

Mexico 1521-1555: Institutional Monogamy, Royal Polygamy. Cultural Frictions Regarding Marriage

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Abstract

This paper discusses the differences between rules and practices regarding the marriage during the Spanish Conquest, 1521-1555. In this period, monogamy was imposed by the new power structures. However, in practice illegal male polygamy was accepted while monogamy was established for women and for the vanquished, who were stigmatized from Christian conceptions and regulations.

Keywords: monogamy, polygamy, cultural formations, Mexico's Conquest.

Introduction

During Mexico's Conquest the differences among Europeans and indigenous regarding marriage became evident. The conflict came into being both in practice and by the reluctance to adopt the Spanish legal and religious regulations. The antagonism around the human reproduction had its origin in the fact that natives considered polygamy as normal, legal and legitimate. It was part of Pre-Hispanic regulations. On the other side, among Europeans monogamy was institutionalized both in civil and religious spheres, it was legal despite it wasn't exercised. Marriage was linked with property and inheritance concepts, irrelevant notions among Pre-Hispanic society. For Spaniards, the possibility of getting married for more than time was a criminal conduct. However, in practice monogamous marriage was not common among males; the usual conduct was polygamy under illegality, without complying with civil and cannon laws. Legitimate marriage was linked directly with property and its transference; it was an explicit contract regarding property rights and dowries. Therefore, illegal descendants hardly could claim inheritance rights. The double moral in the Spanish marriage was explicit and legally recognized by civilians and religious people, whom in not little cases practiced marital life despite its prohibition. Consequently, the Euro-Christian legality concept differed from the one in the New World. For Europeans, monogamy was established legally and legitimately, without actually limiting extramarital relations, while in the Pre-Hispanic life regulations were completely fulfilled. The transition process among old and new customs began with the establishment of new institutional and power relations. Since that moment, the legal existence of polygamous relations and prostitution houses was fought wherever it was possible, for its legality rather than for its own existence.

This stance affected more the indigenous elites than the Spanish ones, because their acts were not limited by the legitimate and legal but by the possible consequences. So, even though they were the same, Pre-Hispanic customs were not similar in the eyes of Spanish religious since extra-marital relations were illegal for them. The article has three parts. The first one is divided in two sections in order to address the cultural confrontation regarding marital relations during the Conquest, its legal nature and traditional for both societies, as well as the way in which the new power group solved the antagonism. The result of these complex marital relations was the miscegenation. The second and third parts describe the reproduction relations among indigenous and Spaniards respectively, at the Conquest.

Based upon the comparison between Mesoamerican and European cultures, it is concluded that the Conquest was an occupation act that was transformed into a spiritual invasion and a power exercise with sexual and reproductive goals. It is noted that since it, a social mix that adapted the rules generating a cultural syncretism has prevailed. Although in an illegal way, the male polygamous behavior was upheld by the new power structures, also women and the defeated were morally rated based upon the stigmatization imposed by Catholics.

1. Cultural confrontation and reproductive problems during the consolidation period of Colonial power

Species reproduction requires sexual relations. As different cultures advanced, such relations produced various institutions. To analyze marriage forms implies several problems because it is necessary to pass from territorial rights to specific property and inheritance. When considering the characteristics of marriage from different culturally societies, such as Mesoamerica and European, the differences regarding the concepts of property and ownership must be comprehended. Property concept is not the same as ownership since the latter implies the notion of collectivity. The problem linked with ownership is characterized for establishing inter-temporal transition rules for property rights and power; such was done in many human societies based upon the specialization aimed to increasing material reproduction and the accumulation incentive, widening the organized defense capacity within government systems. Through time property forms were specified, production rights and government and tributes rights, source of wealth and surplus accumulation (Miranda González, 1962; Lockhart, 1992; López Austin, 1996; Castillo, 1984; Mendieta y Núñez, 2009).

