

Indian Confraternities, Brotherhoods and *Mayordomías* in Central New Spain

A LIST OF QUESTIONS FOR THE
HISTORIAN AND THE ANTHROPOLOGIST

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To study the Indian confraternities in New Spain is not an easy task. Everyone knows the difficulties one encounters in this endeavour. The written documents left by Indians confraternities -*constituciones*, *libros de cuentas*, *patentes*- generally reveal what I would call the façade of the institution, the outside, that which complied with ecclesiastical law and adhered to Spanish official patterns. Much of the inside, the Indian zone, is generally ignored except when wills, inquiries or law suits give us detailed accounts of what was really going on in those confraternities. It is needless to stress this such 'silence' of the documents concerns not only Indian confraternities but also most of the manifestations of the Indian cultures under Spanish rule.¹ That is why I shall confine myself to analyzing two points that seem to me of particular interest. First, I shall seek to suggest the great diversity and flexibility of the institutions that are called *cofradías*, *hermandades* or *mayordomías*. Secondly I shall consider two main features common to all these institutions: the consumption of food and the cult of the images of the saints.

CONFRADIAS, HERMANDADES AND MAYORDOMIAS

The role of Indian confraternities in the 'Spiritual Conquest' of New Spain is well known. Very early on the mendicant friars established confraternities and hospitals. These European institutions were conceived as the best means of strengthening the newfound Christianity

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of the Indians -what the Franciscans called their *policia cristiana*. Confraternities would serve to acquaint the Indians with the obligations, sacraments, rites and devotions of Roman Catholicism.² These confraternities were organized according to written constitutions, imposed by the friars or by the secular clergy. For instance, it was stipulated in 1577 that the *Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* in Coatlán (Real Minas de Taxco) would elect two *mayordomos*, two deputies, and one *escribano* (scribes). The *cofradía* had to celebrate all the feasts of Nuestra Señora de la Concepción. Every time a mass was read, the *cofrades* (members) would attend with candles painted with three crowns. Three or four *cofrades* were to help the dying to 'die properly' and all the members should attend the funeral. Misbehaviour, drinking, concubinage were punished with expulsion and the income of the *cofradía* had to be used for religious purposes exclusively. The *cofradía* had to observe its 'constitutions' which were written in Spanish and Nahuatl, though the *pueblo* spoke Chontal.³ In short, Indian *cofradías* were in the beginning an instrument, a medium of acculturation and of diffusion of the Christian way of dying and of the cult of the Virgin. At the same time they could offer a psychological and material response to the epidemics that decimated the Indian population in the second half of the sixteenth century. Needless to say that these confraternities were kept under the close control of the secular or regular church which organized and supervised their activities.

By the end of the sixteenth century there were already many confraternities of this kind in Mexico City.⁴ But their number increased during the seventeenth century throughout New Spain. In the archbishopric of Mexico there were several hundred of them and it seems that in some *pueblos* all the Indians, or almost all of them, belonged to a confraternity. The same situation prevailed in Michoacán where the hospitals -founded in the sixteenth century and ruled by *priostes*- were very active at that time.⁵ Some confraternities provided a steady income for the regular clergy thanks to the payment for the masses that were celebrated. Others became more and more autonomous insofar as the power of the regular clergy declined -I am thinking of the gradual secularization of the regular parishes- and Indian *pueblos* took hold of an institution they considered to be an element of stability, continuity, cohesion and collective identity.

As Charles Gibson noticed, Indian confraternities became a way of expressing a collective identity against the Spaniards and *castas* who were excluded from them or could not be elected either *mayordomos* or *oficiales*.⁶ Indian *cofradías* provided the Indians with a feeling of material security based on the land, cattle and funds they owned and which were considered to be the exclusive property of a saint. But it is also obvious that confraternities constituted a channel of influence, an instrument of domination for all the *caciques*, *principales*, *gobernadores*, or *fiscales* who administered the incomes, collected the fees, built chapels, bought images and ornaments, lent the money necessary

to celebrate the feasts for these men were not answerable to the rest of the community or to the parish priest. We know, for instance, that in the mid-eighteenth century north of the modern state of Guerrero no more than fifteen percent of the incomes of the *cofradías* went to the parish priest.⁷ Such economic autonomy greatly displeased the church and the clergy, who very often complained that they were entirely excluded from the administration of the confraternities and often denounced the *absoluto dominio* that the leaders of the community tried to maintain. In short, Indian *cofradías* were rather complex and rigid institutions whenever they followed the Spanish law (that is to be found in the *Ley 25, tit^o 4, lib. 1^o* of the *Recopilación de Indias* or, for instance, in the *Real Cédula* of 18 september 1776). They had to keep archives, accounts and records of foundation, to draw up lists of members and to comply with a detailed calendar of celebrations and masses. In the long run, '*con el discurso del tiempo*', many of them misplaced their *constituciones* and *ordenanças*, provoking many difficulties with the church.

Other forms of confraternities, although less formal or even founded without official approval -*sin formalidad, sin autoridad alguna*-, seem to have played an important part in Indian and culture. As early as the end of the sixteenth century Mexico seems actually to have been overrun by Indian religious associations that proliferated without any control from the church. According to the Third Mexican Council there were more than 300 *cofradías* by 1585 and the uncontrolled expansion of these institutions alarmed the members of the Third Council.⁸

"En esta ciudad hay más de trezientas cofradías de indios, los cuales por cabeças echan derramas para el retablo o ymagen de su cofradía y todo lo que quieren para sus embriaguezes y comidas y piden limosnas so color de piedad para este effecto y tienen sus mayordomos y diputados en cuyo poder entra el dinero."
 ["In this city there are more than 300 *cofradías de indios*, the membership of which makes contributions towards their retablo or image of their *cofradía* and towards the costs of all their drinking and eating feasts whilst appealing for money, which is administered by their *majordomos* and *diputados*."]]

During the seventeenth century *mayordomías* and *hermandades* 'invaded' the rest of the country. An even greater number of Indians decided to found confraternities without asking for a license given by the bishop, the so-called '*licencia del ordinario*'. This way was easier and less expensive: in these cases "*no ai constituciones, reglas ni otra formalidad (...)*" ["(...) they have no constitutions, rules or other formalities."] in the words of the *Provisor de Indios* of the archbishopric of Mexico Miguel Primo de Ribera in 1772.⁹ The members did not find interpreters, pay expensive fees or spend time in long proceedings to be officially recognized. Moreover they escaped the control of ecclesiastical bureaucracy for, according to the Indians, the many *her-*

*mandades privadas, obras pias and devociones "no estaban sujetas al ordinario."*¹⁰ ["(...) did not belong to the bishop."]

