THE EVOLUTION OF THE INDIAN CORPORATION OF THE TOLUCA REGION, 1550-1810

STEPHANIE WOOD

The determination of indigenous groups to defend and enhance their corporate status and autonomy during the colonial period is increasingly appearing to be a regional constant. The extent to which the indigenous people were successful in their endeavor, however, seems to have depended on their distance from the center of Spanish activity and markets, their ecological setting, and their potential as purveyors of labor and tribute to the colonizers. The application of practices such as congregacion, land grants, and composiciones, or of laws designed to ensure the longevity of the self-sustaining Indian town varied in intensity and effectiveness according to some of these same determinants, producing predictably divergent results with regard to corporate autonomy in different regions. The work of Charles Gibson on the Valley of Mexico and William Taylor on Oaxaca stands out as most exemplary of these regional variations. The purpose here is to examine the evolution of the Indian corporation as it adjusted to the colonial situation in an intermediate region, the Valley of Toluca.

The Toluca Valley covers a great distance from its southernmost to its northernmost points. Over that expanse, the landscape changes from a fertile, irrigated terrain with a dense population in the south, to a semi-fertile plain—the Sabana Grande—suitable for agriculture and stockraising, and populated with a scattering of indigenous settlements of various sizes between the larger towns of Toluca, Zinacantepec, Lerma, and Ixtlahuaca. The plain follows the Lerma River north of Ixtlahuaca, becoming increasingly arid and more lightly inhabited as it reaches to the northern limit of the Valley around Atlacomulco.

The fertile stretches of the Valley have been devoted to maize-growing, aimed in part at the Mexico City market, since prehispanic

times. In the colonial period wheat also caught on quickly. The southern and central regions are well suited for grain agriculture, and these areas together with the drier north were adapted readily to stockraising upon the arrival of the first encomenderos. The Valley's numerous pig farms have been famous for their sausage and other pork by-products since the sixteenth century.

The principal mining centers around the Valley included Zacualpan, on the southern slope of the Nevado de Toluca; Sultepec and Temascaltepec, southwest of that mountain range; and Tlalpuxaquia, at the northwestern edge of the Lerma River drainage. The populations at the mines consisted of Spanish mine owners, operators, and merchants, and mestizo, mulatto, Black, and Indian staff and laborers. The mines drew labor and produce from communities and estates in the Valley, thereby acting as an indirect influence on the evolution of those towns. Ore refineries also had an impact on the few indigenous settlements in the mining regions and contributed to the formation of new towns.

The location and the social and economic potential of the Toluca Valley ensured its place as a major arena for the usual reorganization efforts instituted by Spaniards all over central New Spain. Adjustments in the status, jurisdiction, and holdings of the Indian corporation as a result of these colonial arrangements are the principal focus of this study.

Congregación

Two periods of congregación are generally recognized in the literature on the colonial Mexican resettlement programs, the mid-sixteenth century and 1598-1606. Because the known records are more extensive for the latter program, it has received more attention. Consequently, and although the numbers still do not seem great, there were probably more congregaciones in the mid-sixteenth century than have previously been recognized. In the Toluca Valley, several moves toward population concentration following epidemics can be detected for the years 1557 through 1564, during the administration of don Luis de Velasco. The nature of the congregaciones of that period seems limited to the removal of a few communities from highland sites to the Valley floor, or despenolación, and, more typically, the collapsing of sujetos in upon cabeceras when the quasi-separate, sub-

---

8 Gerhard, 1972. See descriptions of each jurisdiction under these toponyms. Sultepec is rendered as Zultepec, closer to the original Nahuatl spelling.
The culture, and readily to the Valley's and other Zacualtepec and Jalpuagua, populations, and landlords. and estates the evolution and few individuals to the Tolucan organization and. Adjusted the principal

As the literaturesixteenth century, extensive po., have been detected by the population of don period highland especially, the toponyms.
ordinate units became viable communities.

Until we can ascertain the case when the hills to the valley floor and the second Marqués del V. of land loss in 1563 Tenango del Valle and Taxco. Flight from the case of Zinacantepec faction of the local population.

The final congrega the Toluca Valley and the mid-sixteenth sites were chosen; most the relocation of sujetos larger towns. Furthermore adjustments and compr. Interests of the local population.

Most of the same encountered in the first relocation, to disruption, and to alterations was at least equally significant cabeceras with distinct faced authorities who settlement patterns and individuals mistakenly tried t Santiago (sujetos of Te of Calimaya). But the alteration in the origin.

6 AGN, Hospital de la Concepción.
7 Colin, 1967a: 145.
8 AGN, Congregaciones.
9 AGN, Congregaciones.
ordinate units became too small in the Spaniards' eyes to continue as viable communities.⁴

Until we can ascertain more about the breadth of this early program, generalizations about the degree of disruption in daily life are impossible. But we do know that in the areas where the program was put into effect, there were certain recurring problems. Disruptions in landholding patterns is a familiar complaint. Such was allegedly the case when the hillside community of Tlancingo was brought down to the valley floor and Toluca was founded under the direction of the second Marqués del Valle (1547-1589).⁵ There were also allegations of land loss in 1563 by members of the reinforced community of Tenango del Valle who had been relocated from somewhere near Taxco.⁶ Flight from a nucleated settlement —seen, for example, in the case of Zinacantepec in 1564— is another indicator of the dissatisfaction of the local people with some of the rearrangements.⁷

The final congregación program of 1598-1606, although much smaller than once imagined, did succeed in at least thirty towns in the Toluca Valley and was therefore apparently more far-reaching than the mid-sixteenth-century program.⁸ Still, very few truly new sites were chosen; most rearrangements again seem to have involved the relocation of sujetos hit especially hard by population loss to the larger towns. Furthermore, only rarely did a plan succeed without adjustments and compromises, many of which took into account the interests of the local people.

