

CHAPTER 12

Catarina Maria Complains That Juan Teioa Forcibly Deflowered Her

(Mexico, 1693) Richard Boyer

INTRODUCTION

Local governors and their assistants adjudicated petty disputes involving plebeians and peasants throughout New Spain. The records that survive of these local courts of first instance provide students with invaluable glimpses of life in Mexico's towns and rural districts. For most of the colonial period an *alcalde mayor* (governor) or his *teniente* (lieutenant), heard complaints involving disputes over land, taxes, extortion, insults, and injuries.

In the case¹ before us Catarina complained to Captain don Luis de Alipi, who called himself *justicia mayor* (chief justice) of the jurisdiction of Malinalco, a town in the present state of Mexico some twenty miles or so from Cuernavaca. The title might imply that he was on special assignment at the pleasure of the viceroy, or it might be that as *alcalde mayor* he was permitted to use the title in his role as judge to differentiate himself from subordinate judges who most likely would have been his *tenientes*. As well as *justicia mayor*, don Luis also refers to himself throughout (with a single exception found in entry 12.10) as "acting *juez receptor*" in lieu of a properly qualified scribe. In other words don Luis acted both as scribe and judge and therefore had to have witnesses present to ensure that he did not tamper with the evidence. The makeshift arrangement, common enough in outlying jurisdictions, underscores a lack of formality, if not of method, in local courts. Complainants, defendants, and witnesses in such settings speaking to and before members of their own community must have expressed themselves with fewer inhibitions than they would have before a superior court with its full complement of doormen, notaries, lawyers, advisors, and high court judges.²

Catarina and Juan resided in, and were native to, the district of Malinalco. I have found no population estimates for Malinalco in the 1690s, but by 1791, one hundred years after Catarina's suit, around six thousand non-Indians, divided between people classified as Spaniard or *mestizo* and with a smattering of *mulatos* thrown in, lived in the district. In very rough terms, at the time of Catalina's suit

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the district may have had some one thousand seven hundred Indian tributaries, married heads of households, which would have meant a total Indian population of five thousand or so.³ Catarina,

Juan, and Magdalena all lived in San Nicolas, referred to as a *barrio* (entries 12.1, 3, 8, 10, 11) as well as a *pueblo* (entries 12.1, 4, 7, 8), which means it had a separate identity as an Indian town subject to Mali-nalco but was not contiguous with it.

This is a short document, and unlike most others in this collection I have been able to include nearly all of it. Readers can therefore follow a complete sequence of litigation that includes, in this case, the attempt by Catarina's brothers to have the complaint removed to the higher jurisdiction of the General Indian Court. My translation tends more to the literal than the interpretive—although all translations require that one interpret at every stage—so that readers may have a close facsimile of the text to debate its meanings for themselves. My translation also leaves visible or underscores with notes shifts in tense and person that occur from time to time in the original so readers might, as I did, wrestle with their significance. One must keep in mind, of course, that almost all the testimony has been filtered through a translator and survives as a "document" only as don Luis or the scribe of the General Indian court transcribed it. Readers might want to think about the degree to which Catarina's and Juan's own "voices" emerge from the transcript and the degree to which they seem to be submerged in legal phrases, formulaic statements, or summary paraphrases.

THE DOCUMENT

[Title page] On the charge of Catarina Marfa, Indian of *barrio* San Nicolas in this *pueblo* [Malinalco], against Juan Teioa, Indian of this *pueblo*, for having deflowered⁴ her and so on.

12.1 Catarina Marfa Files a Suit

In the *pueblo* of Malinalco on August 20, 1696, before me, Captain don Luis de Alipi, *justicia mayor* of the *pueblo* and its district, acting *juez receptor* with attending witnesses for lack of a royal public scribe in this jurisdiction, there appeared an Indian who, speaking through the interpreter Juan de Medina, said her name is Catarina Maria from *barrio* San Nicolas of this *pueblo*, and that she was bringing a criminal action against Juan Teioa, an Indian of the same *pueblo*, to the effect that with little fear of God and scorning royal justice the said Juan Teioa "took hold of me yesterday next to the house of an Indian named Magdalena, into which he put me and forced me,⁵ thus robbing me of my virginity."⁶ And in order that he be punished according to law and, for this purpose, that Magdalena be questioned as a witness for lack of other witnesses, may it please Your Honor to have them locked up with those already confined in this *pueblo's* jail, and have Juan "repay me for the loss of my virginity."

