenous Peoples had to attend to the University of Mexico remained limited, so mostly *indios caciques* or *hijos de indios nobles* did indeed seize this opportunity as their economic, social and geographical conditions allowed them. On the contrary, the commoners

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<sup>349</sup> “Estatuto 18: Discípulos,” in *Estatutos de la Real Academia de San Carlos de Nueva España* (México: Imprenta de Don Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, 1785), 35.

<sup>350</sup> “Estatuto 19: Discípulos pensionados,” *Ibid.*, 38.

<sup>351</sup> *El intendente de Yucatán representa al virrey para que se sirva de mandar para las cajas generales de esta capital que suplan los cientos de los quatro jóvenes destinados a la Real Academia de San Carlos descontándose algunos caudales de aquella provincia*, 1806, AGN, Indiferente virreinal, Caja 6002, Expediente 027, Colegios, 16 fojas.

<sup>352</sup> Menegus Bornemann and Aguirre Salvador, *Los indios, el sacerdocio y la universidad en Nueva España*, 82-83.

<sup>353</sup> “Constitución CCXXXVI; Que personas no se han de admitir a grados, ni a cursar en esta Universidad,” in *Constituciones de la Real y Pontificia Universidad de México. Segunda Edición, dedicada al rey nuestro señor don Carlos III* (México: Imprenta de D. Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, 1775).

had a hard time gaining access to the University of Mexico or other colleges that provided higher education.

As we have seen above, both the number and origins of indigenous students who attended higher education institutions remains unclear. This is the result of a nineteenth-century policy that dictated that institutions such as the University of Mexico no longer had the obligation to record the origin of the majority of its enrolled students, unless the authorities of these institutions considered it necessary to check the background of the aspiring pupil. This measure, as expressed in the Constitutions of the University, aimed to keep the “good morals” of the students and the prestige of the institution. In this sense, holding the status of “Indian” did not represent an obstacle to gain admittance into one of these institutions. On the contrary, the documentation available demonstrates that most of the students enrolled in the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, emphasized their indigenous origins, especially if they considered themselves as “caciques” and this was mostly based on the indigenous funding sources for the institution.

Similarly, several students enrolled in the *Academia de San Carlos* openly described their indigenous origins if they pursued the financial aid offered by the *Academia*. An example of this is a request that Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, one of the Nahua intellectuals that this study focuses on, wrote to the authorities of the *Academia* asking for a letter in which the school testifies that Ixtolinque remained as a boarding student based on his condition as an Indian: “Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque [...] dice: que hallándose mi padre en la Corte de Madrid peleando el cacicazgo, me pide le mande una certificación de estar pensionado en esta Real Academia.”<sup>354</sup> For instance, other students submitted their records of baptism in order to gain access to one of the four grants offered by the *Academia* for indigenous students. In this sense, the case of Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque presents an interesting aspect of this financial aid system, since earlier documents demonstrate that Patiño Ixtolinque belonged to the *castizo casta*, being born from a Spanish father and *mestizo* mother,<sup>355</sup> while later he claimed that he descended from the indigenous noble Ixtolinque family. In any case, due to its submission of proof of his indigenous origins Patiño Ixtolinque successfully received the financial aid offered by the *Academia* to Indian students.

It is interesting to emphasize that gaining access to higher education remained a privilege not only among the indigenous population, but also among all the inhabitants of New Spain as a whole. However, indigenous students asking for grants or financial aid to different scholarly institutions in many cases reinforced their status as “caciques.” Either way, the status of being

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<sup>354</sup> *Solicitud de Pedro Patiño Estolinque sobre que se de certificación de ser pensionado en el reamo de escultura*, 1791, ARASC-FAUNAM, GAVETA 2.1784-1785-1786 [números del 49 al 246], documento 7.

<sup>355</sup> *Copia certificada de la fe de bautismo de don Pedro Patiño Estolinque [sic]. Bachiller Rafael Tiburcio Sandoval y Austria; Theodoro Antonio Barragán; Pascual Pérez (Rúbricas)*, septiembre 6 de 1788, ARASC-FAUNAM, 387, GAVETA 2.1784-1785-1786 [números del 49 al 24]. In the following document Pedro Patiño appears as “indio cacique.” *Escultura. Pedro Patiño Estolinque [sic]* ARASC-FAUNAM, 384, Legajo conteniendo los documentos números 385, 386 y 387. 1788; GAVETA 2.1784-1785-1786 [números del 49 al 246].

“cacique” did not mean that the solicitors enjoyed a privileged economic situation, but rather they enjoyed a higher social status in comparison to their “non-cacique” counterparts.

#### **4.2 The “Rupture Generation:” Biographical Sketches of Early Nineteenth Century Nahua Intellectuals**

Based on the basic theoretical guidelines provided by scholars such as Karl Mannheim, José Ortega y Gasset and Frederick Skinner we can state that the following Nahua intellectuals shared a series of social and ethnic characteristics that made them part of a special cohort. Thus, the following biographical sketches demonstrate the social, ethnic, educational and temporal affinities that the members of this generation unit shared. As we can see, these four members of this generational unit, Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, Juan Rodríguez Puebla, Faustino Chimalpopoca and Francisco Mendoza y Moctezuma, emerged from similar social and economic backgrounds. Comparably, their education, ethnic identity and social strata shaped the positions that these individuals had towards specific problems that concerned them and affected their social units.

Based on the conceptual premises regarding the definition of the terms “generations” and “cohort” (see Chapter 2 of this work), it is possible to summarize the following:

- a) Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, Juan de Dios Rodríguez Puebla, Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma, and Faustino Chimalpopoca Galicia belonged to a specific group of Nahua intellectuals who ethnically recognized themselves as *indios* or as *mexicanos*. Since ethnicity is a cultural construction that individuals construct themselves, the ethnic identification of this group should not get confused with the concepts involved in the colonial term of *casta*.
- b) These indigenous individuals studied in a school that worked within the structures of the Spanish colonial regime in New Spain. In the case of Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma there is no available documentation that refers to his educational background; nevertheless, Mendoza y Moctezuma produced and appeared as an essential presence in a series of documents in which he displayed his knowledge about the educational and legal system in New Spain, which allowed him to have a preeminent role in vital disputes that concerned indigenous communities and their educational institutions.
- c) These indigenous individuals received their education under the Spanish colonial regime and experienced the political and cultural transformations that occurred in the early nineteenth-century New Spain including the French invasion of Spain, the Bourbon Reforms, the Constitution of Cadiz and the independence of New Spain which led to the long process of confiscation of communal indigenous properties.
- d) These intellectuals left behind documents that gave witness to their activities as social representatives, politicians, interpreters or historians. All of these documents also give us



evidence of the sense of ethnic belonging that these intellectuals expressed by identifying themselves as a separate group, with their own characteristics, as opposed to the rest of the Spanish or Mexican citizens.

- e) These intellectuals expressed in the documentation they created a sense of collective ethnic identity and this resulted in their high involvement in political affairs that sought either to favor or defend the rights of the groups to which they claimed to belong.
- f) Based on the documentation produced by the members of this generation unit, these intellectuals did not identify themselves with the dominant political sphere, even though each one of them worked within it for a limited period of time.

These basic characteristics also delimit both the geographical and historical space of actions, and the immediate problems which they faced during the turbulent early decades of the nineteenth-century Mexico.

Thus, the following biographical information about these intellectuals is presented in a chronological manner, following the years in which these individuals were born and tracing their lives and actions individually and as a group. Thus, the first person that I will present information about is Pedro Patiño Ixtolique, followed by the biography of Juan Rodríguez, continuing with Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma, and finally with the life of Faustino Chimalpopoca.

#### **4.2.1 Pedro Antonio Patiño Ixtolinque (1774-1834)**

According to a copy of his baptismal certificate, Pedro Antonio Patiño Ixtolinque was born on May 31, 1774 in San Pedro Ecatingo, in what is today the *Estado de México*, in the municipality of Chalco.<sup>356</sup> Registered as a *castizo*, reportedly with a Spanish father and *mestizo* mother, a copy of his baptismal record provided to the *Academia de San Carlos* testifies that his father was named José Leandro Patiño, while his mother's name was Vicenta Anastacia:

Pedro Antonio Castizo.

En la iglesia parroquial de San Pedro Ecatingo en cinco de junio de mil setecientos setenta y cuatro, yo el párroco bauticé solemnemente a un niño de seis días y le nombré Pedro Antonio, es hijo legítimo de José Leandro Patiño y de Vicenta Anatasia, mestiza, feligreses ambos de esta parroquia. Fueron sus padrinos Rosa Ansure, viuda, y su hijo José Pérez, y les advertí su obligación, y parentesco, y yo firmé= Bachiller Don Antonio Garcilaso de la Vega= La cual

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<sup>356</sup> Jean Charlotte, *Mexican Art and the Academy of San Carlos, 1785-1915*, 55.

partida va fiel y legalmente sacada, y concuerda con su original a que me remito, siendo testigos a la ver sacar y cotejar.<sup>357</sup>

Even though the name that Patiño Ixtolinque provided for his mother remains relatively coherent since her entire name could have been Vicenta Anastacia Pérez, the name of his father remains unclear in the documentation. The names that Patiño Ixtolinque later provided for his father, either as José Leandro Patiño or as Pedro Patiño Istolinc, seem unbridgeable; especially if we consider that the last name “Ixtolinque” is the one that tied the former sculptor with the noble indigenous family named Ixtolinque from Coyoacan. This discrepancy has raised doubts and led to various hypotheses among those who have inquired about the origins of Patiño Ixtolinque. Abelardo Carrillo y Gabriel (1895-1976), a Mexican art historian, proposed that Patiño Ixtolinque had manipulated his last name, and thus his origins, with the intention of gaining for himself the financial aid that the *Academia* offered to indigenous students:

[Carrillo y Gabriel reconciled] this move with the act of baptism, advanced the theory that this was a false racial claim, a subterfuge prompted by economic need and contrived with the backing of the child’s teacher, who was also his protector. However, pure Indians were alone exempted from some of the formalities, an exemption which proved a substantial advantage, and Patiño could hardly have applied as an Indian without exciting jealousy and gossip unless he was already known as an Indian by his teachers and fellow students.<sup>358</sup>

Even though the previous documents could raise questions about the noble origins of Patiño Ixtolinque, it seems that he did not face any problems with this issue during his professional life since he apparently was never asked to offer an explanation of how to reconcile these conflicting pieces of information.

In any case, the legitimacy or veracity about his noble origins or his family’s claim to a connection to the *cacicazgo* in Coyoacan does not demean either his work or his position towards issues that concerned the indigenous populations. The case of Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque provides current historians with a very interesting example of individual ethnic construction. This case demonstrates the complexity of ethnicity in nineteenth-century Mexico by being a far more intricate phenomenon rather than being solely a racial or a “*casta*” issue.

Continuing with the biographical data, the documentation reveals that Pedro Patiño entered the *Academia de San Carlos* as an aspiring sculptor in 1788, when he was only 14 years old receiving one of the grants that the *Academia* offered to indigenous students.<sup>359</sup> In 1791

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<sup>357</sup> *Acta de ingreso de Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque a la Academia de San Carlos en el ramo de escultura*, 1788, ARASC-FAUNAM.

<sup>358</sup> Jean Charlot, *Mexican Art and the Academy of San Carlos*, 55.

<sup>359</sup> *Acta de ingreso de Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque a la Academia de San Carlos en el ramo de escultura*, 1788.

Patiño wrote a petition to the authorities of the *Academia* asking for an official document, or a certified letter, in which the authorities acknowledge him as “pensioner student of the Academia,” which confirmed that he continued receiving a royal stipend to succeed in his studies at the academy. According to Ixtolinque, this cited request followed a petition made by his father, whose name he did not provide in this document, who at that time was in Madrid, Spain, fighting for his right to maintain his claim to his “cacicazgo” in Coyoacán. In this document Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque expressed: “Pedro Patiño Estolinque, pensionado de esta Real Academia en la escultura puesto a las plantas de Vgd. con el mayor respecto dice: Que hallándose mi padre en la corte de Madrid pleiteando el cacicazgo me pide le mande una certificación de estar pensionado en esta Real Academia.”<sup>360</sup>

As a student of the *Academia de San Carlos* Patiño Ixtolinque excelled in his performance, so much so that he became one of the four students that the authorities of the *Academia* selected to go to the *Academia de San Carlos* in Madrid, Spain, in the year of 1793 in order to perfect their artistic techniques and getting influenced by the Spanish intellectual vanguard:

En vista de las Reales ordenes de 20 de noviembre y 25 de diciembre del año próximo anterior, que V. E. se sirvió [¿?] en oficio de 15 de febrero y 25 de marzo último, sobre que de esta Academia se remitan a Madrid seis pensionados para perfeccionar en sus respectivas profesiones, bajo la dirección de D. [¿?] de Acuña, en los términos que precise el Reglamento formado por él mismo aprobado por S. M. acordó la Junta Directiva celebrada el día 16 de mayo inmediato, proceder a la elección de los jóvenes que debían destinarse para el efecto; y después de haberse tratado el asunto nombró por la pintura a José María Guerrero, y José María Vázquez: por la escultura a natural José López y Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque [...]<sup>361</sup>

However, these students offered diverse superficial reasons for not being able to go to Spain. Nevertheless, the authorities of the academy continued being highly interested in sending these students to Europe, so they appointed the same students as beneficiaries of the same grant the following year after the first proposition was offered to them. Again, the student offered various reasons for having to reject this grant a second time. Some of them argued that they had families and it would be impossible for them to leave them behind. Although this grant covered the cost of their transportation and their stay in Madrid for the period of six years, other students argued that the expenses for the trip and their stay in Spain would be too high for them to

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<sup>360</sup> *Solicitud de Pedro Patiño Estolinque sobre que se de certificación de ser pensionado en el ramo de escultura*, 1791.

<sup>361</sup> *Sobre mantener pensionados en Madrid Pintura: José María Guerrero y José María Vázquez. Escultura: Manuel José López y Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque. Arquitectura: José Gutiérrez y Joaquín Heredia*, 1793, ARASC-FAUNAM, 776, GAVETA 7. 1793 [números del 764 al 821], documento 15.

cover.<sup>362</sup> Similarly, the students José López and Patiño Ixtolinque likewise declined the invitation, but this time they argued that they would be set on unfavorable terms with the Spaniard Cosme de Acuña, the former director of painting at the *Academia de San Carlos* in New Spain (1787-1790), and at that time the man sent back to Spain to be responsible for the exchange program between Spain and Mexico.<sup>363</sup> It seems that Cosme de Acuña had become a very unpopular character while he worked at the *Academia de San Carlos*, which eventually provided both López and Patiño Ixtolinque with enough negative arguments against Cosme's character and his probable bias against them to successfully refuse the offer of the grant a second time.

Two years later, in 1795, Cosme de Acuña again offered the same opportunity to Patiño Ixtolinque and López to go and study in Spain, once again they rejected the offer for a third time. The reasons why these students turned down this third opportunity remains unclear; although I consider that the latent entry of French troops, led by Napoleon Bonaparte, into the Spanish territories of Cataluña, Navarra and the Basque Country provided a climate of uncertainty to these students, who instead decided to remain safely in the stability of New Spain.

In 1791 Manuel Tolsá arrived in Mexico to teach at the *Academia*. By 1793, Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque appears in the documents as one of the three students studying under Manuel Tolsá.<sup>364</sup> Pedro Patiño was held in high appreciation for his skills and abilities in sculpting, which was not a minor consideration considering the fact that he was one of the favorite students of Manuel Tolsá who described Patiño as one of his best students by praising Patiño's dedication and perfection in his artistic executions.<sup>365</sup> Along with his mentor, Pedro Patiño collaborated in the construction of the *Altar Mayor del Sagrario Metropolitano* in the cathedral of Mexico City.<sup>366</sup> With the tutoring support from Tolsá, Pedro Patiño also sculpted other works throughout New Spain. For instance, he authored the sculpture of San Pedro and a series of representations of angels that currently stand at the interior of the cathedral of the city of Puebla de los Angeles, in Puebla, Mexico.<sup>367</sup> Similarly, Patiño collaborated in sculpting other religious representations that currently stand at the temples of San Felipe Neri, also known as "La Profesa," Santo Domingo, Santa Teresa, among several others.

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<sup>362</sup> María Concepción García Sáiz and Carmen Rodríguez Tembleque, "Historia de un intento fallido: la Academia Madrileña para pensionados mexicanos," *Cuadernos de Arte Colonial* (Madrid, Ministerio de Cultura, 1987), 5-18.

<sup>363</sup> See José Manuel Arnáiz, "Cosme de Acuña y la influencia de la escuela madrileña de finales del S. XVIII en América," *Academia: Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*, núm. 73 (1991): 135-177.

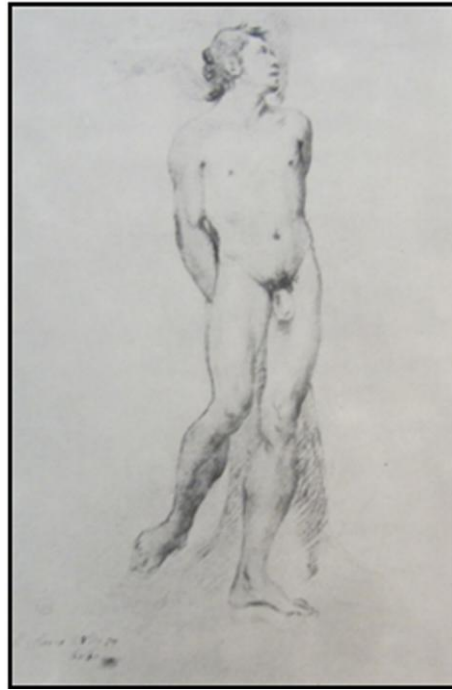
<sup>364</sup> *Expediente que contiene la cuenta de los gastos erogados en el adorno de la sala de consiliarios y la cuenta de lo gastado para habilitar de útiles y herramientas a los tres pensionados de escultura, José Manuel López. Juan de la Cruz Fortis y Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque*, abril de 1793, ARASC-FAUNAM, 10091, documento 24.

<sup>365</sup> *El Arte y la Ciencia. Revista mensual de Bellas Artes e Ingeniería III*, núm. 1 (abril, 1901): 7.

<sup>366</sup> Manuel Gustavo Revilla, *Visión y sentido de la plástica mexicana* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2006), 56-57.

<sup>367</sup> José Rogelio Ruiz Gomar, "La escultura académica hasta la consumación de la Independencia," *Historia del Arte Mexicano* 9, 1289-1301 (México: SALVAT, 1986), 1294.

Patiño Ixtolinque also excelled at drawing, and during all of these years, he continued to draw mostly male nudes and sketches of allegorical themes. By being Tolsá's student, Pedro Patiño developed a style influenced by the baroque trends and the guidelines of the Italian sculptor Gian Lorenzo Bernini, who in turn also influenced Tolsá's works.<sup>368</sup> During this period of time, Patiño Ixtolinque occupied himself as an assistant of Tolsá and also produced an important number of drawings, mainly male nudes.<sup>369</sup>



**Figure 1.** *Desnudo masculino de frente*. Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, 1799. Image taken from *El desnudo en el siglo XIX* (1986).

In terms of his personal life, in 1808 Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque married Doña María Benedicta Benita, and in his marriage license Patiño Ixtolinque claimed that his father received the name of Pedro Patiño Istolinc, while his mother's name he claimed was María Vicenta Pérez:

En nueve de junio del año del S. de mil ochocientos ocho [...] estando presentes los contrayentes en este sagro. les hice la monicion acostumbrada y no habiendo de ella resultado impedto. algo. Les asisti a la celebraci3n del matrimonio [...] Lo hicieron legmo y verdadero D. Pedro Patiño Ystolinque, Yndio casique natural de la Provincia de Chalco vecino desta ciudad, hijo legmo. De D. Jose Patiño Istolinc y de Da. Vicenta Peres= y Do. Maria Benedicta Benita, española natural de

<sup>368</sup> *El Arte y la Ciencia*, 9.

<sup>369</sup> Clara Bergellini et al., *Guía que permite captar lo bello: yesos y dibujos de la Academia de San Carlos, 1778-1916* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1989), 29.

Mixcoac y vecina de esta ciudad hija legítima de D. Antonio Songinos Benites y de D. Ana Maria Maga [...].<sup>370</sup>

According to his will, Pedro Patiño married three times. The first marriage he contracted with María Benedicta, but the name of his second wife it is not mentioned in the extant documentation. In 1814 Pedro Patiño married for a third time with doña Francisca Carrisosa, who apparently came from an affluent family since Patiño Ixtolinque motioned that when they were married Ms. Carrisosa brought to the marriage the assets that “belonged to her personal use,” but that Ms. Carrisosa also came to the marriage with the assets, such as tools, furniture and clothing, that she had inherited after both her father and her uncle died.<sup>371</sup>

Years later, in 1814, we find Patiño Ixtolinque, along with Manuel Terán, as members of the *Ayuntamiento de la Ciudad de México* both being responsible for the commission to provide maintenance for the hospitals and hospices in the city and its surrounding areas.<sup>372</sup> On January 1, 1814, Pedro Patiño appeared to take office and an oath as one of the *regidores* of the *Ayuntamiento* of Mexico City.<sup>373</sup> During this period of time, similarly to what both Chimalpopoca and Mendoza y Moctezuma did years later, he appeared in several documents as a proxy or legal representative of several of the indigenous *parcialidades* in Mexico City.<sup>374</sup> Likewise, just as in the later cases in which Chimalpopoca and Mendoza y Moctezuma appeared as representatives of *parcialidades*, Patiño Ixtolinque defended several of these corporate organizations against land speculators that emerged in nineteenth-century Mexico.

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<sup>370</sup> *Acta de matrimonio de Pedro Patiño Istolinc y de Doña María Benedicta Benita*, 9 de junio de 1808, FamilySearch Org., in *Libro de matrimonios de indios y demás castas del Sagrario de la Catedral de la Ciudad de México*,” microfilm: Volume 21, reel 3526.

<sup>371</sup> Manuel Carrera Stampa, “Memoria testamentaria del escultor Patiño Ixtolinque” *Historia Mexicana* 5, núm. 3 (Jan.-Mar., 1956): 429.

<sup>372</sup> *Cuidar a los hospitales, hospicios, casas de expósitos y demás establecimientos de beneficencia*, 1 de enero de 1814, AHDF, Ayuntamiento; Actas de Cabildo, 133A, Documento 339, fojas 2-3.

<sup>373</sup> *Composición del Ayuntamiento*, 1 de enero de 1814, AHDF, Ayuntamiento, Actas de Cabildo, 133A.

<sup>374</sup> *El gobernador de distrito acompaña la representación que hace a las cámaras don Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque como apoderado de las parcialidades contraídas a que se suspenda el reglamento formado para repartir los bienes de ellas*, 1827, AGN, México Independiente, Justicia y Negocios Eclesiásticos, Justicia, Volumen 47, Expediente 50.



**Figure 2. *Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque*, attributed to Martín Soriano, 1874. Imagen from *El desnudo en el siglo XIX*.<sup>375</sup>**

It is not until the year of 1816 that the professional career of Patiño Ixtolinque successfully continued since the Board of Governors of the *Academia* granted him with the status of “*académico de mérito*” after his presentation of his sculpture entitled *King Wamba* at his qualifying exam to earn the title which would grant him the ability to serve as a professor of sculpture.<sup>376</sup> The fact that Patiño Ixtolinque had chosen this historical episode to display his abilities as sculptor in clay is not a coincidence. In presenting *King Wamba* as the work to gain his position as an “*académico de mérito*,” Patiño Ixtolinque made a strong statement about the political situation that New Spain experienced at that time (for a more in-depth discussion of this work and its political significance see Chapter 5 of this work).

<sup>375</sup> Image taken from *El desnudo en el siglo XIX: dibujos de Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, julio-septiembre de 1986* (México: Escuela Nacional de Artes Plásticas, 1986).

<sup>376</sup> *Nombramiento de Patiño Ixtolinque como académico de Mérito*, agosto de 1816, AHASC, Planero XI, Gaveta 2, inventario 08-712116, fojas 195-198.



**Figure 3. King Wamba Renounces the Royal Crown and He is Threatened by One of his Voters, Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, 1817. The name in Spanish of this work is *El Rey Wamba rehusa la corona y es amenazado por uno de sus electores*.<sup>377</sup>**

During the period of insurgency in Mexico, around the year 1818, some authors place Patiño Ixtolinque as member of the guerrilla group led by Vicente Guerrero, operating away from his profession as sculptor. Although it may be possible that he served briefly in the armed insurgent forces; there appears to be no information that corroborates this statement.<sup>378</sup> It seems though, that one of Patiño Ixtolinque's sons also named Pedro, indeed joined the armed forces in México around the year of 1861 and became a Lieutenant Colonel of the Infantry in 1876, probably by graduating from the Military College in Mexico City.<sup>379</sup> Also, on October of 1900 the daughter of this Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, Loreto Patiño Ixtolinque, appeared before the Chamber of Deputies in Mexico City claiming an economic pension for the services that her father, Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, the younger, provided to the nation:

[...] la señorita Loreto Patiño Ixtolinque, en que pide se le pensione como recompensa de los servicios que prestó a la República su finado padre el Teniente Coronel de Infantería José Patiño Ixtolinque.

<sup>377</sup> This work of Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque is currently housed at the *Academia de San Carlos*, in Mexico City. This piece was recently displayed in the exhibition "Yo, El Rey," hosted by the Museo Nacional de Arte (MUNAL) in Mexico City. The exhibition was open to the public from July 1 to August 18, 2015. I took the current image from: <http://mundodelmuseo.com/ficha.php?id=509>.

<sup>378</sup> See, *El desnudo en el siglo XIX: dibujos de Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque*, 23. Also see, Germán Vergara Soriano, *Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque. Biografía del escultor insurgente* (México: Editorial IZ-Editorial IM, 2016); see also Hugo Arturo Cardosa Vargas, "Mexiquenses insignes: un artista neoclásico: Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, n/d, n/p, <http://www.liceus.com/cgi-bin/ac/pu/Pedro%20Pati%C3%B1o%20Ixtolinque.pdf>.

<sup>379</sup> *Patiño Yxtolinque Teniente Coronel de Infantería*, 1889, AGN, Dirección de la Deuda Pública.



Como está arreglada la ley la solicitud del peticionario y a una de las Comisiones de Guerra corresponde conocer sobre el particular, los que suscriben tienen la honra de proponer a la aprobación de esta Ilustrada Asamblea.<sup>380</sup>

It is possible that some authors may have confused Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque senior with Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque junior, who indeed had a military career. Nevertheless, this fact does not deny the possible support or close relationship that Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque senior had with Vicente Guerrero before Guerrero became President of the Mexican Republic in 1829. This personal relationship can be demonstrated by a manifesto, published in 1829, in which Pedro Patiño directly addressed President Guerrero asking for his help in internal issues related to the administration of the *Colegio de San Gregorio* and the education of Indigenous Peoples.<sup>381</sup>

On March 1, 1822, the newly established Mexican Congress created a special commission in order to honor “the memory of the first defenders of the country.” This commission organized a *requiem* mass to pray for the victims of the independence wars. The commission also proposed the exhumation of the cadavers of Hidalgo, Allende, Morelos, Matamoros, Bravo, Aldama, Mina and O’Donoju. Accordingly, the corresponding authorities in Mexico City organized the festivities, which included a ceremonial parade to receive the bodies of the heroes. The hearse that would transport the bodies, the decreed, should be adorned accordingly, so the authorities appointed Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque to create a sculptural representation of the concept of immortality to adorn the vehicle, for which he received the amount of 500 pesos paid in advance.<sup>382</sup> Unfortunately, there are no visual records surviving about Patiño’s sculpture entitled *Immortality*, but a reporter wrote for the *Gaceta del Supremo Gobierno* that the hearse remained decorated with several Greek and Roman motifs, including a Phrygian cap, which represented the concept of liberty, and that sculptural work also included an eagle, which symbolized the Mexican territory. The ornaments of the hearse also included a life-sized statue of a figure in a flying position, which represented for the sculptor immortality.<sup>383</sup>

The career of Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque quickly rose after independence, and he occupied the position of Director of the *Academia de San Carlos* in Mexico City in January 27 of 1826 in substitution of Rafael Gimeno y Planes, a position that he held until his death in 1834.<sup>384</sup> While

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<sup>380</sup> *Diario de los debates de la Cámara de Diputados. Vigésima Legislatura constitucional de la Unión, Tomo I Correspondiente a las sesiones ordinarias de la XX Legislatura Constituciones, durante el primer periodo del primer año* (México: Imprenta Central, 1901), 280. Sesión del día 26 de octubre de 1900.

<sup>381</sup> *Representación al excelentísimo señor presidente Don Vicente Guerrero a favor de la educación de los indios, 1829*, impreso, AGN, Ramo Justicia Instrucción Pública, Volumen 1, Expediente 44, fojas 285-287.

<sup>382</sup> María del Carmen Vázquez Mantecón, “Las reliquias y sus héroes,” 51.

<sup>383</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.

<sup>384</sup> See Carrera Stampa, “Memoria Testamentaria del escultor Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque,” 428. In this article, Carrera Stampa erroneously dated the year of Patiño’s death in 1835.

occupying the position of director, in 1827 Patiño Ixtolinque finished the altarpiece of the *altar mayor* from the Cathedral in Mexico City.<sup>385</sup>

In 1833, Patiño Ixtolinque decided to write his last will and testament, probably in consideration of his advanced age. In this document he stated that he had several children with all of his three previous wives:

Que he sido casado tres veces. De las dos primeras, tuve una hija en cada una de ellas. De la primera, que vivió veinte y cuatro años, habiéndose casado, al mes murió de la peste de la cólera; por de contado, no pudo dejar sucesor. De la segunda, la que tuve, murió a los ocho meses de nacido. [...] Me casó con doña Francisca Carrisosa en año de 14 y hemos tenido ocho hijos, dos muertos y seis vivos, que son: Pedro, Francisco, Vicenta, Juana, y otro Pedro, y José María; este tiene año y ocho meses, y el primero diez y ocho años.<sup>386</sup>

Based on his will we currently know that Pedro Patiño held several important properties as part of his assets both in Mexico City and in the region currently known as the State of Mexico:

[...] En la Resurreccion Tultengo, junto a Jamaica, hay una casa nueva de mamposetería y adobe, al sitio le llaman Tlapac. Pasado el puente de la asequia que va para el Guarda de la Magdalena, hay otro pedazo que le compré a don Cayetano Escalante, vecino de dicho pueblo, y éste podrá dar razón de los dos sitios, y si no los vecinos, que saben bien que lo compré y pertenece a mí.<sup>387</sup>

This same document also stated that Pedro Patiño kept material for his work as a sculptor both at the *Academia* and also at his workshop in Ecatzingo:

En la Academia, todo lo que se encuentra en mi oficina es mío (y al Estado de México los mármoles negros, las piedras que están afuera del recinto y cantería, las dos estatuas, el molde del señor Morelos, y el cobre, que se compone de cinco cañones chicos de a cuatro, y uno grande quebrado), madera y otros muebles que están en los otros cuartos que están en el patio. Lo que está en Ecatzingo, todo lo que está en unas listas que Vicenta me tiene dado, y otra, que dejo en poder del que cuida la casa, que se llama Tlaxhala; ésta tiene su solar [...] <sup>388</sup>

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<sup>385</sup> *El desnudo en el siglo XIX: dibujos de Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque*, 24.

<sup>386</sup> Carrera Stampa, "Memoria Testamentaria," 428.

<sup>387</sup> Ibid.

<sup>388</sup> Ibid.

It is interesting to mention that the “molde del señor Morelos” mentioned by Patiño, referred to a death mask that Patiño made on the face of José María Morelos y Pavón,<sup>389</sup> who was executed in 1815 by the Spanish authorities for treason in Ecatepec, State of Mexico. Years later, in 1899 there a news report exists that confirmed that Pedro Patiño Carrisosa, son of Patiño Ixtolinque, had the dead mask in his possession.<sup>390</sup>

Although he drew up his will in 1833, Patiño Ixtolinque continued serving as the director of the *Academia* until the year of 1834 when he died of unknown causes.<sup>391</sup> This information can be corroborated with the general legal power of attorney that Patiño Ixtolinque’s widow requested in September of 1834, granting all the power to administer the assets of the family to Don Vicente Fragoso.<sup>392</sup>

#### 4.2.2 Juan de Dios Rodríguez Puebla (1798-1848)

Juan Jose Antonio Luis Gonzaga Rodriguez Puebla was born on November 24, 1798 in Mexico City,<sup>393</sup> to a very modest indigenous family, the son of José Simón and María Gertrudis.<sup>394</sup> It is noted that on his baptismal certificate that his full legal name was Juan Jose Antonio Luis Gonzaga Rodriguez Puebla, and the clergyman who baptized him assigned Rodríguez Puebla the *casta* designation of “Indio,” followed by the phrase “free” or “gratis” which may suggest that the family was too poor to pay for the registration of the baptism.<sup>395</sup>

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<sup>389</sup> Vázquez Mantecón, “Las reliquias y sus héroes,” 53.

<sup>390</sup> Ana Lidia García Peña y Yussel Arellano Navarrete, “Debates patrióticos en torno a reliquias y mascarillas de Morelos,” in *El Caudillo del Sur: forjador de la nación mexicana*, coord. Jorge Olvera García, René García Castro and Lidia García Peña, 246-277 (Toluca: Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México, 2015), 255-256.

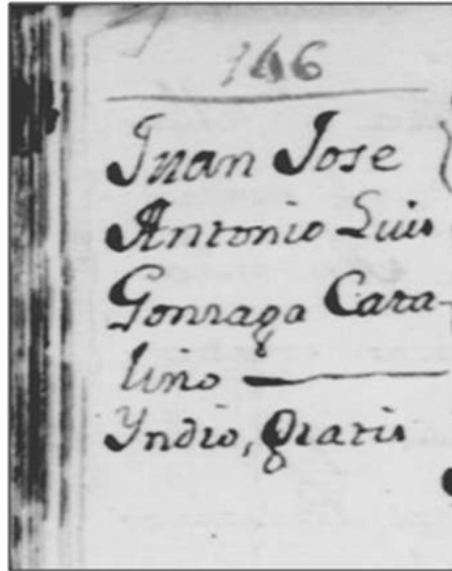
<sup>391</sup> *El Secretario de la Academia Nacional sobre haber nombrado la Junta de Gobierno Director de aquel establecimiento a Don Manuel Arauz ¿?cante por el fallecimiento de Don Pedro Patiño*, 1834, AGN-Justicia Instrucción Pública, Volumen 6, Expediente 31, fojas 165-167.

<sup>392</sup> *Poder General*, 1 de septiembre de 1834, AHN, notario, Antonio Pintos; Notaría, 532; fojas 69r-70r.

<sup>393</sup> *Acta de bautismo de Juan José Antonio Luis Gonzaga Rodríguez Puebla*, 25 de noviembre de 1798, Registro Parroquial de Santa Catarina Virgen y Mártir (Centro), Mexico City, Bautismo Número 146, Vol. 55, folio 151v.

<sup>394</sup> Francisco Sosa, *Biografías de mexicanos distinguidos* (México: Oficina tipográfica de la Secretaría de Fomento, 1884), 908.

<sup>395</sup> See *Acta del bautismo de Juan Jose Antonio Luis Gonzaga Rodriguez Puebla*.



**Figure 4. Certificate of Baptism for Juan Rodríguez from Santa Catarina Church in Mexico City. Image taken from: Santa Catarina Virgen y Mártir Church digitalized by Family Search Org.<sup>396</sup>**

In his early years, Rodríguez Puebla and his brother, as Mr. Chimalpopoca, a fellow classmate of the two brothers later stated, attended the *Colegio de San Gregorio*. About his early years as student of the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, Mr. Chimalpopoca referred to the fact that the Rodríguez Puebla brothers received the nickname of “aguadores” due to the fact that their father exercised this humble profession.<sup>397</sup>

Juan Rodríguez eventually received one of the royal grants to continue his studies at *Colegio de San Ildefonso* where he studied Philosophy, Theology and Civil Law. While studying Law at the *Colegio de San Ildefonso*, Juan Rodríguez carried out his professional practices at the legal dispatch of Licenciado Don José María Jáuregui where Rodríguez Puebla worked from the year of 1814 until he graduated from the *colegio* in 1824.<sup>398</sup>

While he was still a student at the *Colegio de San Ildefonso*, Rodríguez Puebla published a series of political pamphlets under the pseudonym of “the Constitutional Indian,” o “*el indio constitucional*.” The contents of these pamphlets focused on informing the indigenous population about the benefits that the Constitution of Cadiz of 1812 offered this sector of the population. Politically important pamphlets for their time, these works will be analyzed later on this study (See Chapter 5).

<sup>396</sup> Ibid.

<sup>397</sup> María Teresa Sepúlveda, “Colegio de San Gregorio,” *Catálogo de la Colección de Documentos Históricos de Faustino Chimalpopoca* (México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1992), 39.

<sup>398</sup> Francisco Sosa, *Biografías de mexicanos distinguidos*, 909.



Figure 5. “Aguador,” by Claudio Linati, *Costumes civils, militaires et religieux du Mexique*, Brussels, 1828.

In 1826, the Mexican Congress elected Juan Rodríguez Puebla to the position of Minister of the Second Hall of the Supreme Tribunal of the State of Durango (*Ministro de la Segunda Sala of the Supremo Tribunal de Justicia*); and he also occupied the position of Deputy Representative for various Mexican states in the National Congress in Mexico City. In 1826 he also worked as the Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction at the national level (*Ministerio de Justicia e Instrucción Pública*).<sup>399</sup>

In 1828, the then director of the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, Juan Francisco Calzada, died suddenly and the position of *rector* became available. Due to his successful career as a politician, and probably also because of his knowledge of the newly established political system in Mexico, Rodríguez Puebla became the favorite candidate among the members of the Board of Governors of the school to occupy the position of director of the *Colegio de San Gregorio*. However, several prominent Indigenous People did not agree with the members of the board’s selection of Rodríguez Puebla as their candidate due to several reasons. One of the arguments that the opponents of Rodríguez Puebla’s candidacy argued that he tried to reform the *Colegio de San Gregorio* in a dramatic way that did not follow the original purpose of the school; others pointed out that Rodríguez Puebla, by not being a clergyman, could not hold the position of director of the school properly. It is probable that his possible candidacy turned into a bitter

<sup>399</sup> *La Comisión de Puntos Constitucionales de la Cámara de Diputados preguntando la opinión del Gobierno*, 27 de marzo de 1844, AGN, Justicia-Instrucción Pública, Volumen 9, fojas 19-26.

struggle between Rodríguez Puebla's supporters, represented by the board of governors, and the indigenous leaders who opposed Rodríguez Puebla's candidacy.

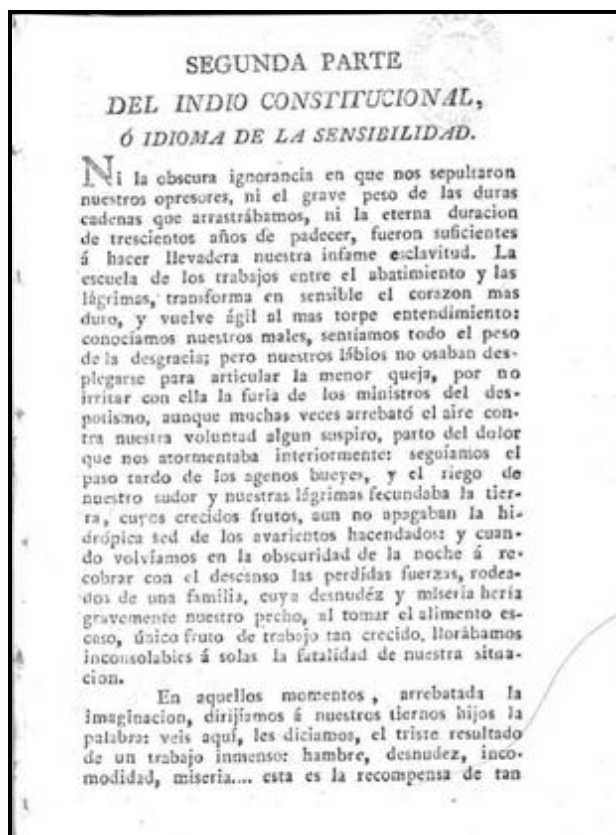


Figure 6. *El Indio Constitucional*, pamphlet authored by Juan Rodríguez Puebla in 1812. Image taken from Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid.<sup>400</sup>

This conflict, as I will later revisit, took place in the legal arena and triggered a series of public discussions from both the supporters and the detractors of Rodríguez Puebla. The members of both factions wrote several letters and complaints in favor and against the idea that Rodríguez should serve as the director of the *Colegio de San Gregorio*. In several of the letters that expressed the inconformity that the indigenous representatives of the school had against accepting Rodríguez Puebla as the rector appeared the names of Faustino Chimalpopoca Galicia, Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque and Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma.

Regardless of the insistent complaints and efforts that several indigenous leaders, including Chimalpopoca, Ixtolinque and Mendoza y Moctezuma, continued in order to keep

<sup>400</sup> Biblioteca Digital Memoria de Madrid:  
[http://www.memoriademadrid.es/buscadore.php?accion=VerFicha&id=21453&num\\_id=3&num\\_total=7](http://www.memoriademadrid.es/buscadore.php?accion=VerFicha&id=21453&num_id=3&num_total=7)

Rodríguez Puebla out of the management of the *colegio*, the Board of Governors finally decided to grant Rodríguez Puebla the title of director of the *Colegio de San Gregorio* in 1829.<sup>401</sup> It is interesting to see how this conflict about appointing the new director of the *colegio* brought together, probably for the first time, Patiño Ixtolinque, Mendoza y Moctezuma and Chimalpopoca in a common cause to refute what they called “the imposition” of Rodríguez Puebla as rector of the school by arguing that he did not hold a religious position, a requirement necessary in the school’s by-laws for someone to become rector of the *Colegio de San Gregorio*.<sup>402</sup>

From 1829 onward, Rodríguez Puebla served as the director (*rector*) of the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, where he became the first professor to hold the cathedra, or professorship, of Philosophy between the years of 1831 to 1833:<sup>403</sup>

[Yo, José María Iturralde] certifico que el Licenciado Don Juan Rodríguez Puebla estuvo sirviendo la primera cátedra de filosofía que hubo en dicho establecimiento, desde el 18 de octubre de 1831, hasta el último de febrero de 1833 en que dejó la cátedra porque estuvo por incompatible su desempeño con el encargo de Diputado que tenía que servir.<sup>404</sup>

Under his direction, the *Colegio de San Gregorio* added the *bienes* (resources) from the *Hospital de Naturales*, in order to provide with these additional resources financing several new scholarships so that two indigenous students from each state could study at *San Gregorio*, as well as adding funds for the creation of a new library for the school:

A don Juan se le debió el arreglo de todos los fondos del Colegio [y se le debió a él que] fuera cedido a San Gregorio en propiedad definitiva, por decreto de 21 de octubre de 1843, el antes llamado Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo [también se le] debió la rica y escogida biblioteca reunida o formada con los libros cedidos por los Sres. Torres Torrija, D. Pablo de la Llave, Guadalajara, Soriano, Fonseca, Olaguíbel, Pedraza, Otero, Trigueroz, Ramírez, Parra, Baranda y otros [...]<sup>405</sup>

Under Rodríguez Puebla’s administration, which lasted until 1848, the school adopted certain reforms that effectively resulted in turning the institution into a competitive college. During his term as rector of the *colegio* he sought to keep the school supplied with the most

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<sup>401</sup> *Carta de Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque*, 1829, AGN, Justicia Instrucción Pública, Volumen 1, Expediente 48.

<sup>402</sup> *Sobre el nombramiento de don Juan Rodríguez Puebla para Rector del Colegio de San Gregorio, y de don Manuel Ortiz de la Torre para vocal de la Junta Directiva del mismo colegio*, 1829, AGN, Justicia-Instrucción Pública Volumen 1, Expediente 44/45, foja 322.

<sup>403</sup> “Comunicado [continuación de uno previo],” *El Mosquito Mexicano*, número 63, 17 de octubre de 1834.

<sup>404</sup> *Constancia*, 26 de septiembre de 1845, AGN, Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes, 2a. parte, Volumen 28, Expediente 19, 1 foja.

<sup>405</sup> Francisco Sosa, *Biografías de mexicanos distinguidos*, 909.

innovative academic material. In a document with date of June of 1848, Juan Rodríguez asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs to allow the *Colegio de San Gregorio* to receive the 23 European literary and scientific newspapers to which the school had already subscribed.<sup>406</sup> It is interesting to note that Rodríguez Puebla mentioned that the school stopped receiving the academic material during the North American military occupation that occurred in 1847 and that according to the same author, some of the North American troops remained in some important institutions and buildings of the city, which made it difficult for the authorities of the *Colegio de San Gregorio* gain access to this printed material:

El N. Colegio de San Gregorio está suscrito a veintitrés periódicos científicos y literarios, los mejores que se publican en Francia e Inglaterra desde el bloqueo se suspendió la remisión y el atraso presenta hoy la dificultad del desembolso, que aunque no es grande, el establecimiento no puede hacerlo a causa del mal estado de las rentas de fincas urbanas que se han hallado vacías, u ocupadas por americanos o inquilinos que por las circunstancias no han podido ser puntuales.<sup>407</sup>

Additionally, Rodríguez Puebla asked the Minister for \$250.00 pesos to cover the costs of the subscriptions corresponding to the years of 1847 and 1848 in order to keep the intellectual material at the library of the school current.

There are also testimonies testifying that during the period of the co-called Mexican-American War (1846-1848), Juan Rodríguez Puebla defended the *Colegio de San Gregorio* against the U. S. troops that invaded the capital. According to a speech read after the death of Rodríguez Puebla, the then director of the school encouraged the students to defend the school's building against the possible occupation that it might suffer at the hands of the North American troops: “! Qué de veces se le vio arengando a sus alumnos durante el asedio de la capital por los norteamericanos, para que se supiesen defender la patria [...]”<sup>408</sup>

After this period of time, there is documentation that gives evidence that Rodríguez Puebla remained active in both the political and cultural life of Mexico until his death on October 31, 1848. For instance, Rodríguez Puebla also occupied the position of Minister of Foreign

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<sup>406</sup> *Solicitud de periódicos por el Rector de San Gregorio, Rodríguez Puebla*, 1848, AGN-Justicia Instrucción Pública, Volumen 3. Expediente 10, fs. 61-63.

<sup>407</sup> Ibid.

<sup>408</sup> Francisco Sosa, *Biografías de mexicanos distinguidos*, 910.



Relations (*Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores*) in 1831,<sup>409</sup> and on December 13 of 1838 Rodríguez Puebla appeared as the Government Secretary (*Secretario de Gobernación*).<sup>410</sup>

In terms of his personal life, Juan Rodríguez Puebla married Dolores Zozaya in 1845, and they procreated a son, José Gabriel Rodríguez. Shortly after the birth of his young son, in October of 1848 Juan Rodríguez decided to write his last will and testament, probably out of consideration of an illness, in order to avoid leaving his young son and his wife in a precarious condition. According to his will, Rodríguez Puebla arranged to donate both his personal library and the payment for a debt of \$500 pesos which he believed he owed to the current students of the college. Apparently, *San Gregorio*'s students had collected the said amount in order to spend it during the War with Texas; nevertheless, the school did not use these funds, and this is probably the reason why may have used the funds for something else, and spent the money that had remained in the coffers of the institution: "8º. Ytem. Cedo y dono a la biblioteca del *Colegio de San Gregorio* lo que pueda yo alcanzar en la en su contra y mando a mi albacea entregue quinientos pesos a los Colegiales, que resulten a su favor de lo que dejaron para la guerra de Texas y que no se invirtió en ellas=." <sup>411</sup>

Similarly, in his will Rodríguez Puebla also stated that he owned several books, writings and furniture that he left inside the rooms that he occupied at the school. Nevertheless, he did not express his desire either to donate this material to the school, or to bequeath it to his child or to other members of his family: "[...] declaro por mis bienes los libros, muebles, y demás que escritos en los cuartos que ocupo en el *Colegio de San Gregorio* de donde soy Rector, los Naranjos y Cipreses que hay en el mismo, eceptuandose las macetas en que están un corral [...]." <sup>412</sup>

Rodríguez Puebla died on October 31, 1848,<sup>413</sup> apparently from a long and painful illness which was not specified in the documentation.<sup>414</sup> At the time of his death, his son José Gabriel was only one year old, so as a gesture of solidarity the Board of Governors of the *Colegio de San*

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<sup>409</sup> *Decretos y circulares*, 17 de diciembre de 1838, .AGN, Gobernación sin sección, Caja 134, Expediente 7, 1 foja, documento impreso.

<sup>410</sup> Luis G. Ortiz Molina, *Prontuario de acuerdos, bandos, circulares, decretos, leyes, reglamentos y demás posiciones vigentes de la Secretaría de Gobernación y sus dependencias. Adicionadas con las de otros departamentos que por el asuntos relacionan con el ramo* (México: Imprenta del Gobierno Federal, 1908), 222.

<sup>411</sup> *Testamento de Don Juan de Dios Rodríguez Puebla*, 30 de octubre de 1848, AHN, Notario Ramón de la Cueva, Notaría 169, Volumen 1009, fojas 867v-869r, f. 868v.

<sup>412</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 868r.

<sup>413</sup> Francisco Sosa, *Biografías de mexicanos distinguidos*, 910.

<sup>414</sup> Manuel Orozco y Berra, *Diccionario universal de historia y geografía*, vol. 3 (México: Imprenta de J. M. Andrade y F. Escalante, 1855), 248.

*Gregorio* decided to look after the orphan child by providing him with a monthly grant of 25 pesos, until he could be able to gain a grant to study at the *Colegio de San Gregorio*.<sup>415</sup>

Due to his professional life, Juan Rodríguez Puebla left behind an important number of bureaucratic documents in which, even though he did not openly expressed his opinions about certain affairs, he indeed followed a pattern in the political decisions in which he participated. Without a doubt, his most valuable contribution to indigenous intellectuality and education resides in both the political pamphlets that he published during his youth under the pseudonym of the “*Indio Constitucional*,” and the reforms that he made to the curriculum of the *Colegio de San Gregorio* when he served as its director.

#### 4.2.3 Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma (?-1864-1866?)

The available documentation provides limited information about the life and work of Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma. During his life, he declared himself to be an “*indio cacique*” or “*cacique principal*,” probably from the Pueblo of Santa Ana Sochuca (or Xochuca), in the current State of Mexico, near Ixtapa de la Sal.<sup>416</sup> Despite his last name, Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma does not appear to be related with the noble family of the Cano-Montezuma. However, the documentation does state that his father was Don Juan Antonio y Moctezuma, and his mother Dionisia Casilda Pichardo.<sup>417</sup> According to his testament, Francisco de Mendoza married for the first time with Doña Josefa García with whom he had several children:

Doña María Francisca, que fallecio en su infancia a la edad de dos años; a Don Ambrosio Agustin, que fallecio en la misma edad; otras dos niñas cuatas que murieron el mismo dia de nacidas; a Sor Maria de la Concepcion, actual religiosa profesa del convento de la Nueva Enseñanza de Yndias, que en el siglo se llamó Doña Paula Francisca; y a Don Jose Agustin Mendoza Moctezuma Garcia, que en el dia tiene veinte y cuatro años y está casado con Doña Maria Eduvige de Jesus Vazquez, de cuyo matrimonio tienen por hijo suyo y nieto mio a Don Miguel Agustin Mendoza Moctezuma y Vazquez de edad de año y cuatro meses.<sup>418</sup>

Francisco Mendoza’s first wife, Doña Josefa García, had probably died at some point, although Francisco de Mendoza did not mention the fact of her death in surviving documentation. Nevertheless, Mendoza later stated that he married for a second time with Doña

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<sup>415</sup> *La junta Directiva participa haber fallecido el Rector del Colegio de San Gregorio don Juan Rodríguez Puebla y recuerda a favor de un hijo que deja huérfano los servicios de su padre*, 1848, AGN, Justicia-Instrucción Pública, Volumen 3, Expediente 13, fojas 73-85.

<sup>416</sup> *Escritura*, 12 de octubre de 1839, AHN, Notario, Antonio Pintos; Notaría, 532; Volumen 3567; fojas 765v-767r, f. 765v-766r.

<sup>417</sup> *Testamento de Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma*, 26 de febrero de 1834, AHN, Notario: Antonio Pintos; Notaría: 532; Fojas: 13v.

<sup>418</sup> *Ibid.*

María Rita Gonzalez, who apparently disappeared around the year of 1830.<sup>419</sup> Despite the little information existing about Mendoza y Moctezuma's early background, the above mentioned document demonstrates the special pride that Mendoza y Moctezuma had for his unmarried daughter, Paula Francisca, who later became Sor María de la Concepción, a nun who professed at the *Convento de la Nueva Enseñanza de Indias*, in Mexico City, an institution reserved for the religious education of "*indias cacicas*."

Similarly, there is little information about his parents' background, nor any extant documentation about his specific education.<sup>420</sup> Nevertheless, a document written in 1829 by José Cervantes, an official at the Ministry of Relations, referred to the complaints that a group of Indigenous People had against the appointment of Rodríguez Puebla as the rector of the *Colegio de San Gregorio*. This document mentioned that Mendoza y Moctezuma worked as an organist at the Loreto Church, adjacent to the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, which also suggests that he probably studied at this school as it would be strange for the *colegio* to hire an organist who had not studied in the institution.<sup>421</sup>

Besides this piece of information, the early life of Francisco Mendoza y Moctezuma remains unknown since there is no documentation about him before the end of the eighteenth century, when he started appearing as one of the complainants against the appointment of Juan de Dios Rodríguez Puebla as *Rector of the Colegio de San Gregorio*. After this episode, Mendoza y Moctezuma continued writing documents against the imposition of liberal reforms that affected the collective property of the said school. Later on in 1828, his name constantly appeared in diverse legal documentation as a representative or *apoderado* of the indigenous *parcialiades* in Mexico City, or as even a representative of Indigenous People from distant areas from the capital. The documents that Mendoza y Moctezuma wrote as legal representative of diverse indigenous populations displayed the vast knowledge that Mendoza y Moctezuma had about legal issues regarding communal land. Moreover, these documents demonstrated the figure of authority that he represented for indigenous communities, with which he had a close relationship that remained evident in several documents. For instance, in Francisco Mendoza's last will and testament, he clarified that, in case of his death, his heirs would need to claim debts owed to him by several individuals that he legally represented at that time:

Una acción a la mitad de los frutos que rindiere cuando se gane el punto que tiene pendiente en el Juzgado de Testamento , capellanías y obras pias de este Arzobispado Don Jose Antonio Piedra, vecino del pueblo de Tepecuacuilco, contra Doña Josefa Orduña y Doña Micaela Meana, sobre sucesión a una capellanía que dejó fundada Doña Gertrudis de Sosa, vecina que fue del mismo pueblo de Tepecuacuilco; cuya sucesión me hizo en remuneración de mis

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<sup>419</sup> Ibid.

<sup>420</sup> Ibid.

<sup>421</sup> *Sobre el nombramiento de don Juan Rodríguez Puebla para rector del Colegio de San Gregorio*, foja. 325v.

agencias practicadas y por practicar en dicho negocio y en cuyo escrito se haya favorable y en el que he gestionado como apoderado de dicho Piedra impendiendo gastos y demás tramites y agencias del negocio [...]<sup>422</sup>

He also stated that an important number of indigenous communities had been represented by him as he recollected:

[... también] declaro que mis dependencias pasivas son las que siguen= Al común de Sihuatecutla ocho pesos; que dejaron en mi poder, a los de Azulaque y Azcapuzalco, de la Doctrina de Ycatiopa, once pesos que también dejaron en mi poder; al Bachiller Don Jose Mariano Ramos del Fierro, vecino de Metepec, cien pesos que igualmente tengo en mi poder de su pertenencia; a Don Felipe Martinez, vecino de esta capital, ciento treinta pesos: al Licenciado Don Agustin Diaz le debo un pico o resto de veinte y cinco o treinta pesos; y al ex Alcalde segundo del Ylustre Ayuntamiento de Xixipilco Don N. Martinez, seis pesos; todo lo cual se pagara del cuerpo de mis bienes y se recaudarán las deudas activas.<sup>423</sup>

The date and circumstances of Mendoza y Moctezuma's death are similarly unknown due to the lack of primary sources. Nevertheless, he left behind a draft of his will in which he confirmed that he continued offering legal services to several representatives of indigenous communities before the Mexican authorities. In this unofficial will he mentioned that he also left behind several books that he bequeathed to his son:

Los muebles y libros que se hallaren en la de mi morada. Tres caballos de sillas con sus avios dos de ellos; ropa y demás que les consta a mis albaceas. Lo mismo que las dependencias activas de que tiene noticia mi hijo Don Jose Agustin y son las que sigue= En el comun de Yndigenas del Pueblo de San Juan Xochaca debe cuatrocientos pesos de diligencias y agencias judiciales y actos personales en su defensa= El de Tepalzingo por igual razón ochenta pesos; esto lo saben mi hijo Don Jose Agustin y Don Romualdo Tepepa, vecino de Cuautla de Amilpas: y también el citado mi hijo sabe las demás dependencias activas de que ahora no hago recuerdo=<sup>424</sup>

In the same will Mendoza y Moctezuma made an account about his possessions, which reinforced his claim of being either as an "*indio cacique*" or at least an affluent individual:

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<sup>422</sup> *Testamento de Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma.*

<sup>423</sup> Ibid.

<sup>424</sup> Ibid.

[...] mis bienes [son] dos casas entre soladas ubicadas en esta ciudad, la una en la calle que nombran de las Ynditas, mirando su frente al oriente, marcada con el numero trece, en cuya finca vive actualmente mi hijo Don Jose Agustin; y la otra situada en el predio nombrado Analpa detrás de la Parroquia de Santa Maria la Redonda. Un sitio ¿eriazó? Para labrar, ubicado en dicho predio de Analpa, lindando con mi referida casa el cual tengo contrato [foja 25r] en venta [...] cuyo sitio se compone de cuarenta y nueve varas de longitud y setenta de latitud.<sup>425</sup>

The favorable economic conditions in which Mendoza y Moctezuma may have lived resulted in the opportunity that his family had to gain access for one of his daughters into the *Convento de la Enseñanza*, since the indigenous women who had access to this cloister necessarily needed to prove their noble origins, or at least their “honorable” means of living.

Around the year of 1850, Mendoza y Moctezuma remained active as social leader for diverse indigenous communities serving as their legal representative, a position that Patiño Ixtolinque and Chimalpopoca also constantly played.<sup>426</sup> Mendoza y Moctezuma displayed special pride and a high sense of responsibility in serving as the legal representative of Indigenous People not only in Mexico City and its surrounding areas, but also by representing indigenous communities far away from the capital, such indigenous *pueblos* in the region of New Mexico.<sup>427</sup> In most of the documents in which he served as legal representative and the “voice” of Indigenous People before the governmental authorities, he displayed an energetic tone against the prevalent corruption that emerged from the civil authorities after certain laws were passed that jeopardized indigenous communal properties. In an interesting document from 1841 in which Mendoza y Moctezuma legally represented the people from New Mexico, he displayed his extensive knowledge about this particular case and the legal instances that his clients had previously approached in order to resolve this situation:

[Yo, Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma]digo que: estos naturales después de haber sido destituidos de sus tierra de que se les había despojado a virtud de enérgicas [...] al S del Supremo Gobierno han sufrido un nuevo despojo que les causó el Señor Diputado actual de el Nuevo Mejico Don Vicente Sánchez Vergara quien tuvo la astucia antes de [...] de cubrirse con el nombre de esta respetada Tribunal en el que se hizo algunas representaciones y [...] providencias que se [...] sobre ellos y solicitando a mi partes [foja 320v] tuvo a la vista dichas actuaciones desde[...] te consecuencia los derechos que se convengan [...] efecto

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<sup>425</sup> Ibid.

<sup>426</sup> *Ya les pesa a ciertos hombres que se illustren los indios*, Imprenta del Ciudadano Valdés, 1830, AGN-Justicia-Instrucción Pública, Volumen 1, Expediente 47, páginas 292-293; *Carta de don Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma*, 1833, AGN- Justicia-Instrucción Pública, Volumen 1, Expediente 49, fojas 297-304v.

<sup>427</sup> *Varios vecinos del Pueblo de Sandía en el territorio de Nuevo México sobre tierras de su propiedad*, 1829, AGN, México independiente, Justicia y Negocios Eclesiásticos, Justicia 88289, Volumen 48, Expediente 4.

han venido a pie desde el estado de Nuevo Mejico con mil trabajos doy de los principales ¿del? Pueblo que ha recomendado con particular efica[¿cia?] al superior gobierno para que se les patrocine [¿?] a V. E. se sirva mandar que se les entreguen [¿?] antecedentes por el termino del derecho, que se [¿?] cede de justicia para U.<sup>428</sup>

As we can see in the following segment, Mendoza y Moctezuma seriously assumed his position as a “voice” for those who did not have the means to be heard by the civil authorities:

[...] que la clase que represento cansada de sufrir desaires y escarnios ajenos del gobierno paternal que substituyó al tirano de los capetos de nuebo [sic] ha querido por mi conducto esforzar sus clamores, con la única esperanza de que alguna vez serán atendidos los miserables Yndios. Ni el esfuerzo de la pluma más valiente, ni el eco de la voz más sonora, ni las frases de la más delicada retorica, podrán jamas, no solo bosquejar; pero ni aun delinear groseramente, los padecimientos y persecuciones que se ha desatado a mis partes de la manera más irregular e inusitada hasta ahora.<sup>429</sup>

Even though documentation about the life of Mendoza y Moctezuma currently remains limited, it is important to recognize his labor as defender, legal representative and as an active advocate of indigenous communities. All of these characteristics, as well as his leadership, made of him a clear example of a nineteenth century Nahua intellectual.

#### 4.2.3 Faustino Galicia Chimalpopoca (1805-1882)

Without a doubt, Faustino Chimalpopoca developed a prolific trajectory as an intellectual, an activity that he successfully developed along with a highly politicized career which began in the early part of nineteenth-century and continued beyond the middle of the century. Due to the several transcriptions and copies that Chimalpopoca made of several indigenous documents, his works and his name are relatively well know among scholars interested in studying nineteenth-century Mexico or indigenous studies. Probably his most famous work is the document called the *Codex Chimalpopoca*, a transcription that Mr. Chimalpopoca made of the *Annals of Cuautitlán* text, currently archived at the Historical Archive of the National Museum of Anthropology, in Mexico City, though the original document’s whereabouts remain unknown.

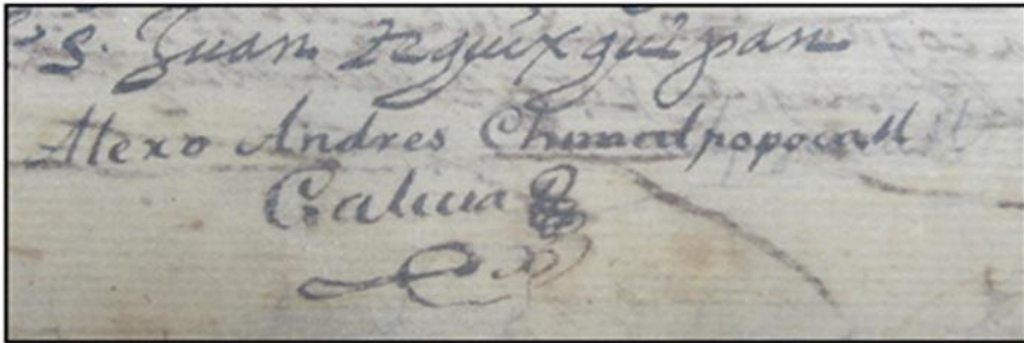
In spite of Chimalpopoca’s vast documental production, an accurate biography about him is still needed. In this quest, María Teresa Sepúlveda y Herrera provides important biographical

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<sup>428</sup> *Ocurso de Don Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma como apoderado del pueblo de los Dolores sobre restitución de tierras*, marzo 1841, AGN, México independiente, Poderes judiciales, Tribunal Superior de Justicia, Caja 0158,n/e (no file number), fs.-320r-320v.

<sup>429</sup> *Carta de don Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma*, f-297r.

information about the life and work of Chimalpopoca based on the documents archived in the *Archivo Histórico de la Biblioteca del Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia*, in Mexico City.<sup>430</sup> Based on the information provided by Sepúlveda and other primary sources, we know that Faustino José Galicia Chimalpopoca was born in 1805 in San Pedro Tlahuac, Mexico City,<sup>431</sup> and that his parents were Alejo Andrés Galicia and Petronila Bernarda Fernández Luna.<sup>432</sup> His father, Alejo Andrés Chimalpopoca Galicia also wrote historical documents about the history of the Nahua people and the population of the Valley of Mexico. It is probable that Faustino Chimalpopoca had learned from his father the way to copy and to transcribe historical documents.<sup>433</sup>



**Figure 7. Signature of Alejo Andrés Chimalpopocatl Galicia, father of Faustino Chimalpopoca. Detail from a document archived in the AHMNAH, Mexico City. Picture taken by the author.**

Despite the minimum information about his early life, we know that Faustino Chimalpopoca studied at the *Colegio de San Gregorio* thanks to the fact that he received an imperial scholarship that allowed him to remain in this school as a boarding student.<sup>434</sup> He graduated from this institution as a lawyer between the years of 1821 and 1823, and the Emperor Agustín de Iturbide appeared as his godfather for the graduation ceremony, no doubt covering the expenses for his graduation.<sup>435</sup>

On November 9 of 1834, Chimalpopoca married Francisca Ocoy Romero Rincón Gallardo y Castel de Oro. Chimalpopoca's marriage certificate indicates that: "[...] Faustino Galicia, soltero de veinte y nueve años de esas, hijo legítimo de D. Alejo Andrés Galicia y de

<sup>430</sup> Sepúlveda y Herrera, *Catálogo de la Colección de Documentos Históricos de Faustino Chimalpopoca*, 133.

<sup>431</sup> *Acta de matrimonio de Faustino Galicia*, 9 de noviembre de 1834, México, accessed 18 April 2016: Registro Parroquial del Sagrario Metropolitano, fs. 46, from: <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QKHH-D4Y5>

<sup>432</sup> *Acta de bautismo de Maria De La Concepcion Felicitas Genara Abundia Galicia Ocoy*, 11 Jul 1841, accessed 18 April 2016: Registro Parroquial de Asunción, Mexico Distrito Federal, from <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:N81X-6BR>

<sup>433</sup> *Manuscrito en Lengua Mexicana*, BMNAH, Colección de Documentos Históricos de Faustino Chimalpopoca, Vol. 256, BCA.

<sup>434</sup> *Petición de Faustino Chimalpopoca a la Emperatriz Carlota*, julio 1, 1865, AGN-México independiente, Gobernación y Relaciones Exteriores, Segundo Imperio, 55068, Caja 40.

<sup>435</sup> Sepúlveda y Herrera, *Catálogo*, 12.