For Pre-Hispanic society property concept was less relevant for its personal nature. The membership sense to the *calpulli* was most important than possessing some physical space.¹ Monogamy and polygamy concepts were linked with the idea of collectivity protection and security. While analyzing the prevailing situation in Pre-Hispanic society, it can be found that the predominance of tribal sense over territorial property. The basic unit was the *calpulli*, from where the right of having a territory was exercised, as well as the ones for its exploitation and for reproduction. Distribution and access norms were differentiated in the context of a specialized community on agriculture and war.² In the territorial sphere the reproductive customs were developed linked with the economic and power relations, as well with the prevalent social differentiation. Among *macehuales* the monogamous relations prevailed, among governing elites the polygamy.³ For the Europeans private property and inheritance relations were linked with marriage legal aspects. The existence, or coexistence, of monogamy and polygamy in a social organization system had sense because it consolidated the lineage's patriarchal line through the patrimony dispositions among heirs. After the confrontation between Europeans and the *Mexica* Empire, the latter's defeat implied the change in social norms, among those were the ones relative to marriage and family. The change was slow paced by means of the formation of new cultural conducts of syncretic nature.

1.1 Cultural confrontation problems regarding reproductive customs

Customs became evident in the inhabitants' daily life of a specific territory. When a social group conquers and establishes its dominance over another, the synergetic customs are built by practice.

¹ The *calpulli* was the Pre-Hispanic organization unit, it regulated economic and social productive and reproductive relations.

² Collectivity prevailed in terms of resources possession, a collectivity that wasn't among equals but strictly stratified, and decision power over land use and its benefits resided in the *pipiltin* collective rather than in the *macehualtin*, that is, a verticality power was exercised.

The *pipiltin* (plural for *pillil*) were Pre-Hispanic society's elite. Since the Conquest this term was translated as Lords in reference with the feudal lord concept of European structures.

The *macehualtin* (plural for *macehualli*) were common persons in the social Pre-Hispanic order, the Spaniard equivalent for such period is *vasallo*.

³ *Macehuales* is the generalized term used for the common people of indigenous society.

Among the cultural conflicts expressed during the Conquest, there is the one regarding sexuality exercise. For Christians the ethic norm was contained in the 6th commandment, you shall not fornicate. The Church institutionalized in the Occident included it as a sacramental ritual, the marriage yoked by an ecclesiastic authority. Christians based their moral codes in San Pablo's epistles, regarding the sexual life in the *First Letter to the Corinthians*. This stoic apostle's reasoning was as follows. Christians are the members of Christ's mystical body. Fornication is the worst sin because it implies the prostitution of such body.⁴ The ideal state of man is to abstain of any sexual relation, but if the continence is too harsh, the only way not to sin is to marry once for the duration of worldly life, although it entails as evil that the married ones would be preoccupied for worldly affairs rather than devote their existence to be in the Lord's grace. San Pablo stressed out in his epistle women inferiority regarding men. He argued that they were inferior because God created man at his image and likeness, while woman was product of an Adam's rib and her reason is to keep him company.⁵ These moral conceptions were reason enough for lust being considered among the capital sins, source of vices and evil. For this reason, since the 5th Century the devil was represented as a male goat, effigy of the ancient Greece god Pan, nature, fertility and sexuality deity.

Based in this cultural context, bigamy and incest were crimes persecuted by the Spanish Inquisition. This is the reason why Spanish society proclaimed monogamy, despite it wasn't practiced while abhorring incest and divorce was not accepted. On the other side, among indigenous lust was not a sin. Fray Bernardino de Sahagún registered so in his *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, moreover, there was *Tlazoltéotl* goddess of sexuality whom was worshiped and honored. Reproduction was conceived as a satisfaction, a chance that made more bearable a life full of adversity and responsibilities.⁶ In their value structure to honor deities and work were privileged; ingratitude, affronts and adultery were transgressions. Polygamy, incest and divorce as moral practices were accepted for the higher members of Pre-Hispanic society, as it has been argued before.

