

**Conquest of Amity: Affective Politics and Cultures of Friendship
in the Spanish Colonization of the Philippines, 1521-1762**

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Abstract

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This dissertation presents a political history of friendship in cross-cultural relations between Philippine natives and Spaniards from the early sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth century. It examines the ways in which various types of friendship were forged in the contexts of colonial contact, domination, endurance, and resistance—and how they were imbricated with interimperial, colonial, and local politics in the Philippines. It conceptualizes these ties as “affective arrangements” and “agonistic intimacies” in order to mark their affective and contractual character as well as their inherent tension.

Drawing upon archival and published sources in European and Philippine languages, I argue that the Spanish colonial matrix of power in the Philippines was crucially constituted and challenged through friendship as a site and means of struggle for both sides of the colonial axis as well as third parties. Their politics of friendship transpired on three interconnected levels: interpersonal friendship between individuals or groups of people in direct contact, interpolity friendship between political communities, and divine friendship between God and native converts.

All three modes unfolded through the dynamic workings of various affects and entailed analogous practices of friend-making—particularly friendly hailing, gift giving, and covenant making.

The Spanish colonization of the Philippines was partly driven by a transimperial paradigm of friendship understood as a set of contractual and affective practices. Rooted in European philosophical and juridical-political traditions, the paradigm informed imperial competition in Southeast Asia and beyond. Spain's imperial ideology of friendly pacification, however, was compromised by the ethno-racialization of native (in)amicability and practical circumstances on the ground. Its implementation was significantly characterized by violence, for friendship was at times acquired by force just as violence was justified on account of friendship or a lack thereof. Spaniards also appropriated an indigenous Philippine form of ritualized friendship as a native token of friendly agreement, and yet supplanted it with their own legal and ceremonial practices. Nevertheless, Spanish intervention and domination were strategically evaded, negotiated, or resisted by some Philippine natives through their individual maneuvering or their collective mobilization of friendship as a counter-hegemonic mode of social belonging and solidarity. Others, meanwhile, actively befriended vying imperial powers, sometimes oscillating between them, to maintain their relative autonomy and attract foreign aid in their local conflicts. This early colonial politics of amity heralded the leitmotif of friendship that has recurred in Philippine domestic and foreign affairs up to this day.

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DEDICATION

For Wiboon and Boonta Jiamrattanyoo,
my first and foremost friends,
the dearest of the dear

Introduction: Friendly Arrangements and Agonistic Intimacies

“Islands of Friends”

In the opening chapter of *History of the Filipino People*, probably the most widely used history textbook in the Philippines, the Filipino historian Teodoro Agoncillo gives an overview of “some traits common to the average Filipinos” with illustrative snippets from the Philippine past. His inventory includes hospitality to strangers and loyalty in friendship, both of which are exemplified by colonial circumstances. On the one hand, Agoncillo claims that Filipino hospitality has been misunderstood as a form of inferiority and obsequiousness by many foreigners, especially those nineteenth-century Spaniards who savored and abused it. On the other hand, he describes Filipino commitment to friends as follows:

“To a Filipino, friendship is sacred and implies mutual help under any circumstances. A friend is expected to come to the aid not only of his personal friend, but also of the latter’s family. The Filipino, then, is the best friend one can have and the worst enemy. It is this deep sense of loyalty that kept the Filipinos during World War II loyal to the Americans.”¹

Agoncillo’s assertion has most recently been echoed, though less forcefully, by the National Quincentennial Committee of the Philippines for the 2021 commemoration of the Philippine part in the first global circumnavigation and other related events. The committee foregrounds as its theme “the magnanimity, compassion, and humanity” of Philippine ancestors in saving the sick and starving crew of Ferdinand Magellan’s expedition in 1521. It also states that “this trait of us as a people is recurrent in our history, and we want the world to know this further.”²

In stark contrast to these postcolonial introspective views, however, the Philippine natives that emanated from the quills of Spanish empire builders in their early encounters were typically characterized by disloyalty in friendship. García de Escalante Alvarado, a crew member in Ruy

¹ Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *History of the Filipino People*, 8th ed. (Quezon City: R. P. Garcia, 1990), 6, 9. The first edition appeared in the form of mimeographed copies in 1960. For its bibliographic history, see Vernon R. Totanes, “*History of the Filipino People* and Martial Law: A Forgotten Chapter in the History of a History Book, 1960-2010,” *Philippine Studies* 58, no. 3 (2010): 313-48.

² National Quincentennial Committee, “About the Commemorations,” accessed January 31, 2022, <https://nqc.gov.ph/en/about/>. See also its thematic description in the National Quincentennial Committee Secretariat, “Victory and Humanity,” August 27, 2021, <https://nqc.gov.ph/en/resources/victory-and-humanity/>.

López de Villalobos's 1543 expedition to the Philippines, categorically declared that its inhabitants were all "treacherous" (*traidora*):

"They keep the friendship or peace they have established insofar as they are ill-equipped to do anything else, and as soon as they have room to do any trickery, they do not hesitate to do it for the sake of the peace and friendship they have settled. Those who have to deal with them must hold themselves very cautiously. Some Spaniards have died from their treacheries under their friendships, for trusting them [*han muerto con sus traiciones debaxo de sus amistades algunos españoles, por se fiar en ellos*]."³

Two decades later, another veteran from Villalobos's voyage described the Philippines as "Islands of friends" before heading there on a new expedition.⁴ Yet over the course of Spanish colonization, Spanish civil and missionary accounts were interspersed with the recurring motifs of betrayal and false pretense of friendship by indigenous Filipinos leading to the demise of foreigners.⁵ Their iterative effects were such that duplicity was racialized into a common attribute of several, if not all, of the diverse ethnicities across the archipelago.

In juxtaposing these contrasting claims, what is at stake in this dissertation is not only the discursive construction of "the Filipino character" with regard to friendship, but also the centrality of friendship itself in Philippine colonial history. These accounts, despite their overt discrepancies and degrees of essentialism, also demonstrate the entanglement between friendship, politics, and feelings—those of loyalty, compassion, trust, distrust, and so forth—in the vicissitudes of Philippine colonial relations. Indeed, over the *longue durée* of multiple colonialisms in the Philippines from the sixteenth to the mid-twentieth century, friendship was a curiously unheeded leitmotif just as the figure of the friend was a constant presence. In their distinct manners and

³ CDAO, 5: 124. All translations are my own unless quoted from sources in English or noted otherwise.

⁴ In 1564, Juan Pablo de Carrión, the first appointed admiral of Miguel López de Legazpi's armada, proposed to King Philip II of Spain (r. 1556-98) "that the Armada should stop at the Philippine Islands, which are Islands of friends with whom we have had dealings and friendship" (*quel Armada vaya á parar á las Islas Filipinas que son Islas de amigos con quien se á tenido trato y amistad*). CDU, 2: 207.

⁵ The term "Filipino" was sometimes used prior to the birth of Filipino nationalism in the nineteenth century to refer to a Spaniard who was born in the Philippines (Spanish *insular*). However, this dissertation uses "(native/indigenous) Filipino" and "Philippine native" interchangeably to refer to an autochthonous inhabitant of the Philippines, not an insular Spaniard. Likewise, the adjective "Filipino" is also used in this dissertation, such as in "Filipino-Spanish relations," to mean indigenous to the Philippines. As a matter of fact, the term "Filipinos" was used as early as the 1600s to call indigenes, not Philippine-born Spaniards. See Pedro Chirino, *Relación de las Islas Filipinas y de lo que en ellas han trabajado los padres de la Compañía de Jesús*, 2nd ed. (Manila: Imprenta de Esteban Balbas, 1890), 36, 38, 56, passim. See also Pope Gregory XIV's brief of 1591 in my Chapter Five.

historical conjunctures, successive imperial expansions into the archipelago by Spain, Britain, the United States, and Japan were arguably rationalized, negotiated, and resisted at least in part through idioms and practices of friendship. While each of these imperial projects deserves historical investigation of its own, my study zeroes in on the early Spanish period to foreground the etiolated significance of friendship in the *modi operandi* of early modern European empires.⁶ It also aims to show that friendship and its affective dimensions were integral to Philippine colonial politics as early as the first Philippine-European contacts and Spanish campaigns of conquest.

This dissertation delves into the early centuries of indigenous Filipino-Spanish relations through the analytical categories of friendship and affect. It seeks to join interdisciplinary dialogues on the politics of relatedness and intimacy at the nexus of Philippine and Spanish histories, the history of friendship, empire and colonial studies, and affect theory. My project frames friendship as an *affective arrangement* and a bond of *agonistic intimacy*—two conceptual themes that will be elaborated later in this introduction. Approaching friendship as a mode of sociality that coheres discourses, actions, and affects between two or more parties, it examines the ways in which various types of friendship were forged in the contexts of Filipino-Spanish colonial contact, domination, endurance, and resistance—and how they were imbricated with interimperial, colonial, and local politics. In other words, it explores how friendship became both a site and a means of power struggle in which multiple stakeholders in or over the Philippines—colonizers, colonized, and other vested interests in between—were involved with a whole gamut of emotions. What came into play in these struggles also included different traditions of amity, which call for our nuanced understanding in sociopolitical, legal, moral, and affective terms. I argue that Filipino-Spanish encounters were characterized by a correlation of friendship and violence. Although friendship normally served as a measure of mutual trust and security against the use of violence,

⁶ On friendship and the British occupation of Manila, see the brief discussion in Chapter Two of this dissertation; Kristie P. Flannery, “Battlefield Diplomacy and Empire-Building in the Indo-Pacific World during the Seven Years’ War,” *Itinerario* 40, no. 3 (2016): 467-88. For the American era, Reynaldo Ileto has shown that American colonizers proclaimed themselves as “friends of the Filipino people,” appealing to sentiments of friendship and suppressing memories of the violent colonial takeover. Reynaldo C. Ileto, “The Philippine-American War: Friendship and Forgetting,” in *Vestiges of War: The Philippine-American War and the Aftermath of an Imperial Dream, 1899-1999*, ed. Angel Velasco Shaw and Luis H. Francia (New York: New York University Press, 2002), 3-21; Reynaldo C. Ileto, “Friendship and Forgetting,” in *Knowledge and Pacification: On the U.S. Conquest and the Writing of Philippine History* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2017), 163-201. See also a discussion of interracial friendship and intimacies under American colonial rule in Marie Therese Winkelmann, “Dangerous Intercourse: Race, Gender and Interracial Relations in the American Colonial Philippines, 1898-1946,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2015), *passim*.

native friendship was often acquired by Spanish incomers by force of arms just as violence was justified on account of friendship or a lack thereof. Through a combination of conciliatory and coercive means, the Spaniards were able to exploit native peoples and simultaneously disorganize their cultural landscapes and traditions. Hence, in the name of friendship, or through friendship, not only physical but also epistemic violence was enacted on indigenous Filipinos by Spanish colonialism.

I further argue that the Spanish colonial matrix of power—that is, the interconnected domination of economy, authority, intimacy, subjectivity, and knowledge—in the Philippines was crucially constituted and anchored by *a multilevel order of colonial friendships*.⁷ This consisted of *interpersonal friendships* between individuals or groups of people in direct contact, *interpolity friendships* between political communities, and *divine friendships* between God and Christians. All three of these modes of colonial friendship unfolded through the dynamic workings of various affects and entailed analogous practices of friend-making—particularly friendly hailing, gift giving, and covenant making. With their respective insistence on native submission, we can understand Philippine autochthonous subjects as caught up in new networks and hierarchies of friends and loyalties. This colonial order was intermittently challenged as many of the natives circumvented or renounced Spanish bonds of friendship and initiated new ones with local or supra-local partners.

Cultures of Affiliation and the Filipino-Spanish Politics of Friendship

During the preconquest period, Spanish empire builders sailed across the hemisphere to Southeast Asia with instructions from their authorities to evangelize and establish friendship with indigenous peoples. Their imperial subordination and Christianization of Philippine natives commenced with Magellan's voyage of exploration in 1521, followed by a few similar attempts in the first half of the century, largely with catastrophic outcomes.⁸ Imperial Spain's expansionist

⁷ For the concept of "colonial matrix of power," see Walter D. Mignolo, "Introduction: Coloniality of Power and De-Colonial Thinking," *Cultural Studies* 21, no. 2-3 (2007): 156-57.

⁸ After the discovery of the Philippines by Ferdinand Magellan's armada (1521), Spain dispatched five more expeditions to the islands, namely those of Garcia Jofre de Loaísa (1525), Sebastian Cabot (1526), Álvaro de Saavedra (1527), Ruy López de Villalobos (1542), and Miguel López de Legazpi (1564). See Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson, eds., *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898* (Cleveland, OH: The A. H. Clark Company, 1903), 2: 23-329 (hereafter BR); Nicholas P. Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines: From Conquest to Revolution* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University, 1971), 9-73.

endeavors were resumed in the mid-1560s by military forces under the command of Miguel López de Legazpi. They managed to take possession of the Visayas within a few years and central Luzon in the early 1570s, with the founding of Manila as the Spanish seat of colonial government in Asia. Thereafter, a series of military and missionary expeditions were dispatched to bring under control and convert northern and interior Luzon as well as Mindanao, the former with more success than the latter. Throughout these episodes, the Spaniards found it of paramount importance to identify and distinguish between friendly and hostile Indians (*indios amigos o enemigos*), or between native friends and foes, especially given the limitations of their human and material resources. For friendly natives could serve as local purveyors of food and goods; additional cohorts of allies; laborers for production, construction, and public or personal services; an extended network of information and allegiance; a source of imperial justification; and a flock for Christian conversion, among others.

The existing historiography of Spanish colonialism in the Philippines has already depicted the events of conquest and colonization in circumstantial and chronological fashions.⁹ My dissertation takes as its point of departure an attention to friendship—that is, the cultures, politics, and (non-)events of friendship—involved in the unfolding of those histories. It rests on the underlying premise that the encounters between indigenous Filipinos and Spaniards opened up social spaces in which their embodied norms of affiliation and conceptual frameworks brushed upon each other in observable manners, ranging from jovial courtesy to double-dealing and dramatic antagonism. Drawing upon archival and published sources in European (especially Spanish) and Philippine languages—including philosophical treatises, juridical lectures, royal ordinances, bureaucratic correspondences, shipboard narratives, colonial chronicles, missionary accounts, devotional and catechismal literature, and vernacular dictionaries—I wish to ask in the following pages: How might we understand Philippine colonial politics if cultures and affects of friendship are foregrounded? How were concepts and practices of friendship involved in the Spanish colonization of the Philippines and its resistance by indigenous peoples? How and on what conditions did friendship morph into colonial control over territories and populations? Was it even possible for colonizers and colonized to be friends? If possible, what sorts of friendship did they

⁹ See, for example, Martin J. Noone, *The Discovery and Conquest of the Philippines (1521-1581)* (Manila: Historical Conservation Society, 1986); Nicholas P. Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines: From Conquest to Revolution* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University, 1971); Linda A. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence in the Early Spanish Philippines* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009).

enter into and what feelings did those bonds entail? To what extent did they conform to or diverge from normative prescriptions by juridical, religious, or philosophical authorities? How did such friendship ties emerge and operate in affective terms across different colonial circumstances?

It may be guessed from the outset that the concept of friendship should have equipped Western powers with a *rhetoric*, as hackneyed as it may sound, for imperial intervention and colonial domination—in other words, lip-service friendship. That is, European powers proclaimed themselves as friends to indigenous peoples and yet devastatingly abused their trust. On closer examination, however, friendship was also part of international and diplomatic *terminologies* and *practices* long evolving in European political cultures. European cultures of friendship shared their intellectual foundations on classical and Christian philosophies, especially during what Thomas Dandeleet calls “the *longue durée* of the imperial Renaissance” in which the political mentalities and projects of European rulers were shaped by imperial humanism.¹⁰ The concept of friendship featured in both early modern thought as well as an emerging international law and constituted the ideological architectures of modern European empires. Their invasions of the Americas, Africa, and Asia thus brought pan-European conventions of interpersonal and international friendship into contact with non-European counterparts.

In coming to terms with native infidels and the question of colonial legitimacy, the Spanish colonial vanguard and its metropolitan observers resorted not least to ancient Greek thought and Roman juristic literature on friendship, together with theological discourses and moral refrains of Christian love and charity. This engendered what I alternately call *the ideology of imperial friendship* or *the policy of friendly pacification*, prior to but also in particular response to Spanish brutality against Amerindians in the New World. In the Philippines, the ideology gave rise to friendly arrangements, most of which were mediated and reinforced by Catholicism and its clerical agents, in tandem with armed engagements by Spanish soldiers. In his influential book, *The Hispanization of the Philippines* (1959), John Phelan notes that the conquest of the Philippines under Legazpi was neither bloodless nor sanguinary. It did realize substantially, though not completely, the Spanish Crown’s ideal of pacific occupation.¹¹ Through her painstaking archival

¹⁰ Thomas James Dandeleet, *The Renaissance of Empire in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 1-14. See also Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France C. 1500-C. 1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

¹¹ John Leddy Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses, 1565-1700* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959), 10.

excavations, however, Linda Newson reveals that the Spanish conquest did result in a demographic decline among the native population toward the end of the sixteenth century.¹² My dissertation lingers between these two important studies and shows that while Spanish frontiersmen relied with a virtual consensus on the ideology of imperial friendship, it was implemented in very different ways: cautiously in some instances and precipitously in many others.

On the native sides, diverse groups of Philippine islanders weighed up their contact with European imperialists in terms of amity and enmity, and variously responded with hospitality, reciprocity, avoidance, or resistance. Not only did they befriend some of the strangers through such quotidian acts as gifting, gesturing, and feasting, but their chieftains also invited foreign commanders to perform the indigenous ritual of blood covenanting (*sandugo*) by drinking a concoction of wine mixed with drops of blood from both parties to seal their friendship. Although similar ceremonies between Southeast Asian natives and other Europeans such as between Mindanaoans and Portuguese, Dayak and English, and Kayan and English were also documented¹³, only Philippine-Spanish blood compacts have been continually presented as defining events in a nation's anti-colonial and postcolonial collective memories. As the historian Filomeno Aguilar Jr. points out, the blood compact between Legazpi and Sikatuna, a native chieftain of Bohol, has anchored a "founding myth" of Filipino nationhood.¹⁴ As we shall see, before it congealed into a national grand-narrative, the blood compact had lent itself to both Philippine natives and Spaniards as an instrument of strategic friend-making and, additionally for the latter, a historiographical trope in scaffolding their colonial matrix of power. No sooner, however, had the Spaniards participated in the ceremonies than they subordinated those pacts and subjected the natives to their own legal and ceremonial practices of notarized agreement and voluntary submission.

By no means, however, did friendship serve solely to lubricate and advance colonial conquest. As scholars in friendship studies have pointed out, friendship not only creates political stability in a given community but also provides alternative forms of affiliation which can be used

¹² Linda A. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence in the Early Spanish Philippines* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009).

¹³ See Chapter Four.

¹⁴ Filomeno V. Aguilar Jr., "The 'Pacto de Sangre' in the Late Nineteenth-Century Nationalist Emplotment of Philippine History," *Philippine Studies* 58, no. 1/2 (2010): 83.

to resist or challenge the dominant status quo.¹⁵ From the beginning of the Spanish conquest, indigenous peoples across the archipelago undertook to tackle, elude, or oppose colonial intervention and domination through a wide variety of tactics, including friend-making, whether among themselves, with Spanish colonizers, or with third parties in the region. While numerous studies have examined early anti-colonial struggles against Spanish rule¹⁶, this dissertation highlights indigenous cultures of friendship, including friend-making with preternatural beings, as an unacknowledged ingredient in the major revolts of the period. As an epithet of solidarity, friendship furnished colonial subjects with a unifying idiom of resistance. As a wide-ranging set of practices, it also carried disruptive connotations and capacities, of which indigenous Filipinos made use to both personal and collective ends. Such counter-hegemonic modes of friendship were comprised not only of alliance-making, but also minor acts or everyday gestures of individual resistance and resilience that did not flare up into organized movements. They included what was otherwise seen, as mentioned in the beginning, as a form of “inferiority and obsequiousness,” such as a fawning demeanor toward Spanish colonial authorities.

Given my particular emphasis on imperial or colonial friendship, a methodological gloss of the concept is in order.¹⁷ Since the 1970s, an increasing body of scholarship on empire and colonialism has amply examined native collaboration or cooperation as a necessary condition for imperial formation and prosperity.¹⁸ Why, then, might one want to revisit colonial relations in terms of “friendship” rather than “collaboration”? Here I argue that, most importantly, “friendship” (or its vernacular equivalents) was the very term employed by historical actors themselves to refer to their variegated forms of affinity or partnership, whether with fellow human beings or non-human spirits. As stated earlier, the concept of friendship was not simply a euphemistic cover-up

¹⁵ Heather Devere and Graham M. Smith, “Friendship and Politics,” *Political Studies Review* 8, no. 3 (2010): 341-42.

¹⁶ For example, see Renato Constantino and Letizia R. Constantino, *The Philippines: A Past Revisited* (Quezon City: Tala Pub. Services, 1975), 81-108; Fernando Palanco, “Christianized Native Resistance and Rebellion during the First Centenary of Spanish Sovereignty, 1565-1665,” in *More Hispanic Than We Admit 3: Quincentennial Edition, 1521-1820: Filipino and Spanish Interactions over the Centuries*, ed. Jorge Mojarro (Quezon City: Vibal Foundation, 2020), 187-219. For translation as resistance, see Vicente L. Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993).

¹⁷ Imperial friendship here refers primarily to preconquest or precolonial friendship in a given imperial context such as that between the Magellan fleet and indigenous Filipinos. Colonial friendship, on the other hand, is intended to designate those made upon or after conquest, that is, from the Legazpi expedition onward. Imperial friendship is also used in a broad sense to mean any cross-cultural friendship forged in an imperial or colonial context.

¹⁸ See, for example, Tanja Bührer et al., eds., *Cooperation and Empire: Local Realities of Global Processes* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2017).

for co-optation and manipulation, but it was rooted in both European and Philippine traditions of interpersonal and interpolity conduct, something that the term “collaboration” does not afford us to see. In other words, collaboration was only part of what practices of friendship encompassed. While the term “collaboration,” and indeed “collaborator,” usually connotes a shift of allegiance or a pejorative sense of traitorousness to one’s own original community, the term “friendship” has been far more capacious and affectively charged, allowing us to discern the variety of actions involved in the connection between affect and power, or between intimacy and domination. For instance, both native consent to and dissent against colonial rule can be discussed together in relation to friendship. A focus on friendship sheds light on otherwise unremarkable categories, designations, and descriptions (friend, friendly, friendship, friend-making, amity, goodwill, etc.) by participants in and observers of colonial encounters and relations in the Philippines. Furthermore, unlike collaboration and cooperation, the concept of friendship offers a vantage point to observe and find connections between macro- and micro-phenomena, such as international diplomacy and interpersonal intimacy, as well as temporal and spiritual bonds in a single frame of reference and analysis.

My multilevel categorization of colonial friendships here—interpersonal, interpolity, and divine-human ones—dovetails with a consensus among leading practitioners of friendship studies from different disciplinary perspectives that friendship has been a “family resemblance” concept with a kaleidoscopic diversity of meanings and manifestations.¹⁹ Although terminologies of friendship have been continually used in interpersonal and international relations, their significations have varied across different historical and cultural settings. Following Evgeny Roshchin in his conceptual history of international friendship, my dissertation adopts a nominalist approach to historically documented relationships by “trusting the language of one’s sources”; that is, by paying attention to how and in what contexts Europeans and indigenous Filipinos used vocabularies of friendship such as *amigo* and *amistad* in Spanish, *catoto* and *sandugo* in Tagalog, or *abian* in Bisaya.²⁰ Accordingly, my study departs from the IR scholarship that develops criteria

¹⁹ David Konstan, *Friendship in the Classical World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 18; P. E. Digeser, *Friendship Reconsidered: What It Means and How It Matters to Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), 3-23; Graham M. Smith, “Friendship as a Political Concept: A Groundwork for Analysis,” *Political Studies Review* 17, no. 1 (2019): 85-86.

²⁰ Evgeny Roshchin, “Friendship and International Order,” in *Friendship and International Relations*, ed. Simon Koschut and Andrea Oelsner (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 91.

by which to evaluate whether a given international relationship qualifies as a friendship.²¹ To avoid anachronistic projections, it seeks to understand historical actors of the early Spanish Philippines largely in their own terms.

The early Spanish period under inquiry here stretched from preconquest encounters in the early sixteenth century, through colonial subjugation and settlement, to the mid-eighteenth century—before the British occupation of the Philippines (1762-64) and the ensuing internationalization of the Philippine economy that dramatically changed Philippine societies.²² In studying the early Spanish conquest of the Philippines, one also needs to be aware of its previously indeterminate geography, as opposed to its defined territory nowadays. In 1604, a Jesuit chronicler wrote that the Philippines had as yet no known termination in the south, and Borneo was considered the southernmost of the archipelago.²³ When necessary or relevant, my discussion will therefore include colonial and interimperial contacts and conflicts over contiguous islands such as Borneo, the Moluccas, and the Ladrones (nowadays the Marianas)—all of which were sometimes grouped together with the Philippines by Spanish writers as part of the Islands of the West (*las Islas del poniente*).²⁴ Covering a lengthy period of time and the entire archipelago, this dissertation is far from comprehensive in its treatment of colonial ties, but necessarily pointillistic and representative. Its focus on friendship is nonetheless intended to serve as a through-line that interweaves different snapshots of Philippine colonial history under Spain into a coherent whole.

Friendship Studies, Intimacy, and the Imperial/Colonial Question

The interrogative impulse of this dissertation derives in part from the discrepancy between the prevalence of friendship in our social and political lives and its academic undertreatment.

²¹ See, for example, Felix Berenskötter and Mor Mitrani, “Is It Friendship? An Analysis of Contemporary German-Israeli Relations,” *International Studies Quarterly* 66, no. 1 (2022): 1-13.

²² See Josep M. Fradera, “The Historical Origins of the Philippine Economy: A Survey of Recent Research of the Spanish Colonial Era,” *Australian Economic History Review* 44, no. 3 (2004): 307-20. My reason for ending the temporal scope of this study in the eighteenth century also lies in the fact that Spain’s imperial policies under the new Bourbon dynasty (1700-present) differed significantly from those under the House of Habsburg (1516-1700). Despite their similar awareness of the importance of trade and friendship, the Habsburgs had relied on missionaries as the linchpin of Spanish imperialism while the Bourbons envisioned commerce and merchants as the principal agents of cultural change. See David J. Weber, *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

²³ Pedro Chirino, *Relación de las Islas Filipinas y de lo que en ellas han trabajado los padres de la Compañía de Jesús*, 2nd ed. (Manila: Imprenta de Esteban Balbas, 1890), 7.

²⁴ See Ricardo Padrón, *The Indies of the Setting Sun: How Early Modern Spain Mapped the Far East as the Transpacific West* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020).

Friendship seems to have transhistorically pervaded diplomatic lexicons and international treaties across cultural differences.²⁵ It has also been a fundamental subject of philosophical reflection since classical antiquity in both Eastern and Western traditions.²⁶ Yet in modern scholarship, friendship has been marginalized, if not facetiously neglected, as an object of inquiry and category of analysis, especially in anthropology and history where more formally institutionalized ties such as kinship and marriage have attracted more scholarly interest. Moreover, with their “kinship bias,” ethnographers often declared the social relationships under their study as kinship ties even though some of them were primarily perceived by those involved as bonds of friendship.²⁷ This tendency is also echoed in the study of the Philippine blood compact, as we shall see in Chapter Four. Cast aside to social and personalistic psychology, friendship has sometimes been analyzed without regard for its cultural and historical specificity.

This academic compartmentalization has begun to be redressed in recent decades just as friendship has become a subject of a substantial body of interdisciplinary scholarship. The last quarter of the twentieth century saw sustained attention accorded to friendship among scholars beyond the philosophical realm. Philosophers and political scientists hold that friendship is among the highest forms of interpersonal relation as it plays an important role in (re)imagining and constituting our political worlds.²⁸ At the same time, historical, anthropological, and sociological research on friendship has expanded across different time periods, geographical areas, and kinds of participants.²⁹ The growing literature on friendship and the emergence of the new

²⁵ See Heather Devere et al., “A History of the Language of Friendship in International Treaties,” *International Politics* 48 (2011): 46-70.

²⁶ See Oliver Leaman, ed., *Friendship East and West: Philosophical Perspectives* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 1995).

²⁷ Bettina Beer, “Freundschaft als Thema der Ethnologie,” *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 123, no. 2 (1998): 210.

²⁸ Jacques Derrida, *The Politics of Friendship* (New York: Verso, 1997); John von Heyking, *The Form of Politics: Aristotle and Plato on Friendship* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2016); Graham M. Smith, *Friendship and the Political: Kierkegaard, Nietzsche, Schmitt* (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2011).

²⁹ For example, see Elliott Leyton, ed., *The Compact: Selected Dimensions of Friendship* (St. John’s: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1974); Roy Porter and Sylvana Tomaselli, eds., *The Dialectics of Friendship* (London: Routledge, 1989); Alan Bray, *The Friend* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Laura Gowing, Michael Hunter, and Miri Rubin, eds., *Love, Friendship and Faith in Europe, 1300-1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Barbara Caine, ed., *Friendship: A History* (London: Routledge, 2014); Bettina Beer and Don Gardner, “Friendship, Anthropology of,” in *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, 2nd ed, ed. James D. Wright (Oxford: Elsevier, 2015), 9: 425-31; Amit Desai and Evan Killick, eds., *The Ways of Friendship: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Berghahn, 2010); Martine Guichard, Tilo Grätz, and Youssouf Diallo, eds., *Friendship, Descent and Alliance in Africa: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Berghahn, 2014); Carla Risseuw and Marlein van Raalte, eds., *Conceptualizing Friendship in Time and Place* (Leiden; Boston: Brill-Rodopi, 2017).

interdisciplinary field of “friendship studies” in the twenty-first century have cemented its importance and future in academia.³⁰

In Philippine studies specifically, in-depth scholarship on friendship dates back at least to the 1960s. Through the early 1980s, a number of ethnographic projects covered varieties of friendship relations in Christian and Muslim Philippine societies.³¹ In Philippine historiography, the politics of friendship had also cropped up in reference to the contested terrain of the late nineteenth century. In the final decades of Spanish rule, Filipino reformists and revolutionaries alike wrote of Filipino-Spanish relations as a friendship inaugurated by their ancestors’ blood compacts and yet abused or betrayed by Spain’s colonial misrule.³² However, postcolonial historical research has paid little attention to colonial friendship, especially in the Spanish period. This is consistent with friendship studies at large, which usually confines itself within cultural borders, brushing aside cross-cultural bonds of friendship such as those in imperial contexts.³³

Friendship, not least in its interpersonal manifestation, belongs to the terrain of the intimate, which in recent decades has percolated and gained momentum in empire and colonial studies. Scholars have increasingly investigated a range of intimate spheres and private-public dynamics in relation to the construction of racial differences and social hierarchies in colonial contexts.³⁴ In response to skeptics, proponents of this line of research demonstrate that to focus on

³⁰ See J. L. Barkas, *Friendship: A Selected, Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Garland, 1985). For a review of recent literature on friendship and politics, see Heather Devere and Graham M. Smith, “Friendship and Politics,” *Political Studies Review* 8.3 (2010): 341-56. For literary scholarship on friendship traditions, especially in early modern Europe, see Daniel T. Lochman and Maritere López, “Introduction: The Emergence of Discourses: Early Modern Friendship,” in *Discourses and Representations of Friendship in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1700*, ed. Daniel T. Lochman, Maritere López, and Lorna Hutson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 9-26.

³¹ Thomas M. Kiefer, “Institutionalized Friendship and Warfare among the Tausug of Jolo,” *Ethnology* 7, no. 3 (1968): 225-44; Thomas M. Kiefer, *The Tausug: Violence and Law in a Philippine Moslem Society* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972), 59-65; Juanito A. Bruno, *The Social World of the Tausug: A Study in Philippine Culture and Education* (Manila: Centro Escolar University, Research and Development Center, 1973), 59-67; Robert J. Morais, “Friendship in the Rural Philippines,” *Philippine Studies* 29, no. 1 (1981): 66-76; Robert J. Morais, *Social Relations in a Philippine Town* (De Kalb: Northern Illinois University, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, 1981), 60-79. See also Beer, “Freundschaft als Thema der Ethnologie,” 191-213.

³² See Filomeno V. Aguilar Jr., “The ‘Pacto de Sangre’ in the Late Nineteenth-Century Nationalist Emplotment of Philippine History,” *Philippine Studies* 58, no. 1/2 (2010): 79-109, and Chapter Four of this dissertation.

³³ Vanessa Smith, *Intimate Strangers: Friendship, Exchange and Pacific Encounters* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 8-9.

³⁴ For example, see Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault’s History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995); Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002). See also an interpretive synthesis in Tracey Rizzo and Steven Gerontakis, *Intimate Empires: Body, Race, and Gender in the Modern World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

intimacy is by no means to ignore the atrocious realities of imperial violence nor to depoliticize colonial dominance, but rather to draw attention to their operation and resistance in a quotidian register. It also allows for the disclosure of violence and power relations in the ephemeral domains of the gestural, the sensuous, and the affective. As Ann Stoler puts it in her oft-quoted argument, “to study the intimate is not to turn away from structures of dominance but to relocate their conditions of possibility and relations and forces of production.”³⁵ On the other hand, Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton point out that colonial subjects also “utilized a wide range of intimate opportunities and practices to negotiate, contest, and reconfirm the boundaries of rule.”³⁶ Hence, an attention to colonial intimacies promises to yield a perspective on alternative forms of sociability as well as furtive and recalcitrant modes of survival among various groups of colonial subalterns.

Nevertheless, while interest in gender, sexuality, and domesticity has created a groundswell of research in empire and colonial studies in the past several decades, it is only very recently that friendship as a domain of connection and proximity has substantially been examined in its own right in the imperial field of power. The existing literature proves that rather than taking friendship at face value, tracking its imperial profiles has the potential to cast a critical light on its innocuous façade, uncover its historical variants, and open up a new ground of inquiry in the historiography of intimate empires. While Paul Burton examines how languages and practices of diplomatic friendship laid the groundwork for Roman empire-building, Evgeny Roshchin traces the “lost” concept of contractual and political friendship from ancient to modern times as an alternative to the prevailing ethical and normative understanding of international friendship. Roshchin’s compelling account shows that friendship was also understood in the premodern and early modern periods as a political agreement, the terms of which could be negotiated and declared void. It was therefore an essential part of diplomatic and imperial practices, such as alliance- and treaty-making, for generating legitimacy. As he argues, “contrary to a common expectation of equality in friendship, diplomatic relations bearing this name underpinned international hierarchies and the

³⁵ Ann Laura Stoler, “Intimidations of Empire: Predicaments of the Tactile and Unseen,” in *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*, ed. Ann Laura Stoler (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 13. See also a similar approach to intimacy in Lisa Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), 18.

³⁶ Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette M. Burton, “The Politics of Intimacy in an Age of Empire,” in *Moving Subjects: Gender, Mobility, and Intimacy in an Age of Global Empire*, ed. Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette M. Burton (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 2.

whole project of European colonisation.” This alternative concept of pragmatic and contractual friendship was effectively replaced by an ethical perspective during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, resulting in our present understanding of international friendship in deeply moral terms.³⁷

This dissertation brings the imperial/colonial question into the recently developed field of friendship studies. It is informed not only by these insights into the millennial history of interpolity friendship, but also by an emerging body of scholarship on interpersonal friendship in various imperial and colonial contexts, such as Ignacio Martínez on interethnic friendship in northern New Spain, Vanessa Smith and Alecia Simmonds on Oceanian-British encounters, Shannon Walsh and others on the racial politics of friendship in colonial South Africa, and Leela Gandhi on anti-colonial friendship among cosmopolitan South Asians and Europeans at the *fin de siècle*.³⁸ Like Roshchin, Simmonds brings to light the significance of friendship as a legal concept in European imperial formations, as it signified native consent to their territorial claims and ensured conformity to legal norms. Meanwhile, she is in consonance with Martínez and Smith in pointing out the complexity and ambiguity of friendship in transcultural encounters, as those involved were forced to grapple with different cultures of amity and with the entanglements between emotions and calculation, rhetoric and action, as well as friendship and violence.

My project takes their cues in exploring such dialectics and showing that friendship is not only “the lost trope in anticolonial thought”³⁹, but also an enduring one in imperial expansion and colonization. It contends that friendship was a core concept in early modern international relations, appearing in contexts as diverse as colonial occupation, interimperial competition, and anti-colonial agitation. In the case of indigenous Filipino-Spanish relations, both ethical and contractual

³⁷ Paul J. Burton, *Friendship and Empire: Roman Diplomacy and Imperialism in the Middle Republic (353-146 BC)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Evgeny Roshchin, *Friendship among Nations: History of a Concept* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 7-11. For European and American empires and their treaties of friendship with Pacific Islanders, see Heather Devere et al., “A History of the Language of Friendship in International Treaties,” 53-56.

³⁸ Ignacio Martínez, *The Intimate Frontier: Friendship and Civil Society in Northern New Spain* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2019); Smith, *Intimate Strangers*; Alecia Simmonds, “Friendship, Imperial Violence and the Law of Nations: The Case of Late-Eighteenth Century British Oceania,” *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 42, no. 4 (2014): 645-66; Alecia Simmonds, “Cross-Cultural Friendship and Legal Pluralities in the Early Pacific Salt-Pork Trade,” *Journal of World History* 28, no. 2 (2017): 219-48; Shannon Walsh and Jon Soske, eds., *Ties That Bind: Race and the Politics of Friendship in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2016); Leela Gandhi, *Affective Communities: Anticolonial Thought, Fin-De-Siècle Radicalism, and the Politics of Friendship* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 14.

conceptions of friendship were brought together during periods of contact and negotiation as well as in imperial Spain's defenses of its messianic expansion. In addition, my dissertation also follows the leads of this previous scholarship in not only unveiling the ulterior motives behind European performances of friendship, but also exploring the intricacies of friendship when genuine goodwill was enmeshed with the imbalance of power and the underlying structure of violence.

However, the foregoing scholarship focuses mostly on secular forms of imperial friendship, whether at the interpersonal or interstate levels, but barely touches upon the ideological and practical links between cultures of friendship, colonial conquests, *and* Christian conversion. My project attempts to fill this gap by bringing together interpolity, interpersonal, and divine friendships into a single study and mapping their interpenetrations that shaped colonial ebbs and flows. Attentive to the lexicons and lifeways of my historical subjects, I argue that precolonial and colonial friendships in the Philippines were forged not only on the terrestrial plane between mortal or institutional entities, such as forms of *vassalic friendship* between the Spanish Crown and its indigenous Filipino subjects, but also on the spiritual plane between Philippine natives and pagan or Christian gods. In the latter case, Spanish missionaries served as mediators and key agents—through what I call their *pastoral friendship* with native converts—in conceptualizing godly bonds as the ultimate and transcendent type of friendship and, thereby, laying a cornerstone of Filipino-Spanish Christian harmony.

This dissertation also aims to contribute to this expanding historiography by demonstrating the pivotal position of the Philippines in the global history of imperial and colonial friendship, not least during early modern times. What the foregoing scholars have examined in India, Oceania, and Africa during the modern period of high imperialism had its precursors, I show, in the early modern Iberian colonization of the Philippines and insular Southeast Asia at large. For instance, while the British designated what is now Tonga as “the Friendly Islands” and thereby located it in their affective cartography⁴⁰, we have already seen that the Philippines had been described by a Spanish admiral as “Islands of friends.” Moreover, as an outlier in empire and colonial studies, the Philippines nevertheless offers a vantage point from which to observe “transregional connections and histories” linking its localities to its neighbors, other regions, and the world.⁴¹ Indeed, the

⁴⁰ Smith, *Intimate Strangers*, 7-8.

⁴¹ Caroline S. Hau, “Transregional Southeast Asia: Perspectives from an Outlier,” *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints* 68, no. 1 (2020): 11, 15.

Philippines was a major site where the new Spanish policy of friendly pacification was, for better or worse, discursively reproduced and brought into action. As we shall see in Chapter Two, the region was also an object of interimperial contention among European powers with analogous frameworks and policies of imperial friendship. Hence, the colonial Philippine history of friendship not only connects the archipelago to metropolitan Europe, but also to other far-flung colonies that encountered related or comparable experiences—be they in Southeast Asia, the Americas, or the Indian subcontinent.

In addition, this Philippine history is highly relevant to the critical study of Spanish imperialism vis-à-vis the persistent “Black Legend” (*Leyenda negra*)—a tendency in imperial historiography whereby the Spanish imperial enterprise is portrayed as operated by brute force and bigotry, as opposed to its rivals such as the British and the US Empires, both of which often claimed their altruistic exceptionalism.⁴² In fact, as Patricia Seed notes in the case of the New World, Spaniards were perhaps second only to Frenchmen among all the Europeans in soliciting the political permission of Amerindians to legitimize their territorial occupation.⁴³ And while Evgeny Roshshin maintains that Spain, unlike Britain, employed coercion as its key instrument in the colonization of the Americas, he also mentions a treaty of friendship concluded between Spain and rulers of the Moluccas as akin to the ancient Roman practice of friend-making.⁴⁴ My work aligns itself with these observations and more recent scholarship such as Kristie Flannery on the Spanish pursuit of loyalty among heterogeneous colonial populations in the Philippines and Birgit Tremml-Werner on the pragmatic employment of friendship terminology by Spanish colonial bureaucrats in Philippine-Japanese diplomatic relations.⁴⁵ The chapters that follow will show that imperial Spain sought to colonize and safeguard the archipelago not only by deploying military forces, but also by securing friendly relations with both indigenous peoples and neighboring polities.

⁴² See Charles Gibson, *The Black Legend: Anti-Spanish Attitudes in the Old World and the New* (New York: Knopf, 1971); Richard L. Kagan, “Prescott’s Paradigm: American Historical Scholarship and the Decline of Spain,” *American Historical Review* 101, no. 2 (1996): 423-46.

⁴³ Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe’s Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 62n91. Indeed, the Spanish employment of friendship in the Philippines even preceded that of Frenchmen in the New World as inaugurated by the first letters of the French king in 1540, instructing his officials that new lands were to be colonized “if possible by means of friendship or amicable terms.” Ibid., 64.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 10, 186-87.

⁴⁵ Kristie P. Flannery, “The Impossible Colony: Piracy, the Philippines, and Spain’s Global Empire,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2019); Birgit Tremml-Werner, “A Question of Political Correctness: Translating Friendship across Time and Space,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 82, no. 3 (2021): 503-20.

Friendship as an Affective Arrangement

This section develops an overarching frame of analysis to approach the operation of power in the varieties of Filipino-Spanish colonial relations through a distillation of affect theories. I conceptualize friendship as an affective arrangement, calling attention to the affective dimension of friend-making and its resulting affinity. In the opening paragraph of his magisterial study, John Phelan eloquently writes that, in the Spanish conquest of the Americas, “the whole range of human emotions found ample room in which to express themselves.” As he enumerates, “Christian charity, humanitarian zeal, sadistic cruelty, and gross perfidy all had their personifications, and sometimes in the same man.”⁴⁶ Although Phelan leaves unexplored the history of emotions in the early Spanish Philippines, his suggestive overture points to affective impulses and experiences as a potential area of scrutiny in empire and colonial studies. Indeed, according to the *Diccionario de la lengua española* of the Royal Spanish Academy, *conquistar* (to conquer) means not only “to win a territory, population, position, etc. through war operation,” but also “to win over someone’s love or to captivate his or her mind.” This corresponds to English where, according to the OED, the phrase to “make a conquest of” means “to win the affections of” whereas a “conquest” can refer to “a person whose affection or favour has been won.” These semantic nuances indicate that colonial conquest involved affective change and dynamics.

Recent decades have witnessed the parallel rise of the subfields of the history of emotions and affect studies in the humanities and social sciences.⁴⁷ This expanding research has contributed to the undermining of the reason-emotion, mind-body, and public-private dichotomies and to the re-conceptualization of emotion and affect as worthy objects of serious attention. This is especially apropos to the study of friendship and politics, as the former has often been relegated to the sphere of private and personal life. In empire and colonial studies, an increasing number of research efforts also revolve around what we might call affectivity.⁴⁸ I use *affectivity* here as an umbrella

⁴⁶ Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, 3.

⁴⁷ See Barbara H. Rosenwein and Riccardo Cristiani, *What Is the History of Emotions?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2018); Rob Boddice, *The History of Emotions* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018); Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth, eds., *The Affect Theory Reader* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).

⁴⁸ For example, see Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009). For imperial Spanish history specifically, see Alejandro Cañeque, “The Emotions of Power: Love, Anger, and Fear, or How to Rule the Spanish Empire,” in *Emotions and Daily Life in Colonial Mexico*, ed. Javier Villa-Flores and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press,

term for the whole family of affective phenomena including feelings, emotions, sentiments, passions, moods, dispositions, attachments, and relational dynamics of encounters.⁴⁹ My dissertation is inspired by this affective/emotional turn to view affectivity as integral to the social engines that propel historical formations, continuities, and changes. It is not so much a history of emotions as a social and political history of friendship, with affect as a tool of analysis and vocabulary of explanation. The affectivity under study here includes well-known named feelings such as love, shame, fear, loyalty, and distrust as well as more abstract affective phenomena such as optimistic attachment and rebellious enthusiasm (Chapter Two) and shared sensation (Chapter Four).

This dissertation employs the term *affect* in a broad sense, drawing upon both past and present usages and perspectives on the concept. During the early modern period, affect and its cognates were a common terminology of emotion whereas the term *emotion* itself was yet to come into widespread use, as it did in the nineteenth century.⁵⁰ Spanish lexicography first registered the term *afecto* during this period in Sebastián de Covarrubias's *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española* (1611). It is defined as “passion of the soul that redounds to the voice, alters it and causes a particular movement in the body, with which we move to compassion and mercy, to anger and revenge, to sadness and joy, something important and necessary in the speaker.”⁵¹ In this sense, *afecto* is something that takes place inside one's soul and registers in one's vocal quality and bodily movement. This change prompts and bears upon one's communication with, or one's performance of a feeling toward, another. Meanwhile, the Latin terms *affectus/affectio* were used during this period with a wide range of meanings—an emotional state, a capacity, a condition, or an intent—

2014), 89-121, and other chapters in the same volume; Nicole D. Legnani, *The Business of Conquest: Empire, Love, and Law in the Atlantic World* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2020).

⁴⁹ See Jan Slaby and Rainer Mühlhoff, “Affect,” in *Affective Societies: Key Concepts*, ed. Jan Slaby and Christian von Scheve (New York: Routledge, 2019), 30.

⁵⁰ For an analytical exploration of the term *affectus* and its cognates across vernacular European languages from late antiquity to early modernity, see Juanita Feros Ruys et al., eds., *Before Emotion: The Language of Feeling, 400-1800* (New York: Routledge, 2019).

⁵¹ “Propiamente es passion del anima que redundando en la voz, la altera y causa en el cuerpo vn particular mouimiento, con que mouemos a compassion y misericordia, a ira y a vengança, a tristeza y a alegría, cosa importante y necessaria en el orador.” Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1611), 17r. For a comparative study of passion, affect, and emotion in Spanish lexicography, see Carmen Marimón Llorca, “De la ‘pasión’ a la ‘emoción’: La construcción verbal (y social) de las emociones en español,” *Signo y seña* 29 (2016): 131-56.

thus the terms were variably endowed with physical, cognitive, and volitional components.⁵² Hence, benevolence or goodwill, one of the keywords in this dissertation, can be regarded as an affect in this early modern sense. Correspondingly, in vernacular Philippine languages of the same period, concepts such as *damdam* in Tagalog and Kapampangan also referred to feeling, with both physical and mental qualities.⁵³

In contemporary affect studies, affect is generally approached from two major conceptual and methodological viewpoints. On the one hand, following Gilles Deleuze's and Felix Guattari's interpretation of Baruch Spinoza, it is understood as relations of affecting and being affected.⁵⁴ Affect is "nonconscious and unnamed, but nevertheless registered, experiences of bodily energy and intensity that arise in response to stimuli impinging of the body [...] Where *affect* is unfixed, unstructured, and nonlinguistic, an *emotion* is one's personal expression of what one is feeling in a given moment, an expression that is structured by social convention, by culture."⁵⁵ Along this line of thought, Jan Slaby and Rainer Mühlhoff also define affect as "relational dynamics between evolving bodies in a setting," which functions as a driving force in the process of collectivization.⁵⁶ While acknowledging the above affect-emotion distinction, my study primarily follows theorists in intersectional cultural studies of affect in understanding affect, on the other hand, as "the felt emotional textures structuring our embodied experience"⁵⁷, using the term interchangeably with feeling and emotion and consistently with the early modern usages above.

With these frameworks broadly combined, I understand friend-making as an embodied and affective process of collectivization with relational dynamics and emotional textures. Either in the sense of a named emotion or force of encounter, affect is what holds together and animates all the participants and elements of friendship. Accordingly, my dissertation calls attention to affective

⁵² Yasmin Haskell, Raphaële Garrod, Michael Champion, and Juanita Ruys, "But Were They Talking about the Emotions? *Affectus*, *affectio* and the History of Emotions," *Rivista storica italiana* 128, no. 2 (2016): 540-42; Michael W. Champion, "From *affectus* to Affect Theory and Back Again," in *Before Emotion: The Language of Feeling, 400-1800*, ed. Juanita Feros Ruys et al. (New York: Routledge, 2019), 242.

⁵³ Domingo de los Santos, *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala: primera y segunda parte* (Sampaloc: Imprenta de N.S. de Loreto, 1794), 756; Diego Bergaño, *Vocabulario de la lengua pampanga en romance* (Manila: Imprenta de Ramirez y Giraudier, 1860), 93. Both translate *damram* or *damdam* as *sentido* (corporeal sense) or *sentir* (to feel).

⁵⁴ Slaby and Mühlhoff, "Affect," 30-32.

⁵⁵ Deborah Gould, "On Affect and Protest," in *Political Emotions: New Agendas in Communication*, ed. Janet Staiger, Ann Cvetkovich, and Ann Reynolds (New York: Routledge, 2010), 26, my italics. See also Gregg and Seigworth, *The Affect Theory Reader*, 1-2, which equates affect with "force or forces of encounter."

⁵⁶ Slaby and Mühlhoff, "Affect," 27.

⁵⁷ Donovan O. Schaefer, *The Evolution of Affect Theory: The Humanities, the Sciences, and the Study of Power* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 1-2, 7-8.

phenomena as inherent in all sorts of encounters and relations, including friendship. That is, every human relationship is ontologically an affective one in spite of its formal, political, or seemingly dispassionate variations. As Jacques Derrida maintains, affects are not simply secondary or derivative phenomena waiting to be manipulated by political discourse, but rather part of the fabric of the political from the very beginning.⁵⁸ While historians of premodern friendship have often emphasized its contractual and obligatory nature at the expense of its affectivity⁵⁹, my study makes salient the affective dimension of friendship in imperial and colonial contexts in parallel to its moral and pragmatic characteristics. Anthropologists have also underlined the importance of affect and the obligation of emotional performance as ingredients of friendship, even in what one might call instrumental friendship.⁶⁰ Hence, instrumental friendship is not necessarily opposed to sentimental friendship, since the former is also infused with affective intensity.

Even in interstate relations, affective attachment is also identified by Andrea Oelsner and Simon Koschut as one of the conditions for friendship between nations.⁶¹ Albeit ontologically incapable of feeling, the state, as IR scholars point out, is not simply an abstract, corporate actor but also an entity represented by individuals who act and feel as the state. The degree and intensity of their feelings and the affective values they attach to an interstate friendship contribute to the variation of its trajectory and interaction with other entities.⁶² In the precolonial and early colonial Philippines, however, the existence of a political system known in Western and Chinese terms as the state is still subject to debate.⁶³ Accordingly, it may be safe to say that there was no *interstate* friendship between Spain and the Philippines as such, but rather a polycentric constellation of

⁵⁸ Paul Earlie, “Derrida’s Political Emotions,” *Theory & Event* 20, no. 2 (2017): 383, 394.

⁵⁹ Konstan, *Friendship in the Classical World*, 2-4. See also a brief overview of historiographical debates on the affectivity of ancient friendship in Koenraad Verboven, “Friendship among the Romans,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Social Relations in the Roman World*, ed. Michael Peachin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 406-07.

⁶⁰ Beer and Gardner, “Friendship, Anthropology of,” 427-28; Eric R. Wolf, “Kinship, Friendship, and Patron-Client Relations in Complex Societies,” in *The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies*, ed. Michael Banton (London: Routledge, 1966), 12-13; Julian A. Pitt-Rivers, “The Kith and the Kin,” in *From Hospitality to Grace: A Julian Pitt-Rivers Omnibus*, ed. Giovanni da Col and Andrew Shryock (Chicago: HAU Books, 2017), 123, 131-32.

⁶¹ Andrea Oelsner and Simon Koschut, “A Framework for the Study of International Friendship,” in *Friendship and International Relations*, ed. Simon Koschut and Andrea Oelsner (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 20-21.

⁶² Lucile Eznack and Simon Koschut, “The Sources of Affect in Interstate Friendship,” in *Friendship and International Relations*, ed. Simon Koschut and Andrea Oelsner (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 72-73.

⁶³ See O. W. Wolters, *History, Culture, and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives*, rev. ed. (Ithaca: Southeast Asia Publications, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1999), 23-25; Patricio N. Abinales and Donna J. Amoroso, *State and Society in the Philippines*, 2nd ed. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 21.

affective relations between the Spanish monarchy or its overseas proxies, on the one hand, and Philippine natives and communities scattered over the archipelago, on the other.

This dissertation joins a number of recent individual and collective projects in arguing for conversation between the history of emotions and affect studies to broaden the former's frameworks and counterbalance the latter's presentism—that is, its predominant focus on post-WWII phenomena and its eschewal of historicization.⁶⁴ As Jan Slaby argues, while affect happens in the present, it is decisively anchored in *what has been* or “a materially sedimented past which continues to weigh on all practically conceivable ways of being.”⁶⁵ On this account, affect studies should also attend to the ongoing history that informs its objects of inquiry. On the other hand, despite its growth and interdisciplinary tendency, the subfield of emotion history seems reticent to engage with critical and theoretical perspectives from affect scholarship. Historians of emotions have often confined themselves to valuable but rather overused concepts in their subfield, such as emotionology, emotional regime, emotional refuge, and emotional communities, or they have overtly repudiated the utility of affect theory in historical research.⁶⁶ Albeit enormously conducive to the expansion of the field, these methodological concepts should be reinvigorated or complemented with new questions, concepts, and approaches. As Michael Champion rightly observes, much history of emotions research has treated emotions as though they are discursive

⁶⁴ See Justine S. Murison, “Feeling out of Place: Affective History, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and the Civil War,” *ESQ: A Journal of the American Renaissance* 59, no. 4 (2013): 522-28; Amanda Bailey and Mario DiGangi, eds., *Affect Theory and Early Modern Texts* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 2-4; Stephen Ahern, ed., *Affect Theory and Literary Critical Practice: A Feel for the Text* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 3-7; Glenn D. Burger and Holly A. Crocker, eds., *Medieval Affect, Feeling, and Emotion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 1-12.

⁶⁵ Jan Slaby, “The Weight of History: From Heidegger to Afro-Pessimism,” in *Phenomenology as Performative Exercise*, ed. Lucilla Guidi and Thomas Rentsch (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 173.

⁶⁶ See a critique of these seminal concepts in the history of emotions in Rob Boddice, *The History of Emotions* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), 59-83. Although he finds enormous potential for historical research in Sara Ahmed's method, Boddice himself is dubious about the workability of “affect theory” for the same purpose, probably in the narrow sense of a universalist psychological explanation rather than a mode of ideological critique. See Rob Boddice, *A History of Feelings* (London: Reaktion Books, 2019), 11, 194n15. Elsewhere he appears to equate Silvan Tomkins's and Paul Ekman's universalist ideas of basic emotions and facial expressions with “the whole edifice of Affect Theory,” completely leaving out Spinozian-Deleuzian and cultural (especially feminist and queer) strands of affect studies, which are better known in the humanities. See Rob Boddice, “From the Ashes, a Fertile Opportunity for Historicism: A Response to Ruth Leys,” *History of the Human Sciences* 33, no. 2 (2020): 126-33. Thus far one of the most theoretically provocative concepts in emotion history, which also intersects with other disciplines of affectivity seems to be Reddy's concept *emotive*, which suggests that the performative approximation of what one feels also shapes that feeling itself. See Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, 96-111.

phenomena, and paid insufficient attention to “‘intensities’ transmitted and modulated by more fundamental and universal material states and events.”⁶⁷

Indeed, while emotion historiography has largely emphasized social standards and conventions that regulated emotional expressions and practices in given communities, affect theory attunes us to more transient and less structured aspects of psychosomatic experience. As Lauren Berlant puts it, affect’s strength as a site of potential elucidation comes from “the ways it registers the conditions of life that move across persons and worlds, play out in lived time, and energize attachments.”⁶⁸ An affective approach to past friendships promises to shed light not only on such labelled emotions as love and fear—bread and butter for historians of emotions—but also on bodily intensity as triggered by an encounter such as a Filipino-Spanish imperial contact. Indeed, affective relations with innominate or less concrete manifestations—such as attachment, promise, and intimacy, which I also consider in this dissertation—are a distinct mainstay of affect studies. An affective approach should therefore enable historians to read into historical material with inexplicit emotional content or with described but unnamed experiences of the body. In addition, it also offers an explanatory alternative and a speculative device in case historical evidence is limited and the reconstruction of past emotional worlds is unfeasible. As demonstrated in Chapter Two, the promise of European friendship as political leverage for Philippine natives in their local and colonial conflicts also had an affective quality, which may otherwise escape our attention if we were to restrict ourselves to the historical study of *named* emotions. Meanwhile, in Chapter Four, despite the dearth of evidence, Spanish accounts of native treachery and fugitivism can be read against the grain, through an affective lens, as a consequence of racializing distrust rather than a display of shame and guilt, as claimed by Spanish colonizers.

Furthermore, an affective approach can also help historians understand power as it operates dynamically in an intimate sphere, linking individuals or groups to one another and to society at large. Several European writers from late antiquity to early modernity, albeit from different philosophical and theological standpoints, thought that *affectus* could make and remake social relations and structures.⁶⁹ With its emphasis on situated, embodied, and transformative force,

⁶⁷ Michael W. Champion, “From *affectus* to Affect Theory and Back Again,” in *Before Emotion: The Language of Feeling, 400-1800*, ed. Juanita Feros Ruys et al. (New York: Routledge, 2019), 243.

⁶⁸ Lauren Berlant, *Cruel Optimism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 16.

⁶⁹ Juanita Feros Ruys et al., eds., *Before Emotion: The Language of Feeling, 400-1800* (New York: Routledge, 2019), 5.

affect theory reframes affective experience as before or beside the realm of language and signification. It can thus redirect the history of emotions toward *what a feeling or emotion did* in addition to *what it meant* for historical subjects. In this way, affect theory extends the Foucauldian approach to the relationship between power, discourse, and the body toward the field of bodily encounters at its non-linguistic level. As Donovan Schaefer potently puts it, while Michel Foucault offers a model of *power-knowledge*, affect theory beckons us toward *power-affect* or *power-knowledge-affect*.⁷⁰ Affect theory is therefore an extension of ideological critique rather than a diversion from it.⁷¹ While some scholars work to de-pathologize or de-stigmatize “negative” feelings such as depression and anger, others seek to politicize and problematize such “positive” feelings as compassion.⁷² In this dissertation, I seek to do the same with love and goodwill from a historical perspective and with material from colonial archives. Whereas Ann Stoler, as previously mentioned, has interrogated love in its sexual and reproductive modalities, my project explores its counterpart in friendship; that is, friendly love in colonial relations where love and friendship were often collocated, as most clearly visible in Chapter Five.

In reading for the affective in textual sources, I keep in mind questions of linguistic norms and vernacular conceptions. My project takes its cue from Julian Haseldine’s assertion that although affectionate languages of friendship were usually structured by literary conventions, their utterance or articulation also functioned socially as a language of inclusion, conveying an ethical framework internalized by those involved and thereby shaping their feelings and actions.⁷³ Indeed, as William Reddy and Jan Hutta similarly argue, emotional expressions *approximate* and *conjure* rather than *capture* affective intensities.⁷⁴ This highlights the affectivity of discursive practices such as face-to-face communication and imperial writing in general. Hence, what Spanish seafarers wrote about their colonial encounters with affective terms, such as *amor* (love) or *buena voluntad* (goodwill), could have reflexively altered their own feelings. This was also the case for affective terms in Philippine vernacular languages. Leading Philippine historians such as Reynaldo

⁷⁰ Schaefer, *The Evolution of Affect Theory*, 3.

⁷¹ Berlant, *Cruel Optimism*, 53.

⁷² See, for example, Kathleen Woodward, *Statistical Panic: Cultural Politics and Poetics of the Emotions* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009); Ann Cvetkovich, *Depression: A Public Feeling* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012).

⁷³ Julian P. Haseldine, “Friendship Networks in Medieval Europe: New Models of a Political Relationship,” *AMITY: The Journal of Friendship Studies* 1 (2013): 73.

⁷⁴ See the concept of emotive in Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, 96-111; J. S. Hutta, “The Affective Life of Semiotics,” *Geographica Helvetica* 70 (2015): 295-309.

Ileto and Vicente Rafael examine such concepts as *damay* (sympathy or participation), *awa* (pity), and *hiya* (shame) as Tagalog frames of reference for grasping and dealing with colonial conditions under Spain.⁷⁵ Taken together, these theoretical and historical accounts draw attention to both the cultural specificity of emotional repertoires and their potentiality to stir up those involved in their communication. In this light, I examine terminologies of friendship and naming practices in Philippine vernacular languages and reflect on their underlying philosophy as well as their affective power in Chapter Three.

On the whole, this dissertation shows that the Spanish colonization of the Philippines and its indigenous resistance entailed *the affective arrangement of friendship*, which here refers to the coalescence of historical agents in a shared socio-material setting under the name of friendship or the like. Put differently, the colonial Philippines emerged and evolved sociopolitically as a series of such arrangements between Spaniards and indigenous peoples, on the one hand, and among the latter themselves in spite of or in opposition to Spanish rule, on the other.

In so arguing, I adopt Jan Slaby's definition of affective arrangements as "local ensembles of heterogeneous elements that form a characteristic layout marked off from its surroundings by thresholds of intensity," with candidate elements including humans as well as non-humans such as spaces, artifacts, symbols, and utterances.⁷⁶ The theoretical model here dovetails with Michel Foucault's concept of *dispositif*—a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble of discursive, material, and institutional elements, which forms a system of relations that exercises power in a given context.⁷⁷ Both concepts call attention not only to the discursive but also the material conditions of friend-making in an imperial setting, such as the presence of military forces, the exchange of gift objects along with signs and words, and the spatial organization of colonial settlement, as will be examined in Chapter Three. Moreover, the demarcating role of affective intensity in the above model also corresponds to Sara Ahmed's theorization of emotions—that is, what emotions do is to create "the very effect of the surfaces and boundaries that allow us to distinguish an inside and

⁷⁵ Reynaldo C. Ileto, *Pasyon and Revolution: Popular Movements in the Philippines, 1840-1910* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1979); Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism*.

⁷⁶ Jan Slaby, "Affective Arrangements and Disclosive Postures: Towards a Post-Phenomenology of Situated Affectivity," *Phänomenologische Forschungen* 2 (2018): 208-09. See also Jan Slaby, Rainer Mühlhoff, and Philipp Wüschner, "Affective Arrangements," *Emotion Review* 11, no. 1 (2019): 4.

⁷⁷ Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 194-95.

an outside in the first place.”⁷⁸ In what follows, we will see that both affective experiences and emotional expressions worked in the local, colonial, and interimperial politics of friendship as catalysts of social inclusion and exclusion—sidelining some while corralling others into friendship. For example, while Villalobos had sought to alienate the Portuguese by claiming harmony and contentment in the existing Spanish-Philippine contact, later on the optimistic promise of friendship with non-Spanish powers in the region sporadically drove a wedge between Philippine natives and their Spanish colonizers.

As affective arrangements, Filipino-Spanish bonds of friendship were far from static despite the stabilizing and regulative measures of the colonial regime. Rather, it was constantly modulated by its participants and transformed through its multiple histories. As affect scholars describe, these may have included “histories of fine-tuning, of combining and recombining of components, of accommodation to various forms of resistance or failure, histories of reform, of expansion, of transformation, but also sheer historical accident.”⁷⁹ These examples are of particular relevance to the history of empire and colonialism, as schemes of power and technologies of rule were usually recalibrated to maximize their efficacy in the face of ensuing challenges. What can be observed in such histories of the early colonial Philippines is not only how power was exercised and domination operated in affective registers, but also how the political agency of the subordinate could be provisionally expanded through the dynamics of affective arrangements.

In addition to the foregoing sense of the affective arrangement as a heterogeneous assemblage, and in view of its semantic capacity, I want to broaden the concept by incorporating two other senses into our working definition here. In the early colonial Philippines, an affective arrangement of friendship can also be understood as an ideological machination of the Spanish imperial system, on the one hand, and as an agreement or dispute settlement between two or more parties, on the other. These three senses, all of which are employed in this dissertation, are mutually complementary, as each of them draws attention to the agency of different elements or actors in the affective *arrangement*. In the second sense, arrangement designates the underpinning ideology

⁷⁸ Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 10.

⁷⁹ Slaby, Mühlhoff, and Wüschner, “Affective Arrangements,” 8.

and preparatory maneuver of imperial friendship whereby the Spanish Empire or its functionaries mobilized affects to pursue their expansionist desires.

In its last sense, the term arrangement accommodates the *contractual* character of friendship ties, particularly those with certain degrees of formality and enforceable obligations such as ritualized friendship and treaties of amity. As we shall see, this denotation of arrangement also captures the prevalence of political or contractual friendship as conceived and practiced in the premodern and early modern world. On this account, it was *affective* in the broadest sense. That is, not only was an imperial or colonial friendship a social domain in which a varying range of feelings were prompted, performed, shared, and circulated. It was also a relationship of power and attachment, characterized by promises as concluded or agreed upon, whether explicitly or implicitly, among those involved. It is precisely such reciprocal binding that rendered it an affectively charged bond. Like our modern forms of friendship, friends in an imperial or colonial setting were bound by mutual commitment to do or not to do something—generally something that could affect either of them or their relationship. To befriend is to come into contact with, and act toward, a person or a political entity in an amicable manner, and to be friends is to commit or pledge oneself to the promissory condition of such contact. Since friendship is by and large a voluntary bond, promises necessarily lie at the basis of its existence. These promises come with an expectation of repeated fulfillment and the possibility of being disappointed or betrayed by one's friend. Accordingly, friendship is also affective in the additional sense of its “anticipatory reality”⁸⁰—that is, the palpable reality of the present as marked by the promise of what is yet to come, for better or worse, as will be further discussed in the next section.

Friendship as Agonistic Intimacy

This dissertation also conceptualizes friendship, especially interpersonal friendship, as a bond of agonistic intimacy. In precolonial Southeast Asia, as Barbara Andaya argues, there existed between paired tribes a very old pattern of “hostile friendship,” which refers to “a relationship in which alliance and antagonism were inextricably mixed.”⁸¹ An excellent case in point in the early colonial Philippines might be between highlanders and lowlanders in Luzon and Panay, among

⁸⁰ I borrow this term from Brian Massumi, *Ontopower: War, Powers, and the State of Perception* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), 191.

⁸¹ Barbara W. Andaya, *To Live as Brothers: Southeast Sumatra in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), 2.

others, who were described in Spanish documents as economically interdependent, with some degree of peace and partnership, and yet alternately belligerent to each other.⁸² This, I argue, is common not only to premodern intertribal or interpolity relations but also to friendship in general, with varying intensity. While we lack precolonial and early colonial sources on interpersonal friendships among ordinary Philippine natives, postcolonial ethnographies such as Michelle Rosaldo's study of the Ilongots in the 1970s show that interpersonal friendships among Ilongot equals was also characterized by tension and competition as much as cooperation and accommodation.⁸³ Indeed, the interconnection between alliance and antagonism is a distinctive element of political emotions. As Thomas Szanto and Jan Slaby argue, political emotions are essentially oriented toward community building and involve a certain "agonistic" dialectic of allegiance and antagonism. This manifests itself not only in the interrelated formation of inclusive alliance and exclusive enmity, but also in the instrumental alliance of self-empowerment between partners with conflicting values or interests, who are nonetheless bound together by shared sentiments such as religious devotion.⁸⁴

Here I argue that agonism is fundamental to virtually all friendships. What I term *agonistic intimacy* is the inherent tension or dialectic of friendship by which friends may turn into or act like foes and vice versa, time and again. This agonism between friends can come about as "inconvenience"—what Lauren Berlant describes as "a feeling state that registers one's implication in the pressures of coexistence"—at variable scales and duration.⁸⁵ While friendship as an affective bond is driven by a desire to cultivate intimacy with the other, it is also fraught with a felt potential for disappointment and grievance, for dissension and dissolution. Friendship is always a relationship in the making, which an act can incrementally or radically transform. Repetition, on the other hand, is crucial to its stability and durability. The ideal of absolute concord or sameness is accordingly haunted by the inevitable reality of difference and disagreement.

It is in this sense that agonistic intimacy characterizes perhaps every encounter and friend-making effort in colonial contexts. For instance, a late-sixteenth-century Spanish manual for

⁸² Miguel de Loarca, "Relacion de las Yslas Filipinas" (1582), in BR, 5: 120; William Henry Scott, "Igorot Responses to Spanish Aims: 1576-1896," *Philippine Studies* 18, no. 4 (1970): 700-01.

⁸³ Michelle Z. Rosaldo, *Knowledge and Passion: Ilongot Notions of Self and Social Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 88-91, 159-73.

⁸⁴ Thomas Szanto and Jan Slaby. "Political Emotions," in *The Routledge Handbook of Phenomenology of Emotions*, ed. Thomas Szanto and Hilge Landweer (New York: Routledge, 2020), 487-89.

⁸⁵ Lauren Berlant, *On the Inconvenience of Other People* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2022), 3.

colonial pacification also warns the Spanish commander at the frontier that “with prudence he trusts no one, for even the closest friend wounds if he is offended for something.”⁸⁶ In the case of Spanish-Indian relations, Ignacio Martinez and Fernando Palanco capture such agonistic intimacy by pointing out that friendly Indians (*indios amigos*) were privy to Spanish information and potentially liable to side with hostile Indians (*indios enemigos*) or rise up as rebels (*indios rebelados* or *indios alzados*). The uncertainty of their alliance and friendship usually kept both sides in a state of constant preparedness and required them to attune to shifts in colonial power relations.⁸⁷ This agonistic character is observable even in less intimate forms of friendship, such as the quasi-institutional friendship between the Spanish Crown and its colonial subjects.

In this respect, Jacques Derrida, Martin Heidegger, and Renato Constantino similarly provide theoretical resources for thinking about friendship as underlain by anxiety and ambivalence vis-à-vis the future or what is yet to come. Heidegger considers anxiety toward the uncertainty of the future as the defining sentiment of the human condition which, as Felix Berenskoetter argues, individuals and states alike try to control by seeking friends.⁸⁸ Meanwhile, Derrida not only comes up with the neologism *hostipitality* to connote the paradox of hospitality as haunted by the possibility of hostility, but also pronounces, like the early modern manual above, that there is “no friend without the possible wound.”⁸⁹ In a similar vein, the Filipino historian Constantino points to the ambivalence of friendship, noting that “even during a period of accommodation or of active alliance there is still recognition of the latent or open rivalry that exists between allies, and both prepare for the possible occurrence of extreme manifestations of this rivalry.”⁹⁰ On these accounts, anxieties both prompt and pervade friendship, just as friends have recourse to each other only to find themselves susceptible to each other’s intimate potency. As will become clear, friendship as a form of agonistic intimacy in Philippine colonial formations shows

⁸⁶ Bernardo de Vargas Machuca, *The Indian Militia and Description of the Indies*, ed. Kris Lane, trans. Timothy F. Johnson (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 35.

⁸⁷ Martinez, *The Intimate Frontier*, 123; Fernando Palanco, “Christianized Native Resistance and Rebellion during the First Centenary of Spanish Sovereignty, 1565-1665,” in *More Hispanic Than We Admit 3: Quincentennial Edition, 1521-1820: Filipino and Spanish Interactions over the Centuries*, ed. Jorge Mojarro (Quezon City: Vibal Foundation, 2020), 188, 194.

⁸⁸ Felix Berenskoetter, “Friends, There Are No Friends? An Intimate Reframing of the International,” *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 35, no. 3 (2007): 654-56.

⁸⁹ Jacques Derrida, “Hostipitality,” *Angelaki: Journal of Theoretical Humanities* 5, no. 3 (2000): 3-18; Derrida, *The Politics of Friendship*, 153

⁹⁰ Renato Constantino, *Neocolonial Identity and Counter-Consciousness: Essays on Cultural Decolonization* (London: Merlin Press, 1978), 188-89.

“the possibility of wound” as not only metaphorical but also literal, in the sense of physical or even fatal harm.

Chapter Outline

To foreground the central theme of friendship, my dissertation is arranged thematically, with each chapter focusing on a particular facet of imperial friendship running through a *longue durée*. The first two chapters offer panoramic, “zoomed out,” angles onto Filipino-Spanish relations in the contexts of Spanish imperial thought and interimperial politics in Southeast Asia. Framed through global perspectives, they are part of the global history of international friendship in the modern age of colonial empires. The subsequent chapters present “zoomed in” narratives and analyses of friendly arrangements, from first contact to contractual agreement, settlement, and Catholic conversion. All these chapters also demonstrate potential and actual indigenous resistance to or evasion from multiple forms of colonial friendship at local and translocal levels.

Given the massive availability of the Spanish Empire’s juridical and bureaucratic archives, it seems inevitable as much as indispensable to start off with an analysis of its ideology from the vantage of law and sovereignty. Drawing upon philosophical, legal, and historical sources, Chapter One outlines the politics of friendship and its affectivity as formative and reproductive of monarchies and empires through different historical eras, from classical antiquity to early modernity. It argues that the idea of friendship was collocated with both peace and vassalage and altogether implicated in Spanish imperial thought, as Spanish conquerors and publicists drew upon received canons on friendship rooted in Greco-Roman and Christian traditions. The significance of the Philippines in this context lies in the fact that the way it was colonized, unlike that of early Spanish colonial possessions in the Americas, was a consequence rather a cause of the contentious debates on the Indies affairs. While examining how the imperial idea of vassalic friendship was formulated in this peripheral theater of expansion, this chapter also looks at issues of race and ethnicity posed by the perceived alterity between Philippine natives and Spanish newcomers. It shows how one was ethnoracialized by the other with reference to their amicability, trustworthiness, or lack thereof, thus precluding or impregnating their contact with tension and agentive possibilities.

Chapter Two draws upon a transimperial approach to examine the entanglement between colonial, interimperial, and local politics of friendship in the European colonization of archipelagic

Southeast Asia. It focuses on the interwoven relations between indigenous Philippine communities and the Iberian and Protestant empires from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. I argue that during the first wave of global imperialism, the concept of friendship was integral to the inter-European practice of expansionist cartography, as encapsulated in the emergence of and dispute over the so-called “lines of amity.” Discourses and practices of friendship also constituted a transimperial repository of knowledge at the disposal of European imperial agents in various metropolises and frontier regions of expansion. In maritime Southeast Asia, interimperial rivalry manifested itself in part through competitions among European powers over friend-making with indigenous peoples and its affective economies. On the one hand, European empire builders asserted their imperial legitimacy in the Philippines and adjacent islands against rival powers by laying claim to exclusive signs of native amicability and friendship. On the other hand, Philippine and Southeast Asian natives resisted European colonization through false pretenses of friendship at times, and attracted European allies to aid in their local and their anti-colonial struggles at other times. In so arguing, this chapter contributes to Southeast Asia’s “autonomous” historiography, which underscores indigenous viewpoints and variable agency, by showing the inextricable link between native agency and foreign impetus, including coloniality and inter-imperiality.⁹¹

As a form of transcultural encounter and exchange, colonial friendship necessitates an investigation sensitive to semantic and gestural nuances between different terms and practices of amical cultures. Chapter Three explores indigenous cultures of friendship in the Philippines on the eve of European contact and the performance of friendship between natives and Spaniards. It also shows how those preconquest traditions and the Spanish ideology of imperial friendship were brought to bear on their actions in face-to-face encounters. It looks particularly at contact scenarios at sea and on land—what the naval historian Alison Bashford calls “terraqueous histories”⁹²—to discern patterns of friend-making as a process that encompassed littoral and mountainous sites. The terraqueous histories of Filipino-Spanish friendly relations were comprised largely of such practices as hailing, gesturing, gifting, bartering, and feasting. These same practices, while manipulated by Spanish frontiersmen to advance their expansion, were also employed by

⁹¹ For autonomous approaches in Southeast Asian historiography, see Laurie J. Sears, ed., *Autonomous Histories, Particular Truths: Essays in Honor of John R. W. Smail* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, 1993).

⁹² Alison Bashford, “Terraqueous Histories.” *The Historical Journal* 60, no. 2 (2017): 253-72.

indigenous peoples in building devious stratagems and subversive coalitions against colonial authorities or Spanish rule at large.

Chapter Four draws attention to the practice and politics of blood covenanting or *sandugo* in the Philippines as a form of ritualized friendship. It engages with scholarship in the anthropology of kinship and friendship as well as in European and Filipino philosophical knowledge to grasp the shifting social and historical significance of the ritual in the prequest and early colonial Philippines. It shows how the historical realities and historiography of Filipino-Spanish blood compacts during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries present us with a succession of dynamic struggles emblematic of friendship politics in Philippine colonial encounters. Through a series of indigenous compacts and European treaties between Philippine natives and Spaniards, a pattern of contractual subordination and epistemic displacement can be discerned as it formed a basis of Spanish colonial rule in the archipelago. Such hegemonic ascendancy was sporadically stymied by indigenous renuncements of their pacts with Spaniards as well as their exclusive brokering of at least one anti-colonial blood pact among themselves.

Turning toward colonial friendships at the spiritual and religious level, Chapter Five begins with an exploration of preternatural or spiritual friendship in animistic Philippine societies on the eve and in the aftermath of the Spanish conquest. It then examines how the Christian notions of friendship with God and God-as-Friend were introduced in the Philippines through vernacular translation. At the confluence between Spanish-Filipino interpersonal friendship and the holy communion between God and native converts was religious or pastoral friendship between native parishioners and Spanish priests, who formed and formulated these bonds in affective terms. While Catholicization gave rise to a sense of Christian fellowship among native converts and Spaniards crucial to colonial defense and security, it was also refracted or resisted through indigenous modes of appropriation and sectarian withdrawal, which can be viewed as counter-hegemonic forms of friend-making. This chapter ends with what can probably be called a speculative history of the Filipino Eucharistic experience in the early Spanish Philippines. In view of epistemic discrepancy and syncretism, it surmises that native piety could have been affirmative of Christian divine-human friendship and at the same time aberrant from missionary orthodoxy.

Chapter I

Empire of Amity: Spanish Imperial Thought, Racial Difference, and the Ideology of Friendly Pacification

“We are friends of the Spaniards by force” (*nosotros somos amigos del castila á la fuerza*).¹

In the Spanish colonization of the Philippines, friendship was reckoned as an instrument and an outcome of conquest as early and as late as the colonial enterprise itself. In 1585, the Augustinian historian Fray Juan González de Mendoza described the Philippine archipelago as comprised of innumerable islands, many of which were “conquered by the Spaniards, through either war or friendship” (*conquistadas de los Españoles, o por guerra, o amistad*).² Three centuries later, the Jesuit Fray Quirico Moré wrote from Mindanao to his father superior that, despite the Spanish conquest of the Davao Gulf region, the local Moros were still striving to maintain their organization and regain their power. They even declared as much, as we can see in the above epigraph. Hence, Moré remarked, “they endure our domination for the time being, but do not accept it.”³

These accounts demonstrate on the one hand that friendship was incorporated into the discursive and interactive practices of Spanish colonial subjugation inasmuch as it promised, and was promised by, the feat of conquest. On the other hand, friendship also appeared as a mode of colonial endurance as the natives grappled with Spanish rule. We might begin to understand such intricacies of friendship in Philippine colonial relations by asking: What was meant by the seeming paradox of “conquest through friendship”? How did such an idea emerge and gain momentum in Spanish imperial thought? What was its role in the formulation of Spanish imperial policies and their early materialization in the Philippines? How was the arrangement of friendship thought to operate in affective terms and how did it actually transpire in different colonial milieux across the archipelago?

This chapter traces the emergence of friendship as an ideological underpinning and a politico-juridical apparatus of the Spanish Empire. It explores the discursive and practical

¹ *Cartas de los padres de la Compañía de Jesús de la Misión de Filipinas* (Manila: Amigos del País, 1887), 7: 86. Some vernacular Philippine languages, including Malay, referred to the Spaniards or Castilians as *Kastila*.

² Juan González de Mendoza, *Historia de las cosas mas notables, ritos y costumbres, del gran Reyno de la China* (Rome: A costa de Bartholome Grassi, 1585), 365. See also a similar expression on the conquest of Mindanao by an anonymous Spaniard in “Military Affairs of the Islands” (1626), in BR, 22: 117.

³ *Cartas*, 7: 86. The letter was written in 1885.

entanglements between friendship and empire in the Spanish colonization of the Americas and the Philippines, with a particular focus on their affective articulations. Such a convergence, however, was neither unprecedented nor peculiar to Spanish imperial history. I argue that the intersection between friendship and imperial conquest has a long track record, stretching back centuries prior to the emergence of the Spanish overseas empire. The concept of friendship in Spanish imperial thought derived from classical philosophies and the imperial epitome of ancient Rome, as friendship was co-opted into imperial practices of power through successive ages. It was further reworked through the theological frame of Christianity as a manifestation of love and charity, thus buttressing its political capacity with religious inflection.

The Spanish imperial discourse of friendship emerged through the selective reproduction of such time-honored theories and models of friendship. It further evolved in response to the sanguinary conquest of the Americas and had a considerable impact on the Spanish occupation of the Philippines. In combination with a complex variety of rationales, friendship with indigenous peoples was invoked by imperial Spain to substantiate the legality and charitableness of its overseas presence. Early Spanish-Filipino relations, however, were predicated on the making of ethnoracial difference and its accompanying affects, particularly mutual distrust. This raised concerns on both sides as to the feasibility of friend-making and, accordingly, the stability of their ensuing relationships.

Empire, Affect, and Premodern Theories of Friendship

Friendship arose as a conceptual device of the Spanish Empire from the onset of its maritime expansion. While its formulation and deployment in transoceanic colonial contexts addressed new circumstances beyond the Old World, it nonetheless hinged on the long history of friendship in European political cultures. To grasp its political stakes and implications, it is essential to situate Spain's Renaissance imperialism against the sociopolitical background and intellectual patrimony of European theories of friendship. These theories, despite their different angles of vision, were generally couched in moral and affective terms. It is thus pertinent to observe what feelings were associated with friendship in the political domain and how the affective economy of friendship contributed to the formation and reproduction of power, imperial or otherwise. As we shall see, love and goodwill have long been attributed by European thinkers to friendship as its defining affective features. Positive and universal as they may seem at first, these

affects need to be scrutinized in relation to cultural and historical structures of domination and dispossession.

We can locate moments of emergence for the concept of friendship in Spanish imperial thought in at least two legal-intellectual events: the effective promulgation of the legal code *Siete Partidas* throughout the Spanish Empire (1530) and the Spanish theologian Francisco de Vitoria's jurisprudential discussion of the Spanish conquest of the Americas (1539). Both events reveal identifiable links between classical theories of friendship and Spanish imperial thought, attesting to what Walter Mignolo calls "the darker side of the Renaissance"—the fact that Greco-Roman traditions were revived during the early modern period to serve expansionist and exploitative purposes.⁴ Through the disciplinary and institutional power of the law and the church, both events allowed certain perspectives on friendship to come to the fore and hold sway in the Spanish imperial enterprise. In addition to their intertextual ties with premodern literature, these views also connected the two discursive events to other episodes in the history of political friendship through recurring affective vocabulary. This section traces the development of European philosophies of friendship from classical antiquity to their codification in the *Siete Partidas*. The next section then centers on how the concept of friendship, especially international friendship, was integral to Vitoria's equivocal sanction of Spanish colonialism and the legislation of the Indies under his influence.

