SEGREGATION: SOVEREIGNTY, ECONOMY, AND THE PROBLEM WITH MIXTURE

*How may a space be said to be at once homogeneous and divided,
at once unified and fragmented?*
HENRI LEFEBVRE, *THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE*

ON THE AFTERNOON OF JUNE 8, 1692, in the context of widespread food shortages, a massive riot broke out in the central plaza of Mexico City. By nightfall, the stalls of the marketplace had been looted and burned and numerous government buildings, including the viceroy's imposing palace overlooking the plaza, had been reduced to smoldering ruins. It was not only the walls of the palace that were shattered as a result of the violence but the facade of colonial hegemony as well, and the authorities were shocked at the ease with which the urban and mostly indigenous underclass had overpowered them.[1]

The quasi-official history of the riot is a long account written several months later by the prominent Creole intellectual Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora.[2] Sigüenza situates the event in the context of a generalized decline of Spanish imperial sovereignty, highlighting pirate attacks and commercial competition from European rivals in the Caribbean and Pacific as well as indigenous uprisings along New Spain's northern frontier.[3] But the breakdown of the social order in Mexico City was most immediately precipitated by a highly localized and deeply material crisis—the breakdown of urban infrastructure. According to Sigüenza, what set in motion the cascading series of events that culminated in the riot was precisely an infrastructural failure. One year before the riot, the sky filled with clouds and an unseasonably heavy rain began to fall. The waters overflowed the canals and flooded the city. Sigüenza is careful to note that this crisis, while triggered by an accident of nature, resulted primarily from hu-

man failure. "Si las muchas asequias que tiene Mex.ᶜᵒ no estubieran en estta ocasion asoluadas todas, buque tienen para hauer reseuido toda estta agua y condusidola a la laguna de Tescuco, donde quanta general mentte viene de las serranías se recoje siempre" (If the many canals of Mexico City had not been obstructed on this occasion, they are capacious enough to have received all of this water and channeled it into Lake Texcoco, where however much generally comes off the mountain ridge is always collected). It was the failure to maintain the city's hydraulic infrastructure, keeping the canals clear and functional so they could contain and redirect the flows of water, that created the conditions for the disaster. The riot, Sigüenza writes, was "[el] fuego en que, en la fuersa de la ambre, se transformó el agua" (the fire into which the water was transformed by the stress of hunger).[4]

Beyond the failure of the city's hydraulic infrastructure, however, was a more generalized infrastructural collapse. The colonial order, as we have seen, was based on the assumption of a more or less direct correspondence between infrastructure and social relations. In the case of congregation, for example, the concept of *policía* linked the geometric space of the centralized town to a series of Christian practices that the indigenous population was intended to adopt. The same assumption grounded the overarching framework of colonial governance from the mid-sixteenth century on—the model of two separate "republics," one for "Spaniards" and the other for "Indians," each organized around a distinct set of institutions, rights, and obligations for its members. Although the republics were primarily administrative, ecclesiastical, and juridical structures, they also took on a spatial form, visible not only in the congregated town but also in the segregated order of the capital of New Spain. At the moment of its foundation over the ruins of Tenochtitlan, Mexico City was laid out according to an orthogonal grid as well as a segregated plan that divided the Spanish center (*traza*) from the Indian districts (*barrios*) that surrounded it—a simultaneously homogeneous and fragmented space, as Lefebvre suggests in the epigraph. Early descriptions of the city highlight the canal that physically separated the two zones, as well as the defensive architecture of the traza's fortresslike buildings meant to stand in for walls as protection from the hostile native population.[5] Yet the riot underscored the fact that by the end of the seventeenth century many of the city's indigenous inhabitants had relocated to the traza.

Along with the spectacular punishment of the riot's purported

leaders and the prohibition of the indigenous alcohol known as *pulque mezclado*, the colonial state's most important response was the effort to secure the infrastructural order by once again segregating the city along racial lines.[6] The viceroy requested a collection of official *informes* (reports) from members of the colonial elite, including Sigüenza himself, along with the seven priests entrusted with overseeing the Indian parishes or *doctrinas*. As one of the main architects of the segregation policy, Sigüenza outlined a "linea de separacion" (separation line) demarcating the Spanish traza and dividing it from the Indian barrios, a boundary that was eventually incorporated word for word into the viceroy's final order.[7] Sigüenza's report has tended to overshadow those of the parish priests in terms of scholarly attention, largely owing to his importance as a Creole intellectual figure, but in this case his intervention may have been less significant than his reputation might lead us to believe. Although the formal, external contours of segregation were taken directly from Sigüenza's report, this chapter suggests that it was in fact the ministers, and especially the Franciscan friar Agustín de Vetancurt, whose interventions—including their informes as well as other documents called *padrones* or ecclesiastical censuses—not only register the decline of the infrastructure of segregation but also model the biopolitical techniques of population management that were consolidated in the wake of the riot and over the course of the following century.[8]

Earlier chapters have underscored the "positive" work of colonial infrastructure—its capacity to create the material conditions that both enable the unfolding of everyday life and facilitate the construction of racialized (and other) categories and subjectivities. This chapter approaches the matter from the opposite direction. What kinds of racial categories, subjectivities, and theories are fashioned not through the construction of durable structures but through their collapse? How do new material forms and practices emerge to rescue and replace those that have entered into crisis? And what kinds of racializing processes might be set in motion as a result? The segregation documents track the response of colonial elites not only to the political crisis precipitated by the riot but also to the more general decline of the infrastructure of separation on which Spanish colonial rule had been established over the previous two centuries. The reports thus lay out a political analysis, building a theory of crisis capable of explaining what went wrong and attempting to resolve it. Across the board, the informes called for segregation, although they

did not always agree about what this meant. In one version, segregation would attempt to rescue the Spaniard, while in the other, it would turn toward the Indian. In both cases, however, what appeared on the other side of the line of demarcation was what contemporaries called the "Plebe."

At first glance, the Plebe appears to refer straightforwardly to a category of social class. In *The Limits of Racial Domination* (1994), the historian R. Douglas Cope offers a careful reading of everyday life among the urban poor of Mexico City during the seventeenth century. What effectively secured the colonial order during this period, he argues, was not the racial hierarchy known as the *sistema de castas* but the patronage system that congealed around employment networks and practices. If the 1692 riot marked a powerful rupture when plebeian solidarity was able to overcome these divisions, it was short-lived—within days, fissures resurfaced and the potential for collective political action was undermined.[9] Cope's meticulous study has been widely influential, yet the distinction he draws between race and class may obscure more than it reveals. He asserts, for example, that what distinguished the Mexican Plebe from its European counterpart was its "racially mixed nature." By this he means that it was a heterogeneous mass, composed of people who belonged to numerous racial categories: "Indians, castizos, mestizos, mulattoes, blacks, and even poor Spaniards."[10] I want to suggest, however, that this can also be read as a statement about the ways in which class can become racialized in specifically colonial contexts. In other words, perhaps the Plebe is better understood not as a category that encompasses many races and thus constitutes a "mixed" group, but as a collective embodiment of "mixture" itself. In a society dominated by limpieza de sangre, mixture acts as a racializing marker.

Even the purported heterogeneity of the Plebe does not necessarily secure its nonracial ground. The construction of the Indian that I examine in chapter 1, for example, operates in much the same way, by producing new proximities that create the conditions in which groupness as such may emerge. Epistemic and material violence do the initial work of neutralizing or synthesizing vast heterogeneity, fashioning and dispersing new identities and subjectivities by suturing together cultural representations and social structures. From this perspective, despite their significant differences, the "work" that the category of the Plebe does for colonial Mexico formally resembles that which the Mestizo does for post-revolutionary Mexico.

One of the first things that stands out about the segregation documents is how clearly they register an obsession with "mixture": words like *mezcla*, *mixtura*, and *conmixtión*, along with a host of other terms without a common etymological root but nevertheless designating a confused, blurred, or jumbled state, are everywhere. This makes sense, given that the "mixed" can only be defined in relation to the "pure," which is in turn the object of segregation. This chapter thus traces the racializing construction of the Plebe in late-seventeenth-century Mexico by closely attending to the formations of "purity" and "mixture" embedded in the segregation documents. The historian Natalia Silva Prada suggests that it was only around the time of the riot that this category began to take on a concrete social meaning.[11] If this is the case, the segregation documents offer a glimpse into the mechanisms through which this process occurred. The Plebe, I argue, emerges as a spatial and indeed an infrastructural category—like the floodwaters overflowing the banks of the city's garbage-filled canals, it is an excess or residue, the result of infrastructural failure. The ministers' efforts to rescue the figure of the Indian end up producing the Plebe as surplus population, a terrifying new subject that is beyond redemption and will therefore require new forms and practices of concentration to contain.

