

EARLY COCONUT CULTURE IN WESTERN MEXICO*

Among the many provincial techniques of the simpler country people of Mexico, one of the most restricted in regional distribution is the making of wine from coconut palms. The region around Colima, in the western lowlands, is probably the area where this industry can best be observed today. The culture historian may wonder about the beginnings of this activity. Was it introduced by the Spaniards? Hardly. The necessary antecedents in European culture are lacking. Nor would a Spanish introduction be compatible with such limited regional distributions. Was it an aboriginal culture trait of certain American Indian tribes? Perhaps, but there are important aspects to the industry that could not possibly have been pre-Columbian. Taking a somewhat wider view, the historian will find that the only real relationships are with southeastern Asia—with India, the East Indies, and the Philippines. And the more he examines Mexican procedures, the more striking these parallels become. But to be really thorough he must examine not only the history of palm wine in Mexico, but the background of the coconut itself.

The prehistory of the coconut in America has been the subject of much conjecture. Some writers have denied that the coconut existed in the New World before the coming of Europeans; others have asserted that it was native to America, and that it was dispersed from here over the rest of the tropics; still others have accepted Indonesia as its homeland, and have called on trans-Pacific voyagers or ocean currents to bring the coconut to America in pre-Columbian times. This last belief seems to be the most reasonable in view of all the evidence,¹ for it is quite certain that the coconut preceded the white man on the Pacific shores of Central America, and it is fairly well established that it was introduced by the Spaniards into Puerto Rico and by the Portuguese into Brazil in the middle of the sixteenth century.

* The field work and archival research in Mexico for this study were undertaken in 1938-1939, when the writer was a pre-doctoral field fellow of the Social Science Research Council.

¹ The evidence has been presented and discussed in detail by the writer in an article entitled "Some Observations on the Early History of the Coconut in the New World," *Acta americana*, II, No. 3 (July-September, 1944), 220-243.

Its Pacific-coast distribution in the first years is curious. Not only was it found by Oviedo and others *ca.* 1514 on Cocos Island, the shores of the Bay of Panama, and Burica Point, but by 1580 it is also documented for the province of Motín, a strip along the central Pacific coast of Mexico between Colima and Zacatula. The *relación geográfica* for Motín mentions it casually as one of the fruit-bearing trees "que generalm.^{te} tienen los naturales en esta provin.^a" A few years later (1587) Alonso Ponce comments on the profusion of coconut palms in the neighborhood of Colima, and reports that the woody shells of the coconuts were being converted into drinking vessels for export to Spain.

How did the coconut come to this remote corner of Mexico? Three possibilities present themselves, and they are not mutually exclusive: (1) The coconut may have been introduced from the Antilles; (2) the coconut may have been brought from the Philippines on the Manila Galleon; (3) the coconut may have been carried from the region of Panama by a long-shore current, and may have gained a foothold along the shores of western Mexico without assistance by man.

The first possibility appears unlikely. No record has been found that coconuts were brought across the plateau for planting in the western lowlands. One might perhaps have expected Vasco de Quiroga, Bishop of Michoacán, to be interested in such a project. He passed through Santo Domingo in 1554, and from there introduced bananas into his diocese, but there is no indication that he also brought back coconuts.² It must be kept in mind, of course, that the coconut does not grow well above the one-thousand meter level in this part of Mexico, and Quiroga's interests lay mostly in the higher country.³

The second possibility may at first glance look like the most likely one. We know that galleons docked several times at Navidad or Santiago de Colima before Acapulco became established in 1570 as the official terminus of the route. The question is whether it is possible to reconcile an introduction of coconuts on the Colima coast not earlier than the middle or late 1560's with a casual mention of coconut palms as fruit trees in the possession of the natives around Motín less than fifteen years later.

² J. J. Moreno, *Vida de don Vasco de Quiroga, primer obispo de Michoacán* (2nd ed., Morelia, 1939), pp. 83-84.

³ It is by no means certain that coconuts existed in Santo Domingo in 1554. Their first introduction into the Antilles (Puerto Rico) took place in or about 1549.

