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Witchcraft in San Gabriel: Accusations of Sorcery against María de Zamora San Gabriel, New Mexico, 1607

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**Witchcraft in San Gabriel: Accusations of Sorcery
against María de Zamora**

San Gabriel, New Mexico, 1607

**Archivo General de la Nación, México
ramo Inquisición, tomo 467, expediente 78-79, fols. 342r-353r**

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**Fray Francisco de Escobar informa sobre acusaciones
contra María de Zamora por hechicera
San Gabriel, Nuevo México, 24 de agosto de 1607**

**Archivo General de la Nación, México
ramo Inquisición, tomo 467, expediente 78, fols. 342r-v**

**Proceso criminal
contra Maria de Zamora, Ana Ortiz y María mujer de Francisco López por hechiceras
San Gabriel, Nuevo México, 29 de diciembre de 1606-23 de agosto de 1607**

**Archivo General de la Nación, México
ramo Inquisición, tomo 467, expediente 79, fols. 343r-353r**

Preface

most recent revision: Feb. 27, 2016

The document, or rather, dossier of documents (expediente), published here sheds a very curious if lurid light on the lives of ordinary people in the first years of Hispanic New Mexico. The Cíbola Project (http://escholarship.org/uc/search?entity=rsrcs_ias_ucb_cibola) has published a large collection of documents concerning the exploration and settlement of New Mexico by Juan de Oñate, but they in general have little to say explicitly about the daily activities of settlers and their families.

Padre Francisco de Escobar, Franciscan commissary in New Mexico, conducted the trial of María de Zamora, though what we have might better be described as a preliminary hearing than an actual trial. In fact, in his report to the Holy Office in Mexico City, he states that he considered the evidence insufficient to justify a formal trial of María de Zamora before that tribunal. No further official action was taken against the accused, who was nonetheless severely punished, perhaps unjustly, by the evil reputation for witchcraft and sorcery that she acquired as a result of the accusations.

Padre Escobar is best known as the author of a report on Juan de Oñate's expedition to the Gulf of California in 1605 (edited and translated in Caso et al 2014 and translated by Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:1012-1031). He is also on record as wishing to establish a mission among the native tribes living along the Colorado river near its outlet into the Gulf of California (De Marco and Craddock 2014).

The accused, María de Zamora, accompanied the reinforcements that arrived in New Mexico in 1600 along with her family, including her eventual accuser, her daughter Lucía. In the inspection and muster roll of the reinforcements (edited by Cerrudo et al 2014; cf. Hammond and Rey 1953, 1:558) she appears as follows:

“Maria de Çamora, muger legitima de *Bartolome* | de Montoya, hija de Pedro Çamora,
natural | de Mexico, con cinco hijos, tres barones, dos | mugeres, todos de diez *años para*
abajo, | llamados *Francisco* e Diego, Jusepe, Lucia | e Petronila; lleuan [en] su sseruicio vna |

muchacha yndia llamada Ysrael, | de diez años, natural de Tecama” (fol. 560r13-20).

Her husband, Bartolomé de Montoya, figures in the same muster roll twice, first perhaps as settler, then as soldier (Hammond and Rey 1953, 1:535, 550; I speculate that in the first instance “Bernabé” is a scribal mistake for “Bartolomé”. The two names are conflated in Hammond and Rey’s index, 2:1174.):

“Bernaué (?) de Montoya lleua lo siguiente: | ~ una carreta con ocho bueyes y en ella | su muger e hijos, | ~ una espada y una cota, | ~ tres cauallos y tres potros, | ~ tres bestidos e no firmo por | no sauer; rrogo a un *testigo*; lo firme por el” ([fol. 537r28-v3).

“Bartolome de Montoya, hijo de | Francisco de Montoya, natural de Can- | telana, armado de todas armas | segun que los demas; barbinegro, | pequeño de cuerpo, de *beinte* y ocho años” (fol. 552v25/29).

Despite his confessed illiteracy (assuming Bernabé and Bartolomé are one and the same person), Bartolomé was a signatory to the petition addressed on December 1, 1604, to Cristóbal de Oñate, acting governor for his father who was away seeking the south sea (Mar del Sur), i.e., the Pacific Ocean, to have Juan López Holguín exiled from the settlement at San Gabriel (ed. and trans. Craddock and Polt 2015). On Bartolomé de Montoya and his family see Chávez 1992:77-78.

The action for sorcery was brought against María de Zamora by her son-in-law Diego Robledo, husband of her 12-year old daughter Lucía. He was one of the original settlers recruited in 1597, along with his father and three brothers and is thus recorded in the inspection and muster roll carried out by Juan de Frías Salazar (ed. De Marco and Craddock 2015; cf. Hammond and Rey 1953, 1:265, 290):

“Digo yo Pedro Robledo, alferes de la compañía del capitan Alonso de | Sossa Albornoz, que tube noticia de un bando que Vuestra Merced mando he- | char en este rreal y para el cumplimiento del hago memoria de | mi perssona y quatro hijos que van en la jornada, que son Diego | Robledo y Alonso Robledo y Pedro Robledo y Francisco Robledo” (fol. 471r15-19).

“Diego de Robledo, natural de Maqueda, hijo del | dicho Pedro Robledo de arriba, de buen cuerpo, varbirro- | jo, de edad de veinte y siete años, con sus armas” (fol. 490v9-11).

Diego accompanied Vicente de Zaldívar in his exploration of the buffalo plains in 1598 (ed. and trans. Craddock and Polt 1999; Hammond and Rey 1953, 1:398-405). After his brother Pedro had been killed in the initial battle at Acoma Pueblo (December 4, 1598), Diego took part in the reprisal (January 21-23, 1599), though he was not called on to testify in the trial of the Acoma Indians (ed. and trans. Craddock and Polt 2014; Hammond and Rey 1953, 1:428-479). He was immortalized by Gaspar Pérez de Villagrà in his epic poem *Historia de la Nueva México* (1610), who portrays him as victorious in single combat with two fictional Acoma warriors, Qualco (canto 31, vv. 108-149) and Pilco (canto 32, vv. 251-269; cf. Martín Rodríguez 2010). For genealogical data concerning the Robledo family, see Chávez 1999:93-94.

Diego’s accusation, according to Padre Escobar, followed upon a dispute he had with his mother-in-law, concerning her alleged attempts to poison him with certain powders. Diego claimed to have discovered these powders in the possession of his child bride, who confessed that she had them

from her mother, who wished Lucía to administer them to Diego, with the intention of cutting off his water (or more technically of inducing acute urinary retention) and giving him a belly ache, all in hopes of causing his demise. Diego then reported the stories his wife Lucía had told him about the supposed sorcery of María de Zamora. Lucía was accordingly called as a witness and provided, with a wealth of details, much damning testimony against her mother. None of the remaining witnesses corroborated any of Lucía's more lurid claims; María's own loyal servants maintained under interrogation a stony silence, while she herself denied every serious charge.

It seems of interest to mention some of Lucía's allegations. Quite traditional is the use of a bodily ointment to lubricate the witches' supernatural excursions and their participation in an *aquelarre* (the term does not appear in the document) or witches' sabbath in which, among other rites, the devotees kiss the hind-quarters (*rabo*) of a great billy-goat (*cabrón*); testimony of Diego Robledo, fol. 344r36-v6, further, and more dramatic, details in the testimony of Lucía de Zamora, fol. 347r32-v12. For a 20th-century account of such goings-on, see Rael 1977, 2:600-602, §512 "Las brujas", recounted by Simmons 1974:62-64. Other allegations of Lucía are quite unusual and I have yet to find parallels in other sources, such as Scholes 1935:233-238. For instance:

“a uisto a su madre | poner vn lebrillo con agua y en el agua dos habas | contrarias vna de otra y dos mayçes ansimis- | mo frontero vno de otro y que luego las santi- | guaba y deçia “de biga en biga” o “de bira en bira” | y que con esto se juntan las habas y los maïçes | y que benia vn animal con vnas orexas gran- | des y tuertas y se lo metia debaxo de las faldas | y se ponía su madre caballera en el” (testimony of Diego Robledo, fol. 344v10-18).

Lucía's own account adds numerous details:

“tomo la dicha su madre | un lebrillo de agua y ençima del bordo deste lebrillo | ponja dos habas y dos maïçes fronteros vnos de otros | y la dicha su madre andaba a la rredonda del lebrillo | arrastrandose y diçiendo vnas palabras que | le pareçio a esta testigo que no eran en española | lengua y a la postrera palabra entendio esta | testigo que deçia “la chobera” y a esta palabra | saltaban los granos de maiz dentro del agua y las habas | vna tras otra y el maiz caya apartado del lebrillo | y luego benia vn animal que le pareçio a esta tes- | tigo que seria como vn cabron de vn año casi como | amarillo que no supo deçir la color con la cola rre- | tuerta y lebandada sobre el anca y delgada como | cola de puerco y se metia en el agua y su madre | desta testigo subia ençima y estaba caballe- | ra en el dicho animal y en esto esta testigo se yba | porque no la biese la dicha su madre” (testimony of Lucía de Zamora, fol. 348r3-20).

María de Zamora allegedly could summon demons by rapping upon a wall:

“le a dicho la dicha su muger que su madre tiene pacto | con el demonjo y qu'el dicho Robledo pregunto a la | dicha su muger como sauia estas cosas y le a rrespon- | dido que ella a uisto a la dicha su madre que se mete | en vn aposento y da con la mano en la pared y di- | çe “ben aca Satanas que yo te prometo este | dedo” señalando vn dedo de la mano y que lue- | go le rresponden dentro y sale vna criatura | y habla con el y le diçe que quiere sauer algunas cosas que le pregunta” (testimony of Diego Robledo, fol. 344v26-35).

Compare Lucía's version:

“a bisto a la dicha su madre en el mjsmo aposento | donde se vntaba que despues de puesto el

sol | antes que fuese de noche daba vnos golpes con | la mano a puño cerrado que heran cinco golpes | que no oyo bien esta testigo las palabras que de- | çia mas de que oyo decir “Berçebu” y que con esto | bino vn lechonçillo y le dijo la dicha su madre no se | que preguntas entre las quales pregunto que haçian | en casa de Ana Ortiz y otra bez bido otro tanto y a | la mjsma ora y con las palabras que a decla- | rado y golpes en la pared y bido que bino vn pe- | rrilla chiquito lanudo negro y le dijo al cochi- | nito que a dicho la primera bez que le daria el | dedo del coraçon de la mano yzquierda y quando | el perrillo le dijo que le daria el dedo mas | pequeño y se lo señalaba” (testimony of Lucía de Zamora, fols. 347v29-348r1).

No doubt Lucía heard many witch tales told by her elders during evenings by the fireside, but her own imagination seems to have carried her beyond what was usually recounted about witches. Her account of her mother’s preparations for her well-oiled nocturnal excursions in spirit is, as the saying goes, as good as a play (fol. 347r30-v12).

Most of the remaining testimony refers to the use of powders to maim and kill or to arouse amorous passion, in the latter case primarily to restore the affections of a wayward husband while simultaneously causing him to detest his paramour. Also frequently denounced is the abuse of peyote, both as a poison and as a hallucinatory stimulant. María de Zamora admits to using peyote but only for medicinal purposes, in poultices (*bidmas*, mod. Sp. *bizmas*) and in enemas (*ayudas*), while denying that she ever drank a potion made from peyote or had given such to anyone to drink (fol. 350r39-v6).

Father Escobar’s cover letter (fol. 342r-v) refers only to María de Zamora, but the title page of the depositions lists two more defendants, Ana Ortiz and María, wife of Francisco López. After Diego Robledo’s accusation (fol. 344r-345r) Lucía was placed in the house of Alonso Gómez, perhaps as a form of witness protection (fol. 345v). The next person called to testify (fols 345v-346r) was Francisca Robledo, wife of Juan de Tapia, and presumably sister of Diego Robledo, who accused María, wife of Francisco López, of doctoring some ears of corn (*elotes*) with red powder and feeding them to Francisco de Nieves and Pedro Lucero, in order to “enamour these buggers (*putos*)”, in the piquant phrase of the alleged sorceress which the witness quotes. The same María allegedly also made use of yellow roots acquired from an Indian servant of Juan de Medina for the same erotic purpose.

Next called was Lucía de Zamora (fols. 346v-348v) whose testimony has been described and extracted above. After she spoke, Father Escobar took her to the house of her father-in-law Bartolomé de Montoya to see the chamber (*aposeno*) where María de Zamora allegedly performed her demonic rites (fol. 348v12-20). The chamber was found to have no door, a fact which may have counted against the veracity of Lucía, who had described a door with some detail (fol. 347r33-35). Father Escobar then required Diego Robledo to turn over the powders he had taken from his wife (fol. 348v24-32). The testimony of María de Zamora’s servants, or rather I should say lack of testimony, is disappointing; the Otomita Indian María (fol. 349r1-13) and Inés from Toluca (fol. 349r18-28) knew nothing, heard nothing, and saw nothing concerning the charges against their mistress.

On the last day of December, 1607, Father Escobar pronounced a sermon threatening excommunication against anyone who had knowledge of witchcraft or sorcery and failed to come forward to denounce the evil-doer (fol. 349r31-v4), and who should appear but María de Zamora’s busy daughter Lucía, bearing further tales of her mother’s alleged sorcery, in this instance the confection of a home-made

cosmetic that supposedly would render all men susceptible to her charms. At her mother's suggestion Lucía applied the preparation to her own face three times, with what result we are not told (fol. 349v5-16). Responding to Father Escobar's sermon, the soldier Juan Pérez appeared to state that he had seen Francisco de Montoya, son of María de Zamora, in possession of a small root supposedly potent in attracting female affection, which Francisco claimed to have obtained from an Indian (fol. 349v19-23).

