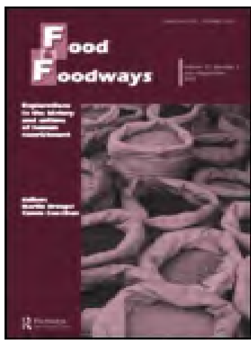

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"To Avoid This Mixture": Rethinking *Pulque* in Colonial Mexico City

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On June 8, 1692, a popular uprising left Mexico City in ruins. The colonial government blamed the violence on pulque*, an indigenous alcohol made from the fermented juice of the maguey. Not all* pulque*, however, was considered equal. While ostensibly pure* pulque blanco *(white* pulque*) was seen as medicinal,* pulque mezclado *(mixed* pulque*), which contained certain additives, was condemned as a threat to political stability. This essay takes this often-overlooked distinction as a point of departure for examining the political and social significance of* pulque *by way of the grid of intelligibility that gave it meaning. For colonial elites, the mixing of* pulque *had a magnetizing effect on the social world, drawing the urban poor together in the space of the* pulquería *(*pulque *tavern) and making possible multiple forms of contact—from solidarity to sex. But it also had epistemological implications: the study of mixed* pulque *offered elites a language for talking about race mixing (*mestizaje*), while simultaneously constituting* pulque *consumers as a seditious collective subject—a* plebe *(plebeian masses) defined, like* pulque*, by mixing.*

Food and drink occupy a central place in the colonial contact zone. Four decades ago, J. H. Elliott described the long and difficult process of "assimilation" by which Europeans incorporated the newly discovered Americas into their mental horizons. "[I]n many respects," he wrote, this process "was still far from completed by the middle of the seventeenth century."[1] Elliott was most interested in the big picture, the history of ideas and macroeconomics, but recently food scholars and colonial historians have used his framework to trace the integration of New World foods into Old World diets (and

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systems of knowledge), complicating earlier notions of acculturation or one-way cultural flow from colonizer to colonized.[2] Transatlantic commerce, and the global foodways it fosters, have thus revealed not only economic activities but also intricate circuits of cultural change.[3] Often overlooked, however, are the ways in which colonial space itself constitutes a global stage upon which local knowledges, practices, and materials—including the elements of everyday life *not* exported to the metropolis—are "assimilated." Colonialism complicates easy distinctions between local and global, mapping them over or embedding them in each other; in the colonial context, global foodways may have less to do with the geopolitics of mercantilism and the circulation of commodities than with particular formations of colonial governance.[4]

This essay examines the attempts of the Spanish colonial apparatus in New Spain to understand and regulate *pulque*, a traditional indigenous alcohol made from the fermented juice of the maguey plant, at a moment of political crisis in the late seventeenth century. Through close readings of a set of official reports about this drink, I trace an elite obsession with *mixing*, real or imagined, that shapes the contours of colonial politics while revealing both the grid of intelligibility through which these politics are perceived and the authoritative language through which they are articulated. The epistemological work of the contact zone is not just interpretive, in the sense of passively apprehending and organizing raw data, but productive as well: it generates categories of meaning and sites for state intervention. Although the Spanish obsession with blood purity—and its corollary mixing—is well known, the extent to which this genealogical obsession infused the world of material culture is less apparent. In the eyes of colonial elites, the mixing of pulque had material effects on the social world through its magnetizing function, drawing the urban poor together in the space of the *pulquería* (pulque tavern) and making possible multiple forms of contact—from solidarity to sex. But it also had epistemological implications: the study of mixed pulque production would provide a language for talking about race mixing (*mestizaje*) and racial categorization, while at the same time constituting pulque consumers as a (seditious) collective subject—the *plebe* (plebeian masses). Both objects of knowledge, pulque and plebe, are defined precisely by their indefinability, a state in which internal differentiations are necessarily elided and glossed, simply, as *mixed*.

MEXICO CITY, 1692

On the afternoon of June 8, 1692, in the context of widespread food shortages, an uprising broke out in the central plaza of Mexico City that would leave the royal palace and other government buildings in smoldering

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ruins by nightfall.[5] The scale of the destruction at the very center of colonial authority in New Spain took many elites by surprise, as they tended to see the populace as incapable of effective organization.[6] According to what would become the "official history" of the uprising, best seen in a descriptive letter written by well-known intellectual (and close friend to the Viceroy Conde de Galve) Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, the blame fell squarely on the city's indigenous population.[7] Instead of admitting the government's failure to provision the city with grains, which would have provided a reasonable cause for the indigenous poor to rise up, Sigüenza attacked the inebriating and seditious effects of indigenous *pulque*. "From the very moment that the riot began," he wrote, "everyone raised the cry, inspired by Heaven perhaps, that 'This is the result of pulque!'"[8]

Sigüenza's history stands as both the best-known account of the uprising today and the hegemonic explanation of its causes and trajectory for his contemporaries. But his letter, dated August 30, 1692, merely gave the conventional wisdom a more official form, providing an *ex post facto* logic for the viceroy's principal policy response to the uprising: the regulation of pulque. Already on June 9, with the palace still burning in the background, the viceroy announced an edict prohibiting pulque "absolutely" within Mexico City because of its role in provoking the violence.[9] Ten days later the prohibition was extended throughout the whole of New Spain.[10] The government also acted immediately to demonstrate its will to enforce the new law. The very same day it came into effect, according to the contemporary diarist Antonio de Robles, a mulatto was publicly whipped "for a jug of pulque."[11] But Robles also recorded an incongruous detail. On July 31, less than two weeks after the consolidation of the ban, the government legalized the sale of "pulque without roots, which is medicinal" in the plaza.[12]

Many scholars—often following Sigüenza's lead—have glossed over this distinction, anachronistically flattening pulque's multiple forms and reducing to a single voice or overlooking entirely the debates that shaped its prohibition.[13] By highlighting the density of these debates, I am interested in teasing out the political and social significance of this drink, as well as the authoritative discourses that surrounded and infused it with meaning, in the context of the 1692 insurrection. For this reason, my sources are a set of 45 *informes* (official reports) written about a month after the uprising by individual or institutional members of New Spain's colonial elite, both ecclesiastical and secular. These reports, now housed at the Archivo General de Indias (AGI) in Seville, Spain, were sent to the viceroy in response to his request for advice about whether the pulque prohibition should be lifted or maintained. Across the board, the *informes* perhaps unsurprisingly supported extending the blanket prohibition. But many writers went beyond what had been asked of them, offering analyses of not only what

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they saw as the problematic effects of pulque consumption but also impressions of the pulque economy, the procedures of its production, the social milieu in which it was consumed, and, of course, its material qualities and composition.

My point of departure is this materiality, the foundation for elaborating the distinctions that give name to the subtraction gestured at above: if "pulque" is to be prohibited, then "pulque without roots" belongs to, and constitutes, a different type. The *informes* expand on and develop these regimes of classification. While the ostensibly pure *pulque blanco* or *puro* (white or pure pulque) was generally taken as medicinal, *pulque mezclado* (mixed pulque), which contained certain difficult to pin down additives, was seen as, in the words of the Franciscan friar Juan de Luzuriaga, "the universal cause of sin."[14] Attacks on mixed pulque, furthermore, blurred together with attacks on its consumers, also—and not coincidentally—designated as mixed. When the Royal University advised the viceroy in its *informe* "to avoid this mixture" (*evitar esta mezcla*) above all other considerations, I argue, it was in fact articulating a more generalized politics in reference not only to pulque as an (al)chemical body but by extension to the racialized individual and social collective bodies of its consumers, as well as the urban cityscape in which that consumption took place.[15] Throughout the *informes*, the production of mixed pulque—the transformation or corruption of natural purity through nefarious mixing—resembles, and at times is analogous to, the production of mixed racial subjectivities through social, cultural, and biological mixing. If Foucault's interest in sexuality has made scholars attentive to this "pivot" that connects individual and population bodies and serves as the target of state intervention, my reading decenters the human body by tracing mixing back to the materiality of foodstuffs and foodways.[16] In this case, pulque, and not sex, was identified as the primary force that united bodies on and between multiple levels of scale, drawing them into the city's pulquerías to drink, dance, sing, make love—and presumably plot against the colonial state.