Classical Antiquity and the Emergence of Imperial Friendship

The conjunction between friendship and empire in European intellectual traditions came clearly into view in republican and imperial Rome, but its conceptual lineage was traceable to classical Greece.⁵ It should be emphasized from the beginning that classical friendship had dual

⁴ Walter D. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998). See also Thomas James Dandeleit, *The Renaissance of Empire in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

⁵ In the ancient Greek language, friend and friendship were generally signified by the words *philos* and *philia*, respectively. However, both encompassed a wide circle of associates, from blood relatives and voluntary friends to more distant acquaintances such as business partners and fellow citizens. For the semantic and pragmatic history of the terms *philia* and *philos*, see Mary W. Blundell, *Helping Friends and Harming Enemies: A Study in Sophocles and Greek Ethics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 39-49; Lynette G. Mitchell, *Greeks Bearing Gifts: The Public Use of Private Relationships in the Greek World, 435-323 BC* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 3-14; Dirk Baltzly and Nick Eliopoulos, "The Classical Ideals of Friendship," in *Friendship: A History*, ed. Barbara Caine (London: Routledge, 2014), 1-12. For a different view, with a more limited interpretation of Greek *philia*, see David Konstan, *Friendship in the Classical World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), chapters 1-2.

modes of conceptual usage—ethical, normative friendship on the one hand, and political, contractual friendship on the other—whose underlying ideas of virtue and agreement were intrinsically linked nonetheless.⁶ Ancient Greek philosophers variously accorded to friendship an essential role not only in the cultivation of individual learning and well-being, but also in the creation of common good and political community.⁷ In view of its centrality to individual and collective life, their normative theories of friendship described it in affective terms and set down moral prescriptions on how it was established and ought to be preserved. In this sense, friendship in classical theories was comprised of obligatory, ethical, and affective elements in varying proportion, according to its specific form.

Spanish imperial thought in the early modern period owed one of its authoritative sources to Aristotle (384-322 BC), whose theory of friendship was expounded in his treatise, *Nicomachean Ethics*. During the late Middle Ages, Muslim-Christian intellectual exchanges had contributed to the transfer of Aristotle's philosophy into the Iberian world.⁸ Consequently, the Aristotelian revival flourished in Europe with numerous commentaries just as the *Nicomachean Ethics* became part of every university arts course in the scholastic tradition over the fourteenth century.⁹ By the time of the Spanish colonization of the Philippines, Aristotle's moral writings were widely and rapidly diffused in both popular and intellectual circles in Spain where, unlike most of Europe, the classics were often read in vernacular translations.¹⁰ Given the intellectual matrices of scholasticism and Renaissance humanism to which Hispanic education was attuned, the Spanish

⁶ Evgeny Roshchin, *Friendship among Nations: History of a Concept* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 55-56, passim.

⁷ See overviews of friendship theories in classical schools of philosophy in Horst Hutter, *Politics as Friendship: The Origins of Classical Notions of Politics in the Theory and Practice of Friendship* (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1978), 91-132; Reginald Hyatte, *The Arts of Friendship: The Idealization of Friendship in Medieval and Early Renaissance Literature* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), 1-42.

⁸ The Muslim Andalusian philosopher Ibn Rushd (known in Latin as Averroes) offered commentary on the *Nicomachean Ethics*, which was translated from Arabic into Latin in Toledo in the mid-thirteenth century. Anna A. Akasoy and Alexander Fidora, "Hermannus Alemannus und die *alia translatio* der *Nikomachischen Ethik*," *Bulletin de Philosophie Médiévale* 44 (2002): 88. Ibn Rushd's commentary usually renders Greek *philia* as *maḥabba* (love), prefiguring the connection between friendship and love in Latin and Castilian translations. Steven Harvey and Frédérique Woerther, "Averroes' Middle Commentary on Book I of the *Nicomachean Ethics*," *Oriens* 42 (2014): 257.

⁹ James McEvoy, "The Theory of Friendship in the Latin Middle Ages: Hermeneutics, Contextualization and the Transmission and Reception of Ancient Texts and Ideas, from c. AD 350 to c. 1500," in *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Julian Haseldine (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), 4-13, 25-28.

¹⁰ Anthony Pagden, "The Diffusion of Aristotle's Moral Philosophy in Spain, ca. 1400-ca. 1600," *Traditio* 31 (1975): 289-305. A popular Castilian version of Aristotle's *Ethics* was translated from Latin in the mid fifteenth century by Charles, Prince of Viana (1421-61), and printed in 1509. See Aristotle, *La filosofía moral del Aristoteles: a saber ethicas, polithicas y economicas, en romance* (Çaragoça: Por industria y dispensa de Gorge Coci Aleman, 1509).

clergy who embarked for the Philippines might have been more or less steeped in classical philosophies of friendship. Moreover, Aristotelian treatises and commentaries were also part of the curriculum at the University of Santo Tomas established by the Dominican order in Manila in 1611.¹¹ These texts attest to the transmission of friendship ideals from classical antiquity to the Christian world and hint at the dissemination of the Aristotelian conception of friendship to the archipelago through clerical education and textual circulation.

Aristotle's discussion of friendship in the *Nicomachean Ethics* begins with the idea that friendship (*philia*) is mutually felt between members of the same kind, whether human or non-human.¹² He proposed that individuals deserve to be called friends insofar as they are mutually recognized as bearing benevolence or goodwill to each other (1155b32-1156a6). Goodwill itself is "an idle friendship" which requires prolonged intimacy to become friendship (1167a11-15). Therefore, the generic model of friendship in his view is characterized by intimacy, on the one hand, and the reciprocation and recognition of feelings, particularly love and goodwill, on the other.

Aristotle famously offered a typology of friendship based on its nature and motivation. Aside from natural bonds of *philia* such as parent-child affection and siblinghood, he distinguished between three major causes of friend-making and, correspondingly, three different types of friendship: those grounded on utility, pleasure, or virtue. Despite their distinct purposes, all three are predicated on the feeling of love. Friends for the sake of utility or pleasure love each other not for their character, but rather for the prospect of benefits they will get from each other. Such friendships can easily be dissolved once the parties are no longer beneficial or pleasant to each other. By contrast, "perfect friendship" for Aristotle is friendship of virtue, which refers to the friendship between individuals who are good and alike in virtue, "for these alike want good things

¹¹ These included the commentary *In libros ethicorum Aristotelis ad Nicomachum*, one among eleven books on Aristotle known as the Coimbra Commentaries or the Conimbricenses published by the Jesuit University of Coimbra in Portugal at the turn of the seventeenth century. *Libro de piques*, a compendium of Aristotle's writings for use in the licentiate examination at the College of Santo Tomas, was also available since 1636. Estrella S. Majuelo, comp., *Catalogue of Rare Books: University of Santo Tomas Library*, vol. 2, part 1, 1600-1699 (Manila: University of Santo Tomas Library, 2006), 5, 353. Although *In libros* summarizes rather than reproduces Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, it does present friendship as a potential component of justice and sum up the Aristotelian taxonomy of friendship discussed later. See Collegium Conimbricense, *In libros ethicorum Aristotelis ad Nicomachum, aliquot Conimbricensis cursus disputationes* (Venetiis: Apud Iacobum Vincentium, & Ricciardum Amadinum, 1606), 109-10.

¹² Aristotle, *Aristotle's Ethics: Writings from the Complete Works*, ed. Jonathan Barnes and Anthony Kenny (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014). My discussion that follows is based largely on this English translation.

for each other *qua* good, and they are good in themselves” (1156a7-9). It is in this type of friendship that one’s friend is ideally conceived as one’s “other self” (1169b6). Albeit imperfect and liable to dissolution, friendship of utility manifested as a political arrangement is a significant part of the social order in Aristotle’s philosophy, for it allows those involved to achieve common goods such as security and protection.¹³ It was particularly this type of friendship that evolved into the concept of imperial friendship as understood and practiced in the early modern world.

Even as he identified equality as a defining feature of friendship, Aristotle also discussed vertical forms of friendship, such as those between parents and children, elders and juniors, husbands and wives, and rulers and ruled. Their *philia*, he claimed, will sustain insofar as “proportional equality” is established between them. Accordingly, all friendships involving superiority should feature “proportional affection,” since “equality” exists when the love is in proportion to worth. For instance, the better or the more beneficial should be more loved than they love (1158b11-29).

Importantly, Aristotle’s formulation made room for slaves and their masters to be friends. For him, slavery can also coexist with friendship between master and slave, with slave *qua* man, not *qua* slave (1161b5-8). In the *Politics*, a sequel as it were to the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle discussed the controversial notion of the natural slave, which refers to a man whose function is to use his body, since he participates in reason only to apprehend but not possess it. Hence, he belongs not to himself but to another and deserves to be governed by a master for his own advantage (1254b16-24).¹⁴ A certain community of interest and friendship can nevertheless occur between a master and a *natural slave*, as opposed to a *conventional slave* who is held by law or by constraint of force (1255b13-16). During the mid-sixteenth century, as we shall see, Aristotle’s conception of the natural slave would serve as a philosophical basis for the contentious rationalization of Spanish violence against certain Indians.

The Aristotelian model offers an affective theory of friendship in which love, prompted by each person’s character or the promise of his possessions, gives rise to mutual goodwill. Even utility-based friendship, instrumentalized and self-serving as it may be, is also based on affection. In this way, friendship comes across as an affective arrangement in which affects are elicited,

¹³ Roshchin, *Friendship among Nations*, 31-32.

¹⁴ Aristotle, *Politics*, trans. H. Rackham (London: W. Heinemann, 1932). My discussion here is based on this English translation.

enacted, and transacted. It is such a transaction of love and goodwill that ties both parties into a *philia* relationship and simultaneously distinguishes them from surrounding entities such as enemies and strangers. In this model, love is also conceptualized as a moral, as much as emotional, effort that is inextricable from the social, moral, and intellectual differences between friends. It is in this manner that *philia* is construed as a virtue, a matter of ethical conduct. In this sense, love is not simply an individual's internal state, but rather a performative act constitutive of a subject as friend. Friendship is thus formulated as a series of affective practices through which "friend" is called into existence. Aristotle's emphasis on love as an affective underpinning of friendship also established an affinity between friendship and love as a conceptual diptych, which was then bequeathed to the post-classical world.¹⁵ Most importantly to our discussion of imperial thought, Aristotle's ideal allows for friendship between unequals. It conceives of an affective economy of friendship as proportionally dependent on the social standing of each person as well as the personalistic and material possessions that each brings into their relationship.

Such an ethical and interpersonal conception of friendship in classical Greece also had its political and interstate counterparts. *Philia* was employed as a diplomatic term in Greek interstate relations in such forms as military alliance and peace agreement, especially between a major power and its client states. These interstate affairs were often entwined with interpersonal friendships between rulers or politicians.¹⁶ In this context, *philia* was closely linked to the notions of treaty and obligation, making more salient its contractual character.¹⁷ Although imperial friendship as such was still latent in ancient Greece, Plato's (429?-347 BC) seventh letter in the *Epistles* discusses a Greek empire under Dionysius I of Syracuse and hints at the necessity of trust building and friendship with colonies in imperial rule.¹⁸ Here, imperial friendship is configured as a relationship of trust between unequal polities.

The historical entanglement between friendship and empire emerged overtly in the Roman world where the Latin concept of *amicitia* was applied to both domestic and foreign relations. The

¹⁵ Castilian translations of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* clearly show such a connection. See Book 8-9 in Aristotle, *La filosofía moral del Aristoteles*, unpaginated, where *amor* and *amicicia* are recurrently collocated.

¹⁶ Mitchell, *Greeks Bearing Gifts*, 51-72. See also Erich S. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 1: 69-76.

¹⁷ Roshchin, *Friendship among Nations*, 37-38.

¹⁸ Michel Foucault, *The Government of Self and Others: Lectures at the Collège de France 1982-1983*, trans. Graham Burchell (New York: Picador, 2011), 264-66; Evgeny Roshchin, "Friendship and International Order," in *Friendship and International Relations*, ed. Simon Koschut and Andrea Oelsner (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 92-93.

Roman Republic witnessed the emergence of the idiomatic collocation of peace and friendship as well as the use of contractual friendship in imperial expansion. Both concept and practice would germinate and find an early modern offshoot in Spanish colonialism. In the Roman practice of treaty-making, *amicitia* was the general precondition for all peaceful interstate relations.¹⁹ It was often formalized through the ritual of *foedus* (pact or contract) and bracketed with peace as *pax et amicitia* (peace and friendship), understood as a relationship of neutrality with the right to trade with Rome.²⁰ Rome also conferred to the rulers of client kingdoms at the frontiers the title of “friendly king” (*rex sociusque et amicus*), providing them with gifts and military protection in exchange for their support.²¹ From the outset, friendship was thus not simply a matter of rhetoric but also a practice of imperial intercourse and domination. As Paul Burton explains, the empire of republican Rome established *amicitia* with other states in four basic ways: military cooperation, diplomatic exchange, unconditional surrender performed voluntarily in prospect of Roman protection, and unconditional surrender under duress following military defeat by Rome.²² Hence, in classical Greece and republican Rome, the idiom of friendship was deployed in unequal foreign relations and imperial conquests, anticipating the similar languages of early modern empires in centuries to come.

Among the canonical theorists of friendship in the medieval and early modern Hispanic world was late republican Rome’s statesman Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 BC). His essay, *Laelius de Amicitia* (44 BC), had long been acclaimed among literati even before Aristotelian philosophy resurfaced in the Latin West.²³ In his discussion, Cicero distinguished friendship from political alliance by characterizing friendship as a natural bond of love and goodwill, as opposed to other relationships of mutual interchange based on weakness, need, or the calculation of profit. Indeed, friendship (*amicitia*) in Latin is etymologically derived from love (*amor*), an affective state

¹⁹ Randall Lesaffer, “*Amicitia* in Renaissance Peace and Alliance Treaties (1450-1530),” *Journal of the History of International Law* 4 (2002): 80.

²⁰ Bill Gladhill, *Rethinking Roman Alliance: A Study in Poetics and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 44-45. See also Roshchin, *Friendship among Nations*, 39-40.

²¹ David Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King: The Character of the Client Kingship* (London: Croom Helm, 1984).

²² Paul J. Burton, *Friendship and Empire: Roman Diplomacy and Imperialism in the Middle Republic (353-146 BC)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), chapters 3-4.

²³ It was translated into Spanish in the early fifteenth century and, in the wake of print culture, published in the mid-sixteenth century in three different Spanish translations. Peter Burke, “*Humanism and Friendship* in Sixteenth-Century Europe,” in *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Julian Haseldine (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), 265.

from which goodwill originates.²⁴ His affective theory of friendship is encapsulated in a passage where he described how friendship is made and maintained through a dynamic logic of affects. Friendship, he wrote, begins when one clearly sees the virtues of those with whom one can develop close intimacy. Love then arises and is further strengthened by receiving favors, perceiving care, and fostering closer familiarity with each other. All of these perceptions, when combined with “the soul’s first impulse to love,” bring forth “a marvelous glow and greatness of goodwill.”²⁵

Cicero also implied that equality is less a prerequisite than a consequence of friendship. For it is important that a person endowed with any superiority in virtue, intellect, fortune, or position should lower himself or lift up his inferior friend.²⁶ His theory resembles the Aristotelian model in its recognition of unequal friendship and its account of love and benevolence as the underlying forces of friendship, even though Aristotle’s tripartite typology is absent. It spelled out and transmitted into the Latin world the discursive affinity between love (*amor*) and friendship (*amicitia*)—a verbal linkage already discernible in Castilian translations of Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics* and soon to be further tightened by Christianity.

Following the transition from the Roman Republic to Empire, *amicitia* was increasingly coterminous with patron-client relationships, wherein a wealthy and powerful lord provided support to those under his protection, with the Roman emperor as *summus amicus* (supreme friend).²⁷ Imperial Rome associated with surrounding polities in a manner analogous to the unequal friendship between individuals. Its concept of interpolity friendship, as Bruno Paradisi argues, evolved alongside engagements with ethnic others such as the Germanic and Asian peoples that threatened its frontiers. Their encounters gave rise to the relationship of *amicitia* in which the Romans claimed that the “barbarians” recognized their superiority, which was necessarily

²⁴ Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De Senectute, De Amicitia, De Divinatione*, trans. William Armistead Falconer (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964), 136-39, 142-45.

²⁵ Ibid., 140-41. A similar formulation can also be found in Cicero’s *De Officiis* (composed in the same year as *Laelius de Amicitia*) where Cicero considered justice and generosity as the utmost virtues that can attract and make us love and befriend those who possess them. See Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De Officiis*, trans. Walter Miller (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1913), 58-59.

²⁶ Ibid., 178-81.

²⁷ Konstan, *Friendship in the Classical World*, 135-37; Antonella Liuzzo Scorpo, *Friendship in Medieval Iberia: Historical, Legal and Literary Perspectives* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2014), 17; Koenraad Verboven, “Friendship among the Romans,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Social Relations in the Roman World*, ed. Michael Peachin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 414-15.

expressed in treaties through forms of respect and allegiance. The rights and obligations of their unequal friendship thus demonstrated a kind of “international vassalage.”²⁸

In the interest of upholding security at the frontier, *amicitia* as interpolity vassalage or dependency also assumed a correlation with peace (*pax*), especially through the imperial ideology of the *Pax Romana*. As Ali Parchami explains, the *Pax Romana* was characterized by the belief that Providence had ordained the Romans with the task of conquering and civilizing the world. With its militaristic and hegemonic overtones, the “Roman Peace” was achieved not only through warfare and conquest but also through friendship and alliance. Wars of conquest were also justified as necessary to protect allies and friends.²⁹ Such a dual process of imposing and negotiating peace by the Roman Empire arguably inaugurated the conceptual connection between peace, friendship, and imperial conquest in European imperial imaginations. Imperial Rome, in short, offered its European posterity an exemplar of unequal friendship, marked by reciprocity, between an empire and its client states.

The formation and expansion of Christianity gradually transformed the discourse and practice of friendship in Europe.³⁰ Christian thinkers reconceptualized it in relation to the Godhead and Christian ethics, particularly the Great Commandment, to “love the Lord thy God,” and the Golden Rule, to “love thy neighbor as thyself.” Classical theories of friendship were modified in accordance with the ultimate Christian ideal of salvation and the social life of Christian community and monasticism. In Christian traditions, the theological virtue of love (*agape* in Greek, usually translated into Latin as *caritas* “charity”) was closely intertwined with the concept of friendship inasmuch as the latter was considered a form of love virtually identical to neighborly love.³¹

²⁸ Bruno Paradisi, “L’*amicitia* internazionale nella storia antica,” in *Civitas maxima: Studi di storia del diritto internazionale* (Florence: Olschki, 1974), 1: 330-33.

²⁹ Ali Parchami, *Hegemonic Peace and Empire: The Pax Romana, Britannica and Americana* (London: Routledge, 2014), chapter 1. See also Greg Woolf, “Roman Peace,” in *War and Society in the Roman World*, ed. John Rich and Graham Shipley (London: Routledge, 1993), 171-94, which argues that the *Pax Romana* can only be understood in relation to empire and that, under imperial Rome, *pax* and *imperium* were associated as virtual synonyms.

³⁰ For an extensive treatment of Christian friendship during late antiquity and the Middle Ages, see Brian P. McGuire, *Friendship and Community: The Monastic Experience, 350-1250* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1988).

³¹ James McEvoy suggests that Christian thinkers selected the term *agape* to convey the doctrine of love rather than *philia* since the latter had carried semiotic and philosophical baggage over several centuries while the former was an indeterminate term, allowing it to be invested with new meanings. McEvoy, “The Theory of Friendship in the Latin Middle Ages,” 31-32. See also terminological discussions of early Christian love and friendship in Carolinne White, *Christian Friendship in the Fourth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 53-60; Liz Carmichael, *Friendship: Interpreting Christian Love* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2004), 35-39.

Universal love and religious faith took precedence over classical models of dyadic, exclusive friendship and philosophical virtue. From early Christianity down to the present, the Christian Bible also contain historical narratives that illustrate classical practices of unequal friend-making, especially those in imperial contexts such as the designation of royal friends and the political friendship between an empire and its adherents.³²

The subsequent Christianization of the Roman Empire resulted in a cultural amalgamation of Roman patronage and Christian worship, with Jesus Christ regarded as the friend of the saints, that is, their patron.³³ Consensus in the faith became a condition whereby different Christian groups across the Roman Empire established concord and mutual support.³⁴ Just as Christianity was thought of as spatially coextensive with the Roman Empire and the Christian emperors responsible for protecting and extending Christendom³⁵, Roman imperial expansion was, by implication, coterminous with the universalist propagation of divine love and friendship. In this sense, the *Pax Romana* or the peace under Roman hegemony amounted to peace under Christianity.

Medieval Tradition and the Codification of Friendship in the *Siete Partidas*

The Middle Ages witnessed the continuity of conceptions of vertical friendship from Roman antiquity insofar as friendship was imbricated with patron-client relationships. Medievalists have underscored the contractual nature and permanent tendency of political friendship during this period. As a formal pact of alliance carrying rights and obligations of mutual support, *amicitia* was sealed through such rituals as oath-taking and performed publicly through emotional displays and conventional languages of reciprocity, loyalty, and affection. Although it usually established the equality and equal entitlements between the parties involved, it did sometimes bind and obligate unequal partners in both domestic and foreign relations.³⁶

³² See, for example, the relationship between the Seleucid Empire and the Hasmonean dynasty of Judea in 1 Maccabees 10: passim.

³³ Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions, 600-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 27.

³⁴ Stefan Rebenich, "Augustine on Friendship and Orthodoxy," in *A Companion to Augustine*, ed. Mark Vessey and Shelley Reid (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 373.

³⁵ Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France C. 1500-C. 1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 24-31.

³⁶ Gerd Althoff, "Friendship and Political Order," in *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Julian Haseldine (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), 92-93; Gerd Althoff, *Family, Friends and Followers: Political and Social Bonds in Medieval*

Classical theories of friendship also informed legal and historical texts commissioned by the Castilian monarchy in the late Middle Ages. The Castilian legal treatise, *Libro de las leyes*, better known in its revised form as the *Siete Partidas*, was perhaps one of the most influential texts on friendship for the Spanish colonization of the Philippines. Envisioned by Ferdinand III (r. 1217-52) and completed by his son Alfonso X (r. 1252-84) of Castile and León, this uniform code of laws was putatively written by a commission of royal jurists to serve primarily as a legal manual for juristic and royal education. It also emerged in the context of Alfonso X's imperial pretensions to the vacant throne of the Holy Roman Empire.³⁷ The *Siete Partidas* provides its readers with a rich compilation of consuetudinary law, Roman and Justinian law, and laws of other origins as well as classical philosophy and a miscellany of literary narratives up to the thirteenth century. As a vernacular document written in Castilian, it also served as the monarchy's regulatory mechanism to facilitate the socio-juridical control of conquered territories and repopulated subjects.³⁸ The second edition of the law code, first printed in Salamanca in 1555, was reprinted several times up until the nineteenth century. More importantly, it was declared by a royal ordinance to be consulted as an official source of reference for legislation in all Hispanic possessions, including the Americas and the Philippines.³⁹ In the latter, it remained in force until the promulgation of the Civil Code (*Código Civil*) of Spain in 1889.

An encyclopedic synthesis, as it were, the *Siete Partidas* devotes an entire section at the end of the fourth *partida* to the subject of friendship. It is placed after the sections on familial bonds such as marriage, parenthood, and concubinage as well as patron-client relationships between masters and slaves and those between feudal lords, vassals, and serfs. Vassalage here is defined as a debt or obligation (*debdo*) between lord and vassal, which refers to "those who receive

Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 66-101; Constant J. Mews and Neville Chiavaroli, "The Latin West," in *Friendship: A History*, ed. Barbara Caine (London: Routledge, 2014), 97-99; Liuzzo Scorpo, *Friendship in Medieval Iberia*, 22; Gerd Althoff, "Empörung, Tränen, Zerknirschung: 'Emotionen' in der öffentlichen Kommunikation des Mittelalters," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 30 (1996): 61, 63; Julian P. Haseldine, "Friendship Networks in Medieval Europe: New Models of a Political Relationship," *AMITY: The Journal of Friendship Studies* 1 (2013): 74.

³⁷ Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), 362.

³⁸ David Rojinsky, "The Rule of Law and the Written Word in Alfonsine Castile: Demystifying a Consecrated Vernacular," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 80 (2003): 287-88.

³⁹ *Las Siete Partidas*, trans. Samuel Parsons Scott, ed. Robert I. Burns, S.J. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 1: xii. The law code enjoyed a longstanding role in the colonial legislation of the Philippines from the sixteenth century down to the American era in the twentieth century. *Ibid.*, 1: xix. An incomplete copy of the second edition, published in Madrid in 1610, is also found in the rare book collection at the University of Santo Tomas. See Majuelo, *Catalogue of Rare Books*, 52-53.

honors and benefits” from a lord in return for their specific services.⁴⁰ Similarly, the title on friendship, defined as “something that helps the hearts of persons to love each other greatly,” conveys a medieval understanding of friendship as a *debdo* between men. It also draws eclectically upon Greco-Roman philosophy and mythology in conjunction with the Old Testament and the writings of patristic theologians. As a high medieval text, it was clearly influenced by the resurgence of Aristotelian philosophy in Europe. The section begins with an Aristotelian understanding of friendship including the distinction and correlation between love, friendship, goodwill, and concord—the last of which is viewed as a necessary condition for friendship. With reference to Cicero among others, the law code also cautions against false friends, such as flatterers, whose proximity can be detrimental.⁴¹

The *Siete Partidas* appropriates Aristotle’s threefold taxonomy of friendship—that of utility, pleasure, and virtue—into thirteenth-century Hispanic culture. In a slightly different manner, it delineates the Aristotelian model as comprised of natural friendship, friendship of virtue, and friendship of advantage or pleasure. Natural friendship refers to an amical bond made through parental or marital ties as well as those between natives of the same land (*tierra*). This is followed by the second type of friendship, which is construed as nobler and more superior than the first since it is formed voluntarily, without the debt of nature (*debdo de natura*), and rooted in goodness (*bondat*). The third type of friendship, according to the text, is not a true friendship since it is founded on contingent circumstances where the parties involved attach to each other for their own advantage or pleasure. Without the foundation of benevolence, it is bound to dissolve after utility or pleasure is obtained or absent.⁴²

Significantly, the *Siete Partidas* adds a fourth type of friendship, “in accordance with the custom of Spain,” whereby noblemen in former times made an agreement not to dishonor or injure one another without first renouncing their friendship and issuing a challenge.⁴³ This culturally specific type represents an idea of contracted political friendship fundamental to social life in medieval Europe, as distinct from an ethical conception of friendship commonly found in Greco-Roman philosophy. The law code then prescribes three fundamental principles to be established and preserved among friends in order that their friendship may endure: loyalty and good faith,

⁴⁰ *Las Siete Partidas del Rey Don Alfonso el Sabio*, (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1807), 3: 132-33.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 3: 145-47.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 3: 147-48.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 3: 148.

avoidance of verbal malice, and equality and sharing in benefits. It also suggests that a man should love his friend, sincerely and without deceit, as much as he ought to love himself.⁴⁴ Given its didactic rather than punitive content, the *Siete Partidas*'s provisions on friendship apparently served as a general *savoir-vivre* rather than a set of rules applicable to legal disputes.

Aside from the statutory code, the Alfonsine scriptorium also produced historical accounts of ancient Rome in Castilian. These texts depicted the connection between Roman Hispania and Castile and provided an exemplary model for thirteen-century Castilian monarchs and courtiers. The chronicle *Estoria de España*, which narrates the history of Spain from biblical and legendary origins down to the reign of Ferdinand III, recounts how the Romans became "lords of all the world" (*senhores de toda la tierra*), conquering and taking control of vast territories with their military courage and wisdom. Those under the local tribes of Hispania, it is recorded, were won over in the beginning not by force but "by the friendship they got into with some of them."⁴⁵ A similar expression is also employed to describe the conflict between Rome and Carthage; that is, the Romans began to conquer the land on the one hand by love (*amor*) and on the other by force.⁴⁶ Additionally, several episodes in the Alfonsine chronicles describe the interfaith agreements between Christian and Muslim rulers with the vocabulary and formulae of friendship, regardless of the Christian injunction against friendship with the infidels.⁴⁷ In this manner, Roman history was furnished with a paradigmatic image of love and friendship as a means of conquest and political collaboration, which could be extended even to the nemesis of the Christian faith, in conjunction with military force.

In its entirety, the Alfonsine scriptorium shows the endurance of the rhetoric of friendship from classical antiquity in both ethical-normative and political-contractual registers. In any case, affects were thought to shape the contours and trajectories of friendships. Such rhetoric endowed Spanish imperialists in succeeding centuries with a conceptual frame through which their overseas interactions with indigenous peoples were understood.

Over the premodern era, philosophical, juridical, and historical discourses of friendship in classical languages and the vernaculars of Iberia associated friendship with the sentiment of love.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 3: 148-50.

⁴⁵ Alfonso X, *Primera crónica general: Estoria de España que mandó componer Alfonso el Sabio y se continuaba bajo Sancho IV en 1289* (Madrid: Bailly-Bailliere É Hijos, 1906), 18.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 19.

⁴⁷ Liuzzo Scorpo, *Friendship in Medieval Iberia*, 139-45.

Such an affective conjunction was further vested with spiritual and universal significance upon the advent of Christianity. In these accounts, whether secular or religious, both horizontal and vertical friendships were normalized and dictated in accordance with the increasing hierarchization of European social structures. The ultimate friendship with God and the secular friendship between patron and client offered models—or, better yet, bellwethers—for cross-cultural, asymmetrical friendship between imperial Spain and subjugated political entities such as those in the Philippines for centuries to come. The language of amity was combined with the medieval terminology of patronage and feudalism, breeding a particular form of colonial relationship I call vassalic friendship.

Vassalic Friendship, Imperial Love, and Pax Hispánica

Vassalic friendship can be understood as an asymmetrical form of friendly, dyadic relationship between overlord (*señor*) and vassal (*vasallo*)⁴⁸, marked by the reciprocation their obligatory exchange and the iteration of their affective engagement. In the Spanish imperial context, vassalic friendship was forged between the Spanish Crown and indigenous peoples—or between the supreme colonizer and the colonized, as the latter were subjugated under his colonial rule. Colonial subjects as vassals *and* friends of the Spanish Crown submitted to Spanish sovereignty and at the same time were expected to render tribute, assistance, and affection to their sovereign patron. Their friendship was quasi-institutional in the sense that there was almost no direct contact between them even if it was notionally an interpersonal relationship.

The emergence of vassalic friendship in Spanish imperial thought was predicated not only on European intellectual legacies, but also on a concatenation of historical events in the early modern world. The Spanish colonization of the Americas and the Philippines commenced after the completion of the Christian *Reconquista* of Iberia from “Moorish” domination. It also coincided with the increasing involvement of the Spanish Crowns—as competing powers over Italian territories and as Catholic monarchies vis-à-vis the Protestant Reformation—in European political affairs and wars of religion. Also, the Spanish expeditions to the Philippines, from its discovery to its conquest, ran parallel to the expansion of the Ottoman Empire into Europe. Just as imperial

⁴⁸ In the sixteenth century, the Castilian term *vasallo* appears widespread in all kinds of sources to refer to those subjected to the lordly power, i.e. the inhabitants of the divided districts under the administration of the Crown. Alfonso María Guilarte, *El régimen señorial en el siglo XVI* (Madrid: Instituto de estudios políticos, 1962), 158.

Spain expanded its sphere of control westward into the Pacific, the Ottoman Turks threatened its eastern Mediterranean frontiers through their interfaith alliance with France and their supervision of Muslim Barbary corsairs, who regularly ravaged Spanish and Italian coasts. Meanwhile, Spain's commercial, political, and evangelical activities in the East Indies propelled it into further antagonism with Asian and other European powers. All these events transpired against the backdrop of the waning efficacy of kinship and the Roman Catholic Church as intraregional anchors of European political equilibrium. It was amid these global conjunctures that the concept of friendship came to the fore as an idiom of bonding, re-bonding, and bargaining in Spanish imperial politics.

The *Reconquista* created habits of imperial thought and behavior which the Spaniards carried along with them on their campaigns of expansion.⁴⁹ As a series of diplomatic and military efforts, they involved not only the waging of revanchist crusades but also the making of agreements, written and otherwise, by which newly incorporated subjects such as Muslims of Granada were designated as vassals of the Spanish Crown. This tradition of “conquest by contract,” as Amy Bushnell calls it, was continued in the Spanish conquest of North Africa, the Canaries, and to a lesser extent the New World as it implied native volition in their vassalage to the Spanish king.⁵⁰ Such contractual colonialism, which featured the concept and practice of vassalic friendship, also revealed itself in the Philippines, as will be discussed in later chapters. In the meantime, this section shows that while indigenous non-Christians in the four continents—from the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa to the Americas and Southeast Asia—were similarly faced with Spanish coercion and exploitation, controversies over Spanish rights in the New World and ill-treatment of native peoples soon resulted in restrictions on the use of force in Spanish colonization. It was in the wake of these moral-juridical disquisitions on the Indian affairs, and upon the conquest of the Philippines, that a policy of friendly conquest came to some fruition in Spanish colonial enterprises.

Following the “discovery” of the New World, Spanish imperialism was officially endowed with an evangelical ideology by a series of papal bulls. Under the concordats with the Holy See,

⁴⁹ For the connection between the *Reconquista* and Spanish imperialism, see Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, 33-64.

⁵⁰ Charles Gibson, “Conquest, Capitulation, and Indian Treaties.” *American Historical Review* (1978): 1-15; Amy T. Bushnell, “Spain’s Conquest by Contract: Pacification and the Mission System in Eastern North America,” in *The World Turned Upside-Down: The State of Eighteenth-Century American Studies at the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Michael V. Kennedy and William G. Shade (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2001), 289-320.

the Spanish Crown established the *Patronato real* of the Indies or a patronage system by which it was granted the authority to make appointments to ecclesiastical benefices and manage Church revenues in its overseas territories.⁵¹ Its ideological underpinning was traceable to the classical conception of the Roman emperor, to whom the Spanish Crown compared itself, as the sovereign authority and protector of Christianity; to the related idea of Universal Monarchy spreading Christianity throughout the world; and to a medieval theory of Christian kingship in which all kings were endowed with an apostolic character as missionary kings.⁵² As such, the Spanish monarchs were entrusted with the task of overseeing the declaration of the Christian faith in the Indies as veritable successors to the Apostles or, to use their own expression, as “vicars” of God.⁵³ By evangelizing the Indians, they gained legitimacy in stretching their colonial empire across the hemisphere and pursuing war against the infidels. This ethos resonated through centuries of expansion as captured by the historian Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola in 1609: “Our kings are ministers, and sons of the Catholic Church, and any war waged for the introduction of the gospel is most important, and of great profit, even if it is to acquire or retrieve deserted provinces.”⁵⁴

The identification of the Spanish monarchy with the Christian Roman Empire also implies the inheritance of the *Pax Romana* as an archetypal model of imperial consummation in which the ideas of peace, friendship, and conquest were interconnected. To establish hegemonic peace and universal sovereignty in the temporal world, the Spaniards obligated themselves with the expansion of Christendom by spreading the gospel to non-believers through both aggressive and amicable means. It was this classical line of thought that formed the basis for the unabashed juxtaposition of conquest, war, and friendship in the colonization of the Philippines, as we have seen in the opening paragraph of this chapter. However, Spanish imperialists and their publicists also exhibited what David Lupher describes as “an agonistic stance toward classical antiquity” as they aspired to surpass the Romans and transcend classical models in their conquest of the

⁵¹ Of all the papal bulls of donation bestowed to the Spanish monarchy, the most important are perhaps the *Inter cetera* bull (1493) issued by Pope Alexander VI and the *Universalis Ecclesiae* bull (1508) by Pope Julius II. For English translations of some of the bulls, see BR, 1: 97-114, 136-38, 241-48. See also a discussion of the papal bulls and the *Patronato real* in J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716* (London: Penguin, 2002), 101-03.

⁵² Pagden, *Lords of All the World*, chapter 2; Dandeleit, *The Renaissance of Empire*, 166-74; Eva Botella-Ordinas, “‘Exempt from Time and From Its Fatal Change’: Spanish Imperial Ideology, 1450-1700,” *Renaissance Studies* 26, no. 4 (2012): 580-604; John Leddy Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 12.

⁵³ See AGI, Patronato, 8, R.9 (2), f.1.

⁵⁴ Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, *Conquista de las islas Malucas* (Madrid: Alonso Martin, 1609), 161.

Americas.⁵⁵ This imperial desire for transhistorical supremacy might be called “*Pax Hispánica*” (Spanish Peace)—not in the sense of an achieved state of historical reality, but rather as an ideology of global re-ordering under Spanish dominance.⁵⁶ As we shall see, Spain’s critical emulation of the Roman exemplar and assertion of a *Pax Hispánica* also had remarkable manifestations in the discovery and conquest of the Philippines.

Spanish-Amerindian encounters laid the groundwork for the imperial arrangement of friendly relations in the Philippines. In 1511, nearly two decades after Christopher Columbus’s first voyage, the Dominican Fray Antonio de Montesinos hurled from his pulpit in Hispaniola a sermon against Spanish exploitation and maltreatment of the Indians. “Are you not obliged to love them as you love yourselves?” he asked a Spanish audience.⁵⁷ The question implied actual circumstances to the contrary; that is, the lack of universal friendship so pressing that the preacher felt an urgent need to call for adherence to the Christian Golden Rule. Two years later, the Spanish Crown issued a Castilian document known as the *Requerimiento* to be read aloud before the natives in the colonization of the Americas. Despite their common reliance on the Christian doctrine of love and friendship, Montesinos’s sermon and the royal declaration diverged in their applications and implications. In the *Requerimiento*, the pope was regarded as the Lord and Superior of all the world, who bestowed the New World territories to the Catholic Monarchs. The declaration demanded that the native audience submit to Spanish sovereignty and receive religious fathers with goodwill and without resistance. Those who obeyed would be received “with all love and charity [*amor y caridad*]” and treated as royal subjects and vassals, whereas those who resisted or maliciously delayed would be ill-treated and enslaved.⁵⁸

The rhetorical tropes of love and charity here echoed the obligation of Christian friendship in practicing universal love. The public utterance of the “requisition” was in effect an invitation to

⁵⁵ David A. Lupher, *Romans in a New World: Classical Models in Sixteenth-Century Spanish America* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 2.

⁵⁶ In the historiography of imperial Spain, the notion of the *Pax Hispánica* generally refers to a period of renewed Spanish ascendancy in Europe between approximately 1598 and 1621, during which the Spanish monarchy achieved both peace and territorial unity after prolonged conflicts with France, England, and the Dutch Republic. See Paul C. Allen, *Philip III and the Pax Hispanica, 1598-1621: The Failure of Grand Strategy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Dandeleit, *The Renaissance of Empire*, 190-98. However, such “peace” found no equivalent in Southeast Asia. The Philippines at the turn of the seventeenth century witnessed the first Chinese mass uprising in Manila, which resulted in thousands of casualties, and a series of naval battles with the Dutch in the region.

⁵⁷ Quoted in Bartolomé de las Casas, *Historia de Las Indias*, ed. André Saint-Lu (Caracas, Venezuela: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1986), 3: 13-14.

⁵⁸ Quoted in Manuel Serrano y Sanz, *Orígenes de la dominación española en América: Estudios históricos* (Madrid: Bailly-Bailliere, 1918), 292-94.

imperial friendship in which Spanish superiority was asserted. Vassalic friendship was thus reserved for those Indians who had offered friendship in the first place. To reject imperial love, promised in the act of announcement, was to dismiss an affective token of Christian evangelization, which the Spaniards equated with unbelief and accounted for their suppression, dispossession, and enslavement. On this point, Ivy Schweitzer instructively suggests that various discourses of conquest from the very beginning of European contact with the Americas were grounded not only in classical ideas of friendship but also its obverse: a racialized theory of natural slavery.⁵⁹ However, the *Requerimiento* effaced the Aristotelian distinction between conventional and natural slavery, the latter of which could notionally coexist with friendship. Instead, it placed slavery in opposition to friendship even as both forms of relationship were anchored by Spanish overlordship and enabled by the presence of force. Indeed, it was in this manner that the notions of friendship and slavery—in combination with the intertwined tropes of conquest, concord, and friendship embedded in the *Pax Romana* ideal and Castilian historiography of Rome—shaped the imperial topos of “conquest through friendship” in the Americas and the Philippines. The genealogical association between peace, friendship, and conquest made *amistad* a malleable concept for both proponents and opponents of violent conquest against the Indians.

Royal ordinances, missionary writings, and bureaucratic documents pertaining to the Philippines all exhibit observable patterns or habits of thinking in which the notion of friendship was brought into discussion with imperial aspirations and strategies. Spanish imperial sovereigns declared their goodwill and desire for vassalic friendship from the natives. At the same time, *conquistadores* and their cohort sought to secure alliances with certain groups of the natives against other groups, or against rival European powers. The power of friendship in the Spanish imperial context also stemmed from theological discussions in which friendship was imbued with spiritual contents and implications. Spanish ecclesiastics, in either praising or attacking colonial ventures, contributed to such religious descriptions of imperial friendship.

The argument developed here proposes that friendship appeared occasionally in Spanish imperial discourses and policies on the Philippines even prior to the scholastic debates on the affairs of the Indies, which threw into sharper relief its political salience in colonial conquest. In

⁵⁹ Ivy Schweitzer, *Perfecting Friendship: Politics and Affiliation in Early American Literature* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 53.

contrast with scholarship that claims a lack of emotions in premodern friendship⁶⁰, least of all in its contractual forms, early encounters between Spaniards and indigenous Filipinos were interspersed with affective practices and described in affective terms. These descriptions raised vassalic friendship, established through the ostensible act of love, as a justified bond through which scattered communities of indigenous Filipinos were to be brought under Spanish sovereignty. As the quintessential Catholic empire, Spain resorted to the concepts of both love and friendship in its imperial encounters and relations, despite the waning and displacement of *amor* in the Christian diplomatic vocabulary by *amicitia* in early modern Europe. Indeed, as Roshchin closely examines, England and France shunned the usage of *amor* in their diplomatic exchanges due to its connotations of universal and unconditional love, particularly in the wake of the Reformation and the changing balance of power.⁶¹ In contrast, imperial Spain appealed to *amor* in conjunction with *amistad* precisely because of their affective and religious significance, as the Spaniards generally conceived of their expansion as a Christian mission.

The affective and ideological underpinnings of Spanish imperial expansion in Southeast Asia were encapsulated in instructions by Charles I (r. 1516-56, also known as Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire, r. 1519-58) to Juan de Cartagena, the inspector-general of the Magellan expedition, on April 6, 1519. In prospect of the armada's encounters with the natives of "the Islands of the West," the king ordered that "they must be very well treated with love, both in order that they may be attracted to become good Christians, which is our principal desire, and that they may with goodwill serve us and be under our lordship, subjection, and friendship [*señorio & subjeçon & amistad*]."⁶²

This succinct statement encapsulates the affective politics of friendship in the early Spanish conquest of the Philippines. In this view, imperial love was envisaged as a means whereby the indigenous population could be transformed into good subjects both in the spiritual kingdom of God and the terrestrial imperium of the Spanish Crown. Love was to be performed to attract the natives to consent, with goodwill, to religious and political forces external to their communities. Here, in syntactic and semantic parallel to concepts of imperial domination and subjection,

⁶⁰ See an overview in Konstan, *Friendship in the Classical*, 2-4.

⁶¹ Roshchin, *Friendship among Nations*, 63-70.

⁶² *Alguns documentos do Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo ácerca das navegações e conquistas portuguesas publicadas por ordem do governo de Sua Magestade Fidelissima ao celebrar-se a comemoração quadricentenaria do Descobrimento da America* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1892), 428. See also his instructions to Magellan in Chapter Three of this dissertation.

friendship served as an affective and contractual domain through which the natives were brought under Spanish sovereignty. Friendship was thus intertwined with the processes of Catholic conversion and colonization. It came across correspondingly as a hierarchical—that is, vassalic—rather than equal relationship, as implied by the preposition “under” (*debaxo*). Imperial love affirmed the central tenets of Christianity in the Commandments just as it accommodated the Christian indoctrination of the natives. In transfiguring the natives into good Christians, the Spaniards also reflexively constituted themselves as good Christians, embodying and enacting God’s Word as exemplars and intermediaries before pagan strangers.

Indeed, it was precisely the rhetoric and practice of friendship that allowed such a double conquest, physical and spiritual, to take place affectively and, at least in the Spanish monarch’s vision, effectively. On the one hand, friendship was aimed to evoke in the natives the disposition of goodwill (*buena voluntad*), a virtue characteristic of classical models of friendship. On the other hand, the affective economy—that is, the transaction and distribution—of love also played a crucial role in the imperial subjugation and constitution of the natives as subjects, servants, and friends at the same time, effacing the repressive nature of conquest through the language of intimacy. Hence, love and amity became means of conquest and government through which native submission and conversion could be secured without the need to impose outright force. Put differently, affective arrangements, particularly those of friendship, served in the Spanish imperial context as mechanisms of domination in tandem with coercive measures.

The peripeteias of the Magellan expedition are recounted with affective elements and the idiom of friendship in its earliest account: the Latin tract *De Moluccis Insulis* (1523) by Charles V’s secretary, Maximilianus Transylvanus. The text was based on the author’s interviews with its surviving crewmen who presented themselves at the Spanish court in Valladolid in 1522. The emplotment of this oral history of Magellan’s voyage tacitly attributes its successes and recurrent misadventures, including the demise of Magellan and his successor, Juan Serrano, to the dynamics of friendship. The text records that after arriving at Cebu, the Spaniards made an agreement with its kinglet (*cū regulo fædere*) before erecting a Christian chapel and performing Easter service, which delighted a large number of Cebuanos and led to their baptism.⁶³ Mass conversion is thus

⁶³ C. H. Coote, ed., *Johann Schöner, Professor of Mathematics at Nuremberg: A Reproduction of His Globe of 1523, Long Lost His Dedicatory Letter to Reymer von Streperck, and the “De Moluccis” of Maximilianus Transylvanus* (London: Henry Stevens & Son, 1888), 73.

presented as a consequence of friend-making as implied by the Latin term *fœdere*, which carries with it the Roman and medieval notion of an alliance or a pact of friendship.

After Magellan's death at the hands of natives of the island of Mactan, the surviving crew returned to Cebu where Serrano, their new admiral, renewed the alliance with the king of Cebu (*fœdera cum Subuthico rege*) and pledged himself to defeat the king of Mactan. Again, indigenous collaboration in the form of a friendship pact, as denoted by the term *fœdera*, is portrayed as crucial to imperial intervention. As the account continues, however, Serrano harshly reproached Magellan's Malay slave and interpreter (presently known as Enrique de Malacca) who was nursing himself after having been wounded in the battle. The slave reportedly conceived of intense hatred against the Spaniards from those words, but he concealed his anger. He soon imparted to the chieftain of Cebu that the Spaniards would turn against the latter after subduing the king of Mactan and that the only course to adopt was to anticipate treachery by treachery (*fraudem fraude præuenire*). Serrano and some of the crewmen were then lured into a banquet by the Cebuanos and held captive, only to be abandoned by the rest of the crew onboard the three remaining ships. The number of the Spaniards was diminished to the point that the survivors decided to burn one of the ships to suit their functional capabilities.⁶⁴ The successive events in the Magellan expedition are thus narrated by its seasoned participants and earliest historian in affective terms with the idioms of friendship and its nemesis, that is, treachery.

Despite the tragic incidents that decimated its crew, the Magellan flotilla discovered a westward route to the Spice Islands and famously completed the first global circumnavigation. Following in its wake was the depiction of the Spanish imperial venture in Asia as a quintessence of Christian love and friendship. In December 1526, the Dominican Fray Juan Caro in Cochin wrote to Charles V, asking to be assigned as a mathematician to teach pilots in Castile. In his triumphalist letter, he praised the king's messianic expansionism with reference to Magellan's voyage in Southeast Asia:

“ó Príncipe dignamente glorioso, muchas veces y bienaventurado á quien aconteció de la grandeza de su ánimo, saber y poseer, lo que tantos emperadores, tantos reyes, tantos pueblos, tantas gentes, hasta los romanos señores del mundo no subieron ni poseyeron; é mereceis, señor, tanto mas loor despues de todo amor y reverencia, quanto el escurecido y no conocido estandarte de Christo nuestro Señor habéis

⁶⁴ Ibid., 75-76.

alevantado en los últimos fines de oriente tan honroso y espantoso, igualmente á los infieles, ende los indios ayuntados con los vuestros en paz y amicidad conformes de nuestra fe, huelgan de tratar y conversar amigablemente con los christianos de vuestro occidente español en suma concordia; é plugiese á Dios que otros príncipes del nombre christiano dados al consejo de la paz, fuesen asi animados que quisiesen seguir con la misma voluntad lo que vuestra Mayestad tan gloriosa é felizmente ha principiado.”⁶⁵

“O most glorious and blessed Prince, who, through the greatness of your spirit, has known and possessed what so many emperors, so many kings, so many countries, so many peoples, and even the Roman Lords of the world, never knew nor possessed. And you deserve, lord, even more praise after all love and reverence, as you have raised the darkened and unknown banner of Christ our Lord in the farthest ends of the Orient. It was so honorable and shocking, equally to the infidels, to find the natives mingling with your men in peace and friendship in accordance with our faith. They rejoice in dealing and conversing amicably with the Christians of your Spanish Occident in total concord. And it would please God that other princes of the Christian name given to the advice of peace were thus encouraged that they wanted to follow with the same will what Your Majesty had so gloriously and felicitously started.”

Despite or indeed because of its grandiloquence, Caro’s letter captures a classicist-apostolic consciousness characteristic of early Spanish imperialism. Instead of the more common formula *paz y amistad*, his idiosyncratic usage of *paz y amicidad* evokes more strongly the underlying Roman notion of *pax et amicitia* as an optimal state of foreign relations. In his view, the imperial exploits of the Spanish Crown in the Americas and Southeast Asia and the attendant global circumnavigation helped launch Charles V to supreme overlordship in Christian universal history, as he purportedly knew and possessed an unprecedented expanse of territories. His accomplishment was assumed to match or even surpass the imperial apotheosis of ancient Roman emperors as the Lord of the World. The imperial enterprise under his patronage was commendable not only because of the extent to which it had achieved, but also because of the affective manner in which it had been executed. Using the word *huelgan* which connotes idleness and pleasure, Caro

⁶⁵ CVD, 4: 375-76.

rendered the task of imperial expansion an endeavor of exuberance and benevolence—of joy and love simultaneously. The “shocking” (*espantoso*) effect of unanticipated love and friendship recalled and reenacted the awe-inspiring grace of God, thus raising their achievement in making Oriental contacts to the state of sublimity. In propagating and cultivating Christian love by befriending the natives, the Spanish monarch inspired the infidels and the Christians alike with such an emotional paradox, esteem and shock, and at the same time set a role model for his fellow Christian rulers. Indeed, insofar as Caro’s adulation is concerned, the Spanish Empire did bring off the affective aims that it had set out in the Magellan expedition.

After Magellan’s voyage, subsequent attempts to explore and occupy the Philippines were also driven by the language of amity. Diplomatic topoi such as “peace and friendship” (*paz y amistad*) and “love and friendship” (*amor y amistad*) became part and parcel of Spanish imperial terminology. Through such rhetoric, official instructions from Charles V to Garcia Jofre de Loaísa, from Hernán Cortés to Álvaro de Saavedra, from Antonio de Mendoza to Ruy López de Villalobos, and from Villalobos to his captains—all pronounced the indispensibility of friendship in dealing with the indigenous Southeast Asians.

In 1525, before embarking for the Moluccas, Loaísa was instructed to inform indigenous leaders that the fleet came by royal order “to have peace and friendship [*paz, i amistad*] and to trade merchandise with them.”⁶⁶ Two years later, Cortés commissioned his cousin Saavedra to command an armada from New Spain to the Moluccas to search for survivors from the Magellan and Loaísa expeditions. Saavedra was told to regard the natives as friends, protecting and helping them against their enemies.⁶⁷ In his letter to be given to the king of Cebu, Cortés also wrote that Magellan, by stirring up war and discord with the Cebu ruler and his subjects, had departed from the Spanish king’s sole intention to have them as his “very true friends and servants” (*muy verdaderos amigos é servidores*) and to offer goodwill to all of them.⁶⁸ The language of amity and servitude, or vassalic friendship, was thus reiterated in what was intended to be one of their first correspondences. In 1542, Mendoza, as the Viceroy of New Spain, dispatched a fleet under the command of Villalobos and instructed him to ensure that his crew would promote peace and

⁶⁶ Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las islas i tierra firme del mar oceano* (Madrid: En la Oficina Real de Nicolás Rodríguez Franco, 1601), 2: 216-17.

⁶⁷ CVD, 5: 449.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 5: 461-62.

friendship with the natives.⁶⁹ In the oath of obedience taken by his captains before setting sail, Villalobos also told them that, in case their ships needed to disembark at any land, they should send a qualified agent with armed men to arrange with the natives to “always remain peaceful and our friends” (*siempre queden pacíficos y nuestros amigos*).⁷⁰

Ecclesiastical Discourses and the Legislation of Friendly Pacification

Friendship as an ideological component of Spanish imperialism also found its place in Castilian laws enforced across Spain’s colonial possessions, including the aforesaid *Siete Partidas* and the Laws of the Indies (*Leyes de las Indias*), to be discussed below. Seen as the most effective means of pacification, friendship was institutionalized as part of the conceptual repertoire in the juridical mechanism of Spanish colonial rule. After being fully enforced in metropolitan Spain, the *Siete Partidas* was subsequently extended to the Spanish overseas territories in 1530 as supplementary to the legislation of the Indies.⁷¹ In effect, this placed the Indies under the legal sway of the Castilian, largely Aristotelian, official theory of friendship and its affective agency.

The conquest of the New World had juridical repercussions in Europe as the Spanish Crown and its publicists sought to rationalize Spanish wars of conquest as well as its sovereignty and property rights in juristic terms.⁷² Spanish theologians of the School of Salamanca, the foremost of whom was the Dominican Fray Francisco de Vitoria (1483-1546), greatly contributed to the foundation of a legal basis for Spanish interventions in the Americas, especially by replacing arguments for papal and imperial hegemony with other arguments based on divine and natural laws. Whereas the question of just war was central to his discussion, the notion of friendship, inconspicuous though it may be, was undeniably constitutive as well.⁷³

Vitoria’s understanding of friendship and its importance in international affairs was guided by Aristotle and Cicero, whose theories informed the earliest of his extant lectures where he

⁶⁹ CDU, 2: 44.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 2: 63.

⁷¹ *Recopilacion de leyes de los reynos de las Indias, mandadas imprimir y publicar por la Magestad católica del Rey Don Carlos II, Nuestro Señor* (Madrid: Por la viuda de d. Joaquin Ibarra, Impresora de dicho real y supremo consejo, 1681), 1: 126v (Book 2, Title 1, Law 2). The *Siete Partidas* was enforced in Spain by virtue of the Laws of Toro (*Leyes de Toro*) promulgated in 1505. The extension of the Laws of Toro to the Indies was announced by Charles V and subsequently reaffirmed by Philip II and Philip IV.

⁷² See Anthony Pagden, *Spanish Imperialism and the Political Imagination: Studies in European and Spanish-American Social and Political Theory, 1513-1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 13-36.

⁷³ For the issues of war and sovereignty in his jurisprudence, see Antony Anghie, *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 23-28.

considered human friendship and partnership a natural necessity.⁷⁴ In his solemn lecture (*relectio*) on the Indies (*De Indis*) delivered in 1539, Vitoria examined both just and unjust titles by which the “barbarians” or the Amerindians were placed under Spanish rule. Through legalistic reasoning, Vitoria dismissed the emperor’s claims to status as master of the whole world and the pope’s claims to temporal authority over the barbarians or unbelievers, which some had used to defend the Spanish conquest of the New World. He also argued that the barbarians possessed the right of ownership as any Christians and could not be deprived of their property because of their unbelief or sinfulness. For Vitoria, even the allegedly voluntary submission of the barbarians could not serve as a legitimate ground for Spanish occupation, as it had been made in fear and ignorance.⁷⁵ In so doing, Vitoria not only rejected both the papal donation and the *Requerimiento* practice, but also began to formulate an outline of international law in especially secular terms.

Vitoria proceeded to investigate the provisions of law whereby the Indians could have legitimately been subjected to Spanish rule. Significantly, four out of the eight just titles under his discussion concerned friendship in one way or another. In the first and foremost just title, Vitoria invoked the concept of friendship in conjunction with ancient Rome’s natural law concept of *ius gentium* (generally translated as the law of nations or peoples) to argue for the right of natural partnership and communication. He proposed that the Spaniards had the right to travel, sojourn, and trade in the New World insofar as they did no harm to the Indians. According to the law of nations, he explained, it was humane and dutiful for the Indians to behave hospitably to strangers unless they were detrimental to the native inhabitants. Therefore, it was unlawful to banish visitors, such as the Spaniards, if they were innocent of any crime. Quoting from the Scripture that “every living creature loveth his like,” Vitoria also argued that friendship (*amicitia*) among men was part of natural law and that it was against nature to shun the company of harmless men. Moreover, the Spaniards were neighbors of the Indians and, according to the New Testament, the Indians should love their neighbors as themselves. If the Indians denied the Spaniards their rights by the law of nations and insisted on replying with violence, regardless of the latter’s repeated persuasions and peaceful intentions, they committed an offense against the latter and thereby sanctioned a just war of self-defense and retaliation.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Francisco de Vitoria, *Vitoria: Political Writings*, trans. Jeremy Lawrance (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 8.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 239-77

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 278-84.

In subsequent just titles, Vitoria argued for the rights to preach the gospel and protect new converts, which were based not only on divine positive law, administered through the papacy, but also on natural law. He claimed that Christians, as their neighbors, were obliged to correct and direct the Indians, who were not only in the state of sin but also in a state beyond salvation. Such “brotherly correction” was as much part of natural law as brotherly love. In exercising brotherly love and correction through evangelization, the Spaniards might wage a just war and lawfully conquer the territories of the Indians if the latter obstructed their preaching or conversion with violence. Moreover, the Spaniards might exercise all the rights of war to protect their converts, not only on grounds of religion but also those of human friendship (*amicitia*) and partnership (*societas*), since conversion to Christianity made the latter friends and partners of Christians.⁷⁷ Friendship also served as a legitimate ground by which the Spaniards were allowed to intervene in any just war between the Indians, since “fighting on behalf of allies and friends is a just cause of war.” This, he continued, was the case when the Tlaxcaltecs were fighting the Mexicans and made a treaty of alliance with the Spaniards to defeat the latter and share the prizes of victory. Indeed, to corroborate his argument, Vitoria also referred to the Romans, who had extended their empire by aiding their friends and allies and taking possession of new territories by waging just wars. The Roman Empire was also declared legitimate by both Augustine of Hippo and Thomas Aquinas.⁷⁸

Vitoria’s jurisprudence combined both ethical, largely Christian, and contractual conceptions of friendship and connected them to the law of nations. This made international conduct, including native response, a matter of virtue as much as politics and diplomacy. By describing friendship in terms of divine and natural laws, Vitoria intimated that the Indians had a moral and natural obligation to reciprocate Christian love and friendship, and to allow friendship among Christians in the Americas to flourish without any hindrance. Native resistance was accordingly construed as an offense to natural law, especially that of human sociability. To breach the promise of universal friendship or Christian fellowship, particularly to the detriment of Christian conversion and association, warranted punishment and dispossession. Colonizing violence was thus legitimized not only on the grounds of native unfriendliness but also the emergence of friendship between Spaniards and newly converted natives. In this manner,

⁷⁷ Ibid., 284-86.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 289-90.

friendship sanctioned as much as it contained military intervention, allowing for a just war of colonial conquest through this sort of legal-theological rationalization.

While Vitoria's discursive legerdemain was expressed largely in legal parlance, Bartolomé de las Casas, a Spanish colonist-turned-Dominican friar, presented to the Spanish court an account of Spanish-Amerindian interactions in historical and autobiographical terms. Unlike Vitoria, he endorsed both the validity of the papal donation and the Spanish Crown's assertion of universal sovereignty.⁷⁹ However, Las Casas earnestly criticized Spanish atrocities against the Amerindians in his famous *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*, written in 1542. In one instance, Las Casas reported that indigenous peoples on the coast of Paria (in today's Venezuela) had fallen victim to Spanish assaults and enslavement. Many times, "they were taken by the security and friendship that the Spaniards had forged with them, [and yet] kept neither faith nor truth with them" although they had hospitably received them like fathers and children.⁸⁰ Elsewhere Las Casas quoted from a Franciscan friar's eyewitness account that the Peruvians were "close and friendly" (*allegada y amiga*) toward the Christians and received the Spaniards into their villages with all goodwill and honor whereas the latter cruelly maltreated them in return.⁸¹ It should be noted that Las Casas also questioned the term *conquista* used by Spanish conquistadores in the Americas as nothing other than "violent invasions by cruel tyrants."⁸² In the wake of New World colonization, the concept of conquest was stigmatized as it was increasingly associated with brutality rather than peace and friendship.

In *Historia de las Indias* (started in 1527 and completed in 1561), Las Casas also noted a pragmatic convergence of friendship and violence in the conquest of the New World in the figure of Vasco Núñez de Balboa. The renowned conquistador, he wrote, had established friendship and confederacy with native leaders and yet stole their gold by plunder and tyrannical coercion.⁸³ His rebuttal of the historian Francisco López de Gómara's hagiographic account of Hernán Cortés, where Cortés was repeatedly claimed to have offered peace and friendship to the Indians, also

⁷⁹ Pagden, *Lords of All the World*, 52.

⁸⁰ Bartolomé de las Casas, *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (Alicante: Fundación Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes y Universidad de Alicante, 2006), 104.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 135.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 55.

⁸³ Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, 3: 225.

bespeaks the conceptual gravity of peace and friendship in Spanish imperial thought despite their different representations of past realities.⁸⁴

Las Casas's ardent embroilment in the affairs of the Indies culminated in his Valladolid debate (1550-51) with the humanist Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda on the rights of the Amerindians and their interaction with Spanish colonists. Previously, in his treatise *Democrates Secundus* (1547), penned in response to Las Casas's *Brevísima relación*, Sepúlveda asserted that the barbarians of the New World and adjacent islands (one wonders whether the Philippines were also included) were inferior to the Spaniards in prudence, ingenuity, and "all kind of virtues and human sentiments" in the same way as children to adults, women to men, and monkeys to humans.⁸⁵ Lacking in moral and emotional capacity, the Indians were accordingly dehumanized and disparaged as unable to form friendships, which required the reciprocation of sentiments, with civilized Europeans on an equal footing. An intellectual milestone in the modern history of European colonialism, the Valladolid debate involved arguments on natural slavery in which the concept of friendship was implicated. Sepúlveda now defended the Spanish enslavement and punishment of certain Indians by appealing to Aristotelian philosophy. He argued that the Indians were either slaves by nature or practitioners of such barbaric traditions as cannibalism and human sacrifice, which justified Spain's forcible intervention.⁸⁶

In response, Las Casas discussed different types of barbarians, one of which was understood as those who were bereft of reason and basic institutions such as law and commerce and "do not cultivate friendship." Such, he argued, was the category Aristotle had actually referred to when speaking of natural slaves. Very rare anywhere in the world and few in number, this type of barbarian was incapable of knowing God nor being indoctrinated in the Christian faith.⁸⁷ The institution of friendship was in this sense a criterion in the sliding scale of civilization, against which barbarism was reckoned and of which Las Casas contended the Indians were capable. Therefore, not all barbarians were irrational or incapable of self-government. Indeed, he further claimed the existence of friendship among the Indians, in a manner similar to the law of nations

⁸⁴ Ibid., 3: 434-39.

⁸⁵ Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, *Democrates Segundo, o De las justas causas de la guerra contra los indios*, ed. Ángel Losada (Madrid: Instituto Francisco de Vitoria, 1951), 33.

⁸⁶ Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda and Bartolomé de las Casas, *Apología de Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda contra Fray Bartolomé de las Casas y de Fray Bartolomé de las Casas contra Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda*, ed. Ángel Losada (Madrid: Editorial Nacional, 1975), 61-72.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 127-30.

professed by Vitoria, even as he admitted their barbarism, perhaps in the sense of disloyalty and tyrannical inclination. Long before knowing the name of Spain, he wrote, they not only established states and soberly administered them through legislation and religion, but also

“cultivated friendship and united in common fellowship, living in very large cities in which they prudently administered the affairs of both peace and war with goodness and fairness. Thus, their government was ruled by a legislation which in many points surpasses ours, and could have won the admiration of the sages of Athens.”⁸⁸

By juxtaposing friendship with justice and jurisprudence and referring back to ancient Greek philosophers, Las Casas underscored the established importance of friendship in political life according to classical thought. In so doing, he also asserted the firm membership of the Indians in the community of peoples. To be able to cultivate friendship implied the readiness to be approached in a peaceable and friendly manner. This point was also reinforced by his subsequent argument on the evangelization of the Indians as a universal practice of love and friendship. Here Las Casas invoked the Church Fathers to maintain that, without discrimination, “peace, Christian friendship, and mutual love must be offered to the pagans, as they are given the first proclamation of the Gospel and offered forgiveness of sins.”⁸⁹ In sum, drawing upon classical and Christian luminaries, Las Casas not only resolutely defended Amerindian amicability, but also called for friendship from the Spaniards as a moral and political responsibility.

By appealing to the concept of friendship among others, Vitoria and Las Casas contributed to the legalization and paternalistic moralization of Spanish colonialism. In 1542, for example, the New Laws of the Indies (*Leyes Nuevas*) were promulgated by Charles V to prevent the enslavement, exploitation, and maltreatment of the Amerindians. While articulated in response to colonial atrocities in the Americas, their animadversions also informed the Spanish colonization of the Philippines from the latter half of the sixteenth century. Both the Spanish Crown and colonial policymakers envisaged the conquest of the Philippines with an emphasis on peace and friendship, as opposed to the flagrant brutality that characterized the conquest of the New World. Friendship was construed as a prerequisite for the Christianization of the natives and the assertion of Spanish sovereignty over the archipelago. Preparing for his voyage in 1564, Miguel López de Legazpi was

⁸⁸ Ibid., 134-35.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 174.

instructed by the Royal Audiencia of Mexico to “work by all means to have and establish all good friendship and peace with the natives” in the Philippines and adjacent islands and settle at the location “where you have the best friendship, which you shall establish and observe inviolably.” In case he would have to leave for New Spain, he should appoint a trustworthy commander to preserve their friendship without offending or ill-treating them. Likewise, some of the priests should be left in any case to preserve the established peace and friendship.⁹⁰

While the Spanish Crown’s adoption of the ideal of imperial friendship above coincided with the formation of the Philippine colony⁹¹, royal instructions on colonial policies in the Philippines and various parts of the Americas show verbatim similarities. The idioms of peace and friendship employed in the Philippine conquest found precedents in royal decrees and instructions on colonial settlement and pacification across frontier regions, from Peru (1556), Veragua (1557), Charcas (1563), and New Spain (1568), to Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Nicoya (1573).⁹² In his instructions given to Legazpi in 1569 during the latter’s exploration of the Philippines, Philip II (r. 1556-98) ordered Legazpi to oversee Spanish colonists to obtain peace and friendship (*paz y amistad*) with the natives and defend them against their enemies. In case of native resistance to Spanish settlement, they should inform the natives that they would neither do them any harm nor seize their possessions, “but only to have friendship with them and teach them to live politically and know God, and to show them the Law of Jesus Christ by which they will be saved.”⁹³

The royal instructions were not only in line with Vitoria’s insistence on the circumvention of gratuitous violence, but also punctuated by diplomatic terms of intimacy and reciprocity found in Vitoria’s discussion of the *ius gentium*, such as trade, friendship, and communication.⁹⁴ If native resistance persisted after three such declarations of friendly intentions, the king continued, the

⁹⁰ CDU, 2: 163-64, 171, 175.

⁹¹ John Leddy Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses, 1565-1700* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959), 9.

⁹² Francisco de Solano, ed., *Normas y leyes de la ciudad hispanoamericana: 1492-1600* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1996), 1: 158-62, 184-89; Manuel M. de Peralta, ed., *Costa Rica, Nicaragua y Panama en el siglo XVI: Su historia y sus limites segun los documentos del Archivo de Indias de Sevilla, del de Simancas, etc. recogidos y publicados con notas y aclaraciones históricas y geográficas* (Madrid: M. Murillo, 1883), 167-71; Ricardo Mujía, ed., *Bolivia-Paraguay: Exposición de los títulos que consagran el derecho territorial de Bolivia, sobre la zona comprendida entre los ríos Pilcomayo y Paraguay* (La Paz: Empresa Editora de “El Tiempo”, 1914), 1: 439-45; CDAO, 17: 559-65.

⁹³ AGI, Filipinas, 339, L.1, f.34r. Cf. Felipe II, “Royal Communications to and Concerning Legazpi” (1569-1570), in BR, 34: 252.

⁹⁴ These concepts including friendship can also be found in a justification of the conquest of Formosa, à la Vitoria, by a Dominican friar in Manila in 1626. See José Eugenio Borao Mateo, ed., *Spaniards in Taiwan: Documents* (Taipei: SMC Publishing, 2001), 1: 60.

Spaniards were warranted to resort to military force without doing them any injury other than that necessary for their self-defense and settlement. “All the moderation and temperance possible,” he insisted, “shall be observed in the said defense.”⁹⁵ After establishing their settlement, the Spaniards should endeavor to trade and communicate with the natives, make friends with them, and make them understand their intent. Once friendship was forged through mutual intercourse and persuasion, they should secure permission for the religious to preach the gospel and convert them to Christianity and “have them recognize us as sovereign king and lord.” If the natives and their rulers refused to admit the preachers after repeated petitions for Christian conversion, Legazpi should report to the Council of the Indies in order that further actions may be determined. Meanwhile, the Spaniards should nevertheless endeavor to retain their friendship and trade with the natives, treat them well, and by all possible means bring them to the Christian faith.⁹⁶

These mandates on peaceable colonization and vassalic friendship eventually crystallized into Philip II’s Laws of the Indies in 1573, which codified an overarching, pan-imperial template for Spanish settlement and engagement with the indigenous peoples. Here, the term *pacificación* (pacification) was officially adopted in preference to *conquista* (conquest) in all agreements concerning new discoveries. This terminological change was meant to prevent the Spanish frontiersmen from interpreting *conquista* in ways that the Indians might be forced or aggrieved rather than treated with peace and charity (*paz y caridad*).⁹⁷ This most likely resulted from the increasing association between conquest and violent abuse as previously noted by Las Casas. The ordinance underscored the equivocality and capaciousness of the term *conquista*, which had hitherto been applied mostly to territories and thus interpreted as open to both peaceable and forcible means of acquisition.

Whereas the *Siete Partidas* conveyed a classically inspired philosophy of friendship in its general principles, the Laws of the Indies specified more clearly to the Spanish conquerors how to engage with the natives in friendship. Similar to the Alfonsine code of laws, the Laws of the Indies provided directives on transcultural friendship in affective terms. It contained an imperial logic of conquest in which love, friendship, settlement, and trade were instrumentally correlated. Under

⁹⁵ AGI, Filipinas, 339, L.1, f.34r.

⁹⁶ Ibid., f.35r. Cf. Felipe II, “Royal Communications to and Concerning Legazpi” (1569-1570), in BR, 34: 253.

⁹⁷ CDAO, 16: 152. This ordinance was later reiterated by Philip III and Charles II, see *Recopilacion de leyes de los reynos de las Indias*, 2: 80v-81r (Book 4, Title 1, Law 6).

the royal ordinances, the Spanish frontiersmen were instructed to learn the diversity of the nations, languages, idolatries, sects, and factions that existed among the natives and “try to attract their friendship with much love and caress [*amor y caricia*]” by way of commerce. They should also “establish friendship and alliance” with their leaders—an action deemed most efficacious for the pacification of newly discovered lands. With the mildest approaches, the Catholic faith should also be preached to the natives once friendship was established with them.⁹⁸ The underlying logic of this legislation would find varying resonance in Spanish colonial schemes in the Philippines, as examined in the next chapter.

The Spanish Crown’s intent on friendly pacification was acknowledged, though not always complied with, among its imperial agents. In 1574, the Augustinian Fray Martín de Rada submitted his opinion to the Governor-General of the Philippines that its territory and tribute were acquired by the Spaniards unjustly, partly through the coercion of friendship, and without royal permission. His report was impugned by Spanish officials who nevertheless resorted to royal mandates in their self-defense. Strikingly, both Rada’s report and the official response were rationalized with reference to the concept of friendship. The friar used the word *amigos* twice while the latter used *amigos*, *amistad*, and *amistades* ten times in total.⁹⁹ Friendship was thus a common principle and a middle ground for historical actors who occupied different positions on the spectrum of colonial politics. In addition, Manila’s first ecclesiastical synod, in 1582, even as it alleged the barbarism and inferiority of the indigenous Filipinos, also reaffirmed the royal commands that the natives should be pacified and converted to Christianity “with love and without scandals,” and that any agreement of friendship between Spaniards and natives should be strictly observed.¹⁰⁰ Preserving such friendship with the natives was also given weighty emphasis in royal instructions to high-ranking colonial officials in the Philippines.¹⁰¹

The strategic significance of imperial friendship was also asserted within the colonial Philippine bureaucracy in the matter of Spanish conquest elsewhere. Writing to Governor Francisco Tello circa 1597, Luis Pérez Dasmariñas suggested that the Spaniards try to win the friendship of the natives in Formosa. Even if the latter did not want to become friends, “nothing

⁹⁸ Ibid., 2: 86v (Book 4, Title 4, Law 1-2).

⁹⁹ AGI, Patronato, 24, R.29 (2); AGI, Filipinas, 34, N.11.

¹⁰⁰ Domingo de Salazar, *The Manila Synod of 1582: The Draft of Its Handbook for Confessors*, trans. Paul Arvisu Dumol (Quezon City: Ateneo De Manila University Press, 2014), 72-73.

¹⁰¹ For example, see Felipe II, “Instructions for Governor Tello” (1596), in BR, 9: 231-32.

will be lost in offering our friendship to them, not even the justification [of their prospective conquest of Formosa],” especially in the face of such rival powers as the Japanese.¹⁰² At around the same time, a Spanish manual for colonial conquest also presents vassalic friendship as the mainstay of colonial order. The Spanish commander in the Indies, it suggests, should always make peace and friendship with the natives and secure their obedience and vassalage to the Spanish king in exchange for Spanish protection.¹⁰³

The pronouncement and reiteration of the imperial friendship policy, however, were not confined to administrative communication among Spanish officials and clerics. In the diplomatic correspondence between Spaniards and Southeast Asian rulers, the rights to travel and trade were also mobilized and coupled with the rhetoric of friendship. Prior to his assault on Brunei in April 1578, Governor Francisco de Sande sent Sultan Saiful Rijal (r. 1533-81) of Brunei a letter translated into Tagalog and “the Bornean language.” It declared that “I wish to do you no ill, nor to seize your possessions; on the contrary, if you are our friend, I will aid and defend you, according to the orders of the king, my sovereign. To this end I offer you peace and friendship on our part, in such wise, that there may be mutual security, on both sides, to go and to come, to see one another, to trade and traffic, as is usual among friends.”¹⁰⁴ The letter illustrates how the juridical concept of friendship and the framework of friendly pacification were put into use with natives at the imperial frontier. Its references to military support and the mutual security of trade and travel also strikingly resembled clauses on *amicitia* in contemporary treaties of peace and alliance in Europe.¹⁰⁵ In this fashion, the European notion of interstate friendship was transmitted in vernaculars as terms of parley in the Spanish colonization of Southeast Asia.

As an official preference to war, however, friendship also became a provision without which violence might be deemed permissible. The failure of friendship and the possibility of treachery were brought up in Spanish apologetics of colonial violence. A Spanish council of war in the Philippines under Legazpi allowed themselves to resort to military aggression against the natives if the latter declared that “they do not want the friendship of the Spaniards” or built any

¹⁰² Borao Mateo, *Spaniards in Taiwan*, 1: 30.

¹⁰³ Bernardo de Vargas Machuca, *The Indian Militia and Description of the Indies*, ed. Kris Lane, trans. Timothy F. Johnson (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 134-36.

¹⁰⁴ The letter was translated from Castilian into “the Bornean language” and “that of Manila” and given to Chief Magat and Chief Magachina of Manila who would deliver it to “Outardo Soltan Lixar” of Brunei. In related documents, Spanish officials also considered Borneo one of the Philippine islands belonging to the Spanish Crown. Francisco de Sande et al., “Expeditions to Borneo, Jolo, and Mindanao” (1578-1579), in BR, 4: 153, 156.

¹⁰⁵ See Lesaffer, “*Amicitia* in Renaissance Peace and Alliance Treaties,” 94.

fort to defend themselves.¹⁰⁶ In this manner, the notions of friendship and just war were correlated, largely under the rational matrices of Vitoria and Las Casas. From this perspective, a war was justifiable insofar as affective efforts of love and amity failed and evangelization was halted and threatened. In 1591, Pope Gregory XIV endorsed the political assistance and armed defense of Spanish governorship in the Philippines because they might facilitate the preaching and practicing of the faith and prevent native converts from apostasy.¹⁰⁷ A similar view was expressed in the following year in the opinions of four religious orders consulted by Governor Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas on a war against the Sambals in central Luzon. According to the Augustinians, the lawfulness of the war derived in part from the fact that the Sambals had indiscriminately inflicted damages on natives and Spaniards alike, lay or clerical, despite their repeated promises of friendship to successive Spanish governors.¹⁰⁸ The alleged failure to deliver friendship as contracted was thus employed to substantiate the rationalization of war. In 1618, a justification of war against the Igorots was also made by eight Jesuit friars on account of their obstinacy in waging war against the Spaniards and preventing passage to the Ilocanos and the Cagayanes, “our friends and vassals of the King our Lord.”¹⁰⁹

This European concept of just war was further made applicable to the Filipinos as Spanish writers pointed to the existence of similar ideas in indigenous systems of thought. Miguel de Loarca wrote in 1582 that there were three cases in which the Visayans regarded wars as just (*guerras justas*). One of them was when they went in friendship to trade at any village and were offended, maltreated, or betrayed under the appearance of friendship.¹¹⁰ Fray Martín de Rada observed similarly that some villages in the Visayas had just wars against others “because the others have done them some betrayal of friendship.”¹¹¹ The preexistent states of affairs among the natives were thus fitted into the Spanish frame of thought on just war. Likening Filipino to European paradigms of intercommunity friendship, these writings imply the membership of certain

¹⁰⁶ AGI, Filipinas, 84, N.3, f.1v.

¹⁰⁷ Francisco Colín, *Labor evangélica, ministerios apostólicos de los Obreros de la Compañía de Jesus, fundación, y progressos de su provincia en las Islas Filipinas*, ed. Pablo Pastells (Barcelona: Henrich, 1900), 1: 487.

¹⁰⁸ Jesus Gayo y Aragon, *The Theology of the Conquest*, trans Jose Abriol et al. (Manila: Historical Conservation Society, 1993), 145; Colín, *Labor evangélica*, 1: 586-91.

¹⁰⁹ Quoted in William Henry Scott, “Notes on the History of the Mountain Provinces—I,” *University of Baguio Journal* 6, no. 2 (1971): 160-61.

¹¹⁰ AGI, Patronato, 23, R.9, ff.19v-20r.

¹¹¹ AGI, Filipinas, 84, N.4, f.2v.

indigenous Filipinos in the comity of nations and thus the applicability of Spanish legal doctrines to their unfolding colonial relations.

Ethnoracialized (In)amicability and Distrust

The realization of the ideology of friendly conquest in the Philippines was complicated by the persistence of racial thinking that preceded and accompanied colonial contact. While premodern European thought on friendship usually assumed a similitude between friends, early modern imperial encounters challenged Spanish conquerors with the question of difference and alterity. Indeed, racism or the prejudicial construction of race, *avant la lettre*, conditioned the formation and implementation of their friend-making policy in the first place. Spanish practices of racialization represented indigenous peoples through sweeping generalization, relying especially on humoral and astronomical theories in which their characteristics were significantly determined by cardinal humors in their bodies and celestial objects over their geographical habitations. Racial distinction was thus ontologically naturalized as inbuilt in the native bodies. This was epitomized in the Augustinian Fray Gaspar de San Agustín's writing (1720) which, drawing on such theories, claimed that the indigenous Filipinos were all homogeneous such that "if one be known, then all are known, without any distinction."¹¹²

Friendship between Spaniards and native peoples in the Americas and the Philippines was profoundly racialized as it rested on the perceived racial inferiority of the latter, an inferiority that the Spaniards viewed as providentially calling for their benevolent patronage and moral guidance. Racial difference challenged the ideal of imperial friendship insofar as it raised questions as to the extent to which interracial friendship with a putatively barbaric race was possible. As we have seen in the Las Casas-Sepúlveda debate, the inability to cultivate and maintain friendship was considered a marker of barbarism that precluded a given people from developing a civilized social

¹¹² The indigenous Filipinos were described as "fickle, false, and mendacious" and "cold and humid" because of the special influence of the moon upon the Philippine islands as well as their humors and food. Gaspar de San Agustín, "Letter on the Filipinos" (1720), in BR, 40: 189-94. Cf. Juan José Delgado, *Historia general sacro-profana, política y natural de las islas del poniente llamadas Filipinas* (Manila: J. Atayde, 1892), 274-75. See also Robert Richmond Ellis, *They Need Nothing: Hispanic-Asian Encounters of the Colonial Period* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 144-51. For other humoralist views of Philippine peoples, see Francisco Ignacio Alcina, *The Muñoz Text of Alcina's History of the Bisayan Islands (1668), Part 1*, trans. Paul S. Lietz (Chicago: Philippine Studies Program, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, 1962), 3: 325-56; Pedro Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas de la Compañía de Jesus: segunda parte, que comprehende los progresos de esta provincia desde el año de 1616 hasta el de 1716* (Manila: La Imprenta de la Compañía de Jesus, por D. Nicolas de la Cruz Bagay, 1749), 156r-156v.

organization and becoming a part of the community of peoples. In addition, the Spanish perception of the native Filipinos was also structured by Spanish racial-cultural categories anterior to their arrival in the Philippines, particularly *indio* and *Moro*. The category *indio*, on the one hand, likened the Filipinos to the Amerindians who were negatively characterized by Sepúlveda in the Valladolid debate as deprived of moral and affective capacities for friend-making. On the other hand, the category *Moro* associated Malay Muslims of Southeast Asia with Muslim infidels in Europe, especially the Moors defeated and expelled in the *Reconquista*. The premodern history of European Islamophobia instigated Spanish distrust and hatred of the Muslims, which the Spaniards carried toward those in the Philippines and insular Southeast Asia.

As with Spanish-Amerindian encounters, early contacts between Spaniards and indigenous Filipinos were marked by the repetitive marking of racial difference. This entailed the ethnoracialized description of physical appearances, cultural and moral customs, and sociopolitical organizations of the natives, usually as opposed to those of Christians in Europe. Remarkably, ethnoracialization also had an affective dimension as the indigenous Filipinos were endowed with distinct affective and behavioral dispositions. They were characterized by their degrees of trustworthiness and deceitfulness, which meant their inclination to establish, preserve, or forsake their friendship with fellow natives or foreigners. Native amicability or lack thereof was accordingly registered in racial terms and solidified into a racialized trait. Andrés de Urdaneta of the 1526 Loaísa expedition wrote of the Mindanaoans and the Visayans as “the most treacherous Indians” (*los más atraicionados indios*) to be found.¹¹³ Likewise, writing to the Viceroy of New Spain in 1548, García de Escalante Alvarado of the Villalobos expedition described all the indigenous Filipinos as “treacherous, who do not keep the truth nor know how to tell it.”¹¹⁴

Such a racialized perception of native (in)amicability also informed the Royal Audiencia of Mexico’s instructions to the Legazpi expedition in September 1564. Although Legazpi was ordered to establish peace and friendship with the natives, the instructions were apprehensive of native treachery. His fleet should negotiate with the natives in the company of armed forces so as to defend themselves from possible treachery, and maintain great vigilance, especially at night.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Andrés de Urdaneta, “Relación del viaje de la Armada del Comendador G.^a de Loaisa á las Islas de la Especería ó Molucas en 1525, y sucesos acaecidos en ellas hasta el de 1535 por el Capitán Andrés de Urdaneta,” in Fermín de Uncilla y Arroita Jáuregui, *Urdaneta y la conquista de Filipinas: Estudio histórico* (San Sebastián: Imprenta de la Provincia, 1907), 353.

¹¹⁴ CDAO, 5: 124.

¹¹⁵ CDU, 2: 163, 172-74.

Less than a year later, Andrés de Mirandaola of the Legazpi armada suggested to his king that the military conquest of the archipelago was the only means whereby Christianization could be advanced. For the natives were treacherous and possessed of many vices and evil customs.¹¹⁶ Legazpi himself also reported that the natives themselves were mistrustful of one another such that they always carried weapons even to a neighbor's house.¹¹⁷

After the establishment of the Spanish colonial government, a more sanguine view was expressed by the Jesuit Alonso Sánchez in his memorial to Philip II in 1587. In the pre-Hispanic Philippines, he wrote, the natives had been “unfriendly and uninhibited” (*ariscos y desembueltos*) but after Spanish intervention they were “the most peaceful people of all those nations, cheerful, clear, loyal, simple, and conversable,” and “the most willing of all those who have been discovered for our doctrine and friendship.”¹¹⁸ Four decades later, however, a blanket observation was made by Martín Castaño, Procurador General of the Philippines, that the indigenous populace in the region were fickle in their relations: “For all those barbarous nations, inasmuch as neither religion, kinship, nor friendship binds them, are ever on the lookout to make friends with him who is most powerful.”¹¹⁹ Native friendship, in other words, was deemed essentially instrumental and self-seeking with no sense of commitment.