The origin of a foundation could assume many different forms. At the very beginning, we often find the initiative of a person or of a small group, such as the legacy made by a *cacique*, a *principal*, *los antepasados* (ancestors) or even a mere *tributario* who left a piece of land (*solar*), a house or some cattle on a *ranchito* to one or more saints. The land could be rented, the cattle sold and the revenue was used for the maintenance of the image and the celebration of the feast of the celestial patron. For instance, in 1750 the *cacique* of Tlacotepec, in the Tehuacan valley, left a *ranchito* to the *Cristo* of the *Santo Entierro*. The income of the *ranchito* was used to pay for a mass every Holy Friday and to celebrate the feast of that Christ.¹¹ To administer the donation the parish priest might appoint a *mayordomo* or he might commit it to the *indio alguacil mayor de la iglesia* (a parish official). In other cases the heirs of the founder might keep the administration of the *mayordomía* and fulfill the obligations related to it. After several generations the family of the founder became extinct or may have lost the *mayordomía* for other reasons. In such cases it was not unusual for other Indians to settle on land set aside for the saint and begin spontaneously -'voluntariamente', say the texts¹²- to take care of the cult of the image. It followed that the *mayordomo* and the deputies in charge of the administration of the *mayordomía* were chosen among these Indians, who were, so to speak, virtually squatters. Such was the origin of the *cofradía* of Nuestra Señora de Acambay, north of the Toluca Valley: here some fifteen or sixteen Indian families were living on the land given to the Virgin by a *principal* of the *pueblo* and they were accustomed to choosing from amongst themselves the *mayordomo* who had to pay for the mass celebrated for the Virgin. As long as he was in charge of this office, this *mayordomo* dedicated the entire profit of his work to the saint whose lands he was running: "*estos mayordomos no son otra cosa que los principales asistentes agentes al travaxo sin que por el suyo percivan nada en el año de su diputación.*" The sources do insist upon the informality and flexibility of this kind of association: "*Esta fiesta la costean sólo los indios de aquel barrio por su gusto, por su antojo, por su devoción y por cumplir con la institución de sus mayores (...).*"¹³ (Tlalnepantla; "*This fiesta is paid for by the Indians of the barrio by virtue of their will, commitment, devotion and their fulfillment of their elders' institutions.*").

But there were forms and types of foundations even more informal and modest. Two Indians who were relatives or *compadres* might decide to pay honor to an image they had bought from a *pintor* (painter) and pay for a mass and a procession. Four or five Indians might join together and decide to celebrate the feast of a saint they worshipped particularly. One of them would be elected *mayordomo* and he had to collect money for the saint with or without the license of the parish priest.¹⁴ In some other cases a group of Indians would set-

tle next to a small chapel, a poor *hermita*, and dedicate part of their work to the *servicio* of the *santuario* (in service of the sanctuary): according to the Spanish terms, "*se ofrecieron a la fábrica del santuario.*" ["(...) *they offered their services for the construction and maintenance of the sanctuary.*"] We have a good example of this with the expansion of the shrine of Tecaxique near Toluca in the seventeenth century. The Indians rebuilt the chapel and organized a collective cult to the Virgin of Tecaxique without any intervention from the church. The initiative was immediately denounced to the ecclesiastical authorities by some Spaniards who thought that they would be involved with idolatry ("*debían de estar en alguna idolatría*").¹⁵ This is a clear example of the autonomy and vitality which characterized Indian Christianity from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards. The same process might occur on a *hacienda*. In this case the foundation of a *cofradía* by and for the *servientes* of the estate was an excellent means of attracting new workers and of separating, or disconnecting them from the parish they came from. This seems to have been fairly frequent in the archbishopric of Mexico from the second half of the seventeenth century.

When the *mayordomía* gathered together a greater number of Indians, it often was transformed into a *hermandad*, a brotherhood. The next step was the official recognition, the solemn erection of a *cofradía*, but as we have seen, Indians rarely went that far for social, cultural and material reasons. They preferred to usurp the name without having to comply with all the legal and written obligations related to this institution. As a matter of fact, the Indians who belonged to these *mayordomías* and *hermandades* never received *patentes*. They did not pay any tax for their funeral, neither did they have masses celebrated for the dead. To consider themselves as *cofrades* -brotherhood members- and take part in the feast of the saint, they just had to live in the *barrio* or in the *pueblo*: "*su limosna se colecta entre ellos como abitadores del pueblo y no como cofrades.*" ("*The contribution is collected between them as village inhabitants and not as brotherhood members.*") The image of the saint, instead of being kept in the parish church, was more usually worshipped in a small chapel or even on a *santocalli*, a domestic altar. Although the church considered this worship to be only a *piadosa devoción* (pious devotions), which was scarcely tolerated, the Indians considered it to be a *cofradía* ("*con esto sólo ya la appellidan cofradía*"). In other words it is worth noticing how a European institutional structure, though strictly codified and organized, could be deformed, distorted and transformed by the Indian population into many kinds of organizations better adapted to their needs.¹⁶

Other *hermandades* were created to worship miraculous images. A private devotion to an image might become the origin, the cause of a collective and organized cult. In 1698, for instance, the son of a *cacique* from Ocotitlán agreed to deposit in the parish church an *Ecce Homo* he greatly venerated. It was a statue on which appeared a mi-

raculous bead of sweat. Later his descendants offered a *retablo* to the image, some land and some *agueyes*. In spite of the intrigues of other families, his descendants (*su linaje*) succeeded in retaining the responsibility for the management of the *mayordomía* until the beginning of the nineteenth century.¹⁷ In the eighteenth century one also finds cases of Indian *tributarios* who had bought images that were thought to have curative powers. The house of the owner soon became the center of a devotion that was more or less ephemeral; the faithful could bring candles, flowers and give some money. Other Indians offered themselves as the keepers or the sacristans of the miraculous image. Some urban devotions were promoted by small groups or devout individuals, and inspired by a miraculous engraving or painting that received alms and gifts from the passers-by in Mexico City, Puebla or Veracruz.¹⁸ It is impossible to describe this multiplicity of forms. In the Bajío (Michoacán), in San Miguel el Grande, for instance, we often find confraternities that were actually groups in charge of the celebration of the *Moros y Christianos* dances: they had a particular organization with *capitanes*, *maestros de campo*, *sargentos*, *alguaciles de la guerra*.¹⁹ Among the urban *cofradías* it is interesting to recall the role of the "*capilla a modo de hermandad o cofradía*" ("*a chapel as hermandad or cofradía*") of the Mixtecs in Mexico City, a chapel which was supposed to receive and to control the "*naturales extravagantes de las demás naciones que estan avecindados en esta ciudad.*" ["(...) native outsiders of other 'nations' who reside in this city."] It was at the same time a Dominican chapel with its *alguaciles mayores*, and a *cofradía* with its own *rector*. Needless to say that this chapel played an important part in the process of assimilation of the Indians moving to the city until its abolition in the mid-eighteenth century. Another institution had more or less the same function: the *Cofradía de la Circuncisión del Señor* that was established in the Jesuit College of San Gregorio.²⁰