But the *informes* go beyond straightforward associations of mixed pulque's role in the material production of a mixed plebe. The grid of intelligibility that led colonial elites to conceive of the category of mixed pulque at the same time constituted as its mirror image a plebeian imaginary as a newly defined object of governance and political horizon to be regulated by the colonial state.[17] In spite of the best attempts of Spanish elites to probe, decipher, and document its many unknowns (ingredients, production processes, even etymology), this indigenous foodway remained stubbornly opaque and was, therefore, lumped together under the umbrella category of "mixed"; likewise, the racially fluid and indefinable plebeian bodies of Mexico City were channeled into a single collective mass whose principal characteristic was mixing.[18] *Pulque mezclado* and the *mixturada plebe*, I argue, are structurally identical.[19]

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THE MAKING, AND MIXING, OF PULQUE

Central in precolonial ceremonial and food cultures, pulque (*octli* in Nahuatl) has been produced for thousands of years.[20] The maguey generally takes six to eight years to mature, at which point an artisan known as a *tlachiquero* makes a deft cut in the heart, releasing a sweet juice called *aguamiel*. Once the juice becomes sufficiently dense, the *tlachiquero* uses a long tube to collect and deposit it in a barrel or vat, along with a small amount of pulque from a previous batch to facilitate fermentation. The frothy and mildly alcoholic result is known as *pulque blanco*.[21] To this "pure" form, a variety of ingredients were added for flavor and as preservatives. In his *informe* to the viceroy, Doctor Francisco Antonio Ximénez listed as additives "orange and melon peels, peppers or chili, mineral lime, the root of *ocpatli* (which because of its strength they call wine medicine), Peru tree, the seeds of the *Pipilzizintli*, and other things that make it stronger and more alcoholic."[22] Other *informes* named stranger ingredients that pulque makers were thought to add as well, including herbs, meat, animal excrement, "a burning rock that the Indians call *tezontle*," and even "a jet-black, live lizard in a sealed tube" that an astonished inquisitor claimed to find in a vat of fermenting pulque ("It was horrifying to see," he confessed in his *informe*).[23]

The exaggerated and inconsistent laundry list that can be compiled from the *informes* suggests a profound interest in mixing in general on the part of elites, but at the same time an imperfect grasp of what exactly was being mixed. The otherwise confident vicar general of the Mercedarian Order, Francisco Martínez Falcón, who advanced a sophisticated scientific argument distinguishing mixed pulque from *aguamiel*, was certain that some root or other was implicated but added parenthetically that "in all of Mexico [City] I have not been able to discover, nor has anybody been able to tell me, what root it is."[24] Along with its precise composition, the minutiae of pulque production also remained obscure. The Franciscan friar Agustín de Vetancurt argued that pulque was impossible to regulate because it was produced "in the *pueblos*," out of the reach of Spanish administrators.[25] To be inserted into the vast urban pulque economy, of course, the drink had to be brought into Mexico City, which theoretically opened it up to supervision (not to mention taxation). But, as the archbishop asserted in his *informe*, a great deal of pulque entered the city secretly and thus illegally "in Vessels, and small wineskins, in canoes, and hidden in other things" so as to avoid such oversight. Once in the city, he continued, pulque vendors could simply add hot water, and presumably other ingredients, to their pulque vats at will.[26] In part, this interest in the details of pulque production is strategically ethnographic, a motivation similar to that of Spanish missionaries such as Diego Durán and Bernardino de Sahagún, who dedicated their lives to documenting indigenous culture so as to facilitate evangelization and the Spanish colonial project.[27] Read against this totalizing desire, apparent gaps in

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Spanish knowledge of—and control over—pulque production reveal the limits of colonial hegemony. Pulque "ethnographers" remained insecure, gripped by an incomprehension that was refracted back on indigenous producers themselves in the form of an essentialized cultural, even natural otherness. As the Royal University argued, "Because [pulque] passes through the hands of the Indians either during its production or during its transportation, [mixing] is unavoidable; and more so because what they most desire about it is its strength."[28] A pathologized Indian nature, an indigenous body thirsty only for drunken excess, was used to smooth over these epistemological fissures.

It was this unknown and unknowable *pulque mezclado*, and not its "pure" cousin, that Spanish clergy and colonial administrators were referring to when they criticized, as early as the first half of the sixteenth century, what they perceived as the indigenous population's heavy drinking.[29] Even after the 1692 uprising, most of the *informes* agreed about the healthful effects of *aguamiel* and white pulque, thought to cure common ailments as well as more serious epidemics like measles.[30] In his report, Martínez Falcón cited Doctor Francisco Hernández, who had served as the Crown's chief medical officer in New Spain, to demonstrate that pulque also "eases menstruation in women, softens the stomach, provokes urine, cleanses the kidneys and bladder, and cleanses the urinary cavities and passages."[31] Evidence came from not only Spanish physicians but also indigenous informants. Archbishop Aguiar y Seijas, who described mixed pulque in demonic terms, noted that "according to information that I have acquired from the most Learned Physicians as well as Indian Elders, *aguamiel*, or the pure and simple juice of the Maguey, is good and medicinal."[32] White pulque's medicinal properties were so widely accepted that they were acknowledged even by many of the authors who supported the blanket pulque prohibition (meant to eliminate both pure and mixed varieties). Thus, while attacking the drink for its causal relationship with sin, Friar Luzuriaga could still distinguish between its various types:

> *Aguamiel* is medicinal for some ills, and white pulque without roots for others: but this pulque with roots, is good for nothing, and bad for everything.[33]

For many pulque critics, additives did not simply turn the drink into a stronger and more concentrated version of the same substance. Rather, mixing was thought to fundamentally alter its nature, transforming—even "transubstantiating," in the words of the theologian Francisco Xavier Palavicino y Villarasa—it into something new and essentially different.[34] The mixture of two elements thus produced not a compound but an entirely new third element. As the Royal University wrote, "Mixture does not conserve the liquid's simple [nature] but alters it, making a third type (*especie*) of drink of

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an opposing, or different nature."[35] Similarly, Vetancurt opened his report with a description of "the conditions that make Pulque a liquid, and not a confection." He went on: "they mix it with roots and harmful ingredients, in order to make a brew (*brebaje*) from what is [naturally] water distilled from the Maguey."[36] Though not a scientist like Doctor Ximénez, Vetancurt mobilized an authoritative discourse of classification in order to mark, and by doing so produce, categorical difference. The transformation of "liquid" into "confection" and "water" into "brew" represents the corruption of that which is by nature good or indifferent. These changes were thought to overdetermine the uses to which the new substance could be put. A neutral substance can theoretically be used for many purposes, good or bad, but if a "brew" or "confection" is bad in essence, as Vetancurt suggested, then it can never be used for good—and must therefore be prohibited.[37]