Most of the same difficulties cited in the earlier program were encountered in the first part of the seventeenth century. Resistance to relocation, to disruptions in land holding or other resource management, and to alterations in customary political and religious dominions was at least equally strong. Calimaya and Tepemaxalco, adjoining cabeceras with distinct and loyal subordinate towns attached to each, faced authorities who for a second time misunderstood indigenous settlement patterns and jurisdictional loyalties. The congregación officials mistakenly tried to relocate the survivors of Santa María and Santiago (sujetos of Tepemaxalco) to San Lucas (under the domain of Calimaya). But protests from these people quickly brought an alteration in the original order, respecting the age-old system.⁹

---

⁵ AGN, Hospital de Jesús, 413, exp. 3.
⁷ Colín, 1967a: 145.
⁸ AGN, Congregaciones, tomo único; Colín, 1968: 13-14, 76-77, and 154.
⁹ AGN, Congregaciones, tomo único, exp. 184.
While Indians usually played an active role in these negotiations, they sometimes opted for a passive one, deserting new sites and reoccupying former ones. A few abandoned sujetos were reoccupied immediately after resettlement. In other cases, great periods of time elapsed before deserted communities were reoccupied. One example comes from the district of Temascaltepec in 1656 and another from Almoloya in 1677. Despite the ravages of time, the memory of those towns had not died.

Communities slated to be moved seem to have been less pleased with the program than those chosen to receive the resettlement of smaller towns, as long as the latter had or obtained sufficient land to support the newcomers. The primordial titles from Capulhuac shed some light on such sentiments, providing evidence of the Indian view of congregación. In these Nahua documents recording the town’s history, the congregación episode of 1604 is remembered with pride and associated with a time of population growth. In that year, Capulhuac was either a cabecera or wished to be. If epidemics had ravaged the town’s populace and then a judge brought people in from outlying settlements to repopulate the community, making a great ceremony of measuring, marking and distributing lands, the leaders might well have taken pride in the event and remembered it as an act of recognition of the town’s corporate integrity. Further, the town leaders may have viewed congregación favorably because they looked forward to increased tributes and authority over a greater number of subjects.

The overall extent to which the congregación programs hampered continuity and autonomy in the Indian communities is difficult to assess without research based on new sources not yet located. Initial investigations into the Toluca example, however, indicate that the Spanish officials and, more importantly, the Indians themselves placed limits on the degree of alteration made in indigenous territorial organization. Resettled Indians also actively defended both their new and their previous agricultural holdings and traditional forms of livelihood.

11 AGN, Tierras, 2860, exp. 1, cuad. 2, f. 71v.
12 AGN, Congregaciones, tomo único, exp. 93; Gerhard, 1972: 273.
13 For further substantiation of these findings, see Wood, 1984: 24-64, 212-237.
14 AGN, Hospital de Piedad, 1636.
15 AGN, Hospital de Piedad, 1618.
16 AGN, Hospital de Piedad, 1618.
17 AGN, Hospital de Piedad, 1620.
18 Taylor, 1972: 152.
Land grants in the Marquesado

Often associated with congregación as having been detrimental to the preservation of the Indian corporation were the land grants to Spaniards in areas vacated by demographic loss. In the immediate vicinity of Toluca, and possibly for the Valley as a whole, the period when most grants were distributed trailed congregación by more than a decade and the last major epidemic by more than two decades.\textsuperscript{14} Additionally, thirty-five towns in the heart of the Valley gave detailed reports of their landholding situation in 1635, and not a single one complained of insufficient resources for the support of its population.\textsuperscript{15}

This is not to say that the Spaniards in the Valley had not made progress in accumulating formerly indigenous corporate holdings. Indeed, certain factors had undermined the Indian corporation’s territorial hold. Ownership clearances conducted prior to grants in the 1620s were intended to ensure that the land solicited was truly vacant, but these were hollow acts lacking fair arbitration when the few conflicting claims arose. Spaniards were favored by Marquesado officials even when there was evidence of current Indian cultivation on a particular parcel.\textsuperscript{16} An investigation into the perpetual leases on the Marquesado grants conducted by royal officials in 1635-1636, shows that forty-seven private individuals held a total of 351 1/3 caballerías in a hundred different pieces of property. Of this area, thirty-five percent had been granted by the Marqués in the second and third decades of the seventeenth century. Viceregal grants amounted to twenty-six percent. Interestingly, at most only five percent consisted of land purchased from Indians.\textsuperscript{17} The alienation of Indian corporate holdings through sale was not prevalent in Toluca at this time, in contrast to practices in Oaxaca.\textsuperscript{18}

The royal investigation of censos held in the Marquesado in 1635-1636 also reveals that the defense of corporate Indian holdings had increased slightly since the period of the greatest frequency of grants circa 1618-1620. The maintenance of some extra territory to serve as a safety valve for future generations or to rent out for supplemental income was attainable in certain cases owing to both Indian assertiveness and the cooperation of Spanish officials by the 1630s. If a

\textsuperscript{14} AGN, Hospital de Jesús, 380, exp. 8.
\textsuperscript{15} AGN, Hospital de Jesús, 413, exp. 3, ff. 64v.-70v.
\textsuperscript{16} AGN, Hospital de Jesús, 380, exp. 8.
\textsuperscript{17} AGN, Hospital de Jesús (vol.) 15. See Wood, 1984: 88 for a breakdown of the figures.
\textsuperscript{18} Taylor, 1972: 132.
community sought a piece of property for itself either in the form of a grant or purchase, the officials would favor the Indian town's request over that of a private individual. For example, the holdings of the community of La Transfiguración Capultitlan were found to be over ten caballerías, more than twice the amount necessary to support the population according to the local priest. Yet, when royal surveyors noted two vacant caballerías in the area, the community was very anxious to purchase these to add to their holdings. Their determination can be seen in the subsequent auction of the vacant parcel, when they successfully outbid a private party and paid far more than the going rate for the land. 19

A significant aspect of the investigation of 1635-1636 was this type of denunciation and purchase of vacant land. Another, even more pressing purpose of the investigation, was for individuals to acquire verification of clear title to land obtained from the Marqués or through usurpation. Thus, besides telling much about the fate of the Indian corporation vis-a-vis Spanish land accumulation, the investigation serves as a preview of the general composición programs which followed shortly thereafter in Chalco, Texcoco, Cuautitlan, Teotihuacan, Toluca, and other developed parts of central New Spain. Various studies have pointed to composición programs, like congregaciones and land grants, as contributors to the reduction of corporate Indian territories. Let us see what effect can be discerned for Toluca.