Despite their stereotypical tendency, Spanish views varied as to native friendliness and trustworthiness. Given the ethnocultural diversity and geographical dispersion of the indigenous peoples, such essentialist representations were often regionally or ethnically specific and consonant with the production of a civilizational gradation of local ethnicities. The Tagalogs and the Pampangos, for instance, were once said in the early contact period to be “the best of all these islands [...] the most civilized and are truly our friends.” In terms of physical appearance and material culture, they were also sketched as “better clothed than the others, both men and women [...], well-built and even-featured, and are very fond of adorning themselves with jewels, of which they have a great plenty.”¹²⁰ In a similarly positive light, the Mangyans of Mindoro were described in a Jesuit account of 1633 that, “despite being pagans they are a very honest people, because the

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 2: 367.

¹¹⁷ Miguel López de Legazpi, “Relation of the Voyage to the Philippines” (1565), in BR, 2: 201-02.

¹¹⁸ Colín, *Labor evangélica*, 1: 369n2.

¹¹⁹ Martín Castaño, “Importance of the Philippines” (ca. 1627), in BR, 22: 129.

¹²⁰ Anonymous, “Relation of the Philipinas Islands,” (ca. 1586), in BR, 34: 377.

Mangyanes never lie.”¹²¹ Likewise, the native residents of Camalaniugan in Cagayan, Luzon, were characterized by Bishop Diego Aduarte as among the most intelligent in the region and “very friendly with the Spaniards, and gave them great help in pacifying the whole country, by their great fidelity and continued assistance in the wars which took place. No falsehood or double-dealing was ever discovered in them; and they have always preserved this affection for the Spaniards.”¹²²

However, this lay in stark contrast to his description four years earlier of their upland counterparts, the Igorots in Cagayan, as barbarians whose feasts consisted in cutting off one another’s heads, whether friends or foes.¹²³ As late as 1780, the Igorots were still portrayed by an Augustinian friar as “very untrustworthy, lying and tricky in their business, nor are they faithful to the contracts they make.”¹²⁴ Other ethnic groups such as the Visayans were also characterized as prone to knavery and more belligerent than the Luzones and the Moros. They waged wars among themselves reportedly due to false pretenses of friendship between villages, “for they are very treacherous people and friends of blood [*amigos de sangre*].”¹²⁵ Similarly, Spanish conquerors in Cebu reported to Philip II in 1567 that although the Cebuanos had come to place themselves under the protection and dominion of the Spanish Crown, the Spaniards temporized with them and the other natives who were yet to accept their friendship. For “they are so vicious a people and have so evil morals that they keep no faith nor perform anything although they have promised it.”¹²⁶

Spanish disdain and distrust of native friendship were compounded and perpetuated by the reproduction of ethnoracialized duplicity in Spanish historical writings. The renowned historian Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo wrote an account of the Magellan voyage after meeting Gonzalo Gómez de Espinosa, one of its survivors, in Seville. According to Book XX of Oviedo’s history of the Indies (1557), Espinosa recounted that although they had contracted peace with the natives of Cebu and had offered them jewels as a sign of friendship, the latter attacked him and his

¹²¹ John Blanco, “Idolatry and Apostasy in the 1633 Jesuit Annual Letter,” in *The Spanish Pacific, 1521-1815: A Reader of Primary Sources*, ed. Christina Lee and Ricardo Padrón (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020), 123.

¹²² Diego Aduarte, “Historia de la provincia del Sancto Rosario de la Orden de Predicadores” (1640), in BR, 30: 315-16.

¹²³ AGI, Filipinas, 80, N.199, f.1r.

¹²⁴ Quoted in William Henry Scott, “Notes on the History of the Mountain Provinces—III,” *University of Baguio Journal* 8, no. 2 (1973): 13.

¹²⁵ AGI, Filipinas, 84, N.4, f.2v.

¹²⁶ AGI, Filipinas, 29, N.5, ff.16r-21v. Cf. Guido de Lavezaris et al., “Letter to Felipe II, from the Royal Officials” (1567), in BR, 34: 214-15.

company when they went ashore.¹²⁷ Similarly, the Franciscan Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneyra, in line with Maximilianus's narrative of the Magellan expedition, began his history of the Franciscan missions in the Philippines with an event of spurious friendship. Conflating the demises of Magellan and Juan Serrano, he wrote that the natives of Cebu killed Magellan treacherously after showing themselves to be very friendly and festively celebrating his arrival.¹²⁸ A number of Philippine historical accounts, written by traveling and stationed priests across the archipelago, were also furnished with ethnoracialized images of indigenous peoples. Published in 1667, the Jesuit Fray Francisco Combés's history of Mindanao and Jolo characterizes the Maguindanaos as "treacherous and of little faith" while the Subanons "as cowardly as treacherous, the one being the consequence of the other."¹²⁹ Over a century, treachery (*traición*), especially to friends, was thus sedimented as a historiographic leitmotif that was pan-archipelagic and transhistorical, assigning a character to the indigenous Filipinos as a racial whole.

Such identification found a strident resonance in the early eighteenth century. Fray Gaspar de San Agustín's infamous letter to his "friend" in Spain—who asked him as to the nature and disposition (*genio*) of the Indians of the Philippines—shows how racialized (in)amicability was reproduced in relation to moral, cultural, and intellectual inferiority. The indigenous Filipino was repeatedly characterized with a sense of lack. His lack was therefore multifold, with a lack of loyalty to friends almost at the top of the list:

"102. What is the Indian? *Reply*—The lowest degree of rational animal. *Question*—

How many and what are his peculiarities? *Reply*—Twenty-one, as follows:

Pride	Without honor.
Friend	Without loyalty.
A drunkard	Without satiety.
Compassionate	Without mercy.
Reserved	Without secrecy.

¹²⁷ Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias* (Madrid: Imprenta de la Real Academia de la Historia, 1852), 2: 32-33.

¹²⁸ Marcelo de Ribadeneyra, *Historia de las Islas del Archipiélago, y Reynos de la gran China, Tartaria, Cuchinchina, Malaca, Sian, Camboxa y Jappon y de lo sucedido en ellos a los Religiosos Descalcos de la Orden del Seraphico Padre San Francisco de la Provincia de San Gregorio de la Philippinas* (Barcelona: Gabriel Graells & Giraldo Dotil, 1601), 6. A similar conflation can also be seen in the Portuguese historian Gaspar Correia's *Lendas da Índia*, written before his death in 1563 with reference to native friendship and treachery. See Charles E. Nowell, ed., *Magellan's Voyage Around the World: Three Contemporary Accounts* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1962), 321-22.

¹²⁹ Francisco Combés, "The Natives of the Southern Islands" (1667), in BR, 40: 104, 110.

Long-suffering	Without patience.
Cowardly	Without fear.
Bold	Without resolution.
Obedient	Without submissiveness.

[etc.]”¹³⁰

Such derision rendered the Indian’s characteristics an array of illusory virtues. A barely rational animal as it was suggested, the indigenous Filipino was admitted as capable of friend-making. Yet this admission was immediately diminished by a racializing assertion of defect. Because of his racial nature, it was implied, the Indian was a bad friend and his amicability, if any, was dubious.

Through Spanish discursive production, the Philippine natives came across collectively as figures of potential threat because of their duplicitous nature. The narratives of pretense and perfidy insinuate that Spanish offenses against certain groups of the natives were inevitable inasmuch as the latter were capable of feigning their friendship and betraying their friends. The reification of racial essence and difference therefore featured as a linchpin by which the seemingly opposing ideas of violence and friendship were connected. Thus the Augustinian friars led by Fray Diego de Herrera, while censuring Spanish abuse and violence against indigenous Filipinos in their memoranda written probably in 1573, also asserted that “they are in this case so evilly inclined a people that when they find an opportunity, they do not keep face with their friend [*no guardan la cara Al amigo*].”¹³¹ In a similar vein, Fray Martín de Rada reported in 1577 to his provincial superior in Mexico the defective conditions in the Philippines that called for Spanish edification. He began with a generalizing discussion of the state of affairs among the natives. All villages in the archipelago, the friar wrote, had friends, enemies, and those that were neither. However, some residents of a village also had friends in a hostile one and welcomed them to raid their own village, “and this is common in all villages.” Even if they were friendly villages, a resident of one village might pass by the other and commit crimes such as stealing or killing there, for “they are the cruelest people.”¹³² Despite their vocal defense of peaceable conquest, the ambivalent portrayals

¹³⁰ This enumerative entry was subjoined to San Agustín’s letter and ascribed to the Jesuit Fray Pedro Murillo Velarde. See Gaspar de San Agustín, “Letter on the Filipinos” (1720), in BR, 40: 280-81.

¹³¹ AGI, Filipinas, 84, N.3., f.3r.

¹³² BNF, Espagnol 325, ff.39r-39v. See also John Leddy Phelan, “Some Ideological Aspects of the Conquest of the Philippines,” *The Americas* 13, no. 3 (1957): 221-22.

of the natives by these churchmen helped deepen racial stereotypes. Although racialized treacherousness did not completely preclude the possibility of interracial friendship, it was nevertheless broached to mitigate Spanish wars of conquest and dispossession in the Philippines.

In affective terms, ethnoracialized (in)amicability marked friendship between Spaniards and Filipinos with a sense of distrust. While trust can be understood as a feeling and belief that the other party prefers to reciprocate one's cooperation rather than exploit it, distrust denotes the contrary.¹³³ Here it might be useful to distinguish between the concepts of *distrust* and *mistrust*. Despite their similarity in referring to the lack of trust, distrust is usually based on past experience and supposedly reliable information while mistrust is a general sense of the unreliability of someone or something.¹³⁴ As we have discussed, Spanish distrust was significantly based on the foregoing historical and ethnographic writings, which reflected their past experience with and accumulated knowledge of the Filipinos as well as the Amerindians and the Moros. On the other hand, indigenous Filipinos' past encounters with European empire builders, including the Portuguese who had first sowed the seeds of native distrust, led many of them, in various locales, to flee to safety or feign friendship with the visitors.¹³⁵ In certain localities, native distrust also resulted from pre-Hispanic prophecies of Spanish arrival and the religious disruption it produced, as we shall see in Chapter Five. Thus their mutual distrust, on which their friendships were cultivated, stemmed not simply from unfamiliarity, but also from racialization and collective memories. They distrusted each other because of what they believed or remembered the other had done in the past. Distrust, in other words, was ingrained into their historical consciousness because of their historical production, whether oral, written, or embodied.

In the Philippine context, the racializing affect of distrust adulterated the normative disposition of love and charity that the Spaniards claimed of themselves. It also reoriented their friend-making toward contingent circumstances rather than the indefinite, conventional ideals of friendship. With distrust, interracial friendship was freighted with a sense of foreboding. While European philosophies of friendship highlighted the sameness and thus identifiability between friends, racial difference made it difficult for the Spaniards to trust the natives' courses of action in a given situation by identifying with them and predicting their decisions. Hence, their friendship

¹³³ Andrew H. Kydd, *Trust and Mistrust in International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 6.

¹³⁴ See Matthew Carey, *Mistrust: An Ethnographic Theory* (Chicago: Hau Books, 2017), 7-8.

¹³⁵ "Expedition of Miguel Lopez de Legazpi—1564-68," in BR, 2: 117. See also Chapter Two and Three.

took shape in an atmosphere of distrust and uncertainty in which trust might also have been present though rarely wholehearted. Here, Spanish amity emerged not only as a normative practice but also an affective stance from which to come to terms with the ascribed untrustworthiness of the natives. A royal decree to Governor Francisco de Sande in 1576, while acknowledging native pretenses of friendship in Mindanao and Borneo, noted their wish for vassalage and ordered that their friendship be preserved “with much care,” and that the native leaders be well treated “with much love” in order to incline them to receive Christianity.¹³⁶ Such friendship based on distrust was one of agonistic intimacy in the sense that, despite or precisely because of their proximity, it was fraught with dynamic tension and liable to disloyalty, dissonance, and even dissociation. Their intimacy was not cultivated chiefly by revealing their inner selves to each other, but rather by such practices as gifting, feasting, bartering, and blood covenanting, as examined in succeeding chapters.

Such mutual distrust became an affective basis of their political and utilitarian friendship, especially when considered from the Spanish perspective. This distrust carried the political implication that the natives, even if befriended or subjugated, were more or less autonomous, uncontrollable, and unfathomable.¹³⁷ In other words, they were not completely deprived of agency and were thus capable of behaving otherwise. Indeed, to describe the natives as untrustworthy or treacherous, as we have repeatedly seen, was to ascribe to them a considerable degree of agency. Whether in words or in experience, the distrust based on past contact and essentialized otherness was therefore a ground for native endurance and resistance.

* * * * *

This chapter has demonstrated that Spanish imperialism inherited an intellectual and ideological heritage from premodern theories and practices of friendship in at least four ways. These included (1) the semantic and affective association between love and friendship, (2) the pragmatism of unequal or vassalic friendship on both interpersonal and interstate levels, (3) an understanding of friendship as an affective and normative contract with mutual obligations, and (4) the formation of friendship between an empire and subordinate polities. These legacies were transmitted from the ancient and medieval worlds to the early modern Spanish overseas empire through philosophical treatises on friendship, Spanish historical writings on classical antiquity, the

¹³⁶ AGI, Filipinas, 339, L.1, f.76v.

¹³⁷ See Carey, *Mistrust*, 9-10.

juridical patrimony of Roman law, and the Spanish monarchy's identification with imperial Rome as idealized in the epochal image of the *Pax Romana*.

Through the re-articulation and reenactment of premodern traditions, Spanish imperialism in the Americas and the Philippines appropriated the deep-rooted practice of vassalic friendship into an apparatus of colonial conquest. Friendship was an affective arrangement with racializing affects, especially distrust, as its basis. Racialization in this period was less about complexion than affective and behavioral make-up. In early modern colonial frontiers, where interracial legal regulation was lacking while miscommunication and armed confrontation often occurred, friendship potentially served as an indispensable means of peacemaking in a similar vein to its role in medieval Europe. But how did interracial friendships *actually* come about in the Spanish conquest of the Philippines? Did they conform to or diverge from the moral and affective prescriptions of friendship by juridical, religious, and philosophical authorities? And how did they work or fail in different colonial and interimperial circumstances? These questions will be examined in the chapters that follow.

Chapter II

Competitive Love: The Transimperial Paradigm of Friendship and Affective Economies in the Spanish Colonization of the Philippines

In the evening of February 13, 1565, Legazpi's armada arrived at the island of Samar and set off in earnest the long business of Spanish colonization in the Philippines. In so doing, it trod into a maritime region in which the Portuguese had already asserted their imperial presence for half a century.¹ Even the Magellan voyage decades earlier had also come on the heels of Portuguese trailblazers in archipelagic Southeast Asia. Spain's agenda of imperial friendship was thus vitiated by the Portuguese to begin with. Southeast Asian islanders, however, were no mere bystanders to such imperial strife nor passive recipients of external impetus.² Rather, they actively engaged with successive waves of foreigners on their shores and sometimes allowed their loyalty to oscillate or straddle between competing European empires. Their contingent positions to offer, accept, deny, or break friendship with the latter empowered them not only in imperial encounters but also in regional rivalries and internal conflicts.

The Magellan and Legazpi expeditions were crucial parts of the European "scramble" for the Moluccas and contiguous islands during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The struggle implicated European powers whose conceptions of friendship corresponded in large part to those of the Spanish Empire, previously examined. This was particularly the case for Portugal, whose imperial trajectory was closely intertwined with that of Spain. Their respective experiences with indigenous polities in the Eastern and Western hemispheres rested commonly on the Renaissance practice of political and imperial friendship. With such a transimperial paradigm evolving out of premodern traditions, the Iberian empires confronted and competed with each other along the ambiguous line of demarcation in Southeast Asia.

This chapter calls attention to friend-making during the Iberian expansion into Southeast Asia, as part of what Jorge Flores calls "moments of 'contagion'" between imperial Spain and

¹ See Charles E. Nowell, "The Loaisa Expedition and the Ownership of the Moluccas," *Pacific Historical Review* 5, no. 4 (1936): 330-31.

² For a recent treatment of their political and economic agency in early modern Southeast Asia's eastern archipelagos, including the southern Philippines, see Heather Sutherland, *Seaways and Gatekeepers: Trade and State in the Eastern Archipelagos of Southeast Asia, c.1600-c.1906* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2021).

Portugal.³ Such moments can also be observed, with a shared grammar of operation, between the Iberians and their Protestant competitors from the Netherlands and England. The politics of friendship between European empires and Southeast Asian peoples shows the relations between transimperial connectivity, interimperial competition, co-imperialism, and interisland indigenous affairs. In this context, the Philippines also served as a regional pivot for friendship formations between rivaling empires and indigenous communities in maritime Asia. Together with the geopolitical importance of the Philippines, competitive friend-making among European empires recast native agency by valorizing native friendships and thus leaving room for their strategic alignment with different imperial powers and their maneuvering against local enemies. As political and self-serving as they might be, these interracial bonds of friendship were animated by affective attachment no less than instrumental deliberation.

Lines of Amity, Translatio Imperii, and the Transimperial Paradigm of Friendship

Early modern European empires emerged out of the *res publica Christiana*—the ecumenical community of Christianity—of the Middle Ages, which was based, in turn, on centuries of transmission and translation of classical and Christian philosophies. Imperial Spain and Portugal, as pioneers among others, premised their enterprises partly on common knowledge within this cultural commonwealth and settled their differences, at least in principle, under the mutually acknowledged arbiter of the Holy See. Pan-European traditions of friendship were also part of this transimperial knowledge of interpersonal and international conduct. In the face of religious wars, the gradual dissolution of European Christendom perpetuated and transformed the role of friendship in maintaining political order. As Evgeny Roshchin argues, its significance in international discourses during this period lay precisely in “its association with the production and arrangement of positive legal regimes regulating sovereign encounters, preserving rights of dominion over a realm and stipulating the conditions of commercial intercourse.”⁴ In short, it was in the contexts of imperial expansion, interimperial engagement, and early globalization, where sovereignty and property rights were contested, that the concept of friendship was reinvigorated.

³ Jorge Flores, “The Iberian Empires, 1400 to 1800,” in *The Cambridge World History, Volume 6: The Construction of a Global World, 1400-1800 CE, Part 1: Foundations*, ed. Jerry H. Bentley, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, and Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 279.

⁴ Evgeny Roshchin, *Friendship among Nations: History of a Concept* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 101.

As a conceptual tool of territorial mapping and claiming, friendship was thus integral to the emergence of a modern world system.

From the final decade of the fifteenth century, the European expansion and discovery of the Americas and the Pacific route to the Orient generated a series of global re-imaginings. The world was cartographically visualized and demarcated in the interest of European maritime expansion. Since then there emerged what Carl Schmitt has called “global lines of division and distribution” just as land appropriation became a constitutive process of international law, with Francisco de Vitoria as one of its harbingers. Known in the Iberian world as *rayas* (lines), these imaginary markers were initially drawn under the authority of the Church and upon the agreement between the Iberian powers with the Treaties of Tordesillas (1494) and Zaragoza (1526). They laid down the lines determining and separating the Spanish and Portuguese hemispheres of jurisdiction in the Atlantic and the Pacific, respectively.⁵

In defiance of the Iberian monopoly, European rival powers such as France and England set off in pursuit of their own expansion despite the papal distribution and the inter-Iberian treaties. In consequence, diplomatic negotiations were concluded among European courts to restrict the applicability of the law of nations only to Europe. The extra-European world, on the contrary, was relegated out of its effective range. This gave birth to another type of global line; these were known as *lines of amity*. From the latter half of the sixteenth century, written treaties between European rulers typically specified the amity lines as the Tropic of Cancer and the prime meridian (Figure 2.1) although the location of the latter remained a bone of contention throughout the period. While the prime meridian here indicated the western margin of the Old World, the Tropic of Cancer was situated immediately north of the Caribbean and the entirety of Southeast Asia—thus, in the words of Mark Netzloff, “conveniently subsum[ing] the profitable sites of West and East Indies within the lawless realm of licensed piracy.” These lines marked off the European side of the lines as a territory of negotiated peace and amity where the terms of agreements would be observed. Beyond these lines, any violence inflicted by either party upon the other should not be regarded as

⁵ Carl Schmitt, *The Nomos of the Earth in the International Law of the Jus Publicum Europaeum*, trans. G. L. Ulmen (New York: Telos Press, 2003), 80, 88-89. For the Spanish treaties and their English translations, see Frances G. Davenport, *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and Its Dependencies to 1648* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1917), 84-106, 146-98.

contravening their treaties.⁶ The agreements implied that the west and south of the respective lines constituted a space of potential hostility, of licit confrontation and retaliation among European powers.



Figure 2.1: Jodocus Hondius's world map (ca. 1595) with the prime meridian and the Tropic of Cancer, the normative *lines of amity* among European powers of the period. It shows the routes taken around the world by the English explorers Francis Drake (1577-80) and Thomas Cavendish (1586-88), both of whom passed by the Philippines.⁷

⁶ The rudimentary idea of the amity lines putatively emerged in an oral agreement between the French and Spanish negotiators of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559), which ended Franco-Spanish conflicts over the Italian peninsula that had begun in the late fifteenth century. See Davenport, *European Treaties*, 219-22; Wilhelm G. Grewe, *The Epochs of International Law*, trans. Michael Byers (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2000), 154-58; Mark Netzloff, "Lines of Amity: The Law of Nations in the Americas," in *Cultures of Diplomacy and Literary Writing in the Early Modern World*, ed. Tracey A. Sowerby and Joanna Craigwood (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 54-55; China Miéville, *Between Equal Rights: A Marxist Theory of International Law* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 179-84. For the history of the specification of the amity lines and the proverbial phrase "no peace beyond the Line," see Garrett Mattingly, "No Peace beyond What Line?" *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 13 (1963): 145-62. See also a summary of the debate on the historical accuracy and legal significance of the amity lines in Peter Stirk, "No Peace Beyond the Line," in *Spatiality, Sovereignty and Carl Schmitt: Geographies of the Nomos*, ed. Stephen Legg (New York: Routledge, 2011), 276-83. For the prime meridian, European cartographers of the period were at slight variance as to its location, be it passing through Ferro or Tenerife of the Canaries, the Cape Verde Islands, or the Azores. See Charles W. J. Withers, *Zero Degrees: Geographies of the Prime Meridian* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017), 34-36.

⁷ Jodocus Hondius, *Vera totius expeditionis nauticae: descriptio D. Franc. Draci* [map] (Amsterdam: I. Hondius, ca. 1595), <https://www.loc.gov/item/92680608/>.

The amity lines can be understood as a zoning practice of inter-European friendship—what we might also call a spatialization of amity. They were part of the negotiation of frontiers, prescribing and proscribing imperial activities in a contentious and liminal space. The lines epitomized in early modern imperial history what Boaventura de Sousa Santos has described as “abyssal thinking.” As a system of distinction and exclusion, this mode of thought established differences between the West and the rest by creating “abyssal lines” that divided social reality into two realms: the realm of “this side of the line” and the realm of “the other side of the line.” In the latter, regulative mechanisms of the former such as the rule of law were abrogated or invoked only as a form of deceit. Sousa Santos identifies the lines of amity as “the truly abyssal lines,” whose effects were encapsulated in the early modern maxims, “beyond the equator there are no sins” and “no peace beyond the line.”⁸ From another perspective, Wilhelm Grewe argues that rather than to alter the legal status of the colonial world, the primary function of the amity lines was to protect European peace and balance of power from the impact of the ever-shifting pattern of forces on the other side of the lines.⁹

In any case, the lines of amity called forth a geography of concord—a regionally acknowledged global image marked by an opposition between amity and enmity—as part of the European political unconscious, as it were. Not only did it carve up the globe into domains of peace and friendship on the one hand and war on the other, but it also conditioned colonial exploitation and interimperial competition under a shared legal order of European states. It follows that they were not only lines of legality, but also lines of affectivity, beyond which animosity and mistrust animated interpolity affairs in tandem with normative affects such as love and goodwill. In this sense, the abyssal conception created an affective arrangement of a newly globalized world in which one side of the lines felt different from the other. By conjuring a region of contestation, these lines helped produce and consolidate particular forms of friendship—that is, military alliance and peace agreement—especially between European and indigenous partners. While there was in theory “no peace beyond the line,” imperial contact complicated the amity lines by bringing about

⁸ Boaventura de Sousa Santos, “Beyond Abyssal Thinking,” in *Epistemologies of the South: Justice against Epistemicide* (Boulder: Paradigm, 2014), 118-24; Boaventura de Sousa Santos, *The End of the Cognitive Empire: The Coming of Age of Epistemologies of the South* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018), 19-24. For “no peace beyond the line,” see Mattingly, “No Peace beyond What Line?”

⁹ Grewe, *The Epochs of International Law*, 162.

new deals of “peace and friendship” in the *a priori* war zone, with indigenous involvement blurring the imaginary abyss.

How did the amity lines pertain to imperial disputes over the Moluccas and the Philippines? To begin with, the emergence of the amity lines was coeval with the early Spanish colonization of the Philippines and the escalation of English, French, and Dutch encroachments on Iberian colonial possessions in the New World.¹⁰ Furthermore, in the wake of the Legazpi voyage, as Ricardo Padrón points out, East and Southeast Asia was visualized by Spanish officialdom as part of the transpacific expanse of the West Indies and thus viewed as the new frontier of their imperial ambitions.¹¹ This historical conjuncture set the stage for the two archipelagos as liable to interimperial confrontation, which in turn called for native friendship and support. Accordingly, the lines not only rendered the Philippines as a legal object of European colonial exploitation, but also conditioned alternative amity beyond the so-called amity lines. They gave rise to European arrangements of friendship with indigenous Filipinos and Southeast Asians through treaty-making, among other ways. Thus, the European rule of law effectively incorporated the colonial world just as an international legal order was emerging in the wake of imperial expansion.

Early modern European empires operated not only within this cartographically specific order of inter-European friendship. They were also driven by ideological imperatives that were substantially *transimperial*, especially in the case of the Catholic Iberians. In European historiography, the notion of *translatio imperii* (literally “translation of empire”) has since the Middle Ages been used in a diachronic sense to refer to a linear succession or transfer of rule and authority from one imperial power to another.¹² It is closely connected to the concept of *translatio studii* (literally “translation of learning”), which means a transfer of intellectual heritage, especially from classical antiquity, through imitation as well as intertextual activities such as reading, translating, commenting, interpreting, and rewriting.¹³ Sanjay Subrahmanyam reformulates the former concept by infusing a synchronic sense into it as a transfer of imperial models and notions

¹⁰ See J. H. Parry, *The Spanish Seaborne Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 252-57; Schmitt, *The Nomos of the Earth*, 93.

¹¹ Ricardo Padrón, *The Indies of the Setting Sun: How Early Modern Spain Mapped the Far East as the Transpacific West* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020), 139-66.

¹² J. H. Elliott, *Spain, Europe and the Wider World, 1500-1800*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 136-37; Eva Botella-Ordinas, “‘Exempt from Time and From Its Fatal Change’: Spanish Imperial Ideology, 1450-1700,” *Renaissance Studies* 26, no. 4 (2012): 583-84.

¹³ Jean-Claude See Carron, “Imitation and Intertextuality in the Renaissance,” *New Literary History* 19, no. 3 (1988): 565-79.

across a group of competing contemporaneous empires.¹⁴ The notion of *translatio imperii* in this sense is even more connected to that of *translatio studii*. The *translatio studii et imperii*—transmission of imperial knowledge—was germane to the Renaissance overseas empires as they shared paradigms of operation, tapping into classical models and Christian modes of thought.

This also dovetails with a recent turn in the historiography of empire and colonialism that calls attention to transimperial connections and interactions, whether cooperative or competitive, between global powers. These include the sharing of common knowledge and technologies, basic assumptions such as the infamous “civilizing mission,” or practices such as ceremonies of territorial acquisition. Also central to this approach is a focus on historical actors moving and interacting across, and sometimes against, empires as well as the shifting attachments and co-constitutions of their communities. The transimperial or interimperial turn seeks to counter nation-state centrism and Anglocentrism in the existing imperial historiography, that is, the tendency to focus on nation-states as well as on the British Empire as the definitive model for empire studies.¹⁵ It is also based on the premise that “imperialism emerged first and foremost as transimperial imperialism,” with similar politics of comparison for each empire.¹⁶ In these respects, the Iberian empires offer countervailing sites where our attention may shift from the industrialist powers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries toward patterns of early modern, mercantilist globalization, and from the Atlantic toward the Pacific.

Here I argue that friendship (Castilian *amistad*; Portuguese *amizade*; Dutch *vrundschap* or *vriendschap*) was an integral part of the *translatio imperii* among European powers and a crucial category of European imperial formations across continents. Its discourses and practices constituted a transimperial reservoir of examples and knowledge for empire builders in European

¹⁴ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, “Holding the World in Balance: The Connected Histories of the Iberian Overseas Empires, 1500-1640,” *American Historical Review* 112, no. 5 (2007): 1360.

¹⁵ See Laura Doyle, *Inter-Imperiality: Vying Empires, Gendered Labor, and the Literary Arts of Alliance* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2020); Kristin L. Hoganson and Jay Sexton, eds, *Crossing Empires: Taking U.S. History into Transimperial Terrain* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2020); Daniel Hedinger and Nadin Heé, “Transimperial History: Connectivity, Cooperation and Competition,” *Journal of Modern European History* 16, no. 4 (2018): 429-52; Christoph Kamissek and Jonas Kreienbaum, “An Imperial Cloud? Conceptualising Interimperial Connections and Transimperial Knowledge,” *Journal of Modern European History* 14, no. 2 (May 2016): 164-82. See also Lauren Benton and Benjamin Straumann, “Acquiring Empire by Law: From Roman Doctrine to Early Modern European Practice,” *Law and History Review* 28, no. 1 (2010): 1-38; Thomas James Dandeleit, *The Renaissance of Empire in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014). For the ceremonies of territorial possession, see Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe’s Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

¹⁶ Hedinger and Heé, “Transimperial History,” 433.

metropolises and colonies to adapt to their particular circumstances. As seen in the previous chapter, a large part of this imperial playbook was a cultural patrimony of Europe derived from the classical and medieval worlds, particularly the Roman Empire. This included not only philosophical reflections on the nature of friendship, but also practical knowledge on friendly conduct in interpersonal and international relations. In parallel to the resurgence of the *amicitia* concept in Renaissance Europe's treaty practices¹⁷, its contractual and normative conceptions of friendship were extended from the Christian world to the new contexts of transoceanic expansion and colonization. Not only did friendship serve to build mutual recognition and prevent hostile acts as strangers encountered one another, but, in the context of imperial rivalry, as Alecia Simmonds argues, it also "signified native consent in claims of possession over land and thus ensured conformity to legal norms."¹⁸ Treaty signing provided European empires with an indispensable means of competitive friend-making under a shared paradigm of operation while moral virtues and affective rhetoric of friendship were mobilized in their imperial discourses and disputes.

Moreover, since friendship paved the way for commercial intercourse and military alliance as essential ingredients for the continuance of an empire, it turned into an instrument of interimperial politics among European powers. In maritime Southeast Asia, this took the forms of discursive, diplomatic, and military struggles across the lines of amity and, for the Iberian empires, the hemispheres of operation. European imperialists conversed with one another and with Southeast Asian natives through the *lingua franca* of friendship. Hence, the interimperial politics of friendship illustrates the entangled histories of European empires and colonies in, and beyond, the region. Such entanglement was also manifested affectively. Given that friendship as a form of love was central to the evangelistic empires of Spain and Portugal, their interimperial struggle can be construed, not least in ideological terms, as a politics of competitive love and friendship.

With the translatability of imperial paradigms, Luso-Hispanic competition in Southeast Asia took place under the same grid of intelligibility and similar techniques of imperial power. The Iberians share not only a number of skilled personnel but also similar epistemic and ideological structures for their imperial projects. Sanctioned by papal bulls, their Southeast Asian enterprises were similarly motivated by both politico-economic and religious concerns to profit

¹⁷ Randall Lesaffer, "Amicitia in Renaissance Peace and Alliance Treaties (1450-1530)," *Journal of the History of International Law* 4 (2002): 94-95. See also Roshchin, *Friendship among Nations*, chapters 2-3.

¹⁸ Alecia Simmonds, "Friendship, Imperial Violence and the Law of Nations: The Case of Late-Eighteenth Century British Oceania," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 42, no. 4 (2014): 645.

from the spice trade and universalize the faith through Catholic conversion. As scholars have shown, the concept of conscience was also central to both the Spanish and Portuguese imperial systems, just as moral theology played an important role in responding to their contingent quandaries.¹⁹ Their ideological coherence was also fostered by the classical rhetorical tradition that flourished throughout both empires.²⁰ Friendship, as we shall see, was also a transimperial rhetorical concept that lent itself to resolving the conscience of Iberian imperialists.

Operating within shared legal-theological frameworks, the Iberian empires were preoccupied with the justification of war in colonial conquest. Waging an unjust war was considered one of the most serious offenses for the prince in early modern Portuguese thought, while colonial atrocities in the Indies sparked off vehement debates among Spanish intellectuals.²¹ Vitoria's discussion of international friendship in the Spanish conquest of the Indies gained traction among Portuguese imperialists at least from the 1560s. The circulation and reproduction of missionary casuistry on moral questions pertaining to imperial expansion helped spread the doctrine across the Portuguese Empire.²² The Iberian empires also shared their conception that war against Muslims in insular Southeast Asia was an extension of the *Reconquista* and the Christian-Muslim rivalry that had plagued Europe. However, Muslim friends and enemies were normally differentiated just as warfare, commerce, and diplomacy went hand in hand in Iberian-Muslim relations.²³ This Iberian "ideology of Catholic anti-piracy," as Kristie Flannery calls it, also encompassed a commitment to convert Muslims in the region and transform them into vassals of the Iberian crowns.²⁴ As we shall see, both the Spanish and the Portuguese began to convert Malay

¹⁹ Lewis Hanke, "The Dawn of Conscience in America: Spanish Experiments and Experiences with Indians in the New World," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 107, no. 2 (1963): 83-92; Giuseppe Marcocci, "Conscience and Empire: Politics and Moral Theology in the Early Modern Portuguese World," *Journal of Early Modern History* 18, no. 5 (2014): 494. For the early Spanish Philippines, see Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism*, chapter 5.

²⁰ Stuart M. McManus, *Empire of Eloquence: The Classical Rhetorical Tradition in Colonial Latin America and the Iberian World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021).

²¹ Marcocci, "Conscience and Empire," 485. On Spanish debates concerning the Philippines, see Domingo de Salazar, *The Manila Synod of 1582: The Draft of Its Handbook for Confessors*, trans. Paul Arvisu Dumol (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2014); Gayo y Aragon, *The Theology of the Conquest*.

²² Marcocci, "Conscience and Empire," 487-88.

²³ Eberhard Crailsheim, "Polarized Enemies: The Christian-Muslim Dichotomy in the Early Modern Philippines," in *Philippine Confluence: Iberian, Chinese and Islamic Currents, c. 1500-1800*, ed. Jos Gommans and Ariel Lopez (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2020), 257-86.

²⁴ Kristie P. Flannery, "The Impossible Colony: Piracy, the Philippines, and Spain's Global Empire," (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2019), chapter 1.

Muslims from the beginning of their Southeast Asian enterprises and in so doing justified their presence against each other.

As with Spanish expansion in the Americas and Southeast Asia, the Portuguese acquisition of African and Asian possessions, mostly coastal enclaves and trading posts, was achieved partly through vassallic friendship. In fact, such a clientelistic form of friendship was even more pronounced in Portuguese imperialism than in its Spanish counterpart. A Lusitanian order, however circumscribed, was also constituted through friend-making with independent states in these regions. As António Vasconcelos de Saldanha notes, Portuguese imperial friendship manifested itself at times through languages of kinship, especially brotherhood, to suggest intimacy and virtual indissolubility.²⁵ Across maritime Asia, the Portuguese Crown frequently adopted a Roman legal model by granting friendship (*amizade*) or brotherhood (*irmandade*) to local potentates in return for their vassalage (*vassalagem*) or specific concessions such as a permission to establish a trading post or a fortress.²⁶ In many cases, indigenous elites coveted and actively sought Portuguese friendship and brotherhood for political purposes or for prestige at the cost of their subordination. Some swore in their coronation ceremonies or affirmed in their letters that they acknowledged Portuguese overlordship and would comply with vassallic obligations as the Portuguese king's friends and brothers in arms.²⁷ In the New World, native friendship also played a crucial part in the competitive colonization of Brazil between Portugal and France in the mid-sixteenth century and between Portugal and Spain in the latter half of the eighteenth century.²⁸

Luso-Hispanic contestation in the Americas was paralleled, or in fact preceded, by that in Southeast Asia. In the very beginning of its empire in the region, the Portuguese Crown instructed its functionaries to establish trade and build a fortress in Malacca in order to claim its right of

²⁵ António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, *Iustum imperium: dos tratados como fundamento do império dos portugueses no oriente; estudo de história do direito internacional e do direito português* (Lisboa: Fundação Oriente, 1997), 359-60, 367-68.

²⁶ Anthony R. Disney, "Iberian Maritime Asia, 1497-1700s: The Portuguese and Spanish Empires in Asia," in *Empire in Asia: A New Global History, Volume I: From Chinggisid to Qing*, ed. Brian P. Farrell and Jack Fairey (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), 247; Zoltán Biedermann, "Portuguese Diplomacy in Asia in the Sixteenth Century: A Preliminary Overview," *Itinerario* 29, no. 2 (2005): 13-37; Saldanha, *Iustum imperium*, 371-72, 386-88.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 369-73; Chandra R. de Silva, ed., *Portuguese Encounters with Sri Lanka and the Maldives: Translated Texts from the Age of Discoveries* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 80, 107.

²⁸ Luciana Villas Bôas, "The Myth of the Noble Frenchman and the Politics of Friendship and Enmity in Sixteenth-Century Brazil," in *Cultural Exchanges Between Brazil and France*, ed. Regina R. Felix and Scott D. Juall (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2016); Elisa Frühauf Garcia, "Quando os índios escolhem os seus aliados: As relações de 'amizade' entre os minuanos e os lusitanos no sul da América portuguesa (c.1750-1800)," *Varia Historia* 24, no. 40 (2008): 613-32.

possession against Spain in accordance with the Treaty of Tordesillas. This was to be achieved preferably “with much prudence and patience” and “with [the natives’] agreement.”²⁹ Wherever the Portuguese landed, they should do no harm to the indigenous populace, but show them that they wanted nothing except peace and friendship (*paz e amizade*). Reception of the natives, perceived to be of high importance at least at the beginning of their contact, should be carefully arranged in order that “the news may spread how well and with much honor you received them.” Presents should be given to indigenous rulers to establish peace and friendship with them and their subjects. Emotional dissimulation (*desymulalloe*), instead of retaliation, should accordingly be observed in case of any inadvertent offense. Here the formation of friendship necessitated both emotional suppression and expression. Goodwill, for instance, was prescribed as something to always be shown.³⁰ Treaties of peace and friendship were also concluded between Portugal and a number of indigenous communities along its routes to the Moluccas and the Philippines, including Sumatra where the idiom of friendship and love (*amizade e amor*) featured in their communication.³¹

Portuguese accounts of the region register the difference between vassalic and non-vassalic friendships between indigenous Southeast Asian rulers and the Portuguese Crown. Tomé Pires’s travelogue *Suma Oriental* (written between 1512-1515) distinguishes between *tributary vassals*, *friendly vassals* “who write that they are slaves of the King our Lord,” and simply *friends*³²—apparently those who neither paid tribute nor placed themselves under the Portuguese king in their correspondence or elsewhere. It was also customary in Portuguese expeditions in Southeast Asia to erect stone monuments as tokens of peace and friendship with local rulers.³³ In narrating events or characterizing Portuguese foreign relations in Southeast Asia, the languages of friendship and

²⁹ *Portuguese Documents on Malacca, Vol. I: 1509-1511*, trans. M. J. Pintado (Kuala Lumpur: National Archives of Malaysia, 1993), 5.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 14-17.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 24-27, 118-19.

³² The tributary vassals listed were the kings of Pahang, Kampar, and Indragiri. The friendly vassals included the kings of Minangkabau, Pegu, Surabaya, and Sunda, among others, while the only “friend” identified was the king of Siam. Tomé Pires, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires: An Account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, Written in Malacca and India in 1512-1515*, trans. Armando Cortesão (London: Hakluyt Society, 1944), 2: 278, 282-83.

³³ See the cases of Sumatran sultans of Pedir and Pasai in *Portuguese Documents on Malacca*, 40-41. This was also a shared practice among early modern European empires. See Benton and Straumann, “Acquiring Empire by Law,” 32; Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, 58, 133, 146-47. See also a similar practice in Legazpi’s ceremonial possession of Samar in Chapter Four.

vassalage were brought together, sometimes by the Portuguese king himself, to conjure a sense of amicable submission by indigenous rulers to the protection of the Portuguese suzerain.³⁴

In addition to Vitoria's juridical-theological paradigm of friendship among peoples, the transimperial transmission of knowledge between the Iberian powers also involved information exchange pertaining to Southeast Asia. This was enabled by inter-Iberian personnel movements and personal networking. For instance, the correspondence between Magellan and Francisco Serrão, his Portuguese friend and former comrade-in-arms who resided in Ternate, conditioned his expedition in the first place.³⁵ With second-hand knowledge as to the location and resourcefulness of the Moluccas, Magellan and his supporters presented a navigation project to the Spanish monarch and claimed that the destination lay within the boundaries of the Spanish hemisphere. In this manner, friendship in its interpersonal and international levels—from the *translatio imperii* of friendship to the Magellan-Serrão camaraderie—contributed to the beginning of imperial expansion into the Philippines.

These early imperial encounters in Southeast Asia illustrate political and contractual modes of friendly arrangement in Iberian imperialisms and the transimperial character of their friendship practices. Even Protestant powers shared this paradigm of friendship. Personnel of both the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and the English East India Company (EIC) in the early seventeenth century concluded treaties of friendship with indigenous Southeast Asians and justified their imperial conduct with reference to natural law and the law of nations³⁶, to which the concept of friendship was arguably intrinsic. Significantly influenced by the classics as well as Francisco de Vitoria, the Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius (Hugo de Groot, 1583-1645) advanced a natural right to trade based on the natural sociability of humankind and the divine will that human friendships should be fostered by mutual needs and resources.³⁷ Drawing partly on the Roman model of

³⁴ *Portuguese Documents on Malacca*, 372-73, 378-79, 406-07.

³⁵ Antonio Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage around the World*, trans. James A. Robertson (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906), 2: 211, n476; Gaspar de San Agustín, *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas: Conquest of the Philippine Islands, 1565-1615*, trans. Luis Antonio Mañeru (Manila: San Agustín Museum, 1998), 118-19.

³⁶ Martine Julia van Ittersum, "Debating Natural Law in the Banda Islands: A Case Study in Anglo-Dutch Imperial Competition in the East Indies, 1609-1621." *History of European Ideas* 42, no. 4 (2016): 459-501; Arthur Weststeijn, "'Love Alone is not Enough': Treaties in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Colonial Expansion," in *Empire by Treaty: Negotiating European Expansion, 1600-1900*, ed. Saliha Belmessous (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 19-44. See also the English colonization of North America through friendship in Roshchin, *Friendship among Nations*, 186-208.

³⁷ Peter Borschberg, *Hugo Grotius, the Portuguese and Free Trade in the East Indies* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2011), 56-59, 84-85; Alecia Simmonds, "Friendship, Imperial Violence and the Law of Nations: The Case of Late-Eighteenth Century British Oceania," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 42, no. 4 (2014): 648.

expansion by treaty, Grotius viewed treaty-making as a just norm of the emergent international law system. He also validated Dutch attacks on the Portuguese as legitimate acts in support of alliances with Southeast Asian rulers.³⁸ While their interference in the Spanish-dominated Philippines was often conducted in an offensive or piratical manner, Dutch and English imperialists also sought native friendship and alliance in certain parts of the archipelago.

The Philippines and Affective Economies of Friendship

The peripheral location of the Philippines and its surrounding islands, beyond the amity lines and at the remotest ends of the Iberian hemispheres, placed them at the center of interimperial dispute. After the Treaty of Zaragoza whereby Spain relinquished its supposed rights to the Moluccas, the Philippines increasingly accrued geopolitical, religious, and economic importance for the Spanish Empire. It was initially envisaged to rival the Portuguese-dominated Moluccas in spice production.³⁹ Although that prospect went unrealized, it served instead as Spain's Asian center in the transpacific trade, with silver and silk as major commodities. The interimperial struggles over the Philippines, first among the Catholic Iberians themselves and later between Catholics and Protestant newcomers, were part and parcel of entangled conflicts over the spice trade, the transpacific galleon trade, and the China junk trade.⁴⁰ Most of the scenes of contestation and confrontation were accordingly at the Philippine port city of Manila, which had long served as an inter-Asian entrepôt, and in areas adjacent to the Moluccas, such as Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago. The Philippines and eastern Indonesia also offered the Europeans a fertile field of souls and spices where conversion and commerce could concurrently be conducted, sometimes by the same groups of people.⁴¹ This opened up the possibility for them to preach the gospel in order that their expansionist projects might be legitimized vis-à-vis other empires. As I shall further argue, the two domains of socioeconomic and spiritual life were interconnected through friendship and its affectivity.

³⁸ Weststeijn, "'Love Alone is not Enough,'" 25-30.

³⁹ Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines*, 40-41.

⁴⁰ The China-Manila trade had long existed prior to the arrival of the Spaniards, but the Spanish occupation of the Philippines gave rise to an exchange of exceptionally higher value with American silver and a strong demand for Chinese silk. See M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofs, *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and About 1630* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1962), 263-64.

⁴¹ Barbara Watson Andaya, "Between Empires and Emporia: The Economics of Christianization in Early Modern Southeast Asia," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 53 (2010): 357-92.

The interconnection between commerce, conversion, and colonization made native friendship a key determinant in imperial competition. Not only did native amity promise local assistance and economic exchange, but it also helped legitimize colonization and extend an empire's sphere of interest and influence. So, what is unmistakable in imperial friendship was, accordingly, its instrumentality. Previous scholarship in friendship studies has drawn attention to the abhorrence of instrumentality in European philosophies of friendship. As Allan Silver explains, thinkers of the eighteenth-century Scottish Enlightenment played an important role in dissociating personal relations from instrumental reckoning, relegating calculated exchanges to the domain of the market.⁴² In response, Vanessa Smith argues that such disavowal of calculation has a deeper tradition that dated back to ancient Greek thought.⁴³ Here I propose that Spanish imperial friendship in the Philippines shows recurring formulations of amity as instrumental to commerce, conversion, and colonization. Such an unabashed association of friendship and colonial interests was due not simply to the fact that Spanish colonialism preceded the intellectual liberation of friendship from calculation during the Enlightenment. As seen in the previous chapter, European traditions of friendship had two distinct modes: ethical and normative on the one hand and political and contractual on the other, both of which were affectively charged. The latter, as old and far-reaching as the former, allowed for imperial friendship in which intimate, hospitable intercourse was compatible with economic interest and conquest.

Competitive friend-making among European powers in Southeast Asia generated *affective economies of friendship*. To characterize friendship as an economy is to focus on the dissemination of affects and the sense of calculation in friendly arrangements. Economy here is used in both literal and figurative senses, and its connection to affects can be understood as mutually constitutive. On the one hand, as a relation of production, distribution, and transaction between Europeans and natives, an economy gave rise to friendship and its affectivity. Economic activities were thought to promote love and amity which, in turn, allowed for Christian evangelization to proceed effectively. On the other hand, friendship and its affectivity were also fundamental to the formation and transformation of an economy. Through friendship and treaty-making, European military alliance or protection was usually offered in exchange for commercial privileges from

⁴² Allan Silver, "Friendship in Commercial Society: Eighteenth-Century Social Theory and Modern Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology* 95, no. 6 (1990): 1474-1504.

⁴³ Vanessa Smith, *Intimate Strangers: Friendship, Exchange and Pacific Encounters* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 107.

native peoples. The circulation of affects thus enabled the circulation of commodities. Affects were also instrumentalized as boosters of European strategic and ideological endeavors. Such affective economies were described time and again in European documents, as European powers framed their imperial enterprises in the face of local and foreign competitors. In other words, the implementation and justification of colonial exploitation were envisaged in affective and economic terms with vassalic friendship as an essential condition.

Friendship as an affective arrangement set into motion a circuit in which affects moved and bound bodies together. Their movement and exchange worked to create coalitions and oppositions in the region. Friends and foes were constituted through these relations and activities. As Sara Ahmed explains, affective economies were crucial to the delineation of individual and collective identities. That is, in her economic model of emotions, the intensity of emotional attachment creates boundaries and aligns individuals with communities. Emotions, in short, produce adherence and coherence among people.⁴⁴ In the Philippine context, as we shall see, colonial relations were conceived by Europeans as formed and delimited through the flow of affects. What flowed into the arranged circuits included not only “positive” affects such as love, but also dread and fear, especially those evoked by the display of military might. Such affective economies of friendship are most discernible during the Spanish-Portuguese struggle, from the Villalobos expedition in 1543 to the union of the Iberian crowns in 1580, and intermittently during the Dutch attacks on Manila and its galleon trade in the seventeenth century.

Inter-Iberian Competition

European competitive friend-making and its affectivity were conditioned not only by the imperial spatialization of amity, the transimperial paradigm of friendship, and the strategic location of the archipelago. In the Luso-Hispanic case, it was also shaped by their cultural and historical proximities. Their status as imperialist pioneers in the region, their similarities in language and appearance, their ideological convergence, and the commonly inter-Iberian composition of their naval crews—all allowed either the Spanish or the Portuguese to be mistaken for the other or to misleadingly pass off as the other. Both the Magellan and Loaísa expeditions were mistaken as

⁴⁴ Sara Ahmed, “Affective Economy,” *Social Text* 22, no. 2 (2004): 117-19.

Portuguese by natives in the region.⁴⁵ Upon their arrival in Cebu in April 1521, the Magellan fleet unnerved local inhabitants by discharging all their artillery, which was explained to the latter as “a sign of peace and friendship [*pace et amicitia*],” and then expressed their intent to barter with them. The newcomers were misidentified by a visiting Siamese merchant to Rajah Humabon, a local chief, as those who had conquered Calicut, Malacca, and the whole continent of India—that is, the Portuguese. In response, Magellan’s interpreter immediately claimed that Spain’s military and navy was superior Portugal’s and threatened that if the chief “did not care to be [the Spanish king’s] friend he would next time send so many men that they would destroy him.”⁴⁶

The Portuguese presence in maritime Asia, here brought to native attention through intraregional native commerce, offered the Spaniards a referent of power over which they could assert their imperial supremacy and thereby attract native friendship. The affective economy of Spanish and Filipino assertions of friendship thus started off in comparative terms, with the prospect of harm nudging the natives of Cebu to align with the Spaniards as opposed to the Portuguese. It was modulated by the threat of corporeal violence in tandem with a rite of love. That is, to further consolidate their competitive friendship, Christian conversion as a unifying apparatus was shortly executed by Magellan. His baptism of Humabon and his followers would be paralleled in the following decade by the Portuguese conversion of local chiefs and their families in Mindanao, even though without any attendant Portuguese outpost or settlement.⁴⁷

Early encounters between Europeans and natives of Southeast Asia’s eastern archipelago took place mainly in the Spice Islands. Given interisland contacts between the Moluccas and the southern Philippines both before and after the arrival of Europeans, it is warranted to bring the Moluccas into the picture for a fuller understanding of Filipino-European friendships. Indeed, their affective economies can be viewed as interconnected within a polycentric constellation of relations. The equally strategic locations of Ternate and Tidore, the two most powerful islands of the Moluccas, and the hostility between them anticipated interimperial struggles over these crucial sites for the establishment of hegemonic control in the region. In parallel to the spatialization of amity through the Pacific line of demarcation, Ternate and Tidore were also dynamically and

⁴⁵ Martin J. Noone, *The Discovery and Conquest of the Philippines (1521-1581)* (Manila: Historical Conservation Society, 1986), 138.

⁴⁶ Pigafetta, *Magellan’s Voyage*, 1: 130-35.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 1: 152-57; CDU, 2: 73; Antonio Galvano, *The Discoveries of the World, from Their First Original unto the Year Our Lord 1555*, ed. C. B. Bethune (London: Hakluyt Society, 1862), 208.

virtually “demarcated” through European competitive friend-making and its affective transaction. By the time of Magellan’s arrival in the Philippines, the Portuguese had already established their friendship with the indigenous elite of Ternate, some of whom affectionately corresponded with the Portuguese Crown through the language of kinship.⁴⁸

After their misadventures in the Philippines, the decimated Magellan crew arrived at Tidore and was received by Sultan Al-Mansur (r. ?-1526) who shortly pledged allegiance as friend and vassal of the Spanish Crown.⁴⁹ The Portuguese, on the other hand, concluded an agreement with Sultan Abu Hayat (r. 1521-29) of Ternate in order to monopolize the clove trade with the Moluccas.⁵⁰ Their competitive friend-making intensified upon the arrival of the Loaísa fleet in 1526. Andrés de Urdaneta recorded that people of Mindanao mistook them for “*farangui* robbers,” which he thought referred to the Portuguese and accounted for native distrust and malice toward them.⁵¹ The Spaniards also learned that the Portuguese had built a stone fortress in Ternate and waged war against any Moluccans who had shown themselves to be servants and friends of the Spanish Crown. They had recently attacked Tidore in reprisal against the favors it had offered to Spanish captains.⁵² To redress the situation, the Spaniards offered military assistance to Tidore and Jailolo against Portuguese predation. With native collaboration, they also installed defensive machinery in Tidore as their stronghold and successfully defended it against a Portuguese attack.⁵³

The transimperial paradigm and interimperial politics of friendship between Spain and Portugal find their telling manifestation in the Villalobos expedition. Setting sail from Mexico, Villalobos reached Mindanao in February 1543 and resumed the Luso-Hispanic struggle in Southeast Asia after the Treaty of Zaragoza. In search of food, his fleet took Sarangani Island by

⁴⁸ The Portuguese king was addressed by a Ternatan prince as “uncle” and “father” in his letters. See C. O. Blagden, “Two Malay Letters from Ternate in the Moluccas, Written in 1521 and 1522,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 6, no. 1 (1930): 91, 93, 96.

⁴⁹ Pigafetta, *Magellan’s Voyage*, 2: 66-67. San Agustín, *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas*, 138, wrote that the sultan paid tribute and swore on the Quran to guard their friendship.

⁵⁰ Meilink-Roelofs, *Asian Trade and European Influence*, 154.

⁵¹ Andrés de Urdaneta, “Relación del viaje de la Armada del Comendador G.^a de Loaisa á las Islas de la Especería ó Molucas en 1525, y sucesos acaecidos en ellas hasta el de 1535 por el Capitán Andrés de Urdaneta,” in Fermín de Uncilla y Arroita Jáuregui, *Urdaneta y la conquista de Filipinas: Estudio histórico* (San Sebastián: Imprenta de la Provincia, 1907), 351. In the same paragraph, he also described the natives as “very treacherous” and “gentile.” *Farangui* here was a Muslim term for “Frank,” which came to characterize the Portuguese and Europeans in general across early modern South and Southeast Asia. See Anthony Reid, “Early Southeast Asian Categorizations of Europeans,” in *Charting the Shape of Early Modern Southeast Asia* (Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 1999), 184-86, 190-91.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 356.

⁵³ Nowell, “The Loaísa Expedition and the Ownership of the Moluccas,” 331-32.

force and drove the natives off to Mindanao. While foraging on nearby islands, they also entered into a battle with local inhabitants. These hostile encounters were reported to Jorge de Castro, Portuguese captain general of Ternate and the Moluccas, by his native allies in Mindanao, after which he began to correspond with Villalobos. His first letter not only held that the Villalobos fleet had intruded into the Portuguese hemisphere regardless of the “friendship and kinship” and the legal agreement between the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns. Intimating his firm procurement of native friendship, he also claimed that the natives of Mindanao, with whom the Portuguese usually bartered, had sent him complaints about the Spanish depredations against them and asked for his help. In response to the situation, Castro said he had sent letters to indigenous rulers asking them to sell goods to the Spaniards, and he offered to send provisions to Villalobos as well. After all, he hoped they would remain in “peace and friendship” as vassals of “such excellent and friendly princes” of Spain and Portugal.⁵⁴

Together with his first letter, Castro also sent Villalobos a letter of “demand and protest,” asking for the latter’s proof that his fleet had accidentally been driven off course into the Portuguese hemisphere. Castro maintained that this route, on which trading ships from India and Malacca travelled to the Moluccas, had long since belonged to the Portuguese Crown. The Portuguese ships had been sailing this route regularly and had enjoyed relations of much peace and tranquility with the natives. They were “very content, without any constraint whatsoever, but out of their own wills that have signed for many years the said peace and friendship” (*son muy contentos, sin constreñimiento ninguno, sino de sus propias voluntades que tienen firmada por muchos años la dicha paz e amistad*) with the Portuguese king and his vassals. In their intercourse, the Portuguese not only gained commercial profit—with the natives as their providers for merchandise and sustenance—but their “contract” (*contratacion*), he claimed, also seemed to have come forth by God’s will, since many indigenous Muslims had been enticed through the Portuguese Crown’s gift-giving and converted to Christianity. This was also the case in Mindanao where the Villalobos fleet was staying. The locals’ “peace and friendship” with the Portuguese were established such that up to ten thousand natives in different localities from the coasts of Celebes had been converted. Some indigenous rulers had even abandoned their own lands to live with their families at the Portuguese fortress in Ternate.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ CDU, 2: 66-70.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 2: 71-73.

While showing how Portuguese Christianization had succeeded and resulted in native friendship and security, Castro pointed out that the Spaniards, in contrast, trespassed upon the Portuguese zone and had brought harm to indigenous communities. Such acts not only went against the interests of God and the Portuguese Crown but also risked jeopardizing the local Portuguese and arousing native treachery due to their common identity as Christian coreligionists. Castro denied the legitimacy of the Spanish presence by earnestly asserting the Portuguese right of possession over these islands through the Treaty of Zaragoza, the rule of first occupancy (*primero ocupar*), and their peace treaty with the natives.⁵⁶

In response, Villalobos not only defended his presence in the Philippines but also clarified his conduct toward the natives against Castro's allegations. He claimed that the damage done by his armada against the natives was very minimal and forced by the latter themselves, since he had been subjected to their treachery despite his best treatment. Besides, it was still unclear whether Mindanao was within the Portuguese or Spanish zones of demarcation, for it was only the Moluccas that he had officially been ordered not to enter. To this, Castro demanded on behalf of the Portuguese Crown that the Villalobos armada leave Mindanao and the Portuguese sphere of possession. He also maintained that since Villalobos had confessed to his harm against the natives because they refused to allow him to land, their friendship with the Portuguese and respect for the Portuguese Crown were so evident that they would clearly accept no other authority. In his last response, Villalobos, while refusing to comply with Castro's demand, said his armada would abide by the intention of the Viceroy of New Spain that they were to regard Castro and the Portuguese as brothers and friends insofar as the latter did them no harm.⁵⁷

In this manner, friendship served as a transimperial trope in this inter-European contest over imperial pursuits in Southeast Asia. Here, competitive friend-making entailed affective contention, as the Portuguese justified their presence against the Spanish partly by contrasting between their respective acts of love and harm toward the natives. Castro's letters portray the archipelagic world of eastern Southeast Asia as an idyllic space of contractual friendship between the Portuguese and native peoples. The accumulation of affective values, such as amity and contentment, was claimed to propel the Portuguese-indigenous trade and consolidate their intimate friendship. To lay claim to the Philippines and the Moluccas, the Portuguese laid claim to signs of

⁵⁶ Ibid., 2: 74-75.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 2: 76-78.

the contingent amicability and exclusive amity of their local populace. Commerce, contract, and conversion were brought up as forming and animating their affective economy of friendship, which sustained the Portuguese by guaranteeing their economic exchange with the natives. This, however, was allegedly interrupted by the Spaniards with their physical violence as well as their legal and moral violation. The proximity of the Spaniards was perceived as detrimental to Portuguese-indigenous concord and, therefore, Portuguese interests. At the same time, to eschew confrontation, both sides resorted to the rhetoric of inter-Iberian friendship as they sought to coordinate their overseas circumstances with metropolitan peace.

With such restraints and limited armed forces at their disposal, each camp often drew upon a third power by pitting their respective native allies against the other and forcing them into privation. Seeing that the Spaniards at Sarangani were weakened and inclined to fade away by starvation, the Portuguese resorted to their coastal Mindanao allies instead of using their own forces. The Mindanao natives were asked not to sell any victuals to the Spaniards and were encouraged to wreak havoc on them. Finally, the Villalobos fleet succumbed to hunger and dropped south to the Moluccas to seek Portuguese assistance.⁵⁸ Hence, native friendship allowed the Portuguese to prevail over their rivals in both discursive and physical struggles.

The Spanish surrender allowed the Portuguese to dominate Southeast Asia's eastern archipelago for the next two decades until the Legazpi expedition in 1565. However, Luso-Hispanic competition in the Philippines persisted despite the hiatus in Spanish expeditions. The Legazpi fleet anchored at several Visayan islands only to find that, contrary to Chamorro natives of the Ladrões who had enthusiastically engaged in material exchanges with them, indigenous Filipinos often fled inland or displayed outright hostility in their encounters. While Legazpi initially looked upon the Chamorros as friends and showed them "much love and will"⁵⁹, he and his crew found no friends in the Philippines who were inclined to serve their ends.⁶⁰ Failing to barter for provisions despite the purported abundance of local supplies, Legazpi sought explanations from Bornean Muslims and indigenous Filipinos. They related that a few years before his arrival, the Portuguese from Ternate and their Moluccan allies came to Bohol under the pretext of trade and peaceful contact. Although they were received by the Boholanos in friendship, they

⁵⁸ Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines*, 35-36.

⁵⁹ CDU, 2: 236.

⁶⁰ Pedro Torres y Lanzas, ed., *Catálogo de los documentos relativos a las Islas Filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla* (Barcelona, 1925), 1: cclxxxiii; CDU, 2: 360.

soon pillaged, killed, and captured hundreds of natives to be sold as slaves in the Moluccas. A similar pretense also took place in Limasawa. Most importantly, the Spaniards realized that, in offering the natives their false friendship, the Portuguese had passed off as Spanish by calling themselves Castilians. The incidents terrified the natives such that they entertained no trade or friendship with the Spaniards and abhorred even the name *Castilla*.⁶¹

Hence, inter-Iberian rivalry in the mid-sixteenth-century Philippines was increasingly characterized by a politics of naming mixed with racializing affects. Through intrigue and manipulation, it engendered waves of positive and negative affects among indigenous Filipinos. These affects, accumulated and circulated across Visayan islands, ascribed ethnoracial identities to the names of Castilian (*Castellanos*) and Portuguese (*Portugueses*), sometimes in opposition, and fostered or disrupted their respective interactions with the natives. In these incidents, the flows of affects and commodities can be seen most clearly as connected. A translocal surge of immense fear among the natives paired Portuguese bodies with the Castilian name as recognizable signs of harm, to the extent that the name itself became an object of hatred and distrust. Again, the resulting estrangement of the natives eventually thwarted Spanish-Filipino transaction and thus Spanish expansion.

It was only from this point that the Spaniards started to reclaim their name and regain native trust and goodwill. The Spanish colonization of the Philippines further intensified Iberian interimperial politics as a competition of, and for, affection. Portuguese pretension to native friendship, such as seen in the Villalobos-Castro dispute, was rebutted and upended by Spanish empire builders under Philip II's policy of friendly conquest. Guido de Lavezaris viewed their struggle in Southeast Asia in affective terms as an interrupted transaction of love and goodwill between the Spaniards and the friendly natives. In 1567, he reported to Philip II that the Portuguese had joined forces with their "friend and confederate," Sultan Hairun Jamilu (r. 1535-70) of Ternate, in killing the sultans of Tidore and Jailolo, "old-time vassals" of the Spanish Crown, and harassing their subjects. They also extorted a tribute of cloves from Tidore. His sentimental account of these events deserves to be quoted at length:

"I believe, most invincible prince, that such trouble and harassing proceeds from the fact that those kings and their subjects are so affectioned to the Castilian name; for I, as an eyewitness, assure your sacred Majesty that the Castilians who sailed in

⁶¹ Ibid., 2: 292-94, 3: 284-305.

the fleet of Villalobos were as well received and as kindly treated by the kings of Tidore and Geilolo and by their vassals, and that they always showed us as much love and goodwill, and offered their persons and property, to relieve our necessities, as if they had really been your Majesty's natural vassals for many years. And they assure me that they still live in great constancy, and are in hopes that your Majesty will have them delivered from the cruel bondage in which they live because they have ever shown themselves so favorable to the Castilians. For that reason their misery and trouble move me to deep compassion when I remember the kindness which I received from them when I was in Maluco, and the love and affection that they bestowed upon us. Besides this the Ternatans and the Portuguese in their company have made and are daily making raids and captives among these islands, so that the natives are in great fear when they see the harm that they receive from them."⁶²

Contrary to the preceding circumstances in the Visayas, here Spanish-Moluccan encounters cast the Castilian name as a sign onto which the natives were said to cumulatively attribute love and hope. Native friendship was defined as vassalic friendship in the sense of loyalty to the Spanish Crown, binding together the natives and the Spaniards as fellow vassals under a sole overlord. While the Spaniards constantly inspired love and goodwill in the natives, the Portuguese allegedly caused them great fear by teaming up with rival natives in harassment and enslavement. With recourse to the language of compassion, Lavezaris rendered their imperial struggle an act of benevolence against Portuguese apathy just as the Portuguese were adversely portrayed with no affective epithets.

The Portuguese continued to foment mistrust toward the Spaniards among natives and Chinese merchants by spreading the news that the Spaniards were untrustworthy pirates and that the Portuguese would drive them off the Philippines.⁶³ They also allegedly inflicted harm on those who befriended the Spaniards. During their struggle in the Visayas, Legazpi reported similarly to the Viceroy of New Spain and the Spanish monarch that the Portuguese left them so badly accredited with the natives that some of them "withdrew from our friendship," especially those

⁶² Guido de Lavezaris, "Letter to Felipe II" (1567), in BR, 34: 210-11.

⁶³ Torres y Lanzas, *Catálogo de los documentos relativos a las Islas Filipinas*, 2: xi; Guido de Lavezaris, "Affairs in the Philippines after the Death of Legazpi" (1573), in BR, 3: 182.

along the coast of Mindanao where cinnamon was bartered.⁶⁴ That notwithstanding, the Spaniards managed to recruit indigenous soldiers from the Visayas in their campaign to conquer Manila in 1571, capitalizing on the preexistent animosity between the Visayans and the Luzones.⁶⁵ With the colonial government successfully established there, Spanish power was more or less entrenched in the archipelago.

From its colonial beginning, the Philippines served imperial Spain as its nerve center for establishing friendship with indigenous Asian states and constituting a Spanish order in the Pacific vis-à-vis European rivals. Shortly after setting up the colonial government in Manila, the Spaniards began making diplomatic contact with native rulers of Borneo and Mindanao, who had reportedly coveted vassalic friendship with the Spanish king. Gifts and letters offering “peace and love” and protection were sent from Manila to the two islands. The ruler of the River of Mindanao also offered provisions to the Spaniards and promised to aid and protect them in all their necessities. Their friendships were propitious to Spanish rule in the Philippines as they purportedly made the islands “very quiet,” at least for a few years before Spanish Manila waged war with Brunei in 1578.⁶⁶

After the dynastic union between the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns in 1580, Luso-Hispanic competition in archipelagic Southeast Asia generally came to a halt. However, the Portuguese and Spanish colonial possessions continued to be administered separately, and their intercolonial trade and navigation were prohibited, albeit only in principle.⁶⁷ The Spanish monarch ordered his Iberian subjects in Asia to “deal, communicate, and make friends with one another, and help one another whenever occasion and need shall arise.”⁶⁸ Governor Gonzalo Ronquillo of the Philippines was also instructed to cultivate friendship and harmony with the Portuguese in the region.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ Miguel López de Legazpi, “Letter to Marqués de Falces” (1569), in BR, 3: 32-33; AGI, Filipinas, 6, R.1, N.12, f.1r. Cf. Francisco Colín, *Labor evangélica, ministerios apostólicos de los Obreros de la Compañía de Iesus, fundación, y progressos de su provincia en las Islas Filipinas*, ed. Pablo Pastells (Barcelona: Henrich y Compañía, 1900), 2: 668.

⁶⁵ “Conquest of the Island of Luzón” (1572), in BR, 3: 143, 147, 157.

⁶⁶ Andres Cauchela and Salvador de Aldave, “Letter to Felipe II, from the Royal Officials” (1574), in BR, 34: 297-98.

⁶⁷ Charles R. Boxer, “Portuguese and Spanish Rivalry in the Far East during the 17th Century,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland* 78, no. 3-4 (1946): 150-51, 155; John Villiers, “Manila and Maluku: Trade and Warfare in the Eastern Archipelago 1580-1640,” *Philippine Studies* 34, no. 2 (1986): 147-48.

⁶⁸ Melchor de Baeca et al., “Investigations at Manila Concerning Trade with Macan” (1591), in BR, 8: 192.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 191-92.

This ideal of inter-Iberian rapprochement and collaboration, however, was encumbered by the preexistent Luso-Hispanic politics of friendship in maritime Asia. A case in point was Spanish-Chinese relations in the Philippines, frequently embittered over the seventeenth century, as they were enmeshed with imperial competitive friend-making. After the first massacre of thousands of *sangleyes* or Chinese in Manila in 1603, Governor Pedro de Acuña corresponded with the Viceroy of Fuzhou. He defended the Spanish acts of punishment and violence through a sentimental language of friendship and situated them in terms of interimperial politics. Against the Chinese viceroy's accusation of cruelty and ingratitude, Acuña maintained that the Spaniards "are not cruel of heart" and would be very sorry (*sintiriamos*) if they truly did wrongs to anyone, "especially to our friends." He claimed that the Spaniards had treated the *sangleyes* in the Philippines "as brothers and sons," allowing them to enter their houses as if they had been Spaniards. However, some of them committed treachery by siding with the Dutch, who were "not friends of the Castilians, but very enemies" who had been vassals of the Spanish Crown but had later revolted and became pirates. Hence, he argued, the punishment imposed on those *sangleyes* was justified. Acuña also claimed that he had earlier sent letters of explanation to China via the Portuguese in Macao who were also vassals of the Spanish Crown. But the Portuguese there, ill-disposed toward the Spaniards because of the latter's "great friendship" and commerce with the Chinese, deliberately failed to deliver them.⁷⁰

Protestant Interventions

At the turn of the seventeenth century, power dynamics and affective economies between Iberians and indigenous Southeast Asians were disrupted by the arrival of the Dutch and English East India Companies. The Protestant newcomers often came across as pirates through their aggressive commercial policies and coercive tactics against adversaries.⁷¹ Despite their piratical reputation, these privately owned "company-states" were endowed with fundamental sovereign prerogatives to wage war and make peace.⁷² As such, they also availed themselves of native friendship in their interventions into the Iberian monopoly. Spanish and Portuguese colonists in

⁷⁰ AGI, Filipinas, 7, R.1, N.28, ff.1r-2v. Cf. Pedro de Acuña et al., "Relations with the Chinese" (1605), in BR, 14: 44-47.

⁷¹ Stefan E. Amirell, *Pirates of Empire: Colonisation and Maritime Violence in Southeast Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 27-29.

⁷² Andrew Phillips and J. C. Sharman, *Outsourcing Empire: How Company-States Made the Modern World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020), 5; Weststeijn, "'Love Alone is not Enough'," 33.

Southeast Asia occasionally joined forces against these new threats. Their military and commercial co-operation in the region showed a period of co-imperialism or what we might call composite imperialism, especially against the Dutch during the first half of the seventeenth century.

The Dutch Republic had been involved in imperial competition over maritime Southeast Asia since the Dutch War of Independence; that is, even before the VOC was established in 1602. In 1598, Prince Maurice of Orange dispatched a fleet to “contract friendship with certain foreign nations and kingdoms” on the coasts of Asia, Africa, and America. In his letter to be presented to local potentates, he claimed that the Spanish and the Portuguese were hostile to the natives of these regions and obstructed their navigation and commerce, “contrary to all natural right of all cities and nations.”⁷³ In this way, Maurice turned the law of nations, which imperial Spain had mobilized in its expansion into the Americas and the Philippines, against the Spaniards themselves. His fleet, under Olivier van Noort, was sent “to resist and make war on, and to harm and injure as far as possible, all the said Spanish and Portuguese” in the East Indies.⁷⁴ Maurice’s expedition exemplifies early Dutch challenges to the Iberian monopoly in Southeast Asia. Through the rhetoric of international friendship, it undermined Iberian legitimacy and at the same time legitimized its own offensive intervention.

As “an empire by treaty *par excellence*,” the Dutch imperial enterprise sought to obtain commercial privileges and colonial possessions while outstripping its European adversaries through native friendships. Entering into alliances and treaties with indigenous Southeast Asians was viewed as conducive to colonial expansion and alternative to the use of mere violence.⁷⁵ Dutch visions of their friendship with the natives also demonstrate the importance of affective production in Dutch imperial thought. In his circular to Southeast Asian rulers in 1600, Prince Maurice declared that it was proper and expedient for the Dutch not only to maintain love and peace with their neighbors, but also to establish friendship and conclude treaties with foreign and distant peoples, to whom they wished to offer “affection, love, mercy, and blessings.”⁷⁶ The VOC admiral Cornelis Matelief also argued in 1608 that, to become good friends with the natives, treaty-making and fort-building should go hand in hand so as to generate both love and fear.⁷⁷

⁷³ Francisco Tello et al., “Olivier van Noordt’s Attack on Luzón” (1600), in BR, 11: 166-67.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 167-68.

⁷⁵ Weststeijn, “‘Love Alone is not Enough’,” 19, 32.

⁷⁶ Arnoud Vrolijk, “Scaliger and the Dutch Expansion in Asia: An Arabic Translation for an Early Voyage to the East Indies (1600),” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 78, no. 1 (2015): 309.

⁷⁷ Weststeijn, “‘Love Alone is not Enough’,” 21.

As the Spanish seat of government and base of commerce in Southeast Asia, the Philippines came to be targeted by the Dutch as they increasingly intervened in the long-distance spice trade and the Chinese junk trade. From the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Dutch periodically sought to debilitate Spanish trade by blockading Manila Bay, intercepting Manila galleons, and diverting Chinese junks to their own outposts in the region. Dutch efforts intensified after their successful capture of Malacca from the Portuguese in 1641, even as they considered the territorial occupation of Manila or the entire Philippines as burdensome rather than profitable, as it had befallen Spain.⁷⁸

To weaken Spanish influence in the Philippines and the Moluccas, the Dutch resorted to friendship and military alliance with indigenous forces against the Spaniards. Despite the Spanish-Portuguese seizure of Ternate in 1606, the VOC quickly concluded treaties with Ternate to secure native support against the Iberians.⁷⁹ Within the first decade of its founding, the Company managed to drive the Portuguese out of Tidore, capture Portuguese fortresses, defeat a Spanish-Portuguese joint garrison, and expand Dutch fortifications in the Moluccas. The Spaniards pushed back against the Dutch by allying with Tidore and Makassar and seeking a reconciliation with Ternate.⁸⁰ They also sent letters and gifts to the sultans of Tidore and Makassar to acknowledge their friendship with the Spanish and their negative disposition toward the Dutch.⁸¹ The power dynamics between Ternate and Tidore that had once been interconnected with Luso-Hispanic rivalry were largely reproduced in Spanish-Dutch competition. The Spaniards considered an interisland war between Tidore and Ternate very advantageous to them since the Tidorese had long been their friends while the Ternatans were “warm friends of the Dutch and enemies to us.”⁸²

During this period of intense struggles, both the Spanish and the Dutch managed to retain their strategic fortifications in Ternate and Tidore. According to a Spanish report of 1618, the

⁷⁸ M. P. H. Roessingh, “Dutch Relations with the Philippines: A Survey of Sources in the General State Archives, The Hague, Netherlands,” *Asian Studies* 5, no. 2 (1967): 379-80; Ruurdje Laarhoven and Elizabeth Pino Wittermans, “From Blockade to Trade: Early Dutch Relations with Manila, 1600-1750,” *Philippine Studies* 33, no. 4 (1985): 488-92.

⁷⁹ Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las islas Filipinas por el doctor Antonio de Morga, obra publicada en Méjico el año de 1609, nuevamente sacada à luz y anotada por José Rizal y precedida de un prólogo del Prof. Fernando Blumentritt* (Paris: Garnier hermanos, 1890), 239; Ruurdje Laarhoven, *Triumph of Moro Diplomacy: The Maguindanao Sultanate in the 17th Century* (Quezon City: New Day, 1989), 19.

⁸⁰ Leonard Y. Andaya, *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993), 152-54; Villiers, “Manila and Maluku,” 151.

⁸¹ AGI, Filipinas, 329, L.2, ff.200r-200v; AGI, Filipinas, 27, N.123.

⁸² “Relation of Events in the Filipinas Islands, 1618-19” (1619), in BR, 18: 222.

Dutch had two garrisoned fortresses in Ternate while Spain had one, and the Dutch reaped most of the benefit from the island's clove production through their friendship with the Ternatans whereas Spain "obtains never a pound."⁸³ To vie with the Dutch in the clove trade, King Philip III (r. 1598-1621) noted to Governor Fajardo of the Philippines in 1620 that by way of barter, the Dutch's trade with the Moluccas generated vast profits which allowed them to remain on the offensive and transfer their wealth back to the metropole. On the contrary, the Spanish trade in Southeast Asia was carried on by costly conquest and force of arms without any financial gain. In order to make profit, he advised that the Spanish factory at Ternate barter and negotiate with the natives. In this manner, economic exchange instead of dispossession was thought to inaugurate friendship through its affective workings, and friendship would in turn facilitate Christian conversion:

"If the natives of those islands see that their property is not taken from them, and if they are paid in the ordinary form, they will grow fond of us and become converted to our friendship. From that it will be possible to pass to other objects, the chief one being the evangelical preaching."⁸⁴

During the first half of the seventeenth century, the Dutch also repeatedly sought friendship with Mindanao rulers against the Spaniards and subsequently against the English. On the other hand, their attacks on Panay and Cebu in 1614 also attracted Mindanao and Sulu rulers, who wanted to conclude a treaty with the Dutch against the Spaniards.⁸⁵ In 1617, Moros in Mindanao allied with the Dutch and came to their aid in attacking Manila, destroying coastal communities, and capturing local residents. The Mindanao port of La Caldera, where Spanish vessels traveling between Manila and the Moluccas had usually stopped to get supplies at least since 1596, was also closed to the Spaniards. There Spanish crewmen were killed and captured by the Moro pirates while the Dutch were given "so friendly a reception" that they always kept their vessels there in waiting for Spanish ones to pass by.⁸⁶

In the wake of Dutch regional ascendancy in the early seventeenth century, the geopolitical prominence of the Philippines mounted, as it served to anchor Spain's constellation of imperial friendships across maritime Asia. Writing to the Spanish Crown probably in 1627, Martín Castaño,

⁸³ Pedro de Heredia, "Dutch Factories and Posts in the Orient" (ca. 1618), in BR, 18: 109.

⁸⁴ Alonso Fajardo de Tenza, "Letter to Felipe III" (1620), in BR, 19: 123.

⁸⁵ Roessingh, "Dutch Relations with the Philippines," 381-82; Laarhoven, *Triumph of Moro Diplomacy*, 25.

⁸⁶ Sebastian de Pineda, "Philippine Ships and Shipbuilding" (1619), in BR, 18: 185-87.

Procurator-General of the Philippines, vouched for its highest importance in the Spanish Empire and called for its protection against Dutch incursion. With the Philippines, Castaño forcefully argued, the Spanish Crown “encircles and embraces all the world,” reaching Portuguese India and Malacca through the East and Peru and New Spain through the West, all united by the South Sea where the archipelago was situated. On this account, losing the Philippines to the Dutch would inevitably endanger the remainder of the Spanish colonial possessions.⁸⁷

With its strategic location near such vast and populated kingdoms as China and Japan, he explained, the Philippines not only offered an unparalleled gate in all the world through which a large number of souls might be converted to Christianity. It was also central to the Spanish-Dutch trade war in the region. Castaño pointed out that the Dutch had gained the friendship of the Japanese emperor by promising him Chinese silks, which they expected to steal from the Chinese and the residents of Manila, in exchange for Japanese munitions and provisions. The Chinese, seeing that the Spanish forces in the Philippines were too weak to protect them, might succumb to fear and befriend the Dutch in a manner similar to Spain’s former vassals. As for the Japanese, Castaño proposed that the Spanish monarch should tighten his friendship with the Japanese emperor and inform him that the Dutch were his rebellious vassals.⁸⁸ From Castaño’s memorial, the Philippines comes across as a linchpin of the Spanish Empire in securing international friendships against the Dutch, expanding Christendom in Asia, and maintaining its totality as a global power in both spiritual and political terms.

To support the Philippine colony and banish the Dutch from the Spanish-Filipino economy of friendship, a commercial scheme was devised in the following decade. In 1638, the Spanish admiral Jerónimo de Bañuelos y Carrillo suggested that the Spaniards of Manila should be encouraged to export Chinese merchandise, particularly raw silk and cotton balls, to be manufactured in New Spain. The increased prosperity of the Spaniards in the Philippines would motivate their preservation of the colony and their careful instruction and subjection of the indigenous Filipinos assigned to their charge. They should also be allowed to export as many shiploads as possible of Philippine local products such as wax, gold, perfume, and ivory. Buying these items from the indigenous Filipinos would prompt the latter to become friends with the

⁸⁷ Martin Castaño, “Importance of the Philippines” (ca. 1627) in BR, 22: 127-29. Cf. AGI, Filipinas, 27, N.107. The latter catalogue approximates its year of writing as 1618.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 126-127.

Spaniards, prevent them from selling the merchandise to the Dutch, and in turn persuade their neighboring islanders to leave the Dutch.⁸⁹

The strategic location of the Philippines for European competitive friend-making in the region endowed its governors with tremendous political authority. In his historical account from the mid-eighteenth century, the Jesuit Fray Juan José Delgado described their power as “almost absolute” as if they had been private owners of the archipelago. They could make and preserve peace, declare and make war, and take vengeance on those who offended the Philippines, all independently of the Spanish Crown. As a result, “many kings have rendered vassalage and paid tribute to the governors, have recognized them as their superiors, have respected and feared their arms, have solicited their friendship and sought good correspondence [*buena correspondencia*] and commerce with them” while those who broke their words were punished.⁹⁰

Through vassalic friendship, which Spanish governors acquired by intervening into local politics, Spain’s regional influence was expanded and consolidated to a certain extent. For example, Delgado wrote that Governor Francisco de Sande dethroned a Bornean sultan and installed the “legitimate” heir who had sought his help and who, after his interference, submitted to the Spanish Crown as its tributary vassal. In contrast, Governor Pedro de Acuña attacked Ternate and imprisoned its sultan for his commercial engagements with the Dutch and the English. He also installed a new ruler of Ternate who, together with the sultans of Tidore and adjacent islands, rendered homage to him “and became friends of the Spaniards” in exchange for Spanish protection. A similar arrangement of vassalic friendship was also made in 1618 between Governor Alonso Fajardo and the sultan of Makassar.⁹¹

To exercise their authority, Philippine governors exchanged diplomatic missions and gifts with neighboring Asian states on behalf of the Spanish Crown.⁹² Diplomatic exchanges cost the Philippine treasury 1,500 pesos in 1580. By 1608, the cost had gone up to 6,000 pesos before

⁸⁹ Hieronimo de Bañuelos y Carrillo, “Relation of the Filipinas Islands” (1638), in BR, 29: 77-79.

⁹⁰ Juan José Delgado, *Historia general sacro-profana, política y natural de las islas del poniente llamadas Filipinas* (Manila: J. Atayde, 1892), 213.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² For their relations with Momoyama and Tokugawa Japan, see Birgit Tremml-Werner, “Friend or Foe? Intercultural Diplomacy between Momoyama Japan and the Spanish Philippines in the 1590s,” in *Sea Rovers, Silver, and Samurai: Maritime East Asia in Global History*, ed. Tonio Andrade and Xing Hang (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2016), 65-85; Birgit Tremml-Werner, “A Question of Political Correctness: Translating Friendship across Time and Space,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 82, no. 3 (2021): 503-20.

getting cut down to 1,500 pesos in the following year.⁹³ Among the annual expenses of the Philippine colonial government, as estimated in 1637, an allocation of 1,500 pesos was spent on gifts and donations sent to East and Southeast Asian allies such as the rulers of Tidore, Cambodia, and Japan. Although the amount was less than 0.2 percent of its total expenditure, it was admittedly necessary for the purpose of maintaining friendship with regional allies and keeping them “well-disposed for what is asked from them; for not one of them receives an embassy favorably, unless it is accompanied by some present.”⁹⁴ In 1654, Governor Sabiniano Manrique de Lara’s report to Philip IV (r. 1621-65) listed “the kings with whom Your Majesty has established friendship in this archipelago” as those of Makassar, Cambodia, Tidore, Calonga (in the Sangihe Islands nowadays), Manado, Mindanao, and Jolo.⁹⁵ A royal decree to Manrique de Lara in the following year also discussed an annual expense of 2,000 pesos for sending customary gifts to these potentates, with whom Spain professed non-vassalic friendship; that is, “not by means of subjection but of good correspondence.”⁹⁶

Similar to the colony under his rule, the Governor-General of the Philippines was also portrayed as of utmost importance to the Spanish Empire, particularly as its local agent of imperial hegemony. In his justification of the preservation of the Philippines and its commerce in 1736, Antonio Alvarez de Abreu pointed to the enormous power of the Philippine Governor among the Spanish Crown’s representatives throughout its empire. He argued that the position held the greatest authority in all the Spanish kingdoms and seigniories, regardless of its official subordination to viceroalties. To illustrate, Alvarez drew attention to a number of local rulers who paid homage to the Philippine Governor and recognized his superiority. Gift exchanges and war declarations were coupled to establish Spanish influence in the region, notably without waiting for decisions from metropolitan Spain: “This is a preeminence of such authority that no governor or viceroy in Europe exercises it.”⁹⁷ Indigenous rulers were claimed to desire his friendship and receive punishment in case they violate it:

⁹³ Birgit Tremml-Werner, *Spain, China and Japan in Manila, 1571-1644: Local Comparisons and Global Connections* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015), 114.

