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"Habia abido y abia y andaba en ellas duende...": The case of a duende in early modern Spain

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“Habia abido y abia y andaba en ellas duende...”: *The case of a duende in early modern Spain*

An Honors Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of History

Bates College

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Degree of Bachelor of Arts

By

Cody Pfeiffer

Lewiston, Maine

April 3, 2023

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Abstract

Systems of belief and topics such as the supernatural in early modern Spain have long been a focal point of academic research. This thesis expands upon this body of research by examining a 16th-century court case from Spain regarding a house that was allegedly inhabited by a *duende*. Through an analysis of this legal case from the perspective of ‘lived religion’, this thesis will attempt to provide a multi-faceted answer to how early modern Spaniards understood *duendes*. Previous scholarship on *duendes* has focused on the writings of an educated elite. This thesis, however, intends to explain the ‘lived’ understandings of Spaniards regarding *duendes*. To better understand *duendes*, this thesis will examine Spaniards’ systems of belief, how Spaniards identified the presence of a *duende* and believed it to interact within their world, and questions of gender, economic status, as well as *duendes* as a metaphor. In discussing these topics and concepts, I argue that *duendes* were active inhabitants of the world of early modern Spaniards. Furthermore, *duendes* were one rational expression for Spaniards of their lived realities, serving as embodiments of the ideologies and structures that dominated domestic spaces.

List of participants in López's lawsuit

Lorenzo López: Cloth merchant, plaintiff of the Peñafiel *duende* house lawsuit

Catalina López: The wife of Lorenzo López

Maríana López: The daughter of Lorenzo López

Antonio Ruiz: A resident of Peñafiel, witness for López

Pedro de la Cuesta: A resident of Peñafiel whose family previously inhabited the *duende* house, *zapatero*, witness for López

Lope de Maquina: A witness for López who lived in the *duende* house three years prior to López lawsuit

Catalina Rodríguez: A witness for López who lived with her husband Lope de Maquina in the *duende* house three years prior to the López lawsuit

María Sacristán: A *criada* in the López household, witness for López

Juan Pérez: A *tundidor* and resident of Penafiel, witness for López

Catalina Núñez: Resident of the *duende* house at the time of the appeal of López's lawsuit, second cousin of Ana de Gracia, witness for López

Juan de Aguirre: A tradesmen living in the *duende* home with Catalina Núñez and Francisco García, witness for López

María: A resident of Peñafiel and the wife of Juan Benito, visited Catalina Núñez and Francisco García two or three times a week in the *duende* house to wash cloth, witness for López

Francisco García: A *zapatero* who lived with his wife Catalina Núñez in the *duende* house at the time of the appeal of López's lawsuit, witness for López and Vernal

Catalina de Saja: A resident of Peñafiel and *criada* of Bartolomé de Balbuena, previously worked for Francisco García and resided in the *duende* home for a month, witness for López

Diego de Azores: A resident of Peñafiel who lived opposite of the *duende* house, witness for López

Ana de Zebollo: Lived next to the *duende* house and the wife of Alonso Bernal, witness for Lorenzo López

Isabel de Medina: Resident of Penafiel and the wife of Francisco de Castroverde, witness for López

Ana de Villanueva: Resident of Peñafiel and the wife of Francisco Rodríguez, witness for López

Diego Martínez Vernal: Resident of Ayllón who previously owned the *duende* house before selling it to Lorenzo and Catalina López, defendant of the Peñafiel *duende* house lawsuit

Ana de Gracia: The wife of Diego Martínez Vernal

Gabriel de Segovia: A *platero* who lived in the *duende* house for two years, witness for Vernal

María Beltrán: A witness for Vernal who lived in the *duende* home with Gabriel de Segovia as a *criada*.

Agustín Díez: A witness for Vernal who lived next to the *duende* house for fourteen to fifteen years

Juan Aparicio: A witness for Vernal who lived in the *duende* house for five years

Gregorio Rodríguez: Relative of Ana de Gracia who rented the *bodega* of the *duende* house from López, witness for Vernal

Juan González: A witness for Vernal who had resided in the *duende* home for nine months

Juan Aparicio de Hierro: A witness for Vernal who rented the *duende* house and lived in it for five years

María Hernández: A witness for Vernal who lived in the *duende* home for a year as the *criada* of Gabriel de Segovia

A Note on Transcriptions

In the instances for which I directly cite testimony or other words from the legal case documents of López's lawsuit, I will maintain the original spelling. I will also provide a translation of the words and/or sentences which I cite directly from the documents, although I will not translate words and/or phrases such as *duende* or *cosas malas* which may be difficult to translate without losing the complex significance behind the words and/or phrases. The same rules will apply for citations from other primary source documents.

Introduction

In 1588 Lorenzo López, his family, and his servants moved to a new home in the small village of Peñafiel, located near Valladolid. While the new house appeared perfectly normal to López and the rest of his household, they never expected what was awaiting them inside. One of the servants, nineteen-year old María Sacristán, was upstairs alone and working peacefully on her first night in the house. Suddenly, she was bombarded with pieces of dirt and plaster. In the heat of the moment, Sacristán did not know who was throwing these things nor where they were being thrown from, and as the fear built up inside of her, she fled downstairs to Lorenzo López and his wife Catalina López, telling them about the inexplicable barrage that she had just experienced. They abruptly told her to stop talking, telling her that what she had experienced was nothing. However, Sacristán later heard Lorenzo order Catalina not to say anything to Sacristán about what inhabited the house so that Sacristán would not leave.

What was it about the home that was so frightening that it might cause Sacristán to leave? Was it related to the odd experience that Sacristán had her first night? Going upstairs another night to collect some garbage, the flame of her candle went out, and her headdress was thrown off her head and ripped apart. Sacristán was scratched all over her face and head, and the sudden and violent occurrence caused her to pass out from fear for three hours. Retelling this story to the local court of Peñafiel a year later, she would testify that the two inexplicable instances described above were most likely the doings of a *duende*.¹

¹ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López, vecino de Peñafiel, con Diego Martínez Bernal y su esposa Ana de Gracia, vecinos de Ayllón, sobre la rescisión del contrato de compra de una casa, situada en la parroquia de Santa María de Mediavilla de la citada villa de Peñafiel, por no advertir al comprador que estaba habitada por duendes, trasgos y diablos”, 1590, PL Civiles, Varela (F), Caja 3305, 5, *Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Valladolid*, 79-81, <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/show/12878136>. Given that the folio numbers are not consistently written by the court notaries of López’s lawsuit, I have decided to base my page number references on the page numbers of the digitized case which can be accessed through the URL listed above.

What made Sacristán believe that a *duende* had attacked her in the home of Lorenzo López? To be able to understand this question, we have to first ask a broader one: what was a *duende* to people like Sacristán? It was not only Sacristán who continued to face attacks and witness activity from what she believed was a *duende*. Many others who resided in or visited the home, including Lorenzo and Catalina, believed that a *duende* was the source of the odd activity that had gone on for months in their house. The presence of the *duende* became so unbearable for the López household that following a year of residence in the Peñafiel house, López decided to abandon the home and to rent another house in the village.

The story of López's *duende* lawsuit

While it may seem that the history of the *duende* house would conclude following the López household's relocation to another house, the relocation was just the beginning. On September 23, 1589, López appeared in front of the Peñafiel tribunal with a *demanda* (lawsuit) that Diego Martínez Vernal and Ana de Gracia, the previous owners of the *duende* home, reassume ownership over the property and return the 250 *ducados* that they received from López for the first payment.² López alleged in the *demanda* that Vernal and Gracia had not informed him that a *duende* had inhabited the Peñafiel home, a condition that Vernal and Gracia were obligated to report under Spanish law. The tribunal proceeded to temporarily incarcerate Diego Martínez Vernal before releasing him on bail. Following Vernal's release, both he and López declared their *procuradores* (attorneys) to the court and submitted their *interrogatorios* (documents containing the questions for the examination of one's witnesses). After López and Vernal presented their respective witnesses (6 for López and 4 for Vernal) and the examination

² When Lorenzo López purchased the *duende* house from Diego Martínez Vernal and Ana de Gracia, the payment was divided into two parts, with the first part being paid with the purchase of the home and the second one being paid following a year of occupation in the home.

of these witnesses, the tribunal sided with Vernal and dismissed López's lawsuit for failing to prove that a *duende* had inhabited or currently resided in López's previous residence.

Disappointed by the decision of the Peñafiel tribunal, López appealed his case to Valladolid tribunal, making the same allegations that he had detailed in his *demanda* to the Peñafiel tribunal. When Vernal failed to respond, the Valladolid court decided in the favor of López, annulling the sale of the *duende* house and returning the 250 *ducados* of the first payment to López. López, however, demanded that he receive the full 500 *ducados* that he had paid to Vernal and Gracia in fulfillment of the payment amount established for the sale of the home. Vernal also appealed the Valladolid tribunal's decision, and as a result, López and Vernal once again entered into a legal dispute in which witnesses (9 for López and 7 for Vernal) were brought forth and examined. The appeals also brought new information into the spotlight: Francisco García and Catalina Nuñez had been renting (from López) and residing in the alleged *duende* house. Following the conclusion of the examination process, the Valladolid tribunal issued its final judgment on the legal dispute that had produced a total of 125 folios of documentation: López had successfully proved his allegations. The Peñafiel home now had its reputation juridically cemented in the history of Peñafiel and of early modern Spain as a home that was inhabited by a *duende*.

What remains vague is the question of what the *duende* was that inhabited López's home. In this thesis I examine and analyze the testimonies and other documents that compose the court case in order to understand what a *duende* was for the Spaniards involved. I argue that there is not a single 'definition' or understanding of what a *duende* was. In other words, I do not intend to define *the duende*, but rather to understand what *a duende* could be to different Spaniards. I argue that *duendes* were active inhabitants of the world of early modern Spaniards. *Duendes*

were one rational expression for Spaniards of their lived realities, serving as embodiments of the ideologies and structures that dominated domestic spaces.

The ‘intellectual’ approach to belief, religion, and *duendes*

Previous scholarship on *duendes* has often taken an ‘intellectual’ approach to understanding what *duendes* were for Spaniards. In Anel Hernández Sotelo’s article “Sobre la especulación *duendina*. Los argumentos de Antonio de Fuentelapeña en *El ente dilucidado* (1676)”, Sotelo focuses on the treatise written by Capuchin friar Antonio de Fuentelapeña in 1676 titled *El ente dilucidado: Discurso unico novissimo que muestra ay en la naturaleza Animales irracionales invisibles, y quales sean*. Sotelo argues that the purpose of the treatise was to eliminate the fear towards *duendes*, which were a ‘popular’ belief among Spaniards who supposedly believed these *duendes* to be “espíritus malos de los que cayeron, como lo tienen todos, que parte de ellos quedaron en el aire, y algunos habitan en lugares terrestres”.³ Sotelo then details how Fuentelapeña structured his treatise with “la lógica y la filosofía”, disproving that a *duende* was an angel, demon, a bodiless soul, or a rational, corporal soul before categorizing it as an irrational animal.⁴ While *El ente dilucidado* is the fundamental focus of Sotelo’s article, she also references 16th and 17th century literature such as *La dama duende* and *Duendes son alcahuetes y el espíritu folero* that utilized the “creencias populares” surrounding *duendes* in an attempt to “reinventarlas y renovar su presencia en el imaginario social”.⁵ What all of these sources that Sotelo analyzes have in common is that they attempted to define *duendes* not from the perspective of personal experience but from a philosophical or literary perspective.

³ Anel Hernández Sotelo, “Sobre la especulación *duendina*. Los argumentos de Antonio de Fuentelapeña en *El ente dilucidado* (1676),” *Fronteras de la historia* 17, no. 1 (2012): 57, <https://go.exlibris.link/vPxsqGT2>.

⁴ Hernández Sotelo, “Sobre la especulación *duendina*,” 52.

⁵ Hernández Sotelo, “Sobre la especulación *duendina*,” 67.

What Sotelo notes in her article is that Fuentelapeña attempted to change what he views or understands to be the ‘popular’ view of *duendes* through a more abstract or ‘intellectual’ discussion of *duendes* that results in his categorization of them.

Fernando Rodríguez de la Flor, a professor in the *Departamento de Literatura Española e Hispanoamericana* at the University of Salamanca, also analyzes Fuentealpeña’s treatise in his article “El discurso del *duende* en los momentos inaugurales del periodo novator”. We learn in Rodríguez de la Flor’s analysis how the educated class of early modern Spanish society thought about *duendes* through various ‘intellectual’ models such as the supernatural, natural, and preternatural as well as with Baroque thought. Rodríguez de la Flor dedicates the majority of his article to demonstrating how Fuentelapeña’s treatise, in its explanation of *duendes*, expands and explores the invisible ‘tercer mundo’ of the preternatural in an attempt to justify the existence of the *duende* outside of the binary categories of the supernatural and natural.⁶ Rodríguez de la Flor further argues that a secondary objective of Fuentelapeña’s treatise was to eliminate the idea of *duendes* as something demonic. In order to demonstrate these ideas, Fuentelapeña adhered to ‘*racionalismo escolástico*’ and to Baroque thought, which was preoccupied with the “discernimiento de espíritus y la estratificación y jerarquía de órbitas cosmológicas y escalas de seres”.⁷ As a result of la Flor’s article, we receive a definition or image of *duendes* that is defined through the ‘intellectual’ frameworks of the time rather than through ‘lived experiences’ with a *duende*.

The focus of Sotelo and la Flor on ‘intellectual’ texts and perspectives about *duendes* follows a similar approach to that of Andrew Keitt on religion and belief systems in early

⁶ Fernando Rodríguez de la Flor, “El discurso del *duende* en los momentos inaugurales del periodo novator,” *Criticón*, no. 103-104 (2020): par. 14, <https://doi.org/10.4000/criticón.11841>.

⁷ Rodríguez de la Flor, “El discurso del *duende*,” par. 11-12.

modern Spain, an approach that attempts to examine and understand these systems through the perspective of institutions and/or elites that produced written material on various aspects of belief. In *Inventing the Sacred: Imposture, Inquisition, and the Boundaries of the Supernatural in Golden Age Spain*, Keitt focuses on Inquisitorial cases that attempted to regulate ‘impostures’ who claimed to have had revelations or other divine and supernatural visions. Instead of focusing primarily on the ‘impostors’ of these Inquisition cases, Keitt framed his book around the institutional responses and attempts to regulate alleged ‘impostors’ that threatened the boundaries of Catholic thaumaturgy. While this focus is fundamental to understanding the complex evolution and debates by theological elites surrounding questions of categorization and permissibility, it does not allow us to understand the perspective of the broader populace of ‘ordinary people’ such as the ‘impostors’ tried by the Inquisition.

Keitt follows a similar approach in his chapter in *Angels, Demons and the New World* titled “The devil in the Old World: anti-superstition literature, medical humanism and preternatural philosophy in early modern Spain”. He situates his chapter within recent scholarship that “has sought to rescue demonology from the margins of European intellectual history” by examining sources such as anti-superstition literature in order to understand ‘intellectual’ categorizations of extraordinary phenomenon in the world.⁸ The principal categories that phenomenon were defined as were the supernatural, natural, and preternatural, and the preternatural “encompassed ‘wonders’, ‘marvels’ and ‘prodigies’ that departed from the normal course of nature yet remained outside the miraculous realm of the supernatural”.⁹ In both of Keitt’s works, he is not interested in how Spaniards outside of the institutional and

⁸ Andrew Keitt, “The Devil in the Old World: Anti-Superstition Literature, Medical Humanism and Preternatural Philosophy in Early Modern Spain,” in *Angels, Demons and the New World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 15, Cambridge Core.

⁹ Keitt, “The Devil in the Old World,” 15.

‘intellectual’ elite in early modern Spain thought about or navigated their beliefs and how these beliefs impacted their daily lives. Instead, he focuses on how institutions such as the Inquisition and the Church as well as elite and educated members of these institutions thought about and categorized certain beliefs or phenomena in relation to belief.

What the works of Keitt, Sotelo and la Flor attempt to develop in their discussion of various aspects of belief in early modern Spain is an understanding of the ‘intellectual history’ of belief. While this is beneficial in understanding ‘educated’ discourses and ideas surrounding *duendes* and how *duendes* were represented within the cosmology of intellectual elites, it is limited as an approach towards better understanding what a *duende* was to everyday Spaniards, such as Sacristán. There is no indication in the documentation of López’s lawsuit that Sacristán was thinking of the *duende* in López’s house in terms of ‘intellectual’ categories such as preternatural, supernatural, or natural. Rather than discussing the *duende* through a philosophical discourse such as Baroque thought, Sacristán discusses the *duende* from the perspective of her ‘lived experiences’ in the Peñafiel home during which she encountered the *duende*.

Academic research into the ‘intellectual history’ of *duendes* demonstrates elite attempts such as that of Fuentelapeña’s treatise to *categorize* and *define* a *duende*, but in the testimonies of López’s legal case, the witnesses were characterizing the *duende* through their experiences rather than attempting to determine if it is ‘preternatural’ or an ‘irrational animal’. *Duendes* were more than a static belief for Spaniards: *duendes* were a part of and also shaped by Spaniards’ lived experiences. Thus, in this thesis, I plan to diverge from the focus of scholars such as Keitt, la Flor, and Sotelo on the ‘intellectual’ history of belief in order to understand *duendes* from the perspective of ‘lived experience’. My approach also differs from that in the only academic scholarship published thus far about López’s lawsuit. Pablo García Cañón argues that the case

allows for further research into the “campo de los seres fantásticos...de una manera científica”.¹⁰

In other words, García Cañón portrays López’s legal case as a piece of scientific evidence that documents the beliefs of Spaniards in “los seres fantásticos” such as *duendes*. This misperception by García Cañón is furthered in his intent to “exponer los hechos según se recogen en la documentación con la mayor objetividad posible”.¹¹ This approach adheres to ‘belief analysis’ in that it intends to recuperate and represent beliefs as static and concrete rather than attempting to understand *duendes* as complex creatures as expressed through the lived experiences of the Spaniards in López’s legal case.

The ‘lived experience’ approach to belief and religion

Inga Clendinnen, almost as if describing García Cañón’s approach to explaining López’s lawsuit, writes that when studying ‘religion’, “[w]e look for the belief, the theological principle we take to be encapsulated in the particular action”.¹² This ‘belief analysis’ approach, she goes on to say, is “mistaken” because “‘Religion’ is a notoriously protean beast, resistant to being pinned down”, and “[t]he notion of a ‘belief’ as a proposition to which the individual assents does not catch the quality of lived faith, where ‘belief’ has as much to do with affect emotional, moral and aesthetic as with propositions”.¹³ This idea of a ‘lived faith’ offers a useful approach to understanding *duendes* in early modern Spain. Rather than utilizing the documentation of López’s lawsuit as ‘objective evidence’ of a ‘belief’ by Spaniards in *duendes*, I analyze the

¹⁰ Pablo García Cañón, “Fenómenos extraños en una vivienda de la villa de Peñafiel (Valladolid) a fines del siglo XVI,” *ArtyHum Revista de Artes y Humanidades*, no. 80 (2021): 120.

¹¹ García Cañón, “Fenómenos extraños en una vivienda de la villa de Peñafiel,” 120.

¹² Inga Clendinnen, “Ways to the Sacred: Reconstructing ‘Religion’ in Sixteenth-Century Mexico,” in *The Cost of Courage in Aztec Society* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 123.

¹³ Clendinnen, “Ways to the Sacred,” 123-24.

testimony and other elements of the legal case that indicate the ‘lived *duende* experiences’ of Spaniards to better understand what a *duende* was to different Spaniards.

William Christian’s book, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-century Spain*, is one of the most significant pieces of scholarship regarding this concept of ‘lived faith’, and Inga Clendinnen even cites Christian’s book as a basis for her ‘lived faith’ approach. Christian recognized that there existed “two levels of Catholicism” in “the villages, towns, and cities of Central Spain”, which, on one level, was “that of the Church Universal, based on the sacraments, the Roman liturgy, and the Roman calendar”.¹⁴ This ‘level’ of Catholicism was what “[h]istorians of sixteenth-century Spain have been more concerned with”, focusing more on “the notions of clergy about religion than its practice by lay people”.¹⁵ The focus of Christian’s work is the second ‘layer’ of Catholicism: “a local one based on particular sacred places, images, and relics, locally chosen patron saints, idiosyncratic ceremonies, and a unique calendar built up from the settlement’s own sacred history”.¹⁶ According to Christian, local Catholicism was the ‘level’ of “primary significance” because Spaniards, who were “faced with serious threats to their collective well-being from the environment”, understood religion as a matter of “who would help them [Spaniards] and what they should do in return”.¹⁷ Even in the case of priests, “the religion learned at home, embedded in the home landscape, transcends the doctrinal attitudes learned in the seminary, which they may apply elsewhere”.¹⁸ In other words, religion for everyday Spaniards was influenced by their daily concerns rather than by doctrinal concepts. For the Spaniards such as Sacristán in López’s court case, inquiring as to how they ‘lived’ and

¹⁴ William A. Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1981), 3.

¹⁵ Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain*, 3.

¹⁶ Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain*, 3.

¹⁷ Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain*, 20.

¹⁸ Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain*, 20.

‘experienced’ the *duende* in López’s house reveals more about their conceptions of *duendes* than if we were to look at treatises such as Fuentelapeña’s.

William Taylor effectively employs this approach of ‘lived religion’ in his scholarship on sacred shrines and images in his book *Theater of a Thousand Wonders: A History of Miraculous Images and Shrines in New Spain*. In characterizing the sources that inform us about sacred shrines and images, he notes that “The voices of those who knew about these matters [sacred shrines and images] as participants are not often registered in their own words in colonial records, so that the researcher must seek them in evidence of what they did”.¹⁹ In order to do so, Taylor therefore searches “for people in action, in their surroundings, and what their activities of place making and maintaining might say about them”.²⁰ Most importantly, Taylor defines “[p]laces...as ongoing creations from accumulating experiences, memories, and meanings”.²¹ Given that the testimonies of witnesses in López’s lawsuit are narrations of their ‘*duende* experiences’, these testimonies provide us with a (refracted) window with which to view the actions and lived experiences of these Spaniards and how these experiences accumulated to produce significance regarding the *duende*.

A brief analysis of López’s lawsuit

I described the “window” of López’s lawsuit and the associated testimonies as “refracted” because the documentation for the legal case, as well as every other historical source, was produced within a specific context that requires further analysis prior to utilizing the source to understand what a *duende* was for Spaniards. The archival file compiles all of the documents

¹⁹ William B. Taylor, *Theater of a Thousand Wonders: A History of Miraculous Images and Shrines in New Spain*, Vol. 103 (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 2, Cambridge Core.

²⁰ Taylor, *Theater of a Thousand Wonders*, 3.

²¹ Taylor, *Theater of a Thousand Wonders*, 3.

(original or copied) pertaining to the legal case, and those documents were either written by the court notary or by one of the legal parties and their *procuradores*.²² I rely most heavily on the *interrogatorios* and corresponding witness testimonies or *probanzas* because they provide the greatest amount of information regarding the lived experiences of Spaniards in relation to the *duende*. I also examine evidence from other documents of the lawsuit such as López's *demand*a and the *escritos de bien probado*, the documents written by each legal party that summarized their case and argued as to why the court should rule in their favor.

Lorenzo López submitted his *interrogatorios* to the court while Pedro Hernández, the *procurador* for Diego Martínez Vernal, submitted the defense's *interrogatorios*. The process of creation for the *interrogatorios* is uncertain, but we can infer that López and his *procurador/es* formulated the plaintiff's *interrogatorios* while Vernal and his *procurador/es* drafted the defendant's *interrogatorios*. López and Vernal mostly likely worked with their *procuradores* because some questions have a juridical frame. For example, both *interrogatorios* ask the respective witnesses whether they have knowledge of the two parties and the home involved in the case in order to establish the witnesses' knowledge and connection to the content of the case. Other questions include specific information about which the plaintiff and defendant would have been knowledgeable. For instance, López's *interrogatorio* refers to specific occurrences such as when his daughter was found seemingly deceased in the *bodega* (wine cellar) of his home.

The framing of these questions is important for understanding the influence of these questions on the witnesses. The questions were framed to elicit responses that were favorable to the respective parties. At the time, concepts such as 'leading' questions did not exist or impact the content of the *interrogatorios*, so witnesses were asked if they knew of a *duende* in the home

²² The case documentation was not transcribed, so prior to writing this thesis, I transcribed the documentation and have included it in an appendix.

prior to and after López's purchase of the house and if they were aware that López made his first payment on the house without any complaints regarding a *duende*. While the 'leading' frame for the *interrogatorio* questions may be viewed as provoking certain responses from the witnesses, the testimonies are still useful for my purposes in this thesis. First, many of the witnesses, especially those for López, narrate experiences that include details beyond what was provided in the question. Furthermore, the 'leading' framing is not particularly problematic for my purpose in this thesis since I am not looking to prove the 'veracity' of the testimony or the events that transpired in the *duende* house. Keeping in mind the purpose or intentions of the authors of the *interrogatorios* and of the witnesses for each legal party, the information from these sources provide us with a greater understanding of the various perceptions of witnesses and others regarding *duendes*. Regardless of whether a witness testified to the *duende*'s existence or against it, how these witnesses expressed their 'answers' to this guiding question of the court case is invaluable to obtaining insights into how these Spaniards thought about or what they thought about *duendes*. This also applies to documents such as López's *demand*a and the *escritos de bien probado* that were written by each legal party's *procurador(es)*. Although the purpose of these documents was to argue the merits of the respective legal party's case to the judicial authority/authorities, those arguments provide information such as what someone thought a *duende* was capable of and how it was acting in the López house.

One final thing that needs to be discussed in regards to López's lawsuit is the uncertainty of many of López's witnesses in identifying what attacked them or caused odd occurrences in the *duende* house. This was the case for María Sacristán when she was first attacked by the *duende* with pieces of dirt and plaster. Even when a witness was more certain of the identity of the 'perpetrator' of some act or attack, they usually listed variations of a legal formula present in

López's *interrogatorio* that it was a *duende* or *trasgo* or *otra cosa mala*. How should this uncertainty be reconciled with the focus of this thesis on *duendes*? The truth is that witnesses could never have been entirely certain that what inhabited López's home was a *duende*. *Duendes* were invisible creatures, meaning that Spaniards could never be entirely sure that what had just attacked them was a *duende* and not another invisible creature of the *cosas malas* that acted within the human world.

However, all of López's witnesses were gathered and brought before the court because López may have thought that they also believed and supported his accusation that a *duende* or some *otra cosa* inhabited and made his house uninhabitable. If López's witnesses did not believe that a *duende* was a likely 'suspect' behind the experiences they testified to, then they would have simply modified the legal formula present in his *interrogatorio*. Proving the existence of any *otra cosa mala* that caused fear and made the house uninhabitable would have been sufficient in getting the court to rule in López's favor. Thus, in the case that witnesses did believe that some *cosa mala* was responsible for the experiences they testified to, they had the liberty in their testimony to list other kinds of *cosas malas* that they believed were more likely 'culprits' just as Catalina Rodríguez did when she included a *diablo* as a potential 'perpetrator'. Nevertheless, all of López's witnesses agreed with his accusation that a *duende* or some *otra cosa mala* was inhabiting his Peñafiel house. There does exist the possibility that this agreement may have been based on the witnesses wanting to help López in proving his case. If this was true, the uncertainty of many of López's witnesses is still valuable for the purpose of this thesis. The uncertainty demonstrated that there was not one clear definition of a *duende* because if there had been, witnesses would have been much more likely and certain in claiming that a *duende*

inhabited López's home. In other words, the uncertainty of López's witnesses is potentially indicative of the complexity involved in the perceptions and understandings of *duendes*.

A brief contextual overview of López, his household, and Peñafiel

Peñafiel, the setting for this thesis, was a small village that was located to the east of Valladolid where the *Real Chancillería* that would eventually consider López's appeal was located. While there are few sources about the town during the sixteenth century, what is known is that the *duende* house was/is located on the current street of *Capitán Rojas*, which was known at the time of López's lawsuit as the *calle del Puente*.²³ This street was “una de las calles más importantes del municipio donde vivían confiteros, sastres, mercaderes de paños y sedas, plateros, mesoneros, mercaderes de especias, zurreros, escribanos, boticarios”, and López himself was a *mercader de paños*, as indicated by the *tienda de paños* (cloth store) that was located in the *portal* of his home and sixty-nine of his letters that formalized the sale of fabric in 1589.²⁴ In terms of López's household, he declared in his *demand*a that he lived with his “mujer hijos y criados (wife, children, and servants)” in the Peñafiel house, although the only householders mentioned by name in the lawsuit are his wife Catalina López, his daughters Maríana and Catalina López, and María Sacristán, his *criada*.²⁵

Microhistories and *duendes*

I have chosen to frame my thesis as a microhistory. In the first part of a book titled *What is Microhistory?: Theory and Practice*, István M. Szijártó, an associate professor of history and

²³ Alicia Velasco Rivera, Marisa Rivera Zarza, and Luis Miguel Velasco Peña, “El caso de la casa encantada,” *Cuadernos de Peñafiel*, no. 24 (July 2021): 3. <http://www.penafieltorredelagua.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/Introducci%C3%B3n-Cuaderno-24.pdf>.

²⁴ García Cañón, “Fenómenos extraños en una vivienda de la villa de Peñafiel”, 121; “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 57; Velasco Rivera, Rivera Zarza, and Velasco Peña, “El caso de la casa encantada,” 3.

²⁵ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 10.

the founder of the Microhistory Network (“an international group of historians interested in microhistory”), provides a definition of microhistory that consists of three components.²⁶ A microhistory has a microscopic approach, meaning that it focuses on individuals, families, a community, or an event; it addresses “great historical questions”, meaning that it looks to greater significances (insights into a broader society and its structures, for example) based on the microhistory; and it emphasizes agency of its historical ‘actors’.²⁷ He also argues that microhistories have four benefits: “it is appealing to the general public” (and accessible in the sense that it is easily digestible/understandable for the reader); “it is realistic” in the sense that it focuses on a micro or specific reality in discussing history and broader themes/topics; “it conveys personal experience”; and its micro focus can reach far beyond the specifics of its history.²⁸ In this thesis, I have chosen to focus on the individuals and families who were affected by the *duende* of López’s home so that I may better understand *duendes* and their greater significance in early modern Spanish society. In other words, the microhistorical approach allows me to examine this individual court case and to understand *duendes* through personal or lived experiences.

That microhistories never lose sight of the ‘broader picture’ or, as Szijártó names it, the “great historical questions” differentiates them from antiquarian history, history that remains centered in and celebratory of a particular event or individual/group without expanding beyond the specific context of that event or individual/group. While López’s lawsuit is certainly a fascinating case that details the ‘haunting’ of a house by a *duende*, I do not intend to simply retell the history of the lawsuit as a ‘ghost story’ from a past time in human history. Through the

²⁶ Sigurður Gylfi Magnusson and Istvan M. Szijarto, *What Is Microhistory?: Theory and Practice* (London: Routledge, 2013), 9, Proquest Ebook Central.

²⁷ Magnusson and Szijarto, *What Is Microhistory?*, 5.

²⁸ Magnusson and Szijarto, *What Is Microhistory?*, 76.

methodology of microhistory, I intend to demonstrate that the ‘lived experiences’ of the Spaniards involved in López’s lawsuit are what brought the *duende* alive for these Spaniards. The *duende* experiences of these Spaniards are what made a *duende* a *duende*, and in approaching this question of what a *duende* was to these Spaniards through a ‘micro’-level focus, we can better understand the answers to this question than if we attempted a more ‘macro’ and abstract analysis of *duende* beliefs.

This microhistorical approach in the context of belief and religion is present in two works which I use as referential models for my own approach to *duendes*: *Lucrecia’s Dreams: Politics and Prophecy in Sixteenth-Century Spain* and *Mad for God: Bartolomé Sánchez, the Secret Messiah of Cardenete*. Both microhistories focused on an individual in early modern Spanish society whose lives are only remembered through the records of the Inquisition that were produced as a result of their trials. In the case of Lucrecia’s dreams, Richard Kagan argues that Lucrecia “represents the social and political conscience of sixteenth-century Spain”, and that “her attacks on Philip, her criticisms of his rule, and her dreams of a new, more equitable monarchy constitute a *cri de cœur*, the voice of those Spaniards for whom Philip’s military adventures abroad meant higher taxes and a lower standard of living at home”.²⁹ In other words, through a micro-focus on Lucrecia’s dreams and life, Kagan argues that he and his readers are able to better understand macro-topics or “great historical questions” surrounding politics and social issues and debates in sixteenth-century Spain. In the case of Bartolomé Sánchez, Sara T. Nalle explores his Inquisition trial and the beliefs he espoused during the course of it not only to uncover “insight into the life experience and thought processes of one man who came to believe in his own messianic destiny”, but also to discover potential answers to questions that “are at the

²⁹ Richard L. Kagan, *Lucrecia’s Dreams: Politics and Prophecy in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 165, <https://go.exlibris.link/Fjt8M9nH>.

same time universal and specific to the cultural environment of sixteenth-century Spain: Who decides what is a genuine message from God? Who should possess certain kinds of knowledge? What goes beyond the boundaries of rational behavior? And what constitutes a crime?”.³⁰ In a similar manner, my thesis focuses on the lives of Spaniards who encountered the *duende* in López’s home, lives that we would not know about without the documentation from López’s lawsuit. In examining the individual lives of these Spaniards, I intend to answer a more macro-question of what was a *duende*.

What is also particularly noteworthy in Nalle’s and Kagan’s microhistorical approaches is that they recognize that their primary source documentation leaves some things unknown and do not provide a complete image of the lives of Lucrecia or Bartolomé. Thus, both scholars supplement their primary sources with secondary literature and develop answers to the “great historical questions” they seek to answer. I utilize a similar approach by introducing secondary scholarship in order to supplement López’s lawsuit and to help in better understanding the significance of the lawsuit’s information when examined alongside further contextual information. While historical analysis is fundamental to both Kagan’s and Nalle’s microhistories, the narrative aspect is also an essential component of both works. As Nalle highlights in her introduction, her microhistory is a “historical reconstruction” and “part courtroom drama, part adventure story, and part debate over the nature of religious inspiration, insanity, and criminal responsibility”.³¹ While historical analysis dominates my own thesis, I also intend to convey the story of López’s lawsuit through a narrative style that allows the reader to feel as if they are alongside López and his household as I attempt to reconstruct their experiences and encounters

³⁰ Sara T. Nalle, *Mad for God: Bartolomé Sánchez, the Secret Messiah of Cardenete* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001), 12, 76, Ebscohost.

³¹ Nalle, *Mad for God*, 12-13.

with the *duende* that continuously haunted their lives. I hope that this was evident in the experiences of María Sacristán that introduced this thesis, experiences that allow the reader to be just as curious as Sacristán was initially in regards to what was attacking her and to wonder about the implications of Sacristán's identification of the perpetrator as a *duende*.

An outline for what follows

In the first chapter of this thesis, I explore Spaniards' beliefs regarding an 'other world' of spiritual creatures that included *duendes* in order to answer the following question: if the 'other world' of *duendes* and malevolent things could not be visually observed, then how could early modern Spaniards have believed a *duende* and the 'other world' to exist? My answer to this question relies predominantly on the Baroque belief in 'immanence', or the idea that many spiritual creatures, including *duendes*, inhabited and acted within the human world. The second chapter focused on how Spaniards believed *duendes* interacted within their world. I argue that these Spaniards believed the *duende* they encountered to be an active and territorial inhabitant of the Peñafiel house. One who acted predominantly at night in a manner that disrupted and threatened the *hacienda* (property) and human inhabitants of a domestic environment. Furthermore, I explain how Spaniards developed this understanding of the *duende* and recognized its presence through their predominantly first-hand experiences, which consisted of 'material manipulation' and sensory experiences. In my third and final chapter, I discuss the sorts of people who experienced or were targeted by the *duende*'s activity. I argue that women and employees were the predominant victims, a predominance that can be explained as a result of beliefs regarding the 'weakness' of women and employees as well as by the nature of their work and their enclosure/confinement to domestic environments. I also analyze how the prevalence of women and employees as victims of *duendes* could have served as a challenge to the patriarch

and the patriarchal hierarchy of a domestic environment. Finally, I suggest that Spaniards potentially used the figure of a *duende* as a metaphor for domestic violence towards women and employees in a household.

Chapter 1: “No había quien pudiese hacer”: The ‘other world’ of early modern Spaniards

One morning, Catalina Rodríguez, who was living in the soon-to-be infamous home in Peñafiel with her husband Lope de Maquina and their children, went downstairs before anyone else. Entering the *tienda*, she saw something that proved the existence of a *duende* in the home: a knocked-over and empty wineskin. The wineskin had previously been in a corner of the *tienda*, well-tied and covered by some shoe molds and benches. Catalina also discovered that the cord that had tied the wineskin was in front of the door of the *bodega*, or wine cellar, of the home. In concluding why she thought this was clear evidence of a *duende* in the house, she stated that “teniendo entendido que en la dicha casa abia e andaba algun trasgo o diablo o cosa mala porque no habia quien pudiese hacer el dicho daño en la dicha casa (having understood that in the said house there was and remains some *trasgo* or devil or *cosa mala* because there had not been anybody who could have done the said harm in the said house)”.³² Although Catalina had not seen anything, she was certain that the culprit was not human because no other person in the house could have possibly committed the act.

We see similar patterns of thought in Lope de Maquina’s testimony. He testified that one night he was upstairs when he was suddenly lashed. Given the darkness, he was unable to see and did not know what had injured him. Lope returned downstairs out of fear, but as he was going down the stairwell, a brick flew past his right shoulder. Lope de Maquina claimed that he was certain that some *duende* or *cosa mala* roamed the home. In explaining his certainty, he emphasized that “no habia en lo alto de la dicha casa persona ninguna que lo pudiese hacer e tirar (there had not been any person upstairs in the said house who could have done it or thrown it)”. Lope de Maquina offered similar reasoning in his description of the noises that he had heard,

³² “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 75-6.

stating that he was certain of the *duende* or *cosa mala* “porque no abia quien pudiese hacer hacer los dichos ruidos y cosas que en ella se havian (because there had not been anyone who could have made the said noises or done the said things that had been in the home)”.³³

These two testimonies illustrate one of the fundamental ways of determining if a *duende* inhabited a house: whether or not there had been a human who could have caused an odd or startling event to occur. In fact, one of the features of these occurrences that often made them frightening was the belief that no other person could have done the said harm or disturbance. For Rodríguez and Maquina, the absence of other people meant that a *duende*, demon, or other *casa mala* had been responsible for the strange occurrences. For early modern Spaniards, there existed another ‘world’ that was operating within their own, and it meant that there were other things, such as *duendes*, functioning within the early modern world other than people. If this ‘other world’ of *duendes* and malevolent things could not be visually observed, then how could early modern Spaniards have believed *duendes* and the ‘other world’ to exist? I answer this question in the following discussion of ‘immanence’ and in the next chapter about how *duendes* made their ‘immanence’ known. I argue that the absence of other people served as an initial foundation for Spaniards’ procedural affirmation of a *duende*’s presence. I then argue that *duendes* were predominantly characterized as invisible ‘actors’ in the early modern world, removing the possibility of sight as a factor in determining the presence of a *duende*. Finally, I explain how belief in ‘immanence’ as a component of the early modern world allows us to understand how Spaniards believed *duendes* to exist and act within their world. While belief in *duendes* were widespread, not every odd occurrence was attributed to a *duende*, a level of skepticism by Spaniards that leads into the second chapter of this thesis.

³³ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 70.

“No vio ni allo a nayde en ella”: ‘Alone’ and afraid

The first condition in determining a *duende*’s presence for Spaniards was the absence of other people at the time of a strange occurrence. This condition is evident in María Sacristán’s answer to the fourth question of Lorenzo López’s *interrogatorio*. This question asked the following: “Itten si saben que aunque se procuro ver y aberiguar si habia alguna persona que hiciese y causase lo contenido en la preguntas precediente nunca jamas se pudo ver ni aberiguar quien lo hacia por lo qual se a tenido y tiene por cosa cierta y sin duda que en las dichas casas y abia hay duende e trasgo o otras ylusiones y cosas que suelen causar y causan susto miedo y temor y hacer las casas y moradas yermas e ynabitables” (Item, if they know that although it was attempted to see and discover if there was some person that could have done and caused the contents in the previous question it was never ever possible to see nor discover who did it and as a result it has been taken as a certain thing and without doubt that in the said house there was and is a *duende* and *trasgo* or other *ylusiones* and *cosas* that usually cause and provoke fright and fear and make homes and dwellings deserted and uninhabitable).³⁴ Sacristán’s response was to declare that López had tried many times to discover if there had been some person who had caused the injuries, harm, and fear to which she had previously testified. Having never discovered anything of that nature, López and the home’s inhabitants were certain that there was and remained a *duende*, *trasgo*, or *otra cosa mala* in the López house.³⁵

This procedural logic is also present in other sections of witness testimony, demonstrating that these witnesses were not simply repeating the text of López’s fourth *interrogatorio* question. This is evidenced by the first testimonies detailed at the beginning of this chapter which were given in response to the second question of López’s *interrogatorio*. In

³⁴ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 50.

³⁵ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 83.

addition to these testimonies, the responses of Juan Pérez to López's second *interrogatorio* question follow the 'methods' outlined in the *interrogatorio*'s fourth question in regards to attempts to discover a human perpetrator behind the *duende*'s actions. Pérez described the 'systematic' manner in which he determined that a *duende* or *trasgo* had committed some of the strange occurrences that he witnessed. For instance, he testified that one day he was with some people in the entrance of the said house when a mortar and its hand, a stone from the fireplace, and a knife and some pots (among other things) were thrown from the stairs "sin estar arriba ninguna persona que lo pudiese hacer (without any person being upstairs that could have done it)".³⁶ This terrified everyone at the home, and Pérez eventually decided to go upstairs "haber si abia alguna persona que hiciese lo que dicho tiene y andubo toda la casa sin dejar rincon ninguno y no bio ni allo a nayde en ella (to see if there had been some person who did the aforementioned and walked all the house without leaving untouched any corners and did not see nor found anyone in the house)". Pérez went downstairs and told everyone in the house the results of his search and how he was certain that the *duende* or *trasgo* that was said to roam the home was responsible.³⁷ Pérez's 'systematic' and thorough search process that led him to conclude that the house *duende* or *trasgo* was the culprit follows the same logic as the *interrogatorio*'s fourth question. Both concluded that the absence of any person who could have caused the domestic chaos signified that a *duende*, *trasgo*, or some other thing must have been responsible for the disruption.

Finally, returning to Sacristán's own testimony, she repeatedly stated in her recollection of *duende* experiences which she testified to prior to the fourth *interrogatorio* question that she was *sola* (alone) in all of the experiences. In one of these experiences, she did not see who had

³⁶ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 87-8.

³⁷ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 88.

attacked her and blown her candle out in addition to the fact that “no estaba con ella ninguna persona que lo pudiese hacer (no person was with her that could have done it)”.³⁸ Once again, this statement is similar to the ones that have already been referenced in relaying the absence of other people as a dominant characterization of witnesses’ experiences of a *duende*’s presence and activity. “No habia quien pudiese hacer”, the title of this chapter and a phrase used by López’s witnesses such as Catalina Rodríguez, could have been a phrase used by López’s witnesses that illustrates a ‘process of elimination’ for those witnesses who were attempting to logically explain their belief that a *duende* inhabited López’s home and had done all of the things to which they had testified.

The Visibility (or Invisibility) of *Duendes*

Duendes and other malevolent things that comprised the ‘other world’ were often invisible to the viewer. In the majority of the testimonies and instances of *duende* ‘immanence’, the witnesses not only described not being able to see anyone who could have caused a strange occurrence but also described not being able to see any cause at all. There are only three witnesses out of the fifteen that López presented in Peñafiel and Valladolid who mention potentially ‘seeing’ the *duende* in action, but their descriptions of ‘seeing’ the *duende* does not clarify what a *duende* is and instead leave the *duende* as an even more mysterious house-dweller. One of these three witnesses was Pedro de la Cuesta, who lived in the *duende* house at the age of fifteen along with his shoemaking master Antonio de Herrera and his wife. One night, Cuesta and his masters were sleeping in a bedroom when they began to hear noises coming from other parts of the house. Knowing that the three of them were the only ones in the house, Antonio de Herrera sent Cuesta to investigate the noise. When Cuesta got up and left the bedroom, he found

³⁸ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 80.

a frightening scene in one of the rooms of the home. A pile of shoe molds were moving up and down while some of the chests in the room were opening and closing as something hit the locks of the chests. Curious to find out what was causing such disorder, Cuesta lit a light and saw the culprit: “un bulto pequeno (a small shape)”. Cuesta began to go after the unknown shape which proceeded to ascend the staircase twice before leaving out an upstairs window to the neighbor’s roof.³⁹ This image of a “bulto pequeno” also appears in one of María Sacristán’s testimonies regarding the *duende*. Following dinner one night, Lorenzo López exited the home and left a large accounting book on top of the dining table. While Catalina López was writing at the table, Sacristán was sitting on a chest when she saw “una cosa blanca” (a white thing) moving near the bottom of a wall behind Catalina López. After alerting Catalina López to the “cosa blanca”, she told Sacristán that something had taken the accounting book from the table.⁴⁰ In both Cuesta’s and Sacristán’s story, they described seeing a shape or thing that is not defined any further in their testimony. A more ‘defined’ image comes from Catalina Rodríguez. She testified that one day when she was on top of an oven in an upstairs room, something tugged at the back of her skirt multiple times. Wanting to know what was doing it, she put her hand behind her and felt “un bulto muy blando (a very soft shape)”. When she turned around, she saw its hand.⁴¹ These exceptions to the predominant characterization of *duende* invisibility are a few examples of the lack of a uniform perception of *duendes*. The two descriptions of the *duende* as a *bulto* or shape may also be symbolic of how Spaniards did not have a completely defined and clear understanding of what a *duende* was. These three moments of *duende* visibility are also a reminder that the *duende* was an inhabitant of the early modern world rather than an abstract

³⁹ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 65-6.

⁴⁰ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 82.

⁴¹ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 75.

force. Thus, we return to the question of how Spaniards knew of the presence of a *duende* in their home if the *duende* was described as invisible in the majority of the testimonies.

‘Immanence’ and the ‘Other World’ of Spiritual Creatures

In characterizing the worldview of those living in the early modern Hispanic world, historian Brian Larkin discusses ‘sacred immanence’, defining the term as “the ability of the sacred to inhere within physical objects”.⁴² ‘Sacred immanence’ meant that people “honored physical instantiations of the sacred and sought to harness their celestial power by bestowing gifts upon and making physical contact with them”.⁴³ This concept of ‘sacred immanence’ had its origins since the beginnings of Christianity, and for “late-medieval Christians the sacred was proximate, palpable, and approachable”.⁴⁴ The sacred “infused mundane objects and could be seen, touched, dressed, possessed, or ingested”, thus diminishing “the distinction between the sacred and worldly”.⁴⁵ The sacred made itself ‘immanent’ through mediums such as shrines, relics, images, and apparitions, and “[b]elievers could resort to sites of sacred immanence to set things right in times of danger and disorder” in hopes “of spiritual grace and worldly miracles”.⁴⁶ In other words, ‘sacred immanence’ “was a fusion of sacred with secular”.⁴⁷ William Christian’s terms of “god-in-society” and “god-in-landscape” can also allow us to better understand this idea of the sacred playing an active and impactful role in the world and daily lives of early modern

⁴² Brian Larkin, *The Very Nature of God: Baroque Catholicism and Religious Reform in Bourbon Mexico City* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), 29.

⁴³ Larkin, *The Very Nature of God*, 29.

⁴⁴ Larkin, *The Very Nature of God*, 32.

⁴⁵ Larkin, *The Very Nature of God*, 32.

⁴⁶ Larkin, *The Very Nature of God*, 32, 50; William A. Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981), 5; William B. Taylor, *Theater of a Thousand Wonders: A History of Miraculous Images and Shrines in New Spain*, vol. 103 (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 1-2.

⁴⁷ Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain*, 158.

Spaniards.⁴⁸ Not only did Spaniards see God and his saints as ‘immanent’ in the early modern world, but they also understood Satan and his demons to be ‘immanent’ and active. As William Taylor writes in *Theater of a Thousand Wonders*, “he [Satan] and his demon minions were fully present” in the early modern Hispanic world.⁴⁹ This ‘immanence’ could take the form of possession, which is discussed and explained by Moshe Sluhovsky as having been “common and ordinary in early modern Europe” and “part and parcel of daily life”.⁵⁰ In portraying possession as a daily possibility for Europeans, Sluhovsky’s scholarship helps us in understanding one aspect of the ‘immanence’ of demons in the world of early modern Europe.

These discussions of ‘immanence’ follow the cosmology of doctrinal Christianity that posits the existence of a benevolent God and his angels opposed to a malevolent Devil (Satan) and his demons. However, this cosmology’s adherence to the doctrine of the Catholic Church ignores the greater complexities that characterized the perceptions and systems of beliefs of Spaniards regarding their world. Instead of limiting the term of ‘sacred immanence’ to this theological cosmology of Christianity, I intend to expand its application to improve our understanding of the existence of the ‘other world’ in which *duendes*, among other *cosas malas*, existed as one component of the world of Spaniards. As Euan Cameron writes in *Enchanted Europe*:

In the popular mind...spiritual creatures were believed to be diverse and varied in their characters and moral significance. The world was liberally and abundantly populated with creatures who did not fit into the Christian-Aristotelian-Thomist categories of God, people, angels, and demons. These creatures could interact with people in a range of ways, sometimes as friends or helpers, sometimes as sources of threats or mischief.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain*, 158.

⁴⁹ Taylor, *Theater of a Thousand Wonders*, 551.

⁵⁰ Moshe Sluhovsky, *Believe Not Every Spirit: Possession, Mysticism, & Discernment in Early Modern Catholicism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 33.

⁵¹ Euan Cameron, *Enchanted Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 42.

Furthermore, Kathryn Edwards argues that Europeans believed that “supernatural and preternatural forces” existed in the early modern world and could take “dozens of forms including those of demons, angels, trolls, wandering souls, or flying serpents”.⁵² Rather than seeing these forces as purely malevolent as they were in the eyes of many Church theologians, Robin Briggs notes that “[t]he popular vision of the great complex of hidden or magical forces surrounding the everyday world was...far more ambiguous than austere theologians formulated”.⁵³ In the case of early modern Spain, María Tausiet claims that there were Spaniards “who chose to turn to the unlimited world of the supernatural” for their own benefit or for the benefit of another.⁵⁴ For those Spaniards, the supernatural world consisted of “an endless number of beings capable of satisfying any whim or desire”.⁵⁵

Similar beliefs regarding the ‘other world’ of “spiritual creatures” are also present in López’s court case. When witnesses claimed that they were certain that a *duende*, *trasgo*, *diablo*, or *cosa mala* or *temerosa* inhabited the Peñafiel house, they were in part repeating the legal formula present in the *interrogatorio* questions of *duende* or *trasgo* or *otras cosas temerosas*, but they were also delineating a list of the potential things that existed and acted within their world other than themselves. The term *cosa mala* or *temerosa* may have been a broad label for the malevolent “spiritual creatures” believed to have inhabited the early modern world. Whether Spaniards considered a *duende* to be a ‘supernatural’ or ‘spiritual’ creature that originated from another ‘world’ as in the case of angels and demons is impossible to know from this case. What

⁵² Kathryn A. Edwards, *Werewolves, Witches, and Wandering Spirits: Traditional Belief & Folklore in Early Modern Europe*, Vol. 62. (Kirksville, Mo.: Truman State University Press, 2002), ix.

⁵³ Edwards, *Werewolves, Witches, and Wandering Spirits*, ix; Robin Briggs, *Werewolves, Witches, and Wandering Spirits*, 2.

⁵⁴ María Tausiet and Susannah Howe, *Urban Magic in Early Modern Spain: Abracadabra Omnipotens* (Basingstoke England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 5.

