

Women in Colonial Latin America, 1526 to 1806

Texts and Contexts

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Criminal Complaint by Angela de Palacios on Behalf of Her Daughter, Leonor Arias (Potosí, 1584)

In February of 1584 in the populous silver-mining city of Potosí, Angela de Palacios filed a criminal complaint against a man and a woman for allowing her daughter, the fourteen-year-old Leonor Arias, to be deflowered. As with many accusations of sexual assault, the testimony by the mother and daughter differed from that provided by both the accused and by several witnesses. Sadly, the extant document does not reveal the final outcome of the case.¹ Once the relevant complaint by Palacios was acknowledged and testimony was taken, the case turned to focus primarily on property, specifically an enslaved man and a horse belonging to *doña* (lady) Isabel de Chávez, the original accused in the judicial case of first instance. This chapter focuses on the excerpt pertaining to the allegation of Leonor Arias' sexual assault to study colonial society's culture of gendered honor, the mobility of women within colonial Peru, and gender roles within urban social networks.

Witness testimony highlights a young woman's sexual behavior and the potential of sexual assault as the main themes in this case. In colonial Peru, a young woman's family and household protected and guarded the significant asset of her virginity until marriage. The practice of *recogimiento* (seclusion) was a social tool that served to protect women who might be at risk of losing their honor.² So, too, was the convent a place where young women might be placed prior to marriage to protect their honor by keeping them in relative isolation from men.³ However, great variability often existed between the theory and the practice of chastity. Women of various racial backgrounds and social statuses had sex outside of marriage, both with and without their consent.⁴ In this late sixteenth-century case, Angela de Palacios brought suit against Ortiz de Velasco

1. This is not uncommon in colonial archives where a case file may have been partially destroyed or misplaced over the course of several hundred years.

2. *Recogimiento* here refers to the virtue of enclosure and quiescent conduct for females; is also treated in Chapters 8, 12, and 13.

3. See Lyman L. Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, *The Faces of Honor: Sex, Shame, and Violence in Colonial Latin America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998).

4. For Peru, see Bernard Lavallé, *Amor y opresión en los Andes coloniales* (Lima: IEP, 1999), 67–84. See an empire-wide discussion in Ann Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets: Gender,*

for having sex with her unmarried daughter and also charged one *doña* Isabel de Chávez as an accomplice for allowing the alleged rape to occur in her home.

When colonial women traveled, as Palacios and her daughter had done, they ran a greater risk of assault or aggression because they were moving outside of the networks that protected them best. In fact, when women traveled in this era, husbands, fathers, and brothers frequently hired or appointed trusted men to look out for their wives, sisters, or daughters.⁵ In young Leonor Arias' case, her mother charged that she had fallen prey to aggressive men first while she traveled from her original home of Lima, the administrative center of the Viceroyalty of Peru, to the provincial city of Arequipa, and from there to Potosí, and next while living in Potosí. According to her mother's account, Arias was the victim of a crime, and this may well have been the case. Once she arrived in Potosí, Leonor Arias would presumably have had limited mobility. Most young women of Spanish descent were expected to be in the company of their relatives and servants at all times to ensure their exclusion from dangerous or compromising situations. As a new arrival in Potosí, however, Arias likely had weaker social networks of relatives and kin than young women who had grown up in the city and this may help account for what befell her. Alternately, it is possible that Arias had chosen to engage in premarital sexual relations. Women whose suitors did not have their parents' approval sometimes resorted to establishing a sexual relationship with these men in order to pressure their families into allowing them to marry their co-conspirators to avoid scandal and preserve familial honor.⁶

The houses and streets of Potosí come alive in the testimony of this case. We can try to imagine the newly arrived Leonor Arias making her way in a city of approximately one hundred thousand people, where a massive indigenous population mined silver and a large mixed-race population processed that silver. How would the size and complexity of this city have helped Ortiz de Velasco to make an impression on the young Arias? Several domestic servants were called as witnesses in this case. Their comments highlight the extraordinary access all members of a colonial household had to one another's

Honor, Sexuality, and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999).

5. See Jane E. Mangan, *Transatlantic Obligations: Creating the Bonds of Family in Conquest-Era Peru and Spain* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 112–18.

