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TRANS PACIFIC
Research Notes

NO. I
May 2022





TRANS PACIFIC

Research Notes

Working Paper Series No. 1 | May 2022

Interactive feature

<https://crossroads-research.net/transpacific/agustinsanchez>

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ISSN 2796-1184

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Abraham Ortelius, *Maris Pacifici (quod vulgo Mar del Zur)*, 1589, [UT Arlington](#)

Agustín Sánchez, a Late Sixteenth-Century Spanish Ship Surgeon Crossing the Pacific Ocean

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Introduction

In times past, sea voyages had to deal with environmental influences, including weather conditions, disease, malnutrition, as well as the viruses, germs, bacteria, and animals that transmitted diseases on board ship. It was therefore important to have at least one surgeon or physician on board, especially in the case of very long sea voyages such as a trans-Pacific crossing. The ship's surgeon or physician had to take charge of all the health and hygiene issues among the passengers and crew and even treat the wounded in the case of a bellicose or pirate encounter at sea. Significant advances in maritime medicine went along with the process of European expansion. For Spain this meant establishing certain regulations to guarantee basic medical care on board. Naval conflicts with competing European nations especially required improvements in medicinal treatments to be successful.¹ The century of Charles V and Philip II (1500–1598) was noted for the setting of standards and regulations to improve sanitary conditions aboard ships.² In a previous collaboration, we have introduced various general aspects of maritime medicine and doctors on board, focussing

*This research was supported by, and contributes to the ERC AdG project TRANSPACIFIC that has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation Programme (Grant agreement No. 833143).

An interactive feature of this article is available on the TRANSPACIFIC site, <https://crossroads-research.net/transpacific/agustinsanchez>. This microsite also includes the companion podcasts by Angela Schottenhammer, Mathieu Torck, and Wim De Winter, “The Case of Agustín Sánchez” (Parts 1 and 2), *TRANSPACIFIC Podcast*, Ep. 2 and 3, March/May 2021.

¹ María Luisa Rodríguez-Sala, with Karina Neria Mosco, Verónica Ramírez Ortega, and Alejandra Tolentino Ochoa, *Los cirujanos del mar en la Nueva España (1572–1820) ¿miembros de un estamento profesional o una comunidad científica?* [Serie Los Cirujanos En La Nueva España] (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2004), 31 *et seq.*

² In November 1554, the first rules for hygiene on board ship were promulgated in Spain. They comprised simple responsibilities, such as sweeping and cleaning on and below the deck, or aromatising with rosemary once a week. This historical development is described in Salvador Clavijo y Clavijo, *Historia del cuerpo de sanidad militar de la armada*, (San Fernando: Tipografía de Fernando Espín Peña, 1925), especially, 35. Some physicians and surgeons who accompanied great military or discovery missions, such as Diego Álvarez Chanca, Luis Lobera de Ávila, Gregorio López or Dionisio Daza Chacón, occupy a special position in the history of medicine.

especially on the Asian waters,³ whereas in the present article, we would like to present a special case from the late sixteenth-century, the fate of Agustín Sánchez, a Spanish “barber-surgeon” on a voyage of the trans-Pacific galleon *San Martín*. We learn of his array of possessions from a post-mortem inventory preserved in the Archivo General de Indias in Sevilla, all of which were auctioned in Acapulco in 1587, after his untimely death at sea. Only a handful of such documents pertaining to surgeons deceased aboard Spanish ships in the sixteenth and seventeenth have been discovered, and this is one of the rare examples we possess from a trans-Pacific crossing.

As a barber-surgeon (*cirujano Barbero*), Sánchez was in a class separate from physicians formally trained in Latin at the university (*latinistas*): the comprehensive *médicos cirujanos* or the *médicos* who focused on internal medicine. But he also lacked the qualifications of the more narrowly defined surgeons who were educated in Spanish (*cirujanos romancistas*). Physicians preferred to stay on land, likely losing practical experience to cope with the required challenges on board ship, making surgeons likely more acquainted with the challenges compared to physicians. Military enterprises would have a qualified surgeon (*cirujano mayor*), whereas commercial voyages may have had a medical officer with practical experience or a guild-trained barber-surgeon.⁴

By the mid-sixteenth century, the growing distinction between surgeons became increasingly apparent: on the one hand, there were those descended from barber-surgeons, who continued to cut hair and treat external afflictions, and on the other, those with formal medical training as physicians. Barber-surgeons took care of treating wounds, topical and venereal diseases, setting fractured or dislocated bones, and occasionally performing amputations, but were not versed in internal medicine like their university-trained counterparts. In addition, these “lowly” barber-surgeons performed bloodletting and tooth extractions.⁵

In Spain, the role of a ship’s surgeon evolved out of the roles of barbers or apothecaries. They treated external ailments, such as broken bones, wounds and injuries, as well as skin diseases, including boils and rashes. They also typically pulled teeth, let blood, and treated kidney stones, hernias, and venereal diseases.⁶ The surgeon was usually equipped with a variety of medicines, cloth to make bandages and dressings, a saw to carry out amputations, and a number of other tools, such as scissors, clamps, various types of knives, cauterising implements, needles, hammers and picks. Frequently he had to prepare medicines and ointments on board, and consequently also needed spoons, funnels, spatulas, a mortar and pestle, scales, and a small brazier.⁷ The inventory of Agustín Sánchez’s belongings is telling not only because it includes such expected professional implements, but also because of the collection of medical texts that he carried as reference.

³ Angela Schottenhamer, Mathieu Torck, and Wim De Winter, “Surgeons and Physicians on the Move in the Asian Waters (15th to 18th Centuries)”, *Haiyangshi yanjiu* 海洋史研究 18 (2022), 245–302.

⁴ Rodríguez-Sala, *Los cirujanos del mar en la Nueva España*, 37.

⁵ Johanna Geyer-Kordesch and Fiona MacDonald, *Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow, 1599–1858: The History of the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1999), vol. 1, 79.

⁶ Sherry Fields, *Pestilence and Headcolds: Encountering Illness in Colonial Mexico* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 109.

⁷ Shirley Fish, *The Manila-Acapulco Galleons: The Treasure Ships of the Pacific: With an Annotated List of the Transpacific Galleons 1565–1815* (Central Milton Keynes: AuthorHouse, 2011), 317.

This article will first lay out the known timeline of Agustín Sánchez's life and voyages, before giving an overview of his personal and professional belongings, as well as how these shine light on how scurvy and other diseases were treated on board. This is followed by an itemised and annotated description of his auctioned possessions. An appendix reproduces the paleographed source document in full.

Ship Surgeon Agustín Sánchez and his Journey

The Archivo General de Indias (AGI) in Sevilla possesses an interesting manuscript that can provide us with further insight into the life of a doctor on board one of the contemporary Manila galleons. The manuscript is described as the “proceedings on the goods of Agustín Sánchez, ship surgeon, who died without a known will (*abintestato*) on board the galleon *San Martín*, that was navigating along the coast of New Spain under the command of Captain Pedro de Ortega” (1592).⁸ While such probate proceedings (*autos de bienes difuntos*) are a staple source of Spanish colonial history, only six such documents have so far been identified for ship surgeons from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, among which Sánchez was the only one employed on a trans-Pacific galleon.⁹ And while the names of each year’s galleon surgeon were systematically recorded by the Manila Royal Treasury,¹⁰ without further details on their lives and identity, these individuals remain basically anonymous. This makes this document an especially valuable source.

Though he is designated throughout the document as both a *cirujano* and *barbero*, Sánchez’ biography suggests he may have possessed more far-reaching competencies than a low-ranking barber-surgeon. This hypothesis may be supported by the fact that, when he first reached Manila years earlier, he started to work at a local hospital before boarding the return galleon to New Spain. Based on his competencies, we would suggest that he be classified somewhere in the range between the official physicians who received a full medical university education and lower ranking barbers who fulfilled all kinds of practical medical tasks. But due to the lack of information on his education, unfortunately, his exact qualifications remain unclear.

Otherwise not much is known about the person of Agustín Sánchez. But the manuscript in the AGI contains a very long list of the goods which he carried, including books and tools he needed for his profession as ship surgeon.¹¹ Agustín Sánchez’ death brought about the inspection and inventory of the goods he had left and those carried on board. This inventory list, including a case with medical tools and instruments, as well as medical texts, was eventually presented at the port of Acapulco, where his belongings were auctioned by a probate judge in February of 1587. This list provides fascinating insights into his professional and personal life, as well as the materiality of his social standing.

⁸ Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla (AGI), Contratación, 487, N. 1, R. 14, Bienes de difuntos: Agustín Sánchez (1592), <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/94800?nm>: “Autos sobre los bienes de Agustín Sánchez, cirujano de nao, que murió abintestato a bordo del galeón San Martín que navega por la costa de Nueva España al mando del capitán Pedro de Ortega.”

⁹ Rodríguez-Sala, “Los cirujanos del mar en la Nueva España, siglos XVI–XVIII ¿estamento o comunidad?”, *Cirugía y Cirujanos* 70:2 (2002), 474.

¹⁰ Along with government officials, all officers on the Manila galleon, including the surgeon, were required to pay a 10% fee (*media anata*) on their annual salary. This was recorded in the annual reports of the Philippine treasury that can be found in the Contaduría fond at AGI.

¹¹ Rodríguez-Sala, “Los cirujanos del mar en la Nueva España”, 474.

According to the manuscript, Agustín Sánchez originally came from New Spain and first boarded the galleon in Acapulco in 1585, presumably around February,¹² in order to cure the sick (*para curar los enfermados en dicha nao*, f. 15r). He eventually passed away on board a galleon departing from Manila in 1586 (f. 1r, 3v, 14r), while it was sailing in the waters of the Philippine archipelago (las Islas del Poniente, f. 14r), under the command of captain Pedro de Ortega, on its return voyage (*tornaviaje*) back to Acapulco (f. 1r, 15r).¹³ On 24 November 1586, when Sanchez' death was formally reported according to the document, the galleon was sailing along the coast of New Spain, heading towards Acapulco (f. 1r).

In reconstructing the identity of Captain Pedro de Ortega, it is possible he was the same person as Pedro de Ortega Valencia (n. Guadalcanal, 1520?–1598?), the pilot who accompanied Álvaro de Mendaña de Neira (1542–1595) on the first Spanish expedition to the Salomon Islands in 1568. But taking into consideration his advanced age at the time of Sánchez' travel (he would have been in his seventies by then), it seems much more likely that he was his identically named son or grandson. Of Ortega's two children, the eldest, Jerónimo, accompanied him on the Salomon Islands expedition. His second son, Pedro, bore a child with María de Arellano, who he also named Pedro.¹⁴

From another document, described as a “list of commodities carried from the Philippines by the galleon *San Martín*, which arrived in December 1586, of the persons who loaded them in these islands and those to whom they were consigned”,¹⁵ we know that the *San Martín* left Manila for Acapulco sometime in the summer of 1586 and reached Acapulco by December of that year. This timeline matches the information provided in our manuscript, which states that in November 1586, the *San Martín* was sailing along the American coast, close to Acapulco.

However, whether “our” *San Martín* is in fact the homonymous galleon that left Manila for Acapulco in June 1583 under Captain Francisco de Mercado, returning to Acapulco and then sailing from Acapulco to Macao (instead of Manila) in 1587, is unclear. After a mutiny on board this *San Martín*, Alonso Sánchez and the royal factor, Juan Bautista Román, were sent to Macao by Diego Ronquillo (in office 10 March 1583 – 16 May 1584).¹⁶ Román is said to have overcome the mutineers, then hired a new crew and sailed for Acapulco in May 1584. Theoretically, it is possible that the galleon left Macao in early summer 1584, reached Acapulco some time in fall 1584, then

¹² As a rule, the galleons left Acapulco for the Philippines between early November and late March.

¹³ AGI, Contratación, 487, N. 1, R. 14, 1592.

¹⁴ See Carlos Romero Romero, “La gran aventura de un marino tarifeño”, *Aljaranda* 43 (2001), 5; Javier Ortiz de la Tabla Ducasse, *Los encomenderos de Quito, 1534–1660: origen y evolución de una élite colonial* [Publicaciones de la Escuela de Estudios Hispano Americanos de Sevilla. Filosofía y letras, 368] (Sevilla: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1993), 275; “Pedro de Ortega”, in Flint, Richard, Shirley Cushing Flint, Kevin Comerford, *et al.*, A Most Splendid Company: A Database of People from Sixteenth-Century New Spain [website] (University of New Mexico Libraries, 2019), <https://coronado.unm.edu/node/8852>.

¹⁵ AGI, Patronato, 25, R. 29, Relación de mercaderías de Filipinas: galeón *San Martín* (1586), <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/121861?nm>: “Relación de las mercaderías que trajo de Filipinas el galeón *San Martín*, que llegó en diciembre de 1586, de las personas que las cargaron en aquellas islas y a las que iban consignadas.”

¹⁶ The Chinese coast guard had first seized the ship and its cargo, but the crew was able to get away and escape to Portuguese Macao. The crew mutinied and got rid of Mercado whereupon governor Diego Ronquillo decided to send somebody who could exert sufficient force to overcome the mutineers. The full account can be found in Horacio de la Costa, S.I., *The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581–1768* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961), 51–53.

sailed back to the Philippines, perhaps still that same year or in 1585, thus making its way back again to Acapulco in 1586.

Agustín Sánchez is described as a ship surgeon coming from New Spain to cure the sick on the *San Martín* in 1585, having done his service on this galleon and then in a Manila hospital, from 19 June 1585 until the date when the provision of the galleon was received. From the manuscript we can reconstruct the following chronology of Sanchez' life and death, the auctioning of his belongings, and the corresponding judicial documents and certifications.