The first ship to make the west-to-east voyage across the Pacific was that of Alonso de Arellano, who arrived in Navidad on August 9, 1565.⁴ From the published account of his trip it is reasonably certain that no coconuts were brought back, for the provisions are listed, and the members of the expedition almost died from hunger before striking land. Nor is it likely that the coconuts of Colima and Motín were introduced as a result of the second return voyage, that of Andrés de Urdaneta and Felipe de Salcedo later in the same year. They landed in Acapulco, much farther down the coast, and there is no reason to suspect that there was an appreciable coastwise traffic between Colima and Acapulco in the 1560's. But there were other voyages⁵ on which coconuts might well have been introduced. As soon as Legazpi had established his authority in the Philippines, the crews of the galleons were made up mostly of Filipinos, and it is more than probable that coconuts formed part of the provisions.

The only other voyages before 1570 are those of Juan de la Isla, who arrived in New Spain on November 16, 1567; of Álvaro de Mendaña, who came from the Solomon Islands and put in at the harbor of Santiago de Colima on January 23, 1569; and of Felipe de Salcedo, who arrived on his second trip at a port in New Spain in June, 1569. At best there is a scant interval of eleven to thirteen years before the author of the *relación* of Motín records the general occurrence of coconut palms in his province; and Motín is a very out-of-the-way place some 150 miles by land from Navidad. Had coconuts been introduced so recently, the author of the *relación* would probably have mentioned it, since his account is very detailed and he appears to be an old settler in the province. But he does not, nor does he give even a hint of the presence of Filipinos.

It turns out, therefore, that the galleon traffic will not explain all the facts of the case, and that the third of the possibilities mentioned above must be called upon. The Equatorial Countercurrent, which undoubtedly carried coconuts originally from the islands of the central Pacific to the shores of Cocos Island and

⁴ *Colección de documentos inéditos . . . de ultramar* (25 vols., Madrid, 1885-1932), III, 1-76.

⁵ The history of the earliest galleon traffic has never been adequately worked out, for the record seems to be exceedingly diffuse. For the best treatment to date cf. E. W. Dahlgren, "Were the Hawaiian Islands Visited by the Spaniards Before Their Discovery by Captain Cook in 1778?" *Kungl. Svenska Vetenskapsakademiens Handlingar*, LVII, No. 4 (Stockholm, 1916).

Panama, has a great eddy which flows northwestward along the coast of Central America and Mexico to the Colima coast. It has been amply demonstrated that coconuts can withstand long immersion in sea water without seriously impairing their viability, and that they can take root unaided on open beaches where they have been cast ashore. It seems most likely, then, that the first coconuts came to western Mexico through a casual naturalization without human aid, and it is probable that their spread in the last years of the sixteenth century was aided by Filipinos who planted them in groves and who may also have introduced some directly from the Philippine Islands.

By 1600 at the latest there must have been coconut groves in Zacatula as well as in the Colima area. Newly arrived Filipinos were probably already engaging in the manufacture of wine and brandy from coconut palms, for a decade later that industry had reached such proportions and the consumption of the beverages was so widespread that the matter came to the attention of the viceroy, Luis de Velasco, who promptly passed a prohibition ordinance. In this decree,⁶ dated March 29, 1610, the following items are brought out:

1. Into the provinces of Colima and Zacatula a wine has been introduced which is made from coconut palms.⁷

2. There is so great an abundance of these palms in the towns that in one of them alone [Colima?] there are sixty taverns where the wine is sold.

3. The wine is cheap and strong,⁸ and the natives use it to such excess that it costs them their health and their lives.

4. The sale of Castilian wine is hindered in these provinces by the excessive use of palm wine, and the royal treasury is thereby deprived of its rightful amount of tax money.

5. The wine used in celebrating mass in churches is being adulterated with palm wine.

6. The manufacture and sale of *vino de cocos* is therefore prohibited.

7. A Spaniard found guilty of disobeying this decree is to lose the wine, pay a fine of 1,000 *ducados de Cdstilla*, and be exiled from his home and anywhere within a radius of ten leagues thereof for a period of two years. A mestizo, Negro, or mulatto is to lose

⁶ Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, Ramo de Ordenanzas, Tomo I.

⁷ The document says *cocos de palmas*, an obvious misconception on the part of Velasco's informant, since it implies that the wine is made from the nuts rather than from the sap.

⁸ Undoubtedly distilled, for the most part.

the wine, receive publicly one hundred lashes, and be exiled in the same way. An Indian⁹ is to lose the wine, have his vessels broken, and receive fifty lashes while tied to a pole to be erected for this purpose in the plaza or market place of every town and village concerned.