The trial continues with María de Zamora's "confession", in the course of which she denies all the serious charges brought against her (fols. 350r-351r), conceding only that she made medicinal use of peyote, as mentioned above (fol. 350r39-v6), that on one occasion she has recounted the story of a Mexican witch just by way of telling tales (fol. 350v7-15), and that she once used a broom as a device to ward off evil spirits from the crib of her child Francisco (fol. 351r1-12). María's nine-year old son Diego was called to answer the assertion that he carried powders from his mother to Lucía, but the youth denied the allegation categorically (fol. 351r27-v3).

At this point on January 4, 1607, Father Escobar declared his intention to refer the matter to the Inquisition in Mexico City (fol. 351v6-17). Two months later, on March 5, 1607, Father Escobar announced that María de Zamora had again been accused by her daughter Lucía of attempting to administer fatal powders to her son-in-law Diego Robledo (fol. 351v20-32); accordingly Lucía was again called to testify (fol. 352r1-352v8). Her account of how her little brother Diego carried the powders from the pueblo of Cuyamongue where María de Zamora had taken up residence, presumably as a result of the scandal, to Lucía with instructions to administer them to her husband and to her sister-in-law, of how she refused to perform the dastardly deeds and handed the powders over to her mother-in-law, and of how the powders are fabricated are quite circumstantial. That same day Father Escobar commanded that the governor, Juan de Oñate, be informed of the trial and that Diego Robledo and Lucía de Zamora should not be allowed to leave New Mexico; at the same time, María de Zamora, her husband Bartolomé de Montoya, and their children are forbidden to enter San Gabriel as long as the trial remains pending (fol. 352r11-23). The concluding document of August 23, 1607 (fol. 353r) is a petition of Diego Robledo to absent himself and his wife from New Mexico, with full legal guarantees that he will make Lucía available for further interrogation whenever the authorities should require it. It should be noted *in fine* that neither Ana Ortiz nor María, wife of Francisco López, were called to answer the allegations made against them as it were *en passant* during the testimony.

The linguistic traits of this document are as interesting to the philologist as are its cultural features to the anthropologist and historian, and under both headings would reward further detailed study. A small glossary of interesting terms appears after this introduction.

The transcription is paleographic, but abbreviations have been tacitly resolved. Punctuation, word division, and the use of capital letters have been modernized. Editorial deletions are enclosed in parentheses (. . .), editorial emendations and additions in brackets, [. . .]; scribal deletions are signaled with a caret inside the parentheses (^ . . .), scribal emendations and additions with a caret inside the brackets [^ . . .]. Parentheses that actually occur in the text are represented with the special characters "(...)" to differentiate them from editorial deletions. Curly brackets enclose descriptive terms: {rubric}; square brackets also enclose information about format: [left margin], [right margin], etc. The text of marginalia is set off in italics. The text has numerous passages that are difficult to read because the ink has bled through the pages; they are signaled in this fashion: yellow highlighting = uncertain text; ?? = unreadable text. Any assistance with deciphering those passages would be

most welcome.

Special thanks are due to Viridiana Rivera Álvarez, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, who provided her own photographs from the original documents (reproduced in this edition) and made various important corrections in the transcription. The photographs permitted the correction of some seriously erroneous readings in the earlier version of this edition. For the current update, John Polt proofread both the introduction and the transcription, enabling me to correct a good number of errors and misreadings.

Glossary

amartelar fol. 345v26 ‘enamorar’

bascos fol. 348r38-39 “vnos calçones | de hombre bascos” = ? *bascoso* ‘desaseado, indecente’ (Santamaría 1959, s.v.)/‘filthy’

chicubite fol. 347v5 = *chiquibuite* ‘cesto’/‘basket’

elote fol. 345v17-18, 20 ‘mazorca de maíz’/‘ear of corn’

lebrillo fol. 348r4, 6 ‘vasija de barro vidriado, de plata u otro metal, más ancha por el borde que por el fondo, y que sirve para lavar ropa, para baños de pies y otros usos’ (*DRAE*)/‘washtub’

metate fol. 347v15 ‘piedra sobre la cual se muelen manualmente con el metlapil el maíz y otros granos’ (*DRAE*)/‘stone on which corn and chocolate are ground’

tapalcate fol. 347r38 = *tepalcate* ‘tiesto’/‘flowerpot’

tunica fol. 346v16 ‘vestido’/‘dress’

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yellow highlighting = uncertain text

?? = unreadable text

**Fray Francisco de Escobar informa sobre acusaciones
contra María de Zamora por hechicera
San Gabriel, Nuevo México, 24 de agosto de 1607**

**Archivo General de la Nación, México
ramo Inquisición, tomo 467, expediente 78, fols. 342r-v**

[fol. 342r]

Ssanto Officio

†

Recibida en 26 de nouembre 1607

Del Nuevo Mexico fray Francisco de
Escobar

Registrada en 17 de
diziembre en el quaderno
deste año

En esta tierra de vna pendencia que huuo entre vnas consuegras o entre suegras y yernos resulta vna causa contra Maria de Çamora, acumulandole el yerno y marido de su hija que con vnos poluos le quiso por diuersas vezes quitar la vida. Las palabras que en razon desto huuo vinieron en tanta publicidad, con otras muchas que dellas se ocassionaron, que bi-
5 no la dicha Maria de Çamora a quedar en todo el pueblo infamada de muger que sabia ha-
çer polvos y dar hechizos y hazerlos y de saber ligar con cabellos y poluos y de que se vnta-
ba y hazia ausençia de su casa a dessora y de que tenia pleito con el demonio y se subia en un
cabron. De todo esto bino la pobre muger a quedar infamada, no pudiendose averiguar
que antes de la dicha pendençia hubiesse contra la dicha Maria de Çamora rumor
10 de alguna destas cosas. El testigo que contra ella se hallo fue una hija suya pero
muger del yerno con quien auia auido la pendençia, por cuyas manos se dixo que la
suegra lo queria matar. No se pudo hallar otro testigo ni de los çitados se pudo sacar
palabra en razon desto. Verdad es que no se les amenazo ni pareçio cosa conbeniente
amenazarlos ni apremiarlos con castigo o tormento porque jurassen, por ser ellos
15 tales que era muy façil de creer que el castigo o temor del les haria facilmente ju-
rar lo que no sabian y assi viendo la poca comodidad de probança y de que la ber-
dad se aberiguasse y conoçiendo quan façilmente en esse santo tribunal se auerigua
y delata aun lo muy occulto, acorde de remitir a Vuestras Señorias la causa. El proçesso della
lleba el padre fray Lazaro Ximenez, predicador que ba desta tierra a negoçiar y pedir el
20 remedio della al señor birrey de la Nueba España. El yerno de la dicha Maria
de Çamora sale desta tierra al presente y dexa dadas fianças de que presentara a su
muger en esse santo tribunal cada y quando que le fuere mandado que es la hija de la di-
cha Maria de Çamora y testigo en la causa contra su madre. La madre tambien esta-
ba asi aprestada para yrse y por hazer grandissima falta su marido en esta tie-
25 rra se le pidio de parte del gobernador no hiziesse ausençia, por lo qual pareçio cosa

conveniente se quedasse con el la dicha Maria de Çamora su muger por no tener comodidad de salir no saliendo el marido, fuera de que la causa que contra ella ha auido no me pareçio tener prueba suffiçiente para que como a persona culpada

[fol. 342v]

se pudiesse obligar por auto ni por sentençia a que se presentasse en esse santo tribunal, no siendo por parte de Vuestras Señorias citada y llamada, porque estando la causa por probar, seria infamarla obligarla a que se presentase si despues no se hallase cosa contra ella y quando se le pruebe lo que se le accumula esta aqui mucho mas segura que si saliesse a la

- 5 Nueva España, porque alla podria ausentarse y absconderse quando se temiesse de al-
go y aca no tiene orden para esso. Tambien van con el processo los poluos que se
hallaron en poder de la hija por cuyas manos dizen que queria matar al yerno la di-
cha Maria de Çamora, que aca ni ai comodidad ni orden para saber si son mortiferos por
persona que los conozca no ay, **quiera Dios merced** porque la uerdad se auerigue para que
10 los delictos sean castigados y su magestad diuina seruido, el qual las yllustrissimas per-
sonas de Vuestras Señorias prospere en la dignidad que este menor capellan de Vuestras
Señorias desea.

Deste conbento de Sant Gabriel en las probinçias de la Nueva Mexico y de agosto
24 de 1607 años. De Vuestras Señorias menor capellan fray Francisco de Escobar. {rubric}

**Proceso criminal
contra Maria de Zamora, Ana Ortiz y María mujer de Francisco López por hechiceras
San Gabriel, Nuevo México, 29 de diciembre de 1606-23 de agosto de 1607**

**Archivo General de la Nación, México
ramo Inquisición, tomo 467, expediente 79, fols. 343r-353r**

[fol. 343r]

†

Proçeso criminal por denunçiaçion de Diego Robledo
Juez

~ El rreberendo padre frai Francisco de Escobar, comi-
ario general deste reyno

~ Ante el secretario de gouernaçion Juan Gutierrez
Bocanegra

qontra
Maria de Zamora hechiçera y bruja

qontra
Ana Ortiz hechiçera

qontra
Maria muger de Francisco Lopez hechiçera

[fol. 343v]

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[fol. 344r]

†

[left margin] *Denunçiaçion | de Diego Robledo | contra | Maria de Zamora su | suegra por hec- | hicerias*

En la villa de San Grabiél del Nuevo Mexico, beynte y nueve
dias del mes de diçiembre de mjll y seiscientos y seis años,
ante el rreberendo padre frai Francisco de Escobar, comisario ge-
neral y apostolico deste rreyno, pareçio Diego Robledo,
5 residente en esta billa y dijo que denunciaba y denu[n]çio
(^de maria) ?? judicialmente de Maria de Çamora su suegra y con-
tando el caso de su denunçiaçion que abra **mas** tienpo
de vn mes que Luçia de Çamora muger deste denun-
çiante le dixo abiendolo hallado en su poder unos pol-

- 10 bos y preguntadole para que heran respondio que
la dicha Maria de Çamora su madre se los auia dado pa-
ra que con ellos mat(e)[a]se al dicho Diego Robledo hechando-
selos en los çapatos y en los las espaldas y despues
desto la dicha su muger saco vnas hojas pequeñas de
15 yerbas y dijo que su madre le auia dado aquellas hojas
para que se las hechase en el agua quando bebiese que
con ellas se le atajaria la orina y le daria dolor de
barriga y que con ello bendria a morir y le dijo que ya
en casa de la dicha su madre se los auian dado ya a beber
20 al dicho Diego Robledo y con esto diçe que mando a la dicha
Luçia de Çamora su muger que no fuese en casa de su madre
ni consintiese que ninguno de sus hermanos ni otra persona
de casa de su madre entrase en su casa y en su casa
tiene este que denuncia vn muchacho de hasta ocho
25 años que se llama Juan Quelmes mestiço y este se le hu-
yo vna noche y a la mañana quando le trujeron
preguntandole por que se auia huido dijo que
porque no lo acuytasen porque le auia dado Diego
hijo de la dicha su suegra vnos poluos en vn papel
30 para que los diese a la dicha Luçia de Çamora y se
le auia derramado parte dellos y los demas estan
en el papel qu'el dicho Diego Robledo no los a que-
rido ber y diçiendole a la dicha su muger que que mal-
dades heran aquellas de su madre le respon-
35 dio que otras muchas cosas sauia de su madre
porque tenia en su caza vnos ynguentos con

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- que se vntaba y que se desapareçia y se yba y que
despues de buelta le auia preguntado a la dicha su madre
donde auia ydo y le respondio que yba a uestar
la mano de vn gran rey y que despues le bol-
5 bio a deçir que auia [i]do a besar el rrabo a vn
cabron y que la dicha Luçia de Çamora ansimismo
le dijo que auia dicho a su madre que como no le
enseñaba aquello y que le rrespondio que he-
ra muy niña y que se bolueria loca y ansimis-
10 mo le a dicho la dicha su muger que a uisto a su madre
poner vn lebrillo con agua y en el agua dos habas
contrarias vna de otra y dos mayçes ansimis-
mo frontero vno de otro y que luego las santi-
guaba y deçia “de biga en biga” o “de bira en bira”
15 y que con esto se juntan las habas y los maïçes
y que benia vn animal con vnas orexas gran-
des y tuertas y se le metia debaxo de las faldas
y se ponía su madre caballera en el y ansimismo

que la dicha su madre le aconsejo que para que
20 las brujas no entrasen en vna casa se a de poner
vna escoba las puntas hacia baxo y vnas tijeras
ansimismo las puntas hacia baxo y qu'esto
a bisto hacer el dicho Diego Robledo a su muger y pre-
guntandole por que lo hace le a rrespondido que
25 para defenderse de su madre y que ansimismo
le a dicho la dicha su muger que su madre tiene pacto
con el demonjo y qu'el dicho Robledo pregunto a la
dicha su muger como sauia estas cosas y le a rrespon-
dido que ella a uisto a la dicha su madre que se mete
30 en vn aposento y da con la mano en la pared y di-
çe "ben aca Satanas que yo te prometo este
dedo" señalando vn dedo de la mano y que lue-
go le rresponden dentro y sale vna criatura
y habla con el y le diçe que quiere sauer algunas
35 cosas que le pregunta y que diçendole el dicho Diego Ro-
bledo a su muger que mire lo que diçe y que no le-

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bante testimonjo a su madre le a rrespondido mu-
chas beçes que ya saue qu'es su madre y que no le le-
vanta nada que todo es berdad y el dicho Diego Robledo
le a dicho que como no confesaua esto quando se
5 confiesa y le rrespondio que ella no auia enten-
dido que hera pecado y por eso no lo auia confesado
y que ansimismo los días pasados dijo al dicho