She pleads for justice and swore this statement before God and the cross according to law. She did not sign because she does not know how. The interpreter signed with me.

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72.2 Arrest Warrant

And having reviewed this petition, I enter this suit as presented and accepted, and order that the Indian Juan Teioa be locked in the public jail of this *pueblo*, and the said Magdalena be questioned as a witness and [also] be put in *deposito* until this case is decided. And thus I decreed, ordered, and signed.

72.3 Juan Teioa Is Apprehended and Questioned

In the *pueblo* of Malinalco on August 21, 1696, I, Captain don Luis de Alipi, its *justicia mayor*, acting as *juez receptor* with attending witnesses for lack of a royal public scribe, having gone to the Indian Juan Teioa's house, had him taken into custody by Domingo Garcia, the bailiff of this court, and placed in the Malinalco jail. On his arrival there I had him appear before me and received his oath, which he swore before God our Lord and the sign of the cross according to law.

He promised to tell the truth, and on being questioned said his name is Juan Teioa of *barrio* San Nicolas in this jurisdiction, and that the Indian Catarina Maria sent him many love messages by way of another Indian named Magdalena, but the deponent paid no attention. And having persisted, she sent another message by the said Indian Magdalena, telling him [that] he was not a man, nor did he know how to do anything because he was not coming when she called. And a little before noon on the day the lawsuit refers to, Catarina Maria, passing near Magdalena's house where the deponent was, began to provoke him [like] a seductress.⁷ Having gone into the house, Catalina threw herself on the floor for the witness and he deflowered her (*la estrupo*), after which she said "look what you've done, don't treat me badly, I love you very much."⁸ And having said this, Catarina Maria went home, and he did not see her again until I, the *justicia mayor*, apprehended him.

He states that this is the truth in accordance with his oath, upon which it was affirmed and ratified. He states that he is twenty years of age. I signed along with the interpreter who was present and the attending witnesses.

72.4 The Testimony of Juan Teioa's Sister, Magdalena Maria

Immediately afterward on the same day, month, and year, I, the said *justicia mayor*, accompanied by the said attending witnesses for lack of a royal public scribe in this jurisdiction, had an Indian appear before me, who, speaking through the said interpreter, said her name is Magdalena Maria, that she is married and a *vecina* of *pueblo* San Nicolas. Through the interpreter I received her oath in which, according to law, she swore before God and the cross to tell the truth.

Asked about the lawsuit, she said that five or six different times the Indian Catarina Maria gave her messages for Juan Teioa on the subject of love and she passed them on to him. Catarina used her [as a go-between] because she lives near Juan's house. And one day—she does not recall the date—Catarina gave her another message telling her to tell Juan that he shouldn't be such an ingrate (*in-grato*), that she loved him very much, and it seemed he was no man nor did he

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have the nerve (*valor*) to meet her. The witness gave the message to Juan and even as she was doing so, Catarina went up to Magdalena's house, and called to Juan, and they entered this witness's house. Meanwhile, this witness went off to do her errands, and when she returned she found them very happy together, and according to what they told Magdalena, Juan had deflowered Catarina.

The witness states that this is the truth according to her sworn oath. She did not know her age but appears to be about twenty-eight, and the rules governing the disqualification of witnesses (*las generates de la ley*) do not apply to her. She did not sign because she does not know how. The interpreter signed, along with myself and the attending witnesses.

72.5 Careamento: *Accuser and Accused Face One Another in Court*

In the *pueblo* of Malinalco on August 21, 1696, the *justicia mayor*, acting with attending witnesses for lack of a royal public scribe in this jurisdiction, having seen that this case packs conclusive evidence, caused Juan Teioa and Catarina Maria to appear before me. I received their oaths through the interpreter, which they swore before God and the cross according to law.

They promised to tell the truth. Catarina Maria, asked if Juan Teioa had brought her to ruin, in his presence answered yes. To which Juan said it was true that he had been with her, but that in his opinion she had not been a *doncella*. And having proceeded with this *careamento* they both kept to their [earlier] statements, with Catarina Maria only adding that Juan must repay her the loss of her virginity, but that she did not wish to marry him.