⁹⁴ Calculated from the data in Juan Grau y Monfalcon, “Informatory Memorial Addressed to the King” (1637), in BR, 27: 133, 125-26.

⁹⁵ AGI, Filipinas, 285, N.1, f.12v.

⁹⁶ AGI, Filipinas, 330, L.5, ff.150r-150v.

⁹⁷ Antonio José Álvarez de Abreu, *Extracto historial del expediente que pende en el Consejo Real y Supremo de las Indias, a instancia de la ciudad de Manila y demás de las Islas Philipinas, sobre la forma en que se ha de hacer y continuar el comercio y contratación de los texidos de China en Nueva-España* (Madrid: Juan de Ariztia, 1736), 4v-5r.

“[The king] of Ternate died in prison in Manila. That of Siam satisfied, by force of arms, a retaliation that he had committed. Those of Siao and Tidore are [our] subjects, and that of Cambodia is [our] confederate. The Great China is [our] friend, and the emperor of Japan used to be such until the Dutch changed him; and although the absence of his trade caused us damage, we were not afraid to declare him [our] enemy, as are those of Champa, Siam, and Mindanao, and more than all, the Dutch, who so infested those seas.”⁹⁸

In the eighteenth century, Bourbon Spain saw the increasing importance of Philippine commerce to the Spanish Empire in the face of its local and European enemies. Advocates promoted the economic development of the Philippines and metropole-colony trade as means to effect vassalic friendship as an idealized form of colonial relationship. In his memorandum to Charles III (r. 1759-88) in the first year of his reign, Nicolás Norton Nicols, an Englishman who had naturalized as a Catholic Spanish, outlined plans for metropolitan Spain to establish direct commerce with the Philippines. Two years earlier, Nicols created a map of Mindanao and Jolo in which their inhabitants were described as “fatal enemies of our Catholic faith” who raided the other islands of the Spanish monarch at the expense of his money and “so much blood of his faithful Indian vassals” (Figure 2.1).⁹⁹

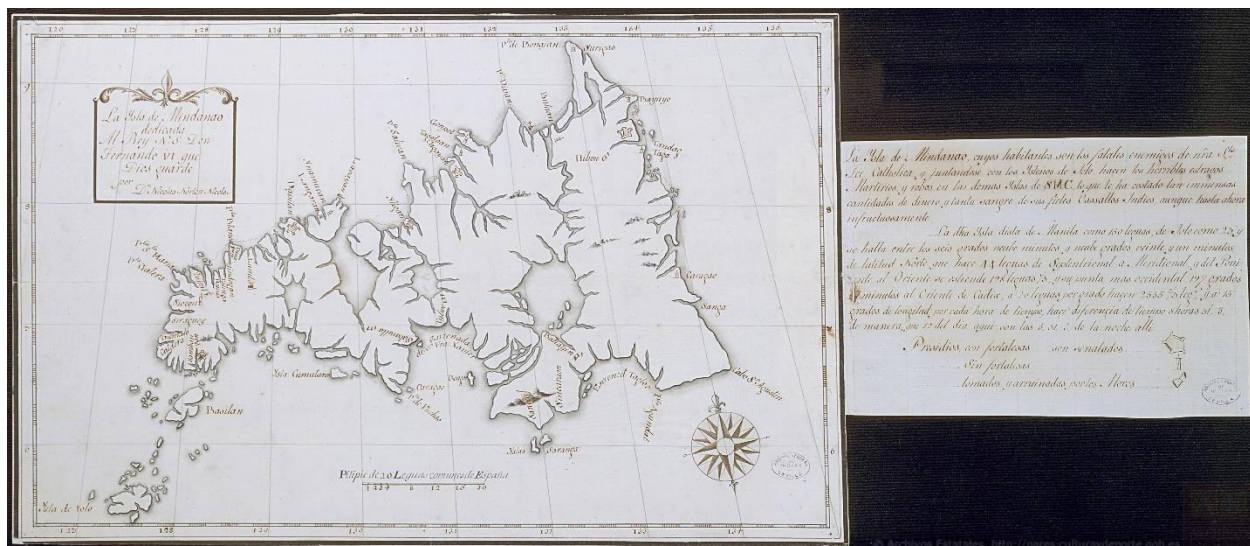


Figure 2.2: Nicolás Norton Nicols’s map of Mindanao and Jolo (1757).

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ AGI, MP-Filipinas, 39.

Recalling the amity lines, his map can be understood as a spatialization of enmity that distinguished regions of loyal Christian vassals and infidel enemies, in order to incorporate the latter. To remedy the situation, Nicols proposed to the Spanish Crown that the Philippines compete with the Dutch in the production and trade of cinnamon, especially in Mindanao. His recapitulation of the benefits of Philippine commerce included an imperial logic of total integration in which agricultural commercialization, native submission, friend-making, and Christian conversion were wholly correlated in the Philippines. While it corresponded to the royal ordinances on colonial pacification in the Laws of the Indies, its resonance with Philip III's remarks above is even more striking:

“The more that the lands are cultivated and their products made available, the greater will be the number of men and of infidel Indians that will be needed; and consequently they will submit [to Spanish authority], and be converted into loyal vassals and friends, and Christianity will be increased in those regions, without any fear that the Moro and infidel enemies can disturb them.”¹⁰⁰

Nicols further suggested that Spanish-Philippine direct commerce be established, so that Philippine exports such as cinnamon and pepper could be exchanged directly for commodities and fruits from Spain, which could substitute for Dutch and English imports that the Manileños had hitherto been compelled to buy. The direct trade would not only bypass their European rivals, but also make these remote dominions of the Spanish Empire mutually dependent and “friendly.” Moreover, visiting colonial subjects’ metropolitan experience of Spanish power would transform them into faithful and loyal vassals and, upon their return, influence their countrymen likewise.¹⁰¹

Here vassalic friendship was pictured as the result of economic development, native integration, and metropole-colony connection. Following their voluntary submission to Spanish rule and its economic program, the natives would be transformed simultaneously into vassals *and* friends—a double status that implied that a vertical bond of peace, love, and loyalty was the optimum of colonial relations. Through transcontinental trade, the increasing intimacy between

¹⁰⁰ Nicolas Norton Nicols, “Commerce of the Philipinas Islands” (1759), in BR, 47: 266-67. His initiative was interrupted by the British interregnum in the Philippines (1762-64). After Spanish re-occupation, the Bourbon monarchy shortly initiated annual voyages between Spain and the Philippines in 1764 and founded the chartered *Real Compañía de Filipinas* to carry out direct commerce in 1785. See Benito J. Legarda, *After the Galleons: Foreign Trade, Economic Change and Entrepreneurship in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1999), 59-64, 77-88.

¹⁰¹ Nicols, “Commerce of the Philipinas Islands,” 267.

the Philippines and metropolitan Spain would allow the latter to surpass rival empires in the interimperial contest of friendship over the islands. Importantly, their vassalic friendship was also conceived as coterminous with Christianization, which would result in a cultural consolidation against Islamic and pagan encroachment. Hence, unequal friendship and its affective economy between the colonizers and the colonized would ensure colonial stability by creating conditions amenable to religious conversion and hegemonic control.

It is noteworthy, on the one hand, that Spanish imperialism under the Bourbon monarchy, especially in the late eighteenth century, evolved along the lines of its British and Dutch counterparts in prioritizing trade as an instrument of colonial domination or peacemaking. The Christian mission was assumed to succeed as a consequence of the pacifying and civilizing influence of commerce.¹⁰² On the other hand, however, the above proposal echoed and reformulated a strand of Spanish imperial ideology that posited friendship as a core concept that dated back to the early phase of Spanish imperialism. In sum, friendship was deemed instrumental to the installation and consolidation of colonial rule, as its affective forces worked to induce native submission and curtailed both internal and external opposition, whether indigenous or European.

The Promise of Friendship: Native Agency and the Double Politics of Comparison

How did indigenous peoples participate in or respond to European competitive friend-making? And, in so doing, how was their agency reshaped in the atmosphere of interimperial competition? The transimperial paradigm of friendship—the view that friendship and its affectivity offered a legitimate mode of relatedness for imperial expansion and colonization—gave rise to European competition to obtain native collaboration, alliance, and submission. Insofar as imperial sustenance and legitimacy rested on native friendship, its prospect potentially empowered natives to leverage and configure their relations with various foreign nations. European competitive friend-making thus led to what some scholars might call a “politics of comparison”¹⁰³—although this could be imperial or anti-colonial in character. On the one hand, as we have seen, European empire builders vied for imperial legitimacy by contrasting their treatment of the natives and claiming

¹⁰² See David J. Weber, *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), chapter 5.

¹⁰³ Hedinger and Heé, “Transimperial History,” 436; Ann Laura Stoler, “Intimidations of Empire: Predicaments of the Tactile and Unseen,” in *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*, ed. Ann Laura Stoler (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 1, 5-7.

their exclusive acquisition of native amity. On the other hand, to endure multiple imperial powers in the region, Filipino and Moluccan natives compared the sociopolitical and economic conditions that different European empires offered or imposed upon them. Caught in between multiple expansionist powers, insular Southeast Asians occupied what Laura Doyle calls an “inter-imperial positionality” which conditioned their encounters and solidarities.¹⁰⁴

Imperial competitive friend-making opened up for the natives the possibility of straddling or hovering between vying powers. Bornean Muslims were exemplary as transimperial native actors, befriending both Spanish and Portuguese imperialists on the cusp of the Spanish conquest of the Philippines.¹⁰⁵ Likewise, during the first half of the seventeenth century, the Ternate Sultanate sometimes aligned itself closer to the Spaniards and Tidore despite its treaties with the Dutch.¹⁰⁶ Such a double politics of comparison lay at the heart of imperial encounters and colonial relations in Southeast Asia. It also characterized European-indigenous friendships as relations of agonistic intimacy, that is, as dialectically driven by concord and discord, or amity and enmity.

Native agency, as noted in the previous chapter, was recast by the racializing affect of European distrust, as the Southeast Asian islanders were recurrently characterized as prone to sway their allegiance or betray their friendship. To distrust the natives was indeed to affirm their potency to act in accordance with their own will and in defiance of professed friendships. Their ethnoracialized proclivity for pretense and treachery was precisely the lurking possibility that debilitated the promise of native friendship and its durability for European empire builders.

From European perspectives, the politics of comparison further invested native friendship with a deleterious degree of changeability and uncertainty. European powers were subject to native calculation as the natives repositioned themselves in the middle of an interimperial tug-of-war. In her study of indigenous Filipinos as Spain’s conscripted soldiers, Stephanie Mawson points to their “contingent loyalty” in between vying Europeans. During the Hispanic-Dutch war over Formosa in 1642, for instance, Pampangos and Cagayanos were enlisted in the service of the Spanish army. However, Spanish abuse and the shortages of supplies and labor payment led to their desertion and defection to join the Dutch or even the indigenous Taiwanese.¹⁰⁷ In circumscribing the

¹⁰⁴ Doyle, *Inter-Imperiality*, 1-7.

¹⁰⁵ See CDU, 3: 284-305.

¹⁰⁶ Laarhoven, *Triumph of Moro Diplomacy*, 19.

¹⁰⁷ Stephanie Mawson, “Philippine *Indios* in the Service of Empire: Indigenous Soldiers and Contingent Loyalty, 1600-1700.” *Ethnohistory* 63, no. 2 (2016): 381-413.

ineradicable agency of the natives, rival Europeans similarly maintained a distrustful vigilance and worked out defensive measures against native treachery. The Spanish master-of-camp Lucas de Vergara reported in 1617 that the Dutch were enhancing the fortifications on their fortresses after seeing that the Southeast Asian natives were “very lukewarm in their friendship.” The Dutch feared that once the natives saw that the Spanish fleet was more powerful than theirs, they might “drop their friendship and try to win ours.”¹⁰⁸ On the contrary, Martín Castaño, Procurator-General of the Philippines, warned in 1627 that the Spaniards’ Chinese friends might abandon them to befriend the Dutch after seeing the latter’s naval superiority.¹⁰⁹ In the aftermath of the British occupation of Manila, a Spanish royal fiscal also opined in 1765 that the indigenous Filipinos regarded the Spanish Crown with little respect and the Spaniards with disgust, seeing the latter humiliated by the English, the Dutch, the French, and even the Moros. Judging that the Spaniards were “somewhat more than the Indians, but much less than the other nations,” they might lack reverence for the government and become “bold to commit any insolence.”¹¹⁰

In addition to the possibility that they could join European enemies, the natives could also ally with non-European threats to Spain’s Asian empire. In a Spanish report on military affairs in the Philippines, it was suggested that a large force of Spanish troops was needed in order to defend the colony against the Chinese and Japanese, who visited Manila for commercial purposes and, given their friendship with the natives, might ally with the latter and “attempt some great enterprise.”¹¹¹ In a letter to Governor Acuña, the Spanish Crown suspected similarly that the Chinese and Japanese entry and intercourse in Manila, together with “their friendly relation with the natives, give us reason to fear that the former, allying themselves with the natives, may attempt some disturbance, as they are inclined to do.”¹¹²

To better understand native agency in the context of competitive friend-making, it helps to look into the affective structure of native orientations toward European friendship.¹¹³ From native perspectives, a friendship or alliance with certain Europeans was covetable precisely because of its accompanying promises. With its projection of a utopian vision of an interracial future,

¹⁰⁸ Hernando de los Rios Coronel, “Memorial, y relacion para sv magestad” (1621), in BR, 19: 275-76.

¹⁰⁹ Martín Castaño, “Importance of the Philippines” (ca. 1627), in BR, 22: 129.

¹¹⁰ Francisco Leandro de Viana, “Memorial of 1765” (1765), BR, 48: 199.

¹¹¹ Miguel de Benavides, “Letter from the Bishop of Nueva Segovia to the King” (1599), in BR, 10: 192-93.

¹¹² Felipe III, “Instructions to Pedro de Acuña” (1602), in BR, 11: 263.

¹¹³ For the affective structure of attachment, see Lauren Berlant, *Cruel Optimism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), especially the introduction and chapter 1.

European friendship provided the natives with the promise of betterment, especially as regards their existing affairs with indigenous or foreign others. On the one hand, European friendship was imagined as enabling them to earn prestige or material benefits, realize upward mobility, or gain an edge over their opponents in local factional conflicts, which will be discussed below. Indigenous alliances and services were often rewarded with positions in the military or local colonial administration or even with land grants, allowing indigenous elites to preserve their privileged status and accumulate wealth.¹¹⁴

On the other hand, competitive friend-making offered indigenous colonial subjects, such as Philippine natives under the Spanish Crown and its *encomenderos*, an alternative to their vassalage and servitude. Colonial subjugation and exploitation often forced native subjects, especially non-elites, to seek means of endurance, self-empowerment, or ultimately self-emancipation. Imperial competitive friend-making and its attendant politics of comparison gave rise to native fantasies of reorganizing their mode of living with Europeans from abusive domination under colonial rule to more amicable and less vertical forms. Such fantasmatic thinking could have been galvanized the natives with a wide range of feelings, from anxiety and insurgent enthusiasm to the ardor of anticipating an imagined community to come. Such affective intensity could forge and fortify their love and attachment to their particular European friends and eventually instigate native resistance to colonial rule in prospect of radical change.

Andrés de Urdaneta, accountant general of the Loaísa expedition, seems to have apprehended the affective power of the promise of European friendship in appeasing and attracting the natives. After a split between the Portuguese and their Ternatan allies, he wrote, the latter conspired with other Moluccans to kill both the Portuguese and Spanish. Urdaneta's account shows how he mobilized interisland hostility and the promise of friendship to keep native treachery at bay. Because of his friendship with many local chiefs and his knowledge of their language, he claimed to be aware of the conspiracy beforehand and thereupon went to negotiate with the sultan of Jailolo.¹¹⁵ Not only did Urdaneta say that the Spanish Crown would dispatch naval reinforcements to make the sultan the chief king of all the Moluccas. His speech also worked to

¹¹⁴ José Eugenio Borao Mateo, "Filipinos in the Spanish Colonial Army during the Dutch Wars (1600-1648)," in *More Hispanic Than We Admit: Insights into Philippine Cultural History*, ed. Isaac Donoso (Quezon City: Vibal Foundation, 2008), 101-03; Mawson, "Philippine *Indios* in the Service of Empire," 394-95.

¹¹⁵ Urdaneta, "Relación del viaje," 388-89; CVD, 5: 422-23.

conjure a sense of friendship that bound together the Spaniards and the Jailolo elite into a solemn union while relegating the conflict to the Portuguese and the Ternatans elsewhere:

“Until then we had always favored each other, and had been as one. Let us then continue to do so for the time to come, without intervening between the Portuguese and the Ternatans [...] In this manner, things came to such a state with this conversation and many others we had that by the evening we were all friends with each other and took a new oath to it [*juramentados de nuevo*]”¹¹⁶

We have seen earlier that during the Legazpi expedition, the sultans of Tidore and Jailolo reportedly expressed their commitment to preserve friendship with the Spaniards “in hopes that [the Spanish Crown] will have them delivered from the cruel bondage [under Portuguese-Ternatan collaboration] in which they live because they have ever shown themselves so favorable to the Castilians.”¹¹⁷ As optimistic scenes of promise, such “hopes” tightened native friendship and attachment to the Spaniards as agents of liberation.

The decolonizing promise of friendship is also observable in an English incursion and friend-making venture with natives in the Philippines at the beginning of Spanish rule. In 1587, an expedition of English privateers under Thomas Cavendish intercepted and burned a Spanish ship on the coast of New Spain and then sailed westward to the Philippines. They arrived at Capul Island in northern Samar in early 1588, bought victuals from local natives, and hanged the Spaniard pilot of the captured ship. After staying over a week, Cavendish gathered all the chieftains of Capul “and of an [*sic*] hundred Islands more,” whom he had made to pay him tribute, and announced that they were Englishmen and enemies to the Spaniards. According to an English eyewitness account, the native chiefs “promised both themselves and all the Islands thereabout, to ayde him, whensoever hee should come againe to overcome the Spaniards.” As a token indicating that they were likewise inimical to the Spaniards, Cavendish gave them money for their tribute, “which they tooke marvellous friendly.”¹¹⁸ A Spanish official reported similarly that the Englishmen told them that had left their country for the sole purpose of harming the Spaniards. They also expressed an intention to return with a fleet within three years in order to drive the Spaniards out and settle in

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 425.

¹¹⁷ Guido de Lavezaris, “Letter to Felipe II” (1567), in BR, 34: 210-11.

¹¹⁸ Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes: Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and Others* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905), 2: 175-77, original spellings.

the archipelago, and said that “they did not care for any tribute from the Indians, but only for their friendship and trade.”¹¹⁹ The incident must have considerably distressed the Spanish establishment, as one of them described it as an injurious act of “utter[ing] threats for the future.”¹²⁰

Two centuries later, the British interregnum in Manila (1762-64) also saw another instance in which the new imperial power capitalized on preexisting colonial discontent just as native resistance to Spanish rule fed on the promise of British friendship. In their Spanish and Tagalog proclamation to the native residents, the British assured them of the freedom to practice Catholicism and the end of tribute and servitude to the ecclesiastics, but received lukewarm responses.¹²¹ Following their occupation of Manila, however, indigenous revolts broke out in northern Luzon against Spanish colonial rule. Upon hearing the news of the revolt in Pangasinan, the British sent a letter to restate their manifesto and offer “Friendship and Protection” to the local chiefs of the province.¹²² Meanwhile in Ilocos, the indigene Diego Silang (1730-63) mobilized thousands of natives to press the Spaniards to abolish tribute and forced labor and also sent his submission to the British Crown and British authorities in Manila.¹²³ The latter not only sent him military support and presents as “a Token of Amity,” but also appointed him *alcalde mayor* (provincial governor) of Ilocos and asked him to promote native allegiance to the British king.¹²⁴ A British captain who was assigned “to cultivate harmonious relations and friendship” with Ilocos also promised in his letter to help Silang and his people “free [themselves] from the Spanish yoke.”¹²⁵ Although Silang was assassinated by the order of Spanish church authorities shortly after this communication, his brief collaboration with the British demonstrates a paradoxical alignment between anti-colonial and interimperial struggles, where a new form of vassalic friendship proffered a series of reciprocal advantages.

The Spanish-Dutch struggle also involved native fantasies of colonial emancipation and non-vassalic friendship. The Sumuroy Revolt (1649-50) in Palapag (in today Northern Samar) offers a telling example. According to a Recollect missionary account, during their attack on

¹¹⁹ Juan Bautista Roman, “Letter to Felipe II” (1588), in BR, 34: 393.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 395.

¹²¹ *Manilha Consultations*, 1763 (Madras: Superintendent, Government Press, 1940), 5: 9; Kristie P. Flannery, “Battlefield Diplomacy and Empire-Building in the Indo-Pacific World during the Seven Years’ War,” *Itinerario* 40, no. 3 (2016): 475-76.

¹²² *Manilha Consultations*, 1763, 5: 75.

¹²³ Flannery, “Battlefield Diplomacy and Empire-Building,” 480-81.

¹²⁴ *Manilha Consultations*, 1763, 5: 98-103.

¹²⁵ B. Brereton, “Letter from the Castellan of Cavite, Monsieur Brereton, to the Insurgent of Ylocos, Diego Silang” (1763), in BR, 49: 160-63.

Cavite in 1648, the Dutch came into contact with native chieftains and gave them to understand that “they would only treat them as friends and not in the domineering manner of the Spaniards who, they said, treat them as slaves.” Like the Cavendish affair six decades earlier, the Dutch promised the natives that they would return with a larger fleet in the following year and hoped to find the natives prepared so that “they could shake off such heavy chains” of the Spaniards with the assistance of Dutch munitions.¹²⁶ Although the Dutch failed to deliver on their promise as a result of the Peace of Münster (1648), which ended the Dutch War of Independence, their proposition spread from one island to another and was “agreeable to them all because of the liberty it seemed to promise [*prometia su sonído*].”¹²⁷ The situation was exacerbated by the Spanish Governor’s order that a number of families across the archipelago leave their hometowns for service at the shipyards of Cavite. As a result, the natives began planning seditious movements against Spanish authorities. Under the leadership of a Waray native named Juan Sumuroy, an uprising broke out in Palapag where the Governor’s order was disobeyed, a Spanish friar was killed, and an increasing number of natives joined the movement. In its wake, a wave of revolts spread to the rest of the Visayas and parts of Mindanao and Bicol but were eventually subdued by Spanish forces.¹²⁸ Half a century after the event, the Augustinian Fray Casimiro Díaz wrote that the insurgents had claimed that two Dutch ships were coming to aid them “as they were fellows [*semejantes*] in the rebellion against the Church and the bond of vassalage” under the Spanish Crown. “And this fiction [*ficción*] was of great support to their evil attempt”¹²⁹, he continued, which suggests the affective forces of the promise of Dutch friendship and their liberatory fantasy.

* * * * *

Indigenous Filipinos and Southeast Asians were also active participants of the European politics of friendship, especially at the nexus between interimperial rivalry and local politics, as they frequently initiated friend-making with Europeans. In fact, they were not completely unaware of the European instrumentalization of friendship as a subtext for colonization. From Gujarati

¹²⁶ Diego de Santa Theresa, *Historia general de los religiosos descalzos del orden de los ermitaños del gran padre, y doctor de la Iglesia San Agustín, de la Congregación de España, y de las Indias, tomo tercero* (Barcelona: En la imprenta de los Herederos de Juan Pablo y María Martí, administrada por Mauro Martí, 1743), 145.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 145-46. See also “Insurrections by Filipinos in the Seventeenth Century,” in BR, 38: 114-39.

¹²⁹ Casimiro Díaz, *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas, la temporal por las armas de nuestros católicos Reyes de España y la espiritual por los religiosos de la Orden de San Agustín: Parte segunda que a beneficio de los materiales que dejó recopilados Gaspar de San Agustín, autor de la primera parte* (Valladolid: L. N. de Gaviria, 1890), 519.

officials of India, a sultan of Malacca learned that the Portuguese were thieves and pirates, as seen in the case of India “where the Portuguese came as friends, won over the people, built fortresses for them, subjugated them and committed atrocities that even barbarians wouldn’t dream of.”¹³⁰ Nevertheless, indigenous leaders and communities saw in European friendship opportunities for military assistance or economic partnership. Indeed, competitive friend-making with Europeans also took place among rival groups of natives themselves. They actively sought European friendships and alliances, hoping to draw European powers to aid them in their local conflicts. The promise of European friendship lay especially in European military and material resources. To begin with, it was the sultan of Ternate who invited the Portuguese at Ambon, led by Francisco Serrão, to assist him against Tidore and thus inaugurated Iberian-Moluccan relations.¹³¹ Meanwhile, the sultan of Tidore unconventionally decided to leave his island in search of cloves for the Spaniards for he hoped that the latter would help him in avenging his father’s murder at a nearby island.¹³² He also rejected local chiefs’ proposal that the remaining Spaniards should be killed in order to please the Portuguese.¹³³

Friendship with the Spaniards empowered some indigenous chieftains in the Philippines vis-à-vis their local enemies. The Jesuit Alonso Sánchez reported to Philip II in 1587 that the islands were “so fragmented and of so many rulers and so small and almost all divided and with guerillas that some easily admitted us to take revenge on the others.”¹³⁴ In 1591, the Pampangos enthusiastically joined a Spanish expedition against the Sambal in order to avenge the harm done by the latter and enslave them.¹³⁵ During the attempted conquest of Mindanao by Juan de Ronquillo in 1597, Danganlibor and Lumaquan, two chieftains of Mindanao, rendered homage to the Spanish Crown and collaborated with the Spaniards in fighting hostile natives of Buayan, a major upriver settlement in Cotabato. After their internecine battles, the Spaniards negotiated a

¹³⁰ *Portuguese Documents on Malacca*, 120-21. See also similar comments in an Arabic text from the late sixteenth century in Shaykh Zainuddin Makhdom, *Tuhfat al-mujāhidīn: A Historical Epic of the Sixteenth Century*, trans. S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 2006), 60, and a Malay poem from the seventeenth century in Weststeijn, “‘Love Alone is not Enough’,” 38.

¹³¹ Noone, *The Discovery and Conquest of the Philippines*, 22. Serrão was said in various sources to have played into the interisland politics between Ternate and Tidore such that peace was temporarily made between them and that he was killed as a consequence. See Pigafetta, *Magellan’s Voyage*, 2: 70-73; Blagden, “Two Malay Letters,” 90-91.

¹³² Pigafetta, *Magellan’s Voyage*, 2: 90-91.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 2: 94-95.

¹³⁴ Colín, *Labor evangélica*, 1: 369n2.

¹³⁵ Borao Mateo, “Filipinos in the Spanish Colonial Army,” 86-88.

peace treaty with Buayan in which it was specified that they must recognize Spanish sovereignty, break their friendship with Ternate, maintain their friendship with Danganlibor and Lumaquan, and refrain from making war on any of their vassals.¹³⁶

Scholars of Philippine history have studied “Moro diplomacy” to show how the Spaniards pursued both friendly and aggressive policies in their attempted conquest of Islamic polities south of the Philippines and how the latter sought Spanish leverage in their inter-sultanate rivalry.¹³⁷ Moreover, the Buayan, Maguindanao, and Sulu Sultanates also actively engaged in European imperial competition through friend-making. Their unbeaten resistance to Spanish conquest made their friendship all the more important to competing Europeans. From the early phase of the Hispano-Dutch War, the sultan of Buayan signed treaties with the Spaniards in which he was recognized as the paramount ruler of Mindanao, whereas the sultans of Maguindanao and Sulu sought an alliance with the Dutch.¹³⁸ The Spanish-Buayan capitulations in 1637 were interspersed with conventional expressions of peace, friendship, and goodwill, with the Spanish Crown recognized as the sultan’s natural lord (*señor natural*) in exchange for Spanish support against the Maguindanao Sultanate.¹³⁹

Following a period of hostilities, Sultan Kudarat (r. 1619-71) of Maguindanao signed a peace treaty with Spanish Governor Francisco de Atienza in 1645 only to be admonished by the Dutch in the following year to give up the treaty in order to preserve Dutch friendship.¹⁴⁰ After the Dutch control of the Moluccas, Mindanao served as a buffer zone between Spanish Manila and the Dutch Moluccas. The friendship with the Dutch was renewed after Kudarat’s death by his grandsons, Sultan Barahaman (r. 1671-99) and Sultan Kuda (r. 1699-1702).¹⁴¹ However, in view of the disadvantageous restraints on commerce enforced by the Dutch as well as the Spanish attempt to dominate Maguindanao, Barahaman also invited the English to his harbor.¹⁴² The English pirates reportedly shared their booty with him whereas the Dutch thought to obtain his

¹³⁶ Juan de Ronquillo, “Pacification of Mindanao” (1597), in BR, 9: 286-88.

¹³⁷ Laarhoven, *Triumph of Moro Diplomacy*; Flannery, “The Impossible Colony,” 27-42; Thomas M. McKenna, *Muslim Rulers and Rebels: Everyday Politics and Armed Separatism in the Southern Philippines* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 76-84.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 78; Dirk Abraham Sloos, *De Nederlanders in de Philippijnsche wateren vóór 1626* (Amsterdam: J. H. de Wit, 1898), 30.

¹³⁹ NAP, SDS 81, Cedulaario 1636-1640, ff.173v-175r; AGI, Filipinas, 8, R.3, N.97A.

¹⁴⁰ Laarhoven, *Triumph of Moro Diplomacy*, 42.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 58.

¹⁴² Ibid., 70; Cesar Adib Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines*, 2d ed. (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1973), 175; Roessingh, “Dutch Relations with the Philippines,” 381.

friendship through costly gift-giving.¹⁴³ Thus the Maguindanao Sultanate actively sought to attract foreign traders to its port and yet maintained its neutrality with respect to imperial rivalries. European requests to settle or build a factory in Maguindanao were denied out of fear of cultural clashes and interimperial jealousies.¹⁴⁴

The correspondence between the two sultan brothers and Dutch authorities in the Moluccas and Batavia demonstrates, albeit in translation, the diplomatic idiom of friendship from the native side. At the same time, it can be viewed as a transimperial European practice to read into native messages for any signs of friendly affects. Written in Malay in 1689, Barahaman's letter to Joan Henrik Thim, Dutch Governor of the Moluccas, tellingly instantiates how an indigenous ruler mobilized the rhetoric of friendship to maintain his position in the context of fierce interimperial competition. While copiously addressing Thim as friend, Barahaman also reported on English offenses in Maguindanao. Although allowed to trade locally, he wrote, the Englishmen had raided his tributary canoes, killing all his crew, and had surreptitiously set fire to his houses while he had been away at war with the Borneans. An English captain had also attempted to stir up misunderstanding and discord between the Maguindanao rulers and the Dutch by writing Thim that "we two brothers [Barahaman and Kuda] were a big nuisance" to the English and telling Barahaman not to believe the Dutch because of their malevolence. As Barahaman wrote, "He has lived and eaten with us for two years, day and night, and now he came to do harm between both of us friends."¹⁴⁵

In response to Thim's request to renew their trade agreement, Barahaman wrote that "we never prohibited trade with us because it is custom that friends help each other in search of profits [...] If that was forbidden, that would not be a sign of friendship any longer, but more like people who were conquered."¹⁴⁶ Here Barahaman viewed commercial relations as a sign of friendship between independent and equal partners. While he refused the Dutch's request to build a small fort or a stronghold, he praised their military supremacy and asked for their friendly assistance in case

¹⁴³ Laarhoven, *Triumph of Moro Diplomacy*, 89.

¹⁴⁴ Ruurdje Laarhoven, "Lords of the Great River: The Maguindanao Port and Polity during the Seventeenth Century," in *The Southeast Asian Port and Polity: Rise and Demise*, ed. J. Kathirithamby-Wells and John Villiers (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1990), 174, 178-79.

¹⁴⁵ "Translation of a Letter in Malay from the King of Maguindanao to the Governor Joan Henrik Thim, Brought to Ternate on August 1, 1689 per the Sloop of the Amboina Burger Mr. Jan de Ruyter," in Laarhoven, *Triumph of Moro Diplomacy*, 198-200.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 200.

of any harm from his enemies.¹⁴⁷ A letter from Kuda in 1700, written in Spanish and translated into Dutch, also addressed the Dutch General-Governor of Batavia as a friend and brother. He expressed his intention to preserve their friendship which dated back to the time of his grandfather Kudarat. Not only did he maintain that “our amity [*vrundschap*] shall be as fixed and constant as the Sun and the Moon.” He also sent the Dutch Governor two piculs of wax as a token of “affection and gratitude” and asked the latter to demonstrate “friendship” by selling him two cannons.¹⁴⁸ After Kuda’s death, the Maguindanao Sultanate gravitated toward the Spaniards, who in turn now acknowledged the sultanate’s paramountcy in Mindanao and aided in its wars against Sulu and internal rebellion.¹⁴⁹ In this fashion, indigenous rulers managed to balance European influences over their polity and simultaneously strengthen their own power over local enemies.

Another case in point for native maneuver in the interimperial and indigenous politics of friendship can be seen in the Sulu Sultanate, especially in the complicated relationship between Sultan Azim ud-Din I (r. 1735-48 and 1764-74) and the Spanish government at Manila. Earlier during the Hispano-Dutch struggle, the Sulu Sultanate was said in a Spanish report to have declared itself neutral but helped the Dutch underhandedly on all occasions. Believing that the Spaniards were friends with the Chinese and the Borneans, the Sulu natives broke off all trade with the Spaniards and brought all their local products to the Dutch instead.¹⁵⁰

During the eighteenth century, however, the most incessant vexation for the Spanish Philippines was not European assailants, but the indigenous pirates raiding its coastal communities, including those sponsored by the Sulu Sultanate. In 1737, Governor Fernández Tamón signed a treaty of peace and friendship with Azim ud-Din to preserve permanent peace between the two states and provide for mutual defense against their enemies. In its wake, the Spaniards helped suppress a local conspiracy in Jolo to dethrone Azim ud-Din.¹⁵¹ To return the favor and prove his friendship, the sultan joined the Spaniards in their 1747 campaign against the Tirone pirates of northeastern Borneo, even though he allegedly sent them a warning of the Spanish

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 201.

¹⁴⁸ “Letter from Sultan Kuda of Manguindanao (r. 1699-1702) Concerning the Trading Activities of Chinese Nakhoda and the Need for Military Support, 21 July 1700,” in *The Diplomatic Correspondence between Asian Rulers and Batavia Castle during the 17th and 18th Centuries: The Digital Reconstruction of a Lost Treasure*, ed. Hendrik E. Niemeijer (Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia (ANRI), 2015), 9, 11-12.

¹⁴⁹ McKenna, *Muslim Rulers and Rebels*, 78, 83-84.

¹⁵⁰ Hieronimo de Bañuelos y Carrillo, “Relation of the Filipinas Islands” (1638), in BR, 29: 76.

¹⁵¹ Najeeb M. Saleeby, *The History of Sulu* (Manila: Bureau of Science, 1908), 180-82; Horacio de la Costa, “Muhammad Alimuddin I, Sultan of Sulu, 1735-1773,” *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 38, no. 1 (1965): 43-45.

attack.¹⁵² In any case, Azim ud-Din also allowed Jesuit missionaries to preach the gospel in Sulu and reside in his palace which, he claimed, antagonized his subjects so much that he was deposed and fled to Manila to seek Spanish aid. He soon converted to Catholicism and, in 1751, accompanied a Spanish expedition against Sulu in order to restore himself to the throne. On their way, however, he was accused of apostasy and treason and consequently imprisoned in Manila.¹⁵³

In the following year, Governor Francisco José de Ovando reported to the Spanish Crown that the sultan “had been a false friend and a consummate Machiavellian” who had deceived Governor Valdés Tamon with feigned promises of peace. Under the pretense of suppressing his rebellious and piratical vassals, Azim ud-Din had managed to obtain a supply of arms from former governors of the Philippines, divert Spanish forces to Sulu, and embolden Tirone pirates to ravage the Philippine provinces. Moreover, he had also protected the towns of the Tirones from Spanish destruction by misrepresenting them to the Spanish commander as belonging to his peaceful friends.¹⁵⁴ “All these criminal and astute antecedents,” wrote Ovando, justified his “distrust” in giving instructions to his subordinate to avoid an attack “under the veil of feigned friendship.”¹⁵⁵ In the aftermath of his treason, the Spanish ruling elite came to the conclusion that war against Islamic polities and pirates was preferable to peace and friendship.¹⁵⁶ Despite his captivity, Azim ud-Din managed to maintain secret communication with British agents as well as his family in Sulu and even ratified a trade agreement with the EIC in 1761. When the British attacked Manila in the following year, he joined the Spaniards in the defense of the city. But after the Spanish surrender, he requested “Protection and Friendship” from the British, who responded favorably and eventually escorted him back to Jolo to re-accede to the throne in 1764.¹⁵⁷

Over the first two centuries of the Spanish presence in maritime Southeast Asia, native friendship proved to be an indispensable component of Spanish imperial power against their European rivals. Once Spain’s regional struggles with the Portuguese and the Dutch subsided, however, the question of native friendship and treachery loomed larger. For Muslim piracy,

¹⁵² José Montero y Vidal, *Historia general de Filipinas desde el descubrimiento de dichas islas hasta nuestras días* (Madrid: M. Tello, 1887), 1: 452.

¹⁵³ Costa, “Muhammad Alimuddin I,” 46-55; Flannery, “The Impossible Colony,” 32-41.

¹⁵⁴ “Appendix VIII: Obando’s Report on the Circumstances Attending the Attempt to Return Alimud Din to Sulu, June 18, 1752,” in Najeeb M. Saleeby, *The History of Sulu* (Manila: Bureau of Science, 1908), 309.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ Flannery, “The Impossible Colony,” 42.

¹⁵⁷ Costa, “Muhammad Alimuddin I,” 56-68; Flannery, “Battlefield Diplomacy and Empire-Building,” 479-

perhaps even more than European rivalry, further enhanced native agency by allowing the natives to double-cross the Spaniards. It was during this transition in regional power dynamics that Azim ud-Din comes across as a quintessential figure of native endurance in the face of imperial hegemony.

* * * * *

This chapter shows that European imperial interventions in the Pacific arena involved two distinct yet interconnected bonds of friendship: inter-European friendship on the one hand and interracial friendship between Europeans and indigenous Southeast Asians on the other. Friendship, especially though not exclusively in its vassalic modality, was a common practice of imperial expansion for European powers in early modern Southeast Asia. This transimperial paradigm of friendship along with European imperial competition recast rather than diminished the agency of indigenous Filipinos and Southeast Asians. The transimperial approach is especially germane to Iberian imperialisms in the region as their spheres of control and jurisdiction were blurry, contested, and infested with such potential threats as indigenous and European enemies. At this interimperial positionality, the Philippines reveals no less than the Moluccas the significance of friendship and its affectivity as part of interimperial and local power relations. Despite the general lack of courtly culture in the Philippines, the Iberians applied techniques of imperial friendship similar to those used in the local courts of the region.

Transcending the lines of papal demarcation and European amity, global struggles between European colonial empires were intermeshed not only with interracial friendship between Europeans and indigenous peoples, but also with preexisting intercommunity affairs in Southeast Asia. The interconnections between global, regional, and local politics hint at the pivotal role of friendship for both Southeast Asians and their foreign visitors. As we have seen, European struggles over the Moluccas and the Philippines drove practices of competitive friend-making with indigenous communities as local leverage. At the same time, the natives actively sought European allies to assist in their local rivalries. In these scenarios, affective experiences were central to the formation and operation of their political bonds of friendship. Affective economies of friendship constantly made interracial friends and foes. Meanwhile, the affective intensity of the promise of friendship also energized native resistance to colonial domination.

Chapter III

Forging/Forcing Friendship: The Micropolitics of Friend-Making and Violence in Philippine Colonial Contact and Conquest

“Friendship is a filigree of encounters and every encounter a challenge.”¹

When did friendships begin, and how did they evolve, in the colonial contact and conquest of the Philippines? How did the Spaniards, as they themselves were wont to say, “reduce the natives to our friendship” (*reducir sus naturales a nuestra amistad*)?² On the other hand, how did indigenous Filipinos initiate friendship with those strangers or respond to their “reduction” (*reducción*)? How, despite or because of their friend-making, were the natives transformed into colonial subjects? To what extent did the Spanish colonial vanguard adhere to the ideology of imperial friendship and its imperative sentiment of love? And in what ways were force and violence involved in its implementation in the Philippines?

We might begin to address these questions with exemplary vignettes of Filipino-Spanish encounters from the Magellan expedition’s prime account: the Italian supernumerary Antonio Pigafetta’s journal, first published in 1525.³ In the afternoon of March 18, 1521, nine natives of Suluan, a small island south of Samar, stumbled across the Magellan crew while the latter were resting on the shore of Homonhon, a neighboring island where the Spaniards had made their first landfall in the Philippines. The natives approached them and showed what the latter described as “signs of joy.” Magellan then ordered food to be set before them and gave them some small gifts. The Suluan natives, in return, gave food and drink to the Spaniards and apprised them of local place names. Magellan also showed the natives the merchandise on his ship and had some mortars discharged, to their great fear.⁴

About a week later, Magellan’s flotilla left Homonhon and anchored near Limasawa, where they were spotted by eight natives of the island in their canoe. The latter approached the flagship, exchanged words with Magellan’s Malay interpreter, and after a moment of hesitation received

¹ Francesco Alberoni, *Friendship*, trans. Harry Blatterer and Sveva Magaraggia (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 27.

² Francisco Colín, *Labor evangélica, ministerios apostólicos de los Obreros de la Compañía de Iesus, fundación, y progressos de su provincia en las Islas Filipinas*, ed. Pablo Pastells (Barcelona: Henrich y Compañía, 1900), 1: 149-50.

³ For its bibliographic history, see Clayton McCarl, “The Transmission and Bibliographic Study of the Pigafetta Account: Synthesis and Update,” *Abriu: Textuality Studies on Brazil, Galicia and Portugal* 8 (2019): 85-98.

⁴ Antonio Pigafetta, *Magellan’s Voyage around the World*, trans. James A. Robertson (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906), 1: 96-103.

some gifts overboard from the strangers. They soon returned to inform their chieftain, Rajah Colambu, who came with his followers and had them enter the Spanish ships where they were also given gifts. The following day Magellan sent his interpreter ashore to ask Colambu for food and declare themselves as friends. Colambu then brought some food and came to meet with Magellan in his flagship. They embraced each other, exchanged gifts, and performed an indigenous ceremony of blood covenanting, followed by Magellan's demonstration of Spanish armaments, to Colambu's astonishment. After that, two of Magellan's crewmen accompanied Colambu back to Limasawa. The latter and one of his chiefs took the guests by the hand and led them to a welcoming feast. Surrounded by Colambu's followers under arms, they ate and conversed with "signs of friendship" and passed the night together on the island. The next morning, they kissed each other's hands and the guests left for their fleet.⁵

These scenarios instantiate a pattern of friendship formation in the early Philippine colonial encounter. Indigenous islanders and Europeans first exchanged signs of sociability to establish contact, after which they engaged in more intimate acts of hospitality and friend-making. Their social intercourse might culminate in the conclusion of an agreement—whether oral, written, or ritual—in accordance with their respective customs. Their interpersonal relations, particularly at the level of their leaders, personified their interpolity relations insofar as local chieftains stood for the communities under their authority while Spanish commanders acted on behalf of the Spanish Crown. Typical rather than exceptional in their encounters, however, was the presence of armed force on either or both sides during the performance of these acts. Friendships were increasingly coterminous with power relations, just as mundane practices of amity became intimate sites of micropolitics—that is, power struggle on a local and everyday scale. They enabled the Spaniards to make indigenous Filipinos do what they would not otherwise have done, or to not do what they wished to do. Before long, these ties were transformed decisively into colonial ones through both force and legalistic subjection.

This chapter seeks to understand how the various acts and experiences of friendship were implicated in the Spanish conquest of the Philippines and its oppositions. To borrow Ann Laura Stoler's terms, it interrogates how the *macro-dynamics* of Spanish colonization worked through

⁵ Ibid., 1: 106-17.

minor gestures and (non-)events in the *micro-environments* of Filipino-Spanish contact.⁶ It examines and describes the embodied process of friend-making and the performance of friendship between indigenous Filipinos and Spaniards, looking into the workings and failures of their friendly strategies. With a focus on affect, it analyzes early Filipino-Spanish relations as filigrees of sensory and affective entanglements and draws attention to their materiality. I argue that, through colonial encounters, these strangers were constituted on the spot as friends. Such contact consisted of corporeal and communicative acts of friend-making such as hailing, gifting, feasting, and covenanting, each of which was a recurrent ground of contestation and negotiation. All these initial acts of friend-making could be “forged” or feigned in native endurance and resistance to colonial domination. In other words, both colonization and decolonization involved the affection and affectation of friendship.

“Ang Calagoyo, y, Apahap”:

Friendship, Patronage, and Alliance in the Precolonial Philippines

The practice of friend-making was deeply embedded in precolonial Philippine lifeways and politics. It was not only an essential act of interpersonal bonding in the private and social lives of the indigenous Filipinos, but also a normative process of building clientelistic networks, political alliances, and economic partnerships in their local and supralocal relations. On the cusp of Spanish conquest, indigenous communities in the Philippines consisted of sociopolitical units of varying scale, structure, and complexity—from small and acephalous tribal settlements, to larger village or supra-village chiefdoms, to complex Islamic sultanates under Muslim rulers. Chiefdoms constituted the dominant pattern of social organization as they were geographically scattered across the archipelago and characterized by common features. A chiefly community, generally known in Philippine historiography as *barangay* and *bayan* in Tagalog and *haop* in Bisaya, was comprised of tens to hundreds of households and up to thousands of members—interrelated through affinal or consanguineal kinship, dependency, or friendship—under the leadership of one or more chieftains called *datu*.⁷

⁶ Ann Laura Stoler, “Intimidations of Empire: Predicaments of the Tactile and Unseen,” in *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*, ed. Ann Laura Stoler (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 2, 7.

⁷ According to Antonio de Morga, *barangai* among the natives referred to the partisans (*parcialidad*) or following of a chief rather than a generic term for their settlement. Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las islas Filipinas*

As previous studies have shown, datuship was grounded in personal allegiances and political alliances rather than abstract principles, territorial control, or even hereditary ascription.⁸ The loose pertinacity of lineage descent in their political organization and succession points to the centrality of personal attributes in political leadership. To borrow O. W. Wolters's terms, the *datu*, as a "big man" or "man of prowess," was perceived by his supporters as endowed with superior and potent "soul stuff" or spiritual qualities, which materialized in his outstanding achievements.⁹ This notion of mental and spiritual capacities resonates with the indigenous concept of *dungan* (life force) in some Visayan languages, which refers not only to soul stuff but also intelligence and the ability to persuade, influence, and dominate others.¹⁰ It also finds cultural counterparts across Philippine ethnicities in such concepts as *kaluluwa* in Tagalog and *lennawa* in Ifugao.¹¹ The *dungan*, or its various equivalents, is accordingly one's shifting affective power, intrinsic to oneself yet demonstrable and permutable in one's contact with others. With his life force, the *datu*'s political authority accreted not only through the display of bravery in battle, but also through the creation of vertical and horizontal ties of friendship. In so doing, he brought allies and adherents into his domain of contact and control. A quintessential man of prowess was therefore not only a

por el doctor Antonio de Morga, obra publicada en Méjico el año de 1609, nuevamente sacada à luz y anotada por José Rizal y precedida de un prólogo del Prof. Fernando Blumentritt (Paris: Garnier hermanos, 1890), 294. Correspondingly, William Henry Scott asserts that *barangay* and *haop* referred to a people, not a place. William Henry Scott, *Barangay: Sixteenth-century Philippine Culture and Society* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1994), 6, 135-36. See also a critique of the misused concept of *barangay* as a sociopolitical unit of government in Damon L. Woods, *The Myth of the Barangay and Other Silenced Histories* (Diliman: University of the Philippines Press, 2017), 117-53. Through the perspective of New Philology, Woods argues that the *barangay* was a Spanish construct for the purpose of colonial resettlement and governance that has been adopted and elaborated by modern scholars of Philippine history. He also proposes that the concept of *bayan*, rather than *barangay*, was a basic unit of precolonial Philippine social organization. See also a typology of Philippine political structure and organization that eschews the *barangay* concept in Laura Lee Junker, *Raiding, Trading, and Feasting: The Political Economy of Philippine Chiefdoms* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 57-84. For the indigenous Philippine communities characterized by political egalitarianism and classlessness, see William Henry Scott, "Class Structure in the Unhispanized Philippines," *Philippine Studies* 27, no. 2 (1979): 139-42; Thomas Gibson and Kenneth Sillander, eds., *Anarchic Solidarity: Autonomy, Equality, and Fellowship in Southeast Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 2011), chapter 1, 5, 10.

⁸ Junker, *Raiding, Trading, and Feasting*, 58-64, 75-84; Vicente L. Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society Under Early Spanish Rule* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 13-15, 139-41; Filomeno V. Aguilar Jr., *Clash of Spirits: The History of Power and Sugar Planter Hegemony on a Visayan Island* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), 54-56; Patricio N. Abinales and Donna J. Amoroso, *State and Society in the Philippines*, 2nd ed. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 23.

⁹ O. W. Wolters, *History, Culture, and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives*, rev. ed. (Ithaca: Southeast Asia Publications, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1999), 18, 111-13.

¹⁰ Aguilar, *Clash of Spirits*, 28-30; Alicia P. Magos, *The Enduring Ma-aram Tradition: An Ethnography of a Kinaray-a Village in Antique* (Quezon City: New Day, 1992), 47-48.

¹¹ Ibid.; Jon Henrik Ziegler Remme, "Actualizing Spirits: Ifugao Animism as Onto-Praxis," in *Animism in Southeast Asia*, ed. Kaj Århem and Guido Sprenger (London: Routledge, 2016), 142-44.

man of martial gallantry but also of strategic amity, for his network of friends both constituted and indicated his idiosyncratic exploits.

Hence, the arrangement of friendly relations within and between precolonial polities was fundamental to the aggrandizement of chiefly power. On the one hand, to maintain his superordinate status in a local hierarchy and protect his community from external harm, the *datu* needed to attract and muster followers as his entourage and manpower. On the other hand, to promote political stability and economic prosperity, it was also indispensable to build and expand his shifting network of commercial and military partners, whether neighboring or distant. These local and regional bonds were similarly established and preserved through a number of friend-making mechanisms, particularly gifting and feasting.

For the chief-follower relationship, the Franciscan Fray Juan Francisco de San Antonio wrote that the natives in each settlement lived under the rule of their own *datu*, “not with a hard and fast rule, but all in friendly relations.” By virtue of their “friendship,” the natives were obliged to aid their chief in war, cultivate his fields, or pay him regular tribute in exchange for his protection, benefaction, and distribution of resources.¹² Hence, between the chieftain and his following, or his *barangay*, there existed an amicable bond of politico-economic interdependency and reciprocal exchange. The *barangay* as a clientelistic cluster of affective ties was liable to dynamic reconfiguration since subordinates, as Miguel de Loarca reported, were free to pass their service from one chief to another with no obstruction.¹³ The ethos of their asymmetrical friendship appears to be encapsulated in a Tagalog proverb preserved in an eighteenth-century dictionary under the entry for *calaguyo* (companion, friend): “*Isda acong gaga sapsap, / gagataliptip calapad, / caya naquiquipagpusag, / ang calagoyo, y, apahap*” (I’m a fish the size of the slipmouth / no wider than a barnacle / but I’m creating quite a stir / because a barramundi is my companion).

¹² Juan Francisco de San Antonio, “The Native Peoples and Their Customs” (1738), in BR, 40: 347-48. See also Morga, *Sucesos de las islas Filipinas*, 294; Juan de Plasencia, *Las costumbres de los Tagalos en Filipinas* (Madrid: Manuel Ginés Hernández, 1892), 11-12; George Bryan Souza and Jeffrey Scott Turley, eds., *The Boxer Codex: Transcription and Translation of an Illustrated Late Sixteenth-Century Spanish Manuscript Concerning the Geography, Ethnography and History of the Pacific, South-East Asia and East Asia*, trans. Jeffrey S. Turley (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 387; Scott, *Barangay*, 130-31.

¹³ AGI, Patronato, 23, R.9, f.21r. Cf. Miguel de Loarca, “Relacion de las Yslas Filipinas” (1582), in BR, 5: 146-49.

The poem, according to its Spanish lexicographers, means that “having the shadow and help of a powerful one, the little one can be encouraged to great things.”¹⁴

According to vernacular vocabularies of friendship, as we shall see later in this chapter, the affective basis of friendship among indigenous peers was typically love, trust, or fellow feeling. In parallel to the chief-follower clientage, their friendship could also come off, albeit to a lesser extent, as unequal and socioeconomically dependent. Indeed, friendship as a bond of mutual assistance was a condition of possibility for their debt relationship. According to another Tagalog dictionary, there was a saying among the Tagalogs that “*Katutong dî màutangan / At dî makahiwang sundang / ¿Áanhin ko masirà man?*” (A friend who does not lend, and a dagger that cannot cut, what’s the use for me when they are broken?).¹⁵ The ability and willingness to provide a service or favor was therefore a key attribute of the friend in this adage. As the Franciscan Fray Juan de Plasencia reported in 1589, a fineable culprit in Tagalog society could be redeemed by his relative or friend, to whom the culprit was obliged to render half of his service until he was repaid. However, he was not at service within the latter’s house as a live-in or “hearth slave” (*aliping sa guiguilir*), but rather as a house-holding servant (*aliping namamahay*) who lived independently and possessed his own property.¹⁶ Hence, a native who lent his friend the wherewithal to pay a fine was practically transformed by their debt transaction into the latter’s master.

Likewise, interpolity relations were also forged through friendship and kinship ties against the backdrop of the geographical and sociopolitical fragmentation of the pre-Hispanic Philippines. Plasencia wrote that Tagalog barangays were located close to one another for the purpose of mutual defense. These settlements might be interconnected through friendship or kinship just as their chiefs might aid one another in battle.¹⁷ On the eve of Spanish contact, for instance, the Muslim elites of Manila and Tondo were bound not only to the sultan of distant Brunei through trade, intermarriage, and friendship, but also to neighboring Muslim villages of the Pasig River,

¹⁴ Juan de Noceda and Pedro de Sanlucar, *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala* (Manila: Imprenta de la Compañía de Jesus, por D. Nicolas de la Cruz Bagay, 1754), 124. The English translation of the Tagalog poem here is quoted, with some slight changes of my own, from Bienvenido L. Lumbea, *Tagalog Poetry, 1570-1898: Tradition and Influences in Its Development* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1986), 16.

¹⁵ Pedro Serrano Laktaw, *Diccionario tagalog-hispano* (Manila: Islas Filipinas, 1914), 476.

¹⁶ Plasencia, *Las costumbres de los Tagalos en Filipinas*, 16, 12-14. See also an indigenous categorization of commoners and slaves in William Henry Scott, *Barangay: Sixteenth-century Philippine Culture and Society* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1994), 226-29.

¹⁷ Plasencia, *Las costumbres de los Tagalos en Filipinas*, 10.

coalescing into a loose confederation under the Islamic faith.¹⁸ However, the Jesuit Fray Pedro Chirino asserted that such inter-chiefly or supra-barangay comity rarely existed among the indigenous Filipinos, as chieftains usually fortified themselves in an attitude of war and defense, “neighbors against neighbors.”¹⁹ Be that as it might, precolonial polities across the Philippines also observed the practice of contractual friendship that bound together two or more parties. This was epitomized in the ritual of blood covenanting (*sandugo*), which served as an affiliative and reconciliatory tool to form alliances and resolve conflicts, as will be examined in the next chapter.

The indigenous conception and arrangement of interpolity relations consisted of both horizontal and vertical forms of friendship. According to a Ming Chinese source, the population and military strength of an indigenous Filipino chiefdom determined its relations with others. One chiefdom sometimes maintained an alliance with another and at other times subordinated itself to it.²⁰ Antonio de Morga recorded similarly that “some chiefs had friendship and correspondence with others, and at times wars and disputes.” Those with outstanding valor tended to enjoy more followers and protégés, including other chiefs who nevertheless retained to themselves the lordship over their own following.²¹ Such paramount or superior chieftains, as Laura Junker suggests, also amassed tribute through their vertical alliances with local chiefs.²² Meanwhile, Oona Paredes shows that *datus* of different Lumad or non-Muslim communities in Mindanao usually formed themselves into a horizontal alliance network or federation (*sacup*, a cognate of the Bisaya term *haop*) and simultaneously maintained hierarchical bonds with their own followers. Nevertheless, their *sacup* could also morph into a hierarchy, especially for cooperative purposes, depending on the relationships among individual *datus*.²³ In this manner, *sacup* can be construed as an

¹⁸ Robert R. Reed, *Colonial Manila: The Context of Hispanic Urbanism and Process of Morphogenesis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 3-5.

¹⁹ Pedro Chirino, *Relación de las Islas Filipinas y de lo que en ellas han trabajado los padres de la Compañía de Jesús*, 2nd ed. (Manila: Imprenta de Esteban Balbas, 1890), 177.

²⁰ Wang Zhenping, “Reading Song-Ming Records on the Pre-Colonial History of the Philippines,” *Journal of East Asian Cultural Interaction Studies* 1 (2008): 256.

²¹ Morga, *Sucesos de las islas Filipinas*, 293.

²² Junker, *Raiding, Trading, and Feasting*, 231-33.

²³ Oona Paredes, *A Mountain of Difference: The Lumad in Early Colonial Mindanao* (Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program Publications, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 2013), 98, 128-31. In the context of a more socially-stratified sultanate, Thomas McKenna notes that *sakup*, meaning “one who is protected,” was an alternate term for *endatuan*, “one who is ruled,” in the Maguindanao language. Thomas M. McKenna, *Muslim Rulers and Rebels: Everyday Politics and Armed Separatism in the Southern Philippines* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 61. In a seventeenth-century Tagalog sermon manuscript, written by an anonymous Spanish priest, *sacop* is used in the sense of subjecthood, as in “*Ang ysa sa manga otos nang Santa Iglesia sa calahatlahatang Christiano na sacop niya*” (One of the commands of the Holy Church to all Christians subject to it). *Pláticas doctrinales en lengua tagala*, BNE, MSS/5517, 150v.

indigenous form of heterarchy—a mode of relations characterized by flexible ranking and horizontal differentiation among its members, with roles and levels of authority dependent on the specific context.²⁴ As we shall see later, such precolonial practices of heterarchical friendship and alliance would give way to hierarchical structures of vassalage and sovereignty after the Spanish imposition of colonial rule.

Sensing, Calling, and Counting Friends



Figure 3.1: An encounter between Spaniards and Chamorros of the Ladrões Islands (ca. 1590).²⁵

In the Boxer Codex, a famous Iberian manuscript from the late sixteenth century, there is a folded, rectangular painting depicting a scene in which Chamorro natives of the Ladrões Islands (nowadays the Marianas in the Pacific) came in their outriggers to barter with the Spaniards in a Manila galleon (Figure 3.1). “After arriving within a stone’s throw of us,” the codex relates, “they stand up and shout *arrepeke, arrepeke*, which, according to some people, means ‘friends, friends,’ and according to others, ‘put away your harquebuses.’ Whatever the meaning, they shout *arrepeke*. In their hands they carry large gourds filled with water and coconuts or fish. In short, each one displays a sample of what he has to offer.”²⁶ The equivocality of the vernacular hail captures the very atmosphere of imperial contact where puzzlement and the irresolution between amity and enmity prevailed. Here a verbal exchange might not only prevent armed confrontation but also invite commercial transaction. This ambivalent sense of sociability and hostility is also captured

²⁴ For the concept of heterarchy, see Joyce C. White, “Incorporating Heterarchy into Theory on Socio-political Development: The Case from Southeast Asia,” in *Heterarchy and the Analysis of Complex Societies*, ed. Robert M. Ehrenreich, Carole L. Crumley, and Janet E. Levy (Arlington, VA: American Anthropological Association, 1995), 101-23; Heather Sutherland, *Seaways and Gatekeepers: Trade and State in the Eastern Archipelagos of Southeast Asia, c.1600-c.1906* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2021), 125.

²⁵ Souza and Turley, *The Boxer Codex*, 299.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, xix, 40, 308.

in an engraving of the Battle of Mactan in Levinus Hulsius's (1626) book on European global circumnavigations (Figure 3.2). Here, a handful of Mactanese were bringing their products to the shore in a manner suggestive of an invitation to trade whilst their fellow islanders were engaged in an intense battle with Magellan and his troops. Listening to a call or reading a gesture was thus central to colonial encounters in the Pacific and the Philippines where, as we shall see, force and friendship were combined in productive and destructive tension.



Figure 3.2: The Battle of Mactan on April 27, 1521.²⁷

The provenance of Filipino-Spanish relations resided in interpersonal or intergroup encounters at littoral zones, where indigenous Filipinos on their shores or canoes spotted the arrival

²⁷ John M. Delaney, *Strait Through: Magellan to Cook and the Pacific: An Illustrated History* (Princeton: Princeton University Library, 2010), 61.

of Spaniards in their vessels. At such a distance, their first and foremost social engagement was sensorial, with a visual exchange preceding or coinciding with a verbal one. Seeing and being seen, one hailed the other within earshot in an attempt to attract attention and, as an extension of their collective self, to commune with the other. The act of hailing, according to the French philosopher Louis Althusser, is central to the universal operation of ideology on individuals and social relations. All ideologies, he argues, are constitutive of individuals as subjects through the process of interpellation or hailing. In responding to a hail, the addressees recognize the social position assigned to them and possibly adopt it as their own, internalizing values associated with an ideology. A well-known allegorical example from his discussion is the everyday operation of policing in which a person in the street is hailed “hey, you there!” by a police officer and, turning back with the recognition that the hailing was meant for him or her, transformed into a subject. Althusser, it should be noted, also provides a lesser-known instance of ideological interpellation in a banal scene of friendship. That is, when we recognize somebody of our acquaintance in the street, we show our recognition by hailing him or her “hello, my friend,” and performing “a material ritual practice of ideological recognition in everyday life” such as handshaking.²⁸ This latter case of friendship suggests that ideological hailing and subjectivation, typically adumbrated as a top-down process, are also performed by non-state actors and in a more or less symmetrical manner.

In Philippine colonial encounters, phatic utterances of friendship, such as the like of *arrepeke*, were used both by natives to initiate an exchange to serve their socioeconomic agendas and by the Spanish to initiate a process of friendly pacification. Such calls usually targeted a collective rather than an individual and were often responded to collectively. Indicative of the importance of friendly hailing in Spanish colonialism was the inclusion of friendship-related words in the Spanish exploration of vernacular languages. Words such as *sandara* (friend) and *pugna* (to be a friend) were included in Antonio Pigafetta’s Moro vocabulary compiled during the Magellan voyage.²⁹ Likewise, Estevan Rodriguez of the Legazpi expedition also made a non-alphabetical list of vernacular vocabulary from his group’s encounter with Chamorros of the Ladrones. His very first word was *chamor*, which he defined as “friend” (*amigo*).³⁰ Like Althusser’s instance

²⁸ Louis Althusser, “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation),” in *Mapping Ideology*, ed. Slavoj Žižek (New York: Verso, 1994), 129-31.

²⁹ Pigafetta, *Magellan’s Voyage*, 2: 136-37.

³⁰ CDU, 2: 392.

above, such friendly terms of address were uttered not only at first contact but were also repeated in re-encounters, serving to build intimacy and reinvigorate ties.³¹

In any case, the ideological hailing of Spaniards or Philippine natives was also informed by their respective systems of differentiation, which marked and mapped bodies with identities and values. This worked through both repetition over time and the recollection of prior contacts. Accordingly, hailing was underpinned not only by what Sara Ahmed calls “differentiated economies of names and signs” but also “a visual economy of recognition.”³² That is, with their appearance and manner, indigenous Filipinos and Spaniards saw and recognized each other from afar as others, not “us.” At the same time, with their ethnocultural knowledge and historical memory, both sides assigned an identity to the strangers by naming them in accordance with their frames of reference. This, as previously discussed, involved the production and representation of Philippine islanders as *indios* or *moros*, with varying degrees of amicability and trustworthiness. The natives, on the other hand, might have perceived the strangers as foreign seafarers of sheer alterity at their first contact. On subsequent occasions, they often bracketed the Spaniards with already existing categories and their respective sets of historical baggage, such as “*farangui*” or “*Castilla*.” The latter name, while used amicably by natives of Mindanao during the Saavedra expedition, was regarded with enmity by the Visayans in their early contact with the Legazpi armada.³³ The visual and mental process of identification and racialization thus determined the action that followed, be it a friendly call, an unfriendly flight, or a hostile fight.

Hence, naming, hailing, and knowing strangers were acts of mutual association and dissociation, of building collective bodies and communities of friends and foes. On the one hand, a native call of friendship can be understood as an initial act not only of hospitality but also of power and assertiveness over territory, as indigenous Filipinos chose which visitors they would receive or resist.³⁴ On the other hand, those Filipinos who heard a Spanish call of friendship and failed to respond positively to it risked coming across as hostile and were liable to be treated

³¹ In the Cagayan village of Pata, for example, a Spaniard named Juan Fernandez de Najara was reported to have lived intimately among the locals before the arrival of missionaries, addressing his native neighbors as *compañeros*. Regardless of the factuality of this form of address, this account (written half a century later) instantiates a possibility of such everyday re-utterance. Diego Aduarte, *Historia de la provincia del Sancto Rosario de la Orden de Predicadores en Philipinas, Iapon y China* (Manila: En el Colegio de Sãoto Thomas por Luis Beltran, 1640), 1: 159.

³² Sara Ahmed, *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality* (London: Routledge, 2000), 7, 23.

³³ CVD, 5: 470; CDU, 2: 275-76. For *farangui*, see Chapter Two.

³⁴ See Jacques Derrida, *Of Hospitality*, trans. Rachel Bowlby (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000),

violently, as we shall see later. In encountering strangers, hailing was therefore an acoustic beginning of the political, understood in Carl Schmitt's sense as the sphere in which the distinction between friend and enemy is made.³⁵ These circumstances indicate that the sense of "us" and "them" in the context of colonial contact was in flux, depending on their contingent sociability no less than their racialized identity.

In the midst of Spanish colonial expansion, central to such a process of collective formation were also the separation and numeration of friendly and hostile natives (*indio amigo o indio enemigo*). Why did counting count? As with their experience in the Americas, the Spaniards in the Philippines found it of paramount importance to distinguish between local allies and enemies in their campaign to win native cooperation and submission.³⁶ Counting friends—in two senses of the term—was therefore requisite in the face of unpredictable conditions at the imperial frontier: *counting how many* natives the Spaniards had as allies or vassals at their disposal in order to *count on* them. Friendly natives were fraternized with or co-opted into imperial forces as local collaborators. As part of the Spanish exploration and conquest of Manila, for example, Visayan men were called up as "friends" and counted up to fill fifteen ships in an initial expedition from Panay.³⁷ Again, in their 1591 pacification of western Luzon, the Spaniards declared war against the Sambals and recruited cooperative forces from the Pampangos in the region, counting the numbers of both their allies and the Sambal captives they took in battle.³⁸

Early contact was also constituted by non-verbal communication and symbolic action. To convey geniality or hospitality despite the lack of a shared tongue, both natives and Spaniards resorted to bodily and symbolic practices in accordance with their cultural repertoires. Symbolic acts, such as bringing the royal banner ashore or dressing up all in white in their meeting, were performed by Magellan and his soldiers and explained to Rajah Humabon of Cebu as signs of

³⁵ Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*, trans. George Schwab (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1976), 26.

³⁶ The concept of *indio amigo* originated in the early years of Spanish colonial expansion and became widespread throughout colonial Spanish America. See Ignacio Martínez, *The Intimate Frontier: Friendship and Civil Society in Northern New Spain* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2019), 81-84. For an exemplary text in which the category is recurrently employed, see Bernardo de Vargas Machuca, *The Indian Militia and Description of the Indies*, ed. Kris Lane, trans. Timothy F. Johnson (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), *passim*.

³⁷ Anonymous, "Conquest of the Island of Luzón" (1572), in BR, 3: 147.

³⁸ José Eugenio Borao Mateo, "Filipinos in the Spanish Colonial Army during the Dutch Wars (1600-1648)," in *More Hispanic Than We Admit: Insights into Philippine Cultural History*, ed. Isaac Donoso (Quezon City: Vibal Foundation, 2008), 86-88. See also *ibid.*, 80-82.

sincere love.³⁹ At Limasawa, Rajah Colambu and Magellan embraced each other upon their first meeting and twice again before and after their first Catholic Mass was held two days later.⁴⁰ Colambu and Pigafetta, as mentioned in the beginning, also kissed each other's hands upon their farewell. Such physical communication—what Richard Kearney calls “carnal hospitality”⁴¹—often involved cross-cultural imitation, as natives and Spaniards improvised bodily movements and mimicked each other to approximate their intended messages. As an act of reciprocation, gestural mimicry gave off an embodied sense of mutual recognition in friend-making. Seeing Colambu raise his hands toward the sky and turn toward him, Pigafetta imitated his gesture toward Colambu in return.⁴²

The Loaísa and Saavedra expeditions also give us examples of the combination between hailing and signing in establishing friendly contact and intercourse. Reconnoitering the coast of Mindanao in 1526, Andrés de Urdaneta and his company saw two natives, whom they shouted out to and made signs to invite to their boat. Although the natives refused to come, they made signs for the Spaniards to follow them into an inlet until they reached their settlement. There they conversed by signs and exchanged gifts. The natives gave foodstuffs to their guests while the latter gave them glass beads in return.⁴³ Following suit, a native from another province brought chickens and a pig to the Spanish flagship, some given as a gift and the others bartered for beads.⁴⁴ Likewise, sailing along the coast of Mindanao in 1528, Saavedra was approached and signaled by a native galley to go ashore to get food and water. Dropping anchor for a few days, Saavedra received boat loads of rice, coconuts, and chickens from the local chiefs and gave them some beads and cloths in return.⁴⁵ Like the two illustrations above, these brief scenes of contact show that both natives and Spaniards used an exchange of friendly signs to inaugurate an exchange of gifts or commodities, satisfying their material and economic interests despite the uncertainty of interpretation.

³⁹ Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage*, 1: 150-53.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 1: 110-11, 118-23.

⁴¹ Richard Kearney, “Double Hospitality: Between Word and Touch,” *Journal for Continental Philosophy of Religion* 1, no. 1 (2019): 78.

⁴² Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage*, 1: 112-15.

⁴³ Andrés de Urdaneta, “Relación del viaje de la Armada del Comendador G.^a de Loaisa á las Islas de la Especería ó Molucas en 1525, y sucesos acaecidos en ellas hasta el de 1535 por el Capitán Andrés de Urdaneta,” in Fermín de Uncilla y Arroita Jáuregui, *Urdaneta y la conquista de Filipinas: Estudio histórico* (San Sebastián: Imprenta de la Provincia, 1907), 349-50.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 350.

⁴⁵ CDAO, 5: 76-77; CVD, 5: 470, 478-79.

Friendly gesturing not only served on the ground to draw foreigners into the domain of socioeconomic exchange but, as a trope in imperial discourse, also worked to constitute both parties as friends. Spanish records indicate an interpretive tendency among Spanish seafarers to hear and read native expressions as signs of friendship. Hence the projection of native hailing—that is, naming Spaniards as friends—implemented in reverse their ideology of friendly pacification. The gestures of the very first group of Philippine natives encountered in the Magellan expedition were understood as “signs of joy.”⁴⁶ In a similar vein, Estevan Rodriguez of the Legazpi expedition wrote in his ship log that, upon their arrival at the Ladrones before reaching the Philippines, native islanders came aboard, “saying *chamurre*, *chamurre*, which means friends, friends; and bringing the hand through the belly that is a sign of friendship.”⁴⁷ We might notice that the Spaniards in both the Legazpi expedition and the galleon voyage in the opening paragraph of this section, despite being some twenty years apart, similarly understood the different vernacular hails of the Chamorros as signifying friends. Accuracy aside, these interpretations pictured the natives as eager to befriend the Spaniards. Whether the natives declared themselves as friends or “interpellated” the Spaniards as friends, their calls in translation also presented the Spaniards as approachable and amicable.

While the Magellan, Loaísa, and Saavedra expeditions had been received by Philippine islanders in generally convivial manners, the Legazpi crew’s overtures were often met with native hostility from the beginning. Spanish records during their voyage show the dynamic operation of hailing and gesturing in Filipino-Spanish encounters. First arriving at Samar, Legazpi and his crew conversed with natives by signs and succeeded in establishing contact, only to be abandoned before long by the latter.⁴⁸ Coasting further to Caniungo, Leyte, the Spaniards encountered “hostile natives” (*Indios de guerra*) on the riverbank with their weapons, making an uproar, slashing through trees, plucking grasses, and gesturing to them not to disembark. The Spaniards “tried for a while to appease them with all possible signs of friendship,” only to receive another row of baleful gestures, loud cries, and thrown stones.⁴⁹ Then at Cabalian, after establishing contact and performing a ceremony of ritualized friendship, the natives promised to barter with them. On the following day, however, seeing that the natives did not come as promised, the Spaniards called out

⁴⁶ Pigafetta, *Magellan’s Voyage*, 1: 96-99.

⁴⁷ CDU, 2: 387.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 2: 253.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 2: 261.

from their flagship with some words they knew “in the Malay tongue of the Moluccas,” asking them to sell their provisions, but in vain.⁵⁰ Through friendly rhetoric and treatment, the Spaniards finally inveigled Camutuan, the chieftain of their ritualized friendship, into cooperating with them, thus enabling their barter with the natives. Camutuan and his followers also guided the Legazpi fleet to Limasawa, where the Spaniards reportedly treated them well and gave them gifts before they returned to their island. This scene dramatically concluded with valedictory signs of friendship:

“And when they left by the ship and in their canoe they were saying, Castile and Cabalian friends friends [*Castilla y Cabalian amigos amigos*]; and joining two fingers of the hand they said that they were to be like this.”⁵¹

These instances illustrate that at the heart of the Spanish *reducción* of native peoples to their friendship was Althusserian interpellation as an operation of imperial ideology, to which the natives responded in various ways. While friendly hailing in such early encounters had produced indigenous Filipinos as friends and allies of the Spaniards, at the end of the sixteenth century a number of the native populace were transformed into colonial vassals and subjects of the Spanish Crown through another type of hailing. By 1599, Spanish authorities across the archipelago had started to arrange ceremonies of submission for the natives in their ward. The core of these formalities, as detailed in the next chapter, were an announcement of Spanish love and an exhortation to the assembled natives to offer words of submission. These actions can be understood as a ceremonial form of interpellation that hailed out to the natives and, with their positive response, formally asserted authority and sovereignty over them as *subjects* of the Spanish colonial ideology and monarchy. In this respect, the ceremonies resonated with the *Requerimiento* of 1513 in the Americas, albeit in a less threatening manner.

Unlike in the period of early contact, the Spaniards were later equipped with the colonial government’s apparatuses and institutions, especially the mendicant orders, whose members had inculcated in native peoples for decades the deferential conscience by which their arranged subjection was facilitated.⁵² Their colonial endurance hinged on their (mis)recognition of submission and Spanish rule as a guarantee of the continuity of their own existence. Thus they

⁵⁰ Ibid., 2: 264-67.

⁵¹ Ibid., 2: 268-77.

⁵² See a discussion of conscience in relation to the theory of interpellation in Judith Butler, *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 106-31.

acceded to the authoritative call of the imperial sovereign and reciprocated his declared “love” by embracing his rule. The Spaniards, to conclude, employed different forms of friendly hailing to establish in sequence their contact with and colonial domination over the indigenous Filipinos. It was precisely in this sense that hailing was central to the Spanish colonization of the Philippines.

That notwithstanding, Spanish terms of friendly address were also appropriated by indigenous peoples to serve their own quotidian and socioeconomic interests. By the first decade of the seventeenth century, the words *amigos* (friends) and *camarada* (comrade) in Castilian had become part of the Tagalog terminology of friendship, with the latter term bastardized into *camalala*, meaning “friend.”⁵³ For example, both *nag aamigos* and *nagcacamalala* mean “to become friends” while *pag aamigos* means “friendship.”⁵⁴ These borrowings hint at some previous initiation and expression of friendship by Spaniards—a friendly call—toward natives, with these Castilian words as terms of address, reference, and inclusive grouping. In a similar manner, a Bisaya dictionary from the early eighteenth century registers the use of *amigos*, a “Bisayanized” (*abisayado*) Spanish word, in referring to friends.⁵⁵

Further afield in Mindanao, the Maguindanaos were reported to have devised an intimate system of hospitality and friend-making to attract foreign traders, using the vernacular term *pagali* (friend) along with another term presumably borrowed from *camarada* in Castilian.⁵⁶ According to the English explorer William Dampier, who visited Mindanao in 1686, the “*Pagally*” was a custom whereby Maguindanao men, upon the arrival of a foreign ship, went aboard and inquired whether each of the visitors had a comrade or a *pagali*. “A *Comrade*,” the word Dampier believed to have been adopted from the Spaniards, “is a familiar Male-friend; a *Pagally* is an innocent Platonick Friend of the other Sex.” Even wives of the sultan and affluent men “look out of their Cages when a Stranger passeth by” to invite him to their friendship. To accept their “Acquaintance and Familiarity,” all the visitors were obliged to give him or her a small present. After that, the visitor was welcome to eat, drink, or sleep at his comrade’s or *pagali*’s house, with tobacco, betel

⁵³ Pedro de San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario de lengua tagala: el romance castellano puesto primero: primera y segunda parte* (Valencia: Librerías “París-Valencia,” 1994), 52; Jean-Paul G. Potet, *Tagalog Borrowings and Cognates*, 3rd ed. (Raleigh, NC: Lulu Press, 2016), 317.

⁵⁴ San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario de lengua tagala*, 52-53.

⁵⁵ Matheo Sanchez, *Vocabulario de la lengua bisaya* (Manila: Colegio de la Sagrada Compañía de Iesus, 1711), appendix a la letra A-2.

⁵⁶ Fray Jacinto Juanmartí’s late-nineteenth-century Maguindanao-Spanish dictionary translates *pagali* as “friend, acquaintance” (*amigo, conocido*). In its Spanish-Maguindanao section, it also translates *camarada* as *pagali*. Jacinto Juanmartí, *Diccionario moro-maguindanao-español* (Manila: Tipografía “Amigos del país,” 1892), 51, 150.

nut, or sweet spiced water offered gratuitously. To continue their friendship, gifts were expected from the visitor whenever he went ashore.⁵⁷ Dampier also described the manner in which he and his fellow Englishmen were received:

“When we came to their Houses, they would always be praising the *English*, as declaring that the *English* and *Mindanaians* were all one. This they exprest by putting their two Fore-fingers close together, and saying, that the *English* and *Mindanaians* were *samo, samo*, that is, *all one*.”⁵⁸

While Maguindanaos suggested to Dampier that they and the Dutch were distant in friendship, the Dutch themselves viewed the Maguindanao practice of hospitality as a cunning means of attraction, since male visitors were provided with women and, after some friendly persuasion, would be induced to marry them, thus committing themselves to stay there.⁵⁹ As Barbara Andaya points out, such friendly arrangements and temporary marriages were typical features of Southeast Asian economic life, serving to create networks of kith and kin critical to the whole commercial structure.⁶⁰ In this manner, the *pagali* system as a friendship formation served to absorb foreigners into the local community just as it domesticated the foreign term *camarada* into its operation.

Gifting, Trading, Tributing: Friendship and the Spectrum of Reciprocities

Gifting and trading, as illustrated by the Maguindanaos' *modus operandi* above, played a pivotal role in foreign contact and friend-making inasmuch as they served to create a bond of peace and reciprocity between strangers, thus helping to constitute them as friends. Importantly, in early Filipino-Spanish encounters, gift exchanges and trade also introduced foreign objects into the gift economies of indigenous polities and provided the Spaniards with necessary comestibles, valuable items, and concrete evidence of native friendship.

In precolonial Philippine societies, gift giving underwrote social relations, perpetuated political power, and aided in the elaboration of social strata. On the one hand, exotica and luxuries

⁵⁷ William Dampier, “Dampier in the Philippines (Concluded)” (1697), in BR, 39: 25-26, 60-61, original italics.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 61, original italics and spellings.

⁵⁹ Ibid.; Ruurdje Laarhoven, “Lords of the Great River: The Maguindanao Port and Polity during the Seventeenth Century,” in *The Southeast Asian Port and Polity: Rise and Demise*, ed. J. Kathirithamby-Wells and John Villiers (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1990), 174.

⁶⁰ Barbara Watson Andaya, “From Temporary Wife to Prostitute: Sexuality and Economic Change in Early Modern Southeast Asia,” *Journal of Women's History* 9, no. 4 (1998): 12-13.

gifted by foreign contact served as conspicuous symbols of power and distinction for indigenous elites. According to the Chinese official Zhao Rukuo's thirteenth-century account, it was customary in the ancient Philippine polity of Mayi that foreign traders entering its anchorage should offer white umbrellas to its chieftains as gifts, as they were in the habit of using them.⁶¹ By the time of the Spanish arrival, it had similarly been protocol at Cebu that all visiting captains should exchange gifts with the island's paramount chief.⁶² On the other hand, gift bestowal by Philippine chieftains to their adherents was key to retaining their allegiance and support whereas gift exchange between elites helped expand and maintain their political networks. Archaeological research suggests that precolonial elites might have also exchanged gifts of earthenware pottery with shared iconographic designs to express their inter-chiefly alliances or shared identities.⁶³ Such vertical and horizontal circulations of gift objects also lubricated the chiefly accumulation of wealth, supply, and influence, thus linking local economies with foreign trade. As Laura Junker suggests, "a generous outflow of prestige markers to subordinates translated directly into an expanding inflow of subsistence surplus, raw materials, and exchangeable goods for foreign export."⁶⁴ In this context, Spanish gifts and goods were valorized by native peoples as potential objects of exceptional prestige for local and translocal redistribution. Their introduction to the archipelago thus contributed to the reinforcement and transformation of existing hierarchies and alliances among the local populace.

For the Spanish empire builders, both the giving and the receiving of gifts were absolutely necessary in their maritime ventures. Since one of their primary goals in Southeast Asia was to seek after profitable sources of spices and valuable minerals, gifts and barter of these items from Philippine natives hinted at the existence of local deposits or supplies.⁶⁵ Equally important for these long-distance seafarers were gifts of food. They often foraged from place to place to revictual their ships just as indigenous peoples procured and protected their foodstuffs from plunder and pests. Offering food or feasts to one's guests, as we will next examine, became a foremost gesture

⁶¹ Chau Ju-Kua, *Chau Ju-Kua: His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, Entitled Chu-Fan-Chi*, trans. Friedrich Hirth and W. W. Rockhill (St. Petersburg: Printing Office of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1911), 159-60.

⁶² Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage*, 1: 136-37.

⁶³ Elizabeth A. Bacus, "Style of Alliance?: Decorated Earthenwares in Late Prehistoric and Protohistoric Philippine Polities," in *Earthenware in Southeast Asia: Proceedings of the Singapore Symposium on Premodern Southeast Asian Earthenwares*, ed. John N. Miksic (Singapore: Singapore University Press, National University of Singapore, 2003), 39-51.

⁶⁴ Junker, *Raiding, Trading, and Feasting*, 292-93.

⁶⁵ For gold, see Andres de Mirandaola, "Letter to Felipe II" (1574), in BR, 3: 223-24.

of friendship. Aside from its tangible use value, a gift of food thus carried a surplus of meaning as it signified native hospitality and friendship toward its recipients.

On the other hand, indigenous receivers of Spanish gifts were repeatedly described in imperial discourse with reference to their affective responses. Natives of Limasawa received Magellan's gifts "very gladly [*alegri*]" whereas chieftains of Caniungo received gifts from Legazpi and "went away happy [*contento*]," for example.⁶⁶ From such accounts, we are warranted to construe gifting in affective terms. That is, to receive a gift is to incorporate a new object into one's vicinity and allow oneself to be affected by it. This "affection" involves one's evaluation of the gift and the conditions of its arrival as being good or bad. Affect thus connects the gift object with certain bodies and values, and creates their places in one's horizon.⁶⁷ As Julian Pitt-Rivers correspondingly suggests, "all gifts are, over and above their economic value, gifts of self" as they remain morally and affectively attached to the giver.⁶⁸ Hence, gifting might pragmatically incline native recipients to welcome the Spaniards and their contact. And discursively, to describe the natives as being glad or happy while receiving the gifts was to constitute the Spanish givers as the source of pleasure. With such an affective rhetoric, the Spaniards presented themselves not only as generous donors but also as benevolent agents of native exhilaration.

