

*Sins against Nature:  
Sex and Archives in Colonial New Spain*

**ARCHIVAL APPENDIX\* by Zeb Tortorici**



Francisco de Pareja, *Confessionario en lengua Castellana, y Timuquana con algunos consejos para animar al penitente* (1613). Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

\* Note: this is a working appendix that I will be revising and adding new cases to in the future, as I come across them. My hope is that this appendix serves as a resource for others. Feel free to download and share. If you have other archival references, corrections, or suggestions, please contact me at [zt3@nyu.edu](mailto:zt3@nyu.edu). Updated on 5/31/2018: <https://archive.nyu.edu/handle/2451/40720>.

## ARCHIVES

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AGCA	Archivo General de Centro América (Guatemala City, Guatemala)
AGEH	Archivo General del Estado de Hidalgo (Pachuca, Mexico)
AGI	Archivo General de Indias (Seville, Spain)
AGN	Archivo General de la Nación (Mexico City, Mexico)
AGNP	Archivo General de Notarías de Puebla (Puebla, Mexico)
AHCM	Archivo Histórico Casa de Morelos (Morelia, Mexico)
AHEA	Archivo Histórico del Estado de Aguascalientes (Aguascalientes, Mexico)
AHESLP	Archivo Histórico del Estado de San Luis Potosí (San Luis Potosí, Mexico)
AHET	Archivo Histórico del Estado de Tlaxcala (San Pablo Apetatitlán, Mexico)
AHEZ	Archivo Histórico del Estado de Zacatecas (Zacatecas, Mexico)
AHJO	Archivo Histórico Judicial de Oaxaca (Oaxaca, Mexico)
AHMC	Archivo Histórico del Municipio de Colima (Colima, Mexico)
AHMM	Archivo Histórico Municipal de Morelia (Morelia, Mexico)
AHPJQ	Archivo Histórico del Poder Judicial del Estado de Querétaro (Querétaro, Mexico)
AMHP	Archivo Municipal de Hidalgo del Parral (Hidalgo del Parral, Mexico)
AMMNL	Archivo Municipal de Monterrey, Nuevo León (Monterrey, Mexico)
BANC	Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley (Berkeley, California)
BNAH	Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia (Mexico City, Mexico)
BPEJ-FE	Biblioteca Pública del Estado de Jalisco, Fondos Especiales (Guadalajara, Mexico)

DAFH-UG	Dirección de Archivos y Fondos Históricos, Universidad de Guanajuato (Guanajuato, Mexico)
HUNT	Huntington Library (San Marino, California)
SANM:	Spanish Archives of New Mexico (microfilmed at the University of Texas at El Paso)
VEMC	Latin American Library at Tulane University, Viceregal and Ecclesiastical Mexican Collection (New Orleans, Louisiana)

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1. (1530) Michoacán. **Criminal case (sodomy and rebellion against the Spanish)**. Certain Spaniards accused the noble indigenous ruler of the Purépecha peoples in Michoacán, El Caltzontzín, of sodomy and of ordering Spaniards to be killed. El Caltzontzín was sentenced to be executed by Nuño de Gúzman, the first president of the *audiencia* of New Spain. An earlier sodomy trial against him, in which much information supposedly surfaced, has yet to surface. [Scholes and Adams, *Proceso contra Tzintzicha Tangaxoan el Caltzontzín, formado por Nuño de Gúzman, año 1530*]
  2. (1542) Santo Domingo, Hispaniola. **Inquisition case (sodomy)**. Crewmembers on a ship sailing between Spain and the Indies denounced Antonio Lipares and cabin boy Cebrian (both Italian) for kissing each other and committing sodomy. Both were imprisoned in Hispaniola and interrogated. Cebrian said that he'd recently married the Lipares's daughter. Lipares said that the two shared the same bed, but that the love between him and his son-in-law was "a strong and pure love." Within a couple of weeks authorities freed them. [AGN, Inquisición 212, exp. 1, fols. 11-21]
  3. (1563) Mérida. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Pedro Na (Maya, 14), who confessed his crimes, was punished for the crime of bestiality with a turkey by being publicly castrated in the central plaza, with the corpse of the turkey hanging around his neck. The turkey was thrown into the fire and Na was permanently banished from the province of Yucatán. [AGI, Justicia, leg. 248 (microfilm reel #191), "Proceso contra P<sup>o</sup> Na sobre el pecado nefando."]
  4. (1571-1577) Mexico City. **Inquisition case (male-female sodomy, heresy)**. Between 1572 and 1567, Tomé Núñez del Alamo (referred to as an *hombre sucio*, a "dirty man") was denounced by twice his wife and by others for having tried to commit sodomy with her, for asserting that mutual masturbation was not a sin, and for supposedly wiping his semen on the breasts on a statue of the Virgin Mary. He was imprisoned but the case has an indeterminate outcome. [AGN, Inquisición 117, exp. 15, fols. 256-270; Inquisición 74, exp. 40, f. 220]

5. (1581) Tulancingo. **Inquisition denunciation (lewd acts with a deceased woman).** Fray Miguel de Zárate reported to the Inquisition that he'd heard from six witnesses that the indigenous *principal* and governor of Tulancingo had committed dissolute acts with the body of a dead woman and also with his sister-in-law. The witnesses alleged they saw him kiss, hug, and touch the breasts, legs, and genitals of the deceased woman. No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 125, exp. 19]
6. (1584) Santiago de Guatemala. **Inquisition denunciation (sodomy and heresy).** In a letter to the Holy Office in Mexico City, Fray Diego de Carbajal, commissary of the Inquisition in Guatemala, referred to a public disturbance (*alboroto*), during the punishment of an indigenous man for sodomy, in which a statue of Jesus on the crucifix fell to the ground and broke. No trial held. It is uncertain whether the unidentified indigenous man was being punished for sodomy by criminal or ecclesiastical authorities. [AGN, Inquisición 141, exp. 6, f. 2]
7. (1587) Coatepeque. **Judicial correspondence (sodomy).** This case fragment contains a request that the judicial authorities in Coatepeque send Rodrigo Caravallo and other indigenous and *mulato* witnesses so that their testimonies against Juan Trefino (*mestizo*), imprisoned for committing the *pecado nefando*, could be ratified. No further information is given. [AGN, Tierras 2974, exp. 79, f. 2]
8. (1591) San Juan de Ulúa. **Criminal case (sodomy).** Gaspar Caravallo (Portuguese *mulato*) was tried for having attempted to commit sodomy with a boy, Pedro Merino, aboard a ship sailing between Spain and the Indies. Merino, found nude by another sailor, said that Caravallo had kissed him and tried to penetrate him. He also accused Caravallo of masturbating Juanés and trying to solicit another cabin boy for sex. Juanés denied this, but said that Caravallo always exposed himself to the cabin boys so that they would expose themselves to him. Caravallo was imprisoned aboard the ship and tortured but denied the charges. He was sentenced by the captain general to receive 300 lashes on the ship, serve in the galleys for 10 years, and pay 50 pesos. He was also perpetually banished from Spain and its colonies. Caravallo appealed this sentence and his appeal was granted, but he fled before the ship arrived in Seville. [AGI, Contratación 5730]
9. (1596) Guatemala. **Judicial correspondence (sodomy).** The viceroy count informed King Felipe II that local *alcaldes* in the Americas deserved praise because, among other things, they had imprisoned and burned "some delinquents" for the *pecado nefando* and "other types of sodomy." Accomplices were also imprisoned in Guatemala [AGI, Mexico 23, N. 60]
10. (1597-1603) San Juan de Ulúa (Mexico), Havana (Cuba), and Seville (Spain). **Criminal case (sodomy—death sentence).** Gerónimo Juan Ponce (*mulato* sailor, 20), already in prison in Havana for sodomy, was brought from Cuba to Spain for trial. In Seville's prison, he committed the *pecado nefando* with another man also imprisoned for sodomy, Domingo López (*mulato* slave, 20). López confessed that Ponce touched his face, spoke amorous words to him, and penetrated him. Although Ponce was

tortured repeatedly in Havana, Seville, and at sea, he steadfastly denied the charges. Ponce also admitted that he'd previously been implicated in charges of sodomy with another prisoner in Seville, Manuel Rodríguez (who denied the charges but was sentenced to the galleys) and with other mariners on trans-Atlantic voyages. In 1603, Ponce and López were sentenced to die by garrote in the port of Jeréz, with the bodies subsequently burned to ashes. All of Ponce's belongings were confiscated. The defense lawyer of López appealed the sentence, though we have no information on the outcome. On 3 November 1605, Ponce was executed. [AGI, Pleitos de la Casa de la Contratación, Escribanía 1075C, ff. 117]

11. (1598-1601) Mexico City. **Inquisition case (*alumbradismo*, visions, masturbation).** Marina de San Miguel (Spanish), a *beata* and local holy woman was imprisoned for *alumbradismo*, having erotic visions, committing the sin of pollution (i.e., masturbation), and having had sexual relations with male priests as well as with another *beata* who she kissed, hugged, and mutually masturbated. In 1601, for her heterodox beliefs and acts, she was sentenced to abjure *de vehementi*, was publicly given 100 lashes, and was to be confined in a hospital serving the sick for a period of ten years. [AGN, Inquisición 210, exp. 3, fols. 307-430]
12. (1599) San Luis Potosí. **Criminal case (sodomy).** Bartolomé García (free *mulato*) and an indigenous man from Tancítaro accused Vicente Raposo (Spanish, 38) of sodomy. Raposo—one of San Luis Potosí's earliest Spanish inhabitants, a soldier and miner who had married doña Gerónima de Vargas in 1590, and had helped to colonize Florida and Michoacán—denied all of the allegations against him. The records are incomplete and no further information is given. [AHESLP, 1599, “Contra Vicente Raposo por sodomía”]
13. (1599) Philippines. **Real cédula (sodomy).** This *real cédula*, issued in the Philippines, mandated that the large numbers of *sangleyes* (Chinese immigrants living and working in the Philippine islands) who were found guilty of the *pecado nefando* were to be punished by Spanish criminal justice for their crimes. No further information is given. [AGI, Filipinas 329, L.1, F.15V-16R]
14. (1604) Valladolid, Michoacán. **Criminal case (sodomy).** Two Purépecha men, Pedro Quini and Simpliciano Cuyne, were caught having sex in a *temascal*. A number of Quini's accomplices were also tried for sodomy. In the end, Pedro Quini, Joaquín Ziziqui, Francisco Capiche, and Juan—all Purépecha men—were executed by garrote and then burned for the crime of sodomy. Miguel Hidalgo, a Purépecha boy, was publicly tortured by garrote and ropes. Simpliciano Cuyne, though guilty, was granted ecclesiastical immunity because he sought refuge in a church. [AHMM, caja 30, exp. 20]
15. (1604) Cachula. **Inquisition denunciation (attempted sodomy by a priest).** Gaspar de los Reyes (Spanish, 20) denounced a priest, Fray Pedro de San Francisco, for improperly touching him and attempting to commit the *pecado nefando*. He alleged

that the priest offered him food, clothes, and other gifts in exchange for sex. No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 368 (I), exp. 38, fols. 140-142]

16. (1604) Mexico City. **Inquisition denunciation (blasphemy during sex)**. García Pérez de Salas, who'd recently had sex with Catalina de Chávez, denounced her for exclaiming, "I am not doing this with you, but rather with God, you are my eternal God, and I renounce God." No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 368, exp. 129, f. 490]
17. (1606) Havana (Cuba) and Cádiz (Spain). **Criminal case (sodomy)**. A number of pages denounced the Capitán Xínés Cavallero del Castillo for having attempted the *pecado nefando* with them on the galleons traveling between Spain and New Spain. The case began in Cuba, but the captain was sent to Seville so that the Casa de la Contratación could proceed with his trial. He was imprisoned for months, tortured twice, but eventually set free in November 1607 for lack of proof. [AGI, Contratación 72, fols. 1-187]
18. (1606) Petatlán, Michoacán. **Inquisition case (solicitation, sexual relations with a mother and with her daughter)**. Juan de Carvajal was tried for having solicited over a dozen women, before and after the sacrament of confession. He also admitted to having had sexual relations with a female indigenous servant of his, Margarita, as well as with Margarita's daughter, Michaela. He was imprisoned for the duration of the trial, exiled from Petatlán for four years, and denied the right to administer confession. [HUNT Series II, Box 2 HM35154]
19. (1607) Michoacán. **Inquisition denunciation (heretical statements)**. This is a short denunciation against the Augustinian friar Juan Díaz for saying that "all of the Catholic cardinals were sodomites, who lived in a state of concubinage with men" (*eran todos [los cardenales] unos bujarrones sométicos, y que estaban amancebados con onbres*). No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 467, exp. 73, f. 333]
20. (1609) Hocabá, Mérida. **Inquisition case (solicitation)**. Over one hundred indigenous men and women, from a number of Maya towns, testified against Fray Cristóbal de Valencia (Spanish, 45) for abuses and acts of solicitation. Numerous men denounced him for asserting that fellatio was practiced by Saint Peter and the apostles, and was therefore the path to sainthood. As the case unfolded, inquisitors discovered that some denunciations were lies and exaggerations. Though he denied most of the charges against him, at one point Valencia admitted to having had sex repeatedly with an indigenous girl, Clara Pot, and to having mutually masturbated "some men" in the confessional. However, he later retracted this confession. In 1612, inquisitors sentenced him to abjure *de levi*. He was exiled from the township of Hocabá for six years, denied the right to confess women for two years, and was fined one hundred pesos to pay the costs associated with the trial. [AGN, Inquisición 288, exp. 1, fols. 1-176; AGN, Inquisición 472, exp. 5, fols. 1-913]
21. (1609) Chiamila (Colima). **Judicial correspondence (sodomy)**. This correspondence merely refers to the trial of Cristóbal Preciado for having committed sodomy with

Martín (indigenous), for which Preciado was eventually absolved and set free. The original case is lost and no further information is given. [AHMC, Caja 58, exp. 3; AHMC, Caja 58, exp. 9]

22. (1612) Huehuetoca (Oaxaca). **Inquisition denunciation (solicitation)**. Six young boys denounced a Jesuit priest, Hernando Ruiz, to the Inquisition for making unwanted sexual advances. No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 455, exp. 38]
23. (1614) Mexico City. **Inquisition denunciation (solicitation)**. Matheo Gallardo (Spanish, 17) denounced Padre Patricio de Arcaya for having lied down in his bed in the convent, taken off Gallardo's clothes, and improperly touched him. The priest also tried to touch him on several other occasions, sometimes during confession. No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 291, exp. 4, ff. 5]
24. (1614) Guadalajara. **Judicial summary (bestiality)**. For the crime of bestiality with a mare, Bartolomé Juan (indigenous) was sentenced to 200 lashes in the central plaza, at which time his body was to be "passed through the flames of fire in the customary manner." He was also sentenced to ten years of service in the Colegio de los Jesuitas in Guadalajara. The mare "with which Bartolomé Juan committed the said sin was to be killed and buried beneath the earth so that no memory of this sin remains." [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal 5980, exp. 21]
25. (1616) Chalchitlán Aguatlán (Guatemala). **Criminal case (bestiality)**. In May of 1616, Gaspar Hernández (indigenous, 30) turned Pedro de Velasco (indigenous, 15) in to criminal authorities for committing bestiality with a mule. In prison, Hernández denied the charge, but admitted, in his native language, "that he has wanted to commit the deed with the mule because the Devil had deceived him, but he did not go through with the act." Velasco was repeatedly tortured (with ropes and jars of water forced down his throat), but never admitted to consummating the act. He was eventually absolved of the crime in December of that year. [AGCA, A1.15, exp. 32.507, leg. 4100, fols. 1-45]
26. (1620) Manila, Philippines. **Inquisition case (heretical statements)**. This fragment of a case refers to a man who was denounced to the Inquisition and investigated for having asserted that the *pecado nefando* was not a sin (*que avia dicho que el pecado nefando no era pecado*). No further information is given. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal 4128, exp. 13]
27. (1621) Querétaro. **Inquisition case (heretical beliefs, erotic visions, masturbation,)**. In 1621, Agustina Ruiz (*mestiza*, 20) confessed that since age eleven she'd been masturbating daily and having sex with Jesus, the Virgin Mary, and a number of saints. Unable to absolve her, the priest required her to denounce herself to the Inquisition. Ruiz, whose life story can be reconstructed through the case, Ruiz confessed to numerous erotic fantasies with religious icons after the death of her husband. Inquisitors eventually sentenced her to spend three years of confinement

(*recogimiento*) in a Mexico City convent. [BANC MSS 96/95 5:4; AGN, Inquisición 339, exp. 32, f. 14]

28. (1621) Panamá. **Criminal case (sodomy)**. Cristóbal Zamorano (Spanish, 80) and his servant Juan Moreno de Laguna (Spanish, 24) were accused of “dirty caresses.” A number of witnesses alleged that the two shared a room, exchanged lewd words, kissed, and masturbated each other. In prison, Moreno denied the charges of sodomy but admitted that Zamorano had touched him and that they had kissed. Moreno was subsequently tortured, but confessed nothing else. Zamorano denied everything, but said that on one occasion Moreno had exposed himself to him. Zamorano was sentenced to be publicly shamed and pay a fine of four thousand *ducados*, pay the half of the costs of the trial, and be exiled for six years. Moreno was sentenced to two hundred lashes and two years on the galleys. On appeal, authorities revoked Moreno’s whipping and Zamorano’s public shaming. [AGI, Pleitos Audiencia de Panamá, Escribanía 541A, ff. 242]
29. (1622-39) Tlaxcalilla, San Luis Potosí. **Inquisition case (solicitation)**. Fray Esteban Muñoz was tried for soliciting adolescents and men during confession and for using the belt of his Franciscan habit in to “pray” for the men’s penises (supposedly so that they would not sin). Esteban Muñoz admitted to all acts of solicitation, but denied committing sodomy. Inquisitors sentenced him to four years in a convent, exiled from Tlaxcalilla and San Luis Potosí, and revoked his right to administer confession. In 1739, however, this privilege was reinstated. [HUNT, Vol. 15 HM 35109]
30. (1625) Puebla. **Inquisition denunciation (male-female sodomy)**. Beatriz de las Casas denounced her husband, Andrés Arias, for locking her up in a bedroom, binding her hands, tying her up, and forcing her to have anal sex with him. No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 510, exp. 127]
31. (1625) Huehuetoca. **Inquisition denunciation (solicitation)**. In Nahuatl, Juan Sebastián (indigenous) denounced a priest named Beteta to the Inquisition for having touched his “shameful parts” during confession in 1624 during Lent. Prior to making the formal denunciation, Sebastián confessed this to a Jesuit priest, Fray Diego Marín, who told him that he had an obligation to denounce Beteta to the Inquisition. No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 353, exp. 2]
32. (1625-28) Guadalajara. **Inquisition denunciation (sodomy)**. Baltasar Sánchez de Oviedo denounced Captain Sebastián González Holguin to the Inquisition for the crime of sodomy. Another witness, Joseph de Lima Olarte, said that he’d seen Holguin solicit three indigenous men for sex. The Inquisition informed local priests that sodomy did not fall under its jurisdiction. Holguin was again denounced in Tabasco in 1627 and 1628 for blasphemy. No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 510, exp. 79, fols. 214-222]
33. (1626) Acapulco. **Inquisition denunciation (sodomy, amorous words)**. A number of sailors on a frigate that sailed between the Philippines, California, and Acapulco



denounced Pedro de Valle for kissing and regularly sharing a bed with his dog, for witchcraft, and for exchanging amorous words and sleeping in the same bed as the ship's captain Francisco de Barrios. No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 356, exp. 117, fols. 224-230]

34. (1626) Pachuca. **Inquisition denunciation (bestiality)**. Francisco León (*mulato*) denounced an Otomi man, Alonso, to the Inquisition for having heard from three other indigenous men that he had committed bestiality with a sow. An Otomi man, Francisco, also said that he and his wife saw Alonso drunk and fornicating with the sow. Inquisitors improperly ratified three testimonies against Alonso, but no trial was held. [AGN, Inquisición 1552, f. 114]
35. (1626) Pachuca. **Inquisition denunciation (bestiality)**. A witness denounced Simón (indigenous) to the Inquisition for having sex with a mare that he had tied up with rope. Witnesses also turned Simón in to the employer of the estancia where he worked. No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 1552, f. 187]
36. (1628) Zacatecas. **Inquisition denunciation (sodomy)**. In this short denunciation, a man referred to only as Pedro denounced Juan for having committed the *pecado nefando*. Pedro asserted that because of this, “the seed of the Devil was growing inside him” (*va como semilla del demonio brotando*). No further information is given. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 1366, exp. 4]
37. (1629) Comayagua (Honduras). **Inquisition denunciation (bestiality)**. Don Pedro Varela, commissary of the Inquisition in Honduras, reported that Jusepe de Peña (*mulato* slave, 40) had told him that he'd seen a boy named Antonio (mestizo, 15) having sex with a large dog. Peña testified that when Antonio saw him, he fled. No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 464, fols. 165-166]
38. (1630) Querétaro. **Inquisition denunciation (male-female sodomy)**. Pedro de Gimelena's wife denounced him for repeatedly attempting to commit the *pecado nefando* with her, trying “many times that they were together to force her in the unaccustomed and unnatural part.” She never consented, and because of this he felt so frustrated and angry that one time he broke a small statue of Jesus on the crucifix and cursed God. No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 370, exp. 6]
39. (1632) **Inquisition case (blasphemy)**. Inquisition denunciation of Diego de la Cruz, an Asian slave originally from Malacca, for various charges of blasphemy and other sins. A priest with whom he had confessed his sins denounced him for having invoked the devil for help (after having escaped from his master), and, among other sins, that he had sex with a turkey while tempted by the devil. De la Cruz confessed to a range of sins including witchcraft, excreting on an image of the Virgin, and repeated suicide attempts. Showing leniency, inquisitors sentenced him to be handed over to a certain Jesuit, Father Juan de Ledesma, who would instruct him in the doctrine of the church. [AGN, Inquisición 372, exp. 20, fols. 1–24v.]