Doña Petronila Luna, difunta, originario de San Pedro Tlahuac y vecino de esta capital desde la edad de trece años [...]”<sup>436</sup> Chimalpopoca’s first child received the name of José Agustín Cesario de Padua Galicia, who was born on August of 1837.<sup>437</sup> Faustino Chimalpopoca’s second son named José Joaquín Luis Lauro Agustín Galicia y Osoy was born on August 18, 1839.<sup>438</sup> His third child, a daughter, who was born on July 10, 1841, received the name of María Agustina de la Concepción Felicitas Genara Abundia Galicia Osoy.<sup>439</sup> Faustino Chimalpopoca also had another daughter named Petra Josefa Galicia, born on April 29, 1844,<sup>440</sup> and a son Pedro Pablo Fernando, who was born on July 29 1851,<sup>441</sup> as well as another daughter named Concepción Felicitas Prágedis Chimalpopoca Osoy, who was born on July 21, 1854.<sup>442</sup> It is interesting to note that in registering this last child, Mr. Chimalpopoca used for the first time his complete last name as “Chimalpopoca y Galicia,” and not simply “Galicia” as he appeared in his other children’s’ baptismal records. Throughout his life, he declared himself being a direct descendant of the *tlatoani* Chimalpopoca, or at least a direct descendant from this noble family, which gave him a noble status.<sup>443</sup>

According to the extant documentation we currently know that while Chimalpopoca studied at the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, Juan Rodríguez Puebla and his brother Francisco were his classmates. In 1865 Faustino Chimalpopoca wrote about the Rodríguez Puebla brothers:

El verdadero Colegio de San Gregorio en 1810 en que estuvieron los alumnos Don Juan y Don Francisco Rodríguez Puebla y el que suscribe, conocidos los dos primeros con el nombre de aguadores y el tercero con el nombre de ardilla,

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<sup>436</sup> *Acta de matrimonio de Faustino Galicia and Francisca Osoy*, 09 Nov 1834, accessed 18 April 2016: <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:JHLS-Q2V>

<sup>437</sup> *Acta de bautismo de Jose Agustin Cesario Antonio De Padua Galicia*, 27 Aug 1837, Parroquia de Sanra Cruz y Soledad, Mexico, Distrito Federal accessed 18 April 2016: <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:J9R3-2Y3>

<sup>438</sup> *Acta de bautismo de Jose Joaquin Luis Lauro Agustin Galicia*, 19 Aug 1839, accessed 18 April 2016: <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:NRGV-96R>

<sup>439</sup> *Acta de bautismo de Maria De La Concepcion Felicitas Genara Abundia Galicia Osoy*, 11 Jul 1841, accessed 18 April 2016: <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:N81X-6BR>

<sup>440</sup> *Acta de bautismo de Petra Josefa Galicia*, 29 Apr 1844, accessed 18 April 2016: <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:NBQN-TPD>

<sup>441</sup> *Acta de bautismo de Pablo Pedro Fernando Chimalpopoca y Galicia*, 29 de junio de 1851, Registro Parroquial De Asunción del Sagrario Metropolitano, Mexico Distrito Federal, accessed 18 April 2016: <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QKZF-W84S>

<sup>442</sup> *Acta de bautismo de Concepcion Felicitas Pragedis Chimalpopoca Osoy*, 21 Jul 1854, Registros Parroquiales de Asunción, Mexico, Distrito Federal, accessed 2 January 2015: <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:N81Y-5JM>

<sup>443</sup> See Baruc Martínez Díaz, “Introducción,” in *Vocabulario Correcto conforma a los mejores gramáticos en el mexicano o diálogos familiares que enseñan la lengua sin necesidad de maestro, por el Licenciado Faustino Chimalpopoca Galicia* (México: Huey Kalmekak Kuitlahuak, 2006).



vestidos los tres de calzones cortos de gamuza amarilla, de camisa de manta y manda azul.<sup>444</sup>

In reference to his professional title, Faustino Chimalpopoca used to write the abbreviation for the term *licenciado* “Lic.” right before his signature in official documentation, which attests to the fact that he received a degree in Law. Chimalpopoca’s knowledge about law and the way the governmental institutions worked can be confirmed through his prolific bureaucratic work that he achieved as a lawyer and defender and representative of the indigenous *parcialidades de indios* or as a legal defender of specific Indigenous Peoples who were dispossessed of their lands.

Chimalpopoca taught several classes as a professor at his *alma mater* around the years of 1850’s, while at the same time serving as a *regidor* of the *Ayuntamiento* of Mexico City, where he remained in office until 1853. According to the sources, he resigned this position due to his necessity of finding a new job since the classes that he taught in the *Colegio de San Gregorio* were cancelled. In this above mentioned document Chimalpopoca Galicia did not specify the classes that he taught at the *colegio*, but we can guess that these were probably Nahuatl, Otomi language or history.<sup>445</sup> Chimalpopoca also remained as a professor of both Nahuatl language and Otomi at the University of Mexico<sup>446</sup> between the years of 1858 and 1865.<sup>447</sup>

Later on, he joined the *Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística* (SMGE) between the years of 1852 and 1854, where he played a vital role in the revision, gathering, and analysis of historical documents written in indigenous languages. Later on, in 1856 he became a member of the *Comisión del Idioma Mexicano*, whose central mission focused on studying and promoting the Nahuatl language, under the sponsorship of the SMGE.<sup>448</sup> Similarly, he briefly occupied the office of Minister of the Interior (*Ministerio de Gobernación*) in 1858;<sup>449</sup> and throughout all of this time, he also remained as an active member of the Lancastrian education Company (*Compañía Lancasteriana*).<sup>450</sup> In 1863, Chimalpopoca wrote a historical account or an official

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<sup>444</sup> *Colegio de San Gregorio*, 6 de julio de 1865, BMNAH, Documentos Históricos de Faustino Chimalpopoca, Colección Antigua, NC 25.

<sup>445</sup> *El gobernador del Distrito consulta sobre las renunciaciones de los regidores, Don Luis Muñoz, Don Juan Bustillo, Don Faustino Galicia y Don Rafael Lamadrid; y propone para llenar estas vacantes a Don José Fraflita, Don Joaquín Anzomena, Don Miguel Cervantes Estanillo y Don Ignacio Algara*, 11 de octubre de 1853, AGN- GD10 Ayuntamiento, año de 1853, Volumen 31, fojas 319-327.

<sup>446</sup> *Como por el nuevo plan de la universidad*, 28 de abril de 1858, Periódico *El Siglo Diez y Nueve*.

<sup>447</sup> Sepúlveda y Herrera, *Catálogo de la Colección de Documentos Históricos de Faustino Chimalpopoca*, 13.

<sup>448</sup> “Comisión del idioma mexicano,” 28 de octubre de 1856, *Boletín de la SMGE*, Tomo IV, Número 7(México: Imprenta de Vicente García Torres, 1853), 323-324.

<sup>449</sup> “Parte Oficial. Ministerio de Gobernación. Primera plana,” 24 de febrero de 1858, *Periódico El Siglo Diez y Nueve*.

<sup>450</sup> “Remitidos. Compañía Lancasteriana,” 2 de agosto de 1851, *Periódico El Siglo XIX*.

history of the *Colegio de San Gregorio*,<sup>451</sup> the educational institution to which he returned as a professor around the year of 1873.<sup>452</sup>

According to Sepúlveda y Herrera, while Juan Rodríguez Puebla served as rector of the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, in 1845 he assigned Faustino Chimalpopoca the mission of copying and translating the text entitled *Nombre de Dios Durango: Dos documentos en náhuatl relativos a su fundación*.<sup>453</sup> Eventually, José Fernando Ramírez (1804-1871) purchased this document copy made by Chimalpopoca around the year 1849, which allowed Faustino Chimalpopoca to continue to work collectively with the scholar José Fernando Ramírez as he transcribed, translated, interpreted and re-drew several historical documents originally written in the Nahuatl language.

During the period of the French Intervention in Mexico (1864-1867), as an active member of the SMGE, Chimalpopoca initially opposed the idea of a foreign interference led by France. A collective letter published in the *Siglo Diez y Nueve* Mexican newspaper showed Mr. Chimalpopoca as one of the supporters of the following official statement:

Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística-Como en la sesión de 23 del próximo pasado, de que ya di conocimiento al ministerio del digno cargo de usted, se dispuso que se fuera dando publicidad a las firmas de los socios, según fueran estos suscribiendo la protesta contra la intervención extranjera, tengo el honor de cumplir con dicho acuerdo, acompañando a usted lista de ellas para dicho fin y conocimiento del supremo gobierno.<sup>454</sup>

However, years later during the period of the French intervention, Mr. Chimalpopoca later oddly appeared as one of the most fervent supporters of Austrian emperor Maximilian of Habsburg. On October 3, 1863, a commission of Mexican conservatives visited Maximilian of Habsburg at the Miramare Castle, near Trieste, in Italy, in order to officially offer him the crown as the second Emperor of Mexico. This historical event remains well documented and it is considered as one of the pivotal factors that encouraged the French Intervention in Mexico. Although, the name of the members of the Mexican delegation that carried out this historical visit to Italy had appeared in different documents and historical secondary sources, none of these sources mention Mr. Chimalpopoca as a member of this commission that visited the Miramare

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<sup>451</sup> Faustino Galicia Chimalpopoca, *Historia del Colegio de San Gregorio*, 18 de septiembre de 1863, BMNAH, Documentos Históricos de Faustino Galicia Chimalpopoca, Colección Antigua, NC 25.

<sup>452</sup> “Un plantel ejemplar. El Colegio de San Gregorio,” 12 de febrero de 1873, *Periódico El Siglo XIX*.

<sup>453</sup> Robert Hayward Barlow, George T. Smisor, *Nombre de Dios, Durango: Two Documents in Náhuatl Concerning Its Foundation: Memorial of the Indians Concerning Their Services, C. 1563; Agreement of the Mexicans and Michoacanos, 1585* (New York: AMS Press, 1992), xxiii.

<sup>454</sup> “Ministerio de Justicia, fomento e instrucción pública,” 9 de mayo de 1863, *El Siglo Diez y Nueve*.

Castle.<sup>455</sup> Nevertheless, Mr. Chimalpopoca confirmed that he personally took part in this delegation, and he wrote his own account about this visit by providing specific details about his encounter with the Austrian emperor. Faustino Chimalpopoca thus described in a later document his role in these events, described his stay in Trieste in detail:

El 1o. de este mes en la noche llegamos a Trieste todos los individuos de la comisión. En el embarcadero del camino de fierro encontramos a los gentiles hombres del Archiduque que Fernando Maximiliano, Conde de Bombelle y Marques de Coris. Estos señores nos condujeron en los carruajes que tenían preparados por orden de S. P. F al hotel de la Ville, en donde se nos ha tratado con mucho decoro y distinción [...] El día siguiente tuve la honra de ser recibido por el príncipe, quien se había ya dignado fijar el día 3 para nuestra recepción.<sup>456</sup>

As if that were not enough evidence to confirm that Mr. Chimalpopoca attended the meetings between the Mexican commission and Maximilian of Habsburg, he also wrote about the role that he played as a key member of this commission and the impression that he caused to the European nobility present in the Miramare Castle:

[...] En segundo, pasó el archiduque mismo a las habitaciones de S. A. y la archiduquesa que [?] al estandarte al salón acompañado de su camarera mayor la Condesa de Lubron y de su dama de honor la princesa de Auerberg hecha por mí la presentación de los señores de la comisión, la señora Archiduquesa les fue dirigiendo la palabra en español no siendo aventurado ni lisonjero asegurar que desde ese momento se ganó los corazones de todos los mejicanos que la escuchaban.<sup>457</sup>

By considering the political importance of this trip and the mission that the Mexican commission had, it is not adventurous to affirm that Mr. Chimalpopoca sent a very powerful political message to the Emperor: Mexico's Indigenous Peoples, the original owners of the land, endorsed the French intervention.

Based on this premise, it is not surprising that Maximilian showed special interest in Mr. Chimalpopoca from the very first moment that he met him. For instance, in the same document, Mr. Chimalpopoca mentioned that the Emperor Maximilian personally asked Mr. Chimalpopoca

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<sup>455</sup> There is a source that asserts that Faustino Chimalpopoca indeed visited Maximilian of Habsburg in the Miramare Castle, and this is found in the book *De Miramar a México: Viaje del Emperador Maximiliano y de la Emperatriz Carlota, desde su Palacio de Miramar cerca de Trieste, hasta la capital del imperio mexicano, con una relación de los festejos públicos con que fueron obsequiados en Veracruz, Córdoba, Orizaba, Puebla, México, y en las demás poblaciones del tránsito*, (Orizaba: Imprenta de J. Bernardo Aburto, 1864), 83.

<sup>456</sup> *Llamamiento a los mexicanos por Faustino Chimalpopoca Galicia*, 25 de julio de 1863, s/f, AHMNAH, Colección Archivo del Emperador Maximiliano de Habsburgo, Viena, Rollo7.

<sup>457</sup> Ibid. The underlining is mine.

to stay with him four days more out of the original Mexican commission's schedule: "Terminada la primera parte de nuestra comisión, el Archiduque despidió a esta el 5; pero al mismo tiempo me invitó a permanecer a su lado por cuatro días más, con los señores Velázquez de León, Aguilar e Hidalgo."<sup>458</sup>

Consequently, we can affirm that the relationship that existed between Emperor Maximilian and Mr. Chimalpopoca began in earnest when they both met in Europe. Once in Mexico, Maximilian of Habsburg rewarded Mr. Chimalpopoca by making him a member of his Mexican court, his personal translator, interpreter, historian, and also by appointing him as his personal instructor of the Nahuatl language.

Once Maximilian of Habsburg arrived in Mexico and began organizing his cabinet, as a way to recognize his trajectory as lawyer, and also based on his vast experience in the field, Emperor Maximilian also appointed Chimalpopoca as the president of the *Junta Protectora de las Clases Menesterosas* on April 27 of 1866. The official order and appointment letter stated:

S M el emperador atendiendo a la aptitud y circunstancia que concurre en el Lic. D. Faustino Chimalpopoca h atendido a bien nombrarlo para el empleo de Presidente de la Junta Protectora de las clases menesterosas con el sueldo anual de mil y quinientos pesos= Por tanto mana el Emperador que se tenga por tal presidente al respetado Lic. D. Faustino Chimalpopoca; y tomada razón de este despacho en las oficinas respectivas, y previos los además requisitos de estilo, se ponga al interesado en posesión del mencionado empleo y se le abone el sueldo referido.<sup>459</sup>

The *Junta Protectora de las Clases Menesterosas* served as a paternalistic-type of review board interested in protecting, defending and providing some social benefits to the so-called dispossessed classes, mostly made up of the Indigenous Peoples who struggled living under the political liberalism instituted in Mexico after 1821. The privileged position that Chimalpopoca occupied throughout this period allowed him to leave behind a considerable amount of bureaucratic archive material with vital information about the life of indigenous communities in Mexico City during the middle part of the nineteenth century which chronicles their struggles facing the anti-corporative political system of the post-independence period.

In this sense, Mr. M. Felix Eloin, a formal advisor of Maximilian of Habsburg in Mexico, captured the importance that Faustino Chimalpopoca had for the consolidation of the French intervention in Mexico. In one of his reports, Eloin referred to Chimalpopoca when he stated that: "Sus afecciones por el imperio, su origen indígena y sus conocimientos en el idioma

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<sup>458</sup> Ibid., pages without numbers.

<sup>459</sup> *Nombramiento de Faustino Chimalpopoca como presidente de la Junta Protectora de las Clases Menesterosas*, 28 de abril de 1866, AGN-GD- Despachos, Volumen 1, foja 150-150v, f-150r.

mexicano, le facilitaría mucho atraerse a los habitantes de la Sierra de Querétaro y hacerles defender efectivamente al imperio.”<sup>460</sup>

As the documentation demonstrates, the relationship that existed between Mr. Chimalpopoca and Emperor Maximilian remained close from the time they both met at Miramar, and it continued until the death of the emperor in Queretaro, Mexico. About this, José Luis Blasio, private secretary of Maximilian during his reign in Mexico, wrote in his private diary several notes about Faustino Chimalpopoca, along with several episodes in which he described the respect and admiration that Emperor Maximilian had towards Chimalpopoca’s knowledge about the indigenous past of Mexico and “its antiquities.” For instance, Blasio recorded a visit that Maximilian of Habsburg and a few members of his court made to the archaeological site of Teotihuacan shortly after the Emperor had established himself in Mexico City. According to Blasio, on this trip Chimalpopoca served both as their guide and interpreter:

We [Emperor Maximilian and those who traveled with him] spent the night at San Juan Teotihuacan, in the best house in the town, where on the following day the Emperor visited the famous pyramids of the Sun and the Moon. *Señor* Chimalpopoca deciphered the Aztec hieroglyphics on the pyramids.<sup>461</sup>

Later in 1865, and probably based on the good relationship that existed between Mr. Chimalpopoca and the new monarchs, Chimalpopoca asked the empress Charlotte of Belgium for a grant for his son Pablo Fernando to study as “interned student” of Latin at the *Colegio de San Ildefonso* or another imperial college:

Yo tengo un hijo varoncito llamado Pablo Fernando, de edad de catorce años, el cual se halla actualmente como estudiante gramática latina en el colegio de San Ildefonso de esta capital, pero con el carácter de alumno externo. Esta circunstancia hace que no pueda adelantar todo lo que puede, al paso que mi escasez no me permite absolutamente poder pagar la colegiatura de dieciséis pesos mensuales para colocarlo de alumno interno en el expreso establecimiento.<sup>462</sup>

According to this request, Chimalpopoca’s son was indeed already a student of Latin at the *Colegio de San Ildefonso*, but he attended as an “external student,” which meant that he did not live at the *colegio*. The situation of this petition occurred most probably because having this status of a boarding, or “interned” student required important economic resources from the student’s family in order to cover the expenses generated by the student. Hence this request

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<sup>460</sup> *Los traidores pintados por sí mismos. Libro secreto de Maximiliano en que aparece la idea que tenía de sus servidores* (México: Imprenta de Eduardo Dublán, 1900), 14.

<sup>461</sup> José Luis Blasio, *Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico. Memoirs of his Private Secretary*; trans. Robert Hammond Murray (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934), 51-52.

<sup>462</sup> *Solicitud de beca*, julio 1 de 1865, AGN, Segundo Imperio, Caja 38, Expediente 36.

demonstrates that the purchasing power of Chimalpopoca family was not very prosperous, or at least not prosperous enough to have a member of the family serve as “an internal student” in one of the most prestigious colleges in Mexico at that time. Unfortunately, the answer from the Empress is unknown as no documentation has survived concerning her disposition in the case.

For the period after the French Intervention, little information about Chimalpopoca remains. Nevertheless, it is clear that the reinstalled regime led by the liberal President Benito Juárez persecuted him, and condemned him to spend two years in prison since his name appeared in the *Monitor Republicano* newspaper within a list that included several others who collaborated with the French Intervention, or who had worked or served in the imperial court of the emperor. In the list entitled “Relación de los presos de esta capital a quienes se ha conmutado la pena impuesta por la ley de 25 de enero de 1862 [...]” the name of Chimalpopoca appears with a brief description of his duties as member of the imperial court: “Galicia Chimalpopoca Faustino. Notable y comisario imperial.”<sup>463</sup>

Still, after the year of 1868 there is no record about Mr. Chimalpopoca, either serving as a notary, or as tutor. Nonetheless, we can hypothesize that Faustino Chimalpopoca may have continued working as a legal advisor in minor cases or as private tutor due to his academic experience. About this time period in his life, some authors state that he lived hiding in his hometown of Tlahuac, staying hidden under the basement of his house.<sup>464</sup> However, I was unable to trace this information to its source due to the lack of the survival of accurate documentation. These authors also stated that Chimalpopoca probably sold several important documents and archival material from his personal library to particular individuals, as well as several of his document collections in order to survive during his difficult times after his fall from grace during the Juárez regime. This may explain that fact why there are some of his manuscripts currently housed in archives throughout the United States and Europe.

It is not until the year of 1873 that Chimalpopoca reappeared again in the historical records as a history professor of the *Colegio Restaurado de San Gregorio*, working on a campus that this institution apparently opened in Tlahuac, outside of Mexico City.<sup>465</sup> It is in this year of 1873 that Sepúlveda y Herrera located one of the latest documents produced by Chimalpopoca. The said manuscript is the copy of the original papers of the town of Santa María Nativitas, from Texcoco, which Chimalpopoca made and whose original document dated from the year of 1539.<sup>466</sup>

Faustino Galicia Chimalpopoca died some day in early April of 1882, without a written or notarized will, a fact that is attested to in a brief notice in the *Diario del Hogar* which

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<sup>463</sup> “Parte Oficial,” martes 10 de septiembre de 1867, *El Monitor Republicano*, 2.

<sup>464</sup> Sepúlveda y Herrera, *Catálogo de la Colección de Documentos Históricos de Faustino Chimalpopoca*, 15.

<sup>465</sup> “Un plantel ejemplar: Colegio de San Gregorio,” 12 de febrero de 1873, *Periódico EL Siglo XIX*.

<sup>466</sup> Sepúlveda y Herrera, *Catálogo de la Colección de Documentos Históricos de Faustino Chimalpopoca*, 15.

published an announcement from the Civil Judge Licenciado Esteban Calva, which asked any person who believed that they had some rights over the assets of Mr. Chimalpopoca to give evidence to the effect within a period of 30 days.<sup>467</sup> Little else is known about Chimalpopoca's personal life, including the causes of his death and what happened with what had remained of his once great library. Nor do the records attest to whether or not his children continued with his legacy. Nevertheless, his prolific work has contributed to what we currently know about several indigenous manuscripts and indigenous communities during nineteenth-century Mexico.

As I have been emphasizing throughout this study, nineteenth-century Mexican Nahua intellectuals resulted from an inherited tradition rooted in the Mesoamerican tradition, which continued through a complex colonial educational system (see Chapter 3). During the period of the Spanish colonial era, these intellectuals found places to practice and exercise their intellectual opinions as well as to create an impact in their communities (see Chapter 2).

The works of various Nahua intellectuals such as Ixtolinque, Mendoza y Moctezuma, Rodríguez Puebla and Chimalpopoca, inserted into various spheres of indigenous social life during the last years of the colonial regime in New Spain. As we can see, these intellectuals exercised their agency through institutions such as hospitals, schools, or by representing Indigenous People from their own communities. In this sense, it is indispensable to keep in mind that the political participation that indigenous intellectuals performed within these spheres discussed above did not represent a new phenomenon, but rather the continuation of their own intellectual tradition.

#### **4.3 Conclusion to Chapter 4**

The lives and works of Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, Juan de Dios Rodríguez Puebla, Faustino Chimalpopoca, and Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma remained linked to their common social and cultural background. Similarly, the institutional education that they received through their attendance in colonial cloisters made them a special group of educated Indigenous People. In this sense, it is important to mention that while studying under the Spanish educational system, these Nahua individuals had access to the works, theories and ideas from all over Europe, and in general most of the intellectual creations of the “the old world” were accessible to them. As I will explore in the following chapters of this work, these indigenous students read the political and European humanistic theories from classical Greece and Rome, as well as philosophical positions prevalent in Europe at that time of their own educations.

Additionally, the ethnic bond that these intellectuals shared both influenced and conducted them to project their agency towards common interests and in the defense of shared projects, as we will review in the next chapter of this work. The available documentation also

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<sup>467</sup> “Convocatoria,” 14 de abril de 1882, *Diario del Hogar*, Tomo I, Número 163, 4.

reveals that these intellectuals relied on and their works became influenced by a strong ethnic identity that resulted from the political transformations issued by the Cortes of 1810 and the Constitution of Cadiz of 1812. This statement does not imply that this ethnic identity did not develop before or did not emerge in earlier times; however, these above mentioned political measures as well as the social changes that resulted from them reveal that the term “*indio*” used by these intellectuals became a word with profound political and social connotations that provided them with a shared sense of belonging.

These intellectuals by coming from similar economic, social and ethnic backgrounds willingly united in the defense of similar causes that affected them both individually and collectively. Thus, during the early years of the nineteenth century we will find documentation in which these individuals became involved on at least two greater trends: the defense of Indigenous People to gain access to education; and ensuring the capability of indigenous communities to manage, own and administrate their own collective properties.

This generation unit of intellectuals also presented characteristics related to the region to which they belonged, and to their own social stratum, as well as to the access that they had to other social spheres, such as to institutions of justice, education and government. Thus, it is after 1812 that most of the documentation produced by these intellectuals demonstrates that they remained involved as legal representatives of indigenous communities or *parcialidades* before the Mexican authorities, helping their indigenous counterparts to deal with a new liberal governmental and economic system based on individual property. In other words, it is only after 1812 that these intellectuals acted collectively towards the defense of their indigenous corporate interests. This collective endeavor did not only refer to the interest that these Nahua intellectuals had in issues that concerned their own communities, but this also reveals the level of collective consciousness and identity that these intellectuals had developed throughout their lives.



## Chapter 5

### The Rupture Generation of Nahua Intellectuals and their Early Works

#### Introduction

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the major political changes in New Spain and in the Iberian Peninsula in the first decade of the nineteenth century deeply affected the lives of people from the Spanish American colonies. By analyzing the events that occurred both in Spain and Mexico at this time, we will be able to understand the political and social environment in which the first two of the mentioned Nahua intellectuals participated. The initial participation of Pedro Patiño and Juan Rodríguez Puebla in matters that affected their social environment directly resulted from these major changes in the way Spain administered its New World Empire politically. For instance, we will see that due to their advanced level of education, both Patiño Ixtolinque and Rodríguez Puebla became intimately involved both in matters of politics and education concerning Mexico's Indigenous People.

The positions that both Patiño Ixtolinque and Rodríguez Puebla held in such matters as the defense of the legitimacy of the kingship of Ferdinand VII before the Napoleonic Invasion in Spain revealed the wide knowledge that these individuals had about both political theory and law. It was precisely the threat that Napoleon's invasion posed for Spanish sovereignty in the capital of New Spain that inspired these intellectuals to express their ideas about government, and in the process they displayed their deep knowledge about natural law and other political ideals. Later on, these two Nahua intellectuals also manifested their enthusiasm for the idea of social equality that the Constitution of Cadiz of 1812 granted to the Indigenous Peoples of the Americas. Although the Constitution's principle of equality for the Indigenous Peoples and their recognition as Spanish citizens probably had the best political intentions, the existing colonial system in New Spain ran contrary to and contradicted these liberal ideas promoted by the said constitution.

Nevertheless, the principle of equality for New Spain's Indigenous Peoples brought a series of transformations within indigenous communities. One of the most important of these initial changes centered on the loss of the juridical concept of the "*indio*," a colonial marker of identity that indigenous communities had lived with and around which they had organized their government, society and daily lives for during almost three centuries. Additionally, the responsibilities and obligations of Indigenous Peoples also changed and the Constitution of Cadiz placed them on equal terms (at least in legal theory) with their non-indigenous counterparts, with the exception of those of African descent. The equal participation that former "Indians" had in the new political system signified a huge step forward in terms of political

equality; nevertheless, these changes failed to provide real social equality to the members of these indigenous communities. Well versed in the European political theories of the time, Nahua intellectuals realized the serious gaps and deficiencies that this radical change in legal status represented for them and their communities. In effect, the change of their “*indio*” status to their new condition as “citizens” implied the loss of their communal organizations, such as *cofradías*, *parcialidades*, and their access to exclusively indigenous schools, among other things, which had contributed to the continuation of the development of their own indigenous identity. Since the Constitution of Cadiz, and eventually the Mexican declaration of independence, denied the existence of segregated institutions arguing that they served against the principle of social equality, the new Constitution deeply affected these important communal organizations that regulated the economic and political lives of Indigenous Peoples. These Nahua intellectuals quickly realized the implicit social disadvantage that these major transformations signified for them and their communities since the effects of colonialism could not be overturned simply through legal means.

Thus, this chapter will explore the main works and arguments that both Pedro Patiño and Juan Rodríguez undertook in order to explain, understand and defend their rights as Indigenous Peoples who had been deeply affected by centuries of Spanish colonization. Consequently, the following analysis of the documents and works created by these intellectuals will mostly follow a chronological order. This procedure will allow us to read through the testimonies that these intellectuals created and trace the path of challenges and experiences that they lived, as well as the issues or events in which they participated. Through this analysis we can also trace the way that institutions, political trends and historical events affected or influenced both the work and participation of these Nahua intellectuals. The ideas and opinions that these intellectuals included in their documents examined a variety of topics, from the period of the French occupation of Spain, to the social and political threats that the indigenous communities experienced when the *parcialidades* legally disappeared. These indigenous intellectuals work also left testimony how these measures affected the opportunities that the Indigenous Peoples had in gaining access to education and other social advantages in the newly established political system.

## **5.1 The Unsteady Spanish Years: The Political Position of Nahua Intellectuals**

As presented in the previous chapter, Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, Juan de Dios Rodríguez, Faustino Chimalpopoca and Francisco Mendoza were part of a generation unit of indigenous intellectuals in Mexico City at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century. Without a doubt these individuals held in common several characteristics, such as sharing similar social backgrounds, as well as sharing a common reality related to the fact that these individuals lived as “Indians” under the colonial establishment. These Nahua intellectuals also enjoyed a similar economic strata (most of them were able to attend school thanks to scholarships and other financial supports), and they all attended schools administrated under the Spanish colonial

system since all four of them were able to attend either the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, the *Colegio de San Ildefonso*, the University of Mexico or the *Academia de San Carlos*. Consequently, as a generation unit, these intellectuals possessed unique characteristics according to the historical space and time in which they thrived. Similarly, they held a very strong ethnic identity that deeply influenced their lives as well as their works. Also, due to the westernized education that they received, these intellectuals located themselves in a westernized world, but at the same time they did not deny their indigenous heritage and/or ethnicity.

The same way that early indigenous intellectuals such as Anton Muñón Chimalpahin or Fernando de Alva Ixtlixochitl adhered to an intellectual tradition influenced both by their indigenous heritage and their experience with westernized knowledge; these nineteenth-century Nahua intellectuals also attached themselves to a cultural and political tradition learned from the westernized schools they attended. In this sense, these nineteenth century Nahua intellectuals received their education in an educational system that provided them with knowledge and concepts from the European tradition about government, individual and collective rights, property, sovereignty, and political participation. Nevertheless, far from considering them as passive receptors of westernized knowledge, these intellectuals adopted this knowledge in order to help them determine and act in the shaping of their own history within nineteenth-century Mexico, both as individuals and as members of a community.

This westernized political education, based on concepts of popular sovereignty that both Pedro Patiño and Juan Rodríguez received from the *Academia de San Carlos* and the *Colegio de San Gregorio* respectively, led these intellectuals to have strong opinions towards several pivotal international events, such as the French intervention in Spain, the issuing of a new Spanish constitution, and the independence of Mexico. Nevertheless, these intellectuals also focused their interests on domestic issues such as the defense of their communal Indigenous property, and the fight to keep the right of Indigenous Peoples to gain access to higher education, among other concerns. Thus, the active participation that these intellectuals had in these types of affairs did not demonstrate a radical position, but rather a direct consequence of the strain of thought influenced by the academic formation that these indigenous intellectuals received from the colonial system.

Consequently, the decision of these intellectuals to fight for both the rights and benefits of indigenous communities from the institutional position, and not from an armed action, is not incongruous. Similarly, the way these intellectuals sought to occupy positions within the political system does not reflect mere opportunism, but rather a consistent consequence of the education that they received. Nevertheless, the involvement that these individuals had in these problems remained based on a strong indigenous tradition of collective participation, which had its roots in the Mesoamerican traditions.

During the seventeenth century, both in New Spain and in the Iberian Peninsula, the practice of politics remained very *sui generis*, so that the political participation that subject people had in New Spain's affairs, including those with indigenous backgrounds, remained very intense.<sup>468</sup> As stated in previous chapters, during the period of the Spanish colony the indigenous communities collectively administrated and organized the resources they extracted from their properties, with the consent of the colonial authorities: for instance, they collectively administered the estates owned by the indigenous communities which materialized in their communal support for hospitals, schools, theaters,<sup>469</sup> *haciendas*, *potreros*, etc.<sup>470</sup> The indigenous participation in politics took place for the most part in the way that they elected their representative authorities as dictated by law, for example as seen in Title IV, Book V of *The Laws of the Indies* which stipulated:

De lo repartido a los hospitales de indios, no se saque tres por ciento para los Seminarios, ni por esta razón se haga descuento alguno; pero en cuanto a las donaciones hechas por los encomenderos a los hospitales, se guarde lo dispuesto por los concilios provinciales.<sup>471</sup>

Even though the period of Spanish colonization in the capital of New Spain was without a doubt a devastating event for indigenous communities, it is also true that Indigenous Peoples always found a place within the political system from which they were able to participate and shape their communal lives, and to a certain extent, to ensure the future of their communities. Proof of this inclusion and participation of Indigenous Peoples in their communities political life are the titles or land grants that the colonial Spanish authorities granted to different communities as a reward for their participation during the period of conquest, or as a means of officially recognizing them as the legal owners of their communal land.<sup>472</sup> In this sense, the inclusion of indigenous allies into the political and territorial system established by the Spanish colonial authorities in New Spain represented a system of inclusion and participation. It is a fact that this political

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<sup>468</sup> Marie Regina Madder, *Political Theory and Law in Medieval Spain* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1930), 101-103.

<sup>469</sup> Justino Fernández, "El hospital real de los indios de la Ciudad de México," 29.

<sup>470</sup> Delfina E. López Sarrelangue, "Las tierras comunales indígenas de la Nueva España en el siglo XVI," *Estudios de cultura novohispana*, N°. 1 (1966): 131-148.

<sup>471</sup> *Leyes de Indias*, Libro V, Ley IV: "Don Felipe II, en Tordesillas, a 22 de junio de 1592. Y en Madrid, a 12 de febrero de 1589," 64; in *Las Leyes de Indias con las posteriores a este código vigentes hoy*; epilogue by Don Miguel de la Guardia, Volume I, (Madrid, 1889).

<sup>472</sup> As a matter of fact, these titles or land grants served as a type of symbolic representation for indigenous political participation within the colonial Spanish system in New Spain. It is important to mention this since Faustino Chimalpopoca translated several of these documents since he considered them as solid proof of this indigenous political participatory tradition. See Faustino Chimalpopoca, *Origen de Cuiclahuac y otros documentos*, 1857, AHBNAH.

involvement of the subjects of the Spanish Monarchy and its territories remained active from its origins to the end of the early nineteenth century.<sup>473</sup>

As a consequence of this participation, it is not unusual that indigenous intellectuals such as Patiño Ixtolinque, Rodríguez Puebla, Mendoza y Moctezuma and Galicia Chimalpopoca became actively involved in both the social and political spheres of life during the nineteenth century. This phenomenon of political participation rested on the basic ideas in which the Spanish monarchy operated throughout its colonies in the Americas. This political participation relied on the basic premises of popular sovereignty and the ideals of representation established by Classical thought (Greece and Rome) and the European medieval concepts of government.<sup>474</sup> Thus, in general terms we can say that several indigenous communities in the Valley of Mexico even during the colonial period enjoyed the right of being represented by some sort of indigenous representatives. This feature of representation also embodied one aspect of the type of government that prevailed in the Spanish colonies which had been established from the beginning of the sixteenth century. Therefore, indigenous intellectuals' participation in the political realm during the seventeenth and eighteenth century was not an unusual phenomenon. We can better understand this collaboration by considering the concepts of government shaped by the Spanish monarchy, as the scholar John Leddy Phelan defined it:

The Spanish monarchy was absolute only in the original medieval sense. The king recognized no superior inside or outside his kingdoms. He was the ultimate source of all justice and all legislation. The late medieval phrase was, "The king is the emperor of the realm." The laws that bore the royal signature, however, were not the arbitrary expression of the king's personal wishes. Legislation, and the extent to which it was enforced, reflected the complex, and diverse aspirations of all, or at least several, groups in that corporate, multi-ethnic society.<sup>475</sup>

And he continued stating that:

The monarchy was representative and decentralized to a degree seldom suspected. Although there were no formal representative assemblies or *cortes* in the Indies, each of the major corporations such as the *cabildos*, the various ecclesiastical groups, the universities, and the craft guilds, all which enjoyed a large measure of self government, could and did speak for their respective constituents. Their

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<sup>473</sup> Jaime Rodríguez O., ed., *The Divine Charter: Constitutionalism and Liberalism in Nineteenth-Century Mexico* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007), 3.

<sup>474</sup> For instance, the extensive number of books that the library at the *Colegio de San Gregorio* had about government theory provides us with a glimpse into the type of intellectual material that students at the *colegio* had at their disposal. See *Lista de libros pertenecientes al Colegio*, 1839, AHMNAH, Colección Colegio de San Gregorio, rollo 7, documento 13, Volumen 131, 1839, fojas 165r-190v.

<sup>475</sup> John Leddy Phelan, *The People and the King: The Comunero Revolution in Colombia, 1781* (Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin, 2010), 82.

views reached the king and the council of the Indies, transmitted directly by their accredited representatives of indirectly through the viceroys and the *audiencias*, and their aspirations profoundly shaped the characters of the ultimate decisions.<sup>476</sup>

In order to understand some of the main factors that influenced the way these intellectuals acted during the nineteenth century, I will briefly review the idea of popular sovereignty, and the political strength that the institution of the *ayuntamiento* gained with the issuing of the Constitution of Cadiz of 1812.

During the mid-eighteenth century, the Seven Years' War (1755-1763) modified the future of English, French and Spanish colonies in the Americas and other regions of the world. As a consequence of this and other serious events that occurred between the European powers, France, led by Napoleon Bonaparte, organized a military excursion into Spain in 1807. This military and political intervention against Spain forced the Royal Spanish family to leave the peninsula in 1808, resulting in the subsequent imposition of Joseph Bonaparte as the imposed king of the Spanish monarchy.<sup>477</sup> It is from this point onwards that the subjects of the Spanish monarchy, both in Spain and the American colonies, saw the popular sovereignty of the people in danger since the Hispanic idea of government stated that sovereignty resided in the people, and the Spanish people had not accepted or approved of Joseph Bonaparte.

In contrary to the semi-autonomous forms of government and participation that Spain had shaped both in Europe and the Americas, the imposed Emperor Joseph Napoleon carried forward a policy of a monarchy with absolute power, denying and ignoring the popular representation that had previously existed in Spain when it remained under the administration of King Ferdinand VII. Officially, Joseph Bonaparte occupied his position of king of Spain on June 6, 1808, but not before facing the open resistance of the Spanish people who defended the monarchy and fought for Ferdinand VII to remain on the throne.

As this situation developed in Spain, the people from the Americas received the news of the French occupation between the months of June and August of 1808. Worried about their role as subjects of the Spanish monarchy and in a clear act of solidarity, the representatives of the Spanish colonies in the Americas joined the effort of the Spanish opposition from the Peninsula when these rebels formed the *Junta Suprema Central y Gubernativa de España e Indias*. This Junta took place in the city of Aranjuez, Spain, on September 25 of 1808.<sup>478</sup> The main purpose of this Junta focused on keeping the rights of government under popular sovereignty in the absence

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<sup>476</sup> Ibid.

<sup>477</sup> Jaime E. Rodríguez O., "México, Estados Unidos y los países hispanoamericanos: Una visión comparativa de la independencia," in *México, 1808-1821. Las ideas y los hombres*, eds., Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru and Andrés Lira, 71-106 (México: El Colegio de México, 2014), 5.

<sup>478</sup> See José María Pujol Moreno, "La creación del Consejo y Tribunal Supremo de España e Indias (Consejo reunido) por la Junta Central en 1809," *Cuadernos de Historia del Derecho*, núm. 12 (1995): 189-236, 213.

of the legitimate Spanish king, and they did this as a means of resisting the French intervention and in defense of the rights of the inhabitants of the Spanish territories, both in Europe and overseas.

Consequently, and in order to demonstrate that political participation in the Spanish monarchy extended to all its subjects, the *Junta Suprema* in 1809 recognized the right of the American colonies to have representatives and participate in this new type of government during the French intervention to Spain. Thus, in this *Junta*, the participation of both Spaniards from the Peninsula and the Americas remained on equal terms of participation.<sup>479</sup> Nonetheless, the *Junta* remained under constant pressure from the military advances that the Napoleonic troops carried out in Spanish territory. On January 1810, the Junta fell under siege by the French and in an effort to remain active their members retreated to the Isla de León, where they finally disintegrated as an active counter-government. The active members of the *Junta* then appointed a *Consejo de Regencia* to govern Spain and its overseas territories. Before this precarious situation, the colonies in the Americas decided to create autonomous governments over their territories.

As the result of this sequence of events, in 1810 the Cadiz Cortes arose as a national assembly that served as the legitimate executive branch of power in the absence of King Ferdinand VII. As members of the Cortes the people from the Spanish Americas indeed counted upon representatives who followed the guidelines previously established by the *Junta*.<sup>480</sup> One of the major achievements of the Cortes was the issuing of the *Constitution Política de la Monarquía Española*, also known as the Constitution of Cadiz in 1812.

The events mentioned above, as well as the development of a politically complex document such as the Constitution of Cadiz, reflected not only the political participation of the people within the Spanish monarchy, but it also demonstrated the wide knowledge about political theory and social organization that people in the Spanish kingdom had. As an unprecedented act, modern historian Jaime E. Rodríguez O. has not doubted in calling this historical process a political revolution. For instance, we will notice that between the years of 1812 and 1814, constitutional *ayuntamientos* flourished in the Americas. It is within this context and having all these events as scenario that Nahua intellectuals created most of their production.

### **5.1.1 Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque: The Artist, the Regidor and the *Ayuntamiento***

Based on the biographical information of Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, we currently know that he entered the *Academia de San Carlos* in 1788, and began to pursue a career in the field of

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<sup>479</sup> Santos M. Coronas González, “La crisis del antiguo régimen consultivo en la España constitucional,” *Revista de Estudios Políticos*, N° 57 (1987): 177-190, 184-186.

<sup>480</sup> For more information about how this political process elapsed in Mexico City see Alfredo Ávila, “Cuestión política. Los debates en torno del gobierno de la Nueva España durante el proceso de independencia,” *Historia Mexicana* 59, Núm. 1 (Sep., 2009), 77-116.

sculpture. Also, considering the available documentation we know that Patiño Ixtolinque remained an outstanding student who also became one of the student assistants of Manuel Tolsá (See Chapter 4 of this work for more biographical data). In 1793, the members of the *Academia de las Nobles Artes in Madrid* invited him twice to come to Spain. Along with four other students from the *Academia* in Mexico City, Patiño Ixtolinque received an invitation to go to Madrid in order to perfect his artistic techniques. However, he and his companions refused to go to Spain and carry out this duty. Although two of the students explained that they rejected the grant for family reasons, the reasons why Patiño and his other classmates refused to continue their studies in Europe are still unclear. Patiño Ixtolinque had argued that he disagreed with the politics and ideas of the person who remained in charge of the student-exchanges from Mexico in Madrid, Cosme de Acuña. Nevertheless, this reply does not seem satisfactory due to the fact that the said grant would have represented a considerable advancement in Patiño's career. Patiño Ixtolinque's answer also lacked strength especially because even though Cosme de Acuña remained as an unpopular character in Mexico City, when he arrived in Spain still managed as good as possible the resources available to him which kept the exchange program between Spain and the colonies going.<sup>481</sup>

Nonetheless, by considering the context of political instability that Spain experienced at that time, I propose that it is more likely that none of the said students were willing to go to Spain due to the military events that occurred in the Peninsula, such as the beginning of what is known as the French Revolutionary Wars that occurred between 1792 and 1802. Thus, it is pertinent to consider that Patiño Ixtolinque and his classmates might not have felt fully encouraged to stay in Spain for a period of five years when Spain was involved in series of conflicts with other European powers.

It is highly feasible that the news about the conflict that existed in Europe had reached New Spain through publications such as the *Mercurio Mexicano* and the *Gazeta de México*. The good coverage that these newspapers had about international affairs may be exemplified in a note published on May of 1793 in the *Gazeta de México*. This issue included a series of detailed news about the death of King Louis XVI, including the notification that the Court in Madrid had declared a period of mourning for three months, and additionally the report included the "Testament of Louis XVI."<sup>482</sup> This brief example demonstrates effectively that people in Mexico City in general kept well informed about world events through the circulation of such publications. Thus, the *Gazeta* on May 21 of 1793 included a letter from the Secretary of State, dated on February 26 in Madrid, in which he made an open call, on behalf of the king, to all the Spanish subjects to enlist in the army in case of war:

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<sup>481</sup> José Manuel Arnáiz, "Cosme de Acuña y la influencia de la escuela madrileña de finales del S. XVIII en América," *Academia: Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando*, Núm. 73 (1991): 135-178, 156-157.

<sup>482</sup> *Gazeta de México*, 14 de mayo de 1793, 311-315.



Queriendo el Rey no gravar a sus fieles vasallos separando de la agricultura y artes los brazos útiles, i siéndoles preciso aumentar su exercito por causas justas y necesarias, ha resuelto S. M. que se dé facultad a las Justicias de cada pueblo en sus dominios para que convocado con el Cura del territorio a la vecindad de su jurisdicción, pregunte quienes (de los que sean aptos para el servicio) querrán emplearse en él voluntariamente, y por el tiempo que les sea posible, para no sustraerlos de los útiles trabajos de sus labores: prefiriendo S. M. este medio suave propio de la confianza y amor que le merecen sus vasallos, a la forma y método con que esta operación ha solido antes de ahora practicarse [...]<sup>483</sup>

Similarly, this entire number of the *Gazeta* included several notes which expressed the generalized fear in Spain of becoming involved in a war against France. Some examples of this included one note that read:

La Ciudad de Málaga, el alistamiento de 150 hombres, los 30 de tropa voluntaria para guarnición de aquella plaza, y que S. M. puede atender a otras urgencias con la que ocupa en aquella guarnición; y los 120 restantes para que se hallen prontos y armados para acudir adonde se les mande.<sup>484</sup>

The following note also expressed serious concerns from the population before the imminent menace of war:

El cuerpo de Montañeses, dueños de tiendas de comestibles y tabernas en Cádiz, 360 reales anuales durante la guerra, si la hubiese, para la manutención diaria de 25 soldados. Otras muchas ciudades, pueblos cuerpos y sujetos particulares han hecho semejantes demostraciones ofreciendo sus facultades y personas, que aunque no han sido ofertas tan individuales como las anteriores, son igualmente de consideración; manifestándose en todas la emulación con que los Vasallos de los Reynos de Castilla anhelan a contribuir a; servicio de S. M. con el objeto de que se conserve el decoro de la Real familia de nuestro soberano y la tranquilidad de la Monarquía.<sup>485</sup>

It would not be surprising to consider that Patiño Ixtolinque, as well as many others in New Spain, saw a threat against the Spanish monarchy from other European powers as a real menace. Thus, the refusal of Patiño Ixtolinque to take this grant to travel to Madrid at this time seems to be the result of the political climate that prevailed at that time in Europe.

During the ninth decade of the eighteenth century, Pedro Patiño consolidates his career as a sculptor, augmenting it with a period of intense drawing activity. It is during this last decade of

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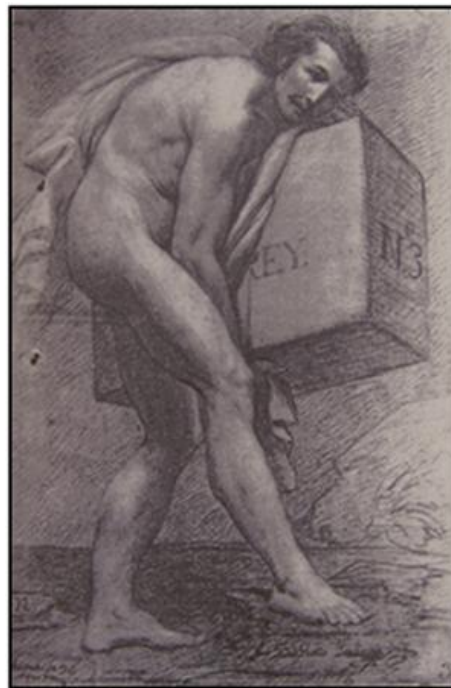
<sup>483</sup> *Gazeta de México*, 21 de mayo de 1793, Tomo V, Número 35, 325.

<sup>484</sup> *Gazeta de México*, 21 de mayo de 1793, Tomo V, Número 35, 332.

<sup>485</sup> Ibid.

the 18<sup>th</sup> century that Pedro Patiño drew several nude masculine figures. Among these drawings one stands out, one which Patiño Ixtolinque entitled *El cargador*, or the *Burden Bearer*. Pedro Patiño drew this piece in 1796, and if it were not for the political context in which Patiño composed this sketch, it should be considered as only one example of Patiño's skills as an artist.

Patiño used charcoal and coal on paper to create *The Burden Bearer*, which portrays a nude male figure, dressed only in a sort of tunic thrown over his back which covered only a part of the left side of his body, carrying a rectangular block. The tunic thrown over the male figure's back appears to help him to add some sort of support or resistance in order to carry the mentioned rectangular block. One of the sides of this rectangular figure includes the legend "Rey," or "king," while the front side of the figure includes a representation of "N<sup>o</sup>. 3." The face of the male figure demonstrates rigidity or an expression of weariness, while his stooped body position gives evidence to the apparent heaviness of the rectangular object that he is carrying. This male figure displays what we may consider as indigenous facial features, since nineteenth-century iconography identified indigenous representations by the use of scarce facial hair in the area of the mustache and the beard. In general terms we can see that the construction of this sketch is quite simple, yet the same is not true for its meaning.



**Figure 8. *The Burden Bearer*, by Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, 1796, charcoal and chalk on paper. Image taken from Westbrook (1999).**

Pedro Patiño drew the *Burden Bearer* at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when the population of New Spain had already experienced and suffered from the major Bourbon Reforms that the Spanish Crown had implemented in its colonies. The Bourbon Reforms had several objectives,

although the majority of these focused on the development of the Spanish Crown's material interests and the increase of the distribution of wealth into the hands of the monarchy through the centralization of "royal income." The official visit of Don José de Gálvez in 1770, sent by order of King Charles III of Spain, represented the beginning of the changes in the administration of the colonies since from that point on the power of the viceroy diminished. In this sense, King Charles III, the third king of the Bourbon dynasty in Spain, can be considered as the monarch who strongly pushed for the implementation of most of these reforms.

The inhabitants of New Spain interpreted these reforms as a direct process or attempt to limit their political participation, and most considered these changes as a means of extracting more wealth from New Spain in order to economically support Spain. These bitter sentiments increased with the food shortages that occurred between the years of 1785 and 1787, causing famine that most deeply affected the indigenous population, leading to a decrease of the availability of cheap labor. Thus, the last decade of the eighteenth century became characterized by having an increase in the poverty rates throughout the territories of New Spain as well as an increase in the sales taxes (*alcabalas*) and other new taxes and impositions over the society of New Spain. Also, during the period of the Seven Years War (1756-1763) increasing amounts of wealth extracted from the American colonies had kept the Spanish Crown going during all those years. During his visit, Gálvez consolidated the royal monopoly on two important industries for New Spain: the production and manufacture of tobacco, and the mining industry.<sup>486</sup> Both New Spain's viceroy at the time, Francisco de Croix (1766-1771), and the *visitador* Gálvez agreed to expand the colonial administration into the region of New Santander in order to exploit the rich mining resources of the area.

Although the reforms worked accordingly and provided Spain with necessary resources to invest in the royal defense, during the last decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the fiscal burden over the population of New Spain had notably increased. The military and defensive expenses of Spain boosted again with the war against the French in 1793, and in 1796 with the English conflict. During this period of time the Spanish King, Charles IV, started to ask for loans and donations from various colonial institutions, such as the merchant guild, or *consulado* of Mexico, as well as the most important merchant guild, or *consulado* of Veracruz and the Tribunal of Mining.<sup>487</sup> Not only that, but when Spain needed the resources the most, the King openly took resources from the funds of the *propios* and *arbitrios*,<sup>488</sup> which the Bourbon Reforms had put

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<sup>486</sup> See Enrique Canudas Sandoval, *Las venas de plata en la historia de México: síntesis de historia económica, siglo XIX, I* (Tabasco: Universidad Juárez Autónoma de Tabasco, 2005), 235-260.

<sup>487</sup> See Pablo Escalante, Luis Jáuregui et al., *Nueva historia mínima de México* (México: El Colegio de México, 2011).

<sup>488</sup> The term "*propios*" referred to the income that the *ayuntamiento* received from the renting of the properties from the *cabildo*, such as houses, buildings for business, *fincas*, etc. The *arbitrios* must be understood as the municipal rights or "*derechos municipales*" which could be defined as special taxes that the *ayuntamiento* levied on certain products when they entered into the city in order to cover special expenses. However, in many cases these special charges turned into permanent taxes, which allowed the *ayuntamiento* to increase the funds in its treasury.

under the direct disposition of the Spanish King. The *propios* and *arbitrios* directly administrated the resources from towns, villas and other urban centers, as well as resources from the indigenous *cajas de comunidades* and *montepíos*. In most cases, the Spanish king never paid back these debts.

Within this context, Pedro Patiño drew the *Burden Bearer* in an exercise to express not only his personal discontent with how the reforms strongly encouraged by the Bourbons had affected New Spain's economy; but also to make public his disagreement with the dispossession that indigenous communities had suffered in order to pay for all of the military incursions and wars led by Spain during the last decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. As his drawing illustrates, the burden carried by the male figure includes the legend "*Rey No. 3*," which Patiño most probably used for referring to the third king of the Bourbon dynasty in Spain, Charles III, who had promulgated the most dramatic economic reforms and who, in many instances, had put the funds of the *propios* and *arbitrios* under the monarchy's disposition when needed. Although it was his successor Charles IV who most rampantly took the funds from the indigenous *cajas de comunidad* and other civil agencies in 1790, it was Charles III who had made this move legally possible. In Patiño Ixtolinque's *Burden Bearer*, the representation of the apparently heavy rectangular object that the male figure carried may have two interpretations. One of them is that this rectangular object represents the burdens created by King Charles III of the Bourbon dynasty over the *propios* and *arbitrios*. According to the image, the rectangle includes the legend "*Rey No. 3*" in order to either represent Charles III and his policies as a heavy burden, or in order to represent the rectangular object as a package, which possibly contained the wealth extracted from New Spain, and the *propios* and *arbitrios* from indigenous communities.

My second interpretation centers on the idea that this rectangular object represents the debts created by the military ventures of Charles III, the third Bourbon monarch. Similarly to my previous argument, this rectangle may contain the wealth of New Spain, a burden that the male figure, or bearer, carries to Spain.

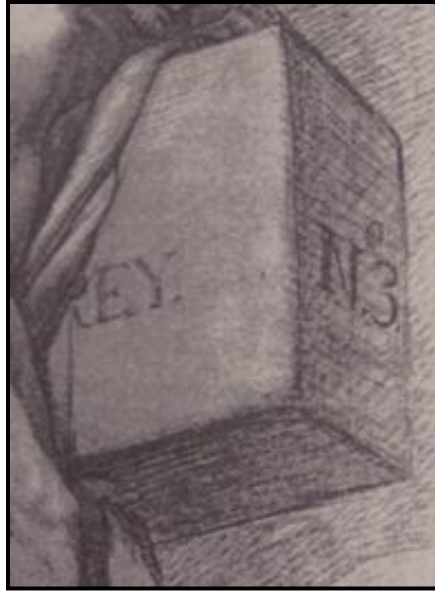


Figure 9. “King No. 3” the representation of Charles III of Spain as a burden. *The Burden Bearer*, Patiño, 1796. Detail.

Also, the image of the nude male figure includes distinctive facial hair that most probably indicates his indigenous affiliation, here serving to represent the indigenous population that had been exploited in fields and mines, or economically abused by the imposition of the new heavy taxes, as well as being forced to support Spain with their communal savings deposited in their indigenous *cajas de comunidad*.



Figure 10. Facial hair on this male representation suggests his indigenous background. *The Burden Bearer*, Patiño. Detail.

In this powerfully drawn statement Patiño Ixtolinque exposed his idea that New Spain supported the expenses of Spain upon the backs of the Indigenous People. Patiño also stated in this image that the Indigenous Peoples from the Americas were the most affected by the Bourbon

Reforms since they had been exploited in the mines and fields which proliferated due to the reforms. Ixtolinque also denounced in this drawing the fact that Indigenous Peoples were sending their communal resources to Spain in order to support a monarchy that only exploited them. Thus, according to the ideas of Patiño Ixtolinque, the indigenous communities had been carrying the burden created by the Bourbon Reforms, especially those encouraged by the third Bourbon monarch on the throne of Spain: Charles III.

The general political discontent that prevailed in New Spain's population as well as the abuses of its Indigenous People found a representation in the drawing of the *Burden Bearer*. Also, this work reflected Patiño's political interpretation about the history of Spanish colonization, a process of oppression that he considered had turned Indigenous Peoples into the forced bearers and supporters of the empire.

Between the years of 1793 and 1814, Patiño continued drawing male nudes, none of which contained the political statements included in his *Burden Bearer*. I consider that the *Burden Bearer* represented a clear criticism of the Bourbon Reforms; however, Pedro Patiño may have been reprimanded by the authorities from the *Academia* for this critical drawing since that school precisely represented the successes of the said reforms. Also, the open criticism to both the Spanish monarchy and the king that this drawing may have represented could have been considered a statement against the loyalist values promoted by colonial institutions. It is possible that after having been reprimanded by the authorities of the *Academia*, Ixtolinque decided to continue drawing sketches without such overt political content. Consequently, after the year 1799, Patiño avoided giving his drawings explicit titles; instead, he opted for generic names for his drawings, such as "two figures," "two male nudes," or "seated males nudes."



Figure 11. *Desnudos masculinos*, Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, 1808. Taken from *El desnudo en el siglo XIX*.

During the turbulent years that came after 1810, the relatively young ages of these Nahua intellectuals most probably prevented them from generally playing predominant or active roles in the public sphere. It was not until the year of 1812, and under very difficult circumstances for Spain, that the representative body of the Cortes designed the Constitution of 1812, or the so-called Constitution of Cadiz. This constitution represented a collective work, based on constant debates and meetings, of representatives of all the inhabitants of the Spanish monarchy. Thus, the content and guidelines stipulated by this constitution not only benefited and granted the Spanish American colonies with more autonomy, but it also changed the status of their inhabitants to equal status with all other Spanish citizens. Similarly, this constitution established a moderate monarchy, abolishing several state institutions, such as the Tribunal of the Holy Office, the indigenous tribute tax, forced labor, and personal services, while at the same time creating a unified state that saw to the equality of all the regions that had once formed the Spanish empire, as well as including the basic elements of an electoral law.<sup>489</sup> Moreover, this constitution restricted the authority of the king, and most importantly for the purpose of this study, it gave the right to vote to all the males of the Spanish territories in the Americas, regardless of their education, level of literacy, or lack of property. Still all these new rights did not at first include the African descendants in New Spain and the other colonies from the Americas.

<sup>489</sup> Iván Escobar Fornos, “La Constitución de Cádiz, modelo del constitucionalismo,” *Anuario iberoamericano de justicia constitucional*, N°. 16(2012): 165-189, 176-177.

It is within this context of having a constitution that had returned the power of the people over their governmental institutions, as well as its reinforcing of the authority of the local *ayuntamientos*, that we find Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque mentioned in documents again. It is possible that the general enthusiasm that having a new constitution generated among people in New Spain might have encouraged Pedro Patiño to integrate himself into the *Ayuntamiento* of Mexico City.

In an *Acta del Cabildo* from Mexico City, with the date of December 26, 1813, Patiño Ixtolinque once again appeared in the historical record as an elected *regidor* of the *Ayuntamiento* in Mexico City on:

En la Ciudad de Mexico á primero de Enero de mil ochocientos catorce años: Habiendo el Sor. Gefe Politico citado por medio de oficios á los Señores Mariscal de Castilla, Marqués de Ciria, D. Francisco Arsipreste, Conde de Regla, Sargento mayor retirado D. Ygnacio García Ilueca, Capitan D. José Maria Valdivielso, Capitan D. Mariano Ycaza, D. Pedro Extolinque Patiño, Capitan D. Manuel Arechaga, Subteniente D. Pedro Prieto, Teniente, D. Manuel Terán, y Lic. Dn. Manuel de la Peña y Peña, para que previo el juramento que dispone el articulo 337 de la Constitución [...]<sup>490</sup>

During the first decade of the nineteenth century, in Mexico the *ayuntamiento* had become an important center of political and social participation for the new citizens. In Mexico City the figure of the *ayuntamiento* became of central importance since through these institutions citizens, by means of their representatives, exercised their popular sovereignty. For the case of this particular study, it is important to note that Indigenous Peoples in general used this institution in order to channel to the proper authorities their worries and concerns about specific issues.

In order to understand the importance that this institution had for indigenous communities it is necessary to review the guidelines concerning *ayuntamientos* established by the Constitution of Cadiz, which demonstrated the great power and political influence that the *ayuntamientos* came to hold: “Art. 309. Para el gobierno interior de los pueblos habrá ayuntamientos compuestos de alcalde o alcaldes, los regidores y el procurador síndico, y presidios por el jefe político donde lo hubiere, y en su defecto por el alcalde.”<sup>491</sup>

Similarly, the establishing of the *ayuntamientos* provided the population with not only another form of political participation, which was plural indeed, but it also offered them a means of directly administering their community resources: “Art. 310. Se pondrá ayuntamiento en los pueblos que no le tengan, y en que convenga le haya, no pudiendo dejar de haberle en los que

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<sup>490</sup> *Actas de Cabildo- 133 A: Composición del Ayuntamiento*, 1 de enero de 1814, AHDF, Ayuntamiento, foja 1r.

<sup>491</sup> *Constitución Política de la Monarquía Española Promulgada en Cádiz a 19 de marzo de 1812* (Valladolid: MXTOR, 2002), 87.



por sí o con su comarca lleguen a mil almas, y también se les señalará término correspondiente.”<sup>492</sup>

Also, the political participation in the election of the members that formed these institutions demonstrated the “popular” character of the new system of elections and the wide participation that the population had in this matter. The constitution, in its article 312 stipulated that: “Los alcaldes, regidores y procuradores síndicos se nombrarán por elección en los pueblos, cesando los regidores y demas que sirvan oficios perpetuos en los ayuntamientos, cualquiera que sea su título y denominación.”<sup>493</sup>

Articles 312 and 313 of the Constitution of Cadiz also specified that: “Los alcaldes, regidores y procuradores síndicos se nombrarán por elección de los pueblos [...] todos los años del mes de diciembre se reunirán los ciudadanos de cada pueblo, para elegir a pluralidad de votos, con proporción a su vecindario.”<sup>494</sup>

According to these guidelines, Pedro Patiño had to be elected by the citizens of his *pueblo* in order to occupy the position of *regidor*. He also had to meet the requirement of being a citizen in the exercise of his rights, older than twenty five years old, and having spent at least five years as a resident of the *vecindad* or *pueblo*.<sup>495</sup> As member of the council, Patiño Ixtolinque along with Don Manuel Terán was in charge of taking care of the hospitals, hospices, and houses for orphans (*casas de expósitos*) as well as other almshouses.<sup>496</sup>

Unfortunately, I have not been able to find further documents authored by Patiño while he served as *regidor*. Nevertheless, based on the available documentation, we can assume that between his residence as student at the *Academia de San Carlos*, and his marriage in 1808 with Doña María Benedicta Benita, and his appointment as *regidor* in 1814, Pedro Ixtolinque had to be involved in some other way in politics, either as an active member of his community, or as a well known character recognized by the people from his *vecindad* since the people considered that he possessed sufficient credentials to occupy such position. What is notable about this situation is that Patiño at this time apparently did not occupy a formal position related to his career as a sculptor, but rather he held a position associated with social welfare such being in

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<sup>492</sup> Ibid.

<sup>493</sup> *Constitución Política de la Monarquía Española*, 88.

<sup>494</sup> Ibid.

<sup>495</sup> Ibid., 89.

<sup>496</sup> *Actas de Cabildo: Cuidar a los hospitales, hospicios, casas de expósitos y demás establecimientos de beneficencia*, 1 de enero de 1814, AHDF., Actas de cabildo-133A - Documento 339.

charge of the houses for abandoned children and the hospitals,<sup>497</sup> which were heavily supported financially by indigenous communal funds.<sup>498</sup>

Based on the guidelines stipulated in the Constitution of 1812, the institution of the *ayuntamiento* retained a strong loyalist position. This argument leads me to conclude that Pedro Patiño necessarily would have to have been a supporter of the Spanish monarchy, at least in outward appearance. For instance, when the elected people took possession as members of the *cabildo* in Mexico City, they had to take an oath that obliged them to observe and follow the principles declared in the Constitution of 1812 and respect the authority of the Spanish king, among other duties:

Sr. Gefe Político leyó el artículo 337<sup>499</sup> de la Constitución Política de la Monarquía española, y en segundo puesto en pie lo que igualmente hicieron todos los demás, preguntó á los nuevos empleados si juraban guardar la Constitución política de la Monarquía Española, observar las leyes ser fieles al Rey, y cumplir religiosamente las obligaciones de sus cargos; y habiendo respondido todos que si juraban, subieron inmediatamente á ocupar sus sillas en los estrados.<sup>500</sup>

The fact that we find Pedro Patiño swearing alliance to both the King of Spain and the Constitution in 1814 reveals that he believed in the political foundations of the Spanish monarchy based on popular sovereignty and representation.

Unfortunately, the documentation about the work of Patiño Ixtolinque as *regidor* is limited and I have not been able to find further documentation of him while he occupied this position. It is not until the year of 1816 when we have additional information about Patiño Ixtolinque as his name appeared in the “*Libro de nombramientos de consiliatorios y académicos de honor*” of the *Academia de San Carlos*.<sup>501</sup> According to this source, Pedro Patiño obtained his rank as an Honorary Academic Member of the Academy by presenting his sculpture *The Proclamation of King Wamba* as his competitive application for an academic position.

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<sup>497</sup> *Expediente sobre la contribución que el hospital real de yndios hace al de San Hipólito de real y medio diario por cada indio demente*, 1813, AGN, Instituciones coloniales, indiferente virreinal, Caja 0974, Expediente 17, fs. 1-15.

<sup>498</sup> David López Romero, “Enfermedad y hospitales de la ciudad de México, siglo XVIII: Notas para la construcción de una salud pública,” in *Política pública: seguridad y asistencia social. Crisis en México*, eds., Martín Castro and Mario Vela, 1-17 (México: Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Hidalgo, Miguel Ángel Porrúa, 2012).

<sup>499</sup> “Artículo 337” Todos los individuos de los ayuntamientos y de las diputaciones de provincia, al entrar en el ejercicio de sus funciones, prestarán juramento, aquellos en manos del jefe político, donde le hubiera, o en su defecto del alcalde que fuere primer nombrado, y estos en las del jefe superior de la provincia, de guardar la Constitución política de la Monarquía española, observar las leyes, ser fieles al Rey, y cumplir religiosamente las obligaciones de su cargo,” in *Constitución Política de la Monarquía Española*, 96-97.

<sup>500</sup> *Composición del Ayuntamiento*, Actas de Cabildo- 133 A, 1v. The underlining is mine.

<sup>501</sup> *Libro de nombramientos de consiliatorios y académicos de honor*, AHASC Planero no. XI; Gaveta 2; inventario 08-712116, Archivo Histórico de la Academia de San Carlos, Mexico City.



Figure 12. *The Proclamation of King Wamba*. Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, 1816.

This bas-relief sculpture served for the academic review committee of the Academy as a means to evaluate the abilities that Patiño had as an artist, but at the same time Patiño decided to take this opportunity to express another political statement before the members of the *Academia de San Carlos*.

This allegorical piece represents a scene of the legend of King Wamba, one of last kings of the Visigothic Kingdom of Spain who reigned during the years 672 to 680 A.D. According to the legend, based on popular consent the Visigoth people crowned Wamba as their king due to his abilities as a soldier and a ruler. This election occurred against the will of Wamba, who opposed his own appointed as leader of the Visigoth people; however, Wamba respecting the popular decision eventually agreed to take the position as their king.<sup>502</sup>

The legend about Wamba recounted that one day Wamba passed out in his palace in the city of Toledo, and thinking that he had died the archbishop of the city dressed him in penitential discipline for his last rights. After Wamba apparently woke up from this episode, he realized that, according to the protocols of penitential discipline for a deceased ruler, he had lost his royal office. Before leaving the throne, Wamba apparently appointed Erwing as his successor, even though there are some sources that argue that Erwin usurped Wamba's royal position.<sup>503</sup>

<sup>502</sup> Aengus Ward, "Yo uno solo non ualo mas que otro omne:" el rey Wamba en la historiografía de la Baja Edad Media," *E-SpaniaRevue électronique d'études hispaniques médiévales*, Núm. 5 (2008). Retrieved from: <http://e-spania.revues.org/11963>.