The *informes* frequently drew on contemporary histories of precolonial customs regarding pulque as a means of justifying the prohibition. Among the Mexica, observed Vetancurt, the punishment for drunkenness ranged from demolishing the guilty party's house to public execution; women were to be stoned to death "like adulteresses." After describing this harsh treatment, he posed the rhetorical question: "If this is what the Gentiles did out of political interest, what should Christians do out of both political and spiritual [interests], in the service of God and his King?"[38] Regardless of the severity of the penalties for public intoxication before the arrival of the Spaniards, however, later indigenous commentators may not have shared this obsession with mixing. Where the *informes* go out of their way to identify the more or less bizarre elements that, when added to the drink, rendered it officially "mixed," the annals of Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin paints a somewhat different picture. Writing at the end of the sixteenth century, Chimalpahin, as he is more commonly known, recorded in Nahuatl what he saw as the most important events taking place in Mexico City and the nearby Chalco region, his birthplace. Pulque makes an appearance as early as 1594, in an entry referencing "the people of Tacubaya, who make their living with white pulque (*yztac octli*)."[39] In the entry for the following year, Chimalpahin wrote:

> It was in December of the year 1595 that an epidemic of measles broke out, from which people died; the epidemic really raged. People were helped with white pulque; *eloquiltic tletlematzin* was drunk in white pulque (*heheloquiltic tletlematzin miya yn ipa[n] yztac octli*), with which it was cured. There were a very great many deaths; every day very many were buried.[40]

Here, as in many of the *informes*, white pulque is described as medicinal. (Although the "very great many deaths" imply that its effects may have been somewhat overestimated.) But I am more interested in what, for

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Chimalpahin, does and does not constitute mixing. The operative phrase is "*eloquiltic tletlematzin* was drunk in white pulque." The translators suggest that the words *eloquiltic tletlematzin* "refer to specific herbs used for a variety of purposes."[41] Despite the fact that "herbs" appear frequently in the lists of "pernicious" ingredients, the mixture of these particular herbs with *pulque blanco* does not seem to alter the substance of the drink or transform it into the dreaded *pulque mezclado*. Chimalpahin preferred to call the drink *white pulque with herbs*, instead of "mixed pulque" or even just "pulque with herbs." That he never mentioned any other type of pulque or appears interested in developing his own list of mixture-producing ingredients suggests that Chimalpahin's primary interest lay in the drink's healing properties. But it also points to a subtle difference in the place that the category of the "mixed" occupied in his approach to the natural world. And the meaning of mixing, as we will see, extended far beyond the rim of the pulque mug.

MIXED PULQUE AND THE (RE)PRODUCTION OF SIN

The *informes* described mixed pulque as both a spiritual and temporal threat. Diego de la Cadena, a professor of theology at the Royal University, opened his report by declaring that the prohibition "will be of the best service to both Majesties: to Our Lord God, because of the very serious inconveniences, that occur in the Moral [realm]; and to the Catholic Majesty of Our Lord and King (may God protect him) because of the excessive and inevitable harms caused by [pulque] in the Political."[42] Most of the *informes*—all but three—were written by members of New Spain's clergy and therefore concern themselves primarily with the former. These reports constitute a laundry list of the Indians' greater and lesser sins, seemingly drawn less from personal experience or empirical evidence than from biblical references and other religious commentary—Saints Ambrose and Augustine figure prominently. Claims of renewed indigenous idolatry and sacrifice demonstrated, in the words of the Dominican friar Juan del Castillo, that alcohol "undoes the rustic and simple ways that the Indians had quickly adopted after their conquest and conversion."[43] Assertions of religious backsliding were articulated alongside other, somewhat contradictory claims that the indigenous population had in fact never abandoned its ancient religion. In his account of the uprising, for example, Sigüenza declared that "even today [the Indians have] not forgotten their ancient superstitions," and added parenthetically that "their most important deity" continued to be "the God of War."[44]

In either form, incomplete or imperfect conversion served as a powerful rhetorical device with which to attack pulque, while at the same time privileging the administrative perspective of the clergy responsible for these reports. Perhaps the most powerful argument *against* the pulque prohibition was the revenue that the sale of the pulque *asiento* (contract) provided the

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government. Many ecclesiastical authors sought to preempt this financial drawback by flatly asserting that the salvation of even a single soul was worth more than the hundreds of thousands of pesos gained by selling pulque permits. A wide variety of historical examples were given to demonstrate the Spanish crown's historical interest in evangelization over economics, including Philip II's costly invasion of Flanders and Philip IV's failed attempt to hold onto Portugal in 1640.[45]

But the reports did not limit their focus to the spiritual alone. Indeed, despite de la Cadena's analytical attempt to keep them separate, the temporal and spiritual worlds in many ways overlap—homicide can simultaneously constitute a mortal sin and a threat to political stability. Most important here were the "intimate" sins thought to take place in Mexico City's numerous pulquerías.[46] Critics frequently referred to the pulquería as a point of encounter where the city's many races were brought together by the pernicious drink. According to the minister of San Pablo parish, Bernabé Núñez de Paez, "with this Drink the Indians have built a friendship with the blacks and mulattos, who had always been their enemies; and with one another (*unos y otros*) they form a most perverse Plebe."[47] The composition of this plebe involved a simultaneously positive and negative movement: on one hand, the consolidation of a unified underclass; on the other, the disruption of the boundaries of identity, boundaries that elites clearly hoped to maintain and keep visible. For the Dean and Cabildo of Mexico City's cathedral, "another no less important problem with this lineage of vice which has so infested the plebe is that there is scarcely a Pulquería to be found that is not full of Blacks, Mulattoes, and other kinds of People (*otro genero de Gentes*) that would be shameful to mention." And those brought together by drink, they continued, "cannot be distinguished even by their customs."[48] What worried these authors, for whom lineage shaped moral behavior, was that identities would evade orderly classification: the transformation of what was "shameful to mention" into what was impossible to know.

Pulquerías were seen as dark, ambiguous spaces, where—not coincidentally—dark, ambiguous races met secretively to plot against their Spanish rulers. Archbishop Aguiar y Seijas described the seditious mix of blacks, mulattoes, mestizos, and Indians that "comes together by day, and especially at night, in rooms, alcoves, and hidden places" belonging to the pulquerías in order to "commit their unspeakable evils."[49] Among these "evils" the uprising would no doubt be counted, but the archbishop had more immediate concerns. "[I]t is not only the Indians who get drunk," he wrote, "but Women as well, and an equal amount of slaves, Blacks, Mestizos, Mulattoes, and a great many lower-class Spaniards—though not all of them, or as many, [get drunk] as much as the Indians."[50] Women are doubly implicated by the mechanics of this list: transformed into a racialized category, an additional ingredient thrown into the already dangerous social mixture of the pulquería, while simultaneously intersected by a far more insidious, biological form of

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mixing. Acknowledged as central actors in the production of race, women simultaneously come to serve as a marker of, even to embody race itself.[51] For Aguiar y Seijas, a reputed misogynist, singling out women for blame may have been inevitable.[52] But many of the *informes* joined in lamenting what the bishop-elect of Durango, don García de Legaspi Velasco, called "crimes of abominable sensuality." "It is inevitable that men and women will come together" in the pulquerías, he wrote, adding obliquely that "from this follow immediate problems that are easily understood."[53] Vetancurt, for his part, asserted that patrons commonly "offer each other their wives in a lustful exchange for [a mug of] Pulque."[54] Legitimate reproduction consecrated by marriage gave way to illegitimate, and likely cross-race, fornication.[55]

Within the shadowy pulquerías, out of reach of secular and ecclesiastical authorities, this convergence of men and women thus actualized yet another form of mixing. The friendly contact between Indians, blacks, mulattoes, and mestizos opened the door not only to cross-cultural conversation and conspiracy, but indeed, through the active participation of women, to "sensual" contact as well, facilitating the (re)production of ever increasing numbers of fractioned racial categories. In the minds of its critics, mixed pulque made these couplings, and the racial mixtures they produced, possible. At the same time, the (al)chemical processes that transformed *pulque blanco* into an entirely new substance echoed the unchecked sexuality of the pulquerías, which projected the possibility of new peoples and new kinds of people onto the future.[56] It was not just the salvation of the Indians' souls that mattered to these ecclesiastical authors—it was their belief that the dangers of mixing could not be contained within *pulque mezclado* but, through a sort of infusion if not consumption, would eventually penetrate the blood of the individual and the physiology of the social body, turning the city into a "Kingdom of mestizos, with [mixed] blood."[57]