⁵⁵ Tausiet and Howe, *Urban Magic in Early Modern Spain*, 5.

is important to understand is that regardless of the uncertainty surrounding whether *duendes* originated from another ‘world’, the idea of their ‘immanence’ in the world of Spaniards meant that they were one of the many creatures capable of acting and influencing the early modern world. The belief in ‘immanence’ established the foundation for the existence of creatures such as *duendes* in the world of Spaniards. To emphasize the uncertainty in whether *duendes* constituted another ‘world’ that manifested itself in the human world or were simply a component of the human world, I use quotation marks with the phrase ‘other world’.

What is also significant to note is that the witnesses in López’s case may have considered a *duende* to be different or a separate ‘creature’ from a *diablo*, thus expanding the cosmology of doctrinal Christianity. According to Julio Caro Baroja, a Basque historian and anthropologist, “los teólogos españoles más eruditos, en los siglos XVI y XVII, creían en la realidad de los *duendes* como demonios de poca categoría” as was the case for theologian Francisco de Torreblanca y Villalpando in a treatise titled *Iuris Spiritualis*.⁵⁶ Spanish theologians seem to have labeled *duendes* as *demonios* in order to maintain the cosmology of angels and demons, but witnesses in the case did not necessarily accept this categorization. When Catalina Rodríguez listed *duendes* and *diablos* separately in her testimony, she may have been expressing her belief that a *duende* and a *diablo* were two different entities. If we accept this interpretation of Rodríguez’s testimony, it could also serve as further evidence for a more expansive understanding by everyday Spaniards of what inhabited the early modern world. That said, it could also be argued that the case’s witnesses maintain some semblance of a binary by utilizing the term *cosas malas*, a term that implies the continued dual categorization of “spiritual creatures” as benevolent or malevolent. In spite of this continued dual moral categorization of

⁵⁶ Julio Caro Baroja, *Algunos mitos españoles* (Madrid, Editora Nacional Madrid, 1941), 95.

“spiritual creatures”, witnesses such as Catalina Rodríguez demonstrate that many Spaniards believed that many more “spiritual creatures” inhabited their world than angels and demons.

Questions of Uncertainty

Although López’s witnesses all believed a *duende* or *trasgo* to be the most probable “spiritual creature” inhabiting the López house, many were not entirely certain. The most evident corroboration of this uncertainty is the use of the third-person plural verb tense throughout many of the testimonies of *duende* experiences. In the aforementioned testimony of Lope de Maquina, he describes receiving a lash from an unknown source. The transcript reads “le dieron un curriagaco (they gave him a lash)”. Then, when Maquina described the brick being thrown past his right shoulder, the transcript reads “le tiraron un adobe (they threw a brick at him)⁵⁷. I write that the transcript says this rather than Maquina since the statements are written by the *escribano público* in the third person (e.g. he/her/it) rather than the first person (e.g. I). Thus, whether Maquina specifically recounted the actions of the lash and the throwing of the brick in the third person plural can not be known. However, one possibility is that even if Maquina did not recount his experience using the third person plural form, the *escribano público*’s transcription using the verbal form hints at an uncertainty by Maquina. The third person plural often appears in situations in which someone is not certain as to who or what was responsible for some occurrence. The lack of a subject attached to the actions of the lash or of the brick throwing implies that Maquina was unsure of what had hit him or thrown the brick at him, and the third person plural served to encompass all of the possible ‘perpetrators’ of the actions. This uncertainty is further demonstrated in the legal formula Maquina repeats from the *interrogatorio* when he claimed that his experience had made him certain that a *duende* or *cosa mala* inhabited

⁵⁷ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 70.

and roamed the infamous house. Although he was certain that his experience was provoked by something from the ‘other world’ and not by another person, the presence of the term *cosa mala* in his list of ‘culprits’ could imply the following two things. Maquina could have simply been repeating a slight modification of the legal formula of “*duende e trasgo y otras cosas temerosas*”, but he could have also been expressing that he himself was not entirely certain that a *duende* had lashed him and thrown the brick. In fact, the term *cosa mala*, *cosa espantosa*, or *cosa temerosa* appears quite often as a seemingly ‘catch-all’ term for any other thing that may have caused a frightening and negative experience for residents and visitors of the *duende* house.

This uncertainty was not uncommon in early modern Europe, especially given the complexity of the ‘other world’ of “spiritual creatures”. According to Sluhovsky, “a confusion concerning the identity of possessing entities was common enough” in early modern Europe to the extent that the “hesitancy concerning the identity of possessing entities...shaped many of the cases” regarding possession.⁵⁸ Moreover, Catholic theologians were “divided on the issue of the nature and identity of possessing and obsessing spirits”.⁵⁹ The uncertainty of witnesses in López’s legal case may not have been outside of the ordinary for the time period, especially given that the “discernment of spirits” was a principal component of “many of the cases” about possession, a category that may be applicable for López’s case from the perspective of his house being ‘possessed’ or ‘inhabited’ by a *duende*.

The existence and belief in *duendes*

The belief that “spiritual creatures” such as *duendes* existed and inhabited the early modern world of Spaniards was a seemingly common belief among Spaniards. In López’s legal

⁵⁸ Sluhovsky, *Believe Not Every Spirit*, 17.

⁵⁹ Sluhovsky, *Believe Not Every Spirit*, 21.

case, the defendant Diego Martínez Vernal, his *procuradores*, and his witnesses never argued that *duendes* did not exist. Pedro Hernández, one of Vernal's *procuradores*, wrote an *escrito de bien probado* (a document demonstrating good proof of the defense's case) in which he argued that the noises testified to by López's witnesses could have been caused by a dog or a cat and “no porque hubiesen visto cossa que causase el dicho ruido como fantasma o duende o algun espiritu (not because they had seen a thing that could have caused the said noise such as a ghost or a *duende* or some spirit)”. Hernández further wrote that “quando andubiera el dicho duende no es cosa que les podria hacer mal ni dano ni tocar a ellos como los dichos testigos dizen (when the said *duende* supposedly roamed it is not a thing that could have committed evil nor harm nor touch them as the said witnesses say)”.⁶⁰ Rather than denying the existence of *duendes*, he instead argued as to the nature and capabilities of *duendes*, an argument that depends upon the implicit assumption that *duendes* did exist. By suggesting that a dog or a cat caused the noises, Hernández even explicitly declared his belief that *duendes*, ghosts, and spirits exist when he wrote that López's witnesses had not testified to seeing one of these “spiritual creatures”.

Duendes and Skepticism

The words of Spaniards such as Hernández regarding whether a *duende* inhabited the López home also indicates that even though Spaniards believed that the ‘sacred’ or that “spiritual creatures” inhabited and were active in the early modern world, they were also capable of skepticism. For instance, Darren Oldridge warns his readers that “medieval and Renaissance thinkers” did not expect or believe “supernatural interventions to occur every day”.⁶¹ Oldridge

⁶⁰ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 114.

⁶¹ Darren Oldridge, *Strange Histories: The Trial of the Pig, the Walking Dead, and Other Matters of Fact from the Medieval and Renaissance Worlds*, Second ed. (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2018), 7.

also emphasizes that “pre-modern writers were perfectly capable of scepticism”.⁶² In instances of ‘sacred immanence’ such as apparitions, Church authorities were not willing to immediately accept the apparition since the event often required “some sort of verification”.⁶³ The fact that López had to bring a lawsuit to Spain’s judicial system indicates that Spanish society required the legal verification of “supernatural intervention” and did not simply accept a *duende*’s occupation of a house at face value. It would be a mistake, however, to believe that the educated elite of European societies were the only people “capable of scepticism” and of not believing in the constant intervention of the “supernatural”. I have already noted how Vernal’s *procurador* was perfectly capable of believing in things such as *duendes* while denying that a *duende* inhabited López’s home. In this chapter’s discussion of López’s fourth *interrogatorio* question, I established that López and his *procuradores* inquired as to whether a witness knew about people’s attempts to see and discover if some person had caused the occurrences listed in previous *interrogatorio* questions. María Sacristán answered that Lorenzo López had attempted on many occasions to discover the source of these occurrences, and Juan Pérez testified to his attempt to search the entire *duende* house to discover if there had been someone in the house that had thrown various objects at him and others in the *portal*, or entry hall. Through both of these testimonies, we can better understand the logic behind Spaniards’ attempts to determine if a “spiritual creature” such as a *duende* was inside of a home and had been active around the residents and visitors of its house. Rather than immediately assuming that everything that happened to the Peñafiel home’s inhabitants was a result of a *duende* or some other *cosa mala*, witnesses such as Sacristán and Pérez gave testimony that detailed their or others’ searches for more mundane explanations to their experiences.

⁶² Oldridge, *Strange Histories*, 7.

⁶³ Oldridge, *Strange Histories*, 4.

‘Immanent’ *Duendes*

The first step Spaniards took in determining the presence of a *duende* was confirming that an occurrence could not possibly have been the result of another person. This step would require the belief in other inhabitants of the early modern world aside from humans. This belief came in the form of ‘immanence’ and Spaniards’ idea that they inhabited a world that was alive with active “spiritual creatures”, with the *duende* being one of many that shared this world with Spaniards. However, Spaniards’ understanding of their world as inhabited by many “spiritual creatures” did not automatically signify that a *duende* or *otras cosas malas* were responsible for any occurrence that did not originate from the actions of another person. While it was a widely held belief that *duendes* did exist and could inhabit one’s home, Spaniards held a certain level of skepticism surrounding the question of whether a *duende* was behind strange occurrences in their lives because *duendes* were one of many possible explanations. Additionally, *duendes* were almost always invisible during their instances of activity, meaning that Spaniards had to utilize other methods beyond sight to identify a *duende*’s presence. The following chapter will serve to explain these methods and to expand upon how Spaniards knew when *duendes* were the ones that were present or ‘immanent’ in their world.

Chapter 2: “Tenían por cierto que en la dicha casa andaba duende...”: *Duendes in the world of early modern Spain*

We begin once again with testimony from Catalina Rodríguez, although the story that she tells this time did not happen to her but occurred one night to a tradesman named Juan who lived in the Peñafiel home and worked for her shoemaker husband. Juan always slept in a bedroom in the attic of the home, and one day, Rodríguez went upstairs to the bedroom after Juan had called for her to come to his room. When Rodríguez arrived, she saw that Juan was lying in bed. Juan told her that he was very unwell as a result of a violent encounter that he had within his room the previous night.⁶⁴ Juan had been sleeping in the attic bedroom when something began throwing many pine cones at his bed. Juan got up and took a sword in his hand. Looking around, he saw an unknown shape that he proceeded to hit with his sword, but when nothing happened, Juan decided to return to his bed. However, as he turned to go back to his bed, the bed sheets were immediately taken off, and something began to beat Juan while also grabbing and choking him by the throat. Juan was left in a poor condition, which included him bleeding from the mouth. This experience frightened Juan to the point that he did not wish to sleep alone in the upstairs area of the home, and within two days of the occurrence, Juan left the house.⁶⁵

Juan’s experience, while certainly being one of the most violent and curious ones from the case testimony, serves as a more general insight into understanding how a *duende* made itself immanent. If this ‘other world’ of *duendes* could not be visually observed, then how could early modern Spaniards have known this ‘other world’ to exist? In this chapter, I focus on how Spaniards like Juan believed *duendes* interacted within their world. I hope to provide an image of

⁶⁴ It should be noted that while Rodriguez testified to Juan’s experience as evidence of the *duende*, Juan never explicitly stated that he believed it to be a *duende* and only told Rodríguez that he was not sure what had attacked him since he had been the only person in the room that night.

⁶⁵ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 73-5.

the López house *duende* that allows the reader to understand how different Spaniards thought about or perceived *duendes*, thus ‘rationalizing’ and delineating the figure of a *duende* and the processes through which Spaniards understood that they were living in the presence of one. I argue that they believed the *duende* to be an active and territorial inhabitant of the López home that acted predominantly at night in a manner that disrupted and threatened the *hacienda* (property) and human inhabitants of the domestic environment. Furthermore, Spaniards developed this understanding of *duendes* and recognized a *duende*’s presence through their predominantly first-hand experiences, which consisted of ‘material manipulation’ and sensory experiences.

The ‘where’ of *duende* immanence

The common understanding in López’s lawsuit was that the *duende* inhabited and acted within a house. Given that the case was brought forth in regards to López’s home, every single *duende* experience that witnesses testified to had the Peñafiel house always serving as the general ‘host’ of the odd and frightening occurrences. Furthermore, whenever a witness claimed that they were certain of the possible presence of a *duende*, the phrase that appears in the title of this chapter, “en la dicha casa”, almost always appeared, not only confirming that the house was inhabited by a *duende*, but also specifying that the *duende* was connected to that specific house.

The language of López’s *demand*a or legal petition also grants us insight into the associations between a house and a *duende*. In López’s *demand*a, López or one of his *procuradores* wrote that “los dichos vendedores fueron y estubieron obligados abisanme de ello (the said sellers were obligated to warn me of it)”.⁶⁶ López was arguing that Diego Martínez Vernal and Ana de Gracia were obligated to report “it”, or the *duende*, to López before he

⁶⁶ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 12.

purchased the house from them. This element of obligation implies that the association of homes with *duendes* or the fear that a house was inhabited by a *duende* was prevalent in early modern Spanish society to the extent that the legal system mandated the reporting of a *duende* in a home sale and would intervene in the instance that a *duende* went unreported by the previous home owners.

The tenth question of López's first *interrogatorio* and the resulting testimony also provides evidence of a *duende*'s presence being connected to the geography of a home. The tenth question inquired as to whether the witnesses knew that following López's and his household's abandonment of the *duende*-inhabited home and their move to the house of Juan Velaz, they had not felt any *duende* or *trasgo*. The question also asked witnesses if they knew that no *duendes* or *trasgos* existed in the home of Velaz.⁶⁷ Pedro de la Cuesta testified that he did not know or has not heard that a *duende*, *trasgo*, or *otra cosa* exists in the home of Velaz.⁶⁸ Juan Pérez stated the same thing.⁶⁹ María Sacristán went a step further by declaring that a *duende* or *otra cosa mala* did not exist in Velaz's house because if there had been, she and the other home's inhabitants such as López and his family would have felt or sensed these things.⁷⁰

Juan Velaz's house is the only other location outside of López's *duende* house that is discussed in the case in relation to whether a *duende* inhabits it or not, emphasizing that this *duende* of Peñafiel primarily, if not exclusively, existed within domestic environments. The questioning of whether a *duende* was in Velaz's home expresses the possibility of a *duende* inhabiting the home, but the fact that all of López's witnesses responded that the home did not contain a *duende* emphasizes that the *duende* was a territorial creature anchored to a physical

⁶⁷ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 53.

⁶⁸ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 68-9.

⁶⁹ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 92.

⁷⁰ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 85.

house rather than a family or residents of that home. If the *duende* had been connected to López's family, then they and visitors to Velaz's house such as Pedro de la Cuesta and Juan Pérez would have continued to experience the presence of the *duende* in Velaz's home and testified to such in the legal case.

The *duende* and domestic spaces

Where the *duende* roamed and acted often consisted in specific spaces within a house. Throughout the testimonies of López's witnesses, particular locations within the house were provided as common sites in which the *duende* made its presence known to its unfortunate victim. Before discussing these specific spaces within the home, it is necessary to describe the physical layout of López's house in order to better conceptualize where the *duende* was present as well as the significance of the particular spaces in relation to the home's layout. The house consisted of four 'levels' which begin with the *portal*, or entrance hallway of the home.⁷¹ After the *portal*, one would have found the *tienda de paños* that served as the principal room for the business of López. The next 'level' of the house was the first floor, which included rooms such as the living room, where everyone had meals, as well as a few of the home's bedrooms. The upper 'level' of the house was its second floor and the attic, which contained more bedrooms as well as an oven room.⁷² Finally, the house had a *bodega* or wine cellar that was the lowest or basement 'level' of the house.

While the *duende*'s presence and activity was most prevalent in the *bodega* and the upstairs section of López's house, the *duende* was known to be present and active in practically

⁷¹ I place 'levels' within quotations given that each 'level' could be above or below the other or simply a different section of the house.

⁷² Catalina mentions there also being a *chimenea* room in the house, and it is unclear whether this room is the oven room or if it is a separate room in the house.

all of the home's 'levels'. The stairwell in López's home is a symbol of this reality since it served as the connection between the different 'levels' of the home. As Antonio Ruiz testified to in his *duende* experience at eleven years old, he had heard a sound that was going down the stairwell of the home. The *duende*'s presence on the stairs, which were used by the house's residents or visitors to ascend and descend to the different 'levels' of the home, symbolizes the *duende*'s existence and activity through all 'levels' of the house as an active 'inhabitant' of the home.

The *bodega* and upstairs areas

One of the most common sites of *duende* presence was the *bodega*. One of the more infamous instances of action by the *duende* occurred here when the *duende* nearly murdered López's oldest daughter Maríana López. In fact, one of the questions in López's initial *interrogatorio* asks if the witnesses knew that the *bodega* of López's house was known as the *bodega de la pena* (the wine cellar of sorrow) and that a lot of noise and restlessness often resounded in the *bodega*.⁷³ In response to this *interrogatorio* question, Catalina Rodríguez answered that she had heard from neighbors of Peñafiel for more than sixteen years that a *duende* roamed the *bodega* of López's house.⁷⁴

It is important to briefly note that witnesses did not associate the *duende* with the *bodega* as a result of this leading *interrogatorio* question. In explaining their past or present experiences with the *duende* in the house, many witnesses associated the *bodega* as one of the 'active' areas of *duende* activity in the home. For example, Pedro de la Cuesta testified early in his testimony and prior to the *bodega interrogatorio* question that when he lived in the *duende* house thirty

⁷³ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 53.

⁷⁴ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 77.

years prior to his current testimony, he had publicly heard that the *bodega* was called the *bodega de la pena* and that a *duende* inhabited it. Additionally, Lope de Maquina and Catalina Rodríguez both mention the *bodega* in their response to the second *interrogatorio* question that inquires about whether the witness knows if a *duende*, *trasgo*, or *otras cosas temerosas* that usually cause fear to a home's inhabitants had been in the house sold to Lorenzo López prior to and following the purchase.⁷⁵ Lope de Maquina describes the noise that resulted from the hitting, opening, and closing of the *bodega* door, and Catalina Rodríguez testifies to the great amount of noise and banging that came from the *bodega* without anyone being there.⁷⁶

The *duende* was also often ‘immanent’ in the upstairs section (the second floor and attic) and stairwell of the home as seen in the testimony of Lope de Maquina when he was lashed and had a brick thrown at him while upstairs, of Catalina Rodríguez when the *duende* pulled at her skirt while she was in the oven room, of Juan Pérez when a group of objects were thrown at him and others from upstairs while they were in the *portal*, and of María Sacristán when she was attacked twice by the *duende*.⁷⁷ Furthermore, witnesses often reported noise occurring along the stairwell or the *duende* tossing many objects down the stairs. Antonio Ruiz detailed this exact pattern of *duende* presence. One night, the eleven-year old Ruiz, who was living with his parents and two brothers in the *duende* home decades before López’s residence, was sleeping in a bedroom near his brothers and parents. Around midnight, Ruiz began to hear something descending the stairwell next to his bedroom, and it made peculiar noises that sounded like pots or bolts as it was going down. Finally, the noise stopped at the bottom of the stairwell, and at that moment Ruiz could hear it breathing like a human and making footsteps.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 49.

⁷⁶ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 70, 73.

⁷⁷ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 70, 75, 79-81, 87-8.

⁷⁸ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 56.

The prevalence of the *duende* in the *bodega* as well as the upstairs and staircase areas of the house are notable because these areas would have often been less traversed in comparison to the first floor of the house where residents and visitors entered the home. In recalling Spaniards' tendency to emphasize the lack of human origins to a *duende*-caused occurrence, this connection between the lack of people in the *bodega* and the upstairs space of a house could certainly explain the tendency of *duendes'* presence in these areas of the home. The lesser degree of presence by people in the upstairs and *bodega* 'levels' of the house may have also contributed to some of the witnesses' fears of going upstairs or downstairs into these spaces. Many of López's witnesses testify that they or others were afraid of going upstairs (or down into the *bodega*) out of fear of the *duende*. For instance, María Sacristán stated that many times she did not dare to go upstairs by herself out of fear of the *duende* that was said to roam the home.⁷⁹ It will also be recalled that the tradesman Juan told Catalina Rodríguez that he was afraid of sleeping alone in his bedroom in the attic after his violent experience.

For these two individuals, the very action of going upstairs or being upstairs made them fearful of coming into contact with the *duende* and of 'ascending' or 'trespassing' into the feared 'realm' of the *duende*. Their additional emphasis on the fear of being alone while going or being upstairs recalls the *duende*'s characterization as a *cosa temerosa* or *espantosa*. A lot of the aforementioned testimony includes individuals being alone during their *duende* experiences. Sometimes the circumstance of being alone during a *duende* experience was in of itself frightening for witnesses. For instance, after the *duende* grabbed Catalina Rodríguez's skirt in the upstairs oven room, she testified that she went downstairs distressed and shocked because she had supposedly been 'alone' in the room. Thus, the lack of people in the upstairs or the *bodega*

⁷⁹ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 80.

‘levels’ of the house could have led witnesses to attribute these ‘levels’ as having greater degrees of *duende* presence and activity given that they were more isolated and frightening areas where the *duende*, as a *cosa espantosa* or *temerosa*, would have wanted to act for greater effect upon a house’s residents or visitors. This association between fear and common *duende* spaces in a house can also be seen in the testimony for the appeal of the case. Diego de Azores, as he details the time when López’s oldest daughter Maríana was found seemingly dead in the *bodega* as a result of the *duende*, says that he did not dare to go down to the *bodega* to help bring Maríana upstairs due to his fear.⁸⁰ Diego, believing that the *duende* had just violently attacked López’s daughter in the *bodega*, was fearful of ‘descending’ into a space where the *duende* had just been active, and even though others were in the house as well at the moment, this clearly did not reassure Diego and his fear of the *duende*-inhabited *bodega*.

The bedrooms of the house on both the first and second floor were also a target of the *duende* (although the second floor bedrooms tended to be the site of greater *duende* presence and activity), and the *duende*’s activity in these rooms disrupted and inverted what was meant to be a relaxing domestic space into a space of chaos and discomfort. Instances of *duende* presence and activity in the *duende* home’s bedrooms are evidenced by the experience of the tradesman Juan and by María Sacristán’s testimony that the *duende* would take the sheets off of the beds while she and the house’s other residents slept in them before proceeding to treat them poorly.⁸¹ The *duende*’s actions could also affect those in their bedrooms even if the action did not take place directly within the bedroom, as was the case for the eleven-year old Antonio Ruiz and the noise descending down the adjacent staircase at midnight and for Juan de Aguirre, a servant of Francisco García who later rented the home from Lorenzo López following López and his

⁸⁰ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 237.

⁸¹ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 81.

family's abandonment of it. In the case of Juan de Aguirre, he was awake in an upstairs bedroom one night when he felt many things being thrown in the bedroom as well as down the stairwell.⁸² The bedroom held great significance in early modern Spanish homes since “[l]a recamara y su mueble esencial, la cama, constituía uno de los espacios centrales de la casa”.⁸³ Furthermore, the bedroom and its bed was “el refugio del sueño y del descanso” in addition to being a refuge “contra el frío”.⁸⁴ The removal of the bed sheets as well as the violent treatment by the *duende* towards the inhabitants of a bedroom disrupted this ‘refuge’ of warmth and tranquil rest. Instead of being a room in which one can peacefully rest for the night, the bedroom becomes a place of unrest and discomfort for its occupants.

The portal

One of the other ‘levels’ affected by the *duende*’s presence was the *portal*, and the *duende*’s activity in this ‘level’ symbolizes its ‘territorial’ and unwelcoming nature to any resident or visitor of the house. Often, the *portal* is a place of gathering in many witness testimonies, and it would have been the place where anyone entering the house would first walk through. Antonio Ruiz, in describing his visits to López’s house, detailed how many objects would be thrown from the stairwell to the *portal*.⁸⁵ Juan Pérez testified to similar experiences, such as the one with the mortar, stone, knife, and pliers, in which groups of people that were in the *portal* suddenly witnessed the projection of various objects that had no clear source.⁸⁶ Instead of being a welcoming space as the entry to the house, the *duende* transforms the *portal* into a

⁸² “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 222-23.

⁸³ Francisco García González, “Vida cotidiana y cultura material en el Zacatecas colonial” in *Historia de la Vida Cotidiana en México. Tomo III: El siglo XVIII: entre tradición y cambio*, ed. Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru (México, El Colegio de México & FCE, 2005), 67.

⁸⁴ González, “Vida cotidiana”.

⁸⁵ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 58.

⁸⁶ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 86-8.

clear manifestation of its unwelcoming behavior towards the home's residents and visitors, almost as if telling them through its launching of objects towards the *portal* to leave the *duende*'s house through the door they just entered.

The living room

Finally, the living room of the house was the 'host' of a few *duende* experiences, and the presence of the *duende* in this room once again disrupted an artificially organized domestic space primarily dedicated to the hosting of meals for the families and guests. Considering María Sacristán's testimony once again, she described the many instances in which she and everyone else in the home were eating in the first living room when they were unexpectedly bombarded with stones and dirt that were being thrown at the table and their food. Eventually, Sacristán and everyone else had to leave the room and go to the *portal* out of fear.⁸⁷ Prior to meals, there was a process of preparing the living room for the meal which was often known as (and is still known as) "el rito de 'poner la mesa'"⁸⁸. During this process, the plates, utensils, and other objects were organized on the table, and once the meal had commenced, the 'diners' at the table behaved according to a set of rules and customs, thus producing a harmonious and mildly peaceful atmosphere for a home's meals.⁸⁹ However, the launching of stones and dirt at the table and the food of López and his fellow 'diners' could have signified an inversion of the action of 'poner la mesa' by provoking chaos and disorder at the table and for all of those seated at it. Rather than being a room in which all of the house's residents and guests can gather for group activities such as meals, the living room became a chaotic space in which organized meals or any other gatherings were impossible. The fact that Sacristán along with López and his family left the

⁸⁷ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 80-1.

⁸⁸ González, "Vida cotidiana," 66.

⁸⁹ González, "Vida cotidiana," 67.

room and fled to the *portal* parallels the launching of objects towards the *portal* from within the home, as if the *duende*, in disrupting and discomforting the inhabitants of the house, was forcibly ‘launching’ them towards the entry door and out of the home.

In all of these instances of *duende* presence and activity, whether they occurred in the *portal*, bedrooms, or the living room, what makes the *duende* active for the witnesses is the *duende*’s disruption of these spaces. Thus, one of the elements in understanding the existence of a *duende* is its complete disruption or disturbance of a home and its spaces. While *duende* presence and activities were more commonly associated with the ‘levels’ of the home that were less traversed and thus more ‘isolating’ and frightening, the *duende* was also present and active all throughout the house. This emphasized that the entirety of the house was its ‘domain’ and resulted in the home being uninhabitable for any resident or visitor.

The ‘when’ of *duende* immanence

In the majority of the testimonies, witnesses experienced instances of *duende* activity at nighttime. Both Antonio Ruiz and Pedro de la Cuesta detailed experiences with the *duende* at a young age in López’s future home as happening then.⁹⁰ Lope de Maquina described that while he was living in the *duende* house, he was afraid of going upstairs, “especialmente por las tardes u de noche (especially in the afternoons or at night)”.⁹¹ About a month following the move of Catalina Núñez and her husband Francisco García into the *duende* house that they had rented from López another incident took place at night. Núñez had been in the *tienda* of the *portal* at *prima noche* (the early hours of night) when she decided to go upstairs to her bedroom where her husband was already sleeping. As she was going up the stairs, she was praying with a rosary, and

⁹⁰ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 56, 65-7.

⁹¹ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 70.

on entering the bedroom, she felt something grab her arm or her arm brush against something soft. Frightened, Núñez screamed and ran to the bed, hugging her husband and telling him once he was awake that she did not know what had grabbed her arm.⁹² Núñez also described how two or three days later, Juan de Aguirre, a tradesman working for her husband, told her about his encounter with the *duende*. Sleeping in a bedroom upstairs, Juan de Aguirre heard chinaware being thrown down the stairs before having one of his arms outside of the bedsheets lashed by an unknown source. María (not María Sacristán), who came to Núñez's and García's house two or three times a week to wash cloth, also spoke about how one night Núñez called her and other neighbors and brought them to the home's living room. When they entered the room, they saw card castles placed on a floorboard that Catalina claimed the *duende* had made. In this range of experiences from violent attacks by the *duende* to its construction of intricate card castles, all occurred in the hours of night.

Despite this prevalence of nighttime in the moments of *duende* activity, many of the witnesses also believed or understood that a *duende* could be active during the daytime. Antonio Ruiz testified that he had heard López and his family claim that there was “ruido de noche y de dia (noise night and day).”⁹³ María Sacristán confirms this in her own testimony, stating that “cada dia de noche y de dia abia mucho rruido (each day during night and day there had been a lot of noise).”⁹⁴ Considering the testimony of Catalina Núñez once again, she also testified that one day when she was cleaning the *duende* house with Catalina López and a servant, Núñez heard a sound that seemed to be a coin being thrown onto the floor. Then, the servant entered the room where Núñez and Catalina López were and told them that something had thrown a coin at

⁹² “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 218-19.

⁹³ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 58.

⁹⁴ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 81.

her from the roof.⁹⁵ This belief that a *duende* could be active both at night and during the day is further evidenced by María Hernández, a servant of Gabriel de Segovia who was a former resident of the *duende* house. In her testimony, Hernández stated that she never saw nor heard anything that unsettled her despite having been in the alleged *duende* house “a qualquiera ora de la noche e de dia (at any hour of the night or day)”.⁹⁶ The evidence of a *duende*’s actions occurring during the day and at night portrays a characterization of a *duende* as an active being that constantly disturbed the residents of the house it inhabited. However, it should be noted that in the three statements from Antonio Ruiz, María Sacristán, and María Hernández about noise (or lack thereof) from the *duende* occurring day and night, they mention “de noche” (night) before “de dia” (day). While it is possible that this was simply a result of a common phrase, the positioning of night before day could suggest a *duende*’s greater association with nighttime for these witnesses, especially given that the majority of the testimonies narrated instances of *duende* activity occurring at night.

The conception of a *duende* as an active being also meant that it made its presence known throughout the entire duration of its ‘residence’ in a home. This characterization is present in one of the defense’s main arguments stating that Lorenzo López did not complain or make public the existence of the *duende* for more than a year of residence in the ‘haunted’ house. To support this argument, Agustín Díez testified in both of his testimonies that he had never heard López complain about a *duende* or any other *cosa mala* until López had resided in the house for over a year. In his appeal testimony, Díez tells the court that López had said to him that he was very content with his purchase of Vernal’s house when Díez had given López a welcome to the neighborhood. Díez also stated that he never saw López complain about a *trasgo* or any other

⁹⁵ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 220.

⁹⁶ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 204.

disturbing thing until he had been forced to pay the final payment for the house.⁹⁷ While Díez clearly believed that López ‘created’ the *duende* in order to assist him with his difficult economic conditions that were evident in López being forced to pay the final payment, the testimony also reveals Díez’s belief that a *duende* was constantly active within a home. The *duende* was not a dormant being that selectively bothered or attacked a house’s residents within specific intervals of the year. Instead, it was a being that was constantly discomforting the residents and that prevented the peaceful inhabiting of a house at any time of the year.

Recognizing a *duende*’s presence

If *duendes* themselves could not be visually observed, then how could early modern Spaniards believe and know a *duende* to exist? Part of the answer lies in what I label as ‘material manipulation’ and sensory experience. I define ‘material manipulation’ as the *duende*’s control of physical objects, and sensory experience would include the senses of sound, sight (although not of the *duende* itself), and touch. While the *duende* was capable of causing sensory experiences for a home’s residents and visitors without the use of physical objects (for example, the *duende* sometimes physically attacked a home’s residents), many of the sensory experiences that witnesses testify to are the result of and thus heavily connected to the *duende*’s ‘material manipulation’.

Sensory experiences were common in the identification of supernatural occurrences or presences in early modern Spain. After all, if the supernatural or sacred was believed to be able to inhabit the human world, the most practical method to identify its presence was through the senses that could be directly and physically experienced by different people. As Brian Larkin mentions in discussing the concept of ‘sacred immanence’, the sacred “infused mundane objects

⁹⁷ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 195.

and could be seen, touched, dressed, possessed, or ingested".⁹⁸ Furthermore, William Taylor argues in the conclusion of *Theater of a Thousand Wonders* that from the local perspective of sacred shrines and images, the sacred was most often sensed through sight, touch, smell, and sound.⁹⁹ In a similar manner, sensory experiences were a practical and rational way in which Spaniards experienced or became aware of a *duende*'s presence. Sensory experiences were a component of the lived experiences of Spaniards, meaning that sensory experience was one of the most pragmatic ways for Spaniards to know if a *duende* had entered into their lives.

The concepts of 'material manipulation' and sensory experience are both related to the first-hand or 'lived' experiences of witnesses in a *duende* house. If we recall María Sacristán's testimony in response to López's tenth *interrogatorio* question that asked witnesses if a *duende* existed in the house of Juan Velaz into which López and his household had moved, she emphasized that her residence in Velaz's home allowed her to be certain that a *duende* did not inhabit that house. This first-hand connection to a home through residence or having visited and been inside of it is fundamental to many witnesses in their determination of the existence of a *duende* in the López house. López's first *interrogatorio* question as well as Vernal's asks witnesses if they had *noticia* (information/knowledge) regarding López's home.¹⁰⁰ This question allows for all of the case witnesses to establish their first-hand connection to López's allegedly *duende*-inhabited house. All of the witnesses for López in the initial lawsuit and in the appeal had either lived in or visited the infamous Peñafiel home. Diego Martínez Vernal applied the same criteria in selecting his own witnesses, presenting witnesses that had previously lived in the house for a certain period of time except for Agustín Díez, who was a neighbor of the 'haunted'

⁹⁸ Larkin, *The Very Nature of God*, 32.

⁹⁹ Taylor, *Theater of a Thousand Wonders*, 552.

¹⁰⁰ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 49, 93.

Peñafiel house and lived in close proximity to the home. As in the case of María Sacristán, all of the witnesses of the legal case employed their past or present relations to the home to construct their authority in determining the presence of a *duende*.

While the concept of *pública voz y fama*, or the reputation of someone or something, was significant within the case in determining if it was publicly known that López's house had been inhabited by a *duende* before, during, and following López's residence in the home, it was secondary to many witnesses' testimonies in establishing the presence of a *duende* in the home. For instance, witnesses may have additionally supported their belief that the house had a *duende* by stating that they had publicly heard the contents of the *interrogatorio* questions. Witnesses sometimes also said they knew that it was *público y notorio* (public and well-known) that the house was inhabited by a *duende* or that some *duende*-provoked occurrence had happened in the home. For instance, López's witnesses Catalina Rodríguez, Juan Pérez, María (not María Sacristán), and Diego de Azores (a neighbor that lived opposite of López's house) all testify that it was *público y notorio* that López's house was inhabited by a *duende*.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, witnesses such as Lope de Maquina stated that they had heard from others about the contents of the third question of López's *interrogatorio* that inquired if the witnesses had heard about all of the actions perpetrated by the *duende* when López and his family moved into the Peñafiel house.¹⁰²

However, behind these statements of *pública voz y fama* and *público y notorio* are the experiences that the witnesses and others had as a result of the house *duende*. These experiences were the foundation of the house's public reputation of having a *duende*, and they often preceded the repeated declaration that “tenían por cierto que en la dicha casa andaba duende... (They had

¹⁰¹ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 76-7, 86, 227, 235-6.

¹⁰² “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 71.

for certain that in the said house walked a *duende*)".¹⁰³ The witnesses' lived experiences through their connection to the house either established or disproved the existence of the *duende*. As Juan Aparicio declared in his testimony as a witness for Diego Martínez Vernal, "si en las dichas casas ubiera alguna cossa de lo contenido en la pregunta lo supiera y entendiera este testigo e no pudiera ser menos por aber bibido en las dichas casas... (if in the said homes there had been some thing of that contained in the question this witness would have known and understood and it could not have been less for having lived in the said houses)".¹⁰⁴ A *duende* and its activities made certain that anyone who lived in or entered its house was aware that they were not alone nor welcome. The house of López served as a 'host' or a 'lived environment' not just to the residents and visitors of the home, but also to the *duende*, thus resulting in a 'symbiotic' (or, better stated, 'parasitic') and interconnected relationship in which the *duende* made its presence known to the house's residents and visitors. These residents and visitors were affected by and interpreted this presence in various ways, and how each witness experienced the active presence of a *duende* defined their own perception of *duendes*. The accumulation of *duende* experiences by each witness resulted in the development of a certain *duende* 'model' or image for those witnesses in a similar manner to which the scientific method relies on observation in order to develop a conclusion. In what follows, I will detail and order the various types of 'material manipulation' and 'sensory experiences' that allowed Spaniards to identify the potential presence of a *duende*. I will also suggest the potential significances behind the actions of the López home *duende*, demonstrating that although the *duende* was incapable of verbal communication with Spaniards, its actions had a logical basis that made the *duende* more intelligible to Spaniards than the average animal.

¹⁰³ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 73.

¹⁰⁴ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 101.

The noise of a *duende*

One element of ‘material manipulation’ and sensory experience associated with a *duende* was the presence of noises that resulted from the *duende* throwing objects. In the testimony of María (not María Sacristán), she claims that “a oydo rruido como de duendes (she had heard noise like that of *duendes*)” in the *duende* house.¹⁰⁵ This description of “de duendes” or “of *duendes*” that applies to the “rruido” or “noise” emphasizes how noise was a sensory experience that served as a sign for early modern Spaniards of *duende* mischievousness in their home. Additionally, when describing what she heard from Juan de Aguirre regarding his *duende* experience in his bedroom, she says she heard him say that he “abia oydo mucho ruido de duendes (had heard a lot of noise of duendes)”.¹⁰⁶ Similarly, María Sacristán described how every day and night there had been a lot of noise in López’s house and how something regularly threw many things such as fireplace logs, grills, pans, metallic mortars, dirt, and pine cones down the stairs and through the windows of the house. Catalina Rodríguez also affirmed her opinion that a *duende* inhabited the Peñafiel home by testifying that “muchos dias habia mucho rruydo y golpes que daban en la bodega de la dicha casa (many days there was a lot of noise and banging that something made in the *bodega* of the said house)”.¹⁰⁷ In all of these occurrences of noise, Rodríguez stated that no one was in the *bodega* that could have made the noise, which made all of the residents of the *duende* house certain that “andaba duende o cosa mala que hiciese el dicho ruido (a *duende* or other evil thing roamed that could have made the said noise)”.¹⁰⁸

The sight of thrown objects

¹⁰⁵ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 225.

¹⁰⁶ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 226.

¹⁰⁷ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 73.

¹⁰⁸ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López”, 73.

The throwing of objects by the *duende* as a source of sound also provided another type of sensory experiences for those experiencing the *duende* activity, which was that of sight. This action by the *duende* has already been described by María Sacristán in her testimony regarding objects being thrown down the stairs and out the windows and by Juan de Aguirre, who stated in his own testimony that he heard more than 50 stones and china plates being thrown down the stairs that were adjacent to his upstairs bedroom in addition to the tossing of objects within his bedroom.¹⁰⁹ In Antonio Ruiz's testimony, he commented that many times when he arrived to the *portal* of López's house, he "oyó y bio" (heard and saw) how pine cones, a mule or horse seat, and knives, among other things, were thrown down the stairs without seeing who threw these objects down the stairwell.¹¹⁰ Diego de Azores also testified to the *duende*'s presence through its throwing of various material objects down the staircase. In part of his testimony, Diego stated that he saw many times that china plates, pine cones, dirt, the hand of a mortar, the seat of a mule, boards, and many other things were thrown down the stairs.¹¹¹ Obviously, the ability and tendency of the *duende* to manipulate inanimate material objects through the action of projecting them would have captivated the attention of any residents or neighbors of a *duende* house since this action produced both sound as well as a strange and frightening sight for viewers.

The projection of material objects by the *duende* could have also been a symbolic message for Spaniards from the *duende*. The frequent use of action verbs in the above testimonies that signify movement such as *arrojar*, *tirar*, and *echar* could have been interpreted by Spaniards as the *duende* 'telling' them to leave the house or otherwise be 'thrown' or forced out of the home. Many if not all of the objects launched in the home were always described as

¹⁰⁹ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 222-3.

¹¹⁰ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 58.

¹¹¹ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 236.

being thrown down the stairs, and we even understand through María Sacristán's testimony that objects were also being thrown through the windows of the home. These objects, many of which were household belongings such as pots, plates, knives, metallic mortars, and fireplace stones, and their projection downstairs or outside of the home may have been understood by Spaniards as the *duende* evicting them from the house.

The collision of thrown objects

Many of López's witnesses also testified to the *duende* launching objects that directly came into contact with them, providing a more aggressive characterization of the *duende* that is based on physical touch or contact. In the testimony of Antonio Ruiz, he described how one night he was having a conversation with Catalina López as she finished dinner when a piece of plaster appeared to have been lifted from the ground and hit him in his face next to his nose.¹¹² Lope de Maquina testified to a close encounter with a brick that was thrown past his right shoulder which was one of the more violent acts that confirmed, in his mind, the *duende*'s presence in the home. The tradesman Juan's experience of having pine cone's thrown at his bed are also among the examples of the *duende* launching immobile objects at one of the house's residents.

Catalina Rodríguez, María Sacristán, and Juan Pérez also testified to being hit with objects projected by the *duende*. Catalina Rodríguez detailed later in her testimony that in the chimney room with her children, dirt was thrown at them from an opening at the ceiling of the room until they left the area out of fear.¹¹³ Some of María Sacristán's aforementioned testimony narrated moments when objects were thrown at her, such as when she was upstairs doing work

¹¹² "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 59.

¹¹³ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 76.

and when she was eating with López and his family at the living room table. Sacristán also described how she was splitting wood for the oven upstairs when a rope used for securing an animal such as a horse was thrown at her.¹¹⁴ Another night, Sacristán was making a wick for a candle when the *candileja*, or the vase inside the candle that creates the candle light, was thrown at her chest.¹¹⁵ Finally, Juan Pérez related how he was at López's house one day when he requested some water to drink. Catalina López ordered her oldest daughter Maríana to get water from the *bodega*, and not daring to go down alone, Maríana asked Pérez if he could accompany her. While going down to the *bodega* together, scissors kept in the *tienda de paños* flew in between the two. After this sudden fright, other scissors were thrown down into the *bodega*, at which point Pérez and Maríana decided to go back upstairs without the water.¹¹⁶ All of these testimonies detailed a type of violence that was more directed and thus threatening towards the witnesses.

Furthermore, in many of these experiences, the targeted throwing of objects could have been understood as the *duende* increasing its ‘threat level’ towards the residents and visitors of its home. In the case of Antonio Ruiz, he described having experienced objects being launched down the stairs during many of his visits to the López home. However, it was not until later in his testimony and later in his timeline of events that he had the piece of plaster thrown directly at his face. For Juan Pérez, he testified that it was not until later in his timeline of *duende*-related events that he began to be targeted by the *duende* and its object throwing. For instance, he described one day when he went to search López's entire house after various objects had been thrown down the stairwell in the presence of himself and a group of people. In searching the

¹¹⁴ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 80.

¹¹⁵ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 82.

¹¹⁶ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 89-90.

entire home, he was never bothered or attacked by anything. However, on a later day after Mariana had a plate thrown at her while she was upstairs getting water for Pérez, he went upstairs to investigate and had a large knife thrown at him from an unknown source. Thus, the *duende*'s throwing of physical objects may have been interpreted by Spaniards as an incremental act through which the *duende* was expressing its increasing rage at those who entered its domestic 'domain'. While the *duende*'s throwing of objects throughout a house in addition to its constant noise may appear irrational to the modern reader of the legal case, I have attempted to suggest the potential perceptions that Spaniards may have held in relation to the *duende*'s projection of physical objects.

Shoe molds and card castles: The rationality and superhuman abilities of a *duende*

Another way that the *duende* made its presence known in the Peñafiel home was by organizing or placing of certain objects. This form of 'material manipulation' further demonstrates that Spaniards did not perceive the *duende* as an irrational and entirely chaotic creature that inhabited their homes. While the actions of *duendes* caused disorder, the *duende* of López's home was capable of controlling physical objects in a manner that demonstrated great intelligence or organization capabilities. This characterization of a *duende* is present in the testimony of Pedro de la Cuesta and his experience with shoe molds. On the same night that Cuesta saw the unknown shape that he had chased around, he once again heard noises, although this time the noise was coming from the home's *portal*. When Cuesta went to investigate the source of the noise, he saw some shoe molds on the floor of the house's *tienda* that "estaban en las tablas mas altas de la dicha tienda que no las podia ningun hombre alcanzar si no fuese con escalera u otra cossa (were on the highest boards of the *tienda* that no man could have reached if it was not with a ladder or other thing)". He also noticed that the shoe molds were "apareadas y

hermanadas como si alguna persona de mucho entendimiento las hubiera puesto" (placed together as if some person of great knowledge had placed them)". Cuesta, after relaying this description of the shoe molds to his masters Antonio de Herrera and his wife, saw them become frightened and heard them say that they were unsure if it could be some witch or *duende*.¹¹⁷ Given this testimony, why did Cuesta's masters believe that the shoe molds were a potential sign of a *duende*? Furthermore, why did Cuesta associate this experience with the actions of a *duende* in his testimony to the Peñafiel court? In both of his descriptions of the shoe molds and their positioning, Cuesta stated that what he found on the *tienda* floor could only have been reached by someone with a tool such as a ladder, and he also testified that only a person of great knowledge or understanding (of the trade related to shoe making) could have placed the shoe molds as he had found them. In other words, the placement of the shoe molds signified that a random force of nature had not simply knocked them over. Given these descriptions of the placement of the shoe molds and the fact that no one else was in the house that night except for Cuesta and his masters, they would have been inclined to reject the possibility that an 'average' person (one without the required tools or knowledge) had moved the shoe molds. In attributing the shoe mold incident to the work of a *duende* and stating that it had performed an act similar to the work of "alguna persona de mucho entendimiento", Cuesta and his masters were characterizing a *duende* as being endowed with the human knowledge. In addition to the *duende*'s niche levels of knowledge of human activities, Cuesta's and his masters' *duende* was also capable of actions beyond those that people were able to perform on their own. This is evidenced by the *duende*'s ability to reach the shoe molds without the assistance of a tool that people would have required.

¹¹⁷ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 66-7.

These ‘superhuman’ abilities also appear in Isabel de Medina’s testimony regarding some card castles that she saw on a table in the *duende* house. Medina described how one month earlier, she had gone to visit Catalina Núñez, who lived with her husband Francisco García in López’s old *duende* house. During her visit, Núñez told Medina to come to a room of the house and see what the *duende* had done. Entering the room, Núñez showed Medina a table upon which castles of cards had been made “por mucha horden y concierto (with great order)” to the extent that Medina believed that “no lo podia hazer ni poner ninguna persona (no person could have done it or placed it)”.¹¹⁸ The fact that no person could have placed the card castles with such order on the table and that Núñez believed that the *duende* had placed the card castles is evidence of how some early modern Spaniards believed a *duende* to have abilities beyond those of any person. This ability of a *duende* to exceed human capabilities and to place physical objects in an extremely orderly manner further served to differentiate, in the minds of Spaniards, a *duende* from people.

It must also be remembered that early modern Spaniards understood the ‘other’ world of *duendes* and *cosas malas* as operating within their world, a defining characteristic that resulted in some Spaniards associating *duendes* with an act common to all living beings in the human world: the consumption of food and drink. In María Sacristán’s testimony, she discussed how she and others in López’s house would set a table with tablecloths, bread, wine, and cheese among other foods. Then, when Sacristán returned to the *bodega* after a while, she would find “comydo y bebido el bino (eaten [the food] and the wine drank)”. During two of these occasions, Sacristán even found two coins on the table, implying that the *duende* had paid for its ‘meal’ that Sacristán and others unwillingly provided to it.¹¹⁹ This element of ‘paying’ for the food and drink made the

¹¹⁸ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 241-2.

¹¹⁹ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López” 85.

duende more than just a simple animal in the minds of Spaniards like Sacristán. Additionally, the eating and drinking of the food and beverage was an indication that a *duende* was a living being that performed the same activities as a home's human occupants such as having meals. Although we can only speculate, one has to wonder if the *duende*'s throwing of objects at López, his family, and his servants during their meal times in order to force them to leave the room was one of its ways of getting access to food and beverages for its own sustenance. In these instances of *duende* experiences from the shoe molds to its consumption of food and beverage, the *duende* in López's home was not an abstract, irrational force. The *duende* was instead represented as a creature that was as alive as any other being and also had simple necessities such as food and drink. Its actions were capable of being orderly, and its abilities occasionally exceeded those of people, differentiating it as one of the unique beings living in the world of Spaniards.

The *duende* and lost objects

A final element of 'material manipulation' that served as a sign of the *duende*'s residence in a home for Spaniards were lost objects. For early modern Spaniards, "lost property, or stolen property, was a regular concern", and "small household objects could be misplaced, and anything large or small could be stolen by neighbours or servants".¹²⁰ The theft of *duendes* played a part in this prevalence of lost property, but how did Spaniards discern a missing material object that had been taken by a *duende* from those "stolen by neighbours or servants" or simply misplaced by a home's residents? Prior to discovering a seemingly deceased Mariana López in the *bodega* of López's home, Antonio Ruiz detailed a visit to the López house and how he was sitting on a bench when Catalina López had some coins with her. Ruiz suggested that she should place them in a box nearby, and when she did just that and began to walk away from the box, she and Ruiz

¹²⁰ Cameron, *Enchanted Europe*, 39-40.

heard something fall on the floor that sounded like a coin. When Catalina López went to see what had fallen on the floor, she found a woman's thimble and proceeded to cross herself, telling Ruiz that Maríana had been searching for that thimble for a long time without any success in finding it. When Catalina López called another one of her daughters to bring the thimble to Maríana, they were unable to find her. After going to a neighbor's house and searching the upstairs of their own home, Ruiz eventually found Maríana unconscious when he descended into the *bodega*.¹²¹

The sudden appearance of the thimble suggested to Catalina López and Ruiz that a *duende* had been involved in the absence of the object since the thimble had not appeared until it was suddenly "hechado (thrown)" into their presence. Given that no one else was with them in addition to the *duende*'s tendency for throwing objects around the house, led Catalina López and Ruiz to attribute the unexpected appearance of the thimble to the *duende*. In other words, the action of throwing the thimble onto the floor rather than Catalina López or Ruiz finding the thimble on their own account implied that the object had not been misplaced or stolen by another person who resided in or visited López's home. Additionally, the fact that everyone who had witnessed Maríana be brought up from the *bodega* believed Maríana's near death to be the work of the *duende* could have further influenced Ruiz in believing that the thimble incident was evidence of a *duende* inhabiting the López house. As Juan Pérez later testified, Maríana had supposedly gone down into the *bodega* in order to search for a thimble from her aunt that had fallen down there. Whether this thimble is the same that had been missing or a different thimble is unclear, but the sudden appearance of one of Maríana's thimbles just before Maríana was attacked by the *duende* may not have been a coincidence in the mind of Ruiz and Catalina López.

¹²¹ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 60-1.

The testimonial narration by Ruiz of the unexpected appearance of the thimble prior to discussing his discovery of Maríana in the *bodega* may also be indicative of the ‘*duende* connection’ that Ruiz believed the two occurrences held in common. In these instances of objects stolen by the *duende*, the *duende* was one explanation for stolen or lost objects that composed a part of the lived experiences of early modern Spaniards.