6. For a discussion of sexuality and marriage focused on non-elites in seventeenth-century Lima, see Marla Emma Mannarelli, *Private Passions and Public Sins: Men and Women in Seventeenth-Century Lima*, trans. Sidney Evans and Meredith D. Dodge (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007). Allyson Poska's work on women in early modern Spain suggests that notions of honor did not drive female sexual behavior for non-elite women in the era. See Poska, "Elusive Virtue: Rethinking the Role of Female Chastity in Early Modern Spain," *Journal of Early Modern History* 8, 1:2 (2004), 136–46.

business, whether or not they were master or servant, Spanish or people of color. Servants could be helpmates to subterfuge, yet they could also reveal transgressions. Which appears to have been the case here?

That Leonor Arias had lost her virginity was not in question; the issue, rather, was whether anyone might be blamed for it. In some instances, parents looked for some form of payment for the loss of virginity.⁷ The case brought by Palacios, however, never reached that stage. Moreover, the defendant's accusation that her daughter had sexual relations with more than one man made it less likely that Palacios could sue for loss of her daughter's virginity. What might Angela de Palacios have hoped to gain from bringing this suit and drawing additional public attention to her daughter's loss of virginity? No mention is made of Leonor's father; how might the absence of a male head of household affect this case or the standing of Angela and Leonor in the first place? What does witness testimony about Ortiz de Velasco suggest about expectations of men in colonial society? What might have happened to Leonor Arias after the tales of her sexual encounters were spread widely through social networks?

7.1 Criminal Complaint against Juan Ortiz for the Rape of Leonor Arias (Potosí, 1584)⁸

In the Imperial Villa of Potosí on February 8, 1584 before *señor* (lord) *don* (sir) Alonso Ortíz de Levya, *corregidor y justicia mayor* (district administrator and senior judge) in this province of Charcas⁹ for his majesty, appeared Angela de Palacios, resident of this said Villa and said that she had a criminal complaint to make, according to law (*como mejor de derecho y aya lugar de derecho*) against Juan Ortiz de Velasco, resident of this Villa and against *doña* Isabel de Chávez, her [daughter's] guardian¹⁰ and against the other persons who by information appeared guilty. In recounting the case, she said that she

7. For parents suing for reparations over loss of honor, see Patricia Seed, *To Love, Honor, and Obey in Colonial Mexico: Conflicts over Marriage Choice, 1574–1821* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988) as well as Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets*.

8. Archivo Nacional de Bolivia, Sucre. Expediente 1584.2. *Doña Isabel de Chávez e doña Angela Palacios sobre violentacion de la hija de esta Leonor Arias, por Juan Ortiz e devolución de un negrilla esclavo*, Potosí, 23 folios.

9. The province of Charcas is located in modern-day Bolivia.

10. The term in the original is "*deuda*"; the editors use the word *guardian* to imply a form of protection for Leonor that *doña* Angela imagined she would provide, although no legal guardianship is implied by this relationship. Isabel de Chávez's loyalty was possibly divided. She was to act as Leonor's guardian, but later testimony suggests she was also the biological aunt of Leonor's aggressor, Juan Ortiz de Velasco.

has a daughter, Leonor Arias, a girl of thirteen or fourteen years, more or less, whom she brought, still a maiden, from the City of Kings (Lima) in the company of *doña* Inés Ramírez de Cartagena, wife of Diego Bravo *vecino* (citizen) of this Villa. While on the road, Juan Ortiz de Velasco and other people solicited [Leonor] and persuaded her to know them carnally and with flattery and pleas, as well as with force and against her will. They lay with her carnally and they corrupted her and took her virginity. Once [Leonor] had arrived at this Villa and was living in seclusion in houses that are on Juan Baron Street, where they play ball, Juan Ortiz de Velasco entered through the walls of these houses that border on the houses of Felipa, a *negra* (a black woman), and, by force, lay with Leonor Arias, her daughter. And what is worse is that by the same force, he took her out of her house and had her, taking advantage of her for several days while staying in the house of *doña* Isabel de Chávez, her guardian, who concealed that this was happening in the house. In all this, the named person and the other guilty parties committed grave and dreadful crimes worthy of punishment and penalty. I ask that your mercy order that there be an inquiry and arrest the guilty parties and put them in the public jail of this Villa because these acts beg for justice in whatever form is convenient. The *Señor Corregidor* orders an investigation of the content of this complaint that relates what happened in order that justice be served.