MIXED PULQUE, MIXED PLEBE

Of all the *informes* presented to the viceroy, the one written by the full cloister of the Royal University of Mexico City deserves special attention. This is not only because of the prestige of its authors but also because it was the only one to be printed, which suggests that it may have been intended for wider distribution.[58] Packed with citations of classical and New World sources, from Herodotus and Aristotle to Solórzano and Torquemada, the University's report focused in particular on the question of governance. In the opening paragraph, as noted earlier, the authors established a causal link between mixing and social stability by citing a law from 1671 urging rulers "to avoid this mixture."[59] As in the other *informes*, the University's language of mixing applies equally to the composition of *pulque mezclado* and to the bodies of those thought to consume it. Deploying an optical neologism, they

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declared it "incredibly clear" (*ocularissimo*) that the origin of the uprising could be found in the Indians' "mixing (*mezclas*) with other members of the [Republic], blacks, mulattoes, and even Spaniards"—a fact, they continued, which "the ongoing trials against the participants in the riot will prove."[60]

If other *informes* only gestured at the spatiality of mixing, drawing in particular on the logic of the pulquería, the University built on this conceptualization of the Republic to read mixing as a concrete threat to the city. Like mixed pulque and its "mixed" consumers, Mexico City thus constituted an urban body suffering from a dangerous state of mixing that the University held responsible for the June 8 uprising. Foregrounding the corporeal horizon of their argument, the authors employed a reproductive metaphor to argue that "encounters with one another (*unos con otros*) in the pulquerías give birth to ... death and other disorders":

> All legal thought prohibits unauthorized congregations and unconfirmed bodies: because this [city] of drinkers is not the entire City, it is not a monopoly (*monopolio*), but because it is of the entire plebe, it is *poliplebio*. What plotting will take place in these encounters? What robberies will be planned? And what else (*Y que que*)? It is not even necessary to say: the causes, and trajectory of the riot say enough.[61]

This dense passage situates the convergence of mixed racial bodies within the spatial dimensions of a concrete political unit. "What comes first," the University asserted, "is the cause of the City, and Republic."[62] But exactly what these polities may have to confront is not entirely clear. The University's rhetorical questions do not limit the possibilities to plotting (presumably on topics such as the injustice of the colonial regime) and robbery (presumably of government or Spanish property), but leave the door open with an open-ended "what else?": anything, however unimaginable, could conceivably take place. Perhaps the shock of insurrectionary violence was responsible for this formulation, which constitutes both a rhetorical narrowing and imaginative broadening of the authors' collective political horizon. Simultaneously addressing past and future, the logic of the University's argument has no need for precise link chains of cause and effect. Paradoxically, it was precisely the ambiguity of these unseen plots and unheard whispers that provided the best proof of their existence.[63]

Conspiracy, furthermore, emerges within a particular domain. As a counterpoint to the *monopolio* of the unitary city, the University coined and deployed a second neologism: the term *poliplebio*. Anna More has pointed to "a slippage between several meanings of the root 'poli"' in the interaction between these two words. On one hand, there is the "poli" of "poliplebio," which refers to the heterogeneous multitudes of the pulquerías. At the same time, there is the dual "poli" present in "monopolio." "Although the root of 'monopolio' is 'polein' or 'to sell,' the proximity of the question of the

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'city' in this statement brings to mind the root 'polis.' Rather than a united city, a 'monopolio,' then, 'poliplebio' would indicate a plebeian city whose spread also effects a quasi-monopolization."[64] Within what the authors seem to imagine as a dense network of pulquerías, pulque drinkers constituted a plebeian underworld. This counterhegemonic "city of drinkers" functions conceptually via the metonym of the pulquería, whose transgressive space threatens to spread to the City/Republic. Much like the archbishop's concern with the obscurity of the pulquerías, the University's *poliplebio* remains similarly obscure and separate, yet at the same time effects a centrifugal movement, bleeding into and thereby contaminating the state's idealized *monopolio*. Indeed, its influence reached beyond the walls of the pulquerías and into public spaces. "In the pulquerías, in the plazas, in the streets, in the countryside," Friar Luzuriaga asserted, one could barely avoid stumbling over the monstrous bodies of the intoxicated citizens of this counter-city.[65] Furthermore, according to bishop-elect García de Legaspi, pulque stands permeated the organic city, "not only in its indigenous neighborhoods, but even in areas very close to its heart (*corazon*)."[66] In this view, urban space constitutes a body, like those chemical and biological bodies defined by mixing, at risk of contamination.

In the face of this threatening underworld, the University forcefully laid out the government's claim to political rule:

> The contagious man is not considered guilty, but even so because of the danger to others he is separated (*se aparta*) and exterminated.[67]

They continued:

> In the interest of public health even an innocent vassal can be exposed to death, and all vassals, for that matter, can be sent to war.[68]

The contagious man is a powerful metaphor. He represents at once victim and victimizer of mixing; his state is unintentional, but is nevertheless treated as if it were not. Like the mixed-blooded offspring of "sensual" contact in the pulquerías, mixture transforms him into a newly contaminated—and thus contaminating—agent. Death and war thus become the legitimate side effects of the state's imposition of order through purity, where the good of the *monopolio*, which stands in for the City/Republic, comes before that of its individual members. It is the question of governance, of what is to be done with the contagious man, that the slippage of categories between biological and social mixings is clarified: "He is separated and exterminated." In the context of the University's justification of state violence against "even an innocent vassal," the threat of extermination speaks for itself. More interesting, however, is the strategy of "separation." The *Diccionario de Autoridades* (1726) defines the verb "apartar" as follows:

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> To separate, to divide one thing from another: like cattle, which are separated from one another (*uno de otro*), and likewise other types (*generos*) that are divided. Lat. *Separare*, *Dividere*, *Segregare*.[69]

Separation, division, segregation. In the case of the cattle, members of the same type are kept apart from each other. But the expression *unos y otros* is used frequently in the pulque *informes* to refer to the convergence of different types, racial types. For the University, the city, greater than the sum of inhabitants and the materials they consume, must be kept from mixing—it must be purified. The colonial state, then, must not only prohibit mixed pulque and by extension wipe the pulquerías off the map, but simultaneously redraw the lines of the city so as to redistribute its individual bodies into rigidly defined and bounded spaces and, as a consequence, legible identities.

CONCLUSION: PULQUE AND THE SEGREGATED CITY

By situating the plebe within a particular spatial domain, the University's *informe* contextualizes the viceroy's second policy response to the 1692 uprising: the segregation of the city. On July 1, about three weeks after the uprising, the viceroy asked Sigüenza to submit a proposal for dividing the city into separate Spanish and Indian sectors.[70] In his official report, submitted four days later, Sigüenza referenced Spanish historiographers such as Juan de Torquemada, Francisco López de Gómara, and Bernal Díaz del Castillo to prove that, at its foundation upon the ruins of Tenochtitlan, Mexico City had been laid out in segregated blocs, such that the Spanish population occupied the center or *traza* and Indians the *barrios* at the outskirts. In the words of Torquemada, which Sigüenza cited in the text, "this city does not mix (*no se mezcla*) with the Indians, rather they surround it on four sides, forming their own neighborhoods (*barrios*)."[71] Torquemada's history served to frame Sigüenza's assertion that this policy would in fact constitute a re-segregation, a return to Mexico City's (colonial) origins as laid out by Cortés.