There is no space in this short essay to outline a typology of the many forms of confraternities and *piadosas devociones* which all expressed Indian devotion, sociability and a wonderful capacity of adaptation to colonial society. It would be a difficult task for, as we know, many of these organizations existed on the fringe of official institutions and did not resort to keeping records of their activities, lists of members, *constituciones* and rules. Nevertheless it is important to emphasize the fact that these unofficial confraternities were extremely numerous. The *pueblo* of Tepotztlán, close to Mexico City, at the end of the eighteenth century had 6 *hermandades*: those of the *Señor*, of San Sebastián, of San Miguel, of the Holy Cross, of San Ignacio de Loyola, and of the *Santo Entierro*, while there was only one *cofradía* which belonged to the Indians, that of the Rosario. At the end of the eighteenth century in the Zapotec area south of Antequera de Oaxaca, the same situation prevailed: in Ayoquesco there was no *cofradía* but there were 20 *hermandades*, that the priest called "*unas meras devociones*" ("*some simple devotions*"); in Lachixio we find two

cofradías and 6 *hermandades* and so on.²¹ This ratio of official to informal institutions was to be found in many *pueblos* in the archbishopric of Mexico and the bishopric of Oaxaca. It confirms the importance of the *hermandades* in Indian society and culture. For *hermandades* and *mayordomías* -as well as official *cofradías*- provided the Indians with a social structure flexible enough to avoid the domination of the church and to enable them to adapt themselves to changing local conditions.

The boundary between *devociones*, *mayordomías*, *hermandades*, and *cofradías* was by no means clear and, in fact, I do not think that these colonial and ecclesiastical distinctions were meaningful for the Indians. Local and ethnic traditions, the initiatives of the Indians and pressure from the church could promote or select one form or another. It is necessary to take into consideration the relationship between these different religious associations and the parish priest, who sometimes succeeded in controlling and ruling them. In other respects these different institutions often corresponded to different social groups: it is revealing, for instance, that the *caciques* and the local Indian nobility were the usual founders and benefactors of the *cofradías* while the *macehuales* (commoners) were more closely related to *mayordomías* and *devociones piadosas*. No doubt, it would also be interesting to compare and to contrast the *capellanía* founded by wealthy *caciques* as a long-term investment to the *mayordomía* insofar as these proceedings reflect two different conceptions of capital, of religious and social strategy.²² In many *pueblos* and *barrios* it was possible to equate *cofradías* and community. This was the situation that prevailed in sixteenth-century Michoacán, with its famous *hospitales*, or in the Zapotec region of Miahuatlán, Ocelotepec and Coatlán in the beginning of the seventeenth century: there we find a *mayordomo* who was a yearly elected official. His role was not only to take care of the religious feasts but also, more generally, of community revenues.²³ In Yucatán, according to Nancy Farriss, seventeenth and eighteenth-century *cofradías* operated as a substitute, even a synonym for *comunidad*.²⁴ But that was far from always being the case. Instead of serving as a substitute for the *comunidad*, Indian *hospitales* in the Bajío or *hermitas* in Oaxaca asked to be transformed into *pueblos de indios* and to elect their own *alcaldes* and *regidores*. In these cases the *pueblo* replaced the original religious congregation. But *cofradías* could dissimulate a quite different reality: in Oaxaca, according to William Taylor, late eighteenth-century Indian *cofradías* "may have served as a cover for clerical landholding in Indian communities".²⁵

It must be stressed that the diversity and complexity of colonial reality does not allow us to propose a stereotyped and excessively static view of these institutions, or to call them simply, as Nutini did, the *ayuntamiento religioso*.²⁶ In the second half of the eighteenth century many *cofradías* were receiving as their members both Indians, *castas* and Spaniards (under the rather inexplicit name of *vecinos* or *feligreses*), while an increasing number of Indian *cofradías* were ad-

ministered by Spaniards for otherwise they would have been vanquished and the divine cult would have suffered ("*pues de otra manera ya se huvieroaan aniquilado y no pudiera subsistir el culto divino*"). Nevertheless, many Indian *cofradías* were abolished, 'extinguished', by the church and the enlightened state while others were reduced to the category of mere *mayordomías*. For the Indians who were invited to join Spanish *cofradías*, any room for autonomy and identity vanished, while for the others the path was open to even more uncontrolled and informal associations. It should be emphasized that the second half of the eighteenth century was a critical moment for these institutions. The existence of official and unofficial *cofradías* was constantly and violently criticized by the church and the enlightened state. In the nineteenth century the Independent Republic proved to be even more severe and disastrous with the *Ley Lerdo* and the *Leyes de Reforma*. Indeed documents which indicate that the *bienes de comunidad* were financing the feasts at the end of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth century, may have two different meanings:

- that the colonial *ayuntamiento religioso* and the confraternities were one and the same thing, and that their properties had been intermingled for a long time in the way Nutini proposed;
- or it may just mean that the *ayuntamiento religioso* had taken over the celebrations of the feasts of the saints because of the abolition of the majority of Indian *cofradías* and *hermandades* in the last decades of the eighteenth century and their reduction to the rank of *mayordomías*.²⁷

In any case it may be dangerous to continue to idealize and exaggerate the social, institutional and cultural homogeneity of the *pueblo de indios* and to minimize the internal divisions as well as the role of individual creation and dissent. We need additional information to know better how all these different institutions evolved from the sixteenth century in accordance with local resources and which of them were integrated into the system of civil and religious *cargos*. Precisely where and why did they constitute a specific institution distinct from the *república de los indios* and the offices related to the service of the parish? Were the same people to be found in all these offices? I believe that such questions might also be of interest to the anthropologist trying to interpret modern Indian reality.