Economic distress in a *duende* house

The theft of López’s accounting book by the *duende* as well as its ‘manipulation’ of coins is indicative of the economic sorrows that it could cause for occupants of its home.¹²² Antonio Ruiz narrates how he stopped in the *portal* of López’s house one day to talk with Catalina López when he heard three bangs against the closed doors of the *tienda de paños* as if dirt was being thrown against the doors. Following this noise, Catalina López proceeded to show Antonio five coins that had been thrown in the *portal*.¹²³ Two additional testimonies center around coins as well. One came from Catalina Núñez, who described how one of her servants told her and Catalina López that a coin had been thrown from the roof at her. The other testimony pertains to Juan Pérez, who described how one day when he was with Catalina López and the other residents of López’s house in the *portal* while they were threshing wheat, he saw that pieces of plaster along with five coins were thrown onto the wheat around the *tienda de paños*.¹²⁴

The testimonies of Antonio Ruiz and Juan Pérez both detailed how the *duende* threw coins around the *portal* where the *tienda de paños*, which was the room where López’s cloth business was located. This piece of information becomes crucial when we consider the following circumstances surrounding López’s second payment to Diego Martínez Vernal and Ana de

¹²² “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 82.

¹²³ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 57-8.

¹²⁴ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 86-7.

Gracia for the *duende* house. While López and his family were living in the *duende* home, López had his goods embargoed since he would not pay the second part of the payment that he owed to Vernal and Gracia for his purchase of their house. Vernal accused López of only complaining about a *duende* in the house when he faced the second payment, an accusation that was supported by witness Agustín Diez, who stated that he never saw López complain about a *trasgo* or any other disturbing thing until he had been forced to pay the final payment for the house.

While Diez and Vernal believed that the *duende* was being used by López to excuse him from paying for the home due to his worsening economic conditions at the time, López could have very well believed that the *duende* was the cause of his economic distress. The tossing of coins by the *duende* as well as the brief theft of López's accounting book could have symbolized to López and his family the economic 'chaos' and ruin that a *duende* caused for a home's inhabitants as a part of its 'material manipulation'. The constant throwing, theft, and consumption (in the case of his family's food and beverages) of López's property did not only create a disorderly domestic environment, but it also resulted in economic damage that provided another sign of the *duende*'s intentions to force the unwanted inhabitants of its home to leave. López writes in his *demanda* that the *duende* "hhace cada dia en las dichas casas y en la hacienda que en ella tengo gran dano y destrucion (every day in the said houses and in the property that I have in it did great damage and destruction)".¹²⁵ The damage and destruction that the *duende* caused for a home's inhabitants and their property through its physical attacks and acts of 'material manipulation' provided very physical and observable indications and evidence of the presence of a *duende* to the home's inhabitants. As in the case of objects stolen by the *duende*, the *duende*'s provocation of economic misery for those who occupied its home is indicative of

¹²⁵ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 11.

how the *duende* was another potential explanation for some Spaniards of their moments of hardship.

The significance of *duende* ‘material manipulation’

One of the central issues surrounding the ‘material manipulation’ of the *duende* was control. Whether the *duende* decided to throw household objects down the stairwell or take them from the home’s occupants, these actions demonstrated the perceived physical control that the *duende* held within the house. The residents of the house were incapable of stopping the *duende* from throwing their property around the house or from taking that property, and the only action that these residents could take was to search for the cause behind the movement of these objects or for the objects themselves, both of which often failed to produce results in the case of Juan Pérez’s searches of the home and in the case of Maríana López who searched endlessly for her thimble. In this sense, the home’s occupants may have thought that the *duende* was demonstrating to them their incapability of securing their own household and their *hacienda* (property).

Not only were the house’s occupants incapable of securing their home and property, but they may have understood the *duende*’s physical control over their property as its means of asserting itself as the true ‘owner’ of a house. In the literal sense of the term ‘possession’, which “relates to physical control and implies ownership”, the physical control that the *duende* held over the property of a home’s occupants may have been a sign to these residents that not only were they not in control of that property, but they also were not in possession of the house and its domain.¹²⁶ The ‘material manipulation’ of the *duende*, whether that included hiding household

¹²⁶ Rolena Adorno, *The Polemics of Possession in Spanish American Narrative* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), vii.

items, consuming the human occupants' food and drinks, or attacking these occupants with various physical objects, could have been interpreted by the home's occupants as the *duende*'s defense of its domestic domain against intruders (hence its attacks on a home's human occupants). Having understood from the previous discussion of the shoe molds and card castles that *duendes* were rational and intelligent creatures, it remains within the realm of possibility that the Peñafiel home's residents saw the *duende* inhabiting the house as its own rather than being a simple agent of chaos for its human residents. I will now turn to examining other individual objects that were thrown around the house and at its inhabitants, a focus that will allow me to continue my attempt to better understand the significance(s) of the objects selected by the *duende* and how the significance(s) of these objects may indicate López's witnesses' perceptions of the *duende* as an intelligent creature with intelligible motives behind its acts of 'material manipulation'.

The duende and the natural environment

The projection of 'natural' objects by the López house *duende* prevented the home from serving its primary purpose as the barrier between people and the 'natural' environment. Houses are organized artificial structures constructed as a private space that separates its inhabitants from the surrounding and unpredictable natural world so that those inhabitants may perform various activities such as eating, sleeping, and work. When a *duende* manipulated the 'natural' elements outside of or already within the house, the house failed to provide that delineation between the artificial private world and the chaotic 'natural' environment. Many testimonies listed pine cones, stones, and mounds of dirt as being thrown in the house. The *duende* was causing 'natural' disasters in the house when it was throwing around these 'natural' objects that disturbed the home's inhabitants and prevented them from sleeping (as in the case of the

tradesman Juan), eating (as in the case of María Sacristán and her meals with López's family), or working (as in the case of Catalina Rodríguez and María Sacristán). This elimination of the barriers between the enclosed domestic environment and the surrounding natural environment resulted in an insecure domestic realm while emphasizing the futility of remaining in a home that is unable to shelter and protect its inhabitants.

The *duende* and the equestrian realm

The equipment related to horses and mules is one of the more interesting and enigmatic material objects that appears as a part of the *duende*'s active presence. While we cannot be certain as to why the *duende* was throwing the equipment around the house and at its inhabitants, the relation between transportation and the equipment could signify that these inhabitants perceived the *duende* to be telling them that it was time for them to leave the home. The equestrian equipment only appeared in the testimonies of Antonio Ruiz, María Sacristán, and Diego de Azores and included the mount for a saddle and a rope meant to assist in guiding an animal such as a horse. This equipment could have very well been connected to López's business in cloth that could have required the transportation of his cloths and himself to different markets (a transportation that would have justified the need for a *procurador* or lawyer to be named to act on his behalf in the case of his absence). Following this association and connection between the equipment and transportation/mobility, the fact that the equipment is being thrown down the stairs of López's house in two of the three testimonies could very well have been viewed or understood as the *duende*'s rejection or 'eviction' of the home's new inhabitants. The launching of the horse and mule equipment down the stairs and towards the *portal* or entrance and exit for the home could have been the *duende*'s expression of its desire for López and his family to 'take a trip' and leave its home. This is evident in the case of María Sacristán. When she had a horse

rope thrown at her twice (once directly at her and a second time at her feet), she went downstairs out of fear and informed her masters that she wanted to go to her father's house because she could not suffer the things that went on each day in the house.¹²⁷ Based on this experience, Sacristán could have very well interpreted the rope as a sign from the *duende* to leave the house.

The *duende* and candles

The association between the López home *duende* and candles not only emphasizes the *duende*'s association with nighttime and the darkness, but it also reinforces the *duende*'s upstairs tendencies and disruptive nature. The 'material manipulation' of candles by the *duende* was not limited to the physical throwing and resulting destruction of candles, but it also included the blowing out of the flames of candles in use by those residents. The case of María Sacristán having a *candileja* thrown at her one night as she was making a candle wick is one example of the *duende*'s 'manipulation' of a candle. Sacristán also provided further testimony regarding the *duende* extinguishing candles, with her candle being put out when she went upstairs to collect some garbage and when she was washing *el basar* upstairs.¹²⁸ All of these instances involving the *duende* and candles happened at night and occurred while Sacristán had gone upstairs to perform domestic work. Candles were always used by witnesses when they went upstairs or when they were performing domestic work upstairs, and by extinguishing or destroying a candle, the *duende* was impeding the work of the witnesses that was necessary for the proper functioning and order of a home such as cleaning or garbage collection.

The extinguishing or tossing of candles by the *duende* also demonstrated the malevolent nature that the legal case's witnesses identified with the *duende* as one of many *cosas malas* and

¹²⁷ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 80.

¹²⁸ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 80-1.

cosas espantosas or *temerosas*. The extinguishing of a candle would have deprived witnesses such as Sacristán of their sight which, when paired with the darkness of night, would have left witnesses alone in this darkness without being able to see anything around them. This feeling of isolation while being unable to see anything would have provoked fear within these witnesses, hence the reason for a *duende* being labeled as a *cosa temerosa* or *espantosa*. Additionally, in many instances when the *duende* blew out the flame on a candle, they were followed by acts of physical violence by the *duende*, which included the *duende* removing and tearing up Sacristán's headdress, pulling out her hair, and scratching her head and face.¹²⁹ Prior to or while the *duende* was physically attacking Sacristán and removing her headdress, the *duende*'s extinguishment of a candle's light symbolized its violent and malicious physical assault against Sacristán. These physical acts of violence that were associated with the extinguishment of a candle can be understood as evidence of the malevolent nature of the *duende*.

The *duende*'s murderous intent

The more deadly objects that are characterized by sharp blades such as scissors or knives or fireplace objects such as the fireplace stones are a further example of the malicious nature of the López house *duende*. In many of the instances in which the *duende* has these objects under its control, it chooses to throw them towards or directly at the residents and visitors of its home. In the case of Juan Pérez, it may be recalled that he had a knife thrown at him when he was upstairs in López's home. Pérez and Maríana López were also attacked while going down into the *bodega* to get water, during which a number of scissors were thrown at them from the *tienda*. For López's witnesses like Pérez in addition to López himself, these actions by the *duende* confirmed their belief that the *duende*, beyond making noise and throwing physical objects around the

¹²⁹ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López".

house and at its occupants, were also deadly and capable of the murder of those inhabitants. For instance, López states in his *juramento de calumnia* (an oath against false accusations) that “si este confesante y los demás de su casa no se salieran de ella entienden que todos fueran muertos (if this deponent and the rest of his house had not left from it they understand that everyone would have died)”.¹³⁰

This perception of the intent of the *duende* to murder the home’s occupants was also related to its ability to physically attack them itself rather than through the medium of physical objects. In many of the testimonies of López’s witnesses, these physical attacks served as the last resort for the *duende* in its attempt to rid the house of its unwelcome inhabitants. Considering sensory experiences once again as one of the means through which Spaniards recognized the presence of a *duende*, physical attacks by the *duende* would have provided a more violent and aggressive sensory experience for the victim through physical contact. Examples of physical attacks by the *duende* were discussed when María Sacristán’s candle was extinguished and the *duende* proceeded to remove and tear up Sacristán’s headdress, pull out her hair, and scratch her head and face. These direct attacks by the *duende* only happened after Sacristán had previously reported having physical objects thrown at her by the *duende*, almost as if the *duende*’s direct attacks against Sacristán was an expression of its frustration at Sacristán for not having abandoned the house after all of its previous warnings to her in the form of various objects such as the horse rope.

Furthermore, all of López’s witnesses from the initial phase of the case testified to having heard about or directly witnessed the near death of Maríana López in the *bodega*. As María Sacristán described in her testimony, Maríana was found in the *bodega* one day passed out and

¹³⁰ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 116.

thrown between two barrels face down and without her headdress. Some shoes were in the stairwell to the *bodega* and the headdresses of Maríana were found on the ground of the *bodega* and underneath a very large rock that weighed more than ten pounds. When Maríana's unconscious body was brought up into the first floor of the house, everyone there “tubieron entendido que estaba muerta (they understood/believed that she was dead)”, and they tried giving her a few hits so that she would return to consciousness.¹³¹ Antonio Ruiz also testified that he was certain that something similar to a *duende* or *cosa mala* should roam López’s house based on what he had witnessed that day with Maríana, and María Sacristán added in her testimony that everyone there, including herself, were certain that what they had witnessed with Maríana was the result of the *duende* or *trasgo* that roamed the López home. The fact that everyone believed that a *duende* had been the cause of Maríana’s near-death experience demonstrates that these individuals understood a *duende* to be capable of the murder of a home’s inhabitants.

The near death of Maríana was also a clear act of bodily violence beyond the *duende*’s murder attempt because Maríana was also described as unconscious and without her shoes or headdresses (which had been found under a heavy and large rock). María Sacristán further stated that Maríana later said that she had been grabbed from behind and knocked down into the *bodega*. In a similar manner to the incremental violence evident in the experiences of María Sacristán with the *duende*, this attempted murder was the final known act of the *duende* against Maríana before the López family moved out. The act only occurred following previous instances of less violent *duende* activity against Maríana such as its taking of her thimble or blowing out her candles. Seeing that Maríana would not leave the home after it warned her of its presence,

¹³¹ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 84.

the *duende* decided that murder was its only remaining option for getting rid of the unwanted occupants in its home.

The possibility of homicide committed by the *duende* is not a characterization that appears in the testimonies of the case's appeal. However, acts of bodily violence by the *duende* still appear in testimony from the appeal such as when Juan de Aguirre was lashed by an unknown source in the arm and when Catalina Núñez's arm brushed against or was grabbed by the *duende* or *trasgo*. Once again, we can observe the *duende*'s incremental approach to forcing its home's residents to leave. The *duende* did not hit Aguirre until it had spent some time projecting rocks and chinaplates down the stairs in addition to throwing around the objects in Aguirre's bedroom.

Developing an understanding(s) of a *duende*

In concluding this second chapter, let us return to the experience of the tradesman Juan, which can serve as a more general insight into how a *duende* made its presence known to a house's occupants. Juan's experience (which took place at night when a *duende* was more prone to act) occurred in an upstairs bedroom of the house, which was the area in which the *duende* was more likely to act within a home. His experience also included examples of the *duende*'s incremental activity when it began by disturbing Juan with 'material manipulation' such as the throwing of pine cones at Juan's bed and the removal of the bed's sheets before advancing to physical violence when Juan was beaten and suffocated by the *duende*. These instances of *duende* activity would have provided a plethora of sensory experiences notifying Juan of the *duende*'s presence from the sight and sound of pine cones hitting his bed to the sense of physical contact when the *duende* began to choke Juan. Even Juan's departure from the home after his

frightening and brutal experience complied with the intentions of the *duende* to rid its domestic domain of unwanted inhabitants.

While my intention has been to provide a better understanding to how a *duende* made its presence known to people who entered its home, it must be remembered that beliefs regarding *duende* ‘immanence’ still varied. What a *duende* could do within a home was an ongoing debate in early modern Spanish society, and these debates took place through legal cases such as this one. For instance, Pedro Hernández, one of the aforementioned *procuradores* of Diego Martínez Vernal, wrote in the *escrito de bien probado* that “ni podia ni puede hacer mal ni dano ni tomar ni levantar cosa alguna corporea por ser como es (it [the *duende*] could not nor can it commit evil nor harm nor take nor pick up any corporeal thing for being what it is)” and that “el dicho duende no es cosa que les podria hacer mal ni dano ni tocar a ellos como los dichos testigos dizen que les daban e destocaban y aranaban y hacian otros males (the said *duende* is not a thing that is able to commit evil nor harm nor touch them as the said witnesses state that they were hit and had their headdresses removed and were scratched and had other evils done to them)”.¹³² Hernández’s characterization of a *duende* denied many of the fundamental characterizations of the *duende* that are present in López’s witnesses’ testimonies, demonstrating that the debate over *duendes* was alive and active in López’s case. If Spaniards unequivocally agreed that *duendes* did exist within their world, the debates about these creatures became crucial in their attempts to understand and define how *duendes* impacted the early modern world and the daily lives of Spaniards. In delineating the ‘where’ and ‘when’ of the López house *duende* as well as how *duendes* were identified, I intended to develop a more concrete image of López’s *duende* that was based entirely upon the lived, first-hand experiences of the Spaniards who lived in or visited

¹³² “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 114.

the Peñafiel home. While I provided the reader in this thesis' first chapter with a more theoretical approach to *duendes* by including how ideas such as 'immanence' were reflected in witness testimonies, my intention in this second chapter was to provide the reader with a detailed explanation of how Spaniards developed their ideas and perceptions of *duendes* in a very practical manner through personal and/or others' encounters with the *duende*. In the following chapter, I will provide a greater focus on these Spaniards in an attempt to better understand who was affected by the *duende*'s presence and activities and how this question of 'who' can assist us in our journey towards a greater comprehension of Spaniards' understandings of *duendes*.

Chapter 3: “En las dichas casas duende e otras cosas que causan susto miedo y temor a mi mujer hijos y criados y a mí”: The victims of ‘duendes’

On the same night that the *duende* hit Antonio Ruiz in the face with a piece of plaster, it decided to act again against Maríana López and a *criada*. Maríana asked a *criada* to accompany her to the second floor. Some time later, the two fled down the staircase while complaining that their candle had been extinguished. Suddenly, Maríana and the *criada* began screaming, yelling that something was pulling on their hair and had removed their headdresses. When Catalina López and Ruiz left López’s room and approached the noise, they saw Maríana and the *criada* with an extinguished candle, bare heads, and disheveled hair. They said they were unsure who had done it.¹³³

Juan Pérez would testify to a similar situation that happened to Maríana and María, her *criada*, in the López home on another night.¹³⁴ María and Maríana went upstairs, but they both fled downstairs out of fear three or four times when their candle light was put out. Having finally gone upstairs after multiple attempts, they later began shouting. María yelled that something was choking her, so Juan ran upstairs and saw that the light that María had been carrying had been extinguished, that María’s headdress had been removed, and that her hair was disheveled. Maríana ran down the stairs, and Juan proceeded to lift the unconscious María from the floor and take her downstairs, where she remained unconscious for a little while.¹³⁵ In both these instances of *duende* violence, women and *criadas* were the victims of the violence and were attacked in similar manners. The women and *criadas* screamed after having their candle lights put out, had their headdresses removed, and were found with their hair disheveled.

¹³³ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 59-60.

¹³⁴ Although Juan does not state María’s last name, I infer that he may be referring to María Sacristán because she is the only *criada* who is referenced in the court case.

¹³⁵ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 89.

The significance of these attacks as well as the people who experienced or were targeted by the *duende* is the focus of this chapter. In other words, I intend to examine the ‘who’ of *duende* ‘immanence’ and the significance of that ‘who’. I argue that women and employees were the predominant victims of *duende* activity and attacks, a predominance that can be explained as a result of beliefs regarding the ‘weakness’ of women and employees as well as by the nature of their work and their enclosure/confinement to domestic environments.¹³⁶ I also argue that the prevalence of women and employees as victims of *duendes* served as a challenge to the patriarch and the patriarchal hierarchy of a domestic environment. Finally, I suggest that Spaniards may have used the figure of a *duende* as a metaphor for domestic violence towards women and employees in a household.

The *duende*’s victims: Women and *criadas*

Although everyone who entered the house of a *duende* was its potential victim, most instances of *duende* activity were targeted towards women and employees. In fact, in the testimonies from the appeals section of the case, women and employees were the sole targets of *duende* attacks. The language of the case may help in understanding this pattern of *duende* victimization. For example, everyone who inhabited the *duende* house was a victim of its presence as evidenced when López wrote in his *demand*a that the *duende* or whatever roamed the infamous house “causan susto miedo y temor a mi mujer hijos y criados y a mi (cause fright, fear and dread to my wife, children, and servants and me)” and that “todos los que en las dichas casas bibimos estamos ynquietos y desasosegados y con grandisimo temor y miedo (every one of us who lives in the house are uneasy and distressed and with great dread and fear)”.¹³⁷ López

¹³⁶ I define ‘employees’ as *criados* and as the apprentices or tradesmen who worked most commonly for the family patriarch’s business.

¹³⁷ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 10-1.

wanted to emphasize in these statements that no one was able to live in peace within the *duende* home.

Nevertheless, López and his witnesses only mention his *hijas* and *criadas* and not his male *hijos* and *criados* who are referenced in the above *demandada* statement. While López often utilized the phrase “mi mujer e hijos y criados” in his *interrogatorio*, a phrase that uses the male forms of *hijos* and *criados*, the only instances of harmful *duende* activity were directed towards his daughters and *criadas*. For instance, in his fifth *interrogatorio* question, López writes that “en algunos dias del en algunos aposentos y bodegas de la dicha casa maltrataron a Mariana y a Catalina López mys hijas y a María mi criada muy mal acardenalandolas y mesandolas y acotandolas asta las dejar como muertas muy perdidas y desmayadas rrotos los tocados y bestidos (on some days of [the corresponding month] in some rooms and wine cellars of the said home they [the *duende* or other *cosa mala*] abused Mariana and Catalina López, my daughters, and María, my servant, very badly bruising them and pulling out their hair and lashing them until they were left for dead, very disoriented, and unconscious, [having] torn their headdresses and clothing)”.¹³⁸ In this description of the *duende*’s attacks, the absence of men is noteworthy. This absence continues in the testimonies of his witnesses, who never mention any *hijo* or *criado* specifically targeted by a *duende*. We know from López’s *demandada* that there were other men including his son(s) and *criado(s)* in the home, so what are the reasons behind the absence of these men from López’s *interrogatorio* and his witnesses’ testimonies as well as the emphasis placed on women as the victims of *duende* aggression?

The ‘spiritual weakness’ of women

¹³⁸ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 50-1.

One potential explanation were beliefs in the early modern Hispanic world regarding the ‘weakness’ of women, a ‘weakness’ that could have made them more susceptible to *duende* activity. According to Susan Socolow, women were viewed and portrayed by “Spanish thinkers and writers such as Fray Martín de Córdoba, Juan Luis Vives, Fray Luis de León, and Juan de la Cerda” as “less intelligent, rational, and wise than men” and as “morally fragile and prone to error” due to being “particularly susceptible to evil and easily swayed by the devil”.¹³⁹ Other writers in Europe such as Heinrich Kramer and James Sprenger in *Malleus maleficarum* also presented women as ‘fragile’ and ‘fickle’ as well as “defenseless before the devil without the guidance of Christian men”.¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, Laura Lewis writes in her article on the ‘weakness’ of women in colonial Mexico that “[o]ne philosophical underpinning of the Christian church’s politics was the inherently weak moral fiber of women as defined in the Western tradition”, and women were also portrayed and thought of as ‘children’ who could never be “fully logical, deliberative masters of their passions”, a perception of women that existed in Aristotelian thought.¹⁴¹ It would be erroneous, even with the greater illiteracy of the time period that may have prevented the Spaniards in López’s court case from reading the aforementioned literature, to claim that these beliefs were exclusive to elite thinkers and writers. As Socolow argues, “Popular culture...not only accepted this vision of women; it also stressed that women were inconsistent, gossipy, overly emotional, irrational, changeable, weak, prone to error, deceitful, and profligate”.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ Susan Migden Socolow, *The Women of Colonial Latin America*, second ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 6.

¹⁴⁰ Laura A. Lewis, “The ‘Weakness’ of Women and the Feminization of the Indian in Colonial Mexico,” *Colonial Latin American review* 5, no. 1 (1996): 9-10, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10609169608569878>.

¹⁴¹ Lewis, “The ‘Weakness’ of Women,” 2.

¹⁴² Socolow, *The Women of Colonial Latin America*, 6.

This greater ‘spiritual susceptibility’ that Spaniards believed to characterize women may illustrate why López and his witnesses described specific instances in which women in his household were physically attacked by the *duende* while failing to mention any specific instances for his sons or *criados*. Spaniards may have perceived the *duende*, a *cosa mala*, as a creature that targeted the ‘fragile’ and ‘susceptible’ (to evil) nature of women. López’s emphasis on women as victims may have been a strategy to demonstrate the justice behind his lawsuit. By emphasizing the burden of suffering that many of the women living in the home experienced, López portrayed the *duende* as a creature that targeted the most ‘vulnerable’, thus justifying his legal action against Diego Martínez Vernal and Ana de Gracia.

Many of López's witnesses portrayed women as emotional in comparison to men. Women were the only victims of *duende* activity that were described in witnesses' testimonies as screaming or having other emotional reactions to instances of *duende* activity such as crying. In the experience of Mariana López and María that I described in this chapter's introduction, Juan Pérez testified that Mariana and María “dieron voces (shouted)” when attacked by the *duende*. After Pérez had run upstairs to help, he declared that Mariana “se bajo corriendo (ran downstairs)”, leaving him with the responsibility of bringing María’s unconscious body downstairs. Ana de Zebollo, another witness for López, testified to seeing Catalina Núñez crying on two different occasions after the *duende* grabbed or touched her arm and after hearing about the *duende* experience of Juan de Aguirre when his arm was lashed in his bedroom.¹⁴³ Furthermore, Juan Pérez reinforced this emotional characterization of women when he described one night when López, his wife, and others were eating in their living room. At some point in the meal, dirt was thrown at the dining table and at their food. In describing the reactions of those in

¹⁴³ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 239-40.

the living room, Pérez stated “lo qual les causaba a las hijas e criadas del dicho Lorencio López mucho temor y miedo (that which caused the daughters and servants of the aforementioned Lorenzo López great dread and fear)”.¹⁴⁴ Thus, Pérez portrayed the women of López’s household as emotional in response to the *duende* through his specification of López’s *hijas* and *criadas* as the only ones with great fear.

The fact that women such as Ana de Zebollo and Catalina Núñez perpetuated this characterization in their own testimonies may be evidence of an attempt by these women to strengthen López’s lawsuit in the eyes of Valladolid’s justices. Ana de Zebollo’s testimony describing how she saw Núñez crying on two different occasions was already described in the previous paragraph. Catalina Núñez testified that when Juan de Aguirre told her about his nighttime *duende* attack, she became upset and began to scream and cry. She proclaimed that she did not want to be in the *duende* house any longer and that she wanted to go to a relative’s home, requiring Francisco García, her husband, to calm her down.¹⁴⁵ These portrayals of Núñez as emotional could have been an attempt to utilize the perceptions of women in Spanish society to construct a more sympathetic case. By portraying Núñez as an emotional and ‘fragile’ victim of the *duende*, Zebollo and Núñez may have hoped to achieve greater sympathy from Valladolid’s judicial authorities and to demonstrate the physical and emotional pain that Núñez underwent as a result of the *duende*, all of which would have been aimed towards benefitting López’s side of the case.

In contrast, men, in the testimonies of various witnesses, appeared as logical and less emotional when targeted by the *duende*. When Catalina Núñez was with Catalina López and a young *criada* cleaning the house, Núñez testified to being frightened and running to her husband

¹⁴⁴ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 88.

¹⁴⁵ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 219-20.

after the *criada* reported that a coin had been thrown at her. When Núñez told García that she did not want to go to live in the home, he responded that she should not be afraid and that she should calm down since it was not anything and the *criada* had probably taken the coin from her person and thrown it.¹⁴⁶ In this instance, Núñez painted a clear contrast between her frightened self and the ‘logical’ García who attempted to reason with her. Furthermore, Juan Pérez portrayed himself as a ‘logical’ man in his testimony. For example, Pérez stated that “muchas veces procuro ver y saber quien hacia lo que en ella tiene dicho (many times he attempted to see and figure out who did the aforementioned [the *duende* activity] in [the house])”. Juan also described a specific instance in which he was the only one who dared to go upstairs in the home to determine who or what had thrown various objects at him and others who were gathered in the home’s *portal*.¹⁴⁷ In María Sacristán’s testimony, she declared that “Lorenco López su amo procuro muchas veces aberiguar y saber si abia alguna persona que hiciese herrido y dano que tiene dicho...y causase los dichos miedos (Lorenzo López, her master, attempted many times to discover and find out if there had been someone who could have done the aforementioned injury and harm...and could cause the aforementioned fears)”.¹⁴⁸ Instead of naming herself or another inhabitant of the home, María Sacristán listed the patriarch of the household, thus reinforcing the image of a ‘logical’ patriarch/man that attempts to discover the source of frightening occurrences in his house.

These images of ‘emotional’ women and of ‘logical’ men may explain why women were the predominant victims of *duendes* in comparison to men. If people believed and understood that women were more emotional than men and that a *duende*, as a *cosa espantosa* and *temerosa*,

¹⁴⁶ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 220-1.

¹⁴⁷ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 88.

¹⁴⁸ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 83.

inspired fear into the inhabitants of its house, then Spaniards may have been disposed to believing that *duendes* were more likely to attack women. The dichotomy of ‘emotional’ women and ‘logical’ men also further serves to characterize women as more ‘vulnerable’ victims of the *duende* and its attacks.

Women and employees: Enclosure and Work

Another potential explanation for the prevalence of women and employees as victims of the *duende* was the nature of the work of women and employees as well as their enclosure/confinement to domestic environments. Elizabeth Perry notes that “women were told to stay in the ‘natural’ confinement of convent, home, or brothel” to protect them from “their weakness and propensity for disorder” and their vulnerability to “temptations of the devil”.¹⁴⁹ The belief and practice of enclosure for women thus meant that they were often confined to domestic environments, especially in comparison to men. It should be noted that the practice of enclosure was an ‘ideal’ that always did not apply to women of lower socioeconomic classes who needed to leave the home to support their family. However, the practice seemed to have governed the lives of women (wives, daughters, and servants) that appear in the court case since they are never mentioned as being outside of the house unless they briefly left the house to perform tasks such as garbage disposal in the case of María Sacristán or out of fear of the *duende* as was the case for Catalina Núñez during the coin fright.¹⁵⁰ This pattern contrasts with men in the case such as Lorenzo López and Lope de Maquina who are both described by witnesses as being absent from or outside of the home during the day and sometimes at night.¹⁵¹ The patriarchal ‘ideal’ of confinement/enclosure in early modern Spain also meant that women were

¹⁴⁹ Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville*, 6, 178-79.

¹⁵⁰ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 80, 236.

¹⁵¹ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 75, 82.

supposed to work in the home as much as possible. As Socolow argues, “[t]he home was the most important arena for female labor” as a result of women spending “much of their lives in the home” and having “tasks...tied to caring for children, preparing food, and maintaining the household”.¹⁵² We can observe these conceptions of “female labor” in the legal case when Catalina López is described as threshing wheat in the *portal* of the *duende* house or when Catalina Rodríguez described herself being with her children in the room with the *chimenea* while her husband is absent from the home.¹⁵³

In the case of employees such as servants, apprentices, and tradesmen, they often lived and worked in their employer’s house. As R. Douglas Cope emphasizes in discussing work in the early modern Hispanic world, “‘casa’ y ‘trabajo’ aún no constituían ámbitos separados”.¹⁵⁴ In López’s court case, all of the *criadas* referenced or involved are always mentioned as working in the home, and the *tienda de paños*, or the workshop and business center for patriarch’s such as López, was located in the *duende* home. This relationship between labor and the home for women and employees illustrates why they were more likely to be the victims of the house-dwelling *duende*. In many of the experiences of *duende* activity such as those of Catalina Rodríguez, *criada* María Sacristán, and Catalina Núñez, these witnesses begin their testimony with a description of a domestic function that they were performing. These include Catalina Rodríguez retrieving brooms from an upstairs room, María Sacristán collecting garbage, washing *el basar*, or making a candle wick, and Catalina Núñez cleaning the *duende* house before moving into it.¹⁵⁵ The fact that many of these women and employees were performing domestic tasks

¹⁵² Socolow, *The Women of Colonial Latin America*, 127, 192.

¹⁵³ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 76, 86.

¹⁵⁴ R. Douglas Cope, “Los ámbitos laborales urbanos” in *Historia de la vida cotidiana en México. Tomo II: La Ciudad Barroca*, ed. Antonio Rubial García (México, El Colegio de México & FCE, 2005), 416.

¹⁵⁵ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 75, 80-2, 220.

when they experienced *duende* activity indicates how in a home inhabited by a *duende*, the two ‘arenas’ of labor for women and employees and *duende* presence collided. In conclusion, a *duende*’s attachment to houses, combined with the fact that women and employees were predominantly present in homes, could demonstrate why these groups were often the specific targets of the *duende*.

Duendes and patriarchal hierarchies

The patriarchal hierarchies that governed early modern Spanish society both justified and served as evidence of many Spaniards’ beliefs in the inherent ‘weakness’ that supposedly characterized women. As Christopher Boyer outlines in his chapter ”The Politics of Marriage”, patriarchy served “as a cultural assumption and as an ordering principle in western Christendom and the Spanish peninsula”.¹⁵⁶ This patriarchal order, according to Mary Elizabeth Perry, was believed by Spaniards to be “the ‘natural order’ of God, Man, and Woman, arranged in a hierarchy with women at the bottom”, and the believers and enforcers of this order proclaimed that it was “biologically determined...and divinely ordained”.¹⁵⁷ On a micro level, Boyer details how patriarchy had “its fundamental expression” in “the family, with husband dominant over wife, children, and any others in the household” as well as how “[w]omen and children were always minors under the tutelage of the senior male”.¹⁵⁸ As Socolow argues, this dominant hierarchy in early modern Spain determined that “[a] man’s role was to guide and control” women as a result of their “natural fragility”, and the hierarchy also institutionalized and expressed the hegemonic beliefs regarding patriarchy.¹⁵⁹ In fact, the statement by López in

¹⁵⁶ Christopher Boyer, “The Politics of Marriage,” in *Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Asunción Lavrin (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 252.

¹⁵⁷ Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville*, 177.

¹⁵⁸ Boyer, “The Politics of Marriage,” 252-53.

¹⁵⁹ Socolow, *The Women of Colonial Latin America*, 7.

his *demanda* regarding the “susto miedo y temor a mi mujer hijos y criados y a mi” is a reflection of this patriarchal hierarchy since he listed the individuals and groups in a manner that reflected who the patriarch (López) understood to be the most vulnerable to the *duende* and therefore needing the most protection. López’s *mujer* was the most important person to protect, followed by his *hijos* and his *criados*, and finally by *mi*, or the patriarch himself (who may have listed himself last according to his belief that he was less vulnerable than his *mujer*, *hijos*, and *criados*).

Employees may have been prone to *duende* attacks since Spaniards considered them to be subordinated to the protection and guidance of the domestic hierarchy, a position that implied that employees were ‘vulnerable’ individuals in need of a patriarch. Cope describes that “cuando los artesanos aceptaban a sus aprendices, prácticamente los recibían en el seno de su familia, asumiendo la responsabilidad de sus gastos de manutención y aceptando actuar como si fueran sus padres”.¹⁶⁰ It was a similar case for servants who, according to Perry, “received board, room, clothing” as well as an education in “domestic skills” and “good manners and customs” from those who contracted them.¹⁶¹ Just as Spaniards believed women to be ‘children’ in need of care, control, and guidance by a patriarch, employees were also subordinated to a patriarch who provided the care, control, and guidance needed for their wellbeing. While the reasons for employees’ need for a patriarch differed from those of women, the hierarchical subordination of employees meant that they were in need of support and protection, thus making them more susceptible to a *duende*’s attacks than a patriarch, for example.

This necessity of a patriarch for women and employees may explain why all of the *duende*’s attacks specifically targeting these women and employees happened outside of the

¹⁶⁰ Cope, “Los ámbitos laborales urbanos,” 416.

¹⁶¹ Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville*, 66.

physical presence of the home patriarch. The only exception to this pattern was when the *duende* grabbed or touched the arm of Catalina Núñez as she was entering her bedroom where her husband was sleeping.¹⁶² However, Núñez may have interpreted the *duende*'s action as its attempt to attack and frighten her before she fully entered the room with her husband and while her husband was resting and ignorant of his surroundings. These moments of a patriarch's absence may have been understood as moments of 'weakness' for these *duende* victims as they were away from their protector and supporter and thus more 'vulnerable' to the *duende*.

Patriarchal authority vs. the *duende*

Given that women and employees were meant to be under the care, control, and guidance of the household patriarch, the predominance of *duende* attacks on women and employees could also represent a challenge to the patriarch and his hierarchy in a domestic environment. As Lipsett-Rivera argues in her work, *Gender and Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico, 1750-1856*, the home was a crucial component of the "dichotomy of order-disorder" since the interior of a house was meant "to provide a safe haven-a feminine moral space- that was in opposition to the masculine, sexualized, and dangerous space of the street and the countryside".¹⁶³ The house was a place "of morality" and a "moral core" that ideally served as "a shelter and a place of protection, especially for women", and it was an expectation among Spaniards that anyone entering "a home governed by a male head of household...needed to act with deference and respect".¹⁶⁴ Thus, the home was "a place that had to be respected and defended" and that

¹⁶² "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 218-19.

¹⁶³ Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, *Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico, 1750-1856* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012), 36, 102. Although Lipsett-Rivera's book is focused on Mexico from 1750-1856, she references Spain as one of the principal sources of the ideas surrounding domestic space.

¹⁶⁴ Lipsett-Rivera, *Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico*, 106, 115, 134; Mary Elizabeth Perry, "Moriscos, Gender, and the Politics of Religión in 16th and 17th Century Spain," *Chronica nova: Revista de historia moderna de la Universidad de Granada*, no. 32 (2006): 251.

“evoked a sense of territoriality” that was expressed “through a defense of its [the home’s] morality and its honor”.¹⁶⁵ This ideal of a home as a moral space that was meant to represent order and be defended in order to preserve its morality, honor, and peace is crucial to understanding how the *duende*’s violent activities and attacks ‘desecrated’ the domestic moral center.

The patriarchs, in addition to being “los defensores de la jerarquía”, were also charged with “mantener un buen funcionamiento del hogar”, which was a sign of “éxito del patriarca en la tarea fundamental del control social” according to Cope.¹⁶⁶ As Socolow explains, the authority of the patriarch was “expressed by control over the home”, and these patriarchs were “charged with protecting their family’s honor and fortune” in addition to having “la responsabilidad de asegurar el bienestar de ‘su gente’”, a responsibility that included the “obligation...to honor, love, protect, and provide for his wife”.¹⁶⁷ By stating in his *demand*a that the *duende* caused fear “a mi mujer hijos y criados y a mi” and that “todos los que en las dichas casas bibimos estamos ynquietos y desasosegados y con grandisimo temor y miedo”, López acknowledged that the *duende* was challenging his principal role as the protector and ensurer of the well being of all who lived under the patriarchal domestic hierarchy. In the noise it produced, the material objects it projected, and the physical attacks it perpetrated against the inhabitants of its home, the *duende* was creating disorder and preventing it from being “a shelter and a place of protection”.

Furthermore, the prevalence of women and employees as victims emphasizes that the *duende*’s actions were an ‘attack’ on his patriarchal role as the defender of the patriarchal hierarchy and of those considered ‘weaker’ and as needing the ‘tutelage’ of a patriarch. In other

¹⁶⁵ Lipsett-Rivera, *Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico*, 39-40.

¹⁶⁶ Cope, “Los ámbitos laborales urbanos,” 416.

¹⁶⁷ Cope, “Los ámbitos laborales urbanos,” 417; Socolow, *The Women of Colonial Latin America*, 12, 191.

words, each attack on women and servants of a patriarch's household was a failure of the patriarch's protective responsibilities. The presence of the *duende* also prevented the proper functioning of the enclosure/confinement that Spanish society saw as necessary for protecting women. This necessity of enclosure/confinement may have been one of the reasons for which López felt obligated to leave the *duende* house and move to the home of Juan Velaz, a home that provided a more secure and peaceful environment for his wife, children, and servants since it was not inhabited by a *duende*.

The *duende*'s attack on masculinity and expulsion of patriarchal authority

The inability of a patriarch such as López to deal with the *duende* was also an 'attack' on the role of patriarchs to control and protect their home and those within it. The fact that López's sixth *interrogatorio* question states "que nos fue forcoso desanparar y dejar las dichas casas y sacar de ellas mi hacienda (that it was necessary that we abandon and leave the said home and take my property from it)" is indicative of López's inability to remove the *duende* and to end its constant activities in the Peñafiel house.¹⁶⁸ López may have also interpreted his household's forced abandonment of the *duende* home as an 'attack' on his masculinity. In regards to the domestic environment, Lipsett-Rivera argues that "[c]ontrol over who had the right to enter was fundamental to paternal and husbandly authority" since it served to safeguard the honorable and secure space of a home.¹⁶⁹ As Lipsett-Rivera further explains, the action of ejecting a disorderly person from a house was intended to maintain the honorability and respectability of the home, and expulsions also served to protect the people and property of a household.¹⁷⁰ In discussing the necessity for his household to abandon the *duende* house, López was implicitly admitting that he

¹⁶⁸ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 52.

¹⁶⁹ Lipsett-Rivera, *Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico*, 112.

¹⁷⁰ Lipsett-Rivera, *Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico*, 109, 112.

was incapable of ejecting the disorderly *duende* from the home he had purchased and thus legally possessed and controlled. While López's description of his household's abandonment of the house was meant to support his legal demand for full compensation from Diego Martínez Vernal and Ana de Gracia, the incapability of López to remove the *duende* would have also been an insult (regardless of the legal implications) against his “paternal and husbandly authority” that was tasked with maintaining an honorable and secure domestic space. Additionally, “[p]eople who were turned out from houses understood the slur” to be “against their masculinity”.¹⁷¹ The fact that López and his household were the ones removed from the house instead of the *duende* was an inversion and insult of patriarchal authority by the *duende*.

López's lawsuit against the previous owners of the *duende* home was a reassertion of his masculine and patriarchal authority. In early modern Spain's legal system, only patriarchs could file a lawsuit as evidenced by the fact that Lorenzo López filed the *demanda* with the court and by the fact that when an *escribano* arrived at Diego Martínez Vernal's and Ana de Gracia's residence to inform them of the lawsuit filed against them, Ana de Gracia stated that her husband was not home and that “ella es muger y no puede parecer en juicio por su persona que se le notifique al dicho su marido (she is a wife and cannot appear in judgement on his behalf, that he [the *escribano*] should notify her said husband)”.¹⁷² Ana de Gracia's legal inability to move forward with the lawsuit against her and her husband as well as her command that the *escribano* notify her husband of the lawsuit reflects that only a patriarch held the legal power to handle a lawsuit in court. Given the predominantly patriarchal nature of lawsuits, we can potentially understand López's lawsuit as an attempt to defend against the *duende*'s ‘attack’ on his masculinity through a legal mechanism that was used in the majority of cases by patriarchs. After

¹⁷¹ Lipsett-Rivera, *Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico*, 110.

¹⁷² “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 22.

all, it was the patriarch's responsibility to provide financially for his family, and not only would his household's abandonment of a home he had purchased have cost them financially, but the *duende*'s damage and destruction to López's and his household's *hacienda* would have hindered their ability to economically maintain themselves.¹⁷³ A successful lawsuit would have economically benefited López and his household, allowing him to successfully reassert his patriarchal responsibility of providing for his household.

The *duende*'s control of coins and the accounting book was another 'attack' on the patriarch and his authority. In all of the instances in which coins appeared or were thrown, they appeared or were thrown at, around, or in the presence of women and employees. Antonio Ruiz testified to Catalina López showing him five coins that were thrown in her presence, Juan Pérez testified that five coins were thrown onto the wheat that Catalina López had been *echando y limpiando*, María Sacristán described seeing two coins being left on a table that had initially been full of food and beverages, and Catalina Núñez testified that a servant had had a coin thrown at her from the roof of the *duende* house.¹⁷⁴ The fact that coins were only used by the *duende* in the presence of women and employees may have been understood as an 'attack' on the patriarch's financial responsibility since the *duende* was 'providing' coins to those who the patriarch was meant to financially support. Furthermore, the *duende*'s theft of López's accounting book in front of his wife and María Sacristán may have been understood to have been an 'attack' on his financial responsibility for the household since it was an attempt to hide the principal object that assisted López in managing the household's finances.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³ Lipsett-Rivera, *Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico*, 214.

¹⁷⁴ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 58, 85, 220.

¹⁷⁵ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 82.

Some of the home's residents other than the patriarch may have also understood the *duende*'s activity to be a challenge to their masculinity. Catalina Rodríguez's testimony regarding the tradesman Juan demonstrated his inability to handle the *duende* since Juan was still brutally attacked by the *duende* without being able to fight back in spite of the sword that he held in his hand.¹⁷⁶ The presence of a sword is potentially significant because at the time of this court case, a proverb existed in Spain that stated "Neither broken sword nor wandering woman".¹⁷⁷ This proverb spoke against "two symbols of disorder", with the broken sword "representing dishonored man".¹⁷⁸ The early modern Hispanic world associated swords with masculinity and the control of a home. The ineffectiveness of Juan's sword against the *duende* represented his inability to defend himself or his bedroom from the *duende*, a dishonorable and 'emasculating' occurrence.¹⁷⁹

The *duende*'s physical attacks on patriarchal honor and authority

The patriarchs of the *duende* house may have also interpreted the physical attacks on women and employees as an 'attack' on the patriarch's honor and authority. As the head of the household, the patriarch's honor was directly connected to the honor of those under his authority. Although honor is never explicitly mentioned in the legal case, Lipsett-Rivera emphasizes that honor was "a fundamental part of social relations of both the elite and plebeians" that "guided and organized the way that people interacted with each other" while also providing people with "their sense of self-worth".¹⁸⁰ The specifics of the attacks suggest that the attacks were intended

¹⁷⁶ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 73-5.

¹⁷⁷ Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville*, 7.

¹⁷⁸ Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville*, 7.

¹⁷⁹ Similar dishonorable and 'emasculating' instances occurred to other men such as Juan Pérez who was unable to protect Mariana López from *duende*-thrown scissors while they were in the *bodega* retrieving water.

¹⁸⁰ Lipsett-Rivera, *Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico*, 11-12.

to degrade the honor of its victims and thus of the house patriarch. To understand these physical attacks as an attack on the honor of the victim and as a degradation of patriarchal authority, we must first understand one of Lipsett-Rivera's principal arguments that "the body served as a metaphor for social order and honor" that could be "acted upon to enforce subservience and to exact humiliating deference".¹⁸¹ According to Boyer, Cope, Lewis, and Lipsett-Rivera, husbands perpetrated bodily violence against those within his household or patriarchal hierarchy since a patriarch was legally permitted and "obliged" to punish his wife and others under his authority in order to maintain order and his leading position in his household.¹⁸² Thus, Spaniards may have understood the *duende*'s attacks on its victims as an 'attack' on their honor and on the social order of the domestic environment. It is possible that a *duende*'s attacks were meant to "enforce subservience" or "deference" as a patriarch's attacks were intended to do in the sense that a *duende*'s attacks were an attempt to 'expel' unwanted inhabitants and express its dissatisfaction with the 'disrespect' of these inhabitants in moving into its home. More concretely, I argue that the specific elements of the *duende*'s physical attacks demonstrate that it was a challenge and insult to patriarchal authority since many of the creature's attacks paralleled those of the patriarch's and degraded the honor of its victims.

Target #1: The head

One of the commonly attacked areas of *duende* victims was the head, which had implications for the honor and hierarchical positioning of a person. An attack on the head held significance since, as Lipsett-Rivera explains, it represented "the core of honor for the body".¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ Lipsett-Rivera, *Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico*, 138.

¹⁸² Boyer, "The Politics of Marriage," 256; Cope, "Los ámbitos laborales urbanos," 416; Lewis, "The 'Weakness' of Women," 5; Lipsett-Rivera, *Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico*, 208-09.

¹⁸³ Lipsett-Rivera, *Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico*, 147.

Not only was hitting someone's head with "what was at hand" such as rocks often understood as an 'attack' on one's honor, but it was also seen as a "reassertion of their [the patriarch's] authority" and as the patriarch "reclaiming their own rightful place as head".¹⁸⁴ One of the more infamous instances of the *duende*'s attack on a person's head was when Maríana López was nearly murdered by the *duende*. Antonio Ruiz explained in his testimony that he discovered Maríana's headdress and hairnet at the foot of the *bodega*'s stairs with a large rock of six to eight pounds on top of it.¹⁸⁵ Given that the rock was found on top of Maríana's head-related clothing, it can be inferred that the rock had been thrown at her head and removed her headdress and hairnet from the impact. In this instance, the fact that Maríana was found unconscious after being hit in the head with a rock may have been a sign of dishonor for Maríana and for Lorenzo López, even more so when considering that she nearly died from the *duende*'s attack inside López's home. Furthermore, the attack on Maríana's head by the *duende* may have been seen by Spaniards such as López as a challenge to his patriarchal authority given that hitting someone's head with an object such as a stone was predominantly a patriarch's action against his wife or others within his household in an attempt to assert or reassert patriarchal authority. The *duende*'s attack on the tradesman Juan is another example of the *duende*'s 'attack' on patriarchal authority. Juan never described being hit directly in the head to Rodríguez, but her statement that she saw blood in his mouth after the attack allows us to infer that the *duende* may have violently hit him in the head with such force that he had begun to bleed. As with Maríana López, the attack on Juan's head would have been a dishonor for him and for his master Lope de Maquina (Rodríguez's husband). Specifically in Juan's case, the aftermath of the attack may have led Spaniards such as Lope de Maquina to interpret the targeting of Juan's head as a challenge to

¹⁸⁴ Lipsett-Rivera, *Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico*, 178, 183.

¹⁸⁵ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 61.

Maquina's patriarchal authority. Following the attack, Juan, in spite of the many pleas of Maquina, decided to leave the home, an action that defied the wishes of the patriarch while complying with those of the *duende*, thus effectively challenging and weakening the authority and power of Maquina as a patriarch over his house and household.

While the *duende* most commonly attacked the heads of women and employees, it occasionally attacked men's heads in an even more direct challenge to patriarchal authority and honor. This was the case for Lope de Maquina, who testified that after he was lashed upstairs one night and began to return downstairs, he had a brick thrown past his right shoulder.¹⁸⁶ While the *duende* failed to hit Maquina with the brick, the path of the brick going past his right shoulder indicates that it would have been thrown at the level/height of his head. The *duende* may have simply missed Maquina's head with its throw, but we can also imagine that the *duende*'s throw was a threat to Maquina, as if warning him that if he did not leave its house soon, he would experience further attacks. Additionally, the throw by the *duende* at Maquina's head may have symbolized the *duende*'s assertion of its own authority over that of the patriarch's, almost as if it was attempting to communicate with Maquina that it, and not him, was the true 'head' of the house and the one with authority in the domestic space.

The face was a specific part of the head that was occasionally targeted by the *duende*. María Sacristán's testimony about the *duende* scratching her face was one of the only instances when witnesses described the *duende* as having specifically attacked their face.¹⁸⁷ Cutting someone in the face is clearly an act of violence that intended to mark or scar the face. Leaving a mark or scar, according to Lipsett-Rivera, "could be considered either honorable or

¹⁸⁶ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 70.

¹⁸⁷ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 80-1.

dishonorable” for the receiver of the marking/scar.¹⁸⁸ In the case of Sacristán, any marking or scar left from the *duende* scratching her face would have been dishonorable given that it was meant to be a brutal attack to get her to move out of the Peñafiel house. Furthermore, Sacristán and others in López’s household may have understood the *duende*’s scratching of Sacristán’s face as the *duende*’s attempt at debasing her honor given that the head is the center of honor of the body. The attack may have also been intended to degrade López’s patriarchal authority by leaving a reminder on Sacristán’s face that it was present in López’s house and capable of harming the members of López’s household.

Target #2: Hair

Hair was also the frequent target of the *duende* in its attacks on women, serving to humiliate and control its victims. In the first two instances that introduced this thesis chapter, both detail Mariana López and/or one of the family’s *criadas* yelling that their hair was being pulled or disheveled by something. When someone pulled at another’s hair, Lipsett-Rivera argues that the perpetrator “attacked the recipient’s dignity” and was actually attacking the victim’s body since hair was an extension of one’s body.¹⁸⁹ Furthermore, Lipsett-Rivera also describes how the action of pulling on one’s hair was “part of a strategy of humiliation”, with “the aim” being “to bring down the victim’s honor as his or her body was abased by these actions”.¹⁹⁰ In regards to the physical effects of pulling one’s hair, the action “affected a person’s posture, pulled them out of line, and their capacity to stay erect”, and “[i]t was a way of pulling down the head and the honor of another”, thus serving “to both control and to humiliate

¹⁸⁸ Lipsett-Rivera, *Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico*, 190.

¹⁸⁹ Lipsett-Rivera, *Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico*, 211.