[left margin] *gontra* | *Maria muger de* | *Francisco Lopez por bec-* | *biçerías*

Diego Robledo Francisca muger de Juan de Tapia que estan-
do vn dia en casa de Maria muger de Francisco Lopez le
10 dijo la dicha Maria, "aqui an de venir a comer estos
elotes vnos moços; echales estos poluos," y que
la dicha Francisca le dijo "para que quieres matar
a estos moços" y rrespondio "que no eran para
matar sino para amartelallos" y que a la dicha
15 Francisca le dio otros que dijo que se los diese a su ma-
rido que con ellos çegaria y podria buscar su
bida qu'estaba pobre y rremediarse y que la dicha
Francisca le dijo que los arrojo y que ansimismo le
dixo la dicha Maria a la dicha Francisca que los pol-
20 bos se los auia dado Francisco hijo de la dicha Maria
de Çamora y vna criada de la muger de Xpistobal Baca
que se llama Ynes dijo a Catalina Lopez madre
del dicho Diego Robledo que la llamasen a ella que
diria como la dicha Maria de Çamora y la muger

[left margin] *qontra | Ana Ortiz | hechiçera*

25 del dicho Xpistobal Baca que se llama Ana Ortiz auian
ligado a el capitan Alonso Gomez y dijo que esto
que a dicho lo declara para descargo de su conçiencia
y para que sean castigados semejantes
delitos y antes juro a Dios y a vna cruz † en for-
30 ma de derecho y lo firmo de su nombre. Va testado **do deçia**
“de maria” {rubric} Diego Robledo {rubric}

†

Frai Francisco de Escobar comissario {rubric} ante mi
Jhoan Gutierrez Bocanegra ssecretario {rubric}

Luego yncontientne para la aueriguaçion des-
te caso el dicho padre comjsario mando ha-

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çer aberiguaçion de las personas declaradas
en la dicha denunçiaçion y con las demas que se de-
clararen y se hiço en la forma siguiente:

†

Fray Francisco de Escobar comjsario {rubric} Ante mi
Jhoan Gutierrez Bocanegra ssecretario {rubric}

~ Este dicho dia el dicho padre comisario **apostolico** por aueriguar
5 esta causa mando que a la dicha Luçia de (l)[Ç]amora
se ponga en casa de la muger del capitan Alonso Gomez
por ser casa onrrada y sin sospecha y se puso, de que yo
el dicho secretario doy fee.

†

Fray Francisco de Escobar comjssario {rubric} Ante mi
Jhoan Gutierrez Bocanegra ssecretario {rubric}

[left margin] *testigo*

En este dicho dia beynte y nueve dias de diçienbre el dicho
10 padre comisario para aberiguaçion desta causa mando
pareçer ante si a Francisca Robledo muger de Juan de Ta-
pia, de la qual tomo y reçibio juramento por Dios y vna cruz †
en forma de derecho y preguntada por la denuçiaçion dijo
que lo que saue y pasa es que puede auer quatro
15 meses poco mas o menos qu'estando esta testigo
en casa de Maria muger de Francisco Lopez bido que
la dicha Maria tenia unos elotes çoçidos blancos

y colorados y escojio dos elotes colorados y saco de
vna cajuela vnos poluos colorados y los echo
20 en los elotes y los rrefrego contra los poluos y
los dio a Francisco de Niebes y tomo otros dos e-
lotes colorados y ansimismo les echo
de los poluos y se los dio a Pedro Luçero y bido
qu'el dicho Niebes comio los elotes y esta testigo
25 pregunto a la dicha Maria para que eran aquellos
polbos y le rrespondio “para amartelar a estos
putos” y otro dia estando esta testigo en ca-
sa de la dicha Maria saco vna poca de rraiz a-
marilla y se la dio a esta testigo y le dijo que la

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yndia loca de Juan de Medina se la auia dado y que
la llebase a quien quisiese o a su marido para
que la quisiese bien y esta testigo la arroxo luego
y que la dicha Maria dixo a esta testigo que los
5 poluos que hecho en los elotes se los auia dado Francisco
hijo de Montoya y de Maria de Çamora y bido esta tes-
tigo otro dia que la dicha Maria pidio al dicho Francisco
hijo de la dicha Maria de Çamora diçiendolo, “a, señor
Francisco, ay algo de aquello” y el dicho Francisco le rrespondio
10 que no que beria si auia y despues le dijo la
dicha Maria que le auia dado poluos el dicho Francisco
y esta testigo le pregunto de donde los tenia para
darselos y dixo que los yndios de Cuyamongue
se los dauan y ansimismo le dijo la dicha Maria
15 a esta testigo que auia dado unos guebos fritos
con la dicha rraiz al dicho Pedro Luçero y preguntandole
la dicha Maria a esta testigo que auia hecho de la
rraiz que le auia dado le dijo que la guardaba y le
conbido con otra y le dijo que la llebase y la gui-
20 sase y que despues de guisada la hechase en el plato
y diese a comer en el y tambien le (^pregunto) dixo que
se labase los sobacos y sus berguenças o dijo que
se las lababa ella que no se acuerda si fue lo vno
o lo otro y que con el agua guisase de comer
25 para que la quisiesen y preguntandole esta
testigo si aquello era alguna hechiçeria rres-
pondio que no que alla en Mexico haçian aque-
llo y otras bellaquerias y que a los que lo ha-
çian y a los que lo bian los quemaban y que
30 ansi no dijese nada porque la querria mas
y esta testigo le dijo “el hijo de Montoya **no con-
fiesa** esto y **a bos** que **os di** es el padre” y le rres-
pondio qu'el hijo de Montoya le auia dicho que

no lo querian asoluer y que a ella le da-
35 uan mucha penitencia y qu'esta testigo no lo
descubriese porque me quemarian y que

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se lo decía porque la quería bien y esto que a dicho
es la uerdad y lo que saue para el juramento que a he-
cho y se rratifico en ello y dijo qu'es de hedad
de diez y ocho años poco mas o menos. No fir-
5 mo por no sauer. Va testado "pregunto".

†

Fray Francisco de Escobar comjssario {rubric} Ante mi
Jhoan Gutierrez Bocanegra ssecretario {rubric}

[left margin] *testigo*

En este dicho dia para aueriguaçion de esta causa el dicho
padre comisario mando parecer ante si a Luçia de [Ça]mora
muger del dicho Diego Robledo, de la qual fue tomado y re-
çibido juramento en forma de derecho por Dios y vna cruz †
5 que hiço con los dedos de su mano derecha y prometio
de decir verdad y preguntada por esta causa dijo
que puede auer mes y medio poco mas o menos que
Maria de Çamora madre de esta testigo riño con Diego
Robledo marido de esta testigo y antes desto la dicha su ma-
10 dre desta testigo le enbio vnos poluos con Diego hermano des-
ta testigo y le enbio a decir con vna yndia que le sirbe
que aquellos poluos heran para que se los hechase
al dicho Diego Robledo en las espaldas y en los çapa-
tos para que muriese con ellos y despues de algu-
15 nos dias suçedio que los dichos poluos le hallaron a es-
ta testigo y se los tomaron de la manga de la tunica don-
de los traia en vn papel y luego esta testigo se lo
enbio a decir a la dicha su madre con Juana hermana desta
testigo y luego la dicha su madre le enbio con el dicho Diego
20 su hermano otros poluos, los quales guardo esta testigo
y el dicho Diego Robledo su marido fue al pueblo de Pujuaque
donde hallo al dicho Diego hermano desta testigo y segun
le dijo el dicho su marido pregunto al dicho Diego que le dije-
se la uerdad de la manera que **bido sido lo** de
25 los poluos y el dicho su hermano le dijo que su madre se los
auia dado (**^por**) para que los diese a esta testigo
y que demas de los primeros le auia dado otros
poluos al dicho Diego para que los diese a esta testigo
y benjdo a su casa el dicho Diego Robledo pregunto a es-
30 ta testigo por estos segundos poluos y esta tes-

tigo los saco y se los dio y que estos segundos poluos ansimesmo le enbio a deçir su madre que aquellos eran para que se hinchase el dicho

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Diego Robledo su marido dandoseles en el agua y la dicha yndia que trujo los primeros trujo los segundos y dijo a esta testigo que con ellos se hincharia y se le atajaria la orina y que en los poluos primeros qu'esta
5 ta testigo a dicho desenboluio el papel en que benian y bido qu'estaba dentro entre los poluos vnas vnñas cortadas y y cabellos y vn gargaxo y otro dia que la dicha su madre fue casa desta testigo y estando juntas esta testigo y su suegra y la muger del capitan
10 Romero y otra moça que se llama Sabina entro rriñendo y dijo a esta testigo "daca los poluos que te di". Dos beçes se los pidio y esta testigo le dijo que ya se los auian tomado y quando la otra bez se los pidio diçiendo "daca los poluos que diçen que te di" y arre-
15 metio con esta testigo y le enpeço a dar y las qu'estaban presentes se la quitaron y entonçes se salio y al bajar de la escalera a vn muchacho mestiço que se llama Juan le dio vnos pocos de poluos para que los diese a esta testigo y no le dijo el muchacho mas de que se los auia dado su madre desta
20 testigo. / Fuele preguntado por que causa entro su madre riñendo dijo que porque Diego Robledo marido desta testigo abia dicho a su padre que por que queria la dicha Maria de Çamora matarle y con esto fue la
25 dicha su madre a rreñir con esta testigo y la dicha yndia Maria criada de su madre desta testigo le dijo como antes que rriñeran le auian dado al dicho Diego Robledo en vn jarro de agua unos poluos en casa de la dicha madre desta testigo y mas dijo
30 que los dias pasados (^est) que abra tienpo de año y medio poco mas o menos y bido esta testigo estando su padre en el molino que la dicha su madre se entro vna noche en vn aposento y çerrada la puerta bido esta
testigo por las hendeduras della que eran grandes
35 por estar la puerta quebrada, qu'es vn aposento que auia, sirbe de despensa a la dicha su madre y tenia vna candela ençendida de sebo y vnas brasas de lumbre en vn tapalcate y desnuda en camisa que solamente tenia sus berguenças tapa-
40 das en vn paño bido esta testigo que se vntaba todas las coyunturas como es las manos y codos y los onbros y las rrodillas y los dedos de los

pies y que el ynguento era como amarillo y

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despues de auer puesto este ynguento se unto
con otro en las mismas coyunturas que hera negro
y saue que eran destas colores porque los auia bisto
que la dicha su madre los tenia en unos calabacillos
5 y metidos en vn chicubite que tenia algodón y es-
taba colgado en el propio aposento y bido esta tes-
tigo como despues de vntada se alço vn poco de la
tierra y se paro la lumbre de la candela berde y la
dicha su madre se desapareçio y luego se apago la can-
10 dela y esta testigo tubo mjedo y se fue acostar con sus hermanos
y no la bido mas hasta otro día que hera de día qu' esta
testigo se lebanto y asimismo a uisto a la dicha su madre
beuer el peote muchas beçes y vna dellas esta testigo
bebio vn poco de peote pareçiendole que seria cosa buena.
15 Labo lo que quedo en el metate y lo bebio antes de poner[se]
el sol y esta testigo se salio de casa a jugar y a la noche que
se acosto le pareçe que bia bisiones como onbres ar-
mados y pajaros y se le figuro que se auia de casar y o-
tras cosas y por esta cree que la dicha su madre
20 lo bebia para este efecto y le pregunto a la dicha
su madre que para que lo bebia y le respondio
que porque hera bueno y pidiendole este testigo que
le diese vn poco le dijo que no lo bebiese que he-
ra muy chiquita y se bolueria loca y dijo la dicha su
25 madre a esta testigo y a todos sus hermanos como en la
Nueba España abia vna muger que se vntaba cada
noche y que deçia “de biga en biga con yra de Santa Maria”
y que la castigaron por ello y ansimismo dijo que
a bisto a la dicha su madre en el mjsmo aposento
30 donde se vntaba que despues de puesto el sol
antes que fuese de noche daba vnos golpes con
la mano a puño çerrado que heran çinco golpes
que no oyo bien esta testigo las palabras que de-
çia mas de que oyo deçir “Berçebu” y que con esto
35 bino vn lechonçillo y le dijo la dicha su madre no se
que preguntas entre las quales pregunto que haçian
en casa de Ana Ortiz y otra bez bido otro tanto y a
la mjsma ora y con las palabras que a decla-
rado y golpes en la pared y bido que bino vn pe-
40 rrillo chiquito lanudo negro y le dijo al cochi-
nito que a dicho la primera bez que le daría el
dedo del coraçon de la mano yzquierda y quando
el perrillo le dijo que le daría el dedo mas