LAS DEMANDAS: COFRADÍAS AND INDIAN MOBILITY

The study of Indian *cofradías* must not be limited to the framework of the community. Thanks to recent studies we now know that colonial Indian life was not limited to the territory of the *pueblo* as Nancy Farriss demonstrated for Yucatán. Indian *cofradías* can offer good examples of such mobility. Members of *cofradías*, *hermandades* and

mayordomías, whether official or unofficial, organized collections in order to pay for masses, sermons, feasts or to build or restore a shrine. Though these collections were first organized within the *pueblo*, they soon overstepped the boundaries of the town and expanded in the whole region. These collections, *demandas*, can be traced back to the beginning of the seventeenth century and seem to originate in Michoacán. As early as 1606 the *mayordomos* of the *ermita* of San Diego in Tlalmanalco asked the *provisor de Indios* for a license to collect money to adorn their chapel and holy image ("*licencia para que puedan pedir y pidan limosna para el adorno de la dicha capilla e ymagen*"). In the eighteenth century, many Indians were sent to solicit funds in the name of a *hermandad* or an image. They crossed the heart of New Spain visiting *pueblos* and *estancias*. That is why it was not unusual to meet *mayordomos* from Mexico City and its neighborhood in the Valleys of Mexico, Toluca, the provinces of Cuernavaca and Taxco, even the region of Michoacán. Surrounded by musicians, the collectors carried the image in a reliquary; people gathered to welcome them, dances were organized, while holy images, *rosarios*, and small jewels were sold by the collectors. Thanks to the sales and the alms they received the funds of the saint slowly increased from village to village.²⁸

It is true that the Indians had to ask for a license from the *provisor de Naturales* and to obey the parish priests and ecclesiastical judges of the *pueblos* they visited. In theory at least. As a matter of fact the practice changed along with the people, time and place. Free to choose their itinerary, these Indians could not be supervised. They could misappropriate important sums and spend the money however they wanted to. They used to bargain over the price of their stay with the local authorities. That is why, I think, they embodied perfectly the dynamics, mobility and expansion of Indian Christianity, a Christianity that overlapped the usual boundaries of the *barrio* and of the *pueblo*. Some of these *mayordomos* were *caciques* and *principales*, but more often they were *indios tributarios* including women. Contacts made here and there, personal relations, hospitality, meetings and feasts must have created religious links and social networks. Perhaps these networks were as important as those created by the famous pilgrimages. Moreover, thanks to the mobility of the collectors and to the multiplicity and unpredictability of the itineraries, these networks easily eluded any control imposed by the church and the state. Once more it would be interesting to distinguish the role of individual initiatives and collective practice, and to have details on the motives of these Indians, in order to outline the religious, political or economical background of their activities. In any case this practice was frequent enough to frighten and alarm the 'enlightened' authorities who decided to restrict and forbid this kind of collection by the end of the eighteenth century.²⁹

COMIDAS AND BORRACHERAS

Because the economic aspects of these associations are analyzed by Prof. Lavrin in this volume, I will follow another path, somewhat less studied by historians. Far from being interested in institutional distinctions and legitimations, it seems that Indian *cofradías* combined two main fields, two spheres of mixed and syncretic origin; namely, on the one hand, festive eating and drinking and, on the other, the celebration of the images of the saints. There was thus a primary common feature to all these forms of *cofradías*, whether they were formally or informally established. They were all related to a collective and heavy consumption of food and drink, *borracheras*, *embriagueces*, *banquetes* and *convites* that the priests, the church and the Crown constantly criticized. This tendency was condemned early on in the sixteenth century. The constitutions of the *cofradía* of Coatlán stipulated that the members "*no saquen ninguna cosa de la dicha cofradía para comidas ni banquetes ni se gaste en fiestas cosa ninguna más.*" ["(...) not use anything from the said *cofradía* for meals or banquets, nor spend any more (than they already do) on fiestas."] As early as 1585 the Third Mexican Council denounced the *embriagueces* that seemed to be the main concern and activity of the Indian *cofradías* in Mexico City. For the Church these excesses were to be condemned. They were considered to be *abusos*, the sin of gluttony, a perversion of the Christian feast.

It is important to stress the sacred and pre-Hispanic background of these practices before they came to be associated with the cult of the saints.³⁰ The ritual and collective consumption of food in connection -it must be noted- with dancing (*baile*, *mitote*) was so important that it allows one to understand the meaning of the pre-Hispanic feast and to distinguish the nature of one celebration from another. It is no wonder that in the colonial period festive eating and drinking -and their opposite, fasting- still played an important part in the religious life of the Indians, in their physical communications and exchanges with God, the saints or the old deities. It is not entirely by chance that the cattle, the *magüeyes* and the maize belonging to the saint provided the food and drink that were consumed at his feast. Food and drink created and maintained a relationship both with the saints and between the members of the community. As a matter of fact Indians from the region of Zacualpan explained that the meat eaten during the feast of the *hermandad* was to be served to the elder ("*para que coman los viejos*") an explanation that confirmed the social dimension involved in festive eating and drinking.³¹ That is also why ritual eating and drinking, even more than the *cofradía* segregating rules, helped to maintain an existential separation between Indians and non-Indians. They created a specific way of being together and of feeling, a peculiar and collective receptivity to the surrounding world.

In other words, through their diverse and varied forms Indian confraternities provided a social and institutional framework, a material space where part of this essential and traditional activity could still take place and be ritualized and codified. It would be necessary to analyze better the '*potlatch dimension*' of such meetings and to compare them with Spanish equivalents -such as those studied, for instance, in Galicia and Andalusia.³² However, it seems that in many respects this cultural expression, as an original manner of relating to the divine, was much more primordial and primeval than their equivalents in the Spanish celebrations and therefore specifically indigenous. Besides this, it is evident that these practices evolved and changed in the long term and that these feasts constituted a transitory space. Ritual drinking still prevailed in the *pueblos* rather than modern forms of alcoholism while in the cities, on the *haciendas*, *ingenios* and *trapiches* pathological consumption might have been more obvious and frequent.

THE IMAGES OF THE SAINTS: NATURE OF THE RELATION

The consumption of food with its different stages, its many dimensions and meanings represents a field in which human thought and culture do not express themselves through speech. The same happens with the many objects that surround men. We have just seen that all these forms of Indian devotions, collections and associations were based on the cult offered to an image. Nevertheless it would be wrong to reduce this image to the rank or the status of a mere material object. It was endowed with a power of attraction, evocation and crystallization that cannot be ignored. Even though it is not at all easy to specify the nature of the relations of the Indians with the images of the saints.