40. (1633-34) Chiquimila (Guatemala). **Criminal case (sodomy)**. An indigenous man, Alejo, was imprisoned for having committed the *pecado nefando* with an indigenous boy, Gaspar Hernández. The boy's father claimed that his son, extremely ill and in bed, had told him just before dying that he was "playing" with Alejo near a corn field when Alejo inserted a wooden stake into his anus. Alejo's defense lawyer asserted that the crime was unproven, and that "nefarious acts" were not known to provoke the quick death the boy suffered. On 18 March 1634, the *real audiencia* absolved Alejo of the crime and freed him from prison. [AGCA, A1.15, exp. 50.049, leg. 5905]
41. (1634) Colima. **Criminal case (spousal abuse, mention of sodomy)**. Agustina de Acosta (free *mulata*) denounced her husband, Gerónimo López (free *mulato*), for physically abusing her and threatening to kill her. Witnesses asserted that he mistreated his wife because he was in a sexual relationship with his employer, Diego de Rueda. Diego's brother, Francisco, asserted that Diego was a *puto* who was extremely jealous of Gerónimo López. Given the lack of proof and conflicting testimonies, both men were absolved and set free. [AHMC, Caja 24, exp. 37, ff. 69]
42. (1637) Monterrey. **Criminal case (sodomy, rape)**. Lucás de Ibarra, Domingo de la Fuente, and Micaela de la Cruz denounced don Francisco (indigenous) for committing the sodomy with two boys, Guacama and Francisco, in prison. Although witnesses said they'd heard Don Francisco having sex with the boys, he denied the accusations. Guacama (indigenous, < 14) said that he'd never committed sodomy, but that don Francisco repeatedly tried to persuade and coerce him. He also said that he saw don Francisco have sex with Francisco. Young Francisco, who was tortured, eventually admitted to having been repeatedly forced by don Francisco to have sex. The two boys were eventually set free because of their age and status as recent converts. Despite the boys' confessions, the evidence against don Francisco was considered circumstantial, and he was set free. [AMMNL, Criminal 2, exp. 28]
43. (1637-39) New Mexico. **Inquisition correspondence (sodomy by a priest)**. Don Luis de Rosas, governor of New Mexico, accused Fray Nicolás Hidalgo of sodomy in this letter to Mexico City inquisitors. The letter told of numerous indigenous men who had complained of the priest's attempts to commit the *pecado nefando* with them in Taos in 1637 and 1638, and related the testimonies of two men who'd had sex with the priest. Hidalgo had also allegedly abused a number of indigenous people and raped some women. He was relieved from his duty in 1639, though it is uncertain to what extent the charges of sodomy played into this. [AGN, Inquisición 388, exp. 22]
44. (1648) Santo Domingo (Hispaniola). **Criminal case (sodomy)**. Simón Lazo de la Vega denounced Francisco (*mulato* slave from Portugal, 40) for engaging in nefarious acts with Francisco de Rivera (15). According to the boy, the Portuguese *mulato* touched him and threatened to beat him if he screamed. Francisco, who repeatedly offered sweets, clothing, soap, and money to boys "because they were his friends," admitted to touching Francisco and mutually masturbating with another boy, Baltasar, but denied all charges of sodomy. The suspect was tortured on the rack, during which he admitted to repeated acts of mutual masturbation and intercrural sex with boys in

Hispaniola and Portugal. Francisco de Rivera, who died in a hospital before his sentence could be carried out, was to be exiled from the island of Hispaniola for a period of four years. The Portuguese *mulato* Francisco was sentenced to be publicly executed by garrote and his body subsequently burned. His execution was carried out on 9 July 1648. [AGI, Pleitos Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Escribanía 5B, ff. 95]

45. (1650) Cuautla. **Inquisition denunciation (sodomy)**. Pedro Barreto, a slave, denounced Francisco de Herrera for attempted sexual acts with his own son. Barreto heard from another that the boy said his father, Herrera, had sexually touched him. No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 435, exp. 146, f. 254]
46. (1651) Mexico City. **Judicial summary (sodomy)**. This document refers to a prior case in which Agustín de Ávalos (*mulato*), Juan Quessar (indigenous), and Bernardino de Pinedo (indigenous) were tried for sodomy. All three were found guilty, but no information on the sentence is provided. This document also mentions that ten other men were potential accomplices. Of those ten, eight were acquitted and two, Juan Chapinero (*negro*) and Nicolás (*negro*), the slave of Francisco Alfonso, were sentenced to be publicly executed by garrote, with their bodies subsequently burned. The original case is lost and no further information is given. [AGN, Jesuítas 1-3, exp. 18, fols. 51.56]
47. (1651) Atitalaquía. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. An indigenous couple accused Diego Hernández (indigenous) of having sex with a donkey in an arroyo. He denied the charge, but was imprisoned for four months and eventually sentenced to spend two years in exile, the first of which was to be spent laboring in a presidio. [AGEH, Tula Justicia, caja 14, exp. 26, ff. 24]
48. (1653) San Ildefonso. **Inquisition case (heresy)**. A number of people denounced Andrés de Aramburu, the *alcalde mayor*, for publicly mocking the clergy, mistreating the indigenous members of his community, for publicly stating that “the nefarious sin of sodomy is not a mortal sin,” and for committing sodomy. The records are incomplete. [AGN, Inquisición 437(II), exp. 17, fols. 367-405]
49. (1656) Monterrey. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Lorenzo Vidales (indigenous, 13), a livestock caretaker, was caught committing the *pecado nefando* with a goat by a man who tied up the boy and whipped him. The boy’s master had the black goat immediately killed. Vidales admitted to having had sex with the goat, out of ignorance, on two occasions. He was sentenced to be tied to the gallows and whipped one hundred times, and he was perpetually banished from the region. He was also sentenced to six years of labor, during which time he would be kept away from livestock “so that he would not fall into the same crime again.” [AMMNL, Criminal 8, exp. 104]
50. (1658) Mexico City. **Inquisition case (solicitation)**. Gerónimo Calbo (19, *mestizo*) denounced a Jesuit priest, Padre Matheo, for inciting him to commit the *pecado nefando*. Calbo was sentenced to death for committing the nefarious. He was

executed on 6 November 1658 with thirteen other men who were also convicted of sodomy (see the following case). Padre Matheo was never found, although rumors indicated that had left Mexico for Guatemala. [AGN, Inquisición 464, exp. 7, fols. 149-159]

51. (1657-58) Mexico City, Puebla. **Criminal case (sodomy)**. Fourteen men (all *mestizos*, indigenous, *mulatos*, and *negros*) were executed and publicly burned for the crime of sodomy. All supposedly confessed their crimes without the need to resort to torture. One boy, because of his age, was given two hundred lashes and sold into labor for a period of six years. Many of the men frequented houses of female prostitution and assumed female names and attire. Prominent among them was an effeminate *mulato* known as Cotita de la Encarnación (see Gruzinski, “Las cenizas del deseo”). In total, over one hundred men were denounced for the crime of sodomy, but only fourteen were actually convicted. [AGI, Mexico 38, N. 57; AGN, Indiferente Virreinal 4003, exp. 3; Gregorio Martín de Guijo, *Diario de Sucesos Virreinales, 1648-1664*]
52. (1658-59) Real de los Pozos, San Luis Potosí. **Criminal case (sodomy)**. Antonio de Torres denounced Pedro Bravo (Spanish, 47) to authorities for believing him to be a man named Don Lucás who was accused of sodomy five years earlier in Parral. Torres said that the governor of Nueva Vizcaya had tried Don Lucás for sodomy, but Lucas fled. He said that in Real de los Pozos he recognized Bravo as Don Lucás from his appearance and his manner of speech. Furthermore, three Nahuatl men (Felipe Martín, Juan Gabriel, and Nicolás Guillen) denounced Pedro Bravo for soliciting them for sex in Real de los Pozos. Bravo denied everything, saying that he’d arrived in New Spain two years earlier from Spain, where he left his wife. The records are incomplete and no final sentence is recorded. [AHESLP, 1658-3, “23 diciembre, contra Pedro Bravo por somético,” ff. 38]
53. (1659) Comayagua (Honduras). **Inquisition denunciation (sodomy with a priest)**. Church cleric Juan Altamirano denounced a Franciscan friar, José de Barrera, for having solicited him in the convent. Altamirano confessed that in a moment of weakness, he committed the *pecado nefando* with Barrera. Despite repeated attempts by Barrera, the two only had sex once. Altamirano also stated that Barrera had solicited another cleric, Joseph de Mesa (who, according to him, was also accustomed to committing the *pecado nefando*), for sex. No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 483, exp. 5, fol. 53]
54. (1659-63) Mexico City, Zacatecas, Oaxaca, Puebla, and Veracruz. **Inquisition case (solicitation)**. A number of men and women denounced Nicolás de Chaide, a Jesuit priest, for solicitation in the confessional. Some men accused him of having offered clothes, gifts, and money in exchange for sex. Chaide was imprisoned in 1661 and confessed soliciting some twelve men and engaging in *mala amistad* with a woman. In 1663, he was convicted of heresy, made to *abjure de levi*, sentenced to spend four years in a convent, and perpetually revoked of the right to administer confession. [AGN, Inquisición 445 (II), exp. 3, fols. 418-522]

55. (1662) Manila, Philippines. **Inquisition denunciation (male-female sodomy, heretical statements).** On the advice of her confessor, Luisa de Guillestegui denounced her husband, Marcos Benítez, to the Inquisition for repeatedly attempting to commit sodomy with her and for telling her that “sodomy between husband and wife is not a sin.” Inquisitors in Mexico City replied to the commissary in Manila, stating that only if there was more proof against Benítez should any action be taken. No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 595, exp. 13, fols. 202-206]
56. (1670) Mexico City. **Personal diary by priest, Antonio de Robles (1665-1703).** He wrote that in March of 1670, one “Monday at four in the afternoon in the public market of San Juan they burned Juan de la Cruz, an Indian from the neighborhood of La Lagunilla, for the nefarious sin.” (“Diario de sucesos notables, escrito por el Licenciado D. Antonio de Robles, y comprende los años de 1665 a 1703.” Vol. 2 of *Documentos para la historia de Méjico*. Mexico City: Imprenta de Juan R. Navarro, 1853, p. 70)
57. (1671) Philippines and Taiwan. **Judicial correspondence (sodomy).** This case mentions the suspension of the death penalty, at the request of the governor of Isla Hermosa (Taiwan), in the case of two Chinese men (*sangleyes*) in the Philippines who were initially sentenced to burn for the crime of sodomy. No further information is given. [AGI, Filipinas 18A, R.6, N.36; AGI, Filipinas 10, R.1, N.7]
58. (1671) Mexico City. **Personal diary by priest, Antonio de Robles (1665-1703).** He wrote that on June 25, 1671, two mulattos and three black men—caught in Juan de Ávila’s textile mill in the town of Mixcoac, on the outskirts of Mexico City—were burned “for sodomy” (*por sométicos*) in Mexico City’s neighborhood of San Lázaro (“Diario de sucesos notables, escrito por el Licenciado D. Antonio de Robles, y comprende los años de 1665 a 1703.” Vol. 2 of *Documentos para la historia de Méjico*. Mexico City: Imprenta de Juan R. Navarro, 1853, p. 77)
59. (1672-1676) Mérida. **Inquisition denunciation (sodomy).** Lorenza Márquez denounced Agustín de Sosa (*mestizo*) for having attempted to pay an indigenous servant of hers, Diego Chab, for sex. Her testimony was ratified in 1674 and Chab was improperly interrogated by local inquisitors. In 1676, an ecclesiastical judge and commissary, Don Antonio de Horta Barroso, wrote to inquisitors in Mexico City asserting that although sodomy did not fall under the Inquisition’s jurisdiction, he was uncertain of the procedures to be taken once testimonies had already been ratified. No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 624, exp. 7, fols. 168-184]
60. (1673) Mexico City. **Personal diary by priest, Antonio de Robles (1665-1703).** Robles wrote that in San Lázaro on November 13, 1673, authorities burned “seven mulattos, blacks, and mestizos,” who had been caught in Juan de Ávila’s textile mill for the crime of sodomy—just as another group of men had been in 1671. (“Diario de sucesos notables, escrito por el Licenciado D. Antonio de Robles, y comprende los años de 1665 a 1703.” Vol. 2 of *Documentos para la historia de Méjico*. Mexico City: Imprenta de Juan R. Navarro, 1853, p. 72).

61. (1675-78) San Juan de Ulúa. **Criminal case (sodomy)**. A slave named Ana denounced two soldiers from the presidio, Pedro González (Spanish, 40) and Cristóbal Fontanilla, for sodomy. Others testified that González's sexual relationship with another man, Francisco de Vitoria, was "public and notorious." A number of men also testified that González had tried to touch them. González, Fontanilla, and Vitoria were tortured, but all three continually denied the charges. Despite this, both González and Fontanilla (Vitoria was not mentioned in the sentencing) spent over five years in prison, and were respectively sentenced to eight years and three years in the galleys in Spain. On appeal, this sentence was revoked in 1678, and Fontanilla was absolved and set free. González was sentenced to ten years in a presidio in Africa. [AGI, Escribanía 119C, ff. 142; AGI, Escribanía 959]
62. (1675) Atitaliquía. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Juan de la Cruz (*mulato*, 16) was apprehended by two indigenous men who asserted that they saw him having sex with a mare. De la Cruz denied all charges, saying that he was merely trying to mount the horse from behind. The records are incomplete and no sentence is given. [AGEH, Tula Justicia, caja 20, exp. 21]
63. (1686) Mexico City. **Personal diary by priest, Antonio de Robles (1665-1703)**. Robles wrote that on November 20, 1686, a mulatto and a mestizo were executed by fire for sodomy, and "they took a black man to be publicly shamed for being an accomplice." ("Diario de sucesos notables, escrito por el Licenciado D. Antonio de Robles, y comprende los años de 1665 a 1703." Vol. 2 of *Documentos para la historia de Méjico*. Mexico City: Imprenta de Juan R. Navarro, 1853, p. 73).
64. (1690) Puebla. **Inquisition self-denunciation (obscene visions)**. Juan Esteban Pérez (Spanish, 50) confessed his masturbatory visions of the Virgin Mary and Jesus to a priest, and eventually denounced himself to the Inquisition. Inquisitors determined that he suffered from melancholy. Pérez was merely cautioned by inquisitors to avoid similar errors, and was assigned a priest with whom he would confess and be consoled. In August of 1690 Pérez testified that he'd been "freed from error." [AGN, Inquisición 680, exp. 2, fols. 17-29]
65. (1690) Mexico City. **Inquisition denunciation (sodomy, demonic pact)**. This denunciation refers to a *mulato* man named Roque who supposedly had a pact with the Devil, committed the *pecado nefando* with an indigenous man, and made blasphemous statements. No further information is given. [AGN, Inquisición 435, exp. 294].
66. (1691) Mérida. **Inquisition case (sodomy)**. Pasqual Couoh (indigenous) denounced Juan Ramírez (*mulato*) and Andrés Chan (indigenous) for having sex in a corridor next to the church. Couoh confronted the two men, but both fled and were later caught by authorities. Chan admitted that Ramírez had repeatedly touched him against his will. Ramírez, on the other hand, confessed that he'd touched Chan's penis in an attempt to get him excited so that Chan would penetrate him. Both were

imprisoned, and a drawn-out debate over whether or not sodomy was a crime *mixti fori* (one that fell under both secular and ecclesiastical tribunals) ensued. In the end, inquisitors concluded that sodomy did not fall under their jurisdiction, and the prisoners were handed over to secular authorities. No further information is given. [AGN, Inquisición 498, exp. 16, fols. 160-185]

67. (1690-91) Puebla. **Criminal cases (sodomy)**. The Nahuatl annals of urban Nahuas tell of two *mulatos* who were burned for sodomy in the late seventeenth century. Domingo was burned at Santiago Calyacac in 1690. Manuel was burned in 1691. The original cases are lost and no further information is given. [Archivo Histórico, Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia, ms. GO 184, f. 28v., cited and translated from Nahuatl in Sigal, *The Flower and the Scorpion*]
68. (1693-94) Teposcolula. **Criminal case (sodomy—false accusation)**. Diego de la Cruz and Domingo Soriano, *alcaldes* of Texupa, and Felipe Santiago, a judge in Texupa, accused Domingo de Selis and Pascual de Santiago of sodomy. The two men had been found nude in a room together, but Domingo de Selis denied the charges, stating that he'd just come from a *temascal* and was nude for that reason. He also alleged that Diego de la Cruz was an old enemy of his. Finding no proof of sodomy, the *alcalde mayor* of Teposcolula absolved both men of the charges and set them free. [AHJO, Sección Teposcolula, Serie Penal, legajo 21, exp. 1, ff. 63] *Note: this is the old archival reference.*
69. (1694) Santiago de Guatemala (Guatemala). **Inquisition denunciation (solicitation)**. Pedro de Alcuno (Spanish, 22), a student in the Real Universidad de San Carlos, said that four years earlier Fray Felipe de Monroy placed the boy's hands on the priest's genitals, after which the priest ejaculated and proceeded to absolve the boy of his sins. No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 529 (2), exp. 19, fols. 344-346]
70. (1694-95) Tlaxcala. **Criminal case (sodomy, sacrilege)**. Bernardo Zerón (Spanish, 42) denounced Miguel Díaz de Zepeda (free *mulato*, 40), for kissing him, performing oral sex, and masturbating him inside of a chapel in the convent of San Francisco. Zepeda was imprisoned, but maintained his innocence. Zerón, also imprisoned, told authorities that he allowed Zepeda to masturbate him so that he could denounce him to authorities. Although many testified that Zerón showed signs of dementia, lack of judgment, and melancholy, he was sentenced to pay fifty pesos for the costs of the trial and two years of service in the Hospital of San Hipólito. Zepeda was sentenced to two years of service in either an *obraje* or in a bakery (without pay for the first year). Appeals were rejected. [AHET, Judicial Criminal, caja 2, exp. 26, ff. 60]
71. (1696-1709) Tenancingo, Mexico City. **Inquisition self-denunciation (solicitation)**. In 1696, Melchor Rodríguez Lucío denounced Padre Francisco de Zavela for soliciting him in the confessional. In 1705, Zavela (33) denounced himself for having solicited a boy named Salvador de Lara and engaged in "illicit acts." Fluent in Nahuatl, he invited indigenous and Spanish boys to accompany him home after confession, with the intent of committing the *pecado nefando*. He also confessed to

sodomy with a Spanish boy, Agustín Gómez Camacho, who testified that the priest was a hermaphrodite. In 1708, Zavela was imprisoned. He admitted to having paid indigenous men for sex with him in San Mateo and mentioned a Spanish boy, Origuela, with whom he'd had sex. In 1709, inquisitors permanently revoked Zavela's right to hear confession, sentenced him to serve the poor in a Mexico City hospital, and permanently exiled him from Tenancingo. [AGN, Inquisición 547 (I), exp. 1, fols. 1-122]