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- pequeño y se lo señalaba y asimismo a bisto tres
beçes a la dicha su madre abra vn año poco mas o menos
qu'estando su padre en el molino tomo la dicha su madre
un lebrillo de agua y ençima del bordo deste lebrillo
- 5 ponja dos habas y dos (^garbanços)[^maïçes] fronteros vnos de otros
y la dicha su madre andaba a la rredonda del lebrillo
arrastrandose y diçiendo vnas palabras que
le pareçio a esta testigo que no eran en española
lengua y a la postrera palabra entendio esta
- 10 testigo que deçia "la chobera" y a esta palabra
saltaban (y) los (^garbanços)[^granos de maiz] dentro del agua, las habas
vna tras otra y el maiz caya apartado del lebrillo
y luego benia vn animal que le pareçio a esta tes-
tigo que seria como vn cabron de vn año casi como
- 15 amarillo que no supo deçir la color con la cola rre-
tuerta y lebantada sobre el anca y delgada como
cola de puerco y se metia en el agua y su madre
desta testigo subia ençima y estaba caballe-
ra en el dicho animal y en esto esta testigo se yba
- 20 porque no la biese la dicha su madre y saue esta testigo
que auiendo reñjdo la dicha su madre con su padre
porque deçia que andaba con otra muger dijo a esta
testigo "yo le dare con que no quiera a esta persona"
y luego el dicho su padre aporreio a la dicha su madre y esta
- 25 testigo como bido aporreio a su madre le dijo
"señora, ¿por que no le da a mi padre lo que dijo?"
y la dicha su madre le rrespondio "ya se lo e dado
y lo e ligado" y demas desto dijo que binjendo Ynes
criada de Baca yndia de la Nueva España a casa
- 30 desta testigo y no dejandole hablar con ella dijo
la dicha Ynes "¿que se me da a mi que no me dejen ha-
blar con Luçia que yo lo se todo, y quando ligaron al
capitan Alonso Gomez?", lo qual dijo a Sabina mu-
ger de Juan de Lara y esta testigo a oydo deçir a la dicha su
- 35 madre que vna bruja le quiso matar a Juan hermano
desta testigo quando hera niño y que otra noche
puso a los pies de la cama vna escoba las puntas
haçia baxo y vnas tijeras y vnos calçones
de hombre **bascos** a la cabeçera y que con esto no en-
- 40 traria bruja y esta testigo despues que su madre
riño con ella por su marido Diego Robledo, temiendo-
se de su madre, ymaginando que quiça es bruja,
a puesto la dicha escoba y las tixerias como a dicho

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y qu'esto hiço dos noches no mas y qu'esto que tiene
dicho es la uerdad y lo que esta testigo saue para el jura-
mento que a hecho y se ratifico en ello y dijo que no sa-
be deçir la (^??) edad que tiene; al pareçer sera de hedad
5 de doçe o treçe años y dijo que por ser su madre no a de-
jado de deçir verdad y no firmo por no sauer. Va tes-
tado "garbanços" y entre renglones "nos de maiz".
Firmolo el dicho comisario. Va testado "garbanços" y entre rren-
glones "maizes".

†

Fray Francisco de Escobar {rubric} Ante mi
Jhoan Gutierrez Bocanegra ssecretario {rubric}

~ En este dicho dia el dicho padre comisario fue a casa de
Bartolome de Montoya marido de la dicha Maria de
Çamora y llebo consigo a la dicha Luçia de Çamora pa-
15 ra que mostrase el aposento donde diçe que su
madre haçia lo que a declarado para ber por
bista de ojos si en el aposento çerrada la puer-
ta se podia uer lo que dentro se hiçiese y se hallo el
aposento que señalo la dicha Luçia de Çamora
20 sin puerta y no pareçio en toda la casa.

†

Fray Francisco de Escobar {rubric} Ante mi
Jhoan Gutierrez Bocanegra
ssecretario

En este dicho dia luego yncontinente el dicho padre comi-
25 sario mando que se notifique a Diego Robledo lue-
go traiga y entregue los poluos que diçe tener
al dicho padre comjsario y yo el dicho secretario se lo notifi[que]
y los trujo y entrego al dicho padre comisario en
mi presençia de doi fee, los quales son tres ataditos en-
30 bueltos en vnos papelitos pequeños y los poluos en muy
poca cantidad, los quales quedaron en poder
del dicho padre comjsario.

†

Fray Francisco de Escobar {rubric} doy fee dello
Jhoan Gutierrez Bocanegra {rubric}

[fol. 349r]

[left margin] *testigo*

En la villa de San Grauiel treynta dias de di-
ciembre del dicho año, el dicho padre comisario hiço
pareçer ante si a vna yndia criada de la dicha Ma-
ria de Çamora y della tomo y reçibio juramento en for-
5 ma de derecho y preguntada por la cabeça de proceso y por el caso dijo
que se llama Maria y qu'es otomita avnque no supo
deçir del pueblo qu'es natural y que desde chiquita esta
con la dicha Maria de Çamora su ama. No supo deçir la e-
dad y al pareçer sera de mas de diez y seis años y es ladi-
10 na en lengua castallana y se le hiçieron muy munchas pre-
guntas açerca de lo que hasta aqui esta escrito sin quedar
nada y a todas respondio que no saue ni a uisto nada y no
firmo por que no supo. Firmolo el dicho padre comisario.

†

15 Fray Francisco de Escobar {rubric} Ante mi
Jhoan Gutierrez Bocanegra {rubric}
ssecretario

[left margin] *testigo*

En este dicho dia mes y año susodicho el dicho comjsario
hiço pareçer ante si a Ynes yndia que dijo ser
20 natural de Toluca y es criada de Ana Ortiz mu-
ger del capitan Xpistobal Baca y della tomo y re-
çibio juramento en forma de derecho y so cargo del le fue-
ron hechas muchas preguntas conforme a lo es-
crito y a todo dijo que no sauia nada ni lo auia
25 oydo nj bisto y esto respondio en lengua
castellana qu'es muy ladina. No supo de-
çir la edad y al pareer sera de quince años
poco mas o menos. No firmo por no sauer.

†

30 Fray Francisco de Escobar {rubric} Ante mi
Jhoan Gutierrez Bocanegra ssecretario {rubric}

~ En postrero dia del mes de diçienbre del dicho año el dicho padre
comjsario para mejor aueriguar la uerdad en este
caso y porque esta tan publico en todo este pueblo que fue
domjngo el dicho dia postrero del mes echo vna desco-
35 munjon en el altar para que todas las per-

[fol. 349v]

sonas que supiesen si auia en este pueblo algunas personas que fuesen brujas, hechiçeras o encantaderas o que ligasen algunos onbres y otras cosas lo biniesen a manjfestar y deçir y con esto por la descomunjon

5 pareçio ante el dicho padre comjsario la dicha Luçia de Çamora y dijo con juramento que yo el dicho secretario le tome que la dicha Maria de Çamora su madre se ponía en la cara y en los pechos vnas pelotillas negras por de fuera y blanco el coraçon mascandolas con la boca y qu'esta testigo le pregunto para

10 que se ponja aquello y le dijo que para que todos los onbres la quisiesen y se binjesen a ella y que le dijo a esta testigo que se los pusiese y que la querrian bien todos los onbres y que ella como muchacha y sin sauer lo que haçia se los puso en

15 la cara tres beçes y qu'esta es la uerdad para el juramento que tiene hecho y se ratifico en ello.

†

Fray Francisco de Escobar {rubric} Ante mi
Jhoan Gutierrez Bocanegra {rubric}
ssecretario

~ En este dicho dia dos dias de enero de mjll y seisçientos

20 y siete años respeto de la dicha descomunjon bino a declarar Juan Perez soldado que bido a Francisco de Montoya hijo de la dicha Maria de Çamora abra vn año que tenia vna rrayz pequeña en las manos y este testigo le pregunto para que hera y el dicho Francisco de Montoya

25 le respondio que para alcançar mugeres y que se la abía dado vn yndio y esto declaro con juramento que yo el secretario le tome y es de hedad de beynte y nueve años y lo firmo de su nombre.

†

30 Fray Francisco de Escobar {rubric} Juan Perez Ante mi
Jhoan Gutierrez Bocanegra {rubric}

[fol. 350r]

†

[left margin] ?? | *confision de | Maria de Çamora*

~ En la villa de San Grabiel a quatro dias del mes de enero de mjll y seisçientos y siete años, el dicho padre comisario mando pa-

reçer ante si a Maria de Çamora muger de Bartolome de
Montoya para le tomar su confision y della fue tomado
5 y rreçibido juramento en forma de derecho y lo hiço y prometio
de deçir verdad y le fueron hechas las preguntas siguientes:

~ Preguntado como se llama, que edad tiene y de dond'es natu-
ral, dijo que se llama Maria de Çamora y es muger
de Bartolome de Montoya y es de hedad de treynta
10 y tres años y es natural de Mexico y naçio en el barrio
de San Sebastian junto de la çequia que tiene el nombre de
San Sebastian.

~ Fuele preguntado en que partes y lugares a bibido fue-
ra de Mexico y quien fueron sus padres, dijo qu'es
15 hija de Pedro de Çamora vezino de Mexico que bibia en la dicha
açequia y barrio y su madre se llamaba Agustina
Abarca y dijo qu'el dicho su padre fue por alcalde mayor de
Guaxaca y qu'esta confesante hera de hedad
de siete años y desde alli la trujeron al pueblo de Tez-
20 cuco donde se crio y la casaron y desde el dicho pueblo
de Tezcucu que bibia en el barrio de San Lorenço
la trujo su marido a este reyno.

~ Fue preguntado diga y declare si es uerdad como lo es que
esta confesante enbio a Luçia de (l)[Ç]amora su hija
25 muger qu'es de Diego Robledo en dibersas beçes vnos
poluos con vna yndia criada desta confesante
para que se los pusiese en los pies y en las espaldas
y le hechase en el agua al dicho Diego Robledo para que mu-
riese, dijo que lo niega porque no pasa tal ni saue
30 de poluos nj de otras cosas destas.

~ Preguntado si es berdad como lo es que abia año y medio
que esta confesante algunas noches entraba en
vn aposento el postrero de su casa y con vna can-
dela ençendida y unas brasas se vntaba todas las
35 coyunturas de pies y manos, onbros y otras partes
y despues de unta(b)[d]a se desapareçia y la
candela se apagaua, dijo que lo niega por-
que no pasa tal.

~ Preguntado si es uerdad como lo es qu'esta confesante
40 acostunbra a beber el peote y para que efecto
lo bebia, dixo qu'es uerdad que trujo quan-

[fol. 350v]

do bino a esta tierra una sarta de peote, la qual
le dio a esta confesante vna muger que se llama doña
Ysael muger de fulano Rodriguez y qu'esto a gas-
tado con algunas personas echandose en bidmas
5 y en ayudas y que no lo a bebido y dado a beber a nin-
guna persona. Esto responde.

~ Preguntado si es uerdad como lo es qu'esta testigo conto a
la dicha su hija y a otras personas que en la Nueva
España auia vna muger que se vntava cada noche
10 y que deçia "de biga en viga con **yra ba** de Santa Maria",
dijo que es uerdad que lo que se le pregunta conto a la
dicha su hija y a otras personas y a los demas sus hijos
porque oyo deçir en Mexico que en el auto abia sa-
lido la muger que lo deçia y que lo conto acaso
15 como contando quentos.

~ Preguntado si es uerdad como lo es qu'esta confesante e-
n el mjsmo aposento que se untaba algunos dias de
noche yba y en la pared del dicho aposento daba con
la mano a puño çerrado çinco golpes y deçia al-
20 gunas palabras que la postrera era nonbrando
a Berçebu y salio vna vn lechonçito y otras vn
perrillo y hablaba con ellos y porque le dijese
lo que les preguntaba les mandaba unas
beçes el dedo del coraçon y otra el mas pequeño,
25 dixo que no saue nada de lo que se le pregunta.

~ Preguntado si es uerdad que abia un año poco mas o me-
nos qu'estando su marido desta confesante e-
n el molino desta villa que molia el trigo de los be-
çinos esta confesante tomaba vn lebrillo de
30 agua y le ponía en los bordes dos habas y dos maizes
frontero vnos de otros y ella en cuclillas
andaba a la rredonda del lebrillo y deçia çiertas palabras
y dichas se juntaban vnos con otros y benia vn animal
como cabron y esta confesante subia ençima, dijo
35 que lo niega porque no pasa tal.

~ Preguntado si es uerdad que auendo reñjdo esta confe-
sante con su marido sobre çelos por una muger
desta villa le dijo a su hija que le auia de dar
con que dejase a otras mugeres y no quisiese
40 a otra muger y despues le pregunto su hija si
se lo abia dado y le dijo que ya estava hecho,
dijo que lo niega porque no pasa tal.

[fol. 351r]

~ Preguntado si es uerdad qu'esta confesante dijo a la dicha su hija que para que las brujas no entrasen a haçer daño era bueno poner vna escoba las puntas haçia baxo y vnas tigeras debajo del almohada,
5 dixo que lo que pasa es qu'esta confesante dijo en casa de Ana Ortiz contando que las mugeres d'España contaban lo que se le pregunta y qu'esta confesante siendo chiquito vn hijo suyo que se llama Francisco puso vna escoba las puntas haçia
10 arriba al pie de la cuna haçia la cabeçera y esto hiço dos beçes, lo qual hiço por auerlo oydo como a dicho y esto responde.

~ Preguntado si es uerdad qu'esta confesante para que la quisiesen los onbres y se afixionasen a ella algunas beçes con vnas pelotillas negras por de fuera y blancas por dentro mascandolas en la boca se las vntaba en los pechos y en la cara y dijo a su hija que hiçiese otro tanto, dijo que no saue nada de lo que se le pregunta por que no pasa tal.

20 ~ Fueronle hechas otras muchas preguntas al caso pertenecièntes y dijo que no saue otra cosa mas de lo que tiene dicho, lo qual es la uerdad so cargo del juramento que tiene ffecho y se ratifico en ello y no firmo porque dijo que no saue.

†

25 Fray Francisco de Escobar {rubric} Ante mi
Jhoan Gutierrez Bocanegra {rubric}

[left margin] *confesion de Diego | hijo de Bartolo- | me de Montoya*

~ Este dicho dia el dicho padre comjsario mando parecer ante [si] a vn muchacho que se llama Diego hijo de Bartolome de Montoya y de Maria de Çamora y por
30 ser pequeño que no supo deçir la hedad que tenia no se le recibio juramento; al parecer sera de nuebe años. Le fue preguntado que polbos le dio la dicha su madre para que los llevase a su hermana Luçia de Çamora para que matase a su marido y que le
35 abia ydo a deçir açerca de otros poluos y a todo dijo que no sauia nada ni abia pasado lo que se le pregunta y qu'esta es la verdad y lo que pasa

[fol. 351v]

y no otra cosa y a otras preguntas que se le hicieron a todas nego y dijo que no sauia nada. No firmo por no sauer.