1.2 Solution for the cultural conflict

When religious faced the problem of polygamy being a socially accepted practice, they began a series of debates regarding the existence of the marriage institution. The friars who carried out missionary work alleged that there was indeed marriage since indigenous performed an special ceremony to get married. Once established that indigenous had a marriage link prior to the Conquest, they started to discern the matter of how transform it from polygamous to monogamous. The doubt was consulted with the Pope. The Supreme Pontiff emitted a papal bull resolving that indigenous married with several women should recognize the first spouse as the legitimate one, in the case of not remembering which one was the first they could choose as they pleased (Mendieta, 1933). The discussion once again shows the different cultural horizons of both cultures.

Indigenous had to adjust their practices to the moral imposed by the new dominant group. Monogamy was imposed as an ethic norm, although in real life Spaniards accepted as natural to maintain relations with slaves or with women they were not married to, they even recognized children born outside marriage. This was one of the critics expressed by Don Carlos Chichimecatecutli –son of Nezahualpilli and great-son of Nezahualcōyotl–, who was sentenced to die in the bonfire by the Apostolic Inquisitor fray Juan de Zumárraga in 1539. The born in Texcoco asked his relatives why friars were opposed to them having many women while it was allowed to Spaniards.

⁴6:13 [...] but the body is not for sexual immorality, but for the Lord; and the Lord for the body. [...] 6:15 don't you know that your bodies are members of Christ? Shall I then take the members of Christ, and make them members of a prostitute? May it never be! 6:16 or don't you know that he who is joined to a prostitute is one body? For, "The two," says he "will become one flesh." [...] 6:18 Flee sexual immorality! "Every sin that a man does is outside the body," but he who commits sexual immorality sins against his own body." Saint Paul, *First Letter to the Corinthians*, 6:13-6:18.

⁵[...] 11:3 But I would have you know that the head of every man is Christ, and the head of the woman is the man, and the head of Christ is God.[...]11:7For a man indeed ought not to have his head covered, because he is the image and glory of God, but the woman is the glory of the man. 11:8 for man is not from woman, but woman from man; 11:9 for neither was man created for the woman, but woman for the man." *Ibid*, 11:3-11:9.

⁶"He gave us the trade of generation which is the one that allow us to multiply in the world. All this things give some joy to our life for a small space so we don't afflict with continuous mourns and sorrows". Bernardino de Sahagún, fray, *Historia general de las cosas*, l. VI, cap. XVIII, p. 366.

"Dionostambién el oficio de la generación con quenostmultiplicamos en el mundo. Todasestascosasdanalgúncontento a nuestravidaporpocoespacioparaque no nosaflijamos con continuoslloros y tristezas".

Another of the cultural problems that underlined the different conceptions regarding sexuality was how women were valued. In the theological discussions about indigenous marriage, in no moment it was considered the possibility of women being able of making their own choices. The best case scenario was that the indigenous male decided with which woman he would like to keep going a monogamous relation, without taking into account said woman's opinion. In other cases, authorities made the decision. For instance, in the Inquisition process led by fray Juan de Zumárraga in 1853 against Francisco, Coyoacán indigenous, for bigamy, both wives were deposed and based on their declarations it was ruled that he would live with the first wife and never see again the second one, who was pregnant at the moment.

The miscegenation was the consequence of complex reproduction relations. But during the period of Spanish dominance it wasn't easy to be of mixed race. This ethnic group was one of outcasts, without rights or membership to the indigenous Republic, neither to the Spaniards one; they didn't have identity, weren't integrated to any community and had few job options. They started to wander through the cities and to live doing whatever they could: longshoremen, water carriers, beggars, petty thieves, vagrants. They were a displaced and denied group, without possibility to access any institution.