¹⁹⁰ Lipsett-Rivera, *Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico*, 211-12.

another".¹⁹¹ We can observe this effect in the individual case of the *criada* María, who had her hair disheveled and was found unconscious on the floor of the *duende* house's oven room. The *duende*'s attack on her hair had forced her to the floor of the room, thus serving to control María while also insulting her dignity and her honor that was degraded from the attack on her hair and, by extension, on her body. Additionally, Lipsett-Rivera details how the pulling of one's hair was often an action of the patriarch of a house against his wife or other women in the household.¹⁹² The fact that the *duende* tended to attack and disarrange the hair of women who inhabited its home was another challenge to patriarchal authority since the *duende* pulling on its victims' hair, a strategy of "control", may have been perceived by Spaniards like López as an instance in which the *duende* was asserting control over those who were under the control of the patriarch.

Target #3: Clothing

Another fundamental component of understanding the *duende*'s attacks on women's hair was its attacks on the 'clothing' of the hair such as headdresses. Lipsett-Rivera argues that in the early modern Hispanic world, hair was "intimately associated with morality", and "the way that women either dressed their hair or covered it showed their propriety and honesty".¹⁹³ Moreover, clothes, whether we are discussing headdresses or other clothing in general, were like an additional form of enclosure/confinement that served to protect women "against moral danger".¹⁹⁴ In the early modern Hispanic world, clothes, in a similar manner to hair, were perceived as an extension of the body. As a result of this association, "pulling" clothing such as a headdress "was an invasion of personal space, and ripping it or removing it was symbolic of

¹⁹¹ Lipsett-Rivera, *Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico*, 212.

¹⁹² Lipsett-Rivera, *Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico*, 242-44.

¹⁹³ Lipsett-Rivera, *Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico*, 155.

¹⁹⁴ Lipsett-Rivera, *Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico*, 161.

bodily assaults".¹⁹⁵ Thus, when the *duende* removed the headdress of Mariana López's headdress in the *bodega* and of María Sacristán's in the upstairs area of the *duende* house (while also tearing apart the headdress of Sacristán), the *duende* was 'attacking' the morality and honor of these women that was represented in part by the covering of their hair.¹⁹⁶

In removing the articles of clothing covering the hair of Mariana López and of María Sacristán, the *duende* was also removing a layer of protection. The removal of the headdresses of Mariana and Sacristán allowed the *duende* to attack their hair, and together with the fact that there was believed to be a "link between messy hair and sexuality", the image of Mariana and Sacristán unconscious on the floor without their headdresses and with messy hair may have provided a shocking and dishonorable image to any witness or listener of the testimonies detailing these occurrences.¹⁹⁷ The image represented how the *duende* had managed to degrade the "[e]nclosure and purity" that was expected of women at the time, and as a result, this degradation would have reflected negatively upon the patriarch who was meant to protect those within his household from these types of dishonorable and brutal attacks.¹⁹⁸

Clothing beyond that of headdresses was also a target of the *duende*, and the significance of the *duende*'s attack on it shares many similarities to the significance of the attacks on hair and headdresses. In López's fifth *interrogatorio* question, he described how the *duende*'s attacks on his daughters and on his *criada* María left their dresses/clothing torn, and in Catalina Rodríguez's testimony, she described how she had gotten on top of an oven in an upstairs room to retrieve some brooms when something pulled at her skirt twice, forcing her to get down from

¹⁹⁵ Lipsett-Rivera, *Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico*, 169.

¹⁹⁶ Lipsett-Rivera, *Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico*, 227.

¹⁹⁷ Lipsett-Rivera, *Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico*, 238.

¹⁹⁸ Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville*, 6.

the oven.¹⁹⁹ In both of these instances, the attack on the clothing of López's daughters, of María, and of Rodríguez was an “invasion of personal space” and a bodily assault that served to degrade their honor, with the pulling of the *duende* on Catalina’s skirt serving to ‘lower’ and demean the honor of Catalina by forcing her to step down from the top of the oven. This degradation of honor thus debased the honor and authority of the household patriarchs. The attacks on clothing, as well as all of the other attacks by the *duende*, may have been interpreted by patriarchs such as López or Lope de Maquina as challenges to their authority and control over the members of their household. Furthermore, “[d]estruction of clothing was rather extraordinary because people’s garments were valuable” and often “the equivalent of capital”.²⁰⁰ In tearing the clothing of López’s daughters and of his *criada* María, the *duende* was also contributing to the economic ruin of López’s family.

Duendes and patriarchal reputation

Duende’s attacks also served to challenge and debase the reputation of the patriarch who dared enter its domestic space. The news and discussion of these attacks and ongoing occurrences hurt the reputation of both the patriarch and his house/household. While I have previously argued that reputation was often secondary in witnesses’ testimonies in establishing the presence of a *duende* in a house, the reputation of a patriarch’s home had serious and significant consequences for the reputation of the patriarch and his masculinity. For patriarchs, Lipsett-Rivera argues that “their conduct reflected upon their masculinity”, and “[w]hen men did not fulfill their role as head of household, others questioned their ability as men or their security”.²⁰¹ In response to the third *interrogatorio* question about all of the activity and chaos

¹⁹⁹ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 75.

²⁰⁰ Lipsett-Rivera, *Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico*, 217.

²⁰¹ Lipsett-Rivera, *Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico*, 22.

caused by the *duende* when the López household moved into its house as well as in response to the fifth *interrogatorio* question detailing the attacks on López's daughters and *criada* María, Pedro de la Cuesta testified “que lo contenido en la pregunta lo a oydo decir publicamente en la dicha villa (that that which is contained in the question he has heard said publicly in the said town)”.²⁰² The public reputation would not only have contributed to the reputation of the house as one inhabited by a *duende*, but it could have been detrimental to the public reputation in Peñafiel of López and his household, portraying them as living in complete disorder while specifically portraying López as a patriarch who was unable to maintain order and his authority within his own home. If Spaniards understood the *duende* as attacking a patriarch's authority and masculinity in its attacks on the women and employees living under the patriarch's domain, then public discussion of a patriarch and his household living in a house inhabited by a *duende* could have been humiliating for that patriarch. Potentially even more embarrassing was the fact that López and his household were forced to abandon their own home that López had legally purchased. This abandonment, according to Lope de Maquina, was discussed publicly in Peñafiel, and these public discussions certainly did not benefit López's reputation in the village.

María Sacristán and Catalina Núñez also served as examples of *duende* victims who questioned their patriarch's ability “as men or their security”. In the case of María Sacristán, after she fled downstairs to tell López and his wife how she had been bombarded with pieces of dirt and plaster, they quickly told her to stop talking. She then testified that López had ordered Catalina López to not say anything to her about what was inside their home so that Sacristán would not physically abandon the house.²⁰³ López recognized that knowledge of the *duende* would cause Sacristán to go against his wishes for her to stay in their house, and his order to his

²⁰² “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 67.

²⁰³ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 79.

wife was an attempt to maintain his patriarchal authority in the home and to prevent Sacristán's further questioning of the safety of the home or the ability of López to maintain a safe domestic environment. For Catalina Núñez, when she fled outside of the *duende* house after the *duende* had thrown a coin at one of her servants, she said "que el diablo la llevase si abia de bibir en la dicha casa porque tenia poco animo (that the devil take her if she had to live in the said house because she had little will)". In response to her statement, Francisco García, her husband, told her to be quiet and to go into the house.²⁰⁴ García's harsh response to his wife's complaint demonstrates that both Núñez's departure from the house and her words were an affront to his patriarchal authority and reputation, especially because Diego de Azores, a neighbor of the *duende* house, was watching this event transpire. Not only was Núñez's abrupt fleeing from the house an insult to García's responsibility as the patriarch to maintain a secure and peaceful domestic environment, but her words stating "that the devil take her" and that she did not want to live in the house would have communicated with others like Diego de Azores that García clearly was not protecting Núñez or making her feel secure within their house. In order to counter these insults to his patriarchal authority and masculinity, García may have felt it necessary to tell his wife to stop talking and to get back in the house.

The *duende* metaphor of domestic violence

The *duende* may have also been a metaphor for women and employees as victims of domestic violence. A patriarch was legally permitted and "obliged" to punish his wife and others under his authority in order to maintain order and his position as the head of the household.²⁰⁵ In theory, patriarchal authority was not absolute, and violence such as punishments committed by

²⁰⁴ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 236.

²⁰⁵ Boyer, "The Politics of Marriage," 256; Cope, "Los ámbitos laborales urbanos," 416; Lewis, "The 'Weakness' of Women," 5; Lipsett-Rivera, *Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico*, 208-09.

the patriarch against his household members had to be ‘reasonable’ and not severe or overly excessive.²⁰⁶ However, there existed “little leverage...to control the frequency and extent of beatings...by husbands”, and wives “had less power and little claim to outside intervention when husbands abused patriarchal authority”.²⁰⁷ Thus, victims of domestic violence had a limited set of resources or options that they could utilize in an attempt to improve their conditions. While the ideal of enclosure defined the home as a protective and peaceful space for women, servants, and others that composed a patriarchal household, the horrific reality was that “within the walls of residences...women found themselves beaten and raped, imprisoned by husbands and mothers-in-law, and harassed when they came home late”.²⁰⁸

The figure of the *duende* may have been one of these ‘resources’ that allowed the women and employees experiencing domestic violence in the *duende* home to express their lived experiences within the ideological lens of a patriarchal society. We see an example of this outside of López’s lawsuit in the Inquisition case of María de la Cruz, who was accused of entering into a pact with the devil.²⁰⁹ While Cruz did not claim that the physical abuse she experienced prior to the case was the result of a *duende*, she does claim that it was the result of the devil in spite of the Inquisitorial Court eventually discovering that the physical abuse was perpetrated by men in Cruz’s life, including her confessor.²¹⁰ In the article on Cruz’s trial, Elizabeth Rhodes argues that in cases like María’s, we “must look for them [sexually abusive behaviors] outside the ideological lens used by the powerful to disguise, naturalize, and hide them.” Although “historical documents do not unambiguously represent sexually abusive

²⁰⁶ Boyer, “The Politics of Marriage,” 256.

²⁰⁷ Boyer, “The Politics of Marriage,” 256, 259.

²⁰⁸ Lipsett-Rivera, *Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico*, 102.

²⁰⁹ Elizabeth Rhodes, “Indecent Theology: Sex and Female Heresy in Counter-Reformation Spain,” *Renaissance quarterly* 73, no. 3 (2020): 866, <https://doi.org/10.1017/rqx.2020.121>.

²¹⁰ Rhodes, “Indecent Theology,” 884, 888-89.

behaviors and their consequences”, this “does not mean that such abuses did not happen”.²¹¹

While López’s court case almost never explicitly mentions domestic violence perpetrated by the patriarchs of the various households that inhabited the Peñafiel home, this does not signify that this patriarchal violence did not happen. It may be a possibility that the patriarchs who appear in López’s court case, including Lope de Maquina and López, claimed that a *duende* was inhabiting their home and perpetrated many of the attacks on their household members in order to “disguise, naturalize, and hide” their instances of domestic abuse. In fact, the invisible nature of the *duende* may be symbolic of how these patriarchs chose to “hide” and make invisible their acts of domestic violence.

It is also possible that the victims of this domestic abuse utilized the *duende* in the court case in order to speak through the figure of the *duende* about their experiences of domestic violence. Sight and sound were two senses that permitted someone to identify the active presence of a *duende* in a house, and in instances of domestic violence, sound and sight also “alerted neighboring residents of something amiss” such as a spousal argument.²¹² Thus, we can also interpret the reports of noise in the *duende* house, of various objects being thrown throughout the house, and of the screams of people such as Maríana López and María Sacristán during the *duende*’s attacks as visual and auditory signs of domestic violence occurring in the home. Furthermore, given that the *duende*’s attacks on the head, hair, and clothing of its victims were common attacks perpetrated by a household’s patriarch, we can also understand these attacks as acts of patriarchal violence towards members of his household. Violence such as hitting someone was carried out when a person perceived that someone was “challenging their role in the household or their social position”, and “Hitting...allowed individuals to take action to protect

²¹¹ Rhodes, “Indecent Theology,” 891.

²¹² Lipsett-Rivera, *Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico*, 119.

their rights or position".²¹³ This broader use of violence connects with a patriarch's use of violence that was intended to maintain his position as the head of the household, and as such, the violence that Spaniards attributed to a *duende* could have also been instances of a patriarch's violence.

Specific elements of the attacks by the *duende* may allow us to understand these attacks as an expression of ongoing domestic violence. In the case of Catalina Núñez, she testified to having her arm grabbed or touched by the *duende* just as she was entering the bedroom where her husband was already sleeping. While this can be interpreted as a simple attack by the *duende* on Núñez as well as an attempt to frighten Núñez, the fact that the *duende* grabbed Núñez's arm could have another significance. Although we cannot be certain that Núñez was aware of the image, Rhodes notes that "[i]n Christian iconography, a man grabbing a woman by the wrist represents rape".²¹⁴ Given that Núñez was entering her bedroom where her husband was at the moment when her arm was grabbed, this particular action by the *duende* of grabbing her arm could have symbolized sexual violence that Núñez experienced at the hands of her husband during their residence in the *duende* house. Moreover, another image that Rhodes discusses in Christian iconography was "a woman's disheveled hair", which has been previously referenced regarding the *duende*'s attacks on hair.²¹⁵ In the context of Christian iconography, "a woman's disheveled hair symbolizes that she has been raped".²¹⁶ Once again, while we cannot know if anyone who testified to the *duende*'s attacks on women such as Mariana López and María Sacristán were aware of the iconography of "a woman's disheveled hair" and its significance, the fact that "a woman's disheveled hair" as well as "a man grabbing a woman by the wrist" were

²¹³ Lipsett-Rivera, *Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico*, 208.

²¹⁴ Rhodes, "Indecent Theology," 884.

²¹⁵ Rhodes, "Indecent Theology," 885.

²¹⁶ Rhodes, "Indecent Theology," 885.

present in Christian iconography would have made their knowledge by López's witnesses more likely. This is because images were more commonly utilized by the Catholic Church for its congregations due to the lower levels of literacy for many Spaniards in early modern Spain. A third instance of *duende* violence that may be evidence of ongoing domestic violence in the *duende* house was María Sacristán's testimony about being scratched in the head and face by the *duende*. Lipsett-Rivera argues that the "cutting of women's faces had profound sexual overtones", and a man slicing a woman's face could have been an attempt to control the women in his life such as his wife or a result of frustration from their rejection by a woman.²¹⁷ Socolow explains how domestic servants lived lives that were often characterized by "submission, humiliation, and verbal, physical, and sexual mistreatment".²¹⁸ In the case of Sacristán, the scratching of her face may be evidence of this horrific life experienced by many domestic servants.

The *duende*'s consumption of alcohol may also be significant to understanding the *duende*'s attacks as a metaphor of domestic violence. As Boyer describes it, alcohol is a substance that "clouded judgment and led to excesses" such as domestic abuse.²¹⁹ Catalina Rodríguez described one morning when she went downstairs to the *tienda* in the *portal* and found a spilled wineskin that had contained white wine. She had also found the rope used to tie the wineskin at the door of the *bodega*.²²⁰ María Sacristán testified that the *duende* often drank the wine from the jugs that were brought down into the *bodega* for storage and that on one instance, her master López had a wineskin of white wine in the *bodega* that the *duende* also

²¹⁷ Lipsett-Rivera, *Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico*, 185, 192-93.

²¹⁸ Socolow, *The Women of Colonial Latin America*, 128.

²¹⁹ Boyer, "The Politics of Marriage," 268.

²²⁰ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 75-6.

drank without leaving any wine.²²¹ In both instances, the witnesses described the *duende* either spilling wine or drinking wine that belonged to their household. Nevertheless, both testimonies allow for the possibility of their husband in the case of Rodríguez and their master in the case of Sacristán being the ones who drank or knocked over the wine. Rodríguez testified that the only person that morning who was not home was her husband, which may allow for us to imagine that her husband had left the home for business or something else and drank before departing, thus explaining the knocked over wineskin and the positioning of the wineskin's cord at the door of the *bodega*. It may be no coincidence that directly after describing this instance in the *tienda*, Rodríguez testified that she and her children were often attacked by the 'duende' while in the *chimenea* room, attacks that may have been moments of domestic violence by her husband. In the case of Sacristán, the fact that she specifically mentions that the *duende* had draken her master's wineskin may be an instance in which the 'duende' is standing in for her master. The constant drinking of the wine that is brought into the *bodega* may suggest an image of an alcoholic master whose alcohol abuse contributed to his abusive and violent behavior towards members of his household such as Sacristán and Mariana. In conclusion, both of the possibilities regarding the use of a *duende* to either hide or express moments of domestic violence are not mutually exclusive and may tell us a part of the truth of what was really happening within the walls of the *duende* house.

Victims' reactions

If we interpret the *duende*'s attacks as a metaphor for domestic violence by the household patriarch, the reactions of the attacks' victims allows us to see how these victims responded to and attempted to stop the domestic violence that plagued their lives. According to Boyer and

²²¹ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 85.

Socolow, one of the strategies for escaping or ending domestic violence was running away from the patriarch's house to seek "shelter with family members...or...convents".²²² While we may perceive someone running away as an abandonment of the patriarch, this was not always the case since running away could also be an attempt by a person to 'renegotiate' their relationship with the patriarch.²²³ In fact, attempts to "restructure the context of" one's relationship with the patriarch were common, and desertion was not always the immediate response of those living under an abusive patriarch.²²⁴ The 'renegotiation' of one's relationship with the patriarch could include attempts to change "residence, work, family alignment, and contact with friends" in order to improve their lives and relationship.²²⁵ María Sacristán testified that after having a *cabestro* thrown at her twice in the upstairs oven room of the *duende* house, she ran downstairs and told her masters (López and his wife) "que se queria yr a su lugar en casa de su padre porque no podia suffrir las cosas que cada dia pasaban y los miedos que la ponian (that she wanted to go to her home to her father's house because she could not endure the things that happened each day and the fears that these things put in her)".²²⁶ The "cosas que cada dia pasaban" is a reference to the *duende*'s activity in the context of the court case, but it could also be a reference to domestic violence that happened in the home. If we think of María's words from that perspective, we can then think of her wish to go to her father's house as an attempt to either escape the domestic violence or to 'renegotiate' and improve her life as a *criada* of the López family. After she tells López and his wife this, her masters "la dijeron que presto se saldrian de la dicha cassa (they told

²²² Boyer, "The Politics of Marriage," 263-64; Socolow, *The Women of Colonial Latin America*, 73.

²²³ Boyer, "The Politics of Marriage," 264.

²²⁴ Boyer, "The Politics of Marriage," 273-4, 277-8.

²²⁵ Boyer, "The Politics of Marriage," 273-4.

²²⁶ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 80. Sacristán had been working in the oven room, hinting that someone such as her masters in the household may have thrown the *cabestro* at her out of dissatisfaction at her work or for some other reason.

her that they would soon leave the said house)".²²⁷ Thus, María's complaints about the 'duende's' activities and their effects on her may have played a part in pressuring her masters to leave the house or to 'abandon' their acts of violence against her.

Masters of workers also complained "que...los trabajadores se irían con otros maestros" for better working conditions, and this may have been the case for the tradesman Juan.²²⁸ Despite the many pleas of Lope de Maquina for Juan to stay after his attack by the *duende*, Juan decided to leave the house, with his whereabouts never being discussed or known following his departure. His beating may have been the last thing that he was willing to endure from his master.

Catalina Núñez's reactions to the *duende*'s activities and attacks are also indicative of strategies utilized by victims of domestic violence to escape or end the violence. Núñez testified that she had complained to many neighbors that she "no quiere bibir ni estar en la dicha casa por el miedo que tiene de lo que en ella ay (does not want to live nor be in the said house because she is afraid of what is in it).²²⁹ Furthermore, Juan de Aguirre, a tradesman for Núñez's husband, stated that Núñez had complained to her husband many times, asking him "que la saque de aquella casa que no puede bibir en ella e que si no la queria sacar de la dicha casa que ella se yria en casa de sus parientes (that he take her out of that house that she cannot live in it and that if he did not want to take her out of the said house that she would go to her relatives' house).²³⁰ Núñez, in stating her fear for "lo que en ella ay", may have been referring to her husband and violence that he committed against her within the home. Thus, her complaints about not wanting to live in the house anymore may have been Núñez expressing her desire to escape the domestic

²²⁷ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López", 80.

²²⁸ Cope, "Los ámbitos laborales urbanos," 417.

²²⁹ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 220.

²³⁰ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 223.

violence that occurred against her person. Her threat to move to her relatives' home if he did not take her out of the home may have been her attempt to 'renegotiate' the context of her marriage with her husband through their residence.

Núñez may have also used the '*duende*' and its activities to communicate her experiences of domestic violence, demonstrating her ability to navigate tyrannical and abusive environments while refusing to remain completely silent about the injustices she experienced. Ana de Zebollo, a neighbor, described two separate instances in which she saw Núñez crying in the *portal*. When Zebollo asked Núñez why she was crying, she responded by telling Zebollo about how she encountered a *duende* when she was entering her bedroom and about how Juan de Aguirre had been lashed in his arm.²³¹ This testimony shares a similarity with the testimony of Ana de Villanueva, who testified to a different experience regarding the card castles that Núñez showed her and other women in the living room of the *duende* house. Núñez told Villanueva and the other women that the *duende* had made the card castles, and after having seen the card castles, Núñez also told and begged Villanueva and the others "que por amor de dios no lo desabriesen ni dijesen a nadie aquello que abian visto porque tendria henojo el dicho Francisco García su marido y la reneria y trataria mal (that for the love of God do not be discouraged nor tell anyone about that which they had seen because the said Francisco García her husband would get angry and would quarrel with her and treat her badly)".²³² Why would Núñez's husband be angry with her and treat her poorly for others knowing about the *duende*'s card castle, a construction that was one of the less violent activities by the *duende*?

One possible explanation is that Francisco García understood the presence of a *duende* and its actions to be a challenge to his patriarchal authority and control over what occurs in the

²³¹ "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 239.

²³² "Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López," 244.

house. From that perspective, any evidence of a *duende* in his home such as the card castles would harm the reputation of him and his household in the minds of others in Peñafiel. However, this conclusion is not supported by the testimony of Isabel de Medina who testified that when Francisco García was told that a *duende* inhabited the López home that he was about to rent, he responded “que no se le dava nada que con aquella condicion las tomava (that it [the *duende*] did not affect him that with that condition he took [rented] them [the house])”.²³³ Francisco García seemed to be less affected by the possible presence of a *duende* in his house. Given this perception of *duendes*, Francisco García may have gotten angry with Núñez and abused her since his constant reassurances that what she had experienced in the home was nothing clearly was not stopping Núñez from continuing to claim and tell others that there was a *duende* in the home. The card castles and Núñez’s pleas to her neighbors to not say anything about the card castles may also hint at the possibility that the card castles and the *duende* were a metaphor for domestic violence. The ‘*duende*’ may have represented her husband and the ‘card castles’ may have been a message regarding the poor treatment that she received or a method through which she could communicate this treatment to her neighbors and others who would listen to her. The ‘card castles’ as well as her interactions with Ana de Zebollo may have been a cry for help or compassion to anyone who would listen to her about her terrible lived experiences at the hands of the house ‘*duende*’, or her husband. In cases of domestic violence, the “closeness of residences did allow for intervention and reporting”.²³⁴ Given that the *duende* house was located on the main market street of Peñafiel, Núñez would have had neighbors in close proximity that she could use to potentially intervene or at least listen to her about any instances of domestic

²³³ “Pleito litigado por Lorenzo López,” 242. It should be noted that the plural of *casa* is often used throughout the case to reference the López home and all of its ‘levels’ as discussed in this thesis’ chapter 2.

²³⁴ Lipsett-Rivera, *Gender and the Negotiation of Daily Life in Mexico*, 119.

violence.²³⁵ In Núñez's case, it appears that her fear of her husband and his violent nature may have been so strong that she felt the need to beg her neighbors to not tell anyone else about the 'duende' and the 'card castles', an instruction by Núñez that allowed for her to maintain her methods of communicating her lived experiences to others.

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, I have attempted to expand upon my understanding of Spaniards' beliefs and perceptions of *duendes* by discussing the victims of the *duende*. Analyzing 'who' the *duende* was interacting with and targeting inside of its house reveals that women and servants inhabiting a *duende*'s domestic environment were its primary victims. Furthermore, in attempting to understand why *duendes* were more likely to go after women and employees, I argue that López and his witnesses portrayed women as 'spiritually' and morally 'weak' as well as about the perception of employees as also having a certain 'weakness' based on their hierarchical position in the home. I have also more concretely defined *duendes* as creatures that, as a result of their domestic nature, were more likely to attack groups of people who were typically more confined to the home in early modern Spain. Furthermore, I have argued how Spaniards may have interpreted a *duende*'s attack as a challenge towards a patriarch and his authority and honor in a domestic environment, and I have also suggested the possibility of the 'duende' representing domestic violence perpetrated by a home's patriarch. In examining and analyzing these elements of the *duende*'s victims, I hope to explain how *duendes*, as active inhabitants of the world of early modern Spain, both interacted with social systems such as systems of gender while also being products of these systems. For example, López's lawsuit can be understood as an attempt to reassert his masculinity and patriarchal authority that the *duende*

²³⁵ Velasco Rivera, Rivera Zarza, and Velasco Peña, "El caso de la casa encantada," 3.

had challenged. On the other hand, the fact that *duendes* tended to attack women can be considered to have been a *product* of patriarchal beliefs regarding the ‘weaknesses’ of women. The possibility that a *duende* served as a metaphor for domestic violence (or served to hide it) also demonstrates how beliefs such as Spaniards’ beliefs in *duendes* could be products of Spaniards’ lived experiences. This further emphasizes the significance of lived experiences in understanding ‘belief’ given that beliefs in creatures such as *duendes* were just as dynamic as lived experiences and capable of expressing (or hiding) various and greater truths. In understanding who *duendes* attacked and affected, we learn just as much about *duendes* as we do about its victims and the systems that shaped their lived experiences. To some extent, we can think of a *duende* as another being who lived and interacted with Spaniards in early modern Spain, making this thesis’ study of *duendes* as essential to understanding early modern Spain as any other study of another person or group.



"El sueño de la razón" by Francisco de Goya

Conclusion

One of Francisco de Goya's well-known paintings depicts someone sleeping while surrounded by bats, owls, and other creatures. Its title, “El sueño de la razón produce monstruos”²³⁶, argues that the ‘sleep’ or lack of reason results in the appearance of ‘monsters’ or fantastical creatures. Goya produced this painting almost two centuries following López’s lawsuit. This distinction between ‘reason’ and ‘belief’ is something that has unfortunately dominated discourses on *duendes* since Fuentelapeña’s 1676 treatise. Explaining the purpose of his treatise on *duendes*, Fuentelapeña writes that he hopes to uncover more wisdom regarding God’s creation (*duendes*) as well as dispel fears regarding *duendes* by challenging the misconceptions about these creatures. In other words, Fuentelapeña hoped that his “historia natural” (as Julio Caro Baroja would label the treatise) and categorization of *duendes* as harmless, invisible creatures would dispel the fear that many Spaniards, including López and his household, had held towards *duendes*.²³⁷ We can thus understand Fuentelapeña’s treatise as a ‘mirror image’ of Goya’s above painting title in that it attempts to dispel the ‘monstrous’ image of *duendes* through a ‘rational’ examination of one of God’s many creations. In fact, in Anel Hernández Sotelo’s article “Sobre la especulación *duendina*”, she argues that the significance behind the treatise was that it “terminaba con una época de miedo y daba a la razón fundamentos para que esas creencias populares quedaran desterradas a la luz de las causas científicas y filosóficas sobre la existencia de los duendes”.²³⁸

²³⁶ “El sueño de la razón produce monstruos,” Museo del Prado, accessed March 21, 2023, <https://www.museodelprado.es/colección/obra-de-arte/el-sueo-de-la-razon-produce-monstruos/e4845219-9365-4b36-8c89-3146dc34f280>.

²³⁷ Julio Caro Baroja, *Jardín de flores raras* (Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1993), 110.

²³⁸ Hernández Sotelo, “Sobre la especulación *duendina*,” 57.

One of my intentions in this thesis is to deconstruct this association between emotion and ‘popular belief’ as opposed to reason. As one of the many creatures that populated the world according to the concept of ‘immanence’, *duendes* were one component of Spaniards’ understanding of the world. In Catalina Rodríguez’s experience in the upstairs oven room when she physically touched and saw the hand of the *duende*, we are reminded that *duendes* were perceived to be creatures that were physically ‘immanent’ and could be within an arm’s reach of Spaniards. However, we have also seen how even though *duendes* were believed to be active inhabitants of Spaniards’ world, Spaniards understood *duendes* to be rational creatures. *Duendes* were not ‘popular beliefs’ waiting to be “desterradas a la luz de las causas científicas y filosóficas” present in Fuentelapeña’s treatise as Sotelo argues. Instead, the Spaniards in López’s case developed their understandings of the López home *duende* through rational processes based upon their first-hand experiences with the creature. In examining the significance of the various objects with which the *duende* interacted, I hope that we can better understand the potential logic that Spaniards saw behind a *duende*’s actions as well as the logical processes by which Spaniards identified a *duende*’s presence.

Even though Spaniards understood *duendes* to be one of the active dwellers in their world, we have also seen that Spaniards were cautious in immediately assuming every domestic occurrence to be the work of a *duende*. López’s witnesses seemed to have had ideas regarding where, when, and how *duendes* ‘operated’ in their world, and in explaining their *duende* experiences, they were describing their first-hand experiences and how specific elements of these experiences led them to believe that they had experienced the presence or actions of a *duende*. These witnesses were living examples that refuted the beliefs of ‘learned’ Christian writers

surrounding the supposed “excessive credulity among the uneducated masses”.²³⁹ This opinion from ‘learned’ Christian writers is also present in some ‘modern’ views of the early modern world. In an article about witchcraft, Fabián Alejandro Campagne writes “a wide cultural distance separates us from a vision of the world that we ceased to share centuries ago”.²⁴⁰ Nevertheless, these visions of the world always follow a similar ‘formation process’ because “human beings produce logical configurations by arranging facts” according to “belief systems”, with “the totality of these facts” forming “an image of the world”.²⁴¹ In this thesis, I ventured to lessen this distance that separates myself and the reader from understanding *duendes* in early modern Spain. Thinking back to María Sacristán’s experiences that introduced this thesis, her decision to attribute them to the actions of a *duende* offered a rational explanation. This entire thesis is one answer to the initial question of what a *duende* was to different Spaniards. What we have learned about *duendes* throughout this thesis’ journey allows for us to have an additional access point into the lives and minds of Spaniards, thus reviving the *duende* and the experiences of Spaniards who encountered it hundreds of years ago.

The testimonies in López’s lawsuit represent a few of the many perceptions that existed surrounding *duendes* and their true nature, and other accounts of *duendes* outside of the court case often portrayed *duendes* as agents of chaos known for throwing objects around a home. This includes the portrayal of *duendes* in Fuentelapeña’s treatise, with Fuentelapeña writing that *duendes* “se sienten en las casas (establish themselves in homes)” and that “se ocupan en cosas ridículas, bobas, e inutiles (they do ridiculous, stupid, and useless things)” and “no hazen daño

²³⁹ Keitt, “The Devil in the Old World,” 25.

²⁴⁰ Fabián Alejandro Campagne, “Witchcraft and the Sense-of-the-Impossible in Early Modern Spain: Some Reflections Based on the Literature of Superstition (Ca. 1500–1800),” *Harvard Theological Review* 96, no. 1 (2003): 26.

²⁴¹ Alejandro Campagne, “Witchcraft and the Sense-of-the-Impossible in Early Modern Spain,” 29.

(they do not cause harm)”.²⁴² A similar portrayal appears in Antonio de Torquemada’s *Jardín de flores curiosas*, which was published in 1570. Torquemada, a graduate of the University of Salamanca, wrote six treatises regarding various topics in order to accumulate knowledge about the world (similar to a natural history and the intentions of Fuentelapeña). One treatise discusses *duendes/trasgos, fantasmas*, and *hechiceros*, and in his description of *duendes*, he declares that “se dan a sentir en ellas [casas] con algunos estruendos y regocijos y con muchas burlas, sin hacer daño ninguno (they make their presence known in homes with some racket and delights and with many jokes)”.²⁴³ The *duende* that Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco describes in the *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* partially departed from the image of a *duende* as a domestic creature. Covarrubias details how *duendes* not only inhabited homes but also “en las montañas, y en las cuevas (in mountains, and in caves)”. Furthermore, “ay opinión que estos duendes, que habitan los lugares subterráneos, tienen a su cuenta el guardar los Tesoros escondidos (it is believed that these *duendes*, which live in underground places, are responsible for guarding the hidden Treasures)” and that “quando los que buscan Tesoros dan en los lugares donde están, o se les buelven en carbones (when those who search for the Treasures find the places where the Treasures are, the Treasures become coal)”. Covarrubias also wrote that *duendes* are able to “espantar con algunas apariencias, tomando cuerpos fantásticos (frighten with some appearances, taking fantastic forms)” such as “Dragones, Gigantes, Leones, y otros monstruos (Dragons, Giants, Lions, and other monsters)”, an ability of the *duende* that clearly contrasts with the near invisibility of the *duende* that inhabited López’s house.²⁴⁴ While all of

²⁴² Antonio de Fuentelapeña, *El ente dilucidado: discurso único novísimo que muestra ay en naturaleza animales irrationales invisibles* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1676), 143, 148, 172.

²⁴³ Enrique Suárez Figaredo, “Antonio de Torquemada, *Jardín de flores curiosas*,” *Lemir: revista de literatura española medieval y del Renacimiento* 16 (2012): 729.

²⁴⁴ Sebastian de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (Madrid: Luis Sanchez, 1611), 223r.

these descriptions by Fuentelapeña, Torquemada, and Covarrubias state that *duendes* reside in homes, the *duende* that bothered and attacked López's household caused physical harm and near death for the household. This *duende* characterization is far from the *duende* of Fuentelapeña and Torquemada that performs *burlas* and *cosas ridículas* and from the *duende* of Covarrubias that also resides in caves and protects hidden treasures. In fact, the declarations of Diego Martínez Vernal's *procurador* in the *escrito de bien probado* about the *duende* being incapable of causing any harm seems to be more in line with the *duende* described by Fuentelapeña and Torquemada.

Other documentation discussing *duendes* also exists such as an Inquisition deposition from 1760 that details the denunciation of a servant named María Medel, who had allegedly interacted with a *duende* in the palace of a marquis in Mondéjar.²⁴⁵ According to the denunciation, the *duende* was visible to Medel and to others as either a creature with a religious habit or as a serpent. The *duende* also promised Medel that it could make her wealthy. Given that this image of *duendes* varies greatly from that of the *duende* in López's home which was invisible and destroyed much of the property and wealth of López and his household, further research and analysis of Medel's specific *duende* experience is necessary to understand the significance of the experience and how it could contribute to Spaniards' perceptions and understandings regarding *duendes*. The same would be required for another Inquisition case in which María Turmil was denounced for "hechicería/curandera".²⁴⁶ Among other accusations, she was accused of having a *duende* in her house that launched various objects through the window. This brief reference to a *duende* leaves us with many questions. Did Turmil summon a *duende* into her home and if so, had it decided to disobey her wishes in throwing her belongings

²⁴⁵ "Proceso de fe de María Teresa Murillo," 1760, Inquisición, 92, Exp. 10, *Archivo Histórico Nacional*, <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/show/4442258?nm>.

²⁴⁶ Javier Fernández Ortea, "Hechicería y superstición en la Alcarría de Guadalajara," *Cuadernos de etnología de Guadalajara*, no. 49 (2017): 316.

out of her house? These two Inquisition cases demonstrate that there exists potential for further studies about *duendes* that move beyond a simple recounting of what occurred and instead search for what *duendes* can tell us about the beliefs of Spaniards and about their lived experiences.

These similarities and variations in the image of the *duende* demonstrate the complexity of the discourse surrounding *duendes*, a discourse to which all of those involved in López's lawsuit contributed. In their accumulation of *duende* experiences in their testimonies, witnesses were indirectly defining what they believed to be a *duende*, and the *duende* served to rationalize some of their lived experiences in the *duende* house. The *duende* was more than a simple belief: it was one of the inhabitants of Spaniards' world that they utilized to explain and understand their lived experiences. Given the complex discourse surrounding *duendes*, further research and work is needed to understand this complexity. A *duende* was something different for every Spaniard, and I sought to provide a set of perspectives through the lens of López's legal case.

The *duende*, however, is not a 'relic' of a seemingly distant past, and it has continued in many forms up to the present day. In the case of Goya, he produced a painting in his series *Caprichos* titled *Duendecitos* which portrays three *duendes*, two of which are dressed in the habits of friars. The image was meant to be a criticism of the greed and corruption of the Church and the aristocracy in late 18th century Spain.²⁴⁷ What is both fascinating and ironic about the painting is that although Goya produced other paintings in the same series such as *El sueño de la razón produce monstruos* in order to combat the 'vices' that he felt harmed Spanish society such as 'superstition', his use of the *duende* is both evidence of the complexity and constant transformations of the figure of the *duende* and also served to extend the life of the *duende* in the minds and lives of Spaniards.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁷ J.M. Matilla, "Caprichos," in *Goya en tiempos de guerra*, no. 21 (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 2008), 170-71.

²⁴⁸ Matilla, "Caprichos", 170-71.

While writing this thesis, I had the opportunity to hear a relatively recent *duende* story from a language assistant from Colombia. The language assistant had heard the story from his aunt, who narrated an encounter that she had had with a *duende* while living in a room in the language assistant's grandparents' house. At some point during her residence, the aunt began to lose small objects such as salt shakers and keys, and she also began to feel a presence in the room that she felt was a *duende*.²⁴⁹ As a result, the aunt began to exchange objects with the *duende* in order to get some of her lost items returned. Each exchange would consist of the aunt leaving the house after offering the *duende* something and later returning to the room and finding the lost object she desired in an open space such as a table. Over time, the aunt had to offer more valuable objects to the *duende*, and she eventually decided to end the exchange with the *duende* as she felt that it was becoming increasingly malevolent. This story is one example of the continued presence of *duendes* in the Hispanic world, and it is indicative of the significance that beliefs such as those in *duendes* can continue to have in people's lived experiences.

As I have emphasized throughout this thesis, *duendes* are products of people's cosmovisions and lived experiences. López's witnesses' attributions of their lived experiences to a *duende* was based on their worldviews and what they lived through in the *duende* house. Thus, how can *duendes* be perceived or ridiculed as "el sueño de la razón", and how can Fuentelapeña's treatise be understood as any more 'rational' or 'logical' than the witnesses testifying in López's lawsuit? The *duende* that haunted López and his household was an extremely complex entity whose image was influenced by Spaniards' societal and cultural beliefs and systems. This is evident, for example, in the López home *duende*'s tendency to target women and employees as a result of ideas of spiritual weakness or patriarchal subordination and

²⁴⁹ The aunt also thought that the presence could be an angel, and her lack of complete certainty as to what the presence was is an interesting similarity and continuity to the lack of complete certainty of López's witnesses.

subversion. Not only was it necessary to understand these beliefs and systems to better understand *duendes*, but the positioning of *duendes* as a part of and as interacting with and according to these beliefs and systems signifies the usefulness of studying *duendes* in order to better understand the lived realities of Spaniards and early modern Spanish society. The possibility of *duendes* serving as metaphors that explained components of this lived reality further demonstrates the logic that existed behind Spaniards' belief in *duendes*. Rather than limiting our understanding of *duendes* as one of the many spiritual creatures that inhabited the world, I hope that the reader of this thesis can also understand *duendes* as one of many embodiments of the world of early modern Spaniards.

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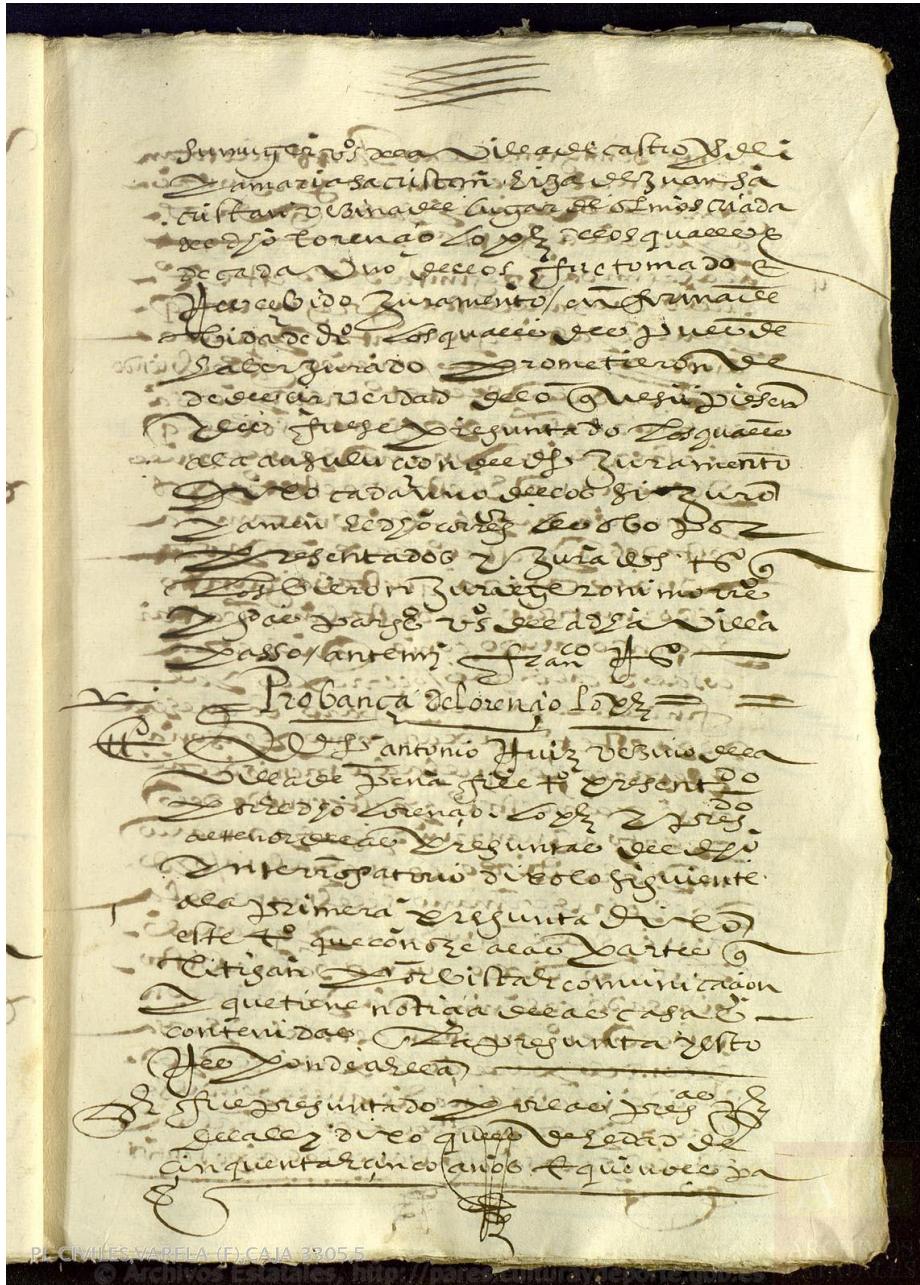
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Appendix: Transcription of Lorenzo López's lawsuit



The beginning of Lorenzo López's *probanza* on page 55 of the López lawsuit.

Probanza

Penafiel

? de lorenzo López contra ? diego Martínez Bernal

Alonso? Vallejo

Duende

Penafiel

por haver duende en ella

En la villa de Penafiel a quince dias del mes de marzo de mill e quinientos y noventa anos de pedimiento de Lorenzo López vecino desta villa de penafiel yo gaspar goncalez escrivano publico y del numero della? notifique? esta probision rreal del rrey nuestro moza francisco Rodriguez escrinano publico y del numero della para que haga y cumpla lo que por ella se lo manda y saque el proceso de que? en? el? caso? haceencion el qual dicho? francisco Rodriguez escrivano digo? que obedescia? e? obedescio? la dicha rreal probision segun? e como en ella? se ? y esta presto? de hacer y cumplir lo que por ella? se lo manda y por ? en la saca del dicho processo dandolo? esta provision para poner por cabeza testigos podio? López y diego rramirez vezinos de penafiel en fee? de lo qual? lo escrebi? e hize? aqui este mi signo ? en testimonio de verdad gaspar scribano?

Provision?

don felippe por la gracia de dios Rey de castilla de portugal de nabarra de granada de toledo de valencia de galicia? de mallorca ? de sevilla de ? de murcia? de Jaen conde de ? y de ? ? ? diego de? bernal? vezino de la villa de aillon? salud y gracia se

sepad de? Juan? de velasco en nonbre de lorencio López vezino de la villa de penafiel se presento en la ? corte y chancilleria ante el presidente y ? de la? nuestra audiencia con un testimonio signado en grade de apelacion agravio? o nulidad o como? mejor podia y de derecho devia? de? cierta sentencia contra su parte y envio fabor dada y pronunciada por la justicia de la dicha villa en cierto pleito que su parte con vos? a tratado y trata sobre rracon de unas casas y su bodega e cubas? y ? trae cosas segun? ? en la dicha sentencia se cotenia la qual ? ? ninguna y pidio de ella ? y mi carta de enplacamiento? contra vos? y con ? para los escribanos encima? y como la nuestra merced? fuese lo qual visto por los dichos? nuestro presidente. y ? fue? accordado que? deviamos? mandar dar? esta nuestra carta para bos? en la dicha rracon y nos tuvimos? lo? por bien porque vos? mandamos que del dia que bos? fuere? leyda y norda? envia? persona pudiendo ser avida? e? sino?/ante las puertas de las casas de vuestra continua morada notificandolo? a vuestros hijos? o criados o? vezinos mas cercanos para que bos lo digan e? ? ber? por

manera que benga a vuestra? noticia e? de ello? no podais? pretender ynorancia falta? diez dias primeros siguientes que bos damos por termino ? dentro de los quales bengais o enbieis a la dicha nuestra audiencia ante los dichos? nuestro presidente y ? de ella por bos o? vuestro? procurador? suficiente con vuestro poder bastante en seguimiento del dicho pleito y causa? y a descrir? y alegar en el de vuestro dio? y ser presente a los demas Autos que? sobre ello deban ser fechas? falta la sentencia difinitiba y ? de costas? si las o biere que si binieredes o enbiaredes segun? dicho de los dichos nuestro presidente y ? bos ? e guardaran vuestra justicia? en otra manera en vuestra ausencia e rrebeldia determinaran lo que allaren? por derecho o sin bos mas citar ni llamar sobre ello/Otro si mandamos a los? escribano/o escribanos ? quien el dicho pleito a pasado o en cuyo poder esta que dentro de quatro dias primeros siguientes despues que? para ello fuere des? queridos por parte del dicho Lorencio López Le deys? y entregueis un traslado? escripto en limpio signado cerrado? y sellado en manera que haga fee para que lo presente en la dicha

nuestra audiencia. Pagando al dicho escrivano sus derechos conforme al arancel? de nuestros rreyenos de los quales ? y carta de pago a parte y al pie del signo pongan como lo an dado so pena de lo ? con el quattro tanto para la nuestra cama? ? y no faga del en ? soy de la nuestra merced y de diez mill ? para la nuestra camara? dada en ? a catorce dias del mes de marco de mill e quinientos e noventa anos. El licenciado gi? rremirez de arellano? el licenciado don francisco ? ? El licenciado Juan alderete?//yo hernando de santisteban? secretario de camara del rrey nuestro senor la ? escrevir por mandado? con acuerdo de los? ? de su rreal audiencia por chanciller martin? rruiz de mitarte rregistrada martin Ruiz de mitarte

Processo (23 de septiembre 1589)

En la villa de Penafiel el? veinte y tres dias del mes de setiembre de mill y quinientos y ochenta y nuebe anos ante el licenciado daza maldonado corregidor? en la dicha villa y su partido y por ante mi francisco Rodríguez escrivano publico y del numero de ella de 16? parescio presente lorencio López vezino de la dicha villa y presento esta peticion e demanda y dijo y pidio y juro lo en ella contenido e justicia

testigos andres Juarez y rroque de soria? vezinos de la dicha villa.

demand

Lorencio López vezino de esta villa parezco ante v.m? y como mejor puedo y de derecho? debo pongo Racion? y demanda a diego Martínez vernal y ana de gracia su muger vezinos de la villa de ayllon y a cada qual de ellos y haciendo del cassio verdadera rrelacion dijo? que es asi que los susodichos y? alonso Ramirez? cleric? y gaspar de castro? vecinos? de esta villa en su nombre y por su poder en quattro dias del mes de henero del ano de ochenta e ocho projimo? pasado? por? ante gaspar goncalez escrivano del ? de esta ? mez? vendieron unas casas con su bodega y cubas que los dichos diego Martínez vernal y su muger tenian y poseyan en esta villa en la parroquia de nuestra senora de media villa en surco de casas de Agustín diez y de María alonso biuda muger que quedo de francisco de segobia que? su ? que yo al presente bibo y moro por//precio y quantia de quinientos ducados de que en la escriptura de venta se dieron por

contentos y pagados y por que en ? calidad de verdad yo estoncés? no se los di? ny pague hicce? escriptura de oberjacion?

ante el dicho gaspar goncalez de se los dar e pagar a los dichos vendedores en dos placos de que los? tengo pagados el uno de ellos que son ducientos y cincuenta ducados y es asi que al tiempo y quando yo conpre las dichas casas yo ynoraba y no supe ni entendi que en ellas habia ni andaba duende ni otra cosa que causase ny? pudiese temor justo para las abitar? y morar y despues aca que las compre y abito y moro en ellas de cinco o seis meses a esta parte a sucedido y se a echado? de ber? y be haber en las dichas casas duende e otras cosas que causan susto miedo y temor a mi muger hijos y criados y a mi para no se poder abitar ni morar en ellas porque del? dicho tiempo y meses a esta parte de dia y de noche a habido e ay en las dichas casas grandisimo rruydo trestornando muchas de las cossas que en ella ay y tirando y arrojando? de ellas por las escaleras y bentanas y rrebolviendolo todo tirando cantos e piedras y los ticones y lumbre del fuego y asadores y sartenes y cuchillos? y almirez y otras muchas cosas a las personas que en casa estavan y haciendo/otras muchas ynvenciones e

tantas que todos los que en las dichas casas bibimos estamos ynquietos y desasosegados y con grandisimo temor y? miedo e que no ay nayde? en ella que ose ni se atreba a subir solo a los aposentos a estos de la dicha casa ny tampoco entrar en la bodega ni en otra parte alguna de la dicha casa porque en toda ella a habido hay de hordinario granidísimo rruido e temblores? que no parece sino que el diablo anda y esta en ella y en resuluicion? el duende o lo? que es que no se a bisto ni podido ver a hecho hhace cada dia en las dichas casas y en la hacienda que en ella tengo gran dano y destruccion y despues aca que eso? susodicho a sucedido y pasado yo e? procurado querer saber y entender si antes de agora? e que los dichos diego Martínez? e su muger me vendiesen las dichas casas) se habia sabido/o entendido que hubiese habido ubiese? en ella duende o alguna cosa que pudiese causan e causase el miedo e temor que ay en ella) y estoy cierto que antes que yo las entrase a abitar y morar y las comprase de los dichos diego Martínez y su muger abia abido y habia duende/ o alguna cosa que aunque no se bia? hacia hhico lo mismo que agora trestornando y hechando a mal? muchas cosas

que estaban en la dicha casa y haciendo grandisimo rruido de que los que las abitaban tenian gran miedo e temor como agora lo? tenemos? los que estamos en ella y siendo como lo dicho es y pasa asi los dichos vendedores fueron y estubieron/obligados abisanme de ello y porque si yo supiera y entendiera lo arriba dicho no comprara las dichas casas por ningun dinero y por no me lo haber declarado? ni dicho) la venta de ellas fue y es ninguna y de ningun balor ni efeto o a lo menos en caso que alguna aya? sido se ay debe rrecindir rrescibiendo los dichos vendedores las dichas casas y bolbiendome los? ducentos y cincuenta ducados que los? tengo dados de los que? ? por que me obligue y dandome por libre de los otros? ducentos y cinquenya y dado caso que se los? asi pedido e Requerido lo hiciesen no lo an querido ni quieren hacer sin pleito y contienda de juicio por que pida V.M. que avida por verdadera de mi rrelacion la parte que baste? por su sentencia que en tal caso ? declare lo susodicho haber sido y ser asi y por la misma declare la venta de las dichas casas haber sido y ser en si? ninguna y en caso que alguna fuese la mande rrecindir

y deshacer? condenando a los dichos diego Martínez y su muger y a cada qual de ellos a que reciban las dichas sus casas y me den? y buelban los dichos ducentos y cincuenta ducados que

los tengo dados y pagados del un plazo y me den por libre e? quito de los otros ducientos y cincuenta ducados que ? y estan por pagar haciendome en todo entero cumplimiento de justicia por aquella bia e ? que mas me convenga e de derecho lugar aya para lo qual y en lo nesesario? el oficio de V.M. y ? pido Justicia e costas e juro por dios que esta demanda no es maliciosa.