- ▶ On 8 March 1584 (this is the earliest date mentioned in the manuscript), the local surgeon in Acapulco, Melchor Pérez Morillo, pledged himself¹⁷ to pay 41 pesos to Agustín Sánchez, having borrowed from him this amount in a time of need. Pérez Morillo renounced any future exceptions from repayment (*excepſion de la pecuaria*, formally *exceptio non numeratae pecuniae* in Latin) and promised to pay back the borrowed amount exclusively in silver pesos, either in Acapulco or at any other place in New Spain, a pledge formalized before the notary Amador Pérez and the witnesses Ascención de Méndez, Blas de Santa María, and Cristobal Ramírez (f. 10r).
- ▶ On 18 February 1585, Luis Díaz Marento confirms that he owes Agustín Sánchez a sum of 12 pesos, which he had pledged to return to Sánchez whenever he requested it: "I promise to return this amount, with my assets as collateral (*me obligo mi persona e bienes*), asking that Manuel Fernández and Alonso Gómez sign this agreement as witnesses" (f. 8v).
- ▶ On 14 April 1585, Agustín Sánchez confirmed that he received 6 pesos from Luis Díaz Marento as partial payment, and stated he would only ask for the remaining 6 pesos once they reached the port of Acapulco (*i.e.* they were traveling together). Witnesses were Miguel Lorca, Don Alonso Lucano, and Francisco Núñez. They obviously concluded this agreement on board the *San Martín*, that means the galleon had already left the port of Acapulco in the direction of Manila (f. 9v).
- ▶ In 1585, probably between February and early April, Agustín Sánchez boarded the galleon *San Martín* in Acapulco as ship surgeon. The galleon sailed to Manila where it arrived as expected around 19 June 1585.
- ▶ Subsequently, Sánchez started working in a local hospital, likely the Royal Hospital (Hospital Real de Españoles, 1577–1898), which treated Spanish men,¹⁸ or perhaps in the Hospital of La Misericordia (1578–1656), which treated slaves, Spanish women, as well as natives and foreigners who could not afford other medicinal services.¹⁹
- ▶ In summer 1586, the *San Martín* set sail from Manila on its return journey to Acapulco. Sánchez passed away on this journey—no exact date is provided in the manuscript.
- ▶ On 24 November 1586, the *San Martín* navigated close to the coasts of America, approaching Acapulco as expected. Pedro de Ortega, captain of the galleon, reports that Sánchez had passed away on the return voyage. An inventory of his possessions was drawn

¹⁷ He is talking in the first person singular (*i.e. yo*).

¹⁸ The Royal Hospital in Manila always had a surgeon and an apothecary (both Spaniards).

¹⁹ In 1656, it was renamed Hospital de San Juan de Dios and still exists today.

before the ship's notary, Diego Zárate, while the ship's constable (*alguacil*), Juan García Vázquez, was designated as their custodian (f. 8v).

- ▶ Given that Sánchez died without a known will, his belongings were openly sold to the highest bidder in two auctions, on 6 February (ff. 4r–6v) and on 14 February 1587 (f. 7r), for a total of 124.75 pesos. A local probate judge (*juez de bienes de difuntos*), Diego de Molina y Padilla, was responsible for the administrative organization of these proceedings (*almoneda pública*).
- ▶ On 20 December 1588, the general probate judge (*juez general de bienes difuntos*) in Mexico City, Doctor Alonso Martínez, ordered that the money from the auctions be sent to Juan de Avendaño, a formal resident (*vecino*) of Mexico City (f. 11r), who was to settle the balance of the inheritable sum, including any pending salaries.
- ▶ On 7 September 1589, Diego de Molina y Padilla, appeared before Gil Verdugo, accountant and judge of accounts (*juez de resultas*) of the general probate court in Mexico City, to finally present the itemised results of the auction held in Acapulco (f. 11v). This was part of this bureaucratic procedure by which the authorities of New Spain informed the Casa de Contratación and the Consejo de Indias on how much money was earned by auctioning property and possessions of individuals who had passed away overseas, which preceded the identification of successors and potential distribution of the inheritance.
- ▶ On 14 September 1589, a petition was read before judge Alonso Martínez, requesting the balance of the estate pending deposit in the probate treasury (*caja de bienes de difuntos*), in both original and copy, signed before the notary Hernando de Paz (f. 14v). The declared balance of the auction proceedings and other charges was 121.75 pesos.
- ▶ In 1591, a partial remittance of 73 pesos with 6 tomines and 6 granos (73.8125 pesos) was sent from Mexico to the Casa de Contratación in Sevilla, aboard of the galleon helmed by general Antonio Navarro del Prado. But the sum never arrived in Spain, as the ship was captured by the English (f. 15v).²⁰
- ▶ On 20 May 1592, Doctor Andrés Saldierna de Mariaca, *oidor* of the Audiencia of New Spain and general probate judge (*oidor de esta Real Audiencia y juez general de los bienes de difuntos*), gave orders that the money earned from the auctions of belongings from deceased individuals be resent to Castilla that year in the fleet under the command of General Martín Pérez de Olazabal (f. 15v)

²⁰ In the context of the Anglo-Spanish War (1585–1604), the galleon may have been taken during English raids of Spanish ships in the Caribbean, for example, the blockade of Western Cuba in 1591. But the galleon may also have been captured in the eastern Atlantic waters, close to the Spanish mainland. Namely to prevent a Spanish naval recovery, Sir John Hawkins (1532–1592) proposed a blockade of the treasure supply of Spanish ships sailing from the Americas to Spain by organizing a constant naval patrol in the Atlantic waters off the coasts of northern Africa and south Spain. The English ship *Revenge* was on such a patrol in the summer of 1591 under the command of Sir Richard Grenville (1542–1591). The galleon may have been taken during one of these confrontations between the English and the Spanish, such as the battle of Flores, off the Azores Islands (30–31 August 1591), or subsequently on 9 September of that year. See, for example, the entries on “Sir John Hawkins” and the “Battle of Flores” in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/John-Hawkins-English-naval-commander> and <https://www.britannica.com/event/Battle-of-Flores-1591>.



Ensemble de gravures de costumes espagnols du XVI^e siècle, 1600 (Gallica, BnF)

The Personal and Professional Belongings of Agustín Sánchez

The goods Agustín Sánchez carried on board included many items, especially garments and loose fabrics, including those made from linen or similar light cottons (*lienzo*), or other cotton fabrics (*algodón*), as well as ruff collars (*cuellos*), shirts (for example, *camisas de lienzo de Castilla y de China*), handkerchiefs (*pañuelos*), table napkins, a bedcover, a bed canopy (*pabellón*), and bed sheets (*sabanas de lienzo de sangley*).²¹ There was also a small chest with lock and key filled with cup-shaped containers used for mixing substances, such as herbs, medicines, etc., and some letters (*cajuela chica de sangley llena de salceretas de barro de china con su llave e unas cartas*).

Additionally, “Sangley” cases with two inkwells (*caxuelas de sangley con dos tinteros de plomo*), books, wine (*vino de la tierra*), furniture, etc. The so-called “Sangley cases” or chests were probably smaller, decorated cases made of wood or other materials, and were either made by the

²¹ As for the demonym “Sangley”, see George B. Souza and Jeffrey Scott Turley (eds.), *The Boxer Codex: Transcription and translation of an illustrated late sixteenth-century Spanish manuscript concerning the geography, history and ethnography of the Pacific, Southeast and East Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 391. The Boxer Codex is an anonymous late sixteenth-century Sino-Spanish manuscript that provides information on early modern geography, ethnography, and history of parts of the western Pacific, as well as major segments of maritime and continental Southeast and East Asia. The illustration of the Sangleyes in the Boxer Codex shows a wealthy, or at least high-standing, couple. See Boxer mss. II, ca. 1590, Lily Library, Indiana University, f. 204, <http://purl.dlib.indiana.edu/indl/general/VAB8326>. This may in fact nourish the idea that it was the intention of this codex to highlight Spain’s primary business partners and to demonstrate Manila’s commercial potential to its intended audience, as suggested by Ellen Hsieh, “The Power of Images in the Boxer Codex and Cultural Convergence in Early Spanish Manila”, in María Cruz Berrocal and Cheng-hwa Tsang (eds.), *Historical Archaeology of Early Modern Colonialism in Asia-Pacific: The Asia-Pacific Region* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2017), 118–145, 129. Portrayed are also a literati couple, *Mandarín letrado* (*wenguan* 文官), a princely couple, *príncipe* (*taizi* 太子), an emperor and his wife, *rey* (*huangdi* 皇帝), ff. 204–212. The first part of the codex—until we get to the illustrations of Chinese individuals, including the Sangley couple—is composed of a new, more realistic series of portraits of indigenous Asian peoples not seen in Western sources, but which emulate pre-existing ethnographic albums of officially known tributary peoples created for the Chinese court. See Manel Ollé and Juan Pau Rubiés (eds.), *El Códice Boxer: Etnografía colonial e hibridismo cultural en las islas Filipinas [Transferéncias, 1400–1800]* (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2019), 67.

Chinese community in the Philippines, or, alternatively, on the Chinese mainland and then sold in Manila by Chinese merchants. Chinese traders and settlers in Manila were referred to as Sangleyes by the Spaniards.²² Interesting is also a ceramic jar (*tinaja*), filled with “Chinese wine” (*vino de China*), either a fermented beverage or distilled spirit, which sold for 5.5 pesos (f. 7r), as well as a small box with ointments and an ivory comb (*caxoncillo con ungüentos y un peyne de marfil*, f. 6r).

Several medical texts, as well as a few other books, were taken on board and placed in a box with lock and key. The list provides us a greater understanding of the kind of medical literature surgeons and physicians considered important on board:²³

- 2 *libros de Práctica de Juan de Vigo* (f. 1r), most likely *Teorica y practica en cirurgia* (Theory and practice in surgery, 1537), by Juan de Vigo (Giovanni da Vigo, 1460–1520), an Italian doctor and surgeon.²⁴
- *Libro de medicina que se dice modu[s] faciendo*, most probably *Modus faciendo cum ordine medicandi* (Craftsmanship according to medical guidelines; Seville, 1527), by Fray Bernardino de Laredo (1482–1540). It is considered the first Castilian pharmacopoeia.²⁵

²² “Sangley” was, thus, a Spanish transliteration, possibly even of an already existing term, designating Chinese merchants and the Chinese community in Manila. It has been interpreted as a Romanised transcription of either the Chinese characters *changlai* 常來 (as mentioned in the Boxer Codex), meaning “to come with frequency”; from the term *shanglai* 商來, meaning “to come to do business or to trade”; or possibly *xialang* 夏郎 (Minnan: *siong-lai*), referring to Chinese from Xiamen and, more generally, from Fujian (Minnan). But actually, the exonym seems to have arisen from some kind of linguistic misencounter, rendering the pronunciation of a foreign word, “sangley”, into Chinese. See the discussion in Guillermo Ruiz-Stovel, “Chinese Shipping and Merchant Networks at the Edge of the Spanish Pacific: The Minnan-Manila Trade, 1680–1840”, Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles (2019), 128–130. In this context, it has also been suggested that “sangley” is a Tagalog word, derived from *shaing* (merchant) and *ley* (traveller), see E. Arsenio Manuel, H. Otley Beyer, *Chinese elements in the Tagalog language, with some indication of Chinese influence on other Philippine languages and cultures, and an excursion into Austronesian linguistics* (Manila: Filipiniana Publications, 1948), 50. Probably, as the uses in Spanish sources suggest, the term was later also applied more generally to identify merchants, individuals and migrant communities of Chinese, and even other Asian origins in Asia. Manuel Pérez García has recently argued that the term “Sangley” may have aimed at stereotyping a native community that should be converted to Catholic faith, as well as to the customs and traditions of the Spanish crown. Pérez-García, *Global History with Chinese Characteristics—Autocratic States along the Silk Road in the Decline of the Spanish and Qing Empires 1680–1796* [Palgrave Studies in Comparative Global History] (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), 137, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-7865-6>.

²³ For a general survey, see also Fernando López-Ríos Fernández, *Medicina Naval Española en la Época de los Descubrimientos* (Barcelona: Editorial Labor, 1993).

²⁴ An extant version at the Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE) is Giovanni de Vigo, *Libro, o practica en Cirugia del muy famoso y experto Doctor Juan de Vigo [...] traduzido de lengua latina en nuestro vulgar castellano por el Doctor Miguel Juan Pascual Valenciano* (Toledo: Casa de Fernando de Sancta Cathalina, 1548), <http://bdh.bne.es/bnsearch/detalle/bdh0000193830>.

²⁵ Although the author was neither a doctor nor a pharmacist, Laredo’s pharmacopoeia was highly valued because the author had been trained by Luis Lovera de Ávila (1480–1551), Núñez de Sevilla (fl. 16th cent.), and Rodríguez de Málaga (fl. 16th cent.). See Antonio Hernández Morejón, *Historia bibliográfica de la medicina española* (Madrid: Imprenta de la Viuda de Jordán e Hijos, 1843), vol. 2, 156. An early revised edition is extant as Bernardino de Laredo, *Sobre el Mesue e Nicolao: Modus facie[n]di cu[m] ordine medicandi, a medicos e boticarios muy comun y necessario / agora nuevamente corregido por el mismo autor i añadidas cosas muy notables* (Sevilla: Casa d’Juan Cro[m]berger, 1534), <https://books.google.com/books?id=iLMvjXrqdZgC>.