72. (1698-1700) at sea, traveling between Cádiz and the Americas. **Criminal case (sodomy)**. Three Italian men, Juan Bautista Pino (23), Bartolomé Barres (23), and Felipe Esmirle (52), were accused of having brought a boy, Juan Molé (Sicilian, 10), aboard a galleon traveling from the Indies, and having committed sodomy with him. All four were imprisoned and tried in Spain. A number of witnesses testified that they saw Molé's behind was wet with semen. Although all four men denied the charges, the surgeon who examined Molé confirmed that sodomy had taken place. Barres was sentenced to die by garrote, with his body subsequently burned. Molé was sentenced to be publicly shamed, made to watch the execution of Barres, and be "passed through the flames." Afterwards, he was exiled from Spain. Esmirle and Bautista were perpetually banished from Spain and its colonies. [AGI, Pleitos de la Casa de la Contratación, Escribanía 1105B, ff. 103]
73. (early 1700s) Coyoacán, Mexico City. **Judicial summary (sodomy)**. This document summarizes the criminal case against Juan de Dios (free *mulato*), Joseph de Santiago (indigenous), Gaspar de los Reyes, and Andrés de la Cruz (*mulato* slaves) for sodomy in an *obraje*. Juan de Dios admitted his crimes and implicated a number of other men (including Andrés Lagos, Joseph Hernández Cantarecio, etc.) who were never apprehended. Juan de Dios, Joseph de Santiago, and Andrés de la Cruz were sentenced to each be paraded through public streets and whipped two hundred times. They were subsequently imprisoned for perpetuity. Gaspar de los Reyes was tortured three times, but maintained his innocence. Due to his negligence in not reporting the crime to proper authorities, the goods of Don Juan Pabia, the owner of the *obraje*, were confiscated. The original case is lost. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 5182, exp. 48, fols. 38-68; AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 1482, exp. 7, f. 6]
74. (1701) Tlaxcala. **Criminal denunciation (witchcraft, shape-shifting)**. Two Nahua men accused another Nahua man, Francisco Martín, of witchcraft and shape-shifting into a goat and a bull. One of the major offenses took place in a *temascal* where Francisco Martín slapped one of the men's buttocks, which allegedly caused his thighs and lower body to become sick. Francisco Martín was also said to suddenly appear naked in the bed of one of the accusers one night. [AHET, Judicial Criminal, caja 20, exp. 65]
75. (1704) Zacatecas. **Criminal case (bestiality, robbing ecclesiastics)**. This fragment of a case refers to Juan Thomás, a free black man, who was condemned to death for the crime of bestiality and for having robbed secular and regular ecclesiastics with the



use of a weapon. No further information is given. [AHEZ, Poder Judicial Serie Criminal, caja 9, exp. 3]

76. (1704) Monterrey. **Criminal trial (sodomy, rape)**. Ana María denounced Lorenzo de Espitia (37) for having raped her son Diego Silgero (free *mulato*, 14). Both men worked as shepherds, and Silgero testified that on four occasions Espitia had raped him, threatening him with a knife. Another shepherd named Joseph also testified that one night he awoke to Espitia touching him. Espitia denied all charges and eventually escaped from prison. No further information is given. [AMMNL, Criminal Legajo A, exp. 957]
77. (1705) Acapulco. **Inquisition denunciation (bestiality)**. Teodora Benítez denounced Nicolás de Torres, a blind beggar, for committing bestiality with a female dog. Supposedly she reprimanded Torres, who begged her not to tell anyone. He allegedly said that the Devil had influenced him and that he would never again commit such a sin. No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 547 (I), exp. 12, fols. 263-264]
78. (1707) Tlaxcala. **Criminal case (attempted sodomy)**. Joseph Hernández denounced Juan Pasqual (Nahua, 25) for attempting to rape his son, Tomás de Santiago (Nahua, 16). According to the boy's testimony, Pasqual invited him to drink *pulque* on a ranch outside of the city. There, Pasqual took off his pants, offered the boy one *real* to have sex, and forced Tomás de Santiago to take off his pants. The boy fled and alerted the *mayordomo* of the ranch who apprehended Pasqual. Pasqual was imprisoned, but stated that he did not remember anything because he was drunk. The case was sent to a higher court to determine what should be done. The records are incomplete and further information is given. [AHET, Judicial Criminal, caja 7, exp. 18, f. 11]
79. (1707) San Juan Tanetze, Oaxaca. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. A number of indigenous men denounced Manuel Jacinto (indigenous, 16) for having committed bestiality with a mule on the side of a river. Jacinto, married to Rosa Ilsecas, denied the charges and said that he was merely bathing by the river when the men came by. In 1708, the *alcalde mayor* absolved Jacinto of his crime, warning him to avoid similar sins in the future and forcing him to pay the costs of the trial. The mule was to be sold in order to avoid scandal in the town. [AHJO, Sección Villa Alta, Serie Penal, legajo 09, exp. 07, ff. 56]. *Note: this is the old archival reference.*
80. (1709) Meztlán, Hidalgo. **Judicial summary (bestiality)**. Salvador de Cuenca (*mestizo*, 17) was tried for bestiality with a female dog. He was punished by being paraded through public streets, his crime announced by a town crier, and was given one hundred lashes in the public plaza. The dog was burned in his presence. He was also exiled "at least thirty leagues" from the town for a period of four years. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 1482, exp. 7, f. 2]
81. (1710) Place unspecified. **Judicial summary (bestiality)**. Nicolás Argüello (unmarried) was tried for bestiality with a mare. The original case is lost and no further information is given. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 1482, exp. 7, f. 2]

82. (1711) San Luis Potosí. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. For the crime of bestiality with a donkey, Manuel de los Reyes (indigenous, < 25) was sentenced to death by garrote, with his body to be subsequently burned. The donkey was also to be burned. After the *defensor* appealed the sentence, the death penalty was revoked. Manuel de los Reyes was subsequently sentenced to be paraded on horseback through the streets to the central plaza, where he was to be given two hundred lashes and his labor sold to an *obraje* for a period of ten years. The donkey was executed by a blow to the head with an ax, and was then burned publicly, in the presence of Manuel de los Reyes. [AHESLP, 1711-1, “Causa criminal contra Manuel de los Reyes, indio, por pecado nefando con una burra”]
83. (1712-15) Mexico City. **Inquisition case (sodomy involving a priest)**. A priest, Don Juan Vallejo Hermosillo (Spanish, 37), was denounced for sodomy by one of his slaves, Diego Magdaleno, who said that he’d repeatedly spied on the priest having sex with men in his bedroom. According to Magdaleno’s testimony, Vallejo also forced himself upon a number of his servants, including Magdaleno himself. Vallejo was imprisoned, his goods sequestered, and, in a confession that lasted several days, he admitted to having had sex with over 120 men (mostly *mestizos*, *mulatos*, and indigenous men in and around Mexico City) since the age of thirteen. A number of these men were subsequently imprisoned. Some of them, including Nicolás de García (*mulato*), named a number of accomplices with whom they’d had sex. Vallejo died in prison in 1715. No further information about the fates of the other men is given. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 5264, exp. 9, fols. 1-77; AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 1482, exp. 7, f. 7]
84. (1713) Valladolid, Oaxaca, and Toluca. **Inquisition case (solicitation)**. A Carmelite friar, Antonio de la Asunción, confessed to touching the genitals of at least six male penitents and anally penetrating one of them. The records are incomplete and his confession is cut off halfway. He was imprisoned by the Inquisition, but we have no information about the sentence he may have received. [AGN, Inquisición 746 (II), exp. 20, fols. 510-513]
85. (1714-18) Puebla. **Criminal case (sodomy)**. An indigenous man named Cristóbal de Contreras complained that one night after accompanying a local native *cofradía*’s image of Jesus Nazareth from the house of Francisco Marcial, he was invited by another indigenous man, Antonio Pérez, to drink *pulque*. He alleged that Pérez tried to kiss him, touch him, and incite him to commit sodomy. After spending over four years in prison, given the lack of definitive proof and Pérez’s assertion of his innocence, he was set free and ordered to pay the costs of the trial. [AGNP, caja 39A, 1700-1800 Civil, Criminal, Testamentos, unnumbered exp.]
86. (1715-19) Hidalgo del Parral. **Criminal case (sodomy—false accusation)**. Don Blas de Iriarte, the indigenous *gobernador* of the Pueblo de San Felipe was falsely accused by four indigenous men of attempted sodomy with them. Upon examining Iriarte, surgeons found no signs of sodomy. During the case, it was discovered that some of

the men who made the accusations had been punished by Don Blas de Iriarte for concubinage and for mistreating their wives, all of which possibly gave them motives to levy false charges against the governor. The records are incomplete and no final outcome is given. [AMHP, Causas Criminales 1715B, exp. 124]

87. (1716) Aguascalientes. **Criminal case (male-female sodomy, rape)**. For committing the crimes of sodomy and rape with his wife (indigenous) and two-year old daughter, José de la Serna (*coyote*) was sentenced to be publicly whipped 200 times and to eight years of forced labor in an *obraje*. His wife, María de la Candelaria, who brought the charges against him, was sentenced to six years of service in the hospital of San Juan de Dios for the crime of sodomy. No further information is given about the fate daughter or about the wife's original accusation. [AHEA, Judicial Penal 252.27.2fs]
88. (1716) Mexico City. **Inquisition denunciation (sodomy involving a priest)**. Pedro Alcantara (*mulato*, 13), a servant who lived in the Franciscan convent of San Diego, denounced Fray Joseph Jiménez for hugging him, kissing him, and taking off his pants. According to the Alcantara's testimony, the priest stood him on a box in order commit the "carnal act" with him, but he resisted. Alcantara also charged that the priest said sex between a man and a woman was a sin, but between two men, it was not. Prior to the formal denunciation, the boy only told his priest (in confession) and his mother about the event. The boy's mother also denounced the priest. No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 552, exp. 13]
89. (1716) Oaxaca. **Inquisition self-denunciation (sodomy involving a priest)**. After having read the edicts of the Inquisition, a Carmelite friar, Ignacio de la Madre de Dios (49), spontaneously denounced himself to the Inquisition for having committed acts of perfect and imperfect sodomy with a boy named Lorenzo (*mestizo*) and another named Ygnacio (*mestizo* or indigenous). He also solicited two women after confession, once having been excited during confession and "moved by the material related to the sin of lust that she confessed." The Inquisition held a formal hearing with the priest, but the records are incomplete and no further information is given. [AGN, Inquisición 764, fols. 401-418]
90. (1716) Celaya. **Inquisition case (sodomy involving a priest)**. Pedro de Heredia, one of clergyman Don Carlos Jiménez Mondragón's slaves, denounced Mondragón for having committed imperfect acts of sodomy with him and for stating that such acts were not sinful. Mondragón declared the accusation a lie and, during the course of the trial, it was discovered that Heredia suspected that the priest was engaged in an illicit relationship with his wife (potentially giving him a motive to falsely accuse Mondragón. The charges against Mondragón were eventually dropped. [AGN, Inquisición 764, exp. 18, fols. 475-493]
91. (1718) Oaxaca. **Inquisition case (solicitation)**. Pedro Arias (17), a student in the convent, was called forth to inquisitors to testify against a Jesuit priest, Marcial de Melo, with whom he had sex over ten times. Arias stated that he had been friends

with the Melo for two years before the priest provoked him to lewd acts (*torpezas*). Because Arias did not want word of the sexual relationship reaching other priests, he confessed his sins with Melo, the very priest with whom he'd had sex. Melo warned him that changing neither convent nor order would prevent the boy from sinning in a similar manner in the future "because in the said religion, he could find himself in the same sin." The records are incomplete. [AGN, Inquisición 781, ex. 5, ff. 81-92]

92. (1718) Temascaltepec. **Judicial summary (bestiality)**. Juan Gerónimo (19) was tried for bestiality with a mare. The original case is lost and no further information is given. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 1482, exp. 7, f. 2v.]
93. (1718) Huamantla, Tlaxcala. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. An indigenous boy named Manuel de los Santos was denounced for the crime of bestiality with a sheep. He admitted that "he put one of his fingers inside the *natura* [of the sheep] but that he only did so to play, and he have never put his virile member in the sheep." The records are incomplete and no further information is given. [AHET, Judicial Criminal, caja 11 exp. 64]
94. (1718-19) Hidalgo del Parral. **Criminal case (bestiality—death sentence)**. Capitán Juan Saenz denounced his employee, Lorenzo Benítez (free *mulato*, 28), for having seen him having sex with a cow in his corrals. The next morning, Seanz freed the cow in order to avoid tempting Benítez again. Benítez fully admitted to his crime, saying that his employer made him work too hard, and that this was the only chance he'd ever had to satisfy his carnal appetite. Lacking room in the local jail, Benítez was guarded by indigenous archers, one of whom he severely beat upon his head in an escape attempt. For injuring the indigenous guard and attempting to flee, he was publicly given 200 lashes. In 1719, the governor of Parral sentenced Benítez to be garroted and his body subsequently burned. The Real Audiencia accepted the punishment, which was carried out in November of 1719. The cow was also to be killed. [AMHP, Causas Criminales 1718D, "contra Lorenzo Benítez mulato libre por cohabitado con una vaca"]
95. (1719) Querétaro. **Inquisition denunciation (solicitation)**. In 1719, Fray Antonio Joseph Navarro denounced a Carmelite priest, Fray Antonio de San Joseph, for having solicited him in the confessional some ten years earlier, when he was only nineteen years old and living in Spain. Mexican inquisitors remitted the denunciation to Spain. No further information is given. [AGN, Inquisición 781, exp. 13, fols. 155-166v.]
96. (1719) Valladolid (Morelia). **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Lucás Rosales denounced Joseph Manuel de Resendi (*mestizo*, 13 to 16) for bestiality with a mare. Others had previously seen him, on two separate occasions, having sex with a donkey. In all, six people testified against him. Resendi denied the charges. Attempts to confirm his age through baptismal records failed. Given inconsistent testimonies against the boy, he was absolved of the crime of bestiality. The court mandated nonetheless that the boy was to be trained in an unspecified trade for a period of four years, and that were he

to break this commitment, he would be sent to an *obraje*. [AHMM, caja 156, exp. 16, ff. 69]

97. (1720) Mexico City. **Criminal case (sodomy)**. Miguel de Yesecas turned himself and Agustín Ortiz in to judicial authorities for sodomy. Yesecas blamed the fact that he'd had sex with Ortiz while drunk on *pulque*. While Ortiz initiated the acts by touching Yesecas while the two were on horseback, Yesecas penetrated Ortiz, but then tied him up and turned him in to authorities, saying that the authorities "should burn us." The *promotor fiscal* urged that the two be executed, but the records are incomplete and no sentence is recorded. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 5378, exp. 39; see also AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 1482, exp. 7, f. 8]
98. (1721) Felipe de San Real, Chihuahua. **Inquisition denunciation (bestiality)**. Petrona de Alejandra (indigenous) denounced Juan Ignacio to the Inquisition for the crime of bestiality with a mule. A local priest in Chihuahua imprisoned Ignacio, and sent for instructions to inquisitors in Mexico City. Inquisitors replied that "this crime is not under the jurisdiction of the Holy Office." He was likely set free or turned over to judicial authorities. No further information is given. [AGN, Inquisición 791, fols. 529-535]
99. (1722) Place unspecified. **Judicial summary (sodomy)**. Juan Joseph Romero Polverín (also known as "la Mora," "la Mercadera," and "la Francesa") was tried for sodomy along with Juan Joseph García, Marcos de Heredia, Francisco Xavier, Andrés Joseph de Peño, and Pedro Antonio Elías. All of the men were apprehended and their confessions were recorded. The original case, however, is lost and no further information is given. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 1482, exp. 7, f. 8]
100. (1722-23) Santiago de la Monclova, Coahuila. **Inquisition denunciation (bestiality)**. Rosa Maldonado and María Guadalupe Rodríguez denounced Jacinto Mascorro for the crime of bestiality with a donkey. According to one witness, Mascorro was drunk and "more dead than alive" from alcohol. Commissaries of the Inquisition in Coahuila improperly interrogated witnesses and ratified their testimonies. Inquisitors in Mexico City replied, however, that bestiality did not fall under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition, and that since Mascorro had been improperly imprisoned, he was to be set free immediately. [AGN, Inquisición 787, exp. 26, fols. 133-148]
101. (1723) Texcoco. **Judicial summary (sodomy)**. Manuel de Coca was tried for sodomy. He fled prison and sought refuge in the parochial church. The original case is lost and no further information is given. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 1482, exp. 7, f. 8]
102. (1723) Tecoman, Colima. **Criminal case (sodomy)**. Lorenzo Flores (Nahua) and Salvador Montaña (Nahua) were tried for having committed sodomy on the Hacienda de Palmas de Aguatitlán. A young Nahuatl-speaking woman saw them having sex under an avocado tree, and alerted other inhabitants who saw Flores penetrating

Montaño—an act which one person referred to as *culontiendo*. The superintendent of the hacienda had the two men tied up, whipped, and sent to a prison in Tecoman, from which Flores escaped. Montaño, who was married to María Antonia, denied the charges and said that they were just “playing around” since they’d been drinking together. Flores was eventually caught, and the case was sent to the Real Audiencia in Guadalajara to determine what should be done. The records are incomplete and no further information is given. [AHMC, Caja 6, exp. 39, ff. 20]

103. (1723) San Luis Potosí. **Criminal case (bestiality—death sentence)**. Nicolás de Ávila (Spanish, 23) caught Joseph de la Cruz (free *mulato*, 34), cowherd, having sex with a mare in an arroyo and turned him in to authorities. Another witness, Feliciano Gómez, also saw the act. Joseph de la Cruz confessed, stating that it was his first time. In November of 1723, the *alcalde mayor* sentenced Joseph de la Cruz to be garroted, with his corpse to be subsequently burned to ashes. The mare was also to be killed and then burned. The *defensor* unsuccessfully appealed the sentence to the Real Audiencia y Sala del Crimen. On 9 January 1726, he was taken on horseback to the outskirts of town where he was executed by garrote and burned, alongside the mare. [AHESLP, 1723-1, “Joseph de la Cruz, preso en la carcel pública de esta ciudad por haber cometido el pecado de bestialidad con una yegua”]
104. (1723-28) Cholula, Mexico City. **Inquisition denunciation (solicitation)**. Father Gaspar Sana was denounced in 1723 for soliciting male student to commit “sodomitical acts” in a Cholula convent. In 1728, he was again denounced—this time by Joseph Dionisio Hernández (Spanish, 21) for similar events that took place six years earlier. No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 799, exp. 19, fols 392-401]
105. (1724-25) San Felipe, Yanhuitlan, Oaxaca. **Inquisition case (sodomy, embustes)**. Miguel de Rojas and Sebastián de Castellanos were imprisoned by commissaries of the Inquisition in San Felipe for the crime of sodomy. Inquisitors in Mexico City advised that sodomy was not under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition, and subsequently Castellanos was set free. Rojas, however, was kept in prison since he’d been accused of superstition and of using human bones for divination. In a second Inquisition case, in Oaxaca, Rojas admitted to committing sodomy with Joseph Agustín Rosales (*mulato*, 13) for more than a year, for committing sodomy with a priest, Nicolás de Prado, in Guatemala, and for digging up human bones in a Mixtec cemetery for *embustes* (the survival of indigenous customs, “trickery”). Rojas was temporarily imprisoned and sentenced to fifty lashes. [AGN, Inquisición 792, exp. 11, f. 266; AGN, Inquisición 811, exp. 14, fols. 439-458]
106. (1724-27) San Luis Potosí. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Francisco Xavier (indigenous, 15) was imprisoned for the crime of bestiality with a donkey. He admitted that, tempted by the Devil, he had wanted to fornicate with the animal, but that upon moving up against the animal, he was interrupted by a witness, Matheo. He did, however, eventually confess his crime. He was sentenced to be given 100 lashes in the streets and “passed through the flames” of a bonfire while the donkey burned. He was also sentenced to 5 years’ service in an *obraje*. An appeal was rejected.