The segregation proposal thus draws on what Mexican historian Edmundo O'Gorman has called the "principle of separation" instituted by the Spanish crown in the form of a spatial, legal, and administrative dichotomy between the so-called two republics: the *república de los españoles* and the *república de los indios*.[72] Some historians have read this policy as a "humanitarian" effort on the part of the Crown to prevent the exploitation of Indian communities at the hands of "pernicious" racial groups, including blacks, mestizos, and mulattoes.[73] These "others" were supposed to be incorporated into the Spanish republic, leaving Indian communities "pure" and protected in order to facilitate evangelization. Sigüenza's redeployment of the "principle of separation," however, inverts this original precedent: instead of protecting Indian villages from the intrusion of non-Indians, it serves to

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protect Spanish space from the penetration of Indians. By embedding identity in a restructured cityscape, this resegregation attempts to elide tensions between Spanish-born *peninsulares* and American-born *criollos* and consolidate, at least on a conceptual level, a unified "Spanish" (white) population at its sovereign center: to *monopolize* the city. As a structural-spatial politics of population, however, it simultaneously constitutes its opposite, what the Royal University so feared: a counterhegemonic *poliplebio* that comes to stand in for the Indian enemy identified by Sigüenza at the outset.

"[T]he hallmark of the Mexican plebe," writes Cope, "was its racially mixed nature." For Cope, this mixedness was expressed in the heterogeneity of a group that "included Indians, castizos, mestizos, mulattoes, blacks, and even poor Spaniards."[74] No doubt the plebe was composed of various racial groups, but this analysis captures only a small part of the multiple and interconnected mixings that permeated the natural, social, and administrative imaginaries of colonial elites, transgressing even such apparently solid categories as the human body. As the pulque *informes* suggest, the plebe's characteristic mixedness arose from not only its group heterogeneity, as Cope suggests, but also its particular positioning within the cityscape, as a group can be constituted only through spatial relations; the biologically "mixed" race of the individual bodies that composed that group, conceived through "sensual" contact in the pulquerías ("... castizos, mestizos, mulattoes..."); and, finally, the incorporation of certain foods seen to define those who consume them (as in the figure of the drunken Indian or the University's formulation of a "city of drinkers"). The plebe, in other words, was the most extreme manifestation of a more generalized concern.

In practice, the two prongs of the colonial state's response to the uprising were at best only marginally successful. Not only did the pulque prohibition fail to keep people from drinking, but in 1697 the government once again legalized *pulque mezclado*, reinitiated the pulque *asiento*, and decriminalized the pulquerías.[75] Evidently, theological arguments privileging the evangelizing mission over tax revenues could not, in the end, convince the cash-hungry state.[76] Nor did it help, as William Taylor notes, that "[s]ome of the wealthiest and most influential families in the city" were involved in the pulque business.[77] Similarly, the imposition of spatial and racial purity on the face of the city fared little better. Indigenous residents of the *traza* may have obeyed the segregation edict and moved out during several months, but soon thereafter began to return.[78] Nevertheless, we should not ignore these policies as little more than quixotic devices or psychological defense mechanisms designed by colonial elites to adjust "reality" to expectations in order to control their fear.[79] Although in material terms the imposition of a racialized order was a failure, in conceptual terms these policies and the discursive formations that shaped them generated a newly consolidated object of governance, a plebe-organism capable of being regulated and administered. An emerging population body whose natural dimensions and flows could be apprehended via increasingly abstract forms of data—it is no

surprise that records of the 1691 doctrinal census played a key role in the discussion of segregation.[80]

Pulque, which stands at the intersection of Spanish colonialism and deeply "local" knowledges and practices, delineates both the space of the plebe as a social-group and sexual–individual convergence as well as the practices of consumption that gave these bodies meaning. Most importantly, the analysis of pulque advanced in the *informes* points to a common grid of intelligibility through which colonial elites perceived society at large: the impossibility of deciphering the constitutive elements of both pulque and plebe generated food and social bodies defined by indefinable mixing. In light of this specificity, we should be careful not to overgeneralize the relationship between the Spanish interest in indigenous foodways and the obsession with mixing that I have traced for Mexico City at the end of the seventeenth century. After all, not all indigenous alcohols, however dangerous, were considered "mixed." The Royal University's *informe*, for example, cites the Peruvian friar Bernardino de Cárdenas on the Indians' thirst for alcohol: "in Peru, a drink is made from ground maize that this Author calls *Chicha* . . . and it is intoxicating, and they establish little taverns [to sell] it."[81] While Cárdenas's critique of indigenous drinking is familiar, it does not lend itself to the spiraling attacks on mixing—chemical, biological, social, spatial—that were facilitated by the investigation of pulque in New Spain. This is not to say, of course, that mixing and race were unimportant outside Mexico, but simply that these concepts were imagined, articulated, and visualized in different ways.[82] Such comparisons, however, are beyond the scope of this essay. What I have tried to present here is but one localized figuration of the globalized contact zone, the way that local foodways were incorporated into and shaped Spanish colonial discourse and practices of governance, as not only nutritional or economic signifiers but also conceptual structures according to which the social world was organized and made legible.

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NOTES

1. J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New, 1492–1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 28.

2. For a critique of the concept of acculturation and an elaboration of the more nuanced transculturation, the key text, originally published in 1940, is Fernando Ortiz, *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y el azúcar*, ed. Enrico Mario Santí (Madrid: Cátedra, 2002). A more recent approach is Mary Louise Pratt's formulation of the "contact zone" in *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 6–7.

3. See, for example, Alfred Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1972); Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Penguin Books, 1985); Nelson Foster and Linda S. Cordell, eds., *Chiles to Chocolate: Food the Americas Gave the World* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1992); Jeffrey M. Pilcher, *Que Vivan Los Tamales! Food and the Making of Mexican Identity* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), chap. 2; Marcy Norton, "Tasting Empire: Chocolate and the European Internalization of Mesoamerican Aesthetics," *The American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 (June 2006): 660–691; and Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008). Norton's excellent work deals with the "assimilation" of

tobacco and chocolate in colonial context, but primarily as part of an argument about how these products were inserted into the global economy. In a more local vein, John E. Kicza's study of the late colonial pulque industry in New Spain traces the process by which Spanish producers increasingly took control of the production of this indigenous commodity. But, for Kicza, pulque holds little cultural or political significance or specificity; *any* product native to the Americas (such as cacao or maize) could just as easily fill its role. Pulque thus serves as an empty economic signifier, just another site for Spanish capital accumulation. I am interested in the way pulque in particular offered colonial elites both a site for state intervention and a language with which to articulate the politics of that intervention. Kicza, "The Pulque Trade of Late Colonial Mexico City," *The Americas* 37, no. 2 (1980): 193–221.

4. The relationship between food and colonial governance in the Americas has received less scholarly attention. One interesting exception comes from Enrique Rodríguez-Alegría, who uses archaeological remains and historical documents to examine eating practices as a form of political strategy for Spanish elites. See Rodríguez-Alegría, "Eating Like an Indian: Negotiating Social Relations in the Spanish Colonies," *Current Anthropology* 46 (2005): 551–73. Also see Sophie D. Coe, *America's First Cuisines* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1994), chap. 16; and John C. Super, *Food, Conquest, and Colonization in Sixteenth-Century Spanish America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988).