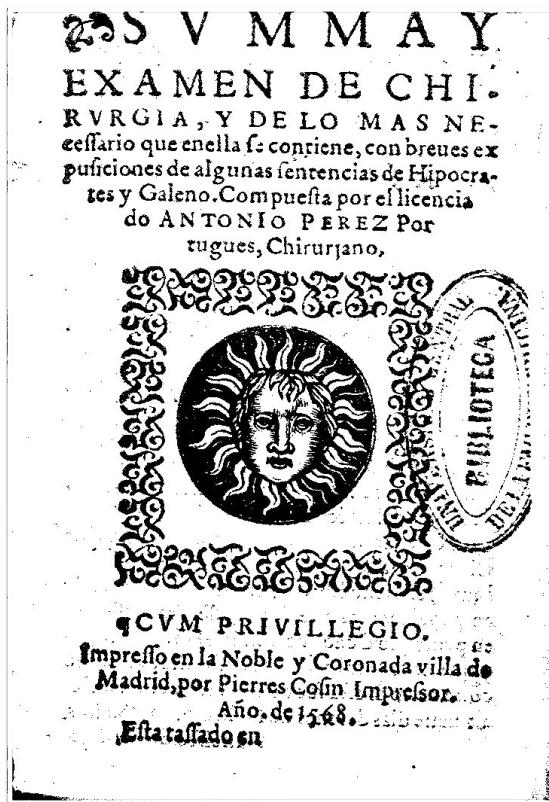
- ▶ *Libro de los secretos del reverendo Don Alexo Piamontes* (Book of the secrets of the respectable Don Alexo Piamontes; Valladolid, 1595).²⁶
- ▶ *Cirugia universal* (Universal surgery, 1580), by Juan Fragoso (1530–1597), a physician and botanist from Toledo and surgeon of Philip II (f. 1v).²⁷
- ▶ Another *Cirugia* by Fragoso.
- ▶ *Yntitulado Antonio Pez*, that is *Summa y examen de chirurgia* by Antonio Perez (fl. 16th century), a Portuguese physician and surgeon (*medico y chirurjano*), published in Madrid in 1568.²⁸
- ▶ *El [Sobremesa y] Alivio de caminantes* (Table-talk and relief of itinerant people, 1569) by Juan de Timoneda (1518/1520–1583), a collection of 161 anecdotes and jests.²⁹
- ▶ *Cirugia de mase alº* (?), probably refers to *Summa y recopilación de cirugía* (Comprehensive account and recompilation of surgery, 1578), by master (*de maese*) Alonso López de Hinojosos. This was perhaps the most popular surgeon in New Spain during the sixteenth century, where he managed the Hospital Real de San José de los Naturales, a hospital established by the Franciscan order in Mexico between 1529 and 1531, in order to provide the indigenous population (*i.e.* the *naturales*) with medical services and treatment.

²⁶ Alejo Piamontes, *Libro de los secretos del reverendo Don Alexo Piamontes*. (Valladolid: Diego Ferna[n]dez de Cordova y Oviedo impressor del rey nuestro señor, a costa de Pedro Osete mercader de libros, 1595; Madrid: Viuda de Alonso Martín, 1624), <https://bibliotecadigital.jcyl.es/es/consulta/registro.do?id=7905>.

²⁷ See Francisco Sánchez Capelot, *La obra quirúrgica de Juan Fragoso* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1957); José M. López Piñero, “Fragoso, Juan”, in José M. López Piñero, Thomas F. Glick, Víctor Navarro, and Eugenio Portela Marco, *Diccionario histórico de la ciencia moderna en España*, I (A–L) (Barcelona: Ediciones Península, 1983), 355–356. Its full title reads: *Cirugia universal, aora nuevamente emendada, y añadida en esta sexta impression, por el licenciado Juan Fragoso medico, y cirujano del Rey nuestro señor, y de sus Altezas. Y mas otros quattro tratados. El primero es, una suma de proposiciones contra ciertos avisos de cirugia. El segundo, de las declaraciones acerca de diversas heridas, y muertes. El tercero, de los aforismos de Hippocrates tocantes a cirugia. El quarto, de la naturaleza, y calidades de los medicamentos simples. Con privilegio* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1596). An extant seventeenth-century translation is available digitally: Juan Fragoso, *La cirugia del licenciado Gio. Fragoso parti due. Nelle quali di tutte le cose, che alla cirugia appartengono, esattamente si ragiona. Tradotte dalla lingua spagnola nella italiana da Baldassar Grasso alias Baldassar Grassia, con l'aggionta di altri tre trattati utilissimi alla cirugia del secondo Gio. Fragoso* (Venice: Presso Paolo Baglioni, 1686), <https://books.google.com/books?id=Ry2Znyg60N4C>.

²⁸ Antonio Perez, *Summa y examen de chirurgia y de lo mas necesario que en ella se contiene, con breves expusiones de algunas sentencias de Hipocrates y Galeno* (Madrid: Pierres Cosin, 1568). Images are taken from the copy held by the Universidad Complutense, which can be accessed at: <https://books.google.com/books?id=0vCgTsRskxcC>; or directly: https://ucm.on.worldcat.org/search?queryString=b1783202*. For further discussion, see Anastasio Rojo Vega, “Antonio Pérez y el doctor portugués. De la cirugía a la peste”, *Revista española de investigaciones quirúrgicas* 17:1 (2014): 49–55. We thank Dr Ignacio Chuecas Saldías for his assistance identifying this text.

²⁹ Full title: *El sobremesa y alivio de caminantes de Joan Timoneda; en el qual se contienen affables y graciosos dichos, cuentos heroycos y de mucha sentencia y doctrina*. A 19th-century manuscript copy by Agustín Durán is available through the BNE (Mss/867), <http://bdh.bne.es/bnesearch/detalle/bdh0000113333>; and a 1917 facsimile edition (Madrid: Melchor García) can be found here, <https://archive.org/details/elsobremesayaliv00timo>.



DE ANATOMIA 18

todo el cuerpo.
Musculo es vn instrumento carnoso nervioso y fibroso para exercitar el mouimiento, como hemos dicho, capitulo de carne.

Cuerda o tendon que es lo mismo, es vna sustancia media entre nervio y ligamento compuesta de las fibras de nervios y de ligamentos nascidos de huesos: los quales se desprenden por el musculo, y al cabo se ajuntan y hacen el tendon: de manera que tendon se compone de nervios y ligamentos ay tantos como musculos ay en el cuerpo, porque todos los musculos fenen en tendones para que por ellos tiren los musculos los huesos, y los hagan mover, parecense estos mas en los pies y manos. Ligamento es vna sustancia fibrosa nascida del hueso, mas dura que tendon y menos que ternilla, y es en dos maneras, vnos que salen de huesos, y se destribuyen por la carne juntando se con nervios de la qual junta y mistura se hacen tendones. Y otros que nacen de huesos y se apegan en huesos, como son los que atan las junturas, y las firman porque un hueso no se desenga de otro. Ternilla o cartílago es miembro simple y est.

C 2 per

Perez, *Summa y examen de chirurgia*, 1568 (Universidad Complutense, Madrid)

López de Hinojosos introduced the use of leeches (*sanguijuelas*) and, in 1578, wrote the first work on surgery in the New World, including initial observations on odontology in Mexico.³⁰

- ▶ *Compendio de la salud humana* (Compendium of human health [*Fasciculus medicinae*], 1494), by Johannes de Ketham (1415–1470), a German physician living in Italy.³¹
- ▶ *De avisos de sanidad* (Treatise on health), most likely *Regimento y aviso de sanidad que trata de todo genero de Alimentos y del regimiento della...* (1569) by Francisco Núñez de Oria (ca. 1535–?). The book provides ample information on the use of food, including bread,

³⁰ An early edition is Alonso López de Hinojosos, *Summa y recopilación de cirugía, con un arte para sangrar; y examen de barberos* (Mexico: Casa de Pedro Belli, 1595), <https://archive.org/details/summayrecopilaci00lopez>. The book is composed as follows: part I, 10 chapters on Anatomy and Body Parts, including surgical incisions (*De la Anatomía y de las Partes del Cuerpo*); part II, 7 chapters on Artificial Bloodletting (*De la Sangría Artificial*); part III, 27 chapters on Abscesses (*De Apostemas*); part IV, 13 chapters on Flesh wounds (*De las Heridas Frescas*); part V, 4 chapters on Yaws and Actinomycosis (*Del Mal de las Bubas*); part VI, 12 chapters on Fractures and Displacements (*De Fracturas y Dislocaciones*); and finally, part VII, 4 chapters on Pestilences (*De Pestilencia*). See also Gerardo Martínez-Hernández, “La llegada del cirujano Alonso López de Hinojosos a la Nueva España”, *Revista Médica del Instituto Mexicano del Seguro Social* 49:4 (2011), 459–463; María Luisa Rodríguez-Sala, “Los libros de medicina y de cirugía impresos en la Nueva España y sus autores durante los dos primeros siglos de cultura colonial (1570–1692)”, *Gaceta Médica de México* 134:5 (1998), 587–608.

³¹ An early Spanish print is Johannes de Ketham, *Compendio de la salud humana* (Zaragoza?: Pablo Hurus, 1492), <http://bdh.bne.es/bnsearch/detalle/bdh0000052266>.

meat, fish, vegetables, fruits, and beverages (such as wine and water), consequently serving as an important reference on board for dietary questions.³²

- ▶ *Los problemas de Villalobos* (Problems; Zaragoza, 1544),³³ by Francisco de Villalobos (*ca.* 1473–*ca.* 1549), a Jewish converso and court physician.³⁴
- ▶ *Libro de Farfan* (f. 1v), that is, the *Tratado breve de medicina* (Brief treatise of medicine), by Agustín Farfán (ca. 1532–1604), a Spanish physician who in 1592 published a medical treatise in which he introduced the most common diseases.³⁵ His book consequently served as a kind of standard reference.³⁶
- ▶ *Segunda parte del libro llamado Abecedario spiritual: donde se tratan diversos exercicios en cada letra el suyo* (Second part of a book entitled “Spiritual alphabet”: in which various exercises by each single letter are dealt with), by Fray Francisco de Osuna (1492/1497–*ca.* 1540), a Spanish Franciscan friar.³⁷
- ▶ *2 cartapacios de mano*, or 2 handwritten notebooks.
- ▶ *3 libros desquadernados sin principio ni cabo*, that is, 3 unbound books “without beginning or end”, likely a loose pile of documents.

Analysing this list, it is interesting to note that Agustín Sánchez carried books that had just been printed a few years before, such as Juan Fragoso’s *Cirugía universal* (1580). It is of course also possible that such important medical books had “traversed the Atlantic several times as manuscript copies and published borrowings. Francisco Hernández’ manuscripts,³⁸ for example,

³² See Francisco Núñez de Oria, *Regimiento y aviso de sanidad:que trata de todos los generos de alimentos y del regimiento della / agora nueuamente añadido y corregido por ... Francisco Nuñez de Oria* (Medina del Campo: Francisco de Canto, 1586), <http://bdh.bne.es/bnesearch/detalle/bdh0000093013>.

³³ Book in two parts: the first one covers questions of the human body and the second one questions of morality, including also two dialogues on medicine, the treatise of the three great things (that is, gossip, disputes, and laughter), a song, and the comedy of Amphytrion. A late sixteenth-century edition is Francisco [López] de Villalobos, *Libro intitulado Los problemas de Villalobos:que trata de cuerpos naturales y morales; y dos dialogos de medicina; y el tratado d[e]las tres grādes; y vna cancion; y la comedia de Amphytrion* (Sevilla: Casa de Hernando Díaz, 1574), <http://bdh.bne.es/bnesearch/detalle/bdh0000105030>.

³⁴ Villalobos was one of the first doctors who described syphilis and gained a reputation for his *Sumario de la medicina*, including a *Tratado sobre las pestiferas buvas* (Salamanca: Antonio de Barreda, 1498), <http://bdh.bne.es/bnesearch/detalle/bdh0000176839>.

³⁵ López-Ríos Fernández, *Medicina Naval Española*, 111. Farfán also describes scurvy and the administration of lemons and oranges as a remedy.

³⁶ An early sixteenth-century Mexican print is Agustín Farfán, *Tratado breve de medicina y todas las enfermedades, hecho por el Padre Agustín Farfán, Doctor en Medicina, y Religioso indigno de la Orden de San Agustín, en la Nueva España / agora nueuamente añadido* (México: Imprenta de Geronymo Balli, 1610), <https://archive.org/details/2554006R.nlm.nih.gov>.

³⁷ Francisco de Osuna, *Segunda parte del Abecedario espiritual donde se tratan diversos exercicios en cada letra del suyo* (Burgos: Juan de Junta, 1555), <https://books.google.com/books?id=qyhoWxc5P3MC>.

³⁸ Francisco Hernández (1515?–1587), a botanist who was famous for his *Historia natural de Nueva España* (Natural History of New Spain). His works are available through the website of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM), <http://www.franciscohernandez.unam.mx/home.html>.

circulated in private copies among European botanists and physicians before the text appeared in print.”³⁹ Fragoso’s work *De succedaneis medicamentis* (On substitute medicinals, 1575)⁴⁰ obviously belonged to the best represented books circulating in contemporary Mexico.⁴¹ Fragoso also wrote a book on aromatic trees, fruits, and other medicinals that were imported from the East Indies (1572),⁴² and his works dominated the field of surgery at the time.⁴³ His *Cirugia universal*, obviously accompanied by the *Summa y recopilación de cirugía* by Alonso López de Hinojosos, have been found as part of a documented personal library from Spanish Manila, which would “suggest that they were included as practical references for one residing at a remote outpost where professional medical assistance could hardly be expected”.⁴⁴ The fact that the list of books he carried included titles pertaining to morality and curing the soul, should also not be surprising. After all, this was part of contemporary medicine.⁴⁵

Books were important for various social strata of Spaniards who lived overseas.⁴⁶ And medicinal books ranked high.⁴⁷ According to María Luisa Rodríguez-Sala, the following books had been part and parcel of the inventory of physicians since 1592: one general book on medicine, two about surgery (*cirugía*), one about bloodletting (*sangrar*), and another one by Fray Dr Farfán.