Composición

In Toluca, as elsewhere, the general composición programs of the seventeenth century were aimed principally at fees that could be collected from estate owners in exchange for the confirmation of faulty titles. Indian corporations are conspicuously absent as recipients of such title confirmations at that time. The strengthening of Spanish titles and the neglect of Indian ones surely favored the former at the expense of the latter. Although there is evidence in law of an official concern that the programs were having an adverse effect upon the indigenous communities, general composición programs, in reality, paid almost no attention to whether or not the lands held without title had been illegally usurped or had conflicting claims upon them.

Unfortunately, there are no known records of investigations of land holding in the Valley of Toluca which could tell us just how detrimental the early programs were to the corporate Indian towns. The following is an attempt to develop a preliminary view of how Indian communities in the Valley of Toluca fared during these investigations.

The town of Santiago de Toluca was, by far, the most affected by the investigations. The town's long list of valuable properties, including contested areas, was reduced to a smaller list below shows the timing of the title verifications in the town. The town's reduced land area in 1716 was reduced to a smaller list below shows the timing of the title verifications in the town.

In addition, denunciations and purchases of vacant land were made more common. The confirmation of land titles was made a significant event in the town.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the town of Santiago de Toluca had not only defending their lands alienated in the sixteenth century, but also defending their lands alienated in the sixteenth century. Some compositions are more successful than others. Sorne compositions included contested areas, and even large town sites without title verification. Bargain terms, characteristic of the program, were used more often in the two decades following the 1695 ruling in 1695, another interesting aspect is the confirmation of fee simple titles.

The confirmation of fee simple titles made a significant change in the pattern of landholding. In addition, denunciations and purchases of vacant land were made more common. The confirmation of land titles was made a significant event in the town. The confirmation of land titles was made a significant event in the town.

19 AGN, Hospital de Jesús (vol.) 15.
the form of the town's holdings found to support the royal community dwellings. Their vacant paid far

was this

rather, even

Marqués

the

in-

the

1690s and especially the decade from

1710 through 1720 finally gave numerous Indian pueblos the opportunity to acquire firm title to their sometimes sizable territories. The list below shows the timing of the programs that appealed to indigenous corporations and the number of pueblos so far known to have acquired title verifications in the greater Toluca region.

The town of Santiago Temoaya provides an example of the way some Indian pueblos aggressively and successfully legitimized their claims to considerable territory. There, despite the objections of numerous and influential private holders, a composición was arranged for the town's long list of valuable agricultural properties, plus 108 caballerías of woodland and pasture, and 11 1/3 surcos of water tapped from the nearby river. The staggering fee of one thousand pesos assessed in 1716 was reduced to six hundred the following year after protests of poverty and a willingness to compromise on some disputed landholdings was expressed by the Indians' defender.20

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the indigenous corporations of the Toluca Valley were becoming increasingly assertive, not only defending their lands but trying to reacquire what had been alienated in the sixteenth and seventeenth. They were still not entirely successful. Some composiciones set limits on corporate holdings, excluding contested areas. But others generously granted both unusually large town sites without a fee and considerable additional land at reduced rates. Bargaining and compromise with regard to fees were characteristic of the programs and generally took the Indians' financial position into account. Whereas Indian cultivation had not prevented grants to Spaniards in the early seventeenth century, possession was more of a guiding rule by this time.21

The confirmation of indigenous claims during the later composición programs made a significant contribution toward slowing the earlier pattern of the gradual but continuous alienation of corporate holdings. In addition, denuncia was not much in evidence, and there were fewer grants to Spaniards by the eighteenth century. After a final ruling in 1695, another law helped slow and even slightly reverse

mental the early programs were to the integrity and continued wellbeing of the Indian towns there. On the other hand, we do have detailed accounts of two waves of composición that beneficially affected Indian communities in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. These programs of the 1690s and especially the decade from

20 AGN, Tierras, 1872, exp. 20.
21 For substantiation of these assessments, see Wood, 1984: 110-153.
### COMPOSICIONES SOUGHT BY INDIAN COMMUNITIES IN OR NEAR THE TOLUCA VALLEY*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Pueblo</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1648</td>
<td>Ocoyoacac, S. Martin</td>
<td>AGN, Tierras, 1871:8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1690</td>
<td>Tecomatepec, S. Pedro (Zacualpan)**</td>
<td>AGN, Tierras, 288:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1695</td>
<td>Metepec, S. Juan Bautista</td>
<td>AGN, Tierras, 1421:7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1695</td>
<td>Tlacotepec, Santiago</td>
<td>AGN, Tierras, 1873:2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1696</td>
<td>Atlacomulco district (all pueblos)</td>
<td>Colin, 1963: 89-90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1696</td>
<td>Tepeyoxiuca, Sta. María</td>
<td>AGN, Tierras, 2672:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1696</td>
<td>Tapaxco, Sta. María Magdalena (sujeto of Xocotitlan)</td>
<td>AGN, Tierras, 1865:6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1710</td>
<td>Tlacotepec, Santiago</td>
<td>AGN, Tierras, 2234:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1712</td>
<td>Chalchihuapa, S. Francisco</td>
<td>Colin, 1963: 269-278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1712</td>
<td>S. Mateo (Tecualoya parish, Malinalco)</td>
<td>AGN, Tierras, 2199:5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1712</td>
<td>Ocualan (Malinalco)</td>
<td>AGN, Tierras, 2207:1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1712</td>
<td>Tecomatepec, S. Pedro (Zacualpa)</td>
<td>AGN, Tierras, 1692:6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1712</td>
<td>Tlacotepec, S. Lorenzo (Atlacomulco)</td>
<td>AGN, Tierras, 2722:15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1713</td>
<td>Amealco, Sta. María (Jilotepec)</td>
<td>AGN, Tierras, 1872:14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1713</td>
<td>S. Bartolomé (near Xiquipilco)</td>
<td>AGN, Tierras, 1464:4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1713</td>
<td>Malacota, S. Lorenzo (Jilotepec)</td>
<td>AGN, Tierras, 1872:3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1714</td>
<td>S. Bartolomé (Ixtlahuaca)</td>
<td>AGN, Indios, 70:120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1716</td>
<td>Jarros, S. Juan de los, and the barrio S. Jerónimo</td>
<td>AGN, Tierras, 2924:3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1716</td>
<td>María Nativitas, Sta. (sujeto of Xiquipilco)</td>
<td>AGN, Tierras, 1391:3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1717</td>
<td>Almoloya and seven sujetos</td>
<td>AGN, Tierras, 2672:10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1717</td>
<td>Malacatepec, La Asunción and one sujeto</td>
<td>AGN, Tierras, 2672:6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* This list should not be taken as definitive; there were likely other composiciones that have yet to be located.