†

5 Fray Francisco de Escobar {rubric} Ante mi
Jhoan Gutierrez Bocanegra {rubric}

†

~ En la villa de San Grabiél del Nuevo Mexico, a quatro dias de henero de mjll y seisçientos y siete años, el reberendo padre frai Francisco d'Escobar, comjsario apostolico y deste reyno, abiendo bisto esta causa y que
10 con auer puesto pena d'escomunjon mayor y hecho otras dilejençias no se a podido aueriguar otra cosa mas de lo que en ella esta escrito, dijo que porque en ella se probea lo que mas conbenga lo remitia a los sseñores ynquisidores de la çiudad de Mexico para que
15 en su santo tribunal se auerigue esta causa como en donde no se puede esconder cosa nenguna y lo firmo.

†

Fray Francisco de Escobar {rubric} Ante mi
Jhoan Gutierrez Bocanegra {rubric}

20 En la uilla de San Grabiél a çinco dias del mes de março de mjll y seisçientos y siete años, el rreberendo padre frai Francisco d'Escobar, comjsario susodicho en este rreyno del Nuevo Mexico, dijo que a su notiçia a benjdo que de nuevo Maria de Çamora muger de Bartolome de Montoya a enbiado polbos en diferentes
25 beças a su hija Luçia de Çamora muger de Diego Robledo para que con ellos le matase y para aueriguar la uerdad y que los señores ynquisidores de la çiudad de Mexico a quien tiene rremjtida esta causa y sobre todo probean lo que mas conbenga, mando que nuevamente se le tome la con-
30 fision sobre este caso a la dicha Luçia de Çamora para sauer en el caso lo que vbiere y si ai testigos que digan alguna cosa con que el caso se berifique mexor y lo firmo.

†

Fray Francisco de Escobar {rubric} Ante mi
Jhoan Gutierrez Bocanegra ssecretario {rubric}

[fol. 352r]

[left margin] [co]fision | [de Lu]çia de (l)[Ç]a- | mora

- ~ En la villa de San Grabiél del Nuevo Mexico, a çinco dias del mes de março del dicho año, el dicho padre comisario para la dicha aueriguaçion hiço parecer ante si a Luçia de (l)[Ç]amora muger de Diego Robledo, de la qual fue tomado y reçibido juramento por Dios y vna cruz †
- 5 en forma de derecho y lo hiço y prometio de deçir uerdad y preguntado diga y declare lo que en este caso supiere y aperçebida de los rrequisitos que conbinieren para que declare si es ynpueta de alguna persona, dijo que lo que
- 10 su madre Maria de Çamora se fue a bibir al pueblo de Cuyamongue qu'es quatro leguas desta villa le a enbiado con Diego hermano desta confesante y hij(a)[o] de la dicha su madre que sera de hedad de diez años seis beçes vnos polbos atados en vnos trapillos de lienço y que le a enbiado a deçir que
- 15 se los de al dicho Diego Robledo su marido en el agua y en la comida para que muera con ellos y que los dos atadillos de poluos se los enbio para que los diera ansimjsmo a doña Luçia muger del capitán Bartolome Romero hermana del dicho Diego Robledo y qu'esto es la uerdad.
- 20 ~ Fuele preguntado delante de que personas le dio el dicho Diego su hermano los dichos poluos y por donde y a que ora, dijo que estando ella sola por la puerta del corral se los dio vnhas veçes y otras en el corredor y que todas fue de dia y que no lo bido nadie.
- 25 ~ Fuele preguntado pues sauia que los dichos poluos eran para matar a su marido y a su cuñada para que los reçibia, dijo que solamente lo hiço y los tomo por dar contento a la dicha su madre y no para haçer nengun mal con ellos y que ansi luego se los entrego a su suegra madre del dicho Diego Robledo su
- 30 marido y en este estado el dicho padre comisario pidio los dichos poluos a la dicha su suegra y los esibio enbueltos en trapo pequeño y ellos en sus atadillos de trapo, en cada vno vn poquito, menos en cada vno que vn abellana y los guardo y llebo consigo el dicho
- 35 padre comjsario y aperçibio a la dicha Luçia de Çamora que por ninguna causa reçibiesse otra uez polvos ni otra cosa de la dicha su madre para efecto de haçer nengun mal con aperçibimjento de que la castigaria ejemplarmente.
- 40 ~ Fuele preguntado si ella saue haçer de los poluos que su madre

[fol. 352v]

diçe que le a enbiado, dijo que los sauia haçer porque
su madre se lo enseño y que se haçen de vna yerba qu'es-
ta en el pueblo donde bibe la dicha su madre de la rraiz della
y de las hojas de vn arbolito pequeño que se cria e-
5 n el dicho pueblo secandolo al sol y molido todo pero que no
los a hecho y qu'esto es la uerdad y lo que pasa so cargo
del dicho juramento y se retifica en ello y no firmo porque no
supo y es de hedad a poco mas de doçe años.

†

10 Fray Francisco de Escobar {rubric} Ante mi
Jhoan Gutierrez Bocanegra ssecretario {rubric}

[left margin] *avto*

En este dicho dia çinco de março del dicho año el dicho padre comisario
auiendo bisto esta causa y para que hasta que se bea por los
señores ynquisidores a quien esta rremitada, mando que se
de notiçia della al gouernador don Juan de Oñate para que
15 por nenguna causa de liçençia a la dicha Maria de Çamora
ni a Diego Robledo ni a Luçia de (l)[Ç]amora su muger que sal-
gan deste reyno para la Nueva España ni para otra par-
te sin su orden y pide y encarga al dicho gouernador por escusar
el daño que podria suçeder que mande a la dicha Maria de Ça-
20 mora y al dicho Bartolome de Montoya y a sus hijos que no en-
tren en esta villa por todo el tienpo qu'esta causa estu-
biere pendiente porque ansi conbiene al serbiçio de
Dios nuestro señor y de su magestad y lo firmo.

†

25 Fray Francisco de Escobar {rubric} Ante mi
Jhoan Gutierrez Bocanegra ssecretario {rubric}

[fol. 353r]

†

~ En la villa de San Grabiél del Nuevo Mexico, a beynte y tres dias del
mes de agosto de mjll y seisçientos y siete años, en presençia
de mj Juan Gutierrez Bocanegra, secretario de gouernaçion deste
reyno y de los testigos desta carta pareçio presente Diego Robledo a
5 quien yo el secretario doy fee que conozco y dijo que por
quanto el reberendo padre frai Francisco d'Escobar comjsario apos-
tolico a hecho çierta cavsya contra Maria de Çamora
muger de Bartolome de Montoya, la qual tiene remjtida
a los señores ynquisidores de la çidad de Mexico y en la dicha

- 10 causa fue testigo Luçia de (l)[Ç]amora muger del dicho Diego Robledo y para que si los dichos señores ynquisidores mandaren que la dicha Luçia de (l)[Ç]amora parezca en Mexico o en otra parte para tomarle otra uez su dicho o que se retifique o para otra cosa estara de manjfiesto
- 15 la dicha Luçia de (l)[Ç]amora y la tendra donde puedan los dichos señores ynquisidores mandarle lo que fueren serbidos, esto por quanto al presente sale deste reyno para la Nueva España con la dicha su muger y para que lo cumplira como ba declarado dio por su fiador a Marcos Garçia
- 20 que ansimesmo ba a la Nueva España, a quien doy fee que conozco y anbos a dos obligaron (obligaron) sus personas y bienes. Dieron poder a las justiçias de su magestad de qualesquier partes que sean; renunçiaron las leyes de su fauor para que les conpelan
- 25 al cumplimjento de lo que dicho es como por sentençia pasada en cosa juzgada y ansimesmo renunçiaron la ley general y lo firmo de su nombre el dicho Diego Robledo y por el dicho Marcos Garcia vn testigo porque dijo que no saue, siendo testigos Hernan Martin y Ernando de Ocaña
- 30 y el padre frai Alonso de San Juan.

†

{rubric} Diego Robledo {rubric} testigo Hernam Martin {rubric}

Ante mj
Jhoan Gutierrez Bocanegra {rubric}

Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico
ramo Inquisición, tomo 467, expediente 78, fols. 342r-v

[fol. 342r]

Holy Office



Received 26 November 1607 from New Mexico, Fray Francisco de Escobar
Registered 17 December 1607 in this year's ledger

A quarrel that arose in this country between two mothers-in-law or between mothers-in-law and sons-in-law led to a case being brought against María de Zamora in which her son-in-law, her daughter's husband, charged that on several occasions she had attempted to kill him by means of powders. The resulting talk and its further repercussions became so widely known that throughout the village the said María de Zamora acquired the bad reputation of being a woman who knew how to confect powders and cast spells and pronounce them and who knew how to use hair and powders to produce impotence in men and sterility in women,¹ and that at strange times she would disappear from her house, and that she had a pact with the Devil and mounted on a billy goat. All of this left the poor woman with a bad reputation, though no indication could be found that the said María de Zamora had been accused of any of these things before the said quarrel.

The witness who appeared against her was one of her daughters, but she was the wife of the son-in-law with whom she had had the quarrel, and it was said that it was by means of her that the mother-in-law wanted to kill him. No other witness could be found, nor could a word concerning this matter be elicited from those summoned. It is true that they were not threatened, nor did it seem advisable to threaten or press them with punishment or torture to make them testify, because they were the sort of people of whom one could easily believe that punishment or the fear thereof would easily make them swear to what they did not know; and so, seeing the difficulty of obtaining proof and discovering the truth, and knowing how easily even the deepest secrets are found out and revealed in the Holy Tribunal, I decided to send the case to Your Honors.² Father Gonzalo Lázaro Jiménez, a preacher who is going from this country to deal with the Viceroy of New Spain and ask him to come to its aid, is carrying the record.

The son-in-law of the said María de Zamora is currently leaving this country and has given guarantees that whenever he might be ordered to do so he will present his wife, who is the daughter of the said María de Zamora and a witness in the case against her mother, before the Holy Tribunal. The mother was also ready to go; and as her husband is very badly needed in this country he was asked on behalf of the governor not to absent himself, because of which it seemed appropriate for the said María de Zamora, his wife, to stay with him, as she had no way of traveling if her husband did not do so, besides which the case that has been brought against her did not seem to me to present evidence sufficient to warrant her being obliged by decree or sentence [fol. 342v] to appear as an accused person before the Holy Tribunal unless summoned by Your Honors, because, the case being as yet unproven, it would be defamatory to oblige her to appear if no evidence was subsequently found against her, and if the allegations against her should be proven she is much more secure here than if she went to New

¹ This is one of the definitions that the *Diccionario de autoridades* gives for *ligar*, of which María was accused.

² *Vuestras Señorías*, 'Your Lordships,' but I think 'Your Honors' is more appropriate in English.

Spain, because there she could flee and hide if she feared something, and here there is no way to do that.

Along with the record of the case I am sending the powders found in the possession of the daughter, by whose hand they say that the said María de Zamora sought to kill her son-in-law; and here there is no way for an expert to tell whether they are deadly. May God grant that the truth be known so that crimes may be punished and His Divine Majesty be served. May He keep Your Honors' illustrious persons in the dignity wished for by this Your Honors' most humble chaplain.

From this monastery of San Gabriel in the provinces of New Mexico on 24 August of the year 1607, from your most humble chaplain

Fray Francisco de Escobar {rubric}

**Criminal Proceedings against Maria de Zamora, Ana Ortiz and
María, wife of Francisco López, for Witchcraft
San Gabriel, New Mexico, 29 December 1606-23 August 1607**

**Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico
ramo Inquisición, tomo 467, expediente 79, fols. 343r-353r**

[fol. 343r]

+

Criminal Proceedings upon Accusation by Diego Robledo
Rev. Father Fray Francisco de Escobar, Commissary General of this kingdom,
judge
Before the secretary of state, Juan Gutiérrez Bocanegra
against María de Zamora, a witch,³
against Ana Ortiz, a witch,
against María, wife of Francisco López, a witch

[fol. 343v] {blank}

[fol. 344r]

+

Accusation of witchcraft by Diego Robledo against María de Zamora, his mother-in-law⁴

In the town of San Gabriel in New Mexico, on the 29th day of the month of December of the year 1606, Diego Robledo, residing in this town, appeared before the Reverend Father Fray Francisco de Escobar, general and apostolic commissary of this kingdom, and stated that he would and did accuse María de Zamora, his mother-in-law, before the law. And in explanation of his accusation he stated that more than a month ago, when he found some powder in the possession of Lucía de Zamora, wife of this accuser, and asked her what it was for, she replied that the said María de Zamora, her mother, had given it to her so that with it she might kill the said Diego Robledo by sprinkling it in his shoes and on his back. And after this the said his wife produced some small leaves of a plant and said that her mother had given her those leaves so that she

³ *hechicera y bruja*. To the best of my knowledge, the two terms are synonymous, but only the former is applied to the other two accused.

⁴ Italics indicate text in the left margin.

might put them in the water when he was drinking, and they would block the flow of his urine and cause a bellyache, and he would die of this; and she told him that in the said her mother's house they had already given the said Diego Robledo that drink. And he states that thereupon he ordered the said Lucía de Zamora, his wife, not to go to her mother's house or allow any of her brothers or sisters or any other person from her mother's house to enter his house.