[AHESLP, 1724-2, “Francisco Xavier, indio, preso en la carcel publica de esta ciudad por el pecado nefando”]

107. (1725) Tecpán, Mexico. **Incomplete criminal case (sodomy)**. Several indigenous villagers denounced a thirty-year-old lay brother, Beato Juan de la Asunción, and a fifteen-year-old “light-skinned little mulatto,” Francisco Servando, committing sodomy in a chapel in the town of Tecpán. The lay brother confessed to having briefly committed sodomy, but the case is incomplete and no punishment is recorded. [VEMC, leg. 57, exp. 30]
108. (1727) Hidalgo del Parral. **Criminal case (bestiality—false accusation)**. José Simon de Burgos (indigenous) denounced Bartolomé Saenz de Burgos (free *mulato*) for bestiality with a donkey. Saenz de Burgos was imprisoned, but denied everything. Throughout the course of the trial, it was discovered that Simón de Burgos had fabricated his story. Saenz de Burgos was set free after eleven months in prison. Simon de Burgos was forced to pay the costs of the trial for making a false accusation. [AMHP, Causas Criminales 1727C, exp. G-28, ff. 76]
109. (1728-30) Santa Fe (New Mexico). **Criminal case (sodomy—false accusation)**. Miguel Martín Serrano denounced Francisco Javier Romero (80) for committing the *pecado nefando* with his son, Juan Pablo Martín (15). Another man, Antonio de Sandoval, was also falsely accused of having committed sodomy with Miguel Martín Serrano and Juan Antonio López. It appears that Miguel Martín fabricated the testimonies against Romero, offering several individuals money or livestock in return for levying false charges. The records of the case are incomplete and no further information is given. [SANM, 360, MF 454, roll 6, frames 562-706]
110. (1729) San Bartolomé Ozolotepec. **Judicial summary (sodomy)**. Nicolás Guapo (*mulato*) was convicted of sodomy, a crime which he confessed completely. In 1730 he was paraded publicly on horseback and administered 200 lashes in the central plaza. He was also sentenced to spend the rest of his life laboring in an *obraje*, but none of the *obraje* owners would take him “out of fear that he would continue his crime with the other workers.” As a result, Guapo was turned in to ecclesiastical authorities, who were to keep him perpetually imprisoned in his house and make sure that he completed a number of spiritual penances. The original case is lost and no further information is given. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 1482, exp. 7, f. 9]
111. (1730) Cuernavaca. **Judicial summary (bestiality)**. Antonio Pacheco was tried for the crime of bestiality with a mule. The original case is lost and no further information is given. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 1482, exp. 7, f. 2v.]
112. (1731) Santa Fe (New Mexico). **Criminal case (sodomy)**. Manuel Trujillo (Spanish) saw Antonio Yuba (indigenous, 30), from Tesuque, and Asención Povia (indigenous, 18), from Nambé, committing the *pecado nefando* while searching for some goats that had damaged his plantation. Trujillo extrajudicially whipped each of them, and then alerted judicial authorities. Both admitted to lying naked together and

caressing each other, but denied committing perfect sodomy. Due to a lack of proof, the governor exiled Yuba to Zuni Pueblo and Povia to the town of San Felipe for a period of four months. [SANM, 360, MF 454, roll 6, frames 830-889]

113. (1731) San Luis Potosí. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. This case fragment shows that for the crime of bestiality with a donkey, criminal authorities initially sentenced Luis Bartolomé (indigenous, 14) to receive 200 lashes and to be “passed through the flames” as the donkey was burned to death. He was also sentenced to 6 years of forced labor in an *obraje*. Upon appeal, the court revoked this sentence, and pronounced that he was to be passed through flames while the donkey burned (*que sea publicamente pasado por las llamas y quemada la burra*). He was also sentenced to two years of service in a bakery or *obraje* in order to pay for the costs of the trial. Much of the original case is lost. [AHESLP, 1731-1, “Causa criminal contra Luis Bartolomé, indio, por pecado nefando con una burra”]
114. (1732) Mexico City. **Judicial summary (sodomy between women)**. In a case that began in an ecclesiastical court and was transferred to the Real Justicia, Josepha de Garfias was found guilty of the crime of sodomy with a number of other women. The secular court sentenced her to serve the sick for a period of six years in the Hospital of San Juan de Dios. She was also to carry out a various types of spiritual penitence. Furthermore, “it was mandated among other things that certain instruments which she used for her sordid crime were to be burned.” This sentence was carried out. The original case is lost and no further information is given. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 1482, exp. 7, f. 9v.]
115. (1732) Mexico City. **Inquisition case (heretical statements, sodomy)**. A priest denounced Bartolo Machorro (*mestizo*, 55) for saying “sodomy is not a sin,” and for attempting to have sex with Francisco Antonio Maldonado, Juan Antonio de Arroyo, and Nicolás Benavides, all young students of the Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo. Benavides, in his testimony, confirmed this, and also said that a priest named Don Juan López, professor of rhetoric, also touched him some three times. He also confessed that certain priests regularly confessed the boys for having “touched each other impurely.” Machorro admitted to touching Arroyo, but stated that he’d never said that it was not a sin. Inquisitors sentenced Machorro to be whipped 20 times, and required him to confess his sins to a priest. The sentence was carried out on 25 October 1733. He confessed to a priest the next day. In 1745, Maldonado, who was by then a priest, wrote a letter to the Inquisition stating that he’d falsely testified against Machorro when he was eleven years old. [AGN, Inquisición 836, exp. 7, fols. 258-281]
116. (1732-50) Mexico City, Puebla, Toluca, and San Luis Potosí. **Inquisition case (solicitation)**. In 1732, Joseph Lucás de Anaya denounced Fray Anastacio de San Joseph for having masturbated him and absolved him of the sin. Between 1742 and 1744, some six boys denounced the priest for touching them during confession or masturbating them in his cell. The priest was imprisoned in 1744, fell ill, and was finally tried in 1750. That year, in a hearing against him, he admitted to soliciting



some six boys, of all ethnic groups, in San Luis Potosí over a period of ten years, twelve boys in Toluca, a woman and a boy in Puebla, and a Spanish boy in Atlisco. In 1750, he was sentenced to abjure *de levi*, was revoked of the right to confess men and women, and was exiled from Mexico City, Toluca, and San Luis Potosí for a period of six years—the first four of which he was to spend in the Colegio de San Ángel. He was also required to confess and perform spiritual exercises. Even after this sentence, in 1752 and again in 1755, similar denunciations were lodged against him for events that had taken place years earlier. [AGN, Inquisición 469, exp. 3, fols. 235-338; AGN, Inquisición 836, exp. 27, fols. 603-620]

117. (1733-34) Atitalaquía. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Joseph Pérez, Dionisio de Santiago, and Agustín de la Cruz accused Juan Olverio Donis (*lobo*, 15) of committing bestiality with a donkey amongst some maguey plants, on a *pulque* ranch. Donis denied the charges against him. The case was sent to higher authorities to determine the outcome. The records are incomplete and no further information is given. [AGEH, Tula Justicia, caja 25, exp. 20]
118. (1733-39) Mexico City. **Inquisition denunciation (solicitation)**. In 1733, Juan Joseph Pérez de Ribera (Spanish, 17), then studying to be a priest, denounced Padre Ignacio María Nápoli for repeated “impure acts” in his cell. In 1739, Fray Esteban Morales denounced Nápoli for acts of imperfect sodomy while he was still a boy studying to be a priest. No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 845, exp. 21, fols. 331-345]
119. (1735) Guadalajara. **Judicial summary (sodomy)**. Francisco Xavier de Laro and Joseph Antonio de Castillo were convicted of attempted sodomy. Xavier was sentenced to receive 200 lashes and work at a hacienda. Castillo was also sentenced to be publicly shamed. These sentences, however, were suspended after appeals. The original case is lost and no further information is given. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 1482, exp. 7, f. 10]
120. (1735) Puebla. **Inquisition denunciation (solicitation)**. This short document shows that the denunciations against a Franciscan friar, Fray Antonio Goñi de Peralta, chaplain of the nuns of the Convent of Santa Clara in Puebla, for having solicited males in the confessional unfounded. As far as we know, no trial was held. [AGN, Inquisición 1175, exp. 7, fols. 52-54]
121. (1735) Tlaxcala. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Juan del Carmen denounced Cristóbal de Santiago (*mestizo*, 19) for having sex with a donkey in the corrals where he worked. Cristóbal de Santiago denied the charges, saying that the witness had misinterpreted his actions. A surgeon inspected the donkey and confirmed that it would be possible to commit bestiality with the creature. After two months in prison, the jail gave notice to the court that Cristóbal de Santiago had been gravely injured (we do not know if he survived). The records are incomplete and no further information is given. [AHET, Judicial Criminal, caja 19, exp. 49, ff. 14]

122. (1735) Mexico City. **Newspaper reference (sodomy)**. The February 1735 edition of the *Gazeta de México* briefly mentions that “the death sentence was carried out on two Men, who were [subsequently] burned, for the grave crime of Sodomy.” [“Gazeta de México” (1735, no. 87), in León, *Bibliografía mexicana del siglo VXIII*, 518]
123. (1736-58) Valladolid. **Inquisition denunciation (solicitation)**. In 1736, a Jesuit priest, Padre Alberto Zarzoza, was denounced for solicitation by Luisa de Villareal. Again, in 1740, a nun named María Guadalupe Ruiz denounced Zarzoza for having improperly touched her breasts during confession while she was sick in bed some ten years earlier. In 1747, Agustín de Rojas told inquisitors that he had engaged in mutual masturbation with Zarzoza immediately after confession. The case was not followed up until 1758 when the various denunciations were compiled. In the end however, inquisitors decided not to proceed with the case and, as far as we know, no trial was held. [Penyak 1993: 264; AGN, Inquisición 776, exp. 26-28, fols. 223-257]
124. (1737) Mexico City. **Ecclesiastical case (impersonating priest, touching boys)**. Joseph Ygnacio de Chavarria (Spanish, 16) denounced Blas Joseph de Jocano for dressing in clerical habit and giving sermons in his home. He also denounced Jocano for engaging in mutual masturbation with him on seven occasions. Other boys testified to having seen Jocano solicit boys sexually. Joseph de Jacano was imprisoned in August, but said that he’d been given permission to wear priestly attire by a Doctor Don Manuel Urtusaustegui, and he denied all accusations of salacious activities with the boys. In November he was set free with a warning to refrain from wearing clerical attire and to cease having meetings in his home. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, Caja 4944, exp. 5, ff. 29]
125. (1738) Mexico City. **Newspaper reference (sodomy)**. An August 1738 issue of the *Gazeta de México* briefly mentions that “the death sentence was carried by fire, on two Indian Defendants for the nefarious crime, accompanying them until the Punishment of the *Cofradia* [lay brotherhood], and the Holy Cross of Mercy” [“Gazeta de México” (1738, no. 129), in León, *Bibliografía mexicana del siglo VXIII*, 786]
126. (1738) Santa María de las Parras, Guadalajara. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Don Joseph de Vaca, administrator of a hacienda, denounced two shepherds, José Domingo (< 25) and Juan Lázaro (*mulato*, < 25), for the crime of bestiality. Cristóbal Garibay caught Domingo in the act with a sheep, tied up both men, and turned them in to Joseph de Vaca. Lázaro asserted that Domingo had sex with a number of sheep and goats, and confessed that he had tried it only once, after watching Domingo have sex with a sheep. The court sentenced Domingo, who was never found, to death in absentia. Lázaro was sentenced to be paraded through the streets, publicly shamed, and “passed through the flames of a bonfire.” Upon appeal, Lázaro’s punishment was suspended, but no further information is given. [BPEJ-FE, Caja 62, exp. 12, prog. 1001, ff. 28]

127. (1739) Teposcolula. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Antonio Pérez (*mestizo*, 20) was found by some indigenous women and men having sex with a mare. Pérez admitted to his crime and also to sex with a goat some years earlier. The records are incomplete, but there are signs that the defendant may have been suffering from dementia. [AHJO, Sección Teposcolula, Serie Penal, legajo 29, exp. 16, ff. 5]. *Note: this is the old archival reference.*
128. (1739) Atitalaquía. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Manuel Gutiérrez denounced Joseph Rodríguez (indigenous, 22) for having sex with a donkey which he had tied up. Rodríguez purportedly begged Gutiérrez not to report him to authorities. Rodríguez was imprisoned and his goods confiscated. The donkey was also deposited as evidence. In his confession, Rodríguez declared Gutiérrez a liar, denying the charges against him. The outcome is indeterminate because much of the document is illegible due to water stains. The case appears to be incomplete. [AGEH, Tula Justicia, caja 26, exp. 16]
129. (1740) Cuernavaca. **Judicial summary (bestiality)**. Joseph Amador was tried for bestiality with a *burra*. He was absolved. The original case is lost and no further information is given. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 1482, exp. 7, f. 2v.]
130. (1742-49) Valladolid (Morelia). **Criminal case (sodomy)**. A 70-year-old indigenous man named Matias de Arevalo attempted to seduce Jacinto Joseph García (20) in the quarry where he worked. The boy fled the scene only to be caught later by authorities. Both men deny all charges but are imprisoned for at least seven years as their case is pending. The historical record stops tracing this case in 1749 when the boy escapes his prison in the Valle de Santiago during a prison uprising. [AHMM, caja 156, exp. 18]
131. (1744) San Luis Potosí. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Two men denounced José Joaquín (indigenous, 14) for bestiality with a donkey. Joaquín initially denied the charges, saying that he was merely urinating, but eventually confessed. The records are incomplete and no further information is given. [AHESLP, 1744-1, “Antonio López y [...] acusan a José Joaquín de haber pecado con una burra”]
132. (1745) Temascaltepec. **Criminal case (sodomy)**. María Cosme denounced Juan Barroete (51, Spaniard) for trying to rape her son, Juan Manuel Cosme (14, *mestizo*). Inebriated, he supposedly led the boy to the corrals where he offered him money and tried to persuade him to take off his clothes, although no sexual act took place. Barroete denied all charges, asserting that he was married. He was set free in 1746 with a warning to abstain from drinking alcohol. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 1482, exp. 7, f. 10; see also AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 1593, exp. 54]
133. (1745-46) San Luis Potosí. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Alejandro Álvarez, informed by Sebastián de la Cruz who’d witnessed the act, turned in Antonio de la Cruz (14) for having sex with Sebastián’s donkey, which he had tied up on a hillside. Álvarez (on whose ranch the act took place) whipped the boy and locked him up

before bringing him to authorities the following day. Antonio's father, who was quickly informed, also whipped his son some 26 times. Antonio denied the charges, saying that he'd merely been tying up the donkey for fun. Because of the suspect's age, torture could not be used. For lack of proof, he was absolved of the crime. [AHESLP, 1746-1, exp. 5, "Alejandro Álvarez contra Antonio de la Cruz, por acto bestial con una burra"]

134. (1745-48) Santa María Atlihuetzía, Tlaxcala. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. María Luisa denounced Julián Félix (indigenous, 14) for the crime of bestiality with a donkey. In his first confession, Félix fully admitted to his crime, saying that he had been tempted by the Devil to fornicate twice with the animal, but later retracted his confession (saying that he had been advised by someone to admit his guilt). Due to his varying testimonies and, according to the court, the unreliability of the sole witness (as an indigenous female), he was absolved of the crime of bestiality, but forced to pay for the costs of the trial by five years of service. [AHET, Judicial Criminal, caja 23 exp. 25]
135. (1746) Place unspecified. **Judicial summary (sodomy)**. Joseph Antonio de Osorno denounced himself for the crime of sodomy with a *mestizo* named Juan. Juan committed the same crime with Antonio Pérez (*mestizo*). All three admitted to their crimes and were given an unspecified sentence that was carried out. The original case is lost and no further information is given. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 1482, exp. 7, f. 10]
136. (1747) Xantetelco, Cuernavaca. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Pedro Nicolás (indigenous) denounced Juan Isidro (indigenous) and turned him in to authorities for the crime of bestiality with a donkey. Isidro admitted to his crime, saying that because he was poor, he committed the act with the animal. He was sentenced to receive fifty lashes outside the church of Xantetelco on two consecutive Sundays, to spend four years working in a sugar mill, and to perform spiritual exercises. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal 2012, exp. 8; AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 1482, exp. 7, f. 3]
137. (1748-56) Valladolid (Morelia). **Criminal case (sodomy)**. In 1748, Bernabé de la Huerta (*mulato* slave) was rumored to have been caught sleeping with Alejandro Valdés (indigenous) "like husband and wife." He supposedly promised Francisco Castillo a reliquary, a belt, and a rifle to sleep with him. Valdés, for being a potential accomplice, was sent to an *obraje* from which he escaped. Bernabé de la Huerta denied the charges of sodomy, saying that he'd merely shared his bed with a boy named Joseph Alexandro and had taken off another man's pants (Antonio Bernabé) as a joke. Still in jail in 1752, a fellow prisoner, Nicolás Ventura Corona, denounced Bernabé de la Huerta for trying to kiss him, touch him, and have sex with him in his jail cell. A number of other prisoners subsequently denounced Bernabé de la Huerta for similar acts in jail. His trial still pending, in 1756, Bernabé de la Huerta was sent to a hospital for being gravely ill from *bubas*, possibly syphilis. Despite his "malevolent inclination" toward the same sex, no instance of sodomy was proven,

and the court decided to set him free upon being cured in the hospital. [AHMM, caja 188, exp. 13, ff. 34]

138. (1749) San Luis Potosí. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Two indigenous men, Francisco Velazquez and Gerónimo de los Santos, accused Manuel Rodríguez (Otomí) of committing bestiality with a donkey, turning them both into authorities. They testified that, under a *nopal* cactus, Rodríguez had tied the legs of the donkey in order to commit the act. The records are incomplete and no further information is given. [AHESLP, 1749-1, “Phelipe de Burgos, administrador de la hacienda de Gallinas, acusa a Manuel Rodríguez, indio, de cometer pecado con una burra”]
139. (1749) Querétaro. **Criminal case (bestiality—death sentence)**. A number of women denounced Lázaro de Herrera for having committed bestiality with a female dog. Though he maintained his innocence, his wife confirmed that she’d previously seen him having sex with two donkeys and a mare. 1750, he was sentenced to be paraded on horseback, with a town crier proclaiming his crimes, to the countryside where he was to be executed with the garrote. His body was then to be burned along with the dog in question. Herrera’s defense appealed the death sentence, but the records are incomplete and no further information is given. [AHPJQ, caja 14, exp. 16]
140. (1751) Lugab (Philippines). **Inquisition denunciation (bestiality)**. Beginning with Catalina Bulag, who asserted that she’d saw Don Alejo Chanchi (Spanish) having sex with a mare, nearly a dozen individuals were questioned by the Inquisition in order to discover more about Chanchi and her purported crime of bestiality. The testimonies were ratified. No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 977, exp. 5, fols. 15-25]
141. (1752) Zinguilucan. **Inquisition self-denunciation (female bestiality, carnal access with holy images, demonic pact)**. Ana María de Leyba (Spanish, 18) denounced herself for having made pacts with the Devil and having sex with him, and for having had “impure access” with images of the Virgin, Jesus, and saints. She also committed bestiality and attempted to coerce the animals to perform sexual acts with sacred images. Lastly, she mixed the Eucharist with herbs in order to attract men, and once she masturbated with the Eucharist. She was repeatedly examined by inquisitors, but no final punishment is recorded. [AGN, Inquisición 981, exp. 22, fols. 327-346]
142. (1753) Perote. **Inquisition denunciation (bestiality)**. Don Rajadel denounced his servant (16) to the Inquisition for having engaged in bestiality with a mule in his stables. Inquisitors replied that jurisdiction over such crimes did not belong to the Holy Office. [AGN, Inquisición 976, exp. 12, fols. 63-64]
143. (1755) Valladolid (Morelia). **Criminal case (bestiality)**. July of 1755 the magistrate of Valladolid sentenced the indigenous man Pedro Joseph to death for the crime of bestiality with a female donkey. While the details presented in this five-folio case are scant, it is clear that the accused appealed to the *procurador de indios*, that his case was reviewed, and in October of the same year, the prosecutors of the Royal Audience of New Spain revoked the death penalty and imposed the perhaps equally

harsh punishment of two hundred lashes and ten years of service in a textile mill.  
[AHMM, caja 156, exp. 17, ff. 5]