This stringent decree seems not to have had much effect, for by 1619 the industry was thriving more than ever. From a report written at the beginning of that year by Sebastián de Pineda on matters concerning the Philippine Islands, we find that the *vino de cocos* industry in western Mexico had become efficiently organized: . . . there are in Nueva España so many of those Indians who came from the Filipinas Islands who have engaged in making palm wine along the other seacoast, that of the South Sea, and which they make with stills, as in Filipinas, that it will in time become a part reason for the natives of Nueva España who now use the wine that comes from Castilla, to drink none except what the Filipinos make. For since the natives of Nueva España are a race inclined to drink and intoxication, and the wine made by the Filipinos is distilled and as strong as brandy, they crave it rather than the wine from España. . . . So great is the traffic in this [palm wine] at present on the coast at Navidad, among the Apusabalcos, and throughout Colima, that they load beasts of burden with this wine in the same way as in España. By postponing the speedy remedy that this demands, the same thing might also happen to the vineyards of Piru. It can be averted, provided all the Indian natives of the said Filipinas Islands are shipped and returned to them, that the palm groves and vessels with which the wine is made be burnt, the palm-trees felled, and severe penalties imposed on whomever remains or returns to make that wine.

Incited by their greed in that traffic, all the Indians who have charge of making that wine go to the port of Acapulco when the ships reach there from Manila, and lead away with them all the Indians who come as common seamen. For that reason, and the others above mentioned, scarcely any of them return to the said Filipinas Islands. . . . In the galleon "Espiritu Santo" which came last year, six hundred and eighteen, were seventy-five native Indians as common seamen, but not more than five of the entire number returned in the said galley.¹⁰

There were several reasons why members of the Filipino crew should have wanted to remain on this side of the Pacific. The

⁹ Including Filipinos, who were generally classed as *indios*.

¹⁰ Emma Helen Blair and James A. Robertson, eds., *The Philippine Islands 1498-1898* (55 vols., Cleveland, 1903-1909), XVIII, 184-185. The above quotation is taken from the English translation printed in this work.

Philippine Islands were undergoing a period of great social unrest, and murder and kidnapping were common crimes.¹¹ Then, too, the voyage, which lasted from three to nine months, was exceedingly trying. Often a sizable proportion of the crew sickened and died on the way, mainly because of the poor food, which gave rise to deficiency diseases, and because of the excessively harsh discipline imposed by officers who themselves were commonly sick. One trip seems to have been quite enough for most of the Filipinos. Furthermore, the men were often swindled out of part or all of their pay, either by some fraudulent scheme whereby their payment vouchers were discounted, or by outright non-payment. Complaints against these practices were heard as early as 1589.¹² In great contrast to all this misery the Filipinos found that the Mexican natives treated them kindly and eagerly sought their services in an industry in which they excelled and which was most congenial to them.

To this day the name of coconut wine in western Mexico is *tuba*, a Filipino (Tagalog) word. When this wine is distilled and converted into a brandy it is known as *vino de cocos*. Simple stills of Filipino derivation are widely used in western Mexico even now.¹³ To obtain *tuba*, the inflorescence of a coconut palm is pounded and cut, and the sweet sap which exudes drop by drop is caught in a suitable container and allowed to ferment. The resulting wine is sweet, slightly milky in appearance, contains about eight per cent alcohol, and has a high vitamin B content.

It was found in the early days that a stricken Filipino who was suffering from malnutrition would undergo a miraculous improvement on reaching Mexico, mainly because of the availability of fresh food, which, as we now know, abounds in vitamins. And one of the best sources of the B complex was the yeast which he got incidentally when he went to drown his sorrow in his native beverage.

Until the year 1627 the manufacture of *tuba* and *vino de cocos* in Colima seems to have been restricted to the poorer, non-Spanish

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

¹² W. L. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (New York, 1939), p. 211.

