

Por Haver Puesto Manos Violentas: An Account of Violence during a Mass in Coyoacán, 1629

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In October of the year 1629, at the hermitage Nuestra Señora de La Concepción in Coyoacán, Mexico, a fight broke out in the middle of a Mass, leading to an assault on a priest by a group of Dominican friars. The fight caused damage to the altar and its adornments, spilled the offering, and scandalized the witnessing congregation, which was composed of Spaniards, newly converted Indigenous people, and at least one enslaved Black man and a free Asian servant (*chino libre*).¹ Weeks prior, in September, a devastating flood in Mexico City had forced the population to evacuate to nearby towns, exposing fatal flaws in the urban infrastructure and disrupting trade, bureaucracy, and everyday life. There had been extensive damage to flora and fauna, and a wave of starvation, epidemics, and deaths.² Along with nearly everything else in the growing city, the churches were underwater—a fact that brought these friars in contact with one another and a larger-than-usual congregation. The economic and housing effects of the flood were felt and documented until at least 1640, a significant date for the resurgence of large Inquisition trials against the wealthy Portuguese-Jewish merchant population. The city's clergy played a major role in the recovery efforts and subsequent reform of the city's infrastructure, intending to prevent future flooding disasters. Finally, this flood was a significant moment in the growth of the desagüe (drainage canal) and the draining and loss of Lake Texcoco. The desagüe channeled waters from the central Mexico basins in an effort to control flooding and expand Spanish colonial urbanism and agrarianism. Due to the difference in environmental understandings, class, and mercantilism between Spaniards and Nahuas, the desagüe led to long-lasting

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¹ Proceso de causa criminal contra los frailes dominicos de cuyuacan (1629), Helmerich Center for American Research (HCAR), Tulsa, Oklahoma, Conway Collection of Spanish Colonial Manuscripts, Acc. No. 40.10030 (previously C-30). A digital facsimile can be found at: <https://collections.gilcrease.org/object/4010030>. The Iglesia de la Inmaculada Concepcion en Coyoacán, or “La Conchita” (little shell) as it is known today, was the earliest constructed church in the region, dating to 1525, when it was built by order of Hernán Cortés over a Toltec altar. Leidy Saray, “Iglesia Inmaculada Concepción, ‘La Conchita,’” *Arquidiócesis de México*, July 5, 2023, <https://arquidiocesismexico.org.mx/2023/07/05/iglesia-inmaculada-concepcion-la-conchita>.

² Richard Boyer, *La Gran Inundación: Vida y Sociedad en la Ciudad de México, 1629–1638* (Mexico: SepSetentas, 1975) and Louisa Hoberman, “Bureaucracy and Disaster: Mexico City and the Flood of 1629,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 6, no. 2 (1974): 211–30.

environmental destruction. The effects and limits of the drainage project, including ongoing flooding as experienced in 1629, are still felt today.³

The document transcribed and translated below includes an initial criminal complaint against the friars and the interrogation of several witnesses by inquisitor Gaspar de Baldespiña. We learn little about Baldespiña through this document. He received the complaint and conducted interrogations, which he limited to two simple and standard questions for each witness: “if he knows or suspects the reason for which he was called” and “asked what happened in Coyoacán?” He left no commentary or discussion, and no final judgement. The complaint was initiated by Br. (*bachiller*, or university graduate) Bartolomé López, a priest at the Cathedral, against three Dominican friars: Hernando de Olivares, Luis de Merida, and Thomas de Morales. What we learn of these friars comes to us through the testimony of select witnesses; none of the friars were called upon for questioning. The assaulted priest, licentiate Br. Esteban de Ferrufino, was also questioned. Because of the flood, he had been sent by the Archbishop to deliver Mass to the Spanish population who had fled from the city to Coyoacán. The friars resisted upon his arrival, but he followed orders, donned his robes, and began the Mass. As described by the witnesses, the actions of the friars included: entering the church mid-Mass; yelling obscenities at Ferrufino as he conducted the Mass; calling him a fraud and a liar; questioning his license to deliver Mass; assaulting and threatening to kill him; threatening the congregation with excommunication; desecrating the altar, spilling out the wine from the chalice; and throwing the host on the floor, claiming it was unblessed.

Baldespiña selected witnesses from a variety of urban social stations. Several were not Spanish. The witnesses who accompanied Ferrufino to testify were Pedro Espín, a trumpeter for the Viceroy from Hamburg; Luis Aponte, a servant of the Viceroy from Flanders; Br. Don Miguel Chavez de Rivera, a priest in Mexico City; Bartolomé de Celis, a cleric of minor orders; and Luis Sánchez, a weapons master. For the most part, the witnesses’ stories corroborate the initial complaints brought against the friars, yet from perspective variations. Some observers reported what they saw outside the church while others had been participants in the Mass. Some gave colorful commentary on the events as they perceived them. One tried to intervene on Ferrufino’s behalf. Advisors Juan de Ledesma and Francisco Calderon of the Society of Jesus as well as Fray Juan de Herrera of the Order of Our Lady of Mercy were called upon to give advice on proceeding with a trial against the three friars. Their selection is noteworthy because it demonstrated collaboration across and respect for other mendicant orders’ judicial and theological expertise. Mendicant orders oversaw administering to the mixed population of Coyoacán, with Dominicans occupying the central place in local urban society. Tensions grew early between the mendicant orders and extended to their relations with secular clergy

³ Vera S. Candiani, *Dreaming of a Dry Land: Environmental Transformation in Colonial Mexico City* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014).

and their parishes. Nahuatl–Spanish relations in Coyoacán pertaining to religiosity, land ownership, labor, tribute, and governance were shaped by these tensions.⁴ The inquisition advisors received written copies of the testimonies and took three days to return the recommendation that several serious heresies were suspected (*sapiens haeresim*). Additionally, they made note that the friars’ claim that the host of the church was unblessed was “a heresy and against the determination of the Council of Trent in session twenty-two, chapter four, and canon six, where it determines that the entire canon is pure from error” (fol. 15^v). This citation lends insight into the theological and judicial framework of inquisition advisors; references to the Council of Trent are rare in Inquisition records. It also indicates the possibility that a trial commenced from this complaint, the most likely outcome of which would have been the friars’ own excommunication.⁵ Future researchers might fruitfully consult this document in the context of accompanying trials found in the *Archivo General de la Nación*, Mexico City.⁶

“The Criminal Case Against the Dominican Friars of Coyoacán” (Figure 1) is preserved at the Helmerich Center for American Research (HCAR) in Tulsa, Oklahoma, as part of the Conway Collection of Spanish Colonial Manuscripts.⁷ Thomas Gilcrease bought this collection from G.R.G. Conway in the early 1950s. Conway was an English engineer who spent much of his life in Mexico as the president of the Mexican Power and Light Company. There, he amassed a considerable collection of documents from the colonial archive as part of his interest and writings on viceregal Mexican history. Conway was a leading member of the Cortez Society, California Historical Society, and the American Antiquarian Society. He conducted extensive research in Mexican archives, including the AGN, and built an extensive social network of archivists, historians, and collectors across North America. Among his collections were many Inquisition trials against Englishmen and Jewish people, as well as trials pertaining to enslavement, blasphemy,

⁴ Rebecca Horn, *Postconquest Coyoacán* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 69–70.

⁵ Note, however, that the manuscript’s cover matter reads “no se siguió” (fol. 1^r), it did not proceed, after the names of the friars.

⁶ Inquisición 366, legajo 19 and Inquisición 340, legajo 13, as cited in Jonathan Israel, *Race, Class and Politics in Colonial Mexico* (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), 180–81.

⁷ For more on HCAR’s Conway Collection, see Jane Ackerman, “George Conway and His Library of Colonial Mexicana” (unpublished manuscript, 2012), consulted with permission of Drew Wood (University of Tulsa); Ivie E. Cadenhead Jr., “The G. R. G. Conway Collection in the Gilcrease Institute: A Checklist,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 38, no. 3 (1958): 373–82; Iván Rivero Hernández, “La Colección de Manuscritos Coloniales Hispanoamericanos del Helmerich Center for American Research, en Tulsa, Oklahoma (EE.UU.),” *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos*, February 21, 2025, <https://doi.org/10.4000/13d50>; John F. Schwaller, “Small Collections of Nahuatl Manuscripts in the United States,” *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl* 25 (1995): 377–416; Clevy Lloyd Strout, “Literary-Historical Treasures in the Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 43, no. 2 (1963): 267–70; “The Spanish Colonial Manuscript Collection (Conway),” Gilcrease Museum Online Collections, <https://collections.gilcrease.org/spanish-colonial-manuscript-collection-conway>; Amanda Summers, “BLOG: The Helmerich Center for American Research, Part I: Visiting and Using the Archive,” HLat-Am (H-Net), February 16, 2025, <https://networks.h-net.org/group/blog/20059725/blog-helmerich-center-american-research-part-i-visiting-and-using-archive>.

witchcraft, and crimes of the clergy. Seymour Liebman, while conducting research on the *judeoconversos* of Mexico City in the 1960s, noted that the 1500 bound volumes of Mexican inquisition records held by the AGN were not comprehensive, and that “some are owned by private citizens, and many are reposing in churches or other institutions both within and outside Mexico.”⁸ Liebman further noted the inaccessibility of inquisition records in Mexico at the time, and himself relied on earlier notes from Ivie Cadenhead Jr., highlighting the damage done to Mexico’s historical record due to collectors like Conway and his colleagues.

Conway’s collection was scattered after his death. Today, many archives house documents from Conway and his associates.⁹ Some documents returned to Mexico, and some were sold to collections around the United States, Britain, and Canada. A large portion was donated or sold to rare books and manuscript collectors in the United States, including the Library of Congress, Thomas Gilcrease of Tulsa, and Philip and Abraham Rosenbach in Philadelphia, as well as to collections in Cambridge and Aberdeen in the United Kingdom. HCAR’s Conway Collection pairs exceptionally well with other Spanish American and Inquisition collections in the United States, particularly the Henry Charles Lea Collection at the University of Pennsylvania, the Inquisition Manuscripts at the University of Notre Dame, the Huntington Library, the John Carter Brown Library, and the Latin Americana Collection at the University of California, Berkeley. All of these collections should be consulted in conjunction with research conducted at the AGN and the Archivo Histórico Nacional, Spain (AHN) to resituate documents in context of their original archival provenance.

While previously unpublished, the case is well situated for all manner of historical examinations. At first, the 1629 assault and desecration at Coyoacán may seem insignificant. However, the events detailed in the complaint can inform several types of cultural analysis.¹⁰ The Coyoacán affair was a part of a larger scandal involving the archbishop and viceroy, as well as a series of conflicts between Mexico’s mendicant orders. The public conflict between them escalated in the years affected by the flood of 1629, with the archbishop accusing the viceroy of gross corruption and negligence, calling upon a total reform or abolition of the system of *corregidores*.¹¹ The events in this case contributed to both the viceroy and the archbishop being recalled to Madrid on charges of corruption by the Council of

⁸ Seymour B. Liebman, “The Jews of Colonial Mexico,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 43, no. 1 (1963): 98.

⁹ Michael P. Costeloe, *Mexico State Papers, 1744–1843: A Descriptive Catalogue of the G. R. G. Conway Collection in the Institute of Historical Research, University of London* (London: Athlone Press for the Institute of Latin American Studies, 1976); J. Street, “The G. R. G. Conway Collection in Cambridge University Library: A Checklist,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 37, no. 1 (1957): 60–81; A. P. Thornton, “The G. R. G. Conway MS. Collection in the Library of the University of Aberdeen,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 36, no. 3 (1956): 345–47; Schafer Williams, “The G. R. G. Conway Collection in the Library of Congress: A Checklist,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 35, no. 3 (1955): 386–97.

¹⁰ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

¹¹ Israel, *Race, Class and Politics in Colonial Mexico*, 181.

the Indies. Another effect of the flood present in this case was the escalating conflict between diocesan and mendicant clergy as people of all *casta* designations migrated and upset the existing ecclesiastical jurisdictions. Clergy were obliged to follow their flock, and as seen here, the archbishop dispatched priests to various towns to do so and administer sacraments.¹² Spanish colonialism, cities, and Catholicism are inextricable from each other. Cities and their churches were the launching points and central focus of the empire, and having the church of a mendicant order in town was a source of communal pride. The mendicant orders took a leading role in the formation and governance of colonial towns and were deeply embedded in urban social life. As they expanded through *pueblos de indios*, orders conflicted over operations as parish priests and mendicant privileges.¹³ Moments of conflict between the mendicant orders were not uncommon, as seen in a similar incident of a Mercedarian friar vandalizing a Dominican altar and insulting the Dominicans as scoundrels in a dispute over the use of an order's scapular in a feast day procession.¹⁴ These tensions existed because of the close connections the orders had to their urban communities.

The case can also be quite neatly dissected for studies of power and gender in a religious context. It can equally serve as an excellent starting source for students of the early Americas to reconsider the power structures of local church governance and the connection of these structures with broader imperial patterns and struggles. The years between roughly 1610 and 1640 are less studied by scholars of the Mexican Inquisition, as they are bookended by two periods of intense trials against *conversos* that attract the majority of academic study.¹⁵ But this manuscript shows that,

¹² *Ibid.*, 182–84.