144. (1753) Colima. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Gaspar de los Reyes and Juan (both free *mulatos*), servants on a sugar-mill, denounced Nicolás Ruiz (Spanish) to their boss, Don Nicolás, for the crime of bestiality with a donkey. Ruiz asserted that he was merely urinating near the donkey. When questioned, both witnesses asserted that they hadn't actually seen him penetrating the animal. Given the lack of evidence, Ruiz was absolved within one month. [AHMC, Caja 11, exp. 8, ff. 21]
145. (1755) Place unspecified. **Judicial summary (bestiality)**. Juan Ygnacio Escobar (*mestizo*) was tried for bestiality with a *burra*. In 1757 he was fined an unspecified amount and sentenced to three years working in a bakery. Furthermore, he was to assist mass and undergo spiritual exercises. The original case is lost and no further information is given. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 1482, exp. 7, f. 3]
146. (1755) Huipustla. **Judicial summary (bestiality)**. Juan Agustín Hernández (19, *lobo*) was tried for bestiality with a *burra*. In 1756 he was sentenced be whipped one hundred times while being paraded through the streets with a town crier proclaiming his crimes. He was perpetually exiled and sentenced to spend six years in an *obraje*. The original case is lost and no further information is given. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 1482, exp. 7, f. 3]
147. (1756) Guatemala. **Criminal case (sodomy)**. Ygnacio Peralta (also known as Benaraciones) who was in prison for sodomy was accused by various inmates of committing the *pecado nefando* in prison. One witness, Pedro Rodríguez, alleged that Benaraciones had attempted to touch him and caress his genitals. Another inmate, Antonio Capricho said that the same thing happened to him. Rodríguez also thought that he heard Benaraciones having sex with an indigenous boy named Laureano in his jail cell. Other witnesses were questions by criminal authorities, but the records are incomplete. No further information is given. [AGCA, A2.2, exp. 2.652, leg. 144]
148. (1758) Place unspecified. **Judicial summary (bestiality)**. Joseph Mauricio (*mulato*, 13) was tried for bestiality with a mule. He confessed to his crime. The original case is lost and no further information is given. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 1482, exp. 7, f. 4]
149. (1760) Mexico City. **Criminal denunciation (bestiality)**. Francisco Xavier Reyes denounced José Salvador Gutiérrez for committing the crime of bestiality with a dog because "it appeared to him that he was committing some sin with the dog because the dog was yelping." The evidence was deemed insufficient. No trial held. [AGN, Vinculos y Mayorazgos 84, exp. 4]
150. (1760) Madrid and the Spanish colonies. **Official decree of royal pardons**. This decree, issued in Madrid and applicable throughout all of Spain's colonies, granted a general pardon to those imprisoned for all crimes with the exception those convicted

of the following crimes: murder of priests, printing of counterfeit money, arson, the extraction of prohibited articles from the Spanish kingdom, blasphemy, sodomy, robbery and theft (*hurto*), bribery and barratry, falseness (*falsedad*), resisting criminal authorities, and embezzlement of funds from the Real Hacienda. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal 1786, exp. 12]

151. (1760-61) Teposcolula. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Two indigenous men denounced Miguel Hernández (indigenous, 18) for having sex with a mare by a river. Hernández denied the allegations, stating that he was merely urinating near the mare when the men apprehended him. In 1761, Hernández escaped from prison and the case was suspended. [AHJO, Sección Teposcolula, Serie Penal, legajo 36, exp. 7, ff. 15]. *Note: this is the old archival reference.*
152. (1761) Ciudad Real. **Inquisition self-denunciation (sodomy involving priest)**. Remorseful Fray Francisco Pulido denounced himself to the Inquisition for having committed the sodomy four of five times with a male Indian servant. The Inquisition replied that sodomy was not under its jurisdiction of the Inquisition, and no action would be taken since solicitation was not involved. [AGN, Inquisición 1042, f. 97]
153. (1761) Atitalaquía. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Luis García (indigenous, 20) was charged with bestiality (with a *burra*) by indigenous leaders in the town. The charge appears to have been false, and García said that the charge was made by some who mistakenly took him for a livestock thief. After spending over four months in prison, he was set free. [AGEH, Tula Justicia, caja 30, exp. 20]
154. (1761) Tetepango. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Ignacio Hernández denounced Isidro de la Cruz (indigenous, 11 or 12) for having sex with a donkey. De la Cruz was imprisoned and the animal deposited. He confessed to his crime, stating that he had committed the same act some four times with the same donkey. His mother, Theodora de la Cruz, appealed for him to be set free and stated that he was only 9 years old. The parish was unable to find the boy's baptismal records, making it impossible to confirm his age. The records are incomplete and no further information is given. [AGEH, Tula Justicia, caja 30, exp. 21]
155. (1762) Mexico City. **Inquisition confession (female bestiality)**. Priest Nuño Núñez de Villavicencio requested permission to absolve a female penitent for invoking the Devil and having sexual contact with an animal. The anonymous woman confessed that on three occasions she had sexual contact with an animal and, not having felt any pleasure the first two times, on the third she "wished that the Devil were inside the animal ... so that she could achieve the pleasure she desired." The priest received a reply from theological evaluators stating that "so far as the Holy Office is concerned, there is no impediment to absolving the penitent." No other traces of this woman can be found in the files of the Inquisition. [AGN, Inquisición 1042, exp. 20, f. 168]

156. (1762) Place unspecified. **Judicial summary (bestiality)**. Marcelo Núñez (Spanish, 15) was tried for bestiality with a mare. He confessed to his crime. The original case is lost and no further information is given. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 1482, exp. 7, f. 4]
157. (1762) San Francisco (Hidalgo). **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Two indigenous men, Esteban Antonio and Julián Lorenzo, turned Joseph Cipriano in to authorities for the crime of bestiality with a donkey in the countryside amongst cacti and maguey plants. For his part, Cipriano denied the allegations, saying that he was merely urinating near the animal when the two men arrived and tied him up. The records are incomplete and no further information is given. [AGEH, Tula Justicia, caja 30, exp. 25]
158. (1763-64) Parral. **Inquisition denunciation (bestiality)**. A man named Santiago denounced Francisco Martel for the crime of bestiality with a mare which he'd tied up in a corral. Martel supposedly blamed the Devil. The commissary of the Inquisition in Parral improperly interrogated witnesses and ratified their testimonies. He then sought advice from inquisitors in Mexico City who replied that bestiality did not fall under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition (*no toca al Santo Officio*). [AGN, Inquisición 1025, exp. 3, fols. 136-142; AGN, Inquisición 1043, exp. 2]
159. (1764-66) San Ildefonso de Tula. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Manuel Gabriel (indigenous) denounced Hipólito Antonio for the crime of bestiality with a cow which he'd tied up on a hillside. Antonio denied the charges, and was eventually set free due to a lack of evidence against him. [AGEH, Tula Justicia, caja 31, exp. 10]
160. (1765) Guatemala. **Criminal case (sodomy)**. Manuel Sales, with the help of Anselmo Vázquez, apprehended Juan Joseph de Quintanilla (Spanish, 34) and turned him over to criminal authorities for propositioning him to have sex. According to Sales, Quintanilla approached him at work and asked him to follow him to a farm where he tried to engage in sexual acts with Sales who refused. According to Quintanilla, he never propositioned sex, but merely wanted the boy to perform an unspecified act of witchcraft on him. Determined to be crazy (*loco y fatuo*), he was sentenced to be interned in the Hospital Real de San Juan to that "his poor examples would not be spread throughout the city." The prior of the hospital reported that he escaped from there, but was subsequently imprisoned. No further information is given. [AGCA, A2.2, exp. 2.734, leg. 147]
161. (1765) Atitalaquía. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Salvador García, majordomo of a hacienda, turned Anselmo Camacho (*castizo*, 24) in to criminal authorities, along with the donkey with which he was supposedly caught by Salvador Andrés (*mulato*) having sex on a ranch. Camacho was imprisoned and denied the charges against him. The records are incomplete and no further information is given. [AGEH, Tula Justicia, caja 31, exp. 33]
162. (1765) Tetepango. **Criminal case (bestiality—false accusation)**. Antonio Salvador (indigenous) turned Manuel Salvador (indigenous, 15) in to authorities for



bestiality with a donkey in a field. Salvador declared that the charges were false. Discovering that the denunciation was made out of malice, the court absolved Salvador of the crime and set him free some six months after he'd been imprisoned. [AGEH, Tula Justicia, caja 31, exp. 25]

163. (1765-68) Toluca, Mexico City. **Inquisition case (sodomy, heretical statements)**. Manuel Gordillo (Spanish, 58), married to Manuela de Villegas, was denounced by Juan de Díaz Francisco (*mestizo*, 20) for having touched him and told him that masturbation between men was not a sin. Gordillo also supposedly said that his priest had also masturbated him. Manuel Farjando, who was offered money by Gordillo to engage in mutual masturbation, said that Gordillo had told him that “it was not evil, nor was it a sin.” A number of others denounced him for similar acts including the use of force. Even upon being tortured, Gordillo denied the 15 charges against him. Eventually, he admitted to mutually masturbating a number of men, for which he'd done penance after confessing to two priests. Gordillo was sentenced to abjure *de vehementi*, to publicly receive 200 lashes, to be exiled from Mexico City and Toluca for a period of ten years, and to spend six year in a presidio in Havana. [AGN, Inquisición 1078, exp. 4, fols. 132-149; AGN, Inquisición 1166, exp. 4, fols. 14-142; AGN, Inquisición 1044, exp. 4. fols. 80-81]
164. (1765-70) Mexico City. **Inquisition denunciation (solicitation)**. In 1765, Francisco Xavier de la Vega (Spanish, 20) denounced the Jesuit priest Ángel María Quesa for enticing him to have “sodomitical relations” over the course of four months. In 1770, Xavier de la Vega denounced himself for having had sex with another priest, for not believing in the mysteries of the faith, and for having wanted to sexually desecrate holy images in a church sanctuary. He was interned in the Hospital de Jesús Nazareno by order of the Inquisition where medical doctors concluded that he suffered from satyriasis, a male form of hysteria. [AGN, Inquisición 1189, exp. 16, fols. 115-126]
165. (1765-73) Mexico City and Guadalajara. **Inquisition case (solicitation)**. In 1765, Francisco Xavier de la Vega (see above case) denounced the Jesuit priest Ángel María Quesa for soliciting him and subsequently engaging in “sodomitical acts” for a period of four months. Though Quesa admitted to “impure touching” with a boy, he said that this took place out of confession. Over the next eight years, two women denounced the priest for solicitation. The records are incomplete, but another document from 1785 requests that Quesa, then fifty, be reinstated the right to give confession because, due to his age, his “passions were extinguished.” [AGN, Inquisición 632, exp. 2; see also Indiferente Virreinal 6534, exp. 54]
166. (1766) Place unspecified. **Judicial summary (bestiality)**. Joseph Antonio Torres (*mestizo*) was tried for bestiality with a *burra*. In 1767 he was sentenced to ten years of forced labor in a presidio. He was also to publicly perform penance in the church on a day of festival. The original case is lost and no further information is given. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 1482, exp. 7, f. 5]

167. (1766) Michoacán. **Inquisition case (blasphemy, sodomy)**. This is a case of heretical propositions against Antonio Caturano (originally from Albania), a soldier who had previously been convicted of sodomy, for which he was kicked out of his regiment and sentenced to a presidio in the Philippines for a number of years. There is little information on his previous sodomy trial or conviction. [AGN, Inquisición 1000, exp. 15, fols. 176-253]
168. (1766) Puerto de Realejo (Guatemala). **Inquisition correspondence (sodomy)**. In 1766 inquisitors in Mexico City received the papers regarding the case against Félix Sánchez and Miguel Romero for sodomy in Puerto de Realejo, Guatemala. Inquisitors in Mexico returned the proceedings to the locally appointed judge (*comisario*) in Guatemala advising him that sodomy did not fall under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. [AGN, Inquisición 1045, exp. 3, fols. 10-17]
169. (1766) Taximaroa, Michoacán. **Ecclesiastical criminal case fragment (sodomy)**. Spaniard Manuel Gutiérrez and his mestiza servant, Juana Briceño, denounced Spaniard Antonio Claudio Arias Maldonado and *lobo* Juan Gerónimo Molina (alias Angaripola) for the crime of sodomy. The archival fragments include ratifications of testimonies of witnesses and suspects, and they suggest that the two men were caught improperly touching one another but not committing sodomy. The trial is incomplete [AHCM, Fondo Diocesano, Justicia, Leg. 384-bis, Caja 837, exp. 1, fs. 4]
170. (1767) Querétaro. **Criminal case (castration)**. Juan Chrisodomo (*mulato*, 30s) denounced two unknown men for having forcibly castrated him in the corrals where he worked. Authorities were unable to find anyone matching the descriptions, and in a second interrogation, Chrisodomo admitted that he'd castrated himself by his own hand "because he was going to offend God." There was no punishment for such an act. [AHPJQ, caja 2, exp. 21]
171. (1767-74) Puebla. **Inquisition denunciation (solicitation)**. In 1767, a priest filed a complaint that some three years earlier, two boys had complained to him that they were solicited in confession by Fray José de la Vega Figueroa. The priest was again denounced for being overly affectionate with boys in 1774. Much of the testimony was hearsay however, and inquisitors suspended the case on both occasions for lack of evidence. [AGN, Inquisición 1078, exp. 14, fols. 244-262, 310-320]
172. (1768) Querétaro. **Inquisition correspondence (sodomy involving priests)**. Fray Felipe Pita complained to inquisitors that no one had followed up on the charges made by Fray Manuel Solar against Fray Francisco Asas, a priest in the Convent of San Francisco in Querétaro, for sodomy with Solar and several other novitiates had not been followed up on. [Penyak 1993: 262; AGN, Inquisición 1057, exp. 17, fols. 345-347]
173. (1768) Villa de Revilla. **Inquisition denunciation (bestiality)**. Don Joseph Clemente Gutiérrez (Spanish) denounced Placido Herrera (Spanish) for bestiality with a mare in an arroyo. Placido admitted to his crime and was imprisoned. He

stated that it was the only time he had committed bestiality. The local priest, uncertain what to do in such a case, remitted papers to inquisitors in Mexico City asking for instructions. No further information is given. [AGN, Inquisición 1042, exp. 34, fols. 232-237]

174. (1768) Villa de Revilla. **Inquisition denunciation (bestiality)**. María Candelaria denounced Miguel Maldonado (Spanish) for bestiality with a young mare in a ranch. Maldonado admitted to his crime and was imprisoned. He said that while he was curing the sick animal, he became excited and committed the lascivious act. The local priest, uncertain what to do in such a case, remitted papers to inquisitors in Mexico City asking for instructions. No further information is given. [AGN, Inquisición 1042, exp. 34, fols. 238-239]
175. (1768) Mexico City. **Inquisition denunciation (blasphemy, sodomy)**. Pedro Florini (Italian from Venice) denounced Julio Pereli (Italian from Florence) for sodomy and heretical propositions. Inquisitors questioned a number of people who noted that Pereli had made reference to the “sacred Devil” and to the “saint of shit that brought me here.” His illicit relationship with a young woman was publicly known, but no one made any reference to sodomy. Inquisitors determined that there was not ample evidence against Pereli and dismissed the case. [AGN, Inquisición 1093, fols. 297-310]
176. (1769) Mexico City. **Judicial summary (sodomy)**. Two men, Joseph de Mora and Miguel Gerónimo were tried for sodomy. The original case is lost and no further information is given. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 1482, exp. 7, f. 1]
177. (1770) Zempoala. **Inquisition correspondence (sodomy)**. This is a short document in which inquisitors advised a priest in Zempoala, who had denounced someone to the Inquisition for sodomy, that that crime did not fall under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. [AGN, Inquisición 1100, exp. 6, f. 82]
178. (1770) Ayo el Chico, Michoacán. **Ecclesiastical criminal case fragment (sodomy)**. Formal charges against José Mariano Santos (alias “*el médico*”) and Francisco Velasco for the crime of sodomy. The documents contain some information on witnesses and suggest that after two years in prison, the men were absolved of the charges against them. [AHCM, Fondo Diocesano, Justicia, Leg. 384-bis, Caja 837, exp. 2, fs. 5]
179. (1770-79; 1777-79) Mexico City. **Criminal case (bestiality, sodomy)**. The case refers to the death penalty improperly imposed by ecclesiastical authorities upon José Filomeno Ponce de León (Spanish) for the crime of bestiality in 1770. The viceroy of the provinces asserted that “in similar cases ecclesiastical judges are not to impose penalties for crimes that are outside of their jurisdiction,” and sentenced Ponce de León to eight years in a presidio. These documents also contains information about the case of two indigenous men, Antonio de la Trinidad (alias, el Sayalero) and Santiago de los Santos, also wrongly tried by ecclesiastical courts for sodomy in 1777,

and refers to a *real cédula* promulgated on November 30, 1743 which “pleaded that ecclesiastical judges to not impose penalties for crimes which fall under the jurisdiction of the Justicia Real.” The documents state that all three offenders were to be retried by the Sala del Crimen. [AGN, Criminal 58, exp. 22, fols. 395-400; AGN, Reales Cédulas 97, exp. 106, fols. 187-190; AGN, Indiferente Virreinal 1092, exp. 28; AGN, Correspondencia de Virreyes 4, fol. 292]

180. (1771) Veracruz. **Judicial summary (sodomy)**. This piece of correspondence refers to the soldier Josef de Castro who attempted sodomy with Josef Caro and was sentenced to four years of forced labor at the Castillo de San Juan de Ulúa. Caro was absolved. The original case is lost. [AGN, Correspondencia de Diversas Autoridades 16, exp. 164, fols. 408-409]
181. (1771) Puebla. **Criminal case (sodomy, *amugerados*)**. Mariano Rafael Puente (Spanish) accused Juan Pablo Suárez (*mestizo*, 40, alias “Almoloya”), Pedro Joseph de Mesa (indigenous, 30), and Fernando Sardo (*mestizo*, 28) of being effeminate sodomites. A number of people questioned referred to the three men as *amugerados públicos* (publicly effeminate men). The three men were imprisoned but denied the allegations against them. Joseph de la Mesa listed off eleven effeminate men who he said procured sex with men. Miguel Antonio Vásquez (married *mestizo*, alias “la Golondrina”), Pedro Palacios (free *pardo*, alias “la Capulina”), Joseph Gabriel (alias “la Borrega”), and Alberto Ramos de los Dolores (*mestizo*) were also implicated as *amugerados* and imprisoned. During the course of the trial, Palacios, Gabriel, Vásquez, and Joseph de Mesa were set free. The rest were eventually exonerated given that there was no proof that perfect acts of sodomy had taken place. [AGNP, caja 7, 1700-1799 Criminal, unnumbered exp., ff. 51]
182. (1771-73) Guatemala. **Judicial petition (sodomy)**. Salvador Vila, a soldier, was imprisoned for the crime of sodomy with another soldier and sentenced to be exiled for an unspecified period of time. In this petition from 1773, Vila stated that he was falsely accused of the crime in 1771 and asked to be set free. The original case is lost and no further information is given. [AGCA, 2.2, exp. 6604, leg. 297]
183. (1771-96) Manila (Philippines). **Inquisition case (solicitation)**. In 1771, Manuel Martín, a Philippine native from the province of Oton, denounced Fray Agustín María (Spanish, 46) for coercing him to be whipped and fondled by the priest. Between 1775 and 1784, another three Filipino men denounced the priest for whipping them and for acts of masturbation and sodomy. The priest was imprisoned in 1784 and admitted to soliciting twenty-three men and four women. He declared that he’d become excited while whipping a number of the men as a form of penance, and, as a result, improperly touched them and committed acts of incomplete sodomy with some. The full case against him is incomplete, but from another document, we find that he was, likely among other punishments, banished for ten years. In 1796, after years of reclusion, he was reinstated as a priest in a Philippine convent. [AGN, Inquisición 1128, exp. 14, fols. 427-436; AGN, Inquisición 1296, exp. 3, f. 321; AGN, Inquisición 1353, exp. 7, fols. 13-14]

184. (1772) Mexico City. **Judicial correspondence (female bestiality)**. This correspondence about the transfer of prisoners merely refers to a woman named María Bárbara López who was “tried by the [criminal] tribunal for bestial sodomy” (*procesada en aquel Tribunal por sodomia bestial*). The original case is lost and no further information is given. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, Acordada 66, exp. 16]
185. (1772) Guatemala. **Criminal case (sodomy)**. Esteban Pérez, indigenous *regidor* of the town of San Lucás Cabrera, saw Cristóbal Desiderio (*mulato*, 40) and young Juan Joseph Vivimos (indigenous) committing sodomy in the afternoon in a pasture by the road to Antigua. According to Pérez, he saw Vivimos penetrating Desiderio, and was able to apprehend the latter. Vivimos fled and was never found by authorities. Desiderio denied having ever had sex with Vivimos, stating that the two had been drinking *aguardiente* together when the boy invited him to the pasture, tried to hug him, and took off his pants just as Pérez arrived and apprehended him. A surgeon found no lesions or other proof of sodomy (semen or blood on clothing) on Desiderio; yet, he spent a year and a half in prison. For “the sodomy that they aspired to commit,” both Desiderio and Vivimos (who was nowhere to be found) were sentenced receive fifty lashes and, on three separate days, three hours of public shaming in an iron collar. [AGCA, A2.2, exp. 2888, leg. 152, fols. 1-17]
186. (1773) Comaguaya (Honduras) **Inquisition denunciation (sodomy involving lay brother)**. Francisco Antonio de Najera (15) denounced Bernardo Ramos de la Cruz, a lay brother in the convent of San Juan de Dios, for locking him in his cell and forcing him lay down and mimic the act of sodomy (with his clothes still on). Ramos de la Cruz, when interrogated, admitted his guilt and said that “out of weakness” he had had sex with the boy between his thighs on four occasions in his cell, behind the church, and in the hospital. He also said that he’d committed perfect sodomy, always as a top, with three other men. Because he was not a priest and not in holy orders, the Inquisition had no jurisdiction over the crime and he was not punished. [AGN, Inquisición 1167, exp. 14, fols. 293-298]
187. (1773) Jocotan (Guatemala). **Inquisition denunciation (sodomy)**. Sebastián Hilario (indigenous) denounced Nicolás Romero (indigenous) to the Inquisition for having touched him and attempted sodomy with him as they slept in the same bed together. The priest to whom this was denounced wrote to the Inquisition in Mexico City mentioning Romero had also made advances on other indigenous men including Bernabé Antonio, Juan Tototeco, Andrés Suntim, Martín Pisem, and Ventura Supo. No further information given. [AGN, Inquisición 1182, exp. 29, fols. 271-279]
188. (1774) Puebla. **Criminal denunciation (bestiality—possible false accusation)**. Gabriel de la Rosa denounced Sergeant Manuel Valseca in a military court for having had sexual acts with a dog. It was never proven due to a lack of proof. [AGN, General de Parte 52, exp. 109, fols. 103v.-107v.]