¹³ The Filipinos introduced a number of traits into western Mexico that became thoroughly integrated into mestizo and even tribal Indian culture. Among their more important contributions were several types of Asiatic stills for the production of strong alcoholic beverages: Cf. H. J. Bruman, "The Asiatic Origin of the Huichol Still," *Geographical Review*, XXXIV, No. 3 (July, 1944), pp. 418-427. Distillation was unknown in pre-Columbian America.

groups. The business flourished in spite of a specific prohibition that carried severe penalties. We must assume from Pineda's account that the Spaniards of Colima were well aware of the industry and that in the main they approved of it. Up to this time the principal source of income of the settlers had been the growing of cacao, though their yields had been steadily declining for various reasons. In the year 1626 a severe hurricane wiped out their remaining orchards with one stroke, leaving the growers destitute and in the mood to abandon the province. Since it was expedient to keep the people there, if only because they were needed to protect a particularly vulnerable stretch of coast from possible marauders and because their lookouts gave notice of the returning Manila galleon long before it docked at Acapulco, the viceroy was persuaded to grant a license for the only sufficiently remunerative activity in which the inhabitants of Colima could engage: the manufacture of brandy from palm wine.¹⁴ Had the galleon continued to dock at Navidad, this permission would probably not have been granted, since in that event the people of Colima could have supported themselves as traders and agents. In view of the crown's policy of encouraging the consumption of well-taxed Castilian wines among the Spaniards of the New World, and in view of a whole century's precedent in the prohibition of "native" alcoholic beverages, it must be admitted that the granting of this license to Colima was an extreme emergency measure. Here, no doubt, lies the reason why Acapulco was not favored with a similar license. Acapulco did not need it, being able to support itself adequately on the galleon trade, and not having much permanent Spanish population anyway. As for Zacatula, that early port had dropped far behind its initial promise in the time of Cortés and soon lost all claim to individual attention.

Thus it was in Colima alone that the *vino de cocos* industry was permitted, and there mainly as a relief measure to the Spanish

¹⁴ The discussion of *vino de cocos* in its bearing on the economic history of Colima in the early and middle seventeenth century is based on the following unpublished documents:

a) Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, Ramo de Ordenanzas, Tomo V, May 15, 1668. License to the people of the city of Colima to make *vino de cocos* and to sell it in all parts of New Spain.

b) A similar license in the same volume, dated December 14, 1671.

c) Archivo de Instrumentos Públicos del Estado de Jalisco, Guadalajara, Libro de Gobierno, No. 1, ff. 180vo.-184, January 27, 1672. License to the people of the city of Colima to sell *vino de cocos* in all parts of Nueva Galicia.

These three documents all cover more or less the same ground. The one of 1671, because it is compact without sacrificing detail, is printed *in extenso* at the end of this paper.

inhabitants. The first license was granted on March 4, 1627, and gave permission to plant coconut palms and to make *vino de cocos*, which could be sold throughout New Spain, except to Indians, for a period of ten years. On February 11, 1637, the license was extended for a period of eight years, "because the *protomedicato* [official medical council] of Mexico City had declared the wine medicinal and not harmful." On December 15, 1644, another extension of ten years was granted. An additional ten years was added on April 19, 1653, "because the town of Colima had had a general fire and its inhabitants had left it." An extension of four years came on October 31, 1664, and another of six additional years on May 15, 1668, this last "because of the great ruin caused by earthquakes." Seismic disturbances had been causing damage for forty years, but the recent shocks were so severe that the people again thought of abandoning the site. It is plain from the documentary record that the renewal of brandy licenses usually came as a special dispensation to the people of Colima in order that they might rebuild their homes and fortunes after a disaster.

At times, of course, there was no calamity when license renewals fell due, and then it was convenient to have other worthy-sounding motives for the continuance of the industry. Some time before February 11, 1637, the *protomedicato* in Mexico City had come out in favor of *vino de cocos*. This opinion had been given official recognition by the viceroy in the license of 1637, and was sanctioned by the Church somewhat later. It is quite possible that the original verdict of the *protomedicato* was somehow inspired by interested parties in Colima. At any rate, *vino de cocos* was accepted as a healthful and beneficial drink. The contemporary attitude is well illustrated in the Guadalajara document of 1672, which contains the expert opinions of the medical profession, the clergy, the tax collector, and the governor of Nueva Galicia. A summary of their views would read as follows:

Indians are drunkards by nature, and nothing can be done about it. Prohibition has proved a failure, for it has increased drunkenness rather than diminished it. Instead of using *vino de cocos* and *vino de mescal*, which are not harmful even when drunk to excess, they now go off to the mountains and barrancas and secretly concoct beverages called *tepache*, made from sugar cane, maize, *tunas*, *mesquite*, *ciruelas*, *panochas*, and from different roots and strong herbs. Not only the Indians, but also the Negroes, mulattoes, and other people of this quality drink these beverages. These drinks cause not only drunkenness but also sickness

and death from *peste*. Because many Indians have died of these drinks, and it is feared they might die out altogether, and since it is in their nature to use alcoholic beverages, the public sale of *vino de cocos* in taverns and stores is permitted throughout Nueva Galicia for a period of four years.¹⁵