This was particularly consequential in the wider contexts of interimperial rivalry. Since foreign objects were a highly valued and animating element in local gift economies, the ability or proclivity to give them—in other words, material generosity—became a determinant of native friendship and favoritism toward one imperial power over another. It was reported during the Loaísa expedition that an indigenous aristocrat of Ternate persuaded the sultan of Jailolo to befriend the Portuguese instead of the Castilians since it was more honorable and advantageous. He also claimed that the Portuguese gave presents to the local rulers who were their friends but the Castilians did not.⁶⁹ Whether given to or received from natives, gifts were therefore serviceable to imperial operation and justification vis-à-vis European adversaries. Both the material and immaterial uses of gifts made them indispensable in European campaigns of colonial expansion in the Philippines as elsewhere.

⁶⁶ Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage*, 1: 110-11; CDU, 2: 258.

⁶⁷ See Sara Ahmed, *The Promise of Happiness* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 21-26.

⁶⁸ Julian A. Pitt-Rivers, "The Kith and the Kin," in *From Hospitality to Grace: A Julian Pitt-Rivers Omnibus*, ed. Giovanni da Col and Andrew Shryock (Chicago: HAU Books, 2017), 134-35.

⁶⁹ Urdaneta, "Relación del viaje de la Armada del Comendador G.^a de Loaisa," 389.

In Spanish imperial writings, gift objects were endowed with the affective power to attract and appease native peoples across cultures. In his lengthy instructions to Magellan on May 8, 1519, Charles I remarked that the Spaniards had repeatedly won the wills of Amerindians by gift giving rather than by force of arms. In this light, he ordered Magellan to prepare gifts for indigenous rulers as tokens of friendship and goodwill. He also insisted that Magellan come to terms with the natives in peace, concord, and friendship. For peacemaking and gift giving were “what make them come in all love.” In this manner, the king concluded, the natives would arrive at friendship and recognize their God and the Catholic faith.⁷⁰ The Magellan fleet and subsequent Spanish expeditions to the Philippines were accordingly loaded with objects of exchange and barter, usually rendered in Spanish records as *mercaderías para rescate* or *cosas de rescates*, such as colored cloths, glass beads, and other small yet sensuously gratifying artifacts.⁷¹ These items constituted what the archaeologist Jeffrey Brain calls the Spanish “gift kit” in colonial contact.⁷² However, since their exchange values as gifts or barter were contingent on the circumstances encountered rather than predetermined, they may preferably be called an “exchange kit.” Such an exchange kit had been used in Philippine contacts from the Magellan exchange down to at least the Spanish exploration of the Magat Valley in the 1590s.⁷³

Indeed, the mandatory sentiments of love and goodwill were performed toward indigenous Filipinos largely through material exchanges. In early contacts, gifting and bartering were conducted in tandem and seem to have often faded into each other. Together with friendly gesturing, both were instrumental in facilitating the arrangement of friendship no less than obtaining material objects of interest.⁷⁴ As seen in the opening paragraphs, the Magellan expedition frequently made use of its exchange kit in Philippine encounters. Ginés de Mafra, one of its survivors, wrote that with the gifts that Magellan gave to Colambu, “he received so much

⁷⁰ CVD, 4: 133, 139, 143-44.

⁷¹ Among those listed in the Magellan fleet’s cargo were bonnets, combs, knives, scissors, mirrors, and cloths of various types and colors. See *ibid.*, 4: 9. For the Villalobos expedition, included were colored velvets, satins, taffetas, mirrors, knives, scissors, bells, and glass beads. Consuelo Varela, *El Viaje de don Ruy López de Villalobos a las islas del Poniente, 1542-1548* (Milan: Cisalpino-Goliardica, 1983), 39. Instructions on the bookkeeping of *rescates* can also be found in the preparation of Saavedra’s expedition. CVD, 5: 443.

⁷² Jeffrey P. Brain, “Artifacts of the Adelantado,” in *Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers No. 8*, ed. Stanley South (Columbia: South Carolina Institute of Archeology and Anthropology, 1975), 129-38.

⁷³ In the 1591 expedition of Pedro Cid to the province of Tuy, the items given to local inhabitants included cloths, bells, rings, needles, glass beads, and combs. AGI, Filipinas, 7, R.3, N.45.

⁷⁴ See, for example, Pigafetta, *Magellan’s Voyage*, 1: 110-13; CDU, 2: 265-66.

love” that it would take him to Cebu.⁷⁵ In Cebu, gifts were again exchanged as tokens of friendship between Humabon and Magellan, who claimed that his counter-gift was “not in return for [Humabon’s] present but for the intrinsic love which he bore him.”⁷⁶ These eyewitness accounts similarly drew upon the affective trope of love to demonstrate their voyage’s conformity to the ideology of friendship and its favorable consequences. By the same token, Legazpi was also instructed by the Royal Audiencia of Mexico to represent the Spanish Crown’s love and will by giving native leaders presents and good treatment.⁷⁷

Gift giving gained increasing significance in Spanish imperial formations as Spain evolved into a global empire under Philip II. In 1573, his Laws of the Indies put forward the exchange of material objects, whether by gifting or trading, as an affectionate way of attracting indigenous peoples to Spanish friendship.⁷⁸ An Augustinian friar in the Philippines wrote correspondingly in the same year that “by love and kindly treatment and with gifts and presents the natives should be caressed and attracted to love and friendship for us, so that in this manner they might come to the knowledge of our God and Creator, and might subject themselves to his royal protection and might recognize him as their king and lord.”⁷⁹ Again, the expression and elicitation of love and friendship through gift giving and other acts of kindness were thought to promote both Christian conversion and voluntary submission. To secure friendship was to procure overlordship, which in effect subordinated the seeming parity of early contact to imperial supremacy in the form of vassalic friendship. Because of its relative efficacy, corroborated by an array of reports, Philip II was said to “[have spent] most freely from his royal treasury, buying fine scarlet cloths, stuffs, caps, silks, and other things suitable for this purpose” in the colonization of the Philippines.⁸⁰

Anthropological literature on the gift and reciprocity provides a useful analytical framework and terminology for our discussion of Filipino-Spanish material transactions here. In his cornerstone essay, *The Gift*, Marcel Mauss argues that reciprocal obligation lies at the heart of gift giving in archaic societies. Albeit voluntarily in theory, gifts are in reality given, received, and

⁷⁵ Ginés de Mafra, *Libro que trata del descubrimiento del estrecho de Magallanes*, ed. Antonio Blazquez and Delgado Aguilera (Madrid: Sociedad Geográfica Nacional, 1920), 199.

⁷⁶ Pigafetta, *Magellan’s Voyage*, 1: 144-45.

⁷⁷ CDU, 2: 163.

⁷⁸ *Recopilacion de leyes de los reynos de las Indias, mandadas imprimir y publicar por la Magestad católica del Rey Don Carlos II, Nuestro Señor* (Madrid: Por la viuda de d. Joaquin Ibarra, Impresora de dicho real y supremo consejo, 1681), 2: 86v (Book 4, Title 4, Law 1).

⁷⁹ Francisco de Ortega, “Letter to the Viceroy of Nueva España” (1573), in BR, 34: 261.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

reciprocated obligatorily.⁸¹ Marshall Sahlins complicates the Maussian theory by framing reciprocity as a continuum based on the moral, social, and mechanical dimensions of exchange. These include immediacy of returns, equivalence of returns, material of returns, and the social distance between giver and recipient. Also integral to the continuum is the spirit of exchange, which swings from disinterested concern for the other party, through mutuality, to self-interest. Correspondingly, the spectrum of reciprocities can be divided into three modes: generalized, balanced, and negative. While transactions in the mode of generalized reciprocity are putatively based on sharing and assistance, and the expectation for requital is indefinite, those in the negative reciprocity mode are driven by utilitarian self-interest, covering varieties of haggling, appropriation, and seizure through guile or violence. In between the two extremes is balanced reciprocity. In Sahlins's words, this refers to "transactions which stipulate returns of commensurate worth or utility within a finite and narrow period," including gift exchange and barter.⁸² However, barter is different from gift exchange in its immediacy and its priority of material flow over social relations. The history of colonial contact and conquest in the Philippines can arguably be conceived of as a gradation of reciprocity through these sliding modalities, albeit in a non-linear manner.

From this it is my contention that Spanish empire builders established their superordinate position in their early contacts with indigenous Filipinos largely by defining the objects and terms of exchange; that is, whether they were gifts, counter-gifts, commodities, or tribute, and how they were to be recompensed. Indeed, the difference between Filipino-Spanish autonomous and colonial relations depended largely on the extent to which each side was able to determine the nature of their exchange and interaction. From the outset, native items were usually reciprocated while Spanish items were often offered gratis, creating a paternalistic relationship of debt. In their first encounter, Magellan gave presents to Colambu's following but refused to accept his gifts of a large gold bar and baskets of ginger. On the following day, Colambu responded to Magellan's request for food by giving him jars of provisions, for which Magellan gave him and his following some stuff from the exchange stock in return.⁸³ At Cebu, his fleet refused to pay tribute to its

⁸¹ Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. W. D Halls (Oxon: Routledge Classics, 2002), 3-5.

⁸² Marshall Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics* (New York: Routledge Classics, 2017), 173-78.

⁸³ Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage*, 1: 110-11.

paramount chief to enter the port and yet, after a short period, managed to obtain food and tribute payment from all its villages by securing their submission to the Spanish Crown.⁸⁴

During the Legazpi expedition, gifting and trading had initially been conducted between natives and Spaniards, punctuated by a series of Spanish depredations and native intrigues before their transaction was eventually remodeled through the Spanish imposition of colonial rule. Along their routes in the Philippines, Legazpi and his crew repeatedly asked native peoples to sell them provisions while initially restraining themselves from receiving or seizing their stuff gratuitously.⁸⁵ A pig presented to Legazpi by a chief of Samar was “well paid” for from their exchange kit whereas in Leyte beads and other items were given as gifts to Chief Urrao and Chief Balaniga.⁸⁶ While bartering made their reciprocal exchanges immediate and more or less balanced, receiving Spanish gifts rendered the natives indebted and inclined to accede to the Spaniards insofar as they failed, or were refused, to make a counter-gift.

Filipino-Spanish power relations in the early contact period were also constituted and bolstered by their different attribution of values to their respective objects of transaction. At Cebu, Magellan made peace on the Spanish Crown’s behalf with Humabon’s nephew and subordinate chieftains, including Colambu, who offered themselves to Magellan as his servants. In their gift exchange, the latter gave Magellan baskets of rice, swine, goats, and fowls on Humabon’s behalf and excused themselves for the modesty of the presents given “to one such as he.” In return, Magellan gave Humabon and his nephew fine cloths, red caps, strings of beads, and gilded drinking cups.⁸⁷ The perceived inappropriateness of the chieftain’s gifts and therefore the imbalance in the exchange reflected as much as reinforced their asymmetrical positions in their peace agreement and evolving relationship.

Ironically, however, Spanish writers often viewed items from their own exchange kit as insignificant *chucherías*, usually translated in English as knickknacks, trifles, trinkets, or gewgaws. Fray Juan de Medina wrote that after arriving in the Philippines, Legazpi encountered some natives and “gave them some small trifles of little value, which for them were very precious,

⁸⁴ Ibid., 1: 130-37, 162-63.

⁸⁵ CDU, 2: 254, 259, 266, 267, 298.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 2: 254, 258-59.

⁸⁷ Pigafetta, 1: 136-43.

as they were novelties and hitherto unknown to them.”⁸⁸ Likewise, in *Milicia Indiana y descripción de las Indias* (1599), a Spanish manual of colonial pacification and counterinsurgency, the author Bernardo de Vargas Machuca suggested that the Spanish commander at the imperial frontier should regularly bestow gifts and rewards upon the Indians in order to attract them toward trade and friendship with the Spaniards.⁸⁹ He also noted that the items that the Indians desired were of such little value: “There are no children who love toys more, with which they are so quickly contented.”⁹⁰ In receiving “knickknacks” and reciprocating with such items as food or gold, Philippine islanders participated in an uneven exchange, which allowed the Spaniards to patronizingly sate their own desires—and native ones—at minimal effort and expense.

The generally determinant role of the Spaniards in material transactions was complemented by their intervention in material circulations among the natives. In their engagements, the Spaniards made gifts not only to local leaders, but also openhandedly to their followers or to ordinary people encountered. Both Magellan and Legazpi gave gifts respectively to Colambu and Camutuan and their followings.⁹¹ Legazpi also gave beads to Sikatuna’s and Sigala’s followers on different occasions.⁹² In so doing, the Spanish conquistadores bypassed the established role of the chiefs as the major redistributors of incoming objects in precolonial economies. They not only presented themselves as new benefactors in parallel to the local rulers, but might have also eclipsed the latter as the prime possessors of covetable objects and therefore disturbed the existing social order.

This latter possibility is hinted in the gift exchange between Legazpi and Chief Sigala of Bohol. Having received some beads from Legazpi, one of Sigala’s followers presented the Spanish conquistador with the saffron-colored headdress he was wearing, after which Legazpi gave him a gilt-edged mirror and a string of beads from his personal stock. Sigala, however, took the mirror from his follower and kept it for himself.⁹³ His arrogation went against the normative ideal of chiefly largesse—whereby his following’s desire for material benefits was satisfied—and might

⁸⁸ Juan de Medina, *Historia de los sucesos de la orden de N. Gran P. S. Agustín de estas islas Filipinas: desde que se descubrieron y se poblaron por los españoles, con las noticias memorables compuesta por el venerable Fray Juan de Medina* (Manila: Tipo-Litografía de Chofré y Comp, 1893), 23. See also Juan de Grijalva, *Cronica de la Orden de N.P.S. Agustín en las provincias de la Nueva España: en cuatro edades desde el año de 1553 hasta el de 1592* (México: En el Religiosísimo comuento de S. Agustín, y imprenta de Ioan Ruyz, 1624), 114v.

⁸⁹ Vargas Machuca, *The Indian Militia and Description of the Indies*, 35.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 136.

⁹¹ Pigafetta, *Magellan’s Voyage*, 1: 110-11; CDU, 2: 265-66.

⁹² CDU, 2: 300, 308

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 2: 308.

have thus debilitated the bedrock of his leadership. From another perspective, however, chieftainship was also based on the differential accumulation of material and symbolic wealth. In seizing the exotic lustrous item for himself, Sigala might have thought it would help maintain his superior position and the status quo. Either way, the Spanish gift appears to have disturbed power relations among the natives themselves, portending the profound effects of the Spanish permanent presence on their social organization in years to come.

However, since any material transaction involves two or more parties, its terms and lineaments could not always be determined unilaterally by Spaniards. Much as gift reception was beset with reciprocal obligation, a number of indigenous Filipinos conformed to this underlying demand only insofar as it allowed for the continuity of exchange and inflow of foreign valuables. At Samar, although the locals had professed friendship, they brought only one chicken and one egg for the entire fleet of Legazpi and promised to bring a larger quantity later.⁹⁴ In the meantime, many came into frequent contact with the Spaniards simply for the sake of receiving gifts: “everyone came to the ships because even if they did not bring anything, the General gave them beads from the exchange stock [*rescate*] and they came for nothing else. People always turned up again to ask because they were extremely fond [*amigos*] of taking but would not give any unless they could get more than what it was worth.” Yet the natives did not sell any provisions to the Spaniards as promised.⁹⁵

This scenario illustrates the thin line between gift bestowal, gift exchange, and barter, all the thinner in the early contact period as it also depended on how the natives perceived and responded to the transferred objects. On the one hand, the natives might have viewed what they received from the Spanish visitors as “free gifts” with no clear expectations of return, or sought to make gainful exchanges with minimal efforts and resources. The Spaniards, on the other hand, seem to have anticipated an exchange of more or less balanced reciprocity whereby they would be promptly requited with items of acceptable worth. The discrepancy in their assumed modes of reciprocity thus accounted for the frustration and truncation of their professed friendship.

Over the course of their expansion, the Spaniards nevertheless gained the upper hand in defining terms and exacting objects of transaction with indigenous Filipinos, largely through the deployment of force. Under the threat of Spanish violence, gifts and tribute functioned for native

⁹⁴ Ibid., 2: 254.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

peoples as some guarantees of peace with the foreign intruders. Offering and demanding tribute were increasingly common in Spanish-Filipino negotiations, with the affirmation of peace and friendship in view. In May 1565, tribute began to be levied from chieftains of Cebu as proof of their friendship and vassalage to the Spanish Crown.⁹⁶ Four years later, the Spaniards transferred their base from Cebu to Panay, not only to avoid Portuguese incursion from the Moluccas but also to “levy tribute upon the people of certain provinces.”⁹⁷ Elsewhere indigenous Filipinos offered gifts to the Spanish invaders in a similar manner to tribute payment even before it was formally imposed on them under colonial rule. In their engagements with natives of Mindoro and Balayan in Luzon, the Spaniards demonstrated their military potency through battles and military exercises, to the effect that the natives offered them peace and promised to pay them some hundred taels of gold. Although the Spaniards left these natives on friendly terms for the conquest of Manila, they told them to have the tribute ready upon their return.⁹⁸

The news of Spanish tribute exaction must have reached other native communities, from Balayan Bay up to Manila, ahead of their arrival. Sailing along the coast toward Manila, the Spaniards came across natives of Tulay, who declared that they “wished to be [their] friends, and to give [them] tribute as the others did.”⁹⁹ Arriving at Manila, however, the Spaniards were barred from entering the Pasig River of Manila by one of its paramount chieftains on account of the news of tribute. In response, the Spaniards denied that they demanded any tribute payment from him, and established friendship with him on the condition that the natives of Manila should assist them in settling there “and pay no other tribute.”¹⁰⁰ However, following the Spanish Crown’s authorization of tribute exaction in the Philippines, Legazpi began in 1571 to apportion and allocate indigenous peoples across the archipelago as tributary subjects to private individuals while reserving those of Manila, Cavite, and other coastal seaports for the Crown.¹⁰¹

Spanish colonization gradually substituted gift exchanges and barter with tribute exaction, labor coercion, and compulsory sale. In so doing, it transformed interpersonal and intercommunity relations of friendship into structural relations of vassalage and control. From at least the early

⁹⁶ CDU, 2: 340, 345.

⁹⁷ Anonymous, “Conquest of the Island of Luzon,” 142.

⁹⁸ Anonymous, “Relation of the Voyage to Luzon” (1570?), in BR, 3: 77-89.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 89-90.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 96-97.

¹⁰¹ Felipe II, “Royal Communications to and Concerning Legazpi” (1569-1570), in BR, 34: 236; AGI, Patronato, 24, R.19. See the numbers of tributary populations in Linda A. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence in the Early Spanish Philippines* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2009), 277-310.

seventeenth century, the natives were not only demanded to provide labor and tribute annually by their local authorities, but were also forced to produce and sell agricultural products to the colonial government, especially during the resource-consuming period of the Hispano-Dutch War in the first half of the seventeenth century.¹⁰² While gift giving was theoretically voluntary and unspecific as to its material and time, tribute payment was both obligatory and specific, in both quality and quantity, in accordance with colonial law or the decisions of authorities. It was regularized, systematized, and effected by the colonial apparatuses of exaction and enforcement as we shall see below. On this account, Spanish colonial contacts and conquests can panoramically be understood on the spectrum of reciprocities, from the indeterminate reciprocity of gift bestowal, to the balanced reciprocity of gift exchange and barter, and eventually to the negative reciprocity of Spanish dispossession and colonial exploitation. Nevertheless, the colonial system was conceived by Spaniards as more or less balanced and justifiable, with native labor and tribute wrung out in exchange for Spanish protection and religious instruction, and characterized by love and friendship.¹⁰³

Aside from the tribute and labor system, uneven and underhand bartering with indigenous Filipinos also persisted into the early colonial period. It was reported that vernacular interpreters, because of their profession and therefore their friendship with natives, sought to barter “trinkets” for jewels, slaves, and other items at lower prices than valued by the latter. It was not until 1599 that the Royal Audiencia of Manila barred these Spanish intermediaries from trading or trafficking with the natives unless in the presence of the magistrate.¹⁰⁴

Eating, Feasting, and Commensal Politics

Feasting (*ticos* in Bisaya; *cangay* in Tagalog¹⁰⁵), a communal event of food consumption, was also a core institution in the political economies of the precolonial Philippines. It offered a platform on which the chieftain could exhibit his prestige, wealth, and magnanimity toward his guests. It also served to create an intimate sense of community or solidarity, building or

¹⁰² Abinales and Amoroso, *State and Society in the Philippines*, 55; John Leddy Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses, 1565-1700* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959), 99-100.

¹⁰³ Felipe II, “Royal Communications to and Concerning Legazpi,” 235-36; AGI, Filipinas, 339, L.1, f.33v.

¹⁰⁴ Francisco Tello et al., “Ordinances Enacted by the Audiencia of Manila” (1598-99), in BR, 11: 26-27.

¹⁰⁵ Sánchez, *Vocabulario de la lengua bisaya*, 511v; Domingo de los Santos, *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala: primera y segunda parte* (Sampaloc: Imprenta de N.S. de Loreto, 1794), 292.

strengthening friendly relations among its participants through commensality. Feasting was all the more vital to the making of chiefly rule, given that preconquest chieftainship was predicated on the display of personal virtues and achievements no less than hereditary entitlement. The late-sixteenth-century Boxer Codex reports that Visayan masters usually invited their slaves as guests when hosting feasts or revels.¹⁰⁶ Likewise, Tagalog chiefs threw feasts for their warriors before going to war.¹⁰⁷ Such elite-sponsored banquets can be construed as gifts of generalized reciprocity, with no expectation of immediate and equivalent returns, as the material flow served to reaffirm their social relations. In a more balanced manner, as Laura Junker points out, feasting also took place at ceremonial events between local or regional chieftains, and served to forge or reinforce their alliances, especially through reciprocal gift exchanges.¹⁰⁸ Their objects of exchange might include imported porcelains, which were sometimes used as part of the eating and feasting paraphernalia.¹⁰⁹

These pre-Hispanic feasting systems correspond to the archaeologist Michael Dietler's classification of feasting patterns into three modes of commensal politics: the entrepreneurial or empowering feast, the patron-client feast, and the diacritical feast. While the empowering feast involves the manipulation of "commensal hospitality" to acquire or maintain economic advantage or prestige as a kind of political power, the patron-client feast uses it to reiterate or legitimate the existing unequal relations between host and guests. The aforesaid culinary equipment excavated in the Philippines also attest to the precolonial organization of diacritical feasts. This mode of commensality involves the use of differentiated food and styles of consumption, such as manners, tastes, and serving vessels, as a "diacritical symbolic device" to naturalize social difference.¹¹⁰ These patterns of feasting also illuminate Filipino-Spanish interactions in which commensal politics was at work.

¹⁰⁶ Souza and Turley, *The Boxer Codex*, 351.

¹⁰⁷ These men belonged to the warrior class of freemen called *maharlica* (or *maharlika* in modern spelling). Plasencia, *Las costumbres de los Tagalos en Filipinas*, 11-12.

¹⁰⁸ Junker, *Raiding, Trading, and Feasting*, 313-25. In a similar vein to the potlatch of the American Northwest, such feasts might assume an overtly competitive or agonistic character as the chiefs attempted to surpass each other in sponsoring their respective feasts so as to achieve political superiority. See also Mauss, *The Gift*, 6-9.

¹⁰⁹ Junker, *Raiding, Trading, and Feasting*, 331-33.

¹¹⁰ Michael Dietler, "Theorizing the Feast: Rituals of Consumption, Commensal Politics, and Power in African Contexts," in *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics, and Power*, ed. Michael Dietler and Brian Hayden (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2010), 75-88; "Feasts and Commensal Politics in the Political Economy: Food, Power and Status in Prehistoric Europe," in *Food and the Status Quest: An Interdisciplinary Perspective*, ed. Polly Wiessner and Wulf Schiefelhövel (Oxford: Berghahn, 1996), 92-99.

In Philippine encounters, feasting and food sharing were commonplace in the formation of friendship between natives and foreigners. With its bodily propinquity and shared consumables, commensality offered a sensuous way of establishing contact, intimacy, and conviviality despite the limits of verbal communication. As will be discussed in the next chapter, indigenous Filipinos and Spaniards usually shared meals after performing blood rituals to solemnize their friendship. On more or less ceremonial occasions, Philippine chiefs used feasting to cultivate friendship with Spanish guests and communicate their power. Commensal gestures of courtesy were usually exchanged among participants in such special events. In Limasawa and Mindanao, local chiefs raised their clasped hands toward the sky and then toward their Spanish guests before taking their cup of wine, and extended their fists toward the latter before drinking it.¹¹¹ Oftentimes, luxurious food and serving vessels of fine craftsmanship were also used as distinctive markers of their chiefly status. At a feast for his Spanish visitors, Colambu had food served in large porcelain dishes while his own dishes were all gold.¹¹² Likewise, Rajah Humabon of Cebu and Rajah Calanao of Quipit, Mindanao, received their Spanish guests with food served in porcelain dishes.¹¹³ On another occasion, Humabon was snacking on turtle eggs in two porcelain dishes and drinking from four jars of palm wine when the Spaniards arrived at his residence.¹¹⁴

In most cases, however, commensal hospitality took such simple forms as food or drink offering by ordinary Filipinos with minimal formality. Pigafetta wrote of the Cebuanos that “whenever any of our men went ashore, both by day and by night, everyone invited him to eat and to drink.”¹¹⁵ Likewise, after making friends with the Legazpi group, natives of Samar came to his fleet every day, bringing palm wine for everyone to drink.¹¹⁶ It was no coincidence that the Castilian words that a native of Caniungo said to Legazpi’s crew upon their first encounter were “*comamos, bebamos todos*” (let us all eat and drink), which suggests his prior contact with Spanish seafarers.¹¹⁷ The expression “eating from one plate” was also used among Spaniards themselves to connote friendship or reconciliation.¹¹⁸

¹¹¹ Pigafetta, *Magellan’s Voyage*, 1: 114-15, 2: 14-17.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 1: 110-11, 116-19.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 1: 134-35, 2: 14-17.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1: 144-45.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1: 168-69.

¹¹⁶ CDU, 2: 253-54.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 2: 259; Miguel López de Legazpi, “Relation of the Voyage to the Philippines” (1565), in BR, 2: 203. Legazpi believed the natives had come into contact with Villalobos’s crew.

¹¹⁸ Juan Sanchez et al., “The Pardo Controversy” (1683-89), in BR, 39: 226

Commensality, as with other intimate acts of friend-making, renders its participants vulnerable to intrusion, contamination, or affliction, especially by their food sharers and the food itself. Eating, in particular, is an act in which the boundaries between inside and outside are attenuated just as the body and its sensorium concentrate on the very act, lingering in an off-guard state. While sharing meals allows strangers or friends to mutually demonstrate their sincerity in friend-making, it also opens up the possibility of betrayal and deception. Alonso de Arellano, a captain in the Legazpi expedition, recorded that upon his arrival in the Philippines, a local chieftain's followers offered wine to him and his crew, "but they drank first as though to show us it was all right; then we drank ourselves."¹¹⁹ A few years later, however, some of Legazpi's crew were killed by native women who had served them poisoned wine during their stay in Cebu.¹²⁰

The most telling example for the commensal politics of friendship in Filipino-Spanish relations might be Humabon's banquet at Cebu after the demise of Magellan. Martin de Ayamonte, a survivor from the Magellan expedition, surmised that after hearing of Magellan's defeat, Humabon agreed with Lapulapu to kill all the Spaniards and seize their ships.¹²¹ Another Spanish eyewitness reported that Humabon was forced to ally with Lapulapu and commit treason against the Spaniards. He then invited the remaining crew to a feast "as a sign of friendship which he had concluded with them" where he said he would also present a precious gift to the Spanish king to reciprocate his gift.¹²² However, "from such a good man who, so much befriended them, could not possibly turn into a traitor! When they reached the shore, the king received them very friendly [*gasalhado*] and immediately ordered food for them. But while they were eating, a great number of armed men attacked them and killed them all. Only João Serrão [Juan Serrano] was left alive."¹²³

The incident most likely accounted for the Royal Audiencia of Mexico's injunction to the Legazpi armada not to accept any invitation to native celebrations and banquets, "because in them they usually commit great betrayals."¹²⁴ That notwithstanding, commensality remained crucial to the formation of interracial intimacy at the imperial frontier. Bernardo de Vargas Machuca's manual of colonization regards commensality as a requisite act of friendship toward the Indians.

¹¹⁹ CDU, 3: 31.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 3: 207-08.

¹²¹ Peter Schreurs, "The Voyage of Fernão de Magalhães: Three Little-Known Eyewitness Accounts," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 28, no. 1 (2000): 93.

¹²² Fernando Oliveira, *The Voyage of Ferdinand Magellan: Viagem de Fernão Magalhães*, trans. Peter Schreurs (Manila: National Historical Institute, 2002), 97-100.

¹²³ Ibid., 101-02.

¹²⁴ CDU, 2: 174.

After promising native leaders that he will guard all peace and friendship and protect them from their enemies, he wrote, the Spanish frontier commander should embrace them as a sign of peace and regale and eat with them on that day.¹²⁵ In the Philippines, however, colonial rule largely reversed the alimentary transaction and commensal politics between Spaniards and native peoples and alienated the latter from their own labor products. The spatial and social segregation between Spanish and Filipino living quarters precluded their commensal mingling on an everyday basis. Ironically, while in early contact the Spanish newcomers had begged and bartered for food from Philippine islanders, under the colonial levy system food was requisitioned from the latter by the colonial government and paid to native forced laborers as their monthly stipend.¹²⁶ As Bishop Domingo de Salazar reported in 1583, some Pampangos were obliged to buy rice at an expensive rate to fulfill their levies while others were forced to yield up their entire quantity of rice “without leaving [...] a grain to eat.”¹²⁷

Physical Violence, Forced Friendship, and the Affective Power of Fear

In the Spanish conquest of the Philippines, friendly rapport and military coercion were espoused by the colonial vanguard as complementary rather than irreconcilable measures. Characteristic of early colonial encounters was the presence of force, under which Filipino-Spanish arrangements of friendship were shaped. In tandem with the real use of physical violence, the sensorial impression made by a Spanish military display also contributed to native submission and colonial expansion. This points not only to the intertwined roles of friendship and violence in Spanish colonialism, but also to the dynamic workings of love and fear, of admiration and apprehension, in colonial relations. Spanish historical writings from the period register this convergence and the paradoxically forcible condition of friend-making in the early contact period. The Franciscan Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneyra, for example, wrote in 1601 that “since the people of that island [Cebu] relied much on the friendship and valor of the Spaniards, they waged war with the neighboring islands who had long held enmity against them. And with their victories that were achieved in a short time, all those islands outcried how brave the Castilians were. Likewise, those who had fled into the mountains were also convinced that no one could resist them and came

¹²⁵ Vargas Machuca, *The Indian Militia and Description of the Indies*, 136.

¹²⁶ Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, 99, 102.

¹²⁷ Domingo de Salazar, “Affairs in the Philipinas Islands” (1583), in BR, 5: 218-21.

down to ask for friendship and peace.”¹²⁸ In this account, native collaboration and friendship were secured by both the ostentation and exertion of Spanish military force.

Hence, in affective terms, Spanish colonization involved not only the performance of love and generosity by its agents, but also the projection of their double image as fearless and fearsome conquerors, all oriented toward the attainment of native friendship and acquiescence. This projection was made largely through their own self-conduct and military operations. On the one hand, Spanish colonizers dissembled their fear and anxiety in Philippine engagements while flaunting their audacity and trust in native friendships. In a reconnoitering trip during Legazpi’s expedition, for instance, some Spaniards even followed an indigenous chief overland to his settlement—against Legazpi’s order not to go ashore—lest the chief think they were afraid.¹²⁹ On the other hand, the Spanish deployment of military force and technology, whether spectacularly or destructively, compelled indigenous Filipinos to become friends of the Spaniards and accede to their desires and interests out of fear and deference. For Spanish visual and aural self-presentations signaled their potential to inflict pain and damage in case of native hostility or treachery. Therefore, as a felt anticipation of a threatening future, fear not only helped forge a bond of amity, but also functioned as a mechanism of control to ensure native adherence to it.¹³⁰ As Fray Ribadeneyra observed in Cebu, the image of Spanish fearlessness and friendliness worked to attract native allies while its fearsome counterpart eventually drew hostile natives into peace and friendship. The promise of Spanish friendship was thus the alleviation of fear, even if this fear was a corollary of the Spanish presence.

The affective operation of this double image—as both fearsome and friendly—can be seen most clearly in accounts of Magellan’s expedition. The Magellan fleet frequently demonstrated their military potency in Philippine encounters, despite the Spanish Crown’s injunction against the discharge of artillery in newly discovered lands to avoid frightening the natives.¹³¹ At Homonhon, Limasawa, and Cebu—almost every island they went ashore—they fired their artillery either to

¹²⁸ Marcelo de Ribadeneyra, *Historia de las Islas del Archipiélago, y Reynos de la gran China, Tartaria, Cuchinchina, Malaca, Sian, Camboxa y Jappon y de lo sucedido en ellos a los Religiosos Descalcos de la Orden del Seraphico Padre San Francisco de la Provincia de San Gregorio de la Philipinas* (Barcelona: Gabriel Graells & Giraldo Dotil, 1601), 9.

¹²⁹ CDU, 2: 255-56.

¹³⁰ For theories on the workings of fear, see Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 64-71; Brian Massumi, *Ontopower: War, Powers, and the State of Perception* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), 176, 190-91.

¹³¹ CVD, 4: 142.

display their military strength, show a sign of “peace,” or accompany their Catholic Mass, to the great fear of native islanders.¹³² At Limasawa, after exchanging gifts and making friends with Colambu, Magellan had one of his soldiers armored and struck by swords and daggers in front of the chief, who was “rendered almost speechless.”¹³³ Magellan also announced to a Moro merchant he met at Cebu that “our arms were soft toward our friends and harsh toward our enemies; and as handkerchiefs wipe off the sweat so did our arms overthrow and destroy all our adversaries, and those who hate our faith.”¹³⁴ Likewise, before the Battle of Mactan at which he lost his life, Magellan had sent a message to persuade the Mactanese to befriend the Spanish king by recognizing him as their overlord and paying him tribute. “If they wished otherwise,” he threatened, “they should wait to see how our lances wounded.”¹³⁵ Magellan’s defeat represents a failure in the Spanish manipulation of fear, leading to the decimation of Spanish trailblazers in both the Mactan battle and at the Cebu banquet. Perhaps in view of these tragedies, Spanish authorities prescribed to Legazpi that any negotiation of peace and friendship with native peoples must be conducted on the flagship or otherwise in the vicinity of Spanish vessels and at the presence of troops.¹³⁶

The Spanish ideology of friendly conquest was enacted by the Legazpi armada early in their ventures in the Philippines. Contrary to Magellan’s booming presence, Legazpi urged his crew against committing any aggravation or coercive violence in their contacts with indigenous peoples, but to deal with them “with the least noise and most quietude possible.”¹³⁷ After failing to sustain contact with some islands, however, Legazpi decided to seek friendship and trade with those of Cebu and, on account of their betrayal of Magellan, make war on them if refused. Faced with native resistance despite their repeated requests for peace and friendship, the Spaniards fired their artillery into native landsmen, boats, and houses. The sights and sounds of their shots frightened the natives such that they abandoned their settlement and fled inland.¹³⁸

Even after settling at Cebu and reconciling with its natives, the Spaniards showed themselves to be relentless and formidable by imposing punitive measures on native offenders.

¹³² Pigafetta, *Magellan’s Voyage*, 1: 102-03, 118-21, 130-33, 150-57.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 1: 112-13.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 1: 136-39.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 1: 170-73.

¹³⁶ CDU, 2: 171-72.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 2: 260.

¹³⁸ Legazpi, “Relation of the Voyage to the Philippines,” 211-14.

The stern and macabre manner in which they were implemented might have also forced native spectators to assent to Spanish friendship and domination. After half a dozen Spaniards in Cebu had been poisoned, some to death, from drinking the native woman's wine around early 1568, Legazpi took local chiefs to task. They, in turn, handed over two alleged culprits, who implicated two more women. Legazpi had three of them flogged, thrashed, and deported from Cebu, and the fourth beheaded, quartered, and displayed along the road from the native settlement to the Spanish fort.¹³⁹ Meanwhile, a group of natives in Mactan and Gabi led by a chieftain named Dagami, reputed to be one of the bravest and most arrogant chiefs of the islands, had refused to befriend the Spaniards and conspired to kill some of them in Cebu. They finally murdered and beheaded one of Legazpi's crew and returned to Gabi to celebrate their feat. Dagami was soon captured in a canoe on the very night after the persecution of the four native women. On the following day, he was drowned and quartered by the Spaniards. His head and four quarters were put on poles and scattered along the beach, to the great fright of the natives.¹⁴⁰

As Spanish colonial expansion progressed, force of arms was employed not only as a strategic spectacle of might and threat, but also as an outright and destructive means of seizure and subjugation. The Augustinian Fray Diego de Herrera's reports in 1570 show that, due to a persistent shortage of food, Spanish soldiers resorted to force in extorting foodstuffs and tribute from indigenous Filipinos, destroying their villages, and even enslaving them: "They make friends with them today and rob them tomorrow."¹⁴¹ Armed expeditions (*entradas*) were launched in different locales across the archipelago, drawing natives into friendship and vassalage to the Spanish Crown. In his campaign on the islands of Mindoro and Lubang in 1570, Juan de Salcedo first plundered a native village, forcing other villages to withdraw to their forts for self-protection. Arriving at the first fort, Salcedo negotiated with the natives and asked "whether they desired to be friends of the Spaniards." The natives refused and launched a defensive attack, but finally succumbed to the invaders. A similar demand for friendship occurred at the second fort. After the natives' refusal and some battles, they decided to make peace and friendship with the Spaniards. The occupants of the last fort, after seeing "the determination of the Spaniards" and the example of the other forts, "came to terms of peace and friendship."¹⁴² The calls for friendship in these

¹³⁹ CDU, 3: 207-10.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 3: 137-38, 210-11.

¹⁴¹ AGI, Patronato, 24, R.16, f.1r; AGI, Filipinas, 84, N.1, ff.1r-1v. The quote is from the latter.

¹⁴² Anonymous, "Conquest of the Island of Luzón," 142-46.

encounters, preluded and coerced by brute force, were tantamount to calls for native surrender and colonial subjugation.

In a similar manner, Martín de Goiti led an attack on a native settlement on the Bato River in Mindoro, reducing its residents to “friends and vassals of the royal Spanish administration.”¹⁴³ As opposed to Legazpi’s initial order, elsewhere in Mindoro he also reviewed his troops with the sounds of arquebuses and artillery “in such perfect order that both the friendly Indians [...] and the Moros were greatly frightened” and came to offer him peace and friendship.¹⁴⁴

With *entradas* regularized and generally condoned among the Spanish functionaries, forced friendship became a paradoxical cornerstone of Spanish domination during their early years in the Philippines. According to an Augustinian account (ca. 1573), the Spaniards conducted their colonial conquest by entering native villages in armed bands, telling the residents to pay tribute if they wanted to be friends, and plundering their villages if they refused. This resulted in the infamy and abhorrence of the Spaniards among native peoples “because they see that we mistreat, harass, work, and inflict much violence and force even on our own friends.”¹⁴⁵ Meanwhile, native *amigos* who pleaded for Spanish protection were not aided but left to their own devices.¹⁴⁶ A decade later, Manila’s *regidor* (city councilor) Juan Pacheco Maldonado wrote similarly that the Spaniards had governed the islands for the first three years by seizing provisions from the natives, pillaging their villages, and capturing their children and women. This was followed by an “order of raiding and conquering” (*orden de robar y conquistar*) for another four years, with an eye for gold rather than food. Consequently, “from this fear many came to present themselves as friends of the Castilians, and their friendship was established before a scribe, and as a sign of friends they were then asked to give some amount of gold.”¹⁴⁷ This was echoed by Fray Miguel de Benavides who wrote that Spanish-Filipino relations in these instances were based on an understanding that “to remain friends of the Spaniards was to remain their tributary vassals.”¹⁴⁸ Bishop Domingo de Salazar added further detail that native chieftains were forced by Spanish soldiers to gather gold for their

¹⁴³ Ibid., 147-48.

¹⁴⁴ Anonymous, “Relation of the Voyage to Luzon,” 80.

¹⁴⁵ AGI, Filipinas, 84, N.3, f.1r. See also Fray Rada’s similar reports on Camarines, Acuyo, and Ilocos in AGI, Patronato, 24, R.29 (2).

¹⁴⁶ AGI, Filipinas, 84, N.3, f.1v.

¹⁴⁷ Written in 1582, this account was quoted in Bishop Domingo de Salazar’s writings on the infidels in the Philippines. See Lewis Hanke and Agustín Millares Carlo, eds., *Cuerpo de documentos del siglo XVI sobre los derechos de España en Mexico y las Filipinas* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1943), 131-32.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 202.

villages to fulfill tribute obligations. If a chief failed to meet their demand, the Spaniards “crucify the unfortunate chief, or put his head in the stocks [...] and there they lash and torment the chiefs until they give the entire sum demanded from them.” Many died of such brutality while their Spanish abusers only received light penalties, if at all.¹⁴⁹

As these accounts attest, military violence and friendship arrangement converged to produce favorable effects for Spanish colonial expansion, even as they fell short of fulfilling the crown policy of friendly conquest. Such friendship under duress was prompted by fear rather than love, and involved material extortion rather than exchange. It was not until 1586 that the forcible dispossession of native properties was officially prohibited by the Spanish king.¹⁵⁰ By that time, however, a large stretch of the archipelago known today as the Philippines had already been conquered, except for most of Mindanao and certain areas in northern and interior Luzon.¹⁵¹ As we shall see in Chapter Five, many of these remaining territories would be penetrated and conquered, not least spiritually, by Spanish missionaries in centuries to come.

(Un)settling Friendship: Colonial Resettlement and the Reducción of the Natives

The Spanish colonial conquest fundamentally transformed a succession of early Filipino-Spanish friendships across the archipelago into formal, overarching ties of domination under the Spanish sovereign. Unlike the vertical friendships between indigenous chiefs and their followers, and unlike their initial contacts with the Spaniards, the emerging vassalic friendships between colonial subjects and the Spanish Crown were marked by a shrinkage in the natives’ freedom of action and flexibility of reciprocal exchange. Circumscribed and regulated by the colonial system, the natives were no longer free to pass their service and allegiance to a new overlord, let alone to unbind themselves from Spanish rule, without facing severe physical or social consequences. In this sense, the Spanish colonization of Philippine peoples can accordingly be construed as a process of reduction.

Indeed, scattered over Spanish records of the period is the term “reduce” (*reducir*), with which their writers named the Spanish temporal and spiritual conquest of indigenous peoples. In the Spanish colonial project, *reducción* generally stood for the resettlement, economic extortion,

¹⁴⁹ Domingo de Salazar, “Affairs in the Philipinas Islands” (1583), in BR, 5: 222-24.

¹⁵⁰ Nicholas P. Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines: From Conquest to Revolution* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University, 1971), 59, 102.

¹⁵¹ See Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*.

and Catholic conversion of native peoples. As Vicente Rafael notes, the term *reducir* sums up “the thrust of Spanish colonization as both a political and moral undertaking designed to reconstitute the natives as subjects of divine and royal laws.”¹⁵² Native bodies were to be “reduced” not only to centralized units of government such as the *cabecera-visita* complex (central and satellite villages with a church and a chapel, respectively, at the center)¹⁵³, but also to Spanish friendship. Indeed, to reduce the indigenous Filipinos to colonial subjecthood within new spatial arrangements, the Spaniards sought first and foremost to reduce them to their friendship.

Central to the colonial reduction of indigenous Filipinos was spatial reorganization. From their experiences in metropolitan Spain and the Americas, the Spaniards arrived in the Philippines with a mental template for cross-cultural friendship and its spatial-material arrangement. They “equated civilization with urbanism” and envisaged colonial towns and cities as instrumental not only to colonial exploitation, administration, and Christianization, as noted by Robert R. Reed, but also to friendship formation.¹⁵⁴ The suitability of a location for colonial settlement was measured in part by its spatial capacity to engender the “best friendship [with the natives], which you will secure and observe inviolably,” as Legazpi had been instructed by the Royal Audiencia of Mexico.¹⁵⁵ In 1569, after his occupation of Cebu, royal instructions were also sent to Legazpi that locations for Spanish settlement should be wholesome, fertile, and somewhat distant from native settlements to avoid harming the natives or intruding on their private properties. However, the Spaniards should also procure peace and friendship with the natives and resettle them, of their own volition, into villages near the Spanish settlements in order to defend and “reduce” them to Catholicism.¹⁵⁶

These concerns culminated in Philip II’s ordinances on settlement and pacification in the Laws of the Indies, which reveal how Spanish settlement was envisaged as a physical condition on which friendship with the natives might be attained.¹⁵⁷ The ordinances stipulated that the natives should not be allowed to come into the settlement until it was completed and properly defended and “the houses are in such form that when the Indians see them it will cause their

¹⁵² Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism*, 90.

¹⁵³ Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, 47-49.

¹⁵⁴ Reed, *Colonial Manila*, 14-15.

¹⁵⁵ CDU, 2: 163.

¹⁵⁶ AGI, Filipinas, 339, L.1, f.33v.

¹⁵⁷ For an English translation and discussion of the ordinances, see Axel I. Mundigo and Dora P. Crouch, “The City Planning Ordinances of the Laws of the Indies Revisited. Part I: Their Philosophy and Implications,” *The Town Planning Review* 48, no. 3 (1977): 247-68.

admiration.” As a result, not only would they understand that the Spaniards settled there on the basis of agreement (*de assiento*), but they would also fear and respect the Spaniards, “thus desiring their friendship and not offending them.”¹⁵⁸ From such a view of Spain’s civic advancement and assumed superiority, a concatenation of affective events was anticipated to shape the desire of the natives toward peace and friendship. Fear was not excluded from the Spanish ideal of colonial contact, but rather inspired in the natives in order to secure the possibility of friendly colonization. In 1596, the king also issued instructions to Governor Francisco Tello to reduce the natives into settlements, as done in New Spain and Peru, and consult the Catholic superiors for their religious instruction.¹⁵⁹

Correspondingly, Bernado de Vargas Machuca’s 1599 manual for colonial subjugation also suggests that in order to preserve their friendship with the natives, the Spanish commander should settle “in the heart of the land,” where the natives might easily go to visit and trade with the Spaniards and hear Christian preaching. He should choose “the flattest site possible, as long as it is not in a hollow, for it must be airy, dry, and open to the north wind, with the additional comforts of water and firewood if possible.” In the middle of the site a city should be founded and at one corner of the city square a church should be erected, using the Indians as construction labor and Spaniards as overseers.¹⁶⁰ The construction of colonial Manila, beginning before but continuing long after the 1573 ordinances and the above manual, seems to have satisfied their underlying conception of a spatial arrangement conducive to the formation and preservation of friendship, although the resettlement program in the Visayas and northeastern Luzon progressed even more slowly.¹⁶¹ The Augustinian Fray Juan de Medina wrote in 1630 that at the time of his writing two edifices, temporal and spiritual, were under construction in Manila. “The temporal one,” he remarked, “was being built in the shape of a fort, with which friends feel secure, enemies fear, and our strength is increased.”¹⁶²

Philippine chiefdoms were fundamentally “reduced,” and precolonial social relations transformed, through resettlement and the redistribution of power and wealth. In 1568, Philip II

¹⁵⁸ *Recopilacion de leyes de los reynos de las Indias*, 2: 93v (Book 4, Title 7, Law 24).

¹⁵⁹ Felipe II, “Instructions for Governor Tello” (1596), in BR, 9: 238-41.

¹⁶⁰ Vargas Machuca, *The Indian Militia and Description of the Indies*, 137-42.

¹⁶¹ See the extensive discussion of its planning and construction in Reed, *Colonial Manila*, 17-63. For rural resettlement, see Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, 44-49.

¹⁶² Juan de Medina, *Historia de los sucesos de la orden de N. Gran P. S. Agustin de estas islas Filipinas: desde que se descubrieron y se poblaron por los españoles, con las noticias memorables compuesta por el venerable Fray Juan de Medina* (Manila: Tipo-Litografía de Chofré y Comp., 1893), 75-76.

authorized the establishment of a tribute system called *encomienda* (government-regulated trust) in the Philippines, in which Spanish individuals, called *encomenderos*, were granted the right to extract labor and tribute from the natives in specific localities, notionally in exchange for their religious instruction and protection.¹⁶³ On top of the *encomienda*, two additional systems of levies were subsequently imposed on indigenous subjects: *polo* or *repartimiento* (forced labor for government projects such as woodcutting and shipbuilding) and *vandala* or *bandala* (the compulsory sale of products to the government).¹⁶⁴ Meanwhile, from the early years of colonial rule under Legazpi to the 1620s, the colonial government also distributed conquered lands to original participants of the conquest as well as to Spanish settlers.¹⁶⁵

Against the backdrop of clientelistic friendships and alliances among Philippine local elites, the Spanish conquerors now entered the political landscape on behalf of the Spanish Crown as a new paramount authority. Just as the followers of an indigenous chief had paid homage to their chief's superior ally, now they were "reduced" to colonial subjects under Spanish sovereignty as their chief submitted to the Spanish monarch as his vassal. On this account, the conceptual similarity of political friendship between the Spaniards and the natives seems to have facilitated power transition in the conquest of the Philippines, with vassalic friendship replacing hierarchical inter-chiefly alliances. As local collaborators and vassals, native aristocrats contributed significantly to Spanish attempts to colonize indigenous communities, especially those in the hinterlands and highlands. Dionisio Capulong, chief of Candaba, for instance, was assigned by the Spaniards to several expeditions to Tuy or Ituy (in Nueva Vizcaya nowadays) in the Magat Valley. With his knowledge of local geography and languages, he succeeded in securing tribute from local villages in the form of gold jewelry.¹⁶⁶ During 1575-1640, over thirty thousand friendly Filipinos, mostly from Pampanga, were mobilized to join Spanish armed forces in fighting their enemies—such as Chinese and Japanese pirates as well as the Dutch—to explore and conquer territories in

¹⁶³ Felipe II, "Royal Communications to and Concerning Legazpi," 236; Anonymous, "Conquest of the island of Luzon," 152; Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines*, 105-10; Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, 10, 95-98; Oona Paredes, *A Mountain of Difference: The Lumad in Early Colonial Mindanao* (Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program Publications, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 2013), 19-20.

¹⁶⁴ Morga, *Sucesos de las islas Filipinas*, 341-42; Felipe III, "Decree Regulating Services of Filipinos" (1609), in BR, 17: 79-81; Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, 99-102.

¹⁶⁵ Nicholas P. Cushner and John A. Larkin, "Royal Land Grants in the Colonial Philippines (1571-1626): Implications for the Formation of a Social Elite," *Philippine Studies* 26, no. 1/2 (1978): 102-04.

¹⁶⁶ William Henry Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots: Spanish Contacts with the Pagans of Northern Luzon* (Quezon City: New Day, 1974), 11-12; John N. Crossley, *The Dasmariñases, Early Governors of the Spanish Philippines*, (London: Routledge, 2016), 70-75.

the Philippines, and to be stationed at military forts (*presidios*) across the archipelago.¹⁶⁷ Such alliances continued into the eighteenth century and further solidified in the face of Moro piracy. As Kristie Flannery argues, the formation of anti-piracy alliances transformed Philippine natives into vassals of the Spanish Crown through their agreements on tribute payments and through their affective language of subjecthood. A *datu*, for example, wrote that he served the Spanish king with “fidelity and love.”¹⁶⁸

Although many local chieftains had suffered and died from Spanish abuses during the early conquest period as previously reported by Bishop Salazar, indigenous elites as a social institution also benefited in the long run from colonial rule. Rather than completely bereft of authority, chieftains were incorporated into the emerging colonial system as the *principalia* class, with some promoted as *gobernadorcillos* (municipal governors) and others as *cabezas de barangay* (village headmen). Exempt from tribute and labor services, these natives of rank, or *principales*, not only served the colonial government as tribute collectors and intermediaries with the natives, but also gradually replaced Spanish *encomenderos* in mobilizing native forces for military expeditions and colonial defense. Their institutionalization enabled these collaborators to empower and enrich themselves, often at the expense of the colonial subjects under their charge.¹⁶⁹ Equally important was the granting of lands and titles to some of them, usually Pampangos, who had rendered vassalic services to the Spanish monarchy, especially in war. During the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, over seventy land grants were made to *principales* in Pampanga whereas *encomiendas* were also granted to at least ten indigenous noblemen in Luzon over a century after that, many of whom were also Pampangos. These colonial endowments introduced into the Philippines the new concept of private land ownership, from which a new set of determinants for class differentiation and, thereby, a “new” social order emerged and evolved.¹⁷⁰ Thus, while Spanish *reducción* did deprive indigenous elites of their preconquest prowess and control of

¹⁶⁷ Borao Mateo, “Filipinos in the Spanish Colonial Army,” 79-96.

¹⁶⁸ Kristie P. Flannery, “The Impossible Colony: Piracy, the Philippines, and Spain’s Global Empire,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2019), 56.

¹⁶⁹ Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, 115, 121-27; Abinales and Amoroso, *State and Society in the Philippines*, 57; Abisai Pérez, “Law, War, Imperial Competition, and the Colonial Foundations of the Sixteenth-Century Philippines,” *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints* 69, no. 3 (2021): 411-19.

¹⁷⁰ Cushner and Larkin, “Royal Land Grants in the Colonial Philippines (1571-1626),” 105-11; Luciano P. R. Santiago, “The Filipino Indios Encomenderos (ca. 1620-1711),” *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 18, no. 3 (1990): 162-84.

resources, its underpinning vassalic friendship nevertheless allowed for their political-economic consolidation under the new regime.

Non-elite natives, on the contrary, were massively “reduced” in numbers as well as social status by the colonial *reducción* and its concomitant forms of exploitation. A case in point is the commoners of Pampanga who, in contrast to the nobility, bore the brunt of the grueling labor system more acutely than those of any other provinces.¹⁷¹ As Linda Newson’s painstaking research shows, the overall Filipino population itself might have declined by about 36 percent by 1600, that is, even before the Hispano-Dutch war. Contrary to received wisdom, this made the demographic trajectory of the early colonial Philippines similar to that of the Americas after Spanish contact and conquest.¹⁷²

Naming and the Lexicography of Friends: Pamagat and the Ca- Prefix

Language and translation were instrumental to the Spanish colonization of the Philippines not least because they facilitated the formation of friendship between Spaniards and indigenous Filipinos.¹⁷³ With their language acquisition, imperial agents such as missionaries and interpreters gained intimate access to indigenous lifeworlds. At the outset of his expedition, Legazpi was instructed by the Royal Audiencia of Mexico to accommodate the religious in their evangelical mission by allowing them to communicate and live among the natives. In so doing, not only would the missionaries provide the natives with good examples, but “walking among them they can learn their languages more easily.” Once equipped with language skills, they would be able to convert the natives to the Catholic faith and “bring them to the obedience and friendship” of the Spanish king.¹⁷⁴ In this view, translation and intimacy were mutually constitutive and conducive to both temporal and spiritual conquest.

Living among Philippine islanders, Spanish missionaries compiled an array of vernacular dictionaries (*vocabularios*), in which friendship-related terms are included. They also penned observations on indigenous cultures of friendship. Both groups of texts cast light on practices of calling, naming, and nicknaming in the context of indigenous friend-making. According to the

¹⁷¹ Salazar, “Affairs in the Philipinas Islands,” 210-21; Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, 100.

¹⁷² Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence*, 251-63.

¹⁷³ For the importance and politics of translation in the context of Spanish-Tagalog contacts and colonial relations, see Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism*.

¹⁷⁴ CDU, 2: 188.

Jesuit Fray Francisco Colín's account of 1663, there was a general reservation among the Tagalogs to mention one another by their own names alone without any mark of courtesy. Those who had children were thus called "the father of so-and-so," for example. For those who were of influence, yet childless, there existed a practice by which they acquired a new name (*pamagat*) in the form of an honorific or friendly appellation from their relatives and friends at a banquet.

The *pamagat* "was usually a name of excellence by some periphrasis or metaphor based on their own old name. For example, if one was called by his own name, *Bacal*, which means 'iron,' the new name they gave was *Dimatanassan*, meaning 'not to wear away over time.' If it was *Bayani*, which means 'brave and spirited,' they called him *Dimalapitan* 'the one to whom no one is bold.'"¹⁷⁵

Among the Tagalogs and the Visayans, there was also a custom of friendly appellation and name-sharing between two close friends, with correlative names based on their shared experiences or objects of subsistence. For instance, "if one had given a branch of basil to another, the two called each other *Casolasi* [from *solasi* 'basil'], which is the name of the thing given; or *Caytlog*, he who ate an egg with another [from *ytlog* 'egg']."¹⁷⁶ The anthropologists Renato and Michelle Rosaldo also show that a similar custom of name-sharing was observed among same-sexed friends, whether male or female, in Ilongot society of twentieth-century Luzon, especially between men who went on a raid together. The purpose was to create a bond of horizontal comradery.¹⁷⁷

These practices of naming and nicknaming friends were consistent with the morphological formation of several vernacular terms for friend and companion, especially in Tagalog. Unlike the words *amigo* in Castilian and *friend* in English, the peculiarity of those vernacular terms for friend in the Philippines lies in their structure, built from the prefix *ca-* (or *ka-* in modern spelling), meaning a person who shares or does something together, along with a morphemic base. To call a friend with a particular term invokes the particular connotation attached to that word.

The first known Tagalog dictionary (1613), by the Franciscan Fray Pedro de San Buenaventura, lists nineteen Tagalog words for *amigo* and *amigos* in Castilian, showing different types of friends and their underlying values and affects. Most of them are formed in the aforesaid

¹⁷⁵ Colín, *Labor evangélica*, 1: 59.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Renato I. Rosaldo, "Ilongot Kin Terms: A Bilateral System of Northern Luzon, Philippines," in *Proceedings of VIIIth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, 1968, Tokyo and Kyoto, Vol II* (Tokyo: Social Science Council of Japan, 1970), 83; Michelle Z. Rosaldo, *Knowledge and Passion: Ilongot Notions of Self and Social Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 11, 86-87, 162.

manner. For example, *cabati*: a reconciled friend (from *bati* “to reconcile”), *casoyo*: a dear friend (from *soyo* “dear, love”), *casongdo*: a friend who always hangs out with another (from *songdo* “to follow”), *catoto*: a friend whose will is in concord with another’s (from *toto* “harmony of wills”), *caybigan*: a friend whom one likes well (from *ybig* “love, fondness”), *calogoran*: a friend in good and bad (from *logor* “joy”), *cativa*: a friend of good or bad trust “because such friends confide in each other” (from *tivala* “trust, confidence”), *casaobat*: a good or dear friend (from *saobat* “friendship of two or more”), etc.¹⁷⁸ San Buenaventura’s lexicography was later enlarged by the Franciscan Fray Domingo de los Santos and published in 1703. The latter added to the existing vocabulary for *amigo* the word *casamaya*, which stands for friends “of one will in discovering secrets or participating in what is offered such as robbery,” that is, accomplices (from *samaya* “to be complicit”).¹⁷⁹ Such *ca-* terms can also be found in other vernacular languages, though numbers may be fewer than in Tagalog. For example, *catood*: a friend or comrade (from *tood* “familiarity”) and *caugay*: a friend or familiar (from *ugay* “gentleness or softness of heart”) in Bikol; *caimimitan*: an acquaintance and *cayngóngot*: a friend or comrade “of the same heart” in Ilocano; or *caluguran*: a friend for whom one has affection or compassion (from *lugud* “passion, affection”) in Kapampangan.¹⁸⁰ These dictionaries also record related terms such as those for *compañero*, most of which are constructed in a similar manner to the *ca-* words above, such as *casama*: a companion (from *sama* “to accompany”) and *cailing*: a companion in good and bad (from *iling* “to accompany”) in Tagalog.¹⁸¹

The significance of *ca-* in such vernacular practices of naming can further be understood in light of Fray Sebastián de Totanes’s *Arte de la lengua tagala* (1745), which codifies Tagalog nouns with the prefix *ca-* into five categories of usage. In the first usage, the *ca-* prefix is attached to “nouns of company” in the same way as *com-* in Castilian, such as *casáma* “companion” and *cababáyan* “fellow townsman.” The second usage signifies an action involving two participants, such as *caáway* “enemy.” The third usage connotes similarity, such as *camúc-ha*, one of those who

¹⁷⁸ Pedro de San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario de lengua tagala: el romance castellano puesto primero: primera y segunda parte* (Valencia: Librerías “Paris-Valencia,” 1994), 52-53.

¹⁷⁹ Santos, *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala*, 93. See also Noceda and Sanlucar, *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala*, 479.

¹⁸⁰ See Marcos de Lisboa, *Vocabulario de la lengua bicol: primera y segunda parte* (Sampaloc: Convento de Nuestra Señora de Loreto, 1754), 97, 405; Andrés Carro, *Vocabulario de la lengua ilocana* (Manila: Establecimiento tipografico del Colegio de Santo Tomas, 1849), 73, 83, 130; Diego Bergaño, *Vocabulario de la lengua pampang en romance* (Manila: Imprenta de Ramirez y Giraudier, 1860), 148, 283. For the Ilongot language, the prefixes *ka-* and *kasi-* are also used for similar purposes to mean “fellow.” Rosaldo, *Knowledge and Passion*, 80-82, 86-87.

¹⁸¹ San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario de lengua tagala*, 174; Santos, *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala*, 296.

have similar faces, or *Icau ay catòto co* “you are my friend.” In the fourth usage, *ca-* is used to form “nouns of equality,” such as *carúnung* “equally learned” and *caluíba* “equally long.” Lastly, *ca-* also connotes unity, as in *catáuo* “a man” or *cahiua* “a cut of meat or fish.”¹⁸² Pedro Serrano-Laktaw’s late-nineteenth-century *Diccionario Tagálog-Hispano* similarly explains that one of the usages of the prefix *ka-* is to form “nouns of company or of action that is done among many, with the prefix expressing one of them.”¹⁸³ These sociolinguistic practices went hand in hand in everyday fashion with the usage of the Tagalog word *capoua* (“fellow being, both, equally in good or bad”; *kapwa* in modern spelling,) as a modifier that connoted togetherness or fellowship with the other, such as *capoua tauo* “fellow human being” or *cun capoua cunghmain* “if they both ate.”¹⁸⁴

A Tagalog document from the late seventeenth century illustrates the use of such *ca-* terms in designating interpersonal relations among the Tagalogs. In July 1696, natives of Maybunga in the town of Pasig met before a notary to give authority to four noblemen (*maginoo*) to look after the property of the entire community on their behalf. In their undersigned record, four *ca-* words were used in naming their associates in the community: *cababayan* (fellow townsman), *casamahan* (companion, associate), *casimba* (fellow churchgoer), and, most frequently, *camaganacan* (family group, kindred). Toward the end of the document, the signatories identified themselves as “*boong camaganacang taga Maybonga [sic]*,” that is, the entire group of kinsmen from Maybunga.¹⁸⁵

Here I argue that the prevalence of the prefix *ca-* in Philippine vernacular word-building practices, particularly for terms of reference or address, bespeaks a set of cultures with an emphasis on fellowship, companionship, togetherness, bonding in action and participation, and possibly a degree of similarity and equity. This was epitomized in the practice of name-sharing, which persisted into the early colonial period among the natives. However, given that few Spaniards except clerics spoke local languages, the wide range of *ca-* terms of friendly address and reference must have fallen into desuetude in Filipino-Spanish colonial relations. Together with the apparent absence of *pamagat* and practices of reciprocal naming, the possible disuse of *ca-* addresses in the context of vassalic friendship relations might have weakened the sense of togetherness or

¹⁸² Sebastián de Totanes, *Arte de la lengua tagala y manual tagalog para la administración de los santos sacramentos* (Binondo: Imprenta de Miguel Sanchez, 1865), 81-83. Similar usages can also be observed in Kapampangan. See Bergaño, *Vocabulario de la lengua pampanga*, passim.

¹⁸³ Pedro Serrano Laktaw, *Diccionario tagálog-hispano* (Manila: Islas Filipinas, 1914), 404-05.

¹⁸⁴ Santos, *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala*, 18, 91, 419, passim.

¹⁸⁵ Nicholas P. Cushner, *Landed Estates in the Colonial Philippines* (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1976), 82-84; Woods, *The Myth of the Barangay*, 133.

fellowship in being, doing, or feeling something that existed or had once existed among indigenous Filipinos. Such an absence was consistent with the spatial division and social estrangement between Spanish and native communities in the early colonial Philippines. Nevertheless, this would be significantly mitigated by their common faith in Catholicism as a result of missionary enterprises, as we shall see in Chapter Five.

Recalcitrant Friend-Making: Colonial Endurance and Anti-Colonial Alliance

The Spanish colonization of the Philippines, undergirded by the ideology of friendly conquest, was handicapped by various forms of native recalcitrance, whether outright opposition, grudging cooperation, or plain withdrawal from contact. Such native endurance and resistance to Spanish penetration and domination also employed practices of strategic friend-making, both with Spaniards and among indigenous Filipinos themselves.

In between open resistance and supine collaboration, indigenous Filipinos frequently opted for the stratagem of limited obedience during their early contacts with Spanish conquerors, especially in atmospheres of mistrust. Their performance of complaisance not only gave off the impression of amity and accommodation, but also allowed them leeway to tackle, improvise, or evade engagement with the strangers. While showing themselves willing to please the Spaniards or acquiesce to their requests, they often complied with it only perfunctorily and, at times, completely ignored it or even turned against the Spaniards without warning. What Spanish writers denigrated as their racialized proclivity for the false pretense of friendship, as discussed in Chapter One, can thus be regarded in several instances as an expedient safeguard that lay between, or before, “fight or flight.” During both the Loaísa and Saavedra expeditions, for example, the natives of Mindanao initially provided the Spanish visitors with food, but later on tried to cut the moorings of their ships.¹⁸⁶

Friendship in a contact zone also helped divert Spanish attention and buy time for native fugitivism, allowing them to escape to the interior or across islands. Natives of Mindoro gave Martín de Goiti several taels of gold as a gift in their first encounter and promised to bring more, little by little. As reported in a Spanish account, “with these flatteries and promises the Moros detained us about five days, during which time we had friendly dealings and intercourse with them,

¹⁸⁶ Urdaneta, “Relación del viaje de la Armada del Comendador G.^a de Loaisa,” 351; CDAO, 5: 76-78; CVD, 5: 470.

although they mistrusted us to a certain extent.” In so doing, the natives managed to withdraw from their coastal settlements to the hinterland with some of their property.¹⁸⁷ At Cebu, after the Spaniards had freshly imposed tribute requirements on him, Chief Tupas shunned Spanish contact and excused his delays on account of having to gather the tribute.¹⁸⁸ It was also reported that some Cebuanos withdrew inland with their food while others remained in their settlements but refused to cultivate their fields in the hopes of forcing the Spaniards into privation and thus driving them away.¹⁸⁹

After the Spanish conquest and subjugation, indigenous Filipinos not only innovated practices of friend-making to contest or negotiate with Spanish rule, but also strove to remove the structures of rule altogether and reimagine their collective lives. Their endeavors, to borrow terms from Adolfo Albán Achinte and other scholars of decoloniality, entailed not only *resistance* but also *re-existence*, that is, to redefine their lives in conditions of dignity and self-determination.¹⁹⁰ Both involved what we might call counter- or subaltern interpellation, that is, the act of hailing that targeted fellow colonial subjects or allies so as to build exclusive solidarity or, more radically, to call forth a struggle against the colonial regime.

In his study of Tagalog society under early Spanish rule, Vicente Rafael presents an instructive reading of the Tagalog printer Tomas Pinpin’s Castilian learning book published in 1610. In offering Castilian lessons to Tagalog readers, especially through the syncopated and rhymed juxtaposition of Castilian and Tagalog in verse, Rafael argues that the text might have prepared them to ward off the embarrassing and petrifying effects of encountering Spaniards. Hence, learning Castilian offered a means of self-immunization against real “shocks” from their colonizers.¹⁹¹ What is noteworthy in the textbook is the fact that Pinpin addresses his readers as “friends,” using the pronouns *aco* (I) and *cayo* (plural you) alongside *tayo* (the inclusive we) and *sila* (they, referring to the Spaniards). Here Pinpin’s friendly hails can be understood as an ideological interpellation that worked horizontally to call upon his fellow Tagalogs to pick up Castilian for the primary purpose of colonial endurance. His use of the inclusive and exclusive

¹⁸⁷ Anonymous, “Relation of the Voyage to Luzon,” 81.

¹⁸⁸ CDU, 2: 346-47.

¹⁸⁹ Diego de Herrera, “Letter to Felipe II” (1570), BR, 3: 68-69.

¹⁹⁰ Walter Dignolo and Catherine E. Walsh, *On Decoloniality: Concepts, Analytics, Praxis* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018), 3, 18.

¹⁹¹ Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism*, 55-66.

pronouns could have also created a sense of solidarity among his Tagalog “friends” while, at the same time, relegating the Spaniards as others, with whom “we” Tagalogs were bound to deal.

More radically, several episodes in early colonial Philippine history show that, in view of the incapacity or oppressiveness of Spanish power, indigenous Filipinos also disavowed their vassalic friendship with Spanish colonizers and turned against them. Such negation of Spanish interpellation cropped up periodically right from the beginning of their serpentine relations. Magellan and Humabon started to call each other brothers after the latter’s baptism and submission to the Spanish Crown. But after Magellan’s death, Humabon and his following conspired to kill the remaining Spaniards on their island.¹⁹² Likewise, shortly after the Spanish conquest of Manila, several chiefs of Cainta, a village upriver from Manila, came to proclaim themselves friends of Legazpi. However, seeing the living conditions and perhaps the number of Spaniards in Manila, they renounced their friendship after returning to their village. Spanish troops were sent to summon them to return to their terms of peace and friendship, but to no avail. After days of armed engagement, they succumbed to Spanish forces and to colonial rule.¹⁹³ The *encomienda* system was also a major cause of such retraction and resistance. Reports of native uprisings or killings of *encomenderos* and Spanish soldiers, from Cagayan and Ilocos down to Panay and Cebu, appeared from the first few years of its establishment throughout the last quarter of the sixteenth century.¹⁹⁴ During his attempted conquest of Mindanao in 1597, Juan de Ronquillo opined that not only “new friends” or newly subdued hostile natives, but also friendly ones who had already submitted to Spanish sovereignty by their own volition, would rebel if demanded tribute.¹⁹⁵

On the other hand, friend-making also contributed to collective solidarity among anti-colonial natives themselves and galvanized them into concerted and networked actions against the colonial regime. While friendly calling among fellow natives turned into a *call to arms* against the Spaniards, their feasting served as a venue of gathering and merrymaking that masked their insurrectionary collusion. The Tondo conspiracy of the late 1580s illustrates how such microphysical acts of friend-making among natives themselves were interwoven into one of the early indigenous attempts at decolonization. In October 1588, Governor Santiago de Vera became

¹⁹² Pigafetta, *Magellan’s Voyage*, 1: 156-57, 180-83.

¹⁹³ Anonymous, “Conquest of the Island of Luzón,” 158-60.

¹⁹⁴ Fernando Palanco, “Christianized Native Resistance and Rebellion during the First Centenary of Spanish Sovereignty, 1565-1665,” in *More Hispanic Than We Admit 3: Quincentennial Edition, 1521-1820: Filipino and Spanish Interactions over the Centuries*, ed. Jorge Mojarro (Quezon City: Vibal Foundation, 2020), 189-95.

¹⁹⁵ Juan de Ronquillo, “Pacification of Mindanao” (1597), in BR, 9: 292.

aware of the “deal and conspiracy” between indigenous chieftains, the sultan of Brunei, and a Japanese captain against Spanish rule. According to his report to the Crown, some of the chieftains involved had previously been imprisoned by the colonial government for various wrongdoings, including Agustin de Legaspi, a prominent chief of Manila. They swore in prison to help one another in all matters with whatever resources they had. After their release, they came together for a secret meeting with other chiefs, followers, and allies under the pretext of drinking. The plotters “resolved to act in harmony and with one mind in everything” and took an oath according to their custom to overthrow Spanish rule with external force. Over the course of their machinations, a few more assemblies were held in a similar manner. As Vera reported, they were “quite intent upon holding meetings and their usual drunken feasts, swearing to keep secret whatever they discussed.”¹⁹⁶

Meanwhile, in the company of other chiefs, Legaspi invited the Japanese captain to eat and drink at his house with the ultimate goal of persuading him to bring along his Japanese soldiers and join forces with the chiefs in killing the Spaniards in Manila. The plotters also sent a number of weapons to the sultan of Brunei and dispatched three chiefs as envoys to induce him to launch an attack on the Spaniards. However, their conspiracy was discovered by the Spanish colonial government because of a turncoat within their circle. The chiefs involved were arrested and sentenced to death or exile, some to New Spain, and their property was confiscated for the royal treasury and judicial expenses.¹⁹⁷

A series of local revolts in Luzon during the 1660s also provided another instance of counter-interpellation and friendship formation as a form of native resistance to Spanish colonial rule. By 1655, the colonial administration owed the natives a total debt of 150,000 pesos for their *bandala* services. Two years later, the amount of overdue remuneration exceeded 200,000 pesos.¹⁹⁸ On top of that, the Pampangos suffered from demands of woodcutting labor for the government’s shipbuilding such that in early 1660, under the leadership of their fellow townsman Francisco Manyago, they were determined to overthrow Spanish rule. Although their uprising was readily pacified through the negotiation of “friendly agreements (*convenios amigables*),”

¹⁹⁶ Santiago de Vera et al., “Conspiracy against the Spaniards” (1589), in BR, 7: 95-96, 100-01; AGI, Filipinas, 18A, R.7, N.47.

¹⁹⁷ Santiago de Vera et al., “Conspiracy against the Spaniards,” 95-111; AGI, Filipinas, 18A, R.7, N.47.

¹⁹⁸ AGI, Filipinas, 22, R.7, N.28; Horacio de la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581-1768* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), 413.

especially vis-à-vis Spanish friars, anti-colonial sentiment had inexorably spread to neighboring areas.¹⁹⁹ As Fray Pedro de San Francisco de Assis reported,

“But at the beginning of their rebellion, the Pampangos had sent many letters to the provinces of Pangasinan, Ilocos, and Cagayan, which lie farther north of the island of Luzon. They assured the inhabitants [of those provinces] that they had risen up with so much power that they did not hesitate to win Manila by force of arms. And they besought them to heed this common cause, for once Spanish dominance was shaken off, they could all get together in good friendship and concord, maintain their liberty by installing a king to govern them, or make the other nations fear in the form of republic. These were their pieces of advice which, like a cancer in the human body, were spreading in the civil affairs of those provinces, and the majority of the natives followed them with too much promptitude.”²⁰⁰

The letters were most likely written in an indigenous writing system, which by 1640 was still in use among native peoples in their communications.²⁰¹ This call to arms was meant for fellow natives, evading most Spaniards who could not read the indigenous script. Indeed, the call was heard and followed by local leaders such as Andrés Malong of Pangasinan who proclaimed himself King of Pangasinan, Pedro Almazán who proclaimed himself King of Ilocos, and Joaquín Macasiag who led Sambal insurgents from Ilocos to penetrate up to Vigan.²⁰² These resistance movements were eventually subdued, but they did envisage and create, albeit temporarily, local and translocal communities of friendship and self-determination, as opposed to colonial misrule, among indigenous collaborators and sometimes foreign allies. Their experiences of colonial vassalage and subjecthood not only fomented their discontent and uprising, but also acquainted them with a new form of sociopolitical organization under Spain upon which they might have drawn in imagining their re-existence.

¹⁹⁹ Pedro de San Francisco de Assis, *Historia general de los religiosos descalzos del orden de los hermitaños del gran padre, y doctor de la Iglesia San Agustín, de la congregación de España y de las Indias: tomo quarto* (Zaragoza: Imprenta de Francisco Moreno, 1756), 2. See also Fernando Palanco, “Christianized Native Resistance and Rebellion during the First Centenary of Spanish Sovereignty, 1565-1665,” in *More Hispanic Than We Admit 3: Quincentennial Edition, 1521-1820: Filipino and Spanish Interactions over the Centuries*, ed. Jorge Mojarro (Quezon City: Vibal Foundation, 2020), 209-12.

²⁰⁰ San Francisco de Assis, *Historia*, 2.

²⁰¹ Diego de Bobadilla, “Relation of the Filipinas Islands” (1640), in BR, 29: 289.

²⁰² San Francisco de Assis, *Historia general de los religiosos descalzos*, 3; Casimiro Díaz, “Raid of the Pangasinans and Zambals into the Province of Ilocos, 1660-61” (1718), in BR, 38: 205-06; Palanco, “Christianized Native Resistance,” 212-15.

Meanwhile, in mountainous areas across the archipelago, Spanish colonial penetration was impeded not only by geographical barriers, but also by socioeconomic contact and friendship between highland pagans and lowland Christian natives. In 1688, the colonial government ordered expeditions to the mountains of Cagayan, Caraga, Calamianes, Negros, Leyte, Ogtong, and Camarines to subdue highlanders accused of harassment and insurrection. These raids were to be arranged by providing lowland converts with a supply of rice from the royal treasury.²⁰³ However, it was later reported that the lowland raiders “always give warning of such raids” to the hill dwellers “while expenses roll up rapidly to no advantage,” leading to the abolition of the order except in necessary cases.²⁰⁴ Another form of lowland-highland cooperation was also reported, in which many valley runaways who fled the Spanish labor system, law enforcement, or Christianization to upland areas, thus called *remontados* (those who return to the mountains), were hospitably received by highlanders.²⁰⁵ These lowland-highland friendships thus helped both groups of natives, who were not always in harmony, with anti-colonial evasion. On the other hand, the lowlanders’ friendship with the hill tribes and collaboration with the Spaniards allowed them to claim an advantageous position straddling the colonial axis while materially benefitting from the opposing forces.

* * * * *

This chapter has delineated indigenous ways of friendship in the Philippines and shown the material and sensory-affective underpinnings of friend-making practices among indigenous Filipinos as well as between them and Spaniards. On the one hand, the material cultures of the indigenous Filipinos shaped their friendship formations, including those with the Spaniards, in which gifting and feasting were crucial means of performing friendship and cultivating intimacy. On the other hand, as an affective apparatus of Spanish colonialism, friendship was legislatively conceived as predicated on material conditions. Material exchange and infrastructure were specifically laid down by Spanish authorities as rudimentary to colonization. Colonial settlement and fortification were devised to serve the purpose of peaceable and friendly conquest. These quotidian acts and objects served as sites of political praxis in tandem with formal and institutional

²⁰³ “Ordinances of Good Government,” in BR, 50: 212-13.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 248-49.

²⁰⁵ Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, 141; William Henry Scott, “Igorot Responses to Spanish Aims: 1576-1896,” *Philippine Studies* 18, no. 4 (1970): 702. See also Fenella Cannell, *Power and Intimacy in the Christian Philippines* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 4.

practices such as agreement making and blood covenanting, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

Friendly overtures in the Spanish conquest of the Philippines should not obscure its accompanying use of threat and physical violence. We see, at one extreme, bonds of friendship forged in a cordial and pacific manner while, at the other, those coerced by sheer strength of arms. What lay in between were relations hammered out in the visible or audible presence of standby forces. By combining friendship formation with military action—that is, by the workings of love and fear—the Spanish conquest and colonization of the Philippines were extensively achieved. Their domination, however, was challenged by various modalities of native resistance, many of which involved friend-making practices among native peoples themselves. While forging anti-colonial alliances across localities, they also feigned friendship with Spanish intruders at their contact zones to allow room for maneuver. Such tactics would be epitomized in the repeated conclusion of blood compacts between Filipinos and Spaniards.

Chapter IV

Colonizing Blood Covenants: Ritualized Friendship and Contractual Colonialism

“In friendship, we do not share some specific thing; we ourselves are shared.”¹

Early Filipino-Spanish encounters were remarkably bloody affairs. Blood was a part of Philippine colonial politics in both its destructive and constructive modes of engagement. That is, it was shed not only during internecine warfare but also during intercultural friend-making. Over the sixteenth century, no less than two dozen blood compacts (*sandugo* in various Philippine languages; *sangria* or *pacto de sangre* in Spanish²) were reportedly performed in the Philippines between indigenous leaders and European empire builders, both Spanish and Portuguese (see Table 1). A pan-archipelagic, cross-ethnic institution, the blood compact was an optative and performative form of affiliation centered around the mutual ingestion of the participants' blood. Peculiar to the Iberian colonial experience in the Philippines as opposed to the Americas, it nevertheless resonated with premodern European customs of ritual brotherhood.

By the end of Spanish rule, the blood compact had become a prominent motif in Philippine historiography and Filipino anti-colonial writings.³ In discussing pre-Hispanic cultures and early Filipino-Spanish encounters, Filipino nationalist intellectuals such as José Rizal, Marcelo H. del Pilar, Andrés Bonifacio, and Apolinario Mabini similarly referred to an indigenous Filipino-Spanish *sandugo* as the ceremonial beginning of the tortuous relations between the colonizers and the colonized. In *La Revolución Filipina* (1901-03), Mabini reflected on Spain's instrumentalization of the blood compact to secure native friendship and collaboration:

“Thus the Spaniards, through promises of friendship and protection sealed with blood, were able to win over peaceful chieftains, and with their help subjugated the

¹ Giorgio Agamben and Leland de la Durantaye, “Friendship and Philosophy: An Interview with Giorgio Agamben,” *Cabinet* 45 (2012): 53.

² Spanish sources of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries usually refer to the ceremony simply as *sangrar* (to bleed) or *sangria* (bloodletting). See, for example, CDU, 2: 342, 347. The term “*pacto de sangre*” seems to have appeared and gained traction only from the nineteenth century onward, especially in Filipino nationalist writings. In scholarly literature, the blood compact in world history is also conceived as blood pact, blood oath, blood covenant, blood friendship, and blood brotherhood.

³ For *ilustrado* understandings of the blood compact, especially the one between Miguel López de Legazpi and Sikatuna, see Filomeno V. Aguilar Jr., “The ‘Pacto de Sangre’ in the Late Nineteenth-Century Nationalist Emplotment of Philippine History,” *Philippine Studies* 58, no. 1/2 (2010): 79-109; John D. Blanco, “The Blood Compact: International Law and the State of Exception in the 1896 Filipino Revolution and the US Takeover of the Philippines,” *Postcolonial Studies* 7, no. 1 (2004): 27-48.

more bellicose by force of arms. Discontent having thereafter grown because *the friendship and protection agreed soon became oppressive domination.*⁴

Indeed, Filipino historians over the generations have since called attention to the discrepancy between the solemnized agreements of friendship and the ensuing realities of Filipino-Spanish relations. The authors of the historical book *Tadhana*, commissioned by Ferdinand Marcos, note that the natives viewed the blood compact as an agreement between equals and “a pledge of eternal fraternity and alliance.” On the contrary, the Spaniards saw the blood compact between Tupas and Legazpi as “a ceremony between victor and vanquished foe.”⁵

Their accuracy aside, these interpretations suggest that any historical understanding of a blood compact must tackle the power relations between its participants and their different frames of mind. Although analyses have recently been made of *ilustrados*’ nationalist writings, their early colonial counterparts still evade scholarly attention on the subject of the blood compact and Filipino-Spanish friendship. This chapter traces the leitmotif of the blood compact further back into Spanish and, to a lesser extent, Portuguese writings during the early period of Spanish conquest and colonial rule. It addresses the following questions: How did the blood compacts between Spaniards and indigenous Filipinos take place? What did they mean for each side? What terms of agreement did they entail? Were they transformed into “oppressive domination,” and how?

The following pages examine all reported blood compacts between Philippine natives and Europeans during the first century of the Spanish presence, from the Magellan expedition to the Caraga Revolt of 1631. I argue that the Spanish conquest of the Philippines entailed a politics of blood compact in which this indigenous practice of friend-making was differently appropriated by each of the parties in the new context of colonial encounters. On the one hand, the natives used it to mitigate the radical alterity of foreigners and propose reconciliation, concord, and cooperation through the symbolism of blood. In so doing, they also managed to resist Spanish intrusion and stall for the time they needed to make fight-or-flight decisions. On the other hand, the Spaniards “colonized” blood covenants by subordinating them to their own legal practice of notarized agreement and correspondingly subjecting the natives to their economic extortion. In so doing,

⁴ Apolinario Mabini, *La Revolución Filipina con otros documentos de la época* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1931), 2: 279, my italics.