COUNTERINSURGENT HISTORY AND RACIALIZED GOVERNANCE

It was to Sigüenza that the viceroy immediately turned in order to set the segregation of Mexico City in motion. On July 1, a message was sent to the Creole asking him to draw up a plan for dividing the city into Spanish and Indian zones by defining the "terminos que le pareciesen mas convenientes" (boundaries that seem most advisable). In his response, dated four days later, Sigüenza sketched out a "linea de separacion" in the form of a narrative itinerary, devised from a textual and material excavation of the colonial city's original layout. For Sigüenza, in other words, urban planning was not only a cartographic operation but also an eminently historical one.[12]

In her groundbreaking study of Sigüenza's work, Anna More traces the emergence of a Creole discourse of governance in response to the crisis of Spanish imperial sovereignty of the late seventeenth century. What makes Sigüenza's work exemplary is his historical approach, manifested specifically in Sigüenza's collection of books,

manuscripts, and artifacts dealing with the indigenous and colonial past. This "Creole archive," More argues, stood in for a hermetic law and allowed Sigüenza to elaborate a form of patrimonialism that was tied not only to local knowledge but also to a notion of citizenship based on pure Spanish descent. This racial project thus aimed not to undermine Spanish rule but to shore it up by placing the administration of empire in the hands of capable Creoles who would manage and control the indigenous and mixed-race population far more effectively than the traditional structures of authority—structures that, as the riot had demonstrated, were at this point completely exhausted. By fashioning a spatial foundation for this racial project, furthermore, Sigüenza's segregation proposal serves as one of the clearest examples of this discourse of governance.[13]

Sigüenza turns to the historiography of conquest and the archives of colonization to link the segregated city to the foundational moment of the colonial order: "Que fuese esto, lo dicen los Historiadores de la manera siguiente" (That this was the case is stated by the Historians in the following manner). Referencing the work of Antonio de Herrera, Juan de Torquemada, Francisco López de Gómara, and Bernal Díaz del Castillo, as well as "los primeros libros capitulares de esta ciudad" (the first charters of this city), which he had personally saved from the burning archive on the night of the riot, Sigüenza aims to document that Cortés called for a separation between the Spanish traza, on one hand, and the Indian barrios, on the other, when he set out to "rebuild" (as he put it, borrowing Herrera's terminology) Mexico City over the ruins of Tenochtitlan. It was the legitimate fear of a hostile indigenous population, the Creole asserts, that led to this division and to the fortification of the Spanish center. Yet this defensive architecture had not prevented the indigenous population from infiltrating the traza and revealing its "innata malicia" (innate malice) for the Spaniards in a series of devastating insurrections. In 1537, 1549, and 1624, and now in 1692, he writes, this Indian "multitud" (multitude) had merged with other members of the urban poor to form a "gigante cuerpo" (gigantic body) that had nearly overthrown the Spanish colonial order.

Sigüenza's segregation proposal thus reverses the pastoral logic of the original policy of separation, as codified in the sixteenth-century legislation on congregation. According to this doctrine, as we have seen, Indians were kept apart in order to protect them from purportedly malicious elements, including Spaniards, Mestizos, and others,

as a means of facilitating their Christianization. Following the 1692 riot, however, Sigüenza calls for the center of the city to be reserved for "Spaniards" alone, with everyone else removed to the city's peripheral districts and transformed into surplus population. Rather than protecting Indians, in other words, the original doctrine of separation was reconfigured and infrastructurally redeployed to protect a counterinsurgent bloc of Spanish/Creole "citizens" defined by revanchist proto-whiteness—the very same "vezinos" who formed the companies of soldiers that set about patrolling the city as the sun rose over its smoldering ruins.[14] As More observes, the segregation proposal thus outlines a spatial foundation for a new racial order that pits "an elite identified by its Spanish descent against an alliance of the city's casta and indigenous subjects."[15]

As one of the main architects of the segregation order, as well as an important figure in the field of colonial Mexican studies, Sigüenza's intervention has received more scholarly attention than those of the parish priests who were also asked to participate. But this differential reception may also have to do with the different projects they envisioned. While the priests remained caught up in "traditional forms of colonial governance" based on pastoral care, writes More, Sigüenza outlined a "new form of administrative knowledge, disinterested in ecclesiastical quarrels over jurisdiction."[16] Certainly, the Creole discourse of racial governance staked out ground that would become increasingly salient over the course of the eighteenth century. Yet focusing on his report alone can make it difficult to see the ways in which Sigüenza's proposal in fact depended on the work of the ministers as well. Indeed, it is the ministers, far more than Sigüenza, whose interventions register the full extent of the ongoing breakdown of social and spiritual infrastructure that, in their view, had begun long before the riot, and who proposed a series of biopolitical techniques that would come to characterize the practice of colonial governance at large. Foucault reminds us that the state may be most productively seen as a "modern matrix of individualization, or a new form of pastoral power."[17] In this respect, the pastorate may not have been so traditional after all.

SOVEREIGNTY AND THE DISAPPEARING INDIAN

The emergence of new biopolitical techniques in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries corresponds to a shift concerning the finality

of the law. Foucault argues that sovereign power is synonymous with the law, whether human or divine, and articulates itself primarily in terms of good and evil, right and wrong. The objective of sovereignty, moreover, is the "common good," which refers precisely to a scenario of obedience in which those who are subject to the sovereign's law acknowledge and comply with it. Yet with the rise of governmentality, the law begins to be articulated in terms of efficacy as well, operating instrumentally or tactically to guide its objects toward a "suitable end." No longer reducible to the violence of justice or the image of the "good" society, the law comes to operate as a technique aimed at conducting the objects of governance in such a way as to maximize the potential within them.[18]

About three weeks after the riot, on June 21, the viceroy circulated a statement on the many problems that had arisen because of the Indians living in the traza of Mexico City. Previous attempts to address this problem had failed, but now the task had acquired a new urgency: "Y porque con la ōcasion de su mouimiento, ācaecido a los ocho del corriente, incendios tumulto y saqueo en que incurrieron, pareçe que Ynsta mas la resolucion de lo referido" (Given the event that occurred on the eighth of this month, and the fires, rioting, and looting that they committed, it has become more urgent to resolve this matter).[19] The viceroy requested a meeting of the Real Acuerdo, an official body composed of himself along with officers of the Audiencia of Mexico, to deliberate and decide on the best way of moving forward. Five days later, the Real Acuerdo issued its own statement regarding the segregation order. It opens as follows:

La lei 19. lib. 6. ti.º 1. de la novisima Recopilacion de yndias dispone que para que los yndios aprobechen mas en cristiandad y policia se deve ordenar q̃ viban juntos y concertadamente, pues desta forma conocerán sus perlados y atenderan mejor a su bien y dotrina y porque asi conviene mandamos que los Bireies y governadores procuren por todos los medios posibles sin acerles opresion y dandoles a entender quan util y probechoso sera para su aumento y vuen govierno como esta ordenado. [Law 19, book 6, title 1 of the recent *Recopilación de Indias* mandates that for the Indians to live according to Christianity and police they must be made to live together and in an orderly manner, and in this way their prelates will know them and better attend to their well-being and Christianization. Because of this we order the viceroys and governors to ensure (this) by all possible means without

oppressing them, informing them of how useful and beneficial it will be for their growth and good government as it is ordered.][20]

The passage references the *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias* (1680), a compilation of royal legislation pertaining to colonial matters that had been published just over a decade before. In one sense, this collection was intended to pare down the unwieldy mass of casuistic legal positions that had accumulated over nearly two centuries of colonial rule. Yet it can also be read as an attempt by the Habsburg monarchy to respond to the crisis of imperial sovereignty by reaffirming the juridical discourse of early colonization.[21] The law in the passage just cited corresponds to a 1538 decree issued by Charles V that established the dualist social order of the two republics, a framework that would be taken up in the policy of congregation. As in the case of congregation, one of the main objectives of these policies, captured in this passage, was to insulate the indigenous population from harm or contamination, whether from disease or malicious actors like Mestizos. The protection of the "vulnerable" Indian formed the ideological core of the sixteenth-century spatial order. Confronted by a profound crisis a century and a half later, the authorities turned back to the legal foundation of the spatial order on which colonial rule was installed and through which it was reproduced. In the words of the Real Acuerdo, the segregation of the city should be executed "a la letra de la citada lei" (to the letter of the cited law).[22]

