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# WHERE THE DEVIL STANDS: A MICROHISTORICAL READING OF EMPIRES AS MULTIPLE MORAL WORLDS (MANILA–MEXICO, 1577–1580)\*

Woe to thee, o land, when thy king is a child and thy princes feast in  
the morning.

Ecclesiastes 10:16

As it developed in its English-speaking version over the course of the last three decades, global history has mostly been the story of a world peopled by large-scale and relatively resilient entities (such as cultures, civilizations, religions). One specific entity, namely ‘imperial polities’, has been granted a prominent place in the grand narrative of how the world became more and more densely interconnected.<sup>1</sup> Whether one was tracking down diasporic trading networks operating across oceans, religious institutions deploying themselves on a pluri-continental stage, or vagrant individuals defying borders and ascribed identities, empires always loomed large in the picture, as if they were the sturdy contextual bedrock of all individual and institutional histories. Though not easily stored in the same category, huge polities like Ming China and Philip II’s kingdom were actually recognized by professional travellers — whether they be pilgrims, scholars, merchants or ambassadors — as both constraining structures and fields of opportunity.<sup>2</sup> The aura of might and prestige that imperial elites crafted and projected was often willingly endorsed by those that had to deal with the legal and moral norms dictated by these empires.<sup>3</sup>

But the fact that empires really mattered does not mean that one has to surrender submissively to their mythologies and propaganda. By all

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<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, John Darwin, *After Tamerlane: The Rise and Fall of Global Empires, 1400–2000* (London, 2009).

<sup>2</sup> Engseong Ho, *The Graves of Tarim: Genealogy and Mobility across the Indian Ocean* (Berkeley, 2006).

<sup>3</sup> Paul Veyne, *The Roman Empire* (Harvard, 1997).

standards, early modern imperial polities were far less administratively centralized and culturally homogeneous or religiously harmonious than they were willing, or even able, to acknowledge,<sup>4</sup> all the more so when — as happened with the Hispanic monarchy by the late sixteenth century — they stretched from the Americas to south-east Asia and involved the uneasy collaboration of a host of agents from highly different social and linguistic backgrounds. What a microhistorical approach may add to our understanding of imperial polities is not simply a better knowledge of how they operated locally, as if the issue at stake was to provide an already existing, yet disembodied grand narrative with lively, picturesque details. Practised as a form of ethnography, microhistory has less to do with the question of scale than with that of how multiple forms of life (*Lebensformen*) come to interact and interweave.<sup>5</sup> Seen from a microhistorical perspective, rooted in the extensive use of a given set of archival material and implemented through the careful scrutiny of the shifting yet specific ways in which each and every actor saw the worlds he inhabited and envisioned the possibilities of transforming them, imperial polities no longer look like the Leviathans their dignitaries pretended them to be, nor do their overseas outposts continue to resemble radiating centres of a self-confident metropolitan high culture.

In microhistorical terms, case studies actually do not provide examples of already spelled-out general laws, nor do they pile up or conflate in order to fill an overall, abstract explanatory pattern with facts and stories. As Jean-Claude Passeron and Jacques Revel aptly put it, the ‘case’ under scrutiny is never only the symptom of a regularity from which it departs only to a limited and measurable extent: its heuristic value rather lies in the way ‘it stops the planned course of a descriptive, argumentative or prescriptive discourse . . . the case is something else, and something more than an “example”; at the beginning, it does not exemplify anything, neither an already known type nor a previous certainty’.<sup>6</sup> This article argues that empires are precisely such a type of planned, self-contained explanatory discourse, and that only by way of an ethnographical-style case study may one halt this discourse in order to reach out to and reveal what it suppresses — namely the straddling and clashing of conflicting moral, political and cultural worlds embodied by polyvalent actors and played out on ever-shifting local, spatial-cum-social

<sup>4</sup> Frederick Cooper and Jane Burbank, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton, 2011).

<sup>5</sup> Edoardo Grendi, *In altri termini: Etnografia e storia di una società di antico regime*, ed. Osvaldo Raggio and Angelo Torre ([Milan], 2004).

<sup>6</sup> Jean-Claude Passeron and Jacques Revel, ‘Penser par cas: raisonner à partir de singularités’, in Jean-Claude Passeron and Jacques Revel (eds.), *Penser par cas* (Paris, 2005), 18.

stages.<sup>7</sup> In order both to escape the grips of the Eurocentric grand narrative of the irresistible westernization of the world and to uncover the plurality of the lived experiences of empires, it draws on the close study of an apparently insignificant affair that took place by the late 1570s in the so-called Spanish Philippines.<sup>8</sup> Knowing in minute detail what went on in the shacks and along the back-alleys of an out-of-the-way frontier-settlement of the Hispanic monarchy almost half a millennium ago assuredly will not change the canonical causalities and chronologies of universal history. But it may well, to use Paul Veyne's alternative definition of generalization, 'lengthen the historian's questionnaire'<sup>9</sup> in most unexpected and productive ways.

### I

On 29 May 1577, in one of the large audience rooms of the governor's mansion, located just below the old Saint John blockhouse, in Manila's southern sea-watching district, Diego Hernández de Ávila was compelled to testify, or rather, as the Inquisition procedural code put it, to 'confess'. What he was accused of by the man facing him — Governor Francisco de Sande — was no small offence, since he had come under strong suspicion of spreading 'malvolent rumours' (*murmuraciones*) sullyng the governor's reputation and, by implication, weakening the Crown's authority in this faraway and hard-won outpost of King Philip the Second's pluri-continental empire.<sup>10</sup> In the following weeks, three more people were indicted by Francisco de Sande: the cooper Juan Gutiérrez Cortés, on the grounds of 'spreading false rumours', and two Cebu-born native women, Inés Sinapas and Beatriz, for engaging in 'sorcery' (*hechicería*).<sup>11</sup> To understand better what this case was all about, one has to go back in time, and to switch the background from the bustling city of Manila to the remote town of Santísimo Nombre de Jesús, located on Cebu's east coast. In this out-of-the-way settlement lived no more than eighty Spaniards, including some thirty *encomenderos* who, as a

<sup>7</sup> The theoretical and methodological requirements of this approach are detailed in the introduction and opening chapter of Romain Bertrand, *L'Histoire à parts égales: récits d'une rencontre Orient–Occident (XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Paris, 2011).

<sup>8</sup> The in-depth study of this affair is to be found in Romain Bertrand, *Le Long remords de la conquête: Manille–Mexico–Madrid: l'affaire Diego de Ávila (1577–1580)* (Paris, 2015).

<sup>9</sup> Paul Veyne, *Writing History: Essay on Epistemology* (Oxford, 1984; first publ 1978).

<sup>10</sup> After the 'Union of the Crowns' of Spain and Portugal in 1578, Philip the Second reigned over a vast network of forts, trading outposts, walled settlements and agricultural domains spread in the Americas and along the coasts of Asia and Africa.

<sup>11</sup> Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City (hereafter AGN), Inq. 131, exp. 10, fos. 193<sup>v</sup>–194<sup>r</sup>, Confession of D. Hernández de Ávila, Manila, 29 May 1577.

reward for their military deeds at the time of the ‘pacification’ of the island, had been granted the right to levy tribute and to exact *corvée* labour from the surrounding Indian villages.<sup>12</sup>

Andrés de Villalobos was one of the most powerful of these *encomenderos*. Having served, in 1565–9, in the infantry company of the field commander Martín de Goyti, who earned fame by leading the assaults on the city of Maynilad in 1571, Villalobos was granted the right to levy tribute from some four thousand Indians living on the adjacent islands of Negros and Capul.<sup>13</sup> An absentee landlord, he inhabited a large palm-roofed house, built on stilts, on the outskirts of Santísimo Nombre de Jesús, owned two slave women, and kept several servants (*criados*). By early April 1577, it was precisely toward Villalobos’s mansion that the prior of the local Augustinian convent, Friar Alonso Gutiérrez, was heading hastily, accompanied by his pupil Diego de Ávila. Fr Gutiérrez had been called up by one of the neighbours of Villalobos because the latter and his wife had ‘gone crazy by way of an evil spell’ (*locos enhechizados*). As soon as he arrived on the spot, Fr Gutiérrez ordered both the slaves and the servants to dig under the house in order to make sure that ‘an evil thing was not hidden there that may have been the source of the infection’. Diego took part in the search, but was suddenly ‘struck by craziness’, and fainted. Fr Gutiérrez brought him back immediately to the convent, shaved his head, and massaged it with ‘Castilian vinegar’. As soon as he recovered, Diego ‘expelled through one of his nostrils a small tin duck no larger than a chick-pea’. Now fully convinced that the forces of evil had been unleashed in Villalobos’s mansion, Fr Gutiérrez hurried back to the place, and once there, roughly questioned one of the house slaves, a woman in her thirties bearing the Christian name of Inés. The latter soon confessed that she was the one who did cast the spell, and that for that purpose she had used a ‘livid ointment’ that she had kept in ‘a glazed earthenware salt-cellar like those crafted by the Sangleyes [the Chinese of Manila’s outlying district]’.<sup>14</sup> She also

<sup>12</sup> Archivo General de Indias (hereafter AGI), Pat. 23, R 9, *Tratado de las Yslas Philipinas* by Miguel de Loarca, Manila, June 1582, in Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (eds.), *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898* (Cleveland, 1903–7), v, 27, section 1; AGI, Fil. 339, L.2, fos. 50<sup>v</sup>–51<sup>r</sup>, Granting of the title of city to the village of Santísimo Nombre de Jesús, Aranjuez, 27 April 1594.

<sup>13</sup> AGI, Contad. 1199-B, L.2, fos. 731<sup>r</sup>–732<sup>r</sup>, List of men of war on the payroll of Martín de Goyti’s company, Rio de Panay, 29 July 1569; AGI, Pat. 24, R 19, fos. 5<sup>r</sup>, 6<sup>r</sup>, 35<sup>r</sup>, Listing of the *encomiendas de yndios* in Cebu, Panay, etc. granted by M. L. de Legazpi, G. de Lavezaris and F. de Sande, 2 June 1576.