¹³ Karen Melvin, *Building Colonial Cities of God: Mendicant Orders and Urban Culture in New Spain* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), 2.

¹⁴ Melvin, *Building Colonial Cities of God*, 185.

¹⁵ A non-exhaustive list includes: Rafaela Acevedo-Field, "Denunciation of Faith and Family: Crypto-Jews and the Inquisition in Seventeenth-Century Mexico" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2012); Solange Alberro, "Crypto-Jews and the Mexican Holy Office in the Seventeenth Century," in *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West, 1450–1800*, ed. Paolo Bernardini and Norman Fiering (New York: Berghahn Books, 2001), 172–85; Miriam Bodian, *Dying in the Law of Moses: Crypto-Jewish Martyrdom in the Iberian World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007); Martin A. Cohen, "Some Misconceptions about the Crypto-Jews in Colonial Mexico," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 61, no. 4 (1972): 277–93; Richard E. Greenleaf, "The Great Visitas of the Mexican Holy Office, 1645–1669," *The Americas* 44, no. 4 (1988): 399–420; Seymour B. Lieberman, *The Jews in New Spain: Faith, Flame, and the Inquisition* (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1970); José Toribio Medina, *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición en México* (Santiago: Imprenta Elzeviriana, 1905); J. Schorsch, "Jailed Judaizers and Their Jailers' Servants," in *Swimming the Christian Atlantic: Judeoconversos, Afroiberians, and Amerindians in the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 245–82; Amanda Summers, "Controlling Bodies, Controlling Empire: Sex and Violence in The Inquisition Prisons of the Early Seventeenth Century Iberian Atlantic" (Ph.D. diss., Temple University, 2024); Eva Alexandra Uchmany, "The Participation of New Christians and Crypto-Jews in the Conquest, Colonization, and Trade of Spanish America, 1521–1660," in *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West, 186–202*; Nathan Wachtel, "Marrano Religiosity in Hispanic America in the Seventeenth Century," in *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West*, 149–71; Matthew Warshawsky, "Inquisitorial Prosecution of Tomás Treviño de Sobremonte, a Crypto-Jew in Colonial Mexico," *Colonial Latin American Review* 17, no. 1 (2008): 101–23 and "Beatings and Blessings: The

even during periods of muted Inquisitorial activity, there was conflict among the clergy shaping the Church's jurisdiction.

There have been some major studies dedicated to conflicts among clergy in early colonial Mexican history. In addition to already referenced works, much scholarship tends to focus on the upper echelons of religious hierarchy, particularly jurisdictional conflicts between Inquisitors and Bishops or Viceroy's.¹⁶ John Schwaller has considered similar moments of conflict as "an important process whereby the checks and balances of the ecclesiastical system were defined."¹⁷ Seemingly petty squabbles may appear unimportant, or a routine part of colonial instability, but infighting was important for establishing power, prestige, and the role of institutions. As Schwaller has termed them, such disputes were "the visible manifestation of the process of change." Martin Nesvig proposes that theological conflicts were a cover for attempts at greater social control, because theologians served as the empire's "directors of moral culture."¹⁸ This manuscript comes from a period of a growing and powerful *criollo* elite, who worked to install their sons into positions of prestige and power, which would indicate not only a clamoring for positions of power among and within *criollo* families, but a feeling of still being threatened by *peninsulares* coming to occupy coveted positions as well.

A critical component of the complaint is the desecration of the host. The Council of Trent recommended frequent communion, and with it frequent confession. The intent was that frequent communion allowed the congregation to grow as members of the Church through spiritual transformation. According to sixteenth century Dominican Luis de Granada, communion should be an act of love for God, never taken out of spiritual greediness.¹⁹ Setting an example, priests were expected to live exemplary lives at the risk of severe punishment, and "the faithful were taught that if one consumed the consecrated host in a state of grave sin, one committed a sacrilege that deserved eternal damnation."²⁰ Mass, though ceremonial, was understood to be the actualization of Christ's sacrifice and the eucharist transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ through the consecration. This entire process and belief system was interrupted by the desecration enacted by the friars. Taken literally within the theology of participation, the

Unorthodox Crypto-Judaism of Duarte de León Jaramillo and His Family," *Journal of Jewish Identities* 5, no. 1 (2012): 15–36; Arnold Wiznitzer, "Crypto-Jews in Mexico during the Seventeenth Century," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 51, no. 4 (1962): 222–68.

¹⁶ Matthew O'Hara, *A Flock Divided: Race, Religion, and Politics in Mexico: 1749–1857* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010); Horn, *Postconquest Coyoacán*; Israel, *Race, Class and Politics in Colonial Mexico*; and Martin Nesvig, *Ideology and Inquisition: The World of the Censors in Early Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 135.

¹⁷ John Frederick Schwaller, "The Cathedral Chapter of Mexico in the Sixteenth Century," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 61, no. 4 (1981): 651.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 652; Nesvig, *Ideology and Inquisition*, 166.

¹⁹ Lehner, Ulrich L. Lehner, "Eucharist and Confession," in *The Inner Life of Catholic Reform: From the Council of Trent to the Enlightenment*, ed. Ulrich L. Lehner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 88–89.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 88.

severity of the interruption was even more extreme than perhaps taken at first reading. For both Spanish Catholics firm in their faith and newly converted and still learning Indigenous congregants, the act of interrupting Christ's actual sacrifice was, as they all noted, scandalizing.

This conflict also allows the scholar to better study individuals, making a break from studies of *the Church* or *the Inquisition*. The Dominican friars, Ferrufino, each witness, Inquisitor Baldespiña, and the Archbishop all appear with brief but intimate introspection into who they were individually, not just as a faceless institution. Kimberly Lynn has presented one such examination, but for only a small number of important Inquisitors, as has Gustav Henningsen, yet here again only for one critical Inquisitor.²¹ Lynn showed the importance of considering the individual career goals of Inquisitors, and in so doing humanized the institution of the Inquisition instead of considering it as a monolithic impersonal office. Religious institutions in Mexico were built with individual motives guiding the actions of the office. Events were shaped by local conditions and disputes. Her guiding questions on accounting for individual action, activities, motivations, and decisions are valuable for the Inquisition but also for any level of Church and State governance. It's a critical consideration that organizations at their heart are composed of men with feelings, goals, and anxieties, many of whom were faced with difficult decisions of which the historian is left to make sense.²²

Furthermore, the friars' actions demonstrate where religious leaders' beliefs and even emotions placed them in a moment of human fallibility. Their role of caring for and guiding the faithful permeated their thoughts even as they tried to separate themselves from the worldly in exchange for the holy. They occupied an emotionally charged and confusing space between theoretical/theological and worldly/tangible. As jurisdictional power struggles occur at all levels of the Church, scholarly examinations can and should be applied to priests of lower orders, as is evidenced in this case. A group of ambitious, early career men were abruptly put into sharp competition for advancement. Their anxieties led to a very public outburst of violence. Each of them was different, facing a unique challenge in this moment, and they faced unique outcomes and detriments to their careers as a result. While men's emotions are only more recently considered in the analysis of historical events, men are emotional beings. Barbara H Rosenwein has written several works addressing emotions as socially constructed within words and actions that form part of rhetorical conventions of communities in specific times and spaces.²³ In *Anger's Past*, she proposes the questions: If Monasticism is about

²¹ Gustav Henningsen, *The Witches' Advocate: Basque Witchcraft and the Spanish Inquisition, 1609–1614* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1980); Kimberly Lynn, *Between Court and Confessional: The Politics of Spanish Inquisitors* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

²² Lynn, *Between Court and Confessional*, 2.

²³ Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); *Emotional Communities in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006); and *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of Emotion in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998).

patience as a virtue, what happens when righteous anger is felt? And how does that expression leak to their flock and extend to the rest of the world? This case is an excellent study in intersecting lenses on monasticism, masculinity, and emotion. Masculinity is a performance that is constantly changing and being reinvented. Situating the individual man's emotional struggle for power, authority, and autonomy in early colonial Mexico, in a period considered a lull in inquisitorial activity, this source highlights where various emotions shaped the background struggles developing in Mexico's institutions, making them quite active. This struggle was rooted in masculine concerns over power, but also the basic standard of stability that came with their careers and how they could advance them (or not). The case below provides a unique opportunity to examine masculine culture in a relatively unexplored theater, the Church. Sonya Lipsett-Rivera has proposed increased examinations of masculine culture for colonial Mexico because histories too often "rely on the easy stereotype of...the Mexican macho."²⁴ There were many types of masculinity in colonial Mexico, and each had to manage hierarchies of personal relationships with a balance of power, compliance, and rebellion.

The manuscript highlights a remarkable and little explored aspect of masculine emotion: the expectations and behaviors distinctly expected of the clergy. Asunción Lavrin recently considered men in the mendicant orders in the growing field of masculinity studies.²⁵ In addition to the normal socialization priests were subjected to as they transitioned from boys to men, they were also given an additional education to develop a particular character (including piety and self-discipline) that led them to become social and intellectual leaders as well as theological ones. This character expectation had been developed in Spain but was smoothly transported to elite criollo families.²⁶ Maleness had to be reoriented to fit the Church. Renouncing the world, giving up many things they enjoyed as *men*, accepting a new set of values in exchange for the mission of their order—the principles of religion came above all other concerns. As the source shows, the initial masculine socialization of boys remained a key component of priestly socialization, emotion, and action.

Religious men are uniquely important for masculinity studies in colonial Mexico. They occupied a place between the worldly and the godly and had higher expectations for behavior thrust upon them, especially when faced with public scrutiny. The life experience of these friars, priest, and congregation illuminate the construction of certain masculine models because there are multiple masculinities in contest here. These are men of authority, men with ambitions, men with insecurities, men who have had their homes and careers disrupted, and men whose place in Christianity was new and tentative and threatened with excommunication. As Lavrin posited, "colonial history is replete with examples of men of the cloth whose activities could

²⁴ Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, *The Origins of Macho: Men and Masculinity in Colonial Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2019), 1.

²⁵ Asunción Lavrin, *Men of God: Mendicant Orders in Colonial Mexico* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2024).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, xv.

and should be analyzed in terms of constructions of masculinities,” including internal rivalries and conflicts as expressions of masculinity.²⁷ Even within churches outside of the metropolitan center of Mexico City, men fought over Indigenous Christianization, and they did so after evacuating their homes in a major flood, or traversing an ocean, a jungle, or a desert to participate in the colonial conversion project. All of the events leading to the disrupted Mass were physical and emotional experiences; internal and external battles where they had to decide how to manage challenges and emotions. As the source shows, even Dominican friars could fail to meet the moment for which they had been trained their whole lives.

As we see in the treatment and expulsion of Ferrufino, the struggle between men occupying different places in the Church hierarchy was ongoing and led to the feminization and humiliation of lower-class men. A man’s dignity was connected to his work and his home, a truism that was particularly prescient for clergy whose entire lifestyle was provided by the Church. Men’s labor became tied to their identities and was either a source of pride or shame, depending on where they sat in the class hierarchy and the type of labor they performed. For all the men in this trial, we can see where their sense of pride and fulfillment were tied to their positions in the Church. There were ways for men to denigrate each other by insulting the type of labor they performed or the manner in which this labor was performed. Though it was expected that men of the cloth would not fall to such worldly behaviors, this case demonstrates that even the clergy were men with emotions and worldly concerns. When an outside priest was brought in and disrupted the friars’ place in the Church hierarchy, that was an attack on their livelihood, their home, and their honor.

The case provides an entry for examination of any number of broader events occurring in and around Mexico City in the early seventeenth century. Among its many considerations is that the trajectory to authority is not linear, ambitions can be disrupted and frustrated.²⁸ When that happens, there can be violent, public outbursts from men that can disrupt a congregation or a town and lead to interventions from those higher up. It opens questions for how this one moment not only shaped or ended the careers of these men and those who tried them, but of the congregation who witnessed the event. For the new *Indio* congregation members, could this have swayed them away from Catholicism and Spain’s colonizing efforts? For the Spaniards who fled to Coyoacán in the wake of Mexico City’s Massive 1629 flooding, would this sway their settlement patterns or engagement with the congregations led by these young priests? What financial effects would outbursts like this have on Mexico’s smaller churches if congregants were driven away? The flood of 1629 had clear implications for Church membership in the city and surrounding towns, causing building and environmental damage, population disbursement, economic change, and congregational membership change. Amid the wreckage, this source shows, emerged a disconnect between the Cathedral and other churches in the region, leading to power struggles at every level of Church leadership alongside gendered and class concerns.

²⁷ Ibid., xxiii.

²⁸ Lynn, *Between Court and Confessional*, 9.