- ? a V.M. que atento que los dichos diego Martínez vernal y ana de gracia su muger son? vezinos y domiciliarios de la dicha villa de ayllon me mande dar y de su carta rrequisito? ynserta en ella el traslado de esta demanda para que bengan o enbien procurador suficiente alegar lo que los? convenga apercibiendoles que no viniendo ni enbiando en su ausencia y ? se notificaran los autos en los estrados? de esta audiencia ? el licenciado Portillo

- E luego el dicho? corregidor dijo que la avia por presentada y mando dar ttraslado a los dichos diego Martínez vernal y ana de

Gracia su muger en ella contenidos y la ? requisitoria? que pide para que dentro de nuebe dias de como les? fuere notificado? parezcan por si o su procurador? a rrecponder a la dicha demanda con asignacion de estrados testigo? los dichos paso ante mi francisco rRodríguez

Requisita?

El licenciado daca maldonado corregidor? en la villa de penafiel y su partido por el duque de osma? e conde de ? saber a los corregidores y en sus lugares tenientes y alcaldes hordinarios y otras Justicias y jueces asi de la villa de ayllon como de otras partes y lugares de estos rreyenos y senorios del rrey nuestro senor y a cada uno de V.S.?ms? en su juracion? ante quien esta mi carta rrequisita? fuere presentada y con ella Requeridos que lorencio López vezino de la dicha villa de penafiel parescio ante mi en mi audiencia y presento una peticion y demanda contra diego Martínez vernal e ana de gracia su muger vezinos de la dicha ? ayllon y contra cada uno de ellos del tenor siguiente

demandas

Lorenzo López vezino de esta ? parezco ante U.M.? y como mejor puedo y de derecho debo pongo ? y demanda a diego Martínez vernal e ana de gracia su muger vezinos de la billa de ayllon y a cada qual de ellos y haciendo del cassio verdadera rrelacion digo que es

asi que los susdichos y alonso rramirez Clerigo? y gaspar de castro vezinos de esta villa en su nonbre y por su poder en quatro dias del mes de henero del ano proximo pasado de ochenta y y ocho por ante gaspar gonzalez escrivano del numero de esta camara? me vendieron unas casas con su bodega y cubas que los dichos Diego Martínez Vernal y su muger tenian y poseyan en esta villa en la perroquia de nuestra senora de media villa en surlo? de casas de Agustín diez y de María alonoso biuda muger que quedo de francisco de segobia que son en las que yo al presente bibo y moro por precio e quantia de quinientos ducados de que en la escriptura de venta se dieron por contentos y pagados y porque en rrealidad? de verdad yo estonces? no se los di ni pague hice escriptura de que obligacion antes el dicho gaspar goncalez de se los dar y pagar a los dichos vendedores en dos placos de que les tengo ya pagados el uno de ellos que son ducientos y cincuenta ducados y es asi que al tiempo y quando yo conpre las dichas casas yo ynoraba y no

supe ni entendi que en ellas avia ni andaba duende ni otra cosa que causase ny pusiese temor
susto para las abitar y morar y despues aca que las conpre

y abito y moro en ellas de cinco o seis meses a esta parte a sucedido y se a hechado de ver y be a
ber en las dichas casas duende/o trasgo e otras cosas que causan susto miedo y temor a my muger
hijos e criados y a mi para no se poder abitar ni morar en ellas porque del dicho tiempo y meses a
esta parte de dia e de noche a abido e ay en las dichas casas grandisimo rruido trastornando
muchas de las cosas que en ella ay y tirando y arrokando de ellas por las escaleras y bentanas y
rrebolbiendolo todo tirando cantos e piedras y los ticones y lunbre? del fuego y asadores y
sartenes y cuchillos y almirez y otras muchas cosas a las personas que en casa estan y
haciendo/otras muchas ynbenciones y tantas que todos los que en las dichas casas bibimos
estamos ynquietos y desasosegados y con grandisimo temor y miedo que no ay nayde en ella que
ose ni se atreba a subir solo a los aposentos altos de la dicha casa ni tanpoco entrar en la bodega
ni en otra parte alguna de la dicha cassa porque en toda ella a abido e ay de hordinario
grandisimo ruido y tenbroles que no parece sino que el diablo anda y esta en ella y en rresolucion
el duende o lo que es que no se a bisto ni podido ver a hecho y hace cada dia en las dichas casas
y en la hacienda que en ella tengo gran dano

y desturcion? y despues aca que lo susodicho a sucedido y pasado yo e procurado querer saber y
entender si antes de ahora e que los dichos Diego Martínez y su muger me vendiesen las dichas
casas se avia sabido y entendido que hubiese habido o hubiese en ella duende/o alguna cosa que
pudiese causar y causase el miedo y temor que ay en ella y estoy cierto que antes que yo las
entrase a abitar y morar y las comprase de los dichos Diego Martínez y su muger habia abido y
abia duende o alguna cosa que aunque no se bia hacia e hico lo mismo que ahora trestornando y
hechando a mal muchas cosas que estaban en la dicha casa e haciendo grandisimo rruido de que
los que la abitaban tenian gran miedo y temor como ahora le temos? los que estamos en ella y
siendo como lo dicho es y pasa asi los dichos vendedores fueron y estubieron obligados abisarme
de ello porque si yo supiera y entendiera lo arriba dicho no comprara las dichas casas por ningun
dinero y por no me lo haber declarado ni dicho la venta de ellas fue y es en si ninguna y de
ningun balor ni efeto o a lo menos en caso que alguna aya sido sea? y debe rrecindir Rescibiendo
los dichos vendedores

las dichas casas y bolbiendome los docientos y cinquenta ducados que les tengo dados de los
quinientos porque me oblige y dandome por libre de los otros ducientos y cinquenta y dado caso
que se los? asi pedido e rrequerido lo hiciesen no lo an querido ni quieren hacer sin pleito y
contienda de juicio porque pido a V.M. que avida por verdadera de mi rrelacion la parte que
baste por su sentencia que en tal casso ? declare lo susodicho haber sido y ser asi y por la misma
declare la venta de las dichas casas aber sido y ser en si ninguna y en caso que alguna fuese la
mande? recindir y deshacer condenando a los dichos Diego Martínez y su muger y a cada qual de
ellos a que rresciban las dichas sus casas y me den e buelban los dichos ducientos y cinquenta
que les tengo dados y pagados del un placo y me den por libre e quito de los otros ducientos y
cinquenta ducados que Restan y estan por pagar haciendome en todo entero cumplimiento de
justicia por aquella bia e rremedio que mas me combenga? y de derecho lugar aya para lo qual y
en lo necesario? el oficio de V.M. ynpoloro pido justicia y costas y juro por dios que esta de
manda no es maliciossa

- otro sy a V.M pido que a tento?

que los dichos Diego Martínez Bernal y ana de Gracia su muger son vecinos y domiciliarios de la dicha villa de ayllon me mande dar y de su carta rrequisitoria? ynserta en ella el treslado de esta demanda para que vengan o enbien procurador suficiente alegar lo que les convenga apercibiendoles que no biniendo en su audiencia se notificaran los autos en los estrados de esta audiencia e a el liciendo portillo

- E asi Presentada la dicha demanda y por ? my bista mando? dar? traslado a los dichos diego Martínez vernal y ana de gracia su muger en ella contenidos y la carta rrequisitoria que pide para se notifican? por ende por la presente de parte del Rey nuestro senor y de la Justicia que V.S.ms administran ? e ? e requiero y de la ? pido por merced? que siendo ante V.S. ms o qualquier? de ellos presentada esta mi carta rrequisitoria por qualquier perssona que la llebare? aunque no presente ? ni? otro rrecado alguno la manden? acetar y notificar a los dichos diego Martínez vernal y ana de gracia su muger el traslado de la dicha demanda que de su ? yncorporada para que dentro de nuebe dias primeros siguientes? despues que fuere rezibido? parezcan? ante mi por si o por su procurador?

A Respodner a la dicha demanda y a descir e alegar de su derecho y Justicia lo que bieren que los convenga que yo les? oyre? e se? la guardare en otra manera el dicho termino pasado y no paresciendo oyre? a la parte del dicho lorencio López y procedere en la cassa asta la sentencia difinitivamente que para todos los autos que se rrequieren citacion les vito en forma y los senalo los contrados? de mi audiencia donde por su ausencia y rrebeldia seran notados? y les pararan tanto perjuicio como si en su presencia fuesen fechos y notificados y los autos que sobre ello pasaren con las dichas notificaciones manden a un escrivano publico de su audiencia lo asiente al pie de esta mi carta Requisitoria pagando los derechos que sobre ello se debieren y se la dar y entregar a la persona que la llebare para que lo trayga e presente ante my y por mi bisto probea? justicia en lo qual V.S.ms asi mandar hacer y cumplir la administraran e yo que dare en/obeisacion? de hacer lo semejante cada e quando que por ? ? me fuere encomendado mediante Justicia fecho? en penafiel a beinte e tres dias del mes de diciembre de mill e quinientos y ochenta nuebe anos e llicenciado daca maldonado por mandado del licenciado daca maldonado corregidor de la ? de penafiel-francisco Rodríguez?

- En la villa de ayllon a veinte e cinco dias del mes de diciembre de mill e quinientos? y ochenta y nuebe anos ante don fernando de bellosillo alcalde hordinario en la dicha villa y su ttierra y en presencia de mi el escrivano y testigo? parecio presente? un hombre que se dijo llamar felipe ortiz y ser vezino de la villa de penafiel y rrequirio a su mrd? con esta carta rrequisitoria del corregidor de la dicha villa para que la guarde e cunpla como en ella se contiene y pidio justicia e testimonio? ? diego López de la cueba? y luis de ? y Juan de maderuelo vezinos y estanse? en esta villa paso ante mi luis? de maderullo?

- El dicho don fernando de vellosillo? alcalde dijo abiendo bisto la dicha rrequisitoria que la acetaba y aceto y en su cumplimiento mandava e mando se lea? y notifique a los dichos diego Martínez Bernal y ana de gracia su muger vezinos de esta dicha villa contra quien biene la dicha rrequisitoria y el dicho lo susodicho de se lo mando dar signado y en manera que haga fee al

dicho delipe ortiz para el efeto que lo pide pagando los? derechos que debiere y a si lo probeyo y mando y firmo testigo? los dichos ? fernando vellosillo luis de maderullo

notificacion?

Despues de lo que dichos? en la ficha? de ayllon a veinte y seis dias

del dicho mes de setiembre del dicho ano yo el dicho luis de maderullo escrivano del rrey nuestro senor y publico? del ? de la dicha villa y su tierra y testigo en cumplimiento de lo mandado por el dicho alcalde fui a las casas donde bibe y mora diego Martinez vernal vezino de esta villa y para le notificarlo en la dicha rrequisitoria contenido? pregunte por el a ana de gracia su muger la qual dijo que el dicho) su marido esta en la corte de su magestad y a la dicha ana de gracia le lei? e notifique la dicha carta rrequisitoria como en ella se contiene la qual dijo que como dicho tiene el dicho su? marido esta en la corte de su magestad y ella es muger y no puede parecer en juicio por su persona que se le? notifique al dicho su marido la dicha rrequisitoria donde no que? protesta no le? pare? por juicio testigos pedro Martinez procurador vezino de esta villa y luis de la muela? estante en ella e yo el dicho luis de maderuelo escrivano de su magestad y publico del numero de la villa de ayllony su ? presente fui a lo ? y fice aqui este mi signo que es a tal? en testimonio de verdad luis de maderullo

-En la villa de penafiel a ocho dias del mes de octubre de mill e quinientos y ochenta y nuebe anos ante el licenciado daca maldonado corregidor en la dicha villa e

su partido y por ante mi sebastian de la puente escrivano publico y del numero de ella parescio presente lorencio Lopez vezino de esta dicha villa y presento esta peticion y dijo y pidio lo en ella contenido y justicia testigo? licenciado? daca y alonso? de aviles vesino de esta dicha villa

-Lorencio Lopez en el pleito con diego Martinez vernal y ana de gracia su muger vesinos de la villa de ayllon dijo que por y? carta rrequisitoria de V.M. por estar ausente el dicho diego Martinez vernal de la villa de ayllon se le? notifco la demanda a su muger y agora a benido a mi noticia que el susodicho esta en esta villa y que sea? ? manana de madrugada por tanto a V.M. pido y suplico le mande notificar? la dicha demanda y que atento que no es arraygado? en esta jurisdicion? de fiancas llanas y abonadas de estar a derecho commigo en Racon de lo contenido que? la dicha demanda y de pagarla que contra el y la dicha su muger fuere juzgado y sentenciado y no la queriendo dar V.M. le mande encarcelar asta tanto que la de? e? para el lo ? el licenciado portillo

- otro si pido que V.M. le mande notificar de el en esta villa procurador bastante con quien se hagan los autos en esta causa con asignacion de estrados? ha?

auto

- El dicho corregidor la obo? por presentada quanto a ? y mando se le notifique el traslado de la demanda y que se arraygue e de fiancas llanas y abonadas en esta villa de estar a derecho y pagarla juzgado y sentenciado en esta causa y ? de el procurador en esta villa con poder bastante con quien se agan los autos con asignacion de estrados? y no dando las dichas fiancas mando sea

presso y ? asta tanto que por el dicho corregidor se mande otra cosa y asi lo probeydo e mando e firmo de ? nonbre testigo los dichos el licenciado daca maldonado passo ante my sebastian de la puente

notificacion?

Este dicho dia mes y ano susodicho yo el dicho escrivano notifique lo? probeydo y mandado por el dicho corregidor al dicho diego Martinez vernal en su persona testigo los? susodichos? Juan daca y alonso de aviles

fianca

E despues de lo susodicho en esta dicha villa de penafiel en este dicho dia ocho de octubre del dicho ano por ante mi el dicho escrivano y testigo depuso? escriptos parecio el dicho diego Martinez vernal vezino de la dicha villa de ayllon y dijo que en cumplimiento de lo mandado por el dicho corregidor daba e dio

por su fiador en la dicha rracon a gaspar de castro su suegro vezino de esta villa que presente estaba el qual dicho gaspar de castro dijo que salia e salio por tal su fiador del dicho diego Martinez vernal su hierno en la dicha rracon e haciendo como hico de? deuda agena sua propia se obligaba y obligo con su persona y bienes Raices? muebles avidos y por haber que el dicho diego Martinez su hieron estara? a? en esta villa con el dicho lorencio Lopez en la causa sobre que litiga conforme al auto del dicho corregidor que el fue ? sopena de pagar y que pagara todo lo contra el juzgado? y sentenciado en todas ynstancias para lo qual se obligo en forma de derecho? y lo ? por sentencia pasada en cosa juzgada y dio poder a las justicias del rrey nuestro senor y ? todas y quales y ? ? y dijo? de que se pueda aprobechar? en general y en especial la ley sencimusliberomo? y la ley e dicho? que dize que general Renunciacion de leies fecha que le non balga? en fe de lo qual? lo otorgo ante mi el dicho scrivano dia mes y ano susodichos siendo testigos Alonso Ramirez carillo y Juan Lopez del balle y pedro ? vezinos y estantes en esta dicha villa de penafiel y el dicho otorgante que yo el presente scrivano doy fee que conozco lo firmo de su nonbre en el original gaspar de castro ante my sebastian de la puente

Poder

Sepan quantos esta carta de poder vieron? como yo diego Martinez vernal vezino de la Villa de ayllon por lo que me toca y como marido y conjunta persona de ana de gracia mi muger/otorgo y conosco por esta presente carte que en la mejor forma y manera que puedo ? derecho debo doy todo mi poder cumplido segun yo le? tengo y con poder de sostituir un procurador dos/o mas y los rrebocar e poner/otros de nuevo con libre y general? administacion a bos gaspar de castro mi suegro y a pedro Lopez y pedro Hernández y pedro aparicio procuradores de causas en esta dicha ? y a qualquier de los ynsolidum especialmente para en cierto pleito que contra mi y la dicha mi muger trata Lorencio Lopez vezino de esta dicha villa de penafiel y generalmente para en todos mis pleitos e causas civiles y criminales mobidos y por mober que yo tengo con qualesquier? personas a siendo? mandado como defendiendo y sobre Racon de todo ello siendo nescesarario podais pareces y parescais ante el Rey nuestro senor y ante los muy poderosos senores presidente

y oydores de su rreal audiencia y chacilleria de valladolid y ante todas y qualesquier justicias y juezes asi eclesiasticas como seglares y ante ellos y qualesquier de ellos poner qualesquier demandas pedimyentos e rrequerimyentos? y pedir y demandar rrespondar negar y conozer querellar y protestar requerir y rreconbenir enplacar testimonios tomar y para presentar qualesquier testigos escriptos y excripturas y ejecuciones y prisiones ventas trances y remates de bienes y posesiones de ellos y las jurar e hacer otros qualesquier juramentos asi de calunia como decesorio? y de verdad descir y pedir y oyr qualesquier sentencias asi ynterlocutorias como difinitibas y consentir en las en mi fabor dadas y de las en contrario apelar y suplicar y seguir la tal apelacion e suplicacion alli e donde y ante quien e con derecho se deba seguir y dar quien las siga e pedir costas y jurarlas y rescevirlas y dar cartas de paso de ellas y para rrecusar qualesquier juezes y justicias y letrados y escrivanos y jurar las tales recuscaciones y para ganar qualesquier cartas

y provisiones del rrey nuestro senor y con ellas y sobre ellas y en cumplimiento de ellas podais hacer e hagais qualesquier autos y diligencias que nescessarias sean de se hacer anos? tocantes asi judiciales como estrajudiciales que combengan ser ? e yo haria e hacer podria siendo presente aunque sean tales e de tal calidad y de aquellas cosas y cassos que en si segun derecho rrequieran y deban haber otro mimas especial poder y mandado e presencia personal y para que en vio lugar y en mi nombre podais sostituir y sostituiyais un procurador dos/o mas y los rrebocar y poner otros de nuevo que quan cumplido y bastante poder como yo e y tengo para todo lo que dicho es e semesmo derecho? otorgo a bos los susodichos y a los por bos sostituidos con todas sus yncidencias y dependencias anexidades? y conexidades? y con libre e general administracion y para lo haber por bueno e firme obligo mi persona e bienes avidos y por aver y bos rreliebo en forma de toda carga de satisdacion? caucion? e faduria? dola clausula del derecho judicion? sistijudicatun? solbi con todas sus clausulas acostunbrado en testimonio

de lo qual lo otorgue asi ante el presente scrivano e testigo depuso escriptos que fue decha e otorgada en la villa de penafiel a ocho dias del mes de octubre del ano de mill e quinientos y ochenta e nuebe anos estando presentes por testigos alonso ramirez carrillo y juan López del balle y pedro goncalez cabestrero vezino de esta dicha villa y el dicho otorgante que yo el dicho scrivano doy fe que conozco lo firmo de su nombre en el original Diego Martínez Vernal e yo sebastian de la puente scrivano publico y del numero de esta dicha villa y su traslada? aprobado por el rrey nuestro senor fui presente en uno con los dichos testigos a lo que dichos y en fee de ello fiscenu? signo en testimonio de verdad sebastian de la puente

- en la villa de Penafiel a trece dias del mes de octubre de mill e quinientos y ochenta e nuebe anos ante el licenciado daca maldonado corregidor en la dicha villa y su partido y por ante my francisco Rodríguez scrivano publico y del numero de ella y testigos pedro López procurador en nombre del contenido en esta peticion la presento y dije y pidio lo en ella contenido y justicia testigos diego de aranda y mateo de ordima? vezinos de esta dicha villa

- Pedro López en nombre de Lorencio López vezino de esta villa en el pleito que trata contra Diego Martínez Vernal

y contra su muger vezino de la villa de ayllon ante V.M. parezco y digo que por V.M. fue mandado dar treslado de una demanda puesta por mi parte al dicho Diego Martínez Vernal el

qual aunque se le a sido notificado no a dicho ni alegado cosa alguna por lo qual yo le acuso la rrebelia a V.M. pido y suplico la aya por acusada y este pleito por concluso para lo que a lugar de derecho y justicia que pido para lo qual ? pedro López

- E luego el dicho corregidor dijo que la avia por presentada y por acusada la rrebelia y mando dar ttraslado a la otra parte e que para la primera audiencia rresponda e concluya testigos los dichos passo ante my francisco Rodríguez

notificacion

E despues de los susodicho en la dicha villa de penafiel este dicho dia mes e ano susodicho yo el dicho srcrivano notifico? lo susodicho a pedro Hernández procurador del dicho Diego Martínez Vernal en su persona el qual dijo que lo oya testigo diego de la puente? y juan López vezinos de la dicha villa

Poder

Sepan quantos esta carta de poder veren como yo Lorencio López vezino de la villa de penafiel otogo por esta carta que doy mi poder cumplido bastante el que de derecho en tal cassio se rrequiere y mas puede y debe

Baler? a pedro López Procurador de causas y vezino de la dicha villa que esta presente con poder de sostituir un procurador dos/o mas y los rebocar especialmente para en un pleito que trato con Diego Martínez Bernal vezino de la villa de ayllon sobre unas casas que me vendio y generalmente para en todo mys pleitos y causas cibiles y criminales mobidos y por mover que yo e y tengo con qualesquier personas y las tales contra mi demandando o defendiendo sobre lo qual pueda parecer y parezca ante todas las justicias y juezes eclesiasticas y seglares de estos reynos y senorios del reynos que de ella puedan e deban conozer? y ante qualquier de ellos poner las demandas y hacerlos pedimyentos? y rrequerimientos protestaciones embargos citaciones que combengan y presentar los testigos escripturas y probanca que sea nescesario y lo abonar? e tachar lo que en contrario fuere presentado en dicho y en pregonas? y hacer qualesquier juramentos licitos y berdaderos y concluir y pedir autos y sentencias ynterlocutorias y difinitivas y las que fueren en my favor consentir y de las en contrario apelar e suplicar y lo segun donde con derecho se

deba seguir y pedir costas e las jurar y rrescebir y bertasar? e hacer todos los otros autos y diligencias asi judiciales como estrajudiciales que combengan e se deban hacer asta haber fenescido y acadbado los dichos mis pleitos que quan cumplido y bastante poder como yo tengo para todo lo que dicho es la da cosa y parte de ello otro tal y ? doy e otorgo al dicho Pedro López ya sus sustitutos con todas sus yncidencias y dependencias anexidades y con libre e general administracion y con la rrelebacion de derecho nescesaria y para haber por firme lo que hicieren y actuaren? y que no yre? ni verne? contra el lo en tiempo alguno obligo mi persona y bienes muebles y raices avidos y por aver en testimonio de lo qual lo otorgue asi y firme de my nonbre ante el presente escrivano publico y testigos de yuso? escriptores? que es ? en la villa de penafiel a trece dias del mes de otubre de mill e quinientos y ochenta e nuebe anos estando presentes por testigos el licenciado juan andres e diego de aranda? e mateo de orduna vezunos de la dicha villa

e yo el presente scrivano doy fe que conozco al dicho otorgante Lorencio López passo ante my francisco Rodríguez

- En la villa de Penafuel a catorce dias del mes de octubre de mill quinientos y ochenta y nuebe anos ante el licenciado daca maldonado corregidor en la dicha villa y su partido y por ante my francisco rrodrigues? scrivano publico y del numero de ella pedro Hernández procurador en nonbre del contenido en esta peticion la presento y dijo y pidio lo en ella contenido y justicia testigos alonso velaz Agustín? diez e alo de aviles vezinos de la dicha villa

contestacion

Pedro Hernández en nonbre de Diego Martínez Vernal vezino de la villa de ayllon parezco ante V.M. como mejor a lugar de derecho y diho que Lorencio López vezino de esta villa tiene puesta cierta demanda contra el dicho my parte de unas casas que dize le vendio en la colacion y parroquia de nuestra senora de media villa por precio e quantia de quinientos ducados=La qual dicha demanda en el dicho nonbre yo niego en todo y por todo como en ella se contiene y protesto poner mis ecepciones? y defensiones? dentro del termino de la ley sobre que pido justicia y costas ? el licenciado Juan Andres

Ecepciones? R

Pedro Hernández en nonbre e por birtud del poder que tengo de Diego Martínez Vernal vezino de la villa de ayllon parezco ante V.M en el dicho nonbre y rrespondiendo a una demanda por parte de Lorencio López vezino de esta dicha villa presentada contra el dicho my parte en que por ella dize que habiendole vendido el dicho Diego Martínez Vernal y ana de gracia su muger y alonso rramirez clérigo vezino de esta villa en su nonbre unas casas ?

con su bodega y cubas que el dicho diego Martínez vernal y su muger tenian y podeyan en esta villa en la parroquia de nuestra senora de mediavilla en su reo de casas de Agustín diez y de María alonso? biuda en que al presente dize bibia y moraba el dicho Lorencio López por precio de? quantia de quinientos ducados ya sim mismo dize que al tiempo y sacon? que se hico la escriptura e obligacion de los dichos quinientos ducados para los sar y pagar a los dichos vendedores a los placos contenidos en la dicha obligacion de los cuales asimesmo dize haber dado y pagado ducientos y cinquenta ducados y que al dicho tiempo dize y notaba? y no sabia que en la dicha casa anduviese duende ni otra cosa que causase ny pusiese temor susto para las abitar y morar como dize que ay handa el dicho duende en ellas de cinco o seis meses a esta parte y que en ellas ay grande ruido y alboroto de suerte que dize no se poder abitar ni bibir en ellas a cuya causa pide que la dicha venta de las dichas casas se declare haber sido y ser en su ninguna y en cassio que alguna fuese la mande

Recindir y deshacer condenando a los dichos mis partes a que rresciban las dichas casas y le diesen los dichos ducientos y cinquenta ducados que dize aberles dado y le diesen por libre de otros ducientos y cinquenta ducados que rrestaban por les pagar segun? que en la dicha su demanda lo dicho y otras cossas se contiene a que me rrefiero la qual niego en todo y por todo como en ella se contiene con animo de la contestar si de contestacion es digna y de ella debe ser asuelto y dado por libre el dicho mi parte porque cesa y se escluyo? por las rracones y causas que

se siguen=Lo primero por lo general ?=Lo otro porque niego que antes ni al tiempo de la dicha escriptura de venta hubiese habido ni andado en las dichas casas el dicho duende y trasgo que sizen ay ni otra cosa espantossa que causase el dicho temor para no poder abitar las dichas casas como el susodicho dize particularmente en decir que de cinco o seis meses a esta parte dize haver suscedido y andado el dicho trasgo e duende la qual confision? y el descir que de cinco o seis meses a esta parte anda yo aceto en nonbre del dicho mi parte en aquello que hace o hacer? puede en su fabor y no en mas

ni aliende? porque segun derecho el caso opinado o no opinado o fortuito que suscede e sobreviene despues de hecho? y efetuado el contrato y escriptura es de ningun momento y no puede rrecindir ny anular la escriptura e contrato que estubiese hecho como en el cassio presente significa haber sobrebenido lo qual si asi fuera como el susodicho dize que el dicho trasgo e duende andubiera antes que la dicha venta se otorgase o despues no pudiera ser menos sino que los abitadores y moradores que en ellas an bibido y el dicho Lorencio López lo hubieran? hechado de ver? y lo dijeron si en las dichas casas andubiera pues a bibido en ellas dos anos que a el? dicho my parte le hico la dicha venta y asimesmo no pagara como pago al dicho mi parte el primer placo y tercio que fueron ducientos e cincuenta ducados si en las dichas casas entendiera que andaba o abia el dicho duende y asi lo dijera y publicara y se quejara de ella por lo qual y en lo demas que en este cassio se puede descir y alegar pido a V.M que al dicho mi parte y a my en su nonbre nos asuelba y de por libres de la dicha demanda condenando asimesmo

al susodicho en las costas de este processo para lo qual y en lo necesario? el odicio de V.M. ynploro pido justicia y costas ? el licenciado Juan Andres

- E luego el dicho corregidor dijo que la abia por presentada y mando dar ttraslado a la otra parte e que para la primera audiencia rresponda ttestigos los dichos passo ante my francisco Rodríguez notificacion

E luego ynocntinenti dia mes y anos susodicho yo el dicho scrivano notifico? el dicho auto de treslado a pedro López procurador del dicho Lorencio López en su persona el qual dijo que lo oya testigos los dichos

- En la villa de Penafiel a quatro dias del mes diciembre de mill e quinientos y ochenta y nuebe anos ante el licenciado daca maldonado corregidor en la dicha villa y su partido y por ante my francisco Rodríguez scrivano publico y del numero de ella y testigos Lorencio López vezino de la dicha villa presento esta peticion y dijo Diego Rodríguez de gunule? y melchor rrodrigues? vezinos de la dicha villa

Replicato

Lorencio López por mi o mi procurador? en el pleito con los dichos Diego Martínez Vernal y ana de gracia su muger dijo rrespondiendo a un escripto por su parte presentado que debe ser hecho juzgado? y sentenciado en todo y por todo segun que pedido tengo que a lugar? sin embargo de lo en contrario dicho e alegado que no es juridico ni verdadero cesa y escluyese por lo siguiente=Lo mio por lo general

que aqui por expresado lo otro porque antes y al tiempo que yo compre las dichas casas de los dichos aduersos? e despues aca a habido hay en ella el dicho duende /o trasgo e otras cosas que an causado y causan justisimo temor e miedo a los que las an abitado y morado haciendo en ellas lo contenido en mi demanda y otras muchas cosas que an necesitado y forcado a my y a mi muger e hijos e criados a que nos saliesemos? de ellas dichas casas y las dejasemos yermas? y cerradas y nos pasasemos a otras donde al presente estoy por my alquiler=Lo otro porque despues que yo puse e yntente la dicha demanda a suscedido e suscedio estar dos hijas mias del espanto e temor que del dicho duende/ o trasgo tubieron desmayadas por mas de una ora y sin habla? y muy mal tratadas e que fue necesario darles muchos garrotes para hacerlas que bolbiesen en si y se les restituyses el habla= Lo otro porque el descrir la parte contraria que aceta mi confision en quanto ?dice que dije? en mi demanda que de cinco meses a esta parte a andado el dicho duende/o trasgo en la dicha cassa no les aprobecha en nada porque yo no niego ni digo

no le haber habido ni haber andado antes por mi demanda se be? claramente que fiundo my interncion en descrir que el habia avido y abia antes que yo comprase las dichas casas e que tanbien le? habia quando las compre e que el? sentir que le habia abido y abia fue? de los dichos cinco meses a esta parte y si el aduergo? atendiera y mirara bien lo que en la dicha mi demanda se contiene biera que mi yntencion se funda en que le habia abido atras e le? habia=lo otro porque otras personas que antes de mi abitaron y moraron en las cichas casas sintieron en ellas el dicho duende e trasgo e como hacia e hico los dichos danos y causaba los dichos temores y miedos en los abitadores y moradores=Lo otro porque yo no avite ni more en las dichas casas de diez u honce meses adelante y a los seis meses que las abite hecho? de ber yo y mi muger e hijos e criados lo arriba dicho y luego lo dejimos? y publicamos y se bio por ebidencia ser y pasar asi=porque pido a V.M. por las Racones dichas y por lo que mas del hecho? y derecho rresulta en my favor en todo segun se suso justicias constas y negando lo perjudicias concluyo para ?

- Otro su a V.M. pido que atento que despues?

que puse esta demanda yo pague a los dichos Diego Martínez y su muger ducientos e cincuenta ducados que les rrestaba de biendo de los quinientos ducados en que les compre las dichas casas por rredimir la besacion? y molestia y costas que me habian de hacer e porque me hejecutaron? por ellos los cuales yo pague sin perjuicio de mi derecho de condene? a que me los buelban con los otros ducientos e cincuenta que del primer placo les tenia pagados e para ello ? el licenciado portillo

- E luego el dicho corregidor dijo que la avia por presentada y mando dar ttreslado a la otra parte e que para la primera audiencia rresponda y concluya con cargo? de concluso testigos los dichos passo ante my francisco Rodríguez

notificacion

E luego yncontinenti este dicho dia mes y ano sobre dicho yo el dicho scrivano notefique el dicho ttreslado a pedro Hernández procurador del dicho Diego Martínez Vernal en su persona el qual dijo que lo oya testigos Juan Baron? e Diego Rrodrigues vezinos de la dicha villa

- En la villa de penafiel a nuebe dias del mes de diciembre de mill e quinientos e ochenta y nuebe anos ante el licenciado daca maldonado corregidor en la dicha villa y su partido y por ante my francisco Rodríguez scrivano publico de ella y testigo? pedro López procurador en nonbre del contenido en esta peticion la presento y dijo

y pidio lo en ella contenido y justicia testigos el licenciado Juan andres y Juan calbo? vezinos de la dicha villa

- Pedro López en nonbre de Lorencio López vezino de esta villa en el pleito que trata contra Diego Vernales? y su muger ana de castro? vezinos de la villa de ayllon ante V.M. parezco y digo que por V.M. fue mandado dar treslado al dicho Diego Vernales de una peticion e demanda dada por mi parte de la qual aunque se le fue notificado no a dicho ni a alegado cosa ninguna por lo qual yo le acuso la rrebeldia a V.M. pido y suplico la aya por acusada y este pleito por concluso para el articulo que conbiene con justicia que pido para lo qual ? Pedro López

- E luego el dicho corregidor dijo que la avia por presentada y mando dar ttreslado a la otra parte e que para la primera audiencia rresponda testigos los dichos passo ante my francisco rRodríguez

- E luego ycentinenti este dicho dia mes e ano sobre dicho yo el dicho scrivano notifique el dicho treslado a pedro Hernández procurador del dicho Diego Martínez Vernal en su persona? el qual dijo que lo oya testigos los dichos

En la villa de penafiel a honce dias del mes de dizienbre de mill e quinientos y ochenta y nuebe anos ante el licenciado daca maldonado corregidor en la dicha villa y su partido y por ante my francisco Rodríguez scrivano publico de ella y testigo prdro Hernández? procurador en nonbre del contenido en esta peticion la presento y pidio lo en ella

contenido y justicia testigo Juan daca y francisco de baeza? vezinos de la dicha villa

Replicato

Pedro Hernández en nombre de Diego Martínez Vernal vezino de la villa de ayllon ante V.M. parezco como mejor a lugar de derecho y en el pleito que trato contra Lorencio López vezino de esta villa Respondiendo a un escripto por parte del susodicho presentado digo que debe ser hecho juzgado y sentenciado segun e de la manera que por mi esta dicho y alegado sin embargo de todo lo pedido por parte del dicho Lorencio López que no es juridico ni verdadero y ? por todo lo dicho e alegado y respondido en esta causa por mi parte y porque rrealmente no ay tal trasgo ni duende ni se a bisto en la dicha casa antes que el dicho Lorencio López biniese a abitar y morar las cihas casas y quando al presente le hubiera que niego no es ecepcion? ni causa legitima ni bastante para el deshacer la dicha venta y contrato porque el caso fortuito opinado o no opinado? que sobrebiene a la venta no la rrecinde ny anula porque el? peligro? o riesgo o comodo que suscede efetunda? la venta es siempre del comprador y no del que vende a cuya causa pido a V.M. que asolbiendo y dando por libre al dicho Diego Martínez mi parte condene al dicho Lorencio López en las costas de esta causa y le ynponga? perpetuo silencio sobre este negocio para lo qual su oficio?

ynploro pido justicia e costas y concluyo para prueba el licenciado Juan andres
?

E luego el dicho corregidor dijo que la avia por presentada y este pleito por concluso y le
rrescibia e rrescbia a la prueba con termino de nuebe dias perimeros siguientes para que dentro
de ellos las dichas partes prueben lo que bieren que les convenga y probado les? aproberse? salbo
jure ynpertinencium? et nona dmite ni dorun y cito a las dichas partes en suma para ver presentar
jurar y conozer cotos y asi lo probe? yo e mando o firmo de su nonbre testigos los dichos el
licenciado daca maldonado passo ante mi francisco Rodríguez

notificacion

- E luego yncontinenti este dicho dia mes e ano susodicho yo el dicho scrivano notifique la dicha
sentencia de prueba a Lorencio López e a Pedro Hernández procurador del dicho Diego Martínez
Vernal en sus personas los quales dijeron que lo oyan testigos Pobdichos? en fee de lo qual lo
firme francisco rRodríguez

En la villa de penafiel a catorce dias del mes de diciembre de mill e quinientos y ochenta e nuebe
anos ante el licenciado daca maldonado corregidor en la dicha villa y su partido y por ante my
francisco Rodríguez scrivano publico de ella y testigo pedro Hernández procurador en nonbre del
contenido en esta peticion la presento y dijo y pidio lo en ella contenido y justicia testigos gaspar
daca y melchor de la puente scrivano vezinos de la dicha villa

- Pedro Hernández en ninbre de Diego

Martínez Vernal en el pleito que contra el trata Lorencio López pido prorrogacion de termino por
veinte dias mas justicia e costas ? Pedro Hernández

- E luego el dicho corregidor dijo que la avia por presentada y que prorrogaba y prorrogo el
termino probatorio en esta causa dado por diez dias mas que corren sobre los dados comunes a
las partes testigos los dichos passo ante my francisco Rodríguez

notificacion

E luego yncontinenti dia mes y ano susodicho yo el dicho scrivano notifique la dicha
prorrogacion de termino al dicho Pedro López procurador del dicho Lorencio López en su
persona el qual dijo que lo oya testigos los dichos

- En la villa de penafiel a veinte e tres dias del mes de dizienbre de mill e quinientos y ochenta e
nuebe anos ante el licenciado daca maldonado corregidor en la dicha villa y su partido y por ante
my francisco rRodríguez scrivano publico de ella y testigos Pedro López procurador en nonbre
del contenido en esta peticion la presento y dijo y pidio lo en ella contenido y justicia testigos el
licenciado juan andres y el licenciado parraces? vezinos de la dicha villa

- Pedro López en nonbre de Lorencio López vezino de esta villa en el pleito que trata contra Diego Vernales y su muger vezinos de la villa de ayllon ante V.M. parezco y digo que por V.M fue rrescebido este pleito a prueba con cierto termino el qual es brebe

y se pasa a V.M. pido y suplico le mande prorrogar por diez dias mas a tento las muchas fiestas de pasque que bienen en que pido justicia para lo qual ? pedro López

- E luego el dicho corregidor dijo que lo avia por presentada y que prorrogaba e prorrogo el termino probatorio en esta causa dado por diez dias mas que corren sobre los dados comunes a las partes testigos los dichos paso ante my francisco Rodríguez

notificacion

E luego ycontinenti dia mes y ano sobre dicho yo el dicho scrivano notifique la dicba prorrogacion del termino a pedro Hernández procurador del dicho Diego Martínez Vernal en su persona el qual dijo que lo oya testigos los dichos

- En la villa de penafiel a cinco dias del mes de henero de mill e quinientos y noventa anos ante el licenciado daca maldonado corregidor en la dicha villa e su partido y por ante my francisco Rodríguez scrivano publico y del numero de ella pedro López procurador en nonbre del dicho Lorencio López presento esta peticion y dijo y pidio lo en ella contenido y justicia testigos francisco daca y Diego Diez vezinos de la dicha villa

- Pedro López en nonbre de Lorencio López vezino de esta villa en el pleito que trata contra Diego Vernal es vezino de la villa de ayllon ante V.M. parezco y digo que por V.M. fue rrecebido este pleito a prueba con un cierto

termino el qual es brebe a V.M. pido e suplico le mande prorrogar por diez dias mas para lo qual ? Pedro López

- E luego el dicho corregidor dijo que la avia por presentada y que prorrogaba y prorrogo el dicho termino probatorio? en esta causa dado por diez dias mas que corren sobre los dados comunes a las partes testigos los dichos lo qual passo presente el dicho Pedro López paso ante my francisco Rodríguez

notificacion

E luego ycontinenti dia mes y ano susodicho yo el dicho scrivano notifique a el dicho Pedro Hernández procurador del dicho Diego Martínez Vernal la dicha prorrogacion de termino en su perssона? el qual dijo que lo oya testigos los dichos

En la villa de penafiel a diez? dias del mes de henero de mill e quinientos y noventa anos ante el licenciado daca maldonado corregidor en la dicha villa y su partido y por ante my francisco Rodríguez scrivano publico y del numero de ella y testigo parescio presente Pedro López procurador en nonbre del contenido en esta peticion la presento y dijo y pidio lo en ella contenido e justicia testigo francisco daca vezino? de la dicha villa

- Pedro López en nonbre de Lorencio López vezino de esta villa en el pleito que trata contra Diego Vernal es vezino de la villa de ayllon ante V.M. parezco y a V.M. pido y suplico mande prorrogar este

pleyto y causa por veinte dias mas de termino Pedro López

- El dicho corregidor dijo que la abia por presentada y que prorrogaba y prorrogo el termino probatorio por diez dias mas que corren sobre los dados comunes a las partes testigos los dichos estando presente el dicho Pedro López a quien yo el dicho scrivano lo notifique passo ante my francisco Rodríguez

notificacion

E despues de lo susodicho en la dicha villa de penafiel dia mes y ano susodicho yo el dicho scrivano notifique la dicha prorrogacion de termino al dicho Pedro Hernández procurador del dicho Diego Martínez Vernal en su persona el qual dijo que lo oya testigos los dichos

- En la villa de Penafiel a dos dias del mes de henero de mill e quinientos e noventa anos ante el licenciado daca maldonado corregidor en la dicha villa e su partido y por ante my francisco Rodríguez scrivano publico y del numero de ella y testigos Lorencio López vezino de la dicha villa presento esta ynterrogatorio de preguntas por donde pidio sean exsaninados sus testigos en esta caussa y justicia testigos Geronimo Rodrigues? y mateo de orduna de esta dicha villa

Interrogatorio

Por estas preguntas sean preguntados los testigos que son o seran presentados por mi lorencio López/o por mi procurador en mi nonbre en el pleito con diego Martínez bernal y ana de grazia su muger vezinos de la villa de ayllon

I Primeramente sean preguntados por el conizimiento de las partes y si tienen noticia? de unas casas que yo conpre de los dichos diego Martínez y su muger y de alonso ramirez clérigo y gaspar de castro) vezinos de esta villa que por su poder? y en su nonbre me las vendieron por precio de quinientos ducados que estan sitas? en la perroquea de nuestra senora de mediavilla en surco? de casas de Agustín diez y de María alonso? biuda muger que quedo de francisco de segovia? difunto

(que andaba duende antes y despues) II Itten si saben que antes y al tiempo que los susodichos me vendieron las dichas casas habia? abido y abia y andaba en ellas duende e trasgo y otras cosas temerosas que suelen causar e causan j/s?usto miedo y temor a las personas que abitan y moran las casas y moradas donde ay duende y trasgo o semejantes cosas ?

III – Itten si saben que despues que yo me fui a morar e abitar las dichas casas como mias por la compra que de ellas hice que seria e fue a buelta? de san juan? de junio del ano de ochenta e ocho pasado con mi muger e hijos y criados estando y morando en ellas habia e hubo en ellas grandisimo rruido trestornando y rrebolbiendo todas las cosas que en la dicha casa habia y tirando y arrojando cantos e piedras y los ticones y lunbres del fuego hasadores

y sartenes y cuchillos y almirez por las escaleras y ventanas de la dicha casa y rrelolbiendo todo lo que en ella habia y haciendo? otras muchas cosas que causaban e hacian grandisimo temor y espanto a todos los que en la dicha casa estabamos y que muchas veces estando comiendo a la mesa en la primera sala de la dicha cassa y estando alli todos los de mi cassa sin faltar ninguno cayan muchas chinas y piedras que benian como arrojadas y tiradas que daban en la mesa y en lo que estabamos comiendo y asi nos hera forcoso lebantarnos de la mesa e yrvyendo? por el temor que todos teniamos

IV Itten si saben que aunque se procura ver y aberiguar si habia alguna persona que hiciese y causase lo contenido? en la preguntas precedente nunca jamas se pudo ver? ni aberiguar quien lo hacia por lo qual se a tenido y tiene por cosa cierta y sin duda que en las dichas casas ay? abia hay duende e trasgo o otras ylusiones y cosas que suelen causar y causan j/s?usto miedo y temor y hacer las casas y moradas y hermas? e ynabitables.

V Itten si saben que yendo y pasando adelante lo arriba dicho sin saber quien ni como por el mes de setiembre proximo pasado en algunos dias del en algunos aposentos y bodegas de la dicha casa maltrataron a Mariana y a catalina López

mys? hijas y a María mi criada muy mal acardenalandolas y mesandolas y acotandolas asta las dejar como muertas muy perdidas y desmayadas rrotos los tocados y bestidos e que a la dicha Mariana López la sacaron toda destocada y desgrenada de la bodega de la dicha casa adonde la allaron arroxada entre dos cubas por muerta e que estubo sin poder hablar ny bolber en si muy gran rrato y que fue nescesarrio para que bolbiese en si darla? como la dieron muy fuertes garrotes y que todas las personas que la bieron subir de la manera dicha y como la suivieron en bracos la tubieron por muerta y que los tocados que la dicha Mariana traya antes e quando entro en la dicha bodega parescieron y se allaron haberselos quitado y estar en la dicha bodega y encima de ellos? un gran canto de mas de diez libras e que todas las personas que lo bieron quando fue y suscedio que fue en mitad del dia entendieron y tubieron por cosa cierta que el duende e trasgo y las demas cosas espantosas que andaban en la dicha cassa habian hecho maltratamiento a las dichas Mariana e catalina y María mis hijas y criada digan? ?

VI Itten si saben que mi muger hijos e criados e yo estabamos todos en las

dichas casas muy ynquietos y desasosegados y con tanto miedo y temor en ellas que no/osabamos ni nos atrebiamos a subir a los aposentos? altos de la dicha casa ni a bajar a la bodega solos sino en compania y que nos fue forcoso desanparar y dejar las dichas casas y sacar de ellas mi hacienda y dejallas? yermas y cerradas? como al presente lo estan? y alquilar/otras cosas de Juan belaz que es? vezino de esta villa que estan en la calle de la puente de ella adonde al presente bibimos ? del? fin de setiembre proximo pasado digan ?

VII Itten si saben que demas de que al tiempo y quando yo conpre las dichas casas de los dichos diego Martínez y ana de gracia y de los dichos alonso rramirez y gaspar de castro en su nonbre y despues aca habia e hubo e ay el dicho duende trasgo y cosas que causan j/s?ustisimo temor y pabor en tiempo? y anos atras hubo el dicho duende y trasgo y las dichas cosas temerosas y espantosas que hacian e hicieron rruido y arrojaban y trastornaban y arrebolbian todas las cosas

de ella y que acotaban y maltrataban a los que en ella estaban y moraban y que asi lo saben? e lo oyeron? descir a muchas personas por cosa cierta

VIII Itten si saben que la bodega de la dicha casa se solia descir y llamaba la bodega de la pena y que en la dicha bodega hera ordinario haber muy grande rruido e ynquietud digan ?

IX yten si saben que las dichas casas por rracon del dicho duende o trasgo e ylusiones y cosas espantosas de ella a perdido mucho de su precio y balor y de los quinientos ducados? en que yo la conpre digan ?

X Yten si saben que despues que yo y mi muger e hijos dejamos de abitar las dichas casas y las cerramos y nos pasamos a bibir a las casas del dicho Juan Velaz? que es donde al presente estamos ni en otros anos y tiempo? muchos que moramos? en ellas antes que yo comprase las dichas casas de los dichos diego Martínez e su muger no emos sentido ningun duende ni trasgo ni lo ay? y asi saben y creen y tienen por cosa cierta que en las dichas casas que yo conpre de los dichos diego Martínez y su muger lo? a habido e ayi y que a sido y es hordinario haberle digan ?

XI Yten si saben que todo lo susodicho es publico e notorio

-Yten pido juren de calumnia los dichos diego Martínez e su muger estas preguntas so la pena de la ley el licenciado portillo

- E luego el dicho corregidor dijo que le abia por presentado en quanto pertinenti y mando por el se exsamen sus testigos en esta causa e que juren de calunia como lo pide conforme a la ley de madrid y so la pena de ella testigos los susodichos? passo ante mi francisco Rodríguez?

?