** Jurisdiction is given in parenthesis if other than Toluca, Metepec, or Ixtlahuaca, or if the town bears only a saint's name.

---

#### The town site

Litigation for the transfer of Indian communities' right to confirmation of their pueblo's right to the legal site con avidly pursued. Despite this populist notion of modern scholars, the legal site conceptions.

In Toluca, an earlier concept of the legal site con has been enjoyed more than six hundred varas, "legal" in the Toluca somewhat across the town site.

---

22 Mendieta y Núñez, 1906.
the transfer of land out of Indian hands. This law guaranteed the pueblo’s right to a minimum land base, the town site.\(^\text{22}\)

**The town site**

Litigation from the final century of the colonial period is replete with Indian communities petitions for the legal possession or confirmation of their town sites. Although never large (about 250 acres), the legal site constituted the heart of an Indian pueblo, and it was avidly pursued. Contrary to popular belief, the town site loomed larger than the ejido in customary usage during the colonial period. Despite this popularity and possibly because of the anachronistic focus of modern scholars on the ejido, the true size, shape, and even the colonial appellation for the town site have suffered from certain misconceptions.

In Toluca, and elsewhere, the term “fundo legal” did not come into general usage until the nineteenth century. The term used (though not frequently) was “the five hundred varas” from 1567 until 1687, when the amount was raised to six hundred. The legal allotment then enjoyed more than a century of immense popularity as simply “the six hundred varas”. The earliest known appearance of the term “fundo legal” in the Toluca Valley dates from 1799.\(^\text{23}\) The shape varied somewhat across New Spain, but the standard figure was a square,


not a circle. Although the size of that square seems to have measured six hundred varas on a side in the Valley of Mexico and occasionally in the Valley of Oaxaca, in Toluca it measured 1,200 varas on a side (1,440,000 square varas).

While some scholars have argued that the site did not include agricultural lands but only the town itself, evidence from Toluca shows "the six hundred varas" definitely were intended and used for cultivation as well as the municipal buildings, church, and housing core. The agricultural lands within the town site were divided among individual families who worked their own plots for subsistence and to help meet tribute and religious obligations. The farming plots within the town site were thus no different from tierras de repartimiento (corporate lands farmed individually). Petitions in town site cases constantly referred to the agricultural potential of the designated areas with phrases such as tierras laborias (arable tracts), tierra fructífera (fruitful land), or tierras de pan llevar (lands suitable for grain cultivation).

"The six hundred varas" usually contained only a portion of the broader extensions claimed by a given indigenous community, yet the attainment of the legal town site was a step in the right direction and was never belittled by the Indians. In fact, its procurement was a serious matter that could lead, as in the case of Santa María Tepezoyuca, to violent demonstrations carried on over many years, particularly when a private estate intervened. Because the people of Tepezoyuca were dissatisfied with the limited territory allotted to them by the courts, they eyed any visits by surveyors as grave threats to their remaining holdings. From 1720 through 1728 the Indian men and (particularly) women of the town assembled in violent demonstrations on at least ten occasions to protest such visits, whether intended to favor themselves or the owner of the neighboring hacienda of Texcalpan, who they claimed had usurped their best land.

The struggle with a neighboring hacienda faced by Tepezoyuca was by no means an isolated example, yet in Toluca, as in Oaxaca (but unlike the Valley of Mexico), the town site generally took precedence over the claims of neighboring estate owners. The pueblo of Santiago Acutzilapan stands out in this regard as a community that successfully defended its corporate territory at least five times over six decades. The Acutzilapan people at one point claimed the land of a cacique and a Spanish priest. Over sixty years later, on an occasion when the community five hundred varas into the area if the people would cede 1,000 varas in his direction. The evidence of the precedence the Indians insisted on.

Although the courts recognized properties, litigation was obstacles to obtaining full pueblo status, a rank toward replacing the cacique. The community did not have cession of its town site, but the fide pueblo, not just a corporation of its people.

Pursuit of pueblo status

Sujetos had gradually coveted cabecera status, yet they wanted independence, but they no longer needed self-recognition. To be considered a pueblo meant for the community, a rank toward replacing the cacique, the governor in the new community did not have to perform special services. The town council with the responsibilities they aspired to, so long as they performed special services. Sujetos aspired to, so long as they performed special services.

Governors in the cases in which sparked resentment of the jurisdiction of Jilotepexi, required to perform mutual assistance.

24 Orozco, 1895, II: 1110; AGN, Tierras, 1499, exp. 10; AGN, Indios, 29, exp. 303. For Toluca, see for example, AGN, Tierras, 1865, exp. 6.
26 AGN, Tierras, 1865, exp. 6; 2944, exp. 242; and 1506, exp. 1.
27 AGN, Tierras, 1716.
over six decades. The Acutizilapan town site was originally granted at the expense of lands to the north, east, and west in the possession of a cacique and a Spaniard who owned haciendas there in 1700. Over sixty years later, one of the neighboring estate owners offered the community five hundred pesos for a "merced" to lands in another area if the people would relinquish their claim to the six hundred varas in his direction. The generous offer serves as an acknowledgement of the precedence the town site took over his private property.28

Although the courts tended to favor corporate over individual properties, litigation was a constant, and there were additional obstacles to obtaining full possession of the town site. The pursuit of "the six hundred varas" typically became entangled with the proof of pueblo status, a ranking that in the eighteenth century went far toward replacing the earlier cabecera-sujeto system. An indigenous community did not have to be a cabecera to gain the legal demarcation of its town site, but it increasingly had to prove it was a bona fide pueblo, not just a barrio or some huts at a crossroads. Thus increasing a town's population, status, and territory became inseparable goals for its people.