According to the ministers, however, the problem was that, upon entering the traza, the Indian seemed to disappear, slipping out of the cold embrace of the law. In his well-known treatise *Teatro mexicano* (1698), Fray Agustín de Vetancurt, minister of the parish of San José and chronicler of the Franciscan order, gives an account of the reign of each of the viceroys of New Spain. His succinct (and unflattering) description of the government of the Viceroy Conde de Galve, who by this time had left office, deals entirely with the riot and captures this interruption of sovereign power: "Estando [los indios] en los corrales de las casas de la ciudad escondidos, sin que justicia secular ni eclesiástica los conozcan, amparados de los dueños de las casas que no consienten que se éntre por ningun modo en los corrales, viven como moros sin señor" (Hidden in the courtyards of the city's houses, out of reach of secular and ecclesiastical authorities, protected by the owners of the houses, who do not permit entry to the courtyard un-

der any circumstances, they live as Moors without a lord).[23] The city's architecture of impunity breaks down the relation of obedience between the sovereign and his subject and constitutes a space of exception where the force of sovereign law is not permitted to materialize—at least with regard to Indian migrants to the traza, who were subject to a racially specific set of civil and church institutions.[24]

In the previous chapter, I highlighted what Joanne Rappaport has called the trope of the disappearing Mestizo. Lacking a fixed social position and genealogically divided between the republic of Spaniards and the republic of Indians, the Mestizo tended to drop out of the documentary record and otherwise fade from view. A parallel trope is taken up and rearticulated here by the ministers, yet it is no longer the Mestizo but the Indian who has disappeared. What one of the ministers refers to as "la instabilidad, de los indios" (the instability of the Indians) is tied to the materiality of urban life in two ways.[25] On one hand, the priests insist that Indians seek to avoid the gaze of the authorities through the strategic use of material culture and bodily practices. As the Franciscan friar José de la Barrera, minister of the parish of Santa María la Redonda, asserts in his informe, "en poniendose el indio capote, zapatos, y medias y criando melena, hetelo meztizo, y á pocos días español libre del tributo, enemigo de Dios, de su iglesia y de su Rey" (by putting on a cape, shoes, and leggings and growing out his hair, we behold the Indian as Mestizo, and in a few days a Spaniard, free from tribute and an enemy of God, his church, and his king).[26] Similarly, the Augustinian friar Bernabé Núñez de Páez, of the parish of San Pablo, calls for the viceroy to enforce existing sumptuary laws that made it illegal for Indians to wear capes, "porq̃ Parece que les infunden soberbia y con las mantas, son mas humildes y obedientes y no pareceran meztiços" (because it seems to fill them with arrogance, while with *mantas* they are more humble and obedient and they do not look like Mestizos).[27] The minister attributes this affective force to the object itself, since it apparently does not occur to him that his parishioners might intentionally adopt another persona as an added layer of disguise. On the other hand, clothing also serves as a metaphor for the capacity of the urban environment to obscure the Indian from the authorities' gaze. The Franciscan Fray Antonio de Guridi, minister of the parish of Santiago Tlatelolco, asserts that it is common for an Indian who has committed a crime in his town to flee and find "abrigo" (cover; literally, a coat or jacket) in Mexico City, "donde vive a su salvo sin temor de

Dios, sin poder ser conocido de Justicia Secular ni Eclesiastica, porq̃ los yndios son tan parecidos así en los nombres como en los trajes y caras" (where he lives freely and without fear of God, without being identified by the secular or ecclesiastical authorities, because the Indians are so similar in terms of their names as well as their clothing and facial appearance).[28] Lost in a sea of bodies dressed in similar clothing, the Indian body is represented as being insulated from the law.

The trope of the disappearing Indian had an architectonic foundation as well. According to the ministers' informes, those Indians illicitly residing in the traza occupy obscure and hidden spaces, such as "corrales, desvanes, patios, paxares y solares de españoles" (courtyards, attics, patios, lofts, and lots belonging to Spaniards).[29] It is especially easy for the Indians to "esconderse [y] ocultarse" (conceal and hide themselves) in the houses of Spaniards, writes Barrera,

> donde ay tales sotanos y escondrijos, q̃ solo quando estan para morir se manifiestan para recibir los santos sacramentos, q̃ no es poca felicidad; pues estan tan escondidos en algunos trascorrales, y retiros de dhas cassas, donde no es façil el descubrirlos, habitando estos indios, mezclados con los meztizos, y la gente ociossa, comunicandose secretamente, y maquinando tanta fiereza de maldades, como las q̃ han executado estos dias. [where there are basements and hiding places, so that only when they are about to die do they come out to receive the Holy Sacraments, which is no small relief. These Indians are well hidden in the back patios and recesses of these houses, where it is not easy to discover them, mixed together with Mestizos and idle people, secretly planning and plotting such savage wickedness as that which they have carried out in recent days.][30]

In a perverse twist, the very architecture that had originally served, at least in the minds of Spaniards, both to distinguish and to defend the traza from the "hostile natives" had been repurposed and occupied by the natives themselves. From attics to basements, Indians had carved out spaces to shield themselves from the gaze and the grasp of the civil and religious authorities. It was disconcerting enough that they should voluntarily risk the health of their souls in this way, but for Barrera there were also more worldly matters at stake. With their thick walls, winding corridors, and shadowy alcoves, these architectonic spaces seemed not only to enable but also to encourage

"secret" meetings of "mixed" groups of Indians and Mestizos (along with other "idle people"), convergences that may have led directly to the riot. It was this political threat that caused Fray Antonio Girón, from the parish of Santa Cruz, to call the Indians "enemigos domesticos" (domestic enemies) and explicitly liken their migration into the city center to a military tactic: "Tenemos dentro de nosotros mismos muchos caballos griegos, que nos arrojen fuego, q̃ ponga en contingençia la permanençia de esta fidelisima ciu.ᵈ" (We have within us many Trojan horses, which rain fire on us, putting at risk the permanence of this most faithful city).[31] Echoing Sigüenza's language, for Girón the Indian has receded from the narrative of salvation and instead merits subjection to the permanent surveillance of a weaponized pastorate.

This profound anxiety about the migration of indigenous people to the city center was not entirely new. Although the laws referenced in the segregation informes date back to the second half of the sixteenth century, these are primarily concerned with residential separation in the countryside. The demographic decline of the indigenous population over the course of the sixteenth century corresponded to the gradual expansion of the perimeter of the traza into areas that originally had been designated as Indian. It is only in the second quarter of the seventeenth century that the opposite effect begins to show up in official statements.[32] In this sense, the informes reflect a change in what it meant to be Indian. Broadly speaking, in the sixteenth century the Indian was generally treated as fixed and tied to the community, at least to the extent that the original violence of congregation could be forgotten or erased. Much of the earlier legislation, for example, treated unregulated circulation (such as that of the vagabond/Mestizo) as a transitive problem, something that happened *to* Indian communities, but for the most part it treated the members of the communities themselves as immobile. By the late seventeenth century, in contrast, the Indian had become the protagonist of precisely this sort of unregulated circulation, at least in the context of Mexico City. The new set of attributes that the ministers ascribed to their parishioners—criminality, arrogance, insubordination, rebelliousness—were expressions of their increasing tendency to appear out of place.