<sup>14</sup> At the time of the conquest of Manila, in 1571, several Chinese families already lived on the outskirts of *raja* Sulayman’s capital. By the mid 1570s, their number had increased to several hundreds and they had become the main suppliers of meat and rice for the

admitted to being in possession of the antidote, to know ‘an oil kept in a phial and some seeds kept in a purse, the latter looking like those of the benzoin [tree] (*camangian*)’. Fr Gutiérrez commanded her to cure Villalobos and his wife. Under the careful watch of Benito de la Cerda, an *encomendero* acting as Fr Gutiérrez’s assistant, Inés obeyed docilely: she smoothed the oil on the victims’ wrists and burned the benzoin seeds the way one would do with incense sticks. Villalobos and his wife came back to their senses.<sup>15</sup>

The case could have been closed at this point, all the more so since what Fr Gutiérrez had been dealing with so far was not *brujería*, witchcraft in the sense of a contract struck with the Devil, but mere *hechicería*, sorcery in the sense of the healer’s art of making poisons and remedies.<sup>16</sup> Cases of this kind were not unheard of in Cebu. For instance, in January 1567, Miguel López de Legazpi — the commander-in-chief (*adelantado*) of the Spanish armada that took possession of the island — had an Indian woman tortured and quartered to death because she had fallen under suspicion of having sold poisoned food and palm wine to the undernourished soldiers. As a warning to her fellow countrymen, her dislocated limbs were scattered along the path leading from the camp to the closest village.<sup>17</sup> Since she was a slave and Fr Gutiérrez was the highest religious judicial authority around, Inés could have been castigated in the same way without anybody starting an inquiry. But the prior decided to push the case further and to hear testimonies. On 16 April 1577, he questioned Diego de Ávila about ‘what he had seen while he was in a state of craziness’. Diego answered that he had seen ‘many devils, and among them [the two Indian slaves of Villalobos], and he also said that he had seen the ointment being prepared by making use of many kinds of snakes [and] that

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Spanish population. By late 1581, a new district, called the Parían, was built for them on the orders of Governor G. Ronquillo de Peñalosa, see Manel Ollé, ‘Interacción y conflicto en el Parían de Manila’, *Illes i Imperis* (2008), 10–11, <<https://www.raco.cat/index.php/IllesImperis/article/view/262123>> (accessed 25 June 2019). Less well known is the fact that there was also a Chinese district — *barrio de los Chinos* — adjacent to Santísimo Nombre de Jesús, inhabited by some two hundred people by the early 1590s, see Pedro Chirino, *Relación de las Islas Filipinas y de lo que en ellas han trabajado los padres de la Compañía de Jesús*, (Manila, 1890, first publ 1604), xxiii, 84–5.

<sup>15</sup> AGN, Inq. 131, exp. 10, fos. 176<sup>f</sup>–<sup>v</sup>, 180<sup>v</sup>, Preliminary statement by Fr A. Gutiérrez, Santísimo Nombre de Jesús, 2 March 1577.

<sup>16</sup> Julio Caro Baroja, *Las brujas y su mundo* (Madrid, 1997) (1961), 112.

<sup>17</sup> AGI, Pat. 23, R 22, *Relación muy circunstanciada de lo ocurrido en el Real y Campo de la Isla de Zebú de las Filipinas*, July 1567, in Patricio Hidalgo Nuchera, *Los primeros de Filipinas: Crónicas de la Conquista del Archipiélago* (Madrid, 1995), doc. 30, p. 259. This *relación* is usually attributed to M. L. de Legazpi.

sometimes [the devils and the witches] did throw bewitched things (*hechizos*) from the air'.<sup>18</sup> With the mention of the *diablos*, one was not dealing any more with wicked herbalists, but with true witches. Fr Gutiérrez therefore decided to lock up the two Indian women, Inés and Beatriz. But since, as he lamented, he lacked both a jail and a jailer, he had no choice but to remit both the accused and the affair to a higher authority, namely to Governor Francisco de Sande. A month later, by the end of May, the governor launched his own investigation.

In the meantime, something unexpected had occurred: whereas he was deemed a victim of Inés's charms by Fr Gutiérrez, Diego de Ávila was now considered a suspect by Francisco de Sande. By the end of the trial, in June 1577, Diego was even sentenced to an incredibly harsh punishment. First, he was to be paraded around the streets and public squares of Manila 'for his shame, with the pointed hat [of those condemned by the Inquisition, the *carocha*] and covered with feathers'. Secondly, he had to serve ten years on the king's galleys. Due to storms, privateers and diseases, a strongly built adult man could not expect to survive more than four years on the galleys, whether the latter cruised the Caribbean Sea or the Mediterranean Sea.<sup>19</sup> In Diego's case, the governor's verdict amounted to an immediate death sentence, because Diego was still a *muchacho*. At the time the trial took place, he was no more than 11 years old. This made the governor's decision peculiarly unusual, for according to the Inquisition code, those who had not yet turned 14 were regarded, judicially speaking, as minors, since 'their reason (*juicio*) was not yet fully formed'. Not only were they not allowed to testify against someone accused of a 'crime against the Faith', but they could also not testify against themselves — which basically meant that they could not be sentenced, since the inquisitorial judicial machinery was based on the extraction of confession.<sup>20</sup> Why, then, did Governor Francisco de Sande, the most powerful magistrate of the Spanish Philippines, who also happened to be an expert

<sup>18</sup> AGN, Inq. 131, exp. 10, fo. 182<sup>r</sup>, Testimony of D. Hernández de Ávila, Santísimo Nombre de Jesús, 16 April 1577.

<sup>19</sup> Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid (hereafter AHN), Inq., L.1047, fo. 253<sup>v</sup>, Inquisitor A. F. Bonilla to the Suprema, Mexico, 4 April 1574.

<sup>20</sup> See, for instance, Cesare Carena, *Tractatus de officio Sanctissimae Inquisitionis et modo procedendi in cavsis fidei* (Lyon, 1649), III.5, section 10, p. 347 (*quia impuberes regulariter lubricum habent consilium, quia aetas illa facilis est ad mentiendum*); and Pedro Murillo Velarde, *Curso de Derecho Canónico Hispano e Indiano*, ed. Alberto Carillo Cazares, (Zamora, Mexico, 2004; first publ 1743), iv, V.23, pp. 258–9. In 1610, when the Logroño witch trials finally came to an end, one of the three Inquisition judges, don Alonso de Salazar y Frías, refused to endorse the final sentence because, as he publicly stated, he did not believe a single word of the accusations and confessions uttered by the

lawyer trained for years in legal subtleties in the best of Spain's universities,<sup>21</sup> spend almost two months prosecuting an 11-year-old boy in blatant contradiction of the most basic legal rules?

The governor's relentlessness almost certainly had to do with the evolving narrative of Diego's 'craziness'. Indeed, between the time he left Cebu and the moment he reached Manila, the boy's version of what happened to him had changed dramatically. As he confidently told a mistrustful Sande, he had not fainted, but 'died', then travelled to Heaven, to the Earthly Paradise, to the Limbo and to Hell, only to 'resurrect' and find himself lying in bed in a convent's cell. While he was away on his supernatural journey, he saw

all the witches walking in the air, higher than the roofs of houses, [in] company of the devils who were in great numbers and who escorted them while making them dance in the air . . . and [he saw] the witches worshipping the Devil and having carnal intercourse with the devils and mating many black devils, [for] the latter had bodies similar to those of black men, with two horns like those of a he-goat, and they had a tail without bristles, made of shells [and at the end of their tails they had] a bell that kept ringing, like those of the mules of Mexico's surroundings, and the devils had bulging eyes and toe and hand nails one palm long.<sup>22</sup>

The best was yet to come. The story went that the devils started conversing with Diego, trying to lure him away from the love of the Lord. Soon they told him that 'they were expecting sooner rather than later the arrival of a governor of this land, and that they had prepared a room and a seat for him because he showed no respect whatsoever to the friars nor to anybody else, and they named women with whom he acted in an improper way, and they kept saying many other things [about this governor], saying that they had sentenced him [to Hell] because of all he had done'.<sup>23</sup> However, it was not just the prophetic narrative of his impending damnation that so infuriated the governor, but the fact that, authenticated by the friars who found Diego's

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*niños y menores*: see J. C. Baroja, *El Señor Inquisidor y otras vidas por oficio* (Madrid, 1968), 41.

<sup>21</sup> Sande also knew perfectly well the Inquisition's procedures, since he had acted from October 1572 to August 1574 as a *consultor* — an expert in jurisprudence matters — for the Holy Office Tribunal in Mexico: see Edmundo O'Gorman (ed.), *Libro primero de votos de la Inquisición de México, 1573–1600* (Mexico, 1949), 2–50.

<sup>22</sup> AGN, Inq. 131, exp. 10, fos. 194<sup>r</sup>–196<sup>v</sup>, Confession of D. Hernández, Manila, 29 May 1577.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

depiction of supernatural places ‘most faithful to the Holy Scriptures’, it had already become public knowledge in Manila. Among those who were summoned to testify under the suspicion of having heard complacently, if not spread, the ‘lies’ of Diego, were prominent members of Manila’s economic and political close-knit elite, like the members of the municipal council (*regidores*) Juan de Argumedo and Francisco Bañol, or the city judge (*alcalde ordinario*) Hernán Ramírez Plata. Francisco de Sande’s fear of becoming the laughing stock of local gossips is worth a sociological rather than a psychological explanation. In late sixteenth-century Spain and the Americas, ‘honour’ (*honra*) was of paramount importance to the exercise of power. Someone whose reputation could be stained over and again by means of hearsay or spiteful lampoons was quickly deemed impotent. The question was not whether what your enemies told about you was trustworthy, but what would people think of you if you left the offence unavenged.<sup>24</sup>

For Francisco de Sande, the issue of his reputation was all the more sensitive because since his arrival in the Philippines, in 1575, he had engaged in a harsh conflict with the veterans of the conquest. Styling himself as a *letrado* — an intransigent law graduate in the service of the Crown — he had tried to curb the power of the conquistadors by any means at his disposal. He had gone as far as depriving some, such as the *factor* Andrés de Mirandaola, the treasurer Salvador de Aldave and the public accountant Andrés Cáuchela, of their *encomiendas*, while imposing heavy fines on others (like Captain Juan Maldonado del Castillo) on charges of the mismanagement of public funds.<sup>25</sup> By vociferously insulting those who dared to challenge his orders, Sande also earned himself a terrible reputation. Once, as he was addressing the senior soldiers of Manila, he ‘called some Jews, and others drunkards, shake-rags, and rascals’.<sup>26</sup> On another occasion, he tore apart one of the royal banners brought from Mexico in 1565 in order to craft himself a ship’s flag, purportedly in order to ‘disparage and humiliate’ those who had fought side by side

<sup>24</sup> On the role of rumours and lampoons in the political fabric of the Spanish monarchy, see Antonio Castillo Gómez, ‘“Amanecieron en todas las partes publicas”: Un viaje al país de las denuncias’, in Antonio Castillo Gómez (ed.), *Escribir y leer en el siglo de Cervantes* (Barcelona, 1999), 143–91; and Natalia Silva Prada, ‘Cultura política tradicional y opinión crítica: los rumores y pasquines iberoamericanos de los siglos XVI a XVIII’, in Natalia Silva Prada and Riccardo Forte Veronese (eds.), *Tradición y modernidad en la historia de la cultura política: España e Hispanoamérica (siglos XVI–XX)* (Mexico, 2009), 89–143.