2. Human reproduction relations among indigenous in the moment of the Conquest

In Pre-Hispanic society, *calpulli* was the fundamental core that regulated economic and social relations, among the latter there are the ones regarding species reproduction. For this reason it's essential to understand this production unit organization. López Asutin (1996) specified clearly its characteristics:

1. The cosmos was the ideological base of organization, so every individual had a place in space and time.
2. The *calpulli* occupied a well-demarcated physical space.
3. It was a unit in the administrative, judicial and military spheres, as well as regarding tribute responsibilities and in the ritual and economic participations, and the centralized cult ceremonies.
4. It was a defense unit both militarily and politically.
5. The *calpulli* had its own government that distributed lands and administered temples and justice. The government was occupied by a civil servant of certain lineage and an elders' collegiate corp.
6. The *calpulli* could separate from the larger political unit and incorporate to a different one.
7. Land property was communal. Leaders distributed it among the members that requested so. The family that was assigned with certain land had the obligation of constantly cultivate it, if not it was reassigned to another family. There was also the possibility of leasing land; the incomes obtained were used for communal expenses.
8. *Calpulli* members were linked via kinship or friendship relations, recognized a common mythic ascendance and maintained a high cooperation degree. They were relatively equals, but direction appointments were concentrated on certain lineages.
9. *Calpulli* inhabitants satisfied daily necessities. In this space work was organized for agriculture, having clothes and house building. Also, they mastered other or some specialized trades such as selling water, *pulque* manufacturing, mat weaving, rock carving, gold objects manufacturing, medicine, commerce and fishing, among others.
10. There was a strong tendency towards endogamy relations.

The *calputéotl* was *calpulli*'s guardian god. Its members were considered descendant of the community's guardian god, from which life, health and reproductive capacity were dependent. Such god gave them lands and techniques in order to perform their specialized trade. Each *calpulli* had its own priests, who also were political and military leaders.

Women outstandingly participated in economic activities of core family: they administered the home, contributed to agriculture labors and produced goods for trade and tribute. Sons had an authority status attending to their age. The older ones were respected because they had technical and ideological knowledge indispensable for the group preservation, political and moral society control resided in them (López Austin, 1996). When they turned 52 years old, they were exempted of communal obligations. These obligations were distributed equally among population without disregarding family activities. Reproductive relations were performed both in the cosmogonique and economic, political and social relations –based on the *calpulli*– domains. The characteristics that can be deduced from a series of cases found in the *Archivo General de la Nación* (Nation's General Archive) and from the information given by the religious so called *Indias* chroniclers are:

1. **Institutions.** There were jurisdictions that authorized cohabitation, marriage or divorce of a couple.
2. **Polygamy.** The restriction for the number of women that made a married life with a man was his economic capacity. For this reason, *pipiltin* were the ones with more than one woman. *Macehualtin* in general had only one woman and a more frugal sexual life.⁷
3. **Endogamy.** There were no restrictions regarding the kinship degree among married couples.
4. **Patriarchal.** Married women moved to their husband's house. Generally, married men and women were members of the same *calpulli*, if not, women integrated to the men's *calpulli*.
5. **Well-defined spaces.** Men and women accommodations were separated in the family house.
6. **Work division.** Men were prepared for war, they executed all labors involving the use of physical force or leaving the *calpulli* for reasonably long periods (war, commerce, construction, materials transportation, *chinampa's* maintenance, communal constructions, canoe fabrication, fishing).⁸ Women carried on agriculture, animal breeding, raising children, food preparation, spin and weaving labors, tribute collection.
7. **Violence.** Family relations took place in violent environments. This is a contemporary view because violence was common in their daily life.
8. **Abortion.** It was a recurrent practice, especially when *pipiltin's* maids were pregnant by a principal.

3. Species reproduction relations among Spaniards

Conquest period, between 1521-1555, must be understood as the beginning of the so called modernity for the European cultural horizon. This change implied, both for indigenous and for Spaniards, reformulating the conceptions about the world, life and social and economic relations.