Invisible or displaced, the Indian's "instability" was framed as a direct threat to the material reproduction of the sovereign order. On one hand, Indian tribute was viewed as critical to sustaining the bu-

reaucracy of the colonial state.[33] Núñez de Páez writes, for example, that it is becoming more difficult to collect "las cossas del seruicio de Su Mag.ᵈ y . . . sus tributos" (the things owed in service to His Majesty and . . . his tribute).[34] On the other hand, Indian labor built and maintained much of the city's infrastructure. Guridi thus observes that it is impossible to carry out critical tasks like "la limpia de las asequias, y otras funciones del bien de la Republica" (the cleaning of the canals, and other tasks in the interest of the Republic) without knowing where the Indians are living.[35]

In addition to the impact on the colonial state, the ministers' informes also highlight the effects of Indian mobility on ecclesiastical institutions. Echoing many of the other ministers, Barrera writes that the "principal daño" (principal harm) of the Indians living in the traza is the "extrabio" (loss) of revenue: "no solo diminucion en los tributos reales . . . mas tambien engaño en sus propias parroquias, baptizandose, enterrandose y lo q̃ mas es, casandose en agena Parroquia, de q̃ resultan muchas nulidades de sacramentos, comulgando en las parroquias de españoles los q̃ son meramente indios" (not only the decline of royal tribute . . . but also fraud in their own parishes, being baptized, buried, and worse yet, married in parishes to which they do not belong, causing many sacraments to be invalid, as when those who are truly Indians take communion in Spanish parishes).[36] According to Barrera, it is not only the state but also the parishes that are losing out on the revenue they rightfully deserve. Revealingly, the language he employs to characterize this loss is infrastructural—it is an *extravío*, a deviation from a path or road, or even from a place of residence or barrio.[37] The indigenous population is moving through urban space in unauthorized ways, abandoning the places to which it has been assigned by the temporal and spiritual authorities. To the ministers describing the situation, then, the social system designed to manage flows of certain kinds of people (Indians), resources (tribute and other fees), and ideas (Christianity and idolatry) seems to have collapsed.

Among the most essential components of Mexico City's spiritual infrastructure—the temporal foundations of spiritual authority—were the parish boundaries inscribed on the urban landscape and religious buildings such as churches, chapels, and convents. Matthew O'Hara calls these buildings the "institutional contact points" that anchored broader structures of administration, extraction, and subjectification in the lives of urban residents. Parishioners were obli-

gated to pass through their church at various moments, including major life events such as baptism and marriage as well as the yearly obligation of confession and communion. As I explain later, these activities served as an important mechanism by which the indigenous flock was documented and thus made legible to the authorities, but they also contributed to the economic stability of the parishes. Priests charged fees called *derechos* in exchange for many of the sacraments they performed for their parishioners, including baptism, marriage, and burial. Since these payments constituted an important source of revenue, tensions could easily materialize along the borders between parishes.[38]

It is in the context of such disputes that the explicitly racialized character of the pastoral system—its mechanisms of resource extraction and techniques of knowledge production—becomes clear. The spiritual geography of the city was organized on the basis of a "bipartite parish structure," such that Indians would attend parishes overseen by the regular clergy, while non-Indian parishes run by the secular clergy would receive everyone else.[39] The maps of Indian and non-Indian parishes did not line up with each other, however, but settled into a grid of uneven and overlapping jurisdictions calibrated by race. By going to Spanish parishes instead of their own, Barrera thus asserts, those who are "meramente," or truly Indians, are committing fraud.

This "meramente" is revealing. I have translated the word as "truly," but it also implies a simplification or reduction, a process that strips its object down to its bare essence or natural state. It marks the point at which truth is revealed. This reading resonates with Barrera's call, at the end of his informe, to "desnudar" (strip) the Indian as a complement to segregation. This is not a metaphor, since he is referring to the perceived role of clothing in facilitating the simultaneously spatial and racial "passing" of the Indian. But his use of this word also suggests a specific reading of the location of racial truth, which would seem to inhere in corporeal surfaces. What the call for segregation underscores, however, is precisely the recognition on the part of ministers like Barrera that, beneath the layers upon layers of deceitful surfaces to which the Indian's disappearance was attributed, the stable markers that might have anchored this identity were always already missing. Segregation's function, in other words, was not only to facilitate certain administrative procedures but also, and perhaps even more importantly, to stand in for this absence,

to serve, much like sumptuary laws, not to "strip" but precisely to "clothe" the Indian in the naturalizing folds of an artificial matrix of classification. It was infrastructure that anchored identity, rather than the other way around. The "disappearance" of the Indian, in other words, was, like the floods, a crisis of infrastructural collapse.

BETWEEN SOVEREIGNTY AND ECONOMY

The dazzling discourse of sovereign power produces its own mirror image, split between the monstrous body of the plebeian horde and the empty frame of the disappeared Indian. But this alone does not explain either migration to the traza or the riot itself. For the most part, the ministers make sense of these phenomena in predictably racialized terms, foregrounding claims of Indian criminality, idolatry, and disobedience. Some even echo Sigüenza's attribution of an "innate malice" against the Spaniards. But this rhetoric of paranoia and disgust does not quite drown out the faint outlines of another force that begins to take shape in the background. As noted earlier, Vetancurt's retrospective account of the riot describes an urban landscape that has effectively immunized Indians from sovereign power. Yet it is not only the built environment's material qualities that are responsible for this effect. He also underscores the fact that Indians are being protected by their patrons, "los dueños de las casas" (the owners of the houses), who, by failing to provide their "consent," are effectively obstructing the efforts of the authorities to search out, identify, and remove their escaped parishioners. What is taking place, in other words, is not so much the collapse of sovereignty as the rise of countersovereigns. The architecture of impunity has an owner, whose *dominium* has come into conflict with the *imperium* of the sovereign.[40]

According to Barrera, the invisibility of the Indian is intimately tied to the formation of these social and material relations:

> Por el respecto, q̃ se debe â algunas personas de autoridad, en cuyas cassas habitan, no podemos los curas conducirlos, â vn buzcandolos y sacandolos de dhas cassas, por estar fomentados los indios de semejantes personas, q̃ los retienen en sus cassas para seruirse de ellos, contraviniendo â las Leyes, q̃ Vexᵃ cita desta nueba recopilacion . . . amparandolos los españoles en sus cassas, escondiendolos debaxo de sus propios lechos, como lo tenemos experimentado. [Out of respect for certain people of authority, in whose houses (the Indians) live, we

priests are unable guide them ("conducirlos"), even if we try to find and remove them, because they are encouraged by these people, who retain them in their houses to take advantage of them ("para seruirse de ellos"), contravening the laws that Your Excellence cites from the *Recopilación* . . . protecting them in their houses, hiding them beneath their own beds, as we have seen.][41]

These Spanish property owners, notes Barrera obliquely, are "people of authority," and it is precisely this authority that prevents both the pastor from "guiding" his flock and the laws of the *Recopilación* from materializing as force. Coterminous with the architectonic folds of the house, however, this authority acts as not only an obstacle in a negative sense but also a magnetizing force in a positive sense, "encouraging" Indians to enter these apparently autonomous zones that have been carved into the built environment. In this respect, the question of visibility acquires more clarity, to the extent that the "disappearance" of the Indian is a direct consequence of the authority of their patron. Barrera conjures the intimate image of one of his "people of authority" hiding an Indian servant beneath his own bed. Here the Indian is not invisible—he is not wearing inappropriate (that is, non-Indian) clothing or hairstyles—but invested with the authority of his patron. Finally, the language Barrera uses to describe the economic relation between Spanish property owners and their Indian servants is revealing. The former draw the latter into their houses and hold them there, he writes, "para seruirse de ellos." While incorporating the language of service to describe the Indians' activity, the expression also evokes, much like the sixteenth-century missionary critique of the *encomienda*, a conflation of relative coercion (the Indians are "retained") and exploitation (they are "taken advantage of"). For the Franciscan, then, the problem is not labor as such—recall the ministers' concern over the negative influence of "gente ociossa" on the Indians—but an emergent set of social relations that directly "contravenes" the sovereign order and the image of the Indian that had been consolidated since the middle of the sixteenth century.