⁵ Ferdinand E. Marcos, *Tadhana: The History of the Filipino People, Vol. 2: The Formation of the National Community, 1565-1896, Part 1: Encounter, 1565-1663* (Manila: Ferdinand E. Marcos, 1976), 45.

they committed both physical and epistemic violence on the latter, eclipsing their means of autonomous negotiation. Furthermore, the motif of the blood compact figured prominently in Spanish discursive productions, particularly in shipboard narratives and missionary chronicles. These writings served not only to demonstrate Spanish colonial legitimacy grounded in native amity and consent, but also to justify the use of force by calling attention to the racialized treacherousness of the natives and their neglect of covenants. This chapter also shows that this corporeal and discursive politics of friendship can be understood in affective terms as animated by moral sentiments. Among native peoples, the normative mechanism of shame, which, according to many scholars, long regulated Philippine reciprocal exchanges, was often suspended by Hispanophobic distrust. It was in this counter-normative manner that the natives simultaneously invited Spanish engagement and yet sidestepped Spanish efforts to manipulate them.

Albeit a series of fugacious moments in history, an analysis of Filipino-Spanish blood compacts sheds light on Philippine colonial relations as something in the making. Early in this process, the Spaniards, despite their repeated claims of military and civilizational superiority, gained no decisive upper hand over indigenous peoples. The recurring disavowal of concluded blood pacts by the latter points to Spanish-Filipino encounters as both unsettled and unsettling for both sides.

The Blood Compact and Philippine Cultures of Relatedness

“Non-kin amity loves to masquerade as kinship.”⁶

The blood compact was an institutionalized, ritualistic means of making friends and allies in traditional societies across Southeast Asia, as elsewhere around the world. In the Philippines, it was observed among a wide variety of ethnicities, such that the ritual can be considered a common means of affiliation that connected a diversity of indigenous peoples across the islands: from the lowland Tagalogs and the highland Aetas in Luzon; to the Buhid Mangyans of Mindoro, the Bukidnons of southern Negros Oriental and the Sulods of Panay as well as the Boholanos and the Cebuanos in the Visayas; to the Tagbanwas of Palawan and even the Malay Muslims of Sulu,

⁶ Julian A. Pitt-Rivers, “The Kith and the Kin,” in *From Hospitality to Grace: A Julian Pitt-Rivers Omnibus*, ed. Giovanni da Col and Andrew Shryock (Chicago: HAU Books, 2017), 124.

among others.⁷ This cursory enumeration shows that the ritual was practiced among both classless and stratified societies whose headmen or chieftains played a leading role in their political intercourse with outsiders.⁸ The geographical extensiveness of the practice also accounts for its frequency in European documentation during the period of early colonial encounters.

According to missionary dictionaries compiled during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, several Philippine languages commonly named the practice or its participants as *sandugo*, with slight variations, which further suggests its prevalence across the archipelago. Fray Marcos de Lisboa's Bikol dictionary (ca. 1609) defines *sangdugo* as "blood friends" (*amigos con sangre*) made through the mutual imbibing of blood.⁹ The earliest Castilian-Tagalog dictionary by Fray Pedro de San Buenaventura (1613) lists *sandugo* as one among many terms for "friend" (*amigo*). Literally meaning "of the same blood," it refers to the manner in which persons become friends by "drawing out and sucking each other's blood."¹⁰ The same term was also employed by the Igorots and the Pampangos to refer to blood friendship and blood friends.¹¹ Similarly, Fray Matheo Sanchez's Bisaya dictionary (1617) records *sandugo* as synonymous with the word *bila*, both of which refer to a certain mode of friend-making in which the participants drink each other's blood. Those who perform it are called *magsandugo* or *magbibila*.¹² A century earlier, Antonio Pigafetta

⁷ Donn V. Hart, *Compadrinazgo: Ritual Kinship in the Philippines* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1977), 46-49; *La Solidaridad*, trans. Guadalupe Fores-Ganzon and Luis Mañeru (Pasig City, Metro Manila: Fundación Santiago, 1996), 4: 356-57; Fletcher Gardner, "The Mañgyans," in *Ethnography of the Mindoro-Palawan Peoples (A Collection of Original Sources)*, ed. H. Otley Beyer (Manila, 1918), 24-25; Violeta B. Lopez-Gonzaga, *Peasants in the Hills: A Study of the Dynamics of Social Change among the Buhid Swidden Cultivators in the Philippines* (Diliman: University of the Philippines Press, 1983), 39-40; see also European accounts discussed below. Elsewhere in Southeast Asia, the practice was observed among the Karens on the mainland, the Dusuns of Sabah, the Dayaks and the Kayans of Borneo, and some ethnic groups of the eastern archipelago such as those in Ceram, Wetar, Timor, and the Babar Islands. At least three interracial blood ceremonies were reportedly performed in nineteenth-century Borneo between local chieftains and Englishmen. See Harry Tegnæus, *Blood-Brothers: An Ethno-Sociological Study of the Institutions of Blood-Brotherhood with Special Reference to Africa* (Stockholm: Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, 1952), 34-39; Henry Clay Trumbull, *The Blood Covenant: A Primitive Rite and Its Bearing on Scripture* (Philadelphia: Grant & Faires, 1885), 49-54.

⁸ For different class structures in pre-Hispanic indigenous societies, see William Henry Scott, "Class Structure in the Unhispanized Philippines," *Philippine Studies* 27, no. 2 (1979): 137-59.

⁹ Marcos de Lisboa, *Vocabulario de la lengua bicol: primera y segunda parte* (Sampaloc: Convento de Nuestra Señora de Loreto, 1754), 610.

¹⁰ Pedro de San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario de lengua tagala: el romance castellano puesto primero: primera y segunda parte* (Valencia: Librerías "París-Valencia," 1994), 52.

¹¹ Andrés Carro, *Vocabulario de la lengua ilocana* (Manila: Establecimiento tipografico del Colegio de Santo Tomas, 1849), 248, notes that *sandugó* "es término de los Igorrotes"; Diego Bergaño, *Vocabulario de la lengua pampangana en romance* (Manila: Imprenta de Ramirez y Giraudier, 1860), 205.

¹² Matheo Sanchez, *Vocabulario de la lengua bisaya* (Manila: Colegio de la Sagrada Compañía de Jesus, 1711), 454r, 74v, 185v. Another Visayan dictionary printed two decades later provides an interpolity sense of the term *bila*, here defined as "allies or friends, kingdom with kingdom, province with province, nation with nation, town with

also listed vernacular words pertaining to friendship in his vocabulary of the Moros: “for Friend – *sandara*” and “to be a friend – *pugna*.”¹³ Also included was the term “for the Blood that comes from the arm – *dara carnal*.”¹⁴ Since *dara* in *sandara* most possibly means “blood”¹⁵, *sandara* seems to have been cognate with *sandugo* in Philippine languages, referring to a friend via a blood pact. As a widespread tradition, it must have been recognizable among the native populace at large, rather than confined only to the elites, and it could be reiterated indefinitely to extend a person’s or a community’s network of associates.

The *sandugo* was a ritual in the sense of repeatable acts performed in accordance with an predetermined order. In processual terms, it can be defined as a ceremony of covenanting by which two or more non-kin persons enter into a compact of their own accord through a commingling and exchange of their blood, especially by means of mutual ingestion, or through self-smearing with their own blood. In the former, the blood might be sucked directly from their incisions or drawn out and made into a concoction with wine or water before drinking. Despite their diverse functions, the practices across the Philippines according to Spanish colonial documents show little variation, as they centered around the inter-transfusion of blood. This general pattern is captured in the famous Boxer Codex of the late sixteenth century as it relates the custom of the Visayans:

“When they make friends [*hazen amistad*] with their enemies or with others it is their custom to draw a little blood from their arms or another part of their bodies and give it to drink to the people they want to become friends with, and the other party does likewise. In this way they say that peace and friendship are made perfect and that it will never be broken.”¹⁶

Likewise, Miguel de Loarca’s 1582 report on local customs of the indigenous Filipinos describes that: “to make friends [*haçer amistades*, i.e. to reconcile] among those who are in

town.” Alonso de Métrida, *Bocabulario de lengua bisaia hiligayna, y haraia de la isla de Panai y Sugbu, y para las demas islas* (Manila: Imp. del Colegio de S. Thomas por Luis Beltran y Andres de Belen, 1637), 102. See also *ibid.*, 226, for *magsandugo*.

¹³ Antonio Pigafetta, *Magellan’s Voyage around the World*, trans. James A. Robertson (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906), 2: 136-37.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 2: 130-31.

¹⁵ *Dara* in several Austronesian languages means “blood.” See John U. Wolff, *Proto-Austronesian Phonology with Glossary* (Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program Publications, 2010), 2: 833-34.

¹⁶ George Bryan Souza and Jeffrey Scott Turley, eds., *The Boxer Codex: Transcription and Translation of an Illustrated Late Sixteenth-Century Spanish Manuscript Concerning the Geography, Ethnography and History of the Pacific, South-East Asia and East Asia*, trans. Jeffrey S. Turley (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 74, 353, with a slight change of my own.

conflict, whether between persons or between villages, they draw blood from their arms, each tastes the blood of the other in a shell or mixed with a little wine, and such friendship is not to be broken.”¹⁷

One variant of the blood compact was performed by exchanging drops of blood with each other without mixing or drinking it, as we shall see in detail below. This might have been a true variation of the ritual, but it might also simply be the result of miscommunication between Spaniards and natives. Another was by drawing one’s blood and marking it on one’s face, body, and tongue without mixing or exchanging it. Without the exchange of blood which signified consanguinity or oneness, this latter variant points instead to the significance of blood as a magical substance or an essence of vitality by which an oath or a bond of friendship was solemnized.

As an indigenous form of agreement, the blood compact was characterized by reciprocal obligation, with the moral and affective overtones of altruism. It was performed between persons of usually—though not necessarily—equal power and social standing, whether from the same or different communities, and might also obligate the political units of which they were leaders. As William Scott points out, the pacts between political leaders such as *datus* were binding on other members of their communities only to the extent of their effective authority.¹⁸ In the absence of legal institution and enforcement, it served multiple purposes and signified a range of contextually specific meanings—from friend- and peacemaking, military alliance, economic partnership, and armistice and reconciliation, to friendship reinvigoration. All, however, can be understood as an arrangement of friendship in its broadest sense.

While Spanish sources unanimously conceive of the blood compact as a ceremony of friendship or peace, contemporary ethnographic and historical writings are at variance as to the nature of the practice and the social bond it created. At stake in their accounts is the connection between the blood compact and kinship. Was the practice a means of extending one’s kinship network or was it, as understood by early Spanish colonists, essentially a ritual of friendship? How were friendship and kinship correlated in this particular custom of the Philippines? While Donn V. Hart and F. Landa Jocano consider the *sandugo* a means to create “ritual kinsmen,” William Henry Scott shows that the ritual served not only to forge “fictive” blood ties where men became

¹⁷ AGI, Patronato, 23, R.9, f.23v.

¹⁸ William Henry Scott, *Barangay: Sixteenth-century Philippine Culture and Society* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1994), 156.

“ritual brothers,” but also functioned as a peace pact by which hostilities were suspended or avoided.¹⁹ This latter point concurs with Laura Junker’s ethno-archaeological study of Philippine chiefdoms, which views the blood oath as symbolizing alliance, particularly at the intercommunity level.²⁰ Meanwhile, Maria Bernadette Abrera and Filomeno Aguilar similarly characterize the *sandugo* as intertwining friendship and siblinghood.²¹ In Abrera’s words, it is the most intimate bond of fellowship (*pakikipagkapwa*) that united the participants as siblings (*magkakapatid*), whereas Aguilar defines it as “a ritual of sworn siblinghood, which was meant to create an indissoluble friendship, a dyadic bond that was part of a larger concatenation of dyads that formed an alliance network.”²²

To deal with the described contiguity between kinship and friendship, it might be helpful to view the *sandugo* as an instantiation of indigenous cultures of relatedness, cutting across the dichotomy of the biological and the social.²³ This equivocality is also suggested by Julian Pitt-Rivers as he equates ritualized friendship with ritual kinship in his discussion of friendship and kinship under the singular rubric of “amicable relations.”²⁴ The *sandugo* was distinct from other indigenous types of amicable bonds in its ceremonial mobilization of blood exchange as both a corporeal and a symbolic practice. With blood as a symbolic substance of relatedness, the *sandugo* drew on genealogical connection or kinship—“the idiom of social organization” in premodern Southeast Asia²⁵—which was reckoned mainly on the basis of blood (*dugo*) in the precolonial Philippines. In Tagalog, for example, *cabohos dogo* (literally, “a person with whom one spills blood together”) was recorded in a dictionary as a term for a sibling of the same womb.²⁶ Cognatic kinship systems, in which both patrilineal and matrilineal filiations counted, across the archipelago

¹⁹ Hart, *Compadrinazgo*, 46-50; F. Landa Jocano, *Philippine Prehistory: An Anthropological Overview of the Beginnings of Filipino Society and Culture* (Diliman: Philippine Center for Advanced Studies, University of the Philippines System, 1975), 173, 182; William Henry Scott, *Barangay: Sixteenth-century Philippine Culture and Society* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1994), 136, 156.

²⁰ Laura Lee Junker, *Raiding, Trading, and Feasting: The Political Economy of Philippine Chiefdoms* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 301-02.

²¹ Maria Bernadette L. Abrera, “Sandugo,” in *Talaarawan 1996 handog sa sentenaryo himagsikang Pilipino*, ed. Z. A. Salazar, E. Yulo, and A. Navarro (Quezon City: Miranda Bookstore, 1995), n.p.

²² Aguilar, “The ‘Pacto De Sangre,’” 88.

²³ See Janet Carsten, ed., *Cultures of Relatedness: New Approaches to the Study of Kinship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 3, 25.

²⁴ Pitt-Rivers, “The Kith and the Kin,” 130.

²⁵ O. W. Wolters, *History, Culture, and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives*, Rev. ed. (Ithaca: Southeast Asia Publications, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1999), 18.

²⁶ Juan de Noceda and Pedro de Sanlucar, *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala* (Manila: Imprenta de la Compañía de Jesus, por D. Nicolas de la Cruz Bagay, 1754), 93.

further suggest the significance of the range and size of kindred networks. This was also reinforced by the extension of kinship to non-kin through such practices as *maginoo* or honorific deference.²⁷

Here I argue that it is preferable to view the *sandugo* as an exclusive and solemn form of friend-making. For while the bond formally imitated kinship, in certain instances it was explicitly differentiated from or even favored over birth relations, as we shall see below. In any case, the *sandugo* helped enlarge one's network of associates in parallel, and analogous, to kindred extension. It also shows the connection between friendship and kinship as it mobilized consanguinity as a foundation of attachment. As David Halperin insightfully puts it, "friendship is parasitic in its conceptualization on kinship relations and on sexual relations. That is, it must borrow terminology from these other spheres of human relations in order to identify and define itself."²⁸ This dovetails with Jacques Derrida's observation that friendship has often taken on fraternalist, androcentric, and consanguine characterization.²⁹ That is, it has usually assumed the language of brotherhood and blood relationship to signify profound attachment.³⁰ Through blood as a substance and symbolism of kinship, the *sandugo* as sacrosanct friendship conveys the assumption of permanence and indissolubility. It was dependent on kinship insofar as blood was involved, even as the practice itself developed its own terminology, as we shall see below.

Hence, the *sandugo* was essentially a contractual form of friendship encoded with a terminology of kinship or siblinghood, usually with an emphasis on formality rather than sentimentality. In lieu of legal measures, its ritualistic form nevertheless served to secure the affective attachment and moral commitment of its participants. However, there is no evidence that kinsmen and *sandugos* were seen as equivalent in terms of social functions and statuses in the precolonial or Spanish Philippines. Insofar as Spanish accounts are concerned, those under a blood

²⁷ For *maginoo* as a way of relating, see Mark Dizon, "Social and Spiritual Kinship in Early-Eighteenth-Century Missions on the Caraballo Mountains," *Philippine Studies* 59, no. 3 (2011): 367-98. Vicente Rafael also argues that *maginoo* referred to a code of behavior whereby one's honorific status of *maginoo* was acquired in one's relations of exchange with others. Vicente L. Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society Under Early Spanish Rule* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 139-42.

²⁸ David M. Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality and Other Essays on Greek Love*. New York: Routledge, 1990), 84.

²⁹ Jacques Derrida, *The Politics of Friendship*, trans. George Collins (New York: Verso, 1997), viii.

³⁰ Among the Tausugs of the Sulu Archipelago in the 1960s, there was also a ritual of friendship in which non-kinsmen became "friends like brothers" (*bagay magtaymanghud*) through oath-taking upon the Koran. Probably an Islamized version of an indigenous blood ritual, it shows how a bond between friends (*bagay*) was tightened through solemnity and a consanguine term for siblings (*magtaymanghud*). Thomas M. Kiefer, "Institutionalized Friendship and Warfare among the Tausug of Jolo," *Ethnology* 7, no. 3 (1968): 227-34; Thomas M. Kiefer, *The Tausug: Violence and Law in a Philippine Moslem Society* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972), 59-65.

compact were never described as sharing relatives. Correspondingly, an Italian traveler to the Philippines and Borneo in 1696 reported that blood covenanting was also practiced among Borneans, who “after performing this ceremony, are so faithful, that they will sooner wrong their brother than their friend.”³¹ Indeed, as some scholars have argued, ritualized friendship is *not* fictive kinship, which more aptly refers to such bonds as adoption. Although its idiom and symbolism are couched in terms very close to kinship, ritualized friendship is usually oriented away from or even opposed to kin ties, especially in terms of its voluntariness.³² At least in the sense of political alliance, the blood compact created friends or brothers-in-arms who, despite their possible appellation as brothers, shared no *familial* rights, responsibilities, or inheritances. As Gabriel Herman suggests in his study of ancient Greek ritualized friendship, simulated roles such as blood brothers shared characteristics with, and borrowed terms of reference from, kinship, but were not viewed as identical to their real counterparts. After all, real and simulated roles were complementary, not interchangeable.³³ In short, ritualized friendship had a *comparable* status to close kinship but was not *identical* to it.

Terms of reference also help illuminate the nature of the bond established by blood ingestion. Much as the blood ritual borrowed its consanguine symbolism from kinship or siblinghood, it also had its own terms of address or reference, such as *sandugo* and *casi casi*, apart from kinship terminology.³⁴ *Sandugo* was derived from *isa* (one) and *dugo* (blood), meaning “one blood,” whereas *casi casi*, according to Antonio Pigafetta’s account of the first Filipino-Spanish blood pact, meant “brother,” which we can understand as a fraternal appellative for friend.³⁵

³¹ Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, *A Voyage to the Philippines*, trans. Awnsham Churchill and John Churchill (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1963), 45. The author also reported that the Spanish captain Emanuel de Arguelles had sealed a blood pact with an official of the sultan of Brunei.

³² Julian A. Pitt-Rivers, “The Paradox of Friendship,” in *From Hospitality to Grace: A Julian Pitt-Rivers Omnibus*, ed. Giovanni da Col and Andrew Shryock (Chicago: HAU Books, 2017), 200; S. N. Eisenstadt and L. Roniger, *Patrons, Clients, and Friends: Interpersonal Relations and the Structure of Trust in Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 275, 280.

³³ Gabriel Herman, *Ritualised Friendship and the Greek City* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 18, 33. A similar point is also made by Julian A. Pitt-Rivers, “The Kith and the Kin,” in *From Hospitality to Grace: A Julian Pitt-Rivers Omnibus*, ed. Giovanni da Col and Andrew Shryock (Chicago: HAU Books, 2017), 130.

³⁴ Although members of the late-nineteenth-century Katipunan went through a modified form of the *sandugo* and addressed one another as *kapatid* (sibling), the term is not found in Spanish records of early colonial encounters. For the Katipunan and blood oath-taking, see primary documents in Jim Richardson, *The Light of Liberty: Documents and Studies on the Katipunan, 1892-1897* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2013), 104-11.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 1: 112-13. The American colonial scholar James A. Robertson also noted that *casicasi* here meant “intimate friends.” *Ibid.*, 1: 252. This corresponds to several Castilian-Tagalog dictionaries during the early colonial period, which translate *casi* as “friend” (*amigo*). San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario de lengua tagala*, 52; Domingo de

Pigafetta's Moro vocabulary list also defines *casi casi* as "to be one and the same thing."³⁶ These meanings tallied with expressions of friendship in Cabalian and Maguindanao, where oneness was indicated by putting two fingers together and simultaneously saying a word for friend or sameness twice, symbolizing close friendship.³⁷ Accordingly, one's *sandugo* or *casi casi* became one's *alter ego*, that is, one's other self—one blood in two bodies—whose status was beside and beyond one's real siblings. As Fray Pedro Chirino observed in 1604, those sworn in a blood ceremony became "of the same blood and *more than brothers*."³⁸ After all, a *sandugo* was not a *casingdugo* or *carugo* (blood relative).³⁹ Those who reconciled through a blood compact might not have considered each other as real brothers but rather allies, with the ceremony transforming foes to friends. As a rite of reconciliation, the blood compact might have followed what Gil Anidjar calls "the logic of sacrifice and atonement." That is, blood is ceremonially spilled to substitute for previously spilled blood and prevent additional spilling of blood in hostility.⁴⁰ One wounds and bleeds oneself to show one's self-sacrifice—as opposed to committing a selfish act of amicide or friend-killing—and thus one's firm commitment to the friendship.

Although the blood compact can be seen as a form of oath-taking, it was not necessarily accompanied by any verbal terms of promise or agreement.⁴¹ This made its symbolic, sensory-affective, and material aspects all the more important. According to an eighteenth-century Kapampangan dictionary, *sandugo* means not only blood friends but also those who walk hugging

los Santos, *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala: primera y segunda parte* (Sampaloc: Imprenta de N.S. de Loreto, 1794), 92; Noceda and Sanlucar. *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala*, 143. *Casi* (friend) was also used among the Pampangos. Bergaño, *Vocabulario de la lengua pampangana en romance*, 78.

³⁶ Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage*, 2: 128-29.

³⁷ See details in Chapter Three.

³⁸ Pedro Chirino, *Relación de las Islas Filipinas y de lo que en ellas han trabajado los padres de la Compañía de Jesús*, 2nd ed. (Manila: Imprenta de Esteban Balbas, 1890), 14, my italics. A similar sense that ties of blood brotherhood were closer than that of familial brotherhood can be observed in James Eder's ethnography of the Bataks of Palawan. Based on his fieldwork in 1972, it reports the case of two male Bataks who were first cousins and had once called each other older sibling and younger sibling, but after their marriages decided upon the term *sandugo* as their reciprocal term of address instead of a kinship term. James F. Eder, "Naming Practices and the Definition of Affines among the Batak of the Philippines," *Ethnology* 14, no. 1 (1975): 61-62.

³⁹ See a list of Tagalog kinship terminology in Sebastián de Totanes, *Manual tagalog para auxilio a los religiosos de esta provincia de S. Gregorio Magno de Descalzos de N.S. Padre S. Francisco de Filipinas* (Binondo: Imprenta de Miguel Sanchez, 1865), 159-63.

⁴⁰ Gil Anidjar, *Blood: A Critique of Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 48.

⁴¹ It should be noted that almost none of the extant sources has any record that an oath was uttered during a blood ceremony. The sections on the Visayans and the Moros in the Boxer Codex also distinctly separate the practice of oath taking from blood covenanting. See Souza and Turley, *The Boxer Codex*, 343, 360.

(*caminar abrazados*) with one arm over each other's shoulder.⁴² This definition hints at the physical intimacy between the friends not only during the ceremonial act of covenanting but also in their daily lives, perceptible to passersby. To further understand the blood compact, it might also be helpful to consider its sensory-affective dimension and its implication for the ontological status of such friendship.

In his essay "The Friend," Giorgio Agamben proposes a conception of friendship as a "shared sensation." Drawing upon Aristotle's assertion that to exist is in fact to sense and to think and that the friend is another self, Agamben shows that friendship is defined not by the participation in a common object, "but rather by a sharing that is purely existential." In other words, friends do not share something, but they themselves are shared by the experience of friendship.⁴³ In this manner, friendship is inscribed in the most intimate of experiences, that is, "the very sensation that one exists."⁴⁴ Lauri Siisiäinen, drawing from Michel Foucault, similarly considers friendship as an "existential sharing" in which two subjects are mutually exposed to and take part in each other.⁴⁵ These views resonate remarkably with the concept of *kapwa* (fellowship), which some Filipino philosophers today have identified as the Filipino core value dating back to the precolonial or early colonial era. It can be understood as a recognition of togetherness or shared personhood, with no preexisting separation or opposition between self and other, while the notion of *pakikiisa* or *pagkakaisa* (unity) is considered its full realization—the highest possible level of interpersonal interaction.⁴⁶ *Kapwa*, in other words, suggests the constitutive role of others as incorporated parts of a person. Accordingly, to borrow the anthropologist Marilyn Strathern's terms, the indigenous Filipino person was also *dividually* conceived as a composite site of the

⁴² *Sandugo* in this dictionary also means familiarity. Bergaño, *Vocabulario de la lengua pampanga en romance*, 205, 292, 308.

⁴³ Giorgio Agamben, *What Is an Apparatus? and Other Essays*, trans. David Kishik and Stefan Pedatella (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 36.

⁴⁴ Agamben and Durantaye, "Friendship and Philosophy," 53-54.

⁴⁵ Lauri Siisiäinen, *Foucault and the Politics of Hearing* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 109-10. See also Michel Foucault, "Friendship as a Way of Life," in *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth*, ed. Paul Rabinow (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997), 136.

⁴⁶ Virgilio G. Enriquez, *From Colonial to Liberation Psychology: The Philippine Experience*, 2nd ed. (Manila: De La Salle University Press, 1994), 41-47; Jeremiah Reyes, "Loob and Kapwa: An Introduction to a Filipino Virtue Ethics," *Asian Philosophy* 25, no. 2 (2015): 151-53, 155-57.

social relationships and exchanges that produced him or her.⁴⁷ This sense of *kapwa* and dividuality reached its apotheosis with the bond of *sandugo*.

In the blood compact, we observe the participation of existence in the foregoing sense, symbolized in the mixture of a substance of life, that is, blood. Through the double acts of *partaking* (in the senses of sharing and ingesting), the participants both share something and, more importantly, are themselves shared by the lived intersubjective experience of friend-making. In this perspective, the blood compact creates a relational affect in between the parties. It is precisely the common experience of self-incision, bleeding, and blood drinking that engenders affective intensity and thereby transforms them into *sandugos*. In other words, aside from the bodily and synecdochic substance of blood, what is shared is the experience of coexistence itself. And this very experience of shared sensation constitutes an affective arrangement of friendship. Through the solemnized sensation, a vague sentiment of friendship is parlayed into a supposedly everlasting bond.

This sense of shared personhood can be gleaned from the variety of circumstances in which the blood compact was arranged in precolonial and early colonial times. In *Historia de las islas e indios Bisayas* (1668), the Jesuit Fray Francisco Ignacio Alcina reported that the ceremony was performed “when some of them in ancient times tried to establish a mutual friendship, for greater firmness and as testimony of their great good will.” The participants came to be called *sandogos*, meaning “friends of the same blood.” As “a sign of friendship, confederation, and union [...] and perpetual love,” the practice was the reverse of the Spanish saying of drinking each other’s blood, which expressed mutual hatred and ill will.⁴⁸ Notably, it was also adopted by heterosexual couples who lived in concubinage in their youth and continued to do so even when married to others. Alcino urged them to separate and cease their carnal sin (*mal amistados*), but they alleged that it was impossible to leave each other once they had contracted the blood oath.⁴⁹

This suggests not only the pervasiveness and comprehensibility of the practice among the natives at large, but also the commonality among its different modalities. To be sure, the blood

⁴⁷ Marilyn Strathern, *The Gender of the Gift: Problems with Women and Problems with Society in Melanesia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 13. See also a discussion of person and status in precolonial Tagalog society in Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism*, 145-46.

⁴⁸ Francisco Ignacio Alcina, *The Muñoz Text of Alcina’s History of the Bisayan Islands (1668), Part I*, trans. Paul S. Lietz (Chicago: Philippine Studies Program, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, 1962), 4: 289-90.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 290.

exchanged in the adulterous couple's oath did not symbolize a bond of kinship. Rather, it was an essential substance of life and a determinant of death, thus implying the gravity of the agreement under oath. More importantly, it was also a shared part of the couple's selves, making them *as if* they were one and the same person and thus consummate friend-lovers. In short, the senses of solemnity and union, signified by bloodletting and exchange, were central to the ritual of blood compact as they were conjured in both an alliance pact and an extramarital pact.

As their selves were felt as shared, *sandugos* became each other's veritable substitute or extension. Notional though this may sound, an actual example of male friendship can be drawn from F. Landa Jocano's ethnography of the Sulods in twentieth-century Panay, who even then still observed the custom of *sandugu*. In one case, a Sulod man was asked by his dying *sandugu* to take over the responsibility of supporting the latter's family, including taking his widow as a second wife.⁵⁰ This sort of "levirate" obligation was absent throughout Filipino-Spanish relations of *sandugo* as they were apparently more pragmatic, transient, and expedient. Yet a sense of a shared sensation can be presumed nonetheless in these interracial ties.

Interracial Blood Compacts as Affective Arrangements of Friendship

There is no record of blood compacts between indigenous Filipinos and foreigners prior to the arrival of Europeans. Yet the prevalence of the custom across the islands must have equipped the natives with a means to deal with unfamiliar visitors. On the other hand, Philippine blood ceremonies were not exceptional events in which the Spaniards were compelled to grapple with indigenous ways of friendship during their early overseas expansion. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Spanish conquerors in the Caribbean had encountered a native custom of friend-making and appropriated it for the benefit of colonization. According to Bartolomé de Las Casas, the Spaniards came across the Taíno practice of *guatiao* or *guitiao*, a rite of friend-making and reconciliation through the ritualized exchange of names between the participants. It was regarded among the Taínos as "a bond of perpetual friendship and confederacy."⁵¹ The Spaniards swiftly employed the term to designate those native hosts who readily provided them with necessary

⁵⁰ F. Landa Jocano, *Sulod Society: A Study in the Kinship System and Social Organization of a Mountain People of Central Panay* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1968), 94-95; F. Landa Jocano, *Philippine Prehistory*, 182.

⁵¹ Bartolomé de las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, ed. André Saint-Lu (Caracas, Venezuela: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1986), 2: 37.

support.⁵² Meanwhile, they also made appeals to the concept of friendship in their contacts with Amerindians, hence “transmitting the European idea of friendship as a contractual political instrument to indigenous communities.”⁵³ A similar process of translation, as we have seen in previous chapters, took place in the Philippines and insular Southeast Asia.

The peculiarity of the Philippine blood compact in Spanish imperial history lay in its corporeal and ingestive dimensions. Hence, a sensory-affective approach to Filipino-Spanish pacts is in order. What Vicente Rafael calls the process of “contracting colonialism” and examines through textual exegesis also involved physical elements and phenomena.⁵⁴ These included tactile and olfactory-gustatory interactions epitomized in the ritual of blood compact. After all, to *contract* means not only to enter into an agreement, but also to compress or to draw together, especially on the corporeal level, as in the *contraction* of a muscle or body part. In the blood compact, what was drawn together and commingled was the participants’ blood. Among its ritualistic elements, blood stands out as a central substance laden with meanings, even as these meanings might sometimes be differently assigned by each of the parties. Its exchange, especially through ingestion, signified union as well as intersubjective experiences and promises. An inanimate and fluid substance, blood nevertheless served as a medium of friend-making and animating. It performed the work of mediation by conjoining two persons or groups from different political communities into a collective whole, with the exclusive promise of mutual goodwill, assistance, and collaboration. It was in this sense a ceremony of oath-taking, mostly without enunciated terms of agreement. Thus, the character of a resulting pact combined quasi-contractual reciprocity with affectionate friendship. For although there was no specific settlement as to the amount and form of reciprocation, their obligations were, ideally, perennial and the emotions involved, highly significant.⁵⁵

This section proposes to understand blood compacts between indigenous Filipinos and Europeans, especially Spaniards, as affective arrangements of friendship characterized by agonistic intimacy. Their intimacy was instantly established through ritual performance rather than

⁵² Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797* (London: Methuen, 1986), 71-72.

⁵³ Evgeny Roshchin, *Friendship among Nations: History of a Concept* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 99.

⁵⁴ See Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism*.

⁵⁵ For a classic threefold classification of reciprocity (contractual, quasi-contractual, and *utang na loob* or debt of gratitude) in Philippine lowland communities, see Mary R. Hollnsteiner, “Reciprocity in the lowland Philippines,” *Philippine Studies* 9, no. 3 (1961): 389-93.

sustained interaction. In the absence of prior contact and familiarity, the ceremony served a substitutive role to intensively create a measure of intimacy and trust. In many cases, it was also conditioned by the physical distance between Filipinos and Spaniards, with the former living in their local settlements and the latter in their vessels, circumscribing the possibility of prolonged, intimate interaction. Several of their contractual relations were short-lived, lasting for only a brief duration before the Spaniards' departure. Their agonism is captured in the act of mutual bleeding, which symbolizes close connection and solidarity on the one hand, and harm, wounds, and death on the other.

The blood covenant in Spanish-Filipino encounters can be read as a set of corporeal and symbolic techniques to mediate friendship formation in the more-or-less balanced manner of reciprocity. It involved a series of signifiers associated with blood relations, making it analogous to kinship. With its association with the primordial dichotomy of life and death, blood and its transfusion accorded to the ceremony an affective intensity that bound the participants and the communities under their authority while excluding others, particularly their mutual enemies. Their attachment and intimacy, as short-lived as they might have been, were also intensified by the acts of feasting and gift exchange that usually accompanied blood ceremonies. Drinking each other's blood and eating food together were mutually reinforced as acts of rapport and internalization, whereas gift exchanges invigorated their bodily exchange with external, material possessions. Camutuan, for example, gave his headdress to Andrés de Ibarra who in return gave him a handkerchief after their blood ceremony.⁵⁶ Commensality, on the one hand, protracted and intensified the shared sensation of friendship between the *sandugos*, making them consubstantial through additional ingestion. On the other hand, it also concluded the ceremony with enjoyable ease, as opposed to the tension and solemnity of covenanting.⁵⁷ After concluding a blood pact with Tupas and Tamuñan, for instance, Legazpi "gave them a snack of preserves and wine from Castile, which they drink well, and they left very happy."⁵⁸ Some ceremonies, such as the one between Fray Lorenzo de San Facundo and Chief Mangabo in Caraga, also involved the participants hugging each other. The mutual intimacy of touch further heightened the sense of shared sensation and conviviality between them.

⁵⁶ CDU, 2: 265.

⁵⁷ See a discussion on the "piacular" and "communal" aspects of the food-rite in R. R. Marett, *Sacraments of Simple Folk* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), 170-71.

⁵⁸ CDU, 2: 346.

All Filipino-Spanish blood compacts were arranged for political purposes, particularly for peacemaking. Most were acts of building mutual goodwill to prevent future hostility and aggression. Accordingly, to indigenous Filipinos, the blood compact served as a mechanism to neutralize the disconcerting alterity of foreigners on their shores who could otherwise pose as potential enemies. This, as we shall see, was particularly the case for the people of Bohol upon the arrival of Legazpi, among whom there was already a significant degree of native distrust toward the Spaniards. Through the commingling of blood, the ceremony helped ease interracial and intercommunity tensions and bring dyadic groups of strangers closer with a sense of commonality, if not consanguinity. The ceremony provided a platform for the mutual performance of what James C. Scott calls “public transcripts”—the open, normative interaction between dominant and subordinate or between more or less equal partners in a given setting.⁵⁹

In the context of colonial encounters, the blood compact lent itself to the natives as a prescribed code of friendly conduct with which they dissimulated their real intents and feelings. On the other hand, the Spaniards also found in the ceremony an opportune moment to implement their own public transcript in accordance with royal commands and legal-theological principles. As with the transimperial conception of interstate friendship among European powers, the blood compact served as a traditional tool to establish interpolity, interracial order. To borrow an analogy from E. E. Evans-Pritchard’s study of blood brotherhood in Africa, it served as “the traveller’s passport” by which politico-economic transactions could be carried on with a measure of protection.⁶⁰ The exchange of blood thus inaugurated or made possible other forms of reciprocal exchange such as gifting and, perhaps most importantly in imperial contexts, commerce.

In most cases, Spaniards readily accepted native invitations to the performance of blood covenanting. This was likely a result of the Spanish Crown’s mandate to make friendly contacts in the Philippines after the ignoble atrocities in the New World. Its contractual impression might have also appealed to the legalism of Spaniards who took pains to justify their imperial endeavors in juridical terms. Perhaps most importantly, the blood compact provided the Spaniards with a propitious opportunity to claim native friendship and acceptance vis-à-vis other Europeans, especially the Portuguese, in the context of interimperial rivalry. Ritualized friendship also came

⁵⁹ James C. Scott, *Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcript of Subordinate Groups* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 2.

⁶⁰ Evans-Pritchard, “Zande Blood-Brotherhood,” 372-73.

with the greater possibility of acquiring provisions and support from friendly natives as it principally obligated both parties to help each other and thus ensured their material exchange. It was, after all, an economical way to come to terms and make friends with the natives. Hence, the blood compact afforded the Europeans with a sense of rapport and security in the face of the foreign, the unknown, and the uncertain.

In addition, the blood compact bore some resemblance to European contractual traditions, as it was customary in medieval Europe up to the end of the seventeenth century to confirm a treaty of peace or friendship by swearing a religious oath in church.⁶¹ Spanish frontiersmen might have also found the Philippine blood compact analogous to medieval and early modern European practices of ritualized amity. As Elizabeth Brown argues, by the late eleventh century the institution of ritual brotherhood was so commonplace in Western Europe that Europeans encountering similar practices among the Arabs, the Greeks, or the Cumans had no difficulty recognizing them, however shocking they might have found the possible element of blood exchange.⁶² Similarly, in medieval Iberia, ritualized friendship often drew upon the language of brotherhood, albeit without the swallowing of blood. Dyadic sworn brotherhood allowed participants to equally enjoy economic and commercial profits from their common properties. As with the blood compact, it also served as a social tool of protection from external threats as well as reconciliation between former enemies.⁶³ As such, traditions of oath-swearing and ritual brotherhood in Iberia had predisposed the Spaniards to grasp the significance and functions of the blood compact they encountered in the Philippines.

Moreover, blood was an essential substance in early modern Europe's humoral theory of medicine and racial difference, as mentioned in Chapter One. Among all the humors, red blood was the most neutral and usually associated with sanguinity, serenity, and optimism.⁶⁴ Its

⁶¹ Randall Lesaffer, "Peace Treaties from Lodi to Westphalia," in *Peace Treaties and International Law in European History: From the Late Middle Ages to World War One*, ed. Randall Lesaffer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 23-27; Gerd Althoff, "Friendship and Political Order," in *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Julian Haseldine (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), 92-93.

⁶² Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "Ritual Brotherhood in Western Medieval Europe," *Traditio* 52 (1997): 361.

⁶³ Antonella Liuzzo Scorpo, *Friendship in Medieval Iberia: Historical, Legal and Literary Perspectives* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2014), 28; Maureen Flynn, "Rituals of Solidarity in Castilian Confraternities," *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme* (1989): 62.

⁶⁴ Noga Arikha, *Passions and Tempers: A History of the Humours* (New York: Ecco, 2007), 10; Rebecca Earle, *The Body of The Conquistador: Food, Race and the Colonial Experience in Spanish America, 1492-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 26-27. Black blood (*carum* in Bisaya) or black bile, on the contrary, signified anger or melancholia. This idea might have also been transmitted to colonial Visayan society, as indicated in a Bisaya-Castilian dictionary. See Sanchez, *Vocabulario de la lengua bisaya*, 131v.

psychosomatic significance thus seems to have accorded with the acts of friend- and peacemaking. Ingesting only a very small amount of a racial other's blood might have been seen by Spaniards as inconsequential to the European body, thus making the ceremony of blood exchange tolerable for their sensibilities. Although the notion of blood purity (*limpieza de sangre*)—which discriminated against miscegenation between Old Christians and non-Christians or new converts—was influential in early modern Spain⁶⁵, it had no effect on Spanish participation in the male homosocial practice of interracial *sandugo*, in which sexual reproduction was not involved.

Colonizing Covenants: Contractual Colonialism and the Displacement of Sandugos

In the context of Spanish colonial expansion, expedient friendship emerged as an indispensable feature of the political relations between Spanish empire builders and indigenous Filipinos. Evgeny Roshchin points to pragmatic and political perspectives on friendship, as opposed to ethical and normative ones, in premodern and early modern international relations that presented friendship as instrumental to colonialism. While the international order was increasingly seen, at least in Europe, in terms of natural law, “at the periphery rules and compliance often hinged on contingent agreements, in which binding force stemmed from political friendships.”⁶⁶

While sealing peace and friendship through blood covenanting, the Spaniards also imposed their own practice of legal contract on indigenous Filipinos. They punctuated their engagements with these indigenous rituals with ceremonial and legalistic acts of colonial possession and subjugation in accordance with European traditions. The internalization of compact through mutual ingestion gave way to the externalization of contract through notarized, enforceable agreement. The quasi-contractual reciprocity of the blood compact was displaced by the contractual nature of documented submission. Particularly during the Legazpi expedition, a series of notarial records were made along the way as the Spaniards explored and arrogated Philippine territories to themselves.⁶⁷ In this manner, to borrow Pitt-Rivers's terms, their relations were no longer simply moral but increasingly juralized, that is, subjected to the jural concepts of right and obligation and to legal sanctions.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ The Statutes on the Purity of Blood (*estatutos de limpieza de sangre*), an institutionalized perception of Christians in hematic terms as distinct from blood-tainted converts, were first proclaimed in 1449 in Toledo. See Anidjar, *Blood*, 41, 61-75.

⁶⁶ Roshchin, *Friendship among Nations*, 11.

⁶⁷ CDU, 3: 81-90.

⁶⁸ Pitt-Rivers, “The Kith and the Kin,” 132-33.

Sandugos in Early Filipino-Iberian Encounters, 1521-1538

Eyewitness accounts of the Magellan expedition by its crewmen—such as Antonio Pigafetta, Martin de Ayamonte, and Ginés de Mafra—all report the performance of blood ceremonies during their voyage.⁶⁹ According to Pigafetta, the Magellan fleet arrived at Limasawa and declared themselves as friends to the local ruler, Rajah Colambu. After exchanging gifts, Magellan told Colambu through his interpreter that “he desired to be *casi casi* with him, that is to say, brother.” In response, the chief said that he also wished to enter the same relations with Magellan.⁷⁰ Although Pigafetta provided no further detail as to whether a blood compact actually took place, Ayamonte testified that Magellan “concluded peace” with Colambu.⁷¹ And, more specifically, Mafra wrote that the chief “made peace with [the Spaniards] in accordance with the custom of that land; that is, both bleed from their chest, pour the blood together in a glass, mix with some wine, and each drink half of it.”⁷²

After that, Magellan arrived at Cebu and “entered into a pact with the kinglet” (*inito cū regulo fædere*), according to Maximilianus’s *De Moluccis Insulis*.⁷³ We find more details from Pigafetta: on April 8, 1521, Rajah Humabon of Cebu was informed by a Spanish notary that Magellan did not wish him to pay tribute to the Spanish Crown but only wished to trade with him. Humabon said that “if the captain wished to become his friend, he should send him a drop of blood from his right arm, and he himself would do the same [to him] as a sign of the most sincere friendship. The notary answered that the captain would do it.” A gift exchange was also commenced by Humabon.⁷⁴ Pigafetta’s account gives no description of the actual blood exchange.

⁶⁹ Martin de Ayamonte and another crewman deserted the ship *Victoria* at Timor and were captured by the Portuguese. Both were brought to Malacca and interrogated, which resulted in the eyewitness testimony consulted here. Ginés de Mafra’s account was based on his own experience and the diaries of Andrés de San Martín, another crewman. His documents were confiscated by the Portuguese upon his arrival in Portugal. Peter Schreurs, “The Voyage of Fernão de Magalhães: Three Little-Known Eyewitness Accounts,” *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 28, no. 1 (2000): 90-94.

⁷⁰ Pigafetta, *Magellan’s Voyage*, 1: 112-13. Here it seems unlikely that Magellan could have been aware of the custom beforehand and initiated it with Colambu. In the first publication of Pigafetta’s account in 1525 in French, Magellan only said that he wanted to be like a brother (*frere*) to Colambu, and the latter replied that this was what he wanted to be to him. Antonio Pigafetta, *The Voyage of Magellan: The Journal of Antonio Pigafetta*, trans. Paula Spurlin Paige (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1969), 37v. The term *casi casi* might have been projected back onto Magellan by Pigafetta after they had learned of the custom from the natives.

⁷¹ Quoted in Schreurs, “The Voyage of Fernão de Magalhães,” 92.

⁷² Ginés de Mafra, *Libro que trata del descubrimiento del estrecho de Magallanes*, ed. Antonio Blazquez and Delgado Aguilera (Madrid: Sociedad Geográfica Nacional, 1920), 198.

⁷³ C. H. Coote, ed., *Johann Schöner, Professor of Mathematics at Nuremberg: A Reproduction of His Globe of 1523, Long Lost His Dedicatory Letter to Reymer von Streperck, and the “De Moluccis” of Maximilianus Transylvanus* (London: Henry Stevens & Son, 1888), unpaginated. My own translation.

⁷⁴ Pigafetta, *Magellan’s Voyage*, 1: 136-37.

However, an account by Fernando Oliveira, a Portuguese who interviewed one of the expedition's survivors, relates that Humabon suggested to Magellan that "both he and the captain should bleed a vein of his chest and catch each other's blood in the mouth, and in this way lasting peace would be ensured. The captain answered that he agreed to do this, *as they did next, by which they became brothers and friends.*" Immediately after the conclusion of "peace or friendship" (*pazes ou amizade*), many provisions were brought to the ships.⁷⁵

What is noteworthy is that thereafter Magellan arranged a ceremony at which the chieftains of Cebu swore allegiance to and kissed the hand of Humabon who, in turn, declared his obedience and fidelity to the Spanish Crown. Thereupon, Magellan drew his sword in front of an image of the Virgin Mary and told Humabon that "when anyone so swore he should prefer to die rather than to break such an oath [*Juramêto*]." ⁷⁶ Albeit laden with European chivalric and feudal overtones, the oath-taking ceremony bore some resemblance to the blood compact. However, while the latter was meant primarily for peacemaking and mutual obligation, the former conveyed a sense of submission. Both would soon be repudiated by the chiefs in the aftermath of the Battle of Mactan.

Pigafetta also reported other blood ceremonies through which the Magellan fleet made friends with indigenous peoples. After Magellan's death, the decimated crew arrived in northern Mindanao where they met a local chief named Rajah Calanao. In order to "make peace" with the Spaniards, Calanao "drew blood from his left hand marking his body, face, and the tip of his tongue with it as a token of the closest friendship [*magior amitisia*], and we did the same." Pigafetta also accompanied Calanao to his residence where they drank and shared meals with other natives.⁷⁷ After leaving Mindanao, the crew reached Cagayan de Sulu (nowadays Mapun Island) and Palawan, where they met another local chief. Again, the chief "made peace" with them by "gashing himself slightly in the breast with one of our knives, and upon bleeding, touching the tip of his tongue and his forehead in token of the truest peace [*piu vera pace*], and we did the same."⁷⁸

Following the Magellan voyage, the expedition of Álvaro de Saavedra to the Philippines in 1528 also left historical traces of blood compacts proposed or performed between indigenous leaders and the Spanish captain. Two eyewitness accounts, both written by the crew member

⁷⁵ Fernando Oliveira, *The Voyage of Ferdinand Magellan: Viagem de Fernão Magalhães*, trans. Peter Schreurs (Manila: National Historical Institute, 2002), 93-94, my italics.

⁷⁶ Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage*, 1: 158-59.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 2: 12-17.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 2: 22, 25.

Vicente de Nápoles, relate that while foraging for food along the coast of Mindanao, Saavedra's crewmen came into contact with a local chief. Through an interpreter, Saavedra informed him that as the Spanish Crown's captain he came "to make peace with them and to have them as friends" and wanted to buy supplies from them. The chief replied that he could not give anything unless Saavedra made peace with him by means of a blood compact. Before deciding on the location of their ceremony, Saavedra's ship could not drop anchor and was forced to sail away.⁷⁹ Shortly afterward, while the Spaniards were approaching the islands of "Candiga" and Sarangani, they came across a native boat on which two Spaniards from the Loaísa expedition were held captive. Saavedra tried to rescue them by announcing their intent to trade with the captors, negotiate with their chief, and make "peace and friendship as brothers" with all of them. Saavedra then entered into a blood ceremony with the latter: "Each one of them took a little blood from their arms into a glass. There they poured a little water, and the King of the island drank their blood and the captain drank his, and from there they and we were great friends."⁸⁰

Although Spanish records being the major source of testimonies on the *sandugo*, the Spaniards were not the only Europeans to perform the ritual in archipelagic Southeast Asia. Both Spanish and Portuguese historical writings refer to the conclusion of two blood compacts between indigenous Filipinos and Portuguese in Mindanao and Sarangani in the 1530s (see detail below). These, however, are all secondary sources with no eyewitness accounts to corroborate their factuality.

From Spanish Conquest to Indigenous Revolt, 1565-1631

Following the Portuguese interludes above, a series of blood ceremonies were performed between indigenous Filipinos and Spaniards during the Legazpi expedition, after it had sailed from Mexico in November 1564. During their transpacific crossing, a ship under the command of Alonso de Arellano was accidentally separated from the armada and continued westward until it reached the Philippines. On January 31, they came into contact with a group of natives and their chief. After some gestures of goodwill and friendship, Arellano wrote, "this chief took out his dagger, which he had on his belt, and made signs that he wanted to cut himself on his belly or arm to draw blood to further confirm his friendship with us, since that is the custom among these

⁷⁹ CDAO, 5: 80-81.

⁸⁰ CVD, 5: 481. See also CDAO, 5: 82.

Islanders. I took the dagger from him so that it would not cut, and told him by signs that we already had much friendship without it.”⁸¹ Two weeks later, the remaining Legazpi fleet dropped anchor at Samar where they encountered local natives. Legazpi asked them to call their chiefs because he wanted to establish friendship with them. On another day, their chiefs came in canoes and “wanted to bleed with the General, which is a sign of friendship.” An eyewitness account records that on February 19 they performed a blood compact, after which the chiefs entered the flagship where they were warmly welcomed and given some gifts.⁸²

Due to their shortage of food, Legazpi dispatched a small boat under Juan de la Isla to the north to find a location for settlement. De la Isla found a bay where natives came to the shore, “made signs that they wanted to bleed with him and make friends,” and asked one of the Spaniards to go ashore to perform a blood pact. Francisco Gomez, one of his crew, disembarked as requested, though without de la Isla’s permission, and was stabbed to death by one of the natives while he was about to bleed himself. The rest of the group then returned to the armada.⁸³

On February 15, Legazpi took possession of Cibabao Island (Samar) in the name of the Spanish Crown. He sent Andres de Ibarra to make friends and agree with a local chieftain named Calayon on their intended occupancy. Ibarra then performed a ceremony of territorial possession by announcing his authorized act, passing from one end of the land to the other, cutting branches of trees, plucking grass, and throwing stones. The ceremony, as it was notarized and reported, took place “quietly and peacefully, in sight and in peace [*en haz y en paz*] of those who were present without any opposition from anyone.”⁸⁴ After that, the fleet sailed southward to Leyte where a

⁸¹ CDU, 3: 30-31.

⁸² Ibid., 2: 252-53. However, a ship log written by Francisco de Astigarribia states that the natives wanted to seal a blood pact with the Spaniards, “but as we had no authorization we deferred it to a later time.” Quoted in Martin J. Noone, *The Discovery and Conquest of the Philippines (1521-1581)* (Manila: Historical Conservation Society, 1986), 300. Secondary sources claim Spanish participation but attribute it to a person other than Legazpi. According to Fray Juan de Grijalva and Fray Juan de Medina, Legazpi wanted to seal a pact himself only with the supreme chief of the islands and asked the master-of-camp Mateo de Saz to perform it with them in his stead. Juan de Grijalva, *Cronica de la Orden de N.P.S. Agustin en las provincias de la Nueva España: en cuatro edades desde el año de 1553 hasta el de 1592* (México: En el Religiosissimo comuento de S. Augustin, y imprenta de Ioan Ruyz, 1624), 114v; Juan de Medina, *Historia de los sucesos de la orden de N. Gran P. S. Agustin de estas islas Filipinas: desde que se descubrieron y se poblaron por los españoles, con las noticias memorables compuesta por el venerable Fray Juan de Medina* (Manila: Tipo-Litografía de Chofré y Comp, 1893), 24. Fray Gaspar de San Agustín wrote similarly that Legazpi refused the invitation because he thought these chiefs were not sufficient in rank to enter a pact of amity for the entire island. Gaspar de San Agustín, *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas: Conquest of the Philippine Islands, 1565-1615*, trans. Luis Antonio Mañeru (Manila: San Agustín Museum, 1998), 260-61.

⁸³ Miguel López de Legazpi, “Relation of the Voyage to the Philippines” (1565), in BR, 2: 201; CDU, 2: 254-55, 396-97. In a letter to his provincial superior in 1577, Fray Martín de Rada identified the slain crewman as Franco Gomez. BNF, Espagnol 325, f.42v.

⁸⁴ CDU, 2: 351-55.

local chief named Urrao came to the ship and performed a blood compact with Mateo de Saz on February 22. On the same day, Urrao took Saz to the town of Caniungo and the latter made another blood pact with its chief. Here at Leyte, Legazpi took possession of the island in the name of the Spanish Crown on the following day.⁸⁵ He also dispatched Martín de Goiti and his soldiers to search for a port in which to anchor. According to the chief pilot Estevan Rodríguez, they coasted along Leyte, where Goiti sealed a blood compact with a local chief and requested provisions from the natives. Notwithstanding their pact, the natives failed to bring the provisions as promised. On the following day, the Spaniards also encountered a boat with twenty natives, who invited Goiti to make a blood compact with their chief. Goiti refused, saying that he had already performed such a pact, that it was enough, and that he considered them friends. After that, Goiti and his crew returned to the armada.⁸⁶

Arriving at Cabalian, southern Leyte, on March 5, Legazpi sent a small boat ashore to declare themselves as friends to the natives and ask their chief “to make friends with him and to seal their friendship by bleeding [*y el seguro de sangrarse*].”⁸⁷ Here, it was remarkably the Spaniards rather than the natives themselves who requested the blood ceremony. By then, Legazpi had already become aware of the pacts arranged during the Magellan expedition, and he himself had recently been invited to perform one with the chieftains of Samar. Then a young chief named Camutuan (also spelled Camutrian in the account) came and said he was the son of Maletec, another local chief who was too old to come. Legazpi ordered Andrés de Ibarra to make a blood compact with Camutuan, telling him that Ibarra was his son and that he himself would do it with Maletec should the latter come. After the ceremony and some delay, Camutuan and his followers cooperated with the Spaniards and guided them to Limasawa.⁸⁸

The Legazpi armada arrived at Limasawa and Camiguin, respectively, only to find that the natives were inhospitable or had immediately escaped to the mountains. Then at Bohol, the Spaniards realized that the animosity of the Visayans was a corollary of the ravages that the Portuguese had committed in their guise a few years earlier. A local chieftain named Sikatuna asked one of the Spaniards to make a blood compact with him to reassure the natives of their goodwill. Legazpi sent ashore one of his soldiers named Santiago to make a blood compact, which

⁸⁵ Ibid., 2: 258-60.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 2: 401-02.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 2: 265.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 2: 265-77.

Sikatuna had his son to do instead of himself on March 23. After that, Sikatuna was invited to meet with Legazpi on his flagship and, on March 25, both of them sealed another blood compact. Records of the conversation that followed reveal Spanish intent and understanding of the concluded pact. Legazpi explained to Sikatuna that they came to the Philippines in the name of the Spanish king, who had great friendship for all the chieftains and a desire that his vassals should deal with them in peace and friendship. With their blood compact, he would take Sikatuna as his friend and treat him as his own brother, giving him favor and assistance if needed. He also asked Sikatuna to tell the natives to barter with the Spaniards. In reply, Sikatuna said that Legazpi should keep their friendship inviolable so that the natives could be sure of “true friendship,” to which Legazpi assented. The compact enabled the Spaniards to buy victuals and goods such as fish and wax from the natives, both male and female.⁸⁹

On March 28, another local chieftain of Bohol named Sigala, who “appeared to be more important and more qualified than Sikatuna,” showed up and asked “to bleed and establish peace and friendship” with Legazpi. Both sealed a blood compact and celebrated with a feast in accordance with the local custom.⁹⁰ Although both Sikatuna and Sigala concluded the pacts with Legazpi, the latter wrote that the Spaniards could put no confidence in them.⁹¹ To explore the archipelago further, Legazpi dispatched a frigate with fifteen men on March 30 to reconnoiter Cebu. The group arrived at Binglas (Negros Island) where they encountered a group of natives armed with spears. According to the chief pilot Estevan Rodriguez, “we jumped on land and made peace with them. One of us and another of them bled, and they drank the blood as a sign of friendship.” Despite their blood pact, the natives turned against the foreign visitors, who retreated and, after coasting along Negros and Cebu, rejoined the flagship on April 21.⁹² After more than a month’s stay at Bohol, Legazpi decided to take the fleet to Cebu with the intentions of requesting peace and friendship and buying provisions from the natives. In case they were rejected, he would declare a just war upon them on account of their apostasy and treachery against Magellan and his crew under the guise of friendship, despite their baptism and voluntary submission to the Spanish Crown decades earlier.⁹³

⁸⁹ Ibid., 2: 274-305.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 2: 305-06.

⁹¹ Legazpi, “Relation of the Voyage to the Philippines,” 208.

⁹² CDU, 2: 416-19.

⁹³ Legazpi, “Relation of the Voyage to the Philippines,” 211-12; CDU, 2: 324-25.

Arriving at Cebu on April 27, Legazpi sent his Spanish subordinates and Malay interpreter to announce to the natives his intention to establish peace and friendship with their chieftain. From Spanish accounts, the Spaniards regarded the Cebuanos as already the Spanish king's vassals, obliged to be reduced to his service and to admit Spanish friendship. Although the announcement was reportedly made three times, the natives brandished their arms before the Spaniards, and Tupas, the local chieftain, did not show up. However, after the Spaniards discharged their artillery, the natives deserted their houses and fled inland. Legazpi and his crew then went ashore and began building a colonial settlement.⁹⁴ In their discussion, the Spaniards also agreed among themselves that they should make the natives understand their "past faults" and tell them that they had shied away (*recataban*) from contact with the Spaniards precisely "because of their memory" of those misdeeds. After that, the Spaniards should forgive them in the name of the Crown.⁹⁵

Here, the natives' fear was rendered not simply as a consequence of an anticipated encounter with a fearsome other, but rather as that of their own punishable acts toward that particular other. Their affective orientation toward the Spaniards was thus attributed to their own guilt, placing the Spaniards in the position to exonerate them from their wrongdoings and constitute themselves as magnanimous and redemptive. As the Spaniards implied, the natives' memory of past events resulted not in the kind of distrust we have discussed in Chapter One, but rather in fear and shame, both of which led to their self-concealment. In this assumed affective relation, the Spaniards featured not as an object of native fear *tout court* but rather as a witness of native shame.

After ravaging the Spanish settlement every night, the Cebuanos finally came to request peace. On behalf of Tupas, his brother invited Legazpi to make a blood compact, which Legazpi ordered the master-of-camp Mateo de Saz to do instead of himself. Several days later, Tupas arrived with another chief named Tamuñan and their followers to request peace and friendship and invite Legazpi to conclude a blood compact with both of them. Legazpi agreed to perform the ceremony with the stipulation that within three days they would settle and declare the terms of peace in writing. Then the three of them drew their blood and mixed it with wine, each drinking a portion.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Legazpi, "Relation of the Voyage to the Philippines," 212-14; CDU, 2: 325-37.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 2: 340-41.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 2: 339-43; Anonymous, "Copia de vna carta venida de Seuilla a Miguel Salvador de Valencia" (1566), BR, 2: 224-25.

After the ceremony, Legazpi declared his intent in order that “they would understand the great goods that his friendship would bring to all of them and how much His Majesty loved them.” He reiterated his justification of war by accusing the natives of disregard and resistance to his friendship, and their forefathers of apostasy and treachery against the Spaniards. The chiefs reportedly listened attentively “with their heads bowed and eyes cast down.” However, Legazpi immediately pardoned them on behalf of the Spanish Crown for all their punishable acts on the condition that they once again became its loyal vassals and friends.⁹⁷ Also, to ensure the voluntariness and perpetuity of their submission and friendship, they were to pay an annual tribute to the king in exchange for his protection, and resettle near the Spanish settlement for the sake of their trade. In so doing, Tupas and Tamuñan “will be lord of the whole land, and all the Indians will obey you, and those who do not, let us know and we will punish them, and if you have enemies, we will help you.”⁹⁸ The natives then admitted that their elders had once been vassals and slaves of the Spanish monarch, which they also wanted to become. They asked to discuss the terms of agreement among themselves and promised to come back within three days to finalize it and designate sites for Spanish and their own settlements.⁹⁹

In the meantime, despite their unsettled negotiations, the Spaniards reported to their monarch “the change of feeling among the natives respecting the friendship and goodwill” toward his vassals.¹⁰⁰ After some delay, Tupas and his fellow chieftains finally showed up to agree upon a treaty of peace and friendship and placed themselves under Spanish overlordship and protection on June 4. As a sign of submission and obedience, Tupas, his son Pisuncan, and other chiefs—namely Sicatepan, Sibatumay, Simaquio, Sicabun, Sigiguin, Sibatala, Silinti, Sicarlic, and Sicagumo—knelt before Legazpi, kissed his hands, and offered themselves as vassals of the Spanish Crown. On the following days, these local leaders returned with other chieftains from neighboring villages to perform the same ceremony of submission.¹⁰¹

Hence, the Spanish conquistador acceded to the practice of blood covenanting as an initial step to obtain the voluntary submission of the natives and pave the way for their resettlement. This, in turn, would permit the Spaniards to legitimately claim sovereignty over Cebu and secure their

⁹⁷ CDU, 2: 343-44, 424.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 2: 345, 424.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 2: 345-46, 424.

¹⁰⁰ Miguel López de Legazpi et al., “Letters to Felipe II of Spain” (1565), in BR, 2: 174.

¹⁰¹ CDU, 3: 98-110.

own commercial transaction and sustenance. To determine what was punishable and yet forgivable, Legazpi held the natives accountable as a proxy of their assumed sovereign, that is, the Spanish Crown. The native treachery of the past was contrasted with, and expunged by, Spanish love and friendship, which at the same time worked to subject the natives to Spanish colonial rule, professedly for their own good. The parameters of the compact were stretched to incorporate the Spanish practice of legal agreement. The unequal terms of their contract eclipsed the blood compact, subordinating the natives to Spanish rule and tributary obligations while promising them defense against their enemies. In parallel, the feudalistic ceremony of homage and fealty superseded indigenous friend-making practices, just as vassalic friendship made provision for Spanish colonial domination.

* * * * *

By the same token, friendship agreement was central to the negotiation between the Spanish conquerors and the natives of Manila, and eventually to the colonization of Luzon. It had taken half a century, since the arrival of the Magellan fleet, before Filipino-European blood pacts were concluded in Luzon as Spanish interest moved northward. In early 1569, because of the persistent shortage of food and Portuguese ravages, the Spaniards decided to move to Panay after three years at Cebu. In the following year, their exploration of northern islands led by the new master-of-camp Martín de Goiti brought them into contact with Rajah Sulayman of Manila. At their first meeting, Sulayman and Goiti embraced each other and “made a friendly compact.” On the next day, however, hearing that the Spaniards were to demand tribute from him, Sulayman refused to allow the Spaniards to enter the Pasig River of Manila. In response, Goiti went ashore to seal “a friendly compact” with Sulayman and his uncle, Rajah Ache or Rajah Matanda, through a blood ceremony, on the condition that the natives of Manila would give provisions to the Spaniards and assist their settlement, without any further requirement of tribute.¹⁰²

Despite their arrangement of peace and friendship, the natives reportedly persisted in their hostilities. This escalated into an open battle in which the natives began to discharge their artillery into the Spanish fleet and were fought back by the Spaniards, who finally set fire to Manila and took formal possession of Luzon in the name of the Spanish Crown.¹⁰³ Their notarial record claims

¹⁰² Anonymous, “Relation of the Voyage to Luzon” (1570?), in BR, 3: 91-97.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 97-104; “Report of Pacheco Maldonado on the Philippines,” in *The Christianization of the Philippines* (Manila: Historical Conservation Society, 1965), 344; Anonymous, “Conquest of the Island of Luzón” (1572), in BR, 3: 149-51.

that despite their blood compact, the chiefs of Manila “began war treacherously and unexpectedly” without advising Goiti beforehand. And since Manila and its fort were won “in lawful and just war” and it was the capital of Luzon, the Spaniards took royal ownership of the island on June 6, 1570 and returned to Panay at the end of the month.¹⁰⁴ On their routes back and forth between Panay and Luzon, the reconnoitering Spaniards also made treaties of friendship with indigenous communities on Mindoro and Luzon.¹⁰⁵ No interracial blood pacts, however, were reported to be performed at these localities.

In the following year, the Legazpi armada decided to transfer its center of operation to Luzon. The ensuing conquest of Manila was an exemplary occasion in which the indigenous practice of ritualized friendship was overshadowed and displaced by Spanish contractual colonialism. After their arrival in May, the Spaniards met with Sulayman, who excused himself for their past conflict and was pardoned by Legazpi.¹⁰⁶ A Spanish document of 18 May 1571 presents the Spanish occupation of the Pasig River delta as an agreement of peace and friendship between the Spaniards and local rulers. According to the record, Rajah Ache and Rajah Sulayman of Manila as well as Lakandula of Tondo met and decided among themselves to make peace and friendship with the Spaniards and become vassals of the Spanish Crown. To this end, the three rulers told Legazpi that they, “with one common feeling, wished to be vassals of the King of Castile, and as such they offered themselves from now on in the name of all the Indians of this region.”¹⁰⁷ In response, Legazpi explained to them that the Spaniards had come to the Philippines “for their own good and benefit” and to teach them the Catholic faith. As a gesture of subjection and obedience, the chiefs knelt down one by one and shook hands with Legazpi on behalf of the Spanish Crown.¹⁰⁸ The document depicts their submission to colonial rule as unanimously felt, voluntary, and in accord with Spanish practices of homage:

“And his Lordship told them if they wanted to affirm the peace and friendship they had promised with some of the ceremonies they were accustomed to among themselves, he would do it to satisfy them; and the said chiefs said that among them it was customary to bleed and drink blood, but that they regarded the said Governor

¹⁰⁴ Hernando Riquel, “Act of Taking Possession of Luzon” (1570), in BR, 3: 105-07.

¹⁰⁵ Anonymous, “Conquest of the Island of Luzón,” 151; Colin, *Labor evangélica*, 1: 155.

¹⁰⁶ Hernando Riquel et al., “Las nuevas quescriven de las yslas del Poniente” (1574), in BR, 3: 234-35.

¹⁰⁷ AGI, Patronato, 24, R.24, f.1r. The document was misdated as of 1572 by its author.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., ff.1r-1v.

as their father and therefore, trusting in his word, they wanted to make the peace according to the use of Castile; and the said Governor told them that the custom of Castile was to settle before a notary and witness, and the said chiefs were content with it. And the said Lord Governor sent me, the said Fernando Riquél, to lay down all the aforementioned as it happened; and the said friendship being made, the said Lord Governor took possession of said land and island in the name of his Majesty, making the acts and ceremonies of true possession according to the use and custom, which took place in the beam and peace of the said Indians.”¹⁰⁹

Where their technique of friendly occupation proved futile, the Spaniards turned to the force of arms. Following the submission of the three rulers, some surrounding villages came to make peace with the Spaniards without any blood ceremonies. Others such as Butas and the adjacent villages that refused their offer of friendship were subdued by Spanish forces which, according to the Spanish notary, left the Spaniards “admired with sheer fear throughout the country.” The natives of the Vites River in Pampanga, in defiance of friendship with the Spaniards, were also subjugated by force.¹¹⁰

After the conquest of the Tagalog region, Filipino-Spanish blood pacts were also performed during a Spanish expedition to northeastern Luzon. In November 1591, a Spanish expedition under Pedro Cid was dispatched by Governor Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas to the valley of Tuy. In his encounter with a chief of Tuy and his following, Cid gave them some gifts, requested their token of homage to the Spanish Crown, and asked them to cultivate their fields in order to pay their tribute in the future. The natives accordingly gave foodstuffs to Cid as a token of recognition. After that, chieftains of Bantal and Marangui came and performed similar exchanges. To confirm their peace, they also asked Cid to seal a blood compact with them, which he did accordingly, and gave him foodstuffs as a token of recognition. During the latter half of the month, the same ceremonies, including blood covenanting, were successively performed between Cid and chieftains of the villages of Dangla, Pamut, Palan, Pao, Balabat, Payta, Balavad, Yanil, Saguli, and Pintian. On the native side, their exchanges and blood pacts might have been seen not as ceremonies of submission, but rather as ones of peacemaking and acquaintance. On the Spanish side, however,

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., f.1v.

¹¹⁰ Anonymous, “Conquest of the Island of Luzón,” 156-62; Riquel et al., “Las nuevas quescriven de las yslas del Poniente,” 234-39.

gift giving and blood covenanting were understood as gestures of subordination, and Cid's peacemaking accordingly amounted to "pacification," paving the way for further subjugation in years to come.¹¹¹ With one native community after another undergoing colonizing processes such as resettlement and tribute exaction, the blood ceremony gradually went out of use in Filipino-Spanish encounters and in their uneven arrangements of reciprocity that followed.

* * * * *

At the close of the sixteenth century, the persistent question of Spanish sovereignty and colonial legitimacy in the Philippines was decisively resolved among Spanish imperialists. To legitimately collect tribute from indigenous peoples, it was understood that the Spanish Crown could no longer base its rights and authority exclusively on an "supernatural" foundation; that is, as an apostolic sovereign who oversaw native conversion. Its "natural" or temporal sovereignty must also be established through the voluntary submission of the natives.¹¹² Upon a royal request, the Council of the Indies and Spanish theologians in Spain discussed whether tribute should be levied upon the natives "who are not opposed to the preaching of the gospel and are not enemies"—or, in other words, whether and how tribute could be justly collected from friendly natives. On February 8, 1597, the Spanish Crown issued a decree to the Governor-General of the Philippines to confer with the clergy and "undertake to remedy by love all which shall be found to have been done through force and fear."¹¹³

The decree was understood by Philippine colonial authorities as demanding that all the natives should render voluntary submission to the Spanish Crown "by peaceful means of love."¹¹⁴ Instructions as to the ceremonial execution of the royal decree were then sent to the provincial governors (*alcaldes mayores*) and the religious of all the provinces. By the end of 1599, several towns in Manila, Laguna de Bay, Pangasinan, Ilocos, and Cagayan had rendered submission to the Spanish Crown.¹¹⁵ In the town of Lumban in Laguna de Bay, for example, civil and religious authorities gathered native chieftains, headmen, and commoners, and announced to them that God

¹¹¹ AGI, Filipinas, 34, N.92; AGI, Filipinas, 7, R.3, N.45; Juan Manuel de la Vega, "Expeditions to the Province of Tuy" (1609), in BR, 14: 289-91.

¹¹² For a discussion of the supernatural and natural sovereignty of the Spanish monarchy in the Philippines, see John Leddy Phelan, "Some Ideological Aspects of the Conquest of the Philippines," *The Americas* 13, no. 3 (1957): 221-39.

¹¹³ Francisco Tello, "Letter to the King" (1599), in BR, 10: 279.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 281.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 253-55; AGI, Filipinas, 76, N.44; Fidel Villarroel, "Philip II and the 'Philippine Referendum' of 1599," in *Re-Shaping the World: Philip II of Spain and His Time*, ed. Dámaso de Lario (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2008), 117-26.

had granted them kindness and grace in keeping them under Christianity. He had also been pleased to bring the Spaniards to free them from the abomination of Islam and the tyranny of their precolonial rule. The natives were also reminded of the Spanish Crown's "gentleness and love" in maintaining their peace and justice. At the climactic end of the ceremony, the natives were made to utter their submission to the Spanish monarch and acknowledge him as their natural lord "of their own will and pleasure" in front of a Spanish notary. They also declared their recognition and gratitude to the Spanish king, who granted them "great security of life and property, comfort, and peace" and more liberty than they had ever thought under pre-Hispanic tyrannies.¹¹⁶

In effect, these orchestrated ceremonies of submission formalized the *de facto* vassalic friendship between the Spanish Crown and indigenous Filipinos. Here the idiom of vassalage overshadowed friendship as these formalities were devised primarily to accommodate colonial subjugation and tribute collection. To colonize friendship—that is, to appropriate it for colonial purposes—the Spaniards supplanted the indigenous ceremony of blood covenanting with their own ceremony of allegiance and norm of notarized agreement. The equivocal sense of parity in their concluded blood compacts was replaced by an assertion of superiority and domination. As with the blood compact, however, the sense of voluntariness and reciprocity remained underscored. In a similar manner to legal contract, their vassalic friendship was predicated on the recognition of mutual obligations and indebtedness. With its discursive and procedural elements, the ceremony rendered the Spanish conquest of the Philippines a benevolent act of political liberation and moral edification. It was an affective arrangement in which native peace and pleasure were pictured as a corollary of Christian love and justice. In other words, native pleasure was owing to God's pleasure and intervention, with the Spaniards as His temporal agents. To submit as vassals, the natives were induced to feel indebted to God as well as the royal love, which obliged them to repay in the form of tribute. The ceremony, in other words, was an affective as much as a legalistic technique of colonization as it facilitated the creation of colonial subjects beholden to their colonizers and, ultimately, their God.

The seventeenth century also witnessed at least one Filipino-Spanish blood oath performed in a similar manner to previous ceremonies. In his memoirs, the Recollect Fray Lorenzo de San Facundo recounted a revolt of the Caragans of Surigao against the Spaniards in 1631. After killing some Spaniards and holding San Facundo captive, Chief Mangabo of Tago eventually paid respect

¹¹⁶ Tello, "Letter to the King" (1599), in BR, 10: 282-88.

to San Facundo and took a blood oath in front of him on July 28, 1631. It was performed in a remarkably non-mutual manner and accompanied by self-imprecation. This implied a recognition of their unequal standing as Mangabo was the only party who bled, drank blood, and brought curses upon himself:

“He made two cuts in the skin of his lower stomach; he drew some blood and told his son to gather it with his finger and put it in a kind of hat filled with wine. Then he began to swear and invoke his *diwata* with such an extreme shouting that even the river got scared. He called all kinds of curses upon himself if he failed to be our friend and protector, even if it cost him his life. After drinking from the wine, he put the hat on, shouted with an extremely loud voice ‘*tigbabagna*,’ embraced me and put his red turban on my head. That was the conclusion of the ‘*sandugo*’ oath, which they consider inviolable.”¹¹⁷

On the whole, in subordinating the *sandugo* to the legal regime of imperial Spain, Spanish colonial frontiersmen were tacitly aware of the blood compact’s inadequacy as a universally recognizable legal agreement. In no time, however, did they realize its potential advantage as a manifestation of native amity. In other words, for the Spaniards, the *sandugo* was affectively rather than juridically serviceable in the wider world. With the presence of armed forces, the Spaniards colonized indigenous bodies partly through the possibility of bloodshed, brushing aside their bleeding in the foregoing ceremonies of friendship. Under Spanish rule, the blood of the natives was less a symbol of autonomy, available at will for covenanting, than a factor of production constitutive of colonized labor, whose surplus was extracted by their colonizers.

Historicizing Covenants: Amity and Treachery

The ceremonies of submission allowed the Spanish monarch to legally rule the Philippines and relieve his conscience. In their wake, Spanish historical writings continued to legitimize Spanish rule by framing blood compacts as signs of native friendship and submission. In Chapter One we have already discussed the role of historical memory in shaping colonial encounters and

¹¹⁷ Quoted in Peter Schreurs, *Caraga Antigua, 1521-1910: The Hispanization and Christianization of Agusan, Surigao and East Davao* (Cebu City: University of San Carlos, 1989), 156. See also Luis de Jesús, *Historia general de los religiosos descalzos del Orden de los Hermitaños del gran padre, y doctor de la iglesia San Avgvstin, de la Congregación de España, y de las Indias, tomo segundo* (Madrid: Lucas Antonio de Bedmaz, 1681), 168. For a detailed discussion of the revolt, see Oona Paredes, *A Mountain of Difference: The Lumad in Early Colonial Mindanao* (Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program Publications, 2013), 83-119.

their affective underpinnings. Early modern Spanish historiography of the Philippines, here I argue, incorporated the blood compact in its narration of colonial conquest as predicated on both contractual friendship and just war. It was through the trope of blood covenanting that *both* the Spanish ideology of friendly pacification *and* native treacherousness were demonstrated. With the latter, Spanish wars of conquest were effectively rationalized as just wars of retaliation.

Spanish-Portuguese competitive friend-making, as discussed in Chapter Two, was also continued in the domain of historical writing just as the blood compact, as an indication of native amity, became a recurring motif in early colonial Philippine historiography. The practice was in fact not an unprecedented element in European literature. Until then, the ritual of blood brotherhood had been employed in ancient and medieval texts as a stereotypical element to discriminatorily characterize “primitive” or “barbaric” others in foreign heterodox societies, particularly non-Christian ones at the frontiers of the Latin West.¹¹⁸ The trope of the blood compact, however, does not seem to serve primarily to accentuate the savagery of the indigenous Filipinos. Rather, it was aimed to emblemize a gesture of friendship by natives themselves toward Spanish or Lusitanian visitors, and yet to demonstrate the racialized duplicity of the natives, regardless of their solemnized pacts of friendship.

At the turn of the seventeenth century, the blood compact gained traction as a salient trope in Spanish historical writings on the Philippines, whether by lay or clerical historians. In Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas’s history of the Spaniards in the Americas and the Philippines (published during 1601-15), Humabon explained to Magellan their custom of peacemaking with strangers through a blood compact. But after Magellan had shown his willingness to do so, Humabon, in view of the latter’s goodwill, held that the peace had been sealed.¹¹⁹ In his account of the Saavedra expedition in 1528, Herrera also described the characteristics and customs of the natives, including the blood compact: “the men are fighters and they confirm peace by drinking the blood of the new friend.” There Saavedra rescued two Spanish captives and “made peace with the chief, drinking and giving blood from the arm to drink, because such was their custom.”¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Klaus Oschema, “Blood-Brothers: A Ritual of Friendship and the Construction of the Imagined Barbarian in the Middle Ages,” *Journal of Medieval History* 32, no. 3 (2006): 275-301.

¹¹⁹ Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las islas i tierra firme del mar oceano* (Madrid: En la Oficina Real de Nicolás Rodríguez Franco, 1730), 3 (década 3, libro 1): 5.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 4 (década 4, libro 1): 9-10.

The increasing significance of the blood compact motif perhaps accounts for its presence, albeit sparse, in Portuguese historiography of the period. The Spanish historian Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola wrote that in the mid-1530s, during which Tristan de Atayde was Portuguese Governor of Ternate, the Portuguese fell out with the Moluccans, who consequently blockaded their ports and deprived them of food supplies. Atayde decided to dispatch a ship under João de Canha Pinto to forage for food in Mindanao and neighboring islands. In “Seriago” (probably Surigao or Siargao), Pinto came into contact with its local ruler and “in order to perpetuate their friendship, they concluded a peace with a barbarous ceremony.” It was performed by drawing an amount of blood from their arms and each drinking the other’s blood “as tokens of love, believing that they convey it into their souls by that horrible drink.”¹²¹

This pact, Argensola continued, resulted in such “close fidelity” (*estrecha fidelidad*) that their ships could travel to each other safely without any prohibition. However, the multitude of the natives who came to his ship “gave him [Pinto] greed to make a good prey on them” and held them captive. The native ruler was “infuriated and offended at seeing such a recent friendship, celebrated with a bond so sacrosanct in his opinion, broken by the Portuguese.” Because his “religion” was affronted, he ordered an attack on the Portuguese. Underscoring the affective state in which the natives launched their assault, Argensola wrote that the “furious barbarians” encircled and attacked the Portuguese ship everywhere “with rage.” It fled back to Ternate in calamity and ruin “for having failed in the faith and obligations that they had promised.” Significantly, Argensola attributed the misadventure of the Portuguese to God’s judgment: “the sinful conscience mistreats so much that it always provokes God’s wrath [*ira de Dios*]”¹²² In short, anger runs through Argensola’s account of the first reported blood pact between Portuguese and indigenous Filipinos.

While this Spanish account portrays the Portuguese-Filipino blood compact as a disastrous failure, a Portuguese historical writing depicts another Portuguese-Filipino blood pact as an amical and religious success. The Portuguese historian João de Barros’s account of the Portuguese in the Moluccas reports that in 1538, António Galvão, Portuguese Governor of Ternate, dispatched a ship under Captain Francisco de Castro to Makassar to establish friendship with its chiefs and pave the way for evangelization. However, the ship was carried northward by a storm until it reached

¹²¹ Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, *La conquista de las Islas Malucas* (Madrid: Alonso Martin, 1609), 2: 49-50.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 2: 50-51.

“Satigano” (probably Sarangani) where the natives were pagans. Castro soon befriended the chief, “and as a confirmation hereof both were bled in the arm in accordance with those people’s custom and drank each other’s blood.” A few days later, the chief together with his family and following were baptized.¹²³

Missionary chroniclers played a key role in incorporating the blood compact as a historiographical motif into their narratives of the Spanish conquest and evangelization in the Philippines. Their emplotment similarly presents the custom as bringing about interracial friendship, preceding and eventually leading to the triumph of Christianity through Catholic conversion. In these accounts, the shedding of blood in the indigenous manner gave way to the sanctified shedding of blood by Jesus Christ, whereby native converts were promised salvation from their sins.

The Jesuit Fray Pedro Chirino’s history of the Philippines (1604) presents the circumstances in the precolonial Philippines as rife with mutual destruction among the indigenous peoples. The Spaniards arrived against this backdrop with their “good friendship,” commodities, and an offer of defense to the natives against their enemies. At Cebu, after their inland withdrawal, the Cebuanos returned to be baptized and offered their services to the Spaniards. They dealt with the latter in brotherhood and trust (*hermandad y confianza*), in prospect of honor derived from associating with the Spaniards and from serving them with their industry and land. The Cebuanos not only provided them with their sustenance, but also served as guides in their exploration and conquest of Luzon and adjacent islands. For this reason, they were privileged and exempted from tribute as a reward for their good service and loyalty.¹²⁴ In this manner, the unequal friendship between the Cebuanos and the Spaniards is portrayed as a voluntary bond of trust and reciprocity. Chirino further described the way in which the villages and their chieftains were brought into obedience to the Catholic Church and the Spanish Crown after a period of resistance:

“The method they had was in accordance with the practice of these nations [*naciones*] in forming friendships—a method not so much their own as it was also observed among the most ancient gentiles, mention of whom we find in serious

¹²³ João de Barros, *Quarta decada da Asia* (Madrid: Impresão Real, 1615), 628. In António Galvão’s own account, the expedition was intentionally sent northward to convert the natives to Christianity. There is, however, no mention of the blood compact. See Antonio Galvano, *The Discoveries of the World, from Their First Original unto the Year Our Lord 1555*, ed. C. B. Bethune (London: Hakluyt Society, 1862), 208.

¹²⁴ Pedro Chirino, *Relación*, 13.

authors. Those who made peace in the name of the rest and established the compacts of perpetual friendship [*conciertos de perpétua amistad*] pricked and wounded their arms; the Indian coming to suck the blood of the Spaniard, and the Spaniard that of the Indian. Thus they became as of the same blood and more than brothers. These are called *sandugo*, which means consanguineous or of the same blood.”¹²⁵

Here, Chirino downplayed the Spanish ceremony of fealty we have seen earlier between Legazpi and Cebuano chiefs, while highlighting the Spanish adoption of an indigenous means of friend-making. By conflating two separate events—the blood compact and the act of submission—Chirino reenacted through writing the Spanish colonization of the *sandugo* as a friendly apparatus of conquest whereby the natives submitted themselves to colonial rule. With its perpetually binding and somatic features, his account represents their colonial relationship as intimate, contractual, and everlasting.

An emphasis on the affective intensity of the *sandugo* can also be found in Fray Juan de Grijalva’s chronicle of the Augustinians in New Spain and the Philippines (1624). The text arguably provided a historiographical template on which succeeding missionary accounts followed and elaborated. It characterizes the blood compact as “the bond of tightest and surest friendship” (*el vinculo de mas estrecha, y mas segura amistad*) among the natives.¹²⁶ That notwithstanding, the death of Francisco Gómez is mentioned to show the Spaniards’ increasing distrust of the natives.¹²⁷ In recounting the ceremony between Tupas and Legazpi, Grijalva also depicted the scene as affectively charged: “the peace was concluded with great pleasure and satisfaction of both parties. And the *sangria* was celebrated with great solemnity and salutes.” The ostensible parity of both parties in the *sangria*, however, is followed by an assertion of Spanish superiority and continual lordship over the natives since the times of their recalcitrant forebears. As “a sign of true friendship,” Legazpi rendered them “great mercy” in the royal name, that is, to forgive them of the treachery (*aleuosia*) with which they had killed Magellan regardless of their vassalic submission to the Castilian king, “who was very offended.” According to Grijalva, the chiefs listened to Legazpi “with great fear all the time,” but when they heard the pardon, “they were so happy, and grateful, that they offered themselves again to whatever was ordered.”¹²⁸ In this narrative sequence

¹²⁵ Ibid., 13-15.