<sup>503</sup> See, Francis X. Murphy, "Julian of Toledo and the Fall of the Visigothic Kingdom of Spain," *Speculum. A Journal of Medieval Studies*, Number 1 (January, 1952): 1-27, 1-2.

Patiño Ixtolinque used this bas-relief presentation about King Wamba to covertly portray and represent the situation that the Spanish monarchy experienced at that time. Similarly to the early nineteenth century Spanish monarchy as argued by Patiño in this work, the Hispanic Visigothic monarchy led by Wamba “[...] was an elective institution. As such, it lay open to various attempts on the part of successive sovereigns to do away with the elective element, and to secure the crown for their offspring.”<sup>504</sup> Additionally, just like Spain and its American territories, the Visigothic kingdom was a multiethnic realm in which Visigoths, Romans, Hispanos and Byzantines lived together. With the death of Wamba, the Visigoth Kingdom declined, followed by the transformation of the Arabic invasions shortly after.

The political statement made by Patiño Ixtolinque through this work takes on considerable importance if we remember that he presented this bas-relief as his “final” evaluation before the members of the *Academia*, since the *Coronation of King Wamba* also represented a clear denunciation against the king of Spain, Ferdinand VI, and the actions that he took after he recovered the throne of Spain.

In 1816, the same year when Patiño presented this work, several Spanish citizens had shown disappointment in the course of actions that Ferdinand VII had taken upon his return to Spain.<sup>505</sup> To contextualize this statement, it is necessary to remember that in December of 1813, Ferdinand VII recovered the Spanish throne, including his control over the territories that the Spanish crown had under its control up until the year of 1808. Without a doubt, the return of Ferdinand VII as the king of the monarchy brought about a great amount of sympathy from both Spain and the Americas; however, upon his return Ferdinand VII ignored the *Regencia* and the Cortes, and on May 4 of 1814 the king declared an absolute monarchy, thus invalidating the Constitution of 1812:

[...] mi real ánimo es no solamente no jurar ni acceder a dicha Constitución, ni a decreto alguno de las Cortes [...] sino el de declarar aquella Constitución y aquellos decretos nulos y de ningún valor ni efecto, ahora ni en tiempo alguno, como si no hubiesen pasado jamás tales actos y se quitasen de en medio del tiempo, y sin obligación en mis pueblos y súbditos de cualquiera clase y condición a cumplirlos ni guardarlos.<sup>506</sup>

This revocation of the Constitution of Cadiz must have been shocking news for many Spanish citizens in Spain, and in the overseas territories, especially for people like Patiño Ixtolinque. The declarations made by Ferdinand VII represented a clear affront to all those who had defended the validity of the Spanish throne during the hard times of the French intervention.

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<sup>504</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>505</sup> Emilio La Parra López, “La restauración de Fernando VII en 1814,” *Historia constitucional: Revista Electrónica de Historia Constitucional*, Núm. 15 (2014): 205-22, 211.

<sup>506</sup> Juan Rico y Amat, *Historia política y parlamentaria de España: (desde los tiempos primitivos hasta nuestros días)* I (Madrid: Imprenta de las Escuelas Pías, 1860), 476.

Additionally, this pronouncement violated the basic principles of popular sovereignty in which the Spanish monarchy had been based since medieval times.

Based on this principle and the content of the Constitution of Cadiz, for the Spaniards, sovereignty resided in the people, not in the figure of the king. Under these terms, the King solely represented the interests of the people who supported him.<sup>507</sup>

Thus, the bas-relief *The Proclamation of King Wamba* represented Patiño Ixtolinque's political discourse that stood for popular sovereignty and the right of Spanish people to be represented by a king, but not by an absolutist monarch. In this sense, Ixtolinque's *King Wamba* personifies the dignity and integrity that a ruler must have in order to be granted with the popular support. For Ixtolinque, King Wamba represented the loyalty that a king had to his subjects in obeying and respecting their will. This pronouncement made by Patiño Ixtolinque not only proclaimed the right that Spaniards had achieved through the Constitution of 1812, but it also manifested Ixtolinque's sense of the level and importance of participation that Indigenous People had during this period of time.

Through this subtle artistic manner, Patiño Ixtolinque proclaimed himself as a devoted defender of popular sovereignty. In later documentation, Patiño appears as an advocate for education in general, and especially for the right that Indigenous People had to participate in politics and to continue to hold property, one of the rights granted by the Constitution of 1812.

At this point is necessary to point out that several authors have placed Patiño Ixtolinque at this time period as a member of the insurgent troops led by Vicente Guerrero.<sup>508</sup> This supposition may be rooted in the apparent absence of documents that we have about Patiño Ixtolinque's actions at this time; however, as I have stated in the previous chapter of this study, I have been unable to find documental information that corroborates this statement (see Chapter 4 of this study). Nevertheless, these suppositions may be supported at least circumstantially if we consider that after 1815 many armed uprisings emerged as a result of the general discontent that people had towards the new monarchy. Several of these uprisings gained widespread popular

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<sup>507</sup> See, "Título IV: Del rey, Capítulo I: De la inviolabilidad del Rey, y de su autoridad," in *Constitución Política de la Monarquía Española*, 51.

<sup>508</sup> See Joan Feliu Franch, *Dinero color azul cobalto: el negocio americano de la cerámica en la provincia de Castellón en el siglo XIX* (Castellón de la Plana, España, Publicaciones de la Universitat Jaume I, 2005). Hugo Cardoso Vargas, "Mexiquenses insignes. Un artista neoclásico, Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque." Lindsey Vanessa Westbrook, "Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque: Artist, Insurgent, Mexican, (Indian)" (Master Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1999). Miguel Ángel Fernández, *Historia de los museos de México* (México, Promotora de Comercialización Directa, 1988); Justino Fernández, *Arte del siglo XIX en México* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 1983). Guillermo Tovar de Teresa, Gabriel Breña Valle, Fernando García Correa, eds., *Repertorio de artistas en México: artes plásticas y decorativas*, Volumen 3 (México: Grupo Financiero Bancomer, 1997). Jean Charlot, *Mexican Art and the Academy of San Carlos, 1785-1915*. Ida Rodríguez Prampolini, *La crítica de arte en México en el siglo XIX. Estudios y documentos III (1879-1902), Tomo III* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, 1997).

support since the general sentiment of the Spanish people believed that Ferdinand VII had broken the social contract. The people of both the Peninsula and the Americas widely held this belief. Finally, these major disagreements and disappointments eventually drove, in a complex and heterogeneous way, the people of the Americas to the eventual movement for independence in the Americas.

### **5.1.2 Juan de Dios Rodríguez Puebla: The ‘*Indio Constitucional*’**

From 1816 and the following four years there is no extant written record about these Nahua intellectuals. It is not until 1820 that we find the first document produced by Juan Rodríguez Puebla, then a student at the *Colegio de San Ildefonso* in his early twenties, who published a political pamphlet under the pseudonym of the “*Indio Constitucional*.”

As a student of the *Colegio de San Ildefonso*, Rodríguez Puebla studied Philosophy, Theology and Civil Law. Therefore, the content of his political pamphlet reflects the political and philosophical knowledge that Rodríguez had acquired throughout his Jesuit education. Similarly, this documental piece also displayed the influence of the political events that occurred in Spain at this time, and the inevitable impact that these had in the Americas. As a student of the *Colegio de San Ildefonso*, Rodríguez had access to different sources that kept him informed about contemporary news and political theories. It is apparent that the substantial changes that the Spanish monarchy experienced during the first decade of the nineteenth century seriously concerned Juan Rodríguez.

In his pamphlet, Juan Rodríguez expressed his enthusiasm to see the constitutional order restored after the Spanish people had forced Ferdinand VII to accept the Constitution of Cadiz and to recognize the sovereignty that resided in all Spanish citizens. This document also demonstrated the political ideas that Rodríguez held about sovereignty, deism, popular participation, and education. Similarly to the artistic works of Pedro Patiño, this document gives us evidence of Rodríguez Puebla’s devotion for the principles included in the Constitution of Cadiz.

Without including a specific title, Rodríguez Puebla directed this pamphlet generally to all of the “Indians from the Americas” in order to instruct them about the rights that the Constitution of Cadiz had granted them, and also to analyze and criticize the position that Indigenous Peoples had held in the colonial system before the issuing of the Constitution:

Alegraos, Indios de la América Septentrional, llenaos de regocijo al ver concluidas las espantosas revoluciones de la península, restableciendo el augusto Congreso Nacional, y jurado por segunda vez el Código de nuestra legislación ¡Suceso venturoso por el que si todos los habitantes de uno y otro hemisferio

deben darse gratulatorios plácemes, ningunos los harán con tanta razón como vosotros, que fuisteis los más oprimidos por la mano cruel del despotismo.<sup>509</sup>

In this specific paragraph the “*Indio constitutional*” assumed his position within the Spanish monarchy not only as a citizen, but also as an “Indian.” In this sense and according to the way he developed his discourse, Rodríguez Puebla was able to address his counterparts from the same perspective, since he well knew about the position that “Indians” experienced in the Americas before the Cortes granted them their full citizenship. It is interesting that in this fragment of the pamphlet the author mentioned the stage of despotism that the Spanish people had experienced in the previous years, and how the Indigenous Peoples had been affected by this instability. The fact that the author indicated that the Indians had suffered at the very bottom of this despotism indicates the awareness that Rodríguez Puebla had about the lack of participation that this system represented for the indigenous communities.

Thus, in this first paragraph he presented to his counterparts an overview of the period when Ferdinand VII ruled the Spanish monarchy as an absolute ruler, between 1814 and 1820. As a student of Law, Juan Rodríguez realized that the sovereignty of the Spanish monarchy resided in the people and that absolutist character of the rule that Ferdinand VII had declared upon his return to the throne after the French invasion of Spain, served as a rampant violation of this precious principle. Similarly to the early statement made by Patiño Ixtolinque with his portrayal of *King Wamba*, Juan Rodríguez likewise by writing this pamphlet commented in response to the political situation of the moment. In 1820, King Ferdinand VII finally restored the Cortes and recognized the legality of the Constitution of Cadiz, but only after damaging the free press, facing several uprisings in the Americas and Spain, creating divisions within the interior of the Spanish army, and causing severe damage to the *diputaciones* and the *ayuntamientos*, as well as closing several universities in Spain. Thus, Juan Rodríguez made special emphasis in his pamphlet about the victory that the king’s recognition of both the Cortes and the constitution of 1812 represented for Spanish citizens in Spain and the Americas.

The second paragraph of this pamphlet includes an interesting deist interpretation about religion and history in order to explain the situation in which the Indigenous Peoples of the Americas lived:

El Arbitro del universo colocó vuestra patria bajo las influencias de un benigno cielo, para que os produjera abundantes frutos, y preciosos morales; pero de nada os sirven esas riquezas; la tiranía las arrancó de vuestras manos, os dejó sepultados en la indigencia, agobiados con el peso de las contribuciones, con las manos atadas para que no cultivaseis los campos cuanto podía la industria ,

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<sup>509</sup> *El Indio Constitucional* (México: Oficina del Ciudadano Valdés, 1820), 1. From <http://liberalism-in-americas.org/844/>

ayudada con la fertilidad del terreno, y caso solo permitió que sembrasteis lo necesario para conservar una vida miserable, que aun deseaba oprimir.<sup>510</sup>

Based on the principles of Deism, supported by the debates of so-called “polemic theology” (*polemica de auxiliis*) that Rodríguez surely had read about, he stated here that god provided the Indigenous Peoples of the Americas with a series of resources that they could exploit in their own benefit.<sup>511</sup> However, according to this argument, the tyranny of Spain had despoiled the Indigenous Peoples from using these resources and had left them unable to develop any sort of industry due to their heavy burden of taxation. These ideas might have been inspired by the economic theories about production, the creation of industries, and above all the criticism about the exploitation of the Indigenous Peoples in the colonies at the hands of Europeans. These ideas that Rodríguez Puebla expressed may have been based on his reading of Jean Baptiste Say in his work entitled *Treaty of Political Economy* that was heavily influenced by the economic precepts of Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill and Robert Jacques Turgot.<sup>512</sup> Thus, perhaps influenced by his earlier readings in *Colegio de San Gregorio*, Rodríguez argued that “the tyranny,” personified by the conquistadors and the colonial system prior to 1812, restricted the free will of the people from the Americas, making of them subjugated individuals suffering from the ambition of the “oppressors.”

In this brief paragraph, Rodríguez Puebla offered his own interpretation about history: originally, indigenous people possessed a series of resources that god had put in their hands, so through their free will they could enjoy and produce from these sources wealth for their own benefit. However, Rodríguez blamed the “tyrants” as being responsible for the miserable conditions in which Indigenous Peoples ended up living. In this sense, the “tyrants” referred to by Rodríguez Puebla seemed to be the Spanish conquistadors, who destroyed an entire civilization. As a way to demonstrate the validity of his argument, in the subsequent paragraph Rodríguez Puebla mentioned the monuments that people before the conquest had built. He also referred to the knowledge that Indigenous People had developed before the invasion of the Spaniards, something about which he felt personal pride. This mention is not a coincidence, especially considering that Rodríguez probably had access to a vast series of manuscripts and chronicles written by Indigenous Peoples about their ancestors when he was a student both in the *Colegio de San Gregorio* and the *Colegio de San Ildefonso*.<sup>513</sup> It is based on the knowledge that

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<sup>510</sup> Ibid.

<sup>511</sup> The arguments about the *polemica auxiliis*, a debate dominated by the Jesuits, was probably well known by Rodríguez Puebla since one of the major authors about this topic was Francisco Suárez, of whom the Library at the *Colegio de San Gregorio* housed several volumes including books about Suárez’s life and work. See *Lista de libros pertenecientes al Colegio*, 1839, AHMNAH, Colección Colegio de San Gregorio, rollo 7, Volumen 131, documento 13, fojas 165r-190v.

<sup>512</sup> Jean Baptiste Say, *Tratado de economía política o exposición sencilla del modo con que se forman, se distribuyen y se consumen las riquezas I*, trans., Juan Sánchez Rivera (Madrid: Imprenta de Fermín Villalpando, 1821), 199. See also *Lista de libros pertenecientes al Colegio*.

<sup>513</sup> For instance, before the nineteenth century the *Colegio de San Gregorio* had an impressive library that housed the manuscripts written by fray Bernardino de Sahagún and the series of documents produced by the intellectuals that helped him in the creation of what is known as the *Primeros Memoriales*. It is also very probable that the



he had about his indigenous heritage that he mentioned and invited his fellow Indigenous People to evaluate for themselves the material proofs that determined their innate intelligence: “Juzgad, indios desventurados, juzgad de vuestros antepasados, por los monumentos que por quedan, y decidme si en las artes, o en las ciencias habéis adelantado más que ellos.”<sup>514</sup>

The defense that Rodríguez Puebla presented in favor of the intelligence or aptitude of Indigenous People directly responded to those who argued that the poor situation in which indigenous communities lived resulted from their lack or lower intelligence. The debate about the intelligence of Indigenous Peoples did not represent a new phenomenon. During the first two decades of the nineteenth century this discussion gained strength once again in intellectual circles. For instance, while the Cortes in Cadiz attempted to reorganize a legitimate government for Spain and the Americas, the participation of Americans on equal terms became a point of discussion. One of the arguments presented by a few *peninsulares* centered on their reasoning that Americans, due to their indigenous heritage, did not have the same level of intelligence as *peninsulares*; and therefore, they did not deserve to have an equal vote in the Cortes. For example, the Peninsulares argued about the early Peruvians that:

[...] sus famosos príncipes, venían a ser unos entes sumergidos en el deleite, en los vicios, en el egoísmo, y en la indolencia, extendiendo los placeres y el lujo hasta donde alcanzaba el gusto salvaje a costa del reposo del vasallo esclavizado; su decantada población se reducía a hordas esparcidas y ambulantes con muy limitada agricultura, y sin ninguna industria, sin medios de adelantar la una, ni de adquirir la otra pasando los días en perpetua embriaguez, y en una dulce ociosidad, que es el mayor contento del hombre perezoso e inerte, su muchedumbre asombrosa de pueblos florecientes es la invención más irrisible y ridícula, pues que los españoles sólo encontraron la tosca y deforme ciudad de Cuzco después de atravesar grandes desiertos sin una triste ranchería, sin un asiento de sepulcro, y sin otros vestigios de mansión humana.<sup>515</sup>

Similarly, about the early inhabitants of New Spain, the same document expressed that:

[...] El imperio mexicano andaba sin duda algo más adelantado en el camino de la civilización, aunque la ventaja no fuese muy notable [...] Si la ventura estribase en

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same college also archived the works of Antonio Valeriano de la Cruz, to whom some scholars attribute the document entitled *Nican Mopohua*, and the works of Juan Badiano, one of the authors of the *Libellus de medicinalibus indorum herbis*, to mention only a few.

<sup>514</sup> *El Indio Constitucional*.

<sup>515</sup> *Informe del real tribunal del Consulado de México sobre la incapacidad de los habitantes de Nueva España para nombrar representantes a las cortes*, 27 de mayo de 1811, Número 224, as cited in Juan Hernández Dávalos, *Colección de documentos para la historia de la guerra de independencia de México de 1808 a 1821, Tomo II*; digitalized by “Proyecto Independencia de México,” Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, <http://www.pim.unam.mx/index.html>

vivir según las exigencias de la índole y de las inclinaciones, nada habría comparable con los gustos y delicias del indio; él está dotado de una pereza y languidez que no pueden explicarse por ejemplos y su mayor regalo es la inclinación absoluta frugal sobre las necesidades físicas y substraído de las superfluidades sacrifica unos pocos días al descanso de todo el año, y jamás se mueve si el hambre o el vicio no le arrastran; estúpido por constitución, sin talento inventor, ni fuerza de pensamiento, aborrece las artes y oficios, y no hacen falta a su método de existir; borracho por instinto satisface esta pasión a poca costa con brebajes muy baratos y la privación recibe un tercio de su vida; carnal por vicio de la imaginación, y desnudo de ideas puras sobre la continencia, pudor o incesto, provee a sus deseos fugaces con la mujer que encuentra más a mano; tan descuidado en la virtud cristiana, como insensible a las verdades religiosas[...]<sup>516</sup>

Under the same terms, the text continued as follows:

[...] el remordimiento no turba su alma, ni detiene sus apetitos pecaminosos, sin discernimiento sobre los deberes de la sociedad, y con desamor para con todos los prójimos, no economiza sino los crímenes que puedan traerle un castigo inmediato. Esto es, señor, el verdadero retrato del indio de hoy, tal como nosotros le vemos, aunque no tal como se ha producido en el soberano congreso, por personajes que querían engañar a vuestra majestad después de haberse engañado a sí mismos inadvertidamente.<sup>517</sup>

Even though these arguments did not proceed in the end of the discussions that took place at the Cortes the American colonies acted on equal terms. The idea of “American inferiority” became quite popular among certain spheres of peninsulares both in the peninsula and in the Americas. Nevertheless, the American deputies who attended the Cortes vehemently disqualified these arguments.<sup>518</sup>

As a direct response to these statements, Rodríguez Puebla argued that Indigenous Peoples possessed sufficient enough intellectual capacity to control their communal development and manage the resources that, by divine mandate, they had received. Based on these ideas, Rodríguez explained that they were not inferior in terms of intelligence, but that it was instead the suppression of their own resources, combined with the subjugation that the Spanish colonization had caused in their social structure, as well as the restrictions imposed by Spanish

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<sup>516</sup> Ibid.

<sup>517</sup> Ibid.

<sup>518</sup> Jaime E. Rodríguez O., *Nosotros somos ahora los verdaderos españoles* I, 310-311.

laws, which reduced Indigenous Peoples' possibilities for developing and exploring further their own intellectual capacities.

Therefore, Rodríguez Puebla offered not only an interpretation about the condition in which Indigenous Peoples lived, but he also criticized the way in which the colonial system had kept them subjugated by using religious dogmas and the lack of education as fundamental tools of repression:

Buscad los establecimientos públicos que tenéis para instruirlos en alguna de las cosas que interesen para la felicidad de una nación, y numerádmelos: pero ¡ay!, que en muchas partes no tenéis ni una pequeña escuela, en la que os enseñen los rudimentos de la religión para que fuisteis conquistados!<sup>519</sup>

This statement suggests that Rodríguez relied on a deist perspective about religiosity. He believed that knowledge and reason must be considered as the true path to know God, and to experience his greatness. Only through knowledge and reason could people become able to act accordingly. By understanding that a divine creator did not intervene in human affairs, Rodríguez implicitly stated that education remained the key element in developing the basic rudiments of intelligence among people. Thus, he believed that education empowered people to recognize God, or a divine creator, through the laws of nature. Thus, literacy and critical thinking prevailed for Rodríguez Puebla as the only means to comprehend these laws. The comprehension of these natural laws placed individuals in the disposition of appreciating the method in which the world functioned.<sup>520</sup> Nevertheless, Rodríguez included in his pamphlet a clear grievance about the absence of schools where Indigenous Peoples could achieve and develop this knowledge.

In this first published pamphlet, Rodríguez Puebla enumerated what he considered the miserable conditions in which Indigenous People lived. Thus, Rodríguez Puebla constantly emphasized the fact that both the "oppressors" and the "tyrants" intentionally prevented Indigenous People from gaining the benefits that divinely corresponded to them. Consequently, Rodríguez does not seem to directly blame the monarchs for the poor conditions of the Indigenous Peoples; instead, he specified that the monarchs indeed issued just decrees that, in theory, recognized the natural rights, the human nature and the reasoning of Indigenous People.<sup>521</sup> So, in Rodríguez Puebla's opinion, it was the malpractice of these laws in the colonies, and the colonizers' constant abuses, which Rodríguez bitterly criticized in this text.

The ideas expressed in this text about free will and the importance of education as a means of developing knowledge relied on the principles of natural law, which Rodríguez Puebla

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<sup>519</sup> *El Indio Constitucional*, 1v-2r.

<sup>520</sup> Leo Elders, *The Philosophical Theology of St. Thomas Aquinas* (New York: E. J. Brill, 1990), 83-123.

<sup>521</sup> Roberto Navarrete Alonso, "Del Estado como creación de Dios o de Dios como creación política," *Bajo Palabra. Revista de filosofía*, Núm. 5 (2010): 459-466, 464.

surely had studied when he studied Law as a student at the *Colegio de San Ildefonso*.<sup>522</sup> Similarly, Rodríguez also knew that the Constitution of 1812 openly supported the ideas related with this political philosophy.

In the historical analysis that Rodríguez Puebla offered within this pamphlet, he categorized the period before the issuing of the Constitution of 1812 as a period of darkness and despotism, a period of time when the human nature of the Indigenous People remained questionable. Rodríguez supported this statement by implicitly mentioning the arguments presented by Pope Paul III during the sixteenth century in defense of the human nature of Indigenous Peoples:

La tiranía os ha educado en las tinieblas de la ignorancia para ocultaros lo deplorable de vuestra situación; os ha despojado de los derechos que os concedió la naturaleza; os unció al formidable carro del despotismo; y aun quiso degradaros del ser hombres, con tanto empeño, que un Romano Pontífice se vio necesitado a declarar que erais racionales [...] <sup>523</sup>

This claim presented by Rodríguez Puebla also related to the position of inequality in to which the colonial system had placed Indigenous Peoples before the Cortes fully recognized their natural rights:

¡Amargas lágrimas se desprenden de mis ojos al recordad opresión tan inaudita! Qué ¿vosotros no sois formados de la misma masa que el resto de los demás hombres? ¡Infelices! El despotismo de vuestros opresores no quedó satisfecho con tratarnos peor que a los brutos; deseaba despojarlos del entendimiento, de esa potencia la más noble de todas las que os dio el Autor de la Naturaleza. <sup>524</sup>

Throughout the content of this pamphlet, Rodríguez never mentioned the name of any Spanish monarch; however, it is evident that he mentioned the period before the existence of the Cortes as an epoch when the Indigenous People obviously remained in an inequitable position in comparison to the rest of the Spanish people. Thus, the lack of laws, as well as several codes or

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<sup>522</sup> It is possible that Rodríguez Puebla, as a student of Law, had read an important number of works about natural law and *Ius Gentum*, even though several of these volumes, such as the one produced by Johannes Gottlieb Heineccius (1681-1741), had been censored by the Inquisition in Spain and the American colonies. Nevertheless, the Inquisition only purged, adapted and censored some sections of Heineccius' work. No doubt his theoretical work indeed reached the Americas and students at different colleges in New Spain had access to this information, such as the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, whose library counted upon several copies that referred to Heineccius' arguments. An example of this would be the work entitled *Historia del derecho natural y de gentes*, by Joachin Marín (Madrid, 1776) which circulated among intellectual circles in New Spain with the authorization of the Inquisition and the permission of the Catholic authorities. To corroborate this see, *Lista de libros pertenecientes al Colegio, 1839*, folios 165r-190v. Also see, Fernando Pérez Godoy, "La teoría del derecho natural y de gentes de Johannes Heineccius en la cultura jurídica iberoamericana," *Revista de estudios histórico-jurídicos*, Núm. 37 (Oct, 2015): 453-474, 461.

<sup>523</sup> *El indio constitucional*.

<sup>524</sup> *Ibid.*, 2-3.

decrees that had failed in recognizing the natural rights of Indigenous Peoples, demonstrated for Rodríguez Puebla the unbalanced government that had prevailed in the New Spain prior 1812. Rodríguez Puebla illustrated this idea by writing: “Confesaréis que hasta la época presente parece que solo habíais nacido para servir, callar y obedecer. Vuestros mayores, más infelices que vosotros, nacieron y acabaron su vida agobiados con el peso del ominoso yugo que llevaban [...]”<sup>525</sup>

It is clear that similarly to Patiño Ixtolinque, Rodríguez Puebla also celebrated the content of the Constitution of Cadiz. However, if we consider that in 1812, when the constitution was issued, Rodríguez Puebla was only 14 years old, it was not until 1820 when he had reached the age of 20 that he had acquired the knowledge and capacity to participate in this debate. About the constitution, he wrote: “La Constitución de la Monarquía Española, digno futuro de los ilustrados ingenios que la formaron, y del sabio Congreso que la sancionó, os ha restablecido en la posesión de vuestros derechos.”<sup>526</sup>

It is at this point in his discourse that the rhetoric of the pamphlet turned into a call to the Indigenous Peoples to finally reclaim their previously stolen free will: “[...] sois libres: desaparezca pues de vuestro semblante la melancólica imagen de la servidumbre. Ya no tenéis que avergonzarnos del color de vuestra [sic] cutis: murió el fanatismo: [...]”<sup>527</sup> The fanaticism that Rodríguez mentioned in this section presumably referred to the legal support that allowed the existence of a system of *castas* in the Spanish colonial regime. This system granted open discrimination against Indigenous Peoples and members of other *castas* considering them as being lower in the social ladder in comparison to Spaniards, both *criollos* and *peninsulares*. The caste system in the Spanish American colonies, for Rodríguez Puebla had been rooted in an unquestionable social dogma that Spaniards did not legally challenge until the emergence of the Cortes. Rodríguez described this early period in the history of indigenous discrimination as pure bigotry as the fundamentals of the society of castes did not follow the precepts of natural law. On the contrary, he argued that the caste system openly violated the principles of equality promoted by this theory. The long existence and validity of this society of castes, he claimed, only reflected the backward type of government that the Spanish Crown had promoted over Indigenous People prior 1812.

Thus, the arguments that Rodríguez presented in this section argued that both the misinterpretation and incorrect practice of the principles of natural laws remained rooted in ignorance.<sup>528</sup> Additionally, a good government, based on popular sovereignty, as the Scholastic’s arguments stipulated, must protect the precepts that dictate the principle that natural rights are

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<sup>525</sup> Ibid.

<sup>526</sup> Ibid.

<sup>527</sup> Ibid.

<sup>528</sup> Francisco T. Baciero Ruiz, “La ley moral natural según Francisco Suárez,” *Revista española de filosofía medieval*, Núm. 14 (2007): 105-118, 110-112.

inherent and equal in each of the members of a society, regardless of their social position or ethnic background.<sup>529</sup>

Not only that, but Rodríguez also made reference to the constant shame that Indigenous People had about the color of their skin as a main issue of discrimination, a factor that eventually Patiño Ixtolinque mentioned in later documents. Since the theory of natural law argues that people are able to recognize their natural rights through reason, Rodríguez Puebla advised his indigenous counterparts to become instructed; thus, he advocated for education as the only way for them to become “civilized,” in order to eradicate superstitions and to understand the rights included in the Spanish Constitution. Thus, in order to practice these rights correctly, Rodríguez Puebla argued that Indigenous People had the responsibility of questioning the religious dogmas that had been forced on them during the colonial period:

[...] ya solo necesitáis de adornos con las virtudes cívicas y morales: ya tenéis desembarazados los caminos de las ciencias y de las artes: civilizad vuestras costumbres: desterrad las supersticiones, con que se ha desfigurado el culto de nuestra santa religión: vuestra cultura ponga un sello en los labios de los que sin hacer caso del gobierno que os oprimía, os imputaban a estupidez la inercia en que yacíais: vuestra ilustración llegue a ser una barrera impenetrable para el despotismo.<sup>530</sup>

Rodríguez associated the success of despotism with the lack of knowledge that people had about the law and their natural rights. This lack of knowledge, he argued, resulted in enabling abusive people to misinterpret the laws, misusing their power and imposing social regulations that violated the rights of people. Thus, Rodríguez Puebla, similarly to the denunciation made by Patiño Ixtolinque through his *King Wamba*, considered the Constitution of Cadiz as a sacred code that resulted from the exercise of popular sovereignty. The position and call made by Rodríguez Puebla in this pamphlet directly attacks the detractors of the constitution:

No escuchemos las atrevidas palabras que la ignorancia y la hipocresía han pronunciado contra nuestro código sagrado; pues ese libro inmortal tiene sus principios en la razón, en la unión su fundamento, y en la utilidad pública su fin. Alarmemos, si es necesario, en contra de los traidores del Rey y de la Patria.<sup>531</sup>

As the constitution recognized the natural rights that Indigenous People possessed, he argued that as citizens they had the obligation to defend these rights, the constitution, popular sovereignty and the king. In this sense, Rodríguez Puebla called for the Indigenous Peoples to

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<sup>529</sup> See Jorge M. Ayala Martínez, “El derecho natural antiguo y medieval,” *Revista españolas de filosofía medieval*, Núm. 10 (2003): 377-386.

<sup>530</sup> *El Indio Constitucional*, 4.

<sup>531</sup> *Ibid.*

play part, not only in the conscious practice of their rights, but also in actively defending them by putting aside any kind of apathy:

El ilustre y celebre Monarca que ocupa el solio español, quiere y manda: que tengamos gobierno constituciones: y ya que nuestra sangre ha corrido repetidas ocasiones sobre los altares de la opresión; no dudemos, cuando se necesite, derramarla en los de la libertad. Llenémonos de valor; y uniéndonos a los demás ciudadanos, publiquemos a voz en grito, que ya no queremos más que: o muerte, o gobierno constitucional fielmente observado en todas sus partes.<sup>532</sup>

For Rodríguez Puebla, the principles of sovereignty always demanded popular participation within a functional system. Besides exposing the content and rights that the Spanish Constitution offered to Indigenous People, Rodríguez Puebla also offered them an example of participation by publishing this pamphlet with the help of Luis Abadiano y Valdés, the owner of the publishing house that printed this pamphlet. By releasing this document Rodríguez Puebla exercised his right to freedom of speech recognized by the Constitution.

There is no questioning that the main arguments that Rodríguez Puebla presented in this pamphlet referred to Western political theories, especially the concepts of natural law supported by Plato, Aristotle, Cicero and Thomas Aquinas, as well as the theory of the *jus gentium*.<sup>533</sup> Following the same theoretical guidelines, Rodríguez published a second pamphlet in 1820 in which he presented a clear interpretation of what “being an Indian” meant during the period of the Spanish colony in New Spain.

It seems that in his second pamphlet Rodríguez appealed to his own experience in life in order to explain the condition in which a large sector of the indigenous population lived in New Spain. Rodríguez talked from his personal experience seeing that he came from a very poor family in which the father worked as an “aguador” (water carrier). By considering that Rodríguez Puebla apparently did not have any ties to the indigenous nobility of Mexico City, contrary to his intellectual counterparts, the content of this second pamphlet became a clear testimony about his life as a “common Indian.”

Appealing to empathy, in 1820 Rodríguez published his second pamphlet entitled *El Indio constitucional o el idioma de la sensibilidad*. This document began with a powerful sentence that condemns the centuries of colonization and its tragic results over the indigenous population: “Ni la obscura ignorancia en que nos sepultaron nuestros opresores, ni el grave peso

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<sup>532</sup> Ibid.

<sup>533</sup> See Jorge M. Ayala Martínez, “El derecho natural antiguo y medieval.”

de las duras cadenas que arrastrábamos, ni la eterna duración de trescientos años de padecer, fueron suficientes a hacer llevadera nuestra infame esclavitud.”<sup>534</sup>

In this second pamphlet, Rodríguez included the following sentence: “[...] conocíamos nuestros males, sentíamos todo el peso de la desgracia; pero nuestros labios no osaban desplegarse para articular la menor queja, por no irritar con ella la furia de los ministros del despotismo.”<sup>535</sup> By using this argument, Rodríguez not only presented the problem that colonialist oppression had caused for Indigenous Peoples, but he also argued that the fear that they had towards the “ministers of despotism,” as Rodríguez called the colonial system, had caused the apparent passivity with which Indigenous People “selflessly” supported the vexations from their oppressors. This brief but substantial explanation seems to be a direct answer to various nineteenth-century people who assumed that the rampant ignorance of the Indigenous Peoples, as well as their apparent incapacity to realize the undignified conditions in which they lived, had prevented them from reacting against the mistreatments they endured. With this statement Rodríguez made a clear defense about the fact that the Indigenous Peoples did recognize this oppression, in spite of the arguments of those who rejected this idea.

In his second statement, Rodríguez also offered a very interesting interpretation about labor and the right that people had to enjoy the fruits of their work: “[...] seguíamos el paso tardo de los ajenos bueyes, y el riego de nuestro sudor y nuestras lágrimas fecundaba[n] la tierra, cuyos crecidos frutos, aun no apagaban la hidrópica sed de los avaramientos hacendados.”<sup>536</sup> In this way, Rodríguez Puebla’s discourse turned into another complaint from one of the dispossessed members of the Spanish society, describing the abuses and the exploitation that Indigenous People had suffered at the hands of their colonizers. Additionally, Rodríguez also provided an explanation to a constant argument made by his detractors about the so-called “numb” character of Indigenous People and their apparent apathy and lack of interest that they apparently had to solve or improve the poor situation in which they lived:

No, pues en vano os levantáis antes de que la luz vivifique los campos; dormid, dormid, y ya que el pan del dolor es vuestro cotidiano sustento, no despertéis, sino cuando hayáis descansado. Estas consideraciones, seguía el decaimiento de ánimo tan natural, cuando se frustran las empresas, para cuyo fin se han efectuado los medios; pero la astucia de nuestros opresores supo persuadir a las naciones para desacreditarnos, que este desmayo en nuestras obras, era flojedad, omisión, descuido, y amor al ocio connaturales a los hijos de estos países.<sup>537</sup>

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<sup>534</sup> *El Indio Constitucional o el idioma de la sensibilidad* (México: Oficina de D. Alejandro Valdés, 1820), 1.

<sup>535</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>536</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>537</sup> *Ibid.*



This previous statement clearly refuted the political arguments that Indigenous Peoples were naturally lazy. This fallacious argument served as one of the main reasons that many detractors used to support the idea that Indigenous People did not deserve to be considered in the same level of other inhabitants of New Spain. Rodríguez Puebla's statement here may refer to the arguments that emerged from the members of the Cortes of Cadiz against the proposition of considering the peoples of the Americas with the same rights to participate in the politics of the Spanish monarchy as those enjoyed by Spaniards from the Peninsula.<sup>538</sup>

The content of this pamphlet, similar to the first one, also celebrated the achievements of the Constitution of Cadiz. Nevertheless, Rodríguez Puebla bitterly narrated how King Ferdinand VII ignored the Constitution only later recognizing it under the pressure from the Cortes:

Siguieron seis años de horrorosa tormenta; mas ya vuelve a rayar la aurora que pronostica la bonanza: Fernando juró la Constitución, y huyen precipitados los malignos genios de la barbarie y despotismo a las menciones lóbregas del averno. Ya no sois, o indios compañeros míos, colonos huéspedes o advenedizos; sino ciudadanos españoles, y domésticos de la gran familia.<sup>539</sup>

It was through this expression that Rodríguez announced his own sense of being a colonized individual from the Americas, including all that this meant, implying here that the system had treated Indigenous Peoples as “guests” in their own land.

Rodríguez Puebla appealed to the concept of equality that legally prevailed after the issuing of the Cadiz Constitution. Additionally, he made a call to Indigenous Peoples to defend the principles stated in this document. The logical thought of this statement resided on the idea that both rights and obligations had to be defended, exercised and demanded by the people since sovereignty rested on these basic elements.<sup>540</sup> Regarding this idea, Juan Rodríguez Puebla included the following phrase:

Indios, Americanos todos, Españoles europeos: yo veo reproducirse los días aciagos de la desventura y del dolor: si ahora que la ley del común, que a todos hace iguales, protege y manda la defensa de nuestros sagrados derechos, nos dormimos, y una ominosa y fatal condescendencia entorpece nuestras acciones, se escapará por segunda vez de nuestras manos la ventura, y el cielo justamente indignado de tan bárbara indolencia, lloverá sobre nosotros los males y desgracias de que ha querido librarnos, regalándonos el divino Código que hemos jurado obedecer. Ya en nuestras circunstancias no hay otro remedio prudente: o eternamente esclavos, o que se cumpla la Constitución en todas sus partes.

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<sup>538</sup> Jaime E. Rodríguez O, *Nosotros somos ahora los verdaderos españoles*, 310-311.

<sup>539</sup> *El indio constitucional o el idioma de la sensibilidad*.

<sup>540</sup> Jorge M. Ayala Martínez, “El derecho natural antiguo y medieval.”

Volvamos sobre nuestros intereses, y todos reunidos y acordes, hagamos que el universo entero perciba nuestros votos; odiamos el despotismo, detestamos la opresión; ya no queremos sino libertad o muerte: muerte o Constitución finalmente observada en todas sus partes.<sup>541</sup>

Both Patiño Ixtolinque's *King Wamba* and the pamphlets authored by Rodríguez Puebla expressed an admiration for the "Divine Charter," a term which also described the Constitution of Cadiz during the nineteenth century. In different ways, both authors praised the achievements of the Constitution of Cadiz as the document that finally recognized, not granted, the natural rights that all humans must enjoy. Both authors also believed in the political theories based on deistic concepts that supported the idea that god had created all humans as equal; thus, natural rights were privileges innate to all humans. The fact that during the period of the conquest and colonization Spanish authorities suppressed these rights for Indigenous Peoples had turned them into accomplices in the systematic violation of this elemental right. Juan Rodríguez considered this period of time as the "three centuries of darkness." The arguments presented by these authors rest of the ideas of innate rights and free will, which demonstrates the wide knowledge that they both had concerning political and social theories, as well as the highly political consciousness that they both had developed as a result of their education.

Consequently, it is not surprising to find Patiño Ixtolinque and Rodríguez Puebla defending the rights that Indigenous Peoples had to participate in politics, the obligation to receive appropriate education and also their justification of exercising their rights to property, in any shape or form. The new nineteenth-century legal regulations limited the control that indigenous communities had over their own properties, which represented a frontal attack for Patiño Ixtolinque and Rodríguez Puebla of Indigenous People's innate rights.

## 5.2 Mexico Taking Shape: The Turbulent Decade of Mexican Independence

After 1822, the Mexican political scene became rapidly characterized by a series of violations committed against the Constitution of Cadiz of 1812. On February 24 of 1821, Agustín de Iturbide, an insurgent leader, signed the *Plan de Iguala* (also known as the *Plan of the Three Guarantees*) in which he declared the absolute independence of the kingdom and mandated Catholicism as the only recognized religion in Mexico. Shortly afterward, Viceroy Don Juan de O'Donoju, signed the *Tratados de Cordoba* which formally recognized the independence of Mexico by ratifying the contents of the *Plan de Iguala*.<sup>542</sup> Inasmuch as this plan stipulated that the type of government established in Mexico would be a constitutional monarchy, it is possible

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<sup>541</sup> *El indio constitucional o el idioma de la sensibilidad.*

<sup>542</sup> Jaime E. Rodríguez O., *Nosotros somos ahora los verdaderos españoles* II, 515.

that at least Patiño Ixtolinque and Rodríguez Puebla saw no direct threat against their interests in this plan.<sup>543</sup>

The name of Juan Rodríguez Puebla appeared shortly after as a representative of the new state of San Luis Potosí as a member of the first *Congreso Constituyente Mexicano*,<sup>544</sup> a position he occupied from September 27 of 1821 until November 30 of 1823.<sup>545</sup> The elections for deputies to the Constituent Congress took place in an indirect form, which remained the basic method of elections stipulated by the earlier Constitution of Cadiz.<sup>546</sup> According to Lucas Alamán, the deputies appointed for the Congress were “respectable and estimable” citizens, several of them supporters of liberal ideas based on what Alamán called radical “political theories.” Another characteristic of these deputies is that neither the *Junta* nor any other corporation or organization paid for the services that the deputies offered as members of the Congress. Therefore, these representatives received no formal salary or stipend. On February 24, 1822 the ceremonies and protocols for the installation of the new Congress concluded. Lucas Alamán described the ceremonial process that took place on that day in February in his historical account. Alemán described the oath that the 102 deputies of the Congress publically made in which they declared to defend and preserve the Catholic religion in the country, swore to maintain the nation’s independence, and agreed to create a constitution based on the precepts expressed in the *Plan of Iguala* and the *Tratados de Córdoba*. The members also agreed to keep the political powers or branches of government separated in order to prevent that these powers should be held by one person.<sup>547</sup> Another main purpose of the new Constituent Congress was to offer the Imperial Throne of Mexico to either Ferdinand VII to or another prince of the Bourbon Dynasty.

The current historian Rodríguez O. placed Rodríguez Puebla as one of the active participants in the central debate about the political privileges that members of the military would enjoy in the new regime in order to be elected as deputies:

El diputado Antonio Ramos Valdés (de Guadalajara) se manifestó en desacuerdo argumentando que la elección de Elouza tuvo lugar antes de que la Soberana Junta anunciara que los militares estaban exentos, el 14 de enero de 1822. Tras un extenso debate, el diputado Juan de Dios Rodríguez aseveró que las normas de las Cortes hispánicas eran aplicables a los temas que no fueran explícitos en la

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<sup>543</sup> Ibid., 533.

<sup>544</sup> José Luis Soberanes Fernández, “El primer congreso constituyente mexicano,” *Cuestiones Constitucionales. Revista Mexicana de Derecho Constitucional*, Núm. 27 (2012): 311-381, 327.

<sup>545</sup> Ibid.

<sup>546</sup> Ibid., 320.

<sup>547</sup> Ibid., 330.

convocatoria, “y por esas no queda duda de que [los militares] no necesitan naturaleza ni vecindad para ser electos diputados.”<sup>548</sup>

Meanwhile, the Iberian Spanish Courts disapproved of the *Tratados de Córdoba*. Before this scenario, the deputies divided their opinions between those who supported the coronation of Agustín de Iturbide as Emperor, and those who rejected his coronation. Eventually, and not without experiencing a series of events that encouraged public mobs to put pressure on the members of the congress, on May 19 of 1821, in the former temple of San Pedro and San Pablo in Mexico City which then served as the official headquarters of the Constituent Congress, a heated debate took place. Several deputies presented diverse arguments in favor and against the idea of crowning Agustín de Iturbide as the Mexican Emperor. Valentín Gómez Farías and Pedro Lanuza presented a discourse defending the idea of crowning Agustín de Iturbide since Spain had rejected both the *Plan of Iguala* and the *Tratados de Córdoba*. Therefore, in the middle of the public turbulence both inside and outside of the temple which occurred among those who attended the meeting, the members of the Congress, conducted a vote. Regardless of the irregularities and public tumult that took place, the representatives proclaimed Agustín de Iturbide as the first emperor of an Independent Mexico.

Later on October 31, 1822, facing fierce opposition between the emperor and some members of the Congress, along with the threat of conspiracies against him, Emperor Iturbide finally decided to dissolve the Congress. In its place, Iturbide created the *Junta Nacional Constituyente*, which met for the first time on November 2, 1822.<sup>549</sup> The dissolution of the Congress by Emperor Agustín de Iturbide also resulted in the subsequent lack of documentary information about Juan Rodríguez Puebla, since he did not appear as member of this *Junta*. Apparently he must have been an opponent of Iturbide’s actions.

Meanwhile in January of 1823, Antonio López de Santa Anna, Guadalupe Victoria and José Antonio Echávarri in opposition to Iturbide proclaimed the *Plan de Casa Mata*.<sup>550</sup> This plan argued that the coronation of Agustín de Iturbide must be declared as null and void since the election held by the congress lacked transparency. Similarly, this plan called for the appointment of a new legislature. Facing the pressures that the regional authorities exerted against Iturbide, the Emperor called for a Constituent Court and on March 1823 Iturbide formally abdicated. Thus, on March the 30, the Congress in response appointed a triumvirate in order to administer the Executive branch.

During this period of time the freedom of the press flourished and people with different perspectives and political opinions sought to have their ideas published in a burgeoning number

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<sup>548</sup> *Congreso Constituyente, Actas del Congreso Constituyente Mexicano* I, 4 vols. (México: Alejandro Valdés, 1822-1824), 45, 204-208; as cited in Rodríguez O., *Nosotros somos ahora los verdaderos españoles* II, 549.

<sup>549</sup> Rodríguez O., *Nosotros somos ahora los verdaderos españoles* II, 574.

<sup>550</sup> *Ibid.*, 577.

of new periodicals.<sup>551</sup> Not until June 23, 1823 did the public call for the creation of a Second Constitutional Congress. The reigning executive branch established at that time that the elections for this congress would take place on both August 3rd and August 17, and then again on September 6 of 1823. The superior government also mandated that the requirements to be a deputy of this second constitutional congress including being a citizen older than 25 years old, as well as originally coming from the province that the candidate planned to represent, and that any prospective representative had to have lived there for at least 7 years. This second constitutional Congress also established the guidelines for the integration and creation of a *Supremo Tribunal de Justicia*, based on the original elements stipulated in the Constitution of Cadiz of 1812. Shortly afterward, on October 18, 1823 the representatives from the regions of Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica ratified their own Declaration of Independence, with the region of Chiapas deciding to remain attached to Mexico. According to Lucas Alamán, the inauguration of the Second Constitutional Congress happened in the following way:

Entonces el señor presidente Tagle se puso en pie y con voz enérgica y majestuosa dijo “El primer soberano congreso mexicano ha cerrado sus sesiones hoy 30 de octubre de 1823”. Inmediatamente quedó disuelta tan ilustre asamblea, pero dejando en todos los circunstantes una impresión profunda, mezcla de pesar y satisfacción, que no es dado a mi pluma expresar. Hace un año que se trazó el decreto de su disolución por Iturbide dentro de diez minutos, decreto bárbaro y digno de tal califa; cumpliósse sí, se cumplió, pero de los fragmentos y ruinas de tan augusto cuerpo se formó otro edificio; de sus miembros errantes se suscitaron vengadores de sus agravios, que dentro de cinco meses lo reorganizaron y lanzaron de nuestro seno a monstruo tan despiadado [...] <sup>552</sup>

Plagued by several ups and downs and some long term discussions and debates between the various provinces and the capital, the representatives tried to find the best form of government for the country. As a result, the Congress issued a new Constitution on October 4, 1824. This charter restricted the power of the executive branch and consolidated a semi-parliamentary style system. Among several of the consequences of the issuing of this new constitution, Mexico City remained as the capital of the new country by a vote on October 30, 1824. This constitution also finally ratified formal independence from Spain, and defined the territorial limits of the country. It also mandated the Catholic religion as the only official faith, and declared that the country would be a republic with a popular federal representative form of government. The Constitution of 1824 also set up the creation of the position of the President of the United Mexican States. With the issuing of this constitution the monarchical system was

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<sup>551</sup> Many new newspapers, such as the periodical *El Sol*, emerged at this time. See Celia del Palacio Montiel, “Una mirada a la historia de la prensa en México desde las regiones. Un estudio comparativo (1792-1950),” *Hib: Revista de Historia Iberoamericana* 2, Núm. 1 (2009): 80-97.

<sup>552</sup> Soberanes, “El primer congreso constituyente mexicano,” 373-374.

expelled from the country.<sup>553</sup> This new constitution owed much to the earlier ideals of the Constitution of Cadiz in 1812. For instance, the “*diputaciones provinciales*” considered by the Constitution of Cadiz now turned into states in the new Mexican Constitution of 1824. As Rodríguez O. also has argued, one of the major differences between the Constitution of Cadiz and the Mexican Constitution of 1824 resided in the imposition of federal power over the states; however, the Constitution of 1824 did not specify in depth the requirements for citizens to gain the right to vote, or provide any basis for defining the term “citizen.”

### 5.3 Conclusion for Chapter 5

Throughout this chapter we have seen how the historical and political development of the Iberian Peninsula indeed had an impact on the intellectual shaping of life in the capital of New Spain. This Iberian influence is seen in the intellectual material that colonial schools of higher education allowed their students to review. As we have seen, many indigenous students in Mexico interpreted and commented upon these influences and the impact of these ideas, as well as political events that occurred in the peninsula, in open public spheres. This is the particular case of Pedro Patiño, whose professional formation and eventual artistic and political career demonstrate the influence that these events in Spain had both on his work and his position towards these specific issues.

Additionally, we can observe how the theories of natural law, positive law, as well as concepts such as natural rights and self determination influenced the way that Nahua students’ interpreted their reality and their position in the new society. These theories encouraged both Pedro Patiño and Juan Rodríguez to speak out on behalf of their rights as Indigenous Peoples and to claim their position as the original owners and natural inhabitants of the Americas. These claims and arguments exposed by Patiño Ixtolinque and Rodríguez Puebla contributed to their development of their own ideas about politics and popular participation that can be understood as an early expression of a new indigenous political identity.<sup>554</sup> This initial conception of indigenous political identity also emboldened Patiño and Rodríguez to praise the inclusive nature of the Constitution of 1812, and later on, based on these arguments, to criticize the authoritarianism of Ferdinand VII and his disdain toward the Spanish American territories. By reviewing both the artistic creations of Patiño Ixtolinque and Rodríguez Puebla’s pamphlets it is evident that both of these Nahua intellectuals resented the sense of exclusion towards the indigenous population which developed during the colonial era. In this way, both Patiño Ixtolinque’s and Rodríguez Puebla’s’ works centered on demonstrating the social and cultural differences that existed among the diverse sectors of Mexican society, and reinforcing for the public the obligation that the new Mexican political system should have towards all of the members of Mexican society.

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<sup>553</sup> Rodríguez O., *Nosotros somos ahora los verdaderos españoles II*, 629.

<sup>554</sup> Chantal Mouffe, “Citizen and Political identity,” *October* (Summer, 1992): 28-32.

As we have seen, Pedro Patiño's work entitled "*La coronación del Rey Wamba*" sought to make a clear statement about the political situation that Spain experienced at that time. As an artist, in this bas-relief, Patiño Ixtolinque not only displayed his knowledge and skills as an artist, but he also demonstrated his familiarity with the political theories that prevailed at that time in Europe. Additionally, he pointed out in this critical work, his disagreement with the colonial system that had exploited and abused the resources that had legally belonged to indigenous communities. It is clear that Pedro Patiño's academic and artistic formation did not prevent him from participating in politics. Although several scholars have mentioned that Pedro Patiño actively took up arms and joined the guerilla forces led by Vicente Guerrero, this idea is questionable due to the lack of documentation that gives evidence to his participation. Regardless of this fact, Patiño Ixtolinque sought new ways to gain access to the institutions that allowed him to participate in advancing the interests of Indigenous Peoples.

Pedro Patiño evidently displayed broad knowledge about political theories and ideas about popular sovereignty and representative government. His familiarity with these ideas inspired him to get involved in politics and eventually led to his desire to become a member of the *cabildo* of the city and serve as an official in the *ayuntamiento*. As a member of these governmental institutions, Pedro Patiño played an active role as a defender of communal properties and the rights of Indigenous People under the last years of the colonial regime. These actions did not contradict with the initial enthusiasm that Patiño showed for the political and civil transformations that the Constitution of Cadiz represented for Indigenous Peoples in the Americas. On the contrary, as a member of the *ayuntamiento* of the city, Patiño truly believed that social equality for Indigenous Peoples remained a right that they deserved to enjoy with full consciousness. However, Patiño Ixtolinque also realized that the abrupt legal changes advocated by the Constitution of Cadiz did not contribute to the ability of the Indigenous Peoples to integrate themselves into the new social establishment. Patiño, similarly with other indigenous intellectuals, quickly realized that the deep discrimination and the social disadvantages that the idea of "social equality" promoted by political liberalism represented a new challenge for both indigenous individuals and communities.

On the other hand, Juan Rodríguez Puebla also took part in these contemporary events and decided to publish a few political pamphlets under the pseudonym of the "Indio constitucional." In these documents, he also displayed a similar wide range of knowledge about current political theories, but he also offered a deeper understanding and analysis about the judicial position that Indigenous Peoples had under the new independent Mexican regime. Similarly to Pedro Patiño, Juan Rodríguez also displayed his enthusiasm for the political and social changes that the Constitution of Cadiz represented for Indigenous Peoples in the Americas. Additionally, Rodríguez went a little bit further in his criticism of the period of the Spanish colonization and the negative impacts it had on indigenous communities. Probably influenced by the conditions of poverty that he no doubt experienced during the early years of his childhood, the content of Rodríguez's political pamphlets expressed the hard life that most

common Indigenous Peoples had under the Spanish colonial system. Rodríguez used these pamphlets to denounce the subjugating conditions in which common Indigenous People lived, as well as to decry the abuses that these individuals suffered during the period of the Spanish colonization.

Both Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque and Juan Rodríguez Puebla entered into the educational system during the Spanish colonial administration. However, later on in their lives, they experienced the process of independence of Mexico from Spain, and observed the social and political changes that this event represented for them and their indigenous communities. These Nahua intellectuals also witnessed the beginning of the policies that attempted to change the access that Indigenous Peoples had to higher education and the way that these communities administered their communal properties for the exclusive benefit of the members of their communities.



## Chapter 6

### Land and *Parcialidades* under Attack

#### Introduction

After Mexico officially declared its independence from Spain in 1821, major political and social changes took place in the newly formed country. Influenced by both the Constitution of 1812 and the political theories of European liberalism, the new Mexican authorities sought to reorganize and consolidate the governing institutions in the country based on these political theories. Some of these policies greatly harmed the indigenous communities' access to and control over their lands and resources. In particular, the newly appointed Mexican authorities considered that several institutions that had operated during the end of the colonial regime under indigenous supervision did not follow the basic precepts of the political liberalism of the new government.<sup>555</sup> Consequently, the new political approach in Mexico turned against the corporatism that indigenous institutions represented. As a result of this, the *Colegio de San Gregorio* was the subject of changing government regulations that eventually prevented the participation of Indigenous Peoples in the administration of an institution that they traditionally claimed belonged to them.

While Juan Rodríguez Puebla, Francisco Mendoza y Moctezuma, Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque and Faustino Chimalpopoca jointly worried about and defended the right to keep the indigenous community in charge of the administration of the *Colegio de San Gregorio* in Mexico City, another serious issue started to affect the indigenous *parcialidades*. Although the *parcialidades* had ceased to officially exist in 1820, the assets and properties that formerly belonged to these entities remained under various changing jurisdictions.<sup>556</sup>

Both the economic and social complexity that existed within the composition of these former indigenous *parcialidades* made it impossible for the laws of the 1820's to accomplish their goals of turning these entities from their corporate nature of ownership into individual property. As the modern scholar Andrés Lira asserted:

La idea fundamental era que los indígenas participaran en la sociedad política que se fue definiendo como ideal y que acabaría por expresarse en la Constitución Política de la Monarquía Española [...] A la Constitución siguieron decretos de

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<sup>555</sup> Manuel Ferrer Muñoz, "El poder legislativo en México durante 1822 y la cuestión indígena," *Jurídica. Anuario del Departamento de Derecho de la Universidad Iberoamericana*, Número 28 (1998): 287-304.

<sup>556</sup> Woodrow Wilson Borah, *Justice by Insurance: The General Indian Court of Colonial Mexico and the Legal Aides of the Half-real* (California: University of California Press, 1983), 402-404.

las Cortes Generales y Extraordinarias en los que se insistía en el proyecto de incorporar a los indígenas como ciudadanos y la necesidad de dotarlos de propiedad particular.<sup>557</sup>

Hence, the Constitution of Cadiz of 1812 made the issue of property a prerogative, although its definition of “property” relied on the idea of an individual estate, and not a collective or corporative concept. Consequently, after 1812 the political class in the capital of New Spain became characterized generally by the promotion of an agenda that sought the individualization of collective property. In general terms, there were two groups that fit into this agenda: the Catholic Church and communal indigenous properties.

Several politicians and intellectuals analyzed and made arguments about the “positive” impact that individual property could provide for the Indigenous Peoples. Works in this matter of argumentation abounded during the nineteenth century. In this sense, the current official historiography has focused on describing and analyzing the concept that Mexican intellectuals, such as Lucas Alamán, José Luis Mora or Manuel Abad y Queipo,<sup>558</sup> among many others, had about collective indigenous property. Nevertheless, little attention has focused on the opinions or desires that indigenous intellectuals had about maintaining community properties under their indigenous control. Thus, this chapter will focus on reviewing the way in which Nahua intellectuals reacted towards all of these new reforms that affected their heritage, their local economy, as well as their style of life, and even their social ties.

### **6.1 Education as the Basis of the New Mexican Citizenship: The Hard Battle for the *Colegio de San Gregorio***

During this period, the principle of sovereignty expressed in the Constitution of 1812 influenced the main changes that both the newly created Republic and the government of Mexico City experienced.<sup>559</sup> Based on these principles of popular participation, voting and citizenship became the major achievement of this newly created Mexican Republic.<sup>560</sup> In this manner, education remained an important obstacle in shaping Mexico, since the authorities expected that every Mexican holding citizenship and having the right to vote should at least be able to read and write

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<sup>557</sup> Andrés Lira, *Comunidades indígenas frente a la Ciudad de México*, 45-45.

<sup>558</sup> For instance, see José María Luis Mora, *Obras sueltas de José María Luis Mora, ciudadano mejicano* (Paris: Librería de Rosa, 1837), cvviii; also see Manuel Abad y Queipo, *Representación sobre la inmunidad personal del clero* (1799) in Colección de documentos para la historia de la guerra de independencia de México de 1808 a 1821, ed., J. E. Hernández y Dávalos (México: José María Sandoval Impresor, 1878), also consider the works and arguments expressed by Valentín Gómez Farías and Anastasio Bustamante regarding this issue, see A. Hale, *El liberalismo en la época de Mora, 1821-1853* (México: Siglo XXI Editores, 1999).

<sup>559</sup> Salomón Díaz Alfaro, “El Distrito Federal Mexicano. Breve historia constitucional,” *Estudios jurídicos en torno a la Constitución Mexicana de 1917, en su septuagésimo quinto aniversario* (México: UNAM, Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas, 1992).

<sup>560</sup> Timothy E. Anna, *Forging Mexico, 1821-1835* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 194-196.

in Spanish.<sup>561</sup> This political argument of the necessity of an educated electorate is exemplified by one of the first attempts of the new State to regulate the providing of public education to the population, the Education Plan of January 18, 1827. This plan indicated that:

Todo ciudadano debe saber leer y escribir. Así se dispone a tomar la ilustración necesaria para gobernarse a sí mismo, dirigir a su familia y sostener los derechos de la nación con lo que se consigue ser hombre bueno, excelente padre de familia y ciudadano exactísimo.<sup>562</sup>

Due to these reasons, education remained one of the most important topics for Mexico City's government. Therefore several colleges and schools remained open and functioning during the subsequent years after 1820. In order to maintain the good performance of these schools, the newly established government created a series of committees in order to analyze the conditions in which these schools remained after the turbulent first decades of nineteenth century.

In a document dated on January 21, 1824, the executive branch of the new government organized a committee to visit the *Colegio de San Gregorio*. This newly formed committee had the duty of inspecting the conditions in which this institution worked. Pedro Patiño, who at that time occupied the position of director of sculpture at the *Academia de San Carlos*, Juan Rodríguez Puebla, and Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma, among others, served on this commission. The members of this commission wrote a final report after undertaking the official visit to the *colegio*. Sadly, their report gave evidence of certain damages that decades of political and social unrest had caused to the school:

[...] en 21 de enero de 1824 una visita compuesta de los Sres. Lic. D. Juan de Dios Rodríguez Puebla coronel; D. Francisco Moctezuma y don Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, director de escultura en la Academia de San Carlos, teniendo por secretario al entonces coronel D. José María Tornel. Esta visita dio su informe el 22 de noviembre del propio año, escusándose del retardo por el desorden en que se encontraron todo. En consecuencia, exponen al gobierno el mal estado tanto de las rentas como de la educación de los colegiales, que a la sazón no tenían más que un maestro de escuela y otro de música, con la dotación de 200 pesos anuales, saliendo a los colegios de San Ildefonso y Seminario los que ya habían acabado las primeras letras, y el trato que se les daba era muy áspero e indigno de un establecimiento de educación.<sup>563</sup>

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<sup>561</sup> Ernesto Meneses Morales, *Tendencias educativas oficiales en México, 1821-1911: la problemática de la educación mexicana en el siglo XIX y principios del siglo XX* (México: Universidad Iberoamericana, 1998), 106.

<sup>562</sup> *Ibid.*, 894.

<sup>563</sup> José María Pérez Hernández, *Diccionario geográfico, estadístico, histórico, biográfico de México* 3 (México: Cinco de Mayo, 1875), 568.

As we can gain from this source, the *Colegio de San Gregorio* had survived in poor conditions, and in terms of the administration and the students' performance; additionally, it seemed that the institution had experienced a period of bad administration during the turbulent years of independence.

The fact that Patiño Ixtolinque, Rodríguez Puebla and Mendoza y Moctezuma were members of this first commission to evaluate the conditions in which the school functioned demonstrates that they had all been influential characters within the political sphere, and enjoyed a good reputation even among individuals from outside their communities. It is highly probable that the members of the executive branch had chosen Patiño, Rodríguez and Mendoza for this task as they were Indigenous Peoples who had previous ties to the *Colegio de San Gregorio*.

The same source mentioned that on January 31, 1826, the government created the *Junta Directiva del Colegio*, which included Mr. Juan José Espinosa de los Monteros, as president; General Don Miguel Cervantes, Dr. Don José María Iturralde, and Don Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque; and Licenciado Don José María Jáuregui as secretary. This *Junta* was the first governing body that the school had after the Congress officially declared the independence of Mexico.

While the corresponding authorities kept working towards the organization of different institutions, the political life of these indigenous intellectuals did not cease. In 1827, Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque appeared as the legal representative of the *parcialidades* in Mexico City, fighting against the approval of an issued act that stipulated that properties administrated by these entities must be distributed individually among their particular members.<sup>564</sup> In 1828, there is another document addressing Pedro Patiño, as a member of the governing *Junta* of the *colegio*, asking him to accept the sons of the North American Cherokee leader Bob, to be enrolled in the *Colegio de San Gregorio*.<sup>565</sup>

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<sup>564</sup> *El gobernador del distrito acompaña la representación que hace de las cámaras Pedro Patiño como apoderado de las parcialidades para que se suspenda el reglamento formado para partir los bienes de ellas*, AGN, México Independiente, Justicia Negocios Eclesiásticos, Justicia, Volumen 47, Expediente 50 y 51, fojas 364-477.

<sup>565</sup> *Sobre que se admita a educarse en el de San Gregorio los hijos del jefe de los charaques llamado Bob*, 1828, AGN, Justicia-Instrucción Pública, Volumen 1, Expediente 21, fojas 109-111. The relationship established between Pedro Patiño and the Cherokee leader Bob became associated with a series of events that are significant for the history of the Cherokee people. In 1828, the Cherokee nation published its first newspaper, the *Cherokee Phoenix*, in New Echota the capital of the Cherokee nation, by using the Cherokee language and the syllabary developed by the Cherokee intellectual Sequoyah. Also, in May of 1828 the Cherokee nation signed a treaty known as the "Treaty of Washington" or the "Treaty with the Western Cherokee" with the government of Washington D.C. This treaty represented one of the first of several "removals" that the Cherokee experienced at hands of the federal government of the United States of America. In this particular treaty, the federal government of the United States drove out the Cherokee people from the territories of the Arkansas and the region east of the Mississippi river. Although the majority of the Cherokee people declared this treaty as fraudulent, the U.S. Congress ratified the accord within three weeks after its signature. According to the sources "a considerable number [of Cherokees] refusing to submit to the treaty or to trust any longer the guarantees and promises, crossed the Red River into Texas and joined the Cherokee colony already located there by region of the bowl under Mexican jurisdiction." The precariousness and social instability that the Cherokee experienced

Meanwhile, the Board of Governors of the *Colegio de San Gregorio* continued with their mission of improving the classes that the school offered to their students. In January 19, 1829 Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque reviewed an initiative presented by Deputy José María Tornel and the Secretariat of the Chambers of Deputies. This proposal suggested the creation of two courses of Grammar, an annual course on Philosophy, one on Theology, another on Civil Law, one on Cannon Law, and another on Public Law, as well as a course on Medicine and one on the Mexican Language or Nahuatl.<sup>566</sup>

The creation of new courses for the *curriculum* of the *Colegio de San Gregorio* became part of a complex and ambitious program to reform the entire educational system of Mexico.<sup>567</sup> According to this plan, the colleges of San Juan de Letrán, Minería and San Ildefonso remained competitive enough in terms of curricula; however, the *Colegio de San Gregorio* seemed to offer lesser courses for Mexican students in comparison to the other colleges. During the first months of 1829, one of the main purposes of the educational plan focused on incorporating all of the colleges of higher education in Mexico City into a complex and competitive system, for which it was necessary to offer more courses in the *Colegio de San Gregorio*. In addition to this educational plan, the main purpose of incorporating more courses into the curriculum of the *colegio* focused on offering more opportunities for acquiring knowledge for its indigenous students. As the document states:

La Comisión se abstendría hoy de aprovar su dictamen reservándose hacerlo para cuando concluyera el expediente dicho sino estuvierese persuadido de la urgente necesidad que hay de propagar las luces prontamente en la miserable clase indígena hundida en la objeción e ignorancia mas vergonzosas, y que de los supremos poderes deben sacarla por cuando medios dicta la prudencia y se hallan a su alcance y poderío los que de lo contrario veríamos comunicada de ruina demasiado avanzada.<sup>568</sup>

The core complaint of this document reveals that the *Colegio de San Gregorio* remained a semi-segregated institution by having a high number of indigenous students who attended its classes. Also, this excerpt suggests that both the civil authorities and the Indigenous Peoples who composed the Board of Governors of the school knew about this situation and agreed to preserve it in the best interests of Indigenous Peoples, which explains the likely reason why the signature of approval of Pedro Patiño appears in this document. The document also reveals the special

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during the “first period of removal” in the United States may have motivated the leader Bob to send his sons to Mexico in order to gain access to higher education through the willingness and recommendations made by Pedro Patiño to the members of the board of governors of the *Colegio de San Gregorio* in Mexico City.