As is well known, Christian saints penetrated Indian daily life on at least two different levels. First of all, there were the saints of the *pueblo* and of the *barrio* imposed by the friars or chosen by the Indians according to rather ambiguous or syncretic motivations that Diego Durán and some *títulos primordiales* described quite accurately in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.³³ But, apart from this collective and massive introduction, we must not forget another, somehow later, but perhaps more important state regarding the process of assimilation and interiorization of this new deity. Images of the saints appeared on the domestic altars or *santocalli* of the Indians. They became part of the family patrimony and, as such, part of its legacy. According to the Third Mexican Council and the Holy Office, as early as the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century "*los indios (...) conservan multitud de efigies de Christo Nuestro Señor, su Santísima Madre y santos.*"³⁴ ["(...) the Indians (...) have retained a multitude of effigies of Christ Our Lord, the Virgin Mary and other saints."] It is enough to read wills made by

indios tributarios in the eighteenth century to appreciate the attachment of the Indians to these paintings and statues. An Indian might leave some land and ask his children to serve the Holy Trinity, Jesús Nazareno, San Pedro, the Virgin of Guadalupe, San Antonio, the Virgen de los Remedios. Others, when they had no land to offer, just left some tools, an ax or a team of oxen. According to the provisions of these wills, the income of the work done with these tools was to be offered to the images in order to pay for candles, flowers and incense.³⁵

It may be interesting to compare this attachment, this personal bond with a practice the Nahuas of present day Morelos and Guerrero still observed at the beginning of the seventeenth century. As far as we know, they used to put or to hide on their domestical altars bundles of sacred objects of pre-Hispanic origin. These *idolillos* were related with the *linajes* that were dwelling or had dwelled in the house. They were kept close to the new images of the saints. The Indians were so dedicated to them and respectful to these *idolillos* that they generally refused to give them to the Catholic priest. Chosen by an ancestor, 'el cabo del linaje', or by some other leader of the domestic group, these small figurines and dried plants were thought to possess a force on which depended the prosperity of the home. But as Indians had died in the epidemics, as *pueblos* were abandoned and houses destroyed, many of these *idolillos* were lost as well as the memory of the past. Little by little the images of the saints displaced the pre-Hispanic *sacra* with which they had coexisted for decades. But, and this is the main point, it seems that Christian images retained some of the characteristics of the *idolillos*.

The housealtars kept most of the attractive power of the older *sacra*: the Indians committed part of their possessions to the cult of the image, to its maintenance and adornment. They made offerings and celebrated feasts. They often refused to give them up to a chapel or to a church and this attitude too seems to have been traditional for it was strictly forbidden to move the *idolillos* from their place and even to touch them.³⁶ It is possible that the extreme possessiveness displayed by the members of the *mayordomías* originated in part from the ancestral attitude of the owners of *idolillos* (also called *tlapialli*). I am thinking, for instance, of expressions such as "*mis santos, mi Señora de la Concepción, mi Señora de Guadalupe*" that are to be found so often in many Indian wills. In other words, the attachment to these family images seems to be one of the sources and references of the intense bond that existed between the members of the *mayordomía* or *hermandad* and the image of the saint.

In other respects, even if some images might have become a cause of conflict between families or members of the family, it is important to notice that the solidarity within the household was based partly on the collective worship of the image. Just as the *idolillos* had been associated with the continuity of a *linaje*, the new image was the origin of a chain of obligations, of *cargos*, that everyone in the family was

obliged to fulfill.³⁷ At the same time the domestic image became an embodiment of the **memory** of the household, or -more exactly perhaps- a materialization of past and 'immemoriality'. The same occurred within the *cofradías* the images of which were usually said to be worshipped from time immemorial ("*desde immemorial tiempo*").

Nevertheless it is true that the very **nature** of the relation to the god changed, as well as the concept of deity. The saint was no longer a name given to a force, a collection of objects, plants, figurines and small jugs that were not assimilated to persons. The saint was a person with whom the possessor or the *cofrades* had family relations. The saint was the father, the *santa* was the mother of the faithful, just as the latter could be given godfathers or godmothers, *padrinos* and *padrinas*. Some Indians asked to be buried close to the saint they venerated most: "*ha de ser sepultado mi cuerpo en la iglesia parrochial (...) en frente de Jesús Nazareno de capilla, que soy hermano del Señor.*" ["(...) *my body should be buried in the church in front of the chapel of Jesús Nazareno, for I am the brother of the Lord.*"] This physical propinquity to the dead was quite similar to that of the living with his saint.³⁸ So the adoption of figurative Christian images not only implied an anthropomorphism of the deity, but also conveyed a personalization of the divinity and a family dimension added to the relationship between the devout and the saint.

In other respects it involved a **publicizing** of the image that seems specific to Christianity for pre-Hispanic images were not so easily offered to the view and veneration of the profane. Think of the processions of Holy Week, of Corpus Christi that constituted very important moments for displaying and exhibiting the image. Think above all of the multiplication on a large scale of the Christian images that were copied, engraved and carved at the instigation of the colonial church. This relationship might have been even more intense when the *santos* were associated with miracles and prodigious cures. Many images could '*renovarse*', they could move, walk, cry, sweat and bleed like human people. In this way a private image might become the center of a local devotion, give birth to a *mayordomía* and, if it proved to be very efficient and popular, become the origin and the core of a pilgrimage. In this case the building of a chapel or the celebration of the feast proved to be an affirmation of prestige and power in relation to other groups and *pueblos* that were not so well protected. The possession of the image could be claimed at any rate against the Spanish and the church, as it happened in the *cofradía* of a Immaculada Concepción of Cuautitlán.³⁹ When the Spanish priest decided in 1786 to take the image out of the parish, the Indians immediately protested and proclaimed that the image was their own property: "*this image,*" they said, "*did not belong to any Spaniard, it belonged to the naturales*" ("*es propia de los naturales*"). The antiquity of the image -*venerada desde immemorial tiempo/venerated since times immemorial*-, their obedience to the Virgin who was their *patrona*, the many miracles, the burying of the *cofrades* in the chapel, the official

recognition by the archbishop, all these elements expressed the interiorization of the relationship to the saint: the image embodied and materialized an exceptional link with the past and memory, death and afterlife, society and supernatural.⁴⁰

The image was a source of power and prestige for its possessor as well as for the group who kept it. Moreover the owner or the group might be tempted to impose their saint and substitute it for the *santo patrono* of the *pueblo*, even if this decision provoked strong resistance in the community. That is why it may be useful to analyze the nature and the intensity of the bonds created and maintained by the image of the saint, in order to understand better the success of the many institutions the saint protected. Note that these bonds were economical, psychological, affective more than openly ideological insofar as neither the Indians nor the priest made explicit statements about the meaning and nature of the image.