E despues de lo susodicho en la dicha villa de penafiel a quatro dias del mes henero de mill e quinientos y noventa anos ante el dicho corregidor y por ante mi el dicho francisco Rodríguez escrivano el dicho lorencio López presento por testigos a antonio rruiz y a pedro de la questa zapatero y a Juan Pérez tundidor vezinos de la dicha villa de los quales y de cada uno de ellos fue tomado y rrescibido? Juramento por dios nuestro senor en forma de derecho? los quales despues de haber jurado prometieron de descir verdad? de lo que supiesen e les? fuese preguntado y a la ? del dicho Juramento dijeron si juro ? y el dicho corregidor les obo? por presentados e jurados testigos geronimo testigos y matero de orduna vezinos de la dicha villa paso ante mi francisco rRodríguez

- E luego yncontinenti dia mes y ano sobre dicho antes el dicho corregidor y por ante mi el dicho francisco testigo escrivano el dicho Lorencio López presento por testigos en esta causa a lope de marquina y a catalina rRodríguez

su muger vezinos de la villa de castro ? y a María Sacristán hija de Juan Sacristán vezina del lugar de olmos? criada del dicho lorencio López de los quales e de cada uno de ellos fue tomado e Rescebido Juramento/ en forma debida de derecho los quales despues de haber jurado prometieron de de descir verdad de lo que supiesen y les? fuese preguntado los quales a la

ausulucion del dicho Juramento dijo cada uno de ellos si juro y amen? el dicho corregidor les obo? por presentados y jurados testigos que los bieron juras? geronimo rRodríguez y gaspar segovia? vezinos de la dicha villa passo/ante mi francisco rRodríguez

Probanca de Lorencio López

ttestigos El dicho Antonio Ruiz vezino de la villa de penafiel testigo presentado por el dicho Lorencio López y preguntado? al tenor de las preguntas del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo lo siguiente

I a la primera pregunta dijo este testigo que conoze? a las partes que litigan? por bista e comunicacion y que tiene noticia de las casas contenidas y? la pregunta y esto Responde? a ella)

generales

fue preguntado por las preguntas generales de la ley dijo que es de hedad de cinquenta e cinco anos e que no es

pariente de ninguna de las? partes? ni le tocan ninguna de las demas preguntas generales de la ley salbo que dios ayude a la justicia

II a la segunda pregunta dijo este testigo que lo que save de esta pregunta que puede haber quarenta y quatro anos pocos mas/o menos que biviendo los padres de este testigo en la dicha casa contenida ? la pregunta sobre que es este pleito una noche? despues de medianoche estando este testigo y dos? hermanos suyos en una cama acostados oyo este testigo bajar por una escalera que estaba junto al dormitorio donde estaban bajar? haciendo rruido como que hera cosas de calderas/o cerrojos? y al fin de la escalera paro lo que hera y oyo este testigo jadear como persona y le parecio que hacia mencodecalcarse y como este testigo oyo este rruido desperto a Juan RRuiz su hermano mayor e le? dijo lo que habia/oydo y el dicho su hermano se levanto de la cama haber? que hera y quando bolbio dijo que no habia bisto ni allado cosa ninguna y a las sacon sabe este testigo que en lo alto de la dicha casa de donde le? parecio bajaba el dicho Ruido no abia nadie que le? pudiese hacer porque todos los que habia en la dicha casa estaban en dos aposentos

de la puerta adentro donde este testigo estaba acostado con los dichos sus hermanos y esto es lo que save y Responde a esta pregunta y que este testigo de oyrllo que dicho tiene tubo miedo y desperto al dicho su hermano mayor como dicho tiene pero que lo que hera quien hacia el dicho rruido no lo save

III a la tercera pregunta dijo este testigo que lo que save de esta pregunta es que por san juan de junio? del ano pasado de ochenta e nuebe biviendo y morando el dicho Lorencio López en las dichas casas sobre que es este pleito un dia y otros muchos pasando este testigo por la calle por ser como hera vezino del dicho Lorencio López llego una bez al Portal de su casa donde estaba su muger a hechando? trigo? y se paro alli a hablar? con ella ya? que el dia abia oydo descrir y quejarse a los vezinos que de la casa del dicho Lorencio López o que no sabian de donde los abian tirado muchas chinas y tarrones de yesso? y estando este testigo tratando de esto con la muger del dicho Lorencio López oyo como en las puertas de la tienda de panos que tenian en el

portal de la dicha casa y cerradas a causa del polbo que hacian del? trigo? que ha? echaban dardos o tres golpes en la dicha Puerta de la tienda como que ti

raban [tiraban] tarrones y daban en ella y le mostro a este testigo la muger del dicho Lorencio López cinco medios quartos que dijo abilla? arrojado en el dicho portal estando ahechando? no savia quien y que estaba escandalicada y con temor ella y los de su casa del rruido que en ella andaba de noche e de dia y que no savian que podia ser y este testigo otras muchas veces llegandose al portal de la casa del dicho Lorencio López como tal bezino suyo que hera oyo e bio como por las escaleras de la dicha casa arrojaban e cayan por ellas asta el portal pinas de casca de pinares? y una barra de silla de mula o caballo y cuchillos y otras cosas pero quien lo hechaba/o no este testigo no lo save ni lo bio mas de que la muger? del dicho Lorencio López y sus hijos y los demas de su casa andaban escandalicado y con temor diciendo que no savian que hera lo que en ella andaba haciendo aquellas cosas y Ruido de noche y de dia que les? causaba mucho miedo y temor y ansimesmo? bio? este testigo como un dia estando el dicho Lorencio López malo n? la cama subiendole a bistar y estando su muger cenando en la sala de la dicha cassa que esta antes de entrar en el aposento donde estaba el dicho Lorencio López la dicha su muger le dijo a este testigo senor sientese aqui un

poquito mientras acabo de cenar que luego entraremos ambos al aposento de lorencio López y este testigo se sento en una silla y estando alli sentado biendola cenar le dijo que habian tirado ciertas chinas y dado con ellas n la mesa donde estaba y estando tratando de esto le dijeron/dieron? y arrojaron a este testigo un tarroncillo de yelso y le dieron con el en el rrostro junto a la nariz que le parecio a este testigo que el dicho tarron le habian lebantado del suelo para darle con el por encima de la mesa de lo qual este testigo se espanto y escandalico por no saber ni entender de que hubiese procedido aquello y asi luego que acabo de cenar la muger del dicho Lorencio López se entraron a bistarle al aposento donde estaba y estandole bisitando la hija mayor del dicho lorencio López dijo a una criada de su casa anda aca comigo arriba y se fueron juntas e subieron arriba al segundo suelo de? la dicha casa y desde ay aun? pequeno Rato bajaban? por la escalera diciendo y quejandose que los? habian muerto el candil y luego dieron mayores boces diciendo ay ay que nos mesan y nos destocan y? al? Ruido salieron este testigo y la muger del dicho Lorencio López y bieron muerto el candil

y la dicha su hija e criada destocadas e desgrenadas quejandose que las abian destocado y mesado que no savian quien hera y asi mesmo un Juebes antes del dia de San Miguel? del ano pasado de ochenta e nuebe biniendo este testigo del mercado de la dicha villa se llego y entro en el portal de la casa del dicho Lorencio López y se asento? en un banco estando alli la muger del dicho Lorencio López con unos quartos? en ? que dijo la abia dado un honbre de curiel? y este testigo la dijo porque no hecha esos? quartos en aquel cajon y asi luego se lebanto y hecho los quartos en el cajon donde tenian? el dinero y al tiempo que se desbio del dicho cajon sono en el suelo como moneda y este testigo la dijo mire si se la a caydo algo que paresce que a sonado ay moneda y ella dijo sera algun medio quarto que se me abra caydo y se desbio y bio que hera un dedal de muger y la susodicha se santiguo diciendo que marina su hija mayor abia mucho tiempo que habia andado a buscar aquel dedal y no lo habia podido allar y que ahora se le? abian hechado alli y luego llamo/a otra hija suya para que elebase? el dedal a beatriz López cuyo hera e que dijese? al dicha marina su hija que ya abia parecido y la? dicha muchacha subio

a lo alto de la dicha casa Para decirlo a la dicha Mariana y no la allo y bajo muy atribulada? y con mucha priesa diciendo a su madre que donde habia ynbido a la dicha Mariana e que no la allaba arriba en? la dicha casa e luego la dicha su madre se escandalico diciendo Jesus que dizes pasa ay en casa de Agustín diez y mira si a pasado alla y pasaron? y dijeron que no estaba alla y estoncés? la madre subio a mucha priesa alborotada dando bozes? llamando a la dicha Mariana su hija y bajo muy escandalicada diciendo que no allaba a la dicha su hija y luego este testigo bisto lo susodicho pidio una luz para bajar a la bodega y como no la bajaron tan presto se bajo a scuras? a la bodega de la dicha cassa y luego la dicha su madre dio bozces a este testigo diciendo senor no baje? alla porque yo la bi subir y este testigo dio boces desde la dicha escalera y como no le? respondio se bolbio a subir y ya que hera subido bajaron la luz y con ella este testigo y Juan Pérez tundidor bajaron a la dicha bodega adonde allaron un candil bertido sin luz? y un tocado y un escofion de red de la dicha Mariana al pie de la escalera de la dicha bodega y encima del dicho tocado y escofion un canto grande que pesaria? seis u hocho? libras

e luego mas adelante en la dicha bodega como tres pasos mas adelante allaron a la dicha Mariana hija del dicho Lorencio López tendida en el suelo boca abajo y desgrenada y la llamaron y dieron muchas boces? y no rrespondio y este testigo entendio que estaba muerta y el dicho Juan Pérez tundidor tomo en bracos a la dicha Mariana y la subio por muerta sin menear pie ni braco ni otra cosa de su cuerpo y subida la dieron garrotes y bolbio en si y segun esto le parece a este testigo que en la dicha casa debe de andar alguna cosa semejante a duende o? cosa mala que causa los dichos temores y espanto pero que si anda o lo ay en ella o no no lo save y esto rrespondio a esta pregunta

IV A la quarta pregunta dijo este testigo que dice lo que dicho tiene en las preguntas antes de esta en que se afirma y esto responde a esta pregunta

V A la quinta pregunta dijo este testigo que dice lo que dicho? tiene en la tercera pregunta antes de esta en que se afirma y esto Responde a esta pregunta

VI a la sexta pregunta dijo este testigo que sabe e bio que el dicho Lorencio López y su muger hijos y criados bibiendo en las dichas casas sobre que es este pleito andaban y estaban muy desasosegados y con mucho miedo y temor de que no les? suscediese alguna desgracia e que no

osaban subir a lo alto de la dicha cassa ni bajar a la bodega de ella y asi bisto lo que en las dichas casas abia y desgracias que en ellas les? habia acontecido y temor y miedo que tenian el dicho Lorencio López alquilo las casas de Juan belaz? ? que la pregunta dice y se paso a bibir a ellas? con sus hijos e hacienda donde al presente bibe y dejaron las dichas casas desanparadas ? y cerradas como al presente lo estan y asi es? publico y notorio y esto rresponde a esta pregunta

VII a la setima pregunta dijo este testigo que dice lo que dicho tiene en las preguntas antes de esta y esto rresponde a esta pregunta

VIII a la octava pregunta dijo este testigo que sabe que la bodega de las dichas casas sobre que es este pleito y la bodega de la casa de Agustín diez hera toda una y antiguamente se llamaba la

bodega de la pena y se mandaba por las casas del dicho Agustín diez y esto responde a esta pregunta y dice lo lo que dicho tiene en las preguntas antes de esta

IX a las nuebe preguntas dijo este testigo que sabe que por Racon de las cosas de espanto y temor que dizen que ay y anda en la dicha cassa a perdido mucho de su precio y balor y de los alquileres de ella

porque muchas personas por lo susodicho aunque se las diesen? debalde no las abitarian ni bibirian en ellas yi? que an perdido mucho del balor de los quinientos ducados que el dicho Lorencio López dio por ellas porque entendido lo que en ella anda y los temores y miedo que les? ponian el dicho Lorencio López perdiera en ellas cien ducados de lo que le? costaron y asi lo dijo a este testigo muchas veces? si ubiera quien se las pagara? y asi es publico y notorio y esto rresponde a esta pregunta

X a las diez preguntas dijo este testigo que dize lo que dicho tiene en? las preguntas ntes de esta en que se afirma e rratifica y esto rresponde a esta pregunta

XI a las honce preguntas dijo este testigo que los que ? dicho? es la verdad para el juramento que hico y afirmose en ello e firmo? lo de su nonbre antonio rruiz passo ante mi Francisco Rodríguez?

ttestigo? El dicho pedro de la questa capatero vezino de la villa de penafiel e? presentado por el dicho Lorencio López y despues de haber jurado y preguntado al tenor de las preguntas del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo lo siguiente

I a la primera pregunta dijo este testigo que conoze a las partes que litigan? por bista y comunicacion e que save y tiene noticia de las casas

contenidas y deslindadas en la pregunta porque las a visto y estado y bibido en ellas.

? fue preguntado por las Preguntas generales de la ley dijo que es de hedad de quarenta e cinco anos pocos mas o menos y que no es pariente de ninguna de las partes ni le? tocan ninguna de las preguntas generales de la ley salbo que dios ayude? a la justicia

II a la segunda pregunta dijo este testigo que lo que save de esta pregunta es que puede haver treinta anos pocos mas o menos que bibiendo y morando este testigo en las casas sobre que es este pleyto por aprendiz de antonio de herrera? zapatero oyo decir que en la bodega de la dicha casa y de la otra que esta junto a ella que bibe Agustín diez que hera toda una bodega y la llamaban la bodega de la pena andaba duende en la dicha bodega y asi lo oyo decir publicamente pero este testigo no le? bio y una noche estando acostados el dicho antonio de herrera y su muger y este testigo en un aposento mas adentro de donde tenian la cama los dichos sus amos a la ora de la media noche poco mas o menos ubo gran rruido en la dicha casa y el dicho antonio de herrera llamo a este testigo y le mando lebantar de la cama para que biese quien hacia aquel rruido porque la dicha noche no habia otra persona ninguna en casa mas que este testigo y el dicho antonio

de herrera y su muger y este testigo se lebanto de la cama e oyo muy gran ruido en un monton de ormas que habia en la sala de la dicha casa que las rrebolbian de arriba abajo y en las arcas abriendolas y cerrandolas y dando golpes en las cerraduras de ellas y este testigo encendio lunbre para ber que hera y quien hacia aquel rruido y bio un bulto pequeno y fue tras el la escalera arriba dos otros beces y se le yba por una bentana de lo alto de la dicha casa al tejado de la casa en bibia francisco de segobia que esta pared y medio sin? lo poder alcanzar ni saber lo que hera y este testigo se bolbio acostar a la cama y luego bolbieron a hacer el dicho rruido en el portal de la dicha casa donde tenian la tienda y le tornaron a hacer lebantar y bajo alla y bio que unas ormas que estaban en las tablas mas altas de la dicha tienda que no las podia ningun honbre alcanzar si no fuese con escalera u otra cossa las allo en el suelo apareadas y hermanadas como si alguna persona de mucho entendimiento? las hubiera puesto y este testigo subio arriba y dijo al dicho antonio de herrera su amo lo que passaba el qual y la dicha su muger se santiguaron y espantaron y estaban escandalicados y con mucho miedo y temor y mandaron a este testigo que se hechase junto a la cama donde estaban acostados

en un estradillo que tenian delante de ella y estaban espantados diciendo que no sabian? que hera aquello? si hera alguna bruja u duende e otra cosa mala y a este testigo le causo lo que dicho tiene y ber? aquel bulto que algunas veces le parescia que le hiba a pisar y no podia llegar a el mucho pabor y miedo aunque por cumplir lo que los dichos sus amos le mandaban tubo mas animo que ellos que no se osaron lebantar de la cama y esto es lo que save y responde a esta pregunta

III a la tercera pregunta dijo este testigo que lo contenido en la pregunta lo a oydo descrir publicamente en la dicha villa de penafiel pero este testigo no lo a bisto y esto rresponde a esta pregunta

IV a la quarta pregunta dijo este testigo que dize lo que dicho tiene en las preguntas antes de esta y no save otra cosa y esto rresponde a ella

V a la quinta pregunta dijo este testigo que lo contenido en la pregunta lo a oydo descrir este testigo publicamente en la dicha villa de penafiel que passo asi como la pregunta lo dize pero este testigo no lo bio y esto rresponde a esta pregunta

VI a la sesta pregunta dijo este testigo que sabe y a bisto que las dichas casas sobre que es este pleito las desmanparo? y se salio de ellas el dicho Lorencio Lope con su muger e hijos y hacienda y estan ? y cerradas sin abitar nayde? en ellas

y este testigo a oydo descrir publicamente que la causa de ello a sido fue y es el miedo y temor que tenian como la pregunta lo dize y declara? y esto rresponde a ella

VII a la setima pregunta dijo este testigo que dize lo que dicho tiene en las preguntas antes de esta en que se afirma e rratifica y esto responde a esta pregunta

VIII a la otaba pregunta dijo este testigo que como dicho tiene en las preguntas antes de esta la bodega de las dichas casas siempre la oyo llamar? y nonbrar la bodega de la pena e oyo descrir

publicamente que en ella andaba duende pero este testigo no lo bio ni mas de lo que lo? tiene en las preguntas antes de esta y esto rresponde a esta pregunta

IX a las nuebe preguntas dijo este testigo que lo que save de esta pregunta es que no puede dejar de haver perdido las dichas casas de su precio y balor a causa del duende o trasgo que dizen que en ella anda porque por la dicha rracon no abia nayde que las quiera abitar ni bibir en ellas y asi de presente estan ? y cerradas como es publico y notorio y esto rresponde a esta pregunta

X a las diez preguntas dijo este testigo que save que el dicho Lorencio López y su muger e hijos biben y muran? en las casas de Juan Belaz ? vezino de la dicha villa donde otras? veces an bibido y morado como la pregunta

lo dize e que en las dichas casas no sabe ni a oydo descrir este testigo que aya duende ni trasgo ni otra y? cosa? y en lo demas contenido en la pregunta dize lo? que dicho tiene en las preguntas antes de esta y esto rresponde a ella

XI a las honce preguntas dijo este testigo que lo que a dicho es la verdad para el juramento que hico y afirmose en ello y no lo firmo porque dijo que no sabia escribir passo ante mi francisco Rodríguez

ttestigo? El dicho Lope de Marquina vezino de la villa de castro y? de testigo presentado por el dicho Lorencio López y despues de haber jurado en forma debida de derecho y siendo preguntado al tenor de las preguntas del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo lo siguiente

I a la primera Pregunta dijo este testigo que conoze a las partes que litigan por bista e comunicacion e que sabe y tiene noticia de las casas contenidas y deslindadas en la pregunta porque este testigo a bibido y morado en ellas y esto rresponde a esta pregunta.

? fue preguntado por las preguntas generales de la ley dijo que es de hedad de quarenta anos poco mas o menos y que no es pariente de ninguna de las partes ni le? toca ninguna de las demas preguntas generales de la ley salbo que dios ayude a la justicia

II a la segunda pregunta dijo este testigo que lo que save de esta pregunta es que abra tres

anos que este testigo bibio y moro en las dichas casas sobre que es este pleito que a la sazon heran de gaspar de castro vezino de esta villa y estubo y bibio en ellas por su alquiler y en el dicho ano? muchas veces subiendo este testigo a lo alto de la dicha casa ubo miedo y temor del rruido que andaba en la dicha casa alla? arriba trastornando lo que en ella a habia y tirando y arrojando por las escaleras adobes y otras cosas que ponia mucho espanto miedo y temor a este testigo que por ello muchas veces no se atrebia a subir a lo alto de la dicha cassa especialmente por las tardes u de noche e que un dia juebes/antes de la pasqua de flores del dicho ano subio este testigo a lo alto de la dicha casa a proveerse y hacer sus nescesidades y estandolo haciendo le dieron un curriagaco por detras que no? supo ni bio con que porque hera a boca de noche que le? espanto y puso mucho miedo que casi no hacertaba a bajar las escaleras y bajandolas le tiraron un adobe que le passo por el honbro derecho y a la sacon no habia en lo alto de la dicha casa persona ninguna que lo pudiese hacer e tirar y este testigo tenia e tubo por cierto que en la dicha

casa habia e andaba algun duende/o cosa mala porque no abia quien pudiese hacer los dichos ruidos y cosas que en ella se havian y en la bodega de la dicha casa muchos? dias habia mucho ruido golpeando y abriendo y cerrando la puerta de ella

que causaba e ponía a este testigo y a los demas de su casa mucho miedo y por esta causa acaba de el dicho ano se salio este testigo de la dicha casa y se fue a bibir a otra y no bibiera mas en ella aunque de balde se la dieran por lo que dicho tiene y esto es asi la verdad y lo que save e responde a esta pregunta

III a la tercera pregunta dijo este testigo que lo contenido en la pregunta lo a oydo decir publicamente que pasaba como la pregunta lo declara y tiene por cierto este testigo que podria ser hacaecer? lo que la pregunta dice por lo que dicho tiene en la pregunta antes de esta y esto rresponde a esta pregunta.

IV a la quarta pregunta dijo este testigo que por lo que dicho tiene en las preguntas antes de esta tiene por cierto que en las dichas casas sobre que es este pleito ay e anda algun duende/o trasgo/o cosa mala que causa miedo y temor a los que en ellas abitan y moran y esto responde a esta pregunta

V a la quinta pregunta dijo este testigo que lo contenido en? la pregunta lo a oydo decir publicamente este testigo en la dicha villa de penafiel pero este testigo no lo bio y esto rresponde

VI a la sesta pregunta dijo este testigo que lo contenido en la pregunta lo a oydo decir este testigo publicamente y tanbien descia e dijo este testigo al dicho Lorencio López y a otras personas lo que le? habia acontecido bibiendo y

morando en las dichas casas sobre que es este pleito las cuales a bisto este testigo que al presente estan ? y cerradas sin abitar nayde en ellas e que el dicho Lorencio López e su muger e hijos biben y moran en las casas de Juan Belaz ? que la pregunta dice y esto responde a ella

VII a la setima pregunta dijo este testigo que dice lo que dicho tiene en las preguntas antes de esta en que se afirma y rratifica y esto responde a ella

VIII a la otaba pregunta dijo este testigo que no la save

IX a las nuebe preguntas dijo este testigo que a su parecer por lo que en la dicha casa ay y anda como tiene dicho en las preguntas antes de esta perdera mucho de su precio y balor y esto rresponde a esta pregunta

X a las diez preguntas dijo este testigo que dice lo que dicho tiene en las preguntas antes de esta en que se afirma y rratifica y esto rresponde a ella

XI a las honce preguntas dijo este testigo que lo que a dicho es la verdad para el juramento que hico y afirmose en ello y firmo lo de su nonbre lope de marquina passo ante mi Francisco Rodríguez

ttestigo la dicha Catalina Rodríguez muger de lope de marquina vezino de la villa de castro? y? de testigo presentada por el dicho Lorencio López y despues de aver jurado en forma devida de derecho y preguntada al tenor de las preguntas del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo lo siguiente

I a la Primera Pregunta dijo esta testigo que conoze a las partes que litigan por bista e comunicacion y que tiene noticia de las casas contenidad y deslinadas en la pregunta porque a bibido y morado en ellas con el dicho su marido un ano y esto rresponde

? fue preguntada por las preguntas generales de la ley y dijo que es de hedad de treinta y dos anos poco mas o menos y que no es pariente de ninguna de las partes ni le? tocan ninguna de las preguntas generales de la ley salbo que dios ayude a la justicia

II a la segunda pregunta dijo esta testigo que lo que save de ella es que abra quattro anos? que esta testigo y el dicho Lope de Marquina su marido bibieron y moraron en las dichas casas sobre que es este pleito que a la sacon heran de gaspar de castro vezino de esta dicha villa un ano por su alquiler y en el dicho ano sabe y bio que ene la dicha cassa muchos dias habia mucho rruydo y golpes que daban en la bodega de la dicha casa sin haber nayde en la dicha bodega que lo pudiese hacer lo qual causaba a esta testigo y al dicho su marido y a los demas de su casa miedo y temor y tenian por cierto que en la dicha casa andaba duende o cosa mala que hiciese el dicho ruido y que un dia que seria ocho dias antes de la pasqua de nabidad del dicho ano estando su marido de esta testigo malo en la cama tenian un/oficial que se llamaba Juan que les? ayudaba

en su oficio de capatero y hera natural de la villa de berlanga? el qual dormia en el sobrado alto de la dicha cassa en una alcoba junto a la solana cabe una bentana que caya? al tejado de la casa de segobia y el dicho dia por la manana el dicho Juan oficial llamo a esta testigo que subiese alla la qual subio y allo al dicho Juan su oficial en la cama y dijo que estaba muy malo y esta testigo le? pregunto que de que y que tenia y el susodicho la dijo que aquella noche le avian tirado muchas pinas locas a la cama donde estaba y que se abia lebantado de la cama una bez y tomado una espada para ber y saber quien le tiraba y que con la dicha espada abia dado en un bulto que no sabia que hera y que se habia tornado a la cama e que luego le habian quitado la rropa de la dicha cama y le habian dado muchos porracos y asidole de la garganta que le aogaban y que no savia que hera porque a la sacon no abia ninguna persona alla arriba sino solo el dicho oficial el qual dijo que estaba muy malo y que tenia necesidad de sangrarse porque estaba molido y esta testigo bio como el susodicho escupia sangre por la boca y bisto esto esta testigo ynbio a llamar un barbero y le sangro? dos beces que fue un oficial de pedro de vallego y el dicho moco estaba muy medroso y espantado

por lo qual no se quiso acostar mas solo en la dicha alcoba y alto de la dicha casa y luego de aya dos dias se fue de casa por lo susodicho aunque el dicho Lope de marquina su marido le habia arto menester y le rrogo que no se fuese e que otra bez estando esta testigo en el aposento alto de la dicha cassa donde esta el orno y queriendo alcanzar unas escobas de encima del estando subida sobre la boca del dicho horno la tiraron dos veces muy rrecio de la cola de la saya por detras que la hacian bajar y una bez esta testigo bolbio la mano para saber quien la tiraba de la saya y dio con ella e atento un bulto muy blando y luego vyo la mano y con mucho miedo y temor dejo las escobas y se bajo sin ellas abajo atribulada y escandalicada de lo que habia pasado porque estaba sola y otro dia teniendo esta testigo y el dicho su marido un cuero de bino blanco

en la tienda del portal a un? rrincon y cubierto con ormas y bancas y muy bien atado un dia de manana luego en lebantandose esta testigo y antes que nayde bajase al portal porque no habia en la dicha casa mas de ella

y sus hijos que su marido no estaba en casa allo el dicho cuero de bino vertido en la dicha tienda y el cuero alli bacio y la cuerda con que el dicho cuero estaba atado la allo esta testigo a la puerta de la bodega en el suelo buen trecho desbiado de donde estaba el cuero? y bertido el dicho bino lo qual causo a esta testigo mucho miedo y temor teniendo entendido que en la dicha casa abia e andaba algun trasgo/o diablo o cosa mala porque no habia quien pudiese hacer el dicho dano en la dicha casa como dicho tiene e que otras muchas veces estando esta testigo en la chimenea de la dicha casa con sus hijos por una bentanilla que estaba en la dicha chimenea la tiraban muchos tarrones asta que de miedo se salia ella e los dichos sus hijos de la dicha chimenea y la desanparaban y de hordinario como dicho tiene habia en las dichas casas mucho ruido e golpes como dicho tiene que les causaba mucho miedo y temor y esto es asi la verdad y rresponde a esta pregunta.

III a la tercera pregunta dijo esta testigo que lo contenido en? la pregunta lo a oydo decir publicamente pero esta testigo no lo bio y esto rresponde a esta pregunta

IV a la quarta pregunta dijo esta testigo que por lo que dicho tiene en las preguntas

antes de esta tiene por cierto que en las dichas casas sobre que es este pleito a habido hay e anda en ella duende/o trasgo o cosa mala que causa miedo y temor a los que en ella moran y abitan y asi es publico y notorio y eso rresponde a esta pregunta.

V a la quinta pregunta dijo esta testigo que lo contenido en la pregunta lo a oydo decir pero esta testigo no lo bio y esto rresponde a esta pregunta

VI a la sesta pregunta dijo esta testigo que a bisto como? el dicho Lorencio López y su muger e hijos desanpararon las dichas casas y las dejaron hiermas? y cerradas como al presente estan y se pasaron a bibir y biben las casas de Juan Velaz ? que la pregunta dize y esto rresponde a ella

VII a la setima pregunta dijo esta testigo que dize lo que dicho tiene en las preguntas antes de esta en que se afirma e rratifica y esto rresponde a ella

VIII a las ocho preguntas dijo esta testigo que demas de diez y seis anos a esta parte a oydo decir esta testigo en la dicha villa de Penafiel publicamente a muchas personas vezinos de ella que en la bodega de las dichas casas sobre que es este pleito andaba e anda duende y esto rresponde a esta pregunta.

IX a las nuebe preguntas dijo esta testigo que por rracon del duende/o trasgo/o cosa mala que dizen que anda en la dicha cassa

le parece a esta testigo que perdera mucho de su balor y aun de los alquileres porque no abra nadie que las quiera abitar y asi es publico y notorio y esto rresponde a esta pregunta

X a las diez preguntas dijo esta testigo que dize lo que dicho tiene en las preguntas antes de esta y esto rresponde a esta pregunta

XI a las once preguntas dijo esta testigo que lo a dicho es la verdad para el juramento que hico y afirmose en ello y no lo firmo porque dijo que no savia escrebir paso ante my Francisco Rodríguez

ttestigo la dicha María Sacristán hija de Juan Sacristán vezino del lugar de olmos? criada del dicho Lorencio López testigo por su parte presentado y abiendo jurado y preguntada al tenor de las preguntas del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo lo siguiente

I a la primera pregunta dijo esta testigo que conoze a las partes que litigan por bista y comunicacion y que save y tiene noticia de las casas contenidas y deslindadas en la pregunta porque las a visto y estado en ellas muchas veces

? fue preguntada por las preguntas generales de la ley dijo esta testigo que es de hedad de diez y nuebe anos pocos mas/o menos e que no es parienta de ninguna de las partes ni le tocan ninguna de las preguntas generales de la ley salbo que dios ayude a la justicia

II a la segunda pregunta dijo esta testigo que no la save

III a la tercera pregunta dijo esta testigo que lo que de esta pregunta sabe es que esta testigo a bibido y morado con el dicho Lorencio López desde el dia de san Juan de Junio pasado del ano de ochenta y nuebe asta ahora y la primera noche que entro en su casa y servicio estando esta testigo en lo alto de la dicha casa sobre que es este pleito donde el dicho Lorencio López a la sacon bibia y moraba haciendole lia? sola y sin que ninguna persona estubiese alla arriba la tiraron muchos tarrones de tierra y de de yelso sin saber quien ni de donde benian lo qual puso a esta testigo mucho miedo y temor y se bajo luego abajo donde estaban sus amos y les dijo lo que pasaba los quales la dijo con que callase? que no debia de ser nada y el dicho Lorencio López dijo a su muger que no dijese a esta testigo lo que andaba y abia en la dicha casa porque esta testigo no se fuese porque esto? ? no estaba y gualada? y muchas veces despues de esto estando esta testigo los sabado en el orno de la dicha casa que es en lo alto de ella partiendo teas para el horno sin estar alla arriba ninguna persona la tiraban escudillas de talabera e platos del basar que alli estaba y se quebraban y cogollos de pinas que alli habia y otras cosas que no bia? ni sabia quien lo tiraba porque esta testigo estaba sola como dicho tiene

lo qual la? ponia en mucho miedo y temor y la hacian bajar uyendo abajo y muchas beces no osaba subir sola alla arriba por el miedo que tenia porque descian que en la dicha casa andaba duende y otro dia de sabado estando esta testigo sola en la casa del orno partiendo unas teas por detras la dieron con un cabestro de canamo que tenia unos nudos dos cabestracos que la pusieron en mucho miedo y temor y esta testigo bolbio haber? quien la daba y no bio a nadye y alco acia arriba y la hecharon el dicho cabestro a los pies y esta testigo se bajo abajo con mucho miedo y temor y dijo a sus amos que se queria yr a su lugar en casa de su padre porque no podia suffrir las cosas que cada dia pasaban y los miedos que la ponian y que no savia que hera y los dichos sus amos la dijeron que presto se saldrian de la dicha cassa y la dejarian e despues de esto/otra noche estando esta testigo en lo alto de la dicha casa fregando el basar la destocaron la cabeca y

la mesaron y mataron el candil que tenia encendido no bio esta testigo quien la hico el dicho mal y dano y no estaba con ella ninguna persona que lo pudiese hacer y luego esta testigo se bajo abajo dando bozes y otra noche subiendo esta testigo a cojer un poco de basura para llebar al rrio estando sola la mataron el candil que tenia y la destocaron y aranaron la cabeca

y la frente y la rrasgaron el tocado y de miedo esta testigo se quedo desmayada en la escalera y estubo desmayada sin poder bolber en su mas de tres horas y de ordinario cada dia de noche y de dia abia mucho rruido en la dicha cassa y arrojaban por las escaleras y bentanas los ticones y lunbre del fuego y asadores y sartenes y almirez y otras muchas cosas y tarrones y pinas y abia muy gran ruido en la dicha cassa que les ponia e causaba grandisimo temor y miedo y espanto y de noche estando acostados les quitaban la rropa de la cama y les hacian muchos malos tratamientos? y no bian quien lo hacia mas de que decian que hera el duende/o trasgo que andaba en la dicha casa y de noche asendian? la lanpara y la bolbian a matar y una noche les llebaron el candil del aposento donde estaban acostados a la solana de la dicha casa y de noche no osaba nayde subir a lo alto de ella por el rruido y golpes que alla abia y daban que les ponian mucho miedo y espanto y muchas veces bio esta testigo como estando comiendo en la primera? sala de la dicha casa los dichos sus amos y estando alli todos los de su casa sin faltar ninguno tiraban y arrojaban piedras y tarrones en la dicha mesa y en lo que comian asta tanto que les hacian lebantar de la dicha mesa

y se bajaban al portal de miedo y una noche despues de acabado de cenar el dicho Lorencio López su amo se fue y salio de casa y dejó encima de la mesa en la sala un libro grande de sus quentas y su muger se quedo asentada a la mesa y estaba en ella escribiendo y estando esta testigo sentada sobre una arca? mirando como la dicha su ama escribia bio como por detras de la dicha su ama a rraiz de la pared yba una cosa blanca y esta testigo dijo senora mire que ba por a rraiz de la pared una cosa blanca y la dicha su ama se lebanto de la silla donde estaba sentada y dijo el libro que tenia aqui me an llevado y se alboroto mucho e luego le fueron a buscar y allaron el dicho libro que tenia sobre la mesa alla dentro de un aposento debajo de la cama del dicho su amo y otra noche estando esta testigo haciendo una torcida para un candil y teniendo el candil junto a ella en un belador sacaron la candileja del candil y la dieron con ella en los pechos y de alli cayo en el suelo sin ber ni saber quien lo hiciese porque no habia ninguna persona ally y otro dia estando esta testigo haciendo la cama de los dichos sus amos la llebaron la delantera de la dicha cama que hera de rred el duende/o trasgo que en la dicha casa andaba y andubieron a buscar la dicha delantera por toda la cassa y en las cubas de la bodega que estaban bacias y no la allaron y otro dia siguiente

estando esta testigo sola haciendo la dicha cama la arrojaron la dicha delantera a los pies de ella todo lo qual causaba a esta testigo y a los demas que habia en la dicha casa mucho miedo y temor todo lo qual es asi la verdad y lo que rresponde a esta pregunta

IV a la quarta pregunta dijo esta testigo que save que el? dicho Lorencio López su amo procura muchas veces aberiguar y saber si abia alguna persona que hiciese herrido? y dano que tiene dicho en la pregunta antes de esta y causase los dichos miedos y no se pudo aberiguar ni saber por lo qual tenian por cierto y sin duda y asi lo tiene esta testigo que en las dichas casas andaba y ay duende/o trasgo u otra cosa mala que haga lo que dicho tiene y cause? el dicho miedo y temor y esto rresponde a esta pregunta.

V a la quinta pregunta dijo esta testigo que dize lo que dicho tiene en las preguntas antes de esta en que se afirma e ratifica y que sabe y bio como en el? de setiembre proximo pasado contenido en la pregunta un dia a medio dia allaron a la dicha Mariana López hija del dicho Lorencio López en la bodega de la dicha casa demayada e como muerta arrojada ente dos cubas destocada y boca abajo unas mulillas en la escalera la qual abia bajado por unas tijeras porque las tijeras y las baras y todo

lo que abia en la tienda que esta junto a la dicha bodega lo arrojaban en ella y bolbiendo la dicha Mariana con las dichas tijeras por la escalera segun ella dize la asieron por detras y la derribaron en la dicha bodega a la qual bio esta testigo que la subieron como muerta y la dieron garrotes para que bolbiese en si y estubo muy gran rato sin bolber y todas las personas que bieron como la subieron en bracos tubieron entendido que estaba muerta y allaron los tocados que la dicha Mariana López tenia en la bodega de la dicha casa en el suelo y puesto encima de ellos? un canto muy grande que pesaria mas de diez libras y todos las que lo bieron se espantaron y tubieron por cierto y asi lo tiene esta testigo que el duende/o trasgo que andaba en la dicha casa abia sido y hera el que habia hecho el dicho dano a la dicha Mariana López y asi es publico y notorio y esto rresponde a esta pregunta

VI a la sesta pregunta dijo esta testigo que sabe la pregunta como en ella se contiene? porque asi es la verdad y lo bio esta testigo ser y pasar como en ella se declara y asi es publico y notorio y esto rresponde a esta pregunta

VII a la setima pregunta dijo esta testigo que a oydo decir que en el dicho antiguo y siempre a andado y anda en la dicha casa duende o trasgo o cosa mala y esto rresponde a esta pregunta

VIII a la otaba pregunta dijo esta testigo que no la sabe

IX a las nuebe Preguntas dijo esta testigo que no la save

X a las diez preguntas dijo esta testigo que sabe que en las dichas casas de Juan Belaz ? donde al presente bibe el dicho Lorencio López no ay ni anda duende ni otra cosa mala porque si la ubiera lo ubieran sentido despues que en ella biben y que por lo que dicho tiene en las preguntas antes de esta esta testigo tiene por cierto que en las dichas casas donde antes bibia el dicho Lorencio López sobre que es este pleito ay e anda duende/o trasgo o cosa mala porque muchos dias en la bodega de la dicha casa ponian una mesa con manteles y pan y bino y queso en ella y otras biandas y de aya? un? rato que bolbian lo allaban comydo y bebido el bino y dos veces allaron en la dicha mesa dos quartos cada vez y muchas veces en trayendo el bino lo bebian del jarro? y teniendo el dicho Lorencio López una bota de bino blanco en la bodega de la dicha casa se la bebieron sin dejar nada en ella todo lo qual tenian por muy cierto y asi lo tiene esta testigo que lo hacia el duende que ay en la dicha cassa y asi es? publico y notorio y esto responde a esta pregunta

XI a las honce preguntas dijo esta testigo que lo que a dicho es la verdad para el juramento que hico y afirmole? en ello y no lo firmo

por no saber screbir passo ante my Francisco Rodríguez

ttestigo el dicho Juan Pérez tundidor vezino de la villa de penafiel testigo presentado por parte del dicho Lorencio López habiendo jurado y preguntado al tenor de las preguntas del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo lo siguiente

I a la primera pregunta dijo este testigo que conoze a las partes que litigan por bista e comunicacion e que save e tiene noticia de las casas contenidas y deslindadas en la pregunta porque las a bisto y estado en ellas muchas veces

? fue preguntado por las preguntas generales de la ley dijo que es de hedad de treinta y seis anos poco mas o menos y que no es pariente de ninguna de las partes ni le tocan ninguna de las preguntas generales de la ley salbo que dios ayude a la justicia

II a la segunda pregunta dijo este testigo que a oydo descir lo contenido en la pregunta en la dicha villa de Penafiel publicamente y por publico y notorio y esto rresponde a ella

III a la tercera pregunta dijo este testigo que lo que save es que bibiendo y morando el dicho Lorencio López en las dichas casas sobre que es este pleito un dia estando la muger del dicho Lorencio López con la demas gente de su cassa en el portal de ella a? hechando? e limpiando trigo? bio este testigo como de hacia la tienda de panos que tenia en el portal y estando la dicha tienda cerrada arrojaban tarrones de yelso

y daban con ellos en el trigo que echaban? linpiando y no sabian ni bian quien hechaba los dichos tarrones y luego hecharon y arrojaron cinco medios quartos uno tras otro y daban en el trigo dentro de un librillo de barro donde la muger del dicho Lorencio López lo? estaba? limpiando de lo qual la susodicha y este testigo y todos los demas que alli estaban se espantaron porque no habia en la dicha cassa ninguna persona mas de los que estaban en el dicho portal y no sabian que fuese aquello ni quien hubiese arrojado y tirado los dichos tarrones y dineros y tubieron por cierto que el duende que descian que andaba en la dicha casa lo hacia=y asi mismo este testigo otras muchas veces a bisto este testigo e bio bibiendo el dicho Lorencio López en las dichas casas porque este testigo entraba en ella de hordinario que habia en ella mucho ruido y que rrebolbian y trastornaban todo lo que habia en la dicha cassa de que a todos los de ella ponia grandisimo temor y miedo y un dia estando este testigo y antonio ruiz y otras personas en el portal de la dicha cassa y sin estar arriba ninguna persona que lo pudiese hacer bio este testigo como por las escaleras de la dicha cassa arojaron y tiraron un almirez grande e la mano del dicho almirez y una piedra del fuego porque este testigo la tomo en la mano y estaba caliente? y un

cuchillo y unas tinacas? y otras cosas lo qual ponia temor y espanto a todos que no osaban subir a la dicha cassa y este testigo se determino de subir y subio alla arriba haber si abia alguna persona que hiciese lo que dicho tiene y andubo toda la casa sin dejar rrincon ninguno y no bio ni allo a nayde en ella y asi se bajo e dijo a la muger del dicho Lorencio López y a los demas que alli estaban como no allaba a nadie e que el duende/o trasgo que descian que andaba en la dicha casa lo debia de hacer y asi lo tubo y tiene por cierto este testigo y asimesmo una noche estando el dicho lorencio López y su muger cenando en la primera sala de la dicha cassa y alli toda la demas gente de ella bio este testigo como tiraban tarrones y daban con ellos en la mesa y en lo que estaban comiendo y no bian quien lo hacia por lo qual este testigo tenia e tiene por muy cierto que el dicho duende/o trasgo que en la dicha casa dizen que anda e ay lo hacia lo qual les

causaba a las hijas e criadas del dicho Lorencio López mucho temor y miedo y esto es lo que este testigo sabe y bio y lo que rresponde a esta pregunta

IV a la quarta pregunta dijo este testigo que dize lo que dicho tiene en la pregunta antes de estas? en que se rratifica y que muchas veces se procura ver? y saber quien hacia lo que en ella tiene dicho y nunca jamas se pudo ver? ni aberiguar y esto rresponde a esta pregunta

V a la quinta pregunta dijo este testigo que lo que sabe de esta pregunta es que por el mes de setiembre en ella contenido una noche estando este testigo en casa del dicho Lorencio López en la sala primera de la dicha casa bio como tiraron un canto el qual abian quitado del fuego porque este testigo lo? tomo en la mano y estaba caliente y estando en esto le tiraron a este testigo un cogollo de pina y le dieron con el en las espaldas y luego tiraron/otros tres/o quattro cogollos y no supieron ni pudieron aberiguar quien lo hacia y luego la dicha noche Mariana López hija del dicho Lorencio López y María su criada subian a lo alto de la dicha cassa y tres o cuatro boces las mataron la luz que llevaban en la escalera y las hicieron bajar uyendo de miedo y otra vez bolbieron a subir y estando en lo alto de la dicha cassa labando los platos dieron boces diciendo la dicha María que la ajogaban y como lo oyeron este testigo subio alla corriendo y bio como tenian muerta la luz a la dicha María y estaba destocada y desmelenada y la dicha Mariana López se baxo corriendo y este testigo lebanto a la dicha del suelo y la bajo abajo y estubo un rrato desmayada y despues de esto en el dicho mes de setiembre un dia de juebes a la ora de medio dia este testigo fue en cassa del dicho Lorencio López y estando en el portal este testigo pidio que le diesen un poco de agua para beber y la muger

del dicho Lorencio López mando a Mariana su hija que bajase? por ello a la bodega y la dicha Mariana dyjo a este testigo que se bajase con ella que no osaria bajar sola y este testigo bajando a la dicha bodega con la dicha Mariana bio como arrojaron unas tijeras de calceteros que habian quedado en el mostrador de la tienda y dieron con las dichas tijeras en la escalera en medio de la dicha Mariana? y de este testigo y luego tiraron otras tijeras y dieron con ellas dentro de la dicha bodega y con este miedo que tubieron de haberles tirado las tijeras se bolbieron e salieron de la dicha bodega sin el agua y este testigo subio las unas tijeras en la mano y dijo a la muger del dicho Lorencio López y antonio Ruiz y a otras personas que alli estaban lo que pasaba y como les habian tirado aquellas tijeras que habian quedado arriba en la tienda y que de miedo se subian sin el agua y luego la dicha catalina de valladolid? mando a la dicha Mariana que subiese arriba por el agua y la dicha Mariana subio y luego se bajo corriendo sin ello diciendo que la habian tirado un plato y luego este testigo subio alla arriba y allo una binagrera en la escalera de talabera? quebrada? y subio y andubo toda la casa y no allo a nayde y estando alla arriba le tiraron a este testigo un cuchillo grande y dieron con el en el suelo y no supo

ni pudo aberiguar quien le habia tirado y despues de esto la dicha Mariana bajo a la bodega a buscar un dedal que se le habia caydo que hera de una tia suya y se le pedia e bajo un candil encendido para buscarlo? y no la bieron bajar y preguntando por ella no sabian donde estaba ni la allaban y este testigo bajo por la escalera de la bodega para ver? si estaba alli llamandola a boces y no le rrespondio y encendieron una bela y con ella bajo este testigo a la dicha bodega y en el postrer passo de la dicha escalera de ella allo el candil en dos partes y unas mulillas de la dicha Mariana alli junto y luego mas adentro unos tocados debajo de un canto grande y como esto bio este testigo dijo aca esta y luego bajo antonio rruiz alla y este testigo y le dijo que tubiese la bela

y luego este testigo andando por la bodega bio como la dicha Mariana estaba cayda boca abajo y entre dos cubas desmelenada y destocada la qual estaba desmayada y como muerta y este testigo la saco y subio en bracos arriba y entendio que estaba muerta y asi les parecio a todos los que la bieron y luego bino un baerbero y la dieron garrotes en los bracos asta que la hicieron bolber en su y desde que este tesigo la saco de la dicha bodega asta que bolbio tardo mas de media ora de lo qual este testigo y los demas que lo? bieron estaban

muy espantados de ber lo susodicho y esto es asi la verdad y lo que save y rresponde a esta pregunta.

VI a la sesta pregunta dijo este testigo que sabe la pregunta como en ella se contiene porque este testigo bio y sabe y es asi la verdad todo lo en ella contenido y por lo que dicho tiene en las preguntas antes de esta y esto rresponde a ella

VII a la setima pregunta dijo este testigo que dize lo que dicho tiene en las preguntas antes de esta y esto rresponde

VIII a la otaba pregunta dijo este testigo que a oydo decir lo contenido en la pregunta y esto responde a ella

IX a las nuebe preguntas dijo este testigo que por lo que dicho tiene en las preguntas antes de esta an perdido mucho de su precio y balor y esto rresponde

X a las diez preguntas dijo este testigo que no la sabe ni a oydo descrir que en las casas de Juan Velaz ? donde bibe el dicho Lorencio López aya? abido ni aya duende y en lo demas dize lo que dicho tiene en las preguntas antes de esta

XI a las once preguntas dijo este testigo que lo que a dicho es la verdad para el juramento que hico y en ello se afirmo y ratifico y firmo lo de su nonbre Juan Pérez passo ante my francisco Rodriguez

En la villa de penafiel a doce dias del mes de henero de mill y quinientos y noventa anos/ante el licenciado daca maldonado corregidor en la dicha villa y su partido y por ante mi francisco Rodríguez?

escribano Publico del numero? de ella Pedro Hernández procurador en nonbre de diego Martínez vernal presento este ynterrogatorio de preguntas por donde pidio sean exsaminados sus testigos? en esta causa y justicia testigos? sebastian de la puente escrivano y diego Rodrigues? vezinos de la dicha villa

Interrogatorio

Por estas preguntas sean preguntados los testigos que son e fueron presentados? por mi pedro Hernández en nonbre y como procurador que soy de diego Martínez vernal vezino de la villa de ayllon en el pleito que contra el tratan Lorencio López vezino de esta villa

I primeramente si conozen al dicho diego Martínez y lorencio López litigantes y tienen noticia de este pleito y causa y ansumesmo tienen noticia de las casas que el dicho Lorencio López tiene y conpro del dicho Diego Martínez que estan en la calle de la puente de esta villa en su reo? de Agustín diez y de María alonso biuda vezinos de esta villa

II Itten si saben que en las dichas aunque an abitado y bibido en ellas uno dos y tres y quatros e cinco e seis y ocho anos y demas dicho a esta parte? nunca bieron ni oyeron ni entendieron que en las dichas casas andubiese duende ni trasgo ni otra cosa que causase temor ni espanto antes si andubiera no pudiera ser menos sino? que los dichos testigos lo supieran o lo entendieran o lo hubieran visto por haber bibido y abitado

en las dichas casas de diez anos y mas dicho a esta parte uno e dos y tres anos sucesibamente en los quales nunca bieron que andubiese en las dichas casas el dicho duende e trasgo ni otra cosa espantosa digan ? y el tiempo que bibieron en ellas

III Yten su saben que asimesmo de dos anos a esta parte el dicho Lorencio López a bibido y morado en las dichas casas que conpro del dicho diego Martínez y el primer tercio de ellas pago queta y pacificamente al dicho diego Martínez sin que le biesen quejar ni publicar que en las dichas casas andubiese el dicho trasgo y duende porque si andubiera tienen por cierto que el dicho Lorencio López lo dijera? y publicara al tiempo que hico la primera paga digan ?

IV Itten si saben que el dicho Lorencio López habia mas de un ano que estaba y abitaba en las dichas casas quando le oyeron descrir y publicar que andaba duende en las dichas casas y en todo el dicho tiempo del dicho ano nunca le oyeron quejarse ny publicar que en las dichas casas andaba el dicho trasgo antes le bieron bibir en ellas queta y pacificamente todo el dicho ano y mas tiempo digan ?

V- Yten si saben que todo lo susodicho es publico y notorio y publica boz e fama?