This document is a monument to common sense and practical social philosophy. In one place the fiscal agent of the Audiencia declares:

. . . It is bad politics and worse economics to prohibit something intrinsically good because of abuse, for there is nothing in the world, be it ever so holy, that men through the corruption of nature do not abuse.

And in the report submitted by the Bishop of Guadalajara in collaboration with the prelates of the orders of the Franciscans, the Augustinians, and the Jesuits, the following statement is made:

Accepting as certain and demonstrated that the vices of drinking and drunkenness are natural to the Indians, and that they cannot be entirely remedied, the drink that is least injurious to their health should be permitted, even if they use it to excess and drunkenness follows. *Vino de cocos* is a beverage of this sort, for it is healthful when used in moderation. By this means the harm that results from the drinks which they invent can be avoided, and we can look to their conservation; for therein consists the conservation of these realms and of the public good.

Thus we find an alien industry establishing itself on the Colima coast in the early seventeenth century. First looked upon with disfavor by the authorities, it finally developed into the one activity that could provide an adequate cash income for the settlers. Through much of the colonial period it was the *vino de cocos* industry that kept the region above a bare subsistence level, and on numerous occasions it staved off actual economic collapse.

Tuba is still being made in Colima. And even now, in techniques and nomenclature, the Filipino roots of the enterprise are clearly apparent.

Institute of Social Anthropology
Smithsonian Institution.

HENRY J. BRUMAN

¹⁵ “. . . y auer peresido mu.^s indios y deverse temer su total acabam.^{to} siendo imposible en la naturaleza y calidad deellos estouarles ni impedirles la embriaguez por ser comatural enellos. . . .”

APPENDIX*

V ex^a con parecer del Rl aq^{do} m^{da} corra la liz^a q̄ concedi al cauildo justicia y rejimiento de la villa de Colima por el tiempo de los 4 a^a para que puedan hacer y vender el vino de cocos en la forma que aqui se refiere.

Don antonio sebastian de toledo molina y salasar marqz de man-cera & por quanto ante mi se puso el memorial sigiente ex^{mo} sr ju^a de san p^o vez^o de la villa de Colima en n^o de su cauildo y ayunta-miento y en virtud de su poder dice que en dha prou^a sus vez^{os} a su costa como es notorio con sus armas estan defendiendo en las ocaciones que se han ofrecido sus puertos de sal agua en la mar del sur de los enemigos que en ellos han pretendido desembarcar y en el dho puerto cuidando de sus vijias p^a dar noticias en este g^{no} de las naos de filipinas y conduciendo los gentiles hombres que en el dho puerto saltan en tierra con los pliegos de su mag^d por cuya causa y hauerseles perdido las huertas de cacao de q se sustentaban el ano de seis^o y veinte y seis con vn vracan que sobrevino a dha prou^a hallandose pobres trataron de despoblarla y por que no lo hiciesen el ex^{mo} sr marqz de serraluo gouernando este reino les con-cedio liz^a por dies a^a para plantar palmares de cocos vender y hacer pu^am^{te} dho vino a los quatro de março de seis^o y veinte y siete y el ex^{mo} sr marques de cadereita gouernando esta n^a espana se la prorrogo por otros ocho a^a a los once de febrero de seis^o y treinta y siete con parecer del protomedicato desta ciu^d que declaro ser dho vino medicinal y en nada nocibo y con diferentes pareceres y junta que p^a ello m^{do} formar. q el ex^{mo} sr conde de saluatierra siendo virrey deste reino prorrogo dha liz^a por dies a^a a los quince de diz^o de seis^o y quarenta y quatro. y el ex^{mo} sr conde de alua deliste gouernando este reyno prorrogo dha liz^a por dies a^a a los dies y nueue de abril de seis^o y cinquenta y tres con otras mercedes por hauerse abrasado dha villa de vn yncendio gen^{er} por cuya causa sus huitadores la despoblaban y v ex^a fue seruido de prorrogar dha liz^a por quatro a^a a los treinta y vno de otubre de seis^o y sesenta y quatro y despues segunda ves fue seruido de prorrogar dha liz^a por seis a^a mas que van corriendo y concedio a los quince de mayo de seis^o y sesenta y ocho mrd^o que v ex^a concedio por la grande ruina que de temblores tuuo dha villa que sus vez^{os} desamparaban hau^{do} experimentado tantos trabajos en ella y ser su tenple incon-