I then had Juan Teioa put back into the local jail, and I personally took Catarina Maria to the home of dona Bernabela Vargas, *vecina* of this *pueblo*, and placed Catarina Maria in her custody. I charged dona Bernabela to keep her under guard and not permit her to venture outside her house until such time as this case has been decided, and she agreed to comply fully with my instructions.

This is all that took place before me, to which I bear witness in my official capacity. I signed along with my attending witnesses and the interpreter.

[The next entry, dated September 1, 1696, is an auto de cargo. It formally notifies the accused that, based on preliminary information collected by the court, he is charged with a crime. Admonished to tell the truth, he must therefore make a confession, that is, a reply to the cargo, whether to deny his guilt or to admit it. To help Juan defend himself a kind of advisor-guardian called a curador, at times referred to in this document as defensor or defender, will be appointed by the court. Although not named here, Francisco de Herrera, a man who apparently had no formal training in the law and certainly held no university degree, would eventually act as Juan's defender.]

12.6 Juan Teioa Petitions the Court

In the *pueblo* of Malinalco on September 4, 1696, before me, Captain don Luis de Alipi, its *justicia mayor*, the following petition was presented:

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I, Juan Teioa, Indian, locked in this public jail, appear before Your Honor, using the best ways and means that are provided in law and are available to me. And I say that the complaint Catarina Hernandez brought against me that I ruined her using force and deceit, to this I say that many times she sent messages by my sister Magdalena that I should go see her, that she had something to say to me, until the day that I saw her. It was her fault, because she went into my sister's house, and it's true that being a man I quickly followed. But to unburden my conscience, I did not ruin her there. And so I don't want to marry her but willingly will pay her whatever Your Honor would order me to give for all that.

To Your Honor I beg and plead that you have the kindness to help me in this my entreaty, and in doing so I will thus find favor and mercy. And I swear to God our Lord that this my petition is not made with malice, but to achieve justice, expenses, and whatever is necessary.

[signed] Juan Teioa⁹

[The case had now reached the point where don Luis needed expert legal advice on whether it should proceed to trial or be dismissed. He sent the file for assessment to Dr. don Joseph de Morales, a lawyer (abogado) licensed to practice before the audiencia in Mexico City. Morales directed that the case proceed to prueba. This meant that he found Catarina Maria's charges to be plausible, and should be evaluated further by taking the case to trial. Morales specified that testimony already given should be ratified and, if necessary, witnesses reexamined. Juan should be assigned a defender—he used the term de-fensor rather than curador—who could help him give his confession. The directive, dated October 2, 1696, went into the record above the signatures of both don Luis and don Joseph together with attending witnesses.]

12.7 Catarina Maria's Brothers Petition the General Indian Court

I, Cristobal del Castillo y Texeda, royal and public scribe of the General Indian Court (*juzgado general de los naturales*) in this kingdom, certify and bear witness that in the said court, before His Excellency the Illustrious don Juan de Ortega Monterrey, bishop of the Holy Church in the city of Valladolid, viceroy, governor, and captain general of this New Spain, the following petition was presented, which, with the decree attached to it and the opinion of don Jacinto de Vargas Campuzano, the longest-serving *oidor* of this *real audiencia* and *asesor*¹⁰ of the General Indian Court, is here recorded to the letter:

Your Excellency, we, Pedro Pablo, Juan Baptista, and Joseph Nicolas, Indians native to the *pueblo* and jurisdiction of San Nicolas Malinalco, as the legitimate brothers of the *doncella* Catarina Maria, appear before Your Excellency and state that an Indian named Juan, native of the *pueblo*, two months ago at nightfall grabbed (*co-jio*) our sister and brought her with false promises to a empty cottage, where, applying every force, he deflowered her, giving her a promise of marriage, as our sister has declared under oath. Because he left her, [abandoned] except for her brothers, she wanted more [of a settlement] from the *alcalde mayor*. Although the *alcalde mayor* has Juan in jail, he is obviously siding with him because he has money; he says he

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is about to set him free and without [paying court] costs, while our sister is left ruined. In order that the damage to her have its proper remedy and the aforementioned Juan be punished according to law or marry Catarina Maria by way of compensation, the *alcalde mayor* should forward court documents to this court. If necessary we shall appeal all of them and file a grievance asking that they be declared null, or seek another remedy in which, if brought, we would protest, dispute, and accuse him with all due formality, sending proof for this purpose.