³⁹ Nancy Marquez, “Shifting the Frontiers of Early Modern Science: Astronomers, Botanists, and Engineers in Viceregal New Spain during the Habsburg Era, 1535–1700”, Ph.D. dissertation, Victoria University of Wellington (2017), 185, <http://hdl.handle.net/10063/6196>.

⁴⁰ Juan Fragoso, *De succedaneis medicamentis liber denuo auctus... Ejusdem animadversiones, in quamplurima medicamenta composita, quorum est usus in hispanicis officinis* (Madrid [Mantua Carpetanorum]: Petrus Cosin, 1575), <https://archive.org/details/hin-wel-all-00000717-001>.

⁴¹ Leonard A. Irving, “Best Sellers of the Lima Book Trade, 1583”, *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 22:1 (1942), 16.

⁴² Juan Fragoso, *Discursos de las cosas aromáticas, arboles y frutales y de otras muchas medicinas simples que se traen de la India Oriental* (Madrid: F. Sánchez, 1572), <https://archive.org/details/discursodelasco00fraggioog>. See also José Luis Fresquet Febrer, *Juan Fragoso y “Los Discursos de las Cosas Aromáticas, Arboles y Frutales...”* (1572) [Clásicos españoles de la Medicina y la Ciencia] (Valencia: CSIC – Universitat de Valencia, 2001).

⁴³ Linda A. Newson, *Making Medicines in Early Colonial Lima, Peru. Apothecaries, Science and Society* [Atlantic World. Europe, Africa and the Americas, 1500–1830, 34] (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 131.

⁴⁴ Leonard A. Irving, “One Man’s Library, Manila, 1583”, *Hispanic Review* 15:1, Schevill Memorial Number (1947), 89. Irving refers to a document “Enero 1583. Documentos remitidos por el Comisario de Manila a los inquisidores de Mejico sobre varios asuntos” (AGN, Inquisición, tomo 133), mentioning books that possibly constituted part of a small personal library, introduced simply as “memoria de los libros sig. tes q traygo yo Trebiña”. Irving notes that it “seems safe to deduce, however, that this particular document relates to a collection of books brought around half the world to Spain’s most distant possessions less than two decades after the effective occupation of the Philippine Islands by Adelantado Legazpi...” (85).

⁴⁵ See Schottenhammer, Torck, and De Winter, “Surgeons and Physicians on the Move in the Asian Waters”, and “The Case of Agustín Sánchez” (Parts 1 and 2), *TRANSPACIFIC Podcast*.

⁴⁶ Carlos Alberto González Sánchez, “Los Libros de los Españoles en el Virreinato del Perú. Siglos XVI y XVII”, *Revista de Indias* LVI:206 (1996), 14: “De los 444 inventarios de Bienes de Difuntos del virreinato del Perú que en su momento analizamos, en 144, o lo que es lo mismo, en el 32,4 %, aparecen libros.”

⁴⁷ Two other scientific titles identified in the lists of *bienes de difuntos* in the Viceroyalty of Peru are the *Aritmética práctica y especulativa*, by Pérez de Moya, and a famous nautical manual, the *Regimiento de la mar*, by Pedro de Medina. See González Sánchez, “Los Libros de los Españoles en el Virreinato del Perú”, 32.

Added later was also a voluminous book on surgery by Juan Fragoso, and a book with remedies for all kinds of diseases titled *Tesoro de pobres* (Treasure of the poor).⁴⁸ It should be clear that, in face of the limited space available on board, surgeons would have certainly not taken more books on board than were considered necessary. Medical books, especially on surgery, and works about religion and morality definitely ranked among the most important. An early eighteenth-century entry in the Contaduría section of AGI, for example, which normally does not include very detailed cargo lists, also mentions three books on surgery and one discussing “morality” (*tres libros de cirujia y uno de moral*).⁴⁹

Agustín Sánchez’ book collection consequently provides us with an interesting insight into which literature was considered essential on board a ship. We also learn more about the medical tools that were carried on board. Sánchez’ equipment included 6 forceps for the extraction of back teeth, pincers, barber’s equipment (including mirrors), and a drug case or medicine chest with a small glass vessel filled with balsam (some form of oil). There were also needles, scalpels, and grinding stones to prepare medicines that belonged to the normal equipment of a ship surgeon, as well as:

- ▶ 3 jars and 2 small jars or bottles filled with water buffalo horn (*Bubali Cornu*), either as fragments or in powder form (*dos frascos grandes con sus frasquillos de bufano*).⁵⁰ Like rhinoceros horn (*Rhinoceri Asiatici Cornu*), it was used for medicinal purposes.
- ▶ A box with 3 forceps, 3 pliers, 2 scissors, 2 razor knives, and a fire lighter (*un caxon con tres gatillos e un alican y dos alicanes e dos tijeras e dos navajas e otro de fuego*, f. 1v), a sharpening stone, a small razor knife ornamented with silver, and one golden beryl (a mineral consisting of a silicate of beryllium and aluminium).
- ▶ Tourniquets (*trençaderas*), used by surgeons to amputate human limbs.⁵¹
- ▶ 2 mirrors with ebony frames, 2 combs, small gifts and many papers on medical matters (*espejos guarneçidos de ebano e tres peynes e pentenores e muchos papelles con cossas de medicina*).

⁴⁸ Rodríguez-Sala, “Los cirujanos del mar en la Nueva España”, 468–474. Another surgeon who passed away in the eighteenth century left in total 14 special medicinal works: el *Fragoso de Cirugía Añadido*, el *Tratado de Apostemas*, el *Tratado Breve de Flebotomía*, un *Tratado de Peste y La Instrucción de Enfermos*. Multiple extant editions can be found of the *Libro de medicina, llamado Tesoro de Pobres* (Alcalá: Casa de Juan Gracián [María Ramírez, viuda], 1602; Madrid: Diego Díaz de la Carrera, 1644; Barcelona: Pedro Escuder, 1700), 1644 ed.: <https://books.google.com/books?id=A9CDNukLjBcC&pg>.

⁴⁹ “Resúmenes de cuentas de factoría y Real Hacienda”, 30 April 1725 to 20 March 1726, factor Don Juan de Arrazain, official judge of the Real Hacienda of Acapulco, AGI, Contaduría, 907, f. 40v.

⁵⁰ We wish to thank Dr Ignacio Chuecas Saldías for the information that, in contemporary Spanish texts, the term *bufano* occurs referring to the Asian buffalo (*biñalo asiático*).

⁵¹ See Alonso Romano, *Recopilacion de toda la theorica y practica de cirugia: Aora nueuamente lleua añadido un Tratado del modo de curar carnosidades y callos de la via de la orina de Miguel de Leriza, Cirujano Oficial de la Santa Inquisicion de Valencia* (Valencia: por Benito Macè, junto el Insigno Colegio del Patriarca, 1665), 26, <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/009265417>.



Surgical instrument set, 1650–1700 ([Science Museum](#), London)

- ▶ A copper case with 4 surgical irons and a tube or cylinder, possibly used for bloodletting⁵² or enemas⁵³ (*un estuche de cobre con cuatro hierros de cirugia y un canute*).
- ▶ A barber's seat and a certificate issued by officials in Manila, with other letters and reports (*su asiento de barbero e una certificación de los oficiales con otros cartas e memorias*).
- ▶ A sword, a dagger, and an arquebus (*una espada e una daga y un arcabuz*, f. 1r).

⁵² Barber-surgeons continued to let blood through the seventeenth century. Even the discovery of blood circulation, described by William Harvey (1578–1657) in 1616 (a finding published 1628), did not result in immediate changes in the methods or forms of bloodletting. In the sixteenth century, Hieronymus Cardanus (1505–1576) and Magnus Pegelius suggested the possibility of transferring blood directly from the vessels of one person to another. In 1615, Andreas Libavius (1546–1616) described a technique for direct blood transfusions, joining the artery of a robust young man to that of a feeble old man with the help of two silver tubes fitted into each other. See Jeffrey McCullough, *Transfusion Medicine*, 4th ed. (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2021), 1; Ann J. Wiseman, “The History, Development and Function of the Blood Transfusion Service (A Treatise presented for the Diploma in Public Health)”, *The Journal of the Royal Institute of Public Health and Hygiene* 8:28 (1965), 219. Until the early seventeenth century, basically all physicians relied on Galen’s theory that blood leaked continuously from the liver, like water coming down from a fountain, and then went to the periphery through the veins and nourished all tissues. The tissues absorbed and used up all blood, so that the liver had to replenish it continuously. Roberto Bolli, “William Harvey and the Discovery of the Circulation of the Blood, Part II”, *Circulation Research* 9:124 (2019), 1300–1302, <https://doi.org/10.1161/CIRCRESAHA.119.314977>.

⁵³ Tubes of bone, bamboo, wood or metal were attached to animal bladders or bags made of silk or other fabrics. By the sixteenth century, clyster syringes made of silver, ivory, or pewter became more widespread.

- ▶ Listed among these is also a vest or jerkin made of goat leather (*cordoban*) with taffeta (f. 1v), likely part of his dress.

We read that barber equipment, with 5 lancets with silver ends, 4 irons to extract teeth, needles, razors, and a sharpening stone were bought by a certain Agustín de Madrid for 4.25 pesos (f. 5v). To Sánchez' equipment also belonged 6 forceps for the extraction of back teeth, and other barber equipment, including mirrors (f. 6r). A total of 19 books on surgery and notebooks were purchased by a certain Diego López (*diez e nuebe libros viejos [...] de cirugias e cartapacios de mano de diferentes cosas*, f. 6r) for a sum of 4 pesos. The small glass with balsam (*un basito de balsamo*), together with an empty glass and a shoehorn (*calçador*), were sold to Domingo de Ugarte for half a peso (f. 6r). Some orange preserve and a small clay bottle with a bit of oil (*poco de conserva de naranjada e una botica con un poco de aceite*) to Agustín de Madrid for 1.5 pesos (f. 7r).

Treating Symptoms of Scurvy and Other Diseases on Board

Ship surgeons responsible for long and grueling ocean crossings had to be equipped for many casualties and diseases. One would expect a wide range of ointments, syrups, and medical tools to treat external wounds, but also those intended for all kinds of different internal malaise, especially those caused by poor hygiene and malnutrition. Perhaps some of the most frequent and cruel ailments were those resulting from malnutrition, as was scurvy, caused by a deficiency of vitamin C in the daily diet.⁵⁴ The forceps and irons needed for the extraction of back teeth—mentioned more than once in our text—indirectly attest to the problem of scurvy. In the course of several months on a vitamin-C low diet, a patient's condition will further worsen with multiple symptoms, like swollen and bleeding gums, loosening or loss of teeth, anemia, rashes and hemorrhages in the lower extremities. It is consequently not surprising that a ship surgeon needed irons and forceps to pull loose teeth, especially the back teeth with longer tooth roots. Another ship surgeon, Alonso Sánchez de Herrera, active around 1600, carried among his belongings a bag with five iron tools to pull back teeth, a cautery, and a small grinding stone.⁵⁵

Well into the seventeenth century, scurvy still posed a serious threat to all ocean crossings. A Spanish letter, written by the Flemish-born Diego de Salcedo, Governor-General of the Philippines (1663–1668), reports a horrible eight-month voyage on a Spanish galleon crossing the Pacific from Luzon to Acapulco, with more than 100 deaths due to scurvy, which he referred to as “mal de Loanda” (*no se consiguiera su entrada sin mucho riesgo por haber muerto en el viaje mas de ciento personas del mal de Loanda y traer la demás gente que venia en ella muy enferma*).⁵⁶ Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri (1651–1725), a seventeenth-century Italian adventurer and

⁵⁴ Vitamin C is instrumental in the absorption of iron from vegetable foods, and in the synthesis of collagen. It supports the immune system in the protection from diseases. In order to keep the body in a healthy condition, humans need a regular intake of vitamin C. For further details, see the contribution by Mathieu Torck in our forthcoming second issue, as well as the related podcast: Torck, “Scurvy”, *TRANSPACIFIC Podcast*, Ep. 5, 17 Dec 2021 [Podcast, website, 37:48], <https://crossroads-research.net/podcast-scurvy>.

⁵⁵ María Luisa Rodríguez-Sala, “Los Cirujanos de las Fuerzas Armadas en la Nueva España. ¿Miembros de un Estamento Ocupacional o una Comunidad?”, *Ludus Vitalis XI*: 19 (2003), 105, with reference to AGI, Contratación, 487, N. 1, R. 14 (1592): “Autos sobre los bienes de Alonso Sánchez de Herrera, cirujano de la Armada de Juan de Alcega, difunto en la Nueva España, heredera: Beatriz de Herrera y Juana, hija.”