¹²⁶ Grijalva, *Cronica*, 114v.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 115r.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 121v.

and dramatic change of emotions, their unequal power relations are constituted and reaffirmed through the invocation of the royal anger and the corresponding fear among the natives. The object of fear is transformed into one of gratitude just as the entire act of pardon defines their “true friendship” as hierarchical. Here, the blood compact serves primarily to display native amity as it heralds their impassioned submission and obedience.

Written in 1630, Fray Juan de Medina’s history of early Augustinian missions in the Philippines presents early Spanish-Filipino encounters during the Legazpi expedition as scenes of Spanish friendship, as opposed to native malice and treachery. This dichotomy is illustrated particularly through the recurring motif of blood covenanting, which Medina scornfully called “those bestial ceremonies of bleeding and drinking blood.”¹²⁹ The Spaniards are portrayed as magnanimous and benevolent, with their gift giving and kind treatment attracting the natives to their friendship. Native expressions of love and friendship, on the contrary, are frequently presented as feigned and deceptive only to serve their mischief. After their blood compact at Samar, for instance, Legazpi showed himself “benign and loving to all,” while Urdaneta told the natives that the Spaniards would observe “the laws of friendship that had been established with so many ceremonies according to their manner and custom.” The natives, despite their display of satisfaction “without any repugnance or opposition” and their commitment to bring provisions “with so many displays of love,” failed to fulfill their promises. Their dissimulation, the text maintains, stemmed from their infidelity and malice.¹³⁰

The death of Francisco Gómez during a purported blood ceremony is also recounted to underscore the fatality of native pretense of friendship. The incident “confirmed [the Spaniards’] misgivings and revealed how little they could trust such faithless people [*gente tan sin fe*].”¹³¹ On another occasion, an invitation to seal a blood pact and “a thousand promises” to bring provisions were made, but never fulfilled. According to Medina, Spanish friendship was deemed useless by the native chieftains for fear of Spanish subjugation, just as Christianity was disregarded in preference to indigenous beliefs.¹³² Medina also related the blood compact between Andrés de Ibarra and Camutuan, whom he called “swindler” (*tramposo*) for he assented to everything but

¹²⁹ Medina, *Historia de los sucesos de la orden de N. Gran P. S. Agustin de estas islas Filipinas*, 29.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 23-25.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 25.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 25-26.

never thought he must paid or fulfill anything.¹³³ And although Medina did mention the Legazpi-Sikatuna-Sigala compact, he said it was not important because the Spaniards found it inconvenient to remain in Bohol.¹³⁴ Moreover, he omitted the Tupas-Legazpi blood compact, referring to their treaty of peace and submission only to highlight the natives' habitual disregard of promises "because the *indio* never lacks a lie in his mouth."¹³⁵

Medina was not the only chronicler who wrote of the practice with disdain in their historical accounts. While some writers such as Pedro Chirino viewed blood covenanting as a universal ancient practice, others denigrated it as a barbarous one and yet recognized its importance for imperial friend-making. In his history of the Recollect missionaries in the Indies (1681), Fray Luis de Jesús recounted the Caragan Revolt of 1631. Drawing upon the aforesaid account of Fray Lorenzo de San Facundo, Jesús called the *sandugo* "the execrable and ridiculous oath" (*el juramento execrable, y ridiculo*). He nevertheless admitted that the oath was strictly observed by the chief and of no little use in defending the Spanish religious against other natives.¹³⁶

In his *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas* (1698), the Augustinian Fray Gaspar de San Agustín characterized the blood compact as "the sign of friendship and inviolable alliance" among the natives and "the greatest affirmation of friendship that exists between them." Local chieftains or headmen could carry out this ceremony in order to be valid for themselves and for all the rest of the people. And although blood drinking was a sign of great friendship and goodwill among the natives, "sometimes they break it whenever they deem it convenient."¹³⁷ Much like Juan de Grijalva, San Agustín recounted the dramatic scene of the Legazpi-Tupas-Tamuñan blood compact in which the Spanish Crown's "magnanimity and clemency" were shown toward the native chieftains who had listened to Legazpi "with eyes cast down, raising them only when they heard the pardon."¹³⁸ And like Grijalva and Medina, he also included in his narrative the ferocious killing of Francisco Gómez—an "unthinkable disaster"—to suggest native duplicity.¹³⁹

San Agustín's account, however, includes an additional case of blood compact and a betrayal thereof that I cannot locate in available primary sources. According to Legazpi's account,

¹³³ Ibid., 27-28.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 32.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 47-48.

¹³⁶ Jesús, *Historia general*, 168.

¹³⁷ Gaspar de San Agustín, *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas: Conquest of the Philippine Islands, 1565-1615*, trans. Luis Antonio Mañeru (Manila: San Agustín Museum, 1998), 258, 260. My own translation from Spanish.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 354-57.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 260-61.

a ship under Mateo de Saz was dispatched from Cebu in February 1567 to procure cinnamon from Mindanao. Arriving at Quavite (today's Kawit in Lanao del Norte), the Spaniards encountered and made friends with the natives, who were described as “bellicose, treacherous, and wicked” (*velicosa y traydora, y vellaca*). “Under the guise of peace,” these natives “attempted an evil and treachery of the kind they usually do.” That is, a sergeant named Juan de Morones and some soldiers went ashore and, “while speaking [to the natives] with all peace and friendship,” were attacked by the latter.¹⁴⁰ Recounting this scene of encounter and deceit, San Agustín's narrative adds that, reaching the shore, Morones was visited in his frigate by a native chieftain, who asked to enter into a blood compact with him. After performing the ceremony, the chief suddenly signaled the natives to attack the Spaniards. In response, the Spaniards razed their houses and hanged a few captives before reestablishing friendship with the natives, who submitted themselves as vassals to the Spanish Crown and offered a tribute of cinnamon.¹⁴¹ In a similar vein to preceding chronicles, the insertion, whether factual or fictitious, of the blood compact here serves to underscore simultaneously the racialized treacherousness of the indigenous Filipinos *and*, notwithstanding it, the victorious amity and leniency of the Spaniards.

Such a configuration of motifs and emplotment persisted in Spanish colonial historiography even at the twilight of Spanish rule in the Philippines. In his comparative history of Spanish colonialism in the Americas and the Philippines (1893), the Dominican Fray Evaristo Fernández Arias of the University of Santo Tomas in Manila attributed relative peace in the archipelago to Spanish tolerance and friendship. Positing the Sikatuna-Legazpi blood pact as an exemplary act of trust-building actively engaged in by the Spanish conquistador, his account glosses over the violence involved in the colonial takeover of the Philippines and overlooks his clerical predecessors who fervently decried Spanish abuses there, à la Las Casas:

“If the Philippine chronicle does not lament the violence and massacres that once stained the fields of America, it was because the natives of this archipelago did not give rise to the reprisals necessitated there by the blood of hundreds of Spaniards villainously shed by savage tribes or indomitable caciques, who received those who

¹⁴⁰ CDU, 3: 219. Juan Martínez's circumstantial account also briefly relates Mateo de Saz's expedition to Mindanao without any mention of blood covenanting. See Martín Fernández de Navarrete, ed., *Colección de documentos y manuscritos compilados por Fernández de Navarrete* (Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus-Thomson, 1971), 17: 848-50.

¹⁴¹ San Agustín, *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas*, 472-75. Although San Agustín arrived in the Philippines a century after the event, his account might have drawn on Augustinian documents contemporaneous with it.

brought them peace with war. If, to inspire confidence, Legazpi comes to mix his blood with that of the Sicutuna cacique in a glass, Hernán Cortés also extends his arms to the kinglets of Zempoala and Mechoacan, and Balboa entrusts Chiapes with the safeguarding of his Castilians.”¹⁴²

Contractual Friendship, Dilatory Tactics, and the Suspension of Shame

The blood compact facilitated not only the Spanish conquest of Philippine territories but also the exercise of native agency. Indigenous Filipinos not only initiated a series of blood pacts with European newcomers and simply suffered from their colonial appropriation. They also actively availed themselves of the blood compact as a customary resource of subterfuge in the new context of imperial encounters. As an affective and contractual arrangement of friendship, it ideally bound the participants with political, economic, and moral obligations toward each other in perpetuity. This promissory projection into the future allowed for their indefinite, and indeed infinite, possibilities of action to arise, leading either toward the protraction or termination of their contracted friendship. As Vicente Rafael puts it in another context, “the possibility of making and breaking pledges, of bearing or renouncing obligations, of exchanging vows and taking oaths forges a sense of futurity and chance, allowing for an opening to otherness.”¹⁴³ Such instability of friendship provided the natives with opportunities to confound the Spaniards and endure, evade, or even resist their colonization. After Magellan’s downfall, Rajah Humabon of Cebu lured and slaughtered some of Magellan’s crew despite their recent blood compact.¹⁴⁴ In so doing, Humabon broke not only his pact upon the absence of Magellan’s authority but also his subordination to the Spanish Crown, thus aborting imperial Spain’s earliest attempt at Asian expansion.

The dynamics of interracial bonds under blood covenanting were contingent on the power relations between Spaniards and Filipinos in their particular circumstances and locales. Where their power was presumably seen by the natives as more or less matching, native resistance occasionally flared up in forthright hostilities soon after their compacts. In contrast, the natives were inclined to resort to indirect forms of endurance and defiance in those cases where Spanish

¹⁴² Evaristo Fernández Arias, *Paralelo entre la conquista y dominación de América y el descubrimiento y pacificación de Filipinas* (Madrid: W. E. Retana, 1893), 31-32.

¹⁴³ Vicente L. Rafael, “The Cell Phone and the Crowd: Messianic Politics in the Contemporary Philippines,” *Philippine Political Science Journal* 24, no. 1 (2003): 3.

¹⁴⁴ Pigafetta, *Magellan’s Voyage*, 1: 170-83.

superiority was apprehended. In the latter, indigenous Filipinos frequently prevaricated and circumvented their obligations after their blood ceremonies with Spanish partners. Magellan's crew member Ginés de Mafra noted that although the blood compact was "seemingly a ceremony for good friendship," native commitment to their concluded friendship varied. It was strictly observed by some and disregarded by others.¹⁴⁵

Rather than instantaneously or bluntly refused to comply with Spanish requests or demands, indigenous Filipinos often proffered their service to their European partners and yet neglected or postponed its delivery. In this fashion, the blood compact functioned as a semblance of native friendship in which gestures and words of affection were performed and exchanged. Such an enactment of normative codes was often followed by a succession of empty promises by the natives. Indeed, to renege on their promises of the pact was a passive yet expedient way to resist manipulation and exploitation by an external power. An account of the Legazpi expedition records that notwithstanding their blood compact and appearance of friendship, the natives of Samar "did not want to sell anything to us and kept stalling us with words."¹⁴⁶ In their testimonies to the armada's notary, Martín de Goiti and Guido Lavezaris similarly reported that, despite their blood pacts with Legazpi and his captains, the natives did not sell them any provisions as promised. As Goiti testified, "they entertain [Legazpi] with good words and this style was kept by most Indians of the islands."¹⁴⁷ In a caricatural manner, Legazpi's account relates that:

"In this manner do these Indians keep their peace and friendship, who in our presence do not refuse or say no to anything; but once they turn their backs twenty paces away, they keep nothing that they have promised. They do not even know what truth is, nor are they accustomed to it. Therefore, it is understood that with these it will be very difficult to trade with them by way of friendship unless they understand subjection or fear."¹⁴⁸

Other than to unburden themselves from onerous obligations, this native strategy also served to prevent outright confrontation and temporize for their evacuation. After a blood compact with the Spaniards, Camutuan and his followers promised to barter their goods with the latter and "returned ashore happily saying that they were friends of Castile." However, their appearance of

¹⁴⁵ Mafra, *Libro que trata del descubrimiento del estrecho de Magallanes*, 198.

¹⁴⁶ CDU, 2: 254.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 3: 297-301.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 2: 348.

friendship served only to ease and cover up their absconding at night. It was reported that “all that night they did nothing but load their canoes with their herd, women, and children and take them along the farther coast.”¹⁴⁹ By the time of Legazpi’s arrival at Cebu, this native pattern of strategic prevarication and procrastination had become evident to the Spaniards. As they named it in their dealings with Tupas, “it was understood that it must be all delays [*dilaciones*] as used in the past.”¹⁵⁰

The murder of Francisco Gomez during the act of blood covenanting, recounted time and again in missionary historiography, offers an example of violent resistance to the Spaniards. In this case, the blood compact was devised by the natives as an entreaty of friendship that disguised a sudden assault.¹⁵¹ A similar incident also took place at Manila in a more organized manner and a larger scale. After sealing a blood compact with Martín de Goiti, Sulayman reportedly told him that Lakandula, the paramount *datu* of Tondo, had intended to fight the Spaniards and had invited Sulayman to join the attack. Claiming to have refused the invitation, Sulayman offered to aid the Spaniards in the battle because of his friendship with Goiti. On the following day, however, Sulayman’s forces started firing their artillery at the Spanish fleet, after which the Spaniards retaliated and burned down their settlements.¹⁵² Later on, as we have seen, the three indigenous rulers of Manila acceded to the Spanish custom of peacemaking without sealing a blood compact as suggested by Legazpi, claiming that they respected Legazpi as their father. Only a few weeks later, however, Sulayman lent support to anti-colonial forces from Macabebe in fighting against Spanish rule. As the historian William Henry Scott suggests, their refusal to perform the blood compact might have reflected their lack of intention to keep the dictated pact and their reluctance to seal it in their own binding manner.¹⁵³ As a strategy of anti-colonial evasion, their decline to the offer of blood covenanting can also be understood as devised to create an appearance of unconditional submission. Without resorting to the native form of pact-making, the chiefs might have appeared to the Spaniards as acquiescent and unlikely to turn against them.

In the new context of colonial conquest, the *sandugo* was also employed by natives of different localities to form an alliance against the colonizers. A case in point was a blood compact

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 2: 266.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 2: 347.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 2: 254-55.

¹⁵² Anonymous, “Relation of the Voyage to Luzon,” 98-101.

¹⁵³ William Henry Scott, *Cracks in the Parchment Curtain and Other Essays in Philippine History* (Quezon City: New Day, 1985), 7.

between Datu Kapitan Laut Buisan of Maguindanao and the *datus* of Dulag, Leyte. Buisan was one of the most powerful leaders of the Maguindanao Sultanate who refused to recapitulate to the Spaniards. Together with his cohort from Mindanao, he frequently led slave raids on the Visayas where Spanish colonization was underway. After raiding Leyte in 1603, Buisan met with the chiefs of Dulag and persuaded them to resist the Spaniards by allying with Maguindanao rather than become their tributary subjects. He promised the latter to bring a fleet to Leyte in the following year to help them wipe out the Spaniards. His proposition was agreed upon and followed by a blood compact.¹⁵⁴ Although their joint scheme was aborted after the Spaniards had found out and reinforced their outposts in the area, the event attests to the role of the blood compact in forging an anti-colonial, interisland alliance.

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How can we account, in affective terms, for the blood compact as an indigenous means of resistance? As a rite of contractual friendship, the blood compact obligated its dyadic or multiple participants with mutual goodwill and assistance or specific duties according to their agreement. Undergirding such friendship was the concept of reciprocity—to act, feel, or give in return to what one gets. Colonial Philippine societies had an affective mechanism structuring reciprocal exchanges in which shame (*hiya* in Tagalog; *alo*, *dala*, or *ulaw* in Bisaya¹⁵⁵) played a key role as a highly moralized emotion. In his analysis of Tagalog revolutionary mentality under late Spanish rule, Reynaldo Ileto points to *hiya* as a category of experience which denotes the individual's sensitivity to his mode of relating to others. Failing to respond to those who show him love or hospitality brings him *hiya*.¹⁵⁶ Mary Hollnsteiner goes so far as to argue that, as a sense of social propriety, *hiya* regulated reciprocation and all social behaviors in general.¹⁵⁷ In a similar vein, Vicente Rafael studies early colonial Tagalog society and further elaborates that, from the early seventeenth century, *hiya* has been defined as the appropriate emotion that accompanies indebtedness. Yet it is also “the feeling that arises when one senses one's exclusion from a circuit

¹⁵⁴ Francisco Colín, *Labor evangélica, ministerios apostólicos de los Obreros de la Compañía de Iesus, fundación, y progressos de su provincia en las Islas Filipinas*, ed. Pablo Pastells (Barcelona: Henrich, 1900), 2: 378; Horacio de la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581-1768* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), 295.

¹⁵⁵ Santos, *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala*, 190, 828; Sanchez, *Vocabulario de la lengua bisaya*, 18v, 165v, 544r-544v. See also a history of shame in Philippine society in Resil B. Mojares, “A History of Shame,” in *Isabelo's Archive* (Mandaluyong City: Anvil, 2013), 38-47.

¹⁵⁶ Reynaldo C. Ileto, *Pasyon and Revolution: Popular Movements in the Philippines, 1840-1910* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1979), 157-58.

¹⁵⁷ Hollnsteiner, “Reciprocity in the lowland Philippines,” 395-96.

of debt relations.” Failing to reciprocate or properly respond to what one has received, one risks being shamed and cut off from a network of exchange and transaction to which one used to belong.¹⁵⁸ And without the desire, ability, or commitment to return a favor or a gift, one might be rendered incapable of contracting bonds of friendship or making further requests from friends. In the blood compact, shame—or the fear of denunciation, alienation, or exclusion—accordingly served as a necessary constraint by which conflict-breeding selfishness was suppressed in order to maintain a solemnized friendship or alliance. We might assume that the workings of shame in social reciprocation as outlined above was largely a shared conception, at least in certain sub-regions of the Philippines, under which intercommunity or interisland alliances could be established.

This mechanism begs the question of affective audience or witness. By whom the disloyal were ashamed or humiliated? What about shame in Filipino-Spanish blood compacts and power relations? What if a violation of contractual friendship was committed by a collective, an entire body of the populace at a given locale? Here I argue that in Filipino-Spanish covenants the mechanism of public censure was usually held in abeyance. On the one hand, the remaining natives who typically constituted a public with the moral gaze were inclined to side with their fellow locals when a breach of agreement occurred. The perceived threat to the entire community, in other words, allowed for a temporary state of exception to moral and affective norms. On the other hand, as affect scholars have explained, shame is felt by the subject only insofar as he or she has interest in or enjoyment of the other. Hence, without the preexisting desire or love for the Spaniards among the natives, the Spanish view of or contempt for native infraction could bring fear or anger to the latter rather than shame.¹⁵⁹

In other words, the affective circuit of shame and indebtedness in reciprocal relations between the colonizers and the colonized, unlike those among the natives themselves, was interrupted and suspended by their racializing distrust and radical alterity. While native fugitivism was written off in Spanish accounts as a display of shame and guilt, as seen in the case of Cebu, it may alternatively be seen as an outcome of their distrust inflected by racial perception. Shame left oneself vulnerable to the overwhelming and subordinating power of an external force, while

¹⁵⁸ Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism*, 126-27.

¹⁵⁹ Silvan S. Tomkins, *Shame and Its Sisters: A Silvan Tomkins Reader*, ed. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick and Adam Frank (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 138; Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 105.

distrust tended to limit the contact and intercourse between self and other. These different affective dynamics led to a similar reaction, that is, to stay away from the source of that affect. While shame was bound up with the recognition of oneself as bad¹⁶⁰, distrust was also based on the recognition of another as bad or threatening. Here, distrust overpowered shame in reciprocal colonial relations and at times urged indigenous Filipinos to disavow the obligations incurred upon them or even to aggressively forsake their friendship. Their violation of blood compacts was likely predicated upon mutual distrust and thus the preconception that the Spaniards *might possibly* betray them sooner or later.

Spanish empire builders might have ascribed, as they sometimes did, the native act of breaching a friendship agreement to their racialized treacherousness. While Spaniards often viewed the natives as prone to treachery regardless of their ratified pacts of friendship, natives themselves might as well have regarded the Spanish imposition of colonial contract as an act of deceit. What transpired in Spanish writings as friendly pacification was, potentially in native eyes, masked subjugation, which warranted their hostility and resistance with no scruples.

* * * * *

This chapter has shown that the *sandugo*, an indigenous form of ritualized friendship, in the precolonial Philippines encompassed a range of sociopolitical meanings and functions, from alliance formation to reconciliation. This was further expanded after the arrival of European maritime powers, especially the Iberians. From the beginning, the Spanish contact and conquest of the Philippines entailed not only the imposition of the European concept of friendship, but also the appropriation and relegation of blood covenanting as a means of colonial friend-making and justification. It was construed by Spanish imperialists and employed in their historical writings as a sign of native friendship and assent to their colonial presence. In addition to the blood compact, Spanish colonial expansion and Christian conversion in the Philippines also involved other indigenous forms of ritualized friendship, as will be discussed in the next chapter. The blood compact, however, has attained far more significance to this day as a historical element emblematic of Spanish-Filipino relations.

The vicissitudes of Filipino-European blood compacts demonstrate the underside of anti-imperial or anti-colonial resistance as it involved the ruse or treachery of friendship by Philippine natives themselves. As mentioned at the beginning, Filipino nationalists during the late nineteenth

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

century asserted that Spanish colonial rule was utterly a betrayal of the Filipino-Spanish blood compact (presumably the one between Sikatuna and Legazpi). However, a closer examination of their blood compacts over a century of encounters show that the act of “betrayal” was committed by indigenous Filipinos no less than Spaniards. In enduring colonizing forces and protecting their interests, indigenous Filipinos paid lip service to their contracted friendships and then resorted to dilatory tactics to pressure the Spaniards into impatience or privation. At times, they even used the compact to masquerade as friends before attacking the Spaniards. Betrayal-as-resistance as well as the precarity of imperial friendship point to the formative period of colonial relations in which Spanish superiority was often claimed though not decisively proven or solidified.

Even without any outright suppression of blood covenanting under Spanish rule, its observance among indigenous peoples subsided, just as its major functions were fulfilled instead by Spanish legal practices and the Catholic institution of *compadrazgo* (coparenthood or godparenthood).¹⁶¹ In his Visayan dictionary (1637), the Augustinian Alonso de Méntrida defined *napapagbila* (in the entry for *bila*, which had been translated elsewhere as blood friend-making) as an alliance between kingdoms or nations, “which is a work of God,” and said nothing about the blood ritual here.¹⁶² Moreover, now that chieftains in most regions were transformed into colonial vassals under the sole sovereignty of the Spanish Crown, sealing a blood pact among themselves became anything but indispensable. Only an eruption of rebellious forces, as we have seen, and romantic affairs between indigenous lovers resorted to their quasi-contractual practice of precolonial times. The otherwise perpetuation of the blood pact tradition among certain groups of the natives, especially non-Christians such as the Tausugs of Jolo and highlanders in Luzon and the Visayas, indicates their immunity to Spanish penetration to a significant degree. However, in the case of Christianized lowlanders, the connection between blood and friend-making had the potential to shape the native reception of the Eucharist in which blood was also associated with intimate communion. We will examine the resonance between the Christian sacrament and the blood compact and its unorthodox, if not subversive, possibility in the next chapter.

¹⁶¹ For the *compadrazgo* system in the Philippines, see Hart, *Compadrinazgo*.

¹⁶² Méntrida, *Bocabulario de lengua bisaya hiligayna*, 102. See also footnote 12 of this chapter.

Table 4.1:

A list of documented blood compacts between indigenous Filipinos and Europeans, 1521-1631.

Note: The entries marked with * are based only on secondary sources.

No.	Date	Location	European	Native	Notes
1.	March 29, 1521	“Mazaua” (Limasawa)	Ferdinand Magellan	Rajah Colambu	
2.	April 8, 1521	Cebu	Ferdinand Magellan	Rajah Humabon	
3.	1521	Quipit, Mindanao	Crewmen of the Magellan expedition	Rajah Calanao	The ritual was performed by drawing their own blood and marking it on their own bodies, faces, and tongues without mixing them.
4.	1521	Palawan	Crewmen of the Magellan expedition	A local chief	The ritual was performed by drawing their own blood and marking it on their own tongues and foreheads without mixing them.
5.	1528	Saavedra’s ship, near Sarangani and Candigar	Álvaro de Saavedra Cerón	A local chief and his following	
6.*	During Tristao d’Atayde’s governorship of Ternate (1534-36)	“Seriago” (Surigao or Siargao?)	João de Canha Pinto	The “king” of “Seriago”	
7.*	1538	“Satigano” (Sarangani?)	Francisco de Castro	A local chief	
8.	February 19, 1565	Legazpi’s flagship, Samar	Miguel López de Legazpi or Mateo de Saz	Local chiefs, including one named Caobos	Extant reports do not altogether agree as to whether the ceremony did take place or whether it was Legazpi or Mateo de Saz who performed it.
9.	February 22, 1565	Legazpi’s flagship, Leyte	Mateo de Saz	Urrao	
10.	February 22, 1565	“Caniungo,” Leyte	Mateo de Saz	A local chief	
11.	During February 23-March 5, 1565	Leyte	Martín de Goiti	A local chief	

12.	March 5, 1565	Legazpi's flagship, Cabalian	Andrés de Ibarra	Camutuan	
13.	March 23, 1565	Bohol	Santiago (possibly de Santiago de Garnica, constable in charge of water)	Sikatuna's son	
15.	March 25, 1565	Legazpi's flagship, Bohol	Miguel López de Legazpi	Sikatuna	
16.	March 28, 1565	Legazpi's flagship, Bohol	Miguel López de Legazpi	Sigala	
17.	During March 30-April 21, 1565	Negros	A Spaniard	A native	
18.	May 1565	Cebu	Mateo de Saz	Tupas's brother	
19.	May 1565	Legazpi's flagship, Cebu	Miguel López de Legazpi	Tupas and Tamuñan	
20.*	During February-April 1567	A Spanish frigate at "Quavite" (Kawit, Lanao del Norte, Mindanao)	Juan de Morones	A local chief	
21.	June 1570	Manila	Martín de Goiti	Rajah Sulayman and Rajah Matanda	
22-32.	November 16-30, 1591	Bantal, Marangui, Dangla, Pamut, Palan, Pao, Balabat, Payta, Balavad, Yamil, Saguli, and Pintian	Pedro Cid	Local chiefs	
33.	July 28, 1631	Tago, Surigao del Sur	Fray Lorenzo de San Facundo	Chief Mangabo	Only Mangabo took a blood oath before San Facundo. The latter did not shed any blood.

Chapter V
Amici Dei:
Catholic Conversion, Pastoral Friendship, and Sacraments of Intimacy

On April 21, 1898, a few months after the Philippine Revolution had come to a halt upon a truce between its leader and the Spanish colonial government, Spanish religious representatives from all the major mendicant orders in the Philippines convened in Manila.¹ Their primary agenda was to respond to the charges from within and without the archipelago against clerical misconduct. Addressed to the Minister of Overseas in Madrid, their memorial posed at one point a question on the ignominy of the religious in this residual part of the Spanish Empire:

“Is it not logical that, after having been made to believe that the religious is not *the father and shepherd of their souls and their friend and enthusiastic defender*, but rather a despicable exploiter, and that the peninsular Spaniard here is no more than an industrialist constituted with more or less authority and position, that they should madly and illicitly have thought that they may well separate from Spain and aspire to govern themselves?”²

Here the revolutionary fervor of Philippine colonial subjects was ascribed to the making and unmaking of the Spanish clergy in their collective consciousness. The priest was now identified as neither a pastoral father nor a defensive friend of the Filipinos—in other words, as opposed to the ideal positions and relations their institution had sought to achieve in the first place. Their logic and rhetoric also imply in reverse that under a proper impression of sacerdotal authority and pastoral friendship, the Filipinos would have remained dutifully submissive to Spanish rule.

This rhetorical question hints at the centrality of Spanish missionaries and their friendship with indigenous peoples in creating and upholding the colonial order. As a French traveler to the Philippines had written half a century earlier, “the *padre* or priest is for the natives a father, a friend, a censor; they listen to him on all occasions and have the greatest confidence in him.”³ It is also noteworthy that the sociopolitical roles of the religious in the foregoing quotations combined

¹ The Pact of Biak-na-Bato was signed on December 15, 1897, between the Spanish Governor-General and the Filipino revolutionary army led by Emilio Aguinaldo to end the revolution that had started in 1896. The struggle was resumed soon after Spain had been defeated by the United States at the Battle of Manila Bay in early May 1898.

² Manuel Gutiérrez et al. “Exposición de los misioneros de Filipinas al Ministro de Ultramar (continuación),” *La ciudad de Dios: Revista religiosa, científica y literaria* 46, no. 7 (1898): 543, my italics.

³ Jean Mallat, *Les Philippines: Histoire, géographie, mœurs, agriculture, industrie et commerce des colonies espagnoles dans l’Océanie* (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1846), 1: 374.

unequal friendship with pastoral care. This idea of the shepherd of souls who was simultaneously a father, friend, and defender of his followers finds one of its most elaborate theorizations in Michel Foucault's concept of pastoral power. As we shall see, this modality of power in the Spanish Philippines can be understood in affective terms as it was formed and exercised by and large in affective registers.

This last chapter shows how the Spanish conquest of the Philippines was conducted and continued on the religious and spiritual plane by ecclesiastical institutions and agents. This process both established and relied on divine friendship between God and His people, on the one hand, and pastoral friendship between Spanish missionaries and indigenous Filipinos, on the other. The following pages begin with an exploration of the spiritual worlds of indigenous peoples and how they were reconfigured by the Christian concept of friendship with God. In any case, it was in the domain of Catholic pastoralism, with its characteristic care and guidance, that colonial relations in the early Spanish Philippines manifested itself most clearly as interpersonal, one-on-one bonds of unequal friendship. I argue that existing networks of social ties among Philippine natives were accommodated into the new system of unequal relations in which divine friendship reigned supreme and held together vassalic and pastoral friendships between Spaniards and Filipinos under the Catholic faith. By pastoral friendship, native loyalty to the Spanish Crown and fellow-feeling with Spanish colonists in the Philippines were also liaised and galvanized. Accordingly, the multifaceted and seemingly paradoxical characters of the Church and the Spanish clergy—in both justifying the Spanish acquisition of overseas territories and protecting native populations from colonial abuse—are discernible not only in juridical-theological debates in metropolitan Spain, but also in the midst of Filipino-Spanish hostilities and affinities at the imperial frontier—with friendship as an underlying concept at both sites. On the other hand, native endurance and resistance to Spanish pastoral or colonial power usually transpired within the religious frame of reference and entailed new lines of friend- and alliance-making such as sectarian retreat.

The last section looks at the ritual similarity between the blood compact and the Eucharist and its potential implications for native religious experiences in terms of friendship. As previous scholarship has demonstrated, native adherence and submission to pastoral guidance and Catholic practices did not necessarily imply the correspondence between native understandings and missionary designs. I argue that unintended meanings and uses that arose in the native participation

of religious liturgies can be conjectured in the case of the Eucharist in relation to the indigenous ceremony of blood covenanting.

Befriending Spirits: Preternatural Friendship and Indigenous Religion

Indigenous religious systems in the precolonial Philippines assumed the existence of various preternatural beings in the midst of human habitation and environment. They included ancestral spirits (*umalagad* in Bisaya) and environmental spirits or deities (*diwata* in Bisaya) who inhabited celestial bodies, natural objects or landscapes, or such formidable animals as crocodiles. These spirits and deities were generically known as *anito* across a wide range of ethnicities, such as the Ilocanos, the Bicolanos, the Sambals, and the Tagalogs. In addition, legions of ghosts and preternatural creatures were also believed among the indigenous Filipinos to wander at large or in their vicinity. Although often distinguishable into benign or malevolent ones, all these non-human agents may be characterized as capable of affecting human lives in both adverse and advantageous ways with their extraordinary power.⁴ The presupposed interpenetration of their realms allowed for their mutual impingement, with an incident or phenomenon on one attributable to an act of the other. This relationship was certainly of unequal power and mobility. As Alfred McCoy argues in the wider context of Southeast Asian animism, it was also generally characterized by fear and avoidance on the human side.⁵ To evade malevolent spirits, for example, the Aetas of Luzon employed non-confrontational strategies such as name changing, hiding, running away, and taking a swim.⁶

Philippine animistic terminologies, as we shall see shortly, reflect the ontological view that humans and spirits can be *friends*, which assumes a continuity of sociality between them.⁷ In

⁴ See Juan de Plasencia, "Customs of the Tagalogs (Two Relations)" (1589), in BR, 7: 185-89; Francisco Colín, *Labor evangélica, ministerios apostólicos de los Obreros de la Compañía de Jesus, fundación, y progressos de su provincia en las Islas Filipinas*, ed. Pablo Pastells (Barcelona: Henrich, 1900), 1: 65-66; Francisco Ignacio Alcina, *The Muñoz Text of Alcina's History of the Bisayan Islands (1668), Part 1*, trans. Paul S. Lietz (Chicago: Philippine Studies Program, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, 1962), 3: 291-306; Diego Aduarte, "Historia de la provincia del Sancto Rosario de la Orden de Predicadores" (1640), in BR, 30: 285-86; Domingo Perez, "Relation of the Zambals" (1680), in BR, 47: 298-307; William Henry Scott, *Barangay: Sixteenth-century Philippine Culture and Society* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1994), 77-82, 233-38; Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism*, 110-15, 188-91.

⁵ Alfred W. McCoy, "Baylan: Animist Religion and Philippine Peasant Ideology," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 10, no. 3 (1982): 154.

⁶ Mark Dizon, "Sumpong: Spirit Beliefs, Murder, and Religious Change among Eighteenth-Century Aeta and Ilongot in Eastern Central Luzon," *Philippine Studies Historical & Ethnographic Viewpoints* 63, no. 1 (2015): 33.

⁷ See Jon Henrik Ziegler Remme, "Actualizing Spirits: Ifugao Animism as Onto-Praxis," in *Animism in Southeast Asia*, ed. Kaj Århem and Guido Sprenger (London: Routledge, 2016), 141-44.

actualizing this shared sociality, the indigenous peoples usually sought to propitiate local spirits or preternatural creatures through rituals of reverence, offering, or sacrifice (*paganito* in various Philippine languages). Wooden statuettes or images of ancestral spirits and deities were made and worshipped in their households or public spaces such as makeshift temples (*simbahan* in Tagalog) and altars (*diwatahan* in Bisaya).⁸ Among the Mangyans of Mindoro, their *diwata* was also believed to reside in “hornlike utensils carved from cane stalk,” which they carried to the mountains for sacrificial rituals.⁹ These communicative channels allowed the Philippine natives to call on and bring those beings into friendly arrangements in order that their power might be elicited for human interests or that their coexistence could be properly maintained. While their wrath and displeasure might result in human hardship, misfortune, or affliction, their friendship and satisfaction were expected to bring fertility, prosperity, or protection to a person or a community. Such a preternatural bond was prone to fluctuation as the spirits could turn against their human worshippers if offended or discontented.

Ilocano folklore offers a telling example in the figure of *kaibaan* or *kibaan*—a type of creatures who lived invisibly in the undergrowth and appeared only to their friends or loved ones. When the *kaibaan* wished to win a human’s friendship, they serenaded him or her while remaining invisible. Once they were friends, they gave the human friend magical or precious gifts such as jars of gold and silver. Despite their wealth, the *kaibaan* liked to steal and ask their friends to do it for them. Those who failed to carry out their wishes risked their punishment with incurable skin diseases.¹⁰ Toward the end of Spanish rule in the Philippines, the Bagobos of Davao in Mindanao were also said to have observed an annual feast in which a local god of war, Daragó, was worshiped through a drinking bout and human sacrifice. As their master of the feast reportedly addressed him, the ceremony was held “so that you may be our friend, accompany us, and be propitious in our wars.”¹¹

⁸ Plasencia, “Customs of the Tagalogs,” 185-89; Alcina, *The Muñoz Text of Alcina’s History*, 3: 227-41; Scott, *Barangay*, 86-87, 184-85, 236; Oona Paredes, *A Mountain of Difference: The Lumad in Early Colonial Mindanao* (Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program Publications, 2013), 59-60.

⁹ John Blanco, “Idolatry and Apostasy in the 1633 Jesuit Annual Letter,” in *The Spanish Pacific, 1521-1815: A Reader of Primary Sources*, ed. Christina Lee and Ricardo Padrón (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020), 127.

¹⁰ Isabelo de los Reyes, *El Folk-Lore Filipino*, trans. Salud C. Dizon and Maria Elinora Peralta-Imson (Diliman: University of the Philippines Press, 1994), 44-47; Isabelo de los Reyes, *History of Ilocos*, trans. Maria E. Peralta-Imson (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2014), 91-92.

¹¹ Mateo Gisbert, “Letters from Father Mateo Gisbert” (1886), in BR, 43: 233-35, 249-50.

In preconquest and early colonial times, indigenous women played a key role in bridging the human and spiritual worlds, the role that was eclipsed by male shamanism and Christian pastorship during the Spanish era and has nonetheless endured into the present day.¹² Across ethnolinguistic groups in the Philippines, ritual specialists (*baylan*, *babaylan*, *diwatahan*, *catalonan*, etc. in local languages¹³, usually rendered as *anitera* or *sacerdotisa* in Spanish¹⁴), normally though not exclusively female, were regarded as endowed with special knowledge in curing ailments, commanding the elements, or performing extraordinary skills such as flying through the air, depending on the level of their individual power and efficacy.¹⁵ In any case, they were believed to be able to commune, appease, and make friends with preternatural beings through worship or mediumship, allowing the latter to speak and gesticulate through their bodies. Fray Francisco Ignacio Alcina wrote in 1668 that Visayan ritual specialists were generally women or male transvestites. Among a variety of their names, the Visayans remarkably called them *daitan* “because *dait* means friendship and peace” and since “some persons close to God had to be his friends and have his friendship in order to mediate between God and men, they gave them this name.”¹⁶ Their ritual performances were also described with such terms as *tawag* (to call on or summon a spirit) and *bawi* (to rescue an invalid from the grip of a harassing spirit)¹⁷, suggesting their communicative and curative powers vis-à-vis the potency of the invisible.

Such an indigenous perception of ritual experts as friends and mediators of spirits endured after the end of Spanish rule despite centuries of Islamic and Christian proselytization. In his ethnography of the Manobos of Mindanao in 1931, the American anthropologist John Garvan defined the Manobo *baylan* as a man or woman who became “an object of special predilection to one or more of those supernatural friendly beings known among the Manóbos as *diuáta*.” Her status as their “favorite and familiar” allowed the *baylan* to secure their favor or protection for

¹² See Carolyn Brewer, *Shamanism, Catholicism, and Gender Relations in Colonial Philippines, 1521-1685* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004); Grace Nono, *Babaylan Sing Back: Philippine Shamans and Voice, Gender, and Place* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2021).

¹³ Colín, *Labor evangélica*, 67.

¹⁴ Diego Aduarte, *Historia de la provincia del Sancto Rosario de la Orden de Predicadores en Philipinas, Iapon y China* (Manila: En el Colegio de Sãoto Thomas por Luis Beltran, 1640), passim.

¹⁵ McCoy, “Baylan,” 161-62.

¹⁶ Alcina, *The Muñoz Text of Alcina’s History*, 3: 212-14. *Dait* or *daet* means “friend” (*amigo*) while *daetan* means “ritual specialist” (*baylana*) in Matheo Sanchez, *Vocabulario de la lengua bisaya* (Manila: Colegio de la Sagrada Corazon de Jesus, 1711), 165r. See also the entry for *bila* and *daet* in Alonso de Méntrida, *Bocabulario de lengua bisaia hiligueyna, y haraia de la isla de Panai y Sugbu, y para las demas islas* (Manila: Imp. del Colegio de S. Thomas por Luis Beltran y Andres de Belen, 1637), 102.

¹⁷ Scott, *Barangay*, 85.

herself or intercede for her relatives and friends. By means of her “friendship” with those “divine friends,” the *baylan* was also enabled to discover and eliminate evil spirits (*búsau*) who inflicted harm or illness on community members.¹⁸ This was also the case in *babaylan* practices of the late-twentieth-century Western Visayas, on which Alfred McCoy notes that the key feature that distinguished a *babaylan* from an herbal healer was his possession by “a familiar spirit” who remained at his side to guide him in ritual healing and worshipping.¹⁹ Even in the twenty-first century, a Manobo song sung by a *baylan* in Agusan del Sur, as recorded by the ethnomusicologist Grace Nono during her 2005 fieldwork, also called such a spirit as a friend: “My only help is my friend, the spirit. My ultimate helper is my spirit friend.”²⁰

Aside from ritual specialists, various types of indigenous “sorcerers” and “witches” (*hechicero* and *bruja* in Spanish, respectively) were also reported in Spanish accounts to have practiced magic or witchcraft across the islands.²¹ Some of them drew magical power from their contact with preternatural entities. Isabelo de los Reyes, a Filipino pioneer of Philippine folklore studies, wrote that the *mangkukulam* or indigenous witch was a woman who “has a pact with the devil,” an idiomatic expression that can also be found in Spanish missionary accounts on the figure or on indigenous “superstition.”²² As we shall see, both *babaylans* and sorcerers would play a prominent role in rallying anti-colonial revolts or schismatic sects as they became anathema to the Spanish clergy.

“Catoto Cong Totoo”: *God-as-Friend and Divine Intimacy*

Spanish evangelization brought into contact with indigenous Filipinos not only the prevailing Christian analogy of God-as-Father, whether of Christ or humankind, but also the conception of God-as-Friend, albeit to a lesser extent and frequency. Christian monotheism and insistence on the universality of truth posited the love and friendship of God as the ultimate bond

¹⁸ John M. Garvan, *The Manóbos of Mindanáo* (Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1931), 200-03.

¹⁹ McCoy, “Baylan,” 162.

²⁰ The spirit helper was called *abyan*, which means friend or companion in Visayan languages. Nono, *Babaylan Sing Back*, 15-20.

²¹ Plasencia, “Customs of the Tagalogs,” 192-94; Alcina, *The Muñoz Text of Alcina’s History*, 3: 307-24.

²² Isabelo de los Reyes, *La religión antigua de los Filipinos* (Manila: El Renacimiento, 1909), 117; Gaspar de San Agustín, *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas: Conquest of the Philippine Islands, 1565-1615*, trans. Luis Antonio Mañeru (Manila: San Agustín Museum, 1998), 1122-23; Juan de la Concepción, *Historia general de Philipinas: Conquistas espirituales y temporales de estos españoles dominios, establecimientos progresos y decadencias* (Manila: En el Conv. de Nra. Sra de Loreto del pueblo de Sampaloc, 1792), 14: 105.

for which all humans should strive. In a similar vein to indigenous Philippine spirits, the Christian God of the Bible come across as irascible and yet willing to show mercy in His volatile relations with mortals.²³ However, while human-spirit relationship in precolonial Philippine animism was generally marked by fear and avoidance, Catholicism encouraged not only fear toward the omnipotent God but also love and eternal intimacy with Him. God was not to be avoided by any means. Therefore, what Spanish Catholicism introduced into the colonial Philippines, I argue, was not only a non-secular code of ethics as Charles Macdonald suggests²⁴, but also a new affective orientation toward the Divinity as the ultimate Friend for everyone, whether a ritual expert or not. In other words, while the ideal of human-spirit relationship in Philippine animism was a proper split or distance, that of divine-human relationship in Christianity was eternal friendship and union.

This notion of “friend of God” is traceable to the Old Testament, where it is written that those who gain Wisdom win God’s friendship and that “in every generation she [Wisdom] passes into holy souls and makes them friends of God, and prophets.”²⁵ Such exceptional friends of God find biblical exemplars in Abraham and Moses, the latter of whom forged with God a covenantal friendship characterized by intimate encounters and a wide range of emotions on both sides.²⁶ The concept of “friend of Christ” also emerged in tandem in Scripture. In the New Testament, Jesus commanded His disciples during the Last Supper to love one another as He had loved them. He also posited self-sacrifice in friendship as the ultimate act of love: “No one has greater love than this, to lay down one’s life for one’s friends. You are my friends if you do what I command you. I do not call you servants any longer, because the servant does not know what the master is doing; but I have called you friends, because I have made known to you everything that I have heard from my Father.”²⁷ Here, their apostolic friendship with the Son of God was characterized by obedience and their common acquisition of divine wisdom. Hence, both human friendships with God and Christ were quintessentially of unequal nature. These canonical ideas of hierarchical love and evangelical sharing are emblemized in the frontispiece of Fray Gaspar de San Agustín’s *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas* (1698), where the Sacred Heart of Jesus, held in Augustine’s

²³ Damien Boquet and Piroska Nagy, *Medieval Sensibilities: A History of Emotions in the Middle Ages*, trans. Robert Shaw (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2018), 9.

²⁴ Charles J-H Macdonald, “Folk Catholicism and pre-Spanish religions in the Philippines,” *Philippine Studies* 52, no. 1 (2004): 82.

²⁵ Wisdom 7:14, 27.

²⁶ Isaiah 41:8; 2 Chronicles 20:7; Exodus 33:11; Jacqueline E. Lapsley, “Friends with God? Moses and the Possibility of Covenantal Friendship,” *Interpretation: A Journal of Bible and Theology* 58, no. 2 (2004): 124-29.

²⁷ John 15:12-15.

hand and representing God's love for humankind, mediates between God and His people in the Philippines, shining His divine light onto the latter (Figure 5.1).

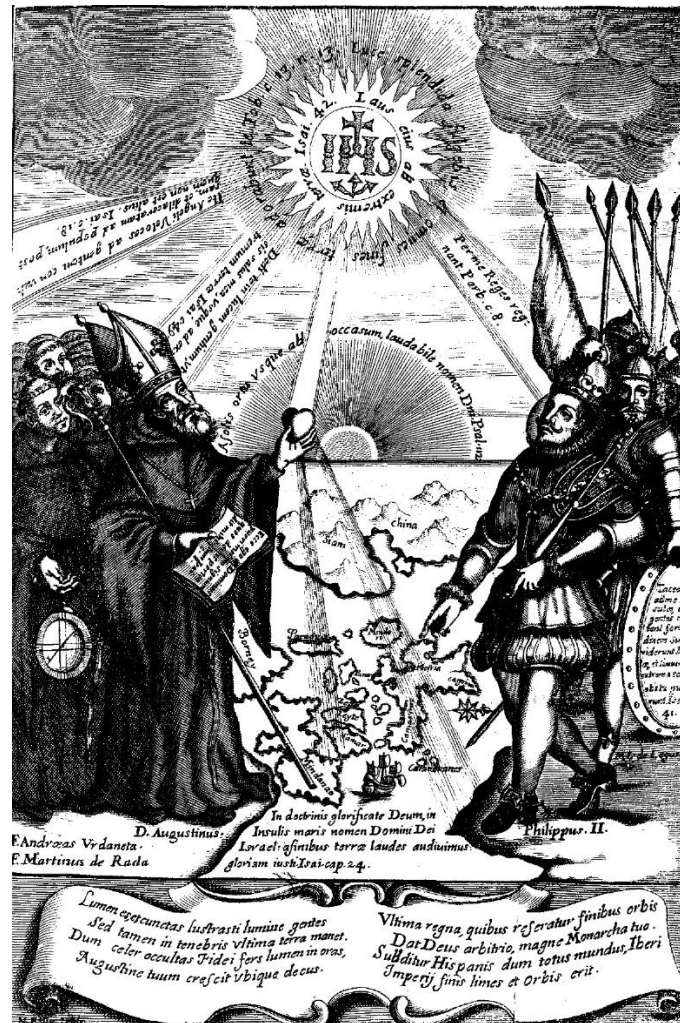


Figure 5.1: The frontispiece of Fray Gaspar de San Agustín's *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas* (1698)²⁸

While the Church Fathers of early Christianity hailed Abraham and Moses as friends of God, they also extended the title *amici Dei* (friends of God) to all Christians, viewing friendship with God as a gratuitous election rather than an exclusive reward for holy living.²⁹ Meanwhile, interpersonal friendship was also reconfigured in Christian and spiritual terms. Augustine (354-430), on the one hand, viewed human friendship as inclined to cultivate such vices as pride and egoism and impair moral reasoning, leading one astray from God. On the other hand, he also

²⁸ San Agustín, *Conquistas*.

²⁹ J. F. Dedek, "Friendship with God," in *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 6, 2nd ed. (Detroit: Thomson-Gale, 2002), 10.

redefined true friendship as wrought by God's grace and predicated on agreement in Christ and His commandments, after which mutual goodwill (*benevolentia*) and love (*caritas*) will arise between friends.³⁰ Hence, in these patristic views, God is not only a Friend but also a third element whereby true friendship, indeed a Christian one, between humans is enabled and mediated.

Early modern Spanish intellectuals were indebted to the scholastic theologian Thomas Aquinas (1225-74) for his Christian reformulation of classical philosophy. Despite their influence, Aquinas departed from Aristotle in his vision of friendship between God and mortals, which Aristotle had viewed as unlikely, and from Augustine in his unambivalent celebration of friendship. Coeval with the codification of the *Siete Partidas* in the thirteenth century, Aquinas Christianized Aristotle's theory of friendship in his unfinished work *Summa Theologica* (first printed in 1485). For him, friendship offers the paradigm through which the theological virtue of charity can be best understood. In his words, "charity signifies not only the love of God but also a certain friendship with Him," characterized by mutual love and benevolence.³¹ Aquinas posited friendship with God as the ultimate goal or *telos* of the Christian moral life, fundamentally a life of ever deepening intimacy and partnership with God.³² The disparity of God and humanity, he claimed, is overcome by God's grace of charity, which makes possible divine-human friendship and human participation in His joy and goodness.³³ Moreover, because of their sinfulness, the human race is reconciled with God through the mediation of Christ, whom God has offered as their friend. They continue to experience Christ's presence through the sacraments, especially the Eucharist whereby their friendship with God is restored.³⁴

Hence, divine friendship allows one to be in a reciprocal bond of love with God, from whom all Christian friendships derive by His grace. Placed within this theological frame, Spanish colonial expansion might have been seen by its agents as conducive to the cultivation of friendship

³⁰ Stefan Rebenich, "Augustine on Friendship and Orthodoxy," in *A Companion to Augustine*, ed. Mark Vessey and Shelley Reid (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 369. Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions, 600-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 24-25; Tamer Nawar, "Adiutrix Virtutum? Augustine on Friendship and Virtue," in *Ancient and Medieval Concepts of Friendship*, ed. Suzanne Stern-Gillet and Gary M. Gurtler (New York: SUNY Press, 2014), 200-04; Liz Carmichael, *Friendship: Interpreting Christian Love* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2004), 55-61, 66-68.

³¹ L. Gregory Jones, "The Theological Transformation of Aristotelian Friendship in the Thought of St. Thomas Aquinas," *New Scholasticism* 61, no. 4 (1987): 390-92.

³² *Ibid.*, 382-89; Paul J. Wadell, "Charity: How Friendship with God Unfolds in Love for Others," in *Virtues and Their Vices*, ed. Kevin Timpe and Craig A. Boyd (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 369-70.

³³ *Ibid.*, 375-76.

³⁴ Jones, "The Theological Transformation," 382-89.

with indigenous peoples, itself dependent on the workings of God and, in turn, promotive of native knowledge of and friendship with Him through conversion. This sort of idea reverberates in missionary accounts such as Fray Francisco Colín's where God is claimed to have assisted the Spaniards in winning native peace and friendship in the Philippines. Once they established their settlement in Cebu, "God brought to our friendship" the natives of Panay and Masbate. Likewise, in Manila, "God opened the doors wide for them, disposing the spirits of their chieftains, luckily, that they received the Spanish yoke [*yugo*] in peace."³⁵ While colonial friendship was presented as a result of divine providence, native friendship with God was also *colonial* inasmuch as it was rendered possible through colonization.

Accordingly, Spanish colonial rule and Catholic conversion reconfigured the hierarchy and economy of gifts in the Philippines. God the Creator was the origin and destination of all things and gifts, especially the gift of grace that organized possibilities for the salvation of sinners. The Spanish Crown as one of His vicegerents on earth was bestowed with gifts, especially His Word, to be redistributed among his subjects.³⁶ Through his royal patronage, the king authorized and supported the clergy across his empire in preaching the faith to his colonial vassals. Hence, in terms of friendship, these missionaries mediated the economy of divine gifts as they were ideally circulated through friendly arrangements across the hierarchy of existences—from the Godhead, via the Crown and the clergy, and down to the indigenous populace (Figure 5.1). In the Augustinian Order's warrant (1564) to establish the first branch of their brotherhood in the Philippines, Christ's sacrifice was invoked along with His new commandment to love one another. With such "boon of charity" and "the bond of perfection" among their brethren, the Augustinians in the Philippines were asked to cling to Christ as their companion and shine forth "the same affection of peace and love" to all other men.³⁷ The clerical and universal communities of Christians were thus defined as serial bonds of love and charity inspired by divine friendship.

How, then, might native converts forge friendship with God in accordance with Catholic teachings? The foregoing canon and, as we shall see, vernacular devotional literature in the Philippines enjoin Christians to obey God, practice the virtue of charity, and participate in the Catholic sacraments. In light of Thomist theology and colonial Philippine catechism, friendship

³⁵ Colín, *Labor evangélica*, 1: 132.

³⁶ On conversion and the economy of gift giving, see Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism*, 31-32, 92-97.

³⁷ "Warrant of the Augustinian Authorities in Mexico Establishing a Branch of Their Brotherhood in the Philippines" (1564), in BR, 2: 165.

between God and indigenous Filipinos can be construed as a sacramental bond. That is, it was largely through sacramental performances that friendship with God was supposedly realized or experienced among the native converts. The sacraments mediated and manifested both the transcendence and immanence of God, showing His omnipresence beyond the terrestrial world and yet bringing Him up close to the participants. They were therefore ceremonies of divine intimacy. Baptism, for instance, was described in Tagalog by a Spanish bishop in the seventeenth century as a rite whereby the baptized become “friends of the Lord God” by His grace.³⁸ Similarly, the sacrament of penance is said in an Augustinian’s Bisaya catechism of the same century to convert penitents into “children of God, and His friends [*abian*].”³⁹ As will be discussed later, however, native participation in the sacraments might diverge from missionary intentions and teachings even as it effected and affirmed divine-human friendship.

As with the Filipino-Spanish relations previously examined, the act of naming also played a fundamental role in the formation of divine-human friendship in Christianity. In the Book of Exodus, when God sent Moses to the Israelites, he asked God “If I come to the Israelites and say to them, ‘The God of your ancestors has sent me to you,’ and they ask me, ‘What is his name?’ what shall I say to them?” In reply, God revealed His Name: The Lord or YHWH in Hebrew.⁴⁰ Hence, naming or calling enables an identification and recognition of God and, therefore, the beginning of a self-conscious relationship with Him. Devotional literature in vernacular languages contains the Christian Creed and prayers such as the Our Father by which native converts were taught to address God as Father (*Dios Ama* in Tagalog; *Dios Amahan* in Bisaya).⁴¹ On the other hand, God’s calls on His people as Christians can be understood in terms of authoritative interpellation. As Judith Butler explains, upon God’s call, a person accepts an original guilt in prospect of its relief through the conferral of identity. One is thus constituted as a Christian subject by the divine power of naming, which presupposes the inculcation of one’s conscience.⁴² While biblical figures were addressed directly by God, the native converts were taught by Spanish

³⁸ Antonio de San Gregorio, *Mysterios principales de nuestra Santa Fe* (Sampaloc: Convento de Nra. Sra. de Loreto, 1760), 140r.

³⁹ Alonso de Méntrida, *Catecismo de doctrina cristiana en lengua bisaya* (Manila: Imp. Colegio de Santo Tomás, por Manuel Rodríguez, 1847), 125.

⁴⁰ Exodus 3:13-16, 6:2-3.

⁴¹ For example, see *Doctrina christiana: The First Book Printed in the Philippines, Manila, 1593*, ed. Edwin Wolf II (Washington: Library of Congress, 1947), 6-7, 12-13.

⁴² Judith Butler, *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 108-11.

missionaries to internalize the truth of original sin and, as sinners, heed His Word via the missionaries to be saved from sins.

Although the native converts were in all likelihood more familiar with the predominant notion of God the Father, the topoi of God-as-Friend and friendship with God were scattered in devotional texts and possibly informed native Christians on their spiritual lived experiences. The denomination of Christians as “friends of God” can also be found in both Castilian and vernacular sources of the period. Even as they reproduce narratives from Scripture or European texts, their word choices in translation and elaboration are distinctly significant in the Philippine context. The variety of the vernacular terms that Spanish missionaries used in conveying divine-human friendship hints at the multiplicity of interpretive possibilities on both sides of the pulpit or the confessional. What, then, was characteristic of such a relationship as described or implied by such locutions? And what was its possible appeal to Filipino converts?

First and foremost, the Trinity or three persons of the Christian Godhead were all regarded in vernacular devotional texts as friends to man. An exemplary case in point is Fray Pedro de Herrera’s Tagalog meditation manual from the mid-seventeenth century. In its translation of the Latin hymn “Te Deum,” the Holy Spirit is rendered as “Father and Friend” (*mag Amang catoto*) rather than “Comforter” (*Paraclitum*) as in the original text.⁴³ This way of evocation is consistent with another Tagalog poem in the manual where God is identified as Father and Friend:

“Cun ang Ama mo,t, ang Yna	If your father and mother
sa inferno,y, maquita	Are in hell, you’ll see
di mabauasang ligaya	Your joy will not be diminished
asal di nangongolila.	You will not feel lonely.

Dios ang canilang Ama	For God is their Father,
At catoto,t, cabihasa	And friend, and companion
siyang inaalaala	He alone is remembered
iba,y, ynaalintana.” ⁴⁴	Everyone else is left behind.

⁴³ Francisco de Salazar, *Meditaciones cun mangá mahal na pagninilay na sadia sa Santong pag eexercicios*, trans. Pedro de Herrera (Manila: Reimpreso en Santo Tomas de Manila por D. Candido Lopez, 1843), 343. The text was written in Castilian by the Jesuit Salazar and translated into Tagalog in 1645 by the Augustinian Herrera.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 328. The English translation here is quoted with slight modification from Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism*, 176-77.

In his reading of the stanzas, Vicente Rafael points out that in heaven, social categories and relationships in the past such as kinship and parenthood are extinguished “insofar as they are also subsumed in the governing distinction: that between God and everyone else.”⁴⁵ In a meditation on death, this same manual also urges its readers to remember that when they die, they will leave behind everything they love on earth and see that “it is of no use to me, not even my house or my friends” and that they will no longer know how to get together with their old friends.⁴⁶ At this point, it is remarkable that while all secular bonds are erased in the paradisaal state of sociality, one’s friendship with God is reinstated alongside His sole Fatherhood. This combination of the Father-and-Friend topoi set a model for, and ran parallel to, the pastor-flock relationship, as will be discussed below.

It is also noteworthy that God is portrayed here as the Friend of Christians in heaven by two Tagalog terms, *catoto* and *cabihasa*. According to a Tagalog-Castilian dictionary compiled during the 1680s, *catoto* connotes the state of total concord between friends (“*que conciertan en todo*”) while *cabihasa* suggests a shared custom or habit, be it good or bad (“*de buena, ò mala costumbre*”), as a defining feature of friendship.⁴⁷ To have God as one’s Friend, it is implied, is to be in habitual communion with Him. In addition, the entry for *hablar* also records the term “*Caosap nang Dios. Amigo de Dios*” (“A person who converses with God” and “Friend of God” from Tagalog and Castilian, respectively).⁴⁸ On this account, a friend of God is thus a person who communes with Him, which indicates spiritual intimacy and exchange. This sense of spiritual friendship as the most intimate one is also suggested by the Tagalog word *casi*, which means “intimate friend” on the one hand and “to enter into the interior” on the other; for example, “*Ang Dios Espiritu Santo ang cumasi sa calolova ninyo*” (God the Holy Spirit passed into your souls).⁴⁹

Likewise, the notions of friends of Christ and Jesus-as-friend are also found in Herrera’s manual. It holds that in the Last Judgment, Jesus Christ will call upon and address holy people as “you my friends whom my Father has chosen.” (*Cayong manga catoto cong hinirang nang aquing Ama*).⁵⁰ On the other hand, in the Dominican Fray Francisco Blancas de San José’s Tagalog

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Salazar, *Meditaciones*, 141-42.

⁴⁷ Domingo de los Santos, *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala: Primera y segunda parte* (Sampaloc: Imprenta de N.S. de Loreto, 1794), 92-93.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 476.

⁴⁹ Juan de Noceda and Pedro de Sanlucar, *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala* (Manila: Imprenta de la Compañía de Jesus, por D. Nicolas de la Cruz Bagay, 1754), 143.

⁵⁰ Salazar, *Meditaciones*, 274.

manual for Christian conduct in confession and communion, one of the manifold descriptions and invocations of Jesus is “Thou Jesus who has been friends with all Christians” (*Ycao Iesus ang pinagcacaibiganan nang lahat na Christiano*).⁵¹ Friendly terms of address between Christ and His followers also appears in *Ang Mahal na passion ni Jesu Christong Panginoon Natin na tola* [The Sacred Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ in Verse] (1704), the first Tagalog epic narrative of Christ’s life (*pasyon*) translated from Spanish by Gaspar Aquino de Belén. In this text, Jesus often called His apostles “friends and beloved ones” (*manḡa catoto,t, irog*), “my love and friends” (*ibig co,t, manḡa catoto*), or with other terms for friend such as *caibigan* and *casi*. Later on, Peter the Apostle lamented over Jesus that “you are my Master, and my true friend” (*Icao ang aquing Maestro, / at catoto cong totoo*) in his repentance and reaffirmation of love for Jesus after having previously denied Him.⁵² In addition to such appellatives, Aquino de Belén’s *pasyon* also humanizes Jesus and portrays Him with characteristic Filipino traits, making Him identifiable and approachable as “the Faithful *catoto*” for the Tagalog audience.⁵³

Meanwhile, God’s devotees and Christ’s followers in the Bible are often rendered in these texts as their friends. “Friend of God” also appears in a Spanish missionary account and a vernacular dictionary as an epithet for saints or devout priests.⁵⁴ Penned in the late sixteenth century, the Franciscan Fray Juan de Oliver’s Tagalog text on the Ten Commandments refers to Moses as a “friend of God” (*calogoran nang Dios*). On the eighth commandment, it is written that God inflicted suffering upon Moses’s sister, Miriam, by making her body covered with sores because she had murmured against Moses, His friend.⁵⁵ As suggested here by the word *calogoran*,

⁵¹ Francisco Blancas de San José, *Librong Pinagpapalamnan yto nang aasalin nang tauong Cristiano sa pagcoconfesar at sa pagcocomulgar; nang capoua mapacagaling at capoua paguinabangan niya ang aua nang P. Dios*, 6th ed. (Manila: [n.p.], 1792), 395. Interestingly, in focus group discussions conducted in Bohol, Cebu, Manila, and Naga in 2018 by Celine Sugay and Karen Brillantes, most Filipino respondents to the question “Who is Jesus?” described him as “a friend or confidante one can talk to and a source of strength especially in difficult times.” Michael Demetrius H. Asis, *The Filipino Christ and the Historical Jesus* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2021), 65-66.

⁵² Gaspar Aquino de Belén, *Pasiong mahal ni Jesucristong panginoon natin* (Manila: Imprenta de los Amigos del País, 1846), 2-4, 7, 9, 18.

⁵³ Rodel E. Aligan, *Pasyon* (Manila: UST Publishing House, 2001), 50-52.

⁵⁴ Marcelo de Ribadeneyra, *Historia de las Islas del Archipelago, y Reynos de la gran China, Tartaria, Cuchinchina, Malaca, Sian, Camboxa y Jappon y de lo sucedido en ellos a los Religiosos Descalcos de la Orden del Seraphico Padre San Francisco de la Provincia de San Gregorio de la Philippinas* (Barcelona: Gabriel Graells & Giraldo Dotil, 1601), 248, 284, 286, 303; Santos, *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala*, 748.

⁵⁵ Antonio-Ma. Rosales, *A Study of a 16th Century Tagalog Manuscript on the Ten Commandments: Its Significance and Implications (Juan de Oliver’s “Declaración de los mandamientos de la ley de Dios”)* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1984), 60, 65.

which comes from *logor* (internal joy)⁵⁶, friends of God are by implication those who share spiritual joy with God and are protected by Him against ill wills. In this latter aspect, the Christian God might have come across to native converts as resembling indigenous spirits in their ability to reward or punish someone at their own pleasure and in protection of their friends or devotees.

Similarly, in Bishop Antonio de San Gregorio's Tagalog manual of Christian doctrine (first printed in 1648), other biblical figures such as Lamech, Noah, Abraham, and Lot are called "friends of the Lord God" (*catoto nang P. Dios*) while God Himself called Joseph "my true friend" (*catoto cong totoo*) when speaking to the Virgin Mary. God's friends are also described as observed by Lucifer who, by arranging marriages between Cain's good daughters and sons of sinners, mixed "friends of God" with "sinful friends of the Devil" from the beginning of humankind.⁵⁷ Elsewhere in the text, Lazarus of Bethany, one of Christ's followers, was called in his sisters' letter to Jesus as "your friend whom you love" (*catoto mong nanybig mo*). As the story goes, Jesus demonstrated His divine power by bringing Lazarus back to life after he had fallen ill and died.⁵⁸ As with the above story of Moses, these biblical episodes might have appealed to native converts as they sought to make use of the protective or restorative power of divine friendship, especially against malevolent spirits or the threat of illness and death. Indeed, the possibility of friend-making with God was not deemed exclusive to biblical personages or ecclesiastical fathers. Blancas de San José's manual urges its reader to be worried "if you are not making friends with God who has loved you since the time when you did not yet sin against Him" (*cun di icao ang quinacatoto nang Dios na caniyang quinaibigan, niong vala ca pang sala sa caniya*).⁵⁹

The Christian notion of friends of God also figured in the Spanish introduction of the concepts of heaven, purgatory, and hell into the Philippines, thus innovating the vision of the afterlife among indigenous peoples. The new concept of heaven or paradise conjured up a sense of spiritual conviviality and sublime beatitude in the hereafter that found no equivalents in indigenous religious systems. It is portrayed in one manual as an abode that "has been chosen by God to be inhabited by His friends who know how to follow His will and command." (*manġa catoto niyang marurunong magsisunod [sic] nang caniyang loob, at otos*).⁶⁰ On the other hand,

⁵⁶ Santos, *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala*, 93.

⁵⁷ San Gregorio, *Mysterios principales*, 26v-27r, 32r, 34v, 62v.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 86v-88v.

⁵⁹ Blancas de San José, *Librong Pinagpapalamnan*, 90.

⁶⁰ San Gregorio, *Mysterios principales*, 131r.

another manual refers to Satan as “your friend in hell” (*catoto mo sa inferno*).⁶¹ The ideal of heavenly friendship with God is also evoked in Fray Gaspar de San Agustín’s *Confessionario* (1713). Here, one of the prayers for the last rites begs of God to be merciful and to include the dying person among His friends who are holy people (*ysama mo sa manġa catoto mong banal na tavo*).⁶² Turning to the dying person, it also invokes, “And may the Lord Jesus Christ appear to you, and may He rejoice with you [...] and may He look upon you with good grace, and may He count you among His friends who glory in His place in Heaven [*ypaquibilang ca niya sa manġa catoto niyang lungmovalhati sa bayan niya sa Lanġit*].”⁶³ The motif is also reiterated in the following prayer wherein heaven is ideally depicted as the eternal unity and friendship with God and His holy friends:

“Siya nava ang cumalag sa iyo sa dilang casalanan mo, at ypaquilangcap ca niya sa manġa catoto niyang sa cacanan. Maquitaquita mo navang valang livag livag ang Panġinoong tungmobos sa iyo, at ypaquita niya nava sa iyo yaong dilang camahalan, at yaong dilang cagalingġan sa pagca Dios niya. Macamtan mo nava yoang tamis na di maisip, at yoang ynam na valan cahalimbava, at yaong ligayang valang hanga, casama sama nang manġa catoto nang Dios sa bahay niyang Mabuti magparating saan. Siya nava.”⁶⁴

“May He free you from all your sins, and may He join you with His friends at the table. May you see that the Lord has come down to you without hesitation, and may He show you all that holiness and all that goodness in His divinity. May you receive that sweetness that is unimaginable, that goodness that is unparalleled, and that joy that is endless, together with God’s friends in His house for eternity. Amen.”

In addition, the unprecedented concept of purgatory, where the souls of sinners undergo expiatory purification before going to heaven, also provided a basis on which the Catholic Church attracted and rewarded indigenous elites for their aid in Spanish evangelization and colonial friend-making. In 1591, through the Jesuit Fray Alonso Sánchez, Pope Gregory XIV granted indulgences—that is, pardons of the temporal punishment in purgatory still due after a sinner’s

⁶¹ Salazar, *Meditaciones*, 185.

⁶² Gaspar de San Agustín, *Confessionario copioso en lengua española y tagala: Para direccion de los confesores y instruccion de los Penitentes (Año 1713)*, 2nd ed. (Sampaloc: Convento de Nuestra Señora de Loreto, 1787), 173.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 174-75.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 177-78.

absolution—to indigenous chieftains, “male or female, which the Filipinos call *Datos*.” According to the papal brief, those who “try to induce the infidels to the Faith or to friendship with the faithful, or give them news of the Mysteries of our Holy Faith” would win for each time three hundred years of indulgence and the rest of the people would earn a hundred. Meanwhile, those who succeeded in converting one of them “to the Faith or to our friendship” would gain plenary indulgence of all their sins.⁶⁵ Hence, by their collaboration and mediation of native friendship, those Philippine elites were promised advantageous positions toward the attainment of friendship with God.

While divine friendship was propounded as the pathway and transcendent destination of Christian life, what was posited as its antithesis was not only diabolical friendship with Satan but also “particular friendship”—an exclusive form of friendship developed between two persons in worldly or carnal terms.⁶⁶ “Do you not know,” as the Bible reads, “that friendship with the world is enmity with God? Therefore whoever wishes to be a friend of the world becomes an enemy of God.”⁶⁷ In the constitution of a Manila *beatario* (house of religious retreat for women) written in 1726 by a Chinese mestiza, we find certain rules against such a “particular friendship” in their community: “Those living in this community must avoid any partialities, and not demonstrate any preferences or particular friendship to any sister but only to love Christ Our Lord.” Again, “each should attempt to avoid all passion, self-love and particular friendship.”⁶⁸ Most of the time, however, this role of directing Christian friendship toward God and away from earthly temptations fell on the shoulders of the Spanish clergy.

Shepherds of God’s Sheep: Spanish Missionaries and Pastoral Friendship

Spanish missionaries played a role of tremendous importance in the continuation of Spanish conquest and the governance of native conduct in the Philippines, especially in the remote areas beyond urban enclaves. With its distance from metropolitan Spain and scarcity of readily exploitable mines, the islands were inhabited by much less Spanish settlers than in the Americas.

⁶⁵ Colín, *Labor evangélica*, 1: 481.

⁶⁶ See C. Browning, “Friendship, Particular,” in *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 6. 2nd ed. (Detroit: Thomson-Gale, 2002), 9.

⁶⁷ James 4:4.

⁶⁸ Quoted in Kathryn Santner, “Constitutions and Rules of the Beatitas Indias (1726),” in *The Spanish Pacific, 1521-1815: A Reader of Primary Sources*, ed. Christina Lee and Ricardo Padrón (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020), 196, 199.

At the turn of the seventeenth century, the Governor-General estimated that only 1,200 Spaniards were living in the Philippines. In the 1620s, about 2,400 male and female Spaniards and some mestizos were registered in the Manila parish whereas only 60 non-clerical Spaniards were present in the entire archipelago outside Manila and Cebu.⁶⁹ Furthermore, until 1768, non-clerical and non-official Spaniards were prohibited from living in the countryside beyond Manila.⁷⁰ As a result, the Spanish colonial regime was crucially constituted by ecclesiastical efforts and relied upon the regular clergy as its intermediary to native peoples throughout the colonial period. Their bonding and interaction were key to the formation and exercise of colonial power.

In administrative terms, the archipelago was divided and distributed among the Spanish religious orders along geographic and ethnolinguistic lines.⁷¹ Spanish missionaries established Christian communities in their apportioned locales by befriending, preaching the gospel, converting and administering the sacraments to indigenous Filipinos, and setting up churches, chapels, or other religious places of worship and residence in their midst. In some cases, their spiritual conquest involved not only native dislocation, but also the requisition and rearrangement of animistic spaces into Christian ones.⁷² In this manner, religious conversion and colonial *reducción* as a total scheme of material and spiritual transformation were correlated. What we shall examine further is the relationship between Spanish priests and Philippine natives in this twofold process. This section proceeds from early missionary contact, through the religious conversion and administration of the sacraments, to missionary intervention and mediation between Spanish and Filipino laypeople.

“Demonstrations of Friendliness”: Missionary Contact and Friend-Making Practices

Naming, gifting, drinking, touching, and covenanting—these core practices of friend-making between Philippine natives and Spanish secular officials also played their parts in missionary enterprises. The Jesuit Fray Valerio de Ledesma’s mission in Bohol at the close of the

⁶⁹ Birgit Tremml-Werner, *Spain, China and Japan in Manila, 1571-1644: Local Comparisons and Global Connections* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015), 119; Patricio N. Abinales and Donna J. Amoroso, *State and Society in the Philippines*, 2nd ed. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 67.

⁷⁰ Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las islas Filipinas por el doctor Antonio de Morga, obra publicada en Méjico el año de 1609, nuevamente sacada à luz y anotada por José Rizal y precedida de un prólogo del Prof. Fernando Blumentritt* (Paris: Garnier hermanos, 1890), 343; Filomeno V. Aguilar Jr., *Clash of Spirits: The History of Power and Sugar Planter Hegemony on a Visayan Island* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1998), 235n1.

⁷¹ See details and maps in John Leddy Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses, 1565-1700* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959), 167-76.

⁷² Paredes, *A Mountain of Difference*, 59-60.

sixteenth century offers an exemplary case in point. In his dealing with hostile natives from the village of Loboc who had attacked the Christianized village of Tobigon where he stayed, he said to their chieftains:

“Let’s be friends, and as a sign of this, take this garment. I handed a striped mantilla to the chieftains, and asked them to give me something as a sign of friendship. They gave me a necklace; we hugged each other and drank from the same cup. And finally we were so friendly that they gave me the word that when I sent for them in Loboc, they would come, as long as it wasn’t with too many people. After making friends, I begged them to also make friends with my friends from Tobigon, and they did, and they left without doing any harm.”⁷³

Here, the intimate acts of reciprocation build upon one another into friendship and, in effect, a peace agreement. Ledesma also wrote that the highlanders of Bohol had been “armed with frightening fierceness” in their initial encounter, but later on were eager to speak to him, who “hugged them such that we become friends.”⁷⁴ Such physical and intimate contact was commonplace in Spanish missions and varied in accordance with local customs and native dispositions. In 1622, Magdalena Bacuyo, an elderly native convert in Cagayán, northern Mindanao, invited Recollect missionaries to convert her fellow Kagayanons. She also talked her reluctant grandson and *datu* into receiving them at the risk of enraging the sultan of Maguindanao, who disliked the Spaniards and to whom they were subordinated. Thanks to her persuasion and arrangement, the missionaries were benignly received since they allowed the natives a light slap on their faces, as it was their customary sign of admission into their settlement as “beloved friends.”⁷⁵ Among the Igorots of Luzon, making friends with little children was an initial technique among Spanish missionaries in new territories such that the number of days used to win their familiarity enough to pick them up became a measure of a village’s docility.⁷⁶ In the Caraballo Mountains in Luzon during the early eighteenth century, local residents also formed friendship with missionaries and showed their friendliness through such acts as hugging and beard stroking.⁷⁷

⁷³ Quoted from his letter in Pedro Chirino, *Relación de las Islas Filipinas y de lo que en ellas han trabajado los padres de la Compañía de Jesús*, 2nd ed. (Manila: Imprenta de Esteban Balbas, 1890), 220.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 217.

⁷⁵ Paredes, *A Mountain of Difference*, 72-73.

⁷⁶ William Henry Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots: Spanish Contacts with the Pagans of Northern Luzon* (Quezon City: New Day, 1974), 77.

⁷⁷ Mark Dizon, “Social and Spiritual Kinship in Early-Eighteenth-Century Missions on the Caraballo Mountains,” *Philippine Studies* 59, no. 3 (2011): 378.

Kindred or honorific denomination also enabled Spanish missionaries to befriend and solicit local eminences for their aid in evangelization. In the Visayas, female ritual specialists were coopted into missionary labor and rendered significant assistance to Spanish priests, who called them *maestras* (teachers), in converting native men and women.⁷⁸ Likewise, the Jesuit Fray Juan de Bueras also reported in 1633 on his mission among the Mangyans of Mindoro that he befriended a respected elderly woman. He told her that they were relatives “because we were all descended from Adam and Eve, and that she might well be my mother, since she was already very old.” After her baptism, Bueras addressed her as Mother, by which she came to be known among her fellow Mangyans, that is, the father’s mother. He also gave her some small gifts, which she sent to the unbaptized, “coddl[ing] them, thus, with demonstrations of friendliness and gentleness in our treatment of them.”⁷⁹

Indeed, while Spanish missionaries set themselves to bring God’s gifts to Philippine natives, they also employed gift objects to attract the latter to their friendship, pastoral or otherwise. In his mission among the Mandayas of northern Luzon during the 1630s, Fray Geronimo de Zamora was reportedly “confident that even though they would not admit him as a teacher and preacher, they would receive him kindly as their friend and benefactor, who was not coming to take or to ask for what they possessed, but merely to provide them with a good which they were without.”⁸⁰ Likewise, in his contact with the highland Aetas of Luzon, a Franciscan friar wrote that “they make me poorer since everything needs to be fixed with tobacco, glass beads, and food” to make friends and resolve conflicts with them.⁸¹ In 1745, a Dominican friar similarly reported from Paniqui (in present-day Tarlac) that within six years he expended handouts and gifts to the natives to “capture their will” and “move them not so much to fear as to love” to become Christian.⁸²

As several missionary accounts demonstrate, however, the most favorite gifts for indigenous peoples might have been Christian sacred objects, such as rosaries, medallions, and the cross. These new sacred objects were usually put to use for curative or protective purposes. A friar in the seventeenth century put an *Agnus Dei* (Lamb of God) pendant around a man’s neck while

⁷⁸ Alcina, *The Muñoz Text of Alcina’s History of the Bisayan Island*, 3: 225.

⁷⁹ Blanco, “Idolatry and Apostasy,” 123-24.

⁸⁰ Diego Aduarte, “Historia de la provincia del Sancto Rosario de la Orden de Predicadores (Concluded)” (1640), in BR, 32: 227.

⁸¹ Quoted in Dizon, “Social and Spiritual Kinship,” 378.

⁸² Bernardo Ustáriz, *Relación de los sucessos, y progressos de la mission de Santa Cruz de Paniqui y de Ytuy, medias entre las de Pangasinan, Cagayan, y Pampanga año de 1745* (Manila: [n.p.], 1745), unpaginated.

another priest placed a small sack of relics in the hands of another ailing man.⁸³ Fray Bueras distributed scapulars and medallions of saints to Mangyans who kept them in their pockets for protection. Their devotion to these items was such that they ascribed miraculous power to them even without guidance of thought by the friar.⁸⁴

In a similar vein to the blood compacts between indigenous chieftains and Spanish officers, Spanish priests in missionary frontiers sometimes sealed pacts of peace and friendship with local natives in accordance with their ritual observances. In the Cordillera of northern Luzon where Dominican friars had begun their missions among the Igorots since the early seventeenth century, such ceremonies were performed as late as the mid-eighteenth century, normally involving animal sacrifice. Aware of the Igorots' firm commitment to their peace pacts with other tribes, Spanish missionaries took advantage of the practice to minimize native hostilities even as it went against their sensibilities and Christian doctrine. In 1739, Fray Pedro Luis Sierra described one of such ceremonies with the Igorots:

“A pig was killed in the presence of all [...] a Christian Filipino familiar with their ceremonies came along, took up some of the animal's blood in his hand and, boasting and swaggering, went and smeared the Igorot chieftains' feet with it; with this they were well pleased and began to declaim in their own tongue with vigor and warlike gestures as a sign they would remain faithful to the pact; this done, they were given something to drink and the cows, pans, salt and other things agreed on, and returned to their villages content, and have remained friends with the Christians ever since.”⁸⁵

Similar covenants of friendship were observed by Fray José Tomás Marín in combination with a Spanish ceremony of conquest. In December 1739, he visited the town of Funsian in northern Luzon in the company of a Spanish soldier. There, “to make [the natives] smile,” Marín provided the town's chieftain and his Spanish companion with wine to drink “with the formality and gestures of goodwill and the symbols of peace.” After that, the natives killed a pig “to confirm our friendship *in aeternum* [eternally].”⁸⁶ In the following month, Marín also held a meeting at the

⁸³ Chirino, *Relación*, 164-65; Blanco, “Idolatry and Apostasy,” 128.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 125.

⁸⁵ Quoted in Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots*, 78-81.

⁸⁶ José Tomás Marín, “Letters of Father Fray José Tomás Marín, 1740-1758,” trans. Birgit Keith, *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 14, no. 3 (1986): 206-07. See also Francisco Antolin and William Henry Scott, “Notices of the Pagan Igorots in 1789,” *Asian Folklore Studies* 29 (1970): 217.

town of Naguilian with the major chieftains of native settlements along the Apayao River. In their presence, he raised a cross and took possession of the land in the name of the Pope and the Spanish Crown and exhorted them “to become Christians and friends of all the Christians in the world.” The chieftains agreed and, to confirm their promise, killed a pig, brought jars of wine, and “swore oaths like rain.” Those from the towns of Pudtol and Capinatan also “promised to keep the friendships *in sempiternum* [forever].”⁸⁷ Their spiritual conquest was usually symbolized by a cross planted in the communities.⁸⁸ Later on, in the town of Pasiggan, Marín had a cross set up and explained it to the natives as a sign of perpetual peace “and that they were friends of the King our Lord, and that they had to let any Christian, white, brown or black pass through their town.”⁸⁹ Marín’s mission typified the roles of Spanish missionaries in the territorial and spiritual conquest of the Philippines through friend-making practices. In this fashion, the ecumenical friendship of the Christians was extended to several regions across the Philippines just as indigenous Filipinos, including those in remote areas, were converted and brought under colonial rule.

Colonial Pastoralism, Parochial Intimacy, and Affective Communities

Such Christian conversion in the early Spanish Philippines came about at an important conjuncture in the European history of governmental rationality. In the wake of the Reformation, the religious governance of souls intensified whilst modern European conceptions of government and the state emerged in parallel.⁹⁰ While Spanish colonialism tapped into classical precedents of imperial friendship and expansion, its Christian mode of governance differed markedly from Greco-Roman models in its guidance of human conduct.

This section argues that the linchpin of the Spanish colonial enterprise in the Philippines, especially in provincial settlements, was the affective tie between the missionary and his native converts—what we might call *pastoral friendship*. This idea has a biblical foundation and prototype in Jesus Christ’s announcement that “I am the good shepherd. The good shepherd lays down his life for the sheep,” which also resonates with His commandment at the Last Supper, previously mentioned.⁹¹ In the colonial Philippines, such friendship was mutually constitutive of

⁸⁷ Ibid., 204-10. See also Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots*, 93-94.

⁸⁸ See also Colín, *Labor evangélica*, 3: 101.

⁸⁹ Marín, “Letters of Father Fray José Tomás Marín,” 215-16; Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots*, 97-98.

⁹⁰ Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-1978*, trans. Graham Burchell (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 116, 292-94.

⁹¹ John 10:11.

what Michel Foucault calls pastoral power. According to his genealogical analysis, pastoral power is a technology of governance that is traceable to the ancient Mediterranean East, especially among the Hebrews. Subsequently institutionalized under Christianity, it was marked by beneficence, care, and individualization. As a keystone in the organization of the Church, pastoral power is based on the metaphorical model of the shepherd-flock relationship. Just as the shepherd saves his flock from danger and leads it to good pastures, the pastor gathers, protects, and guides his followers on the path of salvation *omnes et singulatim*, that is, collectively and individually.⁹² As captured in an Augustinian document of 1702 in the Philippines, missionaries sometimes left “the ninety-nine converted sheep to seek out the only one wandering among weeds and thorns.”⁹³

Pastoral power is accordingly of both totalizing and individualizing nature, and exercised over a flock rather than a territory. In so doing, it demands the pastor not only to examine the conduct and conscience of his followers—what they have done, thought, and felt—but also to prepare himself to sacrifice his life or risk his soul to save their souls. On the other hand, it insists on each member of the flock to completely submit himself or herself to the pastor and obey his will and order. All these are aimed to get each of them to work at their self-mortification, that is, their renunciation of this world and oneself.⁹⁴ Such religious power is therefore distinct from political power as it is both a “terrestrial power” and one “directed toward the world beyond.”⁹⁵ It was such a combination of temporal and spiritual power that lent the Spanish pastorate in the Philippines unsurpassed authority over indigenous peoples.