For all of which, we ask Your Excellency and plead, having made this appeal, that it may please you to order the *alcalde mayor* of this district or his deputy to remit to this court the records concerned with our complaint in the manner we have originally expressed, without anything being omitted, and in the interim, while this case is being decided, keep the prisoner [Juan] under strict guard as we have requested and that penalties be imposed on him that he must fulfill. Let someone [of the *pueblo*] who knows how to read and write be notified of this, together with witnesses, costs and so on.

[After hearing the petition of Catarina Maria's brothers, Viceroy Monterrey ordered on October 5 that don Luis de Alipi send the information gathered so far on the case to the General Indian Court for review. But the documents were in Mexico City with don Joseph de Morales who was assessing them for the

Malinalco court. Don Luis complied with the viceroy's order, on October 11, by asking Morales to turn the file over to the General Indian Court. And so he did. The viceroy then reviewed it in consultation with the Lord Licentiate don Jacinto de Vargas Campuzano, the senior judge of the audiencia and assessor general of the court. Then, on October 22 the viceroy remanded the case to Malinalco with the directive that within eight days don Luis de Alipi complete the collection of evidence and, with the advice of the assessor Morales, appraise it and pronounce a verdict. Afterward he was to file a report on the case with the General Indian Court.]

12.8 Juan Teioa Undergoes Interrogation

In the *pueblo* of Malinalco on October 26, 1696,¹ Captain don Luis de Alipi, *jus-ticia mayor* of the *pueblo* and its jurisdiction, acting as *juex receptor* with attending witnesses for lack of a royal public scribe in this jurisdiction, went to the Malinalco jail in order to receive the *confesion* of an Indian held in this case, and, in the presence of his attorney, Francisco de Herrera, and the interpreter Juan de Medina, received his oath, which he swore before God and the sign of the cross according to law. He promised to tell the truth, and the following questions were addressed to him:

Asked his name, marital status, occupation, *naturaleza*, and age, he said his name is Juan Teioa, he is unmarried, his occupation is that of *ganan*, and his *naturaleza* is Indian native to *barrio* San Nicolas. He did not know his age but appears to be about twenty. And thus he answers.

Asked whether he knows the reason for his imprisonment, he said "because of a woman." And thus he answers.

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Asked how he can say he is imprisoned because of a woman, if it is for having violently deflowered an Indian named Catarina Maria. Speak and confess the truth. He said that he denies what the question says, because when he was with Catarina Maria, it seemed to him she was not a *doncella*. And thus he answers.

Asked why is he saying he has not ruined Catarina Maria, when in his earlier statement he says he had. Speak and confess the truth. He said that he begs and pleads that the earlier statement be read out. And this being done, he said he stands by that answer, which he affirms and ratifies. And as for the deflowering, he does not know whether she was a *doncella* or not, since it was the first time he had been with a woman and he had no experience in such matters. And it will be seen that it happened because of the messages [Catarina Maria] sent him via the Indian Magdalena Maria. And thus he answers.

Questioned why he says the aforementioned [Catarina] was not a *doncella*, he said that as he has already said, he had not been with another woman and cannot explain it but one day—he cannot recall the date—Mateo Clemente, an Indian of the said *pueblo* of San Nicolas, told him, "Watch what you're doing; don't touch Catarina Maria with a ten-foot pole."¹¹ Even if [she] wants to marry you, you don't want to, because I know she's not a *doncella*." And thus he answers.

He was asked and reasked other questions concerning the case and said that his testimony is the truth in accordance with his oath, upon which it was affirmed and ratified. He did not sign because he does not know how. His *curador*, the interpreter, and the attending witnesses signed.

[Immediately following the confession, don Luis declares this part of the case completed and through the interpreter notifies Juan, once again, of the charges (cargo) and evidence (prueba) against him. Don Luis recorded, formulaically, that "[Juan] said he heard it, and this is the reply he gave." The interpreter and Francisco de Herrera, identified here as Juan's curador, signed, along with don Luis and the court witnesses. The next stage in the trial will allow for the presentation of arguments and supporting testimony for the defense, and following that, for the complainant.]