⁵⁶ AGI, Filipinas, 23, R. 2, N. 4, Expediente sobre los socorros y el situado de Filipinas (21 June 1661), image 57, <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/421637?nm>.

world traveller, who crossed the Pacific from the Philippines to Mexico in 1697, paints a similar picture.⁵⁷ His diary, *Giro del Mondo* (Journey around the World, 1699), describes the journey as a nightmare, where the pervasiveness of scurvy, the so-called “Dutch Disease”, made “the Mouth sore, putrefies the Gums, and makes the Teeth drop out” (*l’altro, ch’è una spezie di scorbuto, ed è detto mal d’olanda, impaga la bocca tutta, putrefa le gingive, e fa cader le mole ei denti*).⁵⁸

In the late sixteenth century, European seafarers did not yet know about the relieving effects of fruits and vegetables as part of the diet. The crews equipped themselves with incenses to fight against evil miasmas but also against rats, cockroaches, and all kinds of noxious insects. Enemas— injections of fluid into the rectum intended to cleanse or stimulate the emptying of the bowels— complemented bloodletting as standard remedies in the sixteenth century, based on the general idea of expelling the “humours” from the sick patients’ bodies.⁵⁹ Thus, one would expect to find several kinds of small hoses and syringes as well as knifes and scissors in the medical chests of surgeons, tools and instruments that we also find among the implements of Agustín Sánchez. Also highly valued were substances that induced vomiting or that had anti-microbial and antiseptic qualities, like camphor.⁶⁰

Many of the medicinal drugs, herbs, and plants that were used on board, especially when setting sail from Acapulco originated in the Americas.⁶¹ The narcotic plant called *picietl* in Náhuatl (*Nicotiana rustica* L.),⁶² also called Aztec tobacco, was a case in point. The book of Dr Farfán, which was part of Agustín Sánchez on-board library suggests *el piciete* to induce vomiting. It was a mixture of fresh or dried powdered tobacco leaves, lime, and, often, garlic, and was believed to protect not only against vipers and other venomous animals, but also evil spirits, enemies, and sorcery, as well as possessing the power to “extract disease.”

Unfortunately, our manuscript does not provide us with further details as to which kinds of medicines and herbs our ship surgeon carried on board, but he was definitely equipped for treating scurvy. The preserved oranges spring to mind in this context, while balsam was highly valued to

⁵⁷ He was carrying mercury to be sold in Mexico with a 300% profit.

⁵⁸ Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, *Giro del mondo. 5, Contenente le cose piu raggardevoli vedute nell’isole Filippine* (Venezia: Coletti, 1728), 248, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München—It.sing.1482, f.4/5, <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bsb10469880?page=256,257>. The English translation is quoted from Shirley Fish, *The Manila-Acapulco Galleons*, 373.

⁵⁹ For example, Gerry Greenstone, “The history of bloodletting”, *BC Medical Journal* 52:1 (2010), 14; Desroches, Jean-Paul, Gabriel Casal, and Franck Goddio (eds.), *Treasures of the San Diego* (New York: Association of Filipino American Accountants, 1994; Manila: National Museum of the Philippines, 1997)), 176–178; Bolli, “William Harvey and the Discovery of the Circulation.”

⁶⁰ Schottenhammer, Torck, and De Winter, “Surgeons and Physicians on the Move in the Asian Waters”.

⁶¹ Philip II officially sponsored the exploration and investigation of American (and Philippine) native plants and medicine. The royal decree (*real cédula*) of 11 January 1570 created the Protomedicato de Indias to oversee medical training, and the Spanish were required to consider the medical knowledge and experience that indigenous peoples possessed on medicinal herbs, trees, plants, seeds, etc., as well as report on local diseases. This *real cédula* opened the door for the first and most important pharmacological expedition to the Americas, namely the voyage of Francisco Hernández (1515?–1587) to Mexico between 1570 and 1577. See Carmen Sánchez Téllez, “La medicina misionera en Hispano-América y Filipinas durante la época colonial”, *Estudios de historia social y económica de América* 6 (1990), 33–39.

⁶² See *Gran Diccionario Náhuatl* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2018), <http://www.gdn.unam.mx/diccionario/consultar/palabra/picietl/id/188963>.

treat external wounds. Buffalo horn was used to “reduce heat”,⁶³ and modern experiments with rats have proven its antipyretic effects.⁶⁴ A comb may have been used for removing lice, and as such would have been part of the normal equipment of a surgeon,⁶⁵ as would have been the various ointments he carried in a box, or the bottles with special oils.⁶⁶

From the little information we do possess on these types of medicines (ointments, liquids, syrups *etc.*), we would suggest that Agustín Sánchez carried a more or less typical mid- to late-sixteenth-century maritime medicine chest with typical medical equipment on board.

Auctioning off Sánchez’ Property

As Agustín Sánchez had no known heirs, his belongings were sold in an auction after the ship had returned to Acapulco. In this context, his medical books and equipment, including needles, scalpels, grinding stones, *etc.*, were sold perhaps to other physicians or to merchants who intended to resell the equipment, though we only know the buyers by name.⁶⁷ (The itemised auction purchases for each of the 23 buyers is presented as a table in the following section.) The idea was to auction off all of his belongings, so that the probate judge responsible for handling the property of those without a known will could submit his inheritance for distribution as a sum of money, rather than an extensive collection of various material goods.⁶⁸

The proceedings of probate courts (*autos de bienes de difuntos*) are an immensely valuable source for Spanish colonial history, and a great variety of probate inventories from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have survived in Spanish and Latin American archives.⁶⁹ Many Spaniards overseas met a sudden death, with no will or document specifying what to do with their belongings after they died, which rendered them as “intestates” (*ab intestatos*). According to the contemporary applicable Spanish law, when someone passed away without a formal will, all their belongings would be transferred into the ownership of the Spanish state, which then decided what to do with

⁶³ Rui Liu, Min Wang, and Jin-ao Duan, “Antipyretic and antioxidant activities of the aqueous extract of *Cornu bubali* (water buffalo horn)”, *American Journal of Chinese Medicine* 38:2 (2010), 293–306, <https://doi.org/10.1142/S0192415X10007853>.

⁶⁴ Rui Liu, Qiong Huang, Jinjun Shan, Jin-ao Duan, Zhenhua Zhu Pei Liu, Yong Bian, Er-xin Shang, and Dawei Qian, “Metabolomics of the Antipyretic Effects of *Bubali Cornu* (Water Buffalo Horn) in Rats”, *PLoS ONE* 11(7): 2016, e0158478, <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0158478>.

⁶⁵ John Burnett, “The Gustiani Medicine Chest”, *Medical History* 26 (1982), 329.

⁶⁶ Unfortunately, no details are provided; the text just speaks of *aceite*.

⁶⁷ Over 60% of the auction proceeds came from only five repeat buyers: Domingo de Olarte/Ugarte (13.5 pesos), Pedro Roncesvalles (14.25), Agustín de Madrid (14.125), Pedro González (12.375), Juan de Velástegui, and Bernabé de Vera (9.5). Their names appear repeatedly in the manuscript.

⁶⁸ Antonio García-Abásolo, “The Private Environment of the Spaniards in the Philippines”, *Philippine Studies* 44:3 (1996), 349–373: “Even if they had died without leaving their testament, this institution took care of starting the necessary procedures to find out the identity of these deceased and trace their heirs” (350).

⁶⁹ Research on probate proceedings (*autos de bienes de difuntos*) has become a field in its own right. Historians have focused on wide ranging issues, such as legal practices, and customs, religiosity and attitudes towards death, evidence of book circulation, and capital flows between the colonies and Spain. See Carlos Alberto González Sánchez, *Dineros de ventura: la varia fortuna de la emigración a Indias, siglos XVI–XVIII* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1995).

them. This particular legal procedure sought to safeguard material possessions of both Spaniards and foreigners who died as intestates in Spanish America.⁷⁰ In many cases, individuals or authorities close to the deceased could otherwise take possession of their property due to the absence of a formal will and the remoteness of their possible heirs in the Iberian Peninsula. Hence, the colonial administration established probate courts to ensure that assets ultimately reached their legitimate successors or were ultimately transferred to the Real Hacienda (Royal Treasury), which became the legitimate heir in the absence of others.⁷¹

Colonial authorities, after verifying the non-existence of a will, ordered local officials to first draw up an inventory all the possessions of the deceased. The assets were then auctioned by the probate court (*juzgado de bienes de difuntos*), which later remitted the proceeds to Spain.⁷² As we have suggested above, the Casa de la Contratación in Seville preferred bullion over physical objects, which besides representing a bulky cargo to be shipped on board one of the Atlantic fleets, were generally of little benefit or interest to them. That is the reason why the organization of a public auction, as occurred with Agustín Sánchez' personal belongings, became the rule.

Some aspects of these proceedings, however, were modified when somebody passed away onboard. First, the ship's notary (Diego de Zárate on the *San Martín*) had to formally attest the death. Subsequently, the captain nominated a crew member to draw up an inventory of the deceased's goods, acting as custodian (*custodio* or *depositario de bienes*) (f. 1r–3r). In the Sánchez case, this was the ship's constable (*alguacil*), Juan García Vázquez. Debts payable and receivable were also formally recorded. Once the ship had reached the closest port of call, the custodian would notify the local judge of the probate court and properly deliver the list of assets, so that the court could proceed with the public auction (f. 4r–7r).

Custodians were relieved of their duties upon submission of the inventory to the judge. Money collected from the auctions, which in the Sánchez case took place in Acapulco, had to then be sent to the general probate court of the viceroyalty—either Mexico City or Lima—where the general judge of the probate court (*juez general de bienes de difuntos*) was seated. This court served as a final depot before the returns from the auction were shipped to the Casa de Contratación in Sevilla.

While we possess a great abundance of such proceeding on the assets of deceased individuals, including physicians, very little information is available on ship surgeons serving on galleons of to and from New Spain, especially in Mexican archives, a point emphasised by María Luisa Rodríguez-Sala.⁷³ We find information on these individuals in the Contratación section of AGI, under the records of the *bienes de difuntos*. Rodríguez-Sala has identified the records of 63 ship surgeons contracted by the Royal Navy between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, who served at several geographic locations in Spain's overseas colonies, such as San Blas, Veracruz, Acapulco, or Manila. Yet she has only located the probate records of six ship surgeons employed on galleons

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁷¹ María Belén García López, “Los Autos de Bienes de Difuntos en Indias: El caso del sevillano Baltasar Tercero”, *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos* (2010), <http://journals.openedition.org/nuevomundo/59829>.

⁷² José Luis Soberanes Fernández, “El Juzgado de Bienes de Difuntos”, *Revista Chilena de Historia del Derecho* I:22 (2010), 637–638.

⁷³ Rodríguez-Sala, “Los cirujanos del mar en la Nueva España”, 472.

during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁷⁴ These included Agustín Sánchez, along with Jerónimo de Silva (1590),⁷⁵ Hernán de Alba (1623),⁷⁶ Francisco García Matamala (1642),⁷⁷ Antonio de Monzonias (1701),⁷⁸ and Juan de Castro Infante (1704–1711).⁷⁹ Among these few, Agustín Sánchez was the only one employed on a trans-Pacific galleon.⁸⁰

If we return to the auction of the personal and professional belongings of Agustín Sánchez, we see that a Señor Don Diego de Molina y Padilla acted as the presiding judge (*juez*, f. 3v and 11v) and a certain Alvaro de Castillo as notary (*escribano*, f. 7v). The following items were sold among 22 bidders during the first auction, for a subtotal of 109 pesos and 5 reales (109.625 pesos):

Name	Item	Price (pesos)
Pedro Jusepe	1 arquebus with missing gunpowder flasks	6.5
Domingo de Ugarte (Olarte?)	1 old bedcover of thick cotton (<i>manta</i>) from Ilocos, northern Luzon	3.5
	1 small glass vessel with balsam and 1 empty one, and 1 shoehorn (<i>calçador</i>)	0.5

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 474, reference 4.

⁷⁵ AGI, Contratación, 923, N. 21, Bienes de difuntos: Jerónimo de Silva (1590): “Autos sobre los bienes de Jerónimo de Silva, barbero y cirujano de nao, natural de Oporto (Portugal), hijo de Juan y Catalina González, casado con Isabel Rodríguez, vecina de Sevilla. Falleció en Nueva España, con testamento.”

⁷⁶ AGI, Contratación, 354, N. 10, Autos de bienes de difuntos (1623): “De Hernán de Alba, barbero y cirujano de la nao almiranta, natural al parecer de Sevilla, y difunto en Veracruz.”

⁷⁷ AGI, Contratación, 420, N.2, Bienes de difuntos: Francisco García Matamala (1642); “Testamento. inventario y almoneda de los bienes de Francisco García Matamala, cirujano de la almiranta de la flota del general Juan Pujadas y Gamboa, natural de Córdoba y muerto en Veracruz. Herederos sus hijos, Francisco y Jerónima.”

⁷⁸ AGI, Contratación, 466, N. 4, R. 5, Bienes de difuntos: Antonio de Monzonias (1701): “Autos sobre declarar por testamento la memoria de don Antonio de Monzonias, licenciado en cirugía, natural de la villa de Maella, en el reino de Aragón, hijo de Esteban de Monzonias y Leonor de Villanueva, cirujano en el navío nombrado *Jesús María y José y las Animas*, cuyo capitán es don Gaspar de Aranguren, de la flota del cargo del general don Manuel de Velasco y Tejada, que murió en la ciudad de la Nueva Veracruz. Heredero: Leonor de Monzonias, su hermana, natural y vecina de Maella, y en su defecto, al hijo de ésta José Rodrigo de Roda. Albaceas: el capitán Gaspar de Aranguren y al capellán del navío don Alejandro Juan de Torres.”

⁷⁹ AGI, Contratación, 983, Autos de bienes de difuntos: Juan de Castro Infante (1704–1711): “Poder y testamento en virtud de él, inventario y otras diligencias de Juan de Castro Infante, cirujano de nao, difunto en la Nueva Veracruz.”

⁸⁰ The others served on trans-Atlantic galleons and sailed between Sevilla and New Spain. Jerónimo de Silva served on the *Santa María Begoña* (1589), under captain Cristobal Sánchez, while Antonio de Monzonias served on the *Jesús, María, José y las Ánimas*, departing from Guadalquivir (Sevilla) in 1701. Juan de Castro passed away on the return to Spain, and his widow and local authorities signed the documents in Málaga and Sevilla in 1711.