The Catholic kings, particularly Isabel de Castilla, opened the way to a new era. Discoveries transformed Europe. Hispanic kingdoms union under Aragón and Castilla aegis modified the relations with nobility as well. Former kingdoms and fiefdoms required a legal restructuring in order to maintain privileges and prerogatives. This restructuring influenced a set of legal reforms that changed Spanish nobility relations as well as persistent reproductive relations in Castilian law under forms more aligned with Roman family law. The laws promulgated in Toro City in 1505 institutionalized such reforms.

The characteristics established by the so called *Laws of Toro* are:

1. Institutions. Church was in charge of legitimizing marriage.
2. Monogamy. Monogamous marriage was the only one legitimate. Polygamy was a generalized practice in Hispanic society, especially among men, which –in some way– was institutionalized before these laws.
3. Patrimonial. Legitimate marriage is defined as a goods contract established among parents' party. These laws regulated the terms for such contracts, amounts, inheritances, dowries and penalties for breaking it. If the son married under the Church without father's consent, it was considered a clandestine marriage.

⁷ [...] it was found that the ordinary of vulgar and poor people didn't have or have had taken buy only one woman, and there were several that lived together thirty, forty and fifty and more years carrying one a marital life, as who had get truly and legitimate married, and this gave a clear sign of what was between them, rather than the lords and *principales*, as powerful people, exceeded the limits of marriage use, taking after others, the ones that they liked. With this modesty, the prudent ministers didn't want to admit into this sacrament those who had many women, but by a thorough examination and inquiry regarding if they married with any or several with fond of marriage". Gerónimo de Mendieta, *Historiaeclesiásticaindiana*, 301.

The *principales* were the members of social structure elites.

Gerónimo de Mendieta menciona: "se hallabaque el común de la gente vulgar y pobre no tenian ni habitando sino sola una mujer, y mucho había que moraban juntos treinta y cuarenta y cincuenta y mas años haciendoviuda maridable, como quien había contraído verdadero y legítimomatrimonio, y estodabaclaro indicio de que lo había entre ellos, sino que los señores y principales, como poderosos, excederían los límites del uso matrimonial, tomados después otras, las que se les antojaba. Con esterecato, los prudentes ministros no quisieron admitir a la recepción de este sacramento á los tales que estaban cargados de muchas mujeres, si no fuese con estrecho examen y averiguación de si con alguna ó algunas de ellas habían contraído con afecto maridable", *op. cit.*, p. 301.

⁸ The *chinampas* were an efficient farming method developed in Pre-Hispanic America. In body waters, such as the Great Lake of Mexico, piles were anchored in the bottom at regular distances in order to build wood and dirt terraces for which elevated to the surface. This expansion land was used for cultivating vegetables and flowers.

4. The consequence of such action was losing inheritance, the priest and witnesses that endorsed the marriage were imposed penalties as well.⁹
5. Affiliation right. Sons were classified as product of institutionalized marriages or of extra marital relations.¹⁰ Birth register began to be done in such terms: legitimate, naturals, *adulterinos*, *manceres* or spurious.¹¹
6. Social stratification. Patrimonial and affiliation characteristics influenced holding Spaniard nobility states and privileges.
7. Patriarchal. Women were under the father of husband guardianship.¹²
8. Violence. Social relations in general and familiar ones in particular, took place in violent environments as part of their daily life.

⁹ “We command that the one that got into a marriage with a woman considered as clandestine by the Church, for the same fact he and the ones that intervened in it, and the witnesses of such marriage, are to loose all their goods, and to be submitted to our Chamber and Treasury, and be exiled from our kingdoms, to where they cannot reenter under death penalty, and that this is just cause for the parents to disinherit their daughters who got into such marriage, which only can be demanded by the father or the mother after the father has passed.” *Laws of Toro, Law 38*,

“Mandamosque el quecontraxiesematrimonioque la iglesiatiuviereporclandestino con algunamujer, por el mismofechoél y los que en ellointervinieren, y los que de talmatrimoniofuerentestigos, incurran en perdimiento de todossusbienes, y seanaplicados a nuestracámara y fisco, y seandesterrados de los nuestrosreinos, en los cuales no entren, so pena de muerte, y queesta sea justacausaparaque el padre y la madrepuedandesheredarsiquisieren a susfijasque el talmatrimoniocontaxeren, lo cualotroninguno no puedaacusarsino el padre y la madre muerto el padre”.