<sup>25</sup> AGI, Pat. 24, R 35, fo. 17<sup>r</sup>, Decrees taken by F. de Sande regarding Royal Officers, Manila, 16 May 1576; AGI, Pat. 24, R 40, fo. 6<sup>r</sup>, F. de Sande to the king, Manila, 8 June 1577.

<sup>26</sup> AGI, Fil. 34, N 22, fo. 1<sup>v</sup>, Juan Maldonado, Juan de Morón, Pedro de Chaves and Francisco Chacón to the Viceroy M. Enríquez, Manila, 4 June 1577.

with Legazpi.<sup>27</sup> No wonder, then, that the governor may have feared in earnest that the rumour of his damnation, once recounted by young Diego, would quickly spread among rank-and-file soldiers. Most of the latter — who were forbidden to leave the Philippines even after they were released from military service — had a hard time making ends meet. Living miserable lives in shabby rattan huts, they deeply resented any display of wealth and proprietary rights by Manila's worthies and had a flickering sense of loyalty to the Crown, hence were prone to deride power-holders.<sup>28</sup> Diego's narrative flew uncontrollably from one place to another — from the cells of the Augustinian convent of Cebu to the entry porch of Manila's municipal council. To his embarrassment, the governor learnt that the rumour had even penetrated his own mansion, since his page boys testified that when he visited the governor in company of Fr Gutiérrez, Diego went down to the kitchen and told all those present the whole story of his supernatural journey.<sup>29</sup>

However, the veterans of the conquest were not the sole social enemies that the governor was bent on chastising for the part they had played in the spread of Diego's tale. In Sande's mind the clerics, who at the time were all members of the Order of Saint Augustine,<sup>30</sup> were the real plotters. If Diego's depiction of Hell and Heaven was so conspicuously unremarkable, with horned and clawed devils looking like 'black men',<sup>31</sup> damned souls tormented by way of 'incandescent iron sticks', 'the tree of Life and the forbidden tree', this was precisely because he had been steeped in orthodox Christian imagery while living inside a convent.<sup>32</sup> Born in Mexico the youngest son of 'one of the most

<sup>27</sup> AGI, Fil. 34, N 27, fo. 2<sup>v</sup>, Guido de Lavezaris to the king, Manila, 27 July 1578.

<sup>28</sup> On 'poor soldiers' who sustained themselves only thanks to monthly public food grants, see AGI, Contad. 1200, fos. 212<sup>r</sup>, 221<sup>r</sup>, 230<sup>v</sup>, 234<sup>v</sup>, 241<sup>r</sup>, 245<sup>r</sup>, List of *soldados pobres a quien se da ración*, 1576. On the critical issue of the decreasing commitment of these men to the upholding of the Crown's interests, see AGI, Fil. 77, N 1, fos. 7<sup>v</sup>–8<sup>r</sup>, VI.1, Memorandum of the issues raised by the *Junta Universal* held in Manila, 19 April 1586.

<sup>29</sup> AGN, Inq. 131, exp. 10, fo. 218<sup>v</sup>, fo. 220<sup>v</sup>, Testimonies of Diego López Pilo and Rafael Mantilla, Manila, 2 June 1577.

<sup>30</sup> The Franciscans did not settle in the Philippines until 1578, and the first bishop of Manila, the Dominican Domingo de Salazar, did not reach the city until 1581.

<sup>31</sup> On the representation of *diablos* as *negros* see, for instance, Javier Ayala Calderón, *El diablo en la Nueva España: Visiones y representaciones en documentos novohispanos de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Guanajuato, 2010), 184–5; and Úrsula Camba Ludlow, *Imaginarios ambiguos, realidades contradictorias: Conductas y representaciones de los negros y mulatos novohispanos, siglos XVI y XVII* (Mexico, 2008), 145–9.

<sup>32</sup> By the end of the sixteenth century, millennial and mystical reversals of asymmetric power relationships through visions and revelations — oneiric revenges of the weak, as they were formerly called by Marxist historians — were a common thing among

famous and ancient conquistadors' of the city,<sup>33</sup> Diego became fatherless while still a small boy. His mother, Isabel de Arias, remarried a man of Portuguese origin named Juan Rodríguez de Aguirre and decided to send her three sons to the Philippines so that her brother, Fr Alonso Jiménez, could take charge of their education.<sup>34</sup> One of Diego's elder brothers died upon reaching Manila, in 1575, while the other, Juan, became a novice, and later on a soldier.<sup>35</sup> The boys were therefore raised behind the convent's white walls by their maternal uncle, Fr Jiménez, who died in the early months of 1577, just before the whole witches' story began.<sup>36</sup> Now, as he makes crystal clear in a letter he sent with the whole case file to the Inquisition Tribunal in Mexico City, Governor Francisco de Sande had a very low opinion of Fr Jiménez:

[Fr Alonso Jiménez] got impassioned when he preached and kept talking too much with the people, and was not happy with the way his fellow brothers lived, and he thought he was doing far better than them with regards to [the vow of] poverty, and once he told me

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convent clerics and devout churchgoers. Diego's narrative of his supernatural travels therefore built upon a long tradition of Bible-inspired imaginary revolts. See, for instance, Miguel Avilés, *Sueños ficticios y lucha ideológica en el Siglo de Oro* (Madrid, 1981); and Richard Kagan, *Lucrecia's Dream: Politics and Prophecy in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Berkeley, 1990).

<sup>33</sup> AGN, Inq. 131, exp. 10, fo. 174<sup>r</sup>, Life narrative of D. de Ávila as told to Inquisitor A. F. Bonilla, Mexico, 14 January 1580; AGI, Fil. 34, N 53, fos. 406<sup>r</sup>, 408<sup>r</sup>, 409<sup>v</sup>, *Información de méritos y servicios* of Juan de Ávila, Manila-Mexico, 1580–1582.

<sup>34</sup> What we know about the destinies of Diego's relatives in Mexico mostly comes from the testimonies garnered during the Inquisition trial of one of his stepbrothers, Luis de Sandoval, a goldsmith dealing in church ornaments who was accused by the local parish priest of practising alchemy and having struck a satanic deal with a 'familiar spirit': see AGN, Inq. 126, exp. 8, fos. 78<sup>v</sup>, 81<sup>r</sup>, 88<sup>r-v</sup>, Trial against L. de Sandoval, Mexico, 8–26 March 1586. Francisco de Sande states in a letter that when he was acting as the *alcalde del crimen* of the Audience of Mexico, he sentenced Diego's parents — I. de Arias and J. R. de Aguirre — to jail because they were *tablajeros*, that is, ran a clandestine gambling den (AGN, Inq. 131, exp. 10, fo. 172<sup>v</sup>, Summary of facts for the Inquisitors of Mexico by F. de Sande, Manila, 8 June 1577).

<sup>35</sup> AGI, Fil. 34, N 53, fos. 409<sup>r</sup>, 417<sup>v</sup>, 419<sup>v</sup>, *Información de méritos y servicios* of Juan de Ávila, Manila-Mexico, 1580–1582.

<sup>36</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale de France (hereafter BNF), Fonds Esp., MS 325, Fr J. de Alva to P. Alonso de la Veracruz, Manila, 8 June 1577, fos. 79<sup>v</sup>–80<sup>r</sup>; Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 4349, José Sicardo, *Suplemento Crónico de la Isteria Mejicana del Horden de San Agustín, Nuestro Padre, c.1700*, fo. 116<sup>v</sup>. On Fr A. Jiménez's religious career, see Isacio Rodríguez Rodríguez and Jesús Álvarez Fernández, *Diccionario Biográfico Agustiniiano: Provincia de Filipinas* (Valladolid, 1992), I, no. 8, pp. 163–6.

that he was not one of those who kept goods [for sale] in their cells. . . . I have heard that in the sermons that he very often preached, he talked rubbish, mentioning visions and revelations. . . . Lay people thought he was crazy, while his fellow brothers said that his episodes of absent-mindedness (*vacio de cabeza*) came from his fasts and penances. . . . He was a man of pale complexion and dark hair, of average height but very skinny. He had rolling eyes like a madman.<sup>37</sup>

Since Fr Jiménez experienced angelic visions and inflicted on himself 'harsh penances', he was considered by some of his fellow brothers as a saintly character. But according to Sande, who was infuriated by the boastfulness of his ascetic claims, he was nothing more than 'a Jew and a sorcerer'.<sup>38</sup> Peering through the general registry of Philippine Augustinian convents, one quickly gets the feeling that Fr Jiménez's blunt criticism of his fellow brothers' coveting of mundane riches was no exaggeration, for all through the 1570s, priors had to repeatedly admonish, and sometimes to punish the harsh way those who, in violation of their vows, either engaged in dubious commercial ventures or dealt with gold and jewels inside convents' walls.<sup>39</sup> However, the condemnation of the breach of conventual rules was of no interest to Sande. In a more down-to-earth assessment of the public behaviour of Fr Jiménez, the governor deemed him a troublemaker because he 'always came into open conflict with the soldiers regarding the recovery of the tribute [levied on the Indians]'.<sup>40</sup> This last reproach actually targeted not only Fr Jiménez, but all the Augustinians, since the latter kept articulating a fierce critique of the way the natives were mistreated by the soldiers, and of the inability or unwillingness of the governor to put an end to the abuses. In a series of letters sent to the Viceroy of New Spain and to the Provincial of the Order, Alonso de la

<sup>37</sup> AGN, Inq. 131, exp. 10, fo. 172<sup>r</sup>, Summary of facts for the Inquisitors of Mexico by F. de Sande, Manila, 8 June 1577.