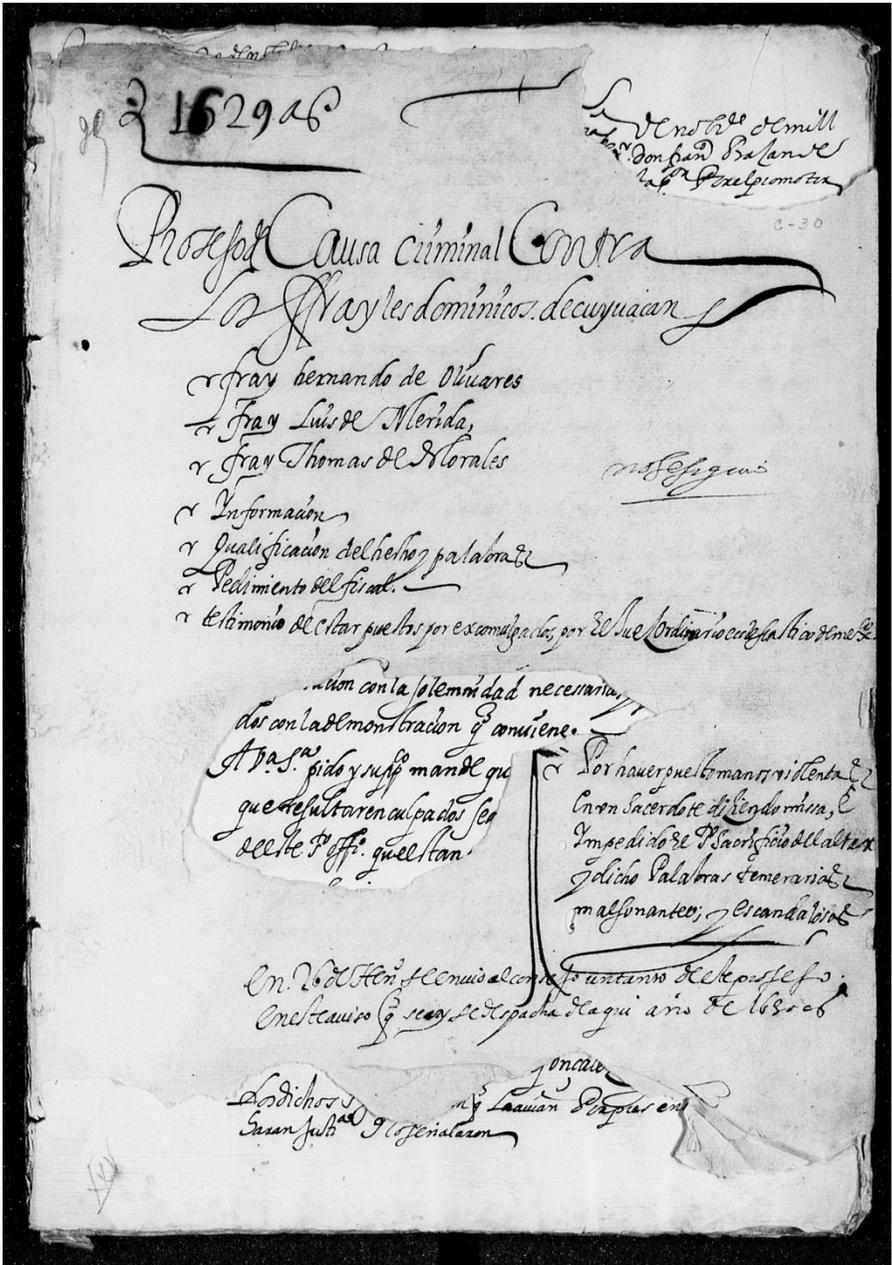


Figure 1. "Proseso de causa criminal contra los frayles dominicos de cuyuacan," Helmerich Center for American Research (HCAR), Tulsa, Oklahoma, Conway Collection of Spanish Colonial Manuscripts, Acc. No. 40.10030 (previously C-30), fol. 1'.

The Criminal Case Against the Dominican Friars of Coyoacán²⁹

1629 a[no]s

Proseso de Causa Criminal contra los frayles dominicos de cuyuacan

- ~ fray hernando de Olivares
- ~ fray Luis de Merida,
- ~ fray Thomas de Morales

no se siguió

- ~ Ynformación
- ~ Qualificación del hecho y palabras
- ~ Pedimiento del fiscal
- ~ testimonio de estar puestos por excomulgados por el Juez ordinario eclesiástico de Mex[i]co

Por haver puesto manos violentas en un sacerdote diziendo missa, e ympedido el S[an]to sacrificio del altar y dicho Palabras temerarias, malsonantes, y escandalosas³⁰

En 26 de Hen[er]o se envió al consejo un tanto de este proseso en este aviso q[ue] seay se despacha de aquí año de 1630 a[no]s
[end 1^r. 1^v is blank]

Presentada en 20 de no[r]bre de 1629 a[no]s

+ Muy Ill[ustr]ees S[eñ]ores

²⁹ The manuscript is sixteen folios, with several blank versos and one entirely blank leaf (fol. 14^{r-v}). The following transcription is diplomatic, except for orthographic normalization of u/v and s/f characters. Paragraphing, punctuation, and capitalization have been preserved. Abbreviations have been expanded in brackets. Catchwords are included in the running text and omitted from the preceding page transcript.

³⁰ There is a hole in the page to the left of this sentence, which is written in a column to the right of the page.

~ En la çiudad de Mex[i]co veinte días de nobr[iemb]re de mill y seisçientos y v[ein]te y nueve a[no]s ante los dos Inq[uisid]or d[octo]r don Fran[cisc]o Bazan de Albornoz y L[icencia]do Gaspar de baldespina se leyo esta p[etiti]on por el promoter fiscal presentada. ~ y vista por,

~ El Do[cto]r Soltero Promotor fiscal de este s[an]to offi[ci]o en la mejor via y forma que aya lugar de derecho; y premissio lo necesario, denunció y me querello criminalmente de fray Hernando de Olivares, fray Luis de Mérida y fray Thomas de Morales, Religiosos professos de la orden de Santo Domingo, moradores del Conv[en]to de la villa de Cuyocan; y de las demas personae q[ue] parescieren culpadas, y dijo = que los suso dichos con poco temor de Dios y en daño de sus consciencias; y en grave escandalo del pueblo Xpiano han cometido muy graves delictos contra n[uest]ra S[an]ta Fe Catholica, Como consta de la ynform[aci]on y qualificación dellos de que hago Presentación con la solemnidad necesaria; y para que sean castigados con la demostración q[ue] conviene. ~

A v[uestr]a S[eñori]a pido y supp[li]co mande que los suso dichos Religiosos y demas que resultaren culpados sean presos y traydos a las carceles de este s[an]to offi[ci]o que estando en ellas, protesto acusarlos mas en forma y seguir contra ellos mi Just[ic]a la qual pido; y para ello &c y juro en forma esta mi querella no ser de malicia. —

-D[oct]or Bartholome Gonçalez Soltero³¹

Los dichos S[eño]res Inq[uisid]ores dijeron q[ue] le auian por presentada y por haran justi[ci]a q[ue] lo senalaron

[end 2'] [2^v is blank]

³¹ The text contains a cross above Bartholome and an additional decorative signature.

B[achille]r B[artolo]me Lopez a Fray B[artolo]me Enriquez de la orden de s[an]to domingo³²

En la ciudad de mex[i]co lunes el ventinueve días del mes de octubre de mill seisçientos y v[ein]te y nueve años ante el s[eño]r inq[uisid]or L[icencia]do Gaspar de Baldespiña estando en fu audiencia, de la tarde mando entrar en ella a un clerigo saserdote que bino de su boluntad del qual fue resevido Juramento en berbo saserdotis prometio de dezir Berdad y dijo llamarse

-el Br. Bme Lopes clerigo Presvitero natural de Jerez de la frontera, que Bive en la calle del arco junto a los portales de tejada Y acude de ordinario a la yglesia Mayor y que es de hedad de treinta y seis o quarenta años.

-Dixo para descargó de su consençia que un día después que susedió el alboroto y caso, que los frayles dominicos tubieron con un saserdote que el s[eño]r arçobispo havia enviado al dicho lugar de Cuyuacan a administrar los sacramentos a los españoles y estando este testigo en la yglesia mayor de esta çiudad en compaña de otros clerigos bio entrar en la yglesia a un frayle dominico que le dijo llamarse fray B[artolo]me Enrriques y Preguntandole del suseo que auia auido en dicho Cuyuacan Le dixo como venía a hablar al dean y al maestre escuela de la dicha santa yglesia, Y no hallando al dean aguardo, al maestre escuela que acavasen, nona, y Bísperas, y bío en manos del dicho Religioso un pliego de cartas con el sobre escrito para el dicho maese escuela Y antes que saliese, parlando este testigo con el dicho Religioso[.] Le pregunto el caso que avia susedido, el qual le dijo cómo él se avia hallado presente y que el Y otros dos Religiosos de su orden havían llegado a una hermita del dicho lugar donde havían hallado selebrando misa a un saserdote; que este testigo le dixo [end 3^f]

³² Upper left marginalia.

siera el L[icencia]do Ferrufino el qual le dijo que sí y que era un embustero alborotador de las quales Palabras siempre que se offresía mentarlo usaba = Y que havían llegado quando el dicho saserdote estava en el orate fratres y lo primero que hizieron apagando las candelas fue dezirle tengase no pas[e]³³ de aquí, Y le fueren quitando los demas aparejos como fue ara, calix y ostia, misal, y que dandole a otro el calix se avía de Ramado por un tornillo y La ostia se avía caydo en el suelo aunque no se avía quebrado, ni dixo quien la avia alsado y que avian hecho mal enno llavarse consigo al saserdote y que le dixo tanvién comoavía mucha jente española, y mestisa. Y que tanvién havia un fray le agustino el qual diría en el estado que estava la misa que los Barbades que savían ellos de eso. Y que tambien le dijo que quando yban a entrar en la dicha ermita siera clerigo que allí estava. fuera de la ermita Paseandose que traya unos antojos canicolorado le avía dicho al dicho Religioso que no entrase que estavan selevrando -y Replicandole este testigo, Y tratando sobre siera sacrificisio ono, después de la oblata, le dijo este testigo que si ubiera el saserdote consagrado que que fuera. a que Respondió el dicho Religioso, que según estavan de colericos que lo mesmo fuera, y esto fue en orden atratan de la Jurisdisión que tenía el S[eño]r arsobispo Para administrar los santos sacramentos, o ellos en el dicho lugar Y que sobre esto apelo toda la conbersaçión alegando el dicho Religioso. Sus bulas y Privilegios que tienen y que Benía de hablar al S[eño]r arsobispo. Y que le avia Respondido mansamente, q[ue] porque no avian [end 3^v]

dejado acavar La misa Y que por haver hecho escrupulo de esto el savado Pasado que se contaron veintisiete de este presente mes entrego al s[eño]r fiscal

³³ Hole in page.

de este s[an]to off[ici]o un papel firmado de su n[ombr]e de su mesma Letra, todo, y aviéndoselo enseñado, dixo que era suyo, y el lo havía escrito y que aquello Y esto que a dicho se entienda seando uno y aviendosela leydo dixo estar Bien escrito Y que no lo dize por odio ni enemistad sino por descargo de su consençia Y lo firmo en cargosele el secreto en forma prometio lo, Br. Bme Lopes ante mí.

Eugenio de Saravia —

T[estigo]o el Br estevan de ferrufino a los frayles dominicos de cuyuacan³⁴ e luego yncontinenti el dicho s[eño]r inqu[uisid]or mandó entran en la dicha audi[enci]a un Clérigo que Bino de su boluntad del qual fue resevido Juramento yn verbo saserdotis Prometio de dezir berdad y dijo llamarse —el Br Estevan de Ferrufino Presbítero n[atura]l de esta çidad que Bive en casa de Juan B[apista] de rio frio en la calle de santo domingo de hedad de treinta y cinco años + y dixo por descargo de su consençia que viene a dezir y declararar que estando este testigo Con su casa en una hazienda Junto a tacubaya que llaman Cartaga. Cuya hazienda es de estavan ferrufino su tío, le llego el lunes veintidos de este pres[en]te mes una orden y licençia q[ue] del s[eño]r arçobispo de esta çidad Para administrar los sacramentos en la villa de cuyuacan como feligresia que es de la perroquía de la veracruz de esta ciudad. Y con la ocasión de la ynundación de esta çidad y haverse ydo mucha jente de mex[i]co a la dicha villa ~el dicho día fue este testigo a hablar al provinçial de santo domingo que estava en el conbento de cuyuacan e ynsinuandole el orden que tenía de su s[eñoría] ill[ustrisi]ma, Le respondió el provincial y los demas Religiosos que tenían muchos Privilegos
[end 4^r]

³⁴ Center page left marginalia.