<sup>566</sup> *Erección de cátedras en el Colegio de San Gregorio*, 1829, AGN, Justicia-Instrucción Pública, Volumen 1, Expediente 31, número 8, 1829, fojas 196-203v.

<sup>567</sup> Ernesto Meneses Morales, *Tendencias educativas oficiales en México*, 109-110.

<sup>568</sup> *Erección de cátedras en el Colegio de San Gregorio*, f. 197r.

interests that both the political class in Mexico, as well as the indigenous authorities of the college, had in improving the educational opportunities that the Indigenous Peoples had, at least in Mexico City, in order to better “integrate them” into the newly established political and social system. Thus, the document stated in support of this idea: “[...] sin ilustración señores no hay costumbre, no hay virtudes, no hay observancia de las leyes, y sobre todo no hay república.”<sup>569</sup>

Through the content of this document we can see the enthusiasm that both politicians and the indigenous authorities of the *Colegio de San Gregorio* shared in incorporating and making the indigenous sector of the population a responsible, informed and conscious group that could exercise their rights and obligations as citizens. Both groups believed that this would only succeed if Indigenous Peoples remained on equal terms for educational opportunities in comparison to their non-indigenous counterparts. The fact that the signature of Pedro Patiño appears endorsing this proposal demonstrates the interest that the board of governors of the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, as well as the Indigenous Peoples who remained involved in the college’s administration, had in enjoying the fruits of equality that the newly political system promoted.

It seems that at this point indigenous leaders, at least those involved in matters of education and politics, focused on incorporating indigenous students into a more competitive program that could be similar or equally competitive as the *curriculum* offered by the other colleges, such as San Ildefonso and the *Colegio de Minería*. This argument reveals the pursuit of equality, and not separatism, that the Indigenous People and their intellectuals sought through the reorganization of educational institutions in Mexico City.

This same document also dictated that the Chamber of Deputies had the obligation of protecting and promoting the “purity of the principles promoted by Christianity and good social norms, which were considered as the basis of all the republics: “[...] la cámara deberá hacer otro tanto si quiere que se conserven en su pureza los principios de todos y en su mayor esplendor las virtudes cristianas y sociales que son la base de las repúblicas.”<sup>570</sup>

However, this plan to change the curriculum of the *Colegio de San Gregorio* also included the transformation of the position of the director of the school in order re-fashion it for the new social context. In other words, the tradition of the *Colegio*, according to its *constitutiones*, was to appoint a clergyman to the highest position of the college:

3ª. El Rector y demás sacerdotes que entrasen por ahora, los ha de nombrar el E. S. Virrey a consulta y proposición del comisionado; y gozarán la preferencia o antigüedad en el colegio por la que tuvieren de sacerdotes. En lo subversivo nombrará igualmente su excelencia el Rector a proposición del Señor Ministro

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<sup>569</sup> Ibid., f 197r.

<sup>570</sup> Ibid., f. 197v.

Protector y los demás sacerdotes los propondrá el rector y comunidad al excelentísimo señor virrey por año del señor Protector, para que con su informe nombre su excelencia al que sea de su agrado; instruido de concurrir en él las circunstancias de voluntario, literato, práctico en los idiomas de los indios, de arregladas costumbres, y demas que se requiere para ates apostólico Ministerio, gozando la antigüedad desde el día de su ingreso en el Colegio: En la propia forma serán nombrados el sacerdote Maestro de escuela, el Tesorero, administrador de Hacienda y recaudador de casas y réditos; y también la señora camarera que ha de tener la santísima imagen de nuestra señora de Loreto para su aseo y adorno [...]<sup>571</sup>

As it mentioned, the director of the *Colegio*, according to this charter, had to be a member of the clergy and also be able to speak an indigenous language.<sup>572</sup> However, these seventeenth-century requirements seemed obsolete for the new social needs of the indigenous community and the city government, not to mention in open affront to the new liberal principles. Thus, part of the transformation of the *colegio* also included the changing of the figure of the director; and the members of the *junta* of the *Colegio de San Gregorio* decided to nominate a secular person for the position of director for the first time. Nevertheless, it is evident that the members of the board of governors of the school made this decision without consulting the indigenous community and the student members and alumni of the college.

Within this context, in 1829, the clergyman Don Juan Francisco Calzada remained as the director of San Gregorio. Nevertheless, during those years the aging Calzada started to suffer dementia and due to this reason he left his position. Facing this opportunity, the board of governors decided to propose the nomination of Don José María Guzmán<sup>573</sup> as the new director of the school.<sup>574</sup> The discontent from this unilateral decision made by the board of governors resulted in a series of documents that eventually became printed as a pamphlet, and along with another series of complaints that the indigenous communities filed against this proposal. Several indigenous leaders signed one of the first published complaints entitled *Clamores de la miseria ante el supremo gobierno*, including Faustino Chimalpopoca Galicia, then only 24 years old, who appears in the documentation for the first time.<sup>575</sup> The person who authored this written

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<sup>571</sup> *Constituciones del Colegio de San Gregorio de México, aprobado por el excelentísimo Sr. Virrey don Félix Calleja, por el superior decreto de 27 de julio de 1815*, AGN- Justicia-Instrucción Pública, Volumen 1, Expediente 52 o 46, número 8, legajo 13, fojas 389-408, 391v-392r.

<sup>572</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 398v.

<sup>573</sup> According to Lucas Alamán, *Diccionario Universal de Historia y de Geografía*, Tomo 2 (Mexico: Librería Andrade, 1853), 385, Dr. Y Mtr. Don José María Guzmán was an “[...] antiguo alumno, catedrático de teología en la universidad y senador por Durango. Desde 1829 hasta 23 de octubre de 1833 que se convirtió el colegio [de San Pedro y San Pablo] en establecimiento de jurisprudencia.”

<sup>574</sup> *Nombramiento hecho a José María Guzmán como catedrático de filosofía del colegio de san Yldelfonso*, 1807, AGN, Instituciones Coloniales, Indiferente Virreinal, Cajas 3000-3999, Caja 3575, Expediente 9.

<sup>575</sup> Among other signatures included in this document are Evaristo Huemaitl.-Felix Ximenez, -José María Sandoval.-Bartolo Patiño.- Br. José María Reyes, Cura de Calnali.-Faustino Chimalpopocatl y Galicia- José Soberanis.- Rafael Pérez.- José Crescencio Cano.- Domingo Salazar.- Antonio Galicia.-Cayetano Galicia.-

complaint, Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma, apparently worked as the organ player at the church of Loreto, at that time attached to the *colegio*. However, both Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque and Juan Rodríguez Puebla's signatures are notably absent in this document.

This testimony denounced the board of governors of the college, arguing that they did not consider the opinion of the members of the indigenous community involved in the school's affairs. Similarly, this document also stated that the members of the board deliberately excluded Indigenous Peoples from giving an opinion about the candidates who might occupy the position of the directorship of the school. Both the signatories and their constituents complained about the marginal role that they, the direct beneficiaries and indigenous administrators of the school, played in the process of electing new candidates for the position of the directorship for the school. When most influential Indigenous Peoples realized that the nominee for occupying the position of director of the school was not a member of the clergy, they complained before the members of the board of governors, and also before the presidency of the republic. The response of these Indigenous People was to nominate and to endorse *Presbítero* José Calixto Vidal, a clergyman, as their candidate to occupy the position of director of the *Colegio de San Gregorio*.<sup>576</sup>

This proposal rested on the argument that Calixto Vidal was a former student of the *colegio*, where he studied Latin and graduated with a degree in Philosophy, Theology and Cannon law. The presbyter Calixto Vidal had earlier served as chaplain, and he also worked as the director as well as a clergyman at the *Colegio Seminario de Tepoztlán*. Even though Don José María Guzmán had excelled in his career as an academic, there is no evidence about his indigenous heritage. In contrast, Calixto Vidal, a native of the town of San Miguel Xometla, in the current State of Mexico, proudly held the status of "*indio noble*"<sup>577</sup> as well as a very impressive curriculum:

Con deseos de instruirse pasó a esta capital por los años de mil setecientos noventa y cuatro, y habiendo conseguido lugar en dicho colegio, el mismo año comenzó sus estudios, yendo a asistir a clases de San Ildefonso, en donde por su continua aplicación logró tener en las de Gramática por competencias y aprovechamiento

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Mariano Galicia.-Juan Rodríguez Acatlán.- José Sabás Nájera.- Eusebio Antonio Dávila.-Anastacio Rosas.-Antonio Contreras.-Catarino Torre.- Crescencio Contreras.-Victor Salazar.-Luis Miravalle.-Juan Pablo Carrera.-Rafael López. Estanislao Rincón y Macario Torres. See, *Clamores de la miseria ante el supremo gobierno*, marzo 1829, AGN, Justicia-Instrucción Pública, Volumen 1, Continuación del Expediente 44.

<sup>576</sup> *Clamores de la miseria ante el supremo gobierno*.

<sup>577</sup> *Consta por información jurídica que el bachiller don José Calixto Vidal colegial actual del real Colegio de San Gregorio de México, es hijo de legitimo matrimonio de Don Hilario Nicolás Vidal y de Doña Rosalía María, indios nobles del pueblo de San Miguel Xometla de la doctrina de San Agustín Acolma*, 22 de noviembre de 1803, AGN, Tribunal Superior de Justicia, Alcaldes Ordinarios, Procesos Civiles, Caja 52, Expediente 17.



con preferencia de sus condiscípulos las mejores oposiciones públicas con especial elección de sus maestros, y de que le dieron las correspondientes calificaciones.<sup>578</sup>

Similarly, Vidal had achieved a degree at the National University:

En nueve de enero de noventa y nueve se graduó de Bachiller en la Real Universidad previo el actillo de constitución que ahí defendió. En el mismo año pasó al Colegio Tridentino Seminario a estudiar lugares teológicos, y concluidos prosiguió allí mismo Sagrada Teología [...] <sup>579</sup>

Calixto Vidal's curriculum and his noble origin demonstrated his involvement in the development of the educational system for Indigenous Peoples,<sup>580</sup> and his supporters advocated for his candidacy, arguing that they had the right to be represented by an indigenous director since the *Colegio de San Gregorio* still remained ostensibly an indigenous college:

Nadie tomará más interés por nuestras cosas de San Gregorio, que los mismos que han sido sus alumnos: y esta es sin duda la razón porque todos los colegios ansían ser gobernados por alguno que les haya dado para indígenas, es congruentísimo que en su provecho sean las provisiones de los empleos que en él hay, y principalmente cuando se trata de persona tan ameritada en dicho Seminario, y para cuantos pueblos lo conocen por los bienes que les ha hecho [...] <sup>581</sup>

Also, this document represented a reminder to the board of governors of the school about the obligation that they had to follow the *constituciones* of the *colegio* in electing the new director. According to their own words, the petitioners argued that they were only asking the members of the board to follow the rules issued for directing the school:

Nosotros no venimos a pedir cosas que graven al erario, ni a solicitar otra cosa que la observancia de unas constituciones que aún están vigentes, y que se atropellaron por el gobierno despótico de los virreyes” insistimos pues en que se nombre Rector al Presbítero Vidal por ser nulo el nombramiento que se hizo en el Dr. Guzmán. <sup>582</sup>

The indigenous individuals who supported the complaint in the “*Clamores...*” focused on the idea that only a director of an indigenous background would be able to achieve the ultimate

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<sup>578</sup> Ibid., f. 1r.

<sup>579</sup> Ibid.

<sup>580</sup> See Manuel Ferrer Muñoz, “La difícil andadura del Colegio de San Gregorio,” in *Liber Ad Honorem Sergio García Ramírez* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas, Tomo I, 1998), 193-210.

<sup>581</sup> Ibid.

<sup>582</sup> Ibid.

goal of placing the college on an successful future academic path to compete with the higher educational institutions. However, the authors of this document failed to mention the noble status that Mr. Vidal held, which in their own minds no doubt gave him an additional benefit for serving in the position of director of the college. This argument adds importance to the indigenous' claim that the "indios caciques" from Tacuba under the colonial regime had played an important role in the foundation, maintenance and economic support of the *Colegio de San Gregorio*. In this sense, we can interpret the content of the present document not only as a complaint presented by influential Indigenous Peoples against the arbitrary decision taken by the board of governors, but also as a desperate measure on the part of this indigenous group to keep the directorship of the college under the power of the traditional indigenous nobility.

The rejection against the decision taken by the members of the board of governors from this group of Indigenous Peoples did not stop there. On April 7 in the same year of 1829, and during the brief period of the presidency of Vicente Guerrero, Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, then serving as a "vocal" or representative of the members of the board of the college, published another document which he addressed directly to President Guerrero. In this document entitled *Representación al excelentísimo señor presidente don Vicente Guerrero a favor de la educación de los indios*,<sup>583</sup> Pedro Patiño argued that the second and third articles of the *constituciones* of the college stipulated that the director of San Gregorio must be clergyman able to speak an indigenous language, and that contrary to these stipulations, Mr. Guzmán did not come from an indigenous background:

Estas, y otras razones expuse con tesón en la Junta; pero todas, señor excelentísimo, fueron desatendidas, porque a lo que conozco, la opinión de los señores de la Junta, estaba prevenida muy de ante mano en favor del señor Guzmán, quien ni ha hecho su carrera en dicho Colegio, ni es sacerdote, no es idioma, y ni es indio, que para la educación de ellos, es para mí la circunstancia que más pesa.<sup>584</sup>

Additionally, Patiño emphasized the fact that Calixto Vidal, a former student of the *colegio*, had intimate knowledge about the school's situation, and the difficulties and needs that the cloister required to solve their current problems. In this document Patiño makes subtle mention about the educational reforms that were taking place at that moment, as well as the expectancy that existed about the new "*plan general de estudios*:"

[...] que el Presbítero Vidal, así porque es sacerdote, como por ser idioma, según lo pide la constitución peculiar de dicho *Colegio* en sus artículos segundo y tercero, constitución que está vigente, y que lo estará mientras que el congreso

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<sup>583</sup> *Representación al excelentísimo señor presidente don Vicente Guerrero a favor de la educación de los indios*, 1830, AGN, Ramo Justicia Instrucción Pública, Volumen 1, Expediente número 44, fojas 285-287.

<sup>584</sup> *Ibid.*

general no de el plan general de estudios en que precisamente se va a ocupar según entiendo.<sup>585</sup>

Similarly to the previous published document, in this one Pedro Patiño denounced the board of governors for marginalizing the indigenous community from the participation in this process:

[...] los mismos alumnos del *Colegio* con otros muchos indios, formaron sus representaciones, pidiendo, humildes como siempre, que se proveyera la plaza de Rector en el presbítero Vidal; pero cuál fue nuestra sorpresa cuando vimos, que el decreto a la petición era, que no se podía atender a nuestra exposición por haberse verificado ya el nombramiento hecho el trece del mismo día.<sup>586</sup>

Pedro Patiño also accused the members of the board of corrupting the process of the election of director of the school:

El día trece en la noche, acordó la Junta la terna: el catorce del mismo por la mañana, se puso dicho acuerdo en limpio ¿cómo, pues, se proveyó la vacante en la noche del trece, día que no siendo de correo, no estuvo abierto el despacho? Dejo a la consideración de V. E. el juzgar de un hecho que tanto nos ofende, y que generalmente hemos sentido, tocando a V. E. poner el remedio en este grave mal, así como en otros muchos que nos aquejan.<sup>587</sup>

Apparently, based on these previous documents, the major issue that the indigenous community faced throughout this process was their exclusion in decision-making process of an institution that they considered as part of their communal property. According to this perspective, the fact that the indigenous community of San Gregorio remained marginalized from the process of electing a new director, not only violated the regulations of the school, but it also attacked the sovereignty of the Indigenous People over their own communal property.

It seems that the pressure and the written complaints that these Indigenous Peoples sent to the President of the republic had an important effect since the board of governors withdrew the candidacy of Mr. Guzmán and instead put forward the nomination of Juan Rodríguez Puebla. However, the appointment of Rodríguez Puebla also did not satisfy the indigenous community of San Gregorio. For instance by 1829, the year that the board of governors put forward the nomination of Rodríguez Puebla for the position of director of San Gregorio, Mr. Rodríguez Puebla already had a very reputable career as politician (see Chapter 4 of this work). The document that officially positioned him as the board's candidate as director of the *colegio*

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<sup>585</sup> Ibid.

<sup>586</sup> Ibid.

<sup>587</sup> Ibid.

included a brief summary about Mr. Puebla's credentials for occupying the position as director, as well as the name of the other two candidates who also competed for the position:

El licenciado don Juan de Dios Rodríguez, Ministro del Supremo Tribunal de Justicia de Durango, alumno que fue del Colegio, su visitador y su particular protector en términos de haberle proporcionado muchos adelantos. En segundo lugar propone al Bachiller don Francisco Cornelio Domínguez, cura de Taxco, y en tercero al licenciado don José Ignacio González Casalmuro, cura de Tuchi.<sup>588</sup>

The appointment of Juan Rodríguez for the position of director also did not satisfy the demands of the indigenous *vocales*, or representatives of the school. Instead, they complained again arguing that Juan Rodríguez did not belong to the clergy. This condition of being a member of the clergy in order to occupy the position of director resulted in a direct benefit for the school as it saved resources since the director could play both the position of director and *capellán*. Thus, as Juan Rodríguez did not belong to the clergy, his detractors argued that the school had to spend resources to appoint a chaplain. Also, the main complaint focused on the fact that these elements were directly against the *constituciones* of the school. Therefore, the *vocal* Pedro Patiño expressed:

[... que] se anule el nombramiento interino hecho a favor del Lic. D. Juan Rodríguez, por ser opuesto a sus constituciones [323v] que previenen que el nombrado sea sacerdote, tanto por el ahorro de capellán que resulta, como porque aquella casa al mismo tiempo que es de instrucción literaria es también de ministerio espiritual, y en esto fundan su solicitud, quejándose de la Junta Directiva porque dicen que ha procedido con arbitrariedad y desatendido su primera representación en que reclamaban esta infracción de sus constituciones.<sup>589</sup>

Similarly, Pedro Patiño also denounced that the election of Rodríguez Puebla did not rely on the support of the indigenous community, but rather his nomination only had the support of the representatives from the current government. Later on several Indigenous Peoples and leaders of the *ayuntamientos* from different towns sent another letter of complaint to the members of the *Junta* demanding the appointment of José Calixto Vidal as the director of the *colegio*, as well as the immediate removal of Rodríguez from the said position. This letter preceded another one presented by two more indigenous intellectuals, Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma and Estanislao Rincón.<sup>590</sup>

Facing the constant resistance from the leaders of different indigenous communities, the members of the *junta* were forced to review the content of the last *Constituciones* issued by the viceroy Callejas as well as the bylaws of 1826 concerning the conditions under which the *colegio*

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<sup>588</sup> *Sobre el nombramiento de don Juan Rodríguez Puebla para rector del Colegio de San Gregorio*, f. 323r.

<sup>589</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>590</sup> *Ibid.*, fs. 324v.

must function. Through the detailed revision of these regulations the members of the *junta* found enough arguments to reiterate their decision in appointing Rodríguez Puebla as director. They argued that the same *constitutions* allowed the members of the *junta* to update and act in favor of carrying out the reforms and arrangements that they considered convenient. Finally, the members of the board of governors placed Rodríguez Puebla in the directorship of the school in 1829. However, the discontent did not end with his appointment.

In this situation, the opponents of the appointment of Rodríguez Puebla then argued in a subsequent complaint that, as director “[...] el Rector Rodríguez es incapaz de dirigir un colegio, que mira a los alumnos con aversión, los obliga a barrer, a desyerbar la huerta y hasta a limpiar los comunes [...]”,<sup>591</sup> even worst, his adversaries also denounced him to “be a persecutor of the indigenous literature.”<sup>592</sup> The content of this formal complaint, condensed into one extensive file, displayed the indigenous community’s redundant arguments against Rodríguez Puebla, arguing that he did not hold a religious position, and that this disqualified him to be the director of the *Colegio de San Gregorio*. Not only that, but in the same year of 1829 the complainants published another document addressing President Vicente Guerrero entitled *Representación al excelentísimo señor presidente Don Vicente Guerrero a favor de la educación de los indios*, in which Pedro Patiño, as the lead author, accused the members of the *junta* of infringing upon a law in an afterhours session in order to give an advantage to the *junta*’s favorite candidate, adding this to the argument that Rodríguez was not “indio.”<sup>593</sup>

This conflict for the appointment of the director of the school had no precedent in the history of the institution. Moreover, the argument presented by the adversaries of the *junta*’s ultimate decision, arguing that Rodríguez did not have any indigenous background, appears exaggerated. However, based on the evidences presented in the previous cited document, I suggest that the persona of Juan Rodríguez represented a series of interests associated with the new regime that conflicted with the indigenous ideals, in contraposition to the figure of the “*indio noble*” Calixto Vidal who represented their traditionalist interests.

The decision of the *junta* of including an indigenous person who did not have any close relationship to the traditional colonial-indigenous system of organization demonstrated a clear affront from the members of the *junta* against the “ancient regime.” Not only this action, but the inclusion of the signatures of Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma, Pedro Patiño and Faustino Chimalpopoca on this document reveals that for these indigenous intellectuals of noble origins, Rodríguez represented a break with tradition and, in their opinion, an outright transgression of what seemed to them to be the norm regarding the favoritism that the members of the indigenous nobility had within the political spheres.

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<sup>591</sup> Ibid., f. 326r.

<sup>592</sup> Ibid.

<sup>593</sup> *Representación al excelentísimo señor presidente Don Vicente Guerrero a favor de la educación de los indios*,” f.285.

In this sense we must not forget that Rodríguez Puebla did not belong to the ancient indigenous nobility of the Valley of Mexico, but rather he came from a very modest family of *aguadores*, and that he had also had scaled the social ladder due to his own merits, and not his family's social status, which he had obtained from having gained access to higher education. Thus, Rodríguez Puebla represented and embodied the values promoted by the new regime in which successful individual efforts resulted in the possibility of fruitful careers based on pure merits. Also, the argument presented by Patiño Ixtolinque against Rodríguez that asserted that Rodríguez was not an "*indio*" could even been seen by the members of the new board of governors as an illegal argument within this context since the Constitution of Cadiz in 1812 had eradicated the segregation of the population through the system of *castas*. In any case, the argument presented by Patiño Ixtolinque, which sought to damage the reputation of Rodríguez as a member of the community, resulted in vain. The decision taken by the members of the *Junta* regarding this issue seemed to have the authorization and support of the members from the highest political levels since Rodríguez Puebla, in spite of his unpopularity, remained in the position of director of the school, an act that Patiño Ixtolinque also denounced through his publication of *Representación al excelentísimo presidente*.<sup>594</sup>

At this point, the transformation of the *Colegio de San Gregorio* with the designation of Rodríguez Puebla as the director of the school represented only the beginning of the major transformations that the institution endured in order to survive. However, as further documentation also demonstrates, Rodríguez Puebla never had the intention of snatching away the economic control that indigenous communities had over the school. He also did not demonstrate the desire to keep Indigenous Peoples away from accessing the educational opportunities offered by the *Colegio San Gregorio*. Instead, Rodríguez sought to turn the school into a more competitive educational institution and to achieve a similarly high level of scholarship just as that existence in San Ildefonso, San Pedro y San Pablo, and the University of Mexico.

Nevertheless, in 1829, the year Juan Rodríguez officially took possession as rector of the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, the group of Nahua leaders wrote another complaint in which they once again asked for the removal of Juan Rodríguez Puebla as rector of the school. This complaint reached print and received the title of *Representaciones hechas ante el supremo gobierno a favor de los abatidos indios*. However, this time those who signed this written demand changed the language in which they expressed their opinion about Juan Rodríguez, now providing a positive assessment about the administration of Rodríguez:

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<sup>594</sup> The letter of complaint that Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque sent directly to the President Vicente Guerrero in order to denounce the irregularities in which Rodríguez Puebla was elected, demonstrates that the highest representative of the executive power did nothing or did not achieve anything against Rodríguez Puebla. See *Representación al excelentísimo señor presidente Don Vicente Guerrero a favor de la educación de los indios*.

Confesamos con la más sincera ingenuidad, que nuestra gratitud está comprometida con la persona de D. Juan Rodríguez, porque su oficiosidad se ha decidido a favorecer a este su antiguo Colegio; como su verdadero hijo le ha procurado los mayores bienes, y ha sacrificado con su obsequio de quietud [...] Jamás olvidaremos los beneficios con que nos ha distinguido, y su memoria, durando más allá de nuestra existencia, se transmitirá a la más remota posteridad.<sup>595</sup>

Nonetheless, all of these kind words and good evaluations about the performance of Rodríguez's role in leading the school were not enough as they argued that his appointment did not follow the already mentioned *constituciones* of the school. In the end, the main purpose of this complaint focused again on demanding the removal of Rodríguez as rector and instead appointing D. José Calixto Vidal.<sup>596</sup> In this document Patiño revealed that the initiative of gathering together prominent Nahua people against the appointment of Rodríguez Puebla was Patiño's own idea:

Para llenas mi deber, en medio de la cortedad de mis luces, he procurado, según he podido, remover los obstáculos, y fijas la atención en unión de mis hermanos, en aquellos sujetos capaces de satisfacer por sus luces, las ideas ambiciosas del bien de mis hermanos los indios [...] <sup>597</sup>

Patiño continued his complaint by stating again that Rodríguez was not a clergyman and was not able to speak an indigenous language. Additionally, Patiño argued in his favor that every citizen had the obligation to demand the appropriate compliance and enforcement of the institutions and their laws. Accordingly, the appointment of Rodríguez Puebla represented, for him, a fragrant violation of the internal laws of the *colegio*.

The changes within the interior of the *Colegio de San Gregorio* continued in the following years, and it seems that the indigenous population had little voice in these matters. However, apparently these complaints succeeded in at least getting the Junta to appoint José Calixto Vidal as the assistant director of San Gregorio.<sup>598</sup> Surprisingly, this conflict over the appointment of Juan Rodríguez Puebla as rector in 1829 did not end that year. As late as 1834 another bitter exchange of opinions against the Rodríguez Puebla reached print in the newspaper *El Mosquito Mexicano*.

In the first letter published in *El Mosquito Mexicano*, the writer, who identified himself as "E. E.," explained that Juan Rodríguez himself had complained about the appointment of Mr.

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<sup>595</sup> *Representaciones hechas ante el supremo gobierno a favor de los abatidos indios*, 1829, AGN, Justicia-Instrucción Pública, Volumen 1, Expediente 48, fojas 294-296.

<sup>596</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>597</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>598</sup> See Lucas Alamán, *Diccionario de Historia y Geografía*, Tomo 2, 401.

Guzmán as rector of the *colegio* arguing both that Mr. Guzmán was not clergyman, and that he did not speak an indigenous language. However, the same document also accused Rodríguez Puebla of accepting the position of rector of the school under the same circumstances that he had used to criticize Mr. Guzmán. Similarly, in this text the unknown author accused Rodríguez Puebla, as rector, of expelling several indigenous students who had also opposed Rodríguez's appointment. This letter also accused former presidents Vicente Guerrero and Anastasio Bustamante of backing up Rodríguez. Similarly, the writer of this complaint pointed out that Rodríguez did not follow a zealous responsibility for the religious instruction of the students at the *colegio*.<sup>599</sup> This is not surprising if we consider the fact that Rodríguez, a lawyer and a philosopher, would contemplate it most important for the students of San Gregorio to follow a more secular education in order to keep them competitive with their student counterparts from San Ildefonso or the University of Mexico. Concerning this matter, it is interesting to note that the author of this piece still referred to the economic improvements that Rodríguez had achieved towards the student of San Gregorio:

La ventaja que han logrado los jóvenes bajo la dirección del ciudadano Rodríguez, es bastante conocida aun de ellos mismos. Ha procurado ganarles la voluntad, haciendo se les den bancos de cama y colchones, ropa interior y exterior limpia cada ocho días: no ha mucho consiguió se diese a cada uno de ellos frac, sombrero y demás para salir a la calle, chocolate por la mañana y por la tarde con bizcochos [...]<sup>600</sup>

This statement also reveals that Rodríguez Puebla's interest in providing indigenous students not only education, but also the social skills necessary to contribute to the establishment of a positive relationship with their other classmates from San Ildefonso and the University of Mexico. Thus, even his detractors recognized that Rodríguez Puebla provided these indigenous students with appropriate clothing to denote their status as students, which eventually would empower them and provide them with self confidence.

Among other accusations expressed in this published note, is that Rodríguez was not making an appropriate use of the resources of the *colegio* which their community had destined to provide financial aid to three indigenous students from other states of the republic. Not only that, but it seems that in the process of turning the *Colegio de San Gregorio*'s students into more competitive individuals, the author of this letter, as well as other indigenous representatives, complained that the students had developed an anti-clerical position:

Los alumnos bajo la dirección del Sr. Rodríguez, han progresado con especialidad en ideas impías y anti-religiosas, y las manifiestan en sus conversaciones con

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<sup>599</sup> "Comunicados," martes 19 de agosto de 1834, *El Mosquito Mexicano*, Número 46.

<sup>600</sup> Ibid.



libertad, frecuencia y notable escándalo de los que los oyen. Censuran con acrimonia nuestra religión santa, y las jerarquías eclesiásticas, infamándolas al modo y estilo de los impíos. Más no es extraño: pues es muy natural que el Sr. Rodríguez les haya sugerido estas ideas, y haya trabajado sin cesar con el fin de disponerlos para que lleguen a ser con el tiempo los apóstoles de la tolerancia religiosa [...]<sup>601</sup>

This was precisely what Rodríguez Puebla sought to achieve: to make of San Gregorio's students critical thinking individuals able to debate not only religious ideas and dogma, but probably also to enable them to discuss important political and social matters that might concern them. Under Rodríguez' administration, as I have stated previously, he sought to improve the scholarly level of the *Colegio de San Gregorio* and attempt to insert this institution into a new level of intellectuality independently from its religious roots. This does not mean that under the orders of Rodríguez Puebla the school had stopped teaching religious classes, but rather that he probably had a different approach to presenting this knowledge to their students, probably moving away from memorizing religious dogmas, as he complained in his early years in his pamphlets. Instead, I assume that Rodríguez Puebla pushed the education of the school towards a more philosophical approach. It is true that Rodríguez Puebla openly praised Masonic lodges, especially the one from York.<sup>602</sup> The author of this document concluded that it was necessary to remove Rodríguez Puebla from his position since "he was poisoning San Gregorio's students with moral venom."<sup>603</sup>

As a response to this publication, in issue number 50 of the same newspaper (*El Mosquito Mexicano*), an author under the pseudonym of "The friend of truth" (*El amigo de la verdad*) offered several counter arguments in defense of Rodríguez Puebla.<sup>604</sup> The first statement of "The Friend of the Truth" is that Rodríguez Puebla never stopped the religious education at the *colegio*, as his adversaries argued. This author also stated that Don Antonio Icaza, as the treasurer of the school, had administrated the resources in such way that both the alimentation and dignity of the students had improved. Moreover, the writer pointed out that the school had been practicing in its classrooms the critical thinking that had been absent for a long time:

Diré para concluir que los colegiales de San Gregorio antes del rectorado del Sr. Rodríguez, se hallaban en el mayor abandono, y no faltó tiempo en que comiesen vaca, durmiesen en petate, y bebiesen atole: su educación tampoco era muy atendida, pues aunque dizque se les enseñaba la doctrina, el resultado era que los adelantos en lo moral no se conocían [...] ¿cuándo San Gregorio había figurado

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<sup>601</sup> Ibid.

<sup>602</sup> José María Mateos, *Historia de la Masonería en México desde 1806 hasta 1884* (México: n/e, 1884), 50.

<sup>603</sup> "Comunicados," martes 19 de agosto de 1834, *El Mosquito Mexicano*.

<sup>604</sup> "Comunicados," martes 2 de septiembre de 1834, *El Mosquito Mexicano*, Número 50.

en México, y sido reputado como verdadero colegio, sino hasta el tiempo del Sr. Rodríguez?<sup>605</sup>

What remains as a fact, is that Rodríguez Puebla indeed exposed the *colegio* and its students to a more global scholarly perspective that forced them to confront the philosophical and political ideas recently coming out of Europe.<sup>606</sup>

Nevertheless, the complaints of the anonymous writer who published in *El Mosquito Mexicano* did not stop. Furthermore, the unknown author continued publishing letters against Rodríguez, but now refuting his supporters by using the pseudonym of “*El legítimo amigo de la verdad*,” or the “Legitimate friend of the truth.”<sup>607</sup>

Without a doubt the directorship of Juan Rodríguez Puebla in the *Colegio de San Gregorio* remained as one of the major changes that both the institution and the indigenous communities experienced. Nevertheless, the most dramatic transformation in the nature and administration of the school occurred with a proposition presented by the deputy José María Irigoyen in 1828. The proposal presented by Mr. Irigoyen in the Congress on January 3 of 1828 focused on an integral plan to transform not only the organization of all colleges of higher education in México City, but it also presented a new basis for the creation of a national library that would be open to the public.<sup>608</sup> This educational plan had the additional purpose of expanding public education and making it accessible to a larger number of individuals.<sup>609</sup> Another essential part of this proposal centered on gathering the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, the *Colegio de San Ildefonso* and the *Colegio de San Juan de Letrán* into one institution. Since these three colleges used to serve a segregated population during colonial times, the main purpose of putting them under a single administration promoted a sense of equality promoted by the new political atmosphere of 1828.<sup>610</sup>

Nevertheless, this initiative directly affected the involvement indigenous communities exercised over the economic administration of the college. This proposal resulted in one of the major dispossessions suffered by indigenous communities from Mexico City under the new liberal government. Faced with this alarming situation, Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma

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<sup>605</sup> Ibid.

<sup>606</sup> *El Rector del Colegio de San Gregorio pide que de la parte que toca a la instrucción pública de las herencias transversales, se tomen 250 pesos para pagar las inscripciones en periódicos europeos que aquel Colegio tiene y para que algunas colecciones que están en el [¿], 1848, AGN, Justicia-Instrucción Pública, Volumen 3, Expediente 10, fs. 61-63.*

<sup>607</sup> “Comunicados,” viernes 17 de octubre de 1834, *El Mosquito Mexicano*, Número 63; and “Comunicados,” martes 21 de octubre de 1834, *El Mosquito Mexicano*, Número 64.

<sup>608</sup> *International Dictionary of Library Histories*, Volume 1 & 2, ed. David H. Stam (London –New York: Routledge, 2001), 532.

<sup>609</sup> Manuel Ferrer Muñoz, *La formación de un estado nacional en México. El Imperio y la República Federal: 1821-1835* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas, 1995), 311.

<sup>610</sup> About this major change see Manuel Ferrer Muñoz, “La difícil andadura del colegio de San Gregorio durante el siglo XIX.”

decided to address a formal complaint to the President of the Republic in which he explained, on behalf of the leaders of different indigenous communities from Mexico City, the school's students, and other intellectuals, the importance of keeping the *Colegio de San Gregorio* as a school for exclusive benefit and under the economic administration of the Indigenous Peoples. The *Ciudadano Valdés* printing house released the said complaint entitled *Ya le pesa a ciertos hombres que se ilustren los indios*. In this document, Mendoza y Moctezuma not only gave evidence of the concerns that the indigenous communities had about losing their power of influence in the affairs related to the school and the properties attached to it. Mendoza y Moctezuma also gave evidence to the prevalent discrimination and lack of "equality" that the new educational establishments practiced against their indigenous students.<sup>611</sup> As an example of this failed attempt of the fusion of two schools into one, Mendoza y Moctezuma mentioned the case of the *Colegio de Comendadores Juristas de San Ramón Nonato* and the *Colegio de San Juan de Letrán*,<sup>612</sup> which occurred in 1828. In this case, the College of San Juan de Letrán absorbed the college of San Ramón, which also resulted in the end of influence of the clergy in these institutions which resulted in the decline of both schools. Concerning this Mendoza y Moctezuma asserted:

[...] ya lo estamos viendo en las penurias que padecen los colegiales de S. Ramón después de su agregación al de San Juan de Letrán, cuando antes sus rentas, y sin las que hoy produce el colegio reducido a casa de vecindad, tenían lo bastante para vivir con comodidad [...] <sup>613</sup>

Similarly, Mendoza y Moctezuma presented the same argument that Patiño Ixtolinque had previously stated in order to defend the pecuniary and social influence that indigenous communities held in the affairs that concerned "their" school: the invulnerable right to property. In defense of this argument Mendoza y Moctezuma cited the Constitution of 1824:

[...] el derecho de propiedad es invulnerable, lo dice la carta federal: el colegio de San Gregorio en su origen y establecimiento, y sus particulares dotaciones, son privativamente para la educación y sustento de los indios, por cuya consideración parece que por lo menos era de oírse á los ayuntamientos antes de resolverse la reunión. <sup>614</sup>

Before the imminent loss of control over San Gregorio, Mendoza y Moctezuma cited the main argument that Juan Rodríguez had previously presented in a session of the congress on October

<sup>611</sup> *Ya les pesa a ciertos hombres que se ilustren los indios*, 1-4.

<sup>612</sup> For more information about this school, see Ricardo León Alaín, "San Ramón Nonato: Puente entre el colegio de San Nicolás Obispo de Michoacán y la Real Universidad de México," in *Colegios y universidades. Del Antiguo régimen al liberalismo, Volumen II*, eds., Enrique González and Leticia Pérez Puente, 97-110 (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México- Centro de Estudios Sobre la Universidad, 2001).

<sup>613</sup> *Ya les pesa a ciertos hombres*, 2.

<sup>614</sup> Ibid.

11, 1824 in which Rodríguez stated the need to keep the school for and under indigenous supervision:

[Rodríguez] probó demostraciones casi matemáticas, que los indios no pueden educarse en otro colegio que en el suyo, atendido los principios y vicios con que vienen a él, en su encogimiento natural, y lo difícil que es apartarlos de la befa de sus colegas, cuyas causales entre otras son de bastante peso para que ni sirvan de retrayente a los que existen, ni menos a los que en lo de adelante puedan venir a él [...]<sup>615</sup>

These cited testimonies demonstrate that indigenous leaders and intellectuals saw the discrimination and the lack of equal opportunities that indigenous students would had by attending other colleges and not the *Colegio de San Gregorio* as a threat. Based on this, Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma also presented testimony, making a motion before the Mexican Congress on March 4, 1828, arguing against combining San Gregorio and the other colleges into a single unit of higher education.<sup>616</sup>

This demand, and Mendoza y Moctezuma's motion in congress, both reveal the high importance of the *Colegio de San Gregorio* as an institution where students with indigenous backgrounds received not only an introduction to what higher education meant, but also it offered a place where these indigenous students became acculturated to their new status as college level students of higher education. Thus, the *Colegio de San Gregorio* accomplished very important social mission by preparing indigenous students with the necessary social skills to succeed in their studies after they transferred into the other colleges in which the "indigenous element" remained minimally present. In this sense, the *Colegio de San Gregorio* worked as an institution that offered these indigenous students a space in which to exercise an effective transition into an urban educational environment.

It is also very possible that before this conflict the Supreme Government of the Federation through its *Junta Directiva* renewed a *Reglamento* originally issued on October 11, 1824, and that the *junta* eventually actualized on February 21 of 1826. An important portion of this document focused on discussing how the assets that formerly belonged to the Hospital de los Naturales would from then on be administered by the *Junta* of the *Colegio de San Gregorio*. However, in another important section of this document, the *Junta* also referred to the recent changes to the former *Constituciones* of the school, stating that "notable transformation had been

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<sup>615</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>616</sup> According to the debates and documents of the Mexican congress for the session on March 4, 1828, Francisco Mendoza y Moctezuma personally made his motion before the congress against the educational proposal of Irigoyen. See *Historia parlamentaria de los Congresos Mexicanos de 1821 a 1857*, Volume 5, (Mexico City: Impr. Madero, 1882), 83.

introduced.”<sup>617</sup> It seems that the resources obtained from the *Hospital de los Naturales* increased considerably the economic resources of the *Colegio de San Gregorio*. These resources should have served to support the financial aid for students at the *colegio*. Nevertheless, the same group of people who opposed Juan Rodríguez Puebla as the school’s director, once again complained about the way Rodríguez Puebla administrated these new funds, and again, most of the disagreement came from the misinterpretation that the authorities and several members of the *Junta* had about the regulations of the school’s *Constituciones*.<sup>618</sup>

This is probably the reason why in 1843 the Congress issued the “*Plan General de Estudios de la República Mexicana*” in which it clearly stated that the *Junta Directiva* of the *Colegio de San Gregorio* would be subordinated to the *Junta Directiva General de Estudios* from Mexico City.<sup>619</sup> According to this document:

Título VI. De la Juta Directiva General

Artículo 77. Habrá una Junta Directiva general de estudios en la capital de la República.

Artículo 78. Esta Junta se compondrá del Rector de la Universidad de México y Rectores de los colegios de San Ildefonso, Letrán y San Gregorio, del Director del Colegio de Medicina, del Director del Colegio de Minería, del Presidente de la Compañía Lancasteriana, y de tres individuos de casa carrera nombrados por el Gobierno. Será presidente neto de la Junta, el Ministro de Instrucción Pública, y Vicepresidente el rector de la Universidad de México.<sup>620</sup>

Similarly, this document stated that the *Colegio de San Gregorio* had been turned into an institution that mostly offered preparatory studies for students willing to apply to the university, and other disciplines, except for the career of “*foro*” or law.<sup>621</sup>

Thus, the major social mission accomplished by the *colegio* of preparing indigenous students for the academic urban life would have been affected though the imposition of the already mentioned reforms. The leaders of indigenous communities, as well as the Nahuatl intellectuals, quickly realized that the *junta*’s idea of “providing social equality” did not mean providing equity to all parties involved in this process. Thus these reforms ultimately left behind the indigenous students. This may explain not only the affection, but also the way in which some of the former students from San Gregorio praised this institution. For instance, later in 1865 Faustino Chimalpopoca, one of the *Colegio de San Gregorio*’s former students, made a nostalgic sketch of the school building. As we can notice from the legends included in his drawing,

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<sup>617</sup> *Reglamento dado por el supremo gobierno de la Federación de la Junta Directiva del Colegio de San Gregorio*, 1830, AGN, Justicia-Instrucción Pública, Expediente 50, fojas 305-309, f. 306v.

<sup>618</sup> “Comunicados,” viernes 17 de octubre de 1834, *El Mosquito Mexicano*, Número 63.

<sup>619</sup> *Plan General de Estudios de la República Mexicana* (México: Imprenta del Aguila), 18 de agosto de 1843, AGN, Justicia Instrucción Pública, Volumen 84, Expediente s.n., fs. 61-63, f.16.

<sup>620</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>621</sup> *Ibid.*

Chimalpopoca wished to keep alive a visual testimony about the importance that this institution had for him and for other prominent characters, such as Rodríguez Puebla and his brother who both had shared classrooms with Chimalpopoca.

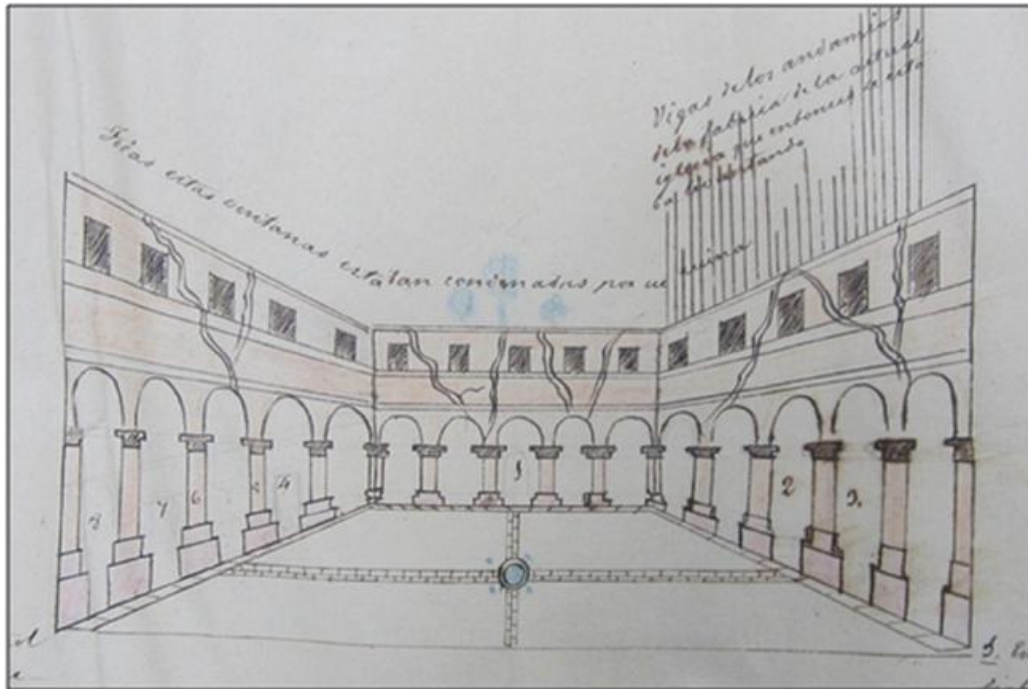


Figure 13. Detail of the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, sketch drawn by Faustino Chimalpopoca in 1865. Taken from *Historia de San Gregorio*, in “Documentos históricos de Chimalpopoca,” Colección Antigua, NC 25, BHMNAH, México. Picture taken by the author.

In another document, Mendoza y Moctezuma described the school as an asylum where the so-called “despised” indigenous class attended schooling in order to “de-coarsen themselves” and learn the basic rudiments that they needed to be good republicans.<sup>622</sup> Nevertheless, in this second letter Mendoza y Moctezuma also argued that the members of the *Junta* of San Gregorio did not consider the opinion of the members of the indigenous communities, nor did they listen to what they had to say about the management of the *colegio*. Similarly, in this document Mendoza y Moctezuma also accused the director in charge, Rodríguez Puebla, of trying to expel Calixto Vidal (the favorite candidate for the Indigenous Peoples to take office as director of the school) from his position as assistant director, and from the *junta* due to Rodríguez’s sense of resentment against Vidal.<sup>623</sup> In the particular case of this document, the request presented by Mendoza y Moctezuma, in representation of several communities and indigenous leaders, focused on also asking for the removal of some members of the *junta*, and instead for the appointment of other individuals of proven indigenous background. In this way, according to

<sup>622</sup> *Carta de don Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma*, 1833, AGN- Justicia-Instrucción Pública, Volumen 1, Expediente 49, fojas 297-304v, f.297r.

<sup>623</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 300v-302r.

their arguments, indigenous communities would have a legal representative of their interests seated in the *junta*, which would allow these communities to maintain some influence in the decisions affecting the school. Also, another constant request centered on demanding active indigenous participation in the matters concerning the school by arguing that not even during the colonial times, nor during the French invasion of Spain, had indigenous communities remained as misrepresented as they remained at that moment:

[...] que la clase que represento cansada de sufrir desaires y escarnios ajenos del gobierno paternal que substituyo al tirano de los capetos de nuevo ha querido por mi conducto esforzar sus clamores, con la única esperanza de que alguna vez serán atendidos los miserables Yndios.<sup>624</sup>

Due to the aggressive and determined tone that Mendoza y Moctezuma used in this letter, it can be assumed that after writing and exposing several complaints before the corresponding authorities, Indigenous Peoples quickly realized that the changes proposed by the authorities for the administration of the college were imminent, with or without their approval.

## 6.2 Weakening Indigenous Autonomy: *Parcialidades* Come under Attack

Throughout the entire period of the nineteenth century, the new federal government established in Mexico after 1824 threatened the very existence of the indigenous *parcialidades*. Probably one of the first laws issued specifically in order to modify the collective nature of the *parcialidades* remained the regulation issued on November 27, 1824, under the presidency of Guadalupe Victoria. This decree formally declared the *parcialidades* as extinct and proposed the distribution of the communal properties of the *parcialidades* among those individuals who formed part of this corporation. In other words, this decree turned the collective properties owned and administered by the *parcialidades* into individual private properties. The decree explained that:

Sobre los bienes de las que se llaman parcialidades de San Juan y Santiago  
El soberano congreso general constituyente de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos ha  
tenido a bien decretar.

1. Los bienes que han quedado de las que se llamaron parcialidades de San Juan y Santiago se entregarán a los pueblos que las componían como propiedad que les es perteneciente.
2. El gobierno nombrará otra junta compuesta de siete individuos de los mismos que componía las parcialidades, para que [126] le presenten a su aprobación con la brevedad posible un reglamento de la manera en que han de invertir o distribuir los bienes expresados.<sup>625</sup>

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<sup>624</sup> Ibid., f. 397v.

<sup>625</sup> “Número 441. Decreto de 27 de noviembre de 1824.- Sobre los bienes de las que se llamaban parcialidades de San Juan y Santiago,” in *Legislación Mexicana. Colección completa de las disposiciones legislativas expedidas*

The main purpose of this decree was to officially make the Indigenous People a group of individual owners of their own private lands by disarticulating the corporative character of the landholdings of the indigenous *parcialidades*. Nevertheless, this drastic transformation eventually affected the way in which indigenous communities participated and became involved in matters that concerned their communities.

According to Andrés Lira, this decree turned into an immediate means of discord in the indigenous communities instead of providing for a secure and reliable set of rules that would allow the incorporation of Indigenous People, at least in an individual form, into the political realm. The major problem with this decree centered on the fact that it legally dissolved an entire system of administration over indigenous communal lands, while at the same time keeping the same previous system of the *parcialidades* in control over other aspects of local administration. This strange adaptation instead of eliminating the system of *parcialidades*, in reality, only mandated in theory the extinction of the *parcialidades*. In actual practice, the government continued to apply certain laws of the newly “extinguished” institutions which allowed these *parcialidades* to remain somewhat functional.<sup>626</sup>

The political discourse in Mexico during the nineteenth century, mostly based on the precepts of the Constitution of Cadiz of 1812, attempted to extend both political and social equality to the vast majority of male Mexicans, including Mexico’s Indigenous Peoples. After the declaration of Independence in 1822, this right to political and social equality extended also to the descents of African enslaved people. However, this principle of equality, as the political theory dictated, had to be related and constructed based on individual access and owning of property of qualified citizens. Thus, the only citizens understood in Mexican law, were those who individually owned property. In this sense, the simple existence of a principle of “collective property” represented a difficulty for politicians in their attempt to apply in an equal manner the newly issued laws pertaining to citizenship.

The new official regulations concerning property also affected other communal institutions, such as schools and hospitals. And of course, these laws also impacted upon the *Colegio de San Gregorio* in Mexico City, one of the most important indigenous institutions for the education of the community. The way in which these newly issued laws affected the assets of the school became quickly evident as seen above. However, any subsequent lack of collective resources invested in the college also represented less participation from the indigenous community as a collective unit.

Due to these reasons, Patiño Ixtolinque, Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma, Juan Rodríguez and Faustino Chimalpopoca all focused their efforts on defending the *Colegio de San*

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*desde la Independencia de la República, ordenada por los licenciados Manuel Dublan y José María Lozano, Tomo I (México: Imprenta del Comercio, 1876), 744.*

<sup>626</sup> Andrés Lira, *Comunidades indígenas frente a la Ciudad de México*, 58.



*Gregorio* as an indigenous institution organized for and administered by Indigenous Peoples (see previous chapter of this work).<sup>627</sup> There is vast documentation that is currently housed across different archives in which reveals how indigenous communities organized themselves in order to maintain their collective property under their administration and control.

The attempts that both the colonial and Mexican authorities made towards the extinction of indigenous communal property from 1812 onward prevailed within the political agenda during the entire nineteenth century. Early on, in the later eighteenth century, the bishop of Michoacán, Manuel Abad y Queipo and later the clergyman Jose María Luis Mora, for mentioning only a few, had argued about the vices and disadvantages that holding communal property resulted for the indigenous communities. Based on the political ideas from the European Enlightenment and new political liberalism, the Mexican national politicians considered that the continued existence of the *parcialidades* in particular, served as a clear example of communal property, which remained a major aspect, for these politicians, of the paternalistic measures left over from the colony. Consequently, under the new laws, Mexico's new citizens had to be free and living without any type of paternalistic tutelage over them.<sup>628</sup> Thus, according to the political perspective of the time, civil equality necessarily came with the eradication of any type of special treatment that made distinctions among and between any of the groups of individuals that formed the nineteenth century Mexican society. Concerning this, Mora argued that:

Aunque ninguna ley prohibía a los indios tener tierras en propiedad, muy poca o raras veces llegaron a adquirirlas porque les faltaba el poder y la voluntad de hacerlo: acostumbrados a recibirlo todo de los que gobernaban y a ser dirigido por ellos hasta en sus acciones más menudas como los niños por sus padres, jamás llegaban a probar el sentimiento de la independencia personal.<sup>629</sup>

This sentiment against the existence of communal property spread out all over the territory of Mexico, and it not only affected the indigenous communities from Mexico City. The idea that communal property remained a colonial holdover permeated the political class through the new states of Mexico. Although nineteenth-century documents exhibit a series of ideas against communal property and the negative effects that this type of landholding organization had over Indigenous Peoples, little is known about their own actual opinion about this issue.

Onto this stage we can trace the important role that Nahua intellectuals played in this debate. For instance, Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque appeared as the *apoderado* or legal representative

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<sup>627</sup> Luis G. Labastida, *Colección de leyes, decretos, reglamentos, circulares, ordenes y acuerdos relativos a la desamortización de los bienes de corporaciones civiles y religiosas y a la nacionalización de los que administraron las ultimas: Estas disposiciones han sido ordenadas y aclaradas con los estudios é informes que alcanzaron la aprobación del gobierno* (México: Tipografía de la Oficina Impresora de Estampillas, Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público, 1898), XV.

<sup>628</sup> Donald J. Frasser, "La política de desamortización en las comunidades indígenas, 1853-1872," *Historia Mexicana* 66, Núm. 2 (octubre-diciembre 2016): 621.

<sup>629</sup> José María Luis Mora, *México y sus revoluciones*, Tomo I (México: Instituto Cultural Helénico, 1986), 200.

of the former *parcialidades* in a document dated November 22, 1827. In this document, Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, representing the *parcialidades*, asked the chambers of government (*cámaras de gobierno*) to suspend the previously mentioned law of 1824 that stipulated the individual redistribution and allotment of the communal properties of the *parcialidades*. In this document, Pedro Patiño evaluated the redistribution of the *parcialidades*' properties as patently unfair. However, Patiño also claimed that when he served as a member of the *Ayuntamiento*, he indeed supported the initiative that supported this law. However, Patiño now clarified that the main purpose of re-distributing the properties of the *parcialidades* at first had been designed to benefit the members of these corporations. Nevertheless, as he now argued, when the law was approved, several non-indigenous individuals outside of the *parcialidades* rushed in to purchase these former collective properties, removing them from the direct benefit of Indigenous People:

Amén de entrar en materia creo conveniente para evitar siniestra interpretación hacer dos ligeras indicaciones. Primera, que la ley que manó formar el reglamento ha sido ganada por mí, mediante los pasos, esfuerzos e indicaciones que hice con los individuos que componían la comisión, y con otros del Congreso, de manera que tengo la satisfacción de haber promovido que se diera esta ley benéfica y de que más instancias hubieran sacado este negocio del letargo en que yacía. He creído necesario hacer esta advertencia para que no se entienda que me opongo al cumplimiento de una ley en que he tenido mucha parte, sino a la inteligencia que se ha querido dar. Segunda, que si hago este reclamo es a impulso de los interesados, pues creo haber satisfecho a mi obligación y mi conciencia, con los que ya tenía hechos. Bajo esta prevención paso a manifestar lo que me ocurre y me han manifestado mis poderdantes, añadiendo que como me veo precisado a violentar este ocurso, omito extenderme como pudiera, y solo haré ligeras indicaciones.<sup>630</sup>

The law issued in 1824 concerning the *parcialidades* and their communal landholdings stipulated that a commission of seven individuals from the *parcialidades* would plan and organize a system of regulations in order to better distribute these properties among the members of the former *parcialidades*. It seems that Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque became one of these seven individuals who issued an internal regulation controlling the distribution of the properties of the *parcialidades*. In the document written in 1827, he presented himself as one of the members who composed this said commission: "Pedro Patiño Yxtolinque, apoderado de los pueblos y barrios que componían las extinguidas parcialidades, nombrado por la Junta de las mismas, por orden

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<sup>630</sup> *El gobernador del distrito acompaña la representación que hace a las cámaras Pedro Patiño como apoderado de las parcialidades para que se suspensa el reglamento formado para repartir los bienes de ellas, 1827, AGN, México Independiente, Justicia Negocios Eclesiásticos, Justicia, Volumen 47, Expediente 50, f. 373r-373v.*

suprema de otros pueblos [...].”<sup>631</sup> Also, the *Ayuntamiento* of Mexico City also appointed an additional member to supervise the distribution of these properties from the *parcialidades*.<sup>632</sup>

This process of reorganization which had initially started with the Constitution of Cadiz of 1812 had the purpose of eradicating the *parcialidades* and placing these properties under the direct administration of the *Ayuntamiento*, instead of having them administrated through their local indigenous representatives. In this 1827 document Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque complained that the main goal expressed in the original law of redistribution of land among the former owners or members of the *parcialidades* had been misinterpreted to allow non-indigenous individuals to acquire these assets:

Hemos sabido a con bastante sentimiento nuestro que los bienes que pertenecen a los pueblos que antes se llamaron de las parcialidades de San Juan y Santiago se van a repartir en determinadas personas poseyendo lo restante a disposición del muy Ilustrísimo Ayuntamiento de esta capital.<sup>633</sup>

Pedro Patiño complained about the disposition that the authorities from Mexico City had toward distributing these properties that had originally belonged to the Indigenous Peoples in the region of Mexico City to non-indigenous individuals, while the remaining assets would be placed directly under the administration of the *Ayuntamiento*. Thus, this newly issued regulation positioned the Indigenous Peoples into a clear disadvantage and limited their effective participation in the political matters that concerned their indigenous communities. Furthermore, in this same document, Patiño continued arguing that:

[...] hemos determinado lo que suscribimos por sí y a nombre de todos los que componen este pueblo grande en otros tiempos menos desgraciados poner en manos de Vuestra suerte a fin de que por cuantos medios le sean posible estorbe un golpe que pone en peor condición nuestra débil existencia que ya es casi nula o insignificante[...]”<sup>634</sup>

In this brief statement, Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque not only lamented the clear disadvantage in which the misinterpretation of this new law placed indigenous communities, but he also seemed to refer to their condition of being “Indians” as vanishing both as a legal concept, and as a judicial entity.<sup>635</sup> According to Pedro Patiño, the idea of redistributing their indigenous communal land among non-indigenous individuals who did not belong to the community would

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<sup>631</sup> Ibid., 373r.

<sup>632</sup> *Sobre que se nombre un miembro del Ayuntamiento para entender en el reparto de tierras de las extinguidas parcialidades*, 1827, AHDF, Fondo: Ayuntamiento; Sección: Parcialidades; Volumen 3574, Expediente 31.

<sup>633</sup> *El gobernador del distrito acompaña la representación que hace a las cámaras Pedro Patiño como apoderado*, 366r.

<sup>634</sup> Ibid., 366r.

<sup>635</sup> “Propuesta para eliminar el término indios de cualquier documento público u oficial,” 17 de marzo de 1824, *El Sol*.

in effect deny the Indigenous Peoples the economic assets to remain cohesively united as a solid entity.

As a direct consequence of these political and territorial changes, the *parcialidades* had to transform and/or reorganize their administration in order to survive. At the same time, non-indigenous land speculators tried to benefit themselves from the new law concerning the *parcialidades* by interpreting the regulations about their redistribution for their own benefit. Thus, Patiño took a moment to explain the complexity and negative aspects of this decision to the corresponding government authorities. He also expressed his own concerns about these measures and the way that they would affect other social benefits that the indigenous communities had already achieved, such as the basic access to education and other social benefits as a corporate ethnic group:

El repartimiento en suertes a los particulares va a producir que no se atiendan los objetos de utilidad común a los pueblos, como son fiestas religiosas, dotación de escuelas, y amigas de primeras letras, socorros en las epidemias, y escaseces de alimentos y otros igualmente sagrados, porque no teniendo los más de los pueblos terrenos suficientes que repartieron, quedando otros para llenar aquellos atendibles objetos, va a resaltar necesariamente que ni los individuos en particular, quedaron socorridos, ni las atenciones comunes desempeñadas.<sup>636</sup>

The economic collaboration of the *parcialidades* in maintaining the welfare and other social benefits for the indigenous communities in Mexico would eventually suffer from the dismantling of these corporations. By presenting these arguments, Pedro Patiño also emphasized the lack of any existing social and political organizations that might substitute for the work that the *parcialidades* made on benefit of the indigenous community in general. It seems surprising to the modern reader that the authorities at this point decided to ignore the warnings of Patiño Ixtolinque, as well as the arguments of other Indigenous Peoples, which they provided to them concerning the negative effects that this legislation would bring to bear on the indigenous communities, and even more, how these changes would result in detrimental effects for all of the communities in Mexico City.

Thus, Patiño Ixtolinque continued exposing other arguments in this document, such as the ignorance that the authorities apparently had towards the nature and quality of the properties of the *parcialidades*. As heterogeneous and diverse as the geography of Mexico City was, Patiño argued that not all of the properties of the *parcialidades* remained useful enough for agriculture, which the authorities had planned to as the objective of the lands from former *parcialidades*:

Por otra parte verificando el repartimiento a los particulares bajo la condición de que los labren, se les condena a que no le saquen utilidad, porque siendo en lo

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<sup>636</sup> El gobernador del distrito acompaña la representación que hace a las cámaras Pedro Patiño como apoderado.

general los terrenos propios solo para pastos, y no de labor, si se les obliga a que los destinen a esta, se han de perder necesariamente y lejos de conseguir las medras que se propuso la beneficencia del gobierno [...]<sup>637</sup>

As Patiño stated, not all the properties referred by the law possessed the qualities to successfully develop agriculture. This excerpt also reveals Patiño Ixtolinque's surprise about the rampant ignorance the authorities had about the social importance of these *parcialidades*. In this excerpt Patiño Ixtolinque also made an attempt to explain the varied economic output that the *parcialidades* represented for the support of Mexico City; for instance, he argued that some communities based their local economy on fishing, hunting, foraging such as the communities of the Candelaria, the members of the Barrio of Santa Cruz Acayucan, among many others, and he argued that some others indeed relied on agriculture, but not all of them.

The criticisms made by Patiño Ixtolinque precisely focused on the fact that the implementation of the law of 1824 ignored the particularities of the land, and in consequence, it also ignored the negative effects that this measure could have on Mexico City's communities and their commerce and agriculture. Patiño Ixtolinque more alarmingly argued for the fact that, contrary to what the law pursued, its ultimate implementation could be catastrophic: instead of turning indigenous communities into agrarian societies made up of individual land owners, this law might instead turn collective farmers into beggars without any indigenous property ownership, either private or communal. So, Patiño continued explaining in depth the possible consequences of creating a landless class of Indigenous Peoples:

[...] se les va a sumir más y más en la miseria. Y si por esta consideración se les deja en libertad de destinar sus terrenos, a lo que la naturaleza misma los tiene destinados, va a resultar sin duda que en lo general los dejen para pastos, en cuyo caso se ven en la necesidad de arrendarlos, y solo se ha conseguido darle este arbitrio con que sin trabajar, adquieran su subsistencia, quitándoles así el amor y el estímulo al trabajo con notorio perjuicio de ellos mismos, y de la sociedad entera, que se resiente de que haya brazos inútiles e improductivos.<sup>638</sup>

This section of his document is interesting to note, since it contradicted the arguments of several politicians and intellectuals in Mexico about the apparent unproductive economic life of Mexico's Indigenous People. Additionally, Pedro Patiño offered a logical and factual explanation on how Indigenous Peoples could become effectively distanced from laboring and producing on their lands as a direct consequence of the administration's flawed plans for land redistribution, and not, as others have argued, due to their "weakness of spirit" or "the intellectual atrophy that Catholic indoctrination or centuries of colonial tutelage" has caused over Mexico's Indigenous Peoples. In this sense, the view that Pedro Patiño offered can be considered

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<sup>637</sup> Ibid., 374r.

<sup>638</sup> Ibid.

highly rebellious at the time and openly threatening to the status quo of the misconceptions that the members of the political sphere had about Indigenous Peoples. Unfortunately for Mexico City at least, his predictions and warnings proved correct. Furthermore, Patiño Ixtolinque also provided an additional explanation about the mistake that the distribution of these indigenous communal lands in hands of individuals might cause, since those who sought to turn these properties into productive agricultural lands, might also impact upon other aspects of the economy of the city:

Además, aunque los terrenos de su calidad fueren susceptibles de labor, la conveniencia pública, identificada con la de los indios, exige que dichos terrenos, no se destinen a labores. Una ciudad populosa como lo es Mejico, necesita tener pastos muy inmediatos, para mantener la multitud de ganados que consume, y puede arreglarse que casi todos los terrenos que componen los bienes de las parcialidades son los que proveen de pastos a Mejico, y que si se convierten en labores se retira mucho con evidente perjuicio del público y por consiguiente de los mismos indios.<sup>639</sup>

This criticism, presented in a subtle way, also sought to point out the major mistakes and incorrect assumptions that politicians had made about the way economic daily life functioned in Mexico City. This document reflects not only the preoccupation that indigenous communities from Mexico City had regarding their survival as collective and judicial entities; but in this document Patiño Ixtolinque also expressed the concerns that he had about the eminent growth and expansion of the city. As *regidor*, Pedro Patiño had surely administrated and well knew about laws that concerned the organization of the city and its food supply, and this document is no exception. Also, Patiño Ixtolinque attempted to present his arguments from an objective perspective, or at least from the perspective of an administrator and an inhabitant of the city, who eventually would either benefit or suffer from the reforms issued and approved by the chambers and other authorities.

By presenting his arguments in such way, Pedro Patiño seemed to draw the attention of the corresponding authorities and at the same he criticized this regulation:

La hacienda de Aragón, los potreros de la Mixhuca, Zacatlamanco, Sazahuizco, ambas Candelarias, Romita, Salinas, San Sebastián, Azolocacan, y otros circundan a Mejico o se hallan dentro de él, y lo surten de pastos necesarios pues los ejidos de la ciudad son cortos respectivamente a la población. Quiérense pues, aquellos reduciéndolos a campos de labor. Y se causaría un perjuicio de mucha trascendencia al vecindario. Por esta razón, y por las demás que quedan referidas,

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<sup>639</sup> Ibid., 374v.

presenta graves inconvenientes en perjuicio de los indios y del público todo la ejecución del reglamento.<sup>640</sup>

The argument here emphasized the concerns that these measures could bring to the city, but it also showed the way that this possible redistribution would transform the very use of lands in Mexico City, which could affect the entire inhabitants of the city, not just the Indigenous Peoples. As he warned, this proposed redistribution might result in a great damage to the economy and sustainability of the city and the local communities. These warnings he hoped, in any case, would demonstrate the inefficiency of the legal proposal discussed in this particular document. Pedro Patiño's exposition made here remained based on the idea that, as he also stated, the major problem for the *parcialidades* was not the law approved in 1824, but rather the way in which the authorities desired to implement the law. Thus, this document had both the purpose of criticizing the way the authorities in Mexico City interpreted the law by attempting to redistribute the properties of the former *parcialidades* among individuals outside of the said *parcialidades*, and also Patiño Ixtolinque disapproved of the misinterpretation that the authorities made of this law.