And in his house this accuser has a boy of about eight called Juan Quelmes, a mestizo. And one night this boy ran away from him, and when he was brought back the next morning and asked why he had run away, he said that it was to avoid being harassed because Diego, the son of the said his mother-in-law, had given him some powder wrapped in a piece of paper to give to the said Lucía de Zamora and some of it had spilled, and the rest is in the wrapping, because the said Diego Robledo did not want to see it. And when he asked the said his wife what sort of wickedness this was, she replied that she knew many other things about her mother, because at her house she had some ointments with [fol. 344v] which she would anoint herself, and she would disappear and go away, and when she came back she had asked the said her mother where she had gone, and she answered her that she went to kiss the hand of a great king, and then afterwards she told her that she had gone to kiss the tail of a billy goat. And [he stated] that the said Lucía de Zamora also told him that she had asked her mother why she was not teaching her those things, and that she had answered that she was too young and would go crazy. And the said his wife has also told him that she has seen her mother fill an earthenware bowl with water and place two beans in it facing each other and two grains of maize,⁵ likewise facing each other, and then she would make the sign of the cross over them and say, "From beam to beam," or "From arrow to arrow,"⁶ upon which the beans and the grains of maize come together, and an animal with large twisted⁷ ears would appear and get under her skirts, and her mother would bestride it, and furthermore that her mother had told her that to keep witches from coming into a house one should set up a broom with the bristles down and a pair of scissors, likewise pointing down. And the said Diego Robledo has seen his wife do this, and when he asked her why she did this she replied that it was to defend herself against her mother. And the said his wife has also told him that her mother has a pact with the Devil.

And the said Diego Robledo asked the said his wife how she knew these things, and she answered him that she has seen the said her mother go into a room and knock on the wall with her hand and say, "Come here, Satan. I promise you this finger," and then there is an answer from inside and a creature appears and she speaks with it and tells it that she wants answers to some questions that she asks of it. And when the said Diego Robledo has told his wife that she should be careful with what she says and not [fol. 345r] bear false witness against her mother, she has often answered that she knows she is her mother and that she is not bearing any false witness because all of it is true. The said Diego Robledo has asked her why she did not confess this when making her confession, and she answered that she has not understood it to be a sin and that is why she has not confessed it.

Against María, wife of Francisco López, for sorcery

And likewise one of these last days Francisca, the wife of Juan de Tapia, told the said Diego Robledo that one day when she was at the house of María, the wife of Francisco López, the said María had told her, "Some young fellows will come to eat this

⁵ *dos mayçes*

⁶ *de biga en biga o de bira en bira*

⁷ *tuertas*: This adjective is usually applied to the eyes; I am conjecturing as to its meaning here.

maize; scatter this powder on them,” and that the said Francisca had asked her, “Why do you want to kill these young fellows?” and she had replied that the powder was not meant to kill them but to make them fall in love; and that she gave some powder to the said Francisca that she said she should give her husband and they would make him go blind and she could find a way to live—because she was poor—and do better. And [he stated] that the said Francisca told him that she had thrown it away, and that the said María had also told the said Francisca that the powder had been given to her by Francisco, the son of the said María de Zamora.

Against Ana Ortiz, a witch

And a servant of Cristóbal Baca’s wife, called Inés, told Catalina López, the said Diego Robledo’s mother, that they should summon her and she would tell how the said María de Zamora and the said Cristóbal Baca’s wife, whose name is Ana Ortiz, had made Captain Alonso Gómez impotent.

And he said that he is declaring what he has said in order to unburden his conscience and so that such crimes might be punished. And first he swore by God and by a cross † as required by law, and he signed his name.

Diego Robledo {rubric}

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Fray Francisco de Escobar, commissary {rubric}

Done before me, Juan Gutiérrez Bocanegra, secretary {rubric}

For the investigation of this case the said father commissary immediately ordered [fol. 345v] an investigation of the persons named in the said accusation, along with such others as may be named, and this was done in the following manner:

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Fray Francisco de Escobar, commissary {rubric}

Done before me, Juan Gutiérrez Bocanegra, secretary {rubric}

On this said day the said father commissary, in order to investigate this case, ordered that the said Lucía de Zamora be lodged in the house of Captain Alonso Gómez’s wife, that being a respectable house and above suspicion, and she was so lodged, to which I, the said secretary, attest.

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Fray Francisco de Escobar, commissary {rubric}

Done before me, Juan Gutiérrez Bocanegra, secretary {rubric}

Witness

On this said day, the 29th day of December, the said father commissary, in order to investigate this case, ordered Francisca Robledo, the wife of Juan de Tapia, to appear before him and placed her under oath by God and a cross † as required by law; and upon being questioned about the accusation, she said that the fact and what she knows is that more or less some four months ago, while this witness was at the house of María, the wife of Francisco López, she saw that the said María had some cooked ears of maize, white and red, and she chose two red ears and took some red powder from a little box and strewed it on these ears and rubbed them in the powder and gave them to Francisco de Nieves, and she took two other red ears and likewise spread some powder on them and gave them to Pedro Lucero, and she saw that the said Nieves ate the maize; and this witness asked the said María what that powder was for, and she answered, “To make these buggers fall in love.”

And another day, when this witness was at the said María’s house, she produced a small piece of a yellow root and gave it to this witness and told her that [fol. 346r] Juan de Medina’s crazy Indian woman had given it to her, and said that she should take it to whomever she wished or to her husband, to make him love her; and this witness promptly threw it away. And [she declared] that the said María told this witness that Francisco, the son of Montoya and María de Zamora, had given her the powder that she had scattered on the maize. And another day this witness saw that the said María asked the said Francisco, son of the said María de Zamora, “Ah, Francisco, is there some of that?” and the said Francisco told her that there was not, but that he would see whether some could be found. And afterwards the said María told her that the said Francisco had given powder to her, and this witness asked her where he got it to give her, and she said that the Indians of Cuyamongue gave them to him.

And the said María also told this witness that she had given Pedro Lucero some eggs fried with the said root; and when the said María asked this witness what she had done with the root she had given her, she told her that she had kept it, and she offered her another one and told her to take it and cook it and, once it was cooked, to put it on a plate and serve it. And she also told her to wash her armpits and pudenda—or that she washed them, because she does not remember which it was—and use the water for cooking so that she would be loved; and when this witness asked her whether this was some kind of witchcraft, she replied that it was not and that down in Mexico they did that and other low tricks and they burned those who did it and those who saw it, and so she should not say anything because he would love her more. And this witness told her, “Montoya’s son does not confess this, and it was the father who gave it to you.”⁸ And she replied that Montoya’s son had told her that he could not get absolution and that she was ordered to do much penance; and [she said] that this witness should not reveal it because they would burn me [*sic*] and that [fol. 346v] she was telling her this because she was fond of her.

And this her testimony is the truth and what she knows under the oath she has taken, and she ratifies it, and she said that she is about eighteen years old. She did not sign because she does not know how.

†

Fray Francisco de Escobar, commissary {rubric}

Done before me, Juan Gutiérrez Bocanegra, secretary {rubric}

Witness

⁸ *y a bos que os di es el padre*: I conjecture at the meaning of this seemingly garbled text.

On this said day, in order to investigate this case, the said father commissary ordered Lucía de Zamora, wife of the said Diego Robledo, to appear before him, whom he placed under oath by God and a cross † that she made with the fingers of her right hand, and she promised to testify the truth; and upon being asked about this case she stated that about a month and a half ago, more or less, María de Zamora, mother of this witness, quarreled with Diego Robledo, husband of this witness; and before this the said mother of this witness sent her some powder with Diego, brother of this witness, and sent her word by an Indian woman in her service that that powder was for her to sprinkle on the back and in the shoes of the said Diego Robledo so that they might cause his death. And after a few days this powder was found on this witness and taken from the sleeve of the tunic⁹ where she kept them wrapped in a piece of paper, and this witness then sent word of this to the said her mother with Juana, sister of this witness, and then the said her mother sent her more powder with the said Diego, her brother, which powder this witness kept.

And the said Diego Robledo, her husband, went to the village of Pujuaque, where he found the said Diego, brother of this witness, and according to what the said her husband told her he asked the said Diego to tell him the truth about how he came to possess¹⁰ the powder, and the said her brother told him that his mother had given it to him to give to this witness, and that in addition to the first powder she had given another to the said Diego to give to this witness. And when he came home the said Diego Robledo asked this witness about this second powder, and this witness took it out and gave it to him. And concerning this second powder her mother also sent word that it was intended to make the said Diego Robledo, her husband, swell up [fol. 347r] when she gave it to him in water. And the same Indian who brought the first powder brought the second and told this witness that it would make him swell up and he would be unable to urinate. And with the first powder that this witness had mentioned she opened the paper in which it was wrapped and saw that inside it, with the powder, there were nail trimmings and hair and sputum.

And another day when the said her mother went to the house of this witness, where this witness was with her mother-in-law and Captain Romero's wife and another young woman called Sabina, she arrived in a pet and told this witness, "Give me the powder I gave you!" Twice she asked for it, and this witness told her that it had already been taken, and when she again asked her for it, saying, "Give me the powder they say I gave you!", she assailed this witness and began to hit her, and the other women present pulled her away, and then she went out. And when she had gone down the stairs she gave a mestizo boy called Juan a little powder to give to this witness, and the only thing the boy told this witness was that her mother had given it to him. She was asked why her mother had arrived in a pet, and she said that it was because Diego Robledo, the husband of this witness, had asked her father why the said María de Zamora wanted to kill him, and that made the said her mother go to quarrel with this witness. And the said Indian María, the servant of this witness's mother, told her that before they had quarreled they had given the said Diego Robledo some powder in a jar of water at the house of the mother of this witness.

And she further stated that earlier, maybe about a year and a half ago, when her father was at the mill, this witness saw that one night the said her mother went into a room, and after she closed the door this witness saw her mother through the cracks in the door of the room that is the pantry—because the door is damaged—, and she had a burning tallow candle and some embers in an earthenware pot, and she was half naked with only a cloth around her waist, and this witness saw that she was anointing all her

⁹ *túnica*. According to the *Diccionario de Autoridades*, a sleeveless inner garment.

¹⁰ The ms. seems to read *que bido sido lo de los poluos*; I interpret it as *que abia sido ...*, in keeping with what follows.

joints—her hands and elbows and shoulders and knees and toes—and the ointment was kind of yellow. [fol. 347v] After applying this ointment she anointed herself on the same joints with another that was black; and she knows that these were their colors because she had seen that the said her mother kept them in some little gourds inside a basket with cotton hanging in the same room. And this witness saw that after she had anointed herself she rose a little from the ground and the flame from the green candle froze and the said her mother disappeared and then the candle went out, and this witness was afraid and went to where her brothers and sisters were sleeping. And she did not see her again until the next day in the morning when this witness got up.

And she has likewise seen the said her mother drink peyote many times; and one of these times this witness drank a little peyote, thinking it might be something good. She rinsed out what was left on the grinding stone and drank it before sunset, and this witness left the house to play; and that night when she went to bed it seemed as though she was seeing visions like armed men and birds and she imagined she would get married and other things, and that is why she thinks her mother drank it for this purpose. And she asked the said her mother why she drank it, and she answered because it was good, and when this witness asked her to give her a little she told her not to drink it, that she was too young and would go crazy.

And the said her mother told this witness and all her brothers and sisters that in New Spain there was a woman who anointed herself every night and said, "From beam to beam with St. Mary's wrath,"¹¹ and she was punished for it.

And she also declared that after sunset and before nightfall she has seen the said her mother strike five blows with her fist in the same room where she anointed herself. And this witness could not quite hear the words she was saying except that she heard her say "Beelzebub," whereupon a piglet appeared and the said her mother asked it some questions—she does not know what—and among these questions [she asked] what they were doing in Ana Ortiz's house. And she saw the same thing on another occasion and at the same hour and with the words she has stated and the blows against the wall, and she saw that a woolly little black dog appeared. And to the piglet she mentioned, on the first occasion, she said that she would give it the middle finger of her left hand, and to the little dog she said that she would give it the little finger, [fol. 348r] and she pointed to it.

And about a year ago she has also three times seen the said her mother, while her father was at the mill, take an earthenware pot with water, and on the rim of this pot she placed two beans and two grains of maize facing each other, and the said her mother crawled around the pot saying some words that did not seem to this witness to be in the Spanish language, and the last word that this witness heard was "la chobera."¹² And at this word the grains of maize jumped into the water, as did the beans one after another, and the maize¹³ fell away from the pot, and then an animal appeared that to this witness seemed something like a year-old billy goat, sort of like yellow, she could not quite say what color, with a twisted tail lifted up over a haunch like a pig's tail, and it got into the water and this witness's mother mounted it and sat astride the said animal. And at this point this witness left so that the said her mother would not see her.

And this witness knows that when the said her mother had quarreled with her father because she said he was keeping company with another woman, she told this witness, "I'll give him something so that he won't love this person," and then the said her father beat the said her mother; and when this witness saw her mother being beaten,

¹¹ *de biga en biga con yra de Santa Maria*

¹² I do not know the meaning of this word, and Prof. Jerry R. Craddock tells me that he has not found it in any dictionary.

¹³ Perhaps the ears, though it is not clear how the grains that jumped into the pot became separated from the ears.

she asked her, “Why don’t you give my father what you said, ma’am?” And she said her mother replied, “I’ve already given it to him and made him impotent.” And furthermore she stated that when Inés, Baca’s Indian servant from New Spain, came to this witness’s house and was not allowed to speak with her, the said Inés said, “What do I care if they don’t let me speak with Lucía, because I know it all, and when Captain Alonso Gómez was made impotent.” And she said this to Sabina, Juan de Lara’s wife.