- Itten pido juren de calunia los dichos Lorencio López y su muger estas preguntas que les pongo por posiciones conforme a la ley e so la pena de ella el licenciado Juan Andres

- E luego el dicho corregidor dijo que lo? avia

por presentado en quanto es pertinente y ? que por el se exsaminensue? testigos en esta causa y que la otra parte jure de calunia conforme a la ley e so la pena de ella testigos lo ? paso ante mi francisco Rodríguez

Presentacion de testigos

En la villa de Penafiel a a? catorce dias del mes de myll y quinientos y noventa anos ante el licenciado daca maldonado corregidor por ante mi francisco Rodríguez escribano publico y del numero de esta villa y su ? y testigo? pedro Hernández en nonbre del dicho Diego Martínez Vernal presento por testigos en esta causa a juan aparicio ? y a grabiel de segobia platero? y a María Beltrán hija de pedro de frutos? Beltrán criada del dicho gabriel de segobia y Agustín diez

vezino y estante en esta dicha villa de los quales y cada uno de ellos se tomo y rrescibio juramento en forma debida de derecho los quales despues de aver jurado prometieron de descrir verdad de lo que supiesen e les fuese preguntado los quales a la ansulucion? del dicho juramento cada uno de ellos dijo si juro hamen? testigos que los bieron jurar pedro de olibares y geronimo de la puente vezinos de la dicha villa passo ante mi francisco Rodríguez

Probanca de diego Martínez vernal

-El dicho Gabriel de segobia platero vezino de la dicha villa de penafiel testigo presentado por parte del dicho Diego Martínez Bernal y abiendo jurado y preguntado al tenor de las preguntas del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo lo siguiente

I a la primera pregunta dijo este testigo que conoze a las partes que litigan por bista y comunicacion y que tiene noticia de este pleito y de las casas contenidas en la pregunta sobre que se trata porque bibio y moro en ellas dos anos

? fue preguntado por las preguntas generales de la ley dijo que es de hedad de treinta e tres anos poco mas o menos y que no es pariente de ninguna de las partes ni le tocan ninguna de las preguntas generales de la ley salbo que dios ayude a la justicia

II a la segunda pregunta dijo este testigo que lo que de esta pregunta sabe es que este testigo bibio y moro en las dichas casas sobre que es este pleito dos anos y en todo el dicho tiempo que en las dichas casas bibio y moro nunca entendio ny supo que en ellas andubiese duende ni otra cosa que causase temor y espanto a este testigo ni a los demas de su casa y si en ellas ubiera o andubiera el dicho duende lo supiera y entendiera este testigo y esto es lo que sabe e rresponde a esta pregunta

III a la tercera pregunta dijo este testigo que lo que save de esta pregunta es que quando el dicho Lorencio López entro a bibir en las dichas casas por la compra que de ellas hico este testigo salio de ellas y oyo decir? que el dicho Lorencio López habia pagado el primer tercio

y paga que debia del precio en que las conpro pacificamente sin quejarse de duende o otra cosa que en las dichas casas ubiera y esto es lo que sabe y responde a esta pregunta

IV a la quarta pregunta dijo este testigo que a su parecer el dicho Lorencio López bibio y moro en las dichas casas sobre que es este pleito un ano poco mas o menos sin que este testigo le oyese? decir ni quejar de que en las dichas casas ubiese ni andubiese trasgo ni duende y esto responde a esta pregunta Y que si en ellas anda y ay duende o no este testigo no lo sabe

V a la quinta pregunta dijo este testigo que lo que a dicho es la verdad para el juramento que hico y afirmose en ello e firmo lo de su nonbre habriel de segobia passo ante mi francisco Rodríguez

ttestigo La dicha María Beltrán hija de pedro de fruttos? Beltrán vezino del lugar de minguela testigo presentada por parte del dicho diego Martínez bernal biendo jurado y preguntada al tenor de las preguntas del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo lo siguiente

I la primera pregunta dijo esta testigo que conoce al dicho Lorencio López por bista y que al dicho Diego Martínez Vernal no le conoce e que tiene noticia de las casas contenidas y deslindadas en la pregunta porque esta testigo

bibio en ellas morando con el dicho Gabriel de Segobia su amo

? fue preguntada por las preguntas generales de la ley dijo que es de edad de catorce años pocos mas o menos y que no es pariente de ninguna de las partes ni le tocan ninguna de las preguntas generales de la ley salvo que dios ayude a la justicia

II a la segunda pregunta dijo esta testigo que en el tiempo que esta testigo bibio y moro en las dichas casas sobre que es este pleito con el dicho Gabriel de Segobia su amo nunca bio ni oyo ni entendio que en las dichas casas hubiese ni andubiese duende ni trasgo ni otra cosa espantosa y esto responde a esta pregunta

III a la tercera pregunta dijo esta testigo que no la? save mas de haberlo oydo decir

IV a la quarta pregunta dijo esta testigo que no la sabe

V a la quinta pregunta dijo esta testigo que todo lo que a dicho es la verdad para el juramento que hizo y afirmose en ello y no lo firmo porque dijo que no sabia escribir passo ante my francisco Rodríguez

ttestigo

El dicho Agustín Diez vezino de la villa de penafiel testigo presentado por parte del dicho Diego Martínez Vernal y abiendo jurado en forma debida de derecho y preguntado al tenor de las preguntas del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo lo siguiente

I a la primera pregunta dijo este testigo que conoce a las partes que litigan por bista e comunicacion y que tiene noticia de este pleito y de las casas sobre que es contenidas? y deslindadas en la pregunta porque bibe este testigo pared y medio de ellas

? fue preguntado por las preguntas generales de la ley dijo este testigo que es de edad de cincuenta e seis años poco mas o menos y que no es pariente de ninguna de las partes ni le tocan ninguna de las preguntas generales de la ley salvo que dios ayude a la justicia

II a la segunda pregunta dijo este testigo que sabe la pregunta como en ella se contiene preguntado como la sabe dijo que porque este testigo puede haber? catorce o quince años continuos que a bibido y bibe en las casas de pared y medio de las sobre que es este pleito y nunca bio ni entendio que en las dichas casas sobre que es este pleito ubiese ni andubiese duende ni trasgo ni otra cosa mala que causase miedo ni espanto sino es? despues que el dicho Lorencio López entro a bibir y morar en las dichas casas que le? oyo decir e quejarse que andaba en las dichas casas duende o trasgo que les causaba espanto pero este testigo no lo bio y esto responde a esta pregunta

III a la tercera pregunta dijo este testigo que sabe que el dicho Lorencio López pago el primer tercio de las dichas casas al dicho Diego Martínez Vernal pacificamente y que despues aca a oydo al dicho Lorencio López quejarse que en las dichas casas andaba duende o trasgo y esto rresponde a esta pregunta

IV a la quarta pregunta dijo este testigo que dize lo que dicho tiene en las preguntas antes de esta y que al principio que el dicho Lorencio López bibio y moro en las dichas casas que seria un ano poco mas o menos nunca le oyo quejarse de que en las dichas casas hubio? duende ni trasgo ni otra cosa mala y esto rresponde a esta pregunta

V a la quinta pregunta dijo este testigo que lo que a dicho es la verdad para el juramento que hico y afirmose en ello y firmo lo de su nonbre Agustín diez passo ante mi francisco Rodríguez

ttestigo

El dicho Juan aparicio vezino de la villa penafiel testigo presentado por parte del dicho diego Martínez vernal y abiendo jurado y preguntado al tenor de las preguntas del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo lo siguiente

I a la primera pregunta dijo este testigo que conoze a las partes que litigan por bista e comunicacion e que tiene

noticia de este pleito y de las casas contenidas y deslindadas en la pregunta porque bibio y moro este testigo en ellas cinco anos

? fue preguntado por las preguntas generales de la ley dijo que es de hedad de cinquenta e seis anos pocos mas o menos y que no es pariente de ninguna de las partes ni le toca ninguna de las preguntas generales? de la ley salbo que dios ayude a la justicia

II a la segunda pregunta dijo este testigo que diez anos a esta parte? este testigo bibio y abito cinco anos en las dichas casas en dos temporadas y todo el dicho tiempo nunca bio ni supo ny entendio que en las dichas cassas sobre que es este pleito ubiese ni andubiese duende ni trasgo ni otra cossa mala que causase temor y espanto y si en las dichas casas ubiera alguna cossa de lo contenido en la pregunta lo supiera y entendiera este testigo e no pudiera ser menos por aber bibido en las dichas casas el tiempo que tiene dicho y esto rresponde a esta pregunta

III a la tercera pregunta dijo este testigo que no la save

IV a la quarta pregunta dijo este testigo que lo que save es que bio como el dicho Lorencio López bibio en las

dichas casas un ano poco mas o menos sin quejarse ni decir ni publicar que en las dichas casas ubiesen ni andubiese duende ni trasgo ni otra cossa que despues le? oyo muchas veces decir e quejarse que en las dichas casas ay y anda duende o trasgo que les ha hecho y hace mucho ruido y a puesto mucho miedo e temor e que por ello habia dejado e despanparado las dichas casas e ydose a bebir a otras y esto rresponde a esta pregunta

V a la quinta pregunta dijo este testigo que lo que a dicho es la verdad para el juramento que hico e afirmose en ello y firmolo de su nonbre Juan Aparicio passo ante my francisco Rodríguez

En la villa de penafiel a treinta e un dias del mes de henero de mill e quinientos y noventa anos ante el licenciado daca maldonado corregidor en la dicha villa y su partido y por ante mi francisco Rodríguez escrivano publico de ella y 16? pedro López procurador en nonbre del contenido en esta peticion la presento e dijo y pidio lo en ella contenido y justicia testigos? Geronimo Velaste? e Juan daca vecinos de la dicha villa

Pedro López en nonbre de lorencio López Vezino de esta villa en el pleito que trata contra diego vernal? es? Vesino? de la

villa de ayllon ante V.M? Parezco y digo? que el termino probastro? es pasado y muchos dias mas por lo qual a V.M.? suplico mande? hacer publicacion de testigos con el termino de la ley y con justicia que pido para lo qual ? Pedro López

- E luego dicho corregidor dijo que la abia por presentada y mando dar?? traslado? a la otra parte e que para la primera audiencia? Responda? y diga porque no? se debe hacer la dicha publicacion con apercibimiento? que el dicho termino pasado la mandara hacer testigos? los dicjos passo ante my francisco Rodríguez

notificacion

R despues de lo susodicho en la dicha villa de penafiel dia mes y ano sobre dicho yo el dicho scrivano notifico? el dicho treslado a pedro Hernández procurador del dicho diego Martínez Vernal en su persona el qual dijo que lo oya? testigos gaspar ? srivano y pedro López vezino de la dicha villa en fee de lo qual lo firmo? de mi nonbre Francisco Rofiguez

- En la villa de penafiel a primero dia del mes de henero? de mill e quinientos y noventa anos ante el licenciado daca maldonado corregidor en la dicha villa y su partido y por ante my francisco Rodríguez scrivano? publico de ella pedro López procurador en ? del contenido en esta peticion

la presento e dijo y pidio lo en ella contenido y justicia testigos el licenciado juan andres y geronimo Rodrigo? vezinos de la dicha villa

- Pedro López en nonbre de Lorencio López vezino de esta villa en el pleito que trata contra Diego Vernal es vezino de la villa de ayllon ante V.M. parezo y digo que por mandado de V.M fue mandado notificar al dicho parte contraria biniese diciendo porque no se debia hacer publicacion de testigos el qual aunque se le? a? notificado no a dicho ni alegado cosa ninguna por lo qual yo le acuso la rrebelida V.M la aya? por acusada y mande hacer la dicha publicacion con el termino de la ley y con justicia que pido para lo qual ? pedro López

Publicacion

E luego el dicho corregidor dijo que la avia por presentada y que mandaba y mando hacer publicacion de testigos? y probancas en esta causa con el termino de la ley y dar traslado a las partes de todo lo procesado para que en el dicho termino aleguen lo que bieren que los? convenga y con? y an? con cargo de con? testigos los dichos lo qual paso estando? presente el dicho Pedro López procurador de Lorencio López aqui en se? notifico testigos los dichos? passo ante my francisco Rodríguez

notificacion

En la villa de penafiel fue a? cinco? dias del mes de febrero? de mill e quinientos y noventa anos yo el dicho scrivano notifico? la dicha publicacion de testigos a pedro Hernández procurador del dicho Diego Martínez Vernal en su persona el qual dijo que lo oya? testigos gaspar ? scrivano y Juan daca vezinos de la dicha villa en fee de lo qual lo firme? francisco Rodríguez

- En la villa de Penafiel a diez y seis dias del mes de febrero? de mill y quinientos y noventa anos ante el licenciado daca maldonado corregidor en la dicha villa y su partido y por ante my francisco Rodríguez escrivano publico y del numero de ella y testigo Lorencio López vezino de la dicha villa presento? esta peticion y dijo y pidio lo en ella contenido y justicia testigo sebastian de la puente scrivano y antonio de rrejo? vezinos de la dicha villa

Escripto de bien probado

Pedro López en nonbre de lorencio López en el pleito con diego Martínez vernal y ana de gracia su muger dijo que bisto por V.M.? y mandado ver y exsaminar el proceso de este pleito allara? haber yo probado mi yntencion y demanda como probarme combino con mucho numero de testigos contestes y fidedignos de cuyos dichos y deposiciones contra y parece que antes

y al tiempo que yo hube e conpre? las dichas casas de los dichos Diego Martínez Vernal y su muger y despues aca abia ha abido y abia y ay en ellas trasgo e duende/o otras cosas espantosas que an causado y causan susto miedo y temor y en particular muchas desgracias y sucesos tristes que suscedieron e acaescieron en el tiempo que yo las abite y more y tal es que me fue forcoso salir de ellas con mi muger e hijos e dejallas como las de je cerradas e ? sin que nayde las abite ny pueda abitar y porque estando como esta lo susodicho probado la venta que los dichos Diego Martínez y su muger de ellas me hicieron fue y es en si ninguna? y de ningun balor ni efeto y en caso que alguna fuese sea y debe deshacer y recindir condenando a los susodichos y a cada qual a qua? me buelban y rrestituyan los quinientos ducados que por ellas les? tengo dados y pagados segun consta por esta carta de pago que passo ante sebastian de la puente scrivano del numero de esta villa wue esta firmada del dicho Diego Martínez Bernal de que hago presentacion en lo que hace o puede hacer en my favor con el juramento neescesario=y a lo dicho no obstara su decir se quisiere que

los dichos Diego Martínez y su muger no sabian ni tenian noticia de que en las dichas casas ubiese el dicho duende/o trasgo ni otra cosa que pudiese causar ni causase el dicho temor e miedo ni que las pudiese hacer ni hiciese yhabitables porque demas de ser como hera hacienda y bienes propios suyos no se puede presumir lo ynorase? antes lo contrario quando fuera asi que lo ynoraran y no lo supieran conforme a derecho? tenia e tengo derecho para pedir se rrecinda e

deshasa la dicha venta e porque tanpoco los ? probaron cosa alguna que los escuse de lo que les? tengo pedido porque demas de que los testigos que presentaron son solos y singulares e que el uno de ellos es muchacha de doce o trece anos deponer? e dizen de negatiba que de derecho es ynprobable y los que yo tengo presentado son muchos mas e sin? eccion? alguna? e que dizen e deponen de afirmatiba y de hechos? y cosas ebidentes=porque pido a V.M. por las Racones dichas y por lo que mas del? hecho? y derecho Resulta en favor de mi parte en todo Justicia e costas e con ? difinitivamente el licenciado portillo

- E luego el dicho corregidor dijo que la avia por presentada y mando que se ponga en el processo y notificar a la otra parye que para la primera audiencia concluya con cargo de concluso testigos los dichos passo ante my francisco Rodríguez

notificacion

E despues de lo susodicho este dicho dia mes y ano susodicho yo el dicho scribano notifique lo probeydo por el dicho corregidor a pedro Hernández procurador el qual dijo que lo oya testigos sebastian de la puente y diego diez vezinos de la dicha villa

En la villa de Penafiel a diez e seis dias del mes de febrero de mill e quinientos y noventa anos ante el licenciado daca maldonado corregidor en la dicha villa y su partido y por ante my francisco Rodríguez escibano publico y del numero de ella y testigo Lorencio López vezino de esta dicha villa en este pleito y causa que trata con Diego Martínez Vernal y su muger presento esta escriptura y carta de pago y juro a dios en forma ser buena y berdadera y pidio al dicho corregidor la aya por presentada y justicia testigos sebastian de la puente scrivano y antonio de rreoyo? sastre? vezinos de la dicha villa

carta de pago

en la villa de Penafiel en ocho dias del de octubre del ano del senor de mill e quinientos y ochenta y nuebe anos

parescieron SSmtes? ante my sebastian de la puente scrivano y del numero de esta villa y de los testigos de ynfaescriptos? Lorencio López vezino de esta dicha villa y diego Martínez vernal vezino de la villa de ayllon por si y en nonbre? y como marido y conjunta perssona? de ana de gracia su muger y el dicho Lorencio López dijo q atento que ubo comprado de los dichos diego Martínez vernal y su muger unas casas que los susodichos tenian en esta villa en la colacion de nuestra senora de María villa en surco? de casas de Agustín diez y de María alonso? biuda muger que fue de francisco de segobia por precio e quantia de quinientos ducados segun constara por la escriptura de venta que paso ante gaspar ? scrivano del numero de esta villa por los cuales le hico/obligaciones para se los dar y pasar a dos placos y abiendole pagado el uno de ellos? por el ultimo y postrero que se cumplio enteramente? y quatro dias del mes de Jullio pasado el dicho diego Martínez vernal pidio e ? contra el dicho Lorencio López y Francisco López su hermano y fiador por noventa y quatro mill marevedis? que de rresto de todos los dichos quinientos ducados le rrestaba debiendo y la examinacion? se hico e trabo? por ellos en la villa de valto?

adonde fue allado el dicho francisco López fiador por ante barcenas? secretario de probincia e porque el dicho Lorencio López por aorrar costas y por rredemir vejacion? que se le podia hacer el quiere pagar al dicho diego Martínez vernal los dichos noventa e quatro mill maravedis? y se los ofrecio e pago en my presencia y de los dichos testigos de esta carta los cuales dijo le daba e pagaba con protesta aunque hacia e hizo de? que por la paga de los dichos maravedis? no fuese bisto apartarse del pleito que tiene puesto ante el licenciado daca maldonado corregidor de esta villa y francisco Rodríguez scirvano del numero de ella? contra los dichos Diego Martínez e su muger sobre y en rracon de que en las dichas casas al tiempo y quando se? las vendieron hantes e despues que el dicho Lorencio López las abita abia habido habia duende u otras cosas que causan susto temor y miedo para no las poder abitar y el dicho Diego Martínez Vernal cupresencia? de mi el dicho scribano? rrescribio las dichas noventa e quatro mill maravedis en reales de plata y quartos de que yo el dicho scrivano doy fe e que daron en su podi? y el? los rrescribio Realmente e con el feto y se obligo con su persona e bienes y los bienes de la

dicha su muger que por ellos ni ninguno de ellos ni otra persona en su nonbre no sera? pedido ni demandado cosa alguna de los dichos quinientos ducados por quanto confiesa con las dichas noventa e quatro mill maravedis que rrescribido estar pasando? de todos los dichos quinientos ducados e que si lo pideren no sean oydo o en juicio ni fuera del y pagaran todas las costas y danos que a la causa se le recrecieren? al dicho Lorencio López para el cumplimiento de lo qual se obligo en forma de derecho y lo rrescribio por sentencia pasada en cosa juzgada sobre lo qual dijo Renunciaba y rrenuncio todas y qualesquier ? de fueros y derechos de que se pueda aprobechar y la ley e derecho que dize que general renunciacion de el de ? que lo? non? balga? en fe de lo qual cada una de las partes por lo que le toca/otorgaron esta escriptura en la mandera que sale ante mi el dicho escribano dia mes y ano susodicho siendo testigos Juan López del Balle y el licenciado portillo e pedro de gracia vezinos de esta dicha villa y los dichos otorgantes yo el scrivano doy fee que conozco lo firmaron de sus nonbres en el original diego Martínez sebastian de la puente

- E luego el dicho corregidor dijo que la abia por presentada y mando que se ponga en el processo y dar ttraslado de ella al a otra parte y que para la primera audiencia diga y alegue lo que biere que le combenga testigos ? passo ante mi francisco rRodríguez

notificacion e luego yncontinenti este dicho dia mes y ano sobre el dicho srivano notifico el dicho treslado a pedro Hernández procurador del dicho Diego Martínez Vernal en su persona el qual dijo que lo oya testigos los dichos?

- en la villa de penafiel a veinte dias del mes de febrero de mill e quinientos y noventa anos ante el licenciado daca maldonado corregidor en la dicha villa e su partido y por ante my francisco Rodríguez escrivano publico de ella y testigo pedro Hernández procurador en nonbre de sus partes presento esta peticion y dijo y pidio lo en ella contenido y justicia testigos juan López e geronimo Rodrigo? vezinos de la dicha villa

escripto de bien probado

Pedro Hernández en nonbre e por birtud del poder que tengo de Diego Martínez Vernal y de ana de gracia su muger vezinos de la villa de ayllon en el pleito que contra los susodichos trata

Lorenco López vezino de esta villa dijo bisto por V.M. este proceso allara my yntencion e defensa y heciones? suficientemente probada con mucho numero de testigos contestes y fidedignos e mayores de toda ececion? y personas que am bibido

y morado y abitado las dichas casas mucho tiempo que dizen y deponen nunca haber bisto ni oydo ni entendido que en las dichas casas sobre que es este pleito andubiese ni hubiese duende ni trasgo ni otra cossa espantosa que causase temor ni miedo a los abitadores de las dichas casas y si otra cosa fuera no pudiera? ser menos sino que lo supieran y entendieran o ubieran bisto y? oydo algunos rruidos o bisiones o cosas temerosas si en ellas las hubiera como nunca las a habido ni ay ni por eso an dejado las dichas casas de ser alquiladas e arrendadas y abitadas de muchas personas vezinos de esta villa ni tal fama ni opinion a habido de que en las dichas casas ubiese ni andubiese ninguna cosa espantosa por donde no se pudiesen habitar y ser recelasen de entrar en ellas antes allara V.M. lo contrario aberiguado y probado contra el dicho Lorenco López el qual ni a probado cosa que le aprobeche? antes sus testigos los allara V.M. barios y singulares y que en nada contestan y que cada uno de ellos depone de su acto particular y diciendo asimesmo que lo que lo oyeron decir y que no saben que podria ser cierto ruido que oyeron en las dichas casas

el qual se podria cuasar por otras muchas bias y maneras cayendose alguna cosa de por cassa? o haciendo ruido algun perro o gato u otra cossa semejante y no porque hubiesen bisto cossa que causase el dicho ruido como fantasma o duende o algun espiritu lo qual si asi fuera como el susodicho dize ni podia ni puede hacer mal ni dano ni tomar ni levantar cosa alguna corporea por ser como es quando asi fuera como un poco de biento e ayre e cosa encorporea y asi claramente se hecha de ver? que los testigos que por su parte an dicho no dan rracon suficiente de ello y rrealmente parece no poder ser asi como dizen porque quando andubiera el dicho duende no es cosa que les podria hacer mal ni dano ni tocar a ellos como los dichos testigos dizen que les dabian e destocaban y aranaban y hacian otros males atento lo qual e la contrariedad que en los dichos testigos ay e que quando alguna cossa fuera como sus testigos dan a entender seria muchos? dias despues de celebrada y hecha la dicha venta lo qual no es suficiente para rrecindir y anular la dicha venta atento que segun derecho el cassio que sobrebiene despues? de hecha e celebrada? la dicha venta es a peligro y riesgo del conrprador para todo lo qual y en lo necesario? el oficio?

de V.M. ynperro? pido justicia e costas concluyo difinitivamente el licenciado Juan andres

- e luego el dicho corregidor dijo que la abia por presentada y mando que se ponga en el processo y notifiacar a la otra parte que para la primera audiencia rresponda y concluya con cargo de concluso testigos los dichos paso ante mi Francisco Rodríguez

- En la villa de Penafiel a? veinte dias del mes de febrero de mill y quinientos y noventa anos ante el licenciado daca maldonado corregidor en la dicha villa de su partido y por ante my francisco Rodríguez scrivano publico de ella y testigo pedro Hernández procurador en ? de sus partes presento esta peticion y dijo e pidio lo en ella contenido y justicia testigos Juan López y geronimo rrodrigues? vezinos de la dicha villa

- Pedro Hernández en nonbre de diego Martínez vernal en el pleito con Lorencio López ante V.M. y digo que al susodicho se le a mandado Juro de calunia las preguntas de mi ynterrogatorio y no a hecho porque pido y suplico a V.M. sea? scruptado? mandar luego las jure y asuelba? y no lo haciendo le aya V.M. por confieso en ellas y pido justicia e costas ? pedro Hernández

- e luego el dicho corregidor dijo que la avia por presentada y que mandaba y mandando que los dichos Lorencio López y su muger

en ella contenidos juren de calunia y respondan a las preguntas que les estan puestas por posiciones negando/o confessando conforme a la ley de madrid y so la pena de ella testigos los dichos passo ante my francisco Rodríguez

Juramento de calunia de Lorencio López

- En la villa de penafiel a veinte y un dias del mes de febrero del dicho año ante el dicho corregidor y por ante mi el dicho escrivano parescieron Lorencio López y catalina de vallid (valladolid?) su muger a jurar de calunia en esta caussa como les esta mandado de los quales y de cada uno de ellos se rrescribio juramento en forma devida de derecho so cargo del qual prometieron de decir verdad? negando o confessando conforme a la ley e sola para? de ella y a la fuerca de el dicho juramento cada uno de ellos dijo si juro e amen? y lo que dijeron e depusieron a las preguntas que les estan puestas por posiciones es lo siguiente

- 1 y el dicho Lorencio López preguntado por la primera posicion dijo que la confiesa

II a la segunda pudicion dijo que la niega e que en el tiempo que este confesante bibio y estubo en las dichas casas andaba habia en ellas duende/o trasgo o cosa mala que les causase mucho temor y miedo y espanto como lo tiene dicho y probado en esta causa y que si este confesante y los demas de su cassa no se salieran de ella entienden que todos fueran muertos segun

el tormento que pasaban con las cosas malas que en la dicha casa habia y andaba y esto confiesa y lo demas niega

III a la tercera pusicion dijo que confiesa la paga? que hico de las dichas casas contenidas en la posicion y lo demas niega

IV A la quarta posicion dijo que la niega a la quinta posicion dijo que lo que tiene confesado confiesa y lo que tiene negado niega y que esta? es la verdad para el juramento que hico y firmo lo de su nonmbre Lorencio López passo ante my francisco rRodríguez

declaracion de catalina de Vallid/Valladolid

I a la primera pusicion dijo que la confiesa

II a la segunda posicion dijo que la niega

III a la tercera posicion dijo que confiesa que esta confesante y el dicho Lorencio López su marido bibieron y moraron en las dichas casas sobre que es este pleito de dos anos a esta parte y pagaron el primer tercio como la posicion lo dize y lo demas en ella contenido lo niega

IV a la quarta posicion dijo que la niega a la quinta posicion dijo que lo que tiene confesado confiesa el lo que tiene negado niega y que esta es la verdad para el juramento que hico y firmolo de su nonbre catalina de valladolid paso ante my francisco Rodríguez

- en la villa de Penafuel a veinte y tres? dias del mes de febrero de mill e quinientos y noventa anos ante el licenciado daca maldonado corregidor en la dicha villa de su partido y por ante my francisco rRodríguez escrivano publico de ella y testigos pedro López procurador en nonbre del contenido en esta peticion la presento y dijo y pidio lo en ella contenido y justicia testigos? el doturbaez? y melchor de la puente escrvano vezinos de la dicha villa

- Pedro López en nonbre de lorencio López vezino de esta villa en el pleito que trata contra Diego Vernal es vezino de la villa de ayllon ante V.M. paresco? y digo que este pleito e causa esta concluso para difinitiva por todas las partes por lo que a V.M. pido y suplico lo mande ver y determinar y setenciar con brebedad y con justicia que pido para lo qual ? pedro López

- E luego el dicho corregidor dijo que la avia por presentada y mando que se ponga en el proceso y que lo bera y probera justicia testigos los dichos passo ante mi francisco Rodríguez

Sentencia

En el Pleito que es entre partidos? Lorencio López actor demandante de la una parte. Y de la

otra diego Martínez vernal y Ana de Gracia su muger rreos de mandados vezinos de la villa de ayllon y sus procuradores en sus nonbres ?

Ffallo antentos los autos y meritos de este processo que debo de declarar y declaro el dicho Lorencio López no haber probado bastante mente suACION y demanda como Probarle combino en consecuencia de lo qual debo de asolber y asueblo a los dichos diego Martínez vernal y ana de gracia su muger de la ynstancia de este juicio sobre la demanda de las dichas casas y por esta mi sentencia difinitivamente juzgando asi lo pronuncia y mando si costas. El licenciado daca maldonado

En la villa de Penafuel a nuebe dias del mes de marzo de mill y quinientos y noventa anos el licenciado daca maldonado corregidor en la dicha villa e su partido y por ante my francisco Rodríguez escrivano publico dio y pronuncio esta sentencia que en ella firmo su nonbre y la mando notificar a las partes testigos Luis ? y Juan ? vezino de ? estantes ? la dicha villa passo ante my francisco Rodríguez

notificacion

e despues de lo susodicho en la dicha villa de penafiel este dicho dia mes y ano sobre dicho yo el dicho scrivano notifique la dicha sentencia a Lorencio López vezino de la dicha villa en su persona

el qual dijo que lo oya testigos Juan López prestamero y melchor rrodrigues vezino de la dicha villa

notificacion

E luego yncontinenti este dicho dia mes y ano sobre dicho yo el dicho scrivano notifique la ducha sentencia a pedro Hernández procurador del dicho Diego Martínez Vernal en su persona el qual dijo que lo oya testigos los dichos

En la villa de penafiel/a nuebe dias del mes de marco de mill e quinientos e noventa anos ante el licenciado daca maldonado corregidor en esta villa y su partido y por ante my francisco Rodríguez escrivano publico y del numero de la dicha villa el? testigo pedro López procurador en nonbre de lorencio López vezino de esta villa contenido en esta peticion de apelacion la presento e dijo y pidio Lo en ella contenido y Justicia y testimonio testigos Juan López prestamero y melchor rrodrigues vezino de la dicha villa

Apelacion?

Pedro López en nonbre de lorencio López vezino de esta villa en el pleito que trata contra diego vernal es vezino de la villa de ayllon ante V.M. parezco y dijo que por V.M fue dada una sentencia en favor del dicho diego vernal ? y contra my parte de la qual dicha sentencia sintiendome por agraviado hablando con el ? que debo apelo para ante quien e con derecho debo y

Para ante el Rey nuestro senor y lo pido por testimonio? justicia e costas ? pedro López

- E luego el dicho corregidor dijo que lo oya testigos los dichos passo ante my francisco Rodríguez

- En la villa de Penafiel a diez dias del mes de marco de mill e quinientos y noventa anos ante el licenciado daca maldonado corregidor en la dicha villa y su partido y por ante my francisco Rodríguez scrivano publico de ella y testigo pedro Hernández procurador en nonbre del contenido en esta peticion la presento y dijo y pidio lo en ella contenido y justicia y testimonio testigos alonso velaz Agustín? diez e francisco baca vezinos de la dicha villa

- Pedro Hernández en nonbre de Diego Martínez Vernal vezino de la villa de ayllon en el pleito que a tratado con Lorencio López paresco ante V.M. y digo que por V.M. fue dada en el dicho pleito e causa cierta sentencia la qual en lo que es en favor del dicho my parte la consiento y de no le? haber V.M. condenado en todas las costas procesadles hablando con debido ? apelo para ante el rrey nuestro senor y para ante quien e con derecho puedo y debo arrimandome como me arrimo a su apelacion por el ynterpuesta e lo pido por testimonio e para ello ? Pedro Hernández

E luego el dicho corregidor dijo que lo oya testigos los dichos passo ante my francisco Rodríguez

Va? enmendado es y entre rrenglones corregidor si de cas? valga y va testado ante my e on?
publica? y a e de so casta? no balga

- Oy? yo francisco Rodríguez scrivano publico y del numero de la dicha villa de penafiel?

En la villa de Penafiel nube dias del mes de marzo de mill y quinientos y noventa anos ante el licenciado daca maldonado corregidor en esta villa y su partido por ante my francisco Rodríguez scrivano Publico y del numero de la dicha villa y testigos Pedro López Procurador en nonbre de Lorencio López vecino de esta villa contenido en esta peticion de apelacion la presento e dijo y pidio lo en ella contenido e justicia y testimonio testigos Juan López prestamero y Melchor Rodríguez vecinos de la dicha villa

- Pedro López en nonbre de Lorencio López vecino de esta villa en el pleito que trata contra Diego Vernal vecino de la villa de ayllon ante buestra merced parezco y dijo que por buestra merced fue dada una sentencia en? favor del dicho Diego Bernal y contra my parte de la qual dicha sentencia sintiendome por agraviedo? a blando con el acatamiento que debo apelo para ante quien y con derecho debo y para ante el Rey nuestro senor y lo pido por testimonio Justicia y costas ? Pedro López

- E luego el dicho corregidor dijo que lo oya testigos los dichos Passo Ante my ffrancisco Rodríguez=Rey? o el dicho Francisco Rodríguez scrivano Publico fuy presente a lo que dicho es e soy ffee que este pleito es sobre Racon que en veinte y tres dias del mes de setiembre del ano pasado de mill y quinientos y ochenta y nuebe anos ante el licenciado daca maldonado corregidor en la dicha villa y su partido y por ante mi cono tal scrivano Lorencio López vecino de la dicha villa de penafiel presento una peticion y demanda contra Diego Martínez Bernal y Ana de Gracia su muger vecinos de la villa de ayllon en que dijo que los susodichos y otras personas en su nonbre y con su poder le abian bendido y bendieron unas casas con su bodega y cubas que los susodichos tenian y poseian en la dicha villa en la perroquia de nuestra senora de media villa por precio de quinientos ducados como se contenia en la carta de benta de los quales abia hecho/obligacion para los pagar en dos placos

e de que les tenia pagados ducientos y cincuenta ducados del uno de ellos y que hera ansi que al tiempo y quando compro las dichas casas y noraba y no supo ni entendio que en ellas ubiese ni andubiese duende ni otra cosa que causase e pusiese temor para las abitar e que despues que las abia comprado e abitava en ellas de cinco o seis meses aquella parte se abia hechado de ber? y bia aber en las dicha casas duende e otras cosas que causavan susto? miedo y temor a el y a su muger hijos e criados para no se poder morar ni abitar en ellas porque de noche y de dia abia en las dichas casas grandisimo ruido trastornando lo que en ellas abia y tirando y arrojando por las escaleras y bentanas piedras y los ticones y lunbre del fuego y sartenes y cuchillos y almireces y otras muchas cosas a las personas que en las dichas casas estaban e haciendo otras muchas embinciones de manera que todos los que estavan y bibian en las dichas casas estaban ynquietos y desasosegados y con grandisimo miedo y temor y que no osavan abitar en ellas y en su hacienda hacia gran dano y destrucion como lo susodicho y otras cosas mas largamente ? en la dicha demanda porque pidio al dicho corregidor declarase la venta de las dichas casas aber sido

ninguna y en caso que alguna fue se la mandase rrecindir y deshacer condenando a los dichos Diego Martínez Bernal y su muger a que Reciviesen las dichas casas y le bolbiesen y pagasen el dinero que por ellas les abia dado y pagado sobre que pidio Justicia y juro a dios en forma que la dicha demanda no hera con malicia=de la qual por el dicho corregidor se mando dar treslado a la otra parte y se les notifico a la qual por parte del dicho Diego Martínez Bernal se rrespondio y por anbas partes due dicho e alegado de su derecho? y Justicia y concluido para prueba a la qual por el dicho corregidor fueron Recevidos con cierto termino? dentro del qual por anbas partes se hico provanca de las quales se mando hacer e hico publicacion y por ambas partes fue dicho de su justicia y concluido para difinitiva y bisto por el dicho corregidor el process

de la dicha causa oydhodia? nuebe del presente mes de marco dio y pronuncio sentencia difinitiba por la qual absolvio al dicho Diego Martínez Bernal y Ana de Gracia su muger de la ynstancia de este juicio sobre la dicha demanda de las dichas casas sin costas=de la qual dicha sentencia el dicho dia Pedro López procurador en nonbre del dicho Lorencio López presento la peticion de appelacion que de su soba? yncorporada como todo lo susodicho mas largamente consta y parece por la dicha demanda y sentencia y a vosotros? del processo de la dicha causa a que me refiero-en fee de lo qual de pedro? Martínez? de la parte del dicho Lorencio López

En Valladolid? a catorce dias del mes de marco? de mil y quinientos y noventa anos

Don Phellipe por la gracia de dios Rey de reyno? de portugal?

Diego Vernal vezino de la villa de ayllon de salud e gracia sepad Juan? de Velasco? en nonbre de Lorencio López vezino de la villa de penafiel se ? en la ? corte ? ante el ? e oydores? de la nuestra? audiencia con un ? signos? en grado de appelacion agravio? o nulidad? e como mejor podra? e dedidevun? de

Juan de Velasco en nombre de Lorencio López vezino de la villa de Penafiel en el pleito que trajeron Diego Bernal vezino de la villa de ayllon digo que mandado ver por? ?? el proceso de este pleito hallara la sentencia? en el dada y pronunciada por el corregidor de la dicha villa de penafiel en que absolvio y dio por libre a la parte ? de lo por mi parte pedro como en ella se ? a que me refiero ser ninguna? y de revocar por lo siguiente?=lo ? por lo general que

En la villa de valladolid? a treinta dias del mes de jullio de mill e quinientos e noventa anos en presenzia de destigos aqui contenidos yo Francisco

Interrogatorio de Diego Martínez Vernal

Por las preguntas siguientes sean preguntados los testigos los testigos que fueron presentados por parte de Diego Martínez Vernal por ssi e como marido? e conjunta persona de Ana de Gracia muger vecino de la villa de ayllon en el pleito que trata con Lorencio López vecino de la villa de Penafiel

I Primeramente sean preguntados si conozan a las dichas partes e si tienen noticia de las casas sobre que a sido y es este pleito

II yten si saven ? que antes que se celebrase? la venta de las casas sobre que es este dicho pleito en favor de el dicho Lorencio López la? vivieron por su alquiler las personas contenidas en este memorial que pido se muestre? a los testigos por tiempo y espacio de diez anos con

continuos ynmediatamente a la dicha venta e todos ellos vibieron? e moraron en las dichas casas por el tiempo de sus arrendamientos sin acer sentido que en ellas ubiese trasgo duende ni otra cossa que les? ynquietase e si le ubiera avido lo uvieran e superian? e no pudiera ser menos por aver bibido las dichas casas digan los testigos

III yten si saven ? que el dicho Lorencio López despues que ubo? e conpro las dichas casas vivio en ellas por tiempo y espacio demas de uno y medio e pago los ducientos e cincuenta ducados de la primera paga de su voluntad sin averse? quejado en todo el dicho ano y medio que las vivio hasta que fue ejecutado por la segunda e hultima paga que ubiesse duende ni trasgo en la dicha cassa ni otra cossa que le? ynquietase hantes siempre dijo e publico que estava mui contento de la compra que avia echo de las dichas casas digan los testigos lo que save e passa?

IV yten si saven ? que por ser verdad lo en las preguntas antes de esta contenido el dicho Lorencio López despues que este pleito se movio? tiene dadas en arrendamiento las dichas casas y bodega a un vecino de la dicha villa en precio de veinte y seis ducados por ano digan los testigos

V Yten si saven ? que la persona

que tomo en rrenta las dichas cassas de el dicho Lorencio López por los dichos veinte sseis ducados vive e mora las dichas casas e tiene llenas de vino las cubas de la vodega de ellas e despues que se passo a las vivir a dicho e dice que no a sentido en ellas duende ni trasgo ni otra cossa que le ynquiete con entrar muchas veces de dia e de noche en la vodega de ellas a ver sus vinos y vibir e avitar en las dichas casas digan los testigos

VI yten si saven que todo lo susodicho es publico y notorio e publica voz e fama llicenciado Luis de arce?

- Nos los dichos escivanos rreceptores le ubimos por presentado el dicho interrogatorio en quanto es pertinente e se examinaran por el los testigos que el dicho pedro gernandez en el dicho nonbre presentare? testigos dichos ante nos gaspar goncalez francisco rrodrigues?

testigo

E luego ycontinenti dia mes e ano susodicho ante nos los dichos scrivanos rrestores? el dicho pedro Hernández en el dicho nonbre presento por testigos a graviel de segovia platero e a? francisco García zapatero vezinos de esta villa de Penafiel de los quales e de cada uno de ellos se tomo e rrescivio juramento por dios en forma devida de derecho por dios nuestro señor e por santa María madre e por las palabras de los ssanto quattro evangeliros

e por una ssenal de cruz a tal como esta ? pussieron sus manos derechas so cargo de lo? qual prometieron de decir verdad de lo que supiesen e les fuese preguntado en el cassio que son

pressentados por testigos los quales a la avoslucion de el dicho juramento dijeron su juro e amen
testigos antonio tamayo de curies? y hernando de vaeza? vezinos de penafiel ante nos francisco
rrodrigues gaspar gonzales?

testigo

e despues de lo susodicho en la dicha villa de penafiel este dicho dia e mes e ano susodicho ante
nos los dichos scrivanos rreceptores el dicho Pedro Hernández en el dicho nonbre presento por
testigo a gregorio rRodríguez vezino de esta villa de penafiel del qual se tomo e rrescivio
juramento por dios en forma devida de dios so cargo de lo? qual prometio descrir verdad de lo qu
supiese e le fuese preguntado el qual a la avsolucion del dicho juramento dijo si juro e amen
testigos melchor rrodrigues e graniel de segovia vezino de penafiel ante nos gaspar goncalez
francisca? rrodrigues

testigo

e despues de los susodicho en la dicha villa de penafiel a tres dias del mes de agosto de el dicho
ano ante nos los dichos scrivanos el dicho pedro Hernández en el dicho nonbre presento por
testigo a Juan aparricio del yerro vezino de esta villa de Penafiel del qual se tomo e rrescivio
juramento por dios en forma devida de derecho so cargo

del qual prometio de descrir verdad de lo que supiesse e le fuese preguntado el qual a la
avsolucion de el dicho juramento dijo si juro y amen testigos melchor rrodrigues e pedro aparicio
vezinos de penafiel ante nos francisca? rRodríguez gaspar goncalez

testigo

E despues de lo susodicho en la dicha villa de penafiel a quatro dias del dicho mes de agosto del
dicho ano ante nos los dichos escrivanos rrescetores el dicho Pedro Hernández presento por
testigo Agustín dies vezino de Penafiel del qual se tomo e rrescivio juramento por dios nuestro
senor en forma devida de derecho so cargo del qual prometio de escir verdad de lo que supiese? e
le fuese preguntado el qual a la avsolucion del dicho juramento dijo si juro y amen testigos Juan
Mimos? e alonso de aviles vezino de penafiel ante nos fransisco rrodrigues gaspar gonzales

testigo

E despues de lo susodicho en la dicha villa de penafiel este dicho dia e mes e ano susodicho ante
nos los dichos scrivanos el dicho Pedro Hernández en el dicho nonbre presento por testigo a
María Hernández criada de graniel de segovia platero vecino de esta villa de penafiel de la qual
se tomo e rrescivio juramento por dios nuestro senor en forma devida de derecho so cargo del
qual prometio de descrir verdad de lo que supiese? e le

fuesse preguntada el qual a la avsolucion del dicho juramento dijo si juro e amen testigos los
dichos ante nos gaspar goncales fransisco rrodrigues

testigo

E despues de los susodicho en la dicha villa de Penafiel a veinte dias del mes de agosto del dicho año ante nos los dichos escrivanos el dicho Pedro Hernández en el dicho nonbre presento por testigo a Juan goncalez sastre vezino de esta villa de Penafiel del qual se tomo e rrescivio juramento por dios nuestro senor en forma devida de derecho so cargo del qual prometio descrir verdad de lo que supiese e le fuese preguntado el qual a la avsolucion del dicho juramento dijo si juro e amen testigos geronimo rrodrigues vecinos de Penafiel ante nos francisco rrodrigues gaspar goncalez

- Memorial de los testigos que an bibido y morado en las casas sobre el pleito entre Lorencio López e Diego Martínez Vernal

- Juan Aparicio cinco anos en dos veces

- Juan Goncalez sastre dos anos

- Graviel del? segovia dos anos

Lorencio López dos anos y medio

- Provanza de Diego Martínez

- El dicho francisco García zapatero vezino de esta villa de penafiel testigo presentado por el dicho Pedro Hernández en el dicho nonbre

el qual despues de aver jurado prometio de descrir verdad de lo que supiesse e le fuese preguntado el qual siendo exssaminado al tenir del dicho ynterrogatorio de preguntas dijo e depuso lo siguiente

I a la primera pregunta del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo este testigo que conosce a las dichas partes litigantes de vista habla trato e comunicacion que con ellos e con cada uno de ellos a tenido e tiene e save y tiene noticia de este dicho pleito e causa e de las casas que la pregunta dice sobre que es este pleito porque este testigo al presente vive e mora en ellas e que esto save e rresponde

generales

preguntado por las preguntas generales de la ley dijo este testigo que es de edad de treinta e siete anos poco mas u menos e que no es pariente ni enemigo de ninguna de las partes ni yncurre en ninguna de las preguntas generales de la ley salvo que dios ayude a la justicia

II a la segunda pregunta dijo este testigo que lo que save es que las personas contenidas en el dicho memorial que le fue leido vivieron e moraron en las dichas casas del dicho pleito e que el tiempo que vibieron e moraron no lo ssave e que esto rresponde

III a la tercera pregunta dijo este testigo que save que el dicho Lorencio López bivio en las dichas casas como dicho tiene en la pregunta antes de esta y esto rresponde y en lo demas contenido? en la pregunta no lo save

IV a la quarta pregunta dijo este testigo que lo que save es que este testigo al presente vive e mora en las dichas casas por arrendamiento que de ellas? le hizo el dicho Lorencio López por un año e por ellas esta obligado a le? dar e pagar quince ducados e sobre ello? se rremite a la escriptura de arrendamiento y esto rresponde a esta pregunta

V a la quinta pregunta dixo este testigo que dice lo que dicho tiene en la pregunta antes de esta e que este testigo no tiene vino en la vodega de la dicha cassa e que este testigo tiene dicho su dicho por parte del dicho Lorencio López en esta caussa en el qual se afirma e rratifica e lo dice de nuevo siendo nescesario y esto rresponde a esta pregunta

VI a la sesta pregunta dijo este testigo que lo que a dicho en este su dicho es la verdad en lo qual s afirmo e rratifico e lo dijo de nuevo siendo necesario e no lo firmo por no saver? ante nos francisco rrodrigues gaspar goncalez

testigo

el dicho graniel de segovia platero vecino de esta villa de penafiel testigo presentado por el dicho Pedro Hernández en el dicho nonbre el qual despues de aver jurado e siendo preguntado al tenor de el dicho ynterrogatorrio dijo lo siguiente

I a la primera pregunta dixo este testigo que conosce a las partes que litigan de vista e comunicacion que con ellos e con cada uno de ellos a tenido e tiene e tiene

noticia de las casas contenidas en la pregunta sobre que es este pleito por aver vivido e avitado en ellas dos anos y esto rresponde a esta pregunta

generales

fue preguntado por las preguntas generales de la ley dijo este testigo que es de edad de treinta e quatro anos poco mas u menos e que no es pariente ni enemigo de ninguna de las partes ni leva? ynteres en este pleito ni yncurre en ninguna de las demas preguntas generales de la ley salvo que dios ayude a la parte que tuviere justicia

II a la segunda pregunta dijo este testigo que ssave? que los contenidos en el memorial que le fue leido e mostrado vivieron e moraron en las dichas casas e que este testigo vivio dos anos en ellas e las avito y los demas contenidos en el dicho memorial no tiene entera noticia tienpo que vivieron en ellas y sobre esto se rremite a los arrendamientos e que en el tienpo que este testigo vivio y avito en las dichas casas que fueron los dichos dos anos no sintio en ellas duende ni otra cossa que le ynquietase e desasosegase su bibienda ni que su muger? e hijos e criados lo sintiese porque si lo ubiera este testigo no viviera en ellas por ninguna cossa e buscar a otra casa

aunque le costava mas dinero que el? costava la dicha cassa e que esto es lo que save e rresponde de esta pregunta

III a la tercera pregunta dijo este testigo que lo que save de de ella es que el dicho Lorencio López vivio e moro en las dichas casas sobre que es este pleito de ano y medio a dos anos poco

mas u menos y este testigo a hoydo? descrir publicamente algunas personas vecinos de esta? villa que avia? pagado los ducientos e cincuenta ducados de la mitad de la compra de las dichas casas quieta e pacificamente e que esto es lo que save e rresponde a esta pregunta e no ssave otra cosa de ella.