<sup>38</sup> BNF, Fonds Esp., MS 325.7, fos. 79<sup>v</sup>–80<sup>r</sup>, Fr M. de Rada, Fr F. de Ortega and Fr A. de Albuquerque to P. A. de la Veracruz, Manila, 8 June 1577: '[the governor] *a dicho que el padre es judío y bruxo*'.

<sup>39</sup> Archivo de la Provincia Agustiniiana del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas, Valladolid (hereafter APAF), leg. 14/1–9, *Libro de Gobierno*, I, fo. 30<sup>r-v</sup>, Manila, 22 April 1578; fo. 37<sup>r-v</sup>, Manila, 30 April 1578; and fo. 119<sup>f</sup>, s. l., 27 July 1600. See also AGI, Escrib. 403-A, fo. 10<sup>r</sup>, Post-mortem inventory of Diego Jiménez's goods, *nao* Santiago, 28 September 1576, for commercial goods being carried to Mexico by a Manila-based retail trader on behalf of a friar, namely Fr Francisco Manrique.

<sup>40</sup> AGN, Inq. 131, exp. 10, fo. 172<sup>r</sup>, Summary of facts for the Inquisitors of Mexico by F. de Sande, Manila, 8 June 1577.

Veracruz, the priors also accused Sande, firstly of impiety, since he never set foot in the church and did nothing to help spread the Gospel among the natives, and secondly of embezzlement of public funds and illegal trade on the Manila–Acapulco galleon, since he used nominees to sell undeclared goods — mostly Chinese silk and cotton fabrics — in Mexico.<sup>41</sup>

In Sande's opinion, the clerics had manufactured the whole tale of Diego's 'visions' in order to get the upper hand in the long-running conflict that pitted them against secular powers, since they could not stand the rigorous patronage (*patronato*) of the Crown, which had been restated in 1574 and whose implementation had triggered many protests in the Americas.<sup>42</sup> Ever since the beginning of the conquest of the Philippines — a process euphemistically called a 'discovery' (*descubrimiento*) in the legal parlance of the time — the Augustinians had vilified the unchristian behaviour of the soldiers and of the *encomenderos*, who acted as true 'highway men'.<sup>43</sup> In 1570, commenting on Captain Ybarra's bloody expedition to Ybalon, in southern Luzon, Fr Diego de Herrera, who had unsuccessfully tried to alert the viceroy to the dark realities of military acts of violence, wrote: 'It seems that the Devil has lately walked freely around in these parts'.<sup>44</sup> In 1575, the very year that Sande took charge in Manila, the *tête pensante* of the Augustinians in the Philippines, Fr Martín de Rada, made public an 'opinion' depriving the *encomenderos* of the sacrament of penance and reconciliation — hence of salvation — as long as they would not stop levying the tribute and had not 'given back' (*restituido*) to the Indians what they had already extorted from them.<sup>45</sup> What the soldiers

<sup>41</sup> AGI, Fil. 84, N 9, Fr J. de Alva, M. de Rada, F. de Ortega and A. de Albuquerque to Viceroy M. Enríquez, Manila, 8 June 1577, in Isacio Rodríguez Rodríguez, *Historia de la provincia agustiniana del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas* (hereafter *HPASNJ*), (Valladolid, 1984), xiv, doc. 80, p. 462; AGI, Fil. 84, N 8, Fr F. de Ortega to Viceroy M. Enríquez, Manila, 4 June 1577, in Rodríguez, *HPASNJ*, xiv, doc. 78, pp. 457–9. Sande indeed blatantly engaged in illegal trade, using his brother Bernardino as a nominee, and he got caught red-handed in 1580: AGI, Fil. 34, N 35, fos. 5<sup>r</sup>, 8<sup>r</sup>, Mexico, 17 February 1581; AGI, Fil. 59, N 5, fos. 3<sup>r</sup>–4<sup>v</sup>, 7<sup>r</sup>, Manila, 7 June 1580, and Mexico, 29 December 1580.

<sup>42</sup> John F. Schwaller, 'The *Ordenanza del Patronazgo* in New Spain, 1574–1600', *The Americas*, xlii, 3 (1986), 253–74.

<sup>43</sup> AGI, Fil. 79, N 1, Fr M. de Rada to Viceroy M. Enríquez, Cebu, 8 July 1569, in Rodríguez, *HPASNJ*, xiv, doc. 34, p. 30.

<sup>44</sup> AGI, Pat. 24, R1, Fr D. de Herrera to Viceroy M. Enríquez, Panay, July 1570, in Rodríguez, *HPASNJ*, xiv, doc. 43, pp. 66–7.

<sup>45</sup> Archivo de la Orden de Predicadores-Universidad Santo Tomás, Manila, vol. VII, fo. 388<sup>r</sup>, M. de Rada's opinion on the confession of *encomenderos*, Manila, 1575, transcribed by Maria Dolors Folch Fornesa, <<https://www.upf.edu/asia/projectes/che/s16/rada12.htm>> (accessed 1 July 2019). By April 1574, on the occasion of the feasts of Lent, the

and the *encomenderos* regarded as brave deeds deserving kingly rewards, namely the battles they had fought to secure the subjection of the natives, were considered as deadly sins by the friars. Despite the smooth unanimous stance of official chronicles, which ascribed an undisputed spiritual goal to the whole conquest enterprise,<sup>46</sup> irreconcilable world views were at play among the Spaniards of the Philippines — world views that the Diego de Ávila case helps illuminate.

## II

Diego's narrative spread the way it did because the Spanish settlements of the Philippines were small-size enclaves where everyone knew everyone else. In a letter sent to the king a year after he first set foot in Manila, the governor estimated that there were no more than five hundred Spaniards in the whole archipelago.<sup>47</sup> In spite of the capital letter that official chroniclers attached to the word *Conquista*, the military deployment of the Spaniards in the Philippines was a modest enterprise. For the 'pacification' of Cebu and Panay, in 1565–70, Miguel López de Legazpi could rely upon no more than 360 soldiers, the great majority of whom had no previous experience of the battlefield.<sup>48</sup> In order to create a nucleus of permanent settlement, the Viceroy of New-Spain, Martín Enríquez de Almansa, had promised to send two hundred reinforcement troops every year to Manila, but as he himself acknowledged, it was impossible to recruit so many men, 'even by using force'.<sup>49</sup> The heart of the Spanish Philippines, the fortified inner city of

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Augustinians had already made public their determination not to confess unrepentant *encomenderos*, triggering a flow of indignant reactions from Manila's worthies: AGI, Fil. 29, N 17, fo. 2<sup>r</sup>, Royal Officers to the king, Manila, 17 July 1574. On the whole 'tribute controversy' and the issue of 'restitutions', see P. Hidalgo Nuchera, *Las polémicas Iglesia-Estado en las Filipinas: La posición de la Iglesia ante la cobranza de los tributos en las encomiendas sin doctrina y las restituciones a fines del siglo XVI* (Cordoba, 1993).

<sup>46</sup> See, for instance, Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y Tierrafirme del Mar Océano*, ed. A. Ballesteros-Beretta (Madrid, 1934; first pubd in 4 vols., 1601–15), i, 26, p. 197.

<sup>47</sup> AGI, Fil. 6, R 3, N23, fo. 1<sup>r</sup>, F. de Sande to the king, Manila, 2 June 1576. According to the Council of the Indies, there were 'not even 300 Spaniards' in the Philippines at the time: AGI, Indif. Gen. 738, N 190, Council of the Indies, Madrid, 13 April 1576.

<sup>48</sup> The full list of the soldiers serving in the four infantry and one artillery companies engaged in Cebu's 'pacification' is to be found in AGI, Contad. 1199-B, L.2, fos. 731<sup>r</sup>–732<sup>r</sup>, 734<sup>r-v</sup>, 738<sup>r</sup>–740<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>49</sup> AHN, Div. Col. 25 (Doc. Indias), N 42, fo. 1<sup>v</sup>, Viceroy M. Enríquez to the king, Mexico, 13 December 1577.

Manila (Intramuros), had only three hundred Spanish inhabitants, living in two hundred houses.<sup>50</sup> As the Holy Office Commissary Fr Bernardo de Santa Catalina deplored in a 1612 letter after having drawn the portrait of a governor who preferred playing cards than going to Mass, ‘as the place is small, everything is known, especially what has to do with those who hold eminent offices’.<sup>51</sup> By all standards, Manila was a village — a tracery of short yet deeply interwoven acquaintanceship networks along which social news, including rumours, travelled fast.

Like every village, Manila was also an uneven social space fraught with moral fault lines. The study of the Diego de Ávila case precisely helps us map out conflicting moral worlds — inconsonant value systems attached to distinct group identities. The interesting point, when it comes to trying to articulate a microhistorical inquiry with a global history perspective, is that these moral worlds cannot easily be confined to a specific physical area. If Manila was the stage upon which a number of actors performed antagonistic yet well-scripted social roles, those roles — in the sense of embodied sets of norms and expectations<sup>52</sup> — had a history of their own, and that history involves many more places far beyond Manila. For instance, Governor Francisco de Sande thought highly of himself not only as a *letrado* in the service of the Crown, but also as a *hidalgo*, a member of the lesser Spanish nobility. This was a social identity that he had learnt throughout his life to endorse and perform, first as the eldest son of a respectable and well-to-do family from Cáceres,<sup>53</sup> in Extremadura, then as a law student enrolled in the

<sup>50</sup> AGI, Fil. 27, N 17, *Cabildo secular* to the king, Manila, 25 June 1587; AGI, Pat. 25, R 38, Description of the *encomiendas* of Luzon, Manila, May 1591. In 1617, there were 397 houses in Intramuros — 193 built in stone and 204 in wood: AGI, Escrib. 409-A, List of the houses of Manila, Manila, 25 October 1617.