Echoing the comments of the Franciscans, the Augustinian Núñez de Páez describes the social relations of this emergent economy in greater detail. After asserting that those who have most resisted the clergy's attempts to "rescue" their parishioners are "los mismos españoles sus caseros, o sus mujeres o criados" (the Spaniards them-

selves, or their wives or servants), he zeroes in particularly on the role of Spanish women in consolidating these relations. The magnetizing pull that Barrera characterizes as an abstract or indirect "encouragement" here acquires a direct, material, and gendered force:

> Tambien de los Barrios los sacan los españoles: Porque sucede que las Mujeres, a título de compadrasgo o alquilandolos con el Dinero cada vna se lleva vn muchacho o muchacha para tener, quien les sirva, y alla les van criando a lo español con los criados y demas gente, y a ellos les Ponen medias y zapatos y a ellas sayas y los llevan a cumplir con la Yglessia a la cathedral y se van quedando allá para siempre y despoblandose los barrios. [The Spaniards also take them from their barrios, because it so happens that every Spanish woman, in exchange for *compadrazgo* or by hiring them with money, gets herself a boy or girl to have someone to serve her, and there they raise them in the Spanish manner with the servants and everyone else, and they give the boys leggings and shoes and the girls dresses and they take them for their yearly communion at the cathedral and they end up staying there forever and depopulating their districts.][42]

This passage clarifies two important features of the emergent urban economy and the role of the Indian within it. On one hand, economic relations are not only woven together with but also appear to occupy the same plane as kinship relations that are sacralized by the church. Núñez de Páez thus establishes what must have seemed an unsettling or even perverse parallel between the spiritual kinship of compadrazgo, on one hand, and the cash nexus, on the other.[43] The strength of these almost sacramental bonds underscores the difficulty of removing Indian workers from these situations. On the other hand, these economic relations are also expressed culturally. The force that pushes the Indians to adopt non-Indian clothing and customs is not internal, arising out of what Sigüenza calls the Indians' "innata malicia" against the Spaniards, but external, a product of a growing demand for unskilled labor. Yet these same external forces might also exercise a subjectifying effect and become naturalized on both the body and the embodied practices of the Indian worker.

Thus far, this emergent urban economy has taken a fetishized form, embedded in a specific set of architectonic structures and personified in the bodies of certain members of the propertied Spanish elite. This would seem to make it easier to contest—for example, by

granting priests like Núñez de Páez the right to enter Spanish homes to remove their parishioners, or for that matter by once again implementing segregation. Yet in the closing lines of his informe, the Augustinian perhaps unwittingly acknowledges that this economy extends beyond the walls of these mansions. After voicing his complete support for the viceroy's proposal to remove the Indians from the traza, he signs off as follows: "Los Yndios Panaderos, me Parece Señor Sera forcosso en la Ciudad administrarlos, donde estan Situadas las Panaderias porque Viuen dentro de ellas, o como Vuexᵃ Dispusiere, que siempre estoy muy obediente a sus ordenes Para el servicio de ambas Magestades" (It seems to me, my Lord, that the Indian bakers will have to remain in the City where the Bakeries are located, because that is where they live, or whatever Your Excellency should decide, as I am always most obedient to your commands in service of both Majesties).[44] Something had shifted even among those who most fervently supported segregation. The contradiction between sovereignty and economy even worked its way into the segregation order itself, which explicitly exempted Indians employed in the bakeries and in personal service—and these exemptions steadily expanded from 1692 on, gradually becoming the norm by the middle of the eighteenth century.[45] Sovereignty was hollowing itself out, codifying an urban economy that had emerged in the interstices between architecture and law.

BIOPOLITICS AND LEGIBILITY

We have seen how the ministers' reports begin to capture the contours of an emergent urban economy whose operations put it in contradiction with the sixteenth-century spatial order of sovereignty and segregation. The 1692 riot seemed to confirm the fact that a material shift had gradually taken shape since the early seventeenth century. Viewed in this light, the segregation strategy that is prominently advocated in the informes written by both Sigüenza and the ministers seems naive. Yet the ministers' interventions go beyond segregation alone—they also advance a supplementary technique designed not only to support segregation but also, and perhaps more importantly, to resolve the contradiction between sovereignty and economy. This technique—the *padrón* or ecclesiastical census—would play an important role in facilitating the reconfiguration of the spatial order of the city.

As discussed in chapter 1, Foucault argues that the core of modern governmentality can be traced back to early pastoral techniques that were consolidated and institutionalized under Christianity. This process occurred not through secularization—a straightforward transfer of ecclesiastical techniques to the state—but rather through the intensification of the pastoral both within and beyond the spheres where it had traditionally been deployed. Foucault provides only a brief historical sketch of the governmentalization of pastoral power, but he does highlight the centrality of the mendicant orders, particularly the Franciscans and Dominicans, given their primarily urban character (in contrast to the monastic orders) and detachment from the territorial structures of the church (such as parishes).[46] In colonial Mexico, however, the pastorate took on a specialized character. By the time of the conquest, the mendicant orders were viewed in opposition to the official church institutions, and Cortés famously requested Franciscan and Dominican missionaries rather than bureaucratic and corrupt diocesan officials.[47] The mendicants were thus at the center of the "spiritual conquest" of Mexico, not only prior to the 1570s during what is generally regarded as their "golden age" but continuing for another century and a half as well.[48] Moreover, the lack of established ecclesiastical structures and the immensity of the task at hand, as well as the ascription of a racialized vulnerability to the indigenous population, paved the way for papal authorization allowing the mendicants to both administer sacraments and oversee special parishes known as *doctrinas de indios*, activities that in Europe were generally reserved for the diocesan clergy under the authority of a bishop. In this respect, the colonial pastorate emerged as both a territorial and a racial project.

In the colonies, then, the individualizing power of the pastorate was always already totalizing as well to the extent that it was routed through the abstraction of race. This convergence is captured in pastoral instruments like the padrón, which served simultaneously to "know" individual (Indian) parishioners and to render the (Indian) flock legible to the colonial authorities. Let us return to Vetancurt's report. In response to the viceroy's request for a map of his parish, the Franciscan begins with a brief textual description of its "deslindes" (boundaries) in the form of a handful of well-known urban landmarks (the Convento de San Jerónimo, the Salto del Agua, and so on). After sketching out these contours, however, he moves on to define the population that inhabits—or to be more precise, *should* inhabit—

them: "Constan de quatro mil, ocho cientas, y nouenta personas, que tengo en Padronadas, Como consta de mi Padron" (They consist of four thousand, eight hundred, and ninety persons, whom I have recorded in my padrón).[49] Parish priests kept careful accounts in the form of baptismal, marriage, and burial records as well as regular padrones, commonly recorded at the time of the yearly obligation to confess and take communion at the parish church. The practice generated documentation that allowed both religious and civil authorities (to whom the documents were frequently turned over) to calculate such figures as the size of the tributary population and relative increases or decreases in that number.

Until now I have discussed only one type of document that formed part of the segregation papers, the informe. Yet these reports, importantly, were bundled together with a set of six padrones. Moreover, these were not ordinary padrones, like the one Vetancurt describes in his informe. Rather than assessing the parishioners living within the parish, the padrones turned instead to what had become the far more urgent question of tracking those who had left the parish and moved into the traza. As far as I have been able to tell, these are the first documents of their kind—tracking *only* those parishioners who had abandoned the jurisdiction overseen by the *ministros de doctrina*. Carried out by the ministers and later compiled by two officers of the Audiencia, Juan de Aréchaga and Juan de Padilla, each of these padrones takes the form of a sort of table that is further divided into boxes (figure 3.1). Each box, in turn, carries a label denoting a specific location—such as the house of a particular Spaniard, the name of a street, or an identifying landmark—and beneath that a list of names, most often clustered into family units, and sometimes a selection of other information such as occupation, marital status, and age. Scrolling along both sides of every page, furthermore, runs a tabulation of the number of "*familias*." Some of the padrones are more detailed than others, which may be a sign of the differences between the religious orders with regard to pastoral methods—the Franciscans, for example, may have been more attentive to such procedures and meticulous in their implementation than the Augustinians.[50] Taking up the overlapping problems of territory and population in new ways, these padrones explode the insular territory of the parish, tracking the flock even as it begins to wander beyond the edges of the pasture.