IV a la quarta pregunta dijo este testigo que save e a oydo descrir a Francisco García zapatero e a su? muger e que avian harrendado al dicho Lorencio López las dichas casas por un ano por quince ducados sin la bodega e trojes? y ? como? los susodichos viven e avitan en la dicha casa desde el dia de san juan de este ano y esto rresponde a esta pregunta

V a la quinta pregunta dijo este testigo que lo que save es que este testigo en presenzia de muchas personas a preguntado a catalina Núñez mujer del dicho francisco García zapatero que vibe e mora en las dichas casas si en el tiempo que an vibido en ellas

si avia visto trasgo u otra cossa que la ynquietasse e desasosegase lo qual la pregunto condisinio desse? volver? a ellas? si se las davan la qual dicha catalina Núñez rrespondio a este testigo que ella no avia visto despues que vivia en las dichas casas cosa alguna que les ynquietase e desasosegassee antes queria el dicho su marido harrendallas por quattro anos que descia la susodicha que se las avian mandado y esto rresponde a esta pregunta y en lo demas contenido en ella dijo que dice lo que dicho tiene en la pregunta antes de esta en que se afirmo y esto rresponde

VI a la sesta pregunta dijo este testigo que lo que a dicho en este su dicho es la verdad en lo qual se afirmo e Ratifico e lo firmo de su nonbre graniel de ssegovia ante nos gaspar gonzales francisco rrodrigues

testigo

El dicho gregorio rrodrigues vezino de esta villa testigo presentado por el dicho Pedro Hernández en el dicho nonbre el qual despues de aver jurado e siendo preguntado al tenor de las preguntas del dicho ynterrogatorio diko lo siguiente

I a la primera pregunta dijo este testigo que conoce a las partes que litigan de vista y comunicacion que con ellos a tenido y tiene y ssave e tiene noticia de las casas que la pregunta dize sobre que es este pleito y esto rresponde a esta pregunta

generales

fue preguntado por las preguntas generales de la ley dijo este testigo que es de edad de quarenta e cinco anos poco mas u menos e que es pariente de la muger del dicho Diego Martínez Vernal e que el dicho parentesco es mui poco e que por razon de ello? no dejara de descrir la verdad de lo que supiese e le fuere preguntado e que no yncurre en ninguna de las demas preguntas generales de la ley salvo que dios ayude a la justicia

II a la segunda pregunta dijo este testigo que save que algunos de ellos contenidos en el memorial que lo? an sido leidos e mostrados an vibido e morado en las dichas casas sobre que es este pleito algunos anos que este testigo no tiene noticia de quantos fueron e que de? poco tiempo a esta parte ha hoido descrir que en la dicha casa andado trasgo pero este testigo no lo ssave ni otra cosa de la pregunta

III a la tercera pregunta dijo este testigo que save que el dicho Lorencio López vibio e moro en la dicha casa cierto tiempo que el que?

fue este testigo no lo ssave e oyo deszir que avia pagado la primera paga de la venta de la dicha casa e que la otra mitad se la avian essecutado? en la villa de valladolid? e que esto save e rresponde a esta pregunta

IV a la quarta pregunta dijo este testigo que save que el dicho Lorencio López tiene arrendada la dicha cassa a Francisco García zapatero vecino de esta villa el qual al presente vive e mora en ella e no save el precio en que y a este testigo le tiene arrendada la vodega en tres ducados por un ano y esto rresponde

V a la quinta pregunta dijo este testigo que lo que save es que como dicho tiene en la pregunta antes de esta este testigo tiene arrendada la vodega de la dicha casa sobre que es este pleito e a entrado dos y tres veces en la dicha vodega a ver el vino que en ella tenia e tiene e no a visto ni sentido cosa ninguna que le ynquietase e desasosegasse e que esto rresponde

VI a la sesta pregunta dijo este testigo que lo que a dicho en este su dicho es la verdad en lo qual se afirmo e rratifico e lo? afirmo? de su nonbre gregorio rrodrigues ante nos francisco rRodríguez gaspar goncalez

testigo

el dicho Agustín diez vezino de esta villa de Penafiel testigo presentado por el dicho Pedro Hernández en el dicho nonbre el qual despues de aver jurado prometio de descrir verdad de lo que supiese e le fuese preguntado el qual a la avsolucion de el dicho juramento dijo si juro e amen e siendo preguntado al tenor del dicho ynterrogatorio de preguntas dijo lo ssiguiente

I a la primera pregunta dijo este testigo que conoze a las dichas partes litigantes de vista abla trato e comunicacion que con ellos a tenido e tiene e save e tiene noticia de las casas que la pregunta dice por estar como estan en surco? de otras casas de este testigo e que esto save e rresponde

generales

preguntado por las preguntas generales de la ley dijo este testigo que es de edad de cincuenta e cinco anos poco mas u menos e que no es pariente ni enemigo de ninguna de las partes ni yncurre en ninguna de las demas preguntas generales de la ley salvo que dios ayude a la justicia

II a la segunda pregunta de el dicho ynterrogatorio dijo este testigo que lo que save de la pregunta es que las personas contenidas en el dicho memorial que le fue leido por nos los dichos scrivanos vivieron e moraron en las dichas casas contenidas en la pregunta el tiempo que en ella

se hace mincion e que esto ssave porque como dicho tiene este testigo tiene otras casas en su surco e pared en medio de las casas sobre que es este pleito e que esto save

III a la tercera pregunta de el dicho ynterrogatorio dijo este testigo que save la pregunta segun como en ella se contiene preguntado como la save dijo que porque ansii como la pregunta lo dice este testigo lo oyo descrir al dicho Lorencio López dandole este testigo el vienvenido al varrio le rrespondio que estava mui contento con las dichas casas por averlas? edificado su? padre? e que este testigo nunca le vio quejar al dicho Lorencio López de que en la dicha casa ubiese trasgo ni otra cossa que le ynquietasse porque pago la primera paga de la dicha casa sin pesadumbre e despues aca que el susodicho fue executado por la hultima paga de la dicha casa este testigo le a hoido descrir que en la dicha cassa avia trasgo e que les desasosegava e que esto rresponde a esta pregunta

IV a la quarta pregunta de el dicho ynterrogatorio dijo este testigo que ssave que el dicho Lorencio López despues aca que dicen que avia el dicho trasgo tiene arrendadas las dichas casas a Francisco García zapatero vecino de esta villa en las cuales? le puso dicho al presente? vive?

e mora e la vodega de ellas a gregorio rRodríguez vezino de esta villa pero que los precios porque lo tiene arrendado este testigo no lo ssave e que esto save e rresponde a la pregunta

V a la quinta pregunta de el dicho ynterrogatorio dijo este testigo que dice lo que el dicho tiene en la pregunta antes de esta en que se afirmo e que demas de lo que en ella tiene dicho dijo este testigo que ha hoido descrir al dicho Francisco García que es el que al presente vive en las dichas casas que despues aca que vive en ellas no a sentido en ellas cosa ninguna e que esto save e rresponde

VI a la sesta pregunta del dicho ynterrogatorrio dijo este testigo que todo lo que dicho tiene en este su dicho es la verdad so cargo del juramento que tiene fecho afirmose a rratificose en ello e lo firmo de su nonbre Agustín dies ante nos francisco rrodrigues gaspar goncalez

testigo

el dicho Juan goncalez sastre vecino de esta villa de Penafiel testigo presentado por el dicho Pedro Hernández en el dicho nonbre el qual despues de aver jurado prometio de descrir verdad de lo que supiesse e le fuese preguntado el qual a la avsolucion del dicho juramento dijo si juro y amen y siendo

exsaminado al tenor del dicho ynterrogatorrio de preguntas dijo lo ssiguiente

I a la primera pregunta del dicho unterrogatorio dijo este testigo que conoce a las dichas partes litigantes de vista habla trato e comunicacion que con ellos e con cada uno de ellos a tenido e

tiene e save e tiene noticia de la dicha cassa que la pregunta dice porque este testigo vivio e moro en ella nueve meses poco mas u menos e que esto save e responde a la pregunta

generales

preguntado por las preguntas generales de la ley dijo este testigo que es de edad de treinta e tres o treinta y quatro anos poco mas u menos e que no es pariente ni enemigo de ninguna de las partes ecesto? que la muger de este testigo e la muger del dicho Diego Martínez Vernal son primas segundas pero por razon del dicho parentesco no dejara de decir verdad de lo que supiesse ni yncurre en ninguna de las demas preguntas generales salvo que dios ayude a la justicia

II a la segunda pregunta de el dicho ynterrogatorio dijo este testigo que lo que save es que las personas contenidas en el dicho memorial que le fue leido vivieron en las dichas casas pero que el tiempo que vibieron en ellas este testigo no lo ssave

mas de que este testigo vibio los dichos nueve meses que dichos tiene e que esto save e rresponde a la pregunta

III a la tercera pregunta de el dicho ynterrogatorio dijo este testigo que lo que save es que este testigo hoyo descir al dicho Lorencio López que avia pagado la mitad de la compra de la dicha cassa e que no le oyo descir ninguna cossa de duende en la dicha primera paga e que este testigo hoyo descir despues al dicho Lorencio López que en la dicha casa avia trasgo pero que no save este testigo si fue despues que ubiesen? esecutado por la ssegunda paga o no e que esto save e rresponde a la pregunta

IV a la quarta pregunta del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo este testigo que lo que save e pasa? es que a visto este testigo como al presente vive en las dichas casas sobre que es este pleito Francisco García zapatero en alquiler e que ha hoido descir que da por ellas quince ducados que aya trasgo que no e que en lo que toca a la vodega no lo ssave e que esto save e rresponde

V a la quinta pregunta del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo este testigo que dice lo que dicho tiene en la pregunta antes de esta en que se afirmo e ratifico e? lo dijo de nuevo siendo necesario e que demas de

lo que dice este testigo como dicho tiene vivio e moro en las dichas casas los dichos nueve meses poco mas u menos e que en este tiempo este testigo no vio ni oyo en ellas cossas alguna que le ynquietase e desasosegasse e que tanvien en el dicho tiempo vivio en la dicha cassa un fulano? marquina zapatero al qual e este testigo no oyo decir que ubiese visto cossa alguna en la dicha cassas e que esto save e rresponde

VI a la sesta pregunta del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo este testigo que todo lo que dicho tiene en este su dicho es verdad so cargo del juramento que tiene fechado afirmose e rratificosse en ello e lo firmo de su nonbre Juan Goncales ante nos francisco rrodrigues gaspar goncalez

testigo

el dicho Juan aparicio del yerro vezino de esta villa de Penafiel testigo presentado por el dicho Pedro Hernández en el dicho nonbre el qual despues de aver? jurado e siendo preguntado al tenor del dicho unterrogatorio de preguntas dijo lo siguiente

I a la primera pregunta del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo este testigo que conose ? a las dichas partes litigantes de vista habla trato y comunicacion

que con ellos y con cada uno de ellos a tenido e tiene e ssave e tiene noticia de la dicha cassa que la pregunta dice sobre que es este dicho pleito e que esto save e rresponde

generales

Preguntado por las preguntas generales de la ley dijo que es de edad de zinuenta y seis anos poco mas u menos e que no es pariente ni enemigo de ninguna de las partes ni yncurre en ninguna de las demas preguntas generales de la ley salbo que dios ayude a la justicia

II a la segunda pregunta del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo este testigo que lo que save es que este testigo vivio e moro en las dichas casas sobre que es este pleito e caussa cinco anos poco mas u menos por su alquiler e ansimismo todos los demas contenidos en el memorial ecebtio el dicho Juan Goncalez sastre que este testigo no se acuerda si vivio en ellas e que esto save e rresponde a la pregunta

III a la tercera pregunta del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo este testigo que lo que ssave es que el dicho Lorencio López en el primer ano? que vivio e moro en la dicha casa sobre que es este pleito estaba mui contento con la dicha compra y esto rresponde a la pregunta en lo demas contenido

en ellas este testigo lo oyo descir algunas perssonas e que esto save e rresponde a la pregunta

IV a la quarta pregunta del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo este testigo que no ssave mas de averlo hoido descir lo contenido en ella a Francisco García capatero que es el que al presente vive en las dichas casas e que esto ssave e rresponde

V a la quinta pregunta dijo este testigo que dice lo que dicho tiene en la pregunta antes de esta en que se afirmo e rratifico e lo decia e dixo de nuevo siendo nescesario e que demas de ello dijo este testigo que preguntado al dicho Francisco García que vive e mora en las dichas casas si avia sentido en las dichas casas alguna cossa que le ynquietasse el qual rrespondio que no y que como dicho tiene este testigo vivio e moro en las dichas casas sobre que es este pleito e causa los dichos cinco anos poco mas u menos en el qual dicho tiempo este testigo no sintio ni vio cossa alguna que les? desasosegase ni yntquietase e que esto ssave e responde

VI a la sesta pregunta del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo este testigo que todo lo que dicho tiene en este susodicho es verdad so cargo del juramento que tiene ffecho afirmosse

e ratificosse en ello e lo firmo de su nonbre Juan aparicio ante nos francisco rrodrigues gaspar goncalez

testigo

la dicha María Hernández? natural de el lugar de minguela criada que al presente es de graniel de segovia platero vecino de esta villa de penafiel testigo pressentada por el dicho Pedro Hernández la qual despues de aver jurado e siendo preguntada al tenor de el dicho ynterrogatorio de preguntas dijo lo ssiguiente

I a la primera pregunta del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo esta testigo que conoce al dicho Lorencio López vecino de esta villa de Penafiel de vista habla trato e comunicacion que con el a tenido e tiene e que a los demas contenidos en la pregunta no los conoce y ssave e tiene noticia de la dicha cassa sobre que es este pleito porque vibio e moro en ella un ano con el dicho graniel de segovia su amo e que esto save

generales

preguntada por las preguntas generales de la ley dijo esta testigo que es de edad de veinte y dos anos poco mas u menos e que no es parienta ni enemiga de ninguna de las partes niyncurre en ninguna de las demas preguntas generales de la ley salvo que dios ayude a la justicia

II a la segunda pregunta del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo este testigo que lo que save es que esta testigo vibio con el dicho graniel

de ssegovia un ano en la dicha cassa e que vio bibir a otro honbre en ella que vendia yherro que no ssave como se llama e al dicho Lorencio López tanvien vio bibir en ellas por o? no ssave el tiempo que fue e que esto save e rresponde

III a la tercera pregunta del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo esta testigo que dice lo que dicho tiene en la pregunta antes de esta en que se afirmo e rratifico e que demas de ello save que al principio que el dicho Lorencio López copro las dichas casas estava contento con ellas e que esto save e rresponde

IV a la quarta pregunta del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo esta testigo que ssave que al presente vive e mora en las dichas casas Francisco García zapatero e que esto save e no otra cossa

V a la quinta pregunta del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo esta testigo que dice lo que dicho tiene en la pregunta antes de esta en que se afirmo e ssave que en la vodega de la dicha cassa tiene al presente greogrio rrodrigues vecino de esta villa vino y que como dicho tiene esta testigo esta testigo vibio e moro en la dicha cassa sobre que es este pleito en el qual dicho tiempo esta testigo no vio ni oyo cossa ninguna que le

ynquietasse ni desasosegasse aunque an hubo? por ella a qualquiera ora de la noche e de dia e que esto save e rresponde a la pregunta

VI a la sesta pregunta del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo esta testigo que todo lo que dicho tiene en este su dicho es verdad so cargo de el juramento que tiene ffecho afirmose e rratificosse en ello e no lo firmo por no saver ante nos francisco rrodrigues gaspar goncales

Valladolid doze dias? del mes de Aubril? de mil y quinientos e noventa anos presento esta
provanza? manuel de acosta e ?

Provanza

Penafiel

de diego Martínez bernal

con

Lorenco López

? Vallego

probanca sepa por rregburia? de valladolid? a pedimiento de Diego Martínez Bernal vecino? de
la villa de ayllon

En la villa de Penafiel a veinte y tres dias del mes de jullio de mill y quinientos y noventa anos
Lorenco López vecino de la dicha villa dio y entrego a mi Francisco Rodríguez scrivano publico
y del numero de la dicha villa y su tierra esta carta y provision del Rey nuestro senor y me pidio
e requirio haga y cumpla lo que por ella su magestad manda que el me nonbraba y nonbro por
scrivano de su parte ante quien Pase y se haga la provanza que en virutd de la dicha Real
provision sea de hacer en la dicha villa y lo pidio por testimonio e yo el dicho scrivano digo que
obedezco la dicha Real provision con el acatamiento que devo e que estoy presto de hacer y
cumplir lo que por ella su magestad manda estando presentes por testigos Juan López y Juan
Baron? y Geronimo Rodríguez vecinos de la dicha villa en fee de lo qual hize? aqui mi signo en
testimonio de verdad Francisco Rodríguez

Provision

Interrogatorio

Por las preguntas siguientes sean examinados los testigos que fueren presentados por parte de
Lorenco López vecino de la villa de penafiel en el pleito que trata con Diego Martínez y Ana de
Gracia su muger

I Primeramente sean preguntados su conozan a las partes y a casa una de ellas y tiene noticia de
las casas sobre que es este pleito que estan sitas? en la dicha villa de penafiel en la calle de la
puente linderos casas por una parte de

Agustín diez y por otra parte casas de María alonso viuda muger que fue de francisco de segovia

II yten su saven dicha? que despues que el dicho Lorenco López alquilo las dichas casas
contenidas en las pregunta antes de esta a Francisco García capatero vecino de la dicha villa y a
catalina Núñez su muger que fue a mediado del mes de junio de este presente ano de noventa por

precio en un ano de quinze ducados despues del dicho tiempo aca saven que luego ya pocos dias entrados a bibir los susodichos las dichas casas oyeron mucho Ruido de duendes y trasgos en las dichas casas todas las personas que en ella biben y an bibido desde el dicho mes de junio aca espantandolas y tirando tarronazos y asiendo como asio una bez en este tiempo el dicho duende de un brazo a la dicha catalina Núñez entrando en un aposento y a un criado suyo que estava enfermo a la dicha sacon de una quartanas en la dicha casa estando despierto le dio el dicho duende un porrazo a manera de azote en un brazo que tenia de fuera de la ropa y sio muchas boces no haviendo quien le abia hecho mal y demas de esto a tirado muchos tarronazos? y cantos por las escaleras de las dichas casas y hecho otros muchos Ruidos desde el dicho tiempo aca digan los testigos lo que particularmente cerca de esto saven como y porque

III yten si saven dicha? que por ser verdad lo contenido en la pregunta antes de esta la dicha Catalina Núñez se a quejado a su marido diciendo que saque de aquella casa que no puede bibir en ella y tanbien se quejo a sus vecinas y a otras personas diciendo que el dicho duende hacia el dicho Ruido y le haze y la asio de su brazo y que ella muy espantada se abrazo de su marido y que haze los dichos males y espantos

y ansimismo oyeron decir al dicho moco enfermo que le abia dado el dicho golpe en el dicho brazo y lo mismo oyeron decir a los dichos francisco García y su muger sus amos y esto es publico y notorio y publica voz y ffama en la dicha villa y becindad donde esta la dicha casa digan lo que saven como y porque dicha

IV yten si saven dicha? que demas de lo contenido en la pregunta antes de esta quatro o cinco dias antes del dicho tiempo yendo a linpiar la dicha casa para pasarse? a ella la dicha catalina Núñez delante de otras personas y de la susodicha alli en el suelo la tiro el dicho duende un medio quarto de que se escandalizo mucho la susodicha y demas de esto entrando a bibir en ella vio la dicha catalina Núñez a pocos dias entrada como el dicho duende abia hecho unas torres y castillos muy graciosos con unos naipes encima de un lugar de la dicha casa lo qual viendolo fue a llamar ciertas personas que lo biesen y lo bieron hecho de los dichos naipes que no le podia hacer por el horden que estaba puesto por? persona alguna naturalmente y por ser ansi maravilla llamo quien lo biese digan lo que saven como y porque

V yten su saven dicha que la dicha catalina Núñez muger del Diego Francisco García es parienta muy cercana de la dicha Ana de Gracia muger del Diego Martínez que fueron quienes bendieron las dichas casas y que quando el Diego Lorencio López se las alquilo fue con condicion y diciendoles que tenian duende las dichas casas y abia en ellas el dicho ruido como consta de la scriptura de arendamiento a que se refieran y por esta razon se les alquilo por la mitad del precio en que se alquilaran si no tubieran

el dicho duende y saviendo los susodichos que tenia el dicho duende entraron a morar las dichas casas digan lo que saven como y porque

VI yten si saven que todo lo susodicho es publico y notorio y publica voz y fama dicha el licenciado manuel de torres

E yo el dicho scrivano recetor le ube por por presentado en quanto pertinente e dije al dicho Lorencio López que presente los testigos de que en esta causa se entiende aprovechar que yo estoy presto de los recibir y hesaminar al tenor de las preguntas del dicho ynterrogatorio y cumplir lo que su magestad por la dicha Real provision testigos los dichos passo ante my ffrancisco Rodríguez

Presentacion de testigos

- E despues de lo susodicho en la dicha villa de Penafiel este dicho dia mes e ano sobre dicho ante my el dicho scrivano rrezetor el dicho Lorencio López presento por testigos en esta causa a Francisco García capatero y Catalina Núñez su muger vecinos de la dicha villa de los quales e de cada uno de ellos yo el dicho scrivano recivi juramento en forma debida de derecho socargo del qual les encargue y ellos prometieron de decir la verdad de lo que supiesen y les fuere preguntado sobre este caso y a la fuerza del dicho juramento cada uno de ellos dijo si juro y amen estando presentes por testigos Juan Gomez y Diego Martínez vecinos de la dicha villa e fee de lo qual lo ffirme de mi nonbre francisco Rodríguez

Pressentacion de testigos

-E despues de lo susodicho en la dicha villa de Penafiel a veinte y quatro dias del dicho mes de Jullio del dicho ano ante my el dicho scrivano y testigos el dicho Lorencio López presento

Por testigos en esta causa a Diego de azores y Juan de Aguirre capateros y Catalina de Saja hija de Benito de Saja defunto vecinos y estantes en la dicha villa de los quales y de cada uno de ellos yo el dicho scrivano Recetor recivi juramento en forma debida de derecho so cargo del qual les encargue y ellos prometieron de decir la verdad de lo que supiesen e les fuese preguntado sobre este caso y a la fuerza del dicho juramento cada uno de ellos dijo si juro y amen e yo el dicho scrivano Receptor los ube por presentados y jurados testigos Sebastian de la Puente scrivano y Bartolome Navarro vecinos de la dicha villa paso ante my Francisco Rodríguez

Presentacion de testigos

E despues de lo susodicho en la dicha villa de Penafiel a veinte y siete dias del dicho mes de Jullio del dicho ano ante my el dicho scrivano y testigos el dicho Lorencio López presento por testigos en esta causa a María Muger de Juan Benito y ysavel de medina muger de francisco de castro berde y ana de de villanueva muger de mi el dicho scrivano de las quales e de cada una de ellas yo el dicho scrivano rezetor recivi juramento en forma debida de derecho so cargo del qual les encargue y ellas prometieron de decir la verdad de lo que supiesen y les fuese preguntado sobre esta causa y a la fuerza del dicho Juramento cada una de ellas dijo si juro y amen estando presentes por testigos Fracisco de castro berde y Agustín hierro y geronimo Rodríguez vecinos de las dicha villa en fee de lo qual lo ffirme ffrancisco Rodríguez

Probanca de Lorencio López

La dicha Catalina Núñez muger de Francisco García capatero vecino de la dicha villa de penafiel testigo presentada por el dicho Lorencio López y abiendo? jurado en forma debida de derecho y preguntada al tenor de las preguntas del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo lo siguiente

I a la primera pregunta dijo esta testigo que conoze a las partes que litigan por vista y comunicacion e que tiene noticia de las casas contenidas y deslindadas en la pregunta porque al pressente bibe y mora en ellas esta testigo y el dicho Francisco García su marido

generales

ffue preguntada por las preguntas generales de la ley dijo que es de hedad de quarenta anos pocos mas o menos e que esta testigo es prima segunda de ana de García muger del dicho Diego Martínez Bernal que litigan pero que por eso no dehara de decir la verdad de lo que supiere y la fuere preguntado e que no le tocan ninguna de las otras preguntas generales de la ley salvo que dios ayude a la justicia

II a la segunda pregunta dijo esta testigo que lo que save y puede declarar de esta pregunta es que esta testigo y el dicho Francisco García su marido biben y moran en las dichas casas sobre que es este pleito desde? el dia de san Juan de Junio proximo pasado de este presente ano e biviendo en las dichas casas puede aber un mes poco mas o menos que una noche a prima noche estando el dicho Francisco García su marido

acostado en la cama esta testigo estaba abajo en la tienda del portal de la dicha casa y se subio arriba ascuras? por no estar sola y subia por la escalera arriba rezando en un rosario y a la entrada del aposento donde estaba acostado el dicho Francisco García su marido a la mano ysquierda le parecio a esta testigo que la asieron del brazo o topo en una cosa blanda y luego esta testigo se espanto y dio un grito y sse fue a la cama y se abrazo con el dicho francisco García su marido y le desperto que estaba durmiendo y esta testigo llorando le dijo ay amigo que no se quien me asio del braco aqui y con esto esta testigo se acosto luego con el dicho su marido con harto miedo que tenia de lo que abia pasado y luego de alli a dos o tres dias le dijo a esta testigo Juan de Aguirre oficial del dicho Francisco García su marido no save senora como toda esta noche andan tirando chinas por las escaleras del aposento alto del horno porque como yo abia dormido de dia no podia dormir de noche y lo he ssentido e oydo y? ansimesmo dijo a esta testigo el dicho moco que teniendo un brazo de fuera de la ropa le abian dado un azote en el dicho braco e que luego recordo a otro official que estaba acostado con el y le dijo distismebos? y que el otro companero? le abia dicho que no le abia dado y quando le dijo esto el dicho Juan de Aguirre esta testigo

se entristecio y dando gritos llorava diciendo que se queria yr en casa de sus parientes e que no abia de estar mas en la dicha casa y el dicho Francisco García su marido de esta testigo la aplaco y renia con el dicho Juan de Aguirre porque lo abia dicho a esta testigo por el miedo que la puso y esto es lo que save y responde a esta pregunta

III a la tercera pregunta dijo esta testigo que dice lo que dicho tiene en la pregunta antes de esta porque ansi paso y es la verdad como en ella lo tiene dicho y declarado e que esta testigo se a quejado a sus vecinas de esto diciendo que no quiere bibir ni estar en la dicha casa por el miedo que tiene de lo que en ella ay y tiene dicho y esto Responde a esta pregunta

IV a la quarta pregunta dijo esta testigo que lo que save de esta pregunta es que ocho dias antes de san Juan poco mas o menos estando en la dicha casa que la? estaban barriendo y limpiando para pasarse a ella estando esta testigo y la muger de Lorencio López en la sala de la dicha casa sentadas y una moza barriendo en un aposento demas adentro oyo esta testigo un sonido como que abian arrojado un quarto en el suelo y luego salio la dicha moza que estaba barriendo a la sala donde estaba esta testigo y la dicha muger de Lorencio López y dijo mire senora que me an tirado este medio quarto del techo y esta testigo se espanto de ello y se bajo? luego las escaleras abajo e

y dijo al dicho Francisco García su marido que no queria hir a bibir a la dicha casa por aquello que pasaba en ella y el dicho Francisco García dijo a esta testigo que no tubiese miedo que la dicha moza sacaria del seno el dicho medio quarto y le tiraria y que esta testigo sesosegase que no hera nada aquello y esto es lo que save y responde a esta pregunta y no save otra cosa de lo en ella contenido.

V a la quinta pregunta dijo esta testigo que dice lo que dicho tiene en las preguntas generales de la ley y se remite a la scripture de aremdamiento contenida en la pregunta y esto Responde a ella

VI a la sesta pregunta dijo esta testigo que lo que a dicho es la verdad para el juramento que hizo y en ello se afirmo y ratifico siendole leido este su dicho por my el dicho scrivano y no lo firmo porque dijo que no savia scrivir paso ante my ffrancisco Rodríguez

testigo

El dicho Juan de Aguirre zapatero vecino del lugar de segura? en la provinzie de guipuzcoa estante en la dicha villa de Penafiel testigo presentado por el dicho Lorencio López y abiendo jurado en forma debida de derecho y preguntado al tenor de las preguntas del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo lo siguiente

I a la primera pregunta dijo este testigo que conoze al dicho Lorencio López vecino de la dicha villa de Penafiel e que a Diego Martínez Bernal y Ana de Gracia su muger no los conoze e que save y tiene noticia de las casas contenidas y deslindadas en la pregunta

porque este testigo a estado y bibido en ellas por official de Francisco García capatero vecino de la dicha villa de Penafiel desde el dia de San Juan de junio proximo pasado que el susodicho se paso a bibir y morar en las dichas casas hasta agora y esto responde a esta pregunta.

generales

fue preguntado por las preguntas generales de la ley dijo que es de edad de veinte y ocho anos pocos mas o menos e que no es pariente de ninguna de las partes ni le tocan ninguna de las preguntas generales de la ley salvo que dios ayude a la justicia

II a la segunda pregunta dijo este testigo que que lo que save de esta pregunta es que el dicho Francisco García capatero se paso a bibir a las casas sobre que es este pleito por San Juan de Junio de este presente ano y este testigo con el como su official y biviendo en la dicha casa

puede aber un mes poco mas o menos que Catalina Núñez muger del dicho Francisco García capatero dijo a este testigo un dia que la noche antes entrando en un aposento de la dicha casa donde duermen ella y el dicho Francisco García su marido la abian asido de un brazo una cosa blanda que debia de ser el duende/o trasgo que andaba en la dicha casa lo qual dijo a este testigo con mucho miedo y llorando y diciendo que no queria estar mas en la dicha casa por aquello que andava en ella y despues de esto de ay? a tres o quatro dias una noche estando este testigo acostado en la cama en un aposento alto de la dicha casa y estando despierto porque el dia antes abia dormido que abia tenido quartana sintio mucho ruido en el aposento donde estaba que parecia que trastornaban

en el aposento lo que abia y tiravan muchas piedras o chinas por las escaleras abajo que a su parecer fueron mas de cincuenta y no abia en la dicha cassa alla arriba persona ninguna mas que este testigo y otro mozo que se llama Juan Gomez que estava acostado con este testigo en la dicha cama y durmiendo y teniendo este testigo los bracos fuera de la ropa en el uno de ellos le dieron un gran azote no bio quien y este testigo recordó al companero que con el estaba acostado y le dijo si le abia dado el el qual dijo que no lo qual puso a este testigo en mucho miedo y espanto y luego otro dia por la mañana en lebantandose dijo a la dicha Catalina Núñez muger del dicho Francisco García lo que pasaba la qual estaba con mucho miedo y llorava diciendo que no abia de estar ni bibir mas en la dicha casa por aquello que andaba en ella todo lo qual pusso a este testigo mucho miedo y espanto y esto es lo que save y responde a esta pregunta

III a la tercera pregunta del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo este testigo que a visto como muchas veces la dicha Catalina Núñez se a quejado y dicho al dicho Francisco García su marido que la saque de aquella casa que no puede bibir en ella e que si no la queria sacar de la dicha casa que ella se yria en casa de sus parientes y esto paso muchas veces delante de este testigo y en lo demas dice lo que dicho tiene en la pregunta antes de esta en que se afirma y ratifica y que es publico y notorio en la

dicha villa de penafiel y lo a oydo decir este testigo a muchas personas y vecinos de ella que en la dicha casa sobre que es este pleito ay duende que espanta los que en ella biben y les causa mucho miedo y temor y esto es lo que save y Responde a esta pregunta

IV a la quarta pregunta del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo este testigo que lo contenido en la pregunta lo a oydo decir este testigo a la dicha Catalina Núñez pero este testigo no lo bio porque no estava a la sazon en casa y esto irresponde a esta pregunta

V a la quinta pregunta del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo este testigo que no la save y se remite a la escriptura de arendamiento contenida en la pregunta

VI a la sesta pregunta dijo este testigo que lo que a dicho es la verdad para el juramento que hizo y siendole leido este su dicho por my el dicho scrivano recetor en ello se afirmo y ratifico y no lo ffirme porque dijo que no savia scrivir paso ante my francisco Rodriguez

testigo

La dicha María muger de Juan Benito becino de la villa de penafiel testigo presentada por el dicho Lorencio López y abiendo jurado en forma debida de derecho y preguntada al tenor de las preguntas del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo lo siguiente

I a la primera pregunta dijo esta testigo que conoce a las partes que litigan por vista y comunicacion que con ellos a tenido y tiene e que save las casas contenidas y deslindadas en la pregunta porque las a visto y estado en ellas muchas veces

generales

fue preguntada por las preguntas generales de la ley dijo es de hedad de quarenta y quatro anos pocos mas o menos e que no es parienta de ninguna de las partes ni le tocan ninguna de las preguntas generales de la ley salvo que dios ayude a la justicia

II a la segunda pregunta dijo esta testigo que lo que save de esta pregunta es que desde San Juan de Junio pasado de este presente ano hasta agora esta testigo a estado y salido en la casa sobre que es este pleito en que al presente biben Francisco García zapatero y Catalina Núñez su muger porque los laba? esta testigo los panos y entra y sale cada semana dos o tres veces y del dicho tiempo a esta parte estando algunas veces en la dicha casa a oydo rruido como de duendes y hechar chinas? y pedrezuelas por las esclaeras y una noche a la hora de la oracion ayudando esta testigo a subir una cama a lo alto de la dicha casa para los mozos a la dicha Catalina Núñez vio esta testigo como tiravan muchas chinas y no bian y savian quien las tirava porque no abia nadie alla arriba y esta testigo tenia miedo y no oso subir al sobrado alto de la dicha casa y la dicha Catalina Núñez y el dicho Franicsco García su marido dijeron a esta testigo puede aber un mes poco mas o menos que una noche entrando la dicha Catalina Núñez en un aposento la abian asido de un brazo a la dicha Catalina Núñez en la dicha casa y que ella se abia espantado y dado gritos y se abia ydo con el dicho Francisco García su marido que estaba acostado

en la cama llorando y otro dia oyo decir esta testigo a un moco oficial del dicho Francisco García que estaba enfermo de quartanas que no save como se llama que una noche estando acostado en la cama en lo alto de la dicha casa abia oydo mucho ruido de duendes o diablos que andavan en ella y que abia oydo tirar muchas chinas y que le abian dado un acote en un brazo que tenia fuera de la ropa y que le abian espantado y puesto mucho miedo y una noche ? puede aber veinte dias poco mas o menos que la dicha Catalina Núñez muger del dicho Francisco García llamo a esta testigo y a otras personas sus vecinas y las subio a la sala de la dicha casa para que biesen unos castillos que decia que abia hecho el duende y vio esta testigo como en el suelo de la dicha sala estaban hechos unos castillejos de naipes sobre una tabla muy puestos y muy corcertados? y la dicha Catalina Núñez decia que los abia puesto el duende e no savia quien llorando y decia que no abia de bibir mas en la dicha casa e que se abia de salir de ella e hirse? en casa de sus parientes e que algunas bezes estando esta testigo en la dicha casa la dicha Catalina Núñez la a dicho y mandado que suba alguna cosa a lo alto de la dicha casa y esta testigo no a osado subir alla por lo que dicho tiene y esto es ansi la verdad y lo que save y responde a esta pregunta

III a la tercera pregunta dijo esta testigo que dize lo que dicho tiene en la pregunta antes de esta en que

se affirma y ratifica y esto responde a esta pregunta

IV a la quarta pregunta dijo esta testigo que dize lo que dicho tiene en las preguntas antes de esta e que los castillos de naipes que tiene dicho que vio una noche en la dicha casa estaban tanbien puestos y hechos que le pareze a esta testigo que ninguna persona lo podia hacer en mucho tienpo y por la horden que estaba y que esta testigo a oydo decir en la vecindad que ay e anda duende en la dicha casa y ansi es publico y notorio en la dicha villa de Penafiel y esto es lo que save y responde a esta pregunta

V a la quinta pregunta dijo esta testigo que no save el parentesco que ay entre la dicha Catalina Núñez y la dicha Ana de Gracia contenidas en la pregunta y se remite a la scripture de arrendamiento que la pregunta dize y esto responde a ella

VI a la sesta pregunta dijo esta testigo que lo que a dicho es la verdad para el juramento que hizo y afirmose en ello y siendola leido este su dicho por my el dicho scrivano rezetor en el se ratifico y no lo firmo porque dijo que no savia screvir passo ante my francisco Rodríguez

testigo

El dicho Francisco García capatero vecino de la dicha villa de penafiel testigo presentado por el dicho Lorencio López y abiendo jurado y preguntado al tenor de las preguntas del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo lo siguiente

I a la primera pregunta dixo este testigo que conoze a las partes que letigan por vista y comunicacion que con ellos a tenido y tiene y que save y tiene noticia de las casas sobre que es este pleito porque a bibido y bibe en ellas al presente desde el dia de San Juan de Junio de este presente ano de noventa anos

generales

fue preguntado por las preguntas generales de la ley dijo que es de hedad de treinta y siete anos pocos mas o menos e que este testigo no es pariente de ninguna de las partes e que Catalina Núñez su muger es prima de Ana de Gracia muger del dicho Diego Martínez Bernal pero que por eso no dejara de decir la berdad de lo que supiere en este caso e que no le tocan ninguna de las preguntas generales de la ley salvo que dios ayude a la justicia y verdad

II a la segunda pregunta dijo este testigo que desde San Juan proximo pasado de este presente ano este testigo y Catalina Núñez su muger biben y moran en la dicha casa sobre que es este pleito porque el dicho Lorencio López se las alquilo por el tienpo y precio que la pregunta dice y podia aber quinze dias poco mas o menos despues que entraron a bibir en la dicha casa que una noche a prima noche estando este testigo acostado en la cama y durmiendo Catalina Núñez su muger fue a este testigo y se abrazo con el muy alborotada y espantada diciendo amigo no se quien me a asido de un brazo que

benia recando acostarme y con esto este testigo desperto y la aplaco diciendola que no hera nada que sesosegase y se acostase que debia de ser aber topado ella con el brazo con alguna pared o

puerta y aberla parezido lo que decia y con esto sesosego y se acosto y despues de esto otro dia un manzebo official de este testigo que se dice Juan de Aguirre que estaba enfermo a la sacon de unas quartanas dijo a este testigo y a la dicha Catalina Núñez su muger que una noche estando en la cama acostado en su aposento en lo alto de la dicha casa y despierto abia sentido ruido en el dicho aposento y tirar piedras y chinas por las escaleras de la dicha casa y que teniendo un braco fuera de la ropa le abian dado un azote en el y que no savia quien ni que hera aquello y que abia preguntado a otro companero que estava acostado con el si le abia dado y que el companero abia dicho que si y dijo el dicho Juan de Aguirre que de aquello estaba espantado y escadalicado y con mucho miedo y esto es lo que este testigo save y responde a esta pregunta

III a la tercera pregunta del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo este testigo que tres o quatro bezes a dicho y rogado a este testigo la dicha Catalina Núñez su muger que la saque de aquella casa que no puede bibir en ella por el miedo que tenia y tiene de bibir en la dicha casa diciendo que no save que anda en ella y en lo demas dize lo que dicho tiene en la

pregunta antes de esta y esto rresponde a esta pregunta

IV a la quarta pregunta dijo este testigo que dize lo que dicho tiene en las preguntas antes de esta y no save otra cosa y esto responde a esta pregunta e que antes que entrasen a bibir en la dicha casa estando linpiandola para pasarse a ella Catalina de Valladolid muger del dicho Lorencio López y una criada suya y Catalina Núñez muger de este testigo la dicha Catalina Núñez bajo de la dicha casa dando bozes y dixo a este testigo que no la llevase a bibir a la dicha casa porque abian tirado un medio quarto el duende que decian que abia en ella o no savian quien y este testigo la aplaco diciendo que la moca que barria le debia de traer en el seno y le abria hechado y esto save y responde a esta pregunta

V a la quinta pregunta dijo este testigo que save que la dicha Catalina Núñez su muger es prima de la dicha Ana de Gracia como lo tiene dicho y declarado muger del dicho Diego Martínez Bernal contenidos en la pregunta como lo tiene dicho e que el dicho Lorencio López arendo a este testigo las dichas casas con las condiciones que la presgunta dize como pareze por la scripture de arendamiento a que se remite y esto responde a esta pregunta

VI a la sesta pregunta dijo este testigo que lo que a dicho es la verdad para el juramento que hizo y siendole leido este su dicho por mi el dicho scrivano recetor

dijo que en lo que en el tiene dicho se afirma y ratifica y no lo firmo porque dijo no savia screvir paso ante my Francisco Rodríguez

testigo

La dicha Catalina de Saja hija de Benito de Saja deffunto criada de bartolome de balbuena capatero vecino de la villa de penafiel testigo presentada por el dicho Lorencio López y abiendo jurado y preguntada al tenor de las preguntas del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo lo siguiente

I a la primera pregunta dijo esta testigo que conoze al dicho Lorencio López e que a los demas contenidos en la pregunta no los conoze esta testigo e que save y tiene noticia de las casas

contenidas en la pregunta sobre que es este pleito porque las a bisto y bibido en ellas un mes poco mas o menos con Francisco García zapatero desde pocos dias antes de San Juan proximo pasado a esta parte y esto rresponde a esta pregunta

generales

ffue preguntada por las preguntas generales de la ley dijo que es de hedad de quinza anos e que no es pariente de ninguna de las partes ni le tocan nignuna de las preguntas generales de la ley salvo que dios ayude a la justicia

II a la segunda pregunta dijo esta testigo que lo que de esta pregunta sabe es que quando el dicho Francisco García y Catalina Núñez su muger se pasaron a bibir y morar a las dichas casas sobre que es este pleito

que fue antes de San Juan proximo pasado de este presente ano esta testigo bibia y morava con ellos por su moza de soldada? y pocos dias despues de pasados a bibir en la dicha casa una noche a Prima noche estando esta testigo y un aprendiz del dicho Franicsco García zapatero en el portal de la dicha casa la dicha Catalina Núñez se subio acosar con el dicho Francisco García su marido que estaba acostado y en subiendo al primer suelo de la dicha casa la dicha Catalina Núñez dio un grito muy grande y como lo oyeron esta testigo y el dicho aprendiz subieron arriba corriendo a ber lo que hera y bio esta testigo como la dicha Catalina Núñez estaba abrazada con el dicho Francisco García su marido en la cama llorando y diciendo que entrando en el aposento la abian asido de un braco no savia quien y a la sazon save esta testigo que no abia ninguna perssona en la dicha casa sino el dicho Francisco que estava acostado y la dicha Catalina Núñez su muger le decia que la sacase de la dicha casa que no queria bibir ni estar mas en ella e que si no la sacava de la dicha casa que toMaría su manto y se hiria en casa de sus parientes y el dicho Francisco García la decia que se sosegase y se acostase que no hera nada aquello y la dicha Catalina Núñez decia que no queria acostarse sino que la sacase luego de la dicha casa que no queria estar mas en ella lo qual decia llorando y el dicho Francisco García la aplaco y se acosto y despues de esto otro dia

adelante vio esta testigo como Juan de Aguirre official del dicho Francisco García le dijo a el y a su muger que la noche antes estando acostado en un aposento alto de la dicha casa y despierto porque estaba malo de quartanas avia oydo como toda la noche le abian tirado chinas a la cama y que teniendo un brazo fuera de la ropa le abian dado un acote en el e que no savia ni abia visto lo que hera con lo qual la dicha Catalina Núñez estaba espantada y esto es lo que save y responde a esta pregunta

III a la tercera pregunta dijo esta testigo que dize lo que dicho tiene en la pregunta antes de esta en que se affirma y esto responde a esta pregunta

IV a la quarta pregunta del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo esta testigo que no la save porque no bio cosa alguna de lo contenido en la pregunta

V a la quinta pregunta dijo esta testigo que no la save

VI a la sesta pregunta dijo esta testigo que lo que a dicho es la verdad para el juramento que hico y siendole leido este susodicho por my el dicho scrivano dijo que en lo que tiene dicho se afirma y ratifica y no lo firmo porque dijo que no savia scrivir passo ante my Francisco Rodríguez

testigo

el dicho Diego de Azores zapatero vecino de la villa de penafiel testigo presentado por el dicho Lorenco López y abiendo jurado y preguntado al tenor de las preguntas del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo lo siguiente

I a la primera pregunta dijo este testigo que conoze a las partes que litigan por vista y comunicacion e que save y tiene noticia de las casas contenidas y deslindadas en la pregunta porque a bibido y bibe frontero de ellas

generales

ffue preguntado por las preguntas generales de ley dijo que es de hedad de treinta y ocho anos poco mas o menos e que no es pariente de ninguna de las partes ni le tocar ninguna de las preguntas generales de la ley salvo que dios ayude a la justicia

II a la segunda pregunta dijo este testigo que lo que save de esta pregunta es que despues que el dicho Francisco García y la dicha Catalina Núñez biben y moran en las dichas casas sobre que es este pleito que es desde San Juan proximo pasado de este ano un dia dijo a este testigo Catalina Núñez muger del dicho Francisco García capatero muy espantada que la noche antes estando en la dicha casa e yendo a entrar en un aposento de ella donde duermen la abian asido de un braco el duende e trasgo que andaba en la dicha casa y que ella llorando y muy espantada se abia ydo a abrazar con el dicho Francisco García su marido que estava acostado en la cama y que no queria bibir ni estar mas en la dicha casa diciendo que el diablo

la llevase si abia de estar mas en ella y que si el dicho su marido que estaba presente se queria quedar en la dicha casa que se quedase en ella y que ella no queria estar mas en la dicha casa lo qual decia y dijo la dicha Catalina Núñez llorando y otro dia despues de esto oyo decir este testigo a Juan de Aguirre capatero official del dicho Francisco García que estando una noche acostado en un aposento alto de la dicha casa estando enbelesado? ni durmiendo ni despierto porque estaba malo de quartanas y teniendo un brazo fuera de la ropa le abian dado un gran azote en el y que abia despertado a uan Gomez su companero que estaban acostados juntos y le abia preguntado si le abia dado y que el dicho Juan Gomez dijo que no que le dejase dormir y el dicho Aguirre dijo que no savia que se andava en aquel aposento que abia sentido aquella noche mucho Ruido en el y que le abian tirado muchas chinas y tarrones y que le abian espantado y que en toda la noche no abia podido dormir de miedo y esto es lo que este testigo save y responde a esta pregunta

III a la tercer pregunta dijo este testigo que dize lo que dicho tiene en la pregunta antes de esta en que se afirma e que este testigo a oydo decir publicamente y por publico y notorio que en la dicha casa sobre que es este pleito anda duende

e trasgo que espanta y atemoriza a todos los que biben y abitan en la dicha casa y de ello es la publica voz y fama en la dicha villa de Penafiel y esto responde a esta pregunta

IV a la quarta pregunta dijo este testigo que pocos dias antes del dia de San Juan de Junio de este presente año de noventa estando la dicha Catalina Núñez muger de Francisco García y otras personas con ella limpiando la dicha casa para pasarse a bibir a ella vio este testigo como la dicha Catalina Núñez salio de la dicha casa muy alborotada diciendo que el diablo la llevase si abia de bibir en la dicha casa porque tenia poco animo y porque estonzes delante de todos abia hechado el duende que andava en la dicha casa un medio quarto u dos y el dicho Francisco García su marido la dijo que callese y se entrase en casa e que en el ano pasado bibiendo el dicho Lorencio López en la dicha casa una vez una vez dia de fiesta vio este testigo en la dicha casa en una mesa en la sala de la dicha casa hechos muchos castillejos de naipes puestos por mucha horden y a los pies de la dicha mesa lo mismo y mucha gente que lo subia a ber y decia que el duende o trasgo que andaba en la dicha casa los abia puesto y tanbien vio este testigo muchas veces hechar chinas y pinas y tarrones y una mano de almirez y una barra de silla de mula y tablas y otras muchas cosas por las escaleras de la dicha casa que a todos ponia mucho miedo y espanto de que todos y especialmente la vecindad estaban escandalicados y un dia vio

este testigo como subieron de la bodega de la dicha casa una hija del dicho Lorencio López la mayor destocada y desmayada y decian que el duende o trasgo la abia hechado por las escaleras de la dicha bodega y abia hecho el dicho dano y la susodicha vio este testigo que estubo buen rato desmayada sin bolber en si y decian que para que bolbiese la dieron garrotes y aunque algunas personas bajaron a la dicha bodega a subir la dicha moza que estaba en ella desmayada este testigo no oso bajar alla de miedo y despues que el dicho Lorencio López desamparo la dicha casa y se salio y fue a bibir a otra vio este testigo que un dia su muger e hijas y una moza binieron a la dicha casa a hechar trigo que abian dejado en ella para llevarlo a morler y standolo ahechando en el portal de la dicha casa las tiravan hieltones? y piedras no bian quien y sin aber nadie en lo alto de la dicha casa y despues de ahechado el trigo quando se quisieron yr no allavan los mantos que abian puesto en el dicho portal y este testigo fue a la dicha casa con una bela y busco los dichos mantos y las allo en una troja de la dicha casa que no tenia nada arebujados? y los saco lo qual puso a todos mucho miedo porque no podia aber hecho aquello sino el duende o trasgo que dizen que andava y anda y este testigo ansi lo sospecho y esto es lo que save y responde a esta pregunta

V a la quinta pregunta dijo este testigo que

a oydo decir a la dicha Catalina Núñez muger del dicho Francisco García que es prima de la dicha Ana de Gracia muger del dicho Diego Martínez que bendieron las dichas casas al dicho Lorencio López e que se? remite a la scriptura de arrendamiento contenida en la pregunta e que si no fuera por el duende o trasgo que anda en la dicha casa se allara por ella mas cantidad de los quinze ducados en que al presente esta arrendada por estar en tan buen puesto y sitio como esta y ansi es publico y notorio y esto responde a esta pregunta

VI a la sexta pregunta dijo este testigo que que lo que a dicho es la verdad para el juramento que hizo y siendole leido este su dicho por my el dicho scrivano rezetor dijo que en lo que en el tiene

dicho se afirma y ratifica y no lo firmo porque dijo que no savia screvir passo ante my ffrancisco Rodríguez

testigo

La dicha Ana de Zebollo muger de alonso bernal vecino de la villa de penafiel testigo presentada por parte del dicho Lorencio López y abiendo jurado y preguntada al tenor de las preguntas del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo lo siguiente

I a la primera pregunta dixo esta testigo que conoze al dicho Lorencio López y Ana de Gracia e que a Diego Martínez Bernal su marido no le conoze esta testigo e que save y tiene noticia de las casas contenidas y deslindadas en la pregunta porque a bibido y bibe junto a ellas

generales

ffue preguntada por las preguntas generales de la ley dijo que es de hedad de veinte y quattro anos pocos mas o menos e que no es parienta de ninguna de las partes ni la tocan ninguna de las otras preguntas generales de la ley salvo que dios ayude a la justicia

II a la segunda pregunta dijo esta testigo que lo que de esta pregunta save es que desde San Juan proximo pasado de este presente ano hasta agora biben y moran en las dichas casas sobre que es este pleito el dicho Francisco García capatero y Catalina Núñez su muger e que un dia de aya? poco que los susodichos bibian en las dichas casas estaba la dicha Catalina Núñez en el portal de ellas llorando y esta testigo fue alla y la dijo que que abia y la dicha Catalina Núñez dijo a esta testigo que quereis? que subiendo anoche a mi casa y entrando en el aposento donde dormimos tope con el braco en una cosa blanda que me espanto y di gritos e que no savia lo que hera y otro dia despues de esto la dicha Catalina Núñez estaba en el portal de la dicha su casa llorando y esta testigo paso alla y la dixo que azeis? ? y la dicha Catalina Núñez dijo que quereis que me a dicho aguirre mi official que estando la noche pasada acostado en la cama y teniendo un braco fuera de la ropa le abian dado un acotaco en el estando despierto y que no savia quien le abia dado

y que de eso estaba espantada y que no abia de estar mas en la dicha casa y que ansi mesmo la abia dicho el dicho official que abia oydo aquella noche tirar piedras por las escaleras de la dicha casa y esto es lo que save y responde a esta pregunta

III a la tercera pregunta dijo esta testigo que dize lo que dicho tiene en la pregunta antes de esta e que la dicha Catalina Núñez dijo a esta testigo que no abia de bibir en la dicha casa por lo que dicho tiene y esto rresponde a esta pregunta

IV a la quarta pregunta dijo esta testigo que no save cosa alguna de lo contenido en la pregunta y esto rresponde a ella

V a la quinta pregunta dijo esta testigo que no la save y se remite a la scripture de arendamiento contenida en la pregunta

VI a la sesta pregunta dijo esta testigo que lo que a dicho es la verdad para el juramento que hizo y affirmose en ello y no lo firmo porque dijo que no savia screvir passo ante my ffrancisco Rodríguez

testigo

La dicha ysavel de medina muger de ffrancisco de castroberde? vecino de la villa de penafiel testigo presentada por el dicho Lorencio López y abiendo jurado y preguntada al tenor de las preguntas del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo lo siguiente

I a la primera pregunta dijo esta testigo que conoze a las partes que letigan por bista y comunicacion e que save y tiene noticia de las casas contenidad y deslindadas en la pregunta porque las a visto y estando en ellas muchas veces

generales

ffue preguntada por las preguntas generales de la ley dijo que es de hedad de sesenta anos pocos mas o menos e que no es parienta de ninguna de las partes ni le tocan ninguna de las preguntas generales de la ley salvo que dios ayude a la justicia

II a la segunda pregunta dijo esta testigo que a oydo decir lo contenido en la pregunta publicamente en la dicha villa a algunas personas y no save otra cossa de esta pregunta

III a la terzera pregunta dijo esta testigo que dize lo que dicho tiene en la pregunta antes de esta y no save otra cosa

IV a la quarta pregunta dijo esta testigo que lo que save de esta pregunta es que puede aver un mes poco mas o menos que una noche fue esta testigo en casa del dicho Francisco García capatero a bisitar a Catalina Núñez su muger y estando con ella la dicha Catalina Núñez dijo a esta testigo senora ande aca y ber a lo que a hecho el duende y la mostro en la sala de la dicha cassa en una mesa hechos unos castillos de naipes por mucha

horden y concierto que la Pérez a esta testigo que de la horden y manera a que estaban no lo podia hazer ni poner ninguna persona de lo qual esta testigo y otras personas que alli estaban y lo bieron se maravillaron mucho en ber la horden con que estaban hechos los dichos castillos y la dicha Catalina Núñez dijo a esta testigo que no dijese nada de aquello que abia visto que la reneria? el dicho Francisco García su marido y esto es lo que esta testigo save y vio y lo que responde a esta pregunta

V a la quinta pregunta dijo esta testigo que save que la dicha Catalina Núñez muger del dicho Francisco García es parienta de la dicha Ana de Gracia como la pregunta lo dize porque se lo a oydo decir a la dicha Catalina Núñez y a otras personas e que quando el dicho Francisco García arrendo las dichas casas le dijeron que andava duende en ellas y el dicho Franicsco García dijo que no se le dava nada que con aquella condicion las tomava y esto rresponde a esta pregunta

VI a la sesta pregunta dijo esta testigo que lo que a dicho es la verdad para el juramento que hizo y affirmose en ello y no lo firmo porque dijo que no savia screvir y siendola leido este su dicho en el se afirmo y ratifico passo ante my francisco Rodríguez

testigo

La dicha Ana de Villanueva muger de Francisco Rodríguez

scrivano vecino de la dicha villa testigo presentada por el dicho Lorencio López y abiendo jurado y preguntada al tenor de las preguntas del dicho ynterrogatorio dijo lo siguiente

I a la primera pregunta dijo esta testigo que conoze a las partes que litigan por vista y comunicacion e que save y tiene noticia de las casas contenidas en la pregunta porque a estado en ellas y las a bisto

generales

fue preguntada por las preguntas generales de la ley dijo que es de hedad de quarenta anos pocos mas o menos e que no es parienta de ninguna de las partes ni le tocan ninguna de las preguntas generales de la ley salvo que dios ayude a la justicia

II a la segunda pregunta dijo esta testigo que lo contenido en la pregunta lo a oydo decir esta testigo publicamente en la dicha villa de Penafiel a algunas personas vecinos de ella y esto rresponde a esta pregunta

a la tercera pregunta dijo esta testigo que a oydo decir que la dicha Catalina Núñez se a quejado diciendo que no a de bibir en las dichas casas sobre que es este pleito porque anda en ellas el duende y esto rresponde a esta pregunta

IV a la quarta pregunta dijo esta testigo que lo que de esta pregunta save es que puede aber un mes poco mas o menos que esta testigo y ysavel

de medina muger de Francisco de Castroberde? y otras vecinas fueron una noche a las casas sobre que es este pleito a bisitar a Catalina Núñez muger de Francisco García capatero la qual dijo a esta testigo y a las demas que con ella yban que las queria mostrar lo que abia hecho el duende en la dicha casa pues benian a buen tienpo y subieron a la sala de la dicha casa y en una mesa que estaba en la dicha sala les mostro y vio esta testigo unos castillos hechos de naipes por mucha horden y concierto que estaban en la dicha mesa que hera maravilla de ber y la parecio a esta testigo que ninguna persona lo pudiera hazer y poner y la dicha Catalina Núñez dijo y rogo a esta testigo y a las demas que por amor de dios no lo desabriesen? ni dijesen a nadie aquello que abian visto porque tendria henojo el dicho Francisco García su marido y la reneria y trataria mal por aberles mostrado aquello y esto es lo que save y responde a esta pregunta y demas de esto la dicha Catalina Núñez dijo que tenia mucho miedo de estar en aquella casa por aquello que en ella abia y hacia el duende que en ella andaba

V a la quinta pregunta dijo esta testigo que a oydo decir que las dichas Catalina Núñez y Ana de Gracia son parientes como la pregunta lo dize y se remite al arrendamiento de la dicha casa que la pregunta dize y esto rresponde a ella

VI a la sesta pregunta dijo esta testigo que lo que

a dicho es la verdad para el juramento que hizo y siendola leido este su dicho por mi el dicho scrivano rezotor en el se affirmo y ratifico y no ffirme porque dijo que no savia screvir passo ante my francisco Rodríguez

? yo francisco Rodríguez scrivano publico y del numero de la dicha villa de penafyel? y su tierra aprobaro? por el rey nuestro? mozo?

En el pleito que es entre Lorencio López vecino de la villa de Penafiel e Juan de Velasco su procurador de la una parte? e Diego Vernal vezino de la villa de ayllon ?

Hallamos el licenciado daca maldonado alcalde? mayor? en? la dicha villa de penafiel que de este pleito? conocao? en la ? ? que

En el pleito que es entre Lorencio López vezino de penafiel e Juan de Velasco su procurador de la una parte e Diego Martínez Bernal vezino de la villa de ayllon e Manuel de Acosta su procurador de la otra?

Fallamos en? la ? difinitiva? en? este pleito dada y promulgada? por ? de nos los oydores? de ? del Rey nuestro senor de que por las dichas partes? fue suplicado fue y lo buena justas? derecha ? dada? y ? maz? da? e sin embargo de las rracones ammeradas? agravios? ? dichas e alegadas la debemos? confirman? y confirmamos/con quales?