Para no consentir semejante administración y qué mientras no trusesen provisión de su mag[esta]d que no lo avían de consentir con lo qual este testigo procuro ocasión en la dicha villa de cuyuacan Para dezir misa y habiendo ydo, el miércoles veintiquatro de este dicho mes entre cinco y seis de la mañana al lugar de san matheo, por ser administrasión de Clérigos hizo con el sacristán que llevase el Recado Para poder dezir misa el qual lo llevo salbo el calix Y corporales que este declarante tenía suyos y Con ellos se bino a la billa de Cuyuacan adonde esta una hermita llamada la Consepsion, de jente donde se suele dezir misa que tenía un tabernaculo y su altar de piedra, adonde se adorno y comenzo a bestir Para dezir misa, estando Presentes el sacristán de san matheo yndio, un negro esclavo llamado melchor y un chino libre que esta en servicio de este testigo y Luis Sanches español maestro de armas, que fue por vino para la misa. Y Por un escrivano que diese ffee de como dezía misa Y estando ya rebestido Para dezirla llegó el dicho Luis Sanches con gregorio de santacruz escrivano de Residencía Y un don Graviel alguasil y otros ministros de la dicha Residencia y habiendo enpesado la misa, le ayudo a ella un B[artolo]me de Seli[s] que trae avito de jente n[atura]l de esta çidad que Bivía junto a la m[erced], Y habiendo llegado a la epístola diziendo, el tracto, llevo al altar el Br Domingo de Riviera clérigo de orden sacro y dixo a este testigo, como el escriv[an]o pedia los recuados que tenía de s[eñoría] ill[ustrisi]ma para poder dar el testimonio Los quales tenía este testigo sobre el mesmo altar Reselandose de lo que podía Resultar y le hizo señal con el Rostro que allí estavan y el dicho domingo de Rivera los tomo y llevo al dicho escrivano el qual los llevó [end 4^v]

Y se fue con ellos a san agustín adonde este testigo embío por ellos con un esclavo, y selos trujeron después de uno o dos días sin que le diese testimonio

con una carta en que Benían enbuelos Los dichos Recados y Le dezía cómo selos embiava Y que el testimonio con las ocupaciones de la Residencia no se los podía enviar — Y prosiguiendo en la misa antes de dezir el evangelio y estando en el tocaron la campana de la dicha ermita que está ensima della y otra poravajo al Rededor de la dicha ermita con lo qual se juntaron muchos hombres y mujeres a oyr la dicha misa y prosiguiendo en ella con muy Gran quietud, hizo el calix, y el ofertorio casi del como de la ostia y se labo las manos y dijo el orate fratres. Y el prefacio de n[uestr]a S[eñor]a de la consepsión por dezir la misa della, y haviéndole acavado le dijo el que le ayudava como Benían unos frayles dominicos con muchos yndios haziendo muy Grande Ruido y Boces, que las oya. en el altar diziendo cleriguillo ynfame ydiota enbustero suspenso. Y a todo esto este testigo Prosiguió con su misa y en alta bos dixo, et omnium circunstansion y Yaque llegavan al altar los dichos frayles que serían a su pareser quatro o sinco - dixo en altabos, comunicante et memoriam Benerantes de manera que lo pudieren oyr todos los que estavan oyendola dicha misa. Y a este tiempo uno de los dichos Religiosos que se llama fray Fulano de merida llego al altar con muy Grande desacato y quito el misal y la candela de aquella parte y por la otra parte otro Religioso diferente quito la vela y descubrio el calix y derramo en el suelo la offerta de bino y agua. Partee n el suelo y parte en los pies del dicho chino su criado de este declarante con palabras y[g]nominiosas diziéndole quítese de ay el embustero

[end 5']

y Bolviendose al pueblo uno de los dichos Religiosos dixo en alta bos que todos los que estaban allí que avían Benido a oyr la dicha misa estaban descomulgados porque este testigo no era saserdote y que estava suspenso porque seavía metido en su juridicion, Y a este tiempo este testigo por obligarles a que le dexaran

proseguir en el sacrificio y el bolvieran el calix, tomo la hostia en las manos y diziendo las palabras, *at sepi* [*accepit*] *pannem*, uno de los dichos Religiosos dixo con bos alterada que a saltado, no llegava aquí y diziendo y haziendo con su mano cojio y arrebató la ostia estrujandola en su mano Y la echo en el suelo adonde después pareció, y dándole a este testigo Rempujones y empellomes paraquese desnudase llamandole de enbustero y de ydiota quitando con mucha dilijençia todo lo demas del altar. Y viendo ya desnudo y desmantelado el dicho altar, hallo este testigo el calix a un lado y cojiéndole en las manos se Bolbió al pueblo y dijo en alta Bos seanme testigos como lo que tenía este calix, lo derramaron los padres a lo qual con gran biolençia llegaron los dichos Religiosos y se lo quitaron de las manos, y según después pareció el dicho calix havían dado con el en el suelo Pues estava abollado y sin tornillo el qual nunca paresió Y en toda esta ocasión y tiempo estavan los dichos Religiosos con palos amenasando y uno dellos llamado según dizen fray Hernando de Olivares se Jatava y Repetía muchas Bezes que avía de matar a este testigo y desaparesele a palos a lo qual un hombre español criado de su ex[celenci]a que dize ser su cosinero embistió con uno de los dichos Religiosos enpunandose en la daga para querer darle a uno dellos pored el maltrato que le hazían a este testigo diziéndole
[end 5^v]

que en berberia no se podían hazer semejantes acciones, a lo qual este testigo le pidió muy en caresidamente que no hiziese tal que aunque estavan enojados eran saserdotes y Religiosos Y todo no Basto para que los dichos Religiosos dejasen de proseguir con su colera y enojo y Bultos a este testigo con muy Gran colera diciendole palabras afrentosas Les Respondió que soseegasen que todos eran saserdote y que este ^{testigo} no tenía causa ni enojo para que ellos le

tubiesn y diesen mal exemplo al pueblo que avia muchos yndios que se escandalisarian los quales estaban tristes y melancolicos por ber semejante acto, Y pasando en esto muy Gran tiempo Y ya cansado y affigido se puso de Rodillas Y les dijo que pues no estaban satisfechos³⁵ que alli estava que acauasen de quitarle la vida O³⁶ lo amarrasen a un pilar de lo qual los sercunstantes hizieron Gran sentimiento diziendo que ya se acababa el mundo. Pues Bien semejantes cosas y que que avia que espantar que se anegase méx[i]co pues susedian semejantes cosas a lo qual Respondieren los dichos Religiosos que eran unos embusteros que quiera aquello y estando este testigo de Rodillas todo este tiempo Bolbiendo el rrostro Bio la hosti en el suelo estrujada como la havían arrojado y con gran dolor La levanto diziendo por que estar Bendita. Y la puso sobre el altar de donde no save que Religiosos la cojió y arrojó segundaves en el suelo diziendo mire el ydiota quien Le dijo a el que estava Bendita y con esto mandaron a los yndios
[end 6r]

Riñendolos porquellos no querían llegar, que quitasen y desbaratasen el altar que estava hecho de piedra muchos años antes, y de hecho lo desbarataron y dejen que todos los otros altares de las otras hermitas, y Bisto que no podía proseguir con el sacrificio de la misa muchos de los españoles seglares que había le persuadieron que se desnudase este confesante y que le llevarían a su casa. Y haviéndose desnudado y entregado los ornamentos al sacristán que los avia traydo y Buscando las demas cosas como fueron calix corporales patena y purificador hallo en diferentes personas de yndios los corporales calix y patena tratandolos yndesenteminte sin poder haver hallado el purificador y funda del

³⁵ Hole in paper.

³⁶ Hole in paper continues.

calix y el tornillo que se quedó perdido,³⁷ a todo lo qual estavan presentes los dichos sin[co]³⁸ o seys Religiosos diciendo con bozes acauese de yr de aquí el enbustero de manera que todos los circunstantes quedaron admirados y escandalizados de haver bisto semejante hecho y aun toda esta Republica de Mex[i]co Lo esta oy esperando, una gran demotrasion de caso semejante. Y este testigo se fue a una casa y se Bino a esta çiudad a dar q[ues]ta a su s[eñori]a Ill[ustrisi]ma de lo susedió como tenía oblig[aci]on por averle enviado fu Ill[ustrisi]ma a la administración de los sacramentos de la dicha villa de cuyuacan

-y que en esta razon tiene dicho su dicha declaracion de todo lo que paso en la dicho villa de cuyuacan
ante el Dr. Andres Fernandes Ju[e]z Comis[ari]o que su s[eñori]a Ill[ustrisi]ma envio ala averiguacion de este caso el qual la hiza
[end 6^v]

copiosamente con ve[i]n[te] quatro testigos a la qual y a lo que allí dijo. Se remite este testigo y que esta es la berdad de lo que paso. Para el juramento q[u]e tiene fecho y no lo dize por odio ni enemistad que tenga contra los dichos Religiosos con averle maltratado como dicho tiene y no a tenido contra ellos odio ni mala boluntad y haviendosele leydo dixo estar bien escrito y lo apido y firmo en cargosele el secreto en forma prometidolo, el B[achille]r estevan de ferrufino ante mí eugenio de saravia

-sacado del quaderno segundo de testificafiones a fojas dusientas y sinq[uen]ta y sinco con que conuerda de q[ue] doy fe

-Eugenio de Saravia³⁹

³⁷ Hole in paper.

³⁸ Hole in paper continues.

³⁹ Signature.

~En la çuadad de Mex[i]co miercoles treintayuno de otubre de mill y seisçientos y v[ei]nte y nueve años antes el S[eño]r Inq[uisid]or L[icencia]do Gaspar de Baldespiña estando en su audi[eni]a de la tarde mando entrar en ella a un hombre sien do llamado del qual fue resivido juramento en forma prometio de dezir Berdad y dijo llamarse

—Pedro espín n[atura]l de la çuadad de hamburgo. clarín del s[eño]r marqués de Serralbo birrey de este Reyno q[ue] Bino con su ex[celenci]a de spaña y es de hedad de veintiun años-

Preguntado si save o presume la causa para que a sido llamado

~dixo que es para que diga loque bieron en cuyuacan, de los frayles que Rineron con el saserdote y que lo que bio fue que estando en la villa de cuyuacan este testigo el miércoles pasado que se contaron veintequatro días de este pressente mes con otro compañero suyo llamado Luis de Pensé

[end 7^a]

Críado del s[eño]r Birrey q[ue] sirve de cosinero q[ue] havian ydo a buscar a otro compañero para que fuera con al desague con el s[eño]r Birrey y habiendo oydo muy de mañana que tocavan a misa en una hermita dixo este testigo a su compañero que fuesen a oyr misa y habiendo entrado en la dicha hermita hallaron a un saserdote Revestido en el altar que rasadam[en]te havía enpesado la misa y estandola oyendo con quietud, llegaron dos Religiosos dominicos saserdotes al pareser, con dos garrotes en las manos despues que el saserdote avía dicho el orate fratres y dixeron a este testigo y a los demas que se saliesen de allí y no oyesen misa porque estavan desculmugados y se llegaron al saserdote que estava en el altar diziendo mifa y le dixeron que no pasasse adelante Y le quitaron el misal y se lo dieron a un muchacho y Pidiéndoles el saserdote q[ue] le dexaran acavar la misa no quitaron diziendole Palabras ynjuriosas y que era un ydiota cleriguillo desuergonsado que se fuese de allí y le qitaron el calix y de Ramaron las ofrenda que tenia Y porfiando que se fuese y fino que lo matarían

a palos el dicho sacerdote se hincó de Rodillas y les dixo que hiziesen lo que quisiesen del, que allí estava y a esta ocasión ya havían entrado otros dos Religiosos que tratándole mal no le dejaron acabar la misa. Y le obligaron a que se desnudase Los ornamentos y se fuese adonde estava el provincial y otros Religiosos que tambien le trataron mal de Palabra y a todo esto los hombres y mujeres q[ue] oyan la misa llorando. Havan Grandes Bozes diziendo
[end 7^v]

que por amor de Dios no mal tratasen a un sacerdote de aquella manera. Y el compañero de este testigo dixo que si fueran seculares los mataría a puñaladas y que no se podía hazer más entre hereges que lo que con aquel sacerdote havían hecho y que todo aquel lugar y esta çiudad está escandalizada de semejante caso. Y contándolo a la ex[celentis]ima s[eñor]a Birreyna Morana de lastíma de oyr semejante suseso y que en esta R[az]on tiene dicho su dicho ante un juez comis[ari]p del s[eñor] arçobispo que se entienda de estoy y aquello seando uno y no contradisirse en cosa alguna y que esta es la verdad P[or] el juramento q[ue] tiene fecho y no lo dize por odio ni enemistad que tenga Y aviendosele leydos dixo esta bien escrito y lo firmo encargosele el secreto en forma promentiolo y firmolo, Pedro espín, antemí, eugenio de saravia -concuerta con su orig[ina]l que esta en el libro segundo de testificaciones a fojas du sientas y sinquenta y nueve de que doy

__Eugenio de Saravia⁴⁰

Luego yncontinenti el dicho S[eñor] Inq[uisid]or mando entrar de la porteria a un hombre del qual fue r[eseui]do Juram[en]to en forma siendo llamado y dijo llamarse

⁴⁰ Signature

- Luis de Aponte n[atura]l de aras en flandes criado del s[eño]r Birrey q[ue] se ocupa en ser su cosinero de hedad de v[ein]te y nueve años = Preguntado si save o presume la causa p[or] que a sido llamado = dixo que poco mas o menos entiende sera por lo de cuyuacan = Preguntado qué fue lo que ubo en cuyuacan -dixo que el miércoles Pasado que se contaron veintiquatro de este presente mes estando en la villa de cuyuacan que avia ydo a buscar un pastelero para que fuese con el s[eño]r Birrey al desague oyo, que avian tenido a misa en una, hermita serca de cuyuacan y fue con otro compañero suyo a oyrla y hallaron a un saserdote que estava Revestido co[m]en[zando]⁴¹ la misa y después de aver dicho el orate fratres entraron dos frayles con dos palos en las manos y dijeron a este y a todos los demas que estavan oyendo misa q[ue] se saliesen porque estaven descomulgados y llegaron al altar y quitaron el misal y las candelas y el calix y lo derramaron en el suelo lo que estava dentro del y dijeron al saserdote que no Prosiguiese y se fuese de allí que era un ydiota Y clerigillo desbergonsado y luego llegaron otros dos Religiosos haciendo lo mesmo que los otros amagando con los Palos diziéndole que era un clérigo desbergonsado y le dixerón que lo matarían a Palos y a esta sason