Pursuit of pueblo status

Sujetos had gradually begun to seek pueblo status in lieu of the coveted cabecera status of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; they wanted independence and all the privileges enjoyed in cabeceras, but they no longer necessarily wanted to be called cabeceras themselves.29 To be considered a formal pueblo entailed rights to a minimum territorial base and an independent cabildo; it did not require that a dynastic ruler should have been present in prehispanic times. The town council with alcalde as the highest officer was often all the sujetos aspired to, so long as they were not subject to the whims of the governor in the neighboring larger town and did not have to perform special services for him or channel their tribute through him.

Governors in the cabeceras allegedly spent tribute monies, usurped lands meant for the common good, and demanded personal services, which sparked resentment in the sujetos. The sujetos of Aculco, in the jurisdiction of Jilotepec, for example, complained that they were required to perform more personal service than the residents of the
cabeccera itself. They also disliked paying their tributes to the governors, preferring to deliver them directly to the alcalde mayor. They charged further that the municipal leaders were confiscating maize in the sujetos for their own personal use and required subject town residents to cultivate the grain for them without remuneration.110

Land was one of the major economic issues in separation cases. In these cases disputes with neighboring estates were less frequent than contests with cabecceras over what territory would be designated for the newly independent pueblo. When the community of San Sebastián (jurisdiction of Toluca) petitioned in 1791 to “erigirse en república separada” from San Juan Bautista, the cabeccera objected because the “barrio” did not have any land of its own, only property supposedly loaned to it because of its subordinate status. But the highest Marquesado official decided in the favor of San Sebastián, permitting the separation and granting the 2 1/2 caballerías claimed by the smaller community, despite protests by the citizens of San Juan.111

Resettlements induced by congregación programs, which applied especially to sujetos, may have stymied the preservation of their autonomy but were apparently not a significant detriment in the pursuit of pueblu status for towns that were important before the programs were initiated. The few examples of congregaciones which remained intact and eventually sought pueblo status are rare, but this may be because judges had rarely altered the original local arrangements in any significant way. Cabeceras, at the heart of most congregaciones, generally did not require pueblo recognition in the eighteenth century. The larger communities that had served as congregación sites but were not cabeceras may have enjoyed an advantage in the population boost they received during the nucleation programs that helped them eventually obtain the optimum status.

Not all sujetos were adversely affected by congregación. Many were untouched, and a sizable number of subject communities that had been removed to the head towns seem to have quickly and quietly reoccupied their sites and often later pursued a separation with no mention of their ephemeral congregación. The slowly regenerating pueblos despoblados (depopulated either through epidemic or resettlement), however, which gained momentum in the early 1700s, often came up against the fierce opposition of estate owners when they tried to establish their old towns again. The community members were, in many cases,112 despite the estate’s having the same Nahuatl or C community, owners had to ensure that the workers’ settlement.

Estate communities

An examination of seventeenth century revolt in the Toluca district thirty-five haciendas and their families. The problems are dependent mainly on the work force. Permanently larger in the north and larger, usually, in estates, but even these estates the eighteenth century.

Although, on the population lived on estates in the eighteenth century, this was a significant force in the production both for and on the estate to insist that the workers’ settlement.

Estate communities

An examination of seventeenth century revolt in the Toluca district thirty-five haciendas and their families. The problems are dependent mainly on the work force. Permanently larger in the north and larger, usually, in estates, but even these estates the eighteenth century.

Although, on the population lived on estates in the eighteenth century, this was a significant force in the production both for and on the estate to insist that the workers’ settlement.

Epidemics also threatened on estates. Some

32 AGN, Hospital de Pueblos, Fondo Franciscano, caja 8
33 Population estimate
34 AGN, Tributos, 47,
were, in many cases, permanent workers on the estates in question. Despite the estate’s having absorbed one-time Indian land and assumed the same Nahuatl or Otomí toponym and saint’s name as the original community, owners tended to deny that the town had ever existed and to insist that the aspiring pueblo was only a recently-founded workers’ settlement.

Estate communities

An examination of hacienda labor and Indian communities of the seventeenth century reveals that live-in workers, or gañanes, were few. In the Toluca district in 1620-1621, for example, only six out of thirty-five haciendas supported more than seven permanent workers and their families. The estates in the southern half of the Toluca Valley depended mainly on temporary day-laborers from nearby pueblos for their work force. Permanent estate workers’ communities were somewhat larger in the northern portion of the Valley and on the fringes, and larger, usually, in the agricultural rather than the stockraising estates, but even these generally did not approach pueblo size until the eighteenth century.82

Although, on the average, only about a tenth of the Indian population lived on estates across the Toluca Valley during the eighteenth century, this was a large enough showing to become a significant force in the pursuit of pueblo status.83 There were factors working both for and against this process. The seasonal nature of work put the unskilled estate laborer at a disadvantage. Gañán communities were less permanent than those composed primarily of “servientes”, since the latter workers, being more Hispanized and highly skilled, were less likely to be expelled. Gañán communities, however, were more stable in the north than in the south, because estate owners in the north had fewer pueblos from which to draw temporary labor. In the Ixtlahuaca area following the epidemic of 1736-1737 and the agricultural crisis of 1739-1740, hacienda owners could not attract sufficient “gañanes trabajadores” even with the offer of a fifty-percent increase in wages.84

Epidemics also tended to detract from the process of pueblo formation on estates. Sometimes an exodus to other regions followed

---

82 AGN, Hospital de Jesús, 285, exp. 13, 2ª parte; 326, exp. 31; and BNM/FR, Fondo Franciscano, caja 89, exp. 1377, 1ª parte, ff. 111-112.
84 AGN, Tributos, 47, exp. 16.
population loss; at other times, survivors, feeling pressure removed from the struggle over scarce resources, chose to leave the estate community and take up residence in a neighboring pueblo.²⁵

Working against this centrifugal force were factors which contributed to the gradual strengthening of the hacienda workers’ settlements. Estate owners, particularly in the northern part of the Valley, tried to entice workers to stay following epidemics by offering to increase wages, make laborers’ tribute payments, or improve working conditions. The Indians may have preferred to farm their own land, but they were practical and, when there were scarce resources in their pueblo of origin, they tended to favor life on an estate over continually migrating in search of work.