<sup>51</sup> AGN, Inq. 293 (1<sup>ra</sup> parte), fo. 99<sup>r</sup>, Fr B. de Santa Catalina to the Tribunal of the Holy Office in Mexico, Manila, 15 July 1612.

<sup>52</sup> Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Garden City, NY, 1959).

<sup>53</sup> There are many clues to the ‘respectable status’ enjoyed by the Sande-Picón family in Cáceres, one of the most notable being that they were allowed to use one of the two ‘aristocratic parishes’ (*parroquias hidalgas*) located inside the walled inner city: Ángel Rodríguez Sánchez, ‘La natalidad ilegítima en Cáceres en el siglo XVI’, *Revista de Estudios Extremeños*, xxxv, 1 (1979), 158. After the 1570–2 deportation of six hundred Granada Moriscos to Cáceres, the Sande-Picón were given some as slaves, just as were the leading local aristocratic families — the Golfín, the Ulloa and the Paredes: see Antonio José Sánchez Pérez, *Poder municipal y oligarquía: El Concejo cacereño en el siglo XVII* (Cáceres, 1987), 117–18; and Antonio José Sánchez Pérez, *Cáceres: población y comportamientos demográficos en el siglo XVI* (Cáceres, 1977), 145 n. 47; 240–4. Yet the mother of the governor, Francisca Picón, is never called a *doña* in official documents. This may have

prestigious San Bartolomé College, at the University of Salamanca.<sup>54</sup> There are many archival clues to Sande's heightened sense of belonging to the aristocratic class, but nowhere is his profound disdain of the conquistadors, whom he considered as sheer parvenus, more apparent than in a letter to the king in which he voiced his critical appraisal of Miguel López de Legazpi's public conduct:

[Legazpi] had many gentlemen in his service, who had no other office than to act as his private guard [and who] ate at his table in his company. These gentlemen always escorted the governor on foot, because having no horses he always went on foot, and their subsistence was provided for by Your Majesty's Treasure. As for me, I found it more appropriate, in accordance with the people's wishes, to entrust the safety of my person to each and everybody, and to make sure that only the men chosen by the sergeant-major from among his companies be posted on watch duty in my home, this in order to put an end to all this bustle and to its costs for Your Majesty's Treasure, as well as to put a stop both to the envy that some felt for the others and to that [feeling of] equality born from the fact of having common people sit at the governor's table (*esta ynvidia y la ygualdad de asentar a la mesa hombres comunes*). And when I leave my house on horse, nobody escorts me except my own servants, so as to put a stop to all this parade thing, for this is what was the most necessary [to restate], namely that he who wants to win the loyalty of the sentry has to refrain from making use of a wealth and a reputation that are not his own, and to set a good example by his conduct (*qualquiera q[ue] se abstoviere de hazienda y honrra agena y diere buen exemplo*).<sup>55</sup>

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to do with the fact that the father of the governor, Pedro de Sande, was considered a 'stranger' (*forastero*) since he was born in Galicia. See Fray Felipe de la Gandara, *Nobiliario, armas, y trivnfos de Galicia, hechos heroicos de svs hijos, y elogios de sv nobleza, y de la mayor de España, y Evropa* (Madrid, 1677), III.15, pp. 386–90; and AHN, OM, Santiago, exp. 7573, N 1, fo. 8<sup>r</sup>, Inquiry into the *genealogía* of Francisco de Sande y Mesa, Cáceres, 5 April 1608.

<sup>54</sup> As far as can be ascertained from the *libros de matrículas*, Sande spent only two years as a *canonista* in Salamanca, from 1558 to 1560: Archivo de la Universidad de Salamanca, LM 277, fo. 15<sup>v</sup>, and LM 278, fo. 19<sup>r</sup>. He then moved to the College of Maese Rodrigo in Seville: AGN, Inq. 63, exp. 7, fo. 149<sup>r-v</sup>, *Información* of Dr. F. de Sande, Consultor of the Holy Office, Mexico, 19 April 1572.

<sup>55</sup> AGI, Fil. 6, R 3, N 25, F. de Sande to the king, Manila, 7 June 1576, in Rodríguez, *HPASNJ*, xiv, doc. 76, section 89, p. 422.

Sande's insistence on riding a horse while touring the muddy streets and narrow alleyways of Manila brings evidence of his willingness to stand above the fray, since this was an aristocratic privilege that could be denied even to senior captains. He actually was the very first to have mounts — three stallions and two mares — shipped from Acapulco to the Philippines.<sup>56</sup> Yet the governor's sense of fully belonging to the *hidalguía* was not just an ascribed identity that he could use as a situational resource: it was also a claim put to the test during status ordeals. Such an ordeal took place at the start of his overseas career, soon after his arrival in 1567 in Mexico, where he was to serve as public prosecutor (*fiscal*). The reason he secured such a prestigious appointment at such a young stage of his life is that he was a protégé of the powerful President of the Council of the Indies, Juan de Ovando,<sup>57</sup> who reigned over vast transatlantic networks of *letrados*, most of whom were, like Sande, former students of San Bartolomé College (the so-called *Bartolomícos*).<sup>58</sup> Unfortunately, Viceroy Martín Enríquez de Almansa was the archenemy of Ovando, whom he deemed his social inferior: as a not-so-gentle reminder that only higher-ranking noblemen should be in charge of government, the viceroy did everything possible to lower Sande's status, for instance by roughly denying him the right to publicly make use of the paraphernalia of power.<sup>59</sup>

Yet the worst status ordeal that Sande had to undergo took place neither in Mexico, nor in Manila, but in Spain. In August 1574, a complaint was lodged with the Royal Chancery of Valladolid by the governor's brothers, Juan and

<sup>56</sup> Bibliothèque de Genève, Coll. E. Favre, vol. 69, fo. 336<sup>r</sup>, Fr Francisco de Ortega to the king, Mexico, 1582, and *ibid.*, doc. 119, p. 86.

<sup>57</sup> Stafford Poole, *Juan de Ovando: Governing the Spanish Empire in the Reign of Philip II* (Norman, Okla., 2004). In some of his letters to Ovando, Sande called himself the *criatura* of the latter — the language par excellence of the patronage relationship.

<sup>58</sup> Ana María Carabias Torres, 'Los colegiales mayores salmantinos en el gobierno de las Indias', *Res Gesta*, xiii (1983), 23–9, and Ana María Carabias Torres, 'El "poder" de las letras: Colegiales mayores salmantinos en la administración americana', in Coll., *Primeras jornadas sobre la presencia universitaria española en la América de los Austrias (1535–1700)* (Alcalá de Henares, 1987), 2–28. For a general overview of the system, see Magdalena Chocano Mena, *La fortaleza docta: Elite letrada y dominación social en México colonial (siglos XVI–XVII)* (Barcelona, 2000).

<sup>59</sup> AGI, Mex. 19, N 109, fo. 1<sup>r</sup>, Viceroy M. Enríquez to J. de Ovando, Mexico, 8 October 1573; AGI, Mex. 69, R 2, N 11, fo. 1<sup>v</sup>. F. de Sande to J. de Ovando, Mexico, 30 August 1574. The Archbishop of Mexico, Pedro Moya de Contreras, also belonged to Ovando's patronage network, and the viceroy also engaged with him in a protracted precedence struggle: AHN, Div. Col. 25 (Doc. Indias), N 29, P. Moya de Contreras to the President of the Council of the Indies, Mexico, 24 January 1575.

Francisco de Sande.<sup>60</sup> The municipal council of Cáceres actually denied them the right to hold some of the ‘honourable offices’ of the city, which was a way of challenging their pretence to belong to the *hidalguía*. In order to preserve untainted the renown of their lineage, and to keep escaping the payment of the head tax that was due only from commoners, the Sande had to go through a most humiliating procedure, namely a ‘litigation to prove noble status’ (*pleito de hidalguía*). After an inquiry was conducted by the Royal Chancery of Granada, whose envoys in Cáceres minutely scrutinized the origins of the main family branch back to two generations, the Sande were provided with a ‘royal certificate of nobility’ (*real provisión ejecutoria de hidalguía*).<sup>61</sup> This was a meagre victory, since it meant that they belonged to the lowest stratum of the aristocratic world, the *hidalguía de ejecutoria* being only a pale reflection of the *hidalguía notoria*. Until the end of his life, in a ceaselessly reiterated move to overcome the lack of lustre of his lineage, the governor feverishly kept garnering status trophies, thereby following the classical-style *cursus honorum* of the lower-rank *hidalgo* who wants to increase the *fama* of his lineage by emulating the *grandees*.<sup>62</sup> In 1589, while on administrative leave in Madrid, he married *doña* Ana de Mesa, the sole daughter of the former governor of the *sitio real* of Aranjuez. In 1594, he created an ‘entailed estate’ (*mayorazgo*) by aggregating his own and his wife’s assets so that his elder son could inherit them, and the related titles. By late 1595, due to royal favour, he finally secured his entrance into the chivalric Order of Santiago.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Valladolid, Reg. Ejec., caja 1295, 40, F. de Sande and J. de Sande, 28 August 1574.

<sup>61</sup> Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada, Coll. Hid., caja 04551, 21, *Real provisión ejecutoria de hidalguía* delivered to Pedro, Bernardino, Francisco, Hernando, Juan and Antonio de Sande, 9 June 1574.

<sup>62</sup> Enrique Soria Mesa, *La nobleza en la España moderna: Cambio y continuidad* (Madrid, 2007).