Indeed, pastoral friendship ran parallel to vassalic friendship between the Spanish Crown and its colonial subjects in that in both cases the colonized submitted to the governance of the missionary and the king, respectively. Albeit under different logics of power relations—with the vassalic model of friendship based on sovereign and juridical power—both types of friendship were closely correlated in colonial rule. On the one hand, the early subordination of Philippine natives as colonial vassals paved the way for Spanish missionaries to perform their task of conversion. On the other hand, the latter—such as Fray José Tomás Marín mentioned earlier—often served as agents of both spiritual and temporal conquest by befriending indigenous peoples,

⁹² Foucault, *Security*, 125-30.

⁹³ Quoted in Carlos Villoria Prieto, “Fray Antolín de Alzaga: Un modelo de misionero en Filipinas en el siglo XVIII,” *Archivo Agustiniiano* 83, no. 201 (1999): 117.

⁹⁴ Michel Foucault, “‘*Omnes et Singulatim*’: Toward a Critique of Political Reason,” in *Power*, ed. James D. Faubion, trans. Robert Hurley et al. (New York: New Press, 2000), 300-13; Foucault, *Security*, 125-30, 164-85.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 154.

coaxing them into resettling and submitting to the Spanish king as his vassals and friends, and sometimes collecting local tribute for the royal treasury.⁹⁶ In alternation to, or combination with, friendship, threat might also be employed in their *reducción*. A Jesuit wrote in 1600 that he and his brethren managed to gather the mountain dwellers of Dita and Marabago in Bohol “by blandishments, soft threats [*amenazas blandas*], and other means suited to their capacity” and resettled them nearby a river.⁹⁷

How, then, did the Spanish pastorate oversee the conduct of its Filipino flock? How was their pastoral friendship developed in the process and what were its affective underpinnings? To begin with, pastoral friendship was an affective arrangement characterized by intimacy, mutual affection, and reciprocal exchange between direction and subservience. This friendship was fundamentally unequal and normally expressed through the language of paternity, with the priest positioned above his native flock and addressed by the latter as *Padre* (Father), although he might sometimes call them “my siblings” (*manġa capatid co*)⁹⁸, invoking a sense of fraternity among fellow Christians. The priest exercised his power by demanding obedience from his followers whom he was, in return, obligated to offer his protection and guidance toward salvation. Most importantly, their pastoral friendship was intertwined with that between God and native converts. The pastorate served as the intermediary in their communication, particularly through sacramental and charitable performances. By befriending indigenous Filipinos, the missionary guided them to know God’s love and friendship and receive His gift of grace, and, in so doing, became a faithful friend of God himself. As the Franciscan Fray Francisco de Trugillo was described in a missionary account, he was very agreeable to the natives and managed to convert many of them. He also walked the streets to teach them the doctrine and look for the sick to heal or bestow some gifts. After his death and burial for some years, his exhumed body and habit reportedly remained intact thanks to God “who is blessed forever, as He shows you so admirably in His faithful friends.”⁹⁹

The languages of friendship and fatherhood, of love and defense, were typically combined in missionary writings to characterize pastoral exemplars in a similar vein to the 1898 clerical

⁹⁶ For another instance, see a missionary instruction to the Augustinian Fray Antolín de Alzaga in 1702 in Villoria Prieto, “Fray Antolín de Alzaga,” 119-20.

⁹⁷ Chirino, *Relación*, 216-17.

⁹⁸ Blancas de San José, *Librong Pinagpapalamnan*, 345.

⁹⁹ Marcelo de Ribadeneyra, *Historia de las Islas del Archipiélago, y Reynos de la gran China, Tartaria, Cuchinchina, Malaca, Sian, Camboxa y Jappon y de lo sucedido en ellos a los Religiosos Descalcos de la Orden del Seraphico Padre San Francisco de la Provincia de San Gregorio de la Philipinas* (Barcelona: Gabriel Graells & Giraldo Dotil, 1601), 305-06.

memorial we have seen at the beginning. Fray Cristobal de Salvatierra, for instance, is said in a Dominican account to have been “greatly loved by the good and feared by the bad; for his only purposes were to do good to all, to adjust their disputes, and to make friendships, or to unmake them when they were bad. He defended and protected the Indians, as being a race in the greatest need of defense and protection. When it was necessary, he chastised them, but like a loving father.”¹⁰⁰

Such pastoral care and friendship were often joined with their self-sacrificing, self-disciplined, and dauntless appearances in the eyes of indigenous peoples.¹⁰¹ Even among Muslims in the south, Jesuit missionaries were reported in the mid-seventeenth century to have “aided the arms” of the Spanish Crown such that the hostile sultans of Jolo and Mindanao “were reduced to peace, and today are increasing their friendship” because their comportment befitted local customs.¹⁰² As Oona Paredes and Filomena Aguilar similarly argue, Spanish friars projected the image of foreign shamans and “men of prowess,” who dared to travel alone and unarmed into indigenous territories or possessed such strong life force and equipment that could subdue evil spirits and heal illnesses. Indeed, numerous missionary accounts claimed how Catholic sacraments such as baptism and extreme unction were employed by those friars as potent remedies for ailing or comatose people.¹⁰³ A resident priest in Mindoro reported of having anointed two dying natives and said St. Ignatius Loyola’s prayer, which restored them to health and widely inspired native “trust” in the saint.¹⁰⁴ On this account, they could draw followers in a similar manner to precolonial chieftains and ritual experts, whose protective and remedial powers were gradually displaced by those of the friars.

In submitting to pastoral authorities, the natives were constitutive of Christian affective communities in which they were inculcated with a new set of religious principles and norms that directed their social, moral, and spiritual lives. With Catholic teachings and liturgies, the Spanish missionaries shaped not only their worldviews and religious beliefs but also their affective dispositions, that is, their attitudes and feelings toward themselves and others. This was in line with what medievalists have called the Church’s “pastoral of emotions,” that is, the way it sought

¹⁰⁰ Diego Aduarte, “Historia de la provincia del Sancto Rosario de la Orden de Predicadores (Continued)” (1640), in BR, 31: 65.

¹⁰¹ For example, see Aduarte, “Historia,” in BR, 30: 185.

¹⁰² Matheo de Arceo et al., “Royal Aid for Jesuits Asked by Manila Cabildo” (1652), in BR, 36: 47.

¹⁰³ Paredes, *A Mountain of Difference*, 50-51; Aguilar, *Clash of Spirits*, 38-41.

¹⁰⁴ Blanco, “Idolatry and Apostasy,” 126-27.

to moralize humanity through emotional education, promoting some feelings while discouraging others.¹⁰⁵ Basic prayers and biblical commandments, such as “*ybigin mo ang dios lalo sa lahat*” (you shall love God above all else) and “*ybigin mo naman ang capoua mo tauo parang ang catauan mo*” (you shall love your fellow man as your own body), were what required of catechumens and converts alike to memorize and recite to the priests as part of both pre- and post-baptismal instructions.¹⁰⁶

The individualizing technique of pastoralism bred closeness and familiarity between the pastor and his parishioners. By attending to the conduct of each and every native convert, the Spanish missionary developed an intimate bond with him or her. This sort of pastoral communion was deepened by the Christian view that the pastor had to account for everything his followers had done as his own act, whether a merit or a fault—what Foucault describes as the principle of “exhaustive and instantaneous transfer.”¹⁰⁷ This moral connection and responsibility marked off their pastoral bond from the preexisting relationship between indigenous ritual specialists and ordinary Filipinos, in which the regularity and perpetuity of doctrinal teaching and the transferability of deeds were absent.

This parochial intimacy was intensified and epitomized by their participation in the sacrament of penance. As a French traveler to the Philippines in 1768 wrote, by means of confession, the Spanish priest “has access to the most secret thoughts of the Indian; who repairs, in the simplicity of his heart, to submit not only his offences, but every thing [*sic*] that is either the object of his hope or fear, to the ear of his pastor.”¹⁰⁸ Each of the native penitents voluntarily submitted their conscience and conduct under the probing interrogation of the missionary with an attention to the minutiae. In this penitential “regime of truth,” to use Foucault’s terms, the convert was obligated to manifest his or her individual truth through a set of “truth acts,” which consisted of triangular elements: listening to confessional commands, examining oneself carefully, and

¹⁰⁵ Boquet and Nagy, *Medieval Sensibilities*, 235-36.

¹⁰⁶ *Doctrina christiana*, 31-33; Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, 54-61; Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism*, 40; John N. Schumacher, “Syncretism in Philippine Catholicism: Its Historical Causes,” *Philippine Studies* 32, no. 3 (1984): 254-55.

¹⁰⁷ Foucault, *Security*, 170.

¹⁰⁸ Pierre Marie François de Pagès, *Travels Round the World in the Years 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771* (Dublin: P. Byrne, 1791), 150. See also John D. Blanco, “The Pastoral Theme in Colonial Politics and Literature,” in *Philippine Studies: Have We Gone Beyond St. Louis?*, ed. Priscelina Patajo-Legasto (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2008), 76-77.

verbalizing one's flow of thought to the confessor.¹⁰⁹ By hearing words of repentance and granting absolution, the confessor asserted himself as an intimate friend, in whom the penitent confided his or her private and confidential affairs and sought emotional release and moral guidance.

Indeed, it was in this penitential management of truth that we can clearly discern the connection between pastoral friendship and the colonial regulation of affects, or what William Reddy calls an “emotional regime”—a set of normative emotions and the official rituals and practices that express and inculcate them, by which a political regime is sustained.¹¹⁰ In confession, a range of feelings it sought to instill into the penitent included, first and foremost, contrition and attrition. Both are similarly described in Fray Sebastián de Totanes's sacramental manual (1745) as painful remorse (*masaquet na pagsisisi*) for one's sins and resolution (*pagtitica*) not to sin against God again. Yet while contrition is motivated by one's love and respect for God, attrition is by one's fear of damnation to hell and thus less noble than contrition.¹¹¹

In addition, penitence might also be driven by the feeling of shame. As Vicente Rafael points out, repentance and sorrow for one's sins were usually rendered as *hiya* (shame) in Tagalog devotional literature.¹¹² However, whether *hiya* was advisable or not in the sacramental process depended on who its variable witness was. Whereas one's shame toward God was encouraged in order that one might regain His grace, shame toward fellow humans was not, at least during confession. Totanes's manual maintains that shame toward people who know one's sins, for which one may be abominated, do not come from God and thus cannot be a basis for a good confession.¹¹³ The text exhorts the native penitent not to “give in to shame [before the confessor], no matter how obscene, how filthy, and how many sins he has.” It also compares the confidentiality of sacramental confession to “throwing anything into the depth of the sea.”¹¹⁴ By deprecating shame toward the priest and demanding forthright confession, this emotional regime enabled the Spanish clergy to potentially secure native trust and friendship and at the same time exercise his pastoral authority.

¹⁰⁹ Michel Foucault, *On the Government of the Living: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1979-1980*, trans. Graham Burchell (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 93-103, 288-313.

¹¹⁰ William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 129, *passim*.

¹¹¹ Sebastián de Totanes, *Manual tagalog para auxilio a los religiosos de esta provincia de S. Gregorio Magno de Descalzos de N.S. Padre S. Francisco de Filipinas* (Binondo: Imprenta de Miguel Sanchez, 1865), 61-64.

¹¹² Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism*, 121-35.

¹¹³ Totanes, *Manual tagalog*, 63-64.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 66-67.

Meanwhile, Fray Pedro de Herrera's meditation manual shows that in this remodeled mechanism of *hiya*, sins may possibly be hidden from the mortal but not from the omniscient God and His friends. Therefore, a person may be shamed before God and holy people precisely because of his own shame before the priest that previously prevented his thorough confession:

“Aba caloloua co, gaano caya ang pagdamdam mo sa loob, cun ipagtauag, at ipahayag ang lahat na gaua mong sala sa harap nang Dios, at nang manṅa catoto niya? Si, sa pagcahapis co,t, sa pagcahiya co, cun mahayag sa lahat ang manga cahalayan cong gaua, na iquinahiya cong isigao sa pinagcompisalan co!”¹¹⁵

“Alas, my soul, how then will you feel inside when all your sinful deeds are called up and disclosed before God and His friends? O, to my sorrow and to my shame, if my obscene deeds, which I am ashamed to reveal in my confession, are exposed to everyone!”

As previously stated, the Spanish priest as a father and friend governed the native converts *omnes et singulatim*. Not only did he befriend each and every member of his flock, but he also observed and attempted to rectify the relationships among them. In the sacrament of matrimony, according to Totanes's manual, the priest is supposed to adjure the groom to treat the bride as his companion (*casama*), not slave, and to love her (*caibigan mo siya*, which could also mean “she is your friend”) just as Jesus loves His Church.¹¹⁶ In late-sixteenth-century Panay, Jesuit friars were also reported to have dissolved and converted “bad friendships” (*malas amistades*) into Christian matrimony.¹¹⁷ In the same way that “bad friendship” and “illicit friendship” (*ilícita amistad*) served as Spanish euphemisms for fornication or adultery¹¹⁸, vernacular terms for friend also appear to have been used by Spanish priests who consulted dictionaries or sacramental handbooks in probing into the intimate lives of their parishioners through confession, particularly with respect to the sixth and ninth commandments. A number of Tagalog terms lexicographed for the Castilian *amigo* designate a person with whom one has an extramarital affair, including *caagolo* or *calunia* (a friend with whom one fornicates or cohabits) and *cabihasa* or *caosap* (a friend of good or bad

¹¹⁵ Salazar, *Meditaciones*, 173.

¹¹⁶ Totanes, *Manual tagalog*, 27. Cf. Ephesians 5:25. For *caibigan*, see Santos, *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala*, 92-93.

¹¹⁷ Chirino, *Relación*, 40.

¹¹⁸ For example of “*ilícita amistad*,” see an early-eighteenth-century document in AGI, Filipinas, 290, N.18.

habit or conversation, respectively). In addition, *calaro* (a playmate in good or bad play) and *casapacat* (an accomplice) are also used in referring to a partner in committing a sin.¹¹⁹

Clerical Intervention and Mediation between the Filipino and Spanish Laity

Just as Spanish clerical pioneers laid a groundwork for the consolidation of their pastoral and political power in the Philippines, they also acted as defenders of indigenous peoples and ardent critics of secular breaches of the friendly pacification policy. Only a few years after the establishment of the Philippine colonial government, Fray Martín de Rada led the majority of Augustinians to uphold in 1574 that none of the Philippine territories had come under Spanish rule justly. For, among other reasons, Spanish soldiers “have gone everywhere with armed hands and required [the people] to be friends and then give tribute.” Some villages were even plundered without awaiting peace while others were attacked at night.¹²⁰ Regardless of its accuracy, the report exemplifies the crucial role of the clergy in casting aspersions on the so-called friendship and redressing its devastating consequences on indigenous Filipinos.

That violence and exploitation, particularly by such armed bands and *encomenderos*, had adverse effects on evangelization further motivated clerical interventions. The Manila Synod of 1582, convened by Bishop Domingo de Salazar, deplored the unjust wars and abuses committed by Spanish officials against indigenous peoples. It not only demanded restitution from those abusers but also instrumentalized confession in examining their conscience and policing their interaction with the natives. However, as Natalie Cobo points out, the synod omitted ecclesiastical abuses by Spanish priests themselves such as the imposition of corporal punishments or heavy burial charges on native converts.¹²¹ In the following year, Salazar also wrote to the Spanish king and the Council of the Indies that the colonial labor system, harshly enforced by Spanish civil officials, seriously hindered Catholic conversion as indigenous peoples were commissioned into services outside their hometowns. Short of constant religious instruction, many were considered

¹¹⁹ Pedro de San Buenaventura, *Vocabulario de lengua tagala: el romance castellano puesto primero: primera y segunda parte* (Valencia: Librerías “París-Valencia,” 1994), 52; Santos, *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala*, 93; Totanes, *Manual tagalog*, 68.

¹²⁰ AGI, Patronato, 24, R.29 (2).

¹²¹ Natalie Cobo, “Creating Authority and Promoting Normative Behaviour: Confession, Restitution, and Moral Theology in the Synod of Manila (1582-1586),” in *The School of Salamanca: A Case of Global Knowledge Production*, ed. Thomas Duve, José Luis Egío, and Christiane Birr (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 227-39. See also Antonio de Morga’s 1598 report on clerical misconduct in AGI, Filipinas, 18B, R.8, N.91, ff.1r-2v. Corporal punishment, such as lashing women and girls with a cat o’ nine tails, by the religious persisted into the late eighteenth century, particularly in the provinces as reported by Guillaume le Gentil, “Ecclesiastical Survey of the Philippines” (1781), BR, 28: 223.

unready for baptism.¹²² He also reported on the self-serving misconduct of those in the colonial administration, by which many of the natives were forced into public services, tortured for their tribute, or even enslaved against royal prohibition. This resulted, among other things, in their abhorrence of the Christian faith.¹²³

In addition to such critiques and complaints, pastoral friendship was claimed to have ameliorated colonial iniquities and at the same time facilitated the pacification and *reducción* of indigenous peoples by allaying their distrust. The Franciscan Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora wrote that, in the 1590s, a chieftain of Gumaca (in Quezon Province nowadays) by the name of Panpanga refused to convert to Christianity after witnessing Spanish labor oppression and misbehavior such as cursing and killing in Manila. Panpanga decided to withdraw inland and discouraged his fellow townspeople from becoming Christians or going to Manila. This resulted in their distrust of the religious, who reportedly had to use “the greatest labor they had in all the islands” and their “great love and friendliness” to reduce Gumaca to Christianity. Eventually, the Franciscans managed to convert Panpanga and other natives and persuaded them to come down from the mountains.¹²⁴

Similar circumstances were also reported in Cagayan where natives had been dispossessed of their properties by trailblazing Spanish soldiers, which resulted in their distrust of newly arrived Spanish missionaries. Some villages refused to admit them while others received them but provided nothing for their sustenance.¹²⁵ Meanwhile, a popular local chieftain named Siriban fled into the mountains with his following after the *alcalde mayor* had punished his two wives for their polygamy. One of the missionaries managed to persuade Siriban to come down to the village, where he “put himself like a lamb in the hands of [the father], and began like a child to learn the Christian prayers and doctrine.” After their baptism, Siriban and his associates became “very friendly” to the Spaniards and aided further in native conversion.¹²⁶ Further afield in Mindanao, Spanish missionaries also played an important role as peacemakers in maintaining and restoring the social order in non-Muslim communities. As with their brethren in the north, they intervened

¹²² Domingo de Salazar, “Affairs in the Philipinas Islands” (1583), in BR, 5: 211-17.

¹²³ Ibid., 217-28, 240-43.

¹²⁴ Juan Pobre de Zamora, “The Conquerors as Seen by the Conquered,” trans. William Henry Scott, *Philippine Studies* 34, no. 4 (1986): 493-506.

¹²⁵ Aduarte, “Historia,” in BR, 30: 304-06.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 30: 308-09.

in local conflicts, placated native uprisings, and persuaded backsliders in the mountains to return to their settlements.¹²⁷

One of the most important contributions of the Spanish clergy in colonial Philippine societies was their essential role as agents of social mediation and ideological cohesion in between the indigenous and Spanish laity. Their conversion and instruction not only inclined the natives to befriend—that is, to submit to—God and the Spanish Crown as previously discussed, but also remolded their inner selves on the basis of Catholic doctrine. They also promoted native loyalty by moralizing against treachery, a trait often racialized and ascribed to indigenous Philippine peoples. At the end of Totanes's sacramental manual, for instance, there is an exhortation from which the missionary user could draw to teach his Tagalog parishioners. It relates the story of a man who borrowed a sword from another and yet wanted to kill him with it as a parable against ingratitude (*pagcapalamara*) and treachery (*pagcalilo*), which deserve severe punishment.¹²⁸ In so doing, Spanish priests transformed and prepared native converts for their interaction and cooperation with the Spaniards under, or toward, a friendship based on trust rather than distrust. In Chapter One, we have seen that the sentiment of mutual distrust implies that one might have come across as inscrutable or unfathomable to the other. Now that both Filipinos and Spaniards confessed the common faith whereby their conduct and conscience were probed and guided by the clergy, their interiority became imaginable to some extent for each other. This, in principle, allowed them to feel in accord and foster a degree of mutual trust and identity as co-confessional brethren. In this manner, Catholic conversion had a homogenizing effect not only among diverse ethnolinguistic groups in the archipelago, but also interracially between the colonized and the colonizers.

In the same way as colonial entitlements for indigenous elites, Catholicism promised non-elite converts a sense of collective rootedness and existential continuity to the point that they were willing to act in concert with the Spaniards in defense of their new faith and friends. In this context, Spanish priests served centrally to spur a feeling of Catholic fellowship and solidarity among these otherwise disparate peoples to fight off Muslim, Protestant, or pagan enemies. By the mid-eighteenth century, as Kristie Flannery shows, the Philippines had developed a tradition of Catholic anti-piracy among the clergy, the colonial government, and local communities that

¹²⁷ Paredes, *A Mountain of Difference*, 50-52.

¹²⁸ Totanes, *Manual tagalog*, 155-57; Santos, *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala*, 502, 809.

conceived of their campaigns against those threats, whether Muslim or Protestant, as holy wars against the infidels.¹²⁹ In Samar and Mindanao, Spanish friars also oversaw the building and repairing of fortresses and watchtowers, the supply of cannon and ammunition, and the construction of war canoes to defend their settlements. Those who were combat veterans or knowledgeable in European warfare even took up the task of training native militias, appointed captains and sentinels to their posts, or led skirmishes against raiders.¹³⁰

Notwithstanding its conciliative role, the functions of pastoral friendship in colonial Philippine societies were double-edged vis-à-vis secular authorities and interests. While some of the clergymen labored to reconcile or assimilate indigenous Filipinos to the evolving Spanish order, others lent them accommodating support such that the colonial status quo might be jeopardized. During the early seventeenth century, a number of indigenous Filipinos in crown *encomiendas* sought refuge in nearby monasteries, preferring to render personal services to the religious, even without payment, rather than travail for the royal treasury.¹³¹ Later in the middle of the century, local friars in Pampanga might even have encouraged the Pampangos to protest against the government's compulsory labor program and overdue remuneration, before it shortly erupted into a large-scale armed rebellion in 1660.¹³²

Political Religiosities and Indigenous Counter-Conduct

The advent of Christianity, for all its theological and institutional features, significantly disrupted and transformed the spiritual order that had existed between Philippine peoples and preternatural beings. Indigenous religions were disparaged just as Spanish authorities took steps to eradicate animistic practices and objects of worship such as *anito* images and ritual paraphernalia across the archipelago.¹³³ As with its temporal counterpart, such a spiritual conquest

¹²⁹ Kristie P. Flannery, "The Impossible Colony: Piracy, the Philippines, and Spain's Global Empire," (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2019), chapters 1-3.

¹³⁰ Pagès, *Travels Round the World*, 150-51; Paredes, *A Mountain of Difference*, 60; Eberhard Crailsheim, "Missionaries and Commanders: The Jesuits in Mindanao, 1718-68," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 9 (2022): 218-23.

¹³¹ In some cases, such services to the clergy turned into another form of abusive exaction. See James S. Cummins and Nicholas P. Cushner, "Labor in the Colonial Philippines: The *Discurso Parenetico* of Gomez de Espinosa," *Philippine Studies* 22, no. 1/2 (1974): 122, 161-62.

¹³² Fernando Palanco, "Christianized Native Resistance and Rebellion during the First Centenary of Spanish Sovereignty, 1565-1665," in *More Hispanic Than We Admit 3: Quincentennial Edition, 1521-1820: Filipino and Spanish Interactions over the Centuries*, ed. Jorge Mojarro (Quezon City: Vibal Foundation, 2020), 209-12.

¹³³ For example, see Aduarte, "Historia," in BR, 30: 174; Nicholas M. Sy, "Producing 'Idolatry': Indigenous Knowledge Production via Colonial Investigations into Animism, Luzon, 1679-1687," *Philippiniana Sacra* 56, no.

was met not only with local embrace and acquiescence, but also dissent and resistance. The latter ranged from quotidian counter-conduct to heterodox sedition or rebellion, both of which remained immanent in the domain of religion and spirituality.¹³⁴

Indeed, such popular religious lifeways, whether of animistic or Catholic basis, can be seen as *political religiosities* insofar as they channeled or coordinated individual or collective acts of endurance and resistance to wielders of colonial power. Here religiosity is understood as encompassing religious orientations, objects, practices, and experiences. In the everyday level, religiosity allowed native individuals to attain pastoral friendship and Catholic membership for their own personal, worldly purposes. Much as it varied in its contextual specificity, religiosity also helped endow indigenous movements with spiritual and affective ingredients by which forms of collective living and action were enabled, organized, and directed. In some cases, the spiritual bond with the Christian God was preserved whereas the pastoral friendship with the Spanish religious was severed. In others, both were altogether renounced in atavistic preference for traditional animism.

Clashes of Spiritual Friendships

Inasmuch as indigenous animism in the Philippines was described in a Spanish account as “friendship with the demons” (*amistad con los demonios*)¹³⁵, its encounters with Spanish Catholicism can be construed as a spate of collisions between native friendships with old and new spirits. These conflicts of spiritual attachments were usually intertwined with Filipino-Spanish power relations on the secular level. An early case in point was the 1571 Spanish conquest of Cainta (in present-day Rizal). Its inhabitants had initially proclaimed themselves as friends to the Spaniards in Manila, but shortly revoked their arrangement of peace and friendship, preferring to wage war to prove that “their God was better than the one worshiped by the Castilians.”¹³⁶ Prophecies or events of such religious friction were abundantly depicted in missionary accounts, usually in affective terms with local spirits as its forlorn casualties. According to Fray Gaspar de San Agustín, three years before Legazpi’s arrival, Visayan natives arranged a ceremony of worship

167 (2021): 99-130. On divergent views of Spanish missionaries as to the extirpation of idolatry and native customs, see John D. Blanco, “Cartographie spirituelle de la frontière coloniale au XIX^e siècle,” in *Philippines contemporaines*, ed. William Guéraiche (Bangkok: IRASEC, 2013), 68-71.

¹³⁴ For a typological discussion of counter-conduct to pastoral power, see Foucault, *Security*, 191-226.

¹³⁵ Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, *Conquista de las islas Malucas* (Madrid: Alonso Martin, 1609), 162.

¹³⁶ Anonymous, “Conquest of the island of Luzon” (1572), in BR, 3: 158-59.

for their local spirit, who forewarned them of the end of their “ancient friendship” due to the arrival of white, blond men of great power and bravery. Those visitors would also be accompanied by priests and ministers of “the Great God who inhabits the heights of the clouds.”¹³⁷

A similar sense of forsakenness among old indigenous spirits was also reported across different localities by Fray Diego Aduarte. Before the arrival of Dominicans in Pangasinan in 1587, he wrote, a group of natives traveled into the mountains and heard “a very loud and dreadful voice lamenting and complaining pitifully.” They discovered that it was Apolaqui, their *anito* of war, who declared that “I am weeping to see fulfilled that which for years I have dreaded: that ye should receive among you strangers with white teeth, wearing cowls, and that they should place in your houses some sticks of wood laid across each other to torment me.” Apolaqui also told them of its intended departure to find new followers since “ye have abandoned me for strangers, though I am your ancient lord.”¹³⁸ Aduarte also related that when Spanish missionaries arrived at the village of Pata in Cagayan, the devil lamented to the natives that he was leaving them for good since someone else would deal with them. He nevertheless warned them not to believe the words of the missionaries. Otherwise, their ancestors would be much grieved to return from death and find them abandon their old beliefs.¹³⁹ Elsewhere in Cagayan, after Spanish missionaries had removed *anitos* from local shrines, native ritual specialists saw them in their dreams, wandering and moaning that they had been expelled from their houses.¹⁴⁰

These missionary narratives of spectral dread, grief, and shame exude a sense of evangelical triumphalism in non-confrontational manners. Nevertheless, the purported defeat and resignation of some old spirits were counterpoised by the interference of others in Catholic conversion and devotion. This took various forms such as spirit possession, the infliction of harm, and apostatic enticement. Fray Juan de Bueras related in 1633 that after his arrival in a Mangyan village in Mindoro, a local spirit “shows himself to be even more enraged as he sees himself divested and dethroned from his kingdom,” scaring particularly those who accompanied the missionary.¹⁴¹ Similarly in Luzon, the Augustinian Fray Tomás Ortiz wrote that, among the Tagalogs, there was a belief in a ghost or preternatural creature called the *tigbalang*, who assumed

¹³⁷ San Agustín, *Conquistas*, 490-91.

¹³⁸ Aduarte, “Historia,” in BR, 30: 180-82.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 292, 303-04.

¹⁴⁰ Aduarte, *Historia de la provincia del Sancto Rosario*, 178.

¹⁴¹ Blanco, “Idolatry and Apostasy,” 124.

a variety of shapes such as a horse or an old man. The Tagalogs were so scared of him that they “come to make friends with him, and surrender their rosaries to him, and receive from him superstitious things such as hairs, herbs, stones, and other things.”¹⁴² In 1755, a Dominican friar traveling from Tuy to Pangasinan was stopped on his way at the pagan village of Samon, whose residents announced that their local spirit did not want him to pass through, otherwise they would all die.¹⁴³

In response to the antagonistic forces of such spirits, Spanish missionaries usually resorted to Catholic sacraments, sacred objects, or Latin invocations. In the town of Camalaniugan, Cagayan, a Spanish friar was said to have treated a pagan woman who was allegedly possessed by a demon by baptizing her. On another occasion, when baptism failed to expel a demon from another possessed woman, the friar asked a standby native to pronounce the name of Jesus while he himself ordered the demon to leave her body, which the latter obeyed.¹⁴⁴ Fray Francisco Alcina also wrote that he gave holy water, an *Agnus Dei*, and a medal of St. Ignatius to a Visayan woman who claimed she had been sexually assaulted repeatedly by the devil. He also advised her to make a general confession, after which she reported that the devil did not return to harm her.¹⁴⁵ While native ritual specialists had normally mollified malignant spirits with sacrifices and offerings, Spanish priests subdued them by drawing purportedly upon the divine power of Christian holy figures such as God or saints. Hence, their arrival in the Philippines unsettled not only the visible, physical communities of indigenous peoples but also their spiritual order or communities with spectral entities, discouraging preternatural friendship such as built by the Visayan *daitan*.

Everyday Devotional Counter-Conduct

Despite Spanish evangelization and its concomitant eradication of animistic worship, indigenous religious beliefs and practices well survived through the colonial period. In those circumstances without military backing, missionary conquest and interference into local animism were sometimes met with native resistance and social ostracism. In the mid-eighteenth century, the Igorots of Tonglo threatened to stone an Augustinian friar and, a few months later, drove him

¹⁴² Tomás Ortiz, *Práctica del ministerio, que siguen los religiosos del Orden de N.P.S. Augustin, en Philipinas* (Manila: Convento de Nra. Señora de los Angeles, 1731), 12.

¹⁴³ Francisco Antolin and William Henry Scott, “Notices of the Pagan Igorots in 1789,” *Asian Folklore Studies* 29 (1970): 214-15.

¹⁴⁴ Aduarte, “Historia,” in BR, 31: 34, 141.

¹⁴⁵ Alcina, *The Muñoz Text of Alcina’s History*, 3: 312-13.

out after he had destroyed their worship images.¹⁴⁶ On the contrary, missionary negligence in certain areas also accounted for native apostasy. In a Mangyan village of Mindoro, Spanish missionaries simply collected a tribute of beeswax from the locals and left without teaching or administering sacraments to them. As a result, the Mangyans resorted to their pre-Christian beliefs. Some worshipped idols and called on animistic experts while others disinterred the bones of their relatives from the churchyard and reburied them in the fields.¹⁴⁷

However, missionary writings also attest to native enthusiasm in Catholic conversion and devotion as well as what might be called self-Hispanization. Fray Martín de Rada wrote in 1569 that some of the Philippine natives were easy to convert to Christianity and that “like monkeys, they were most eager to imitate us in dress and speech and everything else.”¹⁴⁸ In converting—that is, assimilating to a certain degree—indigenous peoples, Spanish missionaries not only created Filipino Catholics in their own image, but also introduced a rich repository of ideas, symbols, and paraphernalia at the latter’s disposal. By affecting Spanish quotidian and liturgical practices, Philippine natives gave an impression of keen reception and might at the same time appropriate foreign models, resources, and affinities to their own advantages. While a large number of them, whether leaders or commoners, readily sought Catholic conversion and association with Spanish churchmen, their ardor was often motivated by personal expediency rather than pure devoutness. In 1749, the Jesuit Fray Pedro Murillo Velarde wrote of Visayan converts that

“During the entire week, the Indians are on the sea, in the mountains, or in the fields, and on Sunday they come together in town, but normally little to the relief of the missionary. Rather, they increase his headaches in settling their lawsuits, disagreements, stories, and accounts; in defending them from the *alcaldes* and petty officials of justice [*Ministriles*]; in defending them from one another; and in the minister’s defending himself from all, for there are a thousand entanglements, skullduggeries, and fallacies. Hardly do they set foot in the missionary’s house, except when they are going to ask for something. They are of the quality of the cat, only looking the father in the face when they are expecting some scrap of meat.

¹⁴⁶ William Henry Scott, “Igorot Responses to Spanish Aims: 1576-1896,” *Philippine Studies* 18, no. 4 (1970): 705-06, 709.

¹⁴⁷ Blanco, “Idolatry and Apostasy,” 120-21.

¹⁴⁸ AGI, Filipinas, 79, N.2, f.1r. See also a similar remark in Gaspar de San Agustín, “Letter on the Filipinos” (1720), in BR, 40: 218-19.

And when this is seized, friendship, courtship, and gratitude are over. [...] But this is not to say that they are all of this sort.”¹⁴⁹

Indeed, pastoral friendship offered social leverage or a shelter for both the haves and the have-nots among native converts in their personal struggles. Such friendship could be achieved not only by such friendly acts of sycophancy toward the priest, but also by eager participation in Catholic liturgies such as baptism. The Dominican Fray Bernardo Ustáriz reported that many of the native requests for baptism in Paniqui, Luzon, at around the same time as above were driven by a multiplicity of mundane incentives. Some hoped to seek protection from hassles with authorities, others to evade their creditors, still others to seek a refuge from the penalty due to their killings, and “there are not a few who, leading some pack of people, work toward their main goal in the glory of village headmen”—that is, to gain political influence.¹⁵⁰ Later in the eighteenth century, a French visitor to the Philippines wrote that the natives were “very reverent toward the ministering fathers” and yet “mock them, murmur against them, and even deceive them.”¹⁵¹ Hence, it seems that pastoral friendship and deference were outwardly maintained by Philippine natives inasmuch as it benefited their worldly affairs in one way or another, even as they furtively undermined pastoral authority through ordinary stratagems of dissent.

Everyday counter-conduct vis-à-vis pastoral power was also performed through the alternative interpretation or appropriation of Catholic teachings, practices, and objects, especially in those regions where Catholicism was practically subsumed under local animism. For instance, the Santo Niño de Cebú, a statue of the Child Jesus putatively given to Rajah Humabon of Cebu by Magellan in 1521, was called among the Cebuanos “the *Diwata* of the Castilians,”¹⁵² which bespeaks their domestication of the Catholic object of worship into their horizon of thought. Indeed, in the western Visayas, Catholic symbols and practices as well as Latin and Latin-sounding words were incorporated into Visayan animism.¹⁵³ Similar phenomena also took place in Luzon. In San Juan del Monte (nowadays Taytay, Rizal), a native ritual specialist claimed that her *anito*,

¹⁴⁹ My translation here is modified from Pedro Murillo Velarde, “Jesuit Missions in the Seventeenth Century” (1749), in BR, 44: 84. Cf. Pedro Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas de la Compañía de Jesus: segunda parte, que comprehende los progresos de esta provincia desde el año de 1616 hasta el de 1716* (Manila: La Imprenta de la Compañía de Jesus, por D. Nicolas de la Cruz Bagay, 1749), 156v.

¹⁵⁰ Ustáriz, *Relación*, unpaginated.

¹⁵¹ Gentil, “Ecclesiastical Survey,” 222-23.

¹⁵² Chirino, *Relación*, 10. For a demystifying analysis of its origin, see Christina H. Lee, *Saints of Resistance: Devotions in the Philippines Under Early Spanish Rule* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021), 19-21.

¹⁵³ McCoy, “Baylan,” 164; Aguilar, *Clash of Spirits*, 50-51.

having descended from heaven, was a very close friend of the *anito* of the Christians, whereas in Santo Tomas, Batangas, the locals reportedly venerated the god of the Spaniards as a lesser brother of their gods.¹⁵⁴ Meanwhile in Antipolo, native residents were determined to remove the cross in the plaza of their town, believing that its shadow poisoned the air and caused diseases and deaths among them. On top of this, local animistic experts instigated some of them to swear to kill Spanish missionaries and burn down their residences, churches, and crosses. Eventually, other natives took up arms and intervened, restoring order to their town.¹⁵⁵ Albeit not explicitly conducive to full-scale insurgency, these unorthodox narratives and interpretations went against the Spanish Catholic doctrine and seems to have had repercussions on the dominant Spanish order of colonial friendships, spiritual or otherwise.

Schismatic Sedition and Rebellion

Indigenous acts of evasion, resistance, or hostility toward colonial institutions mushroomed across the Philippines, especially in the seventeenth century, during which Spanish colonial oppression escalated amid the Hispanic-Dutch War while the Spanish clergy extended its evangelical reach. Threatened by or subjected to foreign domination and exploitation, especially in the back-breaking labor system, indigenous Filipinos often resorted to religious resources in the hopes of maintaining or regaining their autonomy and warding off colonial suffering. Indigenous religions aided and abetted native adherents in such endeavors, serving as their spiritual motivation and repertoire of symbols and actions. Likewise, while Catholicism served to establish and stabilize the Spanish colonial order, it also offered political resources for the indigenous organization of anti-colonial struggles and alternative, counter-hegemonic modes of subjective experience and social belonging.

In the face of the Spanish colonial Establishment, large-scale indigenous resistance often combined anarchic fugitivism with political religiosity, whether of animistic, Catholic, or syncretic elements. Indeed, the Philippines has had a long tradition of upland evacuation, precipitated by colonial conquest and control, as lowlanders fled undesirable conditions such as religious domination in the valley into the mountains. As James Scott notes in his influential study of upland Southeast Asian anarchism, “the hills are associated as much with religious heterodoxy vis-à-vis

¹⁵⁴ Chirino, *Relación*, 79; Sy, “Producing ‘Idolatry’,” 113-14.

¹⁵⁵ Colín, *Labor evangélica*, 3: 101.

the lowlands as they are with rebellion and political dissent.” In this “escape social structure” of the highlands, millenarian or prophetic movements can be understood as salvific remedies of the entire communities by holy leaders, corresponding to the traditional healing of individual patients by shamans.¹⁵⁶ Their struggles usually coordinated armed and magical *resistance* with spiritual *re-existence*, in parallel to those seen in lowland movements in Chapter Three. Their withdrawal into the hinterland was often accompanied by their continuation or restoration of preconquest religiosities. These fugitive communities, albeit not free from the relationship of obedience to holy leaders, often rid themselves of the vertical separation between laity and clergy. The marginal location of such escape communities beyond the dictates and confines of colonial power allowed for apostasy, pagan revival or reformulation, and religious freedom of some sort as forms of counter-conduct. In other words, anti-colonial insurgence and animistic resurgence went hand in hand. As such, schismatic rebellions dispensed with the Spanish clergy and undermined its pastoral friendship and power established in the valley settlements.

While some animistic ritual experts, such as the so-called *maestras* previously mentioned, were enthusiastically engaged in the Spanish spiritual conquest as collaborators, others mobilized their local followers to feel aversion to the Spanish clergy or to the Christian faith. In the village of Cabacungan in Cagayan, for instance, there was a famous ritual specialist (*anitera*) “with whom the devil frequently spoke, and by whose mouth in those days he uttered most dreadful things. By her means the enemy caused a great repugnance to the faith among the people there.”¹⁵⁷ In full-scale cases, such religious experts were not simply ritual masters for sundry everyday problems. Rather, they morphed into fatidic figures who advocated anti-establishment causes with visionary leadership, purportedly destined by the Christian God or local spirits.

During 1621-22, a native revolt broke out in Bohol under the leadership of a *babaylan* named Tamblot, who galvanized his followers into apostasy and rebellion and assured them of the aid of their ancestral spirits and *diwatas*.¹⁵⁸ They were reported to have burnt down villages and churches, destroyed Christian sacred objects, and resettled in the mountains into a village of more than a thousand houses, with a *diwata* temple and a fortification of stone. The estimated number

¹⁵⁶ James C. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 155, 311-15.

¹⁵⁷ Aduarte, “Historia,” in BR, 30: 306-07.

¹⁵⁸ Juan de Medina, *Historia de los sucesos de la orden de N. Gran P. S. Agustin de estas islas Filipinas: desde que se descubrieron y se poblaron por los españoles, con las noticias memorables compuesta por el venerable Fray Juan de Medina* (Manila: Tipo-Litografía de Chofré y Comp., 1893), 226.

of their soldiers was no less than 1,500 when they stood up to a joint army of fifty Spaniards and a thousand “friendly natives” (*Indios amigos*) from Cebu who arrived to quell the movement.¹⁵⁹ During their battle, it rained so heavily that Spanish arquebuses were initially unserviceable, which Tamblot promptly ascribed to the aid of their *diwatas*. This invigorated the rebels such that it seemed like “they want to die more than to suffer the conditions of the victor.”¹⁶⁰

Even though the battle ended in their defeat and persecution, their rebellious fervor had quickly spread to other Visayan islands. In Leyte, an old chieftain and Christian apostate named Bankaw (or Bancaos in the Spanish source) incited a revolt across six villages. Together with his pagan priest, he erected a large building for *diwata* worship and convinced their followers that they could magically turn the Spaniards into stones by repeating the word *batò* (stone) or into soil by throwing soil on them. The insurgents, however, were eventually crushed by Spanish and “friendly native” troops while Bankaw and his son were killed and beheaded. One of their pagan priests was also burnt to inspire greater terror to the natives.¹⁶¹

The indigenous appropriation of Catholic doctrine and symbolism in resistance movements was a key feature of Philippine political religiosities in which religious beliefs and practices served to promote political solidarity and struggle. In 1646, natives in today Nueva Ecija had rebelled against Spanish authorities and gone into the mountains before they were crushed by government forces. According to Fray Gaspar de San Agustín’s (1698) account, “their leader, Cavadi, called himself their Eternal Father and two others were called God the Son and God the Holy Spirit. A native woman named Yga was called the Virgin Mary.”¹⁶² A similar schismatic movement occurred less than two decades later in Panay as reported in San Agustín’s and Fray Casimiro Díaz’s (1718) accounts. In 1663, a *babaylan* named Tapar and his associates led a religious sect in the village of Malonor. He told the locals that he was commanded by the *nonos*, “who are the souls of their first ancestors who came over to people the Philippines,” in whose name he assured them that the devil had appeared to them in trees and caves.¹⁶³ Tapar, as San Agustín recorded, stirred up the entire province of Ogtong (Iloilo nowadays) with his “witchcraft and pacts with the

¹⁵⁹ Murillo Velarde, *Historia*, 17v.

¹⁶⁰ Medina, *Historia*, 227.

¹⁶¹ Murillo Velarde, *Historia*, 18r-18v.

¹⁶² San Agustín, *Conquistas*, 1018-19.

¹⁶³ Casimiro Díaz, *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas, la temporal por las armas de nuestros católicos Reyes de España y la espiritual por los religiosos de la Orden de San Agustín: Parte segunda que a beneficio de los materiales que dejó recopilados Gaspar de San Agustín, autor de la primera parte* (Valladolid: L. N. de Gaviria, 1890), 641.

devil” and managed to escape Spanish authorities into the mountains to continue the sect with his followers.¹⁶⁴ As their movement grew in number, they might have been comprised of both rebels and non-combatant believers in opposition to colonial state power.

“Many of them embraced this faith, copying the hierarchy of the Church Triumphant and the Church Militant. One of the leading sorcerers [*hechiceros*] appropriated the representation of the Eternal Father, while others took on the rest of the Divine Persons with one shameless native woman taking on the Virgin Mary. The rest took on the twelve apostles, the pope and the bishops. The demon visibly led them in different forms. This nefarious farce met in the deepest recesses of the mountains to offer sacrifices to the devil and hear his replies.”¹⁶⁵

San Agustín’s description refers to a Christian theological doctrine in which the Church is divided into three states: triumphant, militant, and suffering. While the Church Triumphant represents the heavenly abode of the Trinity, the saints, and those who have reached perfect salvation, the Church Militant consists of the living Christians who are engaged in spiritual warfare against sins and evils on earth. Here Tapar’s syncretic movement mimicked the theological, symbolic, and organizational fabric of the Catholic Church, investing its anti-colonial insurgency with Christian sanctitude and yet harnessing it to animistic ends. In so doing, it permitted divine-human communion in the here and now and reinforced the significance of Christianity in structuring local religiosities. Bypassing the role of the Spanish pastorate in bridging the divide and guiding their conduct, however, it also reinstated the indigenous ritual specialists to the position of spiritual leadership.

The religious heterodoxy of the sect allowed its members to set themselves loose from the restrictions of Christian morality and formality. In their meetings, Tapar and his followers were said to have “committed heinous abominations, performed with frequent intoxications, in which there were horrid gatherings of men and women, both married and single. This ended with the sacrifice to the devil, who they said gave them replies, although confusing ones.”¹⁶⁶ Their movement was discovered and reported to authorities by Fray Francisco de Mesa, who also attempted to rectify their apostasy by arranging a meeting with them. However, the latter refused

¹⁶⁴ San Agustín, *Conquistas*, 1122-23.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., with slight modification of my own. Díaz was more specific that Tapar declared himself as the Eternal Father while naming his most confidants as the Son and the Holy Spirit. Díaz, *Conquistas*, 641.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 641-42.

to leave their refuge on account that there “they were in the company of the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and all the apostles, who would defend them by performing miracles.” Mesa, however, decided to go to Malonor and was killed there by Tapar’s followers. Shortly afterward, the movement was crushed by a Spanish infantry, with many followers killed and its leaders executed.¹⁶⁷

Eclectic syncretism and the omission of the Spanish clergy also featured in the Dagohoy Rebellion, led by the revolutionary Francisco Dagohoy in Bohol from the mid-eighteenth century. The insurgents were said in 1765 to have had native ministers who solemnized weddings, conferred baptism, and performed other Catholic rites among themselves.¹⁶⁸ A few decades later, it was reported that they now dispensed with the sacraments and ministers altogether and, while believing in God, practiced their own religious worship. Most of them, however, did not believe in hell which none of them had ever seen, but said that “the Padres and Spaniards [...] would be [hell] for them.”¹⁶⁹ In such resistant campaigns, sacred objects of traditional animism and Catholicism were sometimes found together. Participants in Diego Silang’s revolt, discussed in Chapter Two, usually carried a white cross as their distinctive marker while one of Silang’s associates wore a belt with “some hairs and three roots” and carried “a fruit they call ‘cat’s eye,’ a piece of ginger, some wax stuck to a piece of paper, some leaves, and a dry areca leaf.”¹⁷⁰

The Sandugo and the Eucharist: Hematophagy and Friendship in Colonial Religiosities

In the colonial Philippines, how native converts grasped and experienced the Catholic sacraments were shaped not only by missionary indoctrination but also by their preconquest worldviews and lifeways. Parallelism between Spanish Catholic and indigenous Philippine cultures of religion and sociality allowed for arbitrary association and sense-making among native participants. Catholic sacraments were oftentimes received precisely because they were perceived in worldly and pragmatic terms, as we have seen in Fray Ustáriz’s account of baptism in Paniqui. Equally revealing is Fray Gaspar de San Agustín’s note on baptism during Magellan’s expedition:

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 642-43. Cf. San Agustín, *Conquistas*, 1122-23.

¹⁶⁸ Francisco Leandro de Viana, “Memorial of 1765” (1765), BR, 48: 202.

¹⁶⁹ Concepción, *Historia*, 14: 105.

¹⁷⁰ Fernando Palanco, “Diego Silang’s Revolt: A New Approach,” trans. José S. Arcilla, *Philippine Studies* 50, no. 4 (2002): 529.

“What is certain is that the islanders, having been baptized, did not do it out of true faith and understanding of what they received, but rather because they thought it was a pact of friendship and confederacy [*pacto de amistad y confederación*] of the Spaniards with them; thus they agreed to receive baptism so easily.”¹⁷¹

Philippine historians have also extrapolated on comparable possibilities of native religiosities in other sacramental performances. In *Contracting Colonialism*, Vicente Rafael shows how Tagalog converts attended to the sacrament of penance but refracted its regulatory force by such acts as telling sins of their wives or mothers-in-law, bragging about their good deeds, or recounting their own sins in puzzling ways. In so doing, they submitted to the Spanish demand of confession and yet eluded the internalization of guilt and repentance.¹⁷² Likewise, Mark Dizon argues that, among the Aetas of eighteenth-century Luzon, baptism was likely to be understood as more or less continuous with their pre-Christian strategies in dealing with evil spirits, such as name changing and taking a bath.¹⁷³ In these instances, the similarities between Catholic liturgies and indigenous rituals in the Philippines seem to have contributed to the general acceptance of Christianity and certain aspects of Spanish culture even as they colored native appreciation in ways beyond pastoral control.

Such similarities are also discernible between the Eucharist and the pan-Philippine ritual of blood compact—the *sandugo*. In both cases, blood is a central substance since each of them features hematophagy (eating or drinking blood) by which one pledges oneself and establishes a profound and intimate connection with another. Hence, it is my conjecture that native converts in the early colonial Philippines could potentially have thought of communion as akin to the *sandugo* and, through the ritual process, imagined themselves as transformed into friends of Christ, sharing His flesh and blood as they ingested Eucharistic species or the consecrated Host and wine. The sacrament offered them an unprecedented way of pact-making with spirits, now with the mediation of the Catholic pastor instead of the animistic ritual expert. This possible sense of blood friendship, while deviating from Catholic teachings, helped affirm the intimate bond of love and companionship between Christ and converts. As Christ’s *sandugos*, the latter might have felt

¹⁷¹ San Agustín, *Conquistas*, 130-31. See also Antonio Pigafetta, *Magellan’s Voyage around the World*, trans. James A. Robertson (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906), 1: 154-57.

¹⁷² Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism*, 132-35.

¹⁷³ Dizon, “Sumpong,” 33.

obligated to commiserate with His suffering and sacrifice and thus held even tighter to the faith.¹⁷⁴ Yet, on the other hand, they could have also availed themselves of this solemnized and tightened friendship for personal purposes, whether permissible or not to their Spanish *padres*.

Considered the most holy sacrament and “supreme mystery” for human comprehension, particularly for new converts, the Eucharist was not indiscriminately administered to everyone, but given to those whom the minister judged by their habits and reputations to be properly prepared.¹⁷⁵ As with lay Catholics in late medieval and early modern Europe, most of the native communicants in the Philippines received it only once a year, usually during Lent.¹⁷⁶ Nonetheless, up to six hundred people were reported to have received communion in a Jesuit jubilee of Michaelmas in Manila as early as 1587.¹⁷⁷ By the mid-eighteenth century, it had been customary among the indigenous Christians to confess and receive communion on one’s saint’s day.¹⁷⁸

In Catholic theology, the Eucharist commemorates and reaffirms the New Covenant between God and humanity mediated through the crucifixion and sacrificial blood of Jesus Christ, with the promise of salvation in the kingdom of God for its participants. As Jesus commanded His disciples during the Last Supper, “Drink from it, all of you, because this is my blood of the new covenant that is being poured out for many people for the forgiveness of sins.”¹⁷⁹ Indeed, etymologically, sacrament (Latin *sacramentum*) refers to solemn oath.¹⁸⁰ In this sense, the administration of sacraments, especially communion, was tantamount to the conclusion or asseveration of an agreement, and an exclusive one at that. As Gil Anidjar writes, “the sharing of blood fostered by the Eucharist gave rise to the community of blood, from which was extrapolated a universal anthropology”—that is, “the perceived exceptionality of a community discriminating and excluding on the basis of blood”¹⁸¹ It is in this covenantal and communal sense that brings the *sandugo* and the Eucharist closer into an analogy.

¹⁷⁴ See a slightly different theological discussion of Eucharist-*sandugo* parallelism where Jesus is remembered as *kadugo* (blood kin) in Aldrin M. Peñamora, “The Christ of the Eucharist and Moro-Christian Relations,” in *Christologies, Cultures, and Religions: Portraits of Christ in the Philippines*, ed. Pascal D. Bazzell and Aldrin Peñamora (Mandaluyong City: OMF Literature, 2016), 179.

¹⁷⁵ Aduarte, “Historia,” in BR, 30: 29-30.

¹⁷⁶ Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, 69; Amy N. Burnett, “The Social History of Communion and the Reformation of the Eucharist,” *Past and Present* 211, no. 1 (2011): 88.

¹⁷⁷ Chirino, *Relación*, 24.

¹⁷⁸ Murillo Velarde, *Historia*, 347v.

¹⁷⁹ Matthew 26:27-28.

¹⁸⁰ See also Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism*, 92n15.

¹⁸¹ Gil Anidjar, *Blood: A Critique of Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 32.

Under the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, affirmed by the Council of Trent in the mid-sixteenth century, the consecrated bread and wine of the Eucharist was taken literally, rather than figuratively, as the total and real presence of Jesus Christ in his flesh and blood.¹⁸² This doctrine was reproduced in vernacular devotional texts of the colonial Philippines. Bishop Antonio de San Gregorio's Tagalog manual of Christian doctrine holds that through the priest's consecration, the wine in the chalice "becomes true blood [*dugó*] of Jesus Christ and its wine-ness [*pagca alac*] immediately disappears."¹⁸³ What might have attracted the natives to readily receive communion was also Christianity's own association of the Eucharist with friendship, both with God and fellow Christians. As the embodiment of God, the Eucharist is conceived in terms of divine friendship in a Tagalog sacramental manual's prayer before receiving communion:

"Yto ang pagtatayo nang Dios sa manġa tavong Christiano.

Yto ang totoong pag pipiguing nang Dios sa manġa catoto niya.

Yto ang pagpapanig nang Hari sa lanġit sa manġa tavo dito sa lupa."¹⁸⁴

"This is the personification of God for the Christians.

This is the true feast of God for His friends.

This is the invitation of the King of Heaven for the people here on earth."

At the end of the prayer, we also find the belief that "There in eating with you, the soul embraces God its Lord with great friendship between the two" (*Diyan sa pagcain sa iyo ynayacap nang ynayacap nang caluluva ang Dios na P. niya nang malaquing pagcacaybigan nilang dalava*).¹⁸⁵ By the same token, another manual renders the Eucharist as "rice [*canin*] of the soul" by which it obtains true comfort and sustenance.¹⁸⁶ We have also seen earlier that in the last rites administered to the dying person, which included *viaticum* (Latin, "provisions for a journey") or the Eucharist, God and Jesus are asked in the prayers to accept the person as Their friend in heaven. The possible association of drinking sacramental wine with the *sandugo* was likely to play up the significance of the last rites as a solemn means of friend-making with God in order that one might soon be welcomed in His Kingdom.

¹⁸² Alister E. McGrath, *Historical Theology: An Introduction to the History of Christian Thought*, 2nd ed. (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 164.

¹⁸³ San Gregorio, *Mysterios principales*, 140v-141r. See also a similar explanation from the seventeenth century in anonymous, *Pláticas doctrinales en lengua tagala*, BNE, MSS/5517, 215v-216r.

¹⁸⁴ Blancas de San José, *Librong Pinagpapalamnan*, 385.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 400.

¹⁸⁶ Anonymous, *Pláticas doctrinales*, 216v.

However, in the Philippine blood compact, friends were principally transformed into each other as their blood was exchanged. Yet in Catholic thought, holy communion is the case of a *reception* rather than an *exchange* of blood, and it is the Christian receiver who is transformed into Christ, not the other way around. As Augustine wrote in his *Confessions*, he seemed to hear the voice of Christ saying to him that “You will not change me into yourself like bodily food: you will be changed into me.”¹⁸⁷ Likewise, for Thomas Aquinas, “to feed on Christ is gradually to lose the old, sinful self in order to be changed into a new self, a Christlike friend of God.”¹⁸⁸ With its resemblance to the *sandugo* concoction, native communicants might have thought that *corpus Christi* or *sanguis Christi*—the body or blood of Christ—was changed into the substance of their person rather than they themselves changed into Christ. For their own blood was not shed and transferred to another person as it would be in the *sandugo*. Bishop Antonio de San Gregorio also wrote in Tagalog that in communion “the whole body of Jesus Christ enters into the body” of the communicant who will then “receive the divine grace that strengthens his existing virtue.”¹⁸⁹ Hearing such an explanation, native converts could have entertained the idea that the Eucharist might potentially serve as a magical object and as a ceremony that invigorated their life force or spirituality and accorded to them Christ’s intimate friendship and protective power.

What, then, did it mean for native converts when Spanish priests translated the Eucharist into Philippine local languages? In vernacular devotional literature, the Eucharist was sometimes rendered as *paquinabang* in Tagalog (*pakinabang* in modern spelling) and *caravat* in Bisaya, both of which meant “to receive.” Significantly, *paquinabang* also denoted utility, benefit, profit, interest, or to take advantage of something.¹⁹⁰ Hence, through vernacular translation, holy communion was endowed with markedly economic, whether morally or materially, connotations and thereby able to conjure a sense of advantageousness one could get when one “received” it. Such utilitarian overtones might have further inspired and attracted native converts to the Catholic Mass and Eucharistic celebration. Indeed, the Eucharist was said to have been received by Philippine natives during the early Spanish era in order to gain religious indulgences or ward off

¹⁸⁷ Augustine, *The Confessions: With an Introduction and Contemporary Criticism*, ed. David Vincent Meconi, trans. Maria Boulding (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2012), 180.

¹⁸⁸ Jones, “The Theological Transformation,” 389.

¹⁸⁹ “*Caya nga yata, ang tavong nagcocomulgar, ay, ang boong cataoan ni Jesu Christo ang napapasoc sa loob nang cataoan niya, at maququinabang nang mahal na gracia na nacatitibay nang dati niyang cabanalan.*” San Gregorio, *Mysterios principales*, 141r.

¹⁹⁰ Santos, *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala*, 55; Matheo Sanchez, *Vocabulario de la lengua bisaya* (Manila: Colegio de la Sagrada Compañia de Jesus, 1711), 131r.

evil spirits.¹⁹¹ As Sabino Vengco also notes in a modern Philippine context, the use of the term *pakinabang* for communion “has definitely contributed to the popular misconception that one goes to communion principally for one’s own intentions or to get something out of it for one’s own interest, material or spiritual.”¹⁹² Together with its similitude to the *sandugo*, this vernacularized sense of the Eucharist suggests that indigenous Filipinos could have turned the sacrament to their own advantages, as it allowed them to forge an embodied, intimate bond with Christ or God as their almighty Friend. Hence, with or without pastoral endorsement, popular piety as informed by multiple traditions was inclined to render divine friendship, acquired and maintained through sacramental participation, a friendship of utility as well.

* * * * *

This chapter has shown how the Spanish pastorate and its rapport with indigenous peoples—what I call pastoral friendship—were central to colonial governmentality in the Spanish Philippines. As their friends, the Spanish religious not only forged intimate and amicable relations with each and every one of the native converts, but also played a decisive role as the middle emissary in establishing a vertical form of friendship between God and the latter. Indeed, it was in the domain of religious life and through pastoral friendship that the reproduction of Spanish colonial power took place most pervasively after its initial conquests. Spanish clerics also helped endow Filipino-Spanish expedient friendship with ideological and affective contents in accordance with their collective Catholic identity. Nevertheless, Christianity came into conflict with preexisting belief systems wherein indigenous Filipinos had fostered friendship with preternatural beings. At times, the political religiosities of indigenous Filipinos disrupted the Catholic order of spiritual experience, bypassed the Spanish priest’s role or debilitated his pastoral power, or even rejected the Christian God and faith altogether.

In early chapters we have discussed what can be called, following Jesus Gayo y Aragon, a “theology of conquest” in the ecclesiastical justification and rectification of Spanish colonial expansion.¹⁹³ This chapter has looked further into the colonizing process to investigate how Catholic theology informed the establishment of ecclesiastical power and its underpinning bonds

¹⁹¹ Murillo Velarde, *Historia*, 6v; Alcina, *The Muñoz Text of Alcina’s History*, 3: 218-20. Cf. a discussion of uses and abuses of the Eucharist during the late Middle Ages in Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 334-42.

¹⁹² Sabino A. Vengco, “Aklat ng Pagmimisa sa Roma: A Critique,” *Philippine Studies* 31 (1983): 258-59.

¹⁹³ Jesus Gayo y Aragon, *The Theology of the Conquest*, trans Jose Abriol et al. (Manila: Historical Conservation Society, 1993).

between God and humanity, on the one hand, and between priests and parishioners, on the other. These two sequential phases in the Spanish colonial enterprise similarly witnessed the centrality, if sometimes unobtrusive, of friendship as both a concept and a set of practices. Their political import had held Spanish rule in place for centuries, before anti-clerical and anti-colonial nationalism emerged in the nineteenth century and culminated in the Philippine Revolution.

Conclusion: Re-Politicizing the Palimpsest of Friendships

“So the Philippine peoples have remained faithful during three centuries, giving up their liberty and their independence, sometimes dazzled by the hope of the Paradise promised, sometimes cajoled by the friendship offered them by a noble and generous people like the Spanish, sometimes also compelled by superiority of arms of which they were ignorant and which timid spirits invested with a mysterious character, or sometimes because the invading foreigner took advantage of intestine feuds to step in as the peacemaker in discord and thus later to dominate both parties and subject them to his authority.”⁹⁴⁷

— José Rizal, “The Philippines a Century Hence” (1889)

Written at the twilight of the Spanish colonial regime in the Philippines, the Filipino nationalist José Rizal’s essay “Filipinas dentro de cien años” (1889) captures the alternation and enmeshment between friendship, violence, and cultural-technological hegemony in the Spanish subjugation of Philippine indigenous peoples, as examined in this dissertation. In the following year, Rizal also published his annotation of the Philippine history book *Sucesos de las islas Filipinas* (1609) by Antonio de Morga, a Spanish historian and former Deputy Governor of the Philippines. While Morga had written that the Philippines was “conquered, favored, and gifted” by the Spanish Crown, Rizal pointed out that the Philippines was placed under Spanish rule “through pacts, treaties of friendship, and reciprocal alliances.” He contended that the term “conquest” could be applied only to some islands and in a very broad sense. Cebu, Panay, Luzon, and Mindoro, among others, could not be called conquered.⁹⁴⁸ His argument seems to indicate that, by the late nineteenth century, the notions of friendship and conquest were perceived to be at odds with each other, to the point that Rizal suggested their discrepancy in his reading of Morga’s account where both concepts had been brought together.

In other words, While Rizal seems to set friendship against conquest, or peaceful arrangement against forcible occupation, early modern sources such as Morga and his

⁹⁴⁷ José Rizal, *The Philippines a Century Hence*, trans. Charles Derbyshire (Manila: Philippine Education Company, 1912), 46-47.

⁹⁴⁸ Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las islas Filipinas por el doctor Antonio de Morga, obra publicada en Méjico el año de 1609, nuevamente sacada à luz y anotada por José Rizal y precedida de un prólogo del Prof. Fernando Blumentritt* (Paris: Garnier hermanos, 1890), xxxiii.

contemporaries we have seen earlier suggest that both lines of action were conceptually and practically intertwined in the early Spanish colonization of the Philippines and, perhaps more importantly, that conquest referred primarily to territorial acquisition by any means, be it violent or otherwise. Nevertheless, what Rizal brought to light in both his essay and annotation was the insidious instrumentalization of friendship in Spanish colonialism. Whether intentionally or not, his annotation does register a legal and political conception of friendship as well as the contractual character of Spanish colonial expansion in the Philippines—what this dissertation has called *contractual colonialism* on account of its use of notarized agreement and formalized submission in tandem with, or in lieu of, indigenous blood covenanting.

While the anti-colonial nationalist politics of friendship at the *fin de siècle* requires a serious investigation of its own, here it can be rudimentarily discussed in connection with a significant change in the globalized concept of international friendship. As Evgeny Roshchin explains, from the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, the contractual and political conceptions of international friendship gradually eroded, giving way to ethical perspectives on friendship and diplomacy. The latter did not completely reject contractual friendship, but rather marginalized it and offered a framework in which it was increasingly assessed by norms of morality as opposed to utility.⁹⁴⁹ Hence, it is unsurprising that Filipino *ilustrados* such as Rizal and those mentioned in Chapter Four—who grew up with European-style education in the latter half of the nineteenth century, i.e. after the said conceptual shift—would perceive the incompatibility between the Filipino-Spanish paradigmatic friendship emblemized by their blood compact and the glaring oppressiveness of colonial rule. It was probably through such a moralist lens that they viewed the colonial tie as a feigned or betrayed friendship and envisioned its idealistic alternatives, whether a fuller integration of the Philippines into Spain or a total separation. Thus it may provisionally be said that, aside from waves of liberal and nationalist ideas, this profound change in the conceptual history of international friendship also contributed to Filipino anti-colonial consciousness in the final decades of the Spanish regime.

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Throughout this dissertation, I have unearthed and foregrounded terminologies, concepts, and practices of friendship in early modern European and Philippine vernacular sources to show

⁹⁴⁹ Evgeny Roshchin, *Friendship among Nations: History of a Concept* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 140-41.

that although friendship as a form of affective affiliation flourished in anti-colonial nationalist movements during and after Rizal's times⁹⁵⁰, its involvement in colonial politics was not solely a modern phenomenon of nineteenth- and twentieth-century decolonization. In fact, indigenous Philippine and Spanish cultures of friendship had played important parts in shaping the trajectories of Filipino-Spanish relations from their very first contact to colonial rule. Understood as an *affective arrangement*, friendship in those contexts was not only invigorated by the sentiments of love and goodwill, despite their rhetorical frequency, but capacious for a wide spectrum of feelings to arise or be strategically mobilized for colonial domination or opposition. Accordingly, I have applied affective methods of analysis to performances and remarks of friendship to shed light on how, and to what ends, affective intensity and such feelings as love, distrust, and shame inscribed themselves onto local, colonial, and interimperial politics in and over the Philippines.

In the “Zooming Out” part, I have shown that the learned Spaniards who orchestrated, debated on, or ventured into the conquest of overseas territories were variably bequeathed with dilated ideas of friendship from Greco-Roman and Christian traditions. These included not only ethical or religious conceptions of friendship but also political and contractual ones, all of which were often inflected with affective rhetoric in their imperial reformulations. It was in this fashion that the Spanish Empire shared conceptual, practical, and historical knowledge of international or interpolity friendship—what this dissertation has called a *transimperial paradigm of friendship*—with other European powers. The convergence of their histories would play out as an interimperial politics of friendship around the globe, including the Philippines and Southeast Asia at large as one of their most contentious theaters of expansion. In this region where Spanish empire builders found themselves in legal quandaries and had very limited military forces at their disposal, to secure alliance with and submission from native peoples became their indispensable strategy. Friendship was accordingly integral to competitive expansion as European powers strove to stake out claims to territories, resources, and souls. It served not only to strengthen their contested pretensions to legitimate possession in moral and affective terms, but also to promise native succor and collaboration. At the same time, in actively joining such arrangements, Philippine indigenous

⁹⁵⁰ For the politics of friendship in the Philippine Revolution, see Vicente L. Rafael, “‘Freedom = Death’: Conjurings, Secrecy, Revolution,” in *The Promise of the Foreign: Nationalism and the Technics of Translation in the Spanish Philippines* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 159-82.

peoples also played one imperial power against another to maintain their relative autonomy or obtained their aid in endemic struggles within or among local chieftaincies as well as sultanates.

In the “Zooming In” part, this dissertation has presented a political history of friendship in cross-cultural relations between Philippine natives and Spaniards from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. It has shown that friendship was both a prerequisite for and an upshot of imperial formations and anti-colonial oppositions in the Philippines. It offered both Spaniards and Philippine natives a field of opportunities and a venue of discursive and physical struggles. On the one hand, the Spanish colonization of the Philippines distinctly combined a peaceable ideology of imperial friendship with a forcible structure and technology of domination, cutting across the dichotomy between coercion and consent, or between brute force and inveiglement. Importantly, friendship was not only a domain where Filipino-Spanish power relations were manifested, but also the very ground on which those power relations were established in the first place. On the other hand, the Spanish *multilevel order of colonial asymmetrical friendships*—from divine friendship, vassalic friendship, and pastoral friendship, down to interpersonal secular friendship—in the Philippines was challenged on each plane in both subtle and overt manners. It was endured and negotiated by indigenous peoples through the local and supralocal mobilization of friendship as a mode of intimate belonging and malleable affinity. This furnished anti-colonial movements with conceptual and practical resources, by which to reckon with colonial injustice and simultaneously galvanize morale and camaraderie among and beyond autochthonous subjects. Hence, friendship reinforced colonial as much as anti-colonial bonds by serving as a *lingua franca*, as it were, for a wide variety of political formations and expressions. In short, *some friendships held sway and then other friendships struck back*.

This dissertation departs from the previous historiography of imperial friendship in its coverage of Christian conversion and its indelible connection to the colonial cultures and politics of friendship. Christianity, it has argued, established a vertical friendship between God and native converts as the foremost bond of all levels, mediated by pastoral friendship between the latter and Spanish priests. The Spanish clergy also served as unifying, spiritual liaisons between Christianized Filipinos and Spaniards, particularly in the face of local and external threats to their colonial societies. Their peculiar relationships can be elucidated further through a categorization of friendship in IR scholarship. According to Andrea Oelsner and Simon Koschut, international friendship can take two forms: strategic or “thin” and normative or “thick.” Strategic friendship,

often asymmetrical, is based on the congruence of interests rather than mutual trust while normative friendship is underlain by mutual self-disclosure and trust rather than instrumental calculation.⁹⁵¹ These two types of friendship should be viewed not as a binary opposition but rather as a continuum. It can be said that both were at play in Philippine colonial politics, with Catholicism and the Spanish clergy transforming Filipino-Spanish thin bonds of friendship into thicker ones and yet maintaining the colonial hierarchy just the same.

Together with extensive Catholicization, imperial Spain's contractual colonialism enacted a kind of epistemic violence on Philippine indigenous knowledge and lifeways such that the significance of blood covenanting eroded away unevenly across Philippine societies. This left lamentable repercussions even in the twentieth century. As anthropologists of the Buhid Mangyans of Mindoro have revealed, *sandugo*, whether as a rite or a term of address, turned into a convenient instrument of lowland Christian Filipinos or *Kristiyanos* (Tagalog, Bisayan, or Ilocano migrant groups) in exploiting non-Christian highlanders, masking their domineering attitude and economic predation. In their *sandugo* relations, Buhid families were employed by their lowland partners to clear or cultivate their fields or perform other labor services in exchange for beads, salt, or curios unavailable in the hills—ironically similar items used by Spaniards in early contacts with their ancestors. While the blood pact reportedly held no meaning for the lowlanders except that of their own gain, it was exalted and “fulfilled with almost fanatical devotion” by their Buhid *sandugos*.⁹⁵²

The colonial politics of Filipino-Spanish friendship also found historical resonances in the US colonization of the Philippines at the turn of the twentieth century. On the one hand, the native performance of complaisance and tactical prevarication in early Filipino-Spanish encounters prefigured the Filipino strategy of resistance during the Philippine-American War that American soldiers dubbed “amigo warfare”: Filipinos were friends to them during the day but guerrillas at

⁹⁵¹ Andrea Oelsner and Simon Koschut, “A Framework for the Study of International Friendship,” in *Friendship and International Relations*, ed. Simon Koschut and Andrea Oelsner (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 13-15.

⁹⁵² Violeta B. Lopez-Gonzaga, *Peasants in the Hills: A Study of the Dynamics of Social Change among the Buhid Swidden Cultivators in the Philippines* (Diliman: University of the Philippines Press, 1983), 39-40, 154-56; Thomas Gibson, *Sacrifice and Sharing in the Philippine Highlands: Religion and Society among the Buid of Mindoro* (London: Athlone, 1986), 47-48; Thomas Gibson, “Symbolic Representations of Tranquility and Aggression among the Buid,” in *Societies at Peace: Anthropological Perspectives*, ed. Signe Howell and Roy G. Willis (New York: Routledge, 1989), 70-71. The quote is from Lopez-Gonzaga.

night or when out of sight.⁹⁵³ On the other hand, the American era's affective ideology of "white love" was preceded by its Spanish counterpart, i.e. Christian *caritas* as friendly love.⁹⁵⁴ This does not mean racial difference was not as fundamental to Spanish colonialism as to US colonialism in the Philippines. Rather, Spanish racialization was based less on complexion than on the humoral and religious differentiation of peoples, as discussed in Chapter One. It was neither fortuitous nor out of nowhere that the US colonization of the Philippines was envisioned by its leader as "benevolent assimilation" by "friends."⁹⁵⁵ The intimate and affectionate language of friendship and benevolence, despite the US claim of its divergence from backward and benighted Spain, was arguably a remnant of Western imperial thought shared among European and American powers.

* * * * *

"But the past can become 'usable' only if we be willing to enter into its spirit and to carry there a reasonably *hospitable* mind. As long as we regard it with hatred, contempt, and indignation, so long will it remain hateful and closed to us. Like a mirror (to borrow Aldous Huxley's image of the Future), it will meet us with spears if we advance towards it with spears [...] Towards our Spanish past, especially, it is time we became more *friendly*; bitterness but inhibits us; those years cry for a fresher appraisal."⁹⁵⁶

— Nick Joaquin, "La Naval de Manila" (1943)

What affective stances or feelings have since animated the re-presentation of Filipino-Spanish colonial relations? Writing on the eve of Philippine independence from US rule, the Filipino writer Nick Joaquin called for a reinterpretation of Philippine colonial history in which hospitality and friendliness supplant hatred and bitterness toward Spain. Addressed primarily to his compatriots, Joaquin's plea brings to the fore friendship as a recurring trope and an underlying affective mode in colonial and postcolonial Philippine historiography. However, as this dissertation has shown, friendliness itself has a long and intricate political history in the

⁹⁵³ Reynaldo C. Ileto, "The Philippine-American War: Friendship and Forgetting," in *Vestiges of War: The Philippine-American War and the Aftermath of an Imperial Dream, 1899-1999*, ed. Angel Velasco Shaw and Luis H. Francia (New York: New York University Press, 2002), 6-7.

⁹⁵⁴ On "white love" during the American colonial period, see Vicente L. Rafael, *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 19-51.

⁹⁵⁵ See William McKinley's Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation (1898) in James H. Blount, *The American Occupation of the Philippines, 1898-1912* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1913), 147-50.

⁹⁵⁶ Nick Joaquin, "La Naval de Manila," in *Nick Joaquin Revisited: La Naval de Manila and Other Essays*, ed. Alberto S. Florentino (Manila: De La Salle University Press, 1998), 13, my italics.

Philippines. To be friendly or unfriendly to “our Spanish past” is inevitably to be embroiled in the politics of friendship that dates back to early Filipino-Spanish contact and has exceeded the domain of historical writing from the very beginning.

More than half a century after Joaquín’s essay, the contemporary Philippines has witnessed an affective shift in the collective memories of its Spanish past. From the dawn of the twenty-first century, two events of friendship that bookended the colonial history of the Philippines under Spain have been commemorated at their putatively original sites. One was the blood compact between Miguel López de Legazpi and Datu Sikatuna of Bohol in 1565, and the other, the Siege of Baler where the remaining Spanish forces in the Philippines (so-called “*los últimos de Filipinas*”) were surrounded by Filipino revolutionaries during 1898-99 and finally announced by the latter to be treated as friends rather than prisoners of war.⁹⁵⁷ These paradigmatic events—what some IR scholars might call “foundational moments” or “joint emotional histories” of international friendship⁹⁵⁸—took place remotely from the present center of the Philippine national government and yet are integrated into the dominant emplotment of national history. The first event was claimed to mark the beginning of Philippine-Spanish relations and construed as “the first international treaty between the Philippines and a foreign country.”⁹⁵⁹ In 2001, President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo declared March 16 each year a provincial holiday in Bohol to be known as *the Blood Compact Day* to celebrate “the first treaty of friendship and alliance between Spaniards and Filipinos.”⁹⁶⁰ On account of the second event, Arroyo also signed an act in 2003 declaring June 30 each year *Philippine-Spanish Friendship Day*, a national holiday to commemorate “the cultural and historical ties, friendship and cooperation between the Philippines and Spain.”⁹⁶¹

Despite their significance as promoted by the postcolonial Philippine state, these events were part of a wider and dynamic constellation of cross-cultural colonial relations between Philippine natives and Spaniards over three centuries. Their inconclusive history, as demonstrated

⁹⁵⁷ For a detailed account of the event, see Carlos Madrid, *Flames over Baler: The Story of the Siege of Baler, Reconstructed from Original Documentary Sources* (Diliman: University of the Philippines Press, 2012). See also its filmic representations in *Los últimos de Filipinas* (1945), *Baler* (2008), and *1898: Los últimos de Filipinas* (2016).

⁹⁵⁸ Lucile Eznack and Simon Koschut, “The Sources of Affect in Interstate Friendship,” in *Friendship and International Relations*, ed. Simon Koschut and Andrea Oelsner (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 74, 79.

⁹⁵⁹ Ambeth Ocampo, “Blood Compact: Philippines’ First Int’l Treaty,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer* (1 October 1999): 1, 11.

⁹⁶⁰ “Republic Act No. 9093,” *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines*, April 8, 2001, <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/2001/04/08/republic-act-no-9093/>.

⁹⁶¹ “Republic Act No. 9187,” in *Pacto de Sangre: Spanish Legacy in Filipinas*, ed. Virgilio S. Almarino (Ermita, Manila: 2003 Philippine-Spanish Friendship Day Committee, 2003), 179-80.

by Rizal's and Joaquin's writings above, is a veritable palimpsest. To claim its palimpsestic character is to say that it continues to be rewritten, parts of which are obliterated, modified, and expanded. Its episodes constitute a historical repertoire for Spanish and Filipino posterities to adapt to their own usage. What the Philippine government has advocated in its commemoration of the two historic events is a form of ethical and normative friendship on the international level, if not a kind of post-nationalist, cosmopolitan aspiration, with no trace of bitterness nor contempt. The renowned Hispanophilic writer's wish, it seems, has come true.

It is noteworthy that Joaquin did not completely reject bitterness as an affective orientation, but rather pointed out its detrimental predominance in Filipino historical consciousness. In any case, his advocacy brings to mind an ongoing debate in the humanities and social sciences on different modes of criticism and engagement with one's object of inquiry. In her famous essay, Eve Sedgwick discusses what she views as the dominant epistemic and affective practice in academia, i.e. "paranoid reading" or what Paul Ricoeur calls the hermeneutics of suspicion. She argues that in placing a stress on exposure and demystification, the paranoid consensus among scholars "unintentionally impoverish the gene pool of literary-critical perspectives and skills" and therefore its ability "to respond to environmental (e.g., political) change." Sedgwick advocates "reparative reading" as an alternative. This stance, she proposes, opens itself to experience surprise and hope and entertains such possibilities as that "the past [...] could have happened differently from the way it actually did." Nevertheless, Sedgwick also notes the instability and interpenetration between the two positions as one may infuse or necessitate the other.⁹⁶²

In line with Sedgwick's departure from paranoid reading, a number of historical studies on friendship espouse a different mode of reading than a diagnostic one. In her study of female friendship in Victorian novels, Sharon Marcus offers what she calls a "just reading" that does not claim "to plump hidden depths but to account more fully for what texts present on their surface but critics have failed to notice."⁹⁶³ In a similar vein, Vanessa Smith argues that friendship has the capacity to reflect back on our critical imperative to locate the object of analysis behind the apparent. Accordingly, in her analysis of British-Oceanian friendship, she refocuses on what

⁹⁶² Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, "Paranoid Reading and Reparative Reading, Or, You're So Paranoid, You Probably Think This Introduction is About You," in *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 123-46.

⁹⁶³ Sharon Marcus, *Between Women: Friendship, Desire, and Marriage in Victorian England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 75. See also Stephen Best and Sharon Marcus, "Surface Reading: An Introduction," *Representations* 108, no. 1 (2009): 12-13.

claims of friendship enabled rather than represented or implied.⁹⁶⁴ My dissertation has admittedly adopted a critical stance toward colonial sources on cross-cultural friendship. However, in the sources aggregated throughout, what lies on their surface but often escapes attention is indeed the prevalence of political friendship, not only as a false pretense but also frequently as a legitimate form of affiliation in the premodern and early modern worlds. A “just reading” of such a friendship is therefore a nominalist reading of what it apparently was: an actually practiced type of friendship. Its expediency and instrumentality were usually not hidden but rather brazenly demonstrated in imperial expansion and colonial interaction. At the same time, this and other types of friendship largely operated through affectionate languages, which also call for an ideological critique and politicization alongside surface reading.

Given the Philippine declaration of “friendship days” and their ensuing commemorative activities, a reparative reading of Philippine history now seems to be more than a mere alternative. The Philippine state, Filipino scholars, and the Philippine general public presumably view their Spanish past with “more friendly” eyes than before. The notion of friendship has now been invested with reparative power for national self-refashioning and the amelioration of international relations. However, reparative reading may go well with such a postcolonial project of international comity and national celebration, but seems less effective for tracking its darker colonial counterparts. While paranoid reading should be wary of the nationalistic pride and hatred that Joaquin warned against, reparative reading can probably serve best by not obliterating histories of colonial violence and suffering.

In any event, critical or suspicious reading and reparative reading into colonial history can converge in the light of their complementary strengths and limitations. It is perhaps by reckoning with the colonial past that we can recalibrate our reparative endeavors under postcolonial conditions. As scholars of international friendship point out, the slow and arduous process of reconciliation entails “the different phases of how the parties involved deal with the experience of violence through truth-telling, acknowledging the harm caused, engaging in acts of compensation/reparation and other forms of restorative justice, as well as apologizing (to the victim) and forgiving (the perpetrator).”⁹⁶⁵ In this light, to be friendlier to the Spanish colonial past

⁹⁶⁴ Vanessa Smith, *Intimate Strangers: Friendship, Exchange and Pacific Encounters* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 12-14.

⁹⁶⁵ Felix Berensköter and Mor Mitrani, “Is It Friendship? An Analysis of Contemporary German-Israeli Relations,” *International Studies Quarterly* 66, no. 1 (2022): 4.

is not to be exhilarated by its glorious legacies and silent about its injuries, which may result in what Ann Stoler calls “colonial aphasia”—not amnesia or forgetting, but rather an occlusion of knowledge and a difficulty in generating a vocabulary to address the matter at issue.⁹⁶⁶ To inhibit such aphasia as well as to forgive and acknowledge the foreign in colonial and postcolonial Philippine lives, this dissertation has brought friend, friendship, and friendliness themselves to task as part of a vocabulary for critical and conciliative truth-telling.

In 2002, President Arroyo also declared June 9 each year *Filipino-Chinese Friendship Day* to commemorate their formal diplomatic relations and “tradition of friendship dating back to ancient days.”⁹⁶⁷ Amid the current milieu of China’s rising power and territorial dispute with the Philippines, this officially celebrated “friendship” begs the question of its nature, agenda, and resonance with the multilayered friendship with imperial Spain or, for that matter, the US in the past. In the face of China’s imperial atavism or neo-imperialism, we have already seen from the early colonial Philippine history the various ways in which international, cross-cultural friendship was fraught with political import and ramifications for both domestic and foreign affairs. Indeed, in a recent phone call between President Xi Jinping of China and Presumptive President Ferdinand Marcos Jr. of the Philippines, Xi reportedly called the latter’s father, the dictator Marcos Sr., “a builder, supporter, and promoter of the China-Philippines friendship” and said that the two countries should “write a grand story on the China-Philippines friendship in the new era.”⁹⁶⁸

What epistemic and affective stances, then, should we opt for in reading/writing such a story and, to borrow Sedgwick’s words, “respond[ing] to environmental (e.g., political) change” inside and outside the Philippines? How can the history of Philippine colonial friendships shed light on this current friendship with yet another superpower? As we have seen, to re-politicize the Philippine palimpsest of international friendships is not only to inflect them with power relations, but also to bear in mind the specter of enmity inherent in all friendships and, just as important, their entanglement with politics on larger or smaller scales—whether global, regional, national, or local. That said, these questions await more prudent contemplation in years to come.

⁹⁶⁶ Ann Laura Stoler, *Duress: Imperial Durabilities in Our Times* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), 128.

⁹⁶⁷ “Proclamation No. 148, s. 2002,” *Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines*, January 24, 2002, <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/2002/01/24/proclamation-no-148-s-2002/>.

⁹⁶⁸ Zacarian Sarao, “Marcos, Xi Talk about Expanding PH-China Ties in Phone Call,” *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, May 18, 2022, <https://newsinfo.inquirer.net/1599309/marcos-xi-talk-about-expanding-ph-china-ties-in-phone-call>.

Abbreviations

AGI	<i>Archivo General de Indias</i>
BNE	<i>Biblioteca Nacional de España</i>
BNF	<i>Bibliothèque Nationale de France</i>
BR	<i>Blair and Robertson, The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898</i>
CDAO	<i>Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía</i>
CDU	<i>Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de ultramar</i>
CVD	<i>Colección de los viajes y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los españoles desde fines del siglo XV, con varios documentos inéditos concernientes á la historia de la marina castellana y de los establecimientos españoles en Indias</i>
NAP	<i>National Archives of the Philippines</i>

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