Before me, Fernando de Medina, public notary, in Potosí on February 8, 1584 Leonor Arias, daughter of Angela de Palacios and resident of this Villa, swore an oath before God our *Señor* (Lord) and made the sign of the cross, according to the law swore to tell what she knows respecting the investigation of the aforementioned. She said under oath that a month ago, more or less, she and her mother entered this Villa. They came to it in the company of *doña* Inés Ramírez de Cartagena, wife of Diego Bravo,¹¹ and they lived in this period in a house that is in the street of the *Juego de la Pelota* (the ball game). After arriving, *doña* Inés was in the city of Arequipa, more or less, for two months waiting for Diego Bravo, her husband. When he arrived to Arequipa, he solicited [Leonor] and persuaded her to lie carnally with him. And Leonor told him that she did not want to do the aforementioned because she was a *doncella* (virgin). Bravo persuaded her to do it. Leonor always repeated these words even though she was not a *doncella* because *don* Fernando de Cartagena, son of *licenciado* (licenciate) Ramírez de Cartagena, had already had her on the road from Lima to the city of Arequipa, but she said it so Bravo would stop harassing her. Arriving at a town in the provinces, although she does not remember which one it was, other than that she stayed there in the Inn de

11. A man by the same name worked as a public notary in the city of La Plata in this period, which would signify an important role in colonial society. However, it is not clear if the two were one and the same.

Vergara, Juan Ortiz de Velasco sent her to a soldier named Tomás de Castañeda who traveled with them so that he could persuade her to lie with him. Also, Castañeda took Leonor from the door of a room in the said inn and carried her to the lodgings of Juan Ortiz de Velasco. There he had her in his bed that night, lying carnally with her as many times as he wanted. Once they had arrived at this Villa, and were living in the house in the *juego de la Pelota*, Ortiz de Velasco solicited her many times so that he could lie with her carnally. When Leonor's mother left her at the guest house, Ortiz de Velasco entered it through the house of Felipa Velázquez, *negra*, jumping the walls of the pens¹² and lay carnally with Leonor more by force and against her will than by her choice. And last Wednesday on the fifth day of this present month, Leonor's mother was absent from the house because she had gone for food and to see about a lawsuit that she has. Ortiz de Velasco came into the house through the pens of Felipa Velázquez, and he told Leonor that the following night they would be together and that she should wait for him in the breezeway of the house of Felipa Velázquez.¹³ From there, he would remove Leonor from the house of her mother and take her to the house of *doña* Isabel de Chávez, his relative. From there he would take her to another *pueblo* (town), saying also that he did not have much to give and use to serve Leonor. That night Leonor did not go to the breezeway of Felipa Velázquez's house as he had told her, but Juan Ortiz de Velasco jumped the walls of the pens of Felipa Velázquez's house, as he had already done, and took her in his arms from her mother's house over the walls of the house of Felipa, *negra*. He took her through the settlement toward San Pedro and from there he took her to the house of *doña* Isabel de Chávez, his aunt, where he slept with her. Then *doña* Ana de Valderama, wife of Juan Ochobueita, and *doña* Luisa Riquelme and other people took her from there on Friday night, the seventh of this present month. *Doña* Angela de Palacios went to the house [of his aunt Chávez] while she was there to ask if she [Leonor] had been seen and *doña* Isabel denied this, saying that she did not know of that woman. And the deponent [Leonor] was behind *doña* Isabel's bed because she ordered her [Leonor] there. And that night that her mother looked for her, Juan Ortiz de Velasco accompanied her [mother] to her house, saying that he had never heard nor seen her [Leonor].

She was ordered, under oath, to respond as follows.

12. Animal pens.

13. *Zaguán* in the original. *Zaguanes* or breezeways were entryway spaces located adjacent to exterior doorways; they often served as passageways between buildings' interior and exterior spaces. Sonya Lipsett-Rivera found that these spaces served as liminal areas between private and public spaces in late colonial and nineteenth-century homes; *Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico, 1750–1856* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012), 87–88.

She was asked if Felipa, the *negra*, knew or understood that Juan Ortiz entered through her house to the house of Leonor's mother and if she (or any other person) consented to it. She said she does not know, and that what she has said is the truth. She said that had no personal conflict of interest with any party in the case. She was asked her age and she said she is fourteen years old and she did not sign because she does not know how to write.

Order

On this day, month, and year the *señor corregidor* reviewed the declaration of Leonor Arias, and I order that Juan de Velasco be arrested and placed in the jail of this Villa before the investigation of this case proceeds. Because if we proceed without arresting him, he might flee and remain without punishment for the crime that he appears to have committed. This I declare and order, before me, Fernando de Medina public scribe, witness.