* The document here presented is from the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico. Ramo de Ordenanzas, Tomo V, ff. 93vo.-95.

modo y mouido de su mandato y del que les hizo el alcalde mayor que les gouernaba se detuuieron y han ydo y van pasando con el fruto que sacan de dhas plantas con que se sustentan y de que resulta a su mag^d cant^d considerable de las alcau^a y diesmos a la santa yglecia cathedral deste obispado de mechoacan y estar cargado sobre dhos palmares diferentes capellanias de que reciben vien y sufragio las almas del purgatorio y es assi que por el yll^{mo} sr obispo della con sensuras agrabantes con ocacion del m^{to} de ruego y encargo que por v ex^a se despacho generalm^{te} para que se quitasen todos los brebajes y veuidas prohibidas a prohiuido en el la venta y trajino de dho vino no siendo breuaje ni echo de compuestos sino licor sacado a fuego manso del aguamiel que de dhas palmas llaman tuba veneficiandolo segun y como en esp^a se hace el agua ardiente tan corriente y medicinal en ellos y en este donde se trae dellos con que se han serrado los caminos al trajino de dho vino y dello resultado la perdida de aquella prou^a pues faltandole no es posible sus moradores poderla hauitar y cesar asi la paga de alcauala diesmos y veneficios eclesiasticos por no hauer en ella otro fruto p^a el sustento de sus familias como por las racones que en dhas lizenias tienen motibadas sus pasados y actuales moradores q con rendido rendim^{to} ocurren por su cauildo por lo ql = a v ex^a pide y sup^{ca} en n^o de su parte sea seruido de declarar no por breuaje dho vino y que por tal corra en su gouernacion conforme a las liz^{as} que las tiene v ex^a concedidas en que recontian vien y mrd̄ de su grandesa = ju^a de san p^o = de que m^{de} dar vista al sr fiscal liz^{do} don ju^a fran^{co} de esquibel que respondio que el dho ju^a de san p^o lexitimase su persona y verificase la relacion de su mem̄ y hau^{do} dado el dho ju^a de san p^o ynforma^{oa} con num^o de testigos m^{de} se voluiese al dho sr fiscal que dio esta resp^{ta} = ex^{mo} sr el fiscal de su mag^d a visto el poder que press^{ta} ju^a de san p^o la ynformacion que a dado y el testim^o en relacion de la mrd̄ que v ex^a hico a la villa de Colima para que pudiesen sus vez^{os} vender vino de cocos por tpō de quatro a^s y dice que siendo v ex^a seruido podra mandar q corra por dho tiempo la dha mrd̄ y con las calidades della como no se adultiese o vicie en otro berbaje de los prohibidos mex^{co} quatro de diz^o de mill y seis^o y setenta y vn a^s liz^{do} don ju^a fran^{co} de esquibel = con lo ql lo remiti al Rl aqq^{do} por voto consultiuo para que me diese su parecer q es este = ex^{mo} sr siendo v ex^a seruido podra mandar se haga como lo dice el sr fiscal Rl aqq^{do} hordinario de dies de diz^o de mill y seis^o y setenta y vn a^s = y por mi visto conformandome con dho parecer por el pre-

sente mando corra la liz^a que di y concedi al cauildo justicia y rejimiento de la dha villa de Colima por el tiempo de los quatro a^s para que puedan hacer y vender el vino de cocos en todas las partes y lugares desta n^a espana con las calidades que se entienden en dho despacho por donde parece no ser de los comprehendidos en la prohiuision q como no se adultere o vicie en otros brebajes de los prohiuidos y m^{do} a todas las justicias de su mag^d de la gouerna^{on} della no pongan ympedim^{to} ni contradiz^{on} en dha licencia durante el tiempo de los quatro a^s mex^{co} catorce de diz^o de mill y seis y setenta y vn a^s = el marqz de mancera = por m^{do} de su ex^a don p^o velasqz de la cadena.