[end 8^r]

seles hínco de Rodillas diziendo q[ue] allí estava q[ue] hiziesen lo que quisiesen y a todo este estava Revestido con sus ornamentos que dezía misa y aunqueles Rogo muchas vezes le dejasen acauar la misa no quisieron y quitaron todos los aparejos del altar diziendo que era un picaro ladron q[ue] lo avian de hazera agorcar en la plaza publica Y esto Con tanto Coraje Como si fueran erejes, y que aunque a visto muchos erejes en alemania y en françia no a visto semejante desacato que hallandose este testigo entre ungría y alemania en el campo del

⁴¹ There is a water mark in the obscuring the -men-.

emperador a donde avía mas de treintamill hombres catholicos que yban contra el palatino y de su parte Benían mas de quarenta mill hombres, y estando el exerrito católico oyendo misa en el campo no quisieran los enemigos acometerles hasta q[ue] se acavara la misa lo qual dixo este testigo en la dicha ocasión y uno de los Religiosos le dixo como era un desbergonsado y que no sabia lo que se dezía que se fueran a mala con que este testigo se encoleriso y le dixo que si no fuera saserdote la diera de puñaladas de que toda la gente que allí avía presente clamavan y daban bozes de que no havía Justicia en la tierra que biniese del çielo Para aquel caso. Y que en este razon tiene dicho su dicho ante un juez comis[ari]o del s[eño]r arçobispo que se entienda ser todo uno y que es la verdad para el Juramento que tiene fecho y no lo dize por odio ni enemistad que tenga a los dichos Religiosos encargosele el secreto en el forma prometiolo y firmo lo de su n[ombr]e Luis de aponte antemi eugenio de saravia____

-Concuerta con su orig[ina]l que está en el segundo libro de testificaciones a fojas dusientas y sesenta de q[ue] doy ffe

-Eugenio de Saravia

[end 8^v]

El B[achille]r don mig[ue]l Chavez de Rivera C[ontr]a los frayles dominicos -en la ciudad de méx[i]co lunes sinco días del mes de otubre digo nob[riembr]e de mill seisçientos y v[ein]te y nueve años ante el s[eño]r inq[uisid]or L[icencia]do Gaspar de Baldespiña estando en su audi[enci]a de la mañana un hombre siendo llamado del qual se resivio Juramento en forma se cargo del qual promeno de dezir Berdad y dijo llamarse - el B[achille]r donmiguel chavez de Rivera n[atura]l de esta çiudad y vez[in]o a della q[ue] al press[en]te reside en la v[illa] de cuyuacan por causa de la ynundasi[ón] de esta ciudad y Bive en la dicha v[illa] con doña Fran[cis]ca de

Herrera balderrama su madre y que es de edad de veintidos años poco mas o menos.

- Preguntado si sabe o presume la causa para q[ue] a sido llamado

-Dixo que presume que sera para q[ue] diga serca del suseco q[ue] pasó en cuyuacan ~~serca de lo q~~ con los frayles dominicos y un saserdote estando diziendo misa

-Preguntado q[ue] es loq[ue] paso ~

-Dixo que estando este testigo en la villa de cuyuacan miércoles ventiquatro días del mes de octubre de este pres[en]te año vio como en una ermita q[ue] llaman de n[uestr]a s[eñor]a de la conçepcion se Revistio para dezir misa el B[achille]r estevan ferrufino q[ue] yba con la lisençia del s[eño]r arçobispo y aviéndose Revestido y comenzado la misa hallandose alli un escrivano q[ue] dixerón estava en aquel lugar tomando la Residencia del dicho lugar el qual dixo a este testigo q[ue] pidiese al dicho estevan ferrufino la lisençia q[ue] tenía del s[eño]r arçobispo para poder hazer causa y darle
[end 9^o]

el testimonio de cómo dezía misa. Y este testigo fue al altar y pidió al dicho esteban ferrufino la dicha lisençia el qual la tenía sobre el altar y le dixo la tomase y llevase al dicho escrivano y haviendosela llevado y entregado se bolvió a oyr su misa y estando diziendo | orate fratres | bio que entraron dos Religiosos de la orden de santa domingo con fus Baculos en las manos. q[ue] dizen se llamavan fray tomas y fray Luis q[ue] no les save los sobrenombres q[ue] son saserdotes. Y el dicho fray tomas entro diziendo no le dexemos acavar la misa y llegándose al altar el uno apago las Belas y el otro apago el misal diziéndole que no Prosiguiese la misa y con el mucho Ruido que causo el escándalo que hazían, no pudo oyr. Las Palabras que le dixerón al saserdote Y que otro Religioso

distinto q[ue] se llama fray Hernando de olivares llego al altar y quito el calix. Y lo deramo en el suelo Públicamente q[ue] lo vieron todos y causo tanto escandalo q[ue] todos levantaron el grito. Y lo murmaron a lo qual el saserdote se bolvió al pueblo y dixo que le fuesen testigos q[ue] avían deramado los P[adre]s el calix en el suelo y por la gran turbación q[ue] este testigo tubo del hecho, no se acuerda de distintamente de lo q[ue] hizieron al dicho saserdote solo vio q[ue] se hincó de Rodilla y les dixo que hiziesen del loq[ue] quisiesen. Y como desnudaron el altar de manera q[ue] no pudo acavar la misa el dicho saserdote haviéndose ydo este testigo a su casa porque no le susediese alguna [end 9^v]

desgrasia Bolvió dentro de Poco Rato. Y vio como havían quitado el altar del tabernaculo que solía estar antes siempre Puesto. Y oy no lo esta sino solo los días de fiesta quando Ban los Religiosos a dezir misa. Y que esto fue lo que bio. Y que tanvien los dichos Religiosos ympelían a algunos seglares diziendoles q[ue] estaban descomulgados que no Podían oyr allí misas de lo qual todo se siguió un gran escándalo y murmuracion q[ue] hasta oy dura de eur un atrevimiento semejante y que en esta Razón tiene dicho su dicho ante el Dr andres fernandes juez comisario del s[eño]r arçobispo q[ue] este y aquel se entienda ser todo uno y la verdad p[or] el juramento q[ue] tiene fecho y no lo dize p[or] odio ni enemistad q[ue] les tenga a los dichos frayles encargosele el secreto en forma prementiolo y firmola de su n[ombr]e y aviendoselo leydo dixo estar Bien escrito || testado. | serca de lo que | no bala____
Antemí Eugenio de Saravia B[achille]r Miguel Chaves de Ribera⁴²

⁴² Both men's signatures.

-en la ciudad de mex[i]co Lunes sinco días del mes de no[viem]br[e] de mill y seisçientos y v[ein]te y nueve años ante el s[eño]r Inq[uisid]or L[icencia]do Gaspar de Baldespiña estando en su audi[enci]a de la tarde
[end 10^r]

-en la ciudad de mex[i]co Lunes sinco días del mes de no[viem]bre de mill y seisçientos y v[ein]te y nueve años estando en su audi[enci]a de la tarde el s[eño]r Inq[uisid]or L[icencia]do Gaspar de Baldespiña Paresio siendo llamado un hombre y Juro en forma prometio de dezir Berdad y dixo llamarse
[end 10^v]

Bar[tolo]me de Celis⁴³

-B[artolo]me de Selis de ordenes menores n[atura]l de la çiudad de mex[i]co q[ue] Bivía en la calle de la m[erced], y por la ynundación Reside al pres[en]te en cuicuacan, Hijo de B[artolo]me de selis Procurader de los n[atural]es de esta çiudad y que es de hedad de t[rein]ta seis años —

-Preguntado si save o Presume la causa p[or] que a sido llamado

-dixo que Presume sera Por lo que susedió en Cuyuacan de los frayles dominicos

-Preguntado q[ue] es loque susedió

-dixo que estando este testigo en la villa de cuyuacan el miércoles Pasado que se contaron veintiquatro de ^{otubre} este presente mes Pafando Por una hermita que se llama n[uest]ra S[eño]ra de la conçepción le llamo un saserdote llamado estevan ferrufino Para que le ayudará a misa. Y habiendo entrado en la dicha hermita, le ayudo a Revestir. Y la misa, desde él ytroyto habiendo dicho la epístola comenzaron a tocar a misa. Y prosiguiendo en ella habiendo dicho el evangélio

⁴³ Upper left marginalia.

y ofertorio y hecho el calis y la oblata y lavándose las manos y dicho orate fratres llegaron dos Religiosos de la orden de s[an]to domingo saserdotes con dos Baculos en las manos que no los conosio ni save como se llaman que dezían se llamava el uno fray Tomás de morales y el otro fray Luis y llegados al altar donde estava diziendo misa el dicho saserdote le dixeren que con que lisençia dezia misa Y que era un clerigillo de burla y ydiota y luego apagaron las velas y quitaron el calis derramando en el suelo, la oblata y obligándole con malas Palabras a que se fuese y no acabase el sacrificsio como lo hizo desnudando [end 11^r]

el altar y quitando todos los ornamentos del y a está ocasión el dicho saserdote se hincó de rodillas pidiéndoles le dexasen acavar la misa. Y amenasando y tratándolo mal de palabra les Respondió que allí estava que hiziesen del lo que quisiesen. Ya esta ocasión entraron otros tres Religiosos que dixeron a voser a los seglares que se fuesen que estavan descomulgados Por que oyan aquella misa con lo qual no Permitieron a que el dicho saserdote acabase la misa y le obligaron que se desnudase como lo hizo y tomó su manteo y se fue a su casa y los dichos Religiosos quitaron luego la peaña del altar y el tabernaculo y lo mesmo hizieren en las demas ermitas del dicho lugar y que a todo esto se hallo presente como Persona que ayudava la dicha misa y otras muchas personas hombres y mugeres españoles y yndios de que todos se escandalisaron de ver semejante hecho. Y que esta es la verdad para el Juramento q[ue] tiene fecho y que en esta Razón tiene dicho otro dicho ante el do[cto]r andrés f[ernande]z Juez comis[ari]o del s[eñor] arçobispo que este y aquel se entienda seando uno. Y no contradizirse y que no lo dize p[or] odio ni enemistad que tenga a los suso dichos encargosele el secreto en forma prometiolo y haviéndosele leydo dixo

estar Bien escrito y firmólo de su n[ombr]e – enterrrenglones | octubre | Bala
enm[enda]do | ano Balo

-Antemi Eug[eni]o de Saravia Bartolome de Celi⁴⁴
[end 11^v]

-En la ciudad de mex[i]co martes seys días del mes de nob[riemb]re de mill y
seisçientos y v[ein]te y nueve años ante el s[eño]r inq[uisid]or L[icencia]do
Gaspar de Baldespiña estando en su audi[enci]a de la tarde mando en ella un
hombre
[end 12^r]

siendo llamado del quál fue Resevido Juramento en forma prometio de dezir la
berdad y dixo llamarse____

-Luis Sánches vez[in]o de esta çiudad q[ue] por la ynundasión al pres[en]te
reside en san mateo término de cuyuacan es maestro de armas y de hedad de
sincuenta años poco más o menos

-Preguntado si save o presume la causa Para que a sido llamado por este santo
off[ici]o —

-dixo q[ue] presume será Para que diga lo que paso en cuyuacan con los frayles
de Santo domingo y el L[icencia]do estevan de ferrufino

-Preguntado qué es lo que paso entre los susodichos

-dixo que estando el miércoles pasado veintiquatro del mes de octubre de este
presente año en el dicho lugar de san mateo Para yr a oyr misa al convento de
Santa maría de Churibusco Bio pasar un saserdote llamado estevan de ferrufino
q[ue] le preguntó dónde yba y diziéndole que a oyr misa a santa maría Le
Respondió q[ue] se fuese con él que él la yba a dezir a una hermita sería de allí

⁴⁴ Both men's signature.

q[ue] se llama n[uestr]a s[eñor]a de la concepción Y que le faltava un poco de vino para dezirla y este testigo se fue con él y tomando su cavallo del dicho clérigo fue y le trajo el Bino y con alguna Priesa adornaron el altar de la dicha ermita y se Revistio para dezir la misa y aviendola comenzado y dicho el yntroyto mando que tocasen Las campanas. Y tocaron la que estava ensima de la ermita y otra Pequeña Por de fuera de la dicha ermita con que se Juntaron hasta treynta personas y Prosiguiendo e la dicha
[end 12^v]

misa dijo epístola y evangelio y ofertorio y hizo el calis y haviendolo offresido selavo las manos y Bolviendo al pueblo a dezir orate fratres entraron ~~por la puerta de~~ en la ermita dos Religiosos saserdotes de la orden de santo domingo con dos Bordones Gruesos en las manos diziendo no Pasea delante esa misa. q[ue] es un grandísimo Bellaco monigote que ya lean dicho que no benga a ynquietar. Y sálganse de aquí que están descomulgados y diziendo y haziendo se llegaron a el altar y apagaron Las Belas y serraron el misal y lo dieron a un yndio y en este mesmo ynstante entraron otros quatro Religiosos que no los conosió salbo uno que oyó dezir que se llamava fray Bernave enriques y que ansim[ism]o⁴⁵ llegaron a el altar y de Ramaron el calis en el suelo y entonses el dicho saserdote se bolvio al pueblo. Y dixo seanme testigos que me an derramado los padres el calix y los dichos Religiosos con mucha colera le ynpeñían y le dixeron calle que es un Bellaco monigote y otras palabras afrentosas y el dicho saserdote se hincó de Rodillas y les dijo agan vuestas Reverencias lo que fueren servidos de mi Lo qual no Basto Paraque dejasen de maltratarle de palabra obligandole a que se desnudase y quitaron todos los