It is noteworthy that several members of the *parcialidades* signed this formal complaint. This document authored by Pedro Patiño also clarified to the members of the *Ayuntamiento* of Mexico City that the properties of the former *parcialidades* could not be considered as simple *propios* and *arbitrios* that belonged to the *ayuntamiento*, but rather they were the direct property of the Indigenous Peoples of the community:

Los bienes de las parcialidades, repito, no son propios y arbitrios de los pueblos: son sí propiedad de la clase de indígenas, adquirida en virtud de las mercedes, hechas sucesivamente por el gobierno para atender a las necesidades particulares de aquellos. No hay razón ni motivo para despojarlos de su propiedad ni hacer común lo que solo pertenece a determinados individuos [...]<sup>641</sup>

Here his arguments center on using the liberal discourse of his detractors related to the connection between the concept of property and its productivity, and both of their relationships to the political participation of individuals in an eloquent challenge to the way that Mexico City's authorities attempted to execute the law of 1824. Patiño Ixtolinque therefore demanded that the authorities respect the nature and original purpose that indigenous properties had. That is the reason why Patiño Ixtolinque seemed to defend the original intent of the law issued in 1824 since in his reading of that law it attempted to keep the properties of the communities in the possession of the members of the indigenous communities, not communally, but rather in an individualized sense.

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<sup>640</sup> Ibid., 374v.

<sup>641</sup> Ibid., 375v.

The major criticism that Patiño Ixtolinque made in 1827 about the interpretation of the law of 1824 focused on the fact that the authorities sought to limit the free will of the Indigenous Peoples by dictating to them the way that they had to make their own properties productive. This measure also seemed decontextualized, according to Patiño Ixtolinque, who argued that it ignored not only the nature and integral role that these indigenous properties played in the development and maintenance of the city, but it also ignored the necessity of the indigenous communities and attempted to exert a mandate that did not apply to the rest of the landowners of the city. It is for these reasons that Patiño Ixtolinque questioned the authorities by expressing:

¿Por ventura las leyes que garantizan [376r] la propiedad solo han de quedar sin efecto respecto de los indios? ¿Por qué fatalidad los bienes de estos han de hacerse comunes a otros? ¿Todavía no se les considera bastante miserables para que se les quiera precisar a partir con los demás los pocos bienes que tienen? ¿Qué la igualdad a de ser tan ominosa para los indios que por ella se les a de obligar a mantener una sociedad verdaderamente leonida, en que las utilidades han de ser comunes, y las pérdidas solo para aquellos? ¿Qué beneficios o qué logros han sentido ni sienten en el día los indios a pesar de la decantada igualdad de los bienes que pertenecen exclusivamente a otras clases?<sup>642</sup>

The open complaint that Patiño Ixtolinque presented in this document, as he argued, appeared to imply that the law would only be applied to indigenous property, but not to others, which would make this legal concept an unequal interpretation of the law and therefore contrary to the principles of equality that the new government hoped to achieve. However, the same argument that Patiño presented appears also to be contrary to the legal concept of equality, since he claimed that the Indigenous Peoples must be considered as such and that their properties must be respected, by separating from all other properties. Patiño also offered a possible solution to this issue by proposing to create a special commission that could defend the rights of Indigenous Peoples, and not the *parcialidades*:

Formaré una Junta o juntas con la denominación de beneficencia u otra análoga cuyo objeto sea cuidar de la administración o inversión de estos bienes, en provecho exclusivo de sus legítimos dueños. Todos los días estamos viendo esta clase de reuniones sin que por ellas se entienda ofendido el sistema ¿y los indios han de ser solos, la excepción de la regla y solo ellos, no han de entender su intervención en sus asuntos, dejándolos en perpetuo pupilage? Así sucedería sin duda, porque no pudiendo negarse que los bienes de las parcialidades pertenecen exclusivamente a los indios, y que deben emplearse en su beneficio, vendría a

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<sup>642</sup> Ibid., 376r.



resultar que esto se hacía por tercera mano, y que por consiguiente permanecían en tutela lo que ciertamente les es muy ofensivo.<sup>643</sup>

I consider that this excerpt from the document is especially important for two main reasons. The first one relies on the fact that Indigenous Peoples in general indeed had organized themselves in order to prevent these regulations' damage to their social fabric. The second argument is that the representatives of these communities were fully conscious about the eminent changes that would affect their communities, so they decided to force their inclusion in one way or another in the taking of governmental decisions. The key to these early national defenses of indigenous rights at this point, focused on the important organization, education, political experience, and the skills of these Nahua intellectuals. Unfortunately, I have not yet found any documentation associated to any possible *Junta* that Patiño might have been able to form.

Pedro Patiño finalized this document by asking the corresponding authorities to cancel the said bylaw. He also proposed to the Chamber of Deputies to permit the participation of the members of the former *parcialidades* in the resolution of this issue:

En tal supuesto interpelado para muchos pueblos me veo en la necesidad de suplicar a V. E. se sirva suspender la ejecución del citado reglamento elevando este ocurso al supremo gobierno para que este [377r] lo pase a las cámaras, en las actuales sesiones para que como uno de los puntos de arreglo del Distrito se sirvan declarar que el objeto de la ley de 24 de noviembre de 824 no fue que se repartiesen los bienes a los particulares, ni que se entregaran a los ayuntamientos, sino a los pueblos, por medio de una Junta de individuos de las parcialidades, que cuidase de su administración, y distribución de sus productos, en objetos comunes, y benéficos a los que componían las parcialidades.<sup>644</sup>

Attached to this conclusion, Patiño Ixtolinque also included a transcription of the law of 1824 for the authorities to review and in order for them to follow its guidelines as they were originally stipulated.

The administration of the territories from the former *parcialidades* remained as one of the major challenges in terms of the administration of the city until at least the end of the nineteenth century in Mexico City. The previous document represented only a small example of the major issues that indigenous communities faced during this period of time in order to maintain their control over the administration of their properties. It seems that the said *junta*, formed by seven individuals, either did not work or did not satisfactorily meet the needs of the indigenous communities. Again in 1829, the representatives and leaders of the former *parcialidades* asked the corresponding authorities to appoint a legal representative that could administer the assets,

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<sup>643</sup> Ibid., 376v.

<sup>644</sup> Ibid., 376v-377r.

goods and lands of the former *parcialidades* in benefit of the indigenous communities.<sup>645</sup> The leaders of the former *parcialidades* at that time also requested that this legal representative should fall under their own direct supervision. After this petition Don Ignacio Paz y Tagle, the Count of Peñasco and Don Alejandro Valdés Ruiz worked as the administrators of the former *parcialidades*' assets. Nevertheless, this work did not succeed since the distribution of the assets left only a minimum amount of resources for the social and financial aid needed by several institutions in the indigenous communities, such as the schools, churches and hospitals. Both clergymen and the leaders of indigenous communities complained about the negative effects that this distribution could bring to their communities, and hearing all of these arguments, the congress temporarily suspended the imminent distribution and dissolved the said *junta*.<sup>646</sup>

### 6.3 The Land Protectors: Indigenous Intellectuals as Defenders of Communal Lands

The change that Mexican authorities sought to impose on indigenous land ownership not only affected the people from Mexico City, other similar measures were meant to also be applied to indigenous lands in all the regions of Mexico. There are examples of specific laws issued by legislators in other states in order to redistribute and reorganize the lands of corporate indigenous communities in Michoacán,<sup>647</sup> Oaxaca,<sup>648</sup> Chiapas,<sup>649</sup> and the Northern territories, just to mention a few of them. Even the far northern territories of New Spain were not the exception. The amount of documents currently housed in different archives throughout these regions reveal the importance that these measures had and their negative impact on Indigenous Peoples and how they organized themselves.

During this period of time Nahua indigenous intellectuals became involved in the defense of the “former *parcialidades*,” many of them playing a role as the legal representatives of indigenous communities far from Mexico City. While Juan de Dios Rodríguez occupied the position of rector at the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, Juan Rodríguez and Faustino Chimalpopoca also worked as legal agents for different indigenous communities throughout Mexico. Thus, Pedro Patiño first appeared as the representative of the former

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<sup>645</sup> *Memoria de la Primera secretaria de estado y del despacho de relaciones interiores y exteriores de los Estados- Unidos Mexicanos: leída al soberano Congreso constituyente en los días 14, 15, y 16 de diciembre de 1846*, (México: Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, José María Lafragua, Imprenta de Vicente García Torres, 1847), 227.

<sup>646</sup> *Ibid.*, 227-228.

<sup>647</sup> See Juan Carlos Cortés Máximo, “La desamortización de la propiedad indígena en una provincia mexicana. Los fines y efectos de la Ley de 1827 sobre reparto de tierras comunales en Michoacán,” *Relaciones. Estudios de historia y sociedad* 34, núm. 134 (Abril, 2013): 263-301.

<sup>648</sup> For an example about the area of Oaxaca see the extensive work of Luis Alberto Arrijo Díaz Viruell, “Pueblos de indios, tierras y economía: Villa Alta (Oaxaca) en la transición de colonia a república, 1742-1856” (PhD diss. México, El Colegio de México, 2008).

<sup>649</sup> For a different case on how the *ejido* worked in the region of Chiapas see María Dolores Palomo Infante, “Los Ayuntamientos de los pueblos indígenas de Chiapas en el siglo XIX y su relación con los asuntos de justicia,” in *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 1, Núm. 66(enero-junio, 2009): 21-46.

*parcialidades* in Mexico City (1827), but he also later on, in a document dated in 1830, appeared again as representative of certain *barrios* of the city: San Sebastián, San Gerónimo Atlixco and Candelaria Atlampa.<sup>650</sup>

On the other hand, Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma appeared both as representative and defender of certain other communities. In 1831, Mendoza y Moctezuma appeared as the defender of the members of the town of Santa María del Palmar (in the current Mexican state of Queretaro).<sup>651</sup> He also served as a representative of the town of Santos Reyes Xaltepeque de la Doctrina de Huallichinango (in the current Mexican state of Puebla);<sup>652</sup> a representative of the Town of San Juan Bautista Jiquipilco, from the jurisdiction of Yxtlahuaca (the current State of Mexico);<sup>653</sup> while also serving as the representative of the town of Santiago Malinaltenango, jurisdiction of Mineral de Zacualpan (near Ixtapa de la San, in the State of Mexico).<sup>654</sup> In the same period of time, he also represented Santa María Metepec, jurisdiction of San Juan Bautista de Tetela del Volcán (in the State of Mexico);<sup>655</sup> as well as the representative of several clergymen from Mexico City active at the Cathedral of the city.<sup>656</sup> In his own home region of Mexico City, he also represented the *vecinos* from El Peñol;<sup>657</sup> as well as serving as an advocate for the Pueblo de Santiago de Mezquititlan, jurisdiction (in the current State of Queretaro).<sup>658</sup> He similarly served as the representative of the members of the Town of Santa Ana Sochuca (Xochuca) (near Ixtapa de la Sal) from Tenancingo;<sup>659</sup> as well as the “natives” of the town of Santa Barbara Tecualoya, from the Malinalco jurisdiction (in the current State of Mexico).<sup>660</sup> And finally, Mendoza y Moctezuma also served as the official representative of the people from the Pueblo de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores and San Antonio de la Sandía, from the region of San Felipe Albuquerque, in the distant province of New Mexico between the years of 1821 to 1841.<sup>661</sup>

In most of the above mentioned cases, both Patiño and Mendoza y Moctezuma received what it was called a “general legal power” to represent the best interests of the these indigenous communities. Although most of these legal powers do not specify the type of business that the

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<sup>650</sup> *Don Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque como representante de los Barrios de San Sebastián- San Gerónimo Atlixco y de la Candelaria Atlampa*, 16 de junio de 1830, AHN, Notaría 360; Notario, José López Guazo; Volumen 2340, fojas 111v-112v.

<sup>651</sup> *Poder General*, 31 de agosto de 1830, AHN, Notaría 163, Notario José María Covarrubias, Asuntos Judiciales, ff. 33v-34v.

<sup>652</sup> *Poder General*, 7 de octubre de 1831, AHN, Notaría 532, Notario Antonio Pintos, Volumen 3564, ff. 31r-31v.

<sup>653</sup> *Poder general*, 20 de octubre de 1831, AHN, Notaría 532, Notario Antonio Pintos, ff. 209r.

<sup>654</sup> *Poder general*, 12 de diciembre de 1831, AHN, Notaría 532, Notario Antonio Pintos; f. 217r-219r.

<sup>655</sup> *Poder general*, 25 de mayo de 1833, AHN, Notario, Notaría 532, Notario Antonio Pintos; 310r-310v.

<sup>656</sup> *Poder general*, 27 de agosto de 1832, AHN, Notaría 529, Notario Ignacio Peña, ff. 1811v-183v.

<sup>657</sup> *Poder General*, 5 de julio de 1830, AHN, Notaría 530, Notario Eugenio Pozo, Volumen 3551; 2 fojas

<sup>658</sup> *Poder General*, 20 de junio de 1831, AHN, Notaría 532, Notario Antonio Pintos; fojas 186v-188r.

<sup>659</sup> *Revocación de escritura*, 12 de octubre de 1839, AHN, Notaría 532, Notario Antonio Pintos, fojas 765v-767r.

<sup>660</sup> *Destitución de Tierras, tercera sala, Don Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma*, 1829-1841, AGN, México Independiente, Poderes Judiciales, Tribunal Superior de Justicia, Caja 0158.

<sup>661</sup> *Ibid.*

community had engaged them to represent in particular, it is of interest to mention a few of the cases in which their legal representation is explicitly explained and the causes for which these communities hired them to defend. Nevertheless, most of the documentation includes very standardized formats for general legal powers of attorney. The following is just one example from the case of the Pueblo of Santa María del Palmar:

En la Ciudad de Mexico a treinta y uno de Agosto de mil ochocientos y treinta: ante mi el escribano y testigos: José Antonio Resendis y José Antonio Mendoza, naturales del Pueblo de Santa Maria del Palmar, jurisdicción de la Villa de la [¿?], y residentes en esta ciudad a quienes conozco, dijeron que por si ya nombre del citado su Pueblo por quien presentan voz y acción de *ratto et grato mamente judicarum solbendo* a manera de fianza, otorgan su poder amplio cumplido bastante cuanto en derecho se requiera y sea necesario, mas pueda y deva valer a Don Francisco Mendoza Moctezuma vecino de esta ciudad general para que en nombre de los otorgantes y de espresado su pueblo de Santa María del Palmar represente sus mismas personas, derechos y acciones haya perciba, demande y cobre de todas y cuales quiera personas del estado, calidad, condición o graduación que sean todas las cantidades de oro, plata, frutos y demás bienes o efectos que a los otorgantes devan o en lo sucesivo debieren en virtud de escritura, vales, cuentas, herencias, legados, cesiones, traspasos, alcances, libros de caja, liquidaciones de ventas, o por otros recados o sin ellos: de lo que recibiere y cobrare otorgue recibos cuentas de pago, lastos, finiquitos, y cancelaciones con renunciación de las leyes de no entrego, no siendo las pagas, por este escribano que de ello de fe y valgan y seas sus firmes como si por los otorgantes y su Pueblo fuesen hechos que desde luego las aprueban y ratifican= tome y pida cuentas a todas aquellas personas que deban darlas al expresado pueblo.<sup>662</sup>

As we can see from this example, most of the general legal powers granted to Nahua intellectuals followed the same formula. Nevertheless, these documents reflect the need that the indigenous *parcialidades* had for being legally represented after the disappearance of the *Juzgado General de los Naturales* which ceased to exist as a formal tribunal in 1820.<sup>663</sup> In these cases, the Nahua intellectuals under investigation here served to fill the gap left behind after the extinction of the *Juzgado de Indios* ceased to control the colonial arbitration of conflicts between indigenous communities and other particular people. Without access to this indigenous court system, problems that existed between and among various indigenous communities, found no outlet for successful resolution in these indigenous cases. Similarly, the early extinction of this

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<sup>662</sup> *Poder general*, 1 de marzo de 1831, AHN, Notaría 163, Notario José María Covarrubias, fojas 33v-34r.

<sup>663</sup> See Woodrow Wilson Borah, *Justice by Insurance: The General Indian Court of Colonial Mexico and the Legal Aides of the Half-real* (California: University of California Press, 1983), 389-390, 391-392.

court left indigenous communities in the new nation of Mexico without any easy access to dedicated legal advice.

These documents also demonstrate the many conflicts that existed between indigenous *pueblos* that formerly belonged to the same *parcialidad* and their attempts to reorganize themselves under the new geopolitical and political administration in Mexico City. Hence, it is interesting to note that after the year 1830 the number of general legal powers of attorney letters that the indigenous communities provided to their representatives notably increased. This can be corroborated by a quick over view of the documents regarding this matter housed both at the AGN and the General Archive of Notaries in Mexico City, not to mention the rest of the archives in the city. It seems that in 1830, the authorities in Mexico City conducted a general appraisal of the existing properties in the city in order to better organize the collection of taxes, provide for their management and attempt to begin their redistribution.<sup>664</sup>

For instance, this is the case of a document with date of July 5, 1830 in which Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma represented the *vecinos* of the town of El Peñol, in Mexico City.<sup>665</sup> According to the sources, a series of *ejidos* had formed the community of el Peñol, located between San Lázaro and Coyuya,<sup>666</sup> presently known as the Peñón de los Baños.<sup>667</sup> In this document with date of July 5, 1830, the *vecinos* of El Peñol granted a general legal power of attorney to Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma in order to take over and conclude the previous lawsuit filed by Don Pedro Lopez against the *vecinos* for hunting ducks and other animals “that the lagoon produces.”<sup>668</sup> The lands of the Peñol formally belonged to the administration of the *parcialidad* de San Juan, which had specified the proper economic use of the disputed place. So, as early as 1602, documentation exists in which the viceroy specified and legally notified the city that the lands of the Peñol would remain free of cattle.<sup>669</sup> However, it seems that during the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the “naturales” from the Barrio de la Resurrección, administrated by the *Parcialidad* of San Juan, had rented some areas of the paddock to certain individuals of the community. Nevertheless, the documentation revealed that the tenants also used to hunt ducks and fish in the lagoon, activities that were not specifically stipulated by the leasing contract, but which had been commonly practiced during pre-conquest times. In this case, Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma conducted the legal defense of the people from the Barrio de la Resurrección. This document confirmed the arguments presented by Pedro Patiño earlier before the *Ayuntamiento*. The division of former *parcialidades*’ lands had not only affected indigenous

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<sup>664</sup> *Memoria económica de la municipalidad de México, formada de orden del excelentísimo Ayuntamiento por una comisión de su seno en 1830* (México: Imprenta de Martín Rivera, 1830).

<sup>665</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>666</sup> *Ibid.*, 124.

<sup>667</sup> *Anales del Museo Nacional de México V* (México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1908), 23, 274.

<sup>668</sup> *Poder General*, 5 de julio de 1830.

<sup>669</sup> *Vuestra señoría confirma el mandamiento del virrey, y su antecesor sobre que no se permita entren ganados en el Peñol de Tepecingo. Peñol de Tepecingo, México, 28 de junio de 1602*, AGN, Instituciones coloniales, Gobierno Virreinal, General de Parte 051, Expediente 165, Volumen 6, fojas 66v.

property, but also the uncontrollable natural resources that other communities had used for their own livelihood. In this case, practices such as hunting and fishing by the *vecinos* became severely limited by the new ways in which the local authorities had distributed the properties from the former *parcialidades*.

In a document with date of October 12, 1839, Mendoza y Moctezuma appeared as the legal representative of the Pueblo of Santa Ana Xochuca, probably his own hometown. In this document Andrés Mendoza y Moctezuma, an ex-fiscal of the said *pueblo*, ceded a property that was known as La Joya to the rest of the Indigenous People so they could sow, cultivate and harvest products. The document also added that these Indigenous Peoples could lease their properties among them, or could sow and harvest them communally in groups, either for their personal or collective benefit. This legal case also stipulated that in this donated land the Indigenous Peoples could also plant wheat without paying any interest.

In another clear case, Mendoza y Moctezuma worked as a defender and legal representative of the people from the towns of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores and San Antonio de la Sandía, from the region of San Felipe of Albuquerque, in New Mexico.<sup>670</sup> As the previous mentioned examples attest to, in this case the leaders of the *pueblo* gave total power of attorney to Mendoza y Moctezuma to continue a legal action against Don Vicente Sánchez Vergara. According to the records, the Sánchez Vergara family remained as one of the first Hispanic families that settled in New Mexico. This family based its economic pursuits on diverse businesses in the area. During the last years of the Spanish colonial system two members of the Sánchez Vergara family occupied prominent positions in the administration of the territory. José Mariano Sánchez Vergara initially served as the curate at Sandía Pueblo and eventually became the custodian of missions in New Mexico, while his youngest brother, Ignacio María Sánchez Vergara, served as *alcalde* and later on in the capacity as the official *Protector de Indios* in the province of New Mexico. The son of Ignacio, Vicente Sánchez Vergara became Secretary of the Governor of New Mexico, Manuel Armijo (1827-1829), and years later he served as a Deputy to the Mexican Congress in Mexico City. As the documentary evidence suggests, the office of *Protector General of Indios* during the tenure of Ignacio Sánchez Vergara experienced widespread abuses according to the Indigenous People from the region. There are records in which Indigenous Peoples from diverse places throughout New Mexico formally complained about how they were mistreated by Sánchez Vergara, who extorted them for goods and monies, and forced them to provide him with personal service.<sup>671</sup>

On the other hand, the Tiwa parishioners similarly accused his brother, Fray Mariano Sánchez Vergara, for also being abusive. In a letter dated 1822, a few years after independence from Spain, a group of Indigenous People from the Pueblo of San Juan requested that the

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<sup>670</sup> *Destitución de Tierras, tercera sala, Don Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma*, 316r-322r.

<sup>671</sup> *Santa Ana Indians vs. Alcalde Sánchez Vergara for extortion and forced personal service*, July 28- August 1808, Spanish Archives of New Mexico.

Governor of New Mexico replace Ignacio Sánchez as their protector since he was the brother of Fray Mariano Sánchez, who had committed several faults against the inhabitants of San Juan. In their arguments they clearly demonstrated a conflict of interests with Ignacio continuing to serve as their Protector:

Hemos oído decir que el protector Don Ygnacio Sánchez Bergara pero nosotros no lo queremos, porque no nos defiende y es hermano del padre y por nuestras probessas de no poder colar ha pie asta Durango si algo tuvieren estas diligencias que consultan con el Sor. Provisor [...]<sup>672</sup>

So, it is evident that the relationship between the Sánchez Vergara brothers and the indigenous inhabitants of New Mexico was not friendly at all, and this relationship turned even bitterer after independence.

The fight for acquiring Sandía Pueblo's lands had a long and complicated history, especially seeing that the legal boundaries of the *pueblo* were not established officially until the later eighteenth century. Nevertheless, the conflict probably the lasted the longest was the dispute that the Sandía Pueblo had with the Rael de Aguilar family during the mid eighteenth century. The Rael family claimed to possess some land that traditionally Sandía Pueblo also claimed. For years the battle for this land went back and forth between both parties and the colonial authorities. This matter reached its peak in 1821 when the people of Sandía turned to the *Protector de Indios*, Ignacio Sánchez Vergara, in order to have the favorable verdict gained by the Rael family repealed; however, in the end the Protector instead of defending the *pueblo's* interests, instead argued on behalf of the Real family's claims. However, Sánchez Vergara was accused of fraud, "bad faith, and crookedness [when he] tore a hole in the title of ownership with the aim of obtaining half of the land for himself."<sup>673</sup>

This case also represented a clear-cut conflict of interests since Ignacio Sánchez Vergara was also interested in gaining for himself another parcel of land traditionally held by the *pueblo*. Evidence of this attempt at usurping the *pueblo's* land claims is found in a written request that Ignacio Sánchez wrote to the Governor of New Mexico requesting title to a piece of land "near" the Indian lands of Sandía Pueblo, arguing that his salary received as Protector was not enough to support his family. The governor denied this petition, arguing that the lands requested actually belonged to the people of Sandía Pueblo. In the same year Ignacio Sánchez made the same request once again, and this time Governor Melgares replied favorably.<sup>674</sup> This decision upset the people of Sandía Pueblo, especially seeing that evidence existed showing that Ignacio

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<sup>672</sup> *Complaint of Indians of San Juan against Fr. Mariano Sánchez Vergara; request for outside protector*, January 1- March 18, 1822, Mexican Archives of New Mexico, 1r-9r.

<sup>673</sup> Malcom Ebright, *Four Square Leagues. Pueblo Indian Lands in New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2014).

<sup>674</sup> *Letter to Governor Melgares, asking whether he may petition for tract land near the Pueblo of Sandía*, Spanish Archives of New Mexico, Vol. I.

Sánchez, while still serving as the Protector de Indios, had access to the original documents that belonged to Sandía Pueblo. Apparently, in complicity with Eusebio Rael, Ignacio Sánchez purposely perforated the original document and land title and modified the information in the original copy of the Land Grant of Sandía Pueblo in order to favor the Rael family's land claims. According to a witness, the apparent corrupt bargain and deal they had made stipulated that in the case of any successful suit for title to the disputed lands, Ignacio Sánchez would receive a part of the said lands deeded to him by the Rael family.

The blatant personal interest that the Rael and Sánchez Vergara families had in acquiring and speculating in indigenous lands was so evident after 1820 that people from Sandía Pueblo sought a legal representative outside of New Mexico. In this year, the figure of the *Protector de Indios* officially disappeared in Mexico due to the liberal reforms brought about by independence; however, it seems that in practice Ignacio Sánchez continued serving as an informally recognized legal representative of indigenous communities in New Mexico, but at this time even more intent on favoring his own interests as the dispute for lands between the people of Sandía and the Rael family demonstrates. Before this scenario of blatant self-interest and corruption, the people of Sandía Pueblo sought to be represented by a *vecino* of Mexico City and not a person from Durango, which would have been the most common place or district from which they might seek legal advice. In reality, Durango served as the political and legal center assigned to deal with legal problems concerning New Mexican indigenous communities. Their choice of an indigenous legal representative from the capital city actually made a lot of sense.

Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma was a good candidate to represent the Sandía Pueblo people for several reasons. Probably the most important reason is that he was a Nahua holding the Moctezuma families' last name, a name that was seen as prestigious by Tiwa people. Another reason is that Mendoza y Moctezuma had been a general advocate for the defense of "Indian property" that was affected by the stipulations on land holdings included in the Constitution of 1824, and he knew how the legal system in Mexico City worked since he was part of a group of Nahua intellectuals engaged in the defense of several "Indian institutions" in Mexico City. Moctezuma also successfully represented several former *parcialidades*, or indigenous communities, in central Mexico in defense of their lands, or had advised them in the process of legally selling their lands to particular individuals.

The battle for lands between the people from Sandía and both the Sánchez and Rael families continued for almost 20 years. Nevertheless, the complaints against each one of the parties involved in this issue only reached local level authorities. Apparently, Francisco de Mendoza Moctezuma played an outstanding role in the defense of the people of Sandía for the first ten years of the conflict, demonstrating that his main role was to represent them before Mexico City's authorities, not in New Mexico. However, this conflict did not find any resolution due to several reasons. One of these was that the authorities in Mexico City were already busy attempting to solve the cases related to Mexico City's indigenous lands. Another reason could be



the remoteness of the Sandía Pueblo, which was far away from the capital, or that the authorities in Mexico City, already interested in distributing the land of indigenous *parcialidades*, had no interest in this case from New Mexico. Also, the image that authorities in Mexico City had about the “*indios del norte*” was so negative, that they probably saw the possession of lands by the Sánchez Vergara family as a step forward to pushing the indigenous population of the area into modernity.

Probably tired of being ignored, in 1841 a delegation of Sandía Pueblo representatives decided to go to Mexico City and present the case before the Supreme Court. In this instance, Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma, as their legal representative, wrote a formal complaint to the court, accusing not Ignacio Sánchez, nor the Rael family for the illegal usurpation or dispossession of community lands, but rather accused Vicente Sánchez Vergara, son of Ignacio Sánchez, and Deputy of the Mexican Congress in Mexico City, for illegally appropriating lands that officially, according to the allegation, belonged to Sandía Pueblo. The accusation made by the *Alcalde Auxiliar* of Sandía Pueblo and Mendoza y Moctezuma stated that Ignacio Sánchez Vergara, not limited by the fact that he had mutilated the land grant of the *pueblo*, also removed two pages from the document in order to benefit himself by this destruction and illegally appropriated a portion of Sandía’s Pueblo lands. In this instance, Vicente Sánchez was accused of utilizing his political position to illegally take the lands from the *pueblo*.

It is not difficult to think that, unable to keep the fraud that he orchestrated covered up, and busted by the local legal authorities in New Mexico, Ignacio Sánchez looked for support in the figure of his son, who resided in Mexico City and occupied an important position in the national arena of politics, in order to achieve the dispossession of land from Sandía Pueblo. It is at this point, when the conflict between these parties over the disputed plot of land went from being a merely local problem, and became removed from the territory of New Mexico, leaving behind both the local authorities and protagonists that originally were involved in this process, and eventually turning into a case of corruption and illegal dispossession of land that reached a national level of attention.

As a competition, the people of Sandía Pueblo exhausted their possibilities to gain justice in their access to the local authorities from northern Mexico. Refusing to give up in despite of the constant judicial failures at the local level, the *pueblo* of Sandía sought the support of an authority whom they believed could counterattack the power that the Sánchez Vergara family exercised in Mexico City. In this sense, the figure of Francisco Mendoza y Moctezuma served the people of Sandía Pueblo as a post-independence representation or substitution for the powerful advocate that they had had in the figure of the *Protector de Indios* during the colonial period, with the difference that in this case those who were represented used their power of decision in selecting their representative.

Unfortunately for the historian, there are apparently no more records extant in this case. Moreover, only five years later New Mexico would become part of the United States of America, and although the legal system changed once again, it still did not end the land disputes of Sandía Pueblo. This long term case comes to confirm the level of conflict that Indigenous People had to face in order to keep and administer properties that formerly were part either of *parcialidades* or as indigenous communal lands for their own benefit. At the same time, as this case illustrates, Nahua indigenous intellectuals even after independence were still considered as reliable representatives of indigenous populations and they continued to play an important role in substituting as defenders for the figure of the colonial *Protector General de Indios* and the *Juzgado General de Indios* at the time when the indigenous population had limited access to any judicial apparatus established by the liberals for their self-defense. Moreover, this case also reveals the level to which even distant indigenous communities on the geographical fringes of the Mexican territories remained highly politicized after independence. This case also reveals to the historian how these native communities quickly became aware of their dwindling rights in the new nation, and how rapidly the indigenous populations in Northern Mexico acquired knowledge about how the new national judicial and legal institutions worked, and also how they came to rely on institutionalism in order to have their issues resolved.

Without a doubt, the specific content of these general legal powers of attorney reveal vital information that helps us understand the way legal issues among the members of *parcialidades* and the administration of their assets worked during the early nineteenth century. These documents also provide an insight about the assets that Indigenous People had as communal property and the means through which they leased, and eventually, awarded and sold their properties. An extensive research conducted on this venue will be necessary in order to know more about the administration of the *parcialidades*.

Although in these documents appear the names of Pedro Patiño, Juan Rodríguez and Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma, we do not find Faustino Chimalpopoca as legal representatives of indigenous communities at this time, it would not be until the year of 1855, when the Minister of Finance appointed Chimalpopoca as the interim manager of the administration of goods and funds of the former *parcialidades*.<sup>675</sup> Nevertheless, through this information we know that Faustino Chimalpopoca also occupied an important position within the former *parcialidades*.

The fact that indigenous communities had decided to look to Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, Juan Rodríguez Puebla, Francisco Mendoza y Moctezuma, and later on to Faustino Chimalpopoca, reveals the good reputation that these individuals enjoyed not only among the indigenous communities, but also in the Mexican political sphere. In the coming years after 1830, the administration of the former *parcialidades* became even more complex. Between 1829

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<sup>675</sup> *Compra venta de inmueble*, 26 de julio de 1856, AHN, notaría 721, notario Agustín Vera y Sánchez, Volumen, 4857; f. 172r.

and 1835 the members of the former *parcialidades* elected mediators that would help them to administrate their assets. In 1835 the leaders of the *parcialidades* again requested that congress appoint a legal representative to administer the *parcialidades*' assets for their collective benefit. The corresponding authorities appointed Luis Velázquez de la Cadena, who occupied himself in developing a clear set of bylaws that future administrators could follow. De la Cadena also carried out an inventory of the properties of the *parcialidades*, at least those in Mexico City. These bylaws were approved on September 20, 1835.<sup>676</sup> According to his statement, Mr. Velázquez created an entire system of accountability that would allow not only administrators, but also members of the extinguished *parcialidades* to accountably manage the expenses and profits of their own assets. It seems that the administration of the assets of the former *parcialidades* under Velázquez's control remained partially successful.

In his own report, Velázquez de la Cadena assured that due to the new administrative system, he was able to provide money to support local schools of first letters. Additionally, he had created a financial aid program for students who attended the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, or San Ildefonso, and he also emphasized the fact that he had helped to create a sister-school or *escuela amiga* for girls in Mexicaltzingo, among many other achievements:

[...] en Magdalena de las Salinas se les puso un horno para que hicieran ladrillo, y en Nativitas se les dio doscientos pesos para establecer una salitrera: que se han hecho reparos considerables en las iglesias de la Candelaria, Atlampa, Magdalena Salinas, Nativitas, Mexicaltzingo, San Gerónimo Atlixco y San Agustín Zoquipam, [...] se han hecho grandes reparos en la casa cural de Mexicaltzingo y Nativitas, así de nuevo la casa de la escuela de Mixuca[...] y por último se han socorrido ordinaria y extraordinariamente a todos los interesados con proporción a sus fondos y a sus necesidades y se han cortado todos sus litigios, teniendo la satisfacción de que no existe hoy mas negocio que el de nulidad de la venta de la hacienda de Aragón.<sup>677</sup>

However, despite this apparent success several people from the former *parcialidad* of Santiago accused Velázquez de la Cadena of the misadministration of some of their funds. Nevertheless, Velázquez replied that these individuals' real interest focused on selling the Hacienda of Aragon for their own personal benefit.

Nevertheless, the relationship that existed between Mr. Velázquez de la Cadena and the members of the *parcialidades* remained far from optimal. Between the years of 1846 and 1847 several people from the former *parcialidades* wrote and published a series of complaints about

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<sup>676</sup> *Memoria de la Primera secretaria de estado y del despacho de relaciones interiores y exteriores de los Estados- Unidos Mexicanos*, 228. It is interesting to note that Mr. Lafragua offered a detailed account on how the administrator of the *parcialidades* worked and how loose and disorganized the archive referred to the assets of the remaining *parcialidades*.

<sup>677</sup> *Ibid.*, 233.

the performance that Velázquez de la Cadena has as an administrator of the assets of the *parcialidades*.<sup>678</sup> One of the major complaints exposed by the members of the former *parcialidades* focused on the fact that Velázquez de la Cadena, as well as previous administrators appointed by the Congress, did not form part of the indigenous community; hence, they ignored the indigenous forms and means of properly administering the goods of the former *parcialidades* for the benefit for their community. In his defense, Velázquez de la Cadena published an open letter in which he presented a report about the way he had managed the assets of the indigenous communities.<sup>679</sup> Nevertheless, these complaints played an important role since Velázquez de la Cadena was later removed from this position.

The defense that Velázquez de la Cadena presented about his role as an administrator of the former *parcialidades* seems to be a direct response to a written complaint authored by several members of the former *parcialidades*. The title of this published document is *Exposicion que hacen los interesados en las parcialidades, en contra de su ilegal y mal llamado administrador D. Luis Velázquez de la Cadena*.<sup>680</sup> The members of the indigenous communities authored this complaint in 1847, though it was not publically printed until the year of 1849.

The signatures that appear in this document reveal the important involvement of leaders of diverse indigenous communities in this issue. It is interesting to mention that several of the petitioners who signed this complaint belonged to groups of indigenous women leaders.<sup>681</sup> Even

<sup>678</sup> *La Presencia del indígena en la prensa capitalina del siglo XIX: catálogo de noticias*, Volumen 2 (México: CIESAS, 1993), 310-311.

<sup>679</sup> Luis Velázquez de la Cadena, *Exposición que hace al público Luis Velázquez de la Cadena, de su manejo como administrador de las parcialidades y de la manera con que se le ha separado* (México: Imprenta de Lara, 1847), 59.

<sup>680</sup> *Exposición que hacen los interesados en las parcialidades, en contra de su ilegal y mal llamado administrador D. Luis Velázquez de la Cadena* (México: Tipografía de R. Rafael, 1849).

<sup>681</sup> This is the first time I have found a group of leading female leaders signing a document of such a nature. The name of these women community leaders included in the document are Lucía Torres, Francisca Minaya, Petra Torres, Antonia Orozco, Agapita Valdés, María Lucía Ramírez, María de Jesús Ramírez, Gabina Aguirre, Gregoria Gutiérrez, Agustina Suárez, Damiana Gutiérrez, Sóstenes Martínez, Felicianita Suárez, Leonarda Buendía, Luisa Dávila, Lázara Gutiérrez, Brígida Rojas, Dionisia González, María Alvina Ramírez, María Juliana Romero, Emigdia Berlin, Manuela Romero, Vicenta Peña, Luisa Ponce, Guadalupe Escalona, Gavina de Jesús Ortega, Vicenta Peña (her name appears twice), Sabás Escalona, Felicianita Fragoso, Teresa Zárate, María Tecla Rojas, Maroana Escalona, Serapia Escalona, Francisca Romero, Victoria Hernández, Antonia Coluna, Felicianita Avilez, Damasía Chávez, Cornelia Florez [sic] Casimira Juárez, Ursula Ramírez, Petronila Avilez, Florencia Juárez, María Carmen Aguirre, Francisca Aguirre, Juana Peralta, Margarita Ramírez, Carmen Florez, María Dolores, Juliana Gutiérrez, Francisca Alcalá, Simona González, Josefa Vázquez, María Tiburcia Alvarado, Juana Ciprés, Agapita Riva, Aleja Peralta, Antonia Gutiérrez, Luisa Peña, Pomposa Peralta, Macaria Peña, Soledad Peña, Agustina Suárez, Luz Gutiérrez, María Estéfana Martínez, Teodosia Soria, Trinidad Camacho, Merced Cureño, Lázara Gutiérrez, Cornelia Martínez, María Luciana Gutiérrez, Luisa Martínez, Vicenta Alvarado, Antonia Gutiérrez, Polonia Martínez, Antonia Vázquez, María Dolores, Brígida Martínez, Teodora Peña, Manuela Martínez, Teresa Venegas, Mónica Peralta, Juana Peralta, María Isabel Velasco, Pascuala Rosales, Candelaria Velasco, Juana Cervantes Xoquisco, Lázara Navarro, Abunda Gutiérrez, Juliana Gutiérrez, Isabel Montesdeoca, Guadalupe Sandoval España, Dominga Ramírez, Sebastiana Aguirre, Eufemia Montes de Oca, Mariana Aguirre, Francisca Enriquez, Pioquinta Romero, María Soledad Enriquez, Juana Romero, Romana Valdés, María de Jesús Romero, Fernanda Cureño, Pantaloena Flores, María Rivera,

though the intellectual author or advisor for this document is unknown, the arguments presented in the document deserve a detailed revision since they demonstrate the influence that Nahua intellectuals played on this public issue.

In this document, those who undersigned accused the members of the Congress and authorities in general for considering the Indigenous Peoples as “people without a head, without reasoning, lacking of common sense,” in other words, as simple “subjugated individuals.”<sup>682</sup> Similarly, the members of the *parcialidades* claimed that the lands on which Mexico had been founded originally belonged to them from the beginning. They concluded that they must have the right to appoint the person who would administer their assets. Thus, those who subscribed accused the members of the Congress of excluding them from this process of election that demonstrated the total lack of respect that the authorities had shown towards the original owners of the land.

The members of the indigenous communities presented these arguments based on the basic principles of justice and natural law represented by quotations from Plato and Virgil. Additionally, while describing an account of the Spanish conquest, those who subscribed emphasized the fact that, after the Spanish created the *parcialidades*, the conquistadors recognized the Indigenous Peoples as their legitimate owners, a matter that the members of the Mexican Congress had ignored.

Additionally, it is interesting to note that the authors of this document blamed the brutal process of conquest for resulting impoverishment and ignorance of the indigenous communities, denying previous arguments from non-Indigenous People about the “lazy” nature of the Indigenous Peoples: “[...] esa raza de razón, y en gran parte europea, destructora de nuestra sociedad, y corrompedora de nuestra moral, cuando todo lo dilapidó, y lo destruyó [...]”<sup>683</sup>

Thus, the major complaint against Velázquez de la Cadena focused on the fact that while in the process of his appointment the indigenous communities remained alienated. About this statement, the document continued:

Y esto, que se ordenó por soberanos extranjeros, ¿no se ordenará por el soberano gobierno? [Referring to the active role that Indigenous People had while electing their own authorities during the time of the Spanish colonization] ¿El Congreso no seguirá tan nobles huellas, y no prevendrá se cumpla lo que tiene mandado, es decir, que todos sean propietarios, que disfruten de sus tierras, tengan el libre uso

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Guadalupe suarez, Dionisia Romero, Lucía Gutiérrez, Micaela Ortega, Josefa Carbajal, Francisca Peña, Regina Ortega, María Víctor San Roque, Francisca Ortega, Angela Peña, Pioquinta Soria, Juliana Aguirre, Soledad Morales, Luciana Villaseñor, Martina Peña, Manuela Bocanegra, Cruz Venegas and Tomasa González. See *Exposición que hacen los interesados en las parcialidades*, 22-23.

<sup>682</sup> Ibid., 3

<sup>683</sup> Ibid., 13.

y aprovechamiento de ellas, y progresen y adelantes y salgan de la abyección, de la miseria, de la embriaguez, y de la superstición e idolatría a que se hallan reducidos?<sup>684</sup>

The second major accusation also emphasized the fact that, by not being an indigenous person, Vazquez de la Cadena ignored several key pieces of information about the proper administration of the former *parcialidades* and the way in which these functioned, which resulted in a poor performance and the ultimate failure in delivering solutions for the basic needs of the indigenous communities. Thus, the authors of this document mocked the apparent achievements that de la Cadena had himself praised. For instance, and as a direct response to the proud improvements that Velázquez de la Cadena had conducted in remodeling diverse buildings, they wrote:

¿Qué nos importan las composturas de tres o cuatro malas paredes de adobe, de miserables y abandonadas capillas, cuando los templos vivos de Dios, los miserables indígenas nacen en la miseria, crecen en medio de la ignorancia, desnudos y revolcándose en el cieno y la inmundicia, y llegan a la virilidad y aun a una vejez precoz, sin más religión que la idolatría de sus padres [...?]<sup>685</sup>

Subsequently, the leaders of these former *parcialidades* also pointed out that, even though Vazquez de la Cadena discovered misrepresentations and bad management of the *parcialidades*' resources by the previous administrators, Vazquez de la Cadena did not pursue any denunciations and/or persecutions of these individuals. This fact discredited one of the main purposes of Cadena as serving as the administrator of the former *parcialidades*. Also, this written complaint similarly emphasized the fact that the members of the indigenous communities were not willing to share any information with Velázquez de la Cadena since they considered that he held the position as administrator from a spurious election from which the Indigenous People had been excluded.

This issue also remained, as a matter for the authors of this complaint, based on a lack of representation of the indigenous communities within the current government, which the Indigenous People alleged took advantage of them by indiscriminately using their human and economic resources in the defense of the territory, including their forced aid in the recent North American invasion, while at the same time neglecting their right to participate in political matters that deeply affected their communities.<sup>686</sup> As an immediate solution, the representatives of these indigenous communities first requested direct participation in electing and choosing their next administrator; and secondly, they demanded that the next to hold the position must be an indigenous person.

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<sup>684</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>685</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>686</sup> Ibid., 20.

The complaints and issues about the distribution of the assets of *parcialidades* did not end during the first decades of the nineteenth century. On the contrary, this conflict extended and affected not only the *parcialidades*, but also the lands and assets that religious organizations and the Catholic Church also held. For instance, in a document dated on May 12, 1849 the priests and parsons from the *parcialidades* of Santiago and San Juan also expressed their concerns about the bylaws that stipulated the distribution of the assets originally administrated by the former *parcialidades*.<sup>687</sup> One of the main arguments presented by this group of clergymen emphasized the fact that the lands and assets from the former *parcialidades* did not belong to the “*propios y arbitrios*.” Nevertheless, this complaint also centered on arguing that, since the lands and assets of these *parcialidades* were publicly held in common, these cannot be distributed among the members of the community that originally administrated them, and even less could they be sold to particular persons who did not belong to these *parcialidades*:

Por tanto, pretender que esos bienes se distribuyan entre los individuos de las parcialidades es tan absurdo, como que los que no pertenecemos a ellas, solicitásemos que se nos distribuyesen a perorata los propios de nuestras respectivas municipalidad, cuya pretensión se consideraría por todos los que tuviesen sentido común, en alto grado injusta y perjudicial a la sociedad.<sup>688</sup>

The said complaint not only focused on demanding that the assets from the former *parcialidades* be respected and protected as communal property, but this group of clergymen also argued that the right to preserve these lands under the law remained in the very origins of the *parcialidades*. Thus, those who undersigned presented the arguments of the colonial Laws of the Indies to defend their position. They also argued that even though the new constitution had transformed the juridical persona of “*indios*,” this did not mean that the status of the communal properties had changed as a consequence. Not only that, but the authors of this document also argued that the legislative change did little to redefine the role that indigenous authorities, such as the local *gobernadores*, *alcaldes* and *regidores*, would play in the new social order.

Additionally, the authors of this document also warned the authorities about the negative effects that this measure would bring to the indigenous communities:

[...] que se incorporan en los propios de los Ayuntamientos, y queden por consecuencia al cuidado de estos; pero tampoco estimamos justa esta medida, y si la consideramos en extremo perjudicial. Es cierto que de esta manera no resentiría directamente la sociedad de los graves perjuicio que serían efecto de la división de estos bienes entre los individuos de las parcialidades, en cuyo caso se pulsarían

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<sup>687</sup> *Sumisa representación de los curas párrocos de las parcialidades de San Juan y Santiago, que elevan a la augusta Cámara del Senado, para que se sirva tomar en consideración los males que se seguirán al reparto*, (México:, Imprenta de J. R. Navarro, 1849).

<sup>688</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

graves inconvenientes para cubrir los gastos públicos que se pagan con aquellos, y que en esta capital recaerían forzosamente sobre los fondos municipales, hasta disminuidos en estos últimos tiempos y bastante recargados; pero sí causaría un daño muy grave aunque más indirecto, perjudicando a los mismos dueños que quedarían privados de muchas de las ventajas que actualmente poseen.<sup>689</sup>

This asseveration was also presented by the complaint made by Pedro Patiño in which he expressed the economic benefits that the administration of the *parcialidades* had among indigenous communities. In order to second this motion, the clergymen who wrote the present document argued how the schools of “primeras letras” and the instructors in charge of them would be affected by the lack of resources of the *parcialidades* that they depended upon.<sup>690</sup> Most importantly for these clergymen was the fact that under the new bylaws about the redistribution of the assets of *parcialidades*, the cost of religious services and festivities that had originally been paid by the *parcialidades*, would then become the directly the responsibility of the individuals who, due their pauperized position, would be unable to cover the expenses in their totality. Additionally, these clergymen reminded the authorities of the city that the *parcialidades* also covered a huge part of the expenses that indigenous communities had to cover in terms of education, industry in general, and their public health, and even their basic social aid:

[...] somos testigos de vista, ha proporcionado recursos de suma importancia a los individuos de las parcialidades, ya en casos de enfermedad, ya para la reparación de sus pobres casas, y ya en otros muchos artículos en que los interesados se encontraban necesitados de ellos: ha ministrado también instrumentos para la labranza a algunos pueblos: ha costeado el instrumento de uno, para que los hijos de aquel pudiesen dedicarse al arte de la música; y por último, ha vestido a varios jóvenes, proporcionándoles herramienta para que aprendan diversos oficios, y a otros les ha costeado los libros necesarios para el estudio de las ciencias, pagándoles además a algunos la colegiatura en el Colegio de San Gregorio.<sup>691</sup>

The criticism about this new regulation went on in detail analyzing the way that members of the indigenous communities who depended upon the social benefits that *parcialidades* provided to them would be deeply affected. Also, the authors of this document condemned and blamed the *Ayuntamiento*, since it would be in charge of administrating and providing for these benefits to the indigenous communities, which they argued could not be done as efficiently as they were before the said bylaws about the distribution of *parcialidades*’ assets went into effect. In this sense, the only apparent solution to this conflict was, according to the authors of this document, to suppress all the social benefits that the *parcialidades* provided to the indigenous communities.

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<sup>689</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>690</sup> Ibid.

<sup>691</sup> Ibid., 12-13.



## 6.4 Conclusion to Chapter 6

Through the analysis of several primary sources we have been able to examine the aftermath of the period of the Mexican independence and how the changing laws and regulations affected several types of community properties and indigenous organizations. Although the major political changes brought about by both the Constitutions of Cadiz and the movement of independence affected the indigenous communities, the effects impacted different people according to their social status. Additionally, through an analysis of the sources as we have seen, we can also verify that the opinion that Nahua intellectuals had about how to solve certain matters of contention that affected their rights as members of indigenous groups varied according to the individual context of each intellectual. Unilateral indigenous responses to these events did not exist. For instance, as this chapter has shown, two major factions of Nahua intellectuals within the interior of the *Colegio de San Gregorio* attempted to influence the process of the election of a new director of the school. This particular case represented a matter of high importance for the indigenous communities in Mexico City for several reasons. The first of these reasons focused on the fact that the *colegio* had served as a solid mainstay of indigenous intellectuality and scholarly formation of its pupils for at least two centuries. This school remained the direct inheritor of the original *Colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco*, and following its tradition, the *Colegio de San Gregorio* served as the only major school for the education of Indigenous Peoples.

During the period of independence, the *Colegio de San Gregorio* became the only institution that could educate the future indigenous citizens and prepare them to successfully insert themselves into the civil and urban life as the new government demanded from them as newly recognized citizens. Nevertheless, Nahua intellectuals and indigenous leaders from diverse communities had different ideas on how this institution might survive the chaotic and quick transitions that an independent country demanded. During this period of time two major issues faced the indigenous communities and demanded resolution: the first one rested on the idea that the *Colegio de San Gregorio* had to necessarily end its segregation as a school specifically for the benefit of only indigenous students and the defense of the new threats to the administration of the collective assets and communal property of indigenous communities. The second issue relied on the transformation that the school faced, from being a religiously organized educational institution into a more secular school. The Nahua intellectual supporters of this second idea defended the argument that the school could provide their students with valuable knowledge about urban life, sophisticated language, and a more secular perspective in terms of political matters in order to contribute to their formation as recently recognized Mexican citizens. Nonetheless, this civic transformation also necessarily jeopardized the collective identity that indigenous communities had created within and around the figure of the *Colegio de San Gregorio*.

The internal Nahua intellectual debate over these major changes within the interior of the school started to also give evidence of the internal divisions that existed between Indigenous Peoples and the Nahua intellectuals who represented them. For instance, we can see how the opposing opinions that Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma and Faustino Chimalpopoca had in comparison to the more secular and deist positions of Nahua intellectuals like Juan Rodríguez Puebla who stood for reinforcing the secular trend that the school should follow. This particular incident is especially interesting since it demonstrates the divisions that existed among this intellectual generation unit of Indigenous Peoples according to their economic, social and family backgrounds. On the one hand, we have Pedro Patiño, Francisco Mendoza y Moctezuma and Faustino Chimalpopoca, among others, who represented the type of old indigenous nobility, whose ideas and concepts had been probably rooted more in late-Mesoamerican elite family structures, which had helped them to maintain their prevailing and influential position as representatives of the indigenous noble and /or upper classes. On the other hand, Juan Rodríguez Puebla represented a new type of indigenous individual who had scaled the social ladder based on their academic merits and excellence in their own professional performance. This exemplifies the complexity that prevailed among the indigenous intellectual group in Mexico City, and the apparent diversity of opinions and positions that both perspectives generated among them. Similar to the period of the Spanish colony, indigenous intellectuals also sought to ensure their continued influential position during the early nineteenth century within the new political establishment. The permanence of the old indigenous nobility, comparable to the experience that this group faced during the early sixteenth century, depended upon their ability to respond efficiently to the changes that the new political and social order demanded from them. In this particular case, we see how Juan Rodríguez represented a new type of indigenous intellectual who did not necessarily belong to the old indigenous nobility. Instead Juan Rodríguez Puebla, the son of an “aguador,” personified a new type of indigenous intellectual who resulted from the “opportunities” that the colonial institutions had offered to individuals like him through the granting of specific access to financial aid. By not being rooted or dependent on a noble tradition of intellectuality, Juan Rodríguez demonstrated a more dynamic position towards the transformation of the *Colegio de San Gregorio* in comparison to his indigenous counterparts who came from noble families.

However, despite their clear and bitter differences about the choices that the school and its administration had to take before the evident changes occurring in the country, both groups participated in efforts to defend the legitimate and natural right that Indigenous Peoples had to hold and administer their properties in a collective manner. Thus, we see Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma, Juan Rodríguez Puebla and Faustino Chimalpopoca all providing legal advice and representation to indigenous communities from all over the territories of former New Spain before the corresponding tribunals in order to help these communities maintain control over their communal assets. This disposition towards representing and defending indigenous communities in the tribunals should not be considered as contradictory at all, since all these individuals were well versed in political ideas set forth in the theory of

natural law, which defended the divine and natural right of peoples to hold and administrate properties for their own individual or collective benefits. Moreover, the ideas rooted in natural law about the concept of self determination, and their own assumed identity as Indigenous People, made these intellectuals agree upon the idea that they were, by divine law, the original inhabitants of the Americas. Thus, they all uniformly believed they had the right to administrate their properties according to their own cultural beliefs and in the favor and for their own benefit.

## Chapter 7

### Faustino Galicia Chimalpopoca: The Last Tlacuilo

#### Introduction

As we reviewed in the previous chapters of this work, during the first decades of the nineteenth century, Nahua intellectuals remained deeply involved in issues that concerned them both as individuals and also as members of an indigenous community. These issues ranged from the defense of popular sovereignty, the right to govern themselves, as well as the defense of communal property and their right to have access to education.

These Nahua intellectuals involved themselves in the public sphere which resulted in the recognition of their authority by both the members of their own indigenous communities and the major actors in the political arena. From places such as Mexico City, to distant regions like New Mexico and other northern territories, these Nahua intellectuals enjoyed the prestige not only among the Nahua people, but they were recognized by different indigenous communities as leaders as well, even among such groups as the Moqui, Cherokee and other distant Nahuatl speaking people.

During the second decade of nineteenth-century the Nahua intellectuals referred to in this work mostly focused on representing indigenous communities before tribunals and defending their communal property. However, these intellectuals did not limit their efforts only in defending these affairs. The political positions of these Nahua intellectuals became shaped by a series of contemporary political events; which included the French invasion of Spain and the imposition of a French Emperor, the issuing of the Constitution of Cadiz of 1812, as well as the subsequent return to the Spanish throne of Ferdinand VII, and the reactions to this event that led to the independence of Mexico from Spain and the instauration of the first Mexican Empire which created the rise of a new political system in Mexico.

Despite these contemporary topics these Nahua intellectuals became involved in, their influence and leadership remained rooted in Mesoamerican ideas, such as the need for communal property and education. Hence, Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma and Faustino Chimalpopoca proudly presented themselves as heirs of the indigenous Mesoamerican nobility. While Juan Rodríguez Puebla did not share this feature with his fellow classmates, he indeed also acted along with them in order to defend their individual and collective interests.

In this sense, and according to the previous chapter, we reviewed the intense discussions that Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque and Francisco Mendoza y Moctezuma became involved in regarding

the protection of the properties of the *parcialidades*. The Mesoamerican idea of both communal property and labor prevailed into the nineteenth century through the existence of these *parcialidades*. Nevertheless, the changing political system sought to eradicate this form of communal property. The consequences of these changing policies also affected the economic stipends that other institutions received from the income of the *parcialidades*. One of the major beneficiaries of the *parcialidades*' administration, as we have seen above, was the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, in Mexico City. Just as other institutions administrated by indigenous communities, the *Colegio de San Gregorio* was in charge of the supervision of a series of properties that redistributed their incomes as pecuniary incentives for the school. Also, members of indigenous communities had held a voice in the government of the college by maintaining indigenous members on the *junta*. Nevertheless, the new laws that attacked the *parcialidades* also affected the administration of the college, which led to the reshaping of the *junta* and its economic sources. As a direct repercussion of these events, during the early decades of the nineteenth century we saw Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, Juan Rodríguez Puebla, Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma and Faustino Chimalpopoca expressing their concerns about this new phase of reforms that threatened the indigenous future of the college.

Although these Nahua intellectuals remained very active and vocal for years about certain matters related to the political changes occurring in the country, between the years of 1834 and 1848 we barely find documentation authored by these intellectuals. It is interesting to note that apparently none of these individuals wrote any known documents related to the War in Texas and its subsequent independence (1835-1836), or the so-called Mexican American War (1846-1848), with the signing of the Treaty Guadalupe-Hidalgo (1848) at the end of the war, or the Gadsden Purchase (1856). Instead, during these years Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, Francisco Mendoza y Moctezuma and Juan Rodríguez only produced their last wills and testaments.<sup>692</sup> This may have been the result of the advanced age of these individuals, who around those years were mostly in between 50 or 60 years old. However, the youngest of this generation of intellectuals, Faustino Galicia Chimalpopoca, around the same years must have been in his early thirties.<sup>693</sup> This fact may explain the absence and lack of appearances of Patiño Ixtolinque, Mendoza y Moctezuma and Rodríguez Puebla in the public sphere regarding these events.

One of the few pieces of information that we have about the participation of these intellectuals in one of the previously mentioned events, took place during the North American invasion in Mexico, also known as the Mexican American War (1846-1847). Although the role that these Nahua intellectuals played during this period of time is difficult to ascertain, we have

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<sup>692</sup> *Poder general*, 1 de septiembre de 1834, AHN, notario Antonio Pintos, Notaría 532, fojas 69r-70r. *Testamento de Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma*, 26 de febrero de 1834, AHN, notario Antonio Pintos, fojas 23v-26v. Also see *Testamento de Don Juan de Dios Rodríguez Puebla*, 867v-868r.

<sup>693</sup> Nevertheless, documentation reveals that around the year of 1856 the Ministry of Finance appointed Faustino Chimalpopoca as an interim administrator and representative of the former *parcialidades*. See, *Compra venta de inmueble*, 26 de julio de 1856, AHN, notaría 721, notario Agustín Vera y Sánchez, Volumen 4857; f. 172r.

notices that Juan Rodríguez Puebla, as rector of the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, had bravely protected the school building of San Gregorio against the North American invaders:

Los padecimientos y sacrificios que sufrió el Sr. Rodríguez en el tiempo que ocupó el ejército americano la capital, fueron tan grandes, tan repetidos y tan útiles que ni pueden esmerarse no su esplendor en esta ligera exposición, bastará decir que por efecto de sus disposiciones, logró no solo libertar, ocupasen las tropas el colegio, las tres veces que lo intentaron, sino que fuera sin objeto de respeto y veneración para el mismo invasor [...]<sup>694</sup>

Besides this account, there is little other information about these Nahua intellectuals' interests in the above mentioned matters. In the absence of the rest of the Nahua intellectuals, after the second half of the nineteenth century, Faustino Chimalpopoca rose to serve as the most active indigenous member of a growing Mexican intellectual sphere, which nonetheless remained dominated by non-indigenous intellectuals.

In this sense, the available documentation reveals that Faustino Chimalpopoca followed the tradition previously begun by his older classmates, and fellow members of this generation of Nahua intellectuals. As his predecessors did, Chimalpopoca also cared deeply about defending the existence of the *parcialidades*, and he focused on becoming involved in the political issues that his previous counterparts were also interested in pursuing.

Thus, this chapter will focus on reviewing the influence and legacy that these previous Nahua intellectuals had on the developing work of Faustino Chimalpopoca after the years of 1843. This chapter will also analyze the way in which Chimalpopoca's work becomes more diverse, covering several areas of knowledge.

### **7.1 *Ihcuac tlahtolli ye miqui* (When a Language Dies):<sup>695</sup> The Decline of the use of Nahuatl in Bureaucratic and Legal Spheres in Mexico City**

During the early decades of the nineteenth century, only a scarce documentation included the name of Faustino Galicia Chimalpopoca. For instance, and as we reviewed in the previous chapter, his name appeared on a series of complaints that asked for the removal of Juan Rodríguez Puebla as the rector of the *Colegio de San Gregorio* along with the names of his older colleagues Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque and Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma.<sup>696</sup> As stated in Chapter 5 of this study, these series of complaints argued that the rectory of the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, according to the school's governing charter, had to be a clergyman, as well as a

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<sup>694</sup> *La Junta Directiva participa haber fallecido el Rector del Colegio de San Gregorio Don Juan Rodríguez Puebla y recuerda a favor de un hijo que deja huérfano los servicios de su padre*, 1848, 74r-74v.

<sup>695</sup> Miguel León Portilla, "Cuando muere una lengua," *Revista de la Universidad de México*, Nueva Época, Número 82 (Diciembre, 2010): 12-13.

<sup>696</sup> See, *Clamores de la miseria ante el supremo gobierno*.

member of the indigenous community. But, additionally, as we have seen above, the indigenous complainants also revealed through their arguments that they expected any candidate for director to be a member of the traditional indigenous nobility.<sup>697</sup>

During the third decade of the nineteenth century, Chimalpopoca served as a professor at the *Colegio de San Gregorio* in Mexico City (see Chapter 4 of this work). Among the members of the indigenous community in Mexico City, he must have held a good reputation both as an expert in the Nahuatl language and as a lawyer. For the indigenous communities these may have been factors which let them to consider Mr. Chimalpopoca as a reputable individual in whom they could trust. This fact is interesting to point out since the Nahuatl language, by the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, was no longer considered as an important legal language either in the bureaucratic or the justice system as it had been during the previous decades.

For instance, in 1820 Carlos María de Bustamante still considered it vital to publish a manifesto in the Nahuatl language addressing the Nahuatl speaking indigenous population entitled *La Malinche de la Constitución*.<sup>698</sup> Nevertheless, with the passing of the years, these pamphlets and documents published in indigenous languages became rare and eventually almost non-existent.

In the decades that came after the movement of independence in Mexico, the ideas of equality also reached the use of language as a public display of homogenous equality among the population of the new country. Although neither the 1824 nor the 1836 Constitutions dictated Spanish as the official language of Mexico, most of the written and published documentation remained exclusively in Spanish.<sup>699</sup> This factor does not mean that people stopped speaking or writing in the Nahuatl language, but rather Mexico consciously moved towards becoming a monolingual nation. About this transformation in the production of written documents, the scholar Pauja Faudree mentioned that:

Certainly the move toward one legal system for all Mexican citizens, regardless of linguistic background, placed Indigenous People at multiple layers of disadvantage compared with their mestizo and criollo fellow citizens. This weakened position stemmed not only from differential competence in Spanish language itself, narrowly constructed, but also from limited fluency in particular

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<sup>697</sup> *Representación al excelentísimo señor presidente Don Vicente Guerrero a favor de la educación de los indios*, 285.

<sup>698</sup> Carlos María de Bustamante, *La Malinche de la Constitución; en los idiomas mexicano y castellano* (México: Oficina de A. Valdés, 1820).

<sup>699</sup> Linda King, *Roots of Identity: Language and Literacy in Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 57.

legal and bureaucratic registers of Spanish and reduced familiarity with the full array of Western legal practices rooted in Enlightenment thought.<sup>700</sup>

The suppression of indigenous courts and the creation of a new legal system based on political equality put indigenous languages at a legal disadvantage. As a reaction, during the first decades of the nineteenth century the Nahuatl language lost the legal importance that it had held throughout the period of the Spanish colony. Subsequently, the importance of Nahuatl as a language used in tribunals and legal matters considerably diminished. Consequently, other fields in which documents written in the Nahuatl language had found a place of great utility in the colonial institutions eventually were replaced by documents written only in Spanish (such as in the writing of wills, testaments, land documents, and many other bureaucratic documentation). In effect, by the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, the written Nahuatl language had lost its legal and scholarly prestige within the bureaucratic sphere.<sup>701</sup> Consequently, after the nineteenth-century reforms and the suppression of the *Juzgado de Indios*, most documents submitted to the nineteenth-century authorities had to already be translated and reviewed by a notary before submission to a court or government agency. For instance, an important amount of documentation at the Notary Archive in Mexico City currently houses several copies of these types of document, already translated, which had been transcribed from documents originally written in indigenous languages.

After the third decade of the nineteenth-century, Nahuatl speaking people also faced limitations and a lack of acceptance from certain spheres. For instance, during the directorship of Rodríguez Puebla it appears that he probably noticed the way that non-Indigenous People perceived native Nahuatl speakers within the academic sphere. What is a fact is that Rodríguez Puebla attempted to polish what seemed to be the “thick accent” and possibly poor Spanish diction that indigenous students at San Gregorio had when they first arrived at the institution. This position caused Rodríguez Puebla’s forms to be fiercely rejected by his fellow indigenous comrades. Nevertheless, as the documentation also demonstrates, apparently Rodríguez achieved this goal. Regarding this matter, Rodríguez Puebla’s supporters expressed in *El Mosquito Mexicano*: “Para exaltar la importancia del rectorado del Sr. Rodríguez [...] que el *Colegio de San Gregorio* es en el día el mejor de todos: que sus alumnos actuales son muy políticos y comedidos: que los antiguos son tan inciviles, que no saben ni hablar [...]”<sup>702</sup>

Probably this general contempt against the Nahuatl language and Nahua speakers held by the general public, together with the alienation of indigenous students from the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, motivated Faustino Chimalpopoca to develop his first manuscripts copies of ancient

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<sup>700</sup> Pauja Faudree, *Singing for the Dead: The Politics of Indigenous Revival in Mexico* (Durham-London: Duke University Press, 2013), 46.

<sup>701</sup> Matthew Restall et al., *Mesoamerican Voices*, 16-17.

<sup>702</sup> “Comunicados,” martes 21 de octubre de 1834, *El Mosquito Mexicano*, Número 64.



Nahuatl texts. For instance, in 1834, Mr. Chimalpopoca produced his first copy of the manuscript entitled “*Venida de los Mexicanos a Tenochtitlan.*”

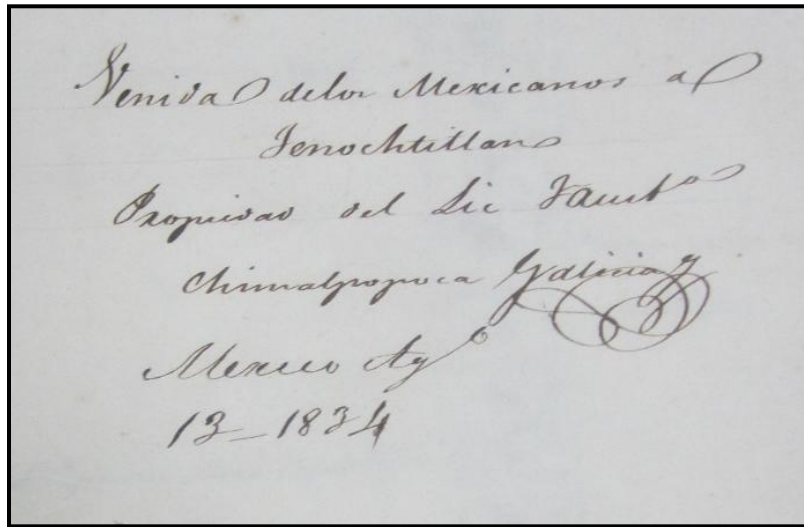


Figure 14. Front page of *Venida de los mexicanos a Tenochtitlan*. Copied by Faustino Chimalpopoca, 1834. Picture taken by the author.