<sup>63</sup> AHN, OM, Santiago, exp. 7573, N 1, fo. 6<sup>v</sup>, Testimony of Gabriel Gutiérrez de Prado, Cáceres, 6 April 1608; Biblioteca Nacional de España, F. Ant. 3/72454, *Por Doña Mariana de Mesa y Sande, viuda de Don Francisco de Eguiluz Herencia, Cavallero que fue del Orden de Santiago*, fos. 461<sup>v</sup>–462<sup>r</sup>, 463<sup>v</sup>, 465<sup>v</sup>, 470<sup>v</sup>; Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 10385, *Noticia de las gracias de Caballeros del Orden de Santiago, hechas por los Señores Reyes de Castilla, desde el año de 1518 hasta el de 1618*, c.1700, fo. 182<sup>r</sup>. Whereas he played a leading role in the history of the early modern Spanish Philippines, only one biography has so far been devoted to Francisco de Sande, namely that by Alberto Miramón, *El Doctor Sangre* (Bogotá, 1954). However, the latter is full of inconsistencies and plain chronological mistakes, for instance regarding the dates of Sande’s enrolment at the University of Salamanca, of his marriage with Ana de Mesa, or of his admission into the Order of Santiago.

This series of events — Francisco de Sande enduring the viceroy's wrath in Mexico, then riding a horse in the streets of Manila; his brothers coping with royal chanceries in Granada and Valladolid — were scattered in time and space, and so are, today, their archival remains. Yet they were closely linked within one single mindscape, for even from his distant postings, the governor kept a watchful eye on the twists and turns of his relatives' destinies. In 1574, as he still sat as a magistrate on the bench of the Audience of Mexico, he wrote a letter to his brothers to ask them either to marry upwardly or send their five sisters to the convent.<sup>64</sup> By the late 1570s, while he had a hard time fending off mounting criticism over the disastrous outcome of his military campaign against the sultanate of Brunei, he sent his brother Juan 1,100 ducats so that he could buy himself the position of alderman (*regiduría*) in Cáceres.<sup>65</sup> In 1596, while he was about to leave Guatemala City to take up his appointment as governor in Santa Fé de Bogota, he asked one of his brothers to buy, from a certain Hernando de Molina, a tiny 'orchard plot' (*huerta*) lying along the banks of the Ribera del Marco, a stream running close to his home town. A few weeks later, he ordered his relatives to sell to the cleric Juan Pantoja an 'enclosed garden' (*alcacer*) located in the *arrabal*, the extramuros district of Cáceres. By the late 1590s, Francisco de Sande, who had been living overseas for more than three decades, had even become one of the richest landowners of the Sierra de Fuentes, where he leased out large tracts of pasture to small farmers.<sup>66</sup> Thanks to well-maintained epistolary trails<sup>67</sup> and to an extensive kinship network, the governor acted simultaneously in different places, some located in Spain, others in Asia and still others in the Americas: he was, in a sense, a multi-sited character.

Tracing in its minute details the biographical trajectory of Francisco de Sande is not so difficult a task, since like all the literate and the powerful he left a long paper trail behind him wherever he went. The same could be said, to a lesser extent, of other prominent characters of the Diego de Ávila affair, like Fr Alonso Jiménez or the *médico* Gabriel Hernández Cabello, who had been a

<sup>64</sup> AGI, Mex. 69, R 2, N 21, fos. 1<sup>v</sup>–2<sup>r</sup>, F. de Sande to J. de Ovando, Mexico, 13 December 1574.

<sup>65</sup> Ida Altman, *Emigrants and Society: Extremadura and America in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1989), 49–53.

<sup>66</sup> Ángel Rodríguez Sánchez *et al.*, 'El sistema de ventas y régimen de arrendamientos de tierras en Cáceres en el siglo XVI', *Norba: Revista de Historia*, i (1980), 347–8 (data retrieved from Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de Cáceres, Prot., leg. 3756, Pedro Delgado).

<sup>67</sup> Roció Sánchez Rubio and Isabel Testón Núñez, *El hilo que une: Las relaciones epistolares en el Viejo y el Nuevo Mundo (Siglos XVI–XVII)* (Mérida, 1999).

close ally of the governor and whom Diego saw burning in Hell.<sup>68</sup> Mobile and voluble, high-ranking officials and erudite travellers are the privileged prey of global historians. Yet by focusing more on people-on-the-move than on the locales that they cross and where they occasionally settle, one runs the risk, not only of forgetting the many ordinary people who could not so easily travel the globe, but also of drawing too flat a picture of the world.<sup>69</sup> At any rate, trying to reconcile a microhistorical inquiry with a global history perspective may have little to do with sketching ‘global lives’,<sup>70</sup> since Italian micro-historians have always exhibited a strong defiance towards the biographical framing of their research data.<sup>71</sup> Coping with the seemingly subaltern characters of the Diego de Ávila affair — namely Inés Sinapas and Beatriz, the two Indian women accused of ‘witchcraft’ by the governor — offers us the prized opportunity to address the tricky issue of the anthropological asperities of that globalized corner of the earth that went under the name of the ‘Spanish Philippines’.

### III

Unlike Diego, Inés and Beatriz were questioned by Sande under conditions of judicial torture. Wholly naked, ‘except for a piece of cloth on their shameful parts’, they were tied to a wooden easel and ropes solidly attached to their wrists and ankles. The ropes were pulled by the executioner up to the point where both flesh and tendons were torn apart. The imposition of demonological categories therefore was not just a speech act, but also a bodily process, and a bloody one at that. Shocked by this display of violence, Fr Martín de Rada wrote to his superior in Mexico, ‘Some recently converted Indian

<sup>68</sup> On Cabello’s career, see AGI, Fil. 27, N 5, fos. 14<sup>r</sup>, 17<sup>r</sup>–18<sup>r</sup>, 28<sup>v</sup>, 60<sup>r-v</sup>, *Cabildo secular v. G. Hernández Cabello*, Manila, July 1571–March 1572. According to Manila’s *vecinos*, Sande had the *licenciado* Cabello elected as a ‘city magistrate’ (*alcalde*) by ‘manipulating the votes’ (*coxiendo los votos*) of the municipal council. Cabello, who had never taken part in any battle and dressed in eccentric attire, was thoroughly despised by veteran conquistadors, who labelled him an ‘effeminate’. See AGI, Fil. 34, N 22, fos. 2<sup>v</sup>–3<sup>r</sup>, Juan Maldonado, Juan de Moróns, Pedro de Chaves and Francisco Chacón to the Viceroy M. Enríquez, Manila, 4 June 1577.

<sup>69</sup> A risk also pointed out by John-Paul Ghobrial, ‘The Secret Life of Elias of Babylon and the Uses of Global Microhistory’, *Past and Present*, no. 222 (Feb. 2014). On the importance, from a *microstoria* perspective, of localities as nodes of rights-giving and identity-granting institutional relationships, see Angelo Torre, *Luoghi: La produzione di località in età moderna e contemporanea* (Rome, 2011).

<sup>70</sup> Miles Ogborn, *Global Lives: Britain and the World, 1550–1800* (Cambridge, 2008).

<sup>71</sup> Roberto Zapperi, *Annibale Caracci: Ritratto di artista da giovane* (Turin, 1989); Sabina Loriga, *Le petit x: De la biographie à l’histoire* (Paris, 2010).

women were subjected to very cruel torments: I have seen the executioner covered in blood. They had them say everything they wished'.<sup>72</sup> One therefore cannot take for granted any sentence the two women uttered while 'confessing', all the more so since, expressing themselves in Cebuano, they were probably badly mistranslated by the two interpreters, Juan Cabuten and Juan Tapondo, who were *indios ladinos* — converted and Castilian-speaking Indians or *mestizos* — but native Tagalog-speakers. The most interesting narrative moments precisely came when there were disruptions, and even spectacular breakdowns, in the translation process, that is to say when the two interpreters found themselves unable to convert native words into Spanish ones and the governor's clerk, the *escribano* Alonso Beltrán, had no choice but to transcribe them phonetically: then windows opened on the world of Inés and Beatriz. This happened for the very first time when Sande asked Inés to list the ingredients she had used in order to prepare the 'livid ointment' with which she had 'bewitched' Andrés de Villalobos and his wife:

This confessant said, by means of the said interpreter, that the ingredients making up the ointment are chicken feathers and cat tail hairs, and the root of that plant called *zilamun zilamun*, and the root of the *salinbagal* which is another plant, and the *tanglar* and the *buyo*, and the nails and eggs of the *bao* which is like a turtle, and the dangling roots of the *dancalan*, and the pearl of the said *dancalan*, and that of the *buquia*, which is the same thing, and a stone [a vertebra] of the tail of the black lizard (*chacón negro*), and the tail of a snake called *bulacan*, and the tail of another snake called *taguigualo*, and the tail of another snake which is like an eel and is called *casili* or *bais*, and a stone [a bone] from a toad's skull, and one from a white deer, and the hoofs and the tail's hairs of a big game (*dedos y pelos del venado de la parte de la cola*), and a stone from a mouse tail, and many other things that she could not remember, and all this they had grinded and mixed with a little bit of beeswax and of benzoin oil that they had fetched at Beatriz mother's place [and they had added to the preparation] the blood and eggs of many large-scale spiders, and the blood and legs or fangs of a scorpion (*manos o bocas del alacran, y la sangre del*), and a centipede's head . . .<sup>73</sup>

<sup>72</sup> BNF, Fonds Esp., MS 325, fos. 37<sup>r</sup>–38<sup>v</sup>, Fr M. de Rada to P. A. de la Veracruz, Calumpit, 16 July 1577, in *HPASNJ*, xiv, doc. 82, p. 476.