¹⁰ “And because it cannot be doubted who are natural sons, we order and command that the are to be said natural sons when, at the time they were born or conceived, their fathers could justly get married without exemption, as much as the father recognize them as their children, since he hadn’t have the woman who gave birth in his house or it wouldn’t be one single house. Concurring in the child said qualities, we mandate to be a natural son”. *Laws of Toro, Law 11*,

“E porque no se puedadudarcuales son hijosnaturales, ordenamos y mandamosqueentonces se digansen los hijosnaturalescuando, al tiempoquenascieren o fuerenconcebidos, sus padres podíancasar con susmadresjustamente sin dispensación, con tantoque el padre lo reconozcaporsufijo, puestoque no hayatenido la mujerquien lo hobiese en su casa, ni sea una sola casa. Concurriendo en el fijolascalidadessusodichas, mandamosque sea hijo natural.”

Natural son: when parents didn’t want to marry despite there was no impediment for it. It has to be recognized by the father. There shouldn’t be doubt about parenthood. The requirement was that there was no male living in the mother’s house, and that the parents didn’t live in the same house.

¹¹ *Adulterinos*: sons of the concubine living with the father who were recognized as his own children.

Manceres: prostitutes’ children.

Spurious: when the concubine didn’t live in the same house with the father, but him recognized them as his own children.

¹² “Any spouse, either present or future, once the marriage has been terminated, would gain if the husband had kissed her half of all what he gave her before the marriage had been consummated, either precious or not. And if he didn’t kissed her, she wouldn’t gain any of what was given to her, and deliver it to the husband’s heirs, but if any of them died after the marriage was consummated, the women and heirs would gain all that the husband gave since the wedding, or being wedding coins in the wedding and marriage”. *Laws of Toro, Law 50*,

“Cualquieresposa, ora sea de presente, ora sea de futuro, [di]suelto el matrimonio, ganesi el esposo la hobierebesado la mitad de todo lo que el esposo le hobiere dado antes de consumado el matrimonio, ora sea precioso o no; y si no la hobierebesado, no gane nada de lo que le hobiere dado, y tornese a los herederos del esposo; perosicualquiera de ellosmurieredespués de consumado el matrimonio, que la mujer y susherederosganetodo lo que se siendodesposados le hobo el esposo dado, o habiendo arras en el casamiento y matrimonio”.

“During the marriage the woman cannot without his husband license turn away any testament or intestateinheritance, but we allow that she can accept without said license any testament or intestateinheritance with inventory benefit and in no other way”. *Laws of Toro, Law 52*,

“La mujerdurante el matrimonio no pueda sin licencia de sumaridorepudiarningunaherenciaque le vengaex testamento niabintestato, peropermitimosquepuedaaceptar sin la dichalicenciacualquierherenciaex testamento y abintestato con beneficio de inventario y no de otramanera”.

“The woman, during the marriage, without her husband license, since she can’t make any contract, also as she can’t draw apart or desist of any contract she touches nor give the fifth part of the goods, make a quasi contract, be in trial prosecuting or defending without her husband’s license, and if this happened by itself or its lawyer, we mandate that it holds no value what she might do”. *Laws of Toro, Law 53*,

Ibid., Ley 45. La mujer, durante el matrimonio, sin licencia de sumarido, como no puede hazer contratoalguno, así mismo no se pueda apartar ni desistir de ningún contrato que a ella toque, ni dar por quinto a nadie de él, ni pueda hazer casicontrato, ni estar en juicio faziendonidefendiendo sin la dichalicencia de sumarido, y si esto hobiere porsí o porsuprocurador, mandamosque no vala lo que fiziere”.