This copy included the legend: “Owned by Lic. Faustino Chimalpopoca Galicia, México Agosto 13, 1834.”<sup>703</sup> Although there is some uncertainty in asserting that this document is the first manuscript that Chimalpopoca transcribed, it is indeed an important piece in which he surely pretended to emphasize and praise the indigenous roots of Mexico City. Mr. Chimalpopoca did not include a translation into Spanish in this above referred document; however, it is evident that its content presented an important chronology for the rise of the Mexica people. Information regarding the origin, previous owners and the way in which Mr. Chimalpopoca acquired this manuscript remains undetermined.

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<sup>703</sup> *Documentos históricos de Faustino Galicia Chimalpopoca*, Colección Antigua, NC 25.



Figure 15. Section of the manuscript entitled *Venida de los mexicanos a Tenochtitlan*, copied by Faustino Chimalpopoca in 1834. Biblioteca Nacional del Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City. Picture taken by the author.

The detail and meticulous copy made from this original Nahuatl manuscript reveal Mr. Chimalpopoca's impressive skills as a paleographer and a copyist. However, the question about what could have been the interest of Mr. Chimalpopoca in copying such document emerges.

At this point, the *Colegio de San Gregorio* had turned into a more open school, and then forced to accept non-indigenous students. Additionally, as we have seen above, against the complaints of Patiño Ixtolinque and others, the school experienced a major transition by being incorporated into a larger unit with other schools (see Chapter 6), which threatened the existence of San Gregorio's legacy as an exclusive promoter of indigenous intellectualism. This menace could also be reflected in the fact that San Gregorio's library, once exclusively used by Indigenous Peoples, had been forced to give access to other students. Faustino Chimalpopoca, probably seeking the preservation not only of historical documents, but also the legacy of the school, decided to act as a *tlacuilo* by practicing the inherited tradition of the school of *Santiago de Tlatelolco* which set the basis for the foundation of the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, preserving copies of the few ancient manuscripts which remained.

Also, by witnessing how the importance of written Nahuatl documentation started to lose its legal importance, Mr. Chimalpopoca probably considered it pertinent to start to make copies of

documents that eventually he thought might be lost by their original owners. Additionally, Mr. Chimalpopoca no doubt recognized the importance of including the knowledge content of these indigenous documents for future reference or for the construction of an official Nahuatl history of the country.

## 7.2 Chimalpopoca: The Political Figure

During the decade of 1840, we find our first news about the active political presence that Faustino Chimalpopoca had in Mexico City. For instance, on August of 1843, the 38 year old Mr. Chimalpopoca was elected as *compromisario*, or delegate, for the *Ayuntamiento* of Mexico City.<sup>704</sup> Chimalpopoca's training as a lawyer also allowed him also to teach Law at the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, where he was also known for being able to speak French and being proficient in Greek and Latin, as well as dominating his maternal Nahuatl language, Otomí and of course the Spanish language.<sup>705</sup>

The following year, the newspapers published news about a group of Mexican intellectuals interested in publishing an edited version of the *Historia Antigua de México*, by Francisco Javier Clavijero, a work that had been previously published in an English language London edition. However, according to the person who submitted an open letter to the editor of the Mexican newspaper *El Siglo Diez y Nueve*, this edition failed to offer clarifying information, and lacked notes and the proper use of words written in the Nahuatl language.

Before these criticisms, the future editor of Clavijero's edition in Mexico, Mr. Lara (the note failed in providing his first name), commissioned Faustino Chimalpopoca to review the Nahuatl terms included in Clavijero's work. It is interesting to note that the reasons provided for commissioning Chimalpopoca for this work was mentioned by the following terms:

Este sujeto [Mr. Chimalpopoca] posee el mexicano por naturaleza, como lo indica su mismo apellido: por inclinación y educación; pues sin embargo de sus conocimientos y de su posición, nunca ha olvidado que pertenece a la clase indígena, que algunos con injusticia desdeñan; y lo posee también científicamente, pues desde sus tiernos años hasta su presente edad varonil lo ha estudiado por principios, y con tanta mas ventaja, cuanto que posee también por principios el castellano y el latín.<sup>706</sup>

Based on this brief quotation, we can see that the general public by this date considered the Nahuatl language as a language related with historical information, an ancient language, instead of being related to a contemporary indigenous prestige language in which current

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<sup>704</sup> "Nota," martes 15 de agosto de 1843, *El Siglo Diez y Nueve*, Número 629, Segunda Época, México, 4.

<sup>705</sup> Ibid.

<sup>706</sup> "Nota," martes 6 de agosto de 1844, *El Siglo Diez y Nueve*, Número 988, Segunda Época, Año III, 2.

documents could be written and accepted in the judicial sphere. This may suggest a resultant lack of importance that the Nahuatl language had fallen into in bureaucratic spheres in Mexico City.

On November of 1844, Faustino Chimalpopoca also appeared mentioned in an interesting article included in the newspaper *El Siglo Diez y Nueve*. In one of its notes, the newspaper notified that the ninth installment of the *Historia de la Conquista de México*, by William H. Prescott, had been released.<sup>707</sup> The note also emphasized that, in order to provide this work “with interest, novelty and perfection” several scholars contributed to the Spanish language revision of the work. Among them was the historian Carlos María de Bustamante, Luis de la Rosa, José Gómez de la Cortina, Isidro Rafael Gondra, Juan de Orbegoza, Pedro García Conde, Andrés Quintana Roo, José María Tornel, and Faustino Galicia (his surname “Chimalpopoca” or “Chimalpopocatl” seemed absent in this mention). Faustino Chimalpopoca was placed in charge of reviewing and correcting all the Nahuatl words that Prescott included in his work. This meant that Chimalpopoca, along with the other renowned Mexican scholars, worked on this critical Spanish language edition of Prescott’s work prior to 1845. However, in this edition neither Prescott nor the editor made any reference officially about these collaborations.<sup>708</sup> Still, we know that Chimalpopoca’s collaboration continued in subsequent years as well.<sup>709</sup>

At the time of its publication the *Historia de la Conquista de Mexico* by Prescott, in the version translated by Joaquín Navarro, had achieved immediate success and the fact that Mr. Chimalpopoca had been considered as one of the important contributors in this Spanish language publication demonstrates his good reputation in general as a scholar. According to the publication plan, this edition of Prescott’s work would include notes and additional information from diverse specialists on different areas of knowledge. So, the participants in this project changed in each subsequent number of the published work according to the topic published. However, the only person who remained constantly commissioned throughout all of the various numbers and throughout the several years of labor that this edition took to be published in 1845 was Faustino Chimalpopoca.<sup>710</sup>

Meanwhile, during the 1840’s after experiencing this transition and witnessing how the Nahuatl language began to lose its prestige and immediate utility, Faustino Chimalpopoca decided to publish a piece entitled “*Disertación sobre la riqueza y hermosura del idioma mexicano*.” This article appeared in one of the volumes of *El Museo Mexicano*, a publication of

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<sup>707</sup> William H. Prescott, *Historia de la conquista de México: sobre la antigua civilización de los mexicanos y con la vida de su conquistador Fernando Cortés*, trans., Joaquín Navarro (México: Impreso por Ignacio Cumplido, 1844), 46.

<sup>708</sup> *El Siglo Diez y Nueve*, viernes 22 de noviembre de 1844, Número 1093, Segunda Época, Año III, 4.

<sup>709</sup> *El Siglo Diez y Nueve*, viernes 24 de enero de 1845, Número 1183, Tercera Época, Año III, 4.

<sup>710</sup> See *El Siglo Diez y Nueve*, martes 3 de diciembre de 1844, Número 1104, Segunda Época, Año III. *Siglo Diez y Nueve*, lunes 9 de diciembre de 1844, Número 1109, Tercera Época, México, 4; *Siglo Diez y Nueve*, martes 10 de diciembre de 1844, 4; *Siglo Diez y Nueve*, lunes 18 de diciembre de 1844, 4; *Siglo Diez y Nueve*, viernes 20 de diciembre de 1844, 4; *Siglo Diez y Nueve*, domingo 19 de enero de 1845, 4; *Siglo Diez y Nueve*, viernes 24 de enero de 1845, 4; *Siglo Diez y Nueve*, sábado 1 de febrero de 1845, 4.

an encyclopedic character whose main purpose sought to publically divulge in mass form important information about the history, arts, biology, of Mexico.<sup>711</sup> The fact that Chimalpopoca also participated in this publication gives testament to the positive credentials and reputation that Chimalpopoca enjoyed as scholar of the Nahuatl language.

The “*Disertación sobre la riqueza y hermosura del idioma mexicano*” had as its goal informing non-Nahuatl speakers about the complexity and beauty of this language. Chimalpopoca briefly explained to the readers the origins of the Nahuatl language and the Nahua people by tracing their history to the mythical place of Tlapallan.<sup>712</sup> Additionally, in this publication Chimalpopoca showed his readers the way in which Nahua syllables worked and praised the complexity of this language with its nature of creating compound words, and the inadequate way in which the Latin alphabet limited the representation of the many intricate sounds of Nahuatl. In this article Chimalpopoca also included phrases and citations from scholars who had earlier studied the Nahuatl language, such as the Archbishop Francisco de Lorenzana, Lorenzo Boturini and Francisco Xavier de Clavijero during the eighteenth century. In the same article Chimalpopoca also praised the Nahuatl language by adding:

Autores agobiados con el peso de vastos conocimientos y saber, opinan, que la lengua mexicana es superior en la elegancia y finura de frases, a la latina y griega, y yo creo que solo los que llegan a aprenderla y entenderse de la esencia de ella pueden confesar la misma verdad.<sup>713</sup>

In this excerpt Chimalpopoca compared Nahuatl with the complexity and “elegancy” of the Latin and Greek languages. By doing so, Chimalpopoca sought to elevate the appreciation that people, including the general public to whom this essay was addressed, had about Nahuatl and Nahua speakers. This was an important political and cultural statement since at this point the Nahuatl language enjoyed little recognition among Spanish speaking people, who probably associated the language with only the lowest social strata in Mexico City. The publication of this piece revealed the interest that Mr. Chimalpopoca, who enjoyed a good social status as a scholar, in seeking to change the misconceptions that people probably had about Nahuatl. Since Nahuatl was not longer used as a bureaucratic language, Faustino Chimalpopoca found it important and

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<sup>711</sup> María del Carmen Ruiz Castañeda, “El Mosaico Mexicano, o colección de amenidades curiosas e instructivas,” in *Empresa y cultura en tinta y papel (1800-1860)*, coord. Laura Beatriz Suárez de la Torre and Miguel Ángel Casto (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2001), 529-536.

<sup>712</sup> Bernardino de Sahagún and his collaborators mentioned Tulla-Tlapallan as the place where Quetzalcoatl fled. See *Historia de las cosas de la Nueva España*, Libro Tercero, “Capítulo XII: De la huida de Quetzalcoatl para Tlapallan y de las cosas que por el camino hizo” (México: Porrúa, 202). Sahagun also referred to Tulla Tlapallan as the place of the red and black, and eventually Garibay suggested that this term referred to the “place of the knowing and writing,” see *Voyages et fondations: séminaire du CRICCAL, 2003-2006* (Paris: Presses Sorbonne Nouvelle, 2006), 5.

<sup>713</sup> Faustino Galicia Chimalpopocatl, “Disertación sobre la riqueza y hermosura del idioma mexicano,” in *El museo mexicano o miscelánea de amenidades curiosas e instructivas*, Volumen 4 (México: Ignacio Pulido, 1844), 517-519, 518.

necessary to inform people about the significance of this language and its intimate connection and importance for the history of the nation.

Consequently, due to the low appreciation that the Nahuatl language had among people in general, as well as the fear that he felt that documents written in indigenous languages might lose their historical and judicial importance, Chimalpopoca considered it is personal mission to translate these documents into Spanish. Therefore, starting in the year 1845 Chimalpopoca translated into Spanish the document entitled *Memorial de los indios de Nombre de Dios, Durango acerca de sus servicios al rey* a task entrusted to him directly by the then director of the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, Juan de Dios Rodríguez Puebla.<sup>714</sup> According to the introduction that made to this manuscript, published in a later English edition of 1943:

[This original manuscript written in Nahua language] fell into the hands of the Indian [sic] Chimalpopoca Galicia a century ago, and he made a copy of it in his fine and beautiful hand on thirteen sheets of thin white paper. Between the lines he wrote his Spanish translation. This manuscript was acquired by the great bibliophile and ill-advised politician José Fernando Ramírez not long after it was written and he had it bound up with many other manuscripts [...]<sup>715</sup>

Years later, on September 18, 1853, Faustino Chimalpopoca also wrote a manuscript entitled *Historia del origen del Colegio de San Gregorio*,<sup>716</sup> which is currently housed at the Library of the National Museum of Anthropology and History, in Mexico City.

Apparently, the “*Nombre de Dios Durango*” and “*Historia del origen del Colegio de San Gregorio*” do not share any information in common. However, Chimalpopoca may have decided to translate this historical document and write the history of the College of San Gregorio for reasons he considered important. First, the document about the indigenous settlement of *Nombre de Dios* is a sixteenth-century account about the services that Nahua peoples provided for the Spaniards during the conquest of the northern territories of New Spain. The account describes how Indigenous People from Michoacán, Zacatecas and Nahua people founded the village of Nombre de Dios, in Durango, and how the army of Indigenous allies defeated the Chichimeca people from the region.<sup>717</sup> An additional document that seems to be part of the said account described the agreements, dated March 25, 1585, between the Mexican (Nahua) and the people

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<sup>714</sup> *Nombre de Dios, Durango. Two Documents in Nahuatl Concerning its Foundation. Memorial of the Indians Concerning Their Services, c. 1563. Agreement of the Mexicans and the Michoacanos, 1585*; edited and Translated with Notes and Appendices by R. H. Barlow and George T. Smisor (Sacrament: The House of Tlaloc, 1943).

<sup>715</sup> Ibid., xxi.

<sup>716</sup> *Documentos históricos de Faustino Galicia Chimalpopoca*, in BMNAH, Colección Antigua, NC 25.

<sup>717</sup> *Nombre de Dios, Durango*, 32.

of Michoacán.<sup>718</sup> This accord described the duties and obligations that both the Michoacán and the Nahua people had within the newly founded village.

As we can see, the content of this document focused on explaining the process of colonization of the northern territories by the indigenous allies of the Spaniards during the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In addition to the information that this document provides about the role that indigenous allies played on this process of conquest, the document also referred to the benefits, privileges and territorial limits involved in this development. Mr. Chimalpopoca, aware of the decay of prestige and use of the Nahuatl language, probably translated this and other documents in order to make them accessible to any interested person who hoped to use them as a judicial tool. Probably Juan de Dios Rodríguez Puebla might have even used these documents while he served as a representative of the people of Durango in various land disputes.

Furthermore, Faustino Chimalpopoca probably wrote the history of San Gregorio by consulting other manuscripts and notes about the college and the *Hospital de los Naturales* held within the collections and archives of the school. On the first page of this history he wrote: *Apuntes sacados por el que suscribe de algunos n[ota]s., m[anuscrito]s. Para la historia del Colegio de San Gregorio y del Hospital de Naturales.*<sup>719</sup>

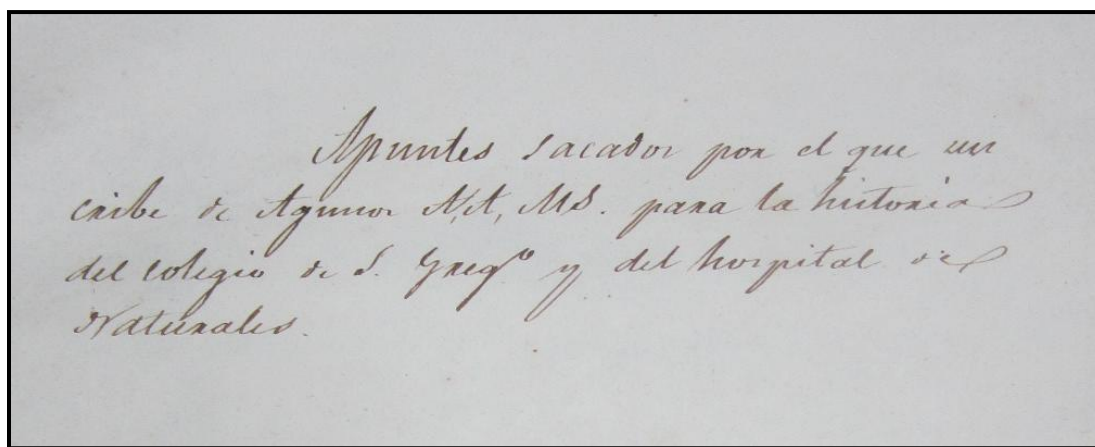


Figure 16. First page of the *History of the Colegio de San Gregorio and the Hospital de los Naturales*, by Faustino Chimalpopoca, ¿1853? Picture taken by the author.

In order to understand the importance of this manuscript, we need to clarify at this point that the *Colegio de San Gregorio* was no longer an exclusively indigenous college at this point of time. Instead, the *colegio* had turned into an open college for indigenous and non-indigenous students as well. This fact, along with the information that we have about the fight that Chimalpopoca and others had earlier engaged in to attempt to keep the college segregated, could

<sup>718</sup> *Acuerdo de los mexicanos y michoacaneses de la villa del Nombre de Dios*, 1585, as cited in *Nombre de Dios, Durango*, 46.

<sup>719</sup> *Apuntes sacados por el que suscribe de algunos n[ota]s., m[anuscrito]s. Para la historia del colegio de San Gregorio y del Hospital de Naturales*, in “Colección de los papeles del licenciado Chimalpopoca,” in BMNAH.

have inspired Mr. Chimalpopoca to write the history of this school as its Jesuits founders originally conceived it. This history about the *Colegio de San Gregorio* also included a brief history of the *Hospital de los Naturales*.

During this period of time, Faustino Chimalpopoca gathered, copied, translated, transcribed and collected an important number of indigenous documents. Apparently Faustino Chimalpopoca felt some urgency and believed it necessary to copy and to transcribe these documents in order to preserve all of this archival material for the future use of the communities. Chimalpopoca probably became fully aware that he remained one of the last members of a group of Nahua indigenous intellectuals who have had access to higher education under the Spanish colonial administration. Under this particular circumstance, he probably remained among the few remaining Nahua indigenous intellectuals in Mexico City who had survived the colonial administration and had found a place into the new political arena. By this date, his fellow Nahua intellectuals Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque (September, 1834) and Juan Rodríguez Puebla (October 31, 1848) had both died, leaving only Chimalpopoca and Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma alive to follow their tradition. Thus, Chimalpopoca realized that his mission had to focus on preserving as much as he could of the series of indigenous documents that might not survive much longer. Many of these circumstances seem valid and may be able to explain the reason why Chimalpopoca started out of a sense of desperation to collect and record a series of historical documents about the Nahua people.

Another factor that I consider important to point out at this juncture is that Chimalpopoca confessed that the Nahuatl language and its meanings had suffered a deep transformation that made it difficult for him to accurately approach the content of certain ideas or concepts expressed in Nahuatl in these sources. This fact would have inspired Chimalpopoca to preserve a large number of indigenous documents written in what we now know as classical Nahuatl. Since he personally experienced and witnessed the way in which the Nahuatl language had transformed to the point that its understanding and interpretation became troubled and difficult even for trained Nahuatl speakers like Chimalpopoca himself, he desperately sought to preserve the original language in all of his copies and transcriptions.

For instance, in a rough draft that seems to be the prelude for a presentation that he gave before the *Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística*, Chimalpopoca wrote:

Señores: Grande sentimiento me acusa la ignorancia en que me encuentro de no conocer el suelo que piso y en el que tanto tiempo perdido la Providencia Divina ha conservado mi existencia, y tanto mas se aumenta mi pena, cuando que veo que cada día si no se han acabado completamente, se van disminuyendo en gran



manera los elementos que me podrían dirigir, aunque por tradición al conocimiento de tantos tesoros y preciosidades que oculta en su seno Mexico.<sup>720</sup>

Additionally, during this period of time, an incipient nationalism had begun to arise in which the Mexican nation and its historians attempted to appropriate on a historical basis the indigenous history of the past, in particular the history of the Nahua people of Mexico City. This centralist discourse of what it later became the official history of Mexico began to take shape right before the eyes of Faustino Chimalpopoca. This represented an opportunity for him, as a Nahua intellectual, to extol the indigenous past of the peoples who populated Mexico City and include this information into the new official history. This represented an opportunity for Faustino Chimalpopoca to explain to non-Indigenous People what he and his people considered important and offer a vision of how they saw themselves as the original founders of Mexico City.

### **7.3 The Life of a Nahua Scholar: Chimalpopoca's Active Academic Participation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Mexico**

The period of the Mexican American War and the invasion of the North American army directly into Mexico City must have been a traumatic experience for most Mexicans. The information about the role that Nahua intellectuals played during these events is limited. Nevertheless, we know that Rodríguez Puebla occupied the position of rector at the *Colegio de San Gregorio* at the time the North American army arrived to Mexico City. Also, we have information that corroborates Rodríguez Puebla's participation in the defense of the building of the school.<sup>721</sup>

A year later, in 1848 Juan Rodríguez Puebla died and Faustino Chimalpopoca, as a senior member of the *Colegio de San Gregorio* gave a speech honoring the qualities of the deceased rector of the school.<sup>722</sup> During the following year of 1849, two years after the North American invasion ended and probably within an intellectual environment that had become a bit more stable, we find information about Faustino Chimalpopoca once again writing scholarly articles. In 1849 Mr. Chimalpopoca wrote a manuscript entitled "*Explicación de la palabra 'gachupín.'*"<sup>723</sup>

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<sup>720</sup> Document 17, foja 138, in *Documentos Históricos de Faustino Galicia Chimalpopoca*. BMNAH, Colección Antigua, NC 25.

<sup>721</sup> *La Junta Directiva participa haber fallecido el Rector del Colegio de San Gregorio Don Juan Rodríguez Puebla*.

<sup>722</sup> *El Siglo Diez y Nueve*, sábado 11 de noviembre de 1848, Número 164, Cuarta Época, Año VII, 4. The note does not provide the speech given by Faustino Chimalpopoca.

<sup>723</sup> Faustino Chimalpopocatl Galicia, *Explicación de la palabra gachupín*, México, mayo 20 de 1849, Nattie-Lee Benson Library (University of Texas at Austin): Mexican Manuscript Collection, The Lucas Alamán Papers; Series I: Document 291, f.291.

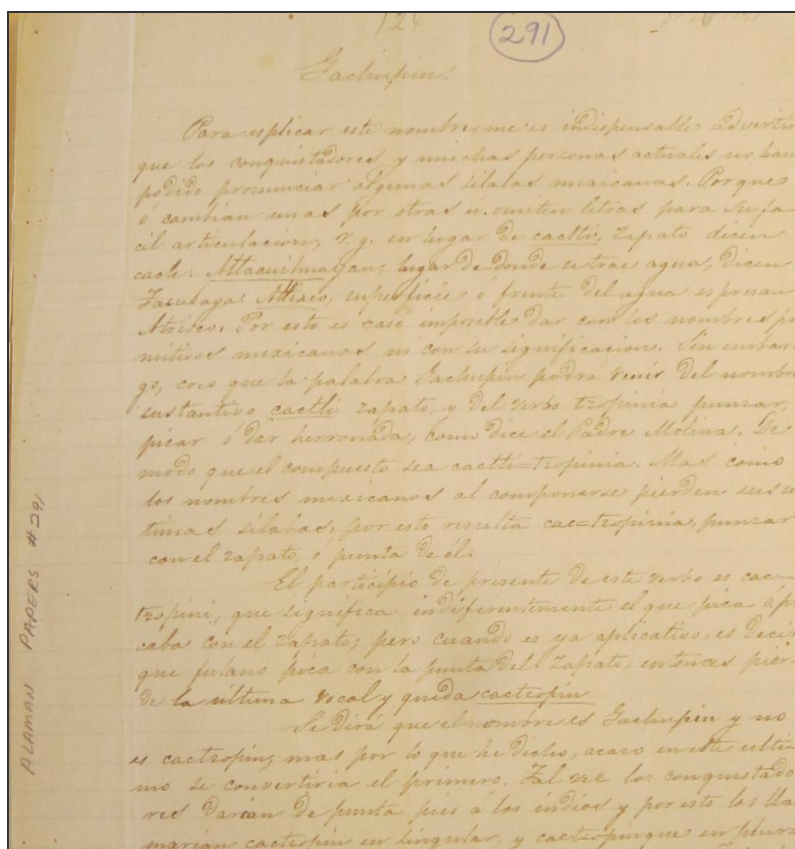


Figure 17. “Gachupín” written by Faustino Chimalpopocatl, 1849. Picture taken by the author.

Currently, the origin and definition of the term “gachupín” are still debatable, and there are several explanations for its origin. Thus, several historic and linguistic studies have focused on defining the controversial origins and meanings of this term.<sup>724</sup> According to several studies, the term appeared to be in use in early documentation in the Americas, particularly in Mexico, from the seventeenth century onward. Nevertheless, the scholar George Butler mentioned that Captain Bernardino de Vargas Machuca, in his work entitled *Milicia Indiana*, published in 1599, had already mentioned such a word referring to a man new to the land, specifically in the Americas.<sup>725</sup>

Similarly, in the dictionary prepared by the *Real Academia Española*, published in 1729, the word “cachupín,” not “gachupín,” was defined as: “El español que pasa y mora en las Indias, que en el Perú llaman Chapetón. Es voz traída de aquellos países y muy usada en Andalucía; y

<sup>724</sup> See James J. Champion, “A Note on Lozano’s “Aztec Traces in Modern Spanish,” *Hispania* 65, No. 2 (May, 1982): 239-240. See also George Butler Griffin, “Some Observations on the Words “Gachupín” and “Criollo,” *Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California* 1, No. 4 (1888): 49-54.

<sup>725</sup> George Butler Griffin, “Some Observations on the Words “Gachupín” and “Criollo,” 49.

entre los comerciantes en la carrera de Indias.”<sup>726</sup> Thus, during the nineteenth century, the word “gachupín” appeared to be a Mexican derivation of the original term “cachupín,”<sup>727</sup> which is defined as “El español que pasa a la América septentrional, y se establece en ella. [Mas de ordinario se pronuncia Gachupín]. *Hispanus advena apud indos*.”<sup>728</sup> In late nineteenth century the *Real Academia Española* published a condensed dictionary in which the definition of the term “gachupín” appeared as “El español que pasa y mora en Indias, donde se llama gachupín. Es voz muy usada en Andalucía. *Hispanus advena, qui apud indos degit* [A Spaniard, a stranger, who lives among the Indians].”<sup>729</sup> The cited sources concurred about the meaning of the term, either “cachupín” or “gachupín,” and at least the dictionaries produced by the Royal Spanish Academy agreed that the term has its origins in the Americas.<sup>730</sup> Nevertheless, these dictionaries did not specify that the word “cachupín” or “gachupín” had pejorative connotations for the peoples from the Americas, which confirms that its derogatory meaning remained related to the rising nationalism and independence in Mexico.

Although the said term appeared in constant use in Mexico, it seems that it was not until the nineteenth century that the term “gachupín” took on a bitter and more political anti-Spanish approach related with the movements of independence and the incipient nationalism of the Mexican people.

Thus, during the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, several intellectuals focused on trying to create an accurate definition of the term “gachupín.” In 1813, José Servando Teresa de Mier, in his *Historia de la Revolución de la Nueva España*, offered a definition about the term “gachupín” that triggered the discussion among several intellectuals about the origin of this word. Mier emphasized that gachupín: “[... era] un nombre [que] se da en N. España a los españoles europeos, y no por apodo sino tomado de los Indios, que llamaron así a los conquistadores, porque les llamaron la atención sus acicates.”<sup>731</sup>

From this information Teresa de Mier suggested that the word gachupín had its roots in the Nahuatl language. Mier further explained that the word came from the term *cactli*, shoe in the Nahuatl language, with the termination *tli*, and the term *tzopini*, which meant “thing or thorn that

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<sup>726</sup> *Diccionario de la lengua castellana, en que se explica el verdadero sentido de las voces, su naturaleza y calidad con las frases o modos de hablar, los proverbios o refranes y otras cosas convenientes al uso de la lengua dedicado al Rey Nuestro Señor Don Felipe V, compuesto por la Real Academia Española* (Madrid: Imprenta de Francisco del Hierro, 1726), 38-39.

<sup>727</sup> Vicente Salvá y Pérez, *Nuevo Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana: que comprende la última edición íntegra, muy rectificada y mejorada del publicado por la Academia Española* (París: Librería de Don Vicente Salva, 1847), 539.

<sup>728</sup> *Ibid.*, 186.

<sup>729</sup> *Diccionario de la lengua castellana compuesto por la Real Academia española, reducido a un tomo, Segunda edición* (Madrid: Don Joaquín Ibarra, Impresor de Cámara de S. M. y de la Real Academia, 1783), 186.

<sup>730</sup> See Manuel de Valbuena, *Diccionario universal Español-Latino* (Madrid: Imprenta Nacional, 1822), 173.

<sup>731</sup> Servando Teresa de Mier, *Historia de la Revolución de la nueva España antiguamente Anahuac o verdadero origen y causas de ella, con la relación de sus progresos hasta el presente año de 1813*, Tomo II (Londres: Imprenta de Guillermo Glindon, 1813), 149.

picks.” The union of these words resulted on *catzopini*, which means “men with spurs.”<sup>732</sup> Concerning the change in the pronunciation of the word, Mier explained that the Spaniards, attempting to pronounce what he said remained a Nahuatl word, mispronounced it as *Gachopín* by “corrupting the accent.”<sup>733</sup>

Between the years of 1848 and 1849, Lucas Alamán continued debating the meaning of the word *gachupín* in the first volume of his *Historia de México*. Nevertheless, in this case Alamán consulted Faustino Chimalpopoca in order to get more information about the possible Nahuatl origin of the said term. It is probably at this moment that the figure of Faustino Chimalpopoca started once again to play a significant role among other Mexican intellectuals. Alamán defined the term as following:

El nombre mexicano de calzado o zapato es *cactli* y el verbo *tzopinia* significa, punzar, picar o dar herronada, como lo define el P. Molina en su Diccionario. De la combinación de ambos resultaría *cactli-tzopinia*, mas como los nombres mexicanos pierden en la composición las únicas sílabas queda *cac-tzopinia* “punzar con el zapato o punta de él,” y siendo el participio de presente de este verbo *tzopini*, que usado como sustantivo pierda la *i* final, resulta el nombre de *cactzopin*, “el que punza o pica con el zapato” [...] <sup>734</sup>

Alamán concluded with a statement of scholarly authority by saying “Esta interpretación me ha sido comunicada por el Sr. Lic. D. Faustino Chimalpopoca, profesor de lengua mexicana en el colegio de San Gregorio de esta capital.”<sup>735</sup>

In 1849, José Fernando Ramírez, with whom Faustino Chimalpopoca eventually established a very close scholarly relationship, published *Noticias históricas y estadísticas de Durango, (1849-1850)*<sup>736</sup> in which he continued debating the definition of the word *gachupín*. Ramírez offered a brief review about the possible origins and meanings about the word *gachupín* by emphasizing the scholarly authority that Faustino Chimalpopoca had for supporting the definition presented by Lucas Alamán. Ramírez questioned the explanation offered by others about the Nahuatl roots of the meaning of the word *gachupín*, and presented a detailed historiographical review on the sources in which the said term appeared. The sources that Ramírez cited ranged from Garcilazo de la Vega and Vargas Machuca. Ramírez supported his hypothesis about the European origin of the word from the term *chapetona*, which Vargas

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<sup>732</sup> Ibid., 539.

<sup>733</sup> Ibid.

<sup>734</sup> Lucas Alamán, *Historia de México, Tomo I* (México: Imprenta de Victoriano Agueros y Comp., Editores, 1883), 54.

<sup>735</sup> Ibid.

<sup>736</sup> José Fernando Ramírez, *Noticias históricas y estadísticas de Durango (1849-1850)* (México: Imprenta de Ignacio Cumplido, 1851), 78.

Machuca defined as “newly arrived man to a certain land.”<sup>737</sup> Ramirez went further by citing a document from 1620 in which the Marquis of Guadalcazar mentioned the word *gachupín* associated to passengers who commercialized with silver in the Americas. Thus, Ramirez concluded that people in general did not use the word *gachupín* during seventeenth-century Mexico, but instead the term referred to a certain sector of the Spanish migrant population to the Americas.<sup>738</sup>

The definition of the term *gachupín* that Faustino Chimalpopoca provided to Lucas Alamán triggered a very interesting debate among certain Mexican intellectuals. Since this document is currently part of the Lucas Alamán Paper collection at the Nattie-Lee Benson Library, in Texas, this draft referred to above could possibly be the information that Chimalpopoca sent to Lucas Alamán as collaboration to Alamán’s *Historia de México*, and that this information is the one mentioned by Alamán in his work.

If this is the case, this evidence suggests that, while Faustino Chimalpopoca worked as professor at the *Colegio de San Gregorio* he continued holding a good reputation as a Nahuatl scholar. It also suggests that he was a member of the nineteenth-century intellectual Mexican sphere since Alamán consulted him regarding the definition of the term. Probably through epistolary communication, Lucas Alamán contacted Faustino Chimalpopoca and asked him about the meaning of a term that had gained such a heavy political meaning during the nineteenth century in Mexico. Suffice it to say that Chimalpopoca must have sent a response to Alamán, which is no doubt the document that is currently housed at the University of Texas at Austin written and signed by Chimalpopoca’s handwriting.

The “*Definición de la palabra gachupín*” by Chimalpopoca starts in a very peculiar way by noticing that the Spanish conquistadors corrupted the Nahuatl language due to their inability to properly pronounce the words of this language:

Para explicar este nombre me es indispensable advertir que los conquistadores y muchas personas actuales no han podido pronunciar algunas sílabas mexicanas. Porque o cambian unas por otras u omiten letras para su fácil articulación. Por ejemplo, en lugar de *cactli*, zapato, dicen *cacle*.<sup>739</sup>

After this explanation Chimalpopoca continued supporting his statement by providing other examples in which Spanish speakers mispronounced Nahuatl words. After providing these examples, Chimalpopoca cited the *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana* by Alonso de Molina (1571)<sup>740</sup> as a source to determine that the word *gachupín* included the Nahuatl terms

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<sup>737</sup> Ibid.

<sup>738</sup> Ibid., 79.

<sup>739</sup> Faustino Chimalpopocatl Galicia, *Explicación de la palabra gachupín*, 1.

<sup>740</sup> See Alonso de Molina, *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y mexicana*.

*cactli* (shoe) and *tzopinia* (picking or itching). This segment of information provided by Chimalpopoca corroborates that Lucas Alamán used this explanation in his book since Alamán also referred to Molina's dictionary and the connotations about this word:

Sin embargo, creo que la palabra gachupín podrá venir del nombre sustantivo *cactli*, zapato y del verbo *tzopinia*, punzar, picar o dar herranada [sic] como dice el padre Molina, De modo que el compuesto sea *cactli*= *tzopinia*. Mas como los nombres mexicanos al componerse pierden sus últimas sílabas por esto resulta *cac*=*tzopinia*, punzar con el zapato o punta de él.<sup>741</sup>

Nonetheless, this information is very similar to the rest of the definitions provided by the previously mentioned intellectuals. The second part of this manuscript is the section that reveals the clear interpretation that Faustino Chimalpopoca had about what he considered the true meaning of the word *gachupín*. Alamán did not include this part of Chimalpopoca's definition in his work:

Se dirá que el nombre es *gachupín* y no es *cactzopin*, mas por lo que he dicho, acaso en este último se convertiría el primero. Tal vez los conquistadores darían de punta pies a los indios y por esto las llamarían *cacteopin* en singular y *cacteopinke* en plural.<sup>742</sup>

Chimalpopoca went further in his explanation referring explicitly to the cruelty of the Spanish conquistadors over the indigenous population:

También podrá derivarse del mismo nombre *cactli* y del verbo *copinia* picar la víbora y según lo que he dicho de la composición queda únicamente *cacchopin* o *cachopin* como se dice aun en muchos pueblos. Por la tradición se sabe que los conquistadores maltrataron a los indios y quizá por eso los llamaron *cacchopin*: que significa víbora calzada; picadora, y por metáfora, hombre cruel.<sup>743</sup>

Even though the categorical conclusion offered by Chimalpopoca reflected both his sentiment as an indigenous person and also his testimony as a direct victim of the process of the Spanish colonization. This last idea also sought to express the meaning behind the pejorative use of the term *gachupín* during the shaping of Mexican nationalism during the early nineteenth century. Nevertheless, this last idea did not have much of an effect on the non-indigenous nineteenth-century Mexican intellectuals. Nevertheless, Chimalpopoca found it necessary to school them on its possible indigenous origins.

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<sup>741</sup> Ibid.

<sup>742</sup> Ibid.

<sup>743</sup> Ibid.

However, by portraying *gachupines* as cruel men who mistreated the Indigenous Peoples in Mexico, Chimalpopoca offered his interpretation about the deep and historical origin of the meaning of such a term. Also, by providing this explanation Chimalpopoca justified the use of the word since he divested the word *gachupín* from its supposed pejorative nature in order to offer what he considered a historical fact of its origin.

#### **7.4 Chimalpopoca the *Tlacuilo*: Researcher, Copyist, Paleographer, Translator and Member of the SMGE**

On August of 1849, Faustino Chimalpopoca once again appears, but now as a *Capitular* member of the Commission of Public Instruction for the *Ayuntamiento*.<sup>744</sup> While in this position Chimalpopoca, along with Mariano Esteva y Ulibarri, advocated for providing education to indigenous communities by assigning more resources to public schools and especially to encourage the attendance of indigenous students. For this purpose, Chimalpopoca and Mr. Mariano Esteva advocated for translating two of the most important religious books into the Nahuatl language: a catechism book and a manual for the Latin mass.<sup>745</sup> The *Ayuntamiento* answered favorably to this proposal.<sup>746</sup> Faustino Chimalpopoca occupied the position of *Capitular* at the Ayuntamiento of Mexico at least until the year of 1850.<sup>747</sup> During this period of time when Mr. Chimalpopoca occupied this position, he dealt with issues related to education for the Indigenous Peoples and the support of the artistic labors carried by the *Academia de San Carlos*, where Chimalpopoca's colleague Pedro Patiño had served as director.<sup>748</sup>

Faustino Chimalpopoca reconciled his obligations for the ayuntamiento and at the same time he remained active in his intellectual work. It seems that Chimalpopoca continued focusing on praising and bringing back the prestige of the Nahuatl language that it had lost during the decades following 1820. Thus, it is during this decade of 1850 when Chimalpopoca published one of his most well known works, *Silabario en idioma mexicano*.<sup>749</sup> The newspaper *El Universal* announced this work as a book that helped anyone interested in learning the Nahuatl language “to learn based on elemental principles the beautiful and abandoned language of the

<sup>744</sup> “Nota,” miércoles primero de agosto de 1849, *El Universal. Periódico independiente*, Tomo II, Número 259, 4.

<sup>745</sup> “Nota,” viernes 9 de noviembre de 1849, *El Siglo Diez y Nueve*, Tomo II, Número 313, p. 2.

<sup>746</sup> This new is confirmed by *El Universal* newspaper, in his note of viernes 9 de noviembre de 1849, *El Universal*, Tomo II, Número 359.

<sup>747</sup> See “Descontento por las elecciones del Ayuntamiento. Lo miembros protestan por sus seguridad a la luz de los eventos violentos del lunes 3 de diciembre,” martes 4 de diciembre de 1849, *El Siglo Diez y Nueve*, Tomo II, número 338. See also “Manifiesto publicado por los miembros del Ayuntamiento afectados por los desórdenes ante las elecciones,” viernes 21 de diciembre de 1849, *El Universal*, Tomo III, número 401.

<sup>748</sup> “Señores suscriptores a la exposición de la Academia de San Carlos de México habido a finales del año de 1849 y principios de 1850 los cuales se reputan como protectores de las Bellas Artes de dicho establecimiento,” viernes 25 de enero de 1850, *El Universal*, Tomo III, número 436.

<sup>749</sup> Faustino Chimalpopocatl Galicia, *Silabario de idioma mexicano* (México: Imprenta de las Escalerillas, 1849).

Aztecs.”<sup>750</sup> In this work, Faustino Chimalpopoca unfortunately did not include an introduction, or a prologue. This work had the appearance of being a manual for learning Nahuatl, so I propose that this was probably part of the didactic material that Chimalpopoca used to teach his classes of the Nahuatl language that he taught both at the *Colegio de San Gregorio* and at the University of Mexico.

With the publication of this *Silabario*, Faustino Chimalpopoca seemed to proceed with his ideas that he had initially used to praise the Nahuatl language in his published statement “*Disertación sobre la riqueza y hermosura del idioma mexicano*” in which he pronounced in favor and defense of the beauty of Nahuatl language. By publishing this syllabary, Chimalpopoca demonstrated and presented to the public the complexity of the Nahuatl language in its most basic structures. By demonstrating to the potential reader of this syllabary that Nahuatl had its own linguistic rules, and that in order to form an idea and a sentence in Nahuatl it required a deep knowledge about the grammar and structure of the language, Faustino Chimalpopoca defended his statement about the complexity, and therefore the inherent intelligence, of this indigenous language. This fact may seem pretty obvious to any student of languages; nevertheless, we must remember that for most of mid-nineteenth century Mexico the Nahuatl language had been relegated to the backgrounds of the official bureaucracy and placed as a second class language, mostly spoken by the lower and pauperized classes in Mexico City.

It must have been around this time when Faustino Chimalpopoca was invited to join the *Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística* (SMGE) since in a newspaper article from April 4 of 1850, Chimalpopoca already appeared mentioned as active member of this association.<sup>751</sup> Chimalpopoca’s impressive intellectual credentials, as well as his presentation of himself as a direct descendant of the Aztec Emperor Chimalpopoca,<sup>752</sup> quickly helped him receive an invitation to join the *Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística* (SMGE) as a member of this prestigious institution. During the nineteenth century, the *Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística* remained the oldest and prestigious scientific society in Latin America. The SMGE was founded in Mexico City in 1833, under the administration of Mexican President Vicente Gómez Farías. This scientific society initially focused on building the major mapping project, *Carta de la República*, and on elaborating the statistics of the new independent nation. Shortly

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<sup>750</sup> The original quotation said: “[...] para aprender por principio el hermoso y descuidado idioma de los aztecas.” “Noticias acerca del Silabario en idioma mexicano,” sábado 16 de febrero de 1850, *El Universal*, Tomo III, número 458.

<sup>751</sup> “Parte oficial. Sesión del día 4 de abril de 1850 de la SMGE,” martes 16 de abril de 1850, *El Siglo Diez y Nueve*, Tomo IV, número 471.

<sup>752</sup> The *El Universal* paper published a brief note in which included the testimony of Fernando Ramírez about Mr. Chimalpopoca: “Chimalpopoca, tercer rey de México. Se dan noticias muy curiosas sobre la vida y costumbres de aquel famoso monarca azteca, así como sobre su trágico fin: hoy existe un descendiente de aquel rey; que es el Sr. Lic. Francisco [sic] Galicia Chimalpopocatl, persona muy inteligente en el idioma azteca y en las antigüedades de este suelo: por el mismo Sr. Ramírez,” domingo 4 de diciembre de 1853, *El Universal*, Tercera Época, Tomo X, Número 126.



after its foundation, the SMGE became the most important scientific organization that sponsored scientific research in Mexico. In this way, intellectuals, and also foreign members, produced the first institutionalized results of scientific research in Mexico.<sup>753</sup> During the nineteenth century this society propelled science and humanities as an activity of research for the “progress” of the country, and not only as just knowledge for teaching in the classrooms. In this sense, it is interesting to note that the inclusion and participation of Faustino Chimalpopoca into this society confirmed his position as a well known intellectual under the terms of the nineteenth-century enlightened thought. The participation of Chimalpopoca in this society revealed the interest that the newly formed nation had in the development of Mexican nationalism by considering the historical studies that Chimalpopoca and many other contributors of the SMGE also conducted.

In 1850, the SMGE informed that Faustino Chimalpopoca had been working on the study of a document entitled *Historia y fundación de Tlaxcala*, originally written in Nahuatl. The SMGE mentioned that Mr. Chimalpopoca had been unable to translate the manuscript because he could not gain the permission to take the manuscript out of the General Archive so that he could work on it:

El secretario de la sección de estadística [...] manifestó que el Sr. Lic. D. Faustino Chimalpopocatl Galicia no había podido traducir al castellano el cuaderno titulado *Historia y fundación de Tlaxcala*, en lengua mexicana, porque no había logrado la licencia de extraerlo del archivo general en donde se halla; pero que los lunes y los miércoles procuraría recurrir a este lugar con aquel fin. [...] <sup>754</sup>

It is possible that this news made reference to the manuscript of Diego Muñoz Camargo entitled *Historia de Tlaxcala*. The original manuscript by Muñoz Camargo is now currently lost. Nevertheless it is my hypothesis that the work (*Historia de Tlaxcala*) that Chimalpopoca referred to, must have been the work of Diego Muñoz Camargo. Concerning the *Historia de Tlaxcala* it is important to mention that Alfredo Chavero did not present the first edition of this manuscript until 1892. This means that the edition that Chimalpopoca had been preparing in Spanish was never published. In the edition of 1892 of the *Historia de Tlaxcala* by Chavero, he mentioned that:

La *Historia de Tlaxcala* escrita por Diego Muñoz Camargo es la única monografía que tenemos de esa nacionalidad; pues aun errando los bibliófilos se

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<sup>753</sup> Luz Fernanda Azuel Bernal, “La Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística, la organización de la ciencia, la institucionalización de la geografía y la construcción del país en el siglo XIX,” *Investigaciones geográficas: Boletín del Instituto de Geografía*, Número 52 (2003): 153-166, 154.

<sup>754</sup> “Parte oficial. Sesión del día 4 de abril de 1850 de la SMGE.”

refieren a alguna otra crónica en mexicano, se tiene por perdida, y acaso yo solamente poseo algunos capítulos de ese manuscrito.<sup>755</sup>

In this introduction to the edition, Chavero presented a brief mention of the works conducted on Muñoz Camargo's manuscript. So, Chavero did mention the existence of an early edition made by French historian Henri Ternaux-Compans in 1843.<sup>756</sup> Chavero also mentioned that he was unable to consult the original manuscript written in Nahuatl by Muñoz Camargo; instead, he stated that he got access to a Spanish translation from the original manuscript. According to Chavero, the said translation included several marginal annotations made by Fernando Ramírez.

The translation with the annotations in the margins mentioned by Chavero was probably the translation made by Chimalpopoca from Muñoz Camargo's original manuscript. By considering the close relationship that Faustino Chimalpopoca had with the scholar Fernando Ramírez, it is plausible that Ramírez kept a partial copy of the Spanish version made by Chimalpopoca about the work of Muñoz Camargo. Thus, it was until the 1890's when Alfredo Chavero decided to took up once again the publication of this manuscript. Nevertheless, Chavero was unable to find the original manuscript written in the Nahuatl language; instead only he found a copy in Spanish that I propose Chimalpopoca had probably written and which eventually ended up in hands of Joaquín García Icazbalceta, who eventually published it in separate sections around the year of 1871. It is my hypothesis that Chimalpopoca was able to partially translate the original copy that Muñoz Camargo wrote in Nahuatl into Spanish, and that José Fernando Ramírez kept one of the versions or earlier drafts of this copy. This copy in which Ramírez wrote his own observations about the manuscript is probably the version that Chavero found and the one that he mentioned in the introduction to the version that he published.<sup>757</sup>

It is interesting to note that at this point Mr. Chimalpopoca had created a very impressive curriculum, including establishing credentials that supported his abilities as scholar and his experience in politics. Similarly, Chimalpopoca's abilities and qualities in studying humanities, politics, languages, and also of having been considered a scholar capable enough to conduct translations and copies from indigenous Mesoamerican manuscripts, demonstrates the way that he representation the characteristics of an enlightened nineteenth-century Mexican intellectual.

The interest that Faustino Chimalpopoca had in education remained evident not only by his serving as a member of the *Ayuntamiento* in Mexico City, and as a member of the Education commission, but also by being a member of the Lancastrian Company of Mexico at least from

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<sup>755</sup> Diego Muñoz Camargo, *Historia de Tlaxcala*, ed. Alfredo Chavero (México: Oficina Tipográfica de la Secretaría de Fomento, 1892), 3.

<sup>756</sup> Ms. 210, Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, France.

<sup>757</sup> Ibid.

1851 to 1852.<sup>758</sup> The Lancastrian Society had been in charge of a large part of the public education system and its reforms from the Society's foundation in Mexico in 1819.<sup>759</sup> In 1845, this organization stopped being the main educational society responsible of providing this benefit to the population; instead, the state took direct charge of this obligation.<sup>760</sup> The Lancastrian Company however remained a supportive institution along with the state in providing education to the most vulnerable and impoverished children in Mexico City.<sup>761</sup> Unfortunately, during the mid-nineteenth century indigenous children remained a very vulnerable sector of the society, which became the reason why the Lancastrian Society, along with other people, joined efforts in order to provide this and other less privileged sectors of the society with this benefit.<sup>762</sup> Faustino Chimalpopoca remained one of the members of the Lancastrian Company in Mexico,<sup>763</sup> and he actively collaborated in the support of the Lancastrian labor of education through by offering pecuniary donations and also by being a member of a commission that regularly visited and evaluated the functioning of Lancastrian schools.<sup>764</sup>

During this period of time, Faustino Chimalpopoca combined his duties as a professor, writer, member of the Lancastrian Company, and a politician. In October of 1851, Chimalpopoca was elected as a Substitute Deputy for the State of Mexico for the General Congress.<sup>765</sup> Apparently, Chimalpopoca at least occupied this responsibility until the end of the year of 1852, when he was once again elected for the same position.<sup>766</sup>

On 1853, Mr. Chimalpopoca appeared as one of the deputies with the power to “judge” and review the ministers of the Supreme Court of Justice.<sup>767</sup> Mr. Chimalpopoca continued to be involved in politics and this same year he was appointed, not elected, as the *7o. Regidor* of the *Ayuntamiento* of the District (Mexico City).<sup>768</sup> However, in October of the same year Mr. Chimalpopoca resigned this position in the Ayuntamiento arguing that “he had to find a

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<sup>758</sup> “Nota,” 1 de mayo de 1852, *El Siglo Diez y Nueve*.

<sup>759</sup> Francisco R. Almada, “La reforma educativa a partir de 1812,” *Historia Mexicana* 1, Vol. 17, (Jul-Sep, 1967): 103-125, 106.

<sup>760</sup> Ernesto Meneses Morales, *Tendencias educativas oficiales en México*, 221.

<sup>761</sup> Will Fowler, “The Compañía Lancasteriana and the Élite in Independent Mexico, 1822–1845,” *Tesserae, Journal of Iberian and Latin-American Studies* 2, No. 1 (Summer 1996): 81-110.

<sup>762</sup> In order to know how the Lancastrian Society worked according to its principles. See María Isabel Vega Muytoy, “La cartilla Lancasteriana” *Tiempo de Educar* 1, Número 2 (julio-diciembre, 1999): 157-179.

<sup>763</sup> “Nota,” sábado 2 de agosto de 1851, *El Siglo Diez y Nueve*, Tomo V, número 944, 3.

<sup>764</sup> Will Fowler, “The Compañía Lancasteriana and the Élite in Independent Mexico, 1822–1845,” 81.

<sup>765</sup> “Noticias sueltas,” miércoles 8 de octubre de 1851, *El Universal*, Tomo VI, Número 1057, 3.

<sup>766</sup> “Nota,” domingo 11 de enero de 1852, *El Siglo Diez y Nueve*, Cuarta Época, Año 12, Tomo VI, Número 1111.

<sup>767</sup> “Nota,” viernes 30 de enero de 1852, *El Siglo Diez y Nueve*, Cuarta Época, Año 12, Tomo VI, Número 1130.

<sup>768</sup> “Nota,” jueves 5 de mayo de 1853, *El Universal*, Segunda Época, Tomo VIII, Número 384. The *Charleston Courier* also confirmed this information: “Letter from Mexico,” on May 30, 1853, *Charleston Courier*, South Carolina, USA, 1.

remunerated job to survive since the classes that he taught in San Gregorio had been cancelled.”<sup>769</sup>

Faustino Chimalpopoca continued to teach the Nahuatl language at the *Colegio de San Gregorio* for several years. Nevertheless, it seems that at this point teaching and learning the Nahuatl language was no longer considered a vital matter in academics. No doubt, Mr. Chimalpopoca sought to find other avenues to promote the learning of the Nahuatl language. For instance, the year after in 1854, as member of the Language Commission (*Comisión de Idiomas*) of the SMGE, Chimalpopoca helped the director of this commission, D. Murcio Valdovino, to translate the prayer of the “Our Father” into different indigenous “dialects” [sic] of the country.<sup>770</sup>

Although Nahuatl, as well as other indigenous languages, lost their social power outside of the indigenous communities of the country, the reality was that in the religious sphere, i. e. in the rural communities, elemental education remained in hands of the Catholic Church. This factor, added to the interest that the Church had in indoctrinating the indigenous population in their own languages, encouraged Murcio Valdovinos to start this enterprise. Thus, in April of 1854, Faustino Chimalpopoca wrote a review and critique about the proposal originally made by Mr. Valdovinos. In this review, Mr. Chimalpopoca agreed with the idea of materializing the proposal, even though he argued that it would take time.<sup>771</sup> Nevertheless, both Valdovinos and Chimalpopoca continued carrying out this plan with the help of several clergymen and others who likely have had access to these types of documents. One of the *Actas* from the sessions sponsored by the SMGE recorded that in one of these sessions:

[...]Mucio Valdovinos, haciendo proposiciones como presidente de la Comisión de Idiomas, con objeto de adquirir documentos pasa que sirvan al desempeño de su comisión. Que pase esta comunicación al Sr. Licenciado Don Faustino Galicia, a quien se le recomendará que además de las personas que indica el Sr. Valdovinos, agregue en el pedido a los E. E. e ilustrísimos señores obispos, suplicándole que este asunto lo despache a la mayor posible brevedad.<sup>772</sup>

The strategy of translating one single prayer into different languages reveals a lot about the interests and principles that drove Faustino Chimalpopoca. The first of these principals centered on the fact that, at this point of his life, Chimalpopoca revealed himself to be a very religious

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<sup>769</sup>*El gobernador del Distrito consulta sobre las renunciaciones de los regidores, Don Luis Muñoz, Don Juan Bustillo, Don Faustino Galicia y Don Rafael Lamadrid; y propone para llenar estas vacantes a Don José Fraflera, Don Joaquín Anzomena, Don Miguel Cervantes Estanillo y Don Ignacio Algara*, 11 de octubre de 1853, AGN, GD-10, Ayuntamientos, Volumen 31, fojas 319-327.

<sup>770</sup>It is sad to see that at this date, 1854, the general public already considered and deprecatingly described Nahuatl and other indigenous languages as “dialects.” See “Nota,” martes 11 de abril de 1854, *El Universal. Periódico Político y Literario*, Cuarta Época, Tomo XI, Número 42, 3.

<sup>771</sup>Ibid.

<sup>772</sup>“Actas de la SMGE,” March 9, 1854, AHSMGE, Actas; 1852-1863.

man. Contrary to his fellow Nahua intellectual predecessors, who expressed their ideas based on deistic terms, Chimalpopoca presented himself as a religious and devoted Catholic person. Also, it is plausible that, due to the conditions in which education reached indigenous populations at this point, Chimalpopoca considered that Catholic religion remained, after the reforms at San Gregorio, the primordial and last remaining gateway that Indigenous People had to basic literacy.

Mr. Chimalpopoca remained outside of the classrooms of the *Colegio de San Gregorio* during this same period, since his Nahuatl classes had been cancelled in this school between the years of 1853 and 1855. For a period of almost two years, Mr. Chimalpopoca probably survived by offering his services as lawyer or even as private tutor, instructor, or translator. In 1855, the same year that liberals rebelled against the dictatorship of Antonio López de Santa Anna, the so-called historical period of the *Reforma* began.<sup>773</sup> President Santa Anna, also known as *Su Alteza Serenísima* (S. A. S.), directly appointed Mr. Chimalpopoca as a professor of Nahuatl language at the University of Mexico. According to a published note in a newspaper, Chimalpopoca thanked President Santa Anna for his appointment on January 4, 1855 with the following words:

En la mañana de hoy ha sido en mi poder la comunicación con fecha del 2 del presente se sirve V. E. hacerme de haberse dignado S. A. S. nombrarme catedrático de la lengua mexicana, cuyas lecciones debo dar en la Universidad de esta capital conforme al plan que se acompaña. Por tan alto honor no puedo más que apresurarme a dar a S. A. A. las más expresivas gracias [...]<sup>774</sup>

After his appointment as professor of the Nahuatl language at the University of Mexico, Mr. Chimalpopoca continued occupying other prominent positions and continued being a member of the SMGE.<sup>775</sup> Chimalpopoca also appeared as a member of a jury for the rest of the year of 1855.<sup>776</sup>

## 7.5 The Bitter Years of the *Reforma*: Chimalpopoca as a Defender of Indigenous Land

During the troubling years of 1855 and 1856, the Mexican government switched from being politically Conservative to adopting a liberal system of government. The rebellion that started in Mexico after the issuing of the *Plan de Ayutla* (October 17, 1855) against the dictatorship of Santa Anna, ended up with the eventual installation of the interim presidency in Mexico of Juan Alvarez in late October of 1855. By December of the same year, Ignacio Comonfort held the presidency of Mexico which led to important transformations to indigenous communities.

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<sup>773</sup> See Robert H. Duncan, "Political Legitimation and Maximilian's Second Empire in Mexico, 1864-1867," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 12, No. 1 (Winter, 1996): 27-66, 30.

<sup>774</sup> "Nota," jueves 11 de enero de 1855, *El Universal. Periódico político y literario*, Cuarta Época, Tomo XII, Número 317, 1. The *Siglo Diez y Nueve* newspaper also confirmed this new.

<sup>775</sup> "Nota," sábado 17 de marzo de 185, *El Universal. Periódico político y literario*, Cuarta Época, Tomo XII, Número 382.

<sup>776</sup> "Nota," sábado 27 de octubre de 1855, *El Siglo Diez y Nueve*, Cuarta Época, Tomo IX, Número 2495.

The liberal administration of Comonfort, which also appointed Benito Juárez as president of the Supreme Court, marked the beginning of the Reform era. Although this period in Mexican history is indeed important, for the purpose of this study, I will mention only a few of the direct effects that this administration had on indigenous communities and hence their impact on the work of Faustino Chimalpopoca.

On June 25, 1856, President Comonfort issued the *Lerdo Law*, also known as the “*Ley de desamortización de bienes de manos muertas*” or “*Ley de Desamortización de las Fincas Rústicas y Urbanas de las Corporaciones Civiles y Religiosas de México*,”<sup>777</sup> a creation of the Minister of Hacienda, Miguel Lerdo de Tejada. The main purpose of this law was to mobilize and put into production all of the monopolized and unproductive lands in Mexico. Thus, this measure would, in the liberal idea, lead to a creation of small landowners, farmers or peasants, who they hoped would produce and extract direct profits from their work. However, this measure affected the economic activities as well as the social ties that existed among the indigenous communities of Mexico. Contrarily to what is widely publicized, this threat to collective property had already started with the Courts of Cadiz in 1812,<sup>778</sup> and continued with the abolition of the *parcialidades*. The issuing of the *Lerdo Law* only demonstrated that the problem between the basic ideas of liberalism and collective property still remained at that time.

After the issuing of this law, the discontent of both the Catholic Church in Mexico and the indigenous communities ignited. As we have seen throughout this work, indigenous communities maintained a long tradition of litigations and held a deep trust and confidence in the existent judicial and political institutions. Thus, the response that indigenous communities exercised towards the Lerdo Law remained focused on the juridical limits in which legal negotiations prevailed. In these legal cases, indigenous communities presented titles of property issued during the period of the Spanish colony and they also opted for defining territorial limits by following oral or written traditions, and by choosing legal representatives before the tribunals.<sup>779</sup>

The same year of 1856, the Minister of Finance, the creator of the confiscation law, Miguel Lerdo de Tejada, appointed Chimalpopoca as interim manager of the administration of the goods and funds of the former *parcialidades*: “[...] Licenciado Don Faustino Galicia vecino de esta capital, mayor de edad, a quien doy fe, dijo que es encargado interino de la administración de bienes y fondos de las llamadas *parcialidades*, con excepción de la de

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<sup>777</sup> *Ley de desamortización de bienes civiles y eclesiásticos* (México: Imprenta de Vicente G. Torres, 1856).

<sup>778</sup> See Jean Meyer, *De una revolución a otra. Antología de textos* (México: El Colegio de México, 2013), 198-200.

<sup>779</sup> José Velasco Toro, “Desamortización civil y resistencia india en México y Veracruz: De la Independencia a la Reforma,” in *Anuario VIII* (Xalapa: Centro de Investigaciones Históricas-Instituto de Investigaciones Humanísticas, Universidad Veracruzana, 1992), 23-56, 33.

Santiago [...].”<sup>780</sup> As I have analyzed in a previous chapter of this study, the administration of the assets and properties of the former indigenous *parcialidades* remained conflictive. The appointment of Mr. Chimalpopoca as interim manager of these former *parcialidades* probably encouraged the leaders of certain indigenous communities to ask Mr. Chimalpopoca to legally represent them before the tribunals. As the reputation of Mr. Chimalpopoca as an intellectual and as a person involved in politics increased, he started to represent several communities and individuals as well. The Historical Archives of Notaries in Mexico City reveals the large number of files and cases in which Chimalpopoca became involved between the years of 1855 and 1856.<sup>781</sup> The appointment of Chimalpopoca no doubt resulted from his ample credentials and knowledge about the administration of indigenous assets, but also the government must have known that his person could serve as a means of restraint and as a mediator of the contentions between the nonconformist communities and the government. According to the documentation, Chimalpopoca remained active in this position from 1855 and 1856. The cases in which Mr. Chimalpopoca became involved vary widely from adjudications, representations, last wills and testaments, and deeds for the purchase and sale of real estate.<sup>782</sup> However, all of these cases demonstrate the great trust that indigenous individuals had in Mr. Chimalpopoca, relying on him to represent them in these matters.

Probably inspired by the repercussions that the confiscation laws in Mexico had over indigenous communities, Mr. Faustino Chimalpopoca continued with his mission of translating and interpreting historical documents. Chimalpopoca’s interest in translating these documents relied on the fact that the Nahuatl language had by this time become obsolete as a means of presenting formal juridical documents in the court system. For instance, the cases in which indigenous communities had to present documents written in native languages as evidence in their cases made it hard for them to use and interpret them in favor of Indigenous Peoples in the court system. Another explanation for Chimalpopoca’s increasing focus on transcribing and now translating these Nahuatl historical sources might have been the focus of new requirements of

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<sup>780</sup> *Compra venta de inmueble*, 26 de julio de 1856, AHN, Notaría 721, notario Agustín Vera y Sánchez, Volumen 4857, f. 172r.

<sup>781</sup> *Compra venta de inmueble*, 25 de septiembre de 1850, AHN, Notaría 721, notario Agustín Vera y Sánchez, Volumen 4857. In this document Faustino Chimalpopoca appeared as the administrator of the former *Parcialidad* of San Juan. According to this information, Chimalpopoca helped the members of the *parcialidad* to sell “half of a small plaza” to Doña Ignacia Agreda.

<sup>782</sup> Among the large number of cases in which Mr. Chimalpopoca played a role as a legal representative or lawyer of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples in Mexico are: *Licenciado Don Faustino Galicia como curador de los menores Don Francisco Guadalupe y Don José Diego Valle y Medina, sobre que se declare no estar en el caso de pagar el seis por ciento de herencia transversales*, 1854, AGN, México independiente/poderes judiciales federal y local, Tribunal Superior de Justicia de la Ciudad de México Siglo XIX, Caja 0305. There is also another document *Testamento*, 26 de julio de 1855, AHN, notaría 722, notario Francisco Villalón, Volumen 4874, fojas 172r-174r. *Compra venta de Inmueble*, AHN, 5 de septiembre de 1856, acta 56456, folio 4920, notaría 535, notario Agustín Pérez de Lara; *Adjudicación*, 5 de septiembre de 1856, AHN, notaría 721, notario, Agustín Vera Sánchez; *Adjudicación de la parcialidad de Magdalena de las Salinas a través de su representante Faustino Galicia*, 25 de agosto de 1856, AHN, notaría 75, notario José Villela, Volumen 4931, fojas 33r-36r.; *Poder General*, 16 de junio de 1857, AHN, notaría 722, notario Francisco Villalón, Volumen 722.

scientific commissions which mandated that historians should be prolific in their scholarly production in order to remain members of these prestigious groups.

We know that Faustino Chimalpopoca formed part of the SMGE and that he actively collaborated with other historians and intellectuals in writing what would become the official history of Mexico. In this sense, the validity that Chimalpopoca had as specialist on the history of Indigenous People resided on his knowledge and willingness to participate with other non-indigenous intellectuals. Also, we can see that Mr. Chimalpopoca considering this period of major change in the political and social system as something that deeply affected indigenous communities and their legacy. This may have been the reason why he probably decided to produce new records, copies, and translations of all the indigenous documents to which he may have had access.

Moreover, Chimalpopoca's participation in the intellectual sphere depended on his work and efficiency to deliver his results publically for this group. Thus, several documents that he translated also referred to the early history of Mexico City and its original inhabitants. For instance, in 1856 Faustino Chimalpopoca transcribed a manuscript in the Nahuatl language entitled "*Cronología de los nahuas*" ("Chronology of the Nahua people").<sup>783</sup> In the "Chronology of the Nahua People," Faustino Chimalpopoca copied what seemed to be a manuscript from the early period of the Spanish conquest. The content of this work chronologically presents the succession of Nahua kings, with the date of their reigns, lives and deaths.<sup>784</sup> In this manuscript, Faustino Chimalpopoca displayed his integral abilities as copyist since this manuscript included not only the transcription of the original manuscript written in the Nahuatl language, but also iconographic information that represented calendrical dates and other information from the original document.

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<sup>783</sup> Faustino Chimalpopoca Galicia, *Cronología de los nahuas*, manuscript, 8 fojas, Classification: Mexico 1856-1857; Latin American Collection, Lilly Library, Indiana University, USA.

<sup>784</sup> Ibid.



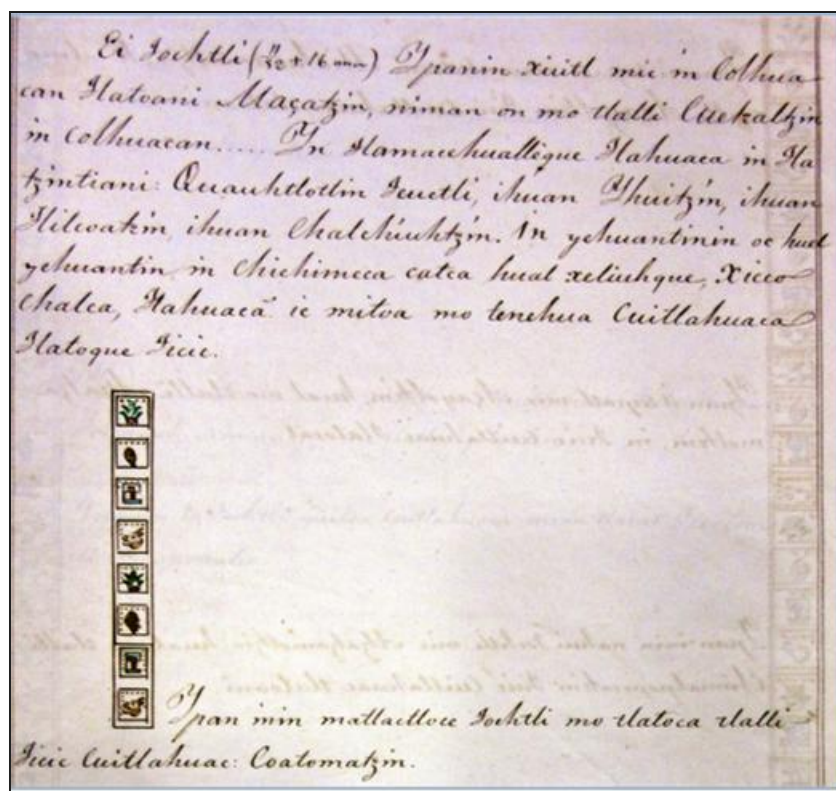


Figure 18. Fragment form the first page of *Chronology of the Nahua People*, copied by Chimalpopoca. Picture taken by Raquel Güereca.