⁴⁵ Hole in page.

aparejos del altar, = Y aviendoles dicho este testigo que mirasen que avian
 hecho muy Grande escándalo le
 [end 13^r]

dixeron dandole un enpillon desvíese de ay que es un barvado Y esta
 descomulgado en aver venido a oyr esta misa y lo mesmo hizieron con un
 criado de su ex[celenci]a dandole un golpe en los Pechos - Y aviendo salido el
 dicho saserdote de la hermita se fue a una casa de un besino serca de allí adonde
 llegó un saserdote de santo domingo con mucha colera y le dijo que lo quería
 llevar ante el correg[id]or diziéndole Benga aca que lo de llevar al correg[id]or y
 diziendo y haziendo Le tiró del manteo y Por fuersalo llevo tres pasos. Y el
 dicho saserdote dixo que no era su juez que Biniese el si le quería Ber que estava
 desmayado y le quería Recejer de todo lo qual se escandalisaron Los
 circumstantes y todo el pueblo y que a oydo dezir despues aca que los yndios
 dizen que la misa de los clérigos no es Buena Pues los frayles les ynpiden que la
 digan y que en esta razon a dicho su dicho ante un Jues comis[ari]o del s[eño]r
 arcbispo que este y aquel se entendía ser todo uno sin contradirse que como
 la memoria es frágil, Puede ser mudar algunas Palabras más que la yntención es
 dezir la verdad como la a dicho y no Por odio ni enemistad que tenga a los
 dichos Religiosos encargosele el secreto en forma prometiolo y aviéndoselo
 leydo dixo estar Bien escrito y firmolo de su n[ombr]e testado | por la puerta de
 | no Bala. Luis Sanchez
 Ante mí Eugenio Saravia⁴⁶
 [end 13^v][14^r-14^v is blank]

⁴⁶ Both men's signatures.

Cu[er]da de Calific[ati]on⁴⁷

en la ciudad de mex[i]co martes seis días del mes de noobr[iemb]re de mill y seisçientos y v[ein]te y nueve años ante el S[eño]r Inq[uisid]or L[icencia]do Gaspar de Baldespiña estando en su audiencia de la tarde mando entrar en ella a los Padres Juan de ledesma y fran[cis]co Calderon de la Compañía de Jesús y al p[adr]e Maestro fray Juan de Herrera de la orden de n[uestr]a s[eño]ra de la m[erced] y su provincial, para que Biesen y calificasen, la testificasi3n Resevida en este S[anto] Off[icio] contra siertos Religiosos dominicos que Residen en el pueblo de cuyuacan sobre aver ympedido a sierto saserdote que avía comenzado la misa que no la acavará y maltratadole de palabra de que se avía seguido Grande escándalo y habiendo entrado en la dicha audi[enci]a fue resevido juramento en forma de drecho de los dichos Padres y le hizieron yn berbo saserdotis de que dirían su pareser conforme hallasen de Justicia en su consençia Y de que Guardarían secreto de lo que biesen y les fuese comunicado y haviendoseles leydo las dichas testificaciones y entendiolas dixeron q[ue] avian menester Ber y estudiar las proposiciones Y hecho Y que se les dio un tanto. Para que lo llevasen a su casa. Y Bolviesen dentro de tersero día con la Resoluci3n del con que salieron del audi[enci]a de que doy ffee.

- Eugenio de Saravia⁴⁸

~en la ciudad de mex[i]co el Biernes nueve días del mes de noobr[iemb]re de mill y seisçientos y v[ein]te y nueve años
[end 15^r]

Qualific[ati]on⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Upper left marginalia.

⁴⁸ Signature.

⁴⁹ Left center marginalia.

ante el s[eño]r inq[uisid]or L[icencia]dor Gaspar de Baldespiña estando en su audi[enci]a de la tarde mando entrar en ella a los p[adre]s Juan de ledesma y Fran[cis]co Calderon de la Compañía de Jesús y al padre maestro fray Juan de Herrera provincial de la orden de n[uestr]a s[eñor]a de la merced y habiendo conferido entre sí sobre la calidad de hecho en conformidad dixer[on]⁵⁰ que el hecho aver prohibido al saserdote q[ue] no acavase la misa y quitándole el misal y apagado las Belas y derramado la oblata del calix ya Bollado lo y arrojado la ostia en el suelo y desgecho el altar y todos las ornamentos del. Ynjuriando al saserdote Revestido con palabras y obligándole a que se desnudase con amenazas todo este hecho es Bejementem[en]te sospechoso de herejía por ser todos estos actos propios de hereges y sectas condenadas por la yglesia - Y en quanto a la calidad de laver dicho quien le dijo al ydiota q[ue] la ostia estava vendita es Proposición erronea y sapiens, h[a]eresin, por ser contra la determinasi3n del consilio tridentino en la seci3n veintid3s capítulo quarto Y canone sexto donde determina que todo el canon es puro de horror. Y en él se llama Bendita la ostia. Y fuera de esto el sentir comun de la yglesia es tenerla por bendita antes de la consagrasión. Y en cosa grave no Puede herrán la yglesia como se sigue de lo contrario. Y en quanto ~ dezir que los que oyan aquella misa estavan descomulga[dos] Por que el saserdote que la dezía estava suspenso por no tener lisençia Para decir la misas es

[end 15^v]

escandalosa y ffalsa esto dixeron. Lo firmaran de conformidad salbo mejer parefsr esta

-Joan de Ledesma, Fr[ay] Ju[a]n de Herrera, Fran[cis]co Calderon, antemi Eugenio de Saravia⁵¹

[end 16^r]

⁵⁰ Ink stain on page.

⁵¹ Four men's signatures.

1629

Criminal Case against the Dominican friars of Coyoacán

- Fray Hernando de Olivares
- Fray Luis de Merida
- Fray Thomas de Morales

it did not proceed

- Information
- Description of the facts
- Prosecutor's request
- Testimony of being posted as excommunicated by the Ordinary Ecclesiastical Judge of Mexico

For having laid violent hands on a priest while he was saying Mass, and impeded the Holy Sacrifice of the altar, and said reckless, profane, and scandalous words.

On January 26, this notice was sent to the council, announcing this process, which is issued from here in the year 1630. [end 1^r. 1^r is blank]

Presented on November 20, 1629

Most illustrious gentlemen,

~In the city of Mexico, November 20, 1629, before the Lords Inquisitors Dr. Don Francisco Albornoz and Licentiate Gaspar de Baldespina, this petition was read by the public prosecutor, presented and seen by,

~Dr. Soltero, public prosecutor of this Holy Office in the best way and manner that is legally possible. I denounce and file a criminal complaint against Friar Hernando de Olivares, Friar Luis de Mérida, and Friar Tomás de Morales, professed Religious of the Dominican Order, residents of the convent of the town of Coyoacán; and against any other persons who appear to be guilty, and I say = that the aforementioned, with little fear of God and in damage to their consciences, and in grave scandal to the Christian people, they have committed very serious crimes against our Holy Catholic Faith, as evidenced by the information and qualifications of those whom I present with the necessary solemnity; and so that they may be punished with the appropriate demonstration.

To your lordship I ask and supplicate that you order the said Religious men and others who are found guilty be arrested and brought to the prisons of this Holy Office, for while they are there, I swear to accuse them more fully and to pursue my justice against them. I therefore swear that this complaint will not be based on malice.

-Dr. Bartolome Gonzalez Soltero (signature)

The aforementioned Inquisitors said that they had presented it and that they would do justice, and they signed it. [end 2^r. 2^r is blank]

[Testimony of] Br. Bartolome Lopez against Friar Bartolome Enriquez of the Order of Saint Dominic

In Mexico City, Monday, October 29, 1629, before the Lord Inquisitor Licentiate Gaspar de Baldespiña, during his afternoon audience, he ordered a priest to enter the audience,⁵² who came of his own free will, from whom he was sworn *in verbo sacerdotis*,⁵³ promised to tell the truth, and gave his name as Br. Bartolomé López, clergy, native of Jerez de la Frontera,⁵⁴ who lives on Arch Street next to the Tejada gates and regularly attends the Iglesia Mayor,⁵⁵ and is aged 36 or 40.

-He said to clear his conscience that one day after the commotion and incident occurred, which the Dominican friars had with a priest whom the Lord Archbishop had sent to Coyoacán to administer the sacraments to the Spaniards. While this witness was in the Cathedral in the company of other clergy, a Dominican friar entered the church, who told him his name was Friar Bartolomé Enríquez. [López]⁵⁶ asking him about the incident that had occurred in Coyoacán, [Enríquez] told him how he had come to speak to the dean and schoolmaster of the Church, and not finding him, he waited until the end of vespers,⁵⁷ and [López] saw in his hands a packet of letters addressed to the schoolmaster.⁵⁸ Before he left, [López] asked [Enríquez] what had happened, and [Enríquez] told him how he had been present and that he and two other Religious men of his order had arrived at the hermitage in Coyoacán where they had found a priest celebrating Mass. [López] asked him if he was [end 3^r] the Licentiate Ferrufino, to which the priest replied yes, and that he was a liar⁵⁹ and troublemaker, words he always used whenever he referenced [Ferrufino]. They had arrived when Ferrufino was giving the *orate fratres*.⁶⁰ The first thing they did, upon extinguishing the candles, was to stop Ferrufino, telling him “hold, do not pass from here,” and they took away his other paraphernalia such as the altar stone, chalice, host, and missal. When [Enríquez] gave the chalice to another, it had spilled through the screw [hole] and the host had fallen on the ground although it had not broken. [Enríquez] did not say who had picked it up. [Enríquez] said that they had done wrong in not taking the priest with

⁵² Referencing the Sala de Audiencias, or courtroom.

⁵³ “By word of the priest” meaning to speak faithfully, or truthfully.

⁵⁴ Jerez de la Frontera is a town in Spain, near the coastal city of Cadiz.

⁵⁵ Iglesia Mayor in 1629 referenced what is now known as the Metropolitan Cathedral.

⁵⁶ Here and throughout the rest of the translation, many pronouns and references to *este testigo* (this witness) or *dicho*... (the said...) have been replaced with bracketed names to enhance clarity.

⁵⁷ Indicating he waited until the evening.

⁵⁸ A *matrascuela*, or schoolmaster, oversaw all schools in the diocese and offered courses in the church/cathedral, for the cathedral chapter he served as chancellor of the university. See: Schwaller, “The Cathedral Chapter of Mexico in the Sixteenth Century,” 653.

⁵⁹ *Embustero* meaning liar or cheat, generally used to reference someone who is attempting to scam others for their own gain.

⁶⁰ The *Orate Fratres* is the invitation from the priest to the congregation to say prayer before receiving the Offering.

them. He also told [López] there were many Spanish and mestizo people present, and also an Augustinian friar who would say in what state the Mass had been; and what did the bearded ones [laypeople] know of that? [Br. Enríquez] also told [López] that when they were about to enter the hermitage, there was a clergyman who was outside walking wearing red-framed spectacles who told them not to enter because they were celebrating. And [Lopz] replying to [Enríquez], and discussing whether it was an offering or not, after the *oblata*.⁶¹ [López] told him that if the priest had consecrated it, it would be. To which [Enríquez] replied that given how enraged they were, the outcome would have been the same. This was [conversation arose] in order to discuss the jurisdiction they or the Archbishop had to administer the holy sacraments in that place, and the whole conversation hinged on this, [Br. Enríquez] alleging the papal bulls and privileges that they [the friars] have and that he was coming from speaking to the Lord Archbishop and that he had responded meekly, asking only why they had not [end 3^v] left to finish the Mass. He stated that because he had felt scruples regarding this matter, last Saturday, the twenty-seventh of the current month, he delivered a document to the gentleman prosecutor of this Holy Office, signed and entirely in his own handwriting, and having been shown it he said that it was his, he had written it, and that he understood it all to be true, and having read it he said it was well written and that he does not say it out of hatred or enmity but to discharge his conscience. He signed it on charges of secrecy in the form, promised,

-Br. Bartolomé López, before me, Eugenio de Saravia (signatures)

Testimony of Br. Esteban de Ferrufino against the Dominican friars of Coyoacán

Then inquisitor Baldespiña ordered them to enter the said audience, although the clergy who came of his own free will, an oath *in verbo sacerdotis* was received from him, and he promised to tell the truth and said his name was -