5. Recent scholarship on the events of the uprising includes R. Douglas Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebeian Society in Colonial Mexico City, 1660–1720* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), chap. 6; Natalia Silva Prada, *La política de una rebelión: Los indígenas frente al tumulto de 1692 en la Ciudad de México* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 2007); and Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru, "El nacimiento del miedo, 1692: Indios y españoles en la ciudad de México," *Revista de Indias* 68, no. 244 (2008): 9–34. Beginning in 1691, central Mexico was hit by a "dual agricultural crisis" (a shortage of both wheat and maize) that caused grain prices to spike. While viceregal officials were sent to procure grains from the surrounding areas, high prices and distribution problems impeded a solution. In the end, the city's granary (*alhóndiga*) was left empty. See Cope, *Limits of Racial Domination*, 128–134; and Gonzalbo Aizpuru, "El nacimiento del miedo," 14–15.

6. Father Joseph de la Barrera wrote of the Indians' "so entirely unexpected audacity in the most principal court of this Kingdom." Joseph de la Barrera to Conde de Galve, Archivo General de Indias (hereafter AGI), Mexico 333, fol. 471v. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine.

7. "Those who most persisted in their complaints were the Indians, the most ungrateful, thankless, grumbling, and restless people that God ever created." Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, "Letter of Don Carlos de Sigüenza to Admiral Pez Recounting the Incidents of the Corn Riot in Mexico City, June 8, 1692," in Irving Leonard, *Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora: A Mexican Savant of the Seventeenth Century* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1929), 244. According to Irving Leonard, Sigüenza served as "a sort of official historian" for the Viceroy Conde de Galve and his description of the uprising constituted "a semi-official report of the affair, possibly made at the behest of the viceroy." See Leonard, *Sigüenza y Góngora*, 105, 112. For a detailed account of Sigüenza's relationship with the viceroy, see Iván Escamilla González, "El siglo de oro vindicado: Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, el Conde de Galve y el tumulto de 1692," in *Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora: Homenaje 1700–2000*, ed. Alicia Mayer (Mexico City: UNAM, 2002), II, 179–203. Cope traces the development of this "official" narrative about the uprising, which he calls the "treacherous Indians" explanation, in *Limits of Racial Domination*, 126–27.

8. Sigüenza, "Letter to Admiral Pez," 275; translation altered. A decade earlier, Sigüenza had already written of the "DETESTABLE PULQUE" that was "the cause and origin of so much damage" and whose use he called "in no way indifferent, but always sinful." See Sigüenza, *Parayso Occidental, plantado, y cultivado por la liberal benefica mano de los muy Catholicos, y poderosos Reyes de España Nuestros Señores en su magnifico Real Convento de Jesus Maria de Mexico* (1684), fol. IXr, http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/12585075434593728876657/index.htm (accessed July 2009).

9. Sigüenza, "Letter to Admiral Pez," 275; see also Antonio de Robles, *Diario de sucesos notables* (Mexico City: Editorial Porrua, 1946), II, 257.

10. Robles, *Diario*, II, 264.

11. Robles, *Diario*, II, 264.

12. Robles, *Diario*, II, 265.

13. By rendering either pulque or its prohibition "absolute." See, for example, Leonard, *Sigüenza y Góngora*, 133; as well as recent essays like Cope, *Limits of Racial Domination*, 127; Silva Prada, *La política de una rebelión*, 498; and Gonzalbo Aizpuru, "El nacimiento del miedo," 25–27. Tim Mitchell uses

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scare-quotes to call into question the legitimacy of the category of white (medicinal) pulque: after the 1692 prohibition, he writes, "legal sales of 'medicinal' *pulque* slaked the thirst of Indians and poor Creoles alike." Mitchell, *Intoxicated Identities: Alcohol's Power in Mexican History and Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 24. Notable exceptions are José Jesús Hernández Palomo, *La renta del pulque en la Nueva España, 1663–1610* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1979); and William B. Taylor, *Drinking, Homicide, and Rebellion in Colonial Mexican Villages* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1979), chap. 2. For a critique of scholarly overreliance on Sigüenza's text, see Mabel Moraña, "El 'tumulto de indios' de 1692 en los pliegues de la fiesta barroca: Historiografía, subversión popular y agencia criolla en el México colonial," *Agencias criollas: La ambigüedad 'colonial' en las letras hispanoamericanas*, ed. José Antonio Mazzotti (Pittsburgh, PA: Biblioteca de América, 2000), 161–175. Running parallel to the pulque debates, seventeenth-century debates about chocolate as medicine or food highlight the shifting and multivalent significance of food and drink in Europe. See Ken Albala, "The Use and Abuse of Chocolate in Seventeenth-Century Medical Theory," *Food and Foodways* 15 (2007): 53–74.

14. Juan de Luzuriaga to Conde de Galve, AGI Mexico 333, fol. 338r.

15. The University's *informe* was the only one that was printed. See the *Informe que la Real Universidad, y Claustro Pleno de ella de la Ciudad de Mexico de esta Nueva España haze a el Excellentissimo Señor Virrey de ella en conformidad de orden de su Excelencia de 3 de Iulio de este año 1692 sobre los inconvenientes de la bebida de el Pulque* (Mexico City, 1692), fol. 1r.

16. "[S]ex . . . was at the pivot of the two axes along which developed the entire political technology of life. On the one hand, it was tied to the disciplines of the body: the harnessing, intensification, and distribution of forces, the adjustment and economy of energies. On the other hand, it was applied to the regulation of populations, through all the far-reaching effects of its activity." Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), 145. This is not to say that colonial elites were uninterested in regulating sexuality. Patricia Seed traces a shift in the institutional site of social control regarding marriage in colonial Mexico from the church in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to the state in the eighteenth. See Seed, *To Love, Honor, and Obey in Colonial Mexico: Conflicts over Marriage Choice, 1574–1821* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988). On sixteenth-century approaches to "remedying" indigenous and mestizo women (and in some cases men) in *conventos* and *colegios*, see Kathryn Burns, *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), chap. 1; and Jacqueline Holler, *Escogidas Plantas: Nuns and Beatas in Mexico City, 1531–1601* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005). Ann Laura Stoler's important work on the regulation of the intimate in the Dutch East Indies has resituated Foucault's approach to race within a colonial context. See Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002).

17. Cf. Cope, *Limits of Racial Domination*, 22: "The hallmark of the Mexican plebe was its racially mixed nature. Mexico's lower class included Indians, castizos, mestizos, mulattoes, blacks, and even poor Spaniards." I return to Cope's analysis in the conclusion.

18. In the colonial period, the source of the word "pulque" was itself mysterious: Durán suggested that, like "maize," it came from the Caribbean islands; Clavijero, writing in the eighteenth century, countered that it was originally an Araucan (Chile) word, though he admitted that "it is difficult to say how this name came to Mexico." See Durán, *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España* (Mexico City: Editora Nacional, 1951), II, 240; Francisco Javier Clavijero, *Historia antigua de Mégico*, trans. José Joaquín de Mora (London: R. Ackermann, 1826), I, 393.

19. Ayuntamiento to Conde de Galve, AGI Mexico 333, fol. 322v. If the plebe took on racialized qualities that had previously been attributed to the Indian, as Cope suggests, it was the study of indigenous culture itself—in this case, pulque—that provided colonial elites with the discursive formation necessary to define, and thereby constitute, this plebeian body as such. Cope, *Limits of Racial Domination*, 22–23.

20. According to the Dominican missionary Diego Durán, pulque was considered divine and used solemnly and with much devotion in religious ceremonies. See Durán, *Historia de las Indias*, II, 237–238. Pulque was "the sacred milk of the inexhaustible breasts of Mayahuel, goddess of the maguey, prototype of the generous mother. Mayahuel was represented as She with Four Hundred (that is to say, innumerable) Breasts. . . . It was the last taste in the mouths of the captive warriors tethered to fight on the gladiatorial stone, as it was the first in the mouths of infants introduced to public ceremonial life, when pulque was drunk to full inebriation." Inga Clendinnen, *The Aztecs: An Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 245. Also see Taylor, *Drinking, Homicide, and Rebellion*, chap. 2.