And this witness has heard the said her mother say that a witch tried to kill Juan, this witness’s brother, when he was a child, and that the next night she placed a broom with the bristles down at the foot of the bed, and at the head a pair of scissors and a man’s dirty¹⁴ pants, and that way no witch would come in. And after her mother quarreled with her about her husband, Diego Robledo, this witness, fearing her mother and thinking that she may be a witch, has placed the said broom and the scissors as she has said; [fol. 348v] and she did this only two nights.

And [she declared] that this her testimony is the truth and what this witness knows, under the oath she has taken, and she ratified it and said that she cannot state her age—she seems to be about twelve or thirteen years old—and she said that her being her mother did not keep her from telling the truth. And she did not sign because she does not know how. The said commissary signed it.

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Fray Francisco de Escobar {rubric}

Done before me, Juan Gutiérrez Bocanegra, secretary

On this said day the said father commissary went to the house of Bartolomé de Montoya, husband of the said María de Zamora, and took the said Lucía de Zamora with him so that she might show him the room where she says that her mother was doing what she has testified to, so that he might see for himself whether, with the door closed, one could see what was being done in the room. And the room indicated by the said Lucía de Zamora was found to be without a door, and no such door was found anywhere in the house.

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Fray Francisco de Escobar {rubric}

Done before me, Juan Gutiérrez Bocanegra, secretary

Immediately thereupon on this same day the said father commissary ordered that Diego Robledo be instructed to bring and forthwith to deliver to the said father commissary the powders that he says he has, and I, the said secretary, so instructed him. And he brought them and delivered them to the said father commissary in my presence, to which I attest, which powders are three small bundles wrapped in some small pieces of paper, and the powders are in very small quantity, and they remained in the custody of the said father commissary.

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Fray Francisco de Escobar {rubric}

¹⁴ *bascos*: See Glossary above, p. 6.

Attest, Juan Gutiérrez Bocanegra {rubric}

[fol. 349r]

Witness

In the town of San Gabriel on the 30th day of December of the said year, the said father commissary caused to appear before him an Indian servant of the said María de Zamora and placed her under oath as required by law. And when questioned with regard to this case and its opening statement of charges, she stated that her name is María and that she is of the Otomí people, though she cannot say which is her home village, and that since she was a little girl she has been with the said María de Zamora, her mistress. She could not state her age and seems to be over 16, and she knows Spanish. And she was asked many questions about what has been written above, omitting nothing; and to all of them she replied that she neither knows nor has seen anything. And she did not sign because she does not know how. The said father commissary signed.

+

Fray Francisco de Escobar {rubric}

Done before me, Juan Gutiérrez Bocanegra, secretary

Witness

On the aforesaid day, month, and year the said commissary caused to appear before him Inés, an Indian who said that she is a native of Toluca and who is a servant of Ana Ortiz, the wife of Captain Cristóbal Baca, and placed her under oath as required by law; and under this oath she was asked many questions concerning what has been written, and to all of them she replied that she knew nothing and had neither seen nor heard it. And this she replied in Spanish, which she knows very well. She could not state her age and seems to be some 15 years old. She did not sign because she does not know how.

+

Fray Francisco de Escobar {rubric}

Done before me, Juan Gutiérrez Bocanegra, secretary

On the last day of the month of December of the said year the said father commissary, in order better to discover the truth in this case and because all of this town knows about it, on Sunday, the said last day of the month, pronounced an excommunication from the altar compelling all persons [fol. 349v] who might know whether there are in this town persons who are witches, sorcerers, or enchanters or who make men impotent or do other such things, to come forward to declare and testify to it. And thereupon, under the threat of excommunication, the said Lucía de Zamora appeared before the said father commissary and stated under oath administered by me, the said secretary, that the said María de Zamora, her mother, used to place some small balls, black on the outside and white within, on her face and breasts after chewing them, and that this witness asked her why she did this, and she told her so that all the men would love her and come to her, and she told this witness to apply them to herself and

all the men would love her; and she, being a young girl and not knowing what she was doing, applied them to her face three times. And she stated that this is the truth under the oath she has taken, and she ratified it.

+

Fray Francisco de Escobar {rubric}

Done before me, Juan Gutiérrez Bocanegra, secretary

On this said 2nd day of January of the year 1607, with respect to the said excommunication, Juan Pérez, a soldier, came to declare that about a year ago he saw Francisco de Montoya, son of the said María de Zamora, holding a small root in his hands; and this witness asked him what it was for, and the said Francisco de Montoya answered him that it was for getting women and that an Indian had given it to him. And this he declared under oath administered by me, the secretary, and he is 29 years old and signed his name.

+

Fray Francisco de Escobar {rubric}

Juan Pérez

Done before me, Juan Gutiérrez Bocanegra, secretary

[fol. 350r]

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Confession by María de Zamora

In the town of San Gabriel, on the 4th day of the month of January of the year 1607, the said father commissary ordered that María de Zamora, wife of Bartolomé de Montoya, appear before him so that he might receive her confession, and she was placed under oath as required by law, and she swore and promised to declare the truth, and she was asked the following questions:

When asked for her name, age, and home town, she stated that her name is María de Zamora and that she is the wife of Bartolomé de Montoya, that she is 33 years old and a native of Mexico City and was born in the San Sebastián district near the San Sebastián canal.

She was asked where she has lived outside Mexico, and who her parents were. She replied that she is the daughter of Pedro de Zamora, a native of Mexico who lived by the said canal in the said district, and her mother's name is Agustina Abarca. And she said that the said her father went to be mayor of Oaxaca when this confessor was seven years old, and from there they took her to the village of Tezcuco, where she was raised and married off, and from the said village of Tezcuco, where she lived in the San Lorenzo district, her husband brought her to this kingdom.

She was asked to state and declare whether it is true that on several occasions this confessor sent some powders to Lucía de Zamora, her daughter, wife of Diego Robledo, with an Indian servant of this confessor so that she might sprinkle them on his feet and back and mix them into the said Diego Robledo's water so that he would die. She replied that she denies this because no such thing happened, nor does she know anything about powders or any such things.

When asked whether it is true that a year and a half ago this confessor went into a room of her house, the last one, on some nights and by the light of a candle and some

embers anointed all the joints of her feet and hands and shoulders and other parts, and after she had done this she disappeared and the candle went out, she stated that she denies it because no such thing happened.

When asked whether it is true that this confessor is in the habit of drinking peyote and for what purpose she drinks it, she stated that it is true that [fol. 350v] when she came to this country she brought a string of peyote that was given to this confessor by a woman called Doña Isabel, the wife of a certain Rodríguez, and that she has used it with some persons, putting it into their poultices and enemas, and that she has neither drunk it nor given it to anyone to drink. This is her reply.

When asked whether it is true that this witness told the said her daughter and other persons that in New Spain there was a woman who anointed herself every night and said "From beam to beam it goes with St. Mary's wrath,"¹⁵ she stated that it is true that she told this to her daughter and other persons and her other children because in Mexico she had heard that the woman who said this had appeared in an auto-da-fé, and that she told this by chance, and as though telling a story.

When asked whether it is true that on some nights, in the same room where she anointed herself, this confessor knocked five times on the wall of the said room with her fist and pronounced some words, the last of which named Beelzebub, and a suckling pig came out, and other times a little dog, and that she spoke with them, and so that they would answer her questions she would at times pledge them her middle finger and at others her little finger, she replied that she knows nothing about what she is being asked.

When asked whether it is true that more or less a year ago, while this confessor's husband was at the town mill grinding the residents' wheat, she would take a bowl of water and place two beans and two grains of maize on the rim facing each other, and while crouching down would proceed around the bowl and speak certain words, and the said beans and grains would come together, and that an animal like a billy goat would appear and this confessor would mount him, she replied that she denies it, because no such thing happened.

When asked whether it is true that, having quarreled with her husband out of jealousy over a woman of this town, this confessor told her daughter that she would give him something to make him forget about other women and not love another woman, and that afterwards her daughter asked her whether she had given it to him and she said that it had been done, she stated that she denies it because no such thing happened.

[fol. 351r] When asked whether it is true that this confessor told the said her daughter that to keep witches from coming in to do harm it was good to place scissors under the pillow and a broom with the bristles down, she stated that the fact is that in the house of Ana Ortiz this confessor said that women in Spain said this that she is being asked about, and that when a son of hers called Francisco was a little boy this confessor placed a broom with the bristles up at the foot of his cradle, pointing toward the head, and that she did this twice and did so because she had heard about it, as she has said. And this is her reply.

When asked whether it is true that, to make men love her and grow fond of her, this confessor would sometimes take some small balls, black on the outside and white within, chew them in her mouth and then smear them on her breasts and face, and that she told her daughter to do the same, she replied that she knows nothing about what she is being asked about, because no such thing has happened.

She was asked many other questions having to do with the case, and she replied that she knows nothing but what she has declared, which is the truth under the oath she

¹⁵ *De biga en viga con yra ba de Santa María*

has taken, and she ratified it. And she did not sign because she said that she does not know how.

✦

Fray Francisco de Escobar {rubric}

Done before me, Juan Gutiérrez Bocanegra, secretary {rubric}

Confession of Diego, son of Bartolomé de Montoya

On this said day the said father commissary ordered to appear before him a boy called Diego, the son of Bartolomé de Montoya and María de Zamora, and because he was so little and could not state his age, he was not placed under oath. He seems to be about nine years old. He was asked what powder the said his mother gave him to take to his sister Lucía de Zamora to kill her husband and what he had gone to tell her about other powders, and to everything he replied that he knew nothing and that what he was being asked about had not happened, and that this and nothing else is the truth and the facts. [fol. 351v] And he denied everything else he was asked and stated that he knew nothing. He did not sign because he does not know how.

✦

Fray Francisco de Escobar {rubric}

Done before me, Juan Gutiérrez Bocanegra, secretary {rubric}

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In the town of San Gabriel in New Mexico, on the 4th day of January of the year 1607, the Reverend Father Fray Francisco de Escobar, apostolic commissary and commissary of this kingdom, having examined this case and seeing that, despite the threat of major excommunication and other measures taken, it has been impossible to determine anything beyond what is here written, stated that in order for the most appropriate decision to be made he was forwarding it to the inquisitors in the City of Mexico so that before their holy tribunal, where nothing can remain hidden, the truth of the matter may be discovered. And he signed.

✦

Fray Francisco de Escobar {rubric}

Done before me, Juan Gutiérrez Bocanegra, secretary {rubric}

In the town of San Gabriel on the 5th day of the month of March of the year 1607 the Reverend Father Fray Francisco de Escobar, the aforesaid commissary in this kingdom of New Mexico, stated that it has come to his knowledge that María de Zamora, wife of Bartolomé de Montoya, has again, on several occasions, sent powders to her daughter Lucía de Zamora, wife of Diego Robledo, so that by means of them she might kill him; and in order to discover the truth and so that the inquisitors in the city of Mexico to whom he has sent this case may decide what is best about everything, he ordered that confession be again received from the said Lucía de Zamora to find out

what are the facts in the case and whether there are witnesses whose testimony might shed more light on the case. And he signed.



Fray Francisco de Escobar {rubric}
Done before me, Juan Gutiérrez Bocanegra, secretary {rubric}

[fol. 352r]

Confession of Lucía de Zamora

In the town of San Gabriel in New Mexico, on the 5th day of the month of March of the said year, the said father commissary, for purposes of the said investigation, caused to appear before him Lucía de Zamora, wife of Diego Robledo, who was placed under oath by God and a cross + as required by law, and she swore and promised to tell the truth.

And when asked to state and declare what she might know about this case, and when informed of the appropriate requirements that she declare whether she has been coerced by anyone, she stated that the fact is that on various occasions and days after her mother, María de Zamora, went to live in the village of Cuyamongue, which is four leagues from this town, she has six times sent her, with Diego, this confessor's brother, about ten years old, and the son of the said her mother, some powders wrapped in small pieces of linen and has sent her word to mix them into the water and food of the said her husband Diego Robledo so that they might kill him, and that she sent her two little packets of powders so that she might likewise give them to Doña Lucía, wife of Captain Bartolomé Romero and sister of the said Diego Robledo; and that this is the truth.

She was asked before which persons the said her brother Diego gave her the said powders and where and at what time. She said that sometimes he gave them to her when she was by herself at the corral gate, and other times in the hallway, and it was always in the daytime, and no one saw it.

She was asked why, since she knew that the said powders were intended to kill her husband and her sister-in-law, she received them. She stated that she did so and took them only to please the said her mother and not in order to do anything bad with them, and so she immediately handed them to her mother-in-law, the mother of the said Diego Robledo, her husband. And at this point the said father commissary asked the said her mother-in-law for the said powders, and she produced them wrapped in a small piece of cloth, and each of them in a small cloth package, a small amount in each one, smaller than a hazelnut in each one; and the said father commissary kept them and took them with him and warned the said Lucía de Zamora that on no account should she again receive powders or anything else from the said her mother for the purpose of doing any harm, warning her that he would inflict exemplary punishment on her.

She was asked whether she knows how to make the powders that she says her mother [fol. 352v] has sent her. She stated that she knows how to make them because her mother has taught her, and that they are made from a plant found in the village where the said her mother lives—from its root—and from the leaves of a small tree that grows in the said village, everything dried in the sun and ground up, but that she has not prepared them.

And this is the truth and the facts under the said oath, and she confirms it, and she did not sign because she did not know how, and she is a little over twelve years old.

+

Fray Francisco de Escobar {rubric}
Done before me, Juan Gutiérrez Bocanegra, secretary {rubric}

Decree

On this said 5th day of March of the said year the said father commissary, having examined this case, and pending its being heard by the inquisitors to whom it has been forwarded, ordered that Governor Don Juan de Oñate be apprised of it so that he may for no reason permit the said María de Zamora or Diego Robledo or Lucía de Zamora, his wife, to leave this kingdom for New Spain or any other place without orders from him; and he requests and charges the said governor that in order to avoid possible harm he order the said María de Zamora and the said Bartolomé de Montoya and their children not to come into this town as long as this case is pending, because this is conducive to the service of Our Lord God and His Majesty. And he signed.