<sup>73</sup> AGN, Inq. 131, exp. 10, fos. 183<sup>r</sup>–184<sup>v</sup>, Confession of I. Sinapas, Santísimo Nombre de Jesús, 17 April 1577. Some illegible words in the AGN version of the document can be

Neither the interpreters nor the clerk were able to decipher the exact meaning of the vegetal and animal ingredients listed by Inés: a whole local but as yet untranslated natural world surfaces in her coerced discourse. Whereas one could think that in order to escape the pain, Inés said anything that came to her mind, there was a hidden logic to her speech, since almost all the plants and resins that she listed had specific therapeutic-cum-ritual properties. In the very first inventory of *materia medica* to be produced in the Philippines, the *Libro de medicinas caseras* written by the Franciscan Blas de la Madre de Dios in 1611, the *buyo* (the betel leaf) is deemed a powerful analgesic while the *dancalan* (the resinous bark of a mangrove tree) is said to help heal purulent wounds and repair broken bones, the *tanglar* (wild garlic) to cure the gout disease, the *salimbaga*'s onion to relieve stomach and pelvic pains, and a 'snake's stone' (*piedra de culebra*) to counter the effects of animal venoms.<sup>74</sup> As in so many cases of 'medicine women' (*curanderas*) brought before the Holy Office tribunals for their alleged allegiance to the Devil, what was labelled satanic knowledge by the governor was actually part of the ordinary healer's art of making remedies.<sup>75</sup> By her own account, Inés was not a professional 'witch' but an amateur village herbalist and bonesetter — what was called in the Visayas a *mangagayoma*.<sup>76</sup> In one of the most dramatic mis-translations to occur during the trial, the interpreters mistook something that Inés called the *tango tango* for 'a figurine of the devil' (*figura del demonyo*), whereas Blas de la Madre de Dios says that the *tangan tangan* was the 'Devil's fig' (*higuera del diablo*): a widely spread curative plant, namely the *Ricinus communis*, used as a plaster to heal kidney stones.<sup>77</sup>

This knowledge of plants' properties seemingly was the preserve of women: it was handed down from mother to daughter and shared in whispers among handmaids in the half-light of *nipa* shacks. Inés, for instance, remembers that she once asked another servant named Bucbuc to provide her with a plant

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recovered from the copy sent to the Council of the Indies: AGI, Fil. 34, N 21, fos. 150<sup>v</sup>–151<sup>r</sup>, Bewitched of Cebu, 1577.

<sup>74</sup> APAF, leg. 847/2, L.1, fos. 10<sup>v</sup>, 25<sup>r-v</sup>, 53<sup>v</sup>–54<sup>r</sup>, 50r, 19<sup>v</sup>–20<sup>r</sup>, and L.2, fos. 56<sup>v</sup>–57<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>75</sup> Francisco Fajardo Spínola, *Hechicería y brujería en Canarias en la edad moderna* (Las Palmas, 1992).

<sup>76</sup> Juan de Plasencia, 'Costumbres de los Tagalos' (1589), in Fray Francisco de Santa Inés, *Crónica de la Provincia de San Gregorio Magno de religiosos descalzos de N. S. P. San Francisco en las Islas Filipinas, China, Japón, etc* (Manila, 1892; first pubd 1676), ii, Ap. 3, p. 601. The Visayas is the name of a group of islands located in the Central Philippines, comprising Cebu, Samar, Leyte, Panay, Negros and Bohol.

<sup>77</sup> APAF, leg. 847/2, L.1, fos. 50<sup>v</sup>–51<sup>v</sup>.

called *lumay*, which was used to foster someone's love.<sup>78</sup> As for the *datura* — locally called *talamponay* —, it helped 'cool down' the ardours of the desire of men, making them drowsy to the point of not being able to hear their wife's lover sneaking into their house.<sup>79</sup> Generically called *tambalan*,<sup>80</sup> herbal remedies did not just cure physical illnesses, they helped regulate passions, hence smoothen social intercourse. The 'livid ointment' prepared by Inés may actually have been originally meant to repel Andrés de Villalobos's sexual assaults. When Beatriz was asked, under torture, why Inés was so angry at her master and his wife so as to 'bewitch' them, she answered that 'Inés had told her that she wanted to hurt [Villalobos' wife] because the latter punished her for sleeping with her husband'.<sup>81</sup> As we learn from a number of recorded cases, it was not rare that powerful *encomenderos*, who also acted as local justice officials and consequently could easily conceal their misdeeds, sexually abused their native slaves and handmaids, up to the point that the latter committed suicide.<sup>82</sup>

If Inés obviously knew quite a lot about a vernacular pharmacology, she may also have been acquainted with another kind of healing art. Juan Méndez, one of the men who helped Fr Gutiérrez bring back Inés to the church in order to question her, declared that in order to cure Andrés de Villalobos and his wife from their 'craziness', Inés not only prepared an

<sup>78</sup> AGN, Inq. 131, exp. 10, fo. 184<sup>r</sup>, Confession of I. Sinapas, Santísimo Nombre de Jesús, 17 April 1577. On the uses of the *lumay*, see also AGN, Inq. 355, fo. 468<sup>r</sup>, Self-denunciation of Germano Román Castañeda, Manila, 16 October 1625; and P. Alzina, *Historia natural de las Islas Bisayas del Padre Alzina*, ed. Victoria Yepes (Madrid, 1996–8), ii, I.26, p. 175, and iii, III.19, p. 120.

<sup>79</sup> AGN, Inq. 293 (2<sup>a</sup> parte), fo. 423<sup>r</sup>, Self-denunciation of Juan de Espinosa, Punta de Cavite, 23 May 1617; fo. 436<sup>r</sup>, Self-denunciation of Miguel Diaz de Monzon, Manila, 27 May 1617; and fo. 435<sup>r</sup>, Confession of Ybona de Sufiño, Manila, 9 June 1617. The *datura* was even called 'the cuckold's plant': Alzina, *Historia natural de las Islas Bisayas*, ii, I.26, pp. 175–6.

<sup>80</sup> Alzina, *Historia natural de las Islas Bisayas*, ii, III.19, p. 118; Mercedes G. Planta, 'Traditional Medicine and Pharmacopoeia in the Philippines, 16th and 17th Centuries', in Alan K. L. Chan, Gregory K. Clancey and Hui-Chieh Loy (eds.), *Historical Perspectives on East Asian Science, Technology, and Medicine* (Singapore, 2001), 157–70.

<sup>81</sup> AGN, Inq. 131, exp. 10, fos. 201<sup>v</sup>–205<sup>r</sup>, Torment inflicted to Beatriz, Manila, 30 May 1577.

<sup>82</sup> See for instance AGN, Inq. 140, exp. 5, fos. 256<sup>r</sup>–259<sup>r</sup>, 267<sup>r</sup>–271<sup>r</sup>, 314<sup>r</sup>–328<sup>v</sup>, Trial against C. Velázquez de Grados for having ill-treated an Indian woman, Manila, 31 August 1585 – 13–16 December 1586; and Chirino, *Relación de las Islas Filipinas*, xxxviii, 127, and xli, 135.

antidote with ‘sesame oil, roasted rice, and a variety of wild ginger’ (*luya bang lay*),<sup>83</sup> but also acted in a strange way for:

She told them that at nightfall she had to do a *bailan* to talk with her *diwata* and offer him a *tibor*, and that to this end she needed to bring gongs. And after the night had fallen, the aforesaid Sinapas did what she had said. She burnt some dead man’s bones that she had gone to fetch by the late afternoon, and getting back to her *bailan* she took in her hands a dagger and a shield and started dancing to the sound of the gongs, and according to what this witness [Juan Méndez] managed to grasp, she was invoking the devil, for soon she sat down, and having made the dagger’s blade slide down along her hand palm until it bled, she said everything was over. And grabbing the *tibor* she had brought as an offering, she threw it in the sea.<sup>84</sup>

Inés was then playing the role of another *dramatis personae*, namely that of a *babaylan*, a local ritual specialist. In both Luzon and the Visayas, the spirit-invoking ceremony she had hastily set up was usually called a *maganito*, from the root-word *anito* designating a spiritual entity whose scope of action was deemed territorially smaller and more case-specific than that of the high-ranking ‘deities’ (*diwata*).<sup>85</sup> *Maganitos* were trance possession rituals during which the incumbent was ‘seized’ by a spirit up to the point of losing consciousness.<sup>86</sup> After the spirit had deciphered the cause of the patient’s social unease or physical disease, and divulged the appropriate penance or remedy, the ritual had to come to a close with a propitiatory offering — in Inés’ case, a ‘jar of Chinese design’ (*tibor*).<sup>87</sup> This kind of ceremony was well known to the Spaniards, as many authors — including Antonio Pigafetta, the chronicler of

<sup>83</sup> According to Fr Blas de la Madre de Dios, the ground leaves of the *luya bang lay* — misspelled *luya tan flay* by the governor’s clerk — were used to cure someone who had been either ‘bewitched or bitten by a venomous animal/insect’ (*envenenado o hechizado picadas y mojas sus ojos se unta al cuerpo del dho*): APAF, 847/2, I, fos. 8<sup>r-v</sup>, 32<sup>r-v</sup>.

<sup>84</sup> AGN, Inq. 131, exp. 10, fo. 179<sup>r</sup>, Testimony of J. Méndez, Santísimo Nombre de Jesús, 17 April 1577.

<sup>85</sup> Cantius J. Kobak, ‘Ancient Pre-Hispanic Concept of Divinity, the Spirit-World, Sacrifices, Rites and Rituals among the Bisayans in the Philippines’, *Philippiniana Sacra*, xxxvii, 111 (2002), 411–78.

<sup>86</sup> Alzina, *Historia natural de las Islas Bisayas*, ii, III.13, pp. 83–4, 86.

<sup>87</sup> Imported from China since the early Ming period, these *tibores* were highly sought-after prestige items among Visayan worthies. The jars displaying a ‘snake design’ (*inalasan*) fetched the highest prices. See Alonso de Mentrída, *Vocabulario de la lengua bisaya, hiligüeina y haraya* (Manila, 1841; first publ 1637), ii, 123. Manila’s Spanish merchants also traded in *tibores*. At the time of the Diego de Ávila affair, thirty were stored in the

Magellan's 1519–22 expedition, and Legazpi himself — had described it in minute detail.<sup>88</sup> While they were often thought of by clerics and *encomenderos* as devil-worshipping rituals, the *maganitos* were actually more akin to healing rituals, and they were even held during rites of passage to ward off evil spirits (especially at childbirth).<sup>89</sup> According to a Visayan myth recorded in the *Codex Boxer*, an anonymous text dating from around 1590, the arch-ancestor of the *babaylan*, a woman named Sibac Omahelury, did create the *maganito* ritual not to 'bewitch' the living, but to spare Hell to the souls of the deceased and to have the latter live forever 'in feasts and happiness' (*en bida rregalada y en banquetes*).<sup>90</sup> To be sure, there existed 'sorcerers' among the Visayans, hideous child-stealing and blood-sucking creatures called *onglo* or *asuang*, but by all accounts they were the enemies, and not the auxiliaries, of medicine-women.<sup>91</sup>

Randomly employed by a Spanish witness and left untranslated by clerks and clerics, a triad of vernacular words — *bailan*, *diwata* and *tibor* — therefore opens a historicity trail that certainly does not lead to Madrid, nor to Mexico, but rather to the South China Sea and to south-east Asia, for if the *babaylan's* gongs and jars were of Chinese origin, their art looked very similar to that of Javanese *dukuns* or Cambodian spirit mediums.<sup>92</sup> Born by the mid 1540s, a couple of

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royal warehouses, ready to be shipped to Mexico: AGI, Contad. 1200, fo. 185<sup>r</sup>, Manila, 19 January 1577.