189. (1774) Olinala, Puebla. **Inquisition denunciation (sodomy)**. Ocurso de Miguel Carmona (free *mulato*) was imprisoned by the Inquisition in Olinala for having attempted the *pecado nefando* with Francisco del Valle, although Carmona merely hugged him and spoke amorous words. Inquisitors in Mexico City responded to the priest of Olinala that sodomy did not fall under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 1162, exp. 22, fols. 209-211]
190. (1774) Mexico City. **Judicial petition (bestiality)**. This short petition about the time frame of judicial proceedings merely refers to the case of Manuel Valbiera who was tried for bestiality. The original case is lost and no further information is given. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal 5827, exp. 48]
191. (1774) Monterrey. **Criminal trial (bestiality)**. Don Miguel de Oyervides (Spanish, 33) denounced Blás María Murguía (indigenous, 20) for bestiality with a mare whose legs had been tied up. Oyervides yelled “*yndio*, what are you doing? Are you a Christian or the Devil in the shape of a man?” and tried to tie him up in order to turn him in to the Inquisition. María Murguía however fled. A man who resembled Blás María Murguía was imprisoned by authorities, but they eventually determined that this was not the same man. Blás María Murguía was never found. [AMMNL, Criminal 21, exp. 352]
192. (1774-78) Leon (Nicaragua). **Criminal case (sodomy—false accusation)**. In 1774, amidst rumors that Antonio Gandulla (Spanish, 32) of committing sodomy with Francisco Martínez (*mulato*, 15) shared a bedroom and repeatedly ate dinner together at his sugar mill, Don Tomás Hernández de Silva (38) accused the two men of committing sodomy. Both men denied the charges, asserting that their friendship was pure. They were freed in 1775 due to lack of proof and Hernández de Silva was fined 25 pesos to pay for the costs of the trial. Later that year, however, Hernández de Silva again denounced Gandulla for sodomy. Gandulla was once again imprisoned, but eventually set free. Hernández de Silva, who fled the city, was eventually caught in 1778 and fined 500 pesos for calumny. [AGCA, A1.15 (5), exp. 872, leg. 119]
193. (1775) Pachuca. **Inquisition case (sodomy, oral sex)**. Manuel de Arroyo (*mulato*) was brought before the Inquisition for purportedly performing nightly oral sex on his male *mestizo* friend. When questioned by the Inquisition, Manuel de Arroyo asserts that it is true, he did perform fellatio on his friend on numerous occasions, but that he only did so out of charity and “en caridad de Dios.” He was sentenced to receive 200 lashes and was banished for ten years. [BANC MSS 96/95m, 13:1; AGN, Inquisición 1179, exp. 30, fols. 287-289; AGN, Inquisición 1167, exp. 6, fols. 76-79]
194. (1775-76) San Gerónimo, Taos (New Mexico). **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Bárbara Romero and Getrudis Naranjo denounced José Antonio (indigenous, 13) for having sex with a calf in a corral. Antonio admitted having sex with the animal only once, saying that “although he knows that he is Christian, he did not know that what he did was a sin.” He was sentenced to receive 12 lashes per day, for eight

consecutive days, inside the prison. He was also made to burn the calf “with his own hands” at a stake erected on the outskirts of the city. He was then placed in the custody (*recogimiento*) of an “honorable house, fearful of God” for an unspecified period of time. [SANM, MF 454, roll 10, frames 831-851]

195. (1776) Veracruz. **Inquisition denunciation (bestiality)**. The Licenciado Don Miguel Francisco de Herrera, commissary of the Inquisition in Veracruz, denounced an indigenous man for the crime of bestiality with a female dog. Inquisitors in Mexico City advised Herrera that bestiality did not fall under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 1100, exp. 18, f. 352]
196. (1779) Tuzantla, Valladolid. **Inquisition denunciation (bestiality)**. Candido Mejía, a *mulato* slave on a sugar mill, denounced Joseph de la Cruz (*mulato* slave) for the crime of bestiality with a donkey. No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 1168, exp. 15, fol, 231]
197. (1780) Mexico City. **Criminal case (sodomy)**. Don José Martínez, *alcalde* of the public jail, reported that he’d heard from a number of prisoners that Leandro Hurtado de Mendoza (Spanish, 30) and Pedro Joseph Pinedo (indigenous, 19) were sharing a bed, one on top of the other. Pineda denied any wrongdoing, and while a doctor found some intestinal irregularities in Pineda, he did not think that this was proof enough to convict him for sodomy. Hurtado, in prison for homicide, said that the charges were false. Another man, Gerardo Vázquez, was also implicated in the sodomy charges. Vázquez, initially granted immunity, was eventually sentenced to eight years of labor in the arsenals of Havana. The records are incomplete and no further information is given. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal 1182, exp. 31, ff. 30; AGN, Inquisición 1323, exp. 2; AGN Inquisición 1313, exp. 3, fol. 5]
198. (1780) Mexico City. **Inquisition denunciation (*mala amistad* between women)**. María Josefa de la Yra (Spanish, 21) denounced María Gertrudis de la Zerda for attempting to initiate *mala amistad* with her. She resisted such advances, but reported to the Inquisition that Gertrudis de la Zerda had attempted to sin with her repeatedly. [AGN, Inquisición 1203, exp. 16, fols. 122-125]
199. (1780-1791) Tepeaca, Puebla. **Inquisition denunciation/correspondence (sodomy)**. Francisco Pavia (Spanish/Gallego) was denounced and imprisoned by the Inquisition for the crime of sodomy with an adolescent. The denouncer also said that Pavia was guilty of committing sodomy with an indigenous man named Sacarias in 1772, but that Pavia’s wealth had protected him. The notary of the Holy Office in Tepeaca, Francisco Xavier de Salazar y Pérez, requested further instructions from inquisitors who responded that sodomy was not under their jurisdiction. In 1791, Pavia’s wife, María Jérez, requested a divorce because her husband had repeatedly committed the *pecado nefando* with a number of indigenous men. As far as we know, Pavia was never tried for sodomy. [AGN, Inquisición 1197, exp. 9, fols. 47-50; AGN, Inquisición 1336, exp. 2, fols. 21-31]

200. (1780) Oaxaca. **Inquisition denunciation (solicitation—possible false accusation)**. Francisco Mariano Suárez denounced Fray Romualdo Velasco y Vargas for sexual solicitation. He also detailed how his sister and Anastacio Díaz, a man with whom she'd had sexual relations out of wedlock, were forced to marry by the priest. Inquisitors determined that the alleged solicitation was "very doubtful." No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 1195, exp. 11, fols. 158-172]
201. (1780) San Juan del Rio. **Legal correspondence (bestiality)**. After being apprehended for the crime of bestiality, Mariano de Vargas (*negro*) escaped from prison and sought refuge in a church. This short document shows that, despite repeated attempts by secular authorities to extract him from the church, the priest refused to turn him in or allow him to be taken out. Criminal authorities appealed to the *promotor fiscal* of the Archbishop in Mexico City, arguing that Vargas should not enjoy the privileges of church immunity because he had escaped from prison in order to reach the church. No further information is given. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 1202, exp. 28]
202. (1780-84) Real de Cardonal. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Antonia Jacinta and a number of other neighbors denounced José Resendis (Spanish, 25) for committing bestiality with a mule in a *milpa*. Some reported having seen him consummate the act while others said that he was drunk and therefore could not complete the act. Resendis said that that day he drank much *pulque* throughout the day and that on the way back town, he decided to stop and take a nap, after which he did not remember anything because he was too inebriated. When he awoke, he was being tied up, but did not know why. In March of 1784, the court ruled that he was to stay in prison a few more months (until four years had passed since he was imprisoned) and then he was to be banished from Real de Cardonal for 10 years. [AGN, Clero Regular y Secular 203, exp. 3, fols. 113-147]
203. (1782-95) Zacatecas, Puebla, Guanajuato. **Inquisition case (solicitation)**. In 1785 a *mulato* man from Zacatecas denounced Fray José María García for masturbating him under the pretense of needing to measure his penis and see if he was able to properly have sex with his wife. This denunciation was not acted upon by inquisitors until the priest denounced himself for similar acts in 1789. In 1793 the priest formally admitted to having solicited some 32 men and at least two women in over ten different towns between 1782 and 1793. The priest's right to give confession was revoked by the Inquisition. [AGN, Inquisición 1293, exp. 4, fols. 14-16; Inquisición 1292, exp. 15, fols. 123-171]
204. (1783) Malinalco. **Judicial correspondence (bestiality)**. The *alcalde mayor* of Malinalco requested the baptismal records of Manuel Méndez from the parish of Malinaltenango, accused of bestiality, in order to determine his age so that he will be punished accordingly (and not too harshly if it is determined that he is still a child). [AGN, Bienes Nacionales 678, exp. 8]



205. (1784-1800) Calimaya. **Inquisition case (solicitation)**. Between 1797 and 1799, a number of Spanish and indigenous boys denounced Father José Gregorio Zebrian (Spanish, 45) for acts of mutual masturbation both in the confessional and outside of the church. Zebrian was imprisoned and his good confiscated in October of 1799. Zebrian confessed that since 1784, two years after he was ordained, he'd solicited over forty boys in the confessional. In 1800, he was exiled from the courts of Madrid and Mexico City and from Calimaya for a period of ten years, the first two of which were to be spent in the convent of San Cosme performing spiritual exercises, and perpetually revoked of the right to hear confession [AGN, Inquisición 1374, exp. 11, fols. 166-254]
206. (1784) Teotitlán. **Inquisition denunciation (solicitation)**. Pedro Donantes (57) denounced Padre Serafin nearly forty years after the fact for repeatedly inviting him into his cell and, offering him candy and sweets, solicited him *ad turpia*. Donantes said that the priest penetrated him on one occasion. No trial held. [AGN, Inq. Vol 1275, exp. 12, ff. 87]
207. (1784) Aguascalientes. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Juan José de Luna denounced Simón de Torres (13), for committing bestiality with a dog in the mountains late at night. Luna supposedly killed the dog (*ahorcó la perra*) after this. There were no other witnesses and the defendant denied all charges. He spent two years in prison, and falling gravely ill, was eventually absolved of the charges against him at the request of his father. [AHEA, Judicial Penal 265.2.1.18fs.]
208. (1785) Mexico City. **Inquisition case (male-female solicitation re: bestiality)**. Nineteen women testified against Don Manuel Muñoz, confessor in the parish of San Miguel, for sexually solicitation, abuse, and rape. One woman, María Josepha Franco (23), testified that the priest asked her about masturbation, bodily fluids, and the sexual use of objects. Broaching bestiality, he also inquired if she'd ever arranged "so that some animal would lick her parts." The records are incomplete and no further information is given. [AGN, Inquisición 1217, exp. 17, 228-250]
209. (1785-87) Sololá (Guatemala). **Criminal petition (bestiality)**. Bernabé Camey (indigenous), convicted of sodomy with a mule, petitioned to be set free so that he could return to live with his wife. His appeal was turned down. He was sentenced to receive 200 lashes and to spend 4 years laboring in a presidio. The court mandated that the mule was to be killed. [AGCA, A1.15, exp. 47.595, leg. 5513]
210. (1786) Monterrey. **Criminal case (sodomy, rape)**. Marcelo de la Cerda (13) denounced Martín de los Reyes (*mulato*, 40) for raping him. Martín de los Reyes said that as he was administering an analgesic to the boy's teeth, "Judas tempted him and he fornicated with the boy." De los Reyes eventually retracted his confession. His defense lawyer said that the boy's accusation was false and that since de los Reyes was married, it was doubtful that he would have had sex with the boy. The records are incomplete and no sentence is recorded. [AMMNL, Criminal 26, exp. 465]

211. (1786) Rivas de Nicaragua. **Inquisition denunciation (sodomy)**. Juan Matheo denounced two sacristans, José Manuel Virto and José Gregorio Ibarra, for having sex. The procedures were sent to the tribunal in Mexico City which likely would have replied that sodomy did not fall under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 1217, exp. 19, fols. 260-261]
212. (1787) Guadalajara. **Inquisition denunciation (sodomy involving priest)**. Fray José Buenaventura Bustillo denounced Don Vicente Leis y Oca, mayor and notary of the Holy Office, for attempting to hug, kiss, and caress him one night while he was sick and lying in bed. No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 1297, exp. 9, fols. 39-41]
213. (1787) Zacatecas. **Inquisition denunciation (bestiality)**. Don Salvador María de Ayala, in the name of Don Pablo Sagredo, denounced an unnamed farm worker on a corn-mill for the crime of bestiality with a mule. Inquisitors replied that bestiality did not fall under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. [AGN, Inquisición 1363, exp. 14, fols. 219-220]
214. (1788) Hacienda de Chicapa, Oaxaca. **Inquisition denunciation (bestiality)**. Matias Ciriaco was denounced for the crime of bestiality with a mare. Two months earlier, he was supposedly caught with a female dog on the same hacienda. He was wrongly interrogated by ecclesiastical authorities, to which he confessed that he had been caught “sinning with a dog” and twice with the mare. The priests responsible were notified that the Inquisition had no jurisdiction over bestiality. No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 1169, fols. 129-130]
215. (1789) Querétaro. **Inquisition self-denunciation (masturbation, image desecration)**. Ramón Sánchez de la Vaquera (Spanish) denounced himself for having carnal access with sacred images, invoking the Devil, and for superstition. Over the course of eight years, he’d snuck into churches, convents, and sacristies over sixty times in order to defile sacred objects, religious paintings, engraved alms boxes, and images of the Virgin, Mary of Magdalene, Saint Anne, Saint Peter, and the baby Jesus. Due to his *locura* (craziness), he was sentenced to work in a convent under the supervision of priests for an unspecified number of years. [AGN, Inquisición 1353, exp. 12]
216. (1789) Villa de los Valles, San Luis Potosí. **Inquisition denunciation (bestiality)**. Fray Francisco Lozano y Prieto, informed by María Teresa de Jesús and Gregorio Vicente, denounced Francisco Xavier Álvarez to the Inquisition for the crime of bestiality. He was informed that bestiality did not fall under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 1299, fols. 64-65]
217. (1789) Tonalá. **Inquisition denunciation (bestiality)**. Don Marcelo Solorzano denounced Bernardo Arriola (*mulato*) to the Inquisition for the crime of bestiality with a mare. The cause was suspended because the Inquisition had no jurisdiction over that crime. [AGN, Inquisición 1107, exp. 8, fols. 27-32]

218. (1789) Guadalajara. **Judicial writ revoking the death penalty (bestiality)**. This decree issued by the Audiencia Real de Guadalajara revoked the death penalty meted out to Juan de los Santos de Luna for having attempted to commit the crime of bestiality. He was instead sentenced to work on an overseas fort for a period of ten years. [AHEZ, Caja 14, exp. 32]
219. (1790) Ixmiquilpan. **Inquisition denunciation (propositions)**. Doña Josefa Pintos denounced Ventura Aldama (Spanish), known colloquially as “*el afeminado*” (the effeminate) for having asserted five years earlier that he “did not believe that the body of Jesus was in the Eucharist because he could not see it with his own eyes.” Numerous witnesses were questioned by inquisitors, but Aldama was not imprisoned. Don Felipe Trabalo, vicar of the priest of Ixmiquilpan, said that “although effeminate, and people mock him for this, he demonstrates his fear of God, attends mass, frequents the sacraments, and lives an honest and religious life.” No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 1322, exp. 5, ff. 21]
220. (1790) Querétaro. **Clerical correspondence (priestly incontinence and drunkenness)**. The conde de Revilla G. wrote to the archbishop of Mexico to complain that in the city of Querétaro a great number of priests lived in incontinence, some with women living in their homes. He also complained of having seen “priests in the streets, at all hours, without their clerical collars, habits, or any other sign indicating that they were priest.” He’d also seen priests publicly “possessed by the abominable vice of drunkenness.” [AHAM, Caja 106 CL, Inédito Clero, Causas Criminales, 1774-1860]
221. (1791) Mexico City. **Inquisition self-denunciation (touching between women)**. Years after the fact, Doña María Gertrudis de Grijalba (Spanish, 20) denounced Clara Guzmán for having repeatedly “impurely touched her” in bed when she was eleven years old. Clara Guzmán repeatedly reassured Gertrudis de Grijalba that such touching was not a sin. It appears that inquisitors never questioned Guzmán but concluded that she should frequent the sacraments. No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 1337, exp. 17, fols. 1-3]
222. (1791) Patzcuaro. **Inquisition denunciation (bestiality)**. Don Domingo de Mendieta denounced an unnamed culprit, in prison in Zacatula, to the Inquisition for the crime of bestiality with a donkey. Inquisitors replied that bestiality did not fall under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition, but rather that of secular authorities. [AGN, Inquisición 1393, fol. 169]
223. (1793) Aguascalientes. **Criminal case (bestiality—false accusation)**. José Antonio Gutiérrez (*mestizo*, 21) denounced Valentín Hernández (indigenous, 13) for having sex with a female donkey. Gutiérrez, it turned out, fabricated the story because he was drunk and he sought revenge against Hernández’s father. Hernández was set free after spending over a month in prison. Gutiérrez was forced to pay the costs of the trial and a fee of twelve pesos to Hernández. [AHEA, Judicial Penal 265.1.29fs.]