Consider one of the more detailed padrones, which corresponds to the San José parish that Vetancurt oversaw—he may very well have

Parrochia de San Joseph sita enel Convento de
San Francisco =
Memoria de los naturales que viuen en la ciu[dad]

Portal dela Cathedral
junto al Espadero.
Francisco Martin y Maria
mmana. Hija Getrudis de 7 años
Mathias dela Cruz, y Pasquala
Ximenez ___

En Cassa del Marquez
Manuel Domingo confitero
Casº Juana dela Encarnacion.
Hijos Melchora de 18 años
Antonia de 5. ___

Nicolas francisco Albañil
Con Ana dela Cruz = Hijos
Petronia de 18 años: Ma-
ria de 14 ___

Gregorio de los Sanctos y
Marta Maria ___

Enel Calleson de
Bilbao y Calle de la
Acequia Solar del
Señor Conde de Sⁿ Jiago

Miguel delos Angeles, agua-
dor Su muger Sebastiana de
la Trinidad = Hijos Mariana
de pecho ___
Juan Baptista Daniel
con Juana Maria ___
Miguel dela Cruz cargador
y Maria Graciana hijos Au-
gustin de Siete años The-
ressa de Pecho ___

Ju[an] Baptista A-
guador Con Nicolasa Ma-
ria hijos Luis de Baños
Bernaue de 10. Jouph de 2.
Juana de 4. ___
Augustin Mathias Carpin-
tero Con Maria Theresa hi-
jos Domingo de 3 años Ro-
que de Vno ___
Juana Maria Viuda
Diego Augustin Aguador
con Nicolasa Juanisca hi-
jos Lazaro de 2 años: Ma-
nuel de Vno ___
Phelipe de Santiago Leon
Con Melchora dela Cruz hi-
jos Petrona de 2 años Maria de
Siette años ___
Lazaro dela Cruz cargador
Con Augustina Juana hijos
Augustin de 12 años Luis
de 4: Juana de 2 fran de pecho ___
Diego de Santiago Agua-
dor y Petrona francisca hijos
Francisco de pecho ___
Juan Nicolas Capatero
Con Nicolasa delos Ange-
les hijos Bernaue de 14 años
Antonio de 12 ___
Antonio Xauier dorador con
Isabel dela Cruz hijos Manu-
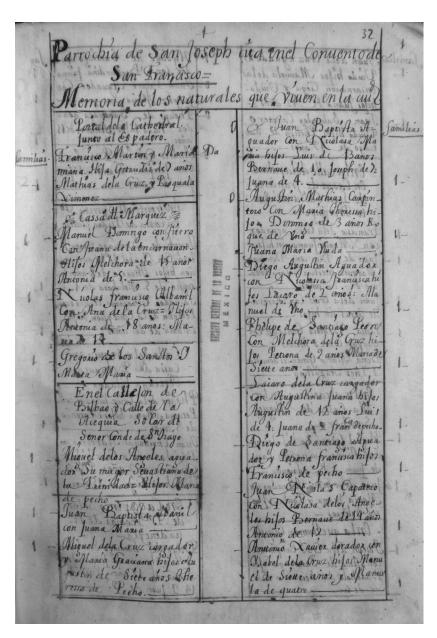el de Siette años y Manu-
ela de quatro ___

FIGURE 3.1. First page of the padrón of Indians from the parish of San José found living in the traza (1690?). Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City (*Historia* 413, fol. 32r). Photo by the author.

been the one who walked the streets of the traza, beginning in the central plaza and circling through its southwest quadrant, to record this information. Titled "Memoria de los naturales que viven en la ciud" (Account of the natives who live in the city), it unfolds over nine astonishingly detailed folio pages and captures a significant migration from the barrios to the traza—according to Natalia Silva Prada's calculations, nearly one-quarter of San José's total population was at the time living in the center of the city.[51] On the first page, for example, a box labeled "En el Callejon de Bilbao y calle de la acequia solar dl Senor Conde de Sⁿtiago" (On the Callejón de Bilbao and Calle de la Acequia, the yard belonging to the Conde de Santiago) lists thirteen family units. Among them are Miguel de la Cruz, a porter, with his wife María Graciana, and their children, Agustín, age seven, and Theressa, described as "de pecho" (of breast-feeding age); and Juan Baptista, a water carrier, with his wife Nicolasa María, and their children Luis, age thirteen, Bernavé, age ten, Joseph, age seven, and Juana, age four. A small notation in the margin next to each of these units marks their inclusion in the running count of the total number of families. Interestingly, the table also includes the name of a widow, Juana María, who does not figure into this calculation. This detail clarifies at least one of the uses to which the padrón could be put—namely, to calculate the tributary population and secure an important revenue stream for the colonial state. Recall that these padrones were initially recorded by the ministers but later compiled by the Audiencia's officials. Some of the padrones included less detail, but they all generated a set of data about an Indian flock that was no longer contained within the spiritual geography of the parish.[52] The "multiplicity in movement" was once again at the center of the pastoral gaze.[53]

We have seen how, just beneath the surface of their hyperbolic affirmations of criminality and contagion, the informes point to an emerging economic order rooted in the Spanish traza and dominated by Spanish property owners. The padrones capture the heterogeneity of this economy in far greater detail than was possible within the overdetermined generic structure of the informe. To return to the padrón from San José, the men in the thirteen family units are recorded as working in a variety of mostly unskilled vocations: there are five water carriers, two porters, two shoemakers, one carpenter, one gilder, one bricklayer, and one peon. Overall, about 40 percent of the men documented here worked as journeyman artisans, one-third

worked in transportation, and the rest were divided between construction, food production, and agriculture. Different parishes seem to have specialized in different sectors: most transportation workers came from San José, most construction workers from Santa María la Redonda, and most bakers from Santiago Tlatelolco. These workers probably received a wage but were also subjected to varying degrees of coercion—not the least of which was the continued obligation to pay tribute and perform a certain amount of forced labor (such as working on the city's canals).[54]

What is most significant about the padrones, however, is that they were produced in 1690–1691—at least a year *before* the riot took place. As Vetancurt notes in his informe, "Ya deseaban los Mrōs esta justa y zelosa Reducçion, pues el año passado de noventa, hizimos el Padron de los que vivian en la Ciudad" (The Ministers were already desiring this just and zealous concentration, since in the year 1690 we made the padrón of those who were living in the City).[55] Barrera makes a similar point in his informe, noting that at the beginning of the previous year all of the ministers had been asked to "empadron[ar] â todos los naturales, q̃ habitan las cassas de Españoles en la ciudad" (make padrones documenting all of the natives who are living in the houses of Spaniards in the city) and had carried out this request.[56] The fact that these records were created before the riot indicates that the dual specters of Indian mobility and parish depopulation were already a matter of concern for the clergy and for church institutions. Although the riot gave this project new political urgency, then its deployment should be understood not (or not only) as a counterinsurgency technique but as an emerging biopolitical modality for managing a racialized population that was no longer contained by the infrastructure of segregation.

A major tension thus runs through the bundle of documents that were tied to the segregation proposal.[57] On one hand, the informes foreground the invisibility and instability of the Indian, emphasizing the administrative and fiscal problems provoked by this disappearance for both the colonial state and the ecclesiastical institutions. The padrones, on the other hand, tell a very different story. In them, the Indian continues to be known and legible in spite of the centripetal pull of the urban economy and the resulting spatial displacement to the city center. The difference between these documents can be explained partly in terms of genre and timing. As rhetorical statements, the informes were intended to persuade the viceroy on pol-

icy matters and were written at a moment of shock immediately following the riot. In contrast, the padrones, which were initiated before the riot, were administrative tools designed for the mundane tasks of everyday population management. The informes speak the language of sovereignty; the padrones speak the language of biopolitics. It was the latter that would increasingly characterize the approach to racialized population control in the eighteenth century.

THE INDIAN AND THE PLEBE

Everyone supported segregation, but segregation, and the "purity" it entailed, meant different things to different people. For Sigüenza, as we have seen, it meant rearticulating "Spanishness" by expelling not only Indians but also non-Indian "others" from the republic of Spaniards. By doing so, the traza would come to ground the formation of an elite bloc defined by Spanish descent. Creoles and Peninsulares— or as he puts it, curiously in the mouths of the Indian rioters, "españoles y Gachupines (Son los Venidos de españa)" (Spaniards and Gachupines [the ones who have come from Spain])—would be united under the banner of racialized counterinsurgency and anchor a new political order in the hands of a Creole administration.[58]

Vetancurt's proposal takes the opposite form. He too calls for the Indians to be returned to their districts and parishes, but adds what is ostensibly the full text of a law containing an early articulation of the system of dual republics, originally issued in 1563 and included in book 6, title 3, law 21 of the *Recopilación*:

Prohibimos, y defendemos, que en las Reducciones, y Pueblos de los yndios, vivan negros, mulatos y mestizos, porque se ha experimentado son hombres inquietos, de mal vivir, ladrones, jugadores, viciossos y gente perdida, y por huir los yndios de ser agraviados, dejan sus Pueblos y Provin.ᵃˢ, y los negros, mestizos, y mulatos demas de tratarlos mal, se sirven de ellos, enseñan sus malas costumbres y ociosidad y tambien algunos errores y vicios, que podran estragar, y pervertir el fruto que deseamos en orden a su salvacion, augmento, y quietud. [We prohibit and ban Blacks, Mulattoes, and Mestizos from living in the Indian congregations and towns, because experience has shown that they are troubled men, disreputable, thieves, gamblers, depraved and lost, and in fleeing from harm, the Indians abandon their towns and provinces, and the Blacks, Mestizos, and Mulattoes in addition to

treating them poorly, take advantage of them, teach them their evil customs and idleness and also certain errors and vices, which could spoil the result that we desire in the service of their salvation, increase, and peace.][59]

This text conjures up a series of now-familiar tropes, including the figure of the pernicious, unproductive vagabond/Mestizo, now amalgamated with derivatives of blackness, as well as the vulnerable, mimetic Indian. According to this legislation, which was reissued five times between 1563 and 1600, the impure trinity of "Blacks, Mulattoes, and Mestizos" had a uniquely negative effect on the Indian population. Thus, in addition to expelling the Indians from the traza, Vetancurt calls for these "troubled men" to leave the barrios. He concludes his report with the following recommendation: "Sera conveniente, que los dhos negros, y mulatos salgan de los Barrios, y occupen el lugar que en la ciu.[d] occupan los yndios, y los yndios occupen el que dejan los negros, mulatos, y mestizos, en los Barrios" (It would be opportune for the Blacks and Mulattoes to leave the barrios and occupy the place in the city that the Indians currently occupy, and for the Indians to occupy the place that is left by the Blacks, Mulattoes, and Mestizos in the barrios).[60] Rather than relocating "Blacks, Mulattoes, and Mestizos" to the barrios to establish a zone of Spanish purity in the traza, as Sigüenza proposes, Vetancurt envisions relocating them to the traza to establish a zone of Indian purity in the barrios.

What distinguishes Vetancurt's move from the sixteenth-century precedents from the *Recopilación* is not only the intensification of population management, as the padrones suggest, but also the changing valence of salvation. In the prologue of *Teatro mexicano*, published six years after the riot, the Franciscan took it upon himself to justify writing yet another account of the natural, moral, military, and ecclesiastical history of New Spain. "Mucho se sabe hoy" (Much is known today), he declares, "que se ignoró ayer" (that was ignored yesterday). Here he echoes a common refrain in New World commentary regarding the ignorance of the "ancients" in such fields as geography and the "modern" skepticism according to which textual authority must be modified on the basis of empirical knowledge. Thus, writes Vetancurt, "añadiré en los antiguos lo que despues con la experiencia y curiosidad han investigado los modernos" (I will add to the Ancients what with experience and curiosity the Moderns have in-

vestigated since). But the Franciscan also employs this same trope in a very different context. In a revealing passage of the prologue, he reflects on his treatment of the Indian throughout the work and moves from there to consider the state of the missionary project at the end of the seventeenth century:

> En ocasiones volveré por los indios, siguiendo la piedad y deseos de nuestros reyes y supremo consejo de Indias, que cada dia con mas órdenes solicitan su bien, aumento, sosiego, quietud y descanso; y en otras diré lo que sintiere en su contra, porque con los muchos años de administracion he llegado á experimentar sus malicias, y que ya están con el trato de la gente plebeya que comunican muy distintos de lo que estaban en la primitiva de la conversion de las Indias. [At times I will turn to the Indians, following the piety and desires of our kings and supreme Council of the Indies, which each day through more decrees seek their welfare, growth, calm, peace, and relief; and at other times, I will say whatever I might feel against them, because over many years of administration I have come to experience their malice, and they are now, owing to their interactions with the plebeian people, very different than they were in the early years of evangelization in the Indies.][61]

The sixteenth-century crisis of evangelization had by the seventeenth century been normalized, worked into the everyday operations of a colonial project of spiritual and temporal administration. Vetancurt is not especially optimistic about the prospects of evangelization. What is most interesting here is the distinction between this position and the disenchantment of his Franciscan predecessors like Bernardino de Sahagún. Although the passage initially seems to reproduce Sahagún's claim that what the early missionaries had viewed as success was in fact a naive misreading of the situation—a consequence of what I have called the "racial baroque"—Vetancurt instead seems to suggest that these successes may have been real. Something had changed since the early days of apostolic fervor, but it was not at the level of interpretation. Rather, it was something about the nature of the Indians, a shift that was tied to the spatial distribution of the population and triggered specifically by the Indians' contact with these "plebeian people." The collapse of the spatial order of segregation on which colonialism was based had generated new forms of circulation and proximities and by doing so remade the in-

digenous flock, even to the point of taking the possibility of full conversion off the table. What remained was something closer to a permanent regime of spiritual and temporal tutelage, a stopgap measure that might hold apostasy (not to mention political crisis) at bay. It is not entirely clear from the passage whether Vetancurt believed that once again separating the Indians would even be enough to undo the damage that had already been done.

What is clear, however, is the value of not only separating but more importantly disarticulating the Indian from the collective body of the "plebeian people," that is, from the category of the Plebe, whose meaning, as we have seen, was still unclear in the late seventeenth century. In Europe, Plebe meant "poor," but in Mexico it signaled "mixture." Sigüenza's much-cited formulation from his account of the riot reflects this disjuncture between the metropole and the colonies:

> Preguntarame Vmd como se portó la pleue en aqueste tiempo y respondo brevemente que bien y mal bien por que, siendo pleue tan en extremo pleue q̃ solo ella lo puede sser de la que se reputtare la mas infame, y lo es de ttodas las pleues por componerse de indios, de negros criollos y vosales de diferentes naciones, de chinos, de mulattos, de moriscos, de mestissos, de sambaigos, de lobos y tambien de españoles que, en declarandose saramullos (que es lo mismo que pícaros, chulos y arreuata capas) y degenerando de su obligaciones, son los peores entre tan ruin canalla. [Your Grace will ask me how the Plebe behaved during this time and I will respond briefly: well and poorly. Well, because it is such an extremely plebeian Plebe that it and only it has come to be reputed as the most infamous of all the Plebes because it is composed of Indians, of Creole and African Blacks of different nations, of Chinos, of Mulattoes, of Moriscos, of Mestizos, of Zambaigos, of Lobos, and also of Spaniards who, declaring themselves Zaramullos (which is the same as rogues, rascals, and capesnatchers) and abandoning their obligations, are the worst among such a contemptible rabble.][62]

It is important here to clarify that Sigüenza's account was written not in an administrative document, like the informes, but in a letter to a friend in Spain, Admiral Andrés de Pez. Still, it was intended for publication—Sigüenza himself suggests as much in the closing paragraph—and written for a Spanish audience.[63] For this reason, the

text is filled with moments of translation directed toward an audience potentially unfamiliar with the details of everyday life in New Spain. We have already seen Sigüenza parenthetically explain the word *gachupín* for a metropolitan audience; elsewhere he includes another awkwardly unnecessary parenthesis defining the word *tortilla*—"ya sabe Vmd que asi se nombra el pan de mais por aquestas parttes" (Your Grace already knows that this is what the bread made from corn is called in these parts).[64] I would suggest that the description of the Plebe serves a similar function. The Mexican Plebe is irreducible to its European counterpart, and this excess, which makes it the most "plebeian" of all possible Plebes, is precisely its doubly racialized mixture—it contains both many different "races" and many "mixed-race" bodies. This Plebe, moreover, cannot be redeemed and serves only to fill out the ranks of the insurrection or ruin the natural innocence of the Indian.

Colonial elites would continue to draw on this emergent discourse of surplus population, which linked notions of impurity to infrastructural breakdown, well into the next century. In the instructions left for his successor in 1755, for example, the Viceroy Conde de Revillagigedo notes the dangers of the "impure" masses and, echoing the language Sigüenza had applied to the Indian in his informe, describes them as an "abultado cuerpo" (enormous body) that, overcoming its natural fear of the authorities, "pudo sacar la cabeza en el tumulto del año de 1692, clamando contra el gobierno por la escasez y carestía del maíz" (showed its face during the riot of 1692, clamoring against the government because of the scarcity and shortage of corn).[65] The location of the threat to the social order had shifted from the Indian to the Plebe.