<sup>88</sup> Xavier de Castro (ed.), *Le voyage de Magellan (1519–1522): La relation d'Antonio Pigafetta et autres témoignages* (Paris, 2007; first pubd 1524), xxiii, 150; AGI, Pat. 23, R 22, *Relación muy circunstanciada de lo ocurrido en el Real y Campo de la Isla de Zebú de las Filipinas*, July 1567, in Hidalgo Nuchera, *Los primeros de Filipinas*, doc. 30, p. 221; AGI, Pat. 24, R 25, Manila, 20 April 1572, in Rodríguez, *HPASNJ*, xiv, doc. 45, p. 94; AGI, Pat. 23, R 7, fo. 2<sup>r</sup>, Description of the Isles of the Ponant, c.1573.

<sup>89</sup> AGN, Inq. 293 (1<sup>a</sup> parte), fo. 261<sup>r</sup>, Memorandum about the *maganitos* used by the Natives in this Province of the Pintados, 1614. This memorandum, which lists tens of different *maganitos*, was written by the Holy Office Commissary, Fr Antonio de Porras, on the bewildering occasion of a *doña* from Manila's upper colonial society hiring a local *babaylan* in order to have her love rival perish: AGN, Inq. 298, exp. 10, fos. 203<sup>v</sup>–206<sup>v</sup>, Trial against María de Zaldívar for *hechicería*, Manila, October 1611–March 1612. For more on this document and on this affair, see Bertrand, *Le Long remords de la conquête*, 247 ff.

<sup>90</sup> *Codex Boxer*, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, LMC 2444, fos. 30<sup>v</sup>–32<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>91</sup> Alzina, *Historia natural de las Islas Bisayas*, ii, III.18, pp. 115–18. On the long-term resilient clerical confusion of the *babaylan's* art with satanic witchcraft, see Carolyn Brewer, *Shamanism, Catholicism, and Gender Relations in Colonial Philippines (1521–1685): Women and Gender in the Early Modern World* (Burlington, 2004).

<sup>92</sup> Ethno-historical 'side-streaming' is always a risky business. Yet one cannot help making the comparison between the kind of trance-possession endured by the Filipino *babaylan*

years after the ships of the expedition of Ruy López de Villalobos briefly and inconsequentially anchored along the shores of Samar and Leyte,<sup>93</sup> Inés grew up in a world devoid of anything Spanish. Her conversion to Catholicism, at the time the Augustinians were conducting mass baptisms, in the late 1560s, left no deep imprint on her mind, since she was unable to remember the names of her ‘godfathers’ (*padrinos*).<sup>94</sup> Even if Inés was enslaved and tormented by Villalobos, her mindscape was never restricted to the Spaniards’ world: her imaginary horizons extended to times and places that had not yet been captured by the Europeans and that would stay out of their reach for many decades to come. By not only acknowledging the fact that Francisco de Sande and Inés Sinapas inhabited the same social and physical space of Manila, but also by following to their ends the thin threads of their formative experiences — some leading to Spain, others to the South China Sea — one therefore escapes the fiction of a single, unified, monocentric imperial world, a fiction all too often uncritically endorsed by global history narratives.

Even in a dreadful situation such as an Inquisition trial, there may be hope for the weak. If both Inés and Beatriz were ultimately sentenced to ‘public dismemberment’ by Sande, no document actually brings undisputable evidence that the sentence was implemented. On the night of 31 May, and 1 June 1577, thanks to the help of her husband Andrés and of two Indian accomplices named Laloyon and Cabalin, Beatriz managed to escape from Manila’s public jail and disappeared in the mangrove. She never was to be heard of again.<sup>95</sup> As for Diego, he was shipped to Mexico in 1579 in order to be

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and that experienced by the Javanese *dukun*, all the more so since the Tagalog word employed to designate ritual specialists (*catalona*) is very probably of Malay origins (from *keturunan*, meaning the ‘descent’ of the spirit in the incumbent’s body). Also, one cannot fail to register the many similarities between Filipino *anit*os and Burmese *nat* or Cambodian *neák ta*, since all are locale-bound tutelary spirits whose cult brings fertility either to crops or to women. See Alain Forest, *Le culte des génies protecteurs au Cambodge: Analyse et traduction d’un corpus de textes sur les neak tâ* (Paris, 1992).

<sup>93</sup> Villalobos’s fleet briefly visited the two islands between January and August 1543 (Consuelo Varela, *El viaje de don Ruy López de Villalobos a las Islas del Poniente, 1542–1548* (Milan, 1983), p. 69 ff.

<sup>94</sup> AGN, Inq. 131, exp. 10, fo. 182<sup>v</sup>, Confession of I. Sinapas, Santísimo Nombre de Jesús, 17 April 1577. On the spread of the *compadrazgo* system during mass baptisms in Cebu past 1568, see John Leddy Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses, 1565–1700* (Madison, 1959), 77–8.

<sup>95</sup> AGI, Contad. 1200, fo. 399<sup>r</sup>, Register of punishments inflicted in *cámara de justicia* in 1577, Manila, 17 June 1577; AGN, Inq. 131, exp. 10, fos. 211<sup>v</sup>–217<sup>r</sup>, Interrogation of the *alguacil mayor* Juan López de Queto, Manila, 1–3 June 1577.

transferred from New Spain to the Mediterranean Sea to serve on the king's galleys. But upon his arrival in Mexico City, he went to visit the Viceroy Martín Enríquez de Almansa, an old-time enemy of Francisco de Sande who, when shown the governor's sentence by the boy, 'told him to go back to his mother and laughed mockingly about what the aforesaid governor had done given the age of the *muchacho*'. Diego then showed up in the office of the President of the Holy Office Tribunal, Alonso Fernández de Bonilla, who, after having briefly questioned him, concluded that 'he was unable to carry on this examination and trial in the Inquisition tribunal' since 'when the case was opened in Manila, the accused could have been no older than 10'. At last, Bonilla told Diego to 'get back home', thereby setting him free from all charges.<sup>96</sup>

#### IV CONCLUSION

In 1577, barely a decade after the start of the so-called Spanish conquest of the Philippines, Manila was less a global city than a city of many worlds. If it was a hub of long-distance connections, not all those connections could be attributable solely to the actions of the Europeans. Some, like the one with China, best exemplified by Inés' ritual use of gongs and the small glazed earthenware salt-cellar in which she kept her 'livid ointment', could be traced back to the fourteenth century, hence to a time when Europe had no hold on Asia's destiny.<sup>97</sup> The in-depth study of one single set of archival materials — the Diego de Ávila case, by all standards a very parochial affair — therefore makes it possible to access a host of conflicting moral worlds and distinct lived experiences that cohabited in the very same, small-scale social space.

<sup>96</sup> AGN, Inq. 131, exp. 10, fos. 174<sup>v</sup>–175<sup>v</sup>, Life narrative of D. de Ávila as told to Inquisitor A. F. Bonilla, Mexico, 14 January 1580. A. F. Bonilla was an experienced judge, who had taken part in the creation (plantación) of the Holy Office Tribunal in Mexico in 1570 and been promoted to the rank of Inquisitor in 1573. As shown by his very cautious attitude during the 1574 trial of several cabin boys who had served on the ships of the British privateer John Hawkins — and whom he was reluctant to consider guilty of apostasy since they were too young to have known true Catholicism before adhering to Anglicanism — Bonilla did not take lightly the issue of the age of the accused brought before him. See AHN, Inq., L.1047, fo. 268<sup>r</sup>, Dr P. Moya de Contreras to the Suprema, Mexico, 10 October 1573; AHN, Inq., L.1047, fo. 253<sup>v</sup> ff., Inquisitor A. F. Bonilla to the Suprema, Mexico, 4 April 1574.

<sup>97</sup> Kamer Aga-Oglu, 'Ming Porcelain from Sites in the Philippines', *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*, xvii (1963), 7–19; Laura Lee Junker, 'Craft Goods Specialization and Prestige Goods Exchange in Philippine Kingdoms of the 15th and 16th Centuries', *Asian Perspectives*, xxxii, 1 (1993).

Whatever Spanish clerics and officials wished to believe, no single imperial- or colonial-style domination principle could keep each and every corner of this space under control: subterranean streams of disruptive knowledge, like those carrying Diego's visions and Inés' remedies, kept permeating Manila's mansions. The sources of these streams often lay far away from the shores of Luzon, and so did that of the scholastic river that nurtured Francisco de Sande's hatred for witches. The very fact that two people who lived in the same place inhabited different worlds even if they physically interacted on a daily basis — like Inés Sinapas and Andrés de Villalobos, or like Fr Alonso Jiménez and the governor — is something that should ultimately lead us to reconsider any etic understandings of space that we find in global history.<sup>98</sup> It should also alert us to the ethnographic limitations of any purely scale-based distinction between the local and the global. Hence, bridging the gap between microhistory and global history may not mean moving back and forth between different levels of contextualization, as if reality was a tiered, multi-layered cliff and the historian an adventurous alpinist, but rather unearthing the fossilized remains of the many worlds that lay intermeshed in one single location.

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<sup>98</sup> A. Torre, 'Un "tournant spatial" en histoire?', *Annales ESC*, 2008, 63 (5), 1127–44.