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21. Indeed, pulque's alcohol content (approximately 4 percent) is quite low, significantly less than that of Spanish wine. Taylor, *Drinking, Homicide, and Rebellion*, 31.

22. Francisco Antonio Ximénez to Conde de Galve, AGI Mexico 333, fol. 540v.

23. Franciso Xavier Palavicino y Villarasa to Conde de Galve, AGI Mexico 333, fol. 528r; Francisco Martínez Falcón to Conde de Galve, AGI Mexico 333, fol. 414v; Obispo de Valladolid to Conde de Galve, AGI Mexico 333, fol. 283v; and Cayetano Francisco de Torres, "Virtudes maravillosas del Pulque, medicamento universal, ó Polychresto," Biblioteca Nacional de México (BN), MS 23, fol. 4v. Hernández Palomo gives a detailed description of maguey cultivation and pulque production in the colonial period in *La renta del pulque*, 14–30. Some of the *informes* disagreed with this classification of pulque's stages, which follows the *informe* written by Doctor Ximénez. Friar Antonio Guridi, the minister of the indigenous parish of Santiago Tlatelolco, for example, wrote only of *aguamiel* on one hand, and a generalized "pulque" on the other, blurring the white and mixed varieties together. See Antonio Guridi to Conde de Galve, AGI Mexico 333, fol. 496r–497r. I follow Doctor Ximénez here because his *informe*, which was specifically cited and adopted by the Council of the Indies, best seems to represent the conventional wisdom of the moment. See Consejo de Indias to Conde de Galve, AGI Mexico 333, fol. 590r–592v.

24. Francisco Martínez Falcón to Conde de Galve, AGI Mexico 333, fols. 406r-v. This root may have been *ocpatli*, although it seems unlikely that Martínez Falcón would have been unaware of something so commonly mentioned in other *informes*, such as Antonio Guridi to Conde de Galve, AGI Mexico 333, fol. 496v.

25. Augustín de Vetancurt to Conde de Galve, AGI Mexico 333, fol. 499r.

26. This was part of the archbishop's effort to calculate the number of sins caused by pulque in Mexico City. By multiplying the number of mules entering the city by the number of *arrobas* each one could carry, he determined that some five million *arrobas* of pulque entered the city each year. Next, he figured that each *arroba* would generate two "sins of drunkenness," thus reaching the total of ten million sins of drunkenness per year. At this point, however, he was forced to give up, because the quantity of other sins caused by drunkenness was so high that "only God can count them." Francisco de Aguiar y Seijas to Conde de Galve, AGI Mexico 333, fols. 272v–273r.

27. Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*, trans. Richard Howard (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 202–42; José Rabasa, *Inventing America: Spanish Historiography and the Formation of Eurocentrism* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), chap. 4, esp. 125–130, 151–164.

28. *Informe que la Real Universidad*, fol. 1v.

29. Taylor argues that these critiques reveal differences between Spanish and Indian drinking cultures or practices rather than in the relative quantity consumed. See Taylor, *Drinking, Homicide, and Rebellion*, 41. *Pulque blanco* was the only kind legally permitted during the colonial period. Hernández Palomo, *La renta del pulque*, 31–33.

30. Hernández Palomo, *La renta del pulque*, 10–13.

31. Martínez Falcón to Conde de Galve, AGI Mexico 333, fol. 407r. On the life and writings of Francisco Hernández, as well as their diffusion in Europe, see Hernández, *The Mexican Treasury: The Writings of Dr. Francisco Hernández*, ed. Simon Varey and trans. Simon Varey, Rafael Chabrán, and Cynthia L. Chamberlin (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), 3–25.

32. Aguiar y Seijas to Conde de Galve, AGI Mexico 333, fol. 269r. In fact, much like the church ethnographers such as Bernardino de Sahagún, Spanish doctors like Francisco Hernández drew heavily on indigenous knowledge to produce their findings. Philip II instructed Hernández to "consult, wheresoever you go, all the doctors, medicine men, herbalists, Indians, and other persons with knowledge in such matters [i.e., medicinal uses of native plants and animals]." See "The Instructions of Philip II to Dr. Francisco Hernández," in *The Mexican Treasury*, 46.

33. Juan de Luzuriaga to Conde de Galve, AGI Mexico 333, fol. 337v.

34. Francisco Xaviar Palavicino to Conde de Galve, AGI Mexico 333, fol. 525r.

35. *Informe que la Real Universidad*, fol. 4v. Also see Aguiar y Seijas to Conde de Galve, AGI Mexico 333, fol. 267r.

36. Augustín de Vetancurt to Conde de Galve, AGI Mexico 333, fol. 499r.

37. For example, Antonio Girón, minister of Santa Cruz parish, argued that pulque should not be considered indifferent "because all things that uniformly induce physical or moral necessity towards an action, cannot be called indifferent [with regard to] the good or the bad." Girón to Conde de Galve, AGI Mexico 333, fol. 520r.

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38. Augustín de Vetancurt to Conde de Galve, AGI Mexico 333, fols. 501v–502r. Such claims are problematic, as they rely on the recollections of elite indigenous informants at least a half-century after the fact. Lockhart suggests that historians have "too readily accepted idealized and self-serving posterior statements that hardly anyone drank pulque before the conquest." See James Lockhart, *The Nahuas After the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992), 112. Also see Taylor, *Drinking, Homicide, and Rebellion*, chap. 2.

39. Don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin. *Annals of His Time*, eds. and trans. James Lockhart, Susan Schroeder, and Doris Namala (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006), 51. It is notable that the translators do not know what to do with "iztac octli." In a footnote, they write, "It is not clear to us if this means simply pulque in general, or if white pulque is a special kind. Molina gives white wine for *iztac octli*." But Molina also gives "vino" (wine) for "octli" (pulque); as we saw above, in Doctor Ximénez's reference to "Wine medicine," it was common practice to refer to *pulque* in Spanish as "vino." It is, therefore, highly unlikely that Chimalpahin was writing about Spanish wine, white or otherwise.

40. Chimalpahin, *Annals*, 55.

41. "*Eloquiltic* seems to be an adjectival form based on *elotl* (*elote* in Spanish), a green ear of corn on the plant, and *quilitl*, any of a variety of green plants of the type used for salads. *Tlemaitl* is a sort of ladle to carry fire in and probably could refer to a ladle or spoon more generally." The translators go on to question, once again, "whether *iztac octli* could be white wine." See Chimalpahin, *Annals*, 54–55n3. Rémi Siméon defines "eloquiltic" as a medicinal plant used to treat pleurisy. Siméon, *Diccionario de la lengua náhuatl o mexicana*, trans. Josefina Oliva de Coll (Mexico City: Siglo XXI, 2004), 147.

42. Diego de la Cadena to Conde de Galve, AGI Mexico 333, fol. 399r.

43. Juan del Castillo to Conde de Galve, AGI Mexico 333, fol. 386v.

44. Sigüenza, "Letter to Admiral Pez," 246; translation altered.

45. Miguel de Estrada to Conde de Galve, AGI Mexico 333, fols. 493r-v.

46. Cf. Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge*, 9–13.

47. Bernabé Núñez de Paez to Conde de Galve, AGI Mexico 333, fol. 463r.

48. Dean y Cavildo to Conde de Galve, AGI Mexico 333, fol. 315v.

49. Aguiar y Seijas to Conde de Galve, AGI Mexico 333, fol. 271v.

50. Aguiar y Seijas to Conde de Galve, AGI Mexico 333, fol. 273r; my emphasis.

51. Cf. Kathleen Ross, *The Baroque Narrative of Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora: A New World Paradise* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 11: "How women behave sexually will define the order of colonial society and maintain the separation of the Spanish, Indian, and African races. Mixed-race people—*castas*—upset this neat order. Women, then, are much more then incidental to the baroque era in Spanish America and its literary expression; they are central actors as the encounter of Old and New Worlds moves into its second century."