THE IMAGE AS AN OBJECT

This social, economic and affective network created by Christian images was based upon the singularity, the peculiarity of the object that we call an image and that the Indians designated a *santo*. In fact the *santo* never appeared as a material object, such as a statue or a painting. The *santo* was never said to represent another being beyond itself or to be the effigy of something or somebody else. The Indians did not normally distinguish between the saint and his material representations since that kind of distinction seemed meaningless for them. The image was the saint or also, even if it sounds like a tautology, the saint was the saint. It was a self-contained entity. That is why the *santo* was not just an object endowed with prophylactic and therapeutic functions and social meanings, nor was it just an object possessing a divine power.

Instead of just reducing the images of the *santos* to their many significations and functions, and in order to understand better the popularity of their cults and that of confraternities, I prefer to adduce that the saints were in a way multiple and recurrent "*instruments of evocation*."⁴¹ They were part of the social and cultural device (*dispositif*) by which colonial Indians conceived and enacted Christianity. More generally speaking, I would say that the *santos* were one of the media, the *support* through which New Spain's Indians invented, built and ordered their own reality from the seventeenth century onwards. The *santos* were part of a symbolic, social and material framework of fabric that made real and manifest, plausible and credible, the institutions, beliefs and practices imposed on the Indians and assimilated by them. They contributed to making coherent and to unifying the heterogeneous elements that constituted colonial Indian daily life, such as chapels, rituals and ceremonial stagings, music and dances, liturgical time, Christian symbols and beliefs, social codes of eating

and drinking, social beings and social relations (the Spanish priests), the land and the house, death and so on... The *santos* played a significant part in structuring relationships between conscious and unconscious sociocultural features introduced by the Spanish conquest or inherited from the pre-Hispanic past. In other words, Indian Christianity reproduced itself and determined the way the Indians perceived the world very largely through this omnipresent and recurrent *support*, through that peculiar relationship to the divine everywhere introduced and made present, obvious and manifest by the image of the saint.

FROM CONFRATERNITIES TO SECTS

It is worth remarking that sometimes the manipulation, the appropriation of the images and the use of the liturgical objects related to them, greatly overstepped the limits of orthodox and folk Christianity. Such was the case whenever the confraternity became a kind of sect, that is, a closed group of Indians sharing specific practices and beliefs intimately related to the images they kept. Gathering at night a chapel or a house, these Indians created syncretic rituals, devoted themselves to Holy Death (*Santa Muerte*), organized nightly processions and took hold of the liturgical ornaments belonging to the church in order to acquire or retain the symbolic and political leadership of the group (for instance, the office of *gobernador*). I believe that such extreme cases as appeared in the valley of Toluca, Querétaro, Guanajuato, Morelos or Oaxaca, corroborate two main potentials of Indian confraternities, even if they rarely manifested themselves in such a spectacular way: first, far from being just an instrument of collective identity and cohesion, Indian confraternities could be used as a powerful instrument to strengthen the influence of a faction over the rest of the community; second, Indian confraternities constituted a quite appropriate place for the elaboration of Indian forms of Christianity that might break with church rituals and dogmas, add new cults (for instance, the *Santa Muerte*) and mix in practices of collective witchcraft and even some form of heresy. Christian images, for instance, were completely subdued, the *santos* were whipped by the faithful or worshipped in connection with other figurines made of paper which were adored and kissed as if they themselves were the gods concerned. ["(...) *que adoran y besan como si fueran el mismo dios.*"] And to give a short quotation to illustrate a ritual enacted in one of these secret meetings:⁴²

"a la santa muerte cogen estos con un mecate nuevo mojado y la amarran fuertemente para que les haga el milagro de darles la bara de gobierno, amenasándola que, si no les hace el milagro, la han de azotar o la han de quemar (...)".

Once more symbolic and material presence of the image, the intense relations with the saint, were quite essential insofar as they originated

new cultural forms. Thus they became the core of an underground sociability that seemed to reject the colonial order.

The next and last step -which I studied in an earlier work⁴³- is the personal and individual access to divinity, when the leaders of Indian confraternities and collective *devociones* become God or man-gods and saints. There are good examples of this process in the second half of the eighteenth century with the Nahuatl (southeast of the valley of Mexico) or with the Otomí of the *Sierra* of Puebla. There images and men mixed, allowing these groups to appropriate completely -though in a symbolic way- the religion of the Spaniards. We find such attitudes among *curanderos* who wanted to strengthen their prestige and fame. But in some cases it appeared that Indian sects and their divine leaders rediscovered European millenarianism and messianism and succeeded in creating a complex and total reinterpretation of time, space, society and history.

In conclusion, Indian images of saints and the associations created in connection with them must be studied as objects and social institutions produced by a specific and ever changing historical situation, that of the ongoing encounter of completely different cultures and societies in a colonial context. *Santos* and Indian confraternities are characteristic of cross-cultural areas dominated by the Western world. First introduced in an exotic reality in order to take control of it, they gradually were appropriated and assimilated by the natives; they penetrated their personal and social existence and became part of their individuality and of their collective life. The evolution of Indian confraternities could inspire an ethnohistory of contact not only based on the clash of religion, symbolic logic, discourses, institutions and rituals, but also concerned with the functioning, the operating and the dynamics of the objects that appeared and emerged in cross-cultural contexts. Like Christian icons in the Byzantine and Islamic Near East and African fetishes on the West Coast visited by the Portuguese,⁴⁴ Mexican colonial idols and *santos* deserve careful research.

ENDNOTES

1. See, for instance, Charles Gibson, *Los Aztecas bajo el dominio español 1519-1810* (Mexico City, 1967, transl. from the English, 1964), 130-137; Héctor Martínez Domínguez, "Las cofradías en la Nueva España," in *Primer Anuario* (Jalapa, 1975), 45-71; William B. Taylor, *Landlord and Peasant in Colonial Oaxaca* (Stanford, 1972), 169-170; M. Teresa Sepúlveda y H., *Los cargos políticos y religiosos en la región del lago de Pátzcuaro* (Mexico City, 1974); Rosa María Igartúa, "Las cofradías en Calimaya a través de sus constituciones y otros documentos" (Tesis Lic., Universidad Iberoamericana, 1978); Guillermo Bonfil Batalla, *Cholula, la ciudad sagrada en la era industrial* (Mexico City, 1973).