Hacienda life also offered other economic and social advantages which lengthened the worker’s stay. Debts owed by workers were not extensive, many workers had money coming to them, and it was not unusual for workers to leave an estate while accounts had yet to be settled. There is no evidence that estate owners employed coercion in the collection of debts or that they were even overly concerned about recuperating cash outlays. Thus, for the Indian workers, the prospect of increasing a debt by way of easy, emergency loans may have contributed to a prolonged stay in a hacienda community.²⁶

Gañanes also had their own places of worship on estates, erecting ermitas and oratorios separate from the chapel that would serve the needs of the administration. They typically chose their own leaders (fiscales) to encourage them in a regular program of worship. It was not unusual for gañán communities to form lay brotherrhods (cofradías) and choose deputies for these.²⁷ Occasionally, they also elected civil officials, such as alcaldes and regidores, particularly when the estate settlement had pueblo aspirations.²⁸

The larger, the older, and the more permanent the gañán settlement on an estate, the better its chances were for the successful pursuit of pueblo status. If there had once been an independent Indian town on the site that had been removed for congregación or had lost its entire population to epidemics, the gañanes might use that historical reality to their advantage. They would also formulate such a story even if it was not strictly represented a settlement “time immemorial”.

In an effort to develop permanent workers from or creating a “forma” of some of the estate prevalent labor forces in limbo by Indians, referring to them they were called gañanes build up their estate an independent pueblo.

When Indians could struggle for corporate to turn to violent den region were particular hundred Indian men del Manto near Temascalancingo into a pueblo. Lé, “Plume” and “King” house and other crosses and probable cemetery in Mexico City who we also measured off six future town site. The set down this uprising con unions, including sixty donkeys, two horses, of maize, Such possible permanence of this

The jurisdiction Temascalancingo at the haciendas del Manto, Quaspillasi, El Salto were constantly p邻居ing Indian town dent landholdings a

²⁵ AGN, Civil, 109, exp. 6; Criminal, 13, exp. 14; 92, exp. 12; 93, exp. 1; 190, f. 438; 229, exp. 11; General de Parte, 18, exp. 160 and Tierras, 2292, exp. 5.
²⁶ See, for example, AGN, Civil, 246, exp. 6; Criminal, 93, exp. 1; Tierras, 2924, exp. 3; and Wood, 1984: 247-258.
²⁷ See, for example, AGN, Criminal, 130, exp. 14, f. 548v.
²⁸ See AGN, Tierras, 3672, exp. 20, and 2924, exp. 5, for examples.
even if it was not true, or simply claim that the estate community represented a settlement that had existed without interruption for "time immemorial".

In an effort to defuse either argument and in order to prevent permanent workers from either transforming the estate into a pueblo or creating a "formal town" just outside, thereby snatching away some of the estate property, many estate owners tried to keep their labor forces in limbo between the status of gañanes and that of pueblo Indians, referring to them as "laborios" or "arrimados". But whether they were called gañanes or any other name, workers continued to build up their estate settlements and mold them in the image of the independent pueblo.

When Indians could not attain a favorable legal verdict in their struggle for corporate autonomy, it was not at all unusual for them to turn to violent demonstrations. Gañán communities in the Toluca region were particularly active in this respect. More than three hundred Indian men and women, largely gañanes, seized the Hacienda del Manto near Temascalcingo in 1722 with the intention of making it into a pueblo. Led by the Indian Lucas Martín, also known as "Plume" and "King", they placed a cross on the roof of the main house and other crosses to mark the future site of the town church and probable cemetery. With the assistance of two women from Mexico City who were pretending to be local authority figures, they also measured off six hundred varas in each cardinal direction as a future town site. The militia which was called in immediately to put down this uprising confiscated an impressive number of Indian possessions, including sixty head of beef cattle, fifty sheep, sixteen pigs, seven donkeys, two horses, twenty-seven chickens, and about thirty bushels of maize. Such possessions are indicative of the considerable size and permanence of this gañán community.

The jurisdiction of Ixtlahuaca, which reached as far north as Temascalcingo at that time, was rife with similar activities. The Haciendas del Manto, La Fuente Jordana, San Nicolás Tultenango, Quaspillasi, El Salto, Santiago Maxda, and San Francisco Tepeolulco were constantly put on the defensive by aggressive laborers and neighboring Indian town dwellers who aimed to secure extensive, independent landholdings and bolster their corporate autonomy. Although

39 See, for example, AGN, Indios, 65, exp. 339, ff. 281-282; Criminal, 92, exp. 3, ff. 24-57.
40 See Taylor, 1979, for ample evidence.
41 See Colín's índices for numerous references to these and other examples.
workers never united in pan-Valley uprisings to achieve their goals, there is evidence which suggests a kind of chain reaction in the pursuit of pueblo status by permanent worker’s settlements, particularly in this northern end of the Valley in the eighteenth century. The idea spread, for instance, from the gañanes of the Hacienda del Manto to the sharecroppers on the adjoining Rancho de San Pedro Potla (owned by the sisters of the owner of El Manto), and eventually to the neighboring Hacienda de La Jordana.45

**Mining communities**

A somewhat similar chain reaction is seen in the Sultepec mining region, where several worker settlements began to press for pueblo status all at about the same time. The mines, like the estates in the northern end of the Valley, had come to depend on a greater amount of permanent labor than many haciendas. The gangs (cuadrillas) which originally performed stints in the mines under the supervision of a capitán gradually became attached to a particular ore refinery or neighboring agricultural enterprise.46 By the eighteenth century, the cuadrilla was often a fixed settlement, although of postconquest origin and only gradually assuming the characteristics of an Indian pueblo.47 It often supported a patron saint and bore a Nahuatl placename—which it probably took from the mining estate but which, in turn, may have stemmed from some indigenous antecedent. A major distinction setting the cuadrilla apart from the pueblos of the Valley, however, was the large non-Indian element in the population.48

Because of the cuadrillas’ shallow roots and uncertain indigenous origins, the Indians and mulattoes in these communities were hard pressed when they tried to secure a corporate land base. In a position similar to the estate settlements, the cuadrillas had to try to wrestle land away from surrounding private property holders. But unlike the hacienda communities, the cuadrilla members did not often try to claim to be the descendants of a pueblo despoblado at the particular site. Their corporate memory went only as far back as the time when the refineries were labor. The cuadrilleros acted as renters when the haciendas.