In the last page of this copied manuscript, Faustino Chimalpopoca added the following information written in the Nahuatl language about the date he finished this manuscript: “*Axcan ipan ipan cempohualli ihuan ei tonalli metztli Abril 1856. Nehuatl ticic Cuittlahuac nochan ---- Lic. Faustino Chimalpopoca Galicia.*”<sup>785</sup> This phrase stated that Chimalpopoca completed this copy on April 3, at his house in Ticic, Cuittlahuac, present day Tlahuac, Mexico City.<sup>786</sup>

Although the information contained in this copy provided by Faustino Chimalpopoca remains clear, the transcription included several errors in the Nahuatl language.<sup>787</sup> This could be the result of the paleographic work made by Chimalpopoca on the original manuscript or may have been caused by the difficulties that interpreting the Classical Nahuatl language represented for him. Still, even considering these mistakes, the entire content of the manuscript is clear and probably very similar to the original.

<sup>785</sup> Faustino Chimalpopoca Galicia, *Cronología de los nahuas*, 12.

<sup>786</sup> Elia Rocío Hernández and Teresa Rojas Rabiela, “El reparto agrario y la transformación agrícola en Tláhuac, 1856-1992,” in *Estudios campesinos del Archivo General Agrario*, coord. Antonio Escobar Ohmsted (México: CIESAS, 1998), 89-91.

<sup>787</sup> I want to thank Eduardo de la Cruz, my Nahuatl language professor, from the IDIEZ Institute in Zacatecas, Mexico, as well as his collaborators, for assisting me with the partial translation of this document. I also acknowledge them for offering valuable input and information that contributed to my understanding of the content of this manuscript.

Nevertheless, Chimalpopoca received several criticisms from José Fernando Ramírez, and later on from Gumersindo Mendoza and Felipe Sanchez Solis, about the lack of precision in his translations from Nahuatl to Spanish. These negative reviews eventually marginalized Chimalpopoca's work, even though regulations and protocols for translating and transcribing historical documents were inexistent at the time.<sup>788</sup>

Around this year and probably inspired by the consequences of the confiscation laws, Faustino Chimalpopoca made copies of several documents concerning the history of the town where he used to live: Ticic, Cuitlahuac. For instance, by the end of the nineteenth century, Cuitlahuac disappeared as a municipality attached to the region of Tlaltenco. Additionally, during this decade of 1850, Faustino Chimalpopoca and his wife Francisca Osoy had their first male son, Pedro Pablo.<sup>789</sup> The births of his other sons and daughters may have inspired Faustino Chimalpopoca to preserve the history of this hometown Tlahuac for the sake of the family and its legacy. In this regard, it is important to consider that Alejo Chimalpopoca, Faustino Chimalpopoca's father, had also officially worked as notary and historian of his hometown, a labor that Faustino continued to follow (see Chapter 4 of this work). Faustino Chimalpopoca probably desired to preserve the history of Tlahuac hoping that one or more of his children might follow the professional path that both his father Alejo and he had chosen. However, I have been able to find any record that demonstrates that any of his children followed in his path as a Nahuatl intellectual. Nevertheless, his interest in his hometown continued, for example in 1853 Faustino Chimalpopoca made a copy of an ancient map of the town of Cuitlahuac,<sup>790</sup> and another one about the origins and territorial division of the town of Ticic, Cuitlahuac.<sup>791</sup>

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<sup>788</sup> It is probable that many of the criticisms of Chimalpopoca's literary translations of Nahuatl texts might have been motivated by his desire to show the beauty and poetic nature of the Nahuatl language.

<sup>789</sup> *Acta de bautismo de Pedro Pablo Fernando Chimalpopoca y Galicia, 30 de junio de 1851*, Registro Parroquial del Templo de la Asunción, en el Sagrario Metropolitano (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:NY3D-QFV>) Retrieved 28 July, 2015.

<sup>790</sup> *Mapa de Cuitlahuac. Copia sacada fielmente de su original por el Lic. Faustino Chimalpopoca Galicia*, 15 de febrero de 1853, Manuscript from the Biblioteca Nacional de México, Mexico City.

<sup>791</sup> *Origen de Cuitlahuac. Sacada de un manuscrito escrito en 1570 en el mexicano*. Copy made by Faustino Galicia Chimalpopoca on June 13, 1857. Manuscript from the Biblioteca Nacional de México, in Mexico City.

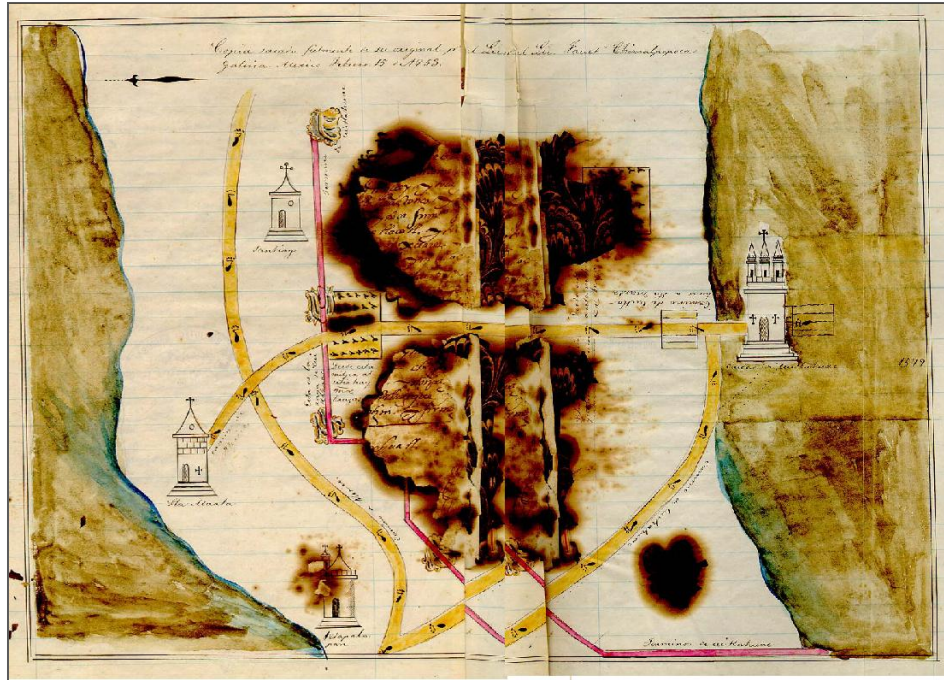


Figure 19. Map of the Town of Cuiclahuac. Copy made by Faustino Chimalpopoca on 1853. Biblioteca Nacional de México. Mexico City. Picture taken by the author.

Meanwhile, the active political life and changes in the country at the time again thrust Mr. Chimalpopoca upon the national stage. In 1856 D. Francisco Díaz Covarrubias founded and directed the new *Comisión Científica del Valle de México*. The main purpose of this commission focused on elaborating a hydrographic map of the Valley of Mexico.<sup>792</sup> The need that the new nation had for geographic, cultural and economic information about the country contributed to the creation of these scientific societies. Concerning its mission, this scientific commission stated that:

Deseando el supremo gobierno hacer un reconocimiento completo de la situación y estado del Valle de México, del que no existen otros datos y noticias que las dadas por el viajero Sr. Baron Humboldt [...] ha nombrado diferentes comisiones que lleven a cabo ese importante pensamiento.<sup>793</sup>

For accomplishing this purpose the commission appointed several prominent members from both political and scientific spheres to collaborate on this project. Among several of them were Manuel Orozco y Berra, in charge of the commission of statistics and geography; Francisco Salazar Ilárregui in the commission of astronomy, geodesics and topography; and José Fernando Ramírez in the fields of history and archaeology, with Faustino Galicia Chimalpopoca serving as

<sup>792</sup> Ramón Almaraz, *Memoria de los trabajos ejecutados por la Comisión científica de Pachuca: en el año de 1864* (México, J. M. Andrade and F. Escalante, 1865), 8.

<sup>793</sup> "Noticias nacionales. Comisión científica," sábado 1 de noviembre de 1856, *El Siglo Diez y Nueve*, Tomo X, Quinta Época, Año 16, Número 2850, 3.

the interpreter and translator of the Mexican (Nahuatl) language.<sup>794</sup> The said commission, according to a newspaper note, received resources directly from the government for its support, and most probably directly from the presidency. The reputation that Faustino Chimalpopoca held made him still considered as an authority on the Nahuatl language. As a member of the Commission of the Mexican Language, Chimalpopoca remained in charge of reviewing all of the Nahuatl language included in the publications and studies promoted by the said commission.<sup>795</sup>

Faustino Chimalpopoca also continued advising José Fernando Ramírez in his historical studies. In 1857, the SMGE commissioned Fernando Ramírez to write an introduction for the manuscript entitled “*La historia antigua de Tlaxcala*.” Previously the SMGE had commissioned Faustino Chimalpopoca to write something about another manuscript related to the history of Tlaxcala in 1850. In that year Faustino Chimalpopoca argued that he could not accomplish this task since he was unable to gain access to the manuscript, written in Nahuatl language, from the General Archive, where it was housed at that time. The title of this manuscript appeared as “*Historia y fundación de Tlaxcala*.” It is possible that this document, earlier referred in 1850, is the same analyzed by Fernando Ramírez on 1857 under another title. Although the newspaper notes that released this information apparently referred to different manuscripts, this work as we have seen above, probably was the work written by Diego Muñoz Camargo at the end of the sixteenth century, as I previously referred. In any case, Fernando Ramírez indeed worked on writing an introduction for this work, and Faustino Chimalpopoca took over the review of all the words in the Nahuatl language included in this material.<sup>796</sup>

While the shaping and the consolidation of an official nationalism began during this period in Mexico, several discussions and debates took place during the mid-nineteenth century about certain key national concepts. The scientific community was probably the first to stand out in these discussions. For instance, within the interior of the SMGE the definition of the word

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<sup>794</sup> Ibid.

<sup>795</sup> See Faustino Chimalpopoca Galicia, “Comisión de idioma mexicano,” October 28, 1856, in *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística*, Tomo IV, Núm. 7 (México: Imprenta de Vicente García Torres, 1856), 323-324.

<sup>796</sup> See *El Siglo Diez y Nueve*, miércoles 12 de agosto de 1857, 5a. Época, Año 17, Tomo II, Número 3225. According to the original note, the newspaper indicated that the SMGE had borrowed the manuscript from Sr. General García, without specifying the first name of Mr. García. This information also stated that the original of this manuscript belonged to Sr. Macedo. Similarly, the note failed to specify who actually Mr. Macedo was. It is my hypothesis that if this is the case, the original manuscript of Muñoz Camargo probably went out from the National Archive between 1850 and 1856, since in 1850 Mr. Chimalpopoca was unable to access the manuscript from this institution. It was probably between these years when the manuscript about the history of Tlaxcala fell into private hands. In any case, the original manuscript in the Nahuatl language about the history of Tlaxcala is currently missing. An edition in Spanish of Muñoz Camargo’s work was published by Alfredo Chavero in 1892. Chavero indeed mentioned that one of the copies that he consulted for the publication of this work was a copy in which Fernando Ramírez included several revisions and annotations. Nevertheless, Chavero failed to mention the participation that Mr. Chimalpopoca had in this revision carried out by Ramírez. This was probably the result of a boycott that Faustino Chimalpopoca’s work received after he supported the French Intervention in Mexico between 1864 and 1867.

Mexico, and consequently the meaning of the term Mexica, remained a topic of importance. In 1862, the SMGE published a series of discussions, called “dissertations,” about the origin and meaning of both the terms *Mexica* and *Mexico*. José María Cabrera was the first person to offer an explanation for the term Mexico. The proposal presented by Cabrera centered on the argument that Mexico did not come from the term *Mexi*. Cabrera also argued that the correct pronunciation of the word Mexico was *Meixco*, but over the time, this mispronunciation had led people to believe that the correct term was Mexico. By following this hypothesis, Cabrera assured that the term *Meixco* meant “in front of or at the frontier of the place of the maguey.”

<sup>797</sup> Cabrera arrived to this conclusion by putting together the Nahuatl terms *metl*, maguey, and *ixco*, frontier or border, and also by arguing that the first people who inhabited the capital came from Mexicaltzingo. Cabrera continued supporting his dissertation by constantly citing historical events about the migration led by the Aztecs to Mexico-Tenochtitlan. However, Cabrera set his research on what he considered “solid scientific proof” which led him to exclude, and even condemn, indigenous mythology about the foundation of Mexico as “ignorant and ambiguous explanations.”

[...] la historia que habla de augurios y de prestigios acerca de la fundación de México, es una mala traducción de la escritura en jeroglíficos que se cita, fundándose en cierta ignorancia y ambiguas explicaciones o ciencia oscura que quedó por tradición de los naturales.<sup>798</sup>

Although the explanation provided by Cabrera about the meaning of the said term seemed plausible, he also displayed his own views about Indigenous Peoples and their beliefs. By disqualifying the religious elements that indigenous tradition provided for explaining the foundation of Mexico-Tenochtitlan. Thus to prove the meaning of the term Mexico, Cabrera pretended to follow only the scientific evidence available at that time. Based on his arguments, he also had the purpose of stigmatizing indigenous knowledge as backward and ignorant. Moreover, he also emphasized the fact that all these beliefs resulted in the underdevelopment in which Indigenous People still lived during the nineteenth century.

Cabrera’s arguments demonstrated the stereotypes and poor image that many intellectuals had about the indigenous population in Mexico. This view can be explained by considering that the scientific basis of that time exclusively relied on material evidence and scientific methods. Thus, religious explanations, especially those of indigenous origins, represented the antithesis of enlightened knowledge. In this sense, Cabrera personified the people who idealized ancient Indigenous People while at the same time despising the Indigenous People of his own time.

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<sup>797</sup> “Sobre el origen de la palabra México,” in *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística*, 1ª. Época, Tomo VIII (México: Andrés Boix, 1860), 406-407.

<sup>798</sup> *Ibid.*, 407.

In the same publication, Cabrera also included a dissertation about the proper way to write the Aztec name Acamapixtli.<sup>799</sup> This argument pretended to strengthen his previous explanation about the word Mexico. According to this explanation, Cabrera consulted the *Codex Vaticanus* and he described how the representation of tlatoani Acamapixtli appeared with a maguey plant on his head and holding a bunch of reeds.<sup>800</sup> Cabrera concluded that Acamapixtli, as founder of Mexico Tenochtitlan, also was the inventor of the *chinampas*, the floating cultivable land. Although Cabrera did not cite other sources besides the *Codex Vaticanus*, it is evident that he based his arguments on the interpretation elaborated by Clavijero. Nevertheless, Clavijero had concluded that the interpretation of “Mexico” as “the place at the center of the maguey” was erroneous due to the linguistic structure of the Nahuatl language.

These racialized arguments that denigrated indigenous knowledge were sure to be rejected and challenged by Faustino Chimalpopoca, also an associate of the SMGE. In response to Cabrera’s dissertation, Chimalpopoca wrote a formal and extensive response and refutation to Cabrera entitled “*Apuntes sobre el origen de las palabras ‘Mexica’ y ‘Mexico’*.”<sup>801</sup> The content of this piece written by Chimalpopoca remained evidently confrontational against the ideas expressed by Cabrera. In his dissertation, Chimalpopoca discredited the idea that the word Mexico came from the other name that the Aztec god Huitzilopochtli received, *Mexihtli*.

Chimalpopoca proceeded to clarify his hypothesis by offering several examples about the conjugation and linguistic structure of the Nahuatl language. Through these rules, Chimalpopoca also denied the plausibility of the meaning of Mexico as the “place of maguey plants,” offered by Cabrera. Moreover, Chimalpopoca presented a vast historiographical review about primary sources and linguistic evidence in order to support his theory. He also displayed his vast knowledge about the history of the Nahua people and how they settled in Mexico, information which Cabrera failed to mention in his explanation, or deliberately left out.

The conclusion provided by Chimalpopoca was based on what Cabrera had described as “ignorant and ambiguous” arguments, since Chimalpopoca referred to the religious explanation of Nahua people about how and why they populated the region of Mexico City. Thus, Chimalpopoca argued, referring to the content of the *Codex Boturini*:

En este lugar habló Huitzilopochtli, diciendo: ‘Xiquimonana can in huei comitl imitlan cate yehuantin ya cachto tequitizque.’ ‘Tomad la olla grande de las que están con ellos, en señal de que serán los primeros que sirvan.’ Y para distinguirlos con insignas características, hacerlos nobles, o armarlos caballeros,

<sup>799</sup> José María Cabrera, “El primer rey de México, Acamapitzin y la chinampa,” in *Boletín de la Sociedad de Geografía y Estadística*, 407.

<sup>800</sup> *Ibid.*, 407.

<sup>801</sup> Faustino Chimalpopoca Galicia, “Apuntes sobre el origen de las palabras “Mexica” y “Mexico” in *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística*, 408-417.

les mudó el nombre diciéndoles: In axcan aocmo amotoca in Amazteca ye Amexica. ‘Desde hoy en adelante no tendréis ya el nombre Azteca, sino Exica: y les rodeó la cabeza de plumas, de donde resultó la palabra Mexica [...]’<sup>802</sup>

Based on this historical explanation, Chimalpopoca explained the meaning of the term Mexica by defining first the significance of the word Mexico. In this way, Chimalpopoca concluded that the term Mexica meant “noblemen,” and Mexico, “place where the noblemen live.”

As expected, Cabrera replied to Chimalpopoca’s presentation by disqualifying his grammatical knowledge about the Nahuatl language and what he viewed as his failed translations. Likewise, Chimalpopoca replied in response to his attack by arguing:

[...] para que no se me tenga por inventor de reglas, de diccionarios o de palabras mexicanas, de traductor arbitrario; y para no repetir lo que ya he dicho [...] copiaré al pie de la letra la parte relativa de la historia anónima sobre la peregrinación de los Aztecas, a fin de que a los inteligentes hagan la verdadera traducción [...]’<sup>803</sup>

In order to finalize this public discussion, José Guadalupe Romero and Francisco Pimentel, on behalf of the SMGE claimed that both proposals were valuable and that the society neither disqualified nor supported either of these dissertations. Instead, the SMGE promoted the public discussions that both interpretations could trigger.

The reality is that the meaning of the term Mexico is currently still debatable. Thus, in this section I do not pretend to analyze it, or to favor any of the arguments presented by either Cabrera or Chimalpopoca. Nevertheless, this discussion clearly exemplifies several aspects of the scientific societies and their members active and conflicting debates during the nineteenth century.

This scientific discussion took place first in the *Siglo Diez y Nueve* newspaper, and eventually the whole debate became compiled by the SMGE and published in its memorials.<sup>804</sup> By being publically published, this discussion reached a much wider public outside the scientific society. The main purpose of these types of publications was to present the topics of discussion, as well as their hypothesis, hoping that the public would join in and contribute to the debate over the topics.

What this public discussion also showed was the turn that the “Indian” matter took at that time. As we can see, Cabrera’s arguments represented the view that people in general had about Indigenous People: the historical indigenous communities deserved to be praised; however, the

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<sup>802</sup> Ibid., 410.

<sup>803</sup> Ibid., 415.

<sup>804</sup> “Nota,” martes 4 de marzo de 1862, *El Siglo Diez y Nueve*, Sexta Época, Año Vigésimo segundo, Tomo III, Número 414.



modern Indigenous Peoples still lived under their “backward and obscure beliefs” that exposed their belief in their general ignorance. On the other side, Chimalpopoca clearly stated the defensive arguments about Indigenous People’s history and the complexity of the Nahuatl language and the importance of the Nahua people’s history for the nation.

The arguments that Chimalpopoca presented in this discussion also lead me to consider the resources that he used, and his tendency to embellish the history of Indigenous People. This process of Chimalpopoca’s constant praising of Nahua history and language, added to the lack of rules for transcription and the difficulty that paleography and the interpretation of the Classical Nahuatl language represented for an individual like Chimalpopoca, came at the expense of his credibility as an expert in the Nahuatl language. Nevertheless, this discussion, especially the arguments that Chimalpopoca presented eventually prevailed and other scientists later cited his work.<sup>805</sup>

Meanwhile the SMGE continued supporting the participation of Mr. Chimalpopoca both as an historian and as a statistician. In 1862, this scientific society appointed Chimalpopoca to elaborate a synoptic chart about the prices of labor and wages in Mexico.<sup>806</sup> Along with his commitment to the society, Chimalpopoca continued copying and transcribing historical indigenous documents. Moreover, he also participated in the revision of the work entitled *Colección polidiónica mexicana que contiene la oración dominical vertida en cincuenta y dos idiomas indígenas de la república*,<sup>807</sup> with D. Manuel Orozco y Berra and D. Francisco Pimentel.<sup>808</sup> During the same session,<sup>809</sup> Chimalpopoca also decided to donate one of his most famous works *Silabario del idioma mexicano*<sup>810</sup> and also announced his forthcoming work *Disertación sobre el origen del modo de contar de los mexicanos*.<sup>811</sup>

With these two works Chimalpopoca sought not only to popularize his material on the Nahuatl language that he probably used in his classes, but also he sought to place himself as the definitive specialist on the Nahuatl language in the capital of the country. His two works about the Nahuatl language remained the only sources for teaching and studying the Nahuatl language produced during the nineteenth century.

While the scientific organizations in Mexico attempted to create an updated database concerning the natural resources, social and historical information of Mexico, the menace of another foreign intervention in the country appeared. By that year, French troops had already touched base in Mexico and several battles between the French and Mexican armies had taken

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<sup>805</sup> Ibid.

<sup>806</sup> “Nota,” sábado 24 de enero de 1862, *El Siglo Diez y Nueve*, 6ª. Época, Año 22, Tomo III, Número 375. México.

<sup>807</sup> *Actas de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística: Acta número 3*, 16 de enero de 1862, AHSMGE.

<sup>808</sup> “Nota,” domingo 23 de marzo de 1862, *El Siglo Diez y Nueve*, 6ª. Época, Año 22, Tomo III, Número 433.

<sup>809</sup> “Nota,” lunes 10 de febrero de 1862, *El Siglo Diez y Nueve*, 6ª. Época, Año 22, Tomo III, Número 392.

<sup>810</sup> Faustino Chimalpopocatl Galicia, *Silabario del idioma mexicano* (México: Tipografía de Manuel Castro, 1859).

<sup>811</sup> See Faustino Chimalpopoca, *Origen y modo de contar de los indios* (México: Editor Vargas Rea, 1947).



place. In the same year of 1862 while Chimalpopoca offered his works to the SMGE, the French troops had been defeated by the Mexican army in Puebla. Nevertheless, this defeat did not stop the Napoleonic troops and their advances into Mexican territory.

## 7.6 The Period of the Second Mexican Empire

The origins of the French intervention in Mexico during the nineteenth century had economic roots. Shortly after Independence, the incipient Mexican government suffered from a perennial lack of adequate funding and an almost non-existent tax base. Inheriting a bankrupted ex-colonial treasury, and having already eliminated much of its tax revenues with reforms, the new nation saw itself forced to take loans from foreign powers. Mexico had already accumulated large debts with Spain, France and England by the middle of the nineteenth century. This situation worsened beginning in July of 1861 when President Benito Juárez announced the suspension of all payments of the Mexican government's debt for two years. Consequently, in October 1861 England, France and Spain signed an agreement calling for a joint military intervention for the purpose of collecting their debts. In the same year Spanish, French and British troops landed in Mexico. However, Napoleon III also saw this as a chance to expand his imperial influence, unknown to his other foreign partners, had planned to place an emperor in Mexico instead of simply collecting the debt owed to France. British and Spanish troops quickly left the country, but the French forces remained behind in the country with more sinister goals of imperial expansion. Thus, from 1861 through 1863 several military encounters between the French troops and the Mexican army occurred.<sup>812</sup> On April 12, 1862,<sup>813</sup> President Benito Juárez officially announced that Mexico was at war with France.<sup>814</sup>

Without a doubt, the North American Intervention in Mexico during the 1840's had deeply influenced the life and work of Chimalpopoca. He witnessed the occupation of Mexico City at the hands of the North American troops, as well as the sacking, disorder and above all the danger that historical archives and schools suffered from this invasion. Given the possibility that the French troops could arrive in Mexico City and eventually take and sack the capital, the SMGE considered it pertinent to publish a statement against the foreign intervention. In this document the name of Faustino Chimalpopoca Galicia appeared again:

Como en la sesión de 23 del próximo pasado, de que ya di conocimiento al ministerio del digno cargo de vd., se dispuso que se fuera dando publicidad a las

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<sup>812</sup> See *Mexico: An encyclopedia of Contemporary Culture and History*, eds., Don M. Coerver, Suzanne B. Pasztor, Robert Buffington (Denver-Oxford, ABC-CLIO, 2004), 246.

<sup>813</sup> Patricia Galeana, ed., *El impacto de la intervención francesa en México* (México: Siglo XXI Editores), 45.

<sup>814</sup> *El Lic. Benito Juárez, Presidente Constitucional de la República, a la Nación*, abril 12 de 1862, as cited in Gustavo Adolfo Baz, *Vida de Benito Juárez* (México: E. Capdevielle, 1874), 235-237.

firmas de los socios, según fueran estos suscribiendo la protesta contra la intervención extranjera, tengo el honor de cumplir con dicho acuerdo [...]<sup>815</sup>

This SMGE's statement included the names of several members who pronounced themselves against the intervention. Just like the rest of the members of the SMGE, Faustino Chimalpopoca in solidarity appeared as defender of the sovereignty of the country; thus, implicitly supporting the legitimacy of President Juárez. However, as we will see, documentation from early in 1864 reveals otherwise.

Due to the lack of information surrounding this published statement, I can only assume that while Faustino Chimalpopoca signed the statement of the SMGE against the French intervention, he also had already established communication with the supporters of the intervention. This is the only way to explain that how even though this statement appeared in March, by October of the same year of 1863 Chimalpopoca traveled as a member of a commission of Conservative representatives who officially traveled to Europe to offer the throne of Mexico to Maximilian of Habsburg.

On July 2, 1863, the French threat forced President Benito Juárez to flee Mexico City, and by July 10 of the same year the conservative Mexican General Juan Nepomuceno Almonte and Dubois de Saligny entered into Mexico. Shortly afterward, Saligny chose the members of his *Junta Suprema de Gobierno*, composed of 35 members, as well as a special *Junta de Notables* which included 215 prominent Mexican people who supported the conservative cause.<sup>816</sup> At this point, the arrival of a European ruler was imminent since President Benito Juárez had fled the capital and no formal Mexican army offered resistance to the arrival of the French troops.

### 7.6.1 Chimalpopoca's Presence in Maximilian's Court

One month after these events took place, in July 1863, Faustino Chimalpopoca exchanged a series of letters with leaders of the Conservative party, who had already allied themselves with the French occupiers. One of the letters Chimalpopoca wrote he addressed to presbyter Francisco Javier Miranda y Morfi, one of the major leaders of the conservative party.

In his letter, Faustino Chimalpopoca acknowledged the leadership that Miranda had within the conservative movement after the *Ley Lerdo* of 1856. In this letter, Chimalpopoca, besides praising the victory of Miranda, also congratulated him on being considered one of the members of the *Asamblea de Notables*. Loosing no opportunity to advance the cause of his Nahua people, Chimalpopoca also pleaded with Miranda not to forget about the Indigenous People of Mexico, especially their education:

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<sup>815</sup> "Nota," sábado 9 de mayo de 1863, *El Siglo Diez y Nueve*, 6 Época, Año 23, Tomo V, Número 845.

<sup>816</sup> Patricia Galeana, *El pacto de la Intervención francesa*, 56.

Así es su influso [sic] se debe ciertamente la uniformidad de los votos para resucitar el grande impero de los aztecas por tal motivo quedo a vuestra perpetuamente reconocido y solo me resta por suplicarla [¿?] lo hago muy enardecidamente, tenga presente a la sufrida callada y agradecida raza pobre india para recomendar a la instrucción, al menos en los rudimentos de la religión ¿santa? de Jesucristo. De este modo, acaso no habrá en lo necesario, algún señor cura que me diga que los indios nunca han defendido la religión habiendo contestado que tampoco en nuestros tiempo ha habido quien nos la enseñe no obstante que en medio de tan impía [¿?] y tenas persecución que acabamos de sufrir, puedo decir que en los pueblos solos los indios, por inteligencia, o por rutina conservaron sus costumbres cristianas o religiosas.<sup>817</sup>

Through this letter Mr. Chimalpopoca expressed his concerns towards the new regime and advocated for the sake of the Indigenous Peoples under French occupation. The diverse positions that Chimalpopoca occupied in the Mexican government probably had given him ample experience that previous governments had not done much about the Indigenous Peoples in Mexico. Based on his experience, he witnessed how the *Colegio de San Gregorio* had been forcibly reformed and no longer served as an indigenous college, leaving indigenous students from the republic without access to higher and transitional education. Also, as a lawyer and legal representative of indigenous *parcialidades*, Chimalpopoca had seen how the *Lerdo Law* affected the collective and social structure of former *parcialidades*. The consequences of these confiscation laws had put several assets from *parcialidades* on sale and for purchase by people outside of the indigenous communities.<sup>818</sup>

It is possible that between July 15 and July 25, the day when Chimalpopoca wrote a declaration in favor of the new French regime, members of the conservative sphere had been in contact with Mr. Chimalpopoca. The inclusion of Mr. Chimalpopoca in the matters of the Conservative party and its plans for establishing a second Mexican monarchy are not surprising either. For decades, Mr. Chimalpopoca had worked very closely with indigenous students, intellectuals and leaders of indigenous communities. His expertise in different areas concerning Indigenous Peoples, as well as his credentials as public official, turned him into a valuable asset for the interests of the new political sphere. Mr. Chimalpopoca could serve the interests of the Conservative sphere as well, and no doubt he sought to do this in order to protect the interests of his own people.

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<sup>817</sup> *Adhesión de Faustino Chimalpopoca*, julio 15 de 1863, AHMNAH, Archivo del Emperador Maximiliano de Habsburgo, Viena, Archivo de Estado, Rollo 6.

<sup>818</sup> There are several cases currently housed at the Historical Notarial Archive in Mexico City (AHN), in which we can see the cases in which Faustino Chimalpopoca worked as a legal representative for several former *parcialidades* which sought advice from him on how to sell their assets to particulars.

Thus, ten days after sending this letter to presbyter Miranda, on July 25, 1863 Mr. Chimalpopoca wrote an “appeal” to “his brothers:” the Indigenous Peoples of Mexico. According to the sources, this manifesto was published in the Nahuatl language in October of the same year and distributed in different places of throughout the city and in other surrounding indigenous towns.<sup>819</sup>

During the period of both Santa Anna and Juárez’s presidencies, Chimalpopoca had not published any document complaining about their administrations. However, in this letter, Mr. Chimalpopoca openly showed his indignation about the administration of President Benito Juárez without even mentioning him by name:

Porque avocado con la confusa idea de reforma, creyó conseguirla, primero con negar la existencia del verdadero dios, [¿siervo?] autor del ser que disfrutamos, y con pretender hacer creer en segura que no tenía abastecimiento a querer dar cuenta de sus operaciones.<sup>820</sup>

Moreover, based on the content of the letter, we can read the generalized discontent that the Indigenous Peoples, especially those in Mexico City and those who Chimalpopoca had worked with, felt towards the administration of Benito Juárez. The members of the Conservative party realized the low approval that the policies issued by Juárez against corporative property had among the Indigenous People, so they capitalized on these disagreements by incorporating the figure of Faustino Chimalpopoca.

Mr. Chimalpopoca continued in this appeal by condemning the way Juárez’s administration had handled the religious practices among indigenous communities:

Vosotros mismos lo habeis palpado los unos y los otros lo habeis oido referir. Decidlo, pueblos todos, ¿no es cierto que aquellos perversos llamaron “fandanguitos” las misas y las funciones de iglesia? ¿No prohibieron que saliera públicamente el sagrado viatico? ¿No es verdad que os sujetaron a una completa privación de repiques, dobles, procesiones y de todo acto religioso? ¿No han perdido todos los pueblos sus tierras de comunidad y de repartimiento, solamente para favorecer y hacer dueños de ellas a los adoptarían por medio de la adjudicación? ¿Se podrá dudar que vosotros todos habéis andado ocultándonos en los montes las cuevas y las barrancas para librar a vuestras inocentes hijas y esposas de la violencia de los reformadores? ¿Y quién no se horroriza aun solo al oír el nombre de Juárez?<sup>821</sup>

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<sup>819</sup> Agustín Rivera, *Anales mexicanos: la Reforma y el Segundo Imperio* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1994), 148.

<sup>820</sup> *Un llamamiento a los mexicanos*, julio 25 de 1863, AHMNAH, Archivo del Emperador Maximiliano de Habsburgo, Viena, Archivo de Estado, Rollo 7.

<sup>821</sup> Ibid.

In this excerpt it is notorious how Chimalpopoca expressed the position indigenous communities had towards the secularism promoted by Juárez's administration. Additionally, Chimalpopoca expressed the disdain projected from the government towards the religious activities that, without a doubt, provided social cohesion within the interior of the indigenous communities. The liberalism promoted by Juárez and the members of his administration had been probably perceived by indigenous communities in Mexico as an open contempt for their religious practices and possibly even for their indigenous style of life. Thus, Chimalpopoca argued in his manifesto that with the arrival of a foreign Catholic ruler their "oppression" will end:

El señor ha alzado bandera para servir de señal a un pueblo lejano y lo ha llamado con silvo [sic] desde los extremos de la tierra, el cual de ley este ha acudido con la mayor celeridad para liberarnos, de tan atroz opresión. Este pueblo para nosotros es la Francia.<sup>822</sup>

If Indigenous Peoples had their doubts about what to expect with the new French-supported regime, Chimalpopoca explained to them that the new ruler will not steal their independence, their religion, or their property; on the contrary, he argued this new ruler would benefit them:

Pueblos indios, estad tranquilos. El príncipe que viene seguramente os hará mejor vuestra suerte, y no os quitará, como Juárez, hasta vuestra subsistencia, siendo él de vuestra raza. Es príncipe cristiano, y no es príncipe que echando lazo en vuestro cuello os conduzca al sacrificio. Todo cambiará, como ha comenzado ya en Méjico, en donde la leva, la persecución y el servil temor se han convertido en gusto y contento-[...]<sup>823</sup>

It seems that under Juárez' administration, Indigenous People not only felt under attack, but also ignored and even mocked and ridiculed. The agenda that Juárez had towards indigenous communities has been known for its strong idea of the forced incorporation of Indigenous Peoples into the Mexican-*mestizo* nationalistic discourse.

If Chimalpopoca had enjoyed social prestige due to his credentials and expertise in politics, it is even more a fact that due to his influences and knowledge about indigenous communities in Mexico that he eventually received an invitation to join the newly imposed empire. Thus, the commission of Conservatives who travelled to Europe to offer the Mexican throne to Maximilian of Habsburg invited Mr. Chimalpopoca to travel with them to meet with Maximilian of Habsburg in October of 1863.

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<sup>822</sup> Ibid.

<sup>823</sup> Ibid.

Mr. Chimalpopoca was not the only one who recorded this episode. Francisco de Paula de Arrangoiz also described the fact that Chimalpopoca travelled as a companion, though he did not play part a formal part as a member of the commission. Nevertheless, Chimalpopoca appeared impressed with the new Emperor and described his encounter with Maximilian as follows:

El 1o. de este mes en la noche llegamos a Trieste todos los individuos de la comisión. En el embarcadero del camino de fierro encontramos a los gentiles hombres del Archiduque que Fernando Maximiliano, Conde de Bombelle y Marques de Coris. Estos señores nos condujeron en los carruajes que tenían preparados por orden de S. P. F al hotel de la Ville, en donde se nos ha tratado con mucho decoro y distinción [...] El día siguiente tuve la honra de ser recibido por el príncipe, quien se había ya dignado fijar el dia 3 para nuestra recepción.<sup>824</sup>

Additionally, Chimalpopoca narrated the enthusiasm that Maximilian showed towards his person:

En segundo, pasó el archiduque mismo a las habitaciones de S. A. y la archiduquesa que [?] al estandarte al salón acompañado de su camarera mayor la Condesa de Lubron y de su dama de honor la princesa de Averperg hecha por mí la presentación de los señores de la comisión, [...]“Terminada la primera parte de nuestra comisión, el Archiduque despidió a esta el 5; pero al mismo tiempo me invitó a permanecer a su lado por cuatro días más, con los señores Velázquez de León, Aguilar e Hidalgo.”<sup>825</sup>

In his own account, Arrangoiz also described the positive impression that Mr. Chimalpopoca had caused on Maximilian due to his indigenous origins:

Muy satisfecho quedó S. A. de las conversaciones cortas que tuvo, durante la comida y después de ella, con los individuos de la diputación. [...] Lo que sí le dijo el Archiduque al autor de estos apuntes, fue que habría deseado que todos los individuos de la diputación hubieran sido mejicanos por nacimiento, y que hubiera formado parte de ella el Sr. D. Faustino Galicia Chimalpopoca.<sup>826</sup>

This first impression that Chimalpopoca created on Maximilian prevailed during the entire period that the French intervention lasted in Mexico. Subsequent correspondence reveals that José M. Gutiérrez de Estrada cultivated a close relationship with Mr. Chimalpopoca, who

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<sup>824</sup> *Un llamamiento a los mexicanos por Faustino Chimalpopoca Galicia.*

<sup>825</sup> Ibid., pages without numbers.

<sup>826</sup> Francisco de Paula de Arrangoiz, *Historia del Segundo Imperio Mejicano* (Madrid: Imprenta de M. Rivadeneyra, 1869), 148.

enthusiastically expressed his gratitude to Gutiérrez Estrada for considering him to travel with them and meet with Maximilian.<sup>827</sup>

After Maximilian accepted the throne of Mexico on April 10, 1864, Gutiérrez Estrada, as leader of the Mexican Commission after the members of the commission returned, had proposed to Chimalpopoca to go back to Europe to accompany Maximilian on his trip from Miramar to Mexico. However, Chimalpopoca was unable to accomplish this task due to financial matters, as he described it:

[...] siento entrañablemente no poder ir a cumplir con el llamamiento de Nuestro Gran Maximiliano; primero porque de Supremo gobierno según me dijo el Señor Secretario del Ministerio de Relaciones Don Miguel ¿Trejo?, no tiene dinero para costear mi viaje, y segundo, porque mis circunstancias particulares absolutamente no me permiten ni aun moverme; pero quizá en algún tiempo podrá servir en algo mi inutilidad [...]<sup>828</sup>

Chimalpopoca was not the only person attracted by the new regime. Other prominent citizens and intellectuals quickly joined the enthusiasm for the Mexican monarchy.<sup>829</sup> On May 28, 1864 Maximilian of Habsburg and his empress Carlota arrived at the port of Veracruz and the following day the Emperor and his wife arrived at the town of Soledad, a distant community from the port. At Soledad, Maximilian and Chimalpopoca met again.<sup>830</sup> Faustino Chimalpopoca apparently escorted the Emperor Maximilian and his wife Carlota on the rest of their journey towards Mexico City and he also seemed to appear with them in public events. According to the documentation, we know that during this trip Emperor Maximilian and his wife Carlota stopped in different towns in order to announce the beginning of the imperial government. In several of these public proclamations, Chimalpopoca remained in charge of providing a public speech to the inhabitants of the towns upon their arrival. For instance, on July 1, 1864, the emperor, his wife and other members of the imperial retinue visited Orizaba, Veracruz. During their visit, the Emperor and his wife realized several protocol events and afterward they received the visit of the local authorities. Later on, the Emperor listened to a speech in Nahuatl language that a clergyman of the town of the Naranjal, Veracruz, had prepared for the occasion.<sup>831</sup> Since the

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<sup>827</sup> *Carta de Arroyo a Chimalpopoca. Anuncia la aceptación de la corona*, noviembre 14 de 1863, AHMNAH, Archivo del Emperador Maximiliano de Habsburgo, Viena, Archivo del Estado, rollo 12, Expediente 74.

<sup>828</sup> *Carta de Chimalpopoca a Gutiérrez Estrada. Agradecimiento por lo que ha hecho y hace*, noviembre 25 de 1863, AHMNAH, Archivo del Emperador Maximiliano de Habsburgo, Viena, Archivo del Estado, Rollo 12, Expediente 75.

<sup>829</sup> Patricia Galeana de Valadés, *Las relaciones iglesia-estado durante el Segundo Imperio* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1991), 93-96.

<sup>830</sup> Niceto de Zamacois, *Historia de Méjico. Desde sus tiempos más remotos hasta nuestros días: escrita en vista de todo lo que de irrecusable han dado á luz los más caracterizados historiadores, y en virtud de documentos auténticos, no publicados todavía, tomados del Archivo nacional de Méjico, de las bibliotecas públicas, y de los preciosos manuscritos que, hasta hace poco, existían en las de los conventos de aquel país*, Volumen 17 (Barcelona: J. F. Párres, 1881, p. 284.

<sup>831</sup> *De Miramar a México*, 114-115.

clergyman pronounced his speech in Nahuatl, Faustino Chimalpopoca translated it into Spanish for the Emperor and his wife. Emperor Maximilian also pronounced in Spanish a brief response to this welcoming speech, which Faustino Chimalpopoca similarly translated into Nahuatl for the general public.<sup>832</sup> The assistance that Faustino Chimalpopoca provided to the Emperor Maximilian in translating and interpreting diverse speeches from Nahuatl into the Spanish language is well documented in diverse works.<sup>833</sup> For instance, upon their arrival in the town of Cholula, Emperor Maximilian received a group of Indigenous Peoples who addressed him in the Nahuatl language; Faustino Chimalpopoca rapidly translated these speeches into Spanish for the Emperor. Similarly, Chimalpopoca interpreted into the Nahuatl language the corresponding response provided by Emperor Maximilian which caused an enormous joy among the attendants.<sup>834</sup>

On June 11, 1864 Maximilian of Habsburg and his wife Carlota made their first entry into Mexico City. Just as in the rest of their previous visits throughout various towns, upon their arrival into Mexico City, the Emperor Maximilian and his wife received an elaborate reception. As part of the celebration, the Emperor and his wife formally received several delegations from diverse parts of the country. The members of these delegations pronounced several speeches, either in Spanish or Nahuatl, which Faustino Chimalpopoca translated for the monarchs.<sup>835</sup> It is apparent that during their initial travels that Faustino Chimalpopoca not only served as an interpreter, but he also acted as a sort of ambassador for the Indigenous Peoples of Mexico before Emperor Maximilian. For instance, as part of the official festivities to welcome the emperor and his wife to the capital of the country, Faustino Chimalpopoca delivered a speech, both in Spanish and Nahuatl, in representation of the Indigenous Peoples of the country. Part of Chimalpopoca's speech included the following ideas:

Ye huécouh Azteca, Yepalli, in ti huei Maximiliano, mitzmo chíelítica.  
*El antiguo Trono de los Aztecas, ¡oh gran Maximiliano! Os está esperando.*

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<sup>832</sup> Ibid. For a more detailed account about this same speech translated by Faustino Chimalpopoca see Ferdinand Anders and Maarten Jansen, *El Manual del Adivino: Libro explicativo del llamado Códice Vaticano B* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1993), 115-116.

<sup>833</sup> It is also important to note that Anders and Jansen (in footnote 6 in Anders and Jansen, *Manual del Adivino*, 115-116) first traced this mentioned speech translated by Chimalpopoca for Emperor Maximilian in Orizaba by chronicling the publication of this speech in various 19<sup>th</sup> century sources, which include the following: *Alocuciones, cartas oficiales & instrucciones del Emperador Maximiliano durante los años 1864, 1865 y 1866* (México: Imprenta Imperial, 1867); as well as in the *Advenimiento de SS. MM. II. Maximiliano y Carlota al trono de México. Documentos relativos y narración del viaje de nuestros soberanos de Miramar a Veracruz y del recibimiento que se les hizo en este último puerto y en las ciudades de Córdoba, Orizava, Puebla y México* (México: Imprenta de J. M Andrade y F. Escalante- Edición de "La Sociedad," 1864). I have also found another account of this speech in the work *De Miramar a México*, 114-115.

<sup>834</sup> *De Miramar a México*, 187.

<sup>835</sup> Ibid., 298.



In huel nelli macehualmecayo, amoqui pie thein mitsmo huentilliz, in Tihuei Tlatoani, ca zan itlatocatopil in to huei Moteuczoma [sic].

*La raza indiana pura no tiene otra cosa que ofrecer, gran Príncipe, sino el cetro de Moctezuma.*

Xihualmo huica, in Ti tlauizpilli, ihuan ximo chiuhtzino, tito Teoyatica Napalolliz in To Teouio Jesucrito.

*Venid, ¡oh Príncipe insigne! Y sed nuestro firme apoyo en la Religión Santa de Jeuscristo.*<sup>836</sup>

The administration promoted by Maximilian, to the chagrin of the conservatives, remained based mostly on liberal ideals. Moreover, his conciliatory rhetoric about government made him even appoint open supporters of liberalism and the policies that Juárez had first established, which alienated from him the support of the Conservative group.<sup>837</sup> Also, Maximilian had openly spoken about “parliamentary liberalism” and “constitutional rule” before his arrival to Mexico.<sup>838</sup> In 1865, Maximilian published the *Estatuto Provisional del Imperio Mexicano*, which set the basis for the new government, as well as establishing the different branches for public administration.<sup>839</sup> The *Estatuto* declared that the government of Maximilian would be a moderate inheritable monarchy, and it dealt with the appointment of ministers, the creation of a State Council, tribunals, the organization of the military, the limits of the territory, defining the members of the nation, and a setting up of individual rights, such as freedom of worship and the right to *Habeas Corpus*.<sup>840</sup> Among several of the individual rights included, the *Estatuto* mentioned the right to possess property, the right to exercise their freedom religious practices, and the prohibition of confiscations of goods, and an open freedom of the press.<sup>841</sup>

Although the *Estatuto* clearly stated the way the Empire would work, in reality the materialization of this plan struggled due to several reasons. First of all, the reign of Maximilian became characterized for its excessive and expensive ceremoniousness and protocol,<sup>842</sup> and upon his arrival he found a severely depleted national treasury, a divided army, and conflicts between the Emperor Maximilian’s open liberalism which bothered Mexican conservatives, among many

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<sup>836</sup> Ibid., 350.

<sup>837</sup> For more information about the Second Empire in Mexico and the role that Emperor Maximilian had on it, see the books of Ferdinand Anders: *Maximilian und das Segundo Imperio Mexicano: Wissenschaft, Munzen und Medaillen, Ordenwesen, Philatelie* (Wien: Ezenhofer, 1974), *Maximilian von Mexiko: Erzherzog und Kaiser* (Verlag St. Polten: Niederösterreichisches Pressehaus, 1982) and *Von Schönbrunn und Miramar nach Mexiko : Leben und Wirken des Erzherzog-Kaisers Ferdinand Maximilian* (Graz : ADEVA, Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 2009).

<sup>838</sup> Robert H. Duncan, “Political Legitimation and Maximilian’s Second Empire in Mexico, 1864-1867,” 33.

<sup>839</sup> *Estatuto Provisional del Imperio Mexicano* (México: Imprenta de Andrade y Escalante, 1865).

<sup>840</sup> Ibid.

<sup>841</sup> Ibid., “Título XV: de las garantías individuales,” 8-10.

<sup>842</sup> See Manuel Payno, *Cuentas, gastos, acreedores y otros asuntos del tiempo de la intervención francesa y del imperio. De 1861 a 1867* (México: Imprenta de Ignacio Cumplido, 1868).

other problems.<sup>843</sup> As a consequence, the shaping of the new cabinet remained troubled from the outset. Several of the appointees, such as José Fernando Ramírez, initially opposed the French intervention; however, he too eventually accepted the position of Minister of Relations in the new imperial court.<sup>844</sup>

The interests that Emperor Maximilian had towards indigenous population no doubt were probably rooted in his liberalist ideas. Concepts such as cultural pluralism, ethnic inclusion and self determination most likely influenced and increased the interest of the emperor for this sector of the population. It has to be noted that the emperor himself came from a multi-ethnic and multi-languages empire of Austria-Hungary. Nevertheless, the knowledge that Maximilian may have had at that time probably came mostly from history books that he had read during his youth and previous to his arrival in Mexico. He most likely also gathered information from Mexicans who took part in the commission that offered him the throne, as well as reports, and from, what we will see below, Faustino Chimalpopoca had told him.

Maximilian's desire to know more specific information about the indigenous population of Mexico made it necessary for him to rely on the knowledge of the local erudite scholars. Thus, a month after the official establishment of the Mexican monarchy, Don Francisco Pimentel wrote to Emperor Maximilian the *Memoria sobre las causas que han originado la situación actual de la raza indígena de México y medios para remediarla*.<sup>845</sup> The content of Pimentel's work expressed certain contradictions and prejudices that, as we read in Cabrera's definition about the word Mexico, already prevailed among the *mestizo* intellectual class of Mexico. The purpose of this essay focused on providing the Emperor Maximilian with a general overview about the character of Indigenous Peoples from Mexico through an analysis of historical evidence and comparisons. Pimentel sustained that:

Contentémonos, pues con fijar la vista en los puntos más notables de la civilización mexicana, y con hojear la historia de los indios [...] porque solo comparando al indio antiguo con el moderno podremos conocer su diferencia; solo la historia de la raza indígena nos indicará las causas de su abatimiento.<sup>846</sup>

In his work, Pimentel portrayed, in very negative terms, nineteenth-century Indigenous Peoples. He described their original religion as backward and as non-enlightened as Catholic religion. Pimentel argued that only Catholicism could enlighten what he called "the vile spirit of

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<sup>843</sup> See *Examen crítico del príncipe Maximiliano de Austria en México* (México: Imprenta de Vicente G. Torres, 1867).

<sup>844</sup> Luis González Obregón, *Vida y Obras de Don José Fernando Ramírez* (México: Imprenta del Gobierno Federal, 1901), 20.

<sup>845</sup> Francisco Pimentel, *Memoria sobre las causas que han originado la situación actual de la raza indígena de México y medios para remediarla* (México: Imprenta de Andrade y Escalante, 1864).

<sup>846</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

indigenous persons.”<sup>847</sup> In general terms, the portrayal offered by Pimentel about Indigenous People remained negative and also revealed a lack of understanding that this generation of *mestizo* intellectuals had about the negative effects that colonialism had over indigenous communities and the way in which nineteenth-century Indigenous People had handled these effects. For instance, Pimentel mentioned the counterproductive effects that the enlightenment and education had produced in modern Indigenous People since, as he argued, they had both turned them into nagging people:

Ilustrado el indio, pero desenvolviéndose en él un talento maligno, su civilización traería males y no bienes. En la tribuna de las cámaras, en las reuniones populares hemos ya oído a los indios ilustrados vociferar contra los blancos, hemos visto a menudo, algunos abogados de color excitar a los naturales contra los propietarios, decirles que ellos son dueños del terreno, que le recobren por fuerza.<sup>848</sup>

In this excerpt Pimentel made it evident that outspoken, educated, intellectual Indigenous People made most people feel uncomfortable, and represented an inconvenience for the prevalent political class. For instance, Pimentel also mentioned that even President Alamán had mentioned the dangers of making the “Indians” able to understand the content of newspapers.<sup>849</sup> Pimentel eventually concluded, in a very contradictory argument, that the only solution for “fixing” Indigenous Peoples was either to kill them or to transform them through the immigration of white European people with the purpose of merging these two human types into another class of *mestizo* people, or what he called a “race of transition” towards the ultimate purpose of gradually eliminating the “indigenous race” from the country.<sup>850</sup>

Through available documentation we know that Emperor Maximilian eventually supported the idea of promoting the immigration of white European descent people into Mexico. However, Maximilian’s goals focused not only on “improving” or “whitening” the indigenous “race,” but all Mexicans. Maximilian had concluded that Mexicans in general carried with them several moral vices such as laziness and corruption.<sup>851</sup> Moreover, the option of promoting the immigration of “white people” into Mexico under the sponsorship of Emperor Maximilian did not remain a secret.<sup>852</sup>

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<sup>847</sup> Ibid., 152.

<sup>848</sup> Ibid., 233.

<sup>849</sup> Ibid.

<sup>850</sup> Ibid., 234.

<sup>851</sup> For a more in-depth view of the nineteenth-century concepts of Mexican mestizos see Argelia Segovia Liga “As Seen through Foreign Eyes: Nineteenth Century French Images of Mexico and Mexicans and Their Contributions to the Creation of a National Stereotype, 1822-1873” (M.A. Thesis, Missouri State University, 2010).

<sup>852</sup> Alfred J. Hanna and Kathryn Abbey Hanna, “The Immigration Movement of the Intervention and Empire as Seen Through the Mexican Press,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 27, No. 2 (May, 1947):220-246.

Before his official arrival, Emperor Maximilian had received information about the nature of all of the inhabitants of Mexico, most probably from diplomatic information readily available to him.<sup>853</sup> For instance, several of the reports that Maximilian received from the members of his cabinet remained consistent about the idea that the Indigenous Peoples' conditions of life remained inferior in Mexico due to two main causes: the negative effects of the Spanish conquest and colonization and the lack of willingness from the political class to help them:

And it is very evident that the native race is inferior now; but after the conquest and all the states swims they have done anything to help the native race, and just by exception some Indians have been accepted in the caste of the "peoples of reason."<sup>854</sup>

The arguments that Pimentel presented in his work no doubt deeply bothered Faustino Chimalpopoca and his own views about the situation of Mexico's Indigenous Peoples. Faustino Chimalpopoca had been educated with the ideas about sovereignty and inalienable rights that Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque and Juan Rodríguez Puebla had earlier exposed publically. These early writings also had denounced and exposed the fatal consequences that centuries of colonialism had over indigenous communities, their lands, traditions and even their psyche.

The political and philosophical ideas with which Chimalpopoca had been educated, as well his experiences in working on alleviating indigenous communities' problems, surely made him disagree with several of the ideas exposed by Pimentel. Especially the arguments in which Pimentel indicated that educated Indigenous People could be annoying and hard to deal with may have been a personal affront to Chimalpopoca when the author referred, probably to Chimalpopoca, by saying that "lawyers of color" only rant against white people. By expressing this statement, Pimentel clearly expressed his incomprehension and unwillingness to understand the sentiments of Indigenous Peoples and their rejection of Spanish colonization as the cause that had created their troubles.

Eventually, Francisco Pimentel played a role as an advisor to Emperor Maximilian in matters concerning the *Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística*<sup>855</sup> and general

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<sup>853</sup> The literature that supports the argument that Emperor Maximilian indeed received detailed information about Mexico, its people and its geography prior and during his staying in Mexico is vast. For instance, see E. de Fleury, "Noticias geológicas, geográficas y estadísticas sobre Sonora y Baja California", in *Correspondencia secreta de los principales intervencionistas mexicanos. La intervención francesa en México según el archivo del Mariscal Bazaine* (México: Editorial Porrúa, 1973), 557. In the same book see the letters from January 7, 1865, and January 22, 1867. See also *Versión francesa de México. Informes Diplomáticos (1863-1858)*, Volumen Primero, trans. Lilia Díaz, (México: El Colegio de México, 1963).

<sup>854</sup> *Minuta de carta del Gral. Bazaine al Emperador Napoleón III en contestación a la carta de este fechada el 12 de septiembre de 1863, y con vastos informes sobre la situación militar social y política de México*, México, 25 de octubre de 1863, as cited in François-Achille Bazaine, *La intervención francesa en México según el archivo del mariscal Bazaine II* (México: Editorial Viuda de C. Bouret, 1908), 146-147.

<sup>855</sup> José Ignacio Durán, Tomás Murphy, José Fernando Ramírez, J. Urbano Fonsecas. *Sociedad de Geografía y Estadística: nombramientos de José Ignacio Durán y Aniceto Ortega y Francisco Pimentel para Vice Presidente*

geographical information about the country.<sup>856</sup> However, Pimentel did not appear as an advisor about indigenous affairs or any related matters during the period of the Second Empire. It is probably that sections of his work *Memoria sobre las causas...* had led to some serious questions for Maximilian since several arguments of the work remained contradictory and conflictive to the liberal mentality of the monarch. For instance, the praising of Mesoamerican cultures, to some extent, and the aberration that Pimentel expressed about current living Indigenous Peoples in his work, probably made Emperor Maximilian consider him as unfit to occupy or lead a ministry associated with any indigenous affairs. Still, Pimentel eventually occupied a position in which he was in charge of promoting the immigration of foreigners into Mexico.<sup>857</sup>

Based on the sources produced by Maximilian we notice that the image that he had about Indigenous Peoples in Mexico remained rooted on the idea of the “noble savage” theory that prevailed in Europe at that time. During his first month of residence in Mexico, Emperor Maximilian and his wife Carlota had shown special interest for the Indigenous Peoples in Mexico, as the sources revealed:

El Emperador y la Emperatriz especialmente manifiestan un interés preferente por los indios, a quienes tratan con predilección, admirando su amable carácter y su sencillez. En Orizaba, llevaron a bautizar y fueron padrinos de un indio infeliz. Aquí, en su Palacio, tienen tres a su servicio personal, a quienes he visto yo, vestidos con casacas de paño de grana, medias de seda, calzón corto y zapatos de charol, con un porte y unos modales, que parecen antiguos cortesanos. Uno de ellos se llama Juan Vargas. En la Villa oyeron tocar unas chirimías de los indios y quisieron que tocaran otra vez, porque les cayó en gracia la música.<sup>858</sup>

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y *Segundo Secretario*, 7 de enero 1865 - 22 de enero 1867. Ministerio de Negocios Extranjeros, AGN, Segundo Imperio, Caja 19, Expediente 067.

<sup>856</sup> *Gabinete Civil del Emperador. Leopoldo Río de la Loza, Francisco Pimentel. Correspondencia referente a: mención de la entrega de planos y dibujos relativos a las concesiones de las vías de Tehuantepec; disposiciones para colocar el retrato del Emperador en la Academia de Ciencias; acuse de recibo de conocimiento del establecimiento de las capitales de los departamentos del Imperio; nombramiento de Severo Castillo como general de brigada en Yucatán; órdenes para destinar los hospitales militares de Puebla y Orizaba para el uso de las tropas austro belgas; llamada de atención al ministro José Salazar de Illaregui por el desorden en la organización de su Ministerio*, 15 de Marzo 1865 - 18 de Junio 1866, AGN, Segundo Imperio, Caja 58, Expediente 021.

<sup>857</sup> *Los alcaldes de los pueblos de San Francisco Acayucan, San Bartolo y Zereso pertenecientes a la municipalidad de Teloayucan del Distrito de Pachuca, solicitando se declare vigente la ley de 31 de julio de 1854 referente al deslinde a las propiedades raíces, y la expedición de un decreto que arregle los pactos de los operativos de campo con los labradores*, agosto de 1865, AGN, Segundo Imperio, Caja 27, Expediente 079 A, foja 11v. In this document Faustino Chimalpopoca mentioned Mr. Pimentel as the person in charge of the organization of providing land and *terrenos baldíos* for the foreign immigrants who wanted to settle in Mexico.

<sup>858</sup> *Carta de Don José Ignacio Palomo*, México, 25 de junio de 1865, as cited in *Maximiliano y el imperio según correspondencias contemporáneas, que publica por primera vez don Manuel Romero de Terreros, Marqués de San Francisco* (México: Editorial Cultura, 1926), 25.

Both the information that Maximilian and the Empress might have had about Indigenous People from Mexico could have come from former diplomats, members of the army, personnel from his cabinet, and even from Faustino Chimalpopoca. Due to the good relationship that existed between Emperor Maximilian and Faustino Chimalpopoca from the first day they met, as well for the admiration that Maximilian had towards Chimalpopoca's works and credentials, and also probably from the direct recommendation from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, José Fernando Ramírez, Emperor Maximilian decided to integrate Faustino Chimalpopoca into his cabinet.

### **7.6.2 The Culmination of Nahua Collective Efforts: The *Junta Protectora de las Clases Menesterosas***

There is no doubt that Emperor Maximilian viewed the Indigenous People from Mexico under the European perspective of the “noble savage.” This concept also implied paternalistic arguments that supported the idea that Indigenous Peoples were somehow inferior and that they needed assistance in order to thrive.<sup>859</sup> Also, from the public audiences that Emperor Maximilian used to have at the imperial residence in Chapultepec, he could assess the immediate needs of this class.<sup>860</sup> Indigenous Peoples became fully aware of the existence of these personal audiences since the empire published these corresponding bylaws both in Spanish and Nahuatl. The notification about the public audiences reached both indigenous communities from the city and many of those from distant regions.<sup>861</sup> Moreover, the open contempt that several Mexicans, members of Maximilian's cabinet, showed towards Indigenous Peoples probably conducted Maximilian to consider the creation of a special board to deal with issues concerning Indigenous Peoples in Mexico.<sup>862</sup>

Based on all this information, the administration of Maximilian of Habsburg in Mexico quickly became characterized by standing against the policy of confiscation of communal indigenous properties that had been promoted during the presidencies of Comonfort and Juárez.

<sup>859</sup> Patricia Galeana de Valdés, *Las relaciones iglesia-estado durante el Segundo Imperio*, 156.

<sup>860</sup> “Título I, Artículo 8: Todo mexicano tiene derecho para obtener audiencia del Emperador, y para presentarles sus peticiones y quejas. Al efecto ocurrirá a su Gabinete en la forma dispuesta por el reglamento respectivo,” in *Estatuto Provisional del Imperio Mexicano* (México: Imprenta de Andrade y Escalante, 1865).

<sup>861</sup> “Tlatecpanaliztli itech pani tlacaquiliztli/ Reglamento para las audiencias públicas,” in *Maximiliano de Habsburgo. Ordenanzas de tema indígena en castellano y náhuatl*. Trans., Miguel León Portilla (Querétaro: Instituto de Estudios Constitucionales de Querétaro, 2003).

<sup>862</sup> *Carta de Doña Rincón de Palomo*, 25 de junio de 1864, as cited in *Maximiliano y el imperio según correspondencias*, 28. In the said letter, Doña Rosa del Rincón narrated how Almonte and other members of the court had not allowed a group of Indigenous People to gain an audience with Emperor Maximilian. After knowing about the incident Emperor Maximilian personally invited this group of Indigenous People to what seemed to be the imperial residence in Chapultepec to have a personal audience with him. He later invited the members of this group to eat with him. The original citation is: “Manuel muy querido: Ya Nacho te dice algo de los ocurrido con la entrada del Emperador y creo que tú, que eres verdadero patriota. Lo querrías, si estuvieras aquí. Tiene una predilección muy marcada por los indios, a los que, en los pueblos donde fue llegando antes de entrar aquí, los sentaba a comer con él; y lo sigue haciendo aquí. Esos, de que te habla Nacho, lo pararon en la plaza, al salir de Palacio, y le dijeron que Almonte y otros no los habían dejado entrar a Palacio, y él entonces se revolvió con ellos y les dio un audiencia más larga que a los personajes; y luego los convidó a comer y comieron con mi papá y mi mamá [...].”

This position placed Maximilian's administration close to the protectionism practiced by previous Spanish colonial regime. Also, these measures can be compared to the reigning socialist ideas prevalent in Europe at the time which sought the protection and promotion of the proletariat class, both urban and rural.<sup>863</sup>

Supported by these ideas, Emperor Maximilian apparently appointed Faustino Chimalpopoca as *Visitador imperial de los pueblos y posesiones de indios* on November of 1864.<sup>864</sup> Faustino Chimalpopoca probably occupied himself only with cases within Mexico City and its environs since available documentation showed that there were several *visitadores de pueblos* assigned regionally.<sup>865</sup> From this position, Faustino Chimalpopoca probably found the initial platform to advocate for indigenous communities and conduct the complaints that indigenous communities in Mexico had directly to Emperor Maximilian. An overview about the cases recorded by Chimalpopoca as *visitador* illustrates that most of these complaints revealed a series of abuses committed by particular citizens against indigenous communities. The nature of these cases also gave evidence to how unprotected indigenous communities had remained in the hands of *hacendados* or land speculators.

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<sup>863</sup> See Jaime del Arenal Fenochio, "La protección del indígena en el Segundo Imperio mexicano: La Junta Protectora de las Clases Menesterosas," *ARS IURIS*, No. 6 (1991): 524.

<sup>864</sup> See Margarita Carbó, "La Reforma y la Intervención: El campo en llamas," in *La cuestión agraria mexicana. La tierra y el poder, 1800-1910* 2, 82-267, 174 (México: Siglo XXI Editores, 1988). Several authors, such as Margarita Carbó, Arenal Fenochio and Erika Pani cited the following source to support this argument: AGN, Visitador Imperial de los Pueblos y Posesiones de Indios, legajo 1770. However, I have been unable to find this series at the AGN, either in the catalog or in the archive.

<sup>865</sup> For instance, the section labeled "Segundo Imperio" at the AGN, in Mexico City, currently houses the following documents that reveal the existence of several regional *visitadores* under the command of Emperor Maximilian. Only to mention a few of them, see. José Fernando Ramírez, Martín de Castillo y Cos. *Correspondencia del Ministerio: Publicación del Diario del Imperio. Informe del Visitador Imperial de Oaxaca: Rechazo de disidentes por fuerzas austriacas bajo el mando de Mayor Hotze en Ixtlan*, 1 de septiembre 1865–13 de diciembre 1865, Caja 10, Expediente 16; J. D. Ulibarri. *Oficios y acuerdos referentes a: informes de la llegada del visitador imperial la Paz; al traslado de los archivos del Congreso y del Tribunal de Cuentas y a la remisión del informe del visitador de la cárcel de Belén*, 1 de diciembre de 1865, Caja 32, Expediente 72; J. D. Ulibarri, Santiago Méndez. *Oficio referente al informe del visitador imperial de Baja California sobre las disputas y desmanes ocurridos con motivo de la elección de nueva autoridad política; acuse de recibo del proyecto para el arreglo de la contabilidad administrativa del Tribunal*, 20 de junio de 1866, Caja 32, Expediente 75; Emperador Maximiliano. *Acuerdos referentes a: rechazo de solicitudes de rebajas para el pago de derechos de importación; concesión de plazo al contador de la administración principal de rentas de Guadalajara para que presente las fianzas con que debe caucionar el manejo de su empleo; nombramiento de Francisco Manero como visitador de la administración principal de rentas de Querétaro; concesión de reservas de solicitudes de empleo*, Caja 35, Expediente 19; Emperador Maximiliano. *Acuerdos referentes a nombramientos de: Rafael Espinosa como comandante militar de Baja California y visitador Imperial de aquel departamento, de Luis de Arroyo como encargado interino del despacho de la Subsecretaría del Ministerio de Negocios Extranjeros, y de José María Yañez como prefecto del Palacio Nacional*, 14 de agosto de 1865, Caja 35, Expediente 24; Gabinete Civil, Montellano, Langlais. *Oficios y correspondencia referente a: propuesta de los habitantes de Tenancingo para destinar el templo del Santo Desierto al culto católico; informe de la libertad del visitador de la recaudación principal de contribuciones directas de Toluca; solicitud de beca de gracia para la Academia de San Carlos; informe de envío de la planta de empleados y sueldos de la administración de rentas de Tulancingo*, 2 de diciembre 1865–21 de diciembre 1865, Caja 38, Expediente 47.