2. *Códice Franciscano Siglo XVI* (Mexico City, 1941), 65-69; Toribio de Benavente Motolinía, *Memoriales o libro de las cosas de la Nueva España*, E. O'Gorman, ed. (Mexico City, 1971), 93; Juan de Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana*, Miguel León-Portilla, ed. (7

vols., Mexico City, 1977-1983), V, 340, and VI, 293-294. Regarding the *hospitals*, see Josefina Muriel, *Hospitales de la Nueva España* (2 vols., Mexico City, 1956); Carmen Venegas Ramírez, *Régimen hospitalario para indios en la Nueva España* (Mexico City, 1973); J. B. Warren, *Vasco de Quiroga and his Pueblo-Indians of Santa Fe* (Washington, 1963).

3. Archivo General de la Nación (hereafter AGN), Indiferente General, "Constituciones de la cofradía de Nuestra Señora de la Concepción," Coatlán (Real Minas de Taxco), March 1577.

4. Bancroft Library, Berkeley, Manuscript 268, "Memorial del doctor Ortiz de Hinojosa al III Concilio Mexicano," Mexico City, January 30, 1585; Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana*, V, 173.

5. Gibson, *Aztecas bajo el dominio español*, 130-131 (Valley of Mexico). For the bishopric of Puebla see, for instance, "Relación de la visita eclesiástica que hizo de una parte de su obispado (...) don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, obispo de Puebla," August 22, 1643-1647, November 1643, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Manuscript 4476. For the end of the seventeenth century many data are to be found in Agustín de Vetancurt, *Crónica de la provincia del Santo Evangelio de México. Cuarta Parte del Teatro Mexicana (...)* (Mexico City, 1697), *passim*. About the bishopric of Michoacán (1670-1680), see Sepúlveda, *Cargos políticos y religiosos*; and, for instance, Archivo del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City, Archivo de la Casa de Morelos, Microfilm 762646, "Gobierno eclesiástico, vol. II. Libro de visitas por los ilustrísimos Fray Francisco Sarmiento de Lunas y Francisco de Aguiar y Seijas."

6. Gibson, *Aztecas bajo el dominio español*, 130; Sepúlveda, *Cargos políticos y religiosos*, 61. As early as the end of the sixteenth century many confraternities were founded with Spanish and Indian members but they were usually administered by Spaniards.

7. AGN, Bienes Nacionales, leg. 223, exp. 73.

8. see note 4 above.

9. AGN, Bienes Nacionales, vol. 230, exp. 5.

10. AGN, Bienes Nacionales, leg. 905, exp. 3. Regarding *obras pías* see, for instance, AGN, Bienes Nacionales, leg. 345, exp. 12.

11. AGN, Tierras, vol. 1874, exp. 2. See above note 9.

12. "Informe de Atotonilco el Grande" (September 15, 1777) in AGN, Indiferente General.

13. See above note 12: "Informe del cura Nicolás de Herrera," Acambay, October 6, 1777; AGN, Cofradías, vol. 18, exp. 26, f. 380; AGN, Tierras, vol. 1478, exp. 10.

14. Xalatlaco, see above note 12. See also AGN, Bienes Nacionales, leg. 420, exp. 19 (and below note 39).

15. Biblioteca Nacional de México, Colección Lafragua, vol. 954.

16. "Aunque les dan el título de ermandades, no lo son en realidad y sólo se reducen a colectaciones de limosna para el culto de sus respectivos patronos: para lo que anualmente se dedican voluntariamente algunos individuos que toman el título de mayordomos," "Los indios llaman de cofradías las missas que se celebran cada mes," see above note 12. The priest of Temascaltepec del Valle in September 1777 described "*hermandades sin autoridad ordinaria, sin más propios que los que ministra la piedad y devoción cristiana (...)*." see above note 12. See above note 9. About *cofradía* and *hacienda*, see, for instance, AGN, Ramo de Indios, vol. 8, exp. 28.

17. AGN, Tierras, vol. 2467, exp. 2.

18. Archivo General de Indias, Seville (hereafter AGI), México, vol. 716.

19. Arturo Warman, *La danza de Moros y Cristianos* (Mexico City, 1972). AGN, Ramo de Indios, vol. 59, exp. 195.

20. AGN, Indiferente General, "Los alcaldes, oficiales y demás naturales mistecos (...) al virrey Payo Enriquez de Rivera," Mexico City, 1679; BNM, Fondo Franciscano, caja 142, exp. 1741; AGN, Bienes Nacionales, leg. 1027.