52. "A twisted Catholic puritan, he had a pathological aversion for women, to whom he imputed all the evils against which the Church inveighed. According to his biographer, he regarded his myopic vision as a special boon since it prevented him from seeing members of the less homely sex. If, through some mischance, a woman crossed his threshold, he promptly ordered the bricks torn up and replaced upon which sacrilegious feet had trod." Irving Leonard, *Baroque Times in Old Mexico: Seventeenth-Century Persons, Places, and Practices* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1959), 160. We should take Leonard's words with more than a grain of salt, as he does not entertain the possibility of other, more nuanced readings of these colonial documents.

53. García de Legaspi Velasco to Conde de Galve, AGI Mexico 333, fol. 308r, 309r.

54. Agustín de Vetancurrt to Conde de Galve, AGI Mexico 333, fol. 499v. In his *Teatro Mexicano*, published one year after the prohibition was lifted in 1697, Vetancurt would once again deploy this language. Pulque, he wrote, makes drinkers commit "innumerable offenses against God" including "incest with even their own Mothers. . . . They trade wives with each other (*unos y otros*), and if one buys another a drink he is paid back in a lustful exchange with that man's wife; and from this, [come] robberies, homicides, dances, and superstitious idolatries, calling *pulque* the water of God, as if it were blessed." Agustín de Vetancurt, *Teatro Mexicano: Descripción breve de los sucesos ejemplares de la Nueva España en el Nuevo Mundo Occidental de las Indias* (Madrid: Porrúa Turanzas, 1960), I, 442–443.

55. Cf. Asunción Lavrin, "Sexuality in Colonial Mexico: A Church Dilemma," in *Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Asunción Lavrin (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 47–92, esp. 57: "Confronting the church at the beginning of the seventeenth century was a

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situation of lax personal relationships and sexual interethnic encounters among the so-called lesser social elements."

56. Cf. Stuart B. Schwartz and Frank Salomon, "New Peoples and New Kinds of People: Adaptation, Readjustment, and Ethnogenesis in South American Indigenous Societies (Colonial Era)," *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas, Vol. III, Part 2*, eds. Frank Salomon and Stuart B. Schwartz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Pres, 1999), 443–501; and Cope, *Limits of Racial Domination*, 4. These new racial categories would soon after be depicted visually in the eighteenth-century genre of *casta* paintings. These paintings depict cross-race couples and their offspring, mapping the genealogical progression of *mestizaje* or racial mixing. "It is no coincidence that casta paintings were created only a few years after the famous riot of 1692 in Mexico City." See Ilona Katzew, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 202.

57. Ayuntamiento to Conde de Galve, AGI Mexico 333, fol. 322r.

58. There are at least two copies of the University's printed report. One is located in Seville, Spain at the AGI Mexico 333, fols. 566r–584v. The other is in the Fondo Reservado of the BN in Mexico City. The opinion of at least one of the twenty-six signatories was so respected that he was also asked to produce his own separate *informe*. See Joseph Vidal de Figueroa to Conde de Galve, AGI Mexico 333, fols. 376r–383r.

59. *Informe que la Real Universidad*, fol. 1r.

60. *Informe que la Real Universidad*, fol. 10r.

61. *Informe que la Real Universidad*, fol. 10r.

62. *Informe que la Real Universidad*, fol. 15v.

63. Cf. Guha's discussion of rumor and insurgency: "Ambiguity ... is indeed what makes rumour a mobile and explosive agent of insurgency, and it is a function precisely of those distinctive features which constitute its originality—namely, its anonymity and transitivity." Ranajit Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 260.

64. Anna More, "Colonial Baroque: Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora and the Post-Colonization of New Spain" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2003), 215.

65. Juan de Luzuriaga to Conde de Galve, AGI Mexico 333, fol. 338r.

66. García de Legaspi Velasco to Conde de Galve, AGI Mexico 333, fol. 309r.

67. *Informe que la Real Universidad*, fol. 14r.

68. *Informe que la Real Universidad*, fol. 15v.

69. *Diccionario de Autoridades* (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1726), 327, http://buscon.rae.es/ntlle/SrvltGUILoginNtlle (accessed July 2009).

70. Sigüenza's segregation proposal is located in Mexico City at the Archivo General de la Nación (AGN) *Historia* 413, fols. 4r–5r. In the interest of simplicity, I will refer to the version published by as "Sobre los incovenientes de vivir los indios en el centro de la ciudad," *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación* 9, no. 1 (January-March 1938): 1–33.

71. "Sobre los inconvenientes," 6.

72. See Edmundo O'Gorman, "Reflexiones sobre la distribución urbana colonial de la ciudad de México," in *Seis estudios históricos de tema mexicano* (Xalapa, Mexico: Universidad Veracruzana, 1960), 11–40. Others use the stronger term "segregation" instead. See Magnus Mörner, "La política de segregación en la Audiencia de Guatemala," *Revista de Indias* 24, nos. 95–96 (1964): 137–151; and Mörner and Charles Gibson, "Diego Muñoz Camargo and the Segregation Policy of the Spanish Crown," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 42, no. 4 (November 1962): 558–568. More recently, scholars working with primary sources written in Nahuatl have suggested that the separation of the two "republics" had more to do with the practical exigencies of colonial rule: Spanish colonialism was built atop the already existing structures of indigenous governance. See Lockhart, *The Nahuas*, 26–30.

73. Mörner and Gibson, "Diego Muñoz Camargo," 558.

74. Cope, *Limits of Racial Domination*, 22.

75. Hernández Palomo, *La renta del pulque*, 78–80.

76. The "very important objective of maintaining the Armada de Barlovento" was apparently a central reason for reversing the prohibition. See Consejo de Indias to Conde de Galve, AGI Mexico 333, fol. 590r. Also see Hernández Palomo, *La renta del pulque*, 80–84.

77. Taylor, *Drinking, Homicide, and Rebellion*, 68. Even some of the *informes* condemned the greed of the Spanish owners of the maguey plantations. Archbishop Aguiar y Seijas, for example, wrote

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harshly of the "Spanish Haciendas measuring eight, ten, and twelve thousand feet [and] dedicated entirely to maguey." Aguiar y Seijas to Conde de Galve, AGI Mexico 333, fol. 270r.

78. Cope, *Limits of Racial Domination*, 179–80n56.

79. As in Gonzalbo Aizpuru, "El nacimiento del miedo," 10, 21.

80. "Sobre los inconvenientes," 17, 22; O'Gorman, "Reflexiones sobre la distribución urbana," 28. Cf. Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 139–140.

81. *Informe que la Real Universidad*, fols. 5v–6r.

82. Race was named and depicted with different typologies, terminologies, and representational devices in colonial Mexico and Peru. Terminology for racial identity in South America tended to be based explicitly on "race fractions" or relative quantities of blood (e.g., *cuarterón*, *tercerón*, etc.), while in Mexico these categories were rarely used. Similarly, with very few exceptions, *casta* paintings were specific to New Spain, often incorporating specifically Mexican text and imagery. See Irene Silverblatt, *Modern Inquisitions: Peru and the Colonial Origins of the Civilized World* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 124–127; Isidoro Moreno Navarro, "Un aspecto del mestizaje americano: El problema de la terminología," *Revista española de antropología americana* 4 (1969): 201–218; and Katzew, *Casta Painting*, chap. 2.

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