Thus, on April 10, 1865, probably under advice from Chimalpopoca, Emperor Maximilian decreed the creation of the *Junta Protectora de las Clases Menesterosas* (JPCM). The empire also published this decree which created this dependency of government both in Spanish and Nahuatl, so that peoples from the “needy classes” would have access to it. The published decree stated:

Considerando que desde que aceptamos el trono de México, al que fuimos llamados por la voluntad del pueblo, las clases menesterosas han sido siempre objeto de nuestra especial solicitud [...] hemos podido conocer las necesidades y sufrimientos de que hasta hoy han sido víctimas: a efecto de mejorar lo más eficazmente posible la condición de esas clases desgraciadas, y deseando para ello [...] decretamos [...] una junta que se denominará “Protectora de las clases menesterosas” [...]<sup>866</sup>

This new *Junta* remained under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Government, and it included five advocates, or *vocales*, which included a President, Vice-President and the Sub-Secretary. Likewise, the *Junta* also had the ability to create and appoint “*juntas auxiliares*” in all the “municipios” of the empire.<sup>867</sup> Consequently, Emperor Maximilian appointed Faustino Chimalpopoca as the President of the newly issued *Junta*:

S. M. el Emperador, atendiendo a la aptitud y circunstancias que concurren en el Lic. D. Faustino Chimalpopoca. Ha tenido a bien nombrarlo para el empleo de Presidente de la Junta Protectora de las clases Menesterosas con el sueldo anual de mil y quinientos pesos= Por tanto manda el Emperador que se tenga por tal Presidente al expresado Lic. D. Faustino Chimalpopoca; y tomadas razón de este despacho en las oficinas respectivas, y previos los demás requisitos de estilo, se ponga al interesado en posesión del mencionado empleo y se le abone el sueldo referido=<sup>868</sup>

According to the decree, the *Junta* focused on receiving all of the complaints from the so-called “needy classes” and finding the way to bring justice to them. However, the *Junta* only had the power to receive, analyze, organize and make proposals for the possible solution of the reported conflicts based on the evidence available in each case. Afterwards, the *Junta* would send its verdict to the emperor through the Ministry of Government or the corresponding dependencies. In other words, the *Junta* worked as an intermediary between the so-called “needy classes” and the authorities with the power to solve their requests.

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<sup>866</sup> Maximiliano de Habsburgo. *Ordenanzas*.

<sup>867</sup> Ibid.

<sup>868</sup> *Nombramiento de Faustino Chimalpopoca como presidente de la Junta Protectora de las Clases Menesterosas*, 28 de abril de 1866, AGN, Instituciones gubernamentales: época moderna y contemporánea, Administración pública federal S. XIX, Gobernación siglo XIX, Despachos, Volumen 1, fs. 150.



In her own studies, Ericka Pani concluded that through the creation of the JPCM, Emperor Maximilian had considered that the disadvantages these indigenous communities faced were the direct result of years of colonialism and exclusion. Thus, contrary to the *patriotas criollos*, the emperors did not disassociate the relationship that existed between the glorious Pre-Columbian past and the living Indigenous People from the nineteenth century.<sup>869</sup> Also, the JPCM did not provide Indigenous People with a different status that differentiated them from the rest of the Mexican inhabitants, but the decree provided them equality before the law but also recognized their different needs. According to Pani, the JPCM represented a palliative for the indigenous communities during their transition to modernity, and their eventual division into small private landholders.<sup>870</sup>

Although the decree for this *Junta* specified that it would receive the complaints from all “needy people,” most of the files collected by this imperial institution came largely from indigenous communities.<sup>871</sup> Thus, the efficiency of the way the *Junta* worked resulted in an extensive production of files containing diverse complaints. Most of these cases came from indigenous communities fighting for regaining the lands that they had lost due to the confiscation law of 1856. Other cases included information about the delimitation of new territorial borders. Most of the cases gathered by the *Junta* concerned land or water disputes. Faustino Chimalpopoca, as the *Junta*’s president, directly reviewed these claims, probably because he had a wide experience in working with documents related to these communities and their issues with land reform. Consequently, indigenous communities overwhelmingly surpassed the number of complaints to the members of the *Junta* in comparison to other needy, marginalized and pauperized people.

It is not difficult to conclude that the high number of cases submitted to the *Junta* by members of indigenous communities resulted from having an indigenous person as president of this institution. Moreover, the intellectual tradition of Indigenous Peoples had demonstrated that in general they had special respect for following the judicial procedures through the corresponding authorities. In this sense, we can note from the documents from the *Junta* that indigenous communities still remained confident in their indigenous community leaders and the governmental institutions of the time. Additionally, the *Junta* and the way it worked closely resembled the earlier colonial courts of the *Juzgado de Indios*, courts that had been abolished along with the Spanish colonial system in early nineteenth century.

<sup>869</sup> Ericka Pani, “¿"Verdaderas figuras de Cooper" o "pobres inditos infelices"? La política indigenista de Maximiliano,” *Historia Mexicana* 47, no. 3 (1998): 571-604, 575.

<sup>870</sup> *Ibid.*, 588.

<sup>871</sup> Miguel León Portilla stated that in the translation of the decree made for the creation of this junta into the Nahuatl language, the word “needy,” “menesterosa” in Spanish, was translated as “altepeme,” by the translator in charge (possible Chimalpopoca). For this argument see *Maximiliano de Habsburgo. Ordenanzas de tema indígena en castellano y náhuatl*, 13. However, by reviewing the text we can notice that the translator decided not to interpret the word “menesterosa” and that instead he decided to leave it in the Nahuatl text in its original Spanish. In other cases within the same document, the translator decided to use the term “motolinia” to refer to the needy people, or the term “motolinia tlaca” or “motolinianime tlaca” in plural.

All of this evidence refers to the development of a long historical process that indigenous communities experienced which had enabled them to rely on authorities to channel their complaints and seek redress of the problems that concerned their communities. These documents also demonstrate how disruptive the period of the Reform became for these indigenous individuals and their communities. The documentation concerning the *Junta Protectora* includes several cases from other parts of the republic and even from regions that make up the modern United States, which demonstrated the Pan-American indigenous identity that prevailed among indigenous communities during the entire time of the European colonization of the Americas.

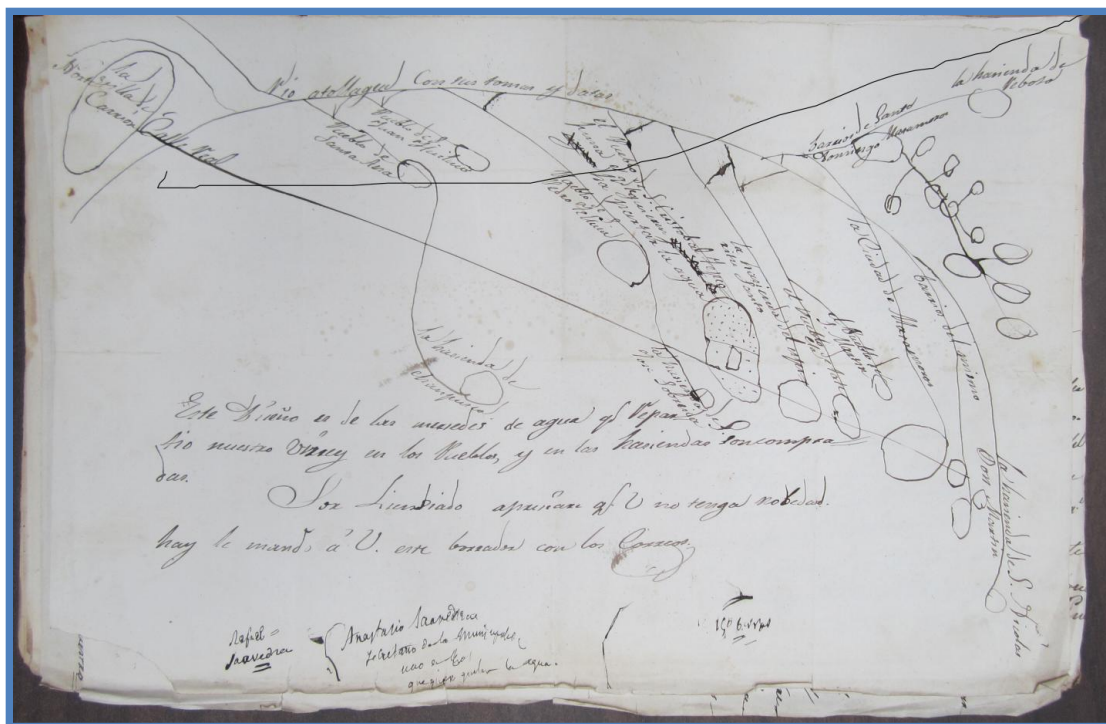
Through an exhaustive revision of the files archived under the JPCM, we can note several factors in its brief existence. In first place a high level of participation from indigenous authorities existed in these cases. In several of them, the legal representative of the “common people” continued to be their *alcaldes* or *gobernadores indios*. Also, Indigenous People forcefully complained about the tragic results that the law of 1856 had on their land and their economic productivity. In several cases, these indigenous communities complained that they ended up forcibly working for *hacendados* and the wealthy families who purchased their lands they lost. Consequently, Indigenous People used the JPCM to denounce the abuses that these *hacendados* committed against them.

In other cases, the problems faced by indigenous communities originated with the law of 1856 and caused severe limitations in their community’s access to “common water,” which the new *hacendados* eventually monopolized. In other cases, the *títulos primordiales* of the towns, which the National Archive supposedly housed, remained lost; so that several towns were unable to find the copies of their land titles and subsequently filed suit with the *Junta*. In some cases, these community leaders were forced to provide oral accounts about the history of their land holdings and their limits (for an example see the map below in “Figure 20,” submitted by the community leaders of Tepojuma).

On the other hand, in several cases, the land titles were written in the Nahuatl language or *mexicano*. In these cases, the petitioners referred to the official translator and paleographer of the National Archives for providing a translated copy from their land titles for the cases in which the titles appeared attached to the complaint submitted to the Junta.<sup>872</sup>

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<sup>872</sup> *Los vecinos del pueblo de Tepetlaxpa del Distrito de Chalco, pidiendo se les declare en posesión del Rancho del Jardín, mandado rematar por la Administración de bienes nacionalizados*, junio de 1866, AGN, Gobernación, Junta Protectora de las Clases Menesterosas, Volumen 7.



**Figure 20.** Map included in the document entitled *Títulos de seis surcos de agua del pueblo de San Cristóbal Tepojuma, Puebla* submitted to the *Junta Protectora de las Clases Menesterosas* in 1866. Archivo General de la Nación. Picture taken by the author.

After Emperor Maximilian issued the law of June 26, 1866 several towns sought to repossess their lands, which had already been taken by other individuals. In one particular case, the Indigenous People from the town of Nonoalco asked to reclaim the lands that the *Compañía del Campero* had previously purchased under the presidency of Benito Juárez. However, they argued that the said company never occupied nor produced anything on these lands, and thus it did not comply with the orders. In this case, Faustino Chimalpopoca did not submit this request to the Minister of Government, but rather on June 2, 1866 he informed: “[...] hágales saber a los vecinos del Pueblo de San Miguel Nonoalco, que conforma a la ley del 26 del próximo pasado junio, pueden proceder a la adjudicación de las tierras que solicitan según ella la dispone.”<sup>873</sup> Eventually the verdict was sent to the Minister of Civil Affairs. In a different litigation the same affected community of Nonoalco denounced that the person or companies to which they sold their land had not paid them for the transaction.<sup>874</sup>

<sup>873</sup> *El pueblo de San Miguel Nonoalco solicitando el paternal amparo de S. M. El Emperador, a fin de conservar sus terrenos de comunidad, junio de 1866, AGN, Gobernación, Siglo XIX, Junta Protectora de las Clases Menesterosas 138, Volumen 7 (file without number).*

<sup>874</sup> *Manuel Pérez por el barrio de Zihuateotzin en el pueblo de Santa Ana Chantempan Departamento de Tlaxcala pide que el ayuntamiento de aquel pueblo le devuelva 250 pesos calor de unos terrenos de la propiedad del barrio, vendido por este a los empresarios del ferrocarril y de los que el ayuntamiento dispuso, 1866, AGN, Gobernación, Junta Protectora de las Clases Menesterosas, Volumen 7.*

In another interesting case taken by the JPCM, one of the *vocales* of the *Junta*, made a visit to a jail in Cuernavaca in order to evaluate the conditions of the prisoners in the local jail. After his visit, the official wrote an interesting report to the *Junta* asking for improving the conditions of the prisoners in order to make the prison a place for reformation where the individuals could receive at least a “taste of human dignity.”<sup>875</sup> In conclusion, we can state that the cases archived and received by the JPCM demonstrated the interest that their members had in offering aid for several of the problems that afflicted certain marginalized sectors of imperial Mexican society.

At this point the pertinent question to ask is what does the activities of the JPCM reveal about the intellectual activity of Faustino Chimalpopoca? How can we assess the intellectual influence that Chimalpopoca had on Indigenous Peoples and their communities, and what influence did he have on Emperor Maximilian’s decisions? Moreover, what does his leadership on the JPCM reveal about his mentality and his role as a Nahua intellectual?

According to the documentation, it is likely that Chimalpopoca had directly influenced Emperor Maximilian in creating the *Junta Protectora*. Prior to the creation of the JPCM, Chimalpopoca indeed conducted several official visitations to indigenous communities in order to assess the problems that they faced at that time. Thus, Chimalpopoca wrote several reports about the problems that these communities faced. These reports reveal the methodical process through which Chimalpopoca processed the information that he obtained from interviewing the members of these communities. After this, Chimalpopoca wrote several reports that included *ocursos*, or legal representation documents, and copies of land titles. Finally Chimalpopoca added to these reports and included an unofficial legal verdict, and a legal opinion about the possible solution to the corresponding issue. Several of the cases compiled by the JPCM referred to problems that involved illegal appropriation of indigenous lands, or abuses committed by *hacendados* or wealthy entrepreneurs against their laborers, most of them of indigenous descent.<sup>876</sup>

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<sup>875</sup> *Dictamen de la Junta Protectora de las Clases Menesterosas con motivo de los males que sufren los presos de la cárcel de Teloloapan del Departamento de Cuernavaca*, 3 de septiembre de 1866, AGN, Gobernación, Junta Protectora de las Clases Menesterosas, Volumen 7, Expediente 213.

<sup>876</sup> This can be illustrated by a series of documents currently housed in the AGN, under the classification Fondo: Gobernación-Siglo XIX, Sección: Segundo Imperio. For instance, see the following cases: *Pleito de los de Calpulalpan*, enero 3 de 1865, AGN, Gobernación, Segundo Imperio, Caja 41, Expediente 005. *Pleito interpuesto por los vecinos del pueblo de San Cristobal Nexquipaya*, 12 de febrero de 1865, AGN, Gobernación, Segundo Imperio, Caja 27, Expediente 076 A; *Los de Tupaltepec contra la Hacienda de los Pozos por despojo*, marzo 13 de 1865, AGN, Gobernación, Segundo Imperio, Caja 32, Expediente 105; *Los pames contra las autoridades del pueblo y los ricos de sus pueblos por maltratarlos*, (document without date), AGN, Gobernación, Segundo Imperio, Caja 32, Expediente 104. In this mentioned document the Pame people also offered to adhere to the imperial army in retribution for reviewing their case. *El vecino Baltazar Temazcalac por un problema que tiene por el acceso al agua en contra de los dueños de la Hacienda de Don José María Teisiere, quien no los deja tener acceso al agua*, AGN, Gobernación, Segundo Imperio, Caja 35, Expediente 56.

Since the JPCM was inexistent at the time that these reports reached the cabinet of the emperor, Faustino Chimalpopoca resolved to conduct these complaints directly in consultation with the Emperor Maximilian by using the public hearing process that the emperor had promoted upon his arrival to Mexico. Based on this evidence, it is plausible that Emperor Maximilian realized that land problems, as well as the use of water resources, and the abuses that the population claimed to endure at the hands of *hacendados* and “the local wealthy people” from the region, as the petitioners described in their complaints, remained a real issue for the inhabitants of these communities. Before the overwhelming number of cases in which these problems prevailed and the increase in the number of petitioners requesting a public hearing with the Emperor, it is possible that Maximilian ordered the creation of the JPCM in order to alleviate some of the problems exposed by the petitioners or to better channel and review them before recommending action to the corresponding imperial authorities. This task must have eventually appeared so overwhelming as to need special handling by a special institution well versed and experienced in studying and acting in these disputes. Thus, the creation of the JPCM, led by the figure of Mr. Chimalpopoca, represented the best possible course of action in this process, since its new president had gained great familiarity and specific experience in solving these obstacles in favor of indigenous communities.

Hence, the creation of the JPCM is the direct result of the influence that Chimalpopoca had on Emperor Maximilian. Therefore, it seems that Chimalpopoca through his influence was able to express his concerns about the fate and the position that Indigenous People would occupy under the new imperial order. With the creation of the JPCM, Chimalpopoca could provide a solid judicial presence for the indigenous communities, something which seemed to be ignored or put aside by the justice systems under the previous presidency of Benito Juárez. The high number of files, complaints, petitions and visitations submitted to the JPCM demonstrate the large number of communities that felt that they lacked a voice within the Mexican justice system prior to the creation of this board. Moreover, the files and documentation of this *Junta* offers us evidence of the continued interest that Chimalpopoca had in understanding the importance that collective land had for indigenous communities, something no other contemporary political figure seemed to understand at that point.

In several cases, Chimalpopoca himself seemed to personally review the information that the petitioner or petitioners provided to the *Junta*. In many cases, Chimalpopoca had to examine and determine the authenticity of the documents or the legal evidence that these communities provided. This could seem a difficult task; however, by following this process, Chimalpopoca displayed his wide knowledge about history, law, procedures and indigenous historical documentation, as well as his critical thinking.

From his position as the president of the *Junta*, Chimalpopoca provided a final assessment to several, but not all, of the cases that reached the *Junta*. For instance, in one case, George Gamboa claimed to be a direct descent from the Moctezuma family, which was the reason

why he considered that he deserved to receive part of the inheritance that Bernardo Tovar Mendoza de Austria y Moctezuma had left behind after his death.<sup>877</sup> In order to defend his request, Mr. Gamboa presented copy of a title of nobility as well as a coat of arms from the Austria y Moctezuma family that, according to him, proved his noble lineage.

By reading the case closely, it seemed very plausible that Mr. Gamboa was indeed a member of the Austria y Moctezuma family. However, the assessment and final ruling provided by Chimalpopoca denied Mr. Gamboa's argument. Chimalpopoca's arguments displayed the ample knowledge that he had about the history of indigenous nobility. Also, in order to support his discoveries, Chimalpopoca also presented a genealogical chart of the Austria y Moctezuma family in which, he argued, Mr. Gamboa remained excluded. As a conclusion, Chimalpopoca suggested to the members of the *Junta* that Mr. Gamboa should provide his baptism records in order to determine his relationship with the Austria y Moctezuma family.



**Figure 21.** Coat of arms provided by Jeorge Gamboa to prove his noble origins to the members of the *Junta Protectora*. 1866. Picture taken by the author.

By occupying his position at the head of the *Junta*, Faustino Chimalpopoca continued what Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma, Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque and Juan Rodríguez Puebla had done in the early nineteenth century: defending the right of Indigenous Peoples to have access to education, the right to have and administer their collective land and assets in the benefit

<sup>877</sup> See Don Jorge Gamboa, vecino de la Ciudad de Guadalupe Hidalgo, sobre que se le considere con derecho a la sucesión testamentaria de Don Bernardo de Austria y Moctezuma, marzo de 1866, AGN, Gobernación-Siglo XIX, Segundo Imperio, Junta Protectora de las Clases Menesterosas, Volumen 7, Expediente 168.

of their communities, and giving them a collective voice in a justice system characterized by its individualistic nature.

Additionally, the appointment of Mr. Chimalpopoca as the President of the JPCM had also influenced other indigenous groups to ally themselves to the Imperial Army.<sup>878</sup> There are several accounts about the visits that Indigenous People from the northern regions of Mexico and also parts of the United States made to Emperor Maximilian.<sup>879</sup> The purposes of the visits varied according to the groups and their needs. However, considering that the indigenous voices in both American and Mexican governments were purposely absent, the notice that Emperor Maximilian had appointed an indigenous lawyer as head of one of his imperial institutions created a very positive impression in other indigenous groups.

### **7.7 The Collapse of the Second Mexican Empire and its Intellectuals: The End of the “Rupture Generation”**

The Second Empire in Mexico arose without the political or economic basis sufficient enough to subsist for a long period of time. Unfortunately for the empire, on May 31, 1866 Emperor Maximilian received a notification from French Emperor Napoleon about his decision to remove French troops from Mexico. This dramatic measure left the Emperor Maximilian without the support to continue his reign. Added to this circumstance, the Civil War in the United States had ceased and both consecutive Presidents Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson declared support for President Benito Juarez.

Before this situation, Empress Carlota left Mexico to France in order to appeal for aid that might keep the Mexican Empire standing. However, she received negative answers from Napoleon and eventually went to appeal to the Pope in Rome. Meanwhile in Mexico, José Miramón and Leonardo Márquez organized forces to substitute the French army, which remained under the command of Maximilian. Finally, in January of 1867 the French army left Mexico. Shortly after, Maximilian abandoned Mexico City and fled northward to Queretaro. This abandonment of the capital led by Maximilian represented practically the end of the official imperial activities. With the ceasing of governmental and bureaucratic activities the empire quickly fell and so did its many institutions.

After Maximilian surrendered to the republican troops in Queretaro, the Juarez regime placed him on trial and judges found him guilty of treason, usurpation of the public power,

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<sup>878</sup> For instance, see *Los gobernadores de cinco pueblos pames solicitan audiencia*, (no date), AGN, Gobernación, Segundo Imperio, Caja 32, Expediente 104, f. 9r.

<sup>879</sup> *Orden suprema para que los fondos del ayuntamiento se eroguen los gastos que ocasione la permanencia en esta ciudad de los comisionados de las tribus Mascoguas y Kipapus*, 1865, AHDF, Ayuntamiento, Hacienda y fondos municipales, Volumen 2109, Expediente 170.

filibustering which led these judges to sign Maximilian's execution decree of October 3, 1865.<sup>880</sup> The Emperor was finally executed on June 19, 1867. Although the Imperialist troops resisted a few months longer against the Republicans, the reality soon became apparent that the imperial plan was dead. On July 15, 1867, President Benito Juárez entered Mexico City, which represented the formal re-establishment of the Democratic Republic of Mexico.

Little is known about what actually happened to Faustino Chimalpopoca after these events. On September 6, 1867 his name appeared on a list, published by the *Monitor Republicano*, in which he was condemned to serve 2 years of confinement as a punishment for supporting the French Intervention.<sup>881</sup> There is no further documentation to corroborate if Chimalpopoca actually served his sentence. María Teresa Sepúlveda stated that one of Chimalpopoca's daughters, Concepción Oscoy, said: "Cuando entraron los liberales, buscaron a Faustino Galicia Chimalpopoca para fusilarlo, pero se ocultó en un sótano; saquearon la casa y rompieron los muebles. Allí habían ocultado las alhajas más costosas de muchas iglesias."<sup>882</sup>

This statement seems to contradict the official resolution that only charged Chimalpopoca with two years of imprisonment, not with execution. It is uncertain if Faustino Chimalpopoca remained in Mexico or exiled himself as his friend José Fernando Ramírez and others had done.

It is not until 1873, when Chimalpopoca reappeared in the historical record and completed a copy of the land titles from the town of Santa María Nativitas, Texcoco. Although Chimalpopoca did not make this copy public, it is the first information about him that we are able to find after he supposed condemnation and imprisonment order. This date suggests that Chimalpopoca once again returned to his active work as copyist, translator and professor, probably due to the death of President Benito Juárez a year before. In the same year, his name appeared again in a note published by the *Siglo Diez y Seis* newspaper. The note confirmed that the *Colegio de San Gregorio* was a restored school with a campus in the town of Tlahuac. In the chart corresponding to the authorities of this campus Don Manuel María Herrera y Pérez, presbyter, appeared as the rector. For the section of preparatory studies, Presbyter Marcelo A. Gómez appeared as the professor for the Nahuatl language, while Faustino Chimalpopoca once again conducted the classes in the history of Mexico.<sup>883</sup>

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<sup>880</sup> See *Causa de Fernando Maximiliano de Habsburgo que se ha titulado Emperador de México y sus llamados generales Miguel Miramón y Tomás Mejía: sus cómplices por delitos contra la independencia y seguridad de la Nación, el orden y la paz pública, el derecho de gentes y las garantías individuales* (México: Imprenta Literaria de la Viuda de Segura e hijos, 1868), 383.

<sup>881</sup> "Nota," martes 10 de septiembre de 1867, *El Monitor Republicano*, Año XVII, Número 4737, 2.

<sup>882</sup> Colección Gómez Orozco, Vol. 145, Biblioteca del Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City, as cited in María Teresa Sepúlveda y Herrera, *Catálogo de la Colección de documentos*, 14.

<sup>883</sup> "San Gregorio. Colegio restaurando en esta capital con el plantel de Tlahuac," miércoles 12 de febrero de 1873, *El Siglo Diez y Nueve*, Séptima Época, Año XXXII, Tomo 55, Número 10, 263. It is interesting to note that within this list of professors, Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque appears as an instructor of painting. It is unclear if this Pedro Ixtolinque is one of the children of Pedro Ixtolinque senior or if this note includes a typo.



It is evident that at this point the refashioning of the *Colegio de San Gregorio* resulted from an attempt from the recently returned Jesuit order to once again become involved in matters concerning education, as they had before. However, this school also opened doors to a new campus in Tlahuac, a rural area on the outskirts of Mexico City. It is no surprise that the town for this new campus was chosen as Tlahuac, the hometown and place of origin of Faustino Chimalpopoca. The studies that the new campus of the school offered remained the basics: primary school and preparatory training. Although the effort to bring education to the rural areas of Mexico City through the reopening of the *Colegio* remained a positive attempt, history demonstrated that the later nineteenth century college never reached its past glories.

Between the years of 1873 and 1882, I have been unable to find any further information about Mr. Chimalpopoca. During this period of time he probably continued working as private instructor or as legal advisor. It was not until early April, 1882 and under the presidency of the liberal President Manuel González Torres, when Chimalpopoca's name again appeared again in the newspaper. This time the note informed its reading public that Mr. Faustino Chimalpopoca had died intestate, and that the judge, following a rigorous procedure, requested that any member of the public who considered that they deserved a part of the goods that Mr. Chimalpopoca left behind, come forward to claim them within a period of thirty days.<sup>884</sup>

## 7.8 Conclusion to Chapter 7

The beginning of the nineteenth century was characterized by a series of determinant events for the course of Mexico's history: from the creation of the Cortes of Cadiz in 1812, the independence of Mexico, the existence of two Mexican empires, two separate foreign invasions, including the loss of half of the territory, to mention only a few. During this period of time, we find that Nahua intellectuals in Mexico City remained highly active and deeply involved in issues that concerned both the nation and their own interests as Indigenous Peoples.

In this chapter, I reviewed the intellectual activity that Faustino Chimalpopoca had from the first half of the nineteenth century to almost the end of the same century. The personal and professional life of Mr. Chimalpopoca as we have seen became marked by a series of events that determined the future directions of Mexico. In spite of several ups and downs in the political life of the country, which also influenced the life and career of Mr. Chimalpopoca, he continued carrying on his intellectual activities regardless of the wars, political chaos, and personal economic fortunes. These actions ranged from practicing law, defending private interests such as serving as the legal representative for writing a will, or by representing indigenous communities and their landholdings under the turmoil that began in the aftermath the *Reforma* (1854-1876).

During all this time, Mr. Chimalpopoca proved himself always aware about the necessity of keeping records, either by creating copies of documents or by leaving evidence before

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<sup>884</sup> "Convocatoria," 14 de abril de 1882, *Diario del Hogar*, Tomo I, Número 163, 4.

notaries. Mr. Chimalpopoca's sense of history, tradition and legacy probably took shape during his early years as student in the *Colegio de San Gregorio*. It is possible that by being an enrolled student there he had realized and embraced his indigenous identity and how it had a special meaning within the collectiveness of the rest of the school's students. Being an indigenous person during colonial times had a special meaning, but this significance changed as fast as the political fortunes of the nation did. For instance, the rights and obligations that Indigenous Peoples enjoyed during the last years of the eighteenth century dramatically changed in three decades after the issuing of the Constitution of Cadiz in 1812.

Mr. Chimalpopoca epitomizes the image of a nineteenth century intellectual: well versed in several languages such as Latin, Greek, French, and Nahuatl. He also worked as lawyer, historian, copyist, transcriber and translator. During his entire life, Chimalpopoca put all of this knowledge in practice by representing, giving a voice to, and defending the interests of collective indigenous organizations. By being a lawyer, Mr. Chimalpopoca realized that one of the major changes that indigenous communities had to face under the new liberalist establishment was their native languages' loss of power. Chimalpopoca perceived that the erosion and lack of importance that the Nahuatl language, as well as other languages, suffered during the first decades of the nineteenth century in the justice and bureaucratic system represented only the beginning of a series of problems that indigenous communities would face from then onwards. The Nahuatl language stopped being considered a *lingua franca* in tribunals and similar early national courts. As a lawyer with experience in land disputes, Chimalpopoca quickly realized that this meant a problem for future disagreements between indigenous communities and individual non-indigenous landowners. Probably inspired by this realization, or by a strong sense of historical consciousness concerning the abrupt and drastic changes of the era, Mr. Chimalpopoca started a prolific career as copyist: copying and translating several documents, from land titles, to maps, and historical documents.

Being a witness of how the Nahuatl language lost power abruptly within the justice and political systems, probably encouraged Mr. Chimalpopoca to create and preserve diverse Nahuatl materials in order to let people know about the beauty and complexity of this indigenous language, as well as the historical importance and the semantic meaning that a whole language had for Indigenous People. In this effort, Mr. Chimalpopoca fought hard to praise the Nahuatl language revealing that it was eloquent and elegant, comparable to Latin and Greek, so that people could understand the complexity of Nahua culture and respect the importance of land and community for Nahua people. During this process, Mr. Chimalpopoca probably exaggerated the tone of his translations, embellishing the language and its meaning. Still, these mistakes can also be explained by the complexity of transcribing 16<sup>th</sup> century documents and difficulties in understanding classical Nahuatl. In any case, when nobody in the intellectual sphere seemed to be preoccupied by losing such an important indigenous language, Mr. Chimalpopoca appeared on the political and cultural scene, warning the political class about the importance of looking at

the indigenous communities and their culture, and to include them into the newly established government and social system.

By being a teacher of the Nahuatl language and also by occupying several positions in government, Chimalpopoca probably realized the general ignorance that people in general, and particularly politicians, had towards Indigenous Peoples. Probably encouraged by these negative sentiments, he composed and published the manuals to teach the Nahuatl language from basic levels; materials which Angel Maria Garibay praised as useful didactic materials during the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>885</sup> Even current language instructors have found Chimalpopoca's manuals usable for classrooms. Based on this evidence, we can consider that Mr. Chimalpopoca probably published this material so that the general public could understand the complexity of the concepts that being indigenous meant for Nahua people. Moreover, the career that Mr. Chimalpopoca followed in the public life also reinforced this hypothesis.

Probably one of the most dramatic changes for indigenous communities occurred with the issuing of the *Lew Lerdo* in 1856. As I reviewed in this chapter, several indigenous communities organized and sought the judicial help of Mr. Chimalpopoca in the tribunals. Later documentation reveals that Chimalpopoca did not hold President Juarez in high esteem. Mr. Chimalpopoca probably wondered how an indigenous president could attack indigenous assets and properties. It is at this point when we can clearly see the generational disruption that existed between an indigenous person educated under the colonial system, and another whose education resulted from different early national policies and traditions, the result of individual liberalism that came with independence. It is at this moment when we can see the break of a generation of indigenous intellectuals occurring.

With the establishment of the Second Mexican Empire, Chimalpopoca probably saw the return of several of the forms and institutions that he found familiar and reassuring. Also, the social liberalism promoted by Maximilian's policies most likely coincided with the ideas that Chimalpopoca had about collective justice. By being appointed as the president of the JPCM, Chimalpopoca continued with his labor as a rescuer of documents and as a qualified lawyer well versed in indigenous land disputes. By occupying this position he also had the opportunity to display all of the knowledge that he had cultivated in the defense of what he considered justice.

What is currently left from the archive of the *Junta Protectora de las Clases Menesterosas* gives us a great deal of information about the intellectual mentality that Chimalpopoca as its president had towards specific issues. Although several cases submitted to the JPCM did not reach resolution, the fact remains that the current archive is a repository of a large number of indigenous documents from the 16<sup>th</sup> through the 19<sup>th</sup> century Mexico. Thus, the JPCM represented a means through which Mr. Chimalpopoca continued gathering, reviewing,

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<sup>885</sup> See McDonough, *The Learned Ones*, 112.

receiving, translating, housing and giving voice to documents that otherwise would not have reached any official institution during the Second Mexican Empire. As a Nahuatl intellectual, Mr. Chimalpopoca represented his class and provided a voice to all the Indigenous People that 19<sup>th</sup>-century modernization shamefully left behind.

## Conclusion

### **“The Rupture Generation:” Nineteenth-Century Nahua Intellectuals in Mexico City, 1780-1882**

The goal of this present dissertation has focused on examining the main characteristics of indigenous intellectuality as a long term phenomenon among Nahua people in Mexico City. Thus, this work has presented a few parameters that may contribute to our better identification, appreciation and understanding of the intellectual work of Nahua peoples during the early decades of the nineteenth century in the capital of City. Through the historical evidence presented in this study, this dissertation has given evidence of the spheres of action in which Nahua intellectuals acted throughout determined periods of history.

As I presented in the first sections of this work, early nineteenth-century Nahua intellectuals displayed a series of characteristics that far exceeded the official historiographical denomination of them as simply “*indios letrados*.” The careers and works of Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, Juan Rodríguez Puebla, Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma and Faustino Chimalpopoca demonstrate a long process in which they transformed their knowledge into concrete actions within the prevalent colonial or independent justice systems.

The main characteristics that these individuals held and displayed as intellectuals resided in their wide familiarity of Western-styled knowledge in combination with their own self recognition about their Mesoamerican roots. Additionally, these Nahua individuals received education under the sponsorship of Spanish colonial authorities in the capital of New Spain. As a consequence, these individuals also adopted westernized knowledge that they learned from their attendance at colonial educational institutions. Their condition as students within these cloisters also provided these Nahua individuals with vital information about the functioning of several colonial institutions. In this sense, the higher education that these Nahua individuals received exposed them to learning other languages besides their maternal Nahuatl language. For instance, the reviewed documentation demonstrated that these Nahua intellectuals learned and held high proficiency in the Spanish language, and in Latin, Greek, French and/or English. The access that these Nahua intellectuals had to literary works written by their Nahua intellectual predecessors, as well as the contact that they had with the new political and philosophical ideas from Europe, placed them in a threshold between two spheres of action: the Mesoamerican and the Spanish ones.

By considering the Nahua intellectual phenomenon as a universal human experience, we can approach an understanding of the guidelines provided by Antonio Gramsci’s works about the definition for the “organic” intellectual.<sup>886</sup> Based on the theoretical precepts suggested by

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<sup>886</sup> See Antonio Gramsci, *La formación de los intelectuales*.

Gramsci, we can identify the ideological origins which may help us understand the particular case of the Nahua intellectuals referred to in this study.

Also, through the analysis of their biographical information, we can appreciate how Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, Juan de Dios Rodríguez Puebla, Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma, and Faustino Galicia Chimalpopoca all shared a series of characteristics based on the time period in which they were born and the way in which they gained access to education. They also shared common aspects about social class, education, and political participation rooted in their Mesoamerican ethnic background. As indigenous inhabitants of Mexico City, these Nahua individuals related to each other based on their common experiences since the social system prevailing in the Spanish colony kept forced them into semi-segregated social circles. For instance, these Nahua individuals gained access to education in institutions that focused on the exclusive education of Indigenous Peoples in the territory, such as the *Colegio de San Gregorio* and the *Academia de San Carlos*, both schools settled in Mexico City.

Once these individuals gained access to these educational cloisters, they developed bonds of common identity with the rest of their classmates and professors and several of them shared life experiences in common as Indigenous Peoples. Considering that these individuals entered into these educational institutions during the last decades of the Spanish colonial era, they also collectively belonged to one of the last generations of young Indigenous Peoples who were educated under these semi-segregated cloisters sponsored by the colonial regime.

The transition that New Spain as a colony experienced during the process of its independence from Spain remained as one of the major political changes that this group of individuals shared in common. Even before this major event of independence, Spain also sustained a series of changes and events that allowed their subjects in the Americas play a role that they had never tried before. For instance, the French invasion of the Spanish Peninsula in 1808, and the consequent imposition of Joseph Bonaparte as King of Spain and the overthrowing of King Ferdinand VII, drove both the Spaniards from the peninsula and the inhabitants of the Spanish Americas to play a more active role in Imperial politics that had no previous antecedent. The formation of several representative *juntas* and Cortes in the Americas placed the inhabitants of the Spanish colonies in a position of power that they had never experienced before. In these *juntas* and Cortes the participation of members from diverse *castas*, such as *mestizos*, *peninsulares*, *indios* and *mulatos* provided these members and their communities with their first intense experience about government and sovereignty beyond their local communities. The members of the “rupture generation” still remained young mostly in the condition of students when these events occurred, which prevented them from actively taking part of any political action inspired by these events. Nevertheless, these major political changes paved the way for a new social context in which these Nahua intellectuals developed.

The previously mentioned political transformations also affected the way these Nahua intellectuals continued with their lives in Mexico City. Their experiences started from the abolition of the *casta* system, which erased the term *indio* as a judicial figure, to the legal attempts that the government of the city led in order to dissolve the independent entities of the *parcialidades indígenas*. The sharing of these events in common influenced the way these Nahua intellectuals developed and constructed not only their own collective identity, but these circumstances also determined the roles that they each decided to play facing these changes. All these experiences of life, as well as this group's sharing of a common ethnic identity, remained as important social elements that identified them as the members of a specific generation of Nahua intellectuals in Mexico City.

Thus, the term "rupture generation" serves in this dissertation as a movable and heterogeneous category to identify these individuals as a specific group who experienced the major transitions of these political systems: i.e. from being segregated indigenous members of a colony, to reconstructing their identity as citizens of a newly declared republic. On the other hand, the social changes caused by the independence of Mexico from Spain, placed these Nahua intellectuals into a new social and justice system in which they had to redevelop and redefine the place that they and their communities would occupy in this new system.

During this period of transition, despite the fact that these Nahua men were still young individuals at the time that this major political transitions occurred, these Nahua intellectuals always expressed their opinions and made public the effects that these changes brought to the indigenous communities in Mexico City. For instance, at their early ages both Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, as student of sculpture in the *Academia de San Carlos*, and Juan de Dios Rodríguez Puebla, as student in the *Colegio de San Gregorio*, expressed the opinion that they had towards the current political situation of the peninsula and New Spain. Pedro Patiño presented a drawing that he entitled *The Burden Bearer* in which Patiño Ixtolinque expressed his concerns about how the Bourbon Reforms had affected indigenous communities. This drawing presented an open criticism to the royal regime in Spain that had extracted the economic resources held in indigenous *cajas de comunidad* in order to settle expenses that Spain had generated in its many wars. Later on, Juan Rodríguez Puebla also produced his first intellectual work. The document that Juan Rodríguez published under the pseudonym of the *Indio Constitucional* followed the format of a pamphlet. In this document Juan Rodríguez offered open disapproval to both the implementation and the negative effects that the Bourbon Reforms had on the indigenous population of the Americas. Later on, both Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque and Juan de Dios Rodríguez Puebla also created other works through which they also criticized other current issues.

For instance, in 1817 Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque executed a bas-relief that he entitled *El Rey Wamba rehusa la corona y es amenazado por uno de sus electores*. In this work Patiño Ixtolinque disapproved the role that King Ferdinand VII had taken towards the autonomous role that both the *juntas* and the Cortes held during his absence. However, the fact that Pedro Patiño

considered the most aggravating detail remained King Ferdinand VII's repudiation of the Constitution of 1812 and the liberties that this document had recognized for all the Spanish subjects, both in the peninsula and in the Americas. Seconding this argument, Juan de Dios Rodríguez Puebla published his next pamphlet, using the same pseudonym, in which he presented similar arguments criticizing the negative response that Ferdinand VII had towards both popular sovereignty and collective participation.

Years later, the political participation that Francisco de Mendoza had in matters concerning the defense of collective property for Indigenous Peoples demonstrated the interests and active roles that this Nahua intellectual took in favor of indigenous communities. The role that Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma played in the defense of the economic autonomy of indigenous communities revealed the social recognition that he enjoyed as a leader of the community, not only among indigenous communities in Mexico City, but also in regions outside the capital city. The available documentation also reveals the interest that Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma had also in protecting communal property among indigenous communities from places far from the capital. In this endeavor Mendoza y Moctezuma was not alone since Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque and Faustino Galicia Chimalpopoca also eventually joined him in their efforts to contribute to the defense of indigenous communal property. On the other hand, Juan de Dios Rodríguez Puebla occupied himself mainly in improving the education that the *Colegio de San Gregorio* provided to indigenous communities. In order to achieve this enterprise, Juan de Dios Rodríguez Puebla transformed the curriculum of the school and sought to provide its students with urban social skills for their advancement as graduated students.

In the consequent decades of the nineteenth century, and after his colleagues had passed away, Faustino Chimalpopoca decided to keep alive the memory of several historical materials that preserved the history of indigenous lives and their historic territories. Faustino Chimalpopoca witnessed the way in which the country conducted its new policies of "equality" and how these implementations and new laws had affected indigenous communities. The decline of the Nahuatl language as a *lingua franca* in both the bureaucratic and justice spheres after the third decade of the nineteenth century in Mexico responded to a series of political principles rooted in the theory of liberalism. The recent Mexican Republic held to the principles of civic equality, and the way in which Mexican authorities put this principle to practice focused on homogenizing the way people had access to diverse governmental institutions. One of the several effects of this policy led to the decline of the use of indigenous languages, such as the Nahuatl, as intuitively acceptable means of legal and bureaucratic communication. As a consequence of this situation, most of the documents written in indigenous languages stopped being used as acceptable forms of documentation in diverse spheres of the government due to the lack of interpreters and translators in the new court systems. Thus, given their lack of practical usefulness, these indigenous documents ran the risk of becoming lost or devalued. Faustino Chimalpopoca's interest in preserving Nahua historical documents followed from his self-perceived duty as intellectual historian.



During the period of the French intervention in Mexico, Faustino Chimalpopoca visualized the appointment of Emperor Maximilian as an opportunity to reestablish the legal instances that worked in favor of indigenous communities, which the new republican system had promptly abolished. Since diverse reforms that the new government implemented had already affected the way Indigenous Peoples administered and held property, Emperor Maximilian, deeply influenced by Faustino Chimalpopoca's advice, created the *Junta Protectora de las Clases Menesterosas*. Although this *junta* intended to alleviate the problems that afflicted the pauperized groups in the country, in reality the *junta* mostly worked towards the resolution that indigenous communities sought regarding their communal land rights. In other words, it can be interpreted that the creation of the *Junta Protectora* represented the culmination of the efforts of Mr. Chimalpopoca and his generation of Nahua intellectuals in the reestablishment of legal instances that could serve as intermediaries between indigenous communities and government institutions.

Through the study of the work produced by Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, Juan de Dios Rodríguez Puebla, Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma, and Faustino Galicia Chimalpopoca we can see a common trend in their shared interest in defending their communal rights during a period of time when the independent system of government threatened their collective identity. The works produced by these intellectuals also revealed their efforts for re-elaborating and re-constructing their collective identity as Indigenous Peoples during this period of major political and social changes.

The ancestral knowledge that these Nahua intellectuals had about their history and their self recognition as the legitimate inhabitants of the country confirmed the Mesoamerican roots that they had acquired during their early years. This self recognition in addition to the familiarity with western theories about natural law, the principles of *ius gentium*, and the concepts of sovereignty and popular participation played an important role in the way these intellectuals decided to act in public spheres toward the defense and discussion of issues of their collective concern. All of these Nahua intellectuals' actions within public spheres also enabled them to produce a series of historical documents that give us evidence of the way and the means in which they confronted a new political system rooted in the theoretical open suppression of differences in terms of legal rights.

The intellectual manifestations created by these Nahua individuals represent the continuation of an ancient Mesoamerican intellectual tradition that, after the time of the Spanish conquest, remained exposed to western intellectual principles. These Nahua intellectuals represent the complex process of synergy in which both Mesoamerican and Western elements took part in the creation of a nineteenth-century Nahua intellectual tradition. Consequently, in the specific case of Mexico City, the indigenous representatives of this phenomenon displayed their knowledge in both traditional Mesoamerican ways and also through their familiarity and understanding of the colonial institutions established by the Spanish authorities.

Throughout this complex process that started approximately during the early decades of the sixteenth century, and that lasted until the third decade of the nineteenth century, several Nahua intellectuals in Mexico City developed their own collective identity through the creation of a diverse literature and other types of work. Nevertheless, Nahua intellectuals from the early nineteenth century also developed their own political identity based on a particular historical context. This Nahua intellectual position can be understood as an emergent political identity that can be defined as “[a series of social elements that are] required to belong to a political community. [...] The identification with those rules creates a common political identity among persons otherwise engaged in many different enterprises and communities.”<sup>887</sup> The common bond that these Nahua intellectuals had with the rest of their indigenous community members did not reside upon an idea of a common good, but rather on a series of characteristics that shaped their identity as members of an indigenous community.

Through the analysis of the works produced by these Nahua intellectuals we can also observe the way in which they took part in the shaping on their newly recognized citizenship. Following the republican definition of citizenship, based on the active participation and involvement of individuals from diverse political identities, the works produced by these Nahua intellectuals sought to actively participate in the shaping of the contemporary Mexican political system. Through the revision of these Nahua intellectuals’ works we can realize the way in which they actively engaged in political and social discussions that both affected and concerned them as members a larger indigenous community. In the great majority of these works, Nahua intellectuals expressed their concerns about specific elements of the policies enforced by the newly established Mexican political system. However, at the same time they always recognized the legitimacy of the prevalent political system at work. Joined to this idea, the principles of active participation and social representation remained as a constant element throughout the works produced by these Nahua intellectuals. This position resulted from both a long tradition of popular participation in colonial indigenous government, and also from the new ideas that political systems could be improved by the constant participation of their citizens. In this sense, Nahua intellectuals recognized their power and influence and they exercised them in their participation in social matters, either representing their individual interests or by defending communal indigenous concerns.

As members of a “rupture generation” that witnessed the major transformation of the political and social system in the territory, these Nahua intellectuals reflected in their works their own fears and hopes towards the Constitution of Cadiz and the values it promoted. Similarly, they also expressed the preoccupation that the declaration of independence of Mexico from Spain brought to Indigenous Peoples in Mexico. Both the witnessing and participation of these Nahua intellectuals in the republican political system in Mexico after the second decade of the nineteenth century revealed their high political consciousness. This phenomenon of participation

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<sup>887</sup> Chantal Mouffe, “Citizen and Political Identity,” *October*, Vol. 61, (Summer, 1992): 28-32, 31.

and their engaging in issues that affected or influenced their indigenous communities also gives evidence to one of the multiple characteristics identifiable among all intellectual spheres.

Another factor held in common among these Nahua intellectuals, members of the “rupture generation,” centered on their battle against the discriminatory republican system that negatively impacted indigenous communities after the declaration of the independence of Mexico. The analysis and critical approach that these Nahua intellectuals had towards the ideas promoted by early Mexican liberalism settled on the principles of equality that the same theory sustained. According to these Nahua intellectuals’ ideas, the political theory of liberalism preached the principles of equality, but not of equity, which resulted in the rejection and exclusion of certain sectors of the population, such as their indigenous communities. In any case, during the third decade of the nineteenth century, these Nahua intellectuals’ discourse based their rhetorical arguments on the flaws that the republican system offered for indigenous communities, which resulted in both their exclusion and their further marginalization. As a direct result of this peripheral condition, the principles promoted by political liberalism acted as means of prolonging colonialism through the open discrimination of Indigenous Peoples. In summary, I support the idea that the prevalent argument in all these Nahua intellectuals’ works reviewed in this current study declared the ignorance that the newly established political system had towards “*difference*” in general. Thus, in their works produced during the third decade of the nineteenth century these Nahua intellectuals called the attention of politicians to this exclusive and homogenizing character of the policies that the high political sphere sought to implement in Mexico City. Thus, these Nahua intellectuals constantly brought to the city authorities’ attention the deficient political system that promoted social hegemony. The members of the “rupture generation” argued that the city officials, instead of working toward considering the social differences that existed in Mexico City at that time, sought to implement a plan of homogenization regardless of the ethnic and social differences. These Nahua intellectuals considered that this pursuit of hegemony would result in a much wider system of social exclusion, which eventually would dispossess Indigenous Peoples from their means to participate as equals in the shaping of Mexican history.

The construction of this historical discourse depends on several factors. One of these elements is the social position and the access to governmental institutions that individuals have in any society. As the scholar Jonathan Friedman has asserted, the construction of historical discourse is positional, “[...] it is dependent upon where one is located in social reality, within society, and within the global process.”<sup>888</sup> This historical discourse expressed through the works of these Nahua intellectuals reflected the way in which they constructed their collective identity and the perspective through which they interpreted their indigenous reality. So, these Nahua intellectuals conceived their own past, both individual and collective, in order to create their own

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<sup>888</sup> Jonathan Friedman, “Myth, History and Political Identity,” *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (May, 1992):194-210, 194.

self-identity, or “selfdom,” during a time when collective identities remained under construction. The early decades of Mexico as an independent country represented a major change for all the spheres of the society. The social transformation the Constitution of Cadiz brought about and the subsequent independence of Mexico generated a phenomenon of transformation of the collective identity.

During this process of change, as Friedman also suggests, a vast literature and materials emerge in order to redefine, relocate and reinforce old and new collective identities. This process of political transformation in Mexican history is not an exceptional historical phenomenon, which is the reason why we currently have vast documentation that testifies to the transformation of collective identities during the first decades of the nineteenth century. Through a series of nineteenth-century political and social debates written by diverse individuals of the political and social spheres, we can observe the way certain sectors of this society reconfigured their historical discourse in order to place their corresponding members into the new reality. The case of these Nahua intellectuals, as well as the indigenous social groups that they represented, cannot be excluded from this historical process. During the process of these political changes, these Nahua intellectuals remained active and produced their own discursive sources through which they revisited their Mesoamerican past and reconfigured their collective indigenous identity, as other groups of Mexican society did as well. In this process of re-defining themselves as Indigenous Peoples, these Nahua intellectuals also revisited and analyzed the impact that the Spanish domination had on their indigenous communities and the way that they had interpreted their own life, history, as well as their past and present. Through the analysis of their own history, as well as the critical approach to the process of European dominance, these Nahua intellectuals remained fully conscious about the colonial condition that the Spanish system had placed over them and their indigenous past.

From a historical perspective that their predecessors did not possess, these members of the “rupture generation” recognized and assessed the results that colonialism had both on their own history and on that of their indigenous communities. Through the analysis of their own history and the observation of their present, these Nahua intellectuals give evidence to the negative results that colonialism had on the spirit of Indigenous Peoples. Therefore, these Nahua intellectuals created works in which they exposed and condemned this process of subjugation. By recognizing the effects that colonialism had on the perception that people had about their own human condition and collective history, as Friedman suggested, these Nahua intellectuals placed their shared identity as a work under construction. Nevertheless, the exclusive nature of politics in independent Mexico, with its mission of creating a homogenized national identity, ignored the historical differences and rejected the postulations these Nahua intellectuals had expressed through their works.

In a period of time when Mexican official historiography took shape, several works, ideas and debates inserted into the newly formed historical argument. As a result of the shaping of this

historiographical construction, Mesoamerican iconographic representations became alienated from their historical makers, and various historical heroes and villains took shape. During this long process, indigenous communities remained excluded under a homogenizing system that denied the social and historical differences that prevailed among the newly named Mexicans. Although the history of Indigenous Peoples indeed took place within the new historical explanation of the past in Mexico, the history of the original inhabitants of Mexico City took a toll that none of the reviewed Nahua intellectuals intended. As a result, Mexican official historiography divested Nahua intellectuals, and as a consequence it removed Indigenous Peoples in general from them their power, diligence, and agency to create their own history and to interpret social developments from their own critical perspective. The political system that prevailed in Mexico after 1821 disarticulated the efforts that the members of the “rupture generation” presented in order to play a part in the history of a newly formed nation. Nevertheless, indigenous intellectuality continued during these years, under other forms and through another generation of intellectuals who wrote their history from a different perspective.

In the final analysis, as historians we have all been guilty of ignoring the participation that Nahua intellectuals had in the historical development of Mexico City. However, their works, ideas, and thoughts remained there, currently housed in diverse archives. As historians, our duty should be to constantly revisit our own ways of approaching history. It is my hope that this present dissertation contributes to the de-colonizing process begun by these Nahua intellectuals, and allows them in our present day to express their own voices, which we have kept silenced for so long due to our own reduced interpretations of history.

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### Abbreviations Used

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| AGN          | Archivo General de la Nación   |
| AHASC        | Archivo Histórico de la Academia de San Carlos                             |
| AHDF         | Archivo Histórico del Distrito Federal                                     |
| AHMNAH       | Archivo Histórico del Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia            |
| AHN          | Archivo Histórico de Notarías  |
| AHSMGE       | Archivo Histórico de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística       |
| ARASC-FAUNAM | Archivo de la Real Academia de San Carlos-Facultad de Arquitectura<br>UNAM |
| BMNAH        | Biblioteca del Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia                   |
| BNM          | Biblioteca Nacional de México  |
| LLAC         | Lilly Library Latin American Collection                                    |
| SAMANM       | Spanish and Mexican Archives of New Mexico                                 |

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## Summary in English

In the present dissertation several ideas are examined about the phenomenon of intellectuality in Mesoamerica and its continuation of Nahua intellectuality from the sixteenth through the nineteenth century in Mexico City. One of the premises that this work discusses is the possibility of analyzing the phenomenon of indigenous intellectuality by approaching a study of the theoretical positions used to understand the historical development of other non-indigenous or westernized intellectual examples. Thus, this current work offers a general analysis about several diverse concepts that may contribute to our better understanding of the intellectual phenomenon in Mesoamerica, which in turn may help us explain its continuation from the pre-conquest period through the nineteenth-century in Mexico.

The dissertation argues that indigenous intellectuality existed and prevailed by means of common modes of expression throughout the Mesoamerican territory, and that diverse indigenous institutions existed in the pre-conquest period that sponsored this activity according to their own regional and cultural characteristics. During the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the process of conquest and colonization led by the Spaniards in Mesoamerica disrupted Indigenous Peoples' intellectual traditions; however, this event did not prevent Mesoamerican Indigenous Peoples from continuing with the production of their own intellectual expressions. After the Spaniards established Mexico City as the capital of New Spain, the colonial authorities sought to create their own intellectual tradition and impose it upon the recently subjugated people of the region. Through their attendance and participation in the educational institutions sponsored by the colonial authorities, Indigenous Peoples experienced a process of synergy in which they maintained essential Mesoamerican elements of knowledge and combined them with new European ideas, which resulted in the ultimate continuation of indigenous intellectualism.

In the specific case of Mexico City, from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the intellectual tradition among the Nahua People continued under the above mentioned circumstances until the early years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the political order in New Spain dramatically changed. A troubling period of instability occurred in Spain and throughout the Spanish Empire which ultimately led to the issuing of the Constitution of Cadiz in 1812. Contrary to its intentions, the new social changes brought about by the promulgation of this constitution deeply affected the integrity of indigenous communities in Mexico. Years later, in 1821 Mexico declared its independence from Spain, and this historical process also affected the judicial nature of the lives of Mexico's Indigenous Peoples. These two major events represented another important breaking point in the Nahua intellectual tradition in Mexico City.

Throughout all of these changes, certain educational, religious, and cultural institutions offered Mexico's Indigenous Peoples spaces within which they could continue with their intellectual production. Most notably, during the last decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, several Nahua students attended educational institutions sponsored by the Spanish colonial authorities. While enrolled in these institutions these Nahua students experienced the political changes and

transition from living in a colonial system to becoming citizens of an independent Mexican government. Based on their common characteristics, as well as their individual and collective experiences, this dissertation argues that these Nahua students represent a “rupture generation” in the Mesoamerican intellectual tradition. Through the review of numerous documental and archival sources, this dissertation examines the lives and works of at least four of these Nahua intellectuals who served as characteristic examples of the members of this generation: Juan de Dios Rodríguez Puebla, Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma, and Faustino Galicia Chimalpopoca.

After 1821, all of these Nahua intellectuals actively participated in the political arena, either as members of the Mexico City Ayuntamiento or as directors of various schools or educational institutions. Either occupying positions as politicians, or in working as collective representatives or lawyers, eventually all of these Nahua intellectuals became defenders of the rights that indigenous communities had to administer their collective properties for their own benefit. Throughout the years that these Nahua intellectuals remained politically active, they defended the rights of Indigenous Peoples before the early independence era Mexican justice system. By doing that, the members of this “rupture generation,” as this study illustrates, displayed a deep knowledge about their Mesoamerican heritage, while at the same time revealing their proficiency and an acquired depth of knowledge about the classical and contemporary European philosophical and political ideas of their own times.

Nevertheless, from 1850 onward, three of these four Nahua intellectuals under study had already passed away, leaving only the youngest of this generation, Faustino Galicia Chimalpopoca, to continue with their collective work in defending their Indigenous communities’ lands and their cultural and linguistic heritage. Faustino Chimalpopoca witnessed the deterioration of the use of the Nahuatl language in both the spheres of the administration of justice and government, which had resulted in a general widespread contempt on the part of non-indigenous Mexican national society for the Nahuatl language and the Nahua culture of its speakers. As this dissertation argued, this reason may have played a major motivating role in Faustino Chimalpopoca’s desire and later work in preserving, collecting, transcribing and copying ancient indigenous documents which he considered to be in danger of being lost due to the diminishing legal and political importance of the use of indigenous language records in official circles which existed at that time. Desperately seeking a formal means of preserving Nahua culture and ensuring indigenous rights to their lands and cultural patrimony, Chimalpopoca sought to continue in the public and educational sphere throughout various changing governments and rotating political parties. In 1864, during the period of the French Intervention in Mexico, Faustino Chimalpopoca quickly became a strong supporter of the Emperor Maximilian of Habsburg, for whom he worked as a personal instructor and interpreter of the Nahuatl language. During the time Faustino Chimalpopoca remained as a member of the imperial court of Emperor Maximilian, he continued collecting and transcribing historical documents, as well as representing indigenous communities before the justice system. In the end,

this dissertation concludes that the life and work of Faustino Chimalpopoca can be considered as an epitome and one of the best examples of the Nahuatl intellectuals who were members of this “rupture generation.”

## Nederlandse samenvatting

*De “Breekpunt Generatie”: negentiende eeuwse Nahua intellectuelen in Mexico Stad, 1774-1882*, proefschrift van Argelia Segovia Liga

Dit proefschrift onderzoekt verschillende ideeën met betrekking tot de inheemse intelligentsia in Mesoamerika en met name de continuïteit van de Nahua intellectuele traditie van de zestiende eeuw tot en met de negentiende eeuw in Mexico Stad. Eén van de aspecten die wordt besproken is de mogelijkheid om de inheems intellectuele traditie te analyseren door middel van de bestudering van de theoretische posities die zijn gebruikt om de historische ontwikkeling van de niet-inheemse of door het Westen beïnvloede intellectuelen te begrijpen. Als zodanig geeft dit werk een algemene analyse van diverse concepten die kan bijdragen tot een beter begrip van het intellectuele fenomeen in Mesoamerika, alsmede tot een verklaring van de ontwikkeling hiervan vanaf de pre-Spaanse periode tot aan de twintigste eeuw in Mexico.

Ten eerste zal in dit proefschrift worden geargumenteed dat er in Mesoamerika een intellectuele traditie bestond. Een tweede argument is dat deze inheemse traditie is blijven bestaan en zich uit in diverse culturele aspecten (bijv. ceramiek, kleding of muziek) en dat, ten slotte, er in de pre-Spaanse periode verschillende inheemse instituties bestonden die deze expressies bevorderden overeenkomstig de specifieke regionale en culturele context. Alhoewel het veroverings- en kolonisatieproces onder een Spaans bewind gedurende de zestiende eeuw de intellectuele tradities van de inheemse bevolking ontwrichtte, bleven deze eigen intellectuele expressies bestaan. Nadat Mexico Stad als hoofdstad van Nieuw Spanje bevestigd was, zochten de Spaanse autoriteiten manieren om hun eigen intellectuele tradities op te leggen aan de recentelijk onderworpen bevolking. Door hun participatie in de onderwijsinstituties van de koloniale autoriteiten, onderging de inheemse bevolking echter een synergetisch proces waarbinnen essentiële Mesoamerikaanse kennis werd behouden maar gecombineerd werd met Europese ideeën, wat uiteindelijk resulteerde in de continuïteit van de inheemse intellectuele wereld.

In het specifieke geval van Mexico Stad kan men waarnemen dat de intellectuele traditie onder de Nahuas zo tot aan de vroege periode van de negentiende eeuw voortgang bleef bestaan. Nadien veranderde de politieke orde in Nieuw Spanje dramatisch, beïnvloed door de onstabiele situatie in Spanje en het hele Spaanse rijk, hetgeen uiteindelijk leidde tot de uitvaardiging van de Grondwet van Cádiz van 1812. Tegen de bedoeling in, hadden de sociale veranderingen, in gang gezet waren door de afkondiging van deze Grondwet, diepgaande gevolgen voor de integriteit van de inheemse gemeenschappen. Een paar jaar later, in 1821, verklaarde Mexico haar onafhankelijkheid van Spanje, een historisch proces dat eveneens gevolgen had voor de juridische status van de Mexicaanse inheemse bevolking. Deze twee gebeurtenissen zijn belangrijke breekpunten voor de intellectuele traditie van de Nahuas in Mexico Stad.



Gedurende al deze veranderingen, boden bepaalde religieuze, culturele en educatieve instellingen ruimtes aan de inheemse bevolking van Mexico, om daarbinnen hun intellectuele productie te continueren. Het is met name gedurende de laatste 10 jaar van de achttiende eeuw dat verschillende Nahua studenten naar onderwijsinstellingen gingen die door de Spaanse koloniale autoriteiten werden gesteund. Tijdens de periode waarin deze Nahua studenten ingeschreven stonden, ondergingen zij deze politieke veranderingen als een transitie van het leven onder een koloniaal systeem naar dat van een burger onder een onafhankelijke Mexicaanse overheid. Lettend op hun overeenkomstige kenmerken als ook op hun individuele en collectieve ervaringen, stelt dit proefschrift dat deze Nahua studenten een “breekpunt generatie” vormden in de Mesoamerikaanse intellectuele traditie. Op basis van analyses van vele archief- en andere documenten, worden de levens en werken van vier Nahua intellectuelen nader onderzocht: Juan de Dios Rodríguez Puebla, Pedro Patiño Ixtolinque, Francisco de Mendoza y Moctezuma en Faustino Galicia Chimalpopoca. Deze vier mogen gelden als representatieve voorbeelden van hun generatie.

Na 1821 namen deze Nahua intellectuelen deel in de politieke arena, met name als leden van de overheid van Mexico Stad of als directeuren van verschillende scholen en andere onderwijsinstellingen. Wat hun positie ook was, als politici, vertegenwoordigers of advocaten, al deze intellectuelen werden verdedigers van de rechten van inheemse gemeenschappen om zelf hun collectieve bezittingen te beheren, conform de belangen van de eigen inwoners. Gedurende de jaren dat deze Nahua intellectuelen politiek actief waren, verdedigden zij de rechten van inheemse volkeren tegenover het Mexicaanse rechtssysteem van de vroege onafhankelijkheidsperiode. Dit proefschrift toont aan dat leden van deze “breekpunt generatie” ten gevolge van hun genoemde actieve rol een diepgaande kennis van het Mesoamerikaanse culturele erfgoed hadden en tegelijkertijd een in toenemende mate vertrouwd werden met de klassieke en contemporaine Europese filosofische en politieke ideeën.

Na 1850, na het overlijden van drie van de vier bestudeerde Nahua intellectuelen, was het de jongste van de generatie, Faustino Galicia Chimalpopoca, die het collectieve werk van de anderen alleen moest voortzetten en alleen stond voor de verdediging van de inheemse gemeenschapslanden en hun culturele en linguïstische erfgoed. Faustino Chimalpopoca was getuige van de neergang van het gebruik van het Nahuatl in zowel de uitvoering van het rechtssysteem als in de bestuurlijke context. Dit leidde tot een algemene en wijdverspreide minachting voor het Nahuatl en voor de cultuur van haar sprekers in de niet-inheemse Mexicaanse nationale samenleving. Het is dit laatste aspect dat een belangrijke motiverende rol heeft gespeeld in Faustino Chimalpopoca's vroege verlangen en latere werk om oude inheemse documenten te conserveren, te verzamelen, te transcriberen en te kopiëren. In zijn opinie dreigden deze documenten verloren te gaan door het teruglopende legale en politieke belang van het gebruik van inheemse talen in officiële kringen. In een wanhopige poging om de Nahua cultuur te behouden en het culturele erfgoed en de inheemse landrechten te garanderen, probeerde Chimalpopoca onder verscheidene regeringen en variërende politieke partijen een

publieke rol te spelen en invloed te hebben op het onderwijs. In 1864, gedurende de periode van de Franse interventie in Mexico, werd Faustino Chimalpopoca een sterke aanhanger van keizer Maximiliaan van Habsburg, voor wie hij werkte als persoonlijke raadsman en vertaler van het Nahuatl. In deze periode, waarin hij onderdeel was van het keizerlijk hof, ging Faustino Chimalpopoca verder met het verzamelen and transcriberen van historische documenten, alsmede met het vertegenwoordigen van inheemse gemeenschappen in het rechtssysteem. Uiteindelijk concludeert dit proefschrift dat het leven en werk van Faustino Chimalpopoca gezien kan worden als één van de beste voorbeelden van de Nahua intellectuelen van de “breekpunt generatie”.

## Curriculum Vitae

Argelia Segovia Liga was born in Mexico City, on December 19, 1980. She earned her undergraduate degree in History from the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters at the National Autonomous University of Mexico in 2007. Her thesis entitled *Los indios del Mariscal: Revisión de un manuscrito yucateco del siglo XVII*, received an Honorable Mention for the “Marco and Celia Maus Prize.” In 2010 she earned her Master’s degree in History at Missouri State University, in the United States with a Master’s thesis entitled *As Seen Through Foreign Eyes: Nineteenth Century French Images of Mexico and Mexicans and Their Contributions to the Creation of a National Stereotype: 1822-1873*.

Additionally, she has attended and participated in several seminars, courses and workshops related to the study of Mesoamerican writing systems, the learning of the Nahuatl language and education both in Mexico and the United States. She currently teaches as an Instructor of History in a college in the United States.

She holds diverse teaching experience and has presented several academic papers in the United States and in Mexico on the topic of nineteenth-century indigenous intellectualism in Mesoamerica, the French Intervention in Mexico, and the colonial history of New Mexico. Segovia’s main topics of research interest focus on the study of indigenous intellectuality and Nahua culture in Mexico City during the nineteenth century. She also has studied the period of the Mexican Second Empire, also known as the French Intervention in Mexico; decolonizing discourses, as well as the history of frontiers, such as the colonial territory of New Mexico and its relation with the rest of New Spain’s territories.