Reform movement promoted by Martín Lutero had as result that Catholic Church gathered in the Trento Council in order to agree on the solution for many of the problems pointed out by its critics. The council took place between 1545-1563. In 1555, 1565 and 1585 three provincial Mexican councils were carried out. One of the most relevant themes addressed in the debates was marriage.¹³

Conclusions

Polygamy existed in Mesoamerica and was practiced in the Old World; there was an Islamic tradition in Iberia. In the Pre-Hispanic world generalized monogamy and elitist polygamy, both institutionalized, coexisted as reproductive norm. In Europe marriage was individual, it was based upon social and religious principles and specific civil consequences were established regarding inheritance. Monogamy was legal, however extra marital relations were customary. In Pre-Hispanic society polygamy had been selective because it was a norm among indigenous elites, *tlatoque*, warriors, priests, merchants. It also was a protection form for descendants of family members who died commonly during any of the multiple wars. Those indigenous that lived with several women prior to the Conquest were forced to choose one to get married with, the ostracized women were left adrift. Spaniard religious fought indigenous polygamy, although the most common practice among *macehuales* was monogamy since the own *calpulli* structure was design to uphold the members of such economic and political unit. In such way, if one of its members died, the community took care of the deceased's descendants. The cultural confrontation derived from the New Spain's conquest process, was the base upon the new structures for the Colony period were built, during which the Spaniard's cultural codes were imposed mixed with the Pre-Hispanic ways and practices. In both cultures there were coincidences, but the manner and legal structure were different. There was a relative concurrence regarding monogamous marital relations. The difference was that for Europeans monogamy was an ethic value, while for Mesoamerica inhabitants it was a common practice for those who possessed wealth, to the *macehuales* who lived organized in the *calpulli*.¹⁴ Among the indigenous polygamy was usual and customary, it was linked with government exercise and offspring protection. For Spaniards it was an answer to power necessity and sexual desire, despite it was typified as an offense or severe sin.

In the period following the Conquest, Castilian institutions established monogamous relations legality, although not its practice. For norming such relations, civil laws were promulgated, specifically the *Laws of Toro* in 1505. Also, there were issued some laws that competed with ecclesiastic jurisdiction; however orthodox canon was enacted during the Trento Council, which took place between 1545-1563. Regarding reproductive relations, Europeans imposed their norms and practices. The official speech exalted a series of values linked with the monogamous married life: sexual purity, female virginity, women incontestable fidelity. Monogamy was institutionalized for females, also for the indigenous. In the real world, polygamy was part of male daily life. Extra marital relations were branded as immoral, but they were institutionalized and explicitly recognized. Civil and religious institutions banished polygamy legality, not its existence. The civil or religious Spaniard's evident lack of monogamous life became custom. Before God they should have only one legal and legitimate woman, not in practice. Religious didn't care for Iberian behaviors: despite monogamy was the norm, it wasn't the practice of Spaniard power elite.

During the consolidation process of Hispanic hegemony, there was a syncretism that incorporated the coincidences within the new structures, new marital life practices arose although the daily life behavior was outside the legal jurisdiction. The cultural syncretism may be weighed by analyzing the social restructuration, in which norms and daily life were increasingly driven away. It can be stated that polygamy prevailed in colonial society, it continued among indigenous in the Indigenous Republic that the Spanish Crown institutionalized in order to organize the conquered and subdued society. Among Spaniards, polygamy, open or concealed, illegal and illegitimate was part of common behaviors. It also exercised by religious, who practiced a sexual life despite religious norms and established customs accepted by the indigenous since sexual exercise wasn't prohibited to Pre-Hispanic priests.

¹³ *Concilio III Provincial mexicano: Celebrado en México en el año de 1585, confirmado en Roma por...*

¹⁴ In this way a syncretism that incorporated the coincidences in the new structures was generated, with which new practices emerged in the married life that allowed the production of agriculture and handmade goods and tools, to have animals, and to have materials and work for building rooms and have hydraulic systems for the use of water.

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