12.9 Juan Teioa's Defender Argues His Case

In the *pueblo* of Malinalco on October 27, 1696, before me, Captain don Luis de Alipi, *justicia mayor* of the *pueblo* and its jurisdiction in the name of His Majesty the following petition was read:

I, Francisco de Herrera, *vecino* of this *pueblo*, on behalf of the Indian Juan Teioa, who is confined in the Malinalco public jail on account of the suit filed by Catarina Maria, contending that he deflowered her and so forth. I say that Your Honor would be well served to order that my client, Juan Teioa, be released from his imprisonment for the following reasons. First, he is a boy (*muchacho*) incapable of reason and, being timid as he is, did not have the nerve to commit an offense such as this, especially because he remains under his father's authority (*patria potestad*), and his parents and my client fear God and their own consciences. Secondly, even if my client had deflowered Catarina Maria, he should not be imprisoned or punished since it was proven in the proceedings that Catarina Maria

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pursued him with amorous advances, as the Indian Magdalena Maria of the *pueblo* testified, the same person who bore the love messages of the aforesaid. And in that house where they were, it is certain that the latter incited my client and in effect did incite him by lying down on the floor for him. Hence, there was no abduction or violence, but, properly speaking, a simple fornication.

For all these reasons, and those my client presented, Your Honor would be well served to order that the witnesses he [Juan] mentioned in his confession be examined, that he be released from jail, and that Catarina Maria be severely punished. This submission should likewise be understood as evidence for my client, and in all of this I ask and plead that you decree and order according to justice.

[signed] Francisco de Herrera

12.10 Evidence in Support of Juan Teioa, Indian (1): The Testimony of Lucas de la Cruz

In the *pueblo* of Malinalco, October 21, 1696, before me, Captain don Luis de Alipo, *justicia mayor* of this jurisdiction, and Juan de Como, *juez receptor*, with witnesses present for lack of a royal public scribe in this jurisdiction, Francisco de Herrera presented in his client's defense an Indian witness who said to me, before the interpreter Juan de Medina he would receive the oath that he swore before God our Lord and the sign of the cross according to law promising to tell the truth.

On being questioned about the record [of the case], he said that his name is Lucas de la Cruz, his occupation is hat-maker, he is married to Micaela Geron-ima, and he is native to *barrio* San

Juan. He said that what he knows and can say is that he knows the Indian Juan Teioa, on whose behalf he has been asked to testify, since he was born. He also knows Catarina Maria. And what he knows and can say is that it is common knowledge in *barrio* San Nicolas that she is a public and worldly woman (*muger publica y mundana*) and therefore it is quite certain that Juan Teioa did not bring her to ruin. He [also] knows that on various occasions Catarina Maria sent love messages to Juan Teioa with Magdalena Maria, who has been heard to say this many times. This is what he knows to be the truth according to his sworn oath, upon which it was affirmed and ratified.

He did not know his age, but appears to be over forty. The rules governing the disqualification of witnesses do not apply to him. He did not sign because he does not know how. The interpreter signed, along with myself and my attending witnesses.

12.11 Evidence in Support of Juan Teioa, Indian (2): The Testimony of Baltasar de los Reyes

Immediately after, on the same day, month, and year, before me, the *justida mayor* with attending witnesses for lack of a royal public scribe in this jurisdiction, Francisco de Herrera, acting on behalf of his client, presented as witness an Indian

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who, speaking through the interpreter Juan de Medina, said his name is Baltasar de los Reyes, his profession, painter, married to Maria Catalina, and native of *barrio* San Juan in this jurisdiction. Through the said interpreter I received his oath, which he swore before God and the cross according to law.

Upon being questioned according to the record [of the case], he said that he has known Juan Teioa, on whose behalf he has been asked to testify, in this district for ten years. And he also knows Catarina Maria. And what he knows and can say is that he knows she was not a *doncella*, since this was common knowledge in all of *barrio* San Nicolas. And he knows also that Catarina Maria sent messages by Magdalena Maria, which she gave him so that he should meet her, but he didn't want to go, being a mere boy (*muchacho*). And he knew that the aforementioned enticed Juan.

And this is the truth [he stated] according to his sworn oath, upon which it was affirmed and ratified. He declared he is thirty years old, and the rules governing the disqualification of witnesses do not apply to him. He did not sign because he does not know how. The interpreter and the attending witnesses signed.