7.2 Testimony of Catalina Valero

Potosí, February 24, 1584

Witness, Catalina Valero, resident of this Villa of Potosí, wife of Francisco de Herrera swore an oath before God our *Señor* and made the sign of the cross, according to the law swore to tell what she knows respecting the investigation of the aforementioned. Valero said that she has known Angela de Palacios for more than eight years and her daughter Leonor for the last twenty days, more or less, she has known Ortiz de Velasco and *doña* Isabel de Chávez for the past two years, more or less. And, she says that twenty days ago, Catalina was in her house asleep in her bed one morning at dawn, and Margarita, a female slave of *doña* Isabel de Chávez, knocked on her door. Catalina ordered her to open the door and she came in to where Catalina was lying in her bed. She had with her Leonor Arias, daughter of Angela de Palacios, and the slave told Catalina, "*Señora*, my *señora doña* Isabel de Chávez does not want to have this girl in her house. I beg your mercy that she may stay here for a day or two while she finds a place to stay." The slave did not tell Catalina who sent [Leonor] to her house, nor did this witness ask her. That same day at 10 o'clock, more or less, Ortiz de Velasco came. He brought Leonor food for lunch and at that time that he came to the house Catalina did not see Ortiz de Velasco because she was out of the house in the stream of the Villa watching how they processed some bits of ore. When Catalina came home about 11 o'clock, Ortiz de Velasco had already gone. When this witness entered her house, they told her that Ortiz de Velasco had come to Catalina's house and he had brought food for lunch

to Leonor Arias. The same day around vespers,¹⁴ Leonor took her shawl and she wanted to go out. This deponent said to Leonor, "Why do you want to go? Do not go until Ortiz de Velasco comes." So Leonor took her shawl off and after it got dark, Leonor again took her shawl and wanted to go. And this witness made her stay and sent for Ortiz de Velasco, who came later to her house. And since she knew that Leonor wanted to go he told her, "Don't go because you are in a good house," and with this, Ortiz de Velasco left and one hour later, more or less, Ortiz de Velasco returned to the house of this witness. He took Leonor and Simon de Herrera, Catalina's son, went with them. When Simon de Herrera returned, this witness asked him where they took that girl. Simon de Herrera responded that they had taken her to the house of Felipa Velázquez *morena* (a black woman) who lives on the [street of the] *Juego de la Pelota*. Likewise he said that Leonor was the daughter of Angela de Palacios, the witness's *comadre*,¹⁵ and this is the truth. She said that she had no personal conflict of interest with any party in the case. She is forty years old, and she did not sign because she does not know how.

7.3 Testimony of Simón de Herrera

Potosí, February 24, 1584

Simon de Herrera, resident of this Villa, said that he has known Angela de Palacios for eight years and Leonor Arias, her daughter, for twenty days, more or less. Likewise, he has known Ortiz de Velasco and *doña* Isabel de Chávez for more or less two years. And, twenty days ago, this witness was asleep in the house of his mother, Catalina Valero, one morning. It was already dawn and he heard a knock on the door. He sent to open it and to find out who it was and in came a slave named Margarita who belongs to *doña* Isabel de Chávez, and with her, another girl named Leonor de Arias. Once inside, they went to talk with Catalina Valero, his mother, who was sleeping in her bed where this witness was likewise sleeping in another small room next to his mother. After entering, the slave said to his mother, "*Señora*, my *señora*, *doña* Isabel de Chávez sent me. *Señora*, my *señora*, *doña* Isabel de Chávez does not want to have this girl in her house. I beg your mercy that she may stay here for a day or two while she finds a [permanent] place to stay." His mother responded to the slave that she did not want to have her in this house. Margarita, *negra*, begged the mother of this witness on behalf of Leonor de Arias that she take her for the day because