Sigüenza places Indians first on the list of the members of the "contemptible rabble" that made up the Plebe, but their inclusion was to some extent an open question. The statement by the Real Acuerdo that set the segregation project in motion signals a different view of the relation between the Indian and the Plebe. As we have seen, it begins by citing a juridical precedent for congregation from the *Recopilación* and goes on to affirm that enforcing this law is now an urgent matter, owing to "el deplorable estrago que cometieron los yndios unidos a la ynfima plebe su semejante" (the deplorable destruction committed by the Indians united with the vile Plebe, its likeness).[66] Here the Indians are like and near, but not quite of, the Plebe.

This is where Vetancurt comes in. His segregation proposal consti-

tutes an attempt to cut short this budding "union" by grounding it in the built environment—race continues to be conceptualized primarily in infrastructural terms. But beyond this major strategy of segregation elaborated in the informes, Vetancurt and the other ministers also lay out a minor strategy of population management in the padrones. Against the "disappearing Indian" in the former, the latter generates a detailed and highly individualized image of the Indian body as both detached from its traditional ecclesiastical jurisdiction—uprooted from the space that previously served to render it legible as Indian—and at the same time distinguished from the human masses of the traza. Population data seemed to offer the possibility of concentration without segregation, racialization and extraction without separation. For Vetancurt, writing at the end of the seventeenth century, salvation was no longer strictly a spiritual question but also an intensely temporal one, deeply interwoven with the conditions of possibility for the everyday operations of key colonial institutions— from the flows of tribute that supported the colonial bureaucracy and the forced labor that was supposed to enable proper flood control to the "spiritual capital" on which the religious orders depended.[67]

CONCLUSION

On July 10, the viceroy issued an order to move forward with the segregation of the city. All Indians inhabiting the zone circumscribed by Sigüenza's path—except for those working in the bakeries or in personal service, as noted earlier—would be given twenty days to move back to their districts, after which time any transgressor would be sentenced to 200 lashes and six years' hard labor in the *obrajes* (textile factories). Any person offering living quarters within the Spanish traza to an Indian would be punished with a fine of 100 pesos and two years of exile from Mexico City. The new law would be publicized by the enthusiastic parish priests and officials of the republic of Indians, using the "lengua Bulgar" (common language) to ensure that no one could feign ignorance of the new requirement.[68] The policy had a rapid impact, and colonial administrators scrambled to figure out how best to reallocate housing and property to those returning to the barrios. Work done primarily by Indian laborers in the city center came to a temporary halt. Yet the urban economy had not been dismantled, and the contradiction that had generated the centripetal flow from the districts to the center remained unresolved.[69]

For many historians, it has become something of an article of faith that what best explains the failure of segregation is the process of mestizaje. An early and influential article published in 1938 by a young Edmundo O'Gorman set out a path that has for the most part been followed by scholars ever since. Based largely on a collection of documents he had located at the Archivo General de la Nación, and of which he had published a selection earlier that same year—precisely the informes I have examined in this chapter—the Mexican historian argues that the Spanish colonial project was predicated on a Hegelian dialectic: namely, that the foundational "principle of separation" designed to facilitate the integration of the indigenous population into Christianity and Western culture would, if successful, end up canceling out its raison d'être, leaving behind the hard, empty shell of the built environment that no longer reflected the social order that had emerged. O'Gorman thus explains the results of the segregation order given in the wake of the 1692 riot:

> No he podido averiguar la observancia que se dió a esta disposición: es probable que en un principio se ejecutara, pero lo importante para nosotros es llamar la atención a que, como todas las leyes que contrarían las costumbres y necesidades vitales, pronto debió caer en desuso como lo demuestran hechos posteriores. Fué una ilusión creer que una simple línea más imaginaria que real, fuera suficiente para evitar la unión de dos pueblos vecinos de una misma ciudad. [I have not been able to figure out the degree to which this disposition was observed: it is probable that it was followed at first, but what is important here is to call attention to the fact that, like all laws that contradict customs and vital needs, it must have quickly fallen into disuse, as later events demonstrate. It was an illusion to believe that a simple line, more imaginary than real, would be sufficient to prevent the union of two peoples living together in a single city.][70]

In spite (or perhaps because) of the acknowledged lack of evidence, O'Gorman's thesis has proved to be highly influential over the years.[71] In it we perceive the demographic narrative of salvation that would be codified—right around the time O'Gorman was writing—by the postrevolutionary Mexican state. But there is also a striking parallel between the figure of the Mestizo in the official ideology of the Mexican state and the corresponding figure of the Plebe for its colonial predecessor. Both represent collective bodies racially defined by "mixture"

and therefore in opposition to "purity"; both elaborate a notion of homogeneity based on and encompassing radical heterogeneity; and both are ideological projects that serve to affirm the state apparatus as the key mediator of this product of a demographic drive internal to the population. Equally analogous is the place of the Indian with regard to both the late colonial Plebe and the post-revolutionary Mestizo. On one hand, both bodies are constituted through the absorption of the Indian; on the other, neither is capable of entirely assimilating the Indian. No doubt, there is an important difference with regard to the moral valence ascribed to either object—the Mestizo stands for progress and hope, the Plebe for degeneration and ruin—but in structural terms the two categories are analogous. We might say that the first systematic theory of mestizaje was forged in the colonial state's response to the 1692 riot.

Ultimately, mestizaje as such cannot explain the collapse of the infrastructure of segregation, since the urban economy that drew peripheral workers into the traza continued to be organized along racial lines. But mestizaje also fails to account for the architectures and techniques that replaced the segregated spatial order. By firmly establishing at the center of the political imaginary the notion that the sixteenth-century infrastructure of racial segregation was, much like the city's hydraulic systems, crumbling and ineffective, the segregation proposals, and especially the ministers' interventions, set in motion a spatial reordering that would unfold over the course of the next century. As a result, the city's segregated grid would be replaced without abandoning concentration as a governing technique—a sort of concentration without segregation. On one hand, plans to install a new policing structure on the basis of administrative districts known as *cuarteles* or wards began to appear as early as 1696, as a direct response to the riot. Ward officials would monitor residents extensively, borrowing the ministers' techniques and meticulously recording the name, racial classification, marital status, employment, assets, address, and gender of each resident in account book–like registers. Policing became significantly more active and aggressive, and the number of arrests skyrocketed. This reformed repressive apparatus reflected Bourbon notions of governance, above all "the imperative to attack the vices of the populace not simply on moral grounds, but primarily for economic and utilitarian reasons."[72]

On the other hand, the ministers' complaints about the migration of their parishioners to the traza and their ongoing disputes over ju-

risdiction served as one of the major justifications for the so-called secularization of parishes in the mid-eighteenth century. The city's complicated and racially segregated "bipartite parish structure" was replaced with a single grid according to which all residents would belong to the parish in which they lived, regardless of race. By no means did this shift signify an overcoming of racial hierarchy or differentiation, as priests were still required to keep separate baptismal, marriage, and burial records for Indians and non-Indians.[73] With the replication and expansion of the techniques that were deployed in the ministers' padrones, the Indian remained legible even within the plebeian multitude.

It was yet another Creole intellectual who drafted the plan for parish secularization. Following in the footsteps of Sigüenza and the Indian ministers three-quarters of a century earlier, José Antonio Alzate examined topographical images and took to the streets himself in order to rationalize the spiritual terrain of the city. Beyond the clear analogy, it seems that Alzate specifically drew on the reports that had been prepared for the segregation project, including, as the art historian Barbara Mundy notes, a map of the city made by Sigüenza. The influence of Sigüenza's maps of the valley of Mexico and New Spain on Alzate's work is well known, but it is not clear how those images would have helped him craft a detailed city plan. Mundy speculates that Sigüenza may have produced a map of Mexico City to accompany his segregation proposal, and that this was the map that had come into Alzate's hands: "Sigüenza's means for achieving social order in the city was diametrically opposed to those of Alzate's 1769 plan: instead of integrating the different castes of [the] city through their geographic location, he aimed to separate them completely. The end goal was the same, however, in that correct assignment of people and arrangement of places was seen as key to achieving greater urban harmony, and perhaps Sigüenza used a city plan to show his proposal, which Alzate then inherited."[74] Whether the map to which Alzate referred was a graphic image, as Mundy proposes, or the textual itinerary that formed part of the segregation proposal itself, the details are less important than the genealogy. The rationalization of urban space and the dispersion of pastoral techniques may have indicated that segregation had entered into decline, but concentration was now reconfigured on the basis of a police regime that would continue to view and manage the social order through the spatial order.