The cuadrillas’ struggles came very late in the colonial eighteenth century or in the early nineteenth century, stand out in the cuadrillas of San Hipólito, and San Hipólito Atetzcapulco. Like sujetos seeking recognition, communities desirous of some form of settlement in the mining region decorated church with regal principal buildings and schools, held up their capitanes in many cases.

From the mid- to late-eighteenth century, the cuadrillas had increased, and so had their viability as independent communities. They were giving up farming as their economic base, and this, in turn, had put the hopes of those who pressed for pueblo status in the mining region. The communities discussed here would continue to build and hold on to their pueblos, or at least the partial realization of that goal.

**Titles to substantiate claims**

Population size was one factor in winning a pueblo aspirants in meetings of their territorial rights. In other communities discussed here, the decisive factor for holding in the legal town site; the population was small.

Few pueblos held legal titles to the lands which they held, even though many colonial holdings in the early eighteenth century. They were large.

43 AGN, *Criminal*, 230, exp. 6, and 92, exp. 3; and *Indios*, 38, exp. 32, and 65 exp. 339.
44 For a review of the evolution of the mining cuadrilla, see Wood, 1984: 268-271.
45 Cuadrilla as settlement: AGN, *Civil*, 1627, exp. 18, f. 8; *Tierras*, 1300, exp. 12, ff. 27-28, 44; 1314, exp. 6, f. 14; 2283, exp. 1, ff. 7-8, 44; 2638, exp. 2, doc. 3; and 2640, exp. 4, f. 8.
when the refineries were in their glory and drew upon temporary labor. The cuadrilleros admitted being left to fend for themselves as renters when the haciendas de moler metates had decayed.

The cuadrillas' struggles for pueblo status tended to culminate very late in the colonial period, during the last quarter of the eighteenth century or in the early nineteenth. Three prominent examples stand out in the cuadrillas of San Juan Atzumpa, San Sebastián Hueyatenco, and San Hipóliito Atetzacapan, all in the Sultepec jurisdiction. Like sujetos seeking independence from cabeceras or hacienda communities desirous of separating from the estate, these quasi-Indian settlements in the mining regions concentrated on establishing a fully-decorated church with regular religious services and constructing municipal buildings and schools. They elected fiscales and mayordomos and held up their capitanes in the image of alcaldes.

From the mid- to late-eighteenth century, the populations of most cuadrillas had increased, but not enough to convince the judges of their viability as independent pueblos. There are hints that some people were giving up farming and beginning to return to mine work. Still, the hopes of those who persisted toward the goal of autonomy were not entirely dashed, for the justices often qualified their denials of pueblo status with a remark like "for the time being", and the people would continue to build up their communities, perhaps eventually attaining that goal.

**Titles to substantiate claims**

Population size was only one of the more decisive elements in a winning case. Mining communities were less well equipped than most pueblo aspirants in meeting the courts' demands for documentary proof of their territorial rights. In the cuadrillas or any of the other types of communities discussed here, having titles to corporate holdings could be the decisive factor for attaining pueblo rank and the confirmation of the legal town site; their lack could be a serious hindrance.

Few pueblos held legitimate land grant documents or other early colonial titles which supported their claims to corporate lands. Similarly, even though many communities obtained composiciones of their holdings in the early eighteenth century, confirmations often ignored
the disputed properties in or near estates that meant so much to the Indian towns. Not many pueblos shared the fortune of Temoaya in the extension of its legally verified territory. As a result, over the years many communities maintained their own historical accounts which paid particular attention to their claims to corporate boundaries. These "primordial titles" were usually centered on a land grant and border survey of the sixteenth century, and were embellished with local pre- and postconquest historical events, particularly those which related to the town's foundation, municipal council formation, church construction, and any other enhancement of its status. The titles often admonish future generations to protect the community and its territory.

There are five sets of titles known to me for the Valley of Toluca. Two sets, from Atlacomulco and Tepezoyuca, have yet to be located. Translations of those from Metepec and Ocoyoacac are still in progress, while an English translation of the fifth, from Capulhuac, is complete.

Since the primordial titles seem to have been made primarily for a local audience and only secondarily for presentation in the courts, sometimes other types of titles were acquired for the latter purpose. Some towns acquired titles which pretended to be ancient and in the codex tradition—the well-known Techialoyan Codices—and presented these in land litigation. Of the approximately forty identifiable pueblos represented in the Techialoyan group, about one third are in or near the Toluca Valley, and several lie between Mexico City and Toluca. While the style and format are strikingly distinct from the primordial titles, the content of these Techialoyans is surprisingly similar: prehispanic historical phenomena such as the conquering and settling of the town and its leadership thereafter, colonial history including the coming of Christianity, the selection or honoring of the patron saint, the conferring of office and rights upon the local nobility by Spanish royalty or officials, and above all, the town's territorial extension, characteristics identified and verified over time.

Some towns had both codices to substantiate (and even a few of the customized copies of Spanish more convincing documents with fairly good copies from the mid-sixteenth century, an occasional map or chart, and more than one investigator traced this type of title, Pedro de Villafuerte, who had obtained some of his local accounts in the Toluca Valley.

Of the three types of missing titles, the first, also know for what they were. The second does not always retain, while importation or corporate autonomy, showing ingenuity they reveal or not.

The indigenous people were the victims subjected to a by intruding Spaniards, thereafter they began increasingly took the initiative. Smaller entities, larger communities all contributed to the procurement of corporate titles. Even Indian cities and mining estates, communities after the pueblos.

50 AGN, Tierras, 2860, exp. 1, cuad. 2; Menegus Bornemann, 1979: 53-64; AGN, Tierras, 2996, exp. 3 and 5 bis; Garibay K., 1949; and McAfee Collection, UCLA/SG.
51 Collin (1963: xv-xviii) described having obtained the Atlacomulco title for study. Primordial titles from Tepezoyuca are described along with the Techialoyan from that town in AGN, Tierras, 1716, exp. 1, cuad. 1.
52 See Wood, 1984: 325-330 for a detailed recapitulation of the contents of the latter.
53 See Robertson's catalog, 1975.
extension, characteristics, and divisions, as they were variously identified and verified over time.