224. (1793) Place unknown. **Criminal summary (sodomy)**. This fragment merely refers to the criminal case against Joseph Antonio Gutiérrez and other men for the crime of sodomy. The original case is lost and no further information is given. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal 6638, exp. 28]
225. (1793) Totonicapán (Guatemala). **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Thomás González found Pedro Herrera (*ladino*, 22) on the side of a river having sex with a mare. Herrera supposedly pleaded “do not turn me in to the criminal justice because they will burn me. I will pay you not to turn me in.” He was imprisoned and sentenced to four years of labor in a presidio. He escaped from prison with six other men in February of 1794. [AGCA, A1.15, exp. 27.023, leg. 2910]
226. (1794) Bacalar. **Inquisition denunciation (sodomy involving priest)**. Fray Julián Quijano was denounced for sodomy by a married man named Francisco Xavier Vicab (18, Maya). According to the boy, the priest began to touch him and offered one peso to have sex with and penetrate the priest. Vicab denounced the priest to the Inquisition because he did not pay him the promised amount. The Inquisition ignored the denunciation. In 1798 the priest (who died later that year) was imprisoned for repeated drunkenness and illicit relationships with women. [AGN, Inquisición 1373, exp. 14, fols. 173-204]
227. (1794) Guatemala. **Criminal case (sodomy, rape—possible false accusation)**. Paulino Jiménez (mestizo, 50) was accused of committing sodomy with José María Clemente (7 or 8), son of Aniceta Ruiz. Jiménez had lived with the family for one year, sometimes sharing a bed with the boy who told his grandfather that one day Jiménez committed sodomy with him on a hillside. The surgeon who examined the boy found no signs that sodomy had occurred, and the boy said that he’d not actually been penetrated by Jiménez who denied everything. The boy later contradicted himself, stating that he had been penetrated by Jiménez, and said that “the old man” touched him while he was sleeping. The boy also said that his mom had told him to tell authorities that penetration had taken place. Given the boy’s contradictory testimonies, Jiménez was set free and absolved of any wrongdoing. [AGCA, A2.2, leg. 175, exp.3471]
228. (1794) Escuintla (Guatemala). **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Julián (indigenous) denounced Isidro Corpeño for bestiality with a mare. On 5 December 1794, the Real Sala de Guatemala sent the case back to the *alcalde mayor* of Escuintla. The records are incomplete and no final sentence is recorded. [AGCA, A1.15, exp. 46.108, leg. 5411]
229. (1795) Nicaragua. **Criminal sentence (sodomy), Inquisition denunciation (blasphemy)**. Mateo Moreno (mulatto, 25), in prison for sodomy and exiled for a period of eight years to the castle of San Fernando Omoa, denounced a number of other prisoners to the Inquisition for blasphemy and heretical statements. [AGN, Inquisición 1318, exp. 10, fols. 106-108]

230. (1796) Mexico City. **Criminal summary (masturbation and “dishonesties”).** María Ramona Sánchez (28, *mestiza*) was sentenced to six years of seclusion for “masturbation and other dishonesties.” The original case is lost and no further information is given. [AGN, Criminal 385, exp. 15, f. 296]
231. (1796) Mexico City. **Inquisition case (heresy, cross-dressing).** Gregoria Piedra, also known as “Gregoria la Macho,” was arrested for having expelled the Host from her mouth while dressed in man’s clothing. Referred to as a *muger hombrada* (a masculinized woman), she was accused of having a particular “inclination toward women.” Given the insufficient evidence against her, she was eventually absolved of the charge of heresy. [AGN, Inquisición 1349, exp. 28]
232. (1796) Mexico City. **Criminal case (sexual misconduct).** The mother of a six-year-old girl denounced her servant, María Manuela Trujana (indigenous, 14) of lifting up the girl’s skirt and lying on top of her. Manuela Trujana was also reportedly “inclined toward the same sex.” In the end, she was placed in the custody of her mother and warned to live as a Christian. [Penyak 1993: 291-292]
233. (1796) Zacatecas. **Inquisition denunciation (bestiality).** Don Juan Eleias de Herrera (Spanish) denounced a boy, Pedro José, for having sex with a *burra*. The inquisitor sought advice as to whether or not he should impose similar punishments as secular courts. No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 1321, exp. 5, fols. 16-23]
234. (1796) Zacatecas. **Inquisition denunciation (bestiality).** Doña María Josefa Larragaña denounced Manuel Morales for “carnal access with a [female] dog.” This was confirmed by Juan de Rentería and his wife who “five or six days before they saw him execute the act, hear the dog crying [advirtió que el animal lloraba], from which they inferred that he was committing the same act.” No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 1321, exp. 7, fols. 26-37]
235. (1797) Atitalaquía (Hidalgo). **Criminal case (bestiality).** Francisco Zerón (19), José Bautista (15), Manuel Salvador (14), and José María Tapia (15) turned in Marcelino Estrada (Spanish, 13) for attempted bestiality with a donkey. They saw him in a field with a donkey whose front and hind legs had been tied up by Estrada with his belt. Apparently Estrada, who began to cry upon being discovered, admitted that he’d tied up the *burra* but denied that he wanted to have sex with it. The records are incomplete and no further information is given. [AGEH, Tula Justicia, caja 48, exp. 3, ff. 12]
236. (1797) Tlaxcala. **Criminal case (bestiality).** Felipe Nari (indigenous, 15) was denounced for the crime of bestiality with a mare. Even though he admitted to authorities that, on that day, he’d consumed a jar of *pulque* and he told the man who apprehended him that “the Devil had deceived him,” he denied having committed the crime of bestiality. The records are incomplete and no further information is given. [AHET, Judicial Criminal, caja 46, exp. 37, ff. 3]

237. (1797-98) San Luis Apizaco, Tlaxcala. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. A neighbor denounced José Polonio for having committed bestiality with a female dog in a field. The neighbor asserted that he'd caught him "in flagrante delicto, with the dog underneath him, stained by blood," but Polonio denied the charges. The dog was never apprehended, and in the end, Polonio was set free for lack of proof. [AHET, Judicial Criminal, caja 46, exp. 63]
238. (1797-1801) Huamantla. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. José Crecencio Blancas (Spanish), majordomo of a hacienda, accused José Pablo (indigenous, 40, married) of committing bestiality with a donkey on a hillside. Pablo denied the charges and accused Blancas of having cruelly whipped him. In 1798, Pablo escaped from prison. In 1801, in absentia, he was absolved of the crime of bestiality, but sentenced to be punished for escaping prison. [AHET, Judicial Criminal, caja 46, exp. 6, ff. 119]
239. (1797-1815) Mexico City. **Inquisition self-denunciation (improper touching by a priest)**. Fray José Antonio de Ureña denounced himself for improperly touching a boy (16) who was in bed, sick with a fever, and for kissing the boy twice. Unsure whether or not his actions fell under the category of solicitation, he confessed his sins to the Inquisition. No trial held. Eighteen years later, in 1815, when a twenty-year-old José Remigio Acebedo denounced Ureña, who was by then about sixty, for having fondled him in his cell, inquisitors discovered the 1797 denunciation; yet, decided that a trial would not be held. [AGN, Inquisición 1309, exp. 9, fols. 107-115; Penyak 1993: 262-164]
240. (1799) Hidalgo del Parral. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Ramón Durán denounced Clemente Veedor (*mestizo*, 42) for lascivious acts with a *burra*. A number of witnesses saw the animal with its legs tied up, but only Durán saw the sexual act take place. The animal's owner noted that its genitals were abnormally swollen the following day. Veedor denied everything but was imprisoned for over a year. The records are incomplete and no sentence is given. [AMHP, Causas Criminales 1800, "contra Clemente Veedor"]
241. (Late 1700s or early 1800s). Xaltocan. **Criminal summary (sodomy)**. Nicolás de Guadalupe (free *mulato*), an unmarried schoolteacher, was denounced and tried for having committed sodomy with students and brothers Manuel Márquez (10) and for having attempted sodomy with Manuel's younger brother Joaquín Joseph Marquéz (under 8) and Cartolome Felipe Domínguez (9). Guadalupe was imprisoned and he fully confessed to his crimes for which he was punished. The declarations, confession, and sentence are not included here. The original case is lost. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal 5569, exp. 106]
242. (1800) Xonacatepec. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. A Spaniard, Don Juan Esteban, asserted that he saw Marcelo Antonio (14, indigenous) "committing the grave excess of bestiality with a donkey." The boy denies it and his defense lawyer presents a number of witnesses to prove that the Spaniard is often drunk. Citing laws 1 and 2 of Title 21 of Book 8 of the *Recopilación de las Leyes*, he proves that between at least

three witnesses are necessary to convict someone of bestiality. Marcelo Antonio found not guilty and is set free about 7 months after being initially imprisoned. [AGN, Criminal 278, exp. 2, fols. 96-137]

243. (1800-01) Sacatépequez (Guatemala). **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Josef de Paz (Spanish) and others denounced Juan Paquemaz (indigenous) for bestiality with a female dog. Paquemaz denied the charges, saying that he was merely peeing when a dog took a piece of meat from the table, and he went after the dog. Since no one saw him in the act of bestiality, he could not be convicted of the crime. After a year and a half in prison, Paquemaz was set free. [AGCA, A1.15, exp. 27.724, leg. 2946]
244. (1800-02) Guadalajara, Sombrerete. **Criminal case (sodomy—false accusation)**. A number of boys denounced the Don Antonio Naredo (56, widow), public notary, of sodomy. Isidro de Cueto (14) and Juan Márquez (Spanish, 14) said that Naredo had repeatedly attempted to have sex with each of them, paying them not to tell anyone of the events. José Antonio Alfaro (Spanish, 13) said that he was forced to mutually masturbate Naredo and José Antonio Salazar said that he'd been penetrated three times by the notary. Naredo denied all the charges against him. Eventually some of the boys admitted that their statements were fabricated and that Cueto had pressured them. The false charges were eventually linked back to Naredo's personal and political enemies. Naredo was eventually exculpated and the boys received light punishments for perjury. [BPEJ-FE, Caja 81, exp. 10, prog. 1331, ff. 146; BPEJ-FE, Caja 50, exp. 1, prog. 769, ff. 78]
245. (1801) Tulancingo. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Ysidro Bonifacio Peña (*mestizo*, 18) was caught in an inebriated state having sex with a donkey. He admitted to everything and was sentenced to three years confinement in a presidio without hard labor. The donkey was killed. [AGN, Criminal 62, exp. 20]
246. (1801-06) Real Minas de Zimpan. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Santiago Terán denounced José Antonio Rodríguez having sex with a tied-up mare. He asserted that he was drunk and therefore did not remember anything, but denied the act of bestiality although he was “naked next to the mare.” The witness, however, saw semen fall from the mare's *natura*. In 1805, the court sentenced him to two years of labor in a presidio in Havana. On appeal in 1806, it was determined that he'd spent enough time in prison for his crime and he was freed. [AGN, Criminal 256, exp. 2, fols. 92-158]
247. (1801; 1805-07) Guadalajara. **Criminal case (use of dildo, love letters, sodomy)**. José Nabor de la Encarnación was denounced by neighbors for running a house where female prostitutes and male clients would engage in illicit relations. Some women found love letters (included in the case) between Nabor (early twenties) and Apolinario Salmón (21) which led to them being tried for sodomy. Salmón confessed to having written the letters, but said that they were at the request of another man and intended for a married woman who frequented Nabor's house. Witnesses testified that Nabor was publicly known as an effeminate pimp who occasionally dressed in

women's clothing. An investigation into Salmón's past revealed a prior criminal case against him from 1801 in which he was tried for using an "obscene instrument" (dildo) and was sentenced to receive one hundred lashes (eventually repealed) and five years on public works projects. In 1805, for the love letters between Nabor and Salmón, authorities concluded that the "pestilent correspondence" was insufficient proof of sodomy. In 1807, Salmón was set free. [BPEJ-FE, Caja 11, exp. 6, prog. 64]

248. (1802) Guanajuato. **Inquisition self-denunciation (sodomy involving priest)**. Fray Joaquín Luciano de la Cruz Zararas denounced himself to the Inquisition for having engaged in the "most horrible sin of sodomy" with an indigenous boy that had been raised by him since infancy. The priest asked inquisitors for mercy. No trial held. [AGN, Inquisición 1413, exp. 12, fols. 168-169]
249. (1802) Minas de Zacualpan. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Pedro Antonio Arraiga denounced Juan Rivera for bestiality with a mare. Rivera's father was able to prove that Antonio Arraiga had ill will toward his family, lending support to the possibility that it was a false denunciation. After six months in prison, Rivera was set free and Antonio Arraiga was forced to pay the costs of the trial. [AGN, Criminal 166, exp. 9, fols. 241-272]
250. (1802-06) San Agustín Tlaxco, Tlaxcala. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Two brothers, Ignacio and José Vásquez, tied up Justo Rufino (indigenous, 16 to 18) and turned him in to criminal authorities for bestiality with a donkey. Rufino denied the charges against him, saying that if his temptation were so strong, "he would seek out a rational woman with whom to satisfy himself ... he recognizes the shock to nature it is to [carnally] mix with a female of another species." Given the inconclusive evidence against him, he was set free in 1806. [AHET, Judicial Criminal, caja 52, exp. 42, ff. 47]
251. (1803) Madrid and the Spanish colonies. **Official decree of royal pardons**. This decree, issued in Madrid and applicable throughout all of Spain's colonies, granted a general pardon to those imprisoned for all crimes with the exception those convicted of the following crimes: murder of priests, printing of counterfeit money, arson, the extraction of prohibited articles from the Spanish kingdom, blasphemy, sodomy, robbery and theft (*hurto*), bribery and barratry, falseness (*falsedad*), resisting criminal authorities, and embezzlement of funds from the Real Hacienda. This pardon was enacted on June 3 throughout Mexico. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal 0554, exp. 16; AGN, Indiferente Virreinal 2636, exp. 6]
252. (1803) Tulancingo. **Criminal case (sodomy)**. José Antonio Gómez (indigenous), who was not caught, and Marcos Antonio Santos were tried for sodomy. Marcos Antonio Santos said that he'd had sex with Gómez because he could not defend himself since he'd been drunk and suffered from a sickness in his legs. He also stated that he should be granted immunity, which was denied, because he'd entered a church prior to being imprisoned. A medical doctor confirmed that he did suffer from severe muscular contractions in his legs and appealed for him to stay in bed while



imprisoned. Authorities sentenced him to four years of labor in Fuerte de Perote, but resolved that he first be sent to a hospital in an effort to cure him. [AGN, Criminal 95, exp. 3, fols. 123-135]

253. (1803) Guatemala City. **Criminal case (concubinage with men and women, hermaphroditism)**. Juana Aguilar, referred to in the newspaper as “Juana la Larga”—in reference to her enlarged clitoris—was arrested for the crime of double concubinage with men and women. Narciso Esparragosa, the physician who examined her, determined that Aguilar was not a hermaphrodite but was rather someone whose nature had denied the proper reproductive organs of both sexes (*haberle negado la naturaleza los organos de la reproduction*). Esparragosa noted that Aguilar’s clitoris was a largely flaccid body that was incapable of erection, and that, lacking the vaginal canal, she urinated and menstruated from the same orifice, making the crime of sodomy, according to him, a virtual impossibility. The original criminal case against Aguilar is in the AGCA. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal 5216, exp. 12, fols. 2-8]
254. (1803-07) Ixmiquilpan. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Josefa María and Antonio Hernández asserted that they saw Josef Florentino (indigenous, 15 or 16) having sex with a donkey, which he tied up, while standing on a stone to reach the animal. Extrajudicially, Florentino was whipped by the *alcalde* and put in stocks overnight. Later in prison, Florentino admitted to “bad thoughts” and to having had sex with the animal briefly, without ejaculating, until he was interrupted by those spying on him. He later retracted his confession, stating that the *alcalde* had promised him his freedom if he confessed. In 1807, the court sentenced him to one year of service in a local church. The donkey died before it could be killed. [AGEH, Tula Justicia, caja 51, exp. 5]
255. (1803-34) Izucar de Matamoros. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Pedro Pablo Hinojoso discovered José Mariano (indigenous, 14 to 17) having sex with a mare and proceeded to hit him in the face. Pablo Hinojoso turned him in to authorities, and he was imprisoned for some thirty years. He was eventually set free in 1834. [INAH-AJ, year 1803, no. 541; Bazant “Bestialismo,” 13]
256. (1804) Zacatecas. **Criminal case, mentioned in Inquisition denunciation (bestiality)**. In 1804, an unidentified man was imprisoned in Zacatecas for bestiality by the *alcalde* Don Bernardo De Iriarte. Hearing of this case, Don Cristóbal Bazabe exclaimed “supposing that man has sinned, he might as well sin, as God had mandated” (*supuesto que el hombre pecaba, debía hacerlo según Dios mandaba*), for which he was denounced to the Inquisition. No trial held. No further information is given on the man who committed the crime of bestiality. [AGN, Inquisición 1420, exp. 4, fols. 14-15]
257. (1804) Colima. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. María Nicolasa Aguilar accused her husband, Juan José Manuel Albersuna, of bestiality with a donkey. His wife (and a neighbor who Manuel Albersuna had also supposedly told) stated that he decided to

have sex with the donkey after she refused to have sex with him because he had syphilis. The records are incomplete and no further information is given. [AHMC, Caja 9, exp. 42, ff. 4]

258. (1804) San Salvador (El Salvador). **Criminal case (sodomy)**. This fragment of a case refers to the sodomy trial of Nicolás Carbajal for which he was originally sentenced to be whipped fifty times and to spend five years laboring in a presidio. Later that year, the sentence was reduced to fifty lashes and two years of service in a local church. [AGCA, A1.15 (3), leg. 219, exp. 2011]
259. (1804-06) Huichapan. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Miguel Anastasio (indigenous) was accused of bestiality with a donkey and living in incontinence with María del Carmen. Although there was insufficient against him for the charges of bestiality, he remained in prison until 1806 when he was freed partially because he and María del Carmen were going to get married. [AGN, Criminal 179, exp. 23, fols. 494-499]
260. (1804-09) Zacualtipan. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. José Vicente Sierra (Spanish, 18) was caught having sex with a cow which he'd tied up. He said that, while drunk, "the Devil tempted him, and that he'd sinned with the cow only once." He spent over four years in prison and was subsequently set free in 1809 under the condition that he would work in the parish for one year and be instructed in Christian doctrine. The cow was killed and the owner reimbursed for its worth. [AGN, Criminal 467, exp. 7, fols. 150-198]
261. (1805) San Salvador (El Salvador). **Criminal case (sodomy)**. José Ángel Méndez (13) was accused of sodomy with a six-year-old child named José Alvino Orellana. This case summary does not give any more details about what took place between the two boys. José Ángel Méndez was sentenced to twenty-five lashes, to be given in the corridors of the prison, and six months of service in his town's church. [AGCA, A1.15 (3), leg. 231, exp. 2379]
262. (1805) Querétaro. **Judicial correspondence (bestiality)**. This document merely refers to the solicitation of baptismal records to be used in the trial of José Lacinto Zara for the crime of bestiality with a mule. No further information is given. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal 2182, exp. 18]
263. (1805) Guatemala. **Criminal case (sodomy)**. This fragment of a case merely mentions that Antonio Luciano (who escaped from prison in 1802) and Carlos García were tried for repeatedly committing sodomy. The original case is missing and no further information is given. [AGCA, A1.15, leg. 5429, exp.46.408]
264. (1805) Nicaragua. **Criminal case (sodomy)**. The fragment refers to the case of José Luciano Ballardo who was imprisoned for sodomy. Luciano requested to be pardoned for his crime, and although the *pecado nefando* was excluded from the *real cédula* pardoning criminals, authorities decided that he would be set free upon paying

the costs of his trial. No information about the details of his crime are given. [AGCA, A1.15 (5), exp. 1133, leg. 160]

265. (1805) El Salvador. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. José Surita was tried and absolved for the crime of bestiality. No further details are given. [AGCA, A1.15(3), exp. 2139, leg. 224]
266. (1805-09) Tula. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Diego Anastasio Jiménez (indigenous) denounced Domingo Antonio (*mulato*, 22) for having sex with a donkey. Antonio initially denied the charges, but admitted some months later that the idea of sinning with the *burra* came to him after he drank *pulque*. Blaming alcohol and his ignorance, he said that he rubbed against the backside of the donkey, and that his semen “fell to the ground, not inside of the donkey.” In 1807 he escaped from prison but was caught within a few months. Magistrates in Mexico City decided that his crime was not absolved by the royal decree of pardons in 1808, and his case was sent back to Tula. The records are incomplete and no further information is given. [AGEH, Tula Justicia, caja 51, exp. 22]
267. (1806) San Salvador (El Salvador). **Criminal case (bestiality)**. This fragment of a case refers to the trial of Victoriano Martínez who was accused of bestiality with a *ternera* and a horse. He was absolved of his crime indicating that there was not sufficient proof of the crime or that it was a case of false accusation [AGCA, A1.15 (3), leg. 235, exp. 2436]
268. (1806) Guatemala City. **Criminal case (cross-dressing)**. Remigia Ardón (*mulata*, 21) was tried for having been caught wearing a soldier’s uniform. According to Ardón, she was heading to the pharmacy to buy medicine for her sick mother when, as she passed near the national palace, some soldiers who were drinking told her that she could not pass unless she drank some *aguardiente* with them, sang, and put on one of the soldier’s uniforms. Out of fear, she complied, but on her way home was imprisoned. She was sentenced to spend six months in reclusion. The male soldier dressed in her clothes was not punished because of the *fuero militar* (military code of justice) which protected him. [AGCA, A1.15, exp. 36.600, leg. 4421]
269. (1806) Guatemala City. **Criminal case (sodomy)**. Catalina Rojas denounced José Victoriano Ambrosio (indigenous, 25) for having tied up her son (14), stripped him, and raped him. Three surgeons examined the son and found signs that he had been raped. According to the boy’s testimony, he spent one night in the plaza drinking with Victoriano and two indigenous men. The next morning, Victoriano led him to the countryside where he violently abused and raped the boy, leaving him naked and tied to a pole. The boy was eventually able to free himself and ran unclothed to a house on the outskirts of the city where some women assisted him and clothed him. Victoriano denied everything, and authorities discovered that he had previously been imprisoned for theft and accused of murder. He was sentenced to four years of public works. [AGCA, A2.2, exp. 4500, leg. 216]