Juanes de Urquide/Urquiola	4 pairs of baggy breeches (<i>caragüelles</i>) of Chinese light fabric (<i>lienço</i> = <i>lienzo</i> : name not strictly applied to linen, but also linen-like cottons and even Chinese ramie)	3
	2 pairs of scissors and 2 skeins of unspecified yarn	2.5
Pedro de Quesada	3 pillows and other old small cushions (<i>acerillos</i> = <i>acericos</i>)	2.5
Tomás de Arana	7 old shirts in light fabric (<i>lienzo</i>) from Castile and China, without collar	4.5
Bernabé de Vera	4 bedsheets of Sangley <i>lienzo</i>	7
	1 pair of old satin breeches	1.5
Pedro Roncesvalles	12 collars with matching decorated cuffs of ordinary Chinese <i>lienzo</i> : 2 new ones and the rest old	14.25
Pedro González	1 uncompleted (unpleated?) collar	2
	4 razors and 1 pair of scissors	2.5
	3 jars and 2 small jars or bottles of buffalo horn (<i>bufano</i>)	2.5
	1 small old chest	2.125
Agustín de Madrid	2 nose handkerchiefs, 2 pairs of hand towels, and 2 pairs of cotton stockings	1.5
	2 old hand towels from Cincheo (Zhangzhou 漳州), in Southern Fujian	1
	1 barber's case with 5 lancets with silver tips, 4 irons to extract teeth, a case of needles	4.125
	2 old leather jerkins (<i>coletos</i>)	0.5
Francisco Esteban	1 pair of stockings, dyed red (<i>encarnadas</i>)	1
Diego de Sosa	1 pair of cotton stockings	2.625
	1 broken sword and some sword belts (<i>talabartes</i>)	1
	2 small lead inkwells (<i>tinterillos</i>)	0.75
Domingo de Olarte (Ugarte?)	9 cotton table napkins	3.5
	4 dozen (48) cup-shaped containers (<i>salcereta</i> or <i>salserilla</i>) for mixing substances	2.5

	1 small flat-lying box (<i>caxita tumbada</i>), possibly for storing valuable objects	1.5
	1 razor, 1 slim tube or pen shaft (<i>canuto</i>), 1 “pounce sprinkler” (<i>salvadera</i>) for drying fresh ink, some empty musk pods (<i>papillos de almisque</i>)	2
Juan de Velástegui	1 old pair of white cotton stockings	1.125
	1 bed canopy (<i>pabellón</i>), with apple-shaped curtains and its curtain cords	9
García de los Ríos	1 length of sinabafe cloth, a general reference to Dutch-style linen, but also applied to a kind of white Bengal cotton	2
Francisco Gómez Renguifo	1 portion of thick fabric cloth (<i>manta</i>), here likely Asian cotton	0.375
	Unpleated strips of fabric for making ruff collars (<i>asientos</i>); some semicircular segments of Chinese lace (<i>puntas</i>); and braided cords (<i>trançaderas</i>), likely for adornment but possibly medical tourniquets	0.5
	2 pairs of old stockings, black and yellow	1.25
Andrés Toscano	3 pairs of stockings, 1 headscarf (<i>tocador</i>), and 2 old <i>lienzo</i> handkerchiefs from China	0.625
	4 pieces of <i>tamenete</i> fabric, probably used for clothing*	0.625
Tomás de Hinestrosa	1 thick cotton fabric (<i>manta</i>) of “Moorish” style or manufacture, possibly muslin	0.25
	2 small red chests	1.125
Pedro de Balmaseda	1 brush (<i>escobilla</i>)	0.625
Diego López	1 empty barber’s coffer	2
	6 forceps to pull out teeth, 1 pair of tweezers, 16 <i>herrezillos</i> (likely small iron nippers), 2 old implements cases, and 1 sharpening stone	1.5
	1 small box with ointments, 1 ivory comb, 1 razor, and other small items of little value	1
	19 old surgical books and notebooks on various subjects	4

* The Archivo y Biblioteca Nacionales de Bolivia have an entry confirming that this is a kind of textile fabric, see <http://34.122.142.167/index.php/tamenete-tela>. Its use as clothing is suggested by Ricardo Palma, *Tradiciones peruanas*, vol. 3 (Barcelona: Montaner y Simón, 1894), 230, <https://archive.org/details/tradicionesperu03palmgoog/page/n236>.

Alejo de Murguía	1 medieval style garment, cinched at the waist, with long sleeves and a knee-length skirt (<i>baquerillo</i> or <i>aljuba</i>), made from <i>tamenete</i>	1.75
Pedro de Iturrizara	1 torn satin overshirt (<i>ropilla</i>), of the kind typically worn over a doublet (<i>jubón</i>); and 1 piece of old taffeta	0.625
Lorenzo Pérez Guinea and Melchor de Valencia	1 dagger, presumably with its handle and sheaths (<i>su setrinas e duo tuquillas</i>)	1.875
Gaspar Alfonso	2 barber case mirrors with ebony frames	2
Melchor de Valencia	1 small box with 2 old kerchiefs (<i>pañitos</i>), some velvet strips, and 1 comb	0.5

Second auction

Juan García Vázquez, as custodian, delivered the remaining goods of the deceased to 3 returning buyers and a new bidder, for another subtotal of 15 pesos and 1 real (15.125 pesos).

Name	Item	Price (pesos)
Agustín de Madrid	1 small ceramic jar with a small amount of preserved orange and 1 small clay bottle (<i>botija</i>) with some oil	1.5
	1 large earthenware jar with <i>vino de China</i> (Chinese wine or spirit)	5.5
Diego de Sosa	4 large earthenware jars from Brunei	1.75
Luis de Medina	1 sleeping mat (<i>colchonçillo</i>) made from woven abacá (<i>medriñaque</i>), 1 pillow, 1 small cushion, and 1 old bedcover in blue cloth	3.125
Pedro González	1 blue short, waist-length cape (<i>capotillo</i>)	3.25

Conclusion

The ship surgeons who crossed the Pacific aboard the Manila galleons between the mid sixteenth and early nineteenth centuries remain for the most part anonymous. While their names were systematically recorded in the annual accounting reports of the Manila treasury, we lack details on their actual identities, medical practices and equipment, personal effects, and their lives in general. Sources on ship surgeons employed on the trans-Atlantic crossing have been more forthcoming, though they remain elusive for surgeons who did not serve officially in the Spanish Armada. Even then, these documents have only come to light thanks to painstaking research and the combing of

volumes of primary sources by committed historians.⁸¹ Such documents are rare outliers in the sea of wills and probate records that can be found in almost every colonial archive.

The probate proceedings of Agustín Sánchez are thus a rare source that reveal the exhaustive collection of items that a contemporary ship surgeon carried on board, including medical equipment, drugs, and reference texts, thus helping us to reconstruct the professional life of a ship surgeon on board of an early modern galleon crossing the Pacific.

The studied manuscript ultimately elicits the conclusion that Agustín Sánchez was more than a barber-surgeon. That medical books were found in possession of a deceased surgeon is nothing extraordinary *per se*, but his professional experience in Manila and the presence of other implements in his possession suggest some more far-reaching competencies as a practical doctor, perhaps also as an apothecary or pharmacist. Additional evidence beyond this manuscript would be necessary to ascertain whether Sánchez actually received some formal medical education, whether inside or outside the university system. Regardless, the details we do gather from the manuscript represent a unique window into the life of the diverse range of unexplored characters who made the trans-Pacific voyages of the Manila galleon possible.

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⁸¹ See also Rodríguez-Sala, *Los cirujanos del mar en la Nueva España*, 11.

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Appendix: Transcription

“Bienes de difuntos: Agustín Sánchez” (1592), AGI, Contratación, 487, N. 1, R. 14, 16 ff.
<http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/show/94800?nm>.

1r

Agustin Ss.e barvero	Coteg[a]do
----------------------	------------

xi

[left margin]

1592

Agustin Sanchez; barbero = n[umer]o = 1.000 =

En el galeon de su mag[esta]d	1
nombrado Sant Martin q[ue]	2
va navegando por la costa de la	3
Nueva España en demanda de el	4
puerto de Acapulco en veinte e	5
quattro dias del mes de noviembre	6
de mill e quinientos e ochenta y seis	7
años el yll[ustr]e señor Pedro de Or	8
tega capitan de este di[ch]o galeon dixo	9
que por quanto Agustín Sanchez	10
cirujano de este d[ic]ho galeon a muerto	11
este año dicho abintestato el juez le	12
mando haser ynbentario de los	13
bienes que se hallaren que el	14
suso d[ic]ho dexo e para ello hechas	15
las diligencias necesarias parecio	16
lo siguiente	17
una caxuela chica de sangley llena	18
de salceretas de barro de China	19
con su llave e unas cartas misibas ⁸²	20
dos estuches de barbero sin cosa	21
en ellos e otro pequeño con	22
çinco lancetas e un borduillo con	23
los cabos de plata e quattro hier	24
ros de nu[ev]e	25
una caxuela con su llave con lo	26

⁸² Letters of other individuals.

siguiente	27
dos libros de pratica de Juan de	28
Bigo	29

1v

otro libro de medicinas que se dice	1
Modu faciendii	2
otro de don Alexo	3
otro de cirujia de Fragoso	4
otro yntitulado Antonio P[er]jez	5
otro de alibio de caminantes	6
otro de cirugia de Ma[e]se A[lon]so ⁸³	7
cirugía de Fragoso/ otro	8
otro libros desquadernados	9
sin principio no cabo	10
compendio de la salud humana	11
otro de avisos de sanydad	12
item dos cartapaçios de mano	13
los problemas de Villalobos	14
segunda parte del Abeçedario es	15
piritual	16
otro libro de Farfan	17
item un coleton de cordoban ta	18
fetado viejo	19
dos frascos grandes con sus fras	20
quillos de bufano	21
una espada e una daga e un arca	22
buz	23
una almylla de escarlatin e unos	24
pedaços de lo mesmo	25
un caxon con tres gatillos e un	26
alican y dos alicanes e dos tijeras	27
e dos navajas e otro de fuego	28
e cinco alegrías e una piedra de	29
navajas e una navajuela guar	30
neçida de plata e un beril e dos	31

2r

espejos guarneçidos de ebano	1
e tres peynes e pentenores ⁸⁴	2
e muchos papelles con cossas	3

⁸³ ‘Maese or maestre, usually referring to a doctor, in Portuguese.

⁸⁴ An archaic expression, designating gifts or presents.

de medicina	4
un estuche de cobre con quatro	5
hierros de cirugia y un canute	6
ytem su asiento de barbero e una	7
certificación de los oficiales	8
de Manyla con otros cartas e	9
memorias	10
 ytem una caxuela quadrada	11
con un asiento de cuello e unas	12
trincaderas ⁸⁵ e otros pañuelos e	13
unas tiras de terciopelo viejas	14
unas medias de seda usadas e una	15
tuquilla de sombrero	16
un colete de ante viejo e unos cal	17
çones e rropilla de raso viejo	18
dos anillos chiquitos de oro e otro	19
de oro de China e un mondadien	20
tes sola la pajuela e una pie	21
dra verde	22
un pedaçito de grana para el	23
pecho	24
ytem otro frasco y frasquillo con	25
sus cordones de cuerno de carabao	26
ytem dos pares de çapatos de	27
çangley de dos suelas que se die	28
ron a los hijos de Vallesteros	29
ytem un capote de paño azul e una	30
antepuerta ⁸⁶ de lo mismo	31

2v

ytem un colchon de lana de me	1
driñaque colorado e una almo	2
hada con lana suzia	3
ytem declaro Estevan Rrodriguez, mercader de ver ⁸⁷	4
al d[ic]ho diffunto siete p[e]so[s] en reales	5
ytem un conoçymiento se hallo de	6
seys contra Juan Bautista	7
Trevino e Al[ons]o Ortiz como su	8
ffiador	9

⁸⁵ This should be *trençadera / trenzadera*, a braided rope, RAE, *Diccionario de la lengua española (DLE)*.

⁸⁶ A kind of curtain that is hung up in front of a doors, as shelter or ornament (*DLE*).

⁸⁷ Should read *deber*.

las cossas que se hallaron en	10
poder de Antonyo Martinez e que	11
dan depositadas en su poder	12
Una pieza de çinabafa manchada	13
e una sobrecama blanca de Ylocos	14
usada	15
quatro nabajas e unas tijeras	16
e dos paños de manos de Anjeo ⁸⁸	17
usados	18
quattro savanas de lienço de sangley	19
un pabellon de cynabafa e manga	20
blanco	21
nueve cuellos con sus puntas guar	22
neadas e llanos y uno por acabar	23
una escubilla e tiras de tiro de yllo	24
viejo	25
otros dos cuellos con sus puños	26
guarneçidos	27
tres paños de mano de lienço de sangley	28
e dos pares de medias de algodon	29
digo tres pares e otros tres pa	30
res de lienço.	31

3r

ochos panuelos de lienço	1
de la tierra de mesa	2
quattro saraguelles de lienço	3
de China y otra almohada e	4
tres aseruelos ⁸⁹ labrados e un	5
tocador	6
un par de medias encarnadas	7
de algodon rraydas	8
siete camysas de Castilla e de la	9
tierra sin cuello	10
dos caxuelas de sangley con dos	11
tinteros de plomo	12
un libro de palo con adereço	13
de yesca e pedernal ⁹⁰	14
dos manteles viejos	15

⁸⁸ A type of linen. The name is derived from its place of origin, that is Anjou in France.