14. Vespers were prayers in the evening, usually at dusk.

15. In this context, the term translates as "close friend."

she was *chapetona*¹⁶ and had come from the city of Lima. And when Catalina Valero, mother of this witness, learned that the girl was from Lima, she said she could gladly stay. With this Margarita, *negra*, left. Leonor stayed, and at around 11 o'clock that day, this witness came back to his house to eat because he had gone out to see his ore washed in the stream of this Villa. And when this witness came in to eat they told him how Ortiz de Velasco had come to the house and had brought food for lunch for the girl: peach, grapes, and a stew, then he had gone. Having finished eating, this witness Simon turned to go to his house and when he came, he found the said girl covered with her shawl. Catalina Valero, mother of this witness, said, "Why are you covered with that shawl?" The girl responded that she wanted to go. The mother of this witness said, "Do not go. Wait. We will send word to Ortiz de Velasco." And so this witness, by order of his mother, went to find him and he found him in the house of the said Isabel de Chávez. He said to Ortiz de Velasco that Catalina Valero, mother of this witness, called him. Then Ortiz de Velasco came with him and having arrived at his house, Ortiz de Velasco called to the young girl. He said, "Señora Leonor, where do you want to go? You are in a good house, and if you leave here, what?" And after he had spoken with Leonor, Ortiz de Velasco left. Half an hour later, Ortiz de Velasco returned to the house of this witness. He said that the *señor corregidor* had gone to his house in search of Leonor and they had taken what was in his house. And since he was in the house, Ortiz de Velasco called for this witness and told him that he wanted to have a word with him. This witness distanced himself from Ortiz de Velasco, who asked if he would do him the favor of going with him and with this girl [Leonor] because he wanted to take her to a house. And he asked if he [Simon] would lend him [Ortiz de Velasco] a large cape so they would not be recognized. This witness gave him the cape, and he took the cape that Ortiz de Velasco was wearing. Ortiz de Velasco asked this witness if he had heard the curfew,¹⁷ because if it had rung, he did not want to carry his sword. When this witness said yes [that the curfew bell had rung], he left the sword. He and Ortiz de Velasco left this witness's house with the girl walking by the stream that runs above the Villa and arriving at the refinery of Juan Gómez. But they could not cross because there was a lot of water, so they changed course and went higher up. They turned to enter the ravine in order to avoid law [officers]. From there they left the stream and went to the street of the *pelota* and this witness said to Leonor, "Angela de Palacios lives here," not knowing that Leonor was her daughter. And the girl responded, "I know the *Juego de la Pelota* very well." And halfway up the block, Ortiz de Velasco knocked on a door of the house where a *morena* called Felipa Velázquez lives. An indigenous woman answered and Ortiz de

16. Meaning a person who had recently arrived, usually from Europe to America.

17. *Queda* for *toque de queda*. Literally a bell tolling to signify the curfew.

Velasco said to her in indigenous tongue, "Tell Felipa Velázquez that Ortiz de Velasco is here." Then the indigenous woman opened the door for him and Ortiz de Velasco entered inside the house. He said "*Señor*, stay at the door with this girl," and this witness stayed with her at the door, waiting. He asked the girl "does Felipa Velázquez live here?" To this question Leonor said "Oh, take care of me. What am I doing. Let's go, Simon de Herrera, to your house." And when Leonor said this, the witness started to go with her down the street. Then Ortiz de Velasco came outside and when he didn't find them at the doorway, he came running until he caught up with them. The girl asked him, "Where are you taking me, your mercy?" Ortiz de Velasco said, "Here, I am taking you to the house of a *morena*," and the said girl responded, "It is possible *señor* Velasco that your mercy is taking me to where they will kill me? Leave me, for the love of God. I want to go by myself to Chuquisaca."¹⁸ Ortiz de Velasco said, "I swear on my mother who gave birth to me and the milk that I suckled! Do you want to cut off my head?"¹⁹ Let's get out of here so *la ronda* (the patrol) doesn't come because if they catch us, they will take you to jail." And with this, Leonor returned and all three of us entered the house of Felipa Velázquez, *morena*. This witness stayed on the patio of the house and Ortiz de Velasco entered with the girl into a room where Felipa Velázquez was and this witness was in the patio more than half an hour watching for Ortiz de Velasco to come out. He heard certain words by which he understood that Leonor was the daughter of Angela de Palacios because from the patio he heard those inside say: "Your mother Palacios is looking for you." Since Ortiz de Velasco did not come out [of the room], this witness went to his house and Ortiz de Velasco stayed at the house. This is the truth. The witness said that he had no personal conflict of interest with any party in the case. Then the witness signed and when asked his age he said he is twenty-one years of age.