270. (1806-07) Mexico City. **Judicial correspondence (sodomy)**. Marcelo Lara (Mixtec, 17) was caught by a soldier, Juan José Guerra, having sex with Macedonio García (Spanish soldeir, 37) in an alleyway at three o'clock in the morning. Lara admitted to having sex with García twice as a bottom, but García denied everything, saying that he was only guilty of drunkenness. García was sentenced to four years of service in a hospital, but after he mistreated the patients there, he was sentenced to forced labor on the road to Veracruz. No further information is given about Lara. [AGN, Indiferente de Guerra 45b, fols. 170-214]
271. (1807) Huichapan. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Agustín Martín (indigenous, 17) was found guilty of bestiality with a goat and was punished to spend two hours in the pillory (*picota*) and to work in a presidio for four years. Furthermore, he was to be instructed in Christian doctrine. The goat was killed. [AGN, Criminal 200, exp. 3, fols. 85-98]
272. (1807) Petén (Guatemala). **Criminal petition (bestiality)**. José Ixin (indigenous), having already served four years of labor in a presidio for the crime in bestiality, petitioned to be set free since, according to him, the sole witness against him had “bad will” toward him. Since, however, he had previously confessed his crime, his petition was rejected and he was sentenced in 1807 to one more year of labor. [AGCA, A1.15, exp. 46.923, leg. 5466]
273. (1807-10) Tetepango, Atitalaquía. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. The *alcalde* of San Pedro Tlascuapan turned José Maturana (free *mulato*, 22) and the donkey with which he was purportedly having sex in to Spanish criminal authorities. Manuela Gertrudis discovered the man committing the crime in a corral. Maturana denied the charges against him, but admitted that, due to drinking *pulque*, he had “bad thoughts” about the animal, but that when he neared the donkey, Manuela Gertrudis screamed at him in Otomi. In 1810, due to lack of proof, he was set free. [AGEH, Tula Justicia, caja 52, exp. 12]
274. (1808) New Spain. **Official decree of royal pardons**. This *ordenanza*, issued by Yturriagaray, granted a general pardon to those imprisoned for prohibited alcoholic drinks, military desertion, and those related to the Real Hacienda with the exception those convicted of the following: treachery, printing of counterfeit money, arson, blasphemy, sodomy, robbery and theft (*hurto*), bribery and barratry, falseness (*falsedad*), resisting criminal authorities, etc. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal 0518, exp. 54]
275. (1808) Compostela, Tepic. **Inquisition denunciation (bestiality)**. Don Albino denounced Agapito (*mulato*) to a *familiar* of the Inquisition for the crime of bestiality with a mule. Inquisitors replied that bestiality did not fall under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition, but rather that of secular authorities. [AGN, Inquisición 1431, fol. 99]
276. (1808) Ixmiquilpan. **Criminal case (bestiality—false accusation)**. An indigenous couple, José Martín and María Martina, falsely accused Eusebio Muñoz

(Spanish, 30) of bestiality with a *burra*. They retracted their accusations and admitted that they were false and from a desire to have revenge. Muñoz was set free. [AGEH, Ixmiquilpan Justicia, Caja 5, exp. 9, ff. 5]

277. (1808) Tulancingo. **Judicial correspondence (bestiality)**. This correspondence merely mentions that the pardon of Miguel Mauricio, found guilty of bestiality with a *burra*, was denied by authorities. The original case is lost and no further information is given. [AGN, Criminal 61, exp. 12, fols. 365-368]
278. (1808) Tetela del Rio. **Judicial correspondence (sodomy)**. This is a mere reference to a criminal sodomy case against Pedro Velasco and Pedro Antonio Bernabe. There is also reference to a *careo* between the two of them, perhaps indicating that one man accused the other of having committed sodomy. No further information is given. [AGN, Criminal 196, exp. 12, fols. 452-453]
279. (1808) Guatemala. **Criminal case (sodomy)**. Francisco Javier Rosalin (indigenous, 54) was accused of attempting to rape Juan José Bobadilla (mulatto, 14) in a rented room in the house of doña Buenaventura Micaela Reyes. The servants of Reyes denounced the crime. Bobadillo said that Rosalin forced him onto his bed and touched him against his will. Rosalin, who was imprisoned, initially denied the charges, saying that he'd been drunk. He eventually confessed to having taken four boys to rented rooms where he would engage in sexual acts with them, but never actually penetrate any of them. Bobadillo was absolved of any wrongdoing and Rosalin was sentenced to eight years of service in the presidio of the Morro de la Havana. [AGCA, A1.15, exp. 5373, leg. 247; AGCA, A1.15, exp. 37.051, leg. 4438]
280. (1808) Guatemala. **Criminal case (masturbation in church)**. Juan José Arévalo was tried for "shameless excesses in a church" (*excesos impúdicos en sagrado*). Two women saw him expose himself and masturbate in the church. He was sentenced to be whipped fifty times inside the prison, to spend six months on public works projects in San Salvador, and to pay for the costs of the trial. [AGCA, A1.15, exp. 36.969, leg. 4435]
281. (1808-09) Zacualpan. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Venancio Martín (indigenous, 60) was accused of committing bestiality with a donkey. This case fragment merely refers to the fact that he'd been seen touching the donkey lasciviously, and that medics need to examine him to see if it is physiologically possible for him to still produce semen at sixty years of age. Martín had spent over one and a half years in prison when he requested to be set free. The records are incomplete and no further information is given. [AGN, Criminal 3, exp. 14, fols. 223-228]
282. (1808-10) Zempoala. **Criminal case (sodomy, bestiality, and homicide)**. María Paulina de la Encarnación (indigenous, 50) denounced Lorenzo Aguirre (33) for raping her son, Mariano Marcos (indigenous, 18). The surgeon confirmed that the Marcos's insides and intestines were severely damaged. Marcos, suffering from severe fever and infection, and died within eight days. Aguirre eventually confessed

to raping the boy and having previously had sex with a donkey (since he was unable to find a woman). Aguirre, who escaped from prison but was quickly apprehended in a church, was sentenced to ten year of public works. The donkey was to be killed, but authorities could not find where it was deposited. [AGN, Criminal 98, exp. 2, fols. 25-62]

283. (1808-10) Honduras. **Criminal appeal (bestiality)**. Cipriano Benegas was condemned to five years of presidio labor and imprisonment in 1808 for having sex with a cow. In 1810, he unsuccessfully appealed his sentence. Authorities mandated that the cow be “reduced to ashes.” [AGCA, A1.15(4), exp. 2058, leg. 200]
284. (1809) Mexico City. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. A young man named José de los Reyes (indigenous, < 25) was caught having sex with a *burra* (she-ass) on the hacienda of Santa María. He admitted to his crime and, despite suffering from mental problems and incipient elephantitis, he was sentenced to two years of labor on public works projects. [AGN, Criminal 89, exp. 6, fols. 151-192]
285. (1809) Juchipila (Zacatecas). **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Don Manuel Ramírez (Spanish), reported having seen an inebriated indigenous boy Josef Amadén López (indigenous, 16) behind a mare, which he’d tied with up with rope, with his pants down and “carnally mixing” with the beast. The boy states that he was merely saddling the mare and that the denunciation was out of emnity. The records are incomplete, but it is likely that with only one witness, the boy would not have been found guilty. [AHEZ, caja 31, exp. 9]
286. (1809) Suchitlán (Guadalajara). **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Bárbara Guadalupe and her husband (indigenous) denounced Perfecto Galván (*mulato*, 18) for having sex with his father’s mare. Galván confessed to having sex with some 5 mares over a period of 6 years, and that “it did not appear to him to be a sin.” He later changed his story, stating that he’d only had sex with one mare. Referred to as *atontado* (stupid) and a simpleton, the court sentenced him to 2 years on public works projects. [BPEJ-FE, Caja 104, exp. 2, prog. 1571, ff. 50]
287. (1809) Zacatecas. **Ecclesiastical correspondence (sodomy)**. This fragment refers to a certain Franciscan Fray Benito Franco who remitted information to criminal authorities denouncing acts of sodomy in the province of Zacatecas. No further information is given. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal 1142, exp. 37]
288. (1809) Pachuca. **Criminal summary (bestiality)**. José Hilario Bustos (indigenous, under 18) was imprisoned and tried for repeated acts of bestiality with a donkey and a mule. He was condemned to six months of labor on public works and was to be instructed in the Christian doctrine. The original case is lost. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal 6332, exp. 106]
289. (1810) Mexico City. **Criminal case (necrophilia)**. An indigenous sacristan José Lázaro Martínez was caught in a cemetery “carnally mixing with a dead woman.” He

admitted his guilt, but later changed his story saying that he was drunk and therefore did not remember what he did. He was sentenced to be whipped twenty-five times inside his prison and was to be sent to labor for four years at a fort in Perote, Veracruz. [AGN, Criminal 705, exp. 24, fols. 237-250]

290. (1811) Nuevo Santander. **Inquisition denunciation (bestiality)**. An unnamed boy was denounced to the Inquisition for the crime of bestiality with a donkey. The boy admitted to the crime and Fray Candido Muñoz imprisoned him. Inquisitors in Mexico City advised the priest that sodomy fell under the jurisdiction of secular authorities, not the Inquisition. No further information is given. [AGN, Inquisición 1452, exp. 1, f. 288]
291. (1812) Sacatepéquez (Guatemala). **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Pio Moreira caught Juan Hernández (indigenous, 16) having sex with a sheep on the hacienda de Villa Lobos. Knowing that the boy always “played with the sheep,” he tied him up and turned him in to authorities. The boy admitted that he had intended to have sex with the sheep, but that he didn’t complete the act. He was sentenced to 50 lashes inside of prison and 4 years of public works projects. The sheep was to be killed (but died beforehand). [AGCA, A1.15, exp. 28.192, leg. 2972; AGCA, A1.15, exp. 45.808, leg. 5393]
292. (1812-14) Santa Cruz Tapacolmes, Durango. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Vicente Ornelas accused Felipe Rojas (20, *soltero*) of bestiality with a donkey. Rojas confessed his crime, stating that he’d been “deceived by the Devil” although he knew such an act to be “outside of the natural order for the human propagation.” Don José Arzate, *promotor fiscal*, sentenced Rojas to die by hanging, with his body to be subsequently burned with the donkey. This sentence was appealed, and he was eventually sentenced to 10 years of labor in a presidio. The donkey was burned in his presence. [BPEJ-FE, Caja 111, exp. 14, prog. 1706, ff. 35]
293. (1813) Guadalajara. **Criminal case (sodomy)**. Gabriel Meza (indigenous), a soldier who had deserted his post, was accused of committing sodomy with José Guadalupe Silva (*mulato*) in prison. Meza then accused Máximo Luciano Rivera of having had sexual relations with him, an accusation that proved to be false and vindictive (given that Luciano had initially denounced Meza for sodomy). Silva, it was proven, was publicly affectionate with Meza and extremely jealous of him. In the end, Silva was found guilty of trying to hug, kiss, and be affectionate with Meza and was sentenced to two years of public works. [BPEJ-FE, Caja 13, exp. 13, prog. 234, ff. 55]
294. (1813) Guadalajara, Aqualulco. **Criminal case (murder, allegations of sodomy)**. Don Francisco Camacho was imprisoned for the murder of Don José Bayardo. In his defense, he stated that he’d been drinking liquor with Bayardo and other when Bayardo tried to kiss him, and that his death resulted from Camacho’s defense of his honor. Authorities focused their attention on whether or not Bayardo was inclined toward men (which was seen as a mitigating factor in his murder). The widowed wife

of Bayardo, however, asserted that her previous separation from her husband had nothing to do with suspicions that he was a sodomite. Others interrogated mentioned rumors that Bayardo supported a man named Domingo Alvarado in his house “as if he were a woman.” Others said that Alvarado was merely a servant. The records are incomplete and contains no final sentence. [BPEJ-FE, Caja 119, exp. 5, prog. 1810, ff. 16]

295. (1813) Mexico City **Criminal case (sodomy)**. This fragment refers to the investigation of Juan Romero and Manuel Guevara for having committed sodomy together in prison. The original case is lost and no further information is given. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal 5589, exp. 22; AGN, Indiferente Virreinal 5647, exp. 37]
296. (1813) Guadalajara. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Francisco Naranjo accused Ramón Sánchez (Spanish boy) of committing bestiality with a donkey on the outskirts of the city, at which time Sánchez declared that the Devil had instigated him to carry out the act. In his confession, Sánchez denied carrying out the crime, but admitted that that was his intention. He was sentenced to 6 months’ labor on public works projects. [BPEJ-FE, Caja 119, exp. 1, prog. 1806, ff. 23]
297. (1813) Honduras. **Criminal appeal (bestiality)**. Lucás Mengivar was pardoned for the crime of bestiality. His original sentence is not specified and no further details are given. [AGCA, A1.15(4), exp. 2170, leg. 203]
298. (1813-14) Metapán (El Salvador). **Criminal case (sodomy)**. This case fragment refers to the trial of Faustino Galdámez, who was denounced by Salomé Ramírez, Agustín Morales, and José Antonio Burgos for sodomy. He was sentenced to eight years of labor in a presidio, but Galdámez (who was described by his lawyer as “very effeminate, sickly, and of little spirit”) appealed that his sentence be carried out on public works projects in the city of Metapán. In 1814, his sentence was modified to six years of public works in the city of San Salvador. [AGCA, A1.15 (3), leg. 269, exp. 3222]
299. (1813-14) San Juan Bautista, Sombrerete. **Criminal case (murder, possible sodomy and rape)**. Tomás Cervantes was sentenced to die by garrote for murdering a pre-pubescent boy, Antonio Silva, under the pretense of robbing and/or raping him. No further details are given. [BPEJ-FE 11-7-202]
300. (1815-16) Guadalajara. **Criminal case (sodomy—false accusation)**. Don Antonio Aldama told authorities that Luis Ibarra (*negro*, 18) had told him that Juan Villaseñor had solicited him to commit sodomy. Ibarra and Villaseñor were imprisoned, but Ibarra denied ever making such a statement. Had had, however, heard that Villaseñor had sex with a man named Ángel. Villaseñor denied all charges against him and said he’d never known anyone named Ángel. Witnesses confirmed that Villaseñor had personal enemies who sought to defame him. Ibarra and Villaseñor were absolved of the charges against them, though Ibarra was whipped 15



times in prison for having caused a fight and carried prohibited arms. [BPEJ-FE, Caja 124, exp. 10, prog. 1856, ff. 50]

301. (1816-20) Querétaro. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. José Beltrán was caught by another soldier having sex with a dog. Initially, he admitted to the charges and was sentenced to be executed by garrote and subsequently burned. Upon review by the auditor of the Viceroy, it was decided that his case should be reexamined. Medical examiners determined that the dog could not have tolerated penetration. In a second confession, Beltrán retracted his initial story, and said that he'd actually masturbated and cleaned himself on the dog, and that the soldier who had caught him merely misunderstood the situation. Afraid of being punished for masturbation, he stated that he'd previously confessed to bestiality because he thought it was a less serious crime. After 4 years in prison, he was absolved. [AGN, Criminal 426, exp. 2, fols. 65-170; Penyak "Criminal Sexuality in Central Mexico," 283-286]
302. (1817) Madrid and the Spanish colonies. **Official decree of royal pardons**. This decree, issued in Madrid and applicable throughout all of Spain's colonies in celebration of the king's brother, Don Carlos, father the infant Doña María Francisca (*gracias a la celebración del enlace de su hermano Don Carlos con la infanta Doña María Francisca*), granted a general pardon to those imprisoned for all crimes with the exception those convicted of the following crimes: murder of priests, printing of counterfeit money, arson, the extraction of prohibited articles from the Spanish kingdom, blasphemy, sodomy, robbery and theft (*hurto*), bribery and barratry, falseness (*falsedad*), resisting criminal authorities, and embezzlement of funds from the Real Hacienda. A similar pardon was issued in 1816. [AGN, Indiferente Virreinal 5342, exp. 19]
303. (1817) Guatemala. **Criminal case (sodomy)**. This is the incomplete trial of Cesario León, who was imprisoned for homicide, for having committed sodomy with another prisoner, Potenciano Auleo. Six men were witnesses. No further information is given. [AGCA, A2.2, leg. 265, exp.5799]
304. (1817-18) Colotlán. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Agustín Jiménez denounced José Andrés Abelino (indigenous, 15) of bestiality with a donkey. He confessed to his crime, but was pardoned by the official decree of royal pardons in 1818. [BPEJ-FE, Caja 137, exp. 13, prog. 2065, ff. 11]
305. (1818) Guadalajara. **Criminal case (sodomy—false accusation)**. Don Vicente Ulloa (Spanish from Lima, 56) was falsely accused of attempting to rape three servants of his, Manuel García, Máximo Álvares (indigenous, 19), and Andrés Luebano (Spanish, 19). Luebano declared that Ulloa threatened him with a knife and penetrated him. He also mentioned another victim, Sinforoso Ubiarco, who testified against Ulloa. Álvares declared that Ulloa had forcefully penetrated him as well as another boy named Alejandro González. Ulloa, however, denounced that the charges against him were false and that he'd beaten his servants, thus giving them motive to levy false accusations against him. In the course of interrogations, it became clear that,

pressured by Luebano, all the boys had fabricated their stories because they had robbed Ulloa and wanted him imprisoned to prevent their being caught. For calumny, Luebano and Álvares were sentenced to receive 25 lashes each and six months of labor on public works projects. [BPEJ-FE, Caja 18, exp. 3, prog. 303, ff. 103]

306. (1818-19) Zacatecas. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Ysidro Revelloso turned José Rodríguez Arzola (*mestizo*, 15) in to authorities for bestiality with a donkey in a livestock pen. Arzola supposedly tried to bribe Revelloso not to tell anyone. Arzola eventually admitted to his crime, blaming ignorance and alcohol for his actions. He was sentenced to 5 years of labor in a presidio. [BPEJ-FE, Caja 59, exp. 11, prog. 958, ff. 48]
307. (1818-20) Tlaltenango. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Octavio Meza (*mestizo*) denounced José Florentino (indigenous, 14) for “brutally mixing with a white [female] dog” in his house. Florentino denied the charges, denouncing his detractor as a scandalous and drunken enemy of his. In July of 1820, Florentino was set free given the lack of evidence against him. [BPEJ-FE, Caja 19, exp. 6, prog. 317, ff. 27]
308. (1818-20) Comala. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Juan María (indigenous, 16) was accused of having sex with a donkey in an arroyo. He confessed to having been “tempted by the Devil” and having sex with the donkey one time. On 2 August 1819, he was condemned to die (by hanging), with his corpse to be burned alongside the donkey. His defense appealed the sentence, and proved (through baptismal records) that he was only 16 when apprehended for the crime. The court then sentenced him to 10 years of labor in a presidio. On 15 July 1820, the court decided that his crime fell under the decree of pardons. He was freed later that week. [BPEJ-FE, Caja 20, exp. 11, prog. 333, ff. 61]
309. (1818-20) Teocaltiche. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Juan Hilario Soto and Don Isidro Antonio Hornelas accused Tomás Amador (*mestizo*, 24) of having sex with a donkey whose eyes he had covered. When confronted and asked why he didn’t have sex with women instead, Amador supposedly replied that he’d tried to have sex with women, but with no success. Amador confessed that he’d wanted to have sex with the animal, but that “he did not sin because the mule resisted, kicking him in the shin.” On 15 July 1820, the court decided that he benefited from the decree of pardons, and he was set free three days later. [BPEJ-FE, Caja 145, exp. 6, prog. 2188, ff. 48]
310. (1820) Hidalgo del Parral. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. José Ramón Talamantes denounced Joseph Antonio (*mestizo*, 25) for bestiality with a donkey. Antonio, an unmarried servant, admitted that out of weakness, he’d had sex with the donkey, but was interrupted before he could ejaculate. The records are incomplete and no further information is given. [AMHP, Causas Criminales 1820, “contra Joseph Antonio por cohabitado con una burra”]
311. (1820) Mazatepe (Nicaragua). **Criminal summary (bestiality)**. José Martín and Guadalupe Valerio accused Francisco García (indigenous) of bestiality with a donkey.

He denied the charges, and sufficiently demonstrated that Valerio's family had animosity for him because some of his oxen had damaged their orchards. No further details are given. [AGCA, A1.15(5), exp. 1497, leg. 187]

312. (1821) Tula. **Criminal case (bestiality)**. Teodoro José denounced José Chávez (24) for tying up a donkey and having sex with it. He admitted that “the Devil and the [sins of] the flesh had tempted him to have [carnal] access with the donkey,” but that he was unable to consummate the act. Authorities in Tula sent to case to Mexico City to see if Chávez's crime fell under the 1821 decree of pardons. A magistrate of the Audiencia of Mexico, however, noted that there was no place in the pardons for bestiality, and that the case should be sent back to authorities in Tula. The records are incomplete and no further information is given. [AGEH, Tula Justicia, caja 55, exp.; AGN, Criminal 196, exp. 7, fols. 211-215]
313. (1829) Monterrey. **Judicial correspondence (sodomy, rape)**. This piece of correspondence refers to the violent rape of Matias Peña (7) by Reducindo Morillo, for which he was sentenced to five years of forced labor in a presidio in the port of Veracruz. Morillo appealed to have his punishment lightened, but his appeal was rejected. [AMMNL, Criminal 52, exp. 848]
314. (1848) Guanajuato. **Judicial summary (illicit friendship between two women)**. Antonia Silva and Juana Gómez were found guilty of “illicit friendship” (*ilícita amistad*) and sent to prison for an unspecified period of time. The original case is lost and no further information is given. [DAFH-UG, caja 44, leg. 5, exp. 9, f. 18]