⁸⁹ These are subsequently listed as three *açerillos*, small cushions.

⁹⁰ This was a kit for starting fire, where the flint and tinder (*pedernal y yesca*) were stored inside what was called a *libro de palo*. We thank Dr Ignacio Chuecas Saldías for his assistance in identifying this object.

hasta aquí las quinse parti	16
das de arriba quedo en poder de	17
d[ic]ho Ant[oni]o Martinez	18
ytem media botixa de açeyte e	19
medio bote de conserva	20
quatro tinajas bacias de Borney	21
e una de vino de la tierra	22
otra tinaja de Borney	23
lo qual contenydo en las cinquenta	24
e quattro partidas de la caja	25
de atras y esta el señor capitán	26
lo mando dar y entregar a Juan	27
Garçia Vazquez alguasil real dela	28
d[ic]ha nao como a depositario para	29
lo dar y entregar en el puerto de	30

3v

Acapulco a quien de d[e]r[ec]ho le per	1
teneçiere el d[ic]ho Juan Garçia se	2
hizo cargo de ello para lo suso	3
d[ic]ho e a ello se obligo por su	4
persona e bienes e lo firmo	5
de su nombre siendo t[estig]os Fern[an]do	6
de Mendoça e Domingo de Molina	7
e Diego de Buendia contramaes	8
tre fecho ut supra Pedro de Or	9
tega Juan Garçia @[n]te my Diego	10
de Çarate escribano nombrado	11
En el puerto de Acapulco ocho	12
de febrero de mill e quinientos	13
ochenta y siete años el juez	14
señor Diego de Molina Padilla	15
juez de comysion dixo que por	16
mando Juan Garçia alguasil	17
del agua de la nao Sant M[artin]	18
entrego a su m[e]r[ce]d ciertos bienes	19
de rropas de vestir que tenya de	20
positados por bienes de Agu	21
stin Sanchez que murio abitestato	22
en el viaje de la d[ic]ha nao Sant	23
Martin de lo qual mandava e	24
mando se haga almoneda e se	25
rremate en quien mas por ellos	26
diere e por presencia del d[ic]ho	27
señor juez e de my el presente	28

escrivano e tes[ti]gos por voz de Jo[a]n de Medina pregonero se vendieron	29 30
4r	
E remataron las cossas siguientes	1 2
En Pedro Jusepe un arca buz sin frascos en seys p[e]s[o]s e medio	3 4 5
Una sobrecama de manta de Yllocos vieja en Domingo de Ugarte en tres pes[o]s e medio	6 7 8 9
quatro çaragueles del lienço de China en Juan es de Urquide en tres	10 11 12
tres almohadas e otros hazerillos viejos en Pedro de Quesada en dos e medio	13 14 15 16
siete camysas viejas de lien ço de Castilla e de China sin cuellos en Tomas de A rana en quattro e m[edi]o	17 18 19 20
quattro savanas de lienço de sangley en siete en Bernave de Vera	21 22 23
dose cuellos con sus puños guarneçidos ⁹¹ e llanos de lienço de China los dos nuevos e los demas viejos en Pedro de Rronces Valles en catorce e dos r[eale]s un cuello por acabar en	24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31

⁹¹ Embroidered.

4v

Pedro Gonçalez en dos	ii pº	1
dos pañuelos de narises e		2
dos pares de paños de		3
manos e dos pares de medias		4
de algodon en Agustin de		5
Madrid en peso e m[edi]o	i pº iiiii tº	6
unas medias encarnadas		7
en Fran[cis]co Estevan en		8
un peso	i pº	9
unas medias de algodon en		10
Diego de Sosa en veinte e un		11
rreales	ii pº v tº	12
nueve pañuelos de me		13
sa de algodon en Domingo		14
de Olarte en tres		15
e medio	iii pº iiiii tº	16
unas medias blancas de		17
algodon viejas en Juan		18
de Velastegui en nueve		19
reales	i pº i tº	20
dos paños de manos de		21
Çincheo viejos en Agustin		22
de Madrid en un peso	i pº	23
una pieça de cinabafa ⁹²		24
en García de los Rios en		25
dos	ii pº	26
una pierna de manta		27
en tres tomines en Fran[cis]co		28
Gomez Rrenguifo	pº iiiii tº	29
tres pares de medias e un		30
tocador e dos pañuelos		31

⁹² A white Oriental type of fabric.

5r

De lienço de China viejo en Andres Toscano en cinco r[eale]s	pº v tº	1 2 3
Una manta de moro en Tomas de Hinestrosa en dos tomines	pº ii tº	4 5 6
Un pabellon con su man ga mançana ⁹³ e cordeles en Juan Velastegui en nueve	ix pº	7 8 9 10
una espada quebrada e unos talabartes ⁹⁴ en Diego de Sosa en un peso	i pº	11 12 13
Quattro navajas e unas tixeras en Pedro Gonçalez en dos y quattro r[eale]s	ii pº iiiii tº	14 15 16
Una escobilla en cinco rrea les en Pedro de Balmaseda	pº v tº	17 18
dos tinterillos de plomo en Diego de Sosa en seys r[eale]s	pº vi tº	19 20
Dos caxuelas coloradas en Tomas de Hinestrosa en nue ve reales	i pº i tº	21 22 23
tres frascos e dos frasqui llos de bufano en Pedro Gonçalez en veinte r[eale]s	ii pº iiiii tº	24 25 26
Dos pares de tijeras e dos madexas en Juanes de Urquiola en veinte r[eale]s.	ii pº iiiii tº	27 28 29

⁹³ Apple-shape laces (*remate*), probably used in this case to cover the bed entirely to protect it against mosquitos and other animals.

⁹⁴ Leather sword belts.

5v

una caxa de barbero ba cia en Diego Lopez en dos	ii pº	1 2 3
un estuche de barbero con çinco lançetas con cabos de plata y quattro hierros de muelas e un canutillo de agujas en quarto e un tomin en Agustin de Madrid	iiii pº i tº	4 5 6 7 8 9 10
unos asientos de cuellos e unas trançaderas e unas puntas de China en Fran[cis]co Gomez Rrenguifo en quattro r[eale]s	pº iiii tº	11 12 13 14 15
un baquerillo de tamenete en Alexo de Murguia en cator se reales.	i pº vi tº	16 17 18
otros quattro pedaçitos de tamenete en Andres Toscano en cinco r[eale]s.	pº v tº	19 20 21
una rrropilla de raso rrota e un pedaço de tafetan vie jo en Pedro de Yturriçara en çinco r[eale]s	pº v tº	22 23 24 25
una daga con su setrinas e duo tuquillas en Lorenzo Pe rez Guinea en Melchor de Valencia en quince r[eale]s	i pº vii tº	26 27 28 29
dos pares de medias negras y amarillas viejas en Fran[cis]co Gomez Rrenguifo en diez tomines	i pº ii tº	30 31 32 33
dos coletos viejos en		1

6r

Agustin de Madrid en quatro r[eale]s	pº iiii tº	2 3
Unos calçones de rraso viejos en Bernabe de Vera en dose r[eale]s	i pº iiii tº	4 5 6
seis gatillos de sacar muelas en ellos unas te nazuelas e diez y seis herre zilllos y un estuche viejo e una piedra de amolar en Diego Lopez e otro es tuche viejo en dose r[eale]s.	i pº iiii tº	7 8 9 10 11 12 13
un caxoncillo con unguen tos e un peyne de marfil e una navaja e otras me nudenças de poco valor en Diego Lopez en un peso	i pº	14 15 16 17 18
dos espejos guarneçidos de evano de caxa de barbe ro en dos en Gaspar Alfonso.	ii pº	19 20 21 22
diez e nuebe libros viejos dellos de cirugia e carta paçios de mano de diferen tes cossas en Diego Lopez en quattro.	iiii pº	23 24 25 26 27
un basito de balsamo e otro vaçio y un calçador en Domingo de Ugarte en quattro r[eale]s.	pº iiii tº	28 29 30 31
6v		
un caxoncito con dos pa nytos viejos e unas tiras de terciopelo e un peine en Melchor de Valencia en quattro r[eale]s.	pº iiii tº	1 2 3 4 5
quattro dosenas de salçere		6

tas en Domingo de Olarte en dos p[eso]s e m[edi]o.	ii pº iiii tº	7 8
una caxita tumbada en el d[ic]ho en dose r[eale]s.	i pº iiii tº	9 10
una navaja e un canuto e una salvadera en Domingo de Olarte en dos con unos papillos de almisque vasios.	ii pº	11 12 13 14 15
una caxuela pequeña vie ja en dies y siete reales en P[edr]o Gonçales.	ii pº i tº	16 17 18
En este estado quedo la d[ic]ha almoneda que d[ic]ho señor juez resbio los de oro de les de que doy fee siendo t[estig]os Diego de Sosa e Juan García @[n]te my Alv[ar]o de Castillo esc[ribano] de mag[esta]d.		18 19 20 21 22 23
En el puerto de Acapulco a catorse dias del mes de febrero de mill e quinientos e ochenta y siete años el d[ic]ho señor juez de comision por presentar de mi el presente de mi por vos Juan, yndio ladino, hizo almoneda de sus bienes.		23 24 25 26 27 28 29
7r		
Juan Garcia Vazquez le entrego e restavan del d[ic]ho difunto en es ta manera:		1 2 3
Primeramente se remato un tiborcillo de con un poco de conserva de naranjada a e una botija con un poco de aseite en Agustin de Madrid en dose r[eale]s.	i pº iiii tº	4 5 6 7 8
Ytem se remato en el d[ic]ho A gustin de Madrid una ti naxa de vino de China en		9 10 11

çinco p[es]os e quatro tom[ine]s	v pº iiii tº	12
Ytem se rremataron en		13
Diego de Sosa quatro tina		14
jas de Borney en catorse		15
reales.	i pº vi tº	16
 Ytem se remato en Luis		17
de Medina un colchonçillo		18
de medriñaque e una al		19
mohada e un aserillo e una		20
sobrecama de paño azul		21
vieja en tres y un		22
tomyn.	iii pº i tº	23
 Ytem se remato en P[edr]o		24
Gonçalez un capotillo a		25
zul en tres e dos r[eale]s	iii pº ii tº	26
 Y por no aver otra cossa alguna		27
del d[ic]ho difunto quedo en este es		28
tado la d[ic]ha almoneda y el d[ic]ho		29
senor juez recibió el dinero della.		30

7v

de que yo el escrivano doy fee	1
siendo t[estig]os al[ons]o de pareja e Diego	2
de sosa estantes en este puerto	3
e lo firmo el señor juez Diego de Mo	4
lina Padilla @[n]te my Alvaro de	5
Castillo escribano de mag[esta]tt.	6
 Resbi yo Juan de Medina del	7
señor juez de comysion des	8
tas dos almonedas de A	9
gustin Sanchez dos	10
que me dio en rreales siendo	11
t[estig]o Bernardino Melen	12
dez a[nt]e my A[lva]ro de Castillo	13
escriv[an]o de mag[esta]tt.	15
 En dos de marzo de myll e qui	16
nientos e ochenta y siete años	17
reçibi del senor Diego de Mo	18
lina y padilla juez de comy	19
sion seys de oro comun	20

de mys d[e]r[ech]os de dos almonedas	21
e otros autos fechos en los	22
bienes de Agustin Sanchez los	23
quales me pago en rreales e	24
lo firme Alvaro de Castillo	25
escriv[an]o de mag[esta]tt.	26
Resbi por la cobrança en	27
liçitud del almoneda de A	28
gustin Sanchez un peso e	29
lo firme en Acapulco a	30
quattro de marzo de myll	31
8r	
Quinientos e ochenta e siete anos	1
Fran[cis]co de Mendoça paso @[n]te my	2
Alvaro de Castillo escribano de su	3
magestad.	4
En el galeon de magestad nom	5
brado Sant Martin en veinte e	6
seys de noviembre de myll e quinientos	7
ochenta y seys años a[n]te ylus[tr]e	8
senor Pedro de Ortega capitán deste	9
d[ic]ho galeon la presento el cont[enid]o	10
Ylu[str]e señor Gaspar Alfonso como al	11
bacea del general Amador de Arria	12
ran dijo que Agustin Sanchez di	13
funto es a cargo de los bienes del d[ic]ho	14
general de honze pesos por el va	15
lor de una botixa de aceite e un	16
tivor de conserva que saco en publica	17
almoneda como consta deesta fee	18
que presento	19
a v[uest]ra mer[ce]d pido y suplico man	20
de a Juan García depositario de	21
los bienes de d[ic]ho Agustin Sanchez	22
me de e pague los d[ic]hos honze	23
e para ello se me de mandamien	24
tto e pido justicia Gaspar Alfonso.	25
Y presentada la d[ic]ha peticion e	26
fee por donde consta averse	27

rrematado en el d[ic]ho Agustin	28
Sanchez la d[ic]ha botixa de aseyte	29
e tivor de conserva en los d[ic]hos	30

8v

Honze e no consta de pa	1
ga alguna mandava e mando q[ue]	2
de sus bienes se den e paguen	3
los d[ic]hos honze al d[ic]ho Gaspar	4
Alfonso e si para ello fuere me	5
nester vender algunos se vendan	6
hasta la d[ic]ha contia e ansi lo fir	7
mo e mando Pedro de Ortega a[n]te my	8
Diego de Çarate escrivano	9
nombrado.	10