Br. Esteban de Ferrufino, a priest and native of this city who lives in the house of Juan Bautista de Riofrío on Santo Domingo Street, aged 35. He said that, to clear his conscience, he would declare that while this witness was staying at an estate near Tacubaya, which is called Cartaga, which belongs to Esteban Ferrufino, his uncle, on Monday the 22nd of this present month he received an order and license from the Lord Archbishop of this city to administer the sacraments in the town of Coyoacán, at the congregation that belongs to the parish of Veracruz of this city. On the occasion of the flooding of this city, many people from Mexico had gone to [Coyoacán]. On that day [Ferrufino] went to speak to the provincial of Saint Dominic, who was in the convent of Coyoacán, hinting to him he had an order of call from His Most Illustrious Lordship. The provincial and the other friars responded that they had many rights [end 4^f] to not consent to such an administration and that as long as they did not bring a provision from His Majesty, they

⁶¹ The oblation, or bread and wine offering prior to the consecration.

would not consent to it. [Ferrufino] seeking an occasion in Coyoacán to say Mass, on Wednesday the 24th of this month, between 5 and 6 in the morning, [Ferrufino] went to the place of San Mateo to give the administration of the sacraments to the clergy. He made the sacristan carry the requisites to be able to say Mass, which he did except for the chalice and corporals, of which [Ferrufino] brought his own, and with them he came to the town of Coyoacán where there is a hermitage called La Concepción. Among the people where he went to say Mass in a tabernacle with a stone altar, where he adorned himself and began to dress for his Mass, being present the sacristan of San Mateo (an Indian), a black slave named Melcor, and a free chino who is in service to [Ferrufino] and Luis Sánchez, a Spaniard, master of arms, who went to get wine for the Mass, and for a notary to give account of how he said Mass. [Ferrufino] being vested, Luis Sánchez arrived with Gregorio de Santa Cruz, a notary of the *residencia*,⁶² and Don Grabiél, the bailiff, and other ministers of the *residencia*. Having begun the Mass, [Ferrufino] was helped by a Bartolome de Celis, dressed in the attire of the native people of this city, who lived near La Merced. [Ferrufino] having said the epistle, Bachelor Domingo de Riviera, a cleric of the holy order, arrived at the altar and told [Ferrufino] how the notary was asking for the orders he had from His Most Illustrious Lordship to be able to give the testimony, which [Ferrufino] had on the same altar and, being wary of what could result, he made a sign with his face that the friars were there. Domingo de Rivera took them and gave them to the notary who took them [end 4^v] and he went with them to San Agustín where [Ferrufino] sent for them with a slave. They were brought to him after one or two days but given to him without the testimony, with the papers wrapped in a letter, and it told him how he sent them and that he could not send him the testimony due to the business of the residence.

And [Ferrufino] continued with the Mass before saying the gospel, during which the clergy rang the bell atop the hermitage and another bell down below as a warning around the hermitage, where many men and women had gathered to hear the Mass. Continuing with the Mass with great quietness, Ferrufino prepared the chalice and the offertory of the chalice as well as the host and he washed his hands and said the *orate fratres*, and the preface of Our Lady of the Conception, for saying the Mass of her [feast]. Having finished, the one who was assisting [Ferrufino] told him that some Dominican friars were coming with many Indians, making a great noise and shouting, that he could hear them saying, “Infamous little cleric, idiot, suspended liar.” And with all this, [Ferrufino continued] with his Mass and said out loud, *et omnium circumstantium*, and as the friars, who in his opinion were four or five, arrived at the altar, he said out loud, *comunicantes et memoriam venerantes* in such a way that all those who were listening to the Mass could hear it.⁶³ And at

⁶² A judicial inquiry into an officeholder’s conduct.

⁶³ Latin liturgy used to introduce and begin consecration of the Eucharist.

this time one of the clergy called Fray So-and-So⁶⁴ of Mérida came to the altar with a very loud shout he removed the missal and the candle from one side and on the other side another different clergy removed the candle and uncovered the chalice, spilling the offering of wine and water on the floor part on the ground and part at the feet of the said *chino*, servant of [Ferrufino], with ignominious words telling him “Get away from there, the liar.” [end 5^r] Turning to the people one of the friars said in a loud voice that all those there who had come to hear the Mass were excommunicated, claiming [Ferrufino] was not a priest and that he was suspended because he had intruded upon their jurisdiction. And at this time in an attempt to force them to let him continue with the offering and return the chalice, [Ferrufino] took the host in his hands and began saying the words, *accepit panem*,⁶⁵ one of the friars shouted with a loud voice that he had skipped ahead [in the liturgy], and with his hand he reached out and snatched the host, crushing it in his hand and threw it on the ground, where it was later found. The friars gave [Ferrufino] shoves and punches to make him undress his vestments, calling him a liar and an idiot, while very diligently removing everything else from the altar. Seeing the altar already naked and dismantled, [Ferrufino] found the chalice to one side, and taking it in his hands he turned to the people and said in a loud voice: “Bear witness: how what was in this chalice, the friars spilled it,” and at this the friars and took it from his hands with great force, and as it later appeared, the chalice had been smashed on the ground because it was dented and without a screw which was never found.

And throughout this occasion the friars were threatening everyone with clubs and one of them, Fray Hernando de Olivares, jumped and repeated many times that he would kill [Ferrufino] and make him disappear with blows. To this a Spanish man, a servant of His Excellency, who claims to be his cook, attacked one of the friars, raising his dagger to try to hit one of them for the mistreatment they had shown [Ferrufino], telling him [end 5^v] that in Barbary such actions could not be done, to which [Ferrufino] asked him very earnestly not to do it, that although they were angry, they were friars and Religious men. All this was not enough for the friars to stop their anger and rage, and turning to [Ferrufino] in great anger, saying insulting words to him, [Ferrufino] replied that they should calm down, that they were all priests, and that he had no cause or anger for them to have [anger] at him and to make a bad example to the people, that there were many Indians who would be scandalized and were sad and melancholic to see such an act. And after a long time, already tired and afflicted, he knelt down and told them that since they were not satisfied, that he was there, and that they should finish taking his life or tie him to a pillar. This caused great regret among the bystanders, who said that the world was coming to an end, and that it was no wonder Mexico was drowning, given

⁶⁴ *Fulano*, meaning “so-and-so,” frequently appears in Inquisition cases when a witness refers to someone whose name they can’t remember or don’t want to give.

⁶⁵ The words of consecration used in the Eucharistic Prayer.

such things were happening. To this the friars responded that they were liars. [Ferrufino] was on his knees all this time, turning his face to see the host on the ground, crushed as they had thrown it, and with great effort he lifted it up, saying that it was blessed. He placed it on the altar, from where one Religious, which he did not know, took it, and threw it on the ground for the second time, saying, “look at the idiot who told you that it was blessed” and with this they sent out the Indians [end 6’], scolding them because they didn’t want to come near, and they ordered them to remove and dismantle the altar that had been covered in stone many years before. In fact, they destroyed it, and left all the other altars of the other hermitages, and seeing that [Ferrufino] could not continue with the sacrifice of the Mass, many of the lay Spaniards in attendance persuaded him to undress so they could take him to his house.

And having undressed and handed the ornaments to the sacristan who had brought them, and searching for the other things such as the chalice, corporals, paten, and purificator, he found on different persons among the Indians, the corporals, the chalice, and paten, and treating them indecently, without being able to find the purificator and case of the chalice and the screw that was left lost, at all of which were present the five or six Religious saying with loud voices that “the liar should leave here” in such a way that all those present were amazed and were scandalized to have seen such an event and even this whole Republic of Mexico is waiting for it, a great demonstration of a similar case. And [Ferrufino] went to a house and came to this city to give account to His Most Illustrious Lordship of what happened, as he was obliged to do, because His Most Illustrious Lordship had sent him sent him to the administration of the sacraments in Coyoacán.

And in this regard his said declaration of everything that passed in Coyoacán is before Dr. Andrés Fernandes, Judge Commissario, whom His Most Illustrious Lordship sent to the inquiry into this case, which he made [end 6’] copiously, with twenty-four witnesses, to which and to what was said there [Ferrufino] refers himself, [Ferrufino] has sworn that this is the truth of what happened. For the oath that he has made, he said nothing out of hatred or enmity that he has against the friars, although they mistreated him as he said; and he has not had hatred or ill will against them. And having read it to him, he said it is well written, and he has approved and signed it; and the charge of secrecy was laid upon him in due form, which he promised. The Br. Esteban de Ferrufino before me, Eugenio de Saravia.

-taken from the second notebook of testimony, on folios two hundred and fifty-five, with which it agrees, which I attest

-Eugenio de Saravia (signature)

[Testimony of Pedro Espín]

In the city of Mexico on Wednesday, October 31, 1629, before the Inquisitor Licentiate Gaspar de Baldespiña, in his afternoon audience, he ordered a man to

enter, being called, from whom an oath was sworn in due form, he promised to tell the truth and said his name was:

—Pedro Espín, a native of the city of Hamburg trumpeter of the Lord Marquis of Serralbo, Viceroy of this Kingdom, who came with His Excellency from Spain, and is twenty-one years old.

Asked if he knows or suspects the reason for which he was called:

-He said that it is so that he can tell what he saw in Coyoacán of the friars who quarreled with the priest and that what he saw was that: being in the town of Coyoacán last Wednesday, which was the twenty-fourth day of this present month, with another companion of his named Luis de Pensé, [end 7^r] a servant of the Lord Viceroy who served as a cook, [said] that they had gone to look for another companion to go to the drainage works with the Lord Viceroy and having heard very early in the morning that they were ringing for Mass in a hermitage, Espín told his companion to go hear Mass. Having entered the hermitage they found a priest vested at the altar who had already duly begun Mass and while they were listening to it quietly, two Dominican friars arrived with clubs in their hands, after the priest had said the orate fratres. The friars told Espín and the others to leave there and not hear Mass because they were excommunicated; and they approached the priest who was at the altar saying Mass, and they told him not to go forward. They took the missal from him and gave it to a boy, and when the priest asked them to let him finish the Mass they would not, saying insulting words to him, and that he was an idiot, shameless little cleric, and that he should leave from there, and they took the chalice and spilled the offering that it contained. They told him to go and if not that they would beat him to death with clubs. The priest knelt down and told them to do whatever they wanted with him, that he was there, and at this time two other friars had already entered and, treating him badly, did not let him finish the Mass. And they forced him to take off his vestments and go to where the provincial and the other friars were, who also treated him badly in words, and during all this the men and women hearing the Mass were crying. There were loud voices saying [end 7^v] that for the love of God they should not mistreat a priest in that manner. And [Espín's] companion said that if they were laymen he would stab them to death, and that nothing more could be done among heretics than what they had done to that priest, and that the whole city is scandalized by such a case. [Espín] told the story to the Most Excellent Lady Morana, who was grieved to hear of such an event, and he has said the same in his deposition before the commissary judge of the Lord Archbishop, so that this and that may be understood as one and the same, and without contradicting himself in anything; and that this is the truth for the oath that he has made and he does not say it out of hatred or enmity that may have. And having read it to him, he said it is well written, and he signed it; secrecy was charged upon him in due form, which he promised, and he signed Pedro Espín, before me, Eugenio Saravia

- It agrees with its original, which is in the second book of testimonies, at folio two hundred and fifty-nine, of which I attest

-Eugenio de Saravia (signature)

[Testimony of Luis Aponte]

-Immediately thereafter, the Lord Inquisitor Gaspar de Baldespiña ordered a man to enter from the porter's lodge, from whom an was sworn in due form, and being summoned he said his name was:

- Luis de Aponte, native de Arras in Flanders, servant of the Lord Viceroy, employed as his cook, aged twenty-nine.

Asked if he knows or suspects the reason why he has been called:

He said that he more or less understands that it will be about Coyoacán.

Asked what happened in Coyoacán:

He said that last Wednesday, the twenty-fourth of this present month, being in Coyoacán, he went to look for a pastry chef to leave with the Viceroy to the drainage works, and he heard that they had held a Mass in a hermitage near the church. He went with another companion to hear it, and they found a priest who was vested in robes saying the Mass. After he said the *orate fratres*, two friars entered with sticks in their hands and they told this [priest] and all the others who were hearing Mass that they should leave because they were excommunicated. They went to the altar and took away the missal and the candles and the chalice and they spilled what was inside and they told the priest not to continue and that he should leave there, that he was an idiot and a little disgraced clergyman. Then two other friars arrived doing the same as the others, brandishing the sticks, telling him that he was a disgraced clergyman and telling him that they would beat him to death, and at this moment [end 8^r] he knelt before them saying that he was there, that they could do whatever they wanted. All this time he was dressed in his own robes and ornaments for saying Mass, and although he begged them many times to let him finish the Mass, they would not. They removed all the altar furnishings, saying that he was a rascally thief and that they were going to have him hanged in the public square—doing all this with such fury as if they were dealing with heretics. Although [Aponte] had seen many heretics in Germany and France, he had not seen such contempt. For when [Aponte] was between Hungary and Germany in the emperor's camp, where there were more than thirty thousand Catholic men who were going against the Palatine, and from his side more than forty thousand men were coming, and the Catholic army was hearing Mass in the field, the enemies would not attack them until Mass was over, which [Aponte] said on that occasion, and one of the friars told him how shameless he was and that he did not know what he was talking about, and cursed him to hell, whereupon [Aponte] grew angry and told him that if he were not a priest he would stab him. All the people who were present there clamored and cried out that there was no justice on earth that came from heaven for such a case. And that in this regard he has said the same before a commissary judge of the Lord Archbishop, so that it may be understood to be all one; and that this is the truth, for the oath that he has made, and he does not say it out of hatred or enmity that he has toward the said clergy. Secrecy was

enjoined upon him in due form; he promised it, and he signed it: Luis de Aponte, before me, Eugenio de Saravia.