Some towns had both their own primordial titles and Techialoyan codices to substantiate their corporate claims. Other Indian pueblos (and even a few of these same communities) also bought forged and customized copies of Spanish-language grants in their zeal to present more convincing documents to the courts. These documents, replete with fairly good copies of the viceroy's signature, included mercedes from the mid-sixteenth century, border surveys, acts of possession, and an occasional map or schematic plan of the territory in question. More than one investigation in the Toluca Valley in the eighteenth century traced this type of forgery to an Indian cacique from Jilotepoc, Pedro de Villafranca (inconsistently called "don"). The fascinating details of his trade were mainly uncovered at the time of his murder, which occurred in Toluca in 1761, apparently at the hands of some of his local accomplices. He had serviced at least eleven towns in the Toluca Valley with his fraudulent land grants.54

Of the three types of documents made or acquired to fill the gap of missing titles, the false mercedes seem to have fared the best in the courts. Yet even these were sometimes discovered and denounced for what they were. The various titles' possible effectiveness for land retention, while important in the overall picture of the resilience of corporate autonomy, should be weighed equally with the purpose and ingenuity they reveal on the Indians' part.

The indigenous people of the Toluca Valley were hardly passive victims subjected to a total destruction of their way of life induced by intruding Spaniards. Epidemics dealt them their greatest blow, but thereafter they began to hone their defense mechanisms and increasingly took the initiative to rebuild and reaffirm their corporate integrity. Smaller entities, expressing an age-old micropatriotism, and larger communities alike entered into the pursuit of the town site, the procurement of composiciones, and the creation or purchase of land titles. Even Indians living on agricultural, stockraising, and former mining estates, entered into such activities, patterning their communities after the prehispanic provincial unit, and striving to fulfill all the political, economic, and religious functions of independent pueblos.

54 AGN, Criminal, 24, exp. 5. Similar forgeries from other provinces have been attributed to don José de León y Mendoza and to another man who borrowed the name of the notary José de Montalbán; see Dyckerhoff, 1979.
SOURCES

Archival Sources

AGN
Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, México.

BNM/FR
Biblioteca Nacional de México, Fondo Reservado (also called the “Caja Fuerte”), Mexico City, Mexico.

MNAH/AH
Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Archivo Histórico, Mexico City, Mexico.

UCLA/SC
Special Collections, Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

Printed Sources and Theses


BELEÑA, Eusebio Bentura, 1787, Recopilación sumaria de todos los autos acordados de la real audiencia y sala del crimen de esta Nueva España, y providencias de su superior gobierno, 2 volumes, Mexico.


COLÍN, Mario, 1963, Antecedentes agrarios del municipio de Atlacomulco, Estado de México: Documentos, Departamento de Asuntos Agrarios y Colonización, México.


———, 1967a, Indice de documentos relativos a los pueblos del Estado de México: Ramo de Mercedes del Archivo General de la Nación. Tomo 1, Biblioteca Enciclopédica del Estado de México, México.

———, 1967b, Indice de documentos relativos a los pueblos del Estado de México: Ramo de Mercedes del Archivo General de la Nación. Tomo 11, Biblioteca Enciclopédica del Estado de México, México.


GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, Ben de régimen señorial, México (Centro de Historia, México, México.

GARIBAY K., Angel, 1966, El virreinato, 1800

GERHARD, Peter, 1972, The University of California, Berkeley, Mexico.


GÓMEZ DE ORIZCO, Eleazar, Tenango del Valle, de Arqueología, H


Fabiá, Manuel, 1941, Cinco siglos de legislación agraria (1493-1940), Tomo 1, México.


García Martínez, Bernardo, 1969, El Marquesado del Valle: Tres siglos de régimen señorial en Nueva España, Nueva Serie, 5, El Colegio de México (Centro de Estudios Históricos), México.

Garibay K., Ángel María, ed., 1949, Códice de Metepec, Estado de México, México.

Gerhard, Peter, 1972, A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain, At the University Press, Cambridge.


404  STEPHANIE WOOD


GUZMÁN M., Virginia y Yolanda Mercader M., 1979, Bibliografía de códices, mapas y lienzos del México prehispánico y colonial, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, México, tomo i (Colección Científica: fuentes para la historia, 79).


Libro de las tasaciones de pueblos de la Nueva España, siglo xvi, 1952, Prólogo de Francisco González de Cossío, Archivo General de la Nación, México.


LOREA Y CHÁVEZ (de Esteinou), Margarita, 1977, Calimó y Tepeyaxcalco: tenencia y transmisión hereditaria de la tierra en dos comunidades indígenas (época colonial), Cuadernos de trabajo, México, Departamento de Investigaciones Históricas del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.


LÓPEZ SARRELANQUE, Delfina E., 1957, Una villa mexicana en el siglo xvii, México.


Oettinger, Marion, 1983, Lienzos coloniales: Una exposición de pinturas de terrenos comunales de México (siglos XVII-XIX), Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México.


QUÉZADA RAMÍREZ, María Noemí, 1972, Los matlatzincas, época pre-hispánica y época colonial hasta 1650, Investigaciones, 22, México, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias, 1943, Edición facsimilar de la cuarta impresión hecha en Madrid el año 1791, 3 vols., Madrid.


———, 1975a, “Creole Mexico: Spanish Elites, Haciendas, and Indian Towns: Toluca Region of California, Los An-


VILLASEÑOR Y SÁNCHEZ, José Antonio, 1952, Teatro Americano, descripción general de los reynos, y provincias de la Nueva-España, y sus jurisdicciones, México, Editora Nacional. (Original Mexican edition, 1743.)


YHMOFF CABRERA, Jesús, 1979, El municipio de San Felipe del Progreso a través del tiempo, Biblioteca Enciclopédica del Estado de México, México.
Los colores, núm-

doral en los co-
mágico del nativo
una función pre-
premordial, la trinidad del

días, la fusión de la

La vida material
antoja un mural en
en que se logra la a
y cada uno de los
y su razón de ser, y
dad y belleza al co
dad indígena. No ca
armoniosa y total
base de la integrid

El simbolismo de
ado en observaci
parte esencial de lo
exotéricas: el canto.

Las observaciones
miento y Religión,
turas clásicas meso