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Fray Francisco de Escobar {rubric}
Done before me, Juan Gutiérrez Bocanegra, secretary {rubric}

[fol. 353r]

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In the town of San Gabriel in New Mexico, on the 23rd day of the month of August of the year 1607, in the presence of myself, Juan Gutiérrez Bocanegra, secretary of state of this kingdom, and of the witnesses to this letter, there appeared Diego Robledo, whom I, the secretary, certify that I know, and stated that since the Reverend Father Fray Francisco de Escobar, apostolic commissary, has instituted certain proceedings against María de Zamora, wife of Bartolomé de Montoya, and forwarded them to the inquisitors in the City of Mexico, and Lucía de Zamora, wife of the said Diego Robledo, was a witness in this case, should the said inquisitors order the said Lucía de Zamora to appear in Mexico or elsewhere to repeat her testimony or amend it or for anything else, the said Lucía de Zamora will be available, and he will keep her in a place where the said inquisitors may command her as they may see fit, because he is now leaving this kingdom for New Spain with the said his wife, and as guarantor of his acting in keeping with his declaration he named Marcos García, who is also going to New Spain and whom I certify that I know, and both of them pledged their persons and their possessions. They empowered His Majesty's judicial authorities, wherever they may be; they renounced the laws favoring them so that they may be compelled to comply with the above as though by virtue of a sentence pronounced upon trial, and they also renounced the general law.

And the said Diego Robledo signed his name, and a witness signed for the said Marcos García because he said that he does not know how, and the witnesses were Hernán Martín and Hernando de Ocaña and Father Fray Alonso de San Juan.

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{rubric} Diego Robledo {rubric} witness Hernán Martín {rubric}

Done before me, Juan Gutiérrez Bocanegra {rubric}

2da en 26 de Noubror Salamanca. Fran. de
Gobernador

2da
Preg. en 17 de
Dij. en el quad
gubernio

ARCHIVO GENERAL DE LA NACIÓN
MEXICO

En esta tierra de dependencia q' suyo entre otras conuegas oerke muger y yerno
 Resulta una causa contra maria Decamora, acumuland de el yerno y marido de q' di
 Ja q' conbros Poluos Leguio Todouero Dices. q' uita la vida, lo palabr q' en la
 yondest suyo, vintoron entant publicad, andor mudo q' d'ello se ocuparon, q' bi
 nota d'essa maria Decamora q' son en h' d'oc' p' uella un f'ondo q' muger q' sabida
 lex palbr y dar de c'ria, y de p'cto, y d'ambos ligar conebales y p'ctos, y de q' se vna
 ta y sig'ia ayenar de d'ic'ya ad' d'ic'ya q' de q' tan p'cto con el demonio. q' se ubia en v
 cabron, de d'ic'ya vna q' p'cto muger q' son un f'onda, no p' d'ic'ya se a verique
 q' anto de la d'ic'ya p'ndencia, sube q' contra la d'ic'ya maria Decamora Numor
 De al g'nd' d'ic'ya a r. el testigo q' contra elle se sabe que vna sig'ia suya, Pero
 muger del yerno q' quien ama ando Capendencia, Por cuya m'nd' se d'ic'ya q' la
 sig'ia mata, no se p' d'ic'ya d'ic'ya d'ic'ya, ni de d'ic'ya d'ic'ya. segund d'ic'ya
 Palabra en d'ic'ya d'ic'ya, vna d'ic'ya q' p'cto amengo ni p'cto vna d'ic'ya vna
 amengar lo ni apremiar lo con d'ic'ya d'ic'ya, d'ic'ya d'ic'ya, d'ic'ya d'ic'ya
 d'ic'ya, q' era muy f'aul de d'ic'ya, q' d'ic'ya d'ic'ya d'ic'ya. q' d'ic'ya d'ic'ya d'ic'ya, q' d'ic'ya
 con q' d'ic'ya d'ic'ya, q' d'ic'ya vna d'ic'ya d'ic'ya de p'cto anca y de q' laber
 d'ic'ya se se vna d'ic'ya, q' d'ic'ya d'ic'ya q' d'ic'ya d'ic'ya, q' d'ic'ya se averigua
 y de d'ic'ya un l'om' y d'ic'ya, ad' d'ic'ya de d'ic'ya a v. d'ic'ya la causa; el p'cto de d'ic'ya
 lleba al p'cto. q' d'ic'ya d'ic'ya d'ic'ya, q' d'ic'ya d'ic'ya d'ic'ya q' d'ic'ya d'ic'ya
 de d'ic'ya d'ic'ya al p'cto d'ic'ya d'ic'ya d'ic'ya; el yerno de d'ic'ya ma
 Decamora sola de d'ic'ya d'ic'ya al p'cto q' d'ic'ya d'ic'ya d'ic'ya. De q' d'ic'ya d'ic'ya
 muger d'ic'ya d'ic'ya d'ic'ya d'ic'ya q' d'ic'ya d'ic'ya d'ic'ya, q' d'ic'ya d'ic'ya d'ic'ya
 d'ic'ya Decamora q' d'ic'ya en la causa contra d'ic'ya; la madre tambien q' d'ic'ya
 de q' d'ic'ya d'ic'ya d'ic'ya; y de d'ic'ya d'ic'ya d'ic'ya d'ic'ya d'ic'ya d'ic'ya
 vna; se p' d'ic'ya d'ic'ya de d'ic'ya d'ic'ya no q' d'ic'ya ayenar; Por lo qual p'cto
 conueniencia segund q' d'ic'ya con el d'ic'ya ma Decamora muger, Por d'ic'ya d'ic'ya
 motad d'ic'ya d'ic'ya d'ic'ya d'ic'ya; q' d'ic'ya de q' la causa q' d'ic'ya d'ic'ya d'ic'ya
 ando, no se p'cto tener p'cto suficiente, Para q' como q' d'ic'ya d'ic'ya

Sepudiese obligar por auto ni por sentencia, aq se represente en este Tribunal
 siendo por parte de vs. citada y llamada, Porq estando la causa por probar, teni
 infamada, obligala aq se represente, si despues nose hallare cosa contra ella; q
 se le puebalo q se le acumula, es la aqui muestros segura, q se saliese a la
 muestros para, Porq alla pavia aysentase q abscondese, q de teniense de
 go y aca no tiene orden para q, tambien van con el pua q se pua q
 subido en poder de la vs, por un q muestros dize q quera mator algunos
 cha m de camara; q sea m aca muestros muestros para saber pua q muestros
 Person de los condes, no ay; quera dize muestros q la muestros se aca q muestros
 Cap de los sean ay dize q q muestros dize q muestros; el qual es y luyssim
 foy de vs. q pua en la dignidad q este menor capellan de vs. de
 Desto m de vs. gabriel en la pua q de la muestros muestros q muestros
 24 de boz. and. De vs. menor capellan de san Decubus

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Proceso criminal por de ruma a aca de d. r. v. b. d.
Juez

U. r. e. b. e. n. d. o. p. a. d. r. e. p. a. i. f. a. n. d. e. s. b. a. r. a. m. i.
p. a. r. i. s. g. e. n. e. r. a. l. d. e. e. t. a. d. o. s.

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C. a. n. y. r. a.

ARCHIVO GENERAL DE LA NACION
MEXICO

q. d. a.
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denunciacion

de...

La villa de Sanja Bel del n. me. Bern tej n. uede
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da de quia asi an la p...
sta de de n...
de a... se

Je f...
A teni

Juan...
de...

2. Yte...
esta ca...
se con...
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Je f...
A teni

Juan...
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emete...
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de rroble de su mari e dando seles en el agua y la
 yndia a que tu y solis si me us tu solis segun dize
 de tate estis que a un el se y in g ariaz se le a ta
 Jarial a un h a j que en los p o l u s si me us que
 tate tya a op de p o l u s de a p e l e n g u e b e n i a n
 y b r a q u e t a b a e n t u e n t e l o p o l u s u n a l
 u n a o c o r t a d a y l a b e e s t y u n g a r a d o i c t u d i a
 q u e l a y a d m a d e f u e c a p a e l t a t y e t a n d o j u n
 t a e t a t e t i g s f o j u g e a l a m u j e r d e e l c a p i t a n
 t r a n e r o p t a m o q u e l l e a m a g a b i n a m u r r i
 m e n d y d i s a e l t a t e t i g s d a c a l e f a l u s q u e r e d i
 d o b e c e o s e l e s i d i u t a t e t i g s e d i o q u e j a
 s e l b a l i a n t o m a d o p p u a n d e l a t r a b e r s i l o s d i o
 d a e n d o d a c a e l p o l u s q u e d i e n g u e t e d i j a n e
 m e t i o a n e s t a t e t i g s y l e p o c e a d a r l a o q u e
 t a b a n s t e s s e l a q u i t a r o n y e n t u c e s s e p a l i o y
 a l b a j a r d e l a e e l a t e r a a u n m u j e r q u e m e n t o
 q u e s e l e a m a g a e d i o u n s t p o c o s d e p o l u s f a
 r a q u e l t o r i e a e l t a t e t i g s n o e d i s e m u
 h a n g o m a l e s e q u e l o s a n i o d a d e s u m a d e o r a
 t e t i g s f u e l l e y s e p o r q u e a u s a p r o f u m a d e
 p r i m e r d i s p q u e p o r q u e d e r r o b l e m a r i d e l
 t a t e t i g s a b i a s p a s u p q u e a r q u e q u e r i a
 l a s a m a r i a d e c a m u r a m a t a l e f a n e l t f u e l a
 p o f u m a d e a r a u r c o n e l t a t e t i g s y l a s a
 y n d i a m a r i a f r i a d a d e f u m a d e u e t a t e d i s p
 a m u a n t e s q u e r i n e r a n l a u i a n d a d e a l e s
 d e r r o b l e d e n u n g a r o d e a g u a u n s t a r l i o s
 e n c a s a d e l a g a m a d e d e e t a t e t i g s y m a d i s p
 q u e l i d i a p a d a s e s t q u e a b r a t u n p o d e a n i o m e d i o
 p r o m a s o m e n o s b i d e e t a t e t i g s e t a n d o f u j a d e
 e n e m o l i n o q u e l a g a f u m a d e s e s t o u n a u l e
 t u n a g a t e n t o j e r a d a l a o u e r t a b i d e e t a
 t e t i g s d e d e s e l e s u n a s d e l l a q u e e r a n p a n d e o
 e r a t a r l i o u e n t a q u e b r a d a q u e l u n a p e r
 t y q u e a r a f u b e s e d e l a q u e d a l a g a f u m a d e
 t e n i a u n a p a n t e e a g e n d i d a d e s e l o s u n a l
 b r a t a s d e l u n b e e n u n t a p a l c a t e s e e n u d a
 s i n c a m i l a q u e p l a n t e n i a f u e b e y u e n e a l t a p a
 d e a n u n p a n b i d e e t a t e t i g s q u e f i u n t a b a
 d a d e l a e a g u n t u r e s a n d e e l a b m a n s y a
 d o s t e s e n b r o s l a s r r o b l e s e n g l o s d e s e l o s
 p u e l y q u e s e y u e n t o f r a d o m u a m a n e l o s

ARCHIVO GENERAL DE LA NACION
 MEXICO
 EX-100

Yo el Sr. Fr. Juan de Escobedo
y el Sr. Fr. Juan de los Rios
que se hallaron en el
dicho auto de fe

Yo el Sr. Fr. Juan de Escobedo

Yo el Sr. Fr. Juan de los Rios

En la villa de San Pablo del Nuevo Mexico a quatro
dias de mes de mayo de mill e quatrocientos e
seis e de mill e quatrocientos e setenta e tres
Yo el Sr. Fr. Juan de Escobedo y el Sr. Fr. Juan de los Rios
que se hallaron en el auto de fe de esta villa de
San Pablo del Nuevo Mexico a quatro dias de mes
de mayo de mill e quatrocientos e seis e de mill
e quatrocientos e setenta e tres años en virtud
de las cédulas de su Magestad que mandaron
que se diesen a los dichos señores Fr. Juan de
Escobedo y Fr. Juan de los Rios para que se
hiciera en esta villa de San Pablo del Nuevo
Mexico un auto de fe de fechorias de herejes
y de herejias e de otras cosas que se cometieron
en esta villa de San Pablo del Nuevo Mexico
en el mes de mayo de mill e quatrocientos e
seis e de mill e quatrocientos e setenta e tres
años

Yo el Sr. Fr. Juan de Escobedo

Yo el Sr. Fr. Juan de los Rios

En la villa de San Pablo a quatro dias de mes de mayo
de mill e quatrocientos e seis e de mill e quatrocientos
e setenta e tres años Yo el Sr. Fr. Juan de Escobedo
y el Sr. Fr. Juan de los Rios que se hallaron en el
auto de fe de esta villa de San Pablo del Nuevo
Mexico a quatro dias de mes de mayo de mill e
quatrocientos e seis e de mill e quatrocientos e
setenta e tres años en virtud de las cédulas de
su Magestad que mandaron que se diesen a los
dichos señores Fr. Juan de Escobedo y Fr. Juan
de los Rios para que se hiciera en esta villa de
San Pablo del Nuevo Mexico un auto de fe de
fechorias de herejes y de herejias e de otras
cosas que se cometieron en esta villa de San
Pablo del Nuevo Mexico en el mes de mayo de
mill e quatrocientos e seis e de mill e quatrocientos
e setenta e tres años

Yo el Sr. Fr. Juan de Escobedo

Yo el Sr. Fr. Juan de los Rios