It agrees with its original, which is in the second book of testimonies at folio two hundred and sixty, which I attest.

-Eugenio de Saravia (signature) [end 8v]

[Testimony of] Br. Don Miguel Chavez de Rivera against the Dominican friars

-In the city of Mexico on Monday the fifth day of the month of October, I mean November, of 1629 before the inquisitor Gaspar de Baldespina, in his morning audience, a man was called, from whom an oath was received in due form, and under that oath he promised to tell the truth and said his name was:

- Br. Don Miguel Chavez de Rivera, a native and resident of this city, who currently lives in the town of Coyoacán due to the flooding of this city and lives with Doña Francisca de Herrera Balderrama, his mother, and he is approximately 22 years old.

- Asked if he knows or suspects the reason for which he has been called:

-He said that he presumes that it will be for him to speak about an occasion that happened in Coyoacán with the Dominican Friars and a priest saying Mass.

-Asked what happened there:

-He said that while he was in Coyoacán, on Wednesday the 24th day of October of this current year, he saw how, in a hermitage called Our Lady of the Conception, Br. Esteban Ferrufino had vested himself to say Mass, who went with the license of the Lord Archbishop, and dressed and begun Mass, finding himself there a notary who they said was in that place conducting the *residencia*, who told [Chavez de Rivera] that he should ask Esteban Ferrufino for the license he had from the Lord Archbishop to be able to say Mass, in order to be able to make a case and give him [end 9r] the testimony. And [Chavez de Rivera] went to the altar and asked Esteban Ferrufino for the license, which he had on the altar, and he told him to bring it to the notary, and having delivered it, he returned to hear [Ferrufino's] Mass. And while he was saying *orate fratres*, he saw two friars from the Order of Saint Dominic enter with their staffs in their hands. They say their names were Friar Thomas and Friar Luis, [Chavez de Rivera] doesn't know their surnames and that they are priests. And Friar Thomas came in saying, "Let's not let him finish the Mass," and when they approached the altar, one blew out the candles and the other took the missal, telling [Ferrufino] not to continue the Mass, and with the loud noise caused by the scandal they were making, [Chavez de Rivera] couldn't hear what they said to the priest. Another Religious called Friar Hernando de Olivares came to the altar and took the chalice and spilled it on the ground publicly, which everyone saw and caused such a scandal that all raised an outcry and murmured. Whereupon the priest turned to the people and said that they should be witnesses that the fathers had spilled the chalice on the ground, and because of the great disturbance that [Chavez de Rivera] witnessed, he does not remember

distinctly what they did to the priest. He saw only that the priest knelt on his knees and told them to do what they wanted, and that they stripped the altar so that the priest could not finish the Mass. [Chavez de Rivera] went home so that nothing would happen to him [end 9^v] misfortunate, and he returned again after a short time and he saw how they had removed the altar from the tabernacle that used to always be set in its place there before, and today it is not there, except on feast days when the friars go to say Mass. And this was what he saw, and also that the friars were pressing some lay people, telling them that they were excommunicated and could not hear Masses there. All of this caused a great scandal and murmuring that to this day lasts at such an audacity, and for this reason [Chavez de Rivera] has testified before Dr. Andres Fernandez, commissary judge of the Lord Archbishop so that this and that may be understood to be all one; and that it is the truth, by the oath that he has made, and he does not say it out of hatred or enmity that he has toward the said friars. Secrecy was enjoined upon him in due form; he promised it, and he signed it with his name; and having had it read to him, he said it was well written. Before me,
Eugenio de Saravia (signature) Br Miguel Chaves de Ribera (signature) [end 10^r]⁶⁶

[Testimony of Bartolomé de Celis]

- In Mexico City, Monday, November 5, 1629, before the Lord Inquisitor Doctor Gaspar de Baldespiña, during his afternoon audience, appeared, having been summoned, a man who swore in and promised to tell the truth, and said his name was [end 10^v] Bartolomé de Celis of minor orders, a native of Mexico City, who lived on Merced Street and, due to the flood, presently resides in Coyoacán, son of Bartolomé de Celis, Procurator for the Natives of this city, who is thirty-six years old.

-Asked if he knows or suspects the reason he was called:

-He said he suspects it's because of what happened in Coyoacán with the Dominican friars.

-Asked what happened:

-He said that while [he] was in the town of Coyoacán, last Wednesday, October 24th of this year, he passed by a hermitage called Our Lady of the Conception, when a priest named Esteban Ferrufino called him to help with Mass. Having entered the hermitage, he helped [Ferrufino] to dress, and having said the epistle they began to give Mass, beginning with the *Introit*,⁶⁷ and having said the Gospel, given the offering, made the chalice and the host, washed their hands and said *theorate fratres*, two friars of the order of Santo Domingo arrived, with two staffs in their hands. He did not recognize them nor did he know their names. They said one was called fray Tomás de Morales and the other fray Luis and that [the men] arrived at the altar where [Ferrufino] was saying Mass. They asked him with "What

⁶⁶ The final three lines of fol. 10^r concisely abstract the text on fol. 10^v. Above the signatures is a note certifying the scribe struck the text "serca de lo q" on fol. 9^r himself.

⁶⁷ The opening psalm of the Mass.

permission he gave Mass?" and said that he was a mockery of a little cleric and an idiot and then they extinguished the candles and removed the chalice, scattering the host on the floor. And forcing him with bad words to leave and not finish the sacrifice, which he did, as they stripped [end 11^r] the altar, removing all its ornaments. On this occasion, [Ferrufino] knelt down begging them to let him finish the Mass. They threatened him and treated him badly with word, and he replied that was there, and they should do with him whatever they wanted. And on this occasion three other friars entered who told the laymen in loud voices to leave, that they were excommunicated because they heard that Mass. They did not allow [Ferrufino] to finish the Mass and forced him to undress, and he did. He took his robe and went home. And the friars then the altar's pedestal and the tabernacle and they did the same in the other hermitages of Coyoacán. And [Celis] was present for all this as the person who assisted in the Mass, along with many other people, men and women, Spanish and Indian, who were all scandalized to see such an event. And that this is the truth for the oath that has been made, and that he has said the same before Dr. Andrés Fernández, commissary judge of the Lord, Archbishop, so that this and that may be understood as one, and without contradicting himself; and that he does not say it out of hatred or enmity that he has toward the aforesaid. Secrecy was enjoined upon him in due form; he promised it; and having had it read to him, he said it was well written and he signed it with his name.⁶⁸ Before me Eugenio de Saravia (signature) Bartolome de Celi (signature) [end 11^r]

[Testimony of Luis Sánchez]

-In Mexico City, Tuesday, November 6, 1629, before the Lord Inquisitor Licentiate Gaspar de Baldespiña, during his afternoon audience, a man was called [end 12^r] from whom an oath was sworn in due form, and he promised to tell the truth and said his name was:

-Luis Sánchez, a resident of this city who due to the flood currently resides in San Mateo, a district of Coyoacán, he is a weapons master and is approximately 50 years old.

-Asked if he knows or presumes the reason for which he has been called by this Holy Office:

-He said he presumes it will be to tell what happened in Coyoacán with the Friars of Santo Domingo and Licentiate Esteban de Ferrufino.

-Asked what happened between the aforementioned:

-He said that on last Wednesday, October 24th of this year, he was in San Mateo to hear Mass at the convent of Santa María de Churubusco. He saw a priest named Esteban de Ferrufino passing by, who asked [Sánchez] where he was going, and he told [Ferrufino] that he was going to hear Mass at Santa María. [Ferrufino] replied that he should go with him because he was going to say it at a hermitage near there called Our Lady of the Conception, and that he lacked a little wine in order to say

⁶⁸ A scribal note here certifies the dating of the events recounted to October 1629.

it. [Sánchez] went with him and, taking the cleric's horse, he went and brought him wine and in some haste they decorated the altar of the said hermitage and [Ferrufino] dressed to say Mass. And having begun it and said the *Introit*, he ordered that the bells ring. And they rang the one that was above the hermitage and another small one outside the hermitage. Then up to thirty people gathered and, continuing with [end 12^v] the Mass, he said the Epistle, Gospel, and Offertory, and prepared the chalice. And having offered it he washed his hands and returned to the people to say the *orate fratres*. Two friars of the order of Santo Domingo entered the hermitage with two thick staffs in their hands, saying "let that Mass proceed no further. [Ferrufino] is a very great scoundrel and puppet who was already told not to come and cause trouble. Leave, for you are excommunicated!" And saying and doing so, they approached the altar, extinguished the candles, and closed the missal and gave it to an Indian. At that same moment, four other friars entered, who [Sánchez] did not recognize except for one who he heard say that his name was Fray Bernabé Enrique, and they also arrived at the altar and spilled the chalice on the ground. Then [Ferrufino] turned to the people, and he said, "be my witness, that the friars have spilled the chalice." The friars with great anger pushed him and told him "be quiet, for you are scoundrelly puppet," and other insulting words. And [Ferrufino] knelt and told them "your reverences, do with me what you will." This was not enough to stop them from verbally abusing him, forcing him to strip, and removing all the altar cloths. And [Sánchez], having told them to look at the great scandal they had caused, they [end 13^r] said to him, giving him a shove, "get out of here, you bearded fellow! And you [all] are excommunicated for having come to hear this Mass." They did the same to a servant of His Excellency, hitting him on the chest. And [Ferrufino], having left the hermitage, went to a neighbor's house. From there a priest of Santo Domingo arrived very angry and told him that he wanted to take him before the magistrate, telling him "come here, for I am taking you to the magistrate," and he pulled his cloak and forcibly dragged him three steps. And [Ferrufino] said that it was not the magistrate was not his judge, and he should come if he wanted to see him, for he was faint and needed to recover. At all of which the people and the entire town were scandalized. And [Sánchez] has heard it said since that the Indians say that the Mass of the clerics is not good because the friars prevent them from saying it. And on this matter, Luis Sánchez has made his statement before a commissary judge of the Lord Archbishop, so that this and that may be understood as one, without contradicting himself; and that, as memory is fragile, he may have altered some words, but his intention was to tell the truth, as he has said it, and not out of hatred or enmity that he has toward the said religious. Secrecy was enjoined upon him in due form; he promised it; and having had it read to him, he said it was well written and he signed it with his name.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ A note here certifying the scribe has struck the text "por la puerta de" on fol. 13^r himself.

-Luis Sanchez (signature) Before me Eugenio Saravia (signature) [end 13^v][14^r-14^v is blank]

Qualification

In Mexico City, Tuesday November 6, 1629, before the Inquisitor Licentiate Gaspar de Baldespiña, in his afternoon audience, he ordered the entrance of Fathers Juan de Ledesma and Francisco Calderon of the Society of Jesus and *padre maestro*⁷⁰ Fray Juan de Herrera, provincial of the Order of Our Lady of Mercy, so that they could see and evaluate the testimony received in this Holy Office against certain Dominican friars residing in the town of Coyoacán, concerning their having impeded a certain priest who had begun the Mass so that he would not finish it, and having verbally abused him and causing a great scandal. Having entered the audience, the said fathers were sworn in the due form of law, and they said *in verbo sacerdotis* that they would declare their opinion as they found justice in their conscience. And that they would keep secret what they saw and what was communicated to them, and after the aforementioned testimony was read to them and they understood it, they said they needed to see and study the articles and the deed, and a copy was given so that they could take it home and return within three days with the resolution, with which they left the audience, of which I give faith.

-Eugenio de Saravia (signature)

In the city of Mexico, on Friday, November 9, 1629 [end 15^r]

Qualification

Before the Lord Inquisitor Gaspar de Baldespiña in his afternoon audience, he ordered the Fathers Juan de Ledesma and Francisco Calderon of the Society of Jesus, and the *padre maestro* Fray Juan de Herrera, provincial of the Order of Our Lady of Mercy, to enter. And having conferred among themselves on the nature of the deed, namely—that the friars had prohibited the priest from finishing the Mass, taking away the missal and extinguishing the candles and spilling the oblation from the chalice and denting it, and throwing the host on the floor, dismantling the altar and all its ornaments, insulting the vested priest with words, and forcing him to undress with threats—all this deed is vehemently suspected of heresy, because all these acts are typical of heretics and sects condemned by the church. And as for the quality of the saying, “who told the idiot that the host was blessed,” is an erroneous proposition and smells of heresy (*sapiens haeresim*), for it is against the determination of the Council of Trent in the twenty-second session, fourth chapter, and sixth canon, where it determines that the entire canon is pure from error, and in it, the host is called blessed. And beyond this, the common understanding of the Church is to consider it blessed before the consecration. And in serious matters, the church cannot err, as would follow from the contrary. And as for saying that those who

⁷⁰ “Father Teacher,” indicating a spiritual leader, a mentor of a parish or order.

heard that Mass were excommunicated because the priest who said it was suspended for not having a license to say Mass, this is [end 15^v] scandalous and false. This they said. They signed it in conformity, saving better judgment.

-Joan de Ledesma, Fr. Juan de Herrera, Francisco Calderon, before me
Eugenio de Saravia (signatures) [end 16^r]