7.4 Witness Juana Pérez

Potosí, February 24, 1584

Juana Pérez, wife of Simon de Herrera, [*witness takes oath*] she has known Angela de Palacios for five years, more or less, and her daughter Leonor for the last twenty days. She has known *doña* Isabel de Chávez and Ortiz de Velasco for the last two years. She said that one morning at dawn, twenty

18. Chuquisaca refers to the Bolivian department that is in the central south of the country where La Plata (mentioned herein) is located. It borders the region where the Villa of Potosí is located.

19. This is a literal translation of the testimony; the phrase is akin to asking "do you want to sell me out?"

days ago, they knocked on the door of her house and that of Catalina Valero, her mother-in-law. Valero said to a *muchacha* (female servant) that she should see who was knocking and open the door. In came a *negra* named Margarita, slave of *doña* Isabel de Chávez, with another girl. Entering into the room of Catalina Valero, mother-in-law of this witness, the *negra* told her “*Señora*, my *señora*, *doña* Isabel de Chávez does not want to have this girl in her house. I beg your mercy that she may stay here for a day or two while she finds a place to stay.” Margarita the *negra* told her, “*Señora*, just for today if you like, could your mercy have her in your house? At night they will come back for her.” Catalina Valero told this witness that if it would only be for today, [then she could be there]. Valero asked the girl if she had a mother, and she responded, “yes,” and said later she would tell her who. With this the *negra* left and the girl stayed. After a while, this witness asked the said girl what her name was and she responded that her name was Francisca. At around ten o’clock on that day, Ortiz de Velasco came to the house of Catalina Valero, mother-in-law of this witness. He spoke with the girl and then he turned to go. Ortiz de Velasco sent a boy [servant] with lunch, a cake and peaches, grapes and bread. Around nightfall, the girl took her shawl and said that she wanted to go and seeing this, her mother-in-law asked Leonor, “Why do you want to go? Do not go until Ortiz de Velasco comes.” So Leonor took her shawl off and after it got dark, Leonor again took her shawl and wanted to go. Her mother-in-law made her stay and sent for Ortiz de Velasco, who came later. Knowing that Leonor wanted to go he told her, “Do not go because you are in a good house,” and with this, Ortiz de Velasco left. One hour later, more or less, Ortiz de Velasco returned to the house. Before he took her [Leonor], this witness heard her say that evening, “How bad is Ortiz de Velasco. Because of him I go around in this manner because he took me from my house.” This witness did not speak to him. This is what she knows. She said she had no personal conflict of interest with any party in the case. She did not sign. When asked her age, she said she is thirteen years old, more or less.

7.5 Witness Madame²⁰ Isabel Bisconte

Potosi, February 24, 1584

Madame Isabel Bisconte, wife of Juan Varón, resident in this said Villa. [Witness swore oath] said that she knows Angela de Palacios and her daughter, Leonor Arias, and has known Ortiz de Velasco for more than two years. She does not know *doña* Isabel de Chávez. About one month ago, more or less,

20. The original includes the term *Madame*, though it is unclear why.

this witness saw that Angela Palacios was living across from her house in the street of the *Juego de la Pelota*. She had seen Leonor Arias, her daughter, with her because at that time [Leonor] had communicated with her, and this witness had entered the house of Angela de Palacios and had spoken to Leonor Arias, her daughter, many times. In the time that she has known them, she has often seen Ortiz de Velasco walking past their door and standing in their doorway. About fifteen or twenty days ago, this witness heard tell that Ortiz de Velasco had taken the daughter from the house of her mother, Leonor Arias. When she was in the house of *maestro* Juan, surgeon, Ortiz de Velasco entered the house and said to this witness and to others there that they should be alert because the daughter of Leonor Arias had been taken from the house of Angela de Palacios. This witness and the others who were there responded that this was true and that he must have taken her and Ortiz de Velasco responded that this was not true and with this, he left. She did not hear more and this is the truth. She did not sign because she did not know how. Asked her age, she said she is thirty-three years old.

[The remaining extant folios in the case treat the appellate court's handling of the case but refer only with the matter of the legal ownership by doña Isabel de Chávez of a horse and a slave. There is no additional mention of the alleged abduction of Leonor Arias.]

Suggested Reading

- Boyer, Richard. "Catarina María Complains That Juan Teioa Forcibly Deflowered Her," in *Colonial Lives, Documents on Latin American History, 1550–1850*, ed. Richard Boyer and Geoffrey Spurling. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
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Document Themes

- Family
- Migration and mobility
- Race and ethnicity
- Sexuality and gender