21. See above note 12; AGN, Cofradías, vol. 18.

22. Serge Gruzinski, "Familias, santos y capellanías: Bienes espirituales y estrategias familiares en la sociedad indígena, siglos XVII y XVIII" (paper III Simposio de Historia de las Mentalidades, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City, 1986).
23. "Relaciones geográficas de la diócesis de Oaxaca," in *Papeles de Nueva España. Segunda serie, Geografía y estadística*, Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, ed. (Reprint, Mexico City, 1980), 294, 304, 311. Also Prof. Lavrin's essay in this volume.
24. Nancy M. Farriss, *Maya Society under Colonial Rule. The Collective Enterprise of Survival* (Princeton, 1984), 265-266.
25. AGN, Ramo de Indios, vol. 36, exp. 129 (Salamanca) and 206 (Oaxaca); Taylor, *Landlord and Peasant*, 169.
26. Hugo G. Nutini, *Ritual Kinship. The Structure and Historical Development of the Compadrazgo System in Rural Tlaxcala* (Princeton, 1980), *passim*.
27. Serge Gruzinski, "La 'segunda aculturación': El estado ilustrado y la religiosidad indígena en Nueva España (1775-1800)," in *Estudios de Historia Novohispana*, 8 (1985), 175-201; Sepúlveda, *Cargos políticos y religiosos*, 70. It would be necessary to compare Mexican confraternities with Spanish ones, see, for instance, William A. Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton, 1980); Isidoro Moreno Navarro, *Propiedad, clases sociales y hermandades en la Baja Andalucía* (Madrid, 1972), 195-210, and *La semana santa de Sevilla. Conformación, mixtificación y significaciones* (Seville, 1982), 121-129.
28. AGN, Bienes Nacionales, leg. 732 (Tlalmanalco, 1606); Bienes Nacionales, leg. 1027 (Temascalcingo, 1634); Bienes Nacionales, leg. 976, exp. 21 (Hueychiapan, 1669).
29. AGN, Cofradías, vol. 18, *passim*, and exp. 8; AGN, Clero Regular y Secular, vol. 22, *passim*, and exp. 10:
"Es constante lo primero la indecencia con que se conducen las ymágenes en cajones sobre una bestia de carga como si fuera qualesquiera otro género o efecto de transporte. Tal vez son acompañadas de músicas profanas, mugeres sospechosas. Se ponen altares en casas particulares y aun -lo que es peor- en otros lugares en que la desemboltura y el vicio hacen ultraje a la devoción (...) los demandantes hacen comercio la colectación, pactando con los curas el salario o pensión que han de deducir (...). Ellos por común son gente vagamunda, combirtiendo muchas veces en su propio uso lo que juntan (...)."
30. In the words of Diego Durán: "*todos las fiestas de éstos era comer y en esto consistían y para comer y pedir de comer a sus falsos dioses se ordenaban (...) El día de la fiesta de aquel dios se convidaban unos a otros para la celebración de él y comían y gastaban los del barrio cuanto tenían (...). A la letra se hace el día de hoy [1570], sin faltar punto en las solemnidades de los santos"; see Diego Durán, *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España e Islas de la Tierra Firme*, Angel Ma. Garibay K., ed. (2 vols., Mexico City, 1967), I, 291, 235, 240, 243; *Descripción del arzobispado de México hecha en 1570* (Mexico City, 1897), 64.*
31. AGN, Indiferente General, "El cura, juez eclesiástico de Minas de Zacualpan Manuel Antonio Monquecho al provisor del arzobispado de México," Zacualpan, March 4, 1763.
32. Carmelo Lisón Tolosana, *Antropología cultural de Galicia* (Madrid, 1971), and *Belmonte de los Caballeros* (Oxford, 1966); Julio Caro Baroja, *Estudios sobre la vida tradicional española* (Barcelona, 1968); George M. Foster, *Cultura y conquista. La herencia española de América* (Jalapa, 1962).
33. Durán, *Historia*, I, 236; and my thesis "Le Filet Déchiré. Sociétés indigènes, occidentalisation et domination coloniale dans le Mexique central, XVIe-XVIIIe siècles" (Ph.D. diss., Université de Paris I, 1986), II, chapter XI, as well as my book, *La colonisation de l'imaginaire. Sociétés indigènes et occidentalisation dans le Mexique espagnol, XVIe-XVIIIe siècles* (Paris, 1988).
34. "Memorial del Doctor Hinojosa," see note 4 above; AGN, Indiferente General (Inquisición), "Borrador de un edicto del siglo XVII"; AGN, Inquisición, vol. 312, f. 97r.
35. AGN, Tierras, vol. 2616, exp. 7 (Tianguistengo, 1742): "*Ahora dexo un hijo mio que se llama Balthasar Antonio, le dexo un mi padre santo Christo para que le sirva, que le com-*

pre velas y copal y flores"; AGN, Tierras, vol. 2540, exp. 5 (Tenango del Valle, 1703): "A mi hijo Antonio Nicolás le dejo la casa con todos los santos y a Nuestra Señora la Virgen. Que les venere y sirva mi hijo Antonio Nicolás."

36. Hernando Ruíz de Alarcón, *Tratado de las idolatrías, supersticiones, ritos, hechicerías y otras costumbres gentílicas de las razas aborígenes de México* (Mexico City, 1953), 30-34; Jacinto de la Serna, *Tratado de las idolatrías, supersticiones, ritos, hechicerías y otras costumbres gentílicas de las razas aborígenes de México* (Mexico City, 1953), 93-95.

37. AGN, Tierras, vol. 2535, exp. 5 (Tianguistengo, 1759): "Mi Señor de Chalma queda para que le sirvan todos los hermanos, primos, sobrinos: juntamente le servirán con sus flores, velas y saumerio como viene desde antecedido de nuestros padres (...);" AGN, Tierras, vol. 2551, exp. 8 (Tlayacapan, 1736): "Los dueños de mi casa: Jesús Nazareno, Santo Christo, San Juan, San Miguel, Niño, San Nicolás, Christo, todos de bulto (...);" AGN, Bienes Nacionales, leg. 446, exp. 7 (Ajusco, 1707): "Le han de dar culto a Señor San Miguel que es el patrón de la casa y es el que está cuidando el sitio o solar (...)."

38. AGN, Tierras, vol. 2539, exp. 5 (Almoloya, 1762): "Ellos han de servir a mi querida madre Señora Santa Ana"; AGN, Tierras, vol. 2539, exp. 4 (Calimaya, 1733): "(...) a mi querida madre de Guadalupe y a mi querido padre San Antonio de Padua"; AGN, Tierras, vol. 2533, exp. 5 (Calimaya, 1691): "Declaro mi sepultura se abrirá delante de mi padre San Antonio." On *compadrazgo* and images, see Manuel Pérez, *Farol indiana y guía de curas de indios* (...) (Mexico City, 1713), who describes the bounds of kinship established by the paying of a benediction or a mass for the saint of another person.

39. Gibson, *Aztecs*, 135. See also Biblioteca Nacional de México, Colección lafragua, Manuscript 1355 (1729); AGN, Bienes Nacionales, leg. 420, exp. 19 (Cayuca, 1647).

40. AGN, Clero Regular y Secular, vol. 103, exp. 11 (1786); see f. 405v, in the words of the Indians "la mencionada imagen no es de español alguno, sino propia de los naturales."

41. Remo Guidieri, "Statue and Mask. Presence and representation in Belief," in *Res*, 5 (1983), 15-22. See also Serge Gruzinski, *La guerre des images de Christophe Colomb à Blade Runner (1492-2019)* (Paris, 1990).

42. Archivo de la Casa de Morelos, 785788, Mic. INAH, rollo 1731, Documentos de la Inquisición, 1739-1805. Other examples in Gruzinski, "Filet Déchiré," IV, part iv, *passim*.

43. Serge Gruzinski, *Les Hommes-dieux du Mexique. Pouvoir indien et société coloniale* (Paris, 1985); English edition: *Man-Gods in the Mexican Highlands. Indian Power and Colonial Society, 1520-1800* (Stanford, 1989).

44. William Pietz, "The Problem of the Fetish, I," in *Res*, 9 (1985), 5-17.