12.12 The Court Asks Catarina to Present Witnesses

And immediately after, on the same day, month, and year, I the *justiciu mayor*, with witnesses present for lack of a royal and public scribe and through the interpreter Juan de Medina, notified Catarina Maria that the presentation of evidence was closing and she should present any witnesses that she might have. She said she heard, and doesn't have witnesses to present. And this was her answer. The interpreter signed, along with myself and the attending witnesses.

12.13 The Case Is Sent to Dr. Morales for Assessment

In the *pueblo* of Malinalco, October 28, 1696,¹ Captain don Luis de Alipi, *justicia mayor* of the *pueblo* and its district, acting as *juez receptor* with witnesses present for lack of a royal and public scribe, having seen this case and the depositions given on behalf of the defendant Juan Teioa, and to comply with the order of the Most Excellent Lord Bishop Viceroy and of the assessor general of the General Indian Court, ordered and order that this case be brought for assessment to Dr. don Joseph de Morales, lawyer of the royal *audiencia*, with payment of four pesos as his fee so that he decide the outcome and the sentence and I of course will conform to whatever he should decree and decide. And I signed, along with my attending witnesses.

12.14 Dr. Morales Decides the Case

I received these documents today, November 7, 1696, Mexico City.

[Signed]

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In the criminal litigation against Juan Teioa, a native of the *pueblo* of Malinalco, that followed from the complaint of the Indian Catarina Maria, saying that he violently deflowered her, and in regard to what was alleged and proven by Juan Teioa's defender, saying that the aforementioned [Catarina] provoked him and was not a *doncella* when he knew her carnally (*la conosio*), and the other issues I see in the file:

Upon reviewing the writs and the merits of the case, and considering what has come to light therein, I find that I must sentence and do sentence Juan Teioa to pay the full legal expenses, amounting to twelve pesos. Let him be released from the prison in which he is confined, and let him be absolved and held blameless with regard to the deflowering and the demand for damages that came from it. And let Catarina Maria be warned not to solicit Juan, or anyone else, nor to tempt them with provocative behavior, under penalty of being placed in a *recogimiento* in Mexico City for a period of six years. And let her be warned to live decently or marry. And if any violation occurs, my sentence is to be enforced unconditionally. I thus pronounced and order as [court] assessor.

[signed] Dr. don Joseph de Morales

NOTES

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS Peter Rogers compared my transcription of this document with a photocopy of the original and then made a preliminary translation. Omar Farouk recopied several pages that were missing from my original photocopy. A research grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Council of Canada supported the research program from which this case is taken.

1. This document comes from Mexico's Archive General de la Nacion, Criminal, vol. 139, exp. 24, pp. 363-76.
2. As well they surely abbreviated some contextual descriptions and explanations that would have been self-evident to all members of the community but not, unfortunately, to us.
3. The population figures come from Peter Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 171.

4. Throughout I have used deflower to translate *estuprar* (spelled throughout this document as *estrapar*), which in other contexts can mean rape. In fact Catarina uses the word more in the sense of rape at times when she emphasizes that Juan took her by force.
5. The Spanish is "en donde me metio y forso." I have translated this literally but a more interpretive translation, one that would not be inaccurate, might read "into which he dragged me and raped me."
6. Note that the notary puts part of the complaint into the first person.
7. The text reads "le empezo a provocar con amores."
8. "Mira lo que has hecho, y no me pagues mal que yo te quiero mucho."
9. Because Juan did not know how to write (see the concluding section of 12.8), his name was signed for him here in a practiced hand that included an added flourish that rustics and the barely literate would never have attempted. But by whom? We do not know because there is no attribution. Yet the flourish is nearly identical to one that the court translator, Juan de Medina, attached to his signature. And because Medina surely had a hand in putting Juan's statement into proper form, as well as proper Spanish, it is likely that he signed Juan's name. 10. Assessors were lawyers, judges often were not. In this case the viceroy, sitting as a judge, would have been required by Spanish law to receive expert legal advice on what decision should be made and then he would make it.

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11. The Spanish is "no te metas en nada con Catarina Maria." The forcefulness implied by the adverbial phrase "en nada" justifies the strong rendering in English. Without it, the translation might read "don't get involved with Catarina Maria."

DOCUMENT THEMES

Crime; Gender; Gossip and Communication; Honor; Marriage; Popular Culture;
Sexuality; Town Life; Women.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

Borah 1983. Boyer 1994. Boyer 1995. Boyer
1998. Seed 1988