En el d[ic]ho dia yo Diego de Çarate	11
escrivano nombrado deste d[ic]ho	12
galeon notifique el d[ic]ho mandamien	13
to y auto a Juan García Vazquez	14
alguacil rreal como atenedor e	15
depositario de los bienes de Agus	16
tin Sanchez cirujano el qual dixo	17
que estava presto de lo cum	18
plir dandole carta de pago	19
dello que d[ic]ho Gaspar Alfonso	20
rrecibio del d[ic]ho Juan García por	21
bienes del d[ic]ho Agustin Sanchez	22
los d[ic]hos honze los seys en un	23
conocimyento contra Juan Bautista	24
Trevino y Alonso Ortiz mercader	25
pasajero que esta ynventarian	26
do e los çinco en dineros con lo	27
qual el d[ic]ho Gaspar Alfonso se dio	28
por contento e por tal lo firmo	29
de su nombre e yo el escrivano que	30
de ello doy fee Gaspar Alfonso ante	31
mi Diego de Çarate escr[iban]o nombrado	32

9r

yo Diego de Çarate escrivano	1
nombrado deste galeon de	2
su magestad nombrado Sant	3
Martín doy fee a los señores	4

que la presente vieren como del almoneda del general Amador de Arriaran que sea en gloria de las cossas que se vendieron en ella saco Agustin Sanchez ci rujano, que oy fallecio, una bo tixa de aceite en ocho de tipusque ⁹⁵ en un tibor de xen gibre en tres como parece por la d[ic]ha almoneda la qual di a pedimyento de Gaspar Alfonso maestre deste d[ic]ho galeon f[ec]ho d[ic]ho, en veinte y quatro de noviembr[e] de myll e quinyentos ochenta e seys anos Diego de Çarate escriv[an]o nombrado	5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20
--	---

Digo yo Luis Diaz Marento q[ue] es verdad luego de ver al señor Agustin Sanchez dose de oro comun los quales me pres to en memor y gracia para lo qual me lo obligo de se los dar y pagar los d[ic]hos dose ca da e quando que me los pidie re d[ic]ho para lo qual me obligo mi	21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29
--	--

9v

persona e bienes e rrogamos a Manuel Fernandez que este i seice e lo firmase como tes[tig]o siendo testigos Al[ons]o Gomez que es fecho en este puerto de Aca pulco a dies e ocho de feb[re]ro de mill e quinyentos ochenta e cinco años yo Luis Dias lo firmo de my nombre Manuel Fernandez, Luys Dias.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
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digo yo Agustin Sanchez ques verdad que resbi de Luis Dias seys para en quenta deste conoçimyento desta otra parte contenydo e para esto o	10 11 12 13 14
--	----------------------------

⁹⁵ Copper pesos (*pesos de tepuzque*), *tepuzque* meaning copper in Nahuatl.

s digo que los otros seys	15
restantes no os los pedire	16
hasta que bolvamos a Acapul	17
co y es condiccion que si alguno	18
de los dos bolviere antes que el uno	19
quede otro antes que	20
el otro me los aveys de pa	21
gar en Manyla cada e cuando	22
que os lo pida aviendo y	23
aviendo de volver como d[ic]ho es	24
uno sin el otro e por verdad	25
lo firme de my nombre testigos	26
que fueron presentes a lo que	27
d[ic]ho es Miguel Lorca e don Alonso	28
Lucano e Fran[cis]co Nunez que	29
es hecho en la nao Sant Martin	30
de su magestad a catorse de a	31

10r

bril de myll e quinyentos e ochenta	1
e cinco años, Agustin Sanchez	2
sepan quantos esta carta vieren	3
como yo, Melchor Perez Morillo	4
mero cirujano residente en este	5
puerto de Acapulco otorgo e	6
conosco que devo y me obligo de	7
dar e pagar a vos Agustin San	8
chez, barbero residente en este d[ich]o	9
puerto o a quien v[uest]ro poder	10
uviere quarenta y un	11
de oro comun los quales devo e son	12
por razon de otros tantos p[es]o [s]	13
de d[ic]ho oro que me prestastes	14
en reales e en t[iem]po que de ellos	15
tuve neçesidad e los resbi re	16
mente e con efecto y en rason del	17
entrego que de presentaron	18
parece renuncio la excep	19
ion de la pecuana de leyes del	20
entrego prueba de paga como	21
en ellas se contiene los qua	22
les d[ic]hos quarenta e un	23
del d[ich]o oro prometo e me obligo	24
de os dar e pagar en reales de	25
plata e no en otra moneda al	26

guna en este d[ich]o puerto en o tras qualquiera parte que se me pidieren de mandaren de oy dia de la fecha desta carta	27 28 29 30
--	----------------------

10v

En seys meses cumplidos primeros siguentes llanamente e sin pley to alguno va espresa obligacion que para ello hago de my per[son]a e bienes avidos e por aver aber e doy poder cumplido a qualesquier jus ticias y jueces de su magestad De qualesquier partes que sea al fuero e juridisyon de los d[ic]ho jueses me someto para que por el rigor del d[erec]ho me compelan e apremyen al cumplimiento de todo ello como si fuese sent[enci]a dyfinitiva de juez competente contra my dada e pasada en cosa juzgada sobre lo qual renun[ci]o todas y qualesquier leyes fue ros e d[erech]os que sean en my favor el a que dice que general re nunciacion fecha de leyes non v[al]e, en testimonyo de lo qual otor guela presente a[nt]e el escr[iba]no e t[estig]os en el d[ich]o puerto de aca pulco, a ocho de marzo de myll e quinyetos e ochenta y quattro a[ño]s y el d[ic]ho otorgante que yo el d[ic]ho escrivano doy fee que conos co lo firmo de su nombre siendo a ello presente por testigos Asençio de Mendez e Blas de	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30
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11r

Santamaria e Xtoval ⁹⁶ Ra mires residentes en Acapulco Melchor Perez Morillo @[n]te my Amador Perez escrivano	1 2 3 4
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⁹⁶ Cristobal.

de magestad va enmendado Agu[sti]n	5
Yo el d[ic]ho Amador Perez escriv[an]o	6
de magestad presente fui a	7
lo que d[ic]ho es fise mi signo en	8
testimonyo de verdad Amador P[ere]z	9
escriv[an]o de mag[esta]tt.	10
 En Mexico a veinte dias de m[e]s	11
de diciembre de myll e quinyentos e	12
ochenta e ocho años e l doc[to]r Al[ons]o	13
Martines, juez general de bienes de	14
difuntos mando que este rrecau	15
dose entregue a Juan de Avendano	16
vesino desta siudad a lo qual como a	17
hombre de espirencia en la cobran	18
ça de lo que se deve a este difunto	19
dio poder e facultad en forma	20
para que en virtud de las certi	21
ficaciones que es tan en este	22
proceso haga las diligencias	23
e autos que viere ser necesario	24
hasta sacar librança e cobrar	25
lo que por ella se deviere al	26
difunto e dar carta de pago e	27
a si myesmo cobre lo que procedio	28
de la almoneda que se hizo de los	29
vienes del difunto e sobre lo uno	30
 11v	
lo otro haga los autos e dili	1
gencias que viere ser necesa	2
rio e de lo que cobrarsele paga	3
ra su encomienda como convengan y	4
es costumbre e ansi lo mando e	5
firme el doc[to]r Al[ons]o Martinez paso	6
@[n]te mi Her[nan]do de Paz.	7
 En la ciudad de Mexico a siete	8
dias del mes de septiembre de	9
myll e quinyentos e ochenta e nue	10
ve años antes contador Gil Ver	11
dugo juez de rresultas de bienes de	12
difuntos parecio Diego de Molina	13
y Padilla juez de bienes de difun	14

tos que fue en el puerto de Aca pulco por nombramiento de el virrey desta Nueva España a dar quen ta de los que cobro e fueron a su cargo pertenecientes a Agustin Sanchez difunto e aviendo exhibi do ante el d[ic]ho contador el ynen tario e almoneda que hizo de los bienes del suso d[ic]ho e hiso el cargo siguiente:	15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24
Primeramente se le ha ze cargo a el dicho Diego de Molina y Padilla de çiento y veinte y quatro y seis tomines de oro comun que parece valie	25 26 27 28 29 30
12r	
ron vendidos en almoneda publica los bienes de el d[ic]ho Agustin Sanchez la qual parece se hizo en el puer to de Acapulco en seys e catorse dias del mes de fe brero del ano d[ic]ho ochenta y siete por ante Alvaro de Castillo escrivano que esta en los autos foxas a seys e siete	c xx iiiii pº vi tº 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
ytem seys del d[ic]ho oro que de resto de doze por cedula devida d[ic]ho difunto Luis Diaz marinero como por ella parece a foxas diez	vi pº 12 13 14 15 16
ytem, quarenta e un del d[ic]ho oro que al d[ic]ho di funto por escriptura de obligacion de plazo pasado consta serle deudor Melchor Perez Morillo cirujano q[ue] passo ante Amador Pe[re]z cirujano que passo ante	xl i pº 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24

Amador Perez escrivano q[ue] esta en los autos a foxa honse	25 26 27
ytem, una certificación firmada de Andres Cau chela contador de la rr[ea]l hazienda de la sudad de Manyla su fecha en dose	28 29 30 31 32
12v	
de junio del ano pasado de ochenta y seys por la qual consta lo que el su suso d[ic]ho sirvio en la d[ic]ha ciudad despues que llego el galeon Sant Martin donde fue el suso d[ic]ho que esta presente da a foxas tres.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
Por manera que suma y monta todo lo que an si se le a f[lec]ho cargo al d[ic]ho Diego de Molina y Padilla por bienes del d[ic]ho Agustin Sanchez difunto ciento e se tenta e un seys tomines de oro comun en la certificación arriba rreferida y lo firmo de su nombre y el d[ic]ho contador e lo firmo de nombre sie ndo t[estig]os Xptval de Texe da e Juan Fran[ics]co vecinos de Mexico Gil Verdugo Di[eg]o de Molina y Padilla paso @[n]te my Her[nand]o de Paz.	9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25
Y luego yncontinente ⁹⁷ el d[ic]ho Diego de Molina y Padilla pidio a el d[ic]ho contador le reciba en da ta y descargo a el que se le tiene hecho en contra lo que pago al	26 27 28 29 30

⁹⁷ That means continuously, without break.

escrivano por los de[rech]os de almoneda		31
13r		
y otras cossas que el d[ic]ho con tador le recibió en data ⁹⁸ lo siguiente		
Data		3
Primeramente se le reciven		4
en data seys de oro	vi pº	5
comun que parece dio a Alv[ar]o		6
de Castillo escrivano ante		7
quien paso la almoneda		8
de algunos bienes que por		9
el d[ic]ho difunto se vendieron		10
de que dio carta de pago que		11
esta en estos autos y cuenta		12
a foja siete.		13
ytem, tres del d[ic]ho	iii pº	14
oro que dio y pago los		15
dos dellos a Juan de Medina		16
por la venta de los d[ic]hos		17
bienes, y el otro a Bernardi		18
no Melendez por la solici		19
tud e cobrança de lo proçedi		20
do de el delos que exsibio		21
cartas de pago a fojas seys		22
y siete.		23
ytem la certificación de		24
que se tiene hecho cargo o		25
en contra la qual entrego		26
para la cobrança de ella		27
que da en los d[ic]hos autos		28
con esta cuenta a foxas tres		29
ytem un peso del d[ic]ho oro		30
que dio y pago a Hernando	i pº	31
13v		
de Paz escrivano por los de		1

⁹⁸ *Data* (receipts) as opposed to *cargo* (expenses)

rechos desta quenta.		2
ytem quarenta e un		3
del d[ic]ho oro que da por no co		4
brados en la escriptura que		5
la d[ic]ha contia ⁹⁹ se le tiene h[ec]ho		6
cargo que por escritura		7
deve a el d[ic]ho difunto Melchor		8
Morillo cirujano los quales		9
digo no cobro por no aver		10
parecido el suso d[ic]ho e la en		11
tredo para la cobrança		12
dellos.	xl i pº	13
Que en la manera suso d[ic]ha		14
que ansi se le a recibido		15
y pasado en data al d[ic]ho		16
Diego de Molina y Padilla	c lxx i pº vi tº	17
en las quattro partidas		18
de la desta quenta por bie[ne]s	1 cert[ificaç]ion	19
del d[ic]ho Agustin Sanchez los		20
çinquenta e un de		21
oro comun en ellas conte	data	22
nydos que descontados	l i pº	23
de los çiento e setenta e un		24
e seys tomynes de		25
oro comun de que se le ti		26
ene f[ec]ho cargo con mas la		27
certificaçion en el ante	i cert[ificaç]ion	28
nyda y rresta que e alcança		29
do en ciento e veinte un p[esos]s	alcanç ¹⁰⁰	30
seys tomines de oro comun	c xx i pº vi tº	31

14r

y en tantos se dio por alcan		1
çado e se obligo a los pa		2
gar e meter en la caxa e		3
deposito de bienes de difun		4
tos y a si mysmo entrego la		5
certificaçion de que se le		6
tiene fecho cargo e lo fir		7
mo de su nombre tes[tig]os los d[ic]hos		8

⁹⁹ *Cuantía.*¹⁰⁰ The *alcanç* is the balance between receipts (*data*) and expenses (*cargo*).

Gil Verdugo Diego de Molina	9	
Padilla passo a[n]te mi Her[nan]do	10	
de Paz.	11	
 De los ciento y veynte	lo derrebase	12
y seys tomynes del alcance	vi pº	13
desta quenta se rebaten		14
seys de oro comun de que		15
se le tiene fecho cargo a el d[ic]ho		16
Molina por tantos devia		17
a el d[ic]ho difunto por cedula		18
e de rresto della Luis Dias		19
la qual entrego por		20
no cobrada		21
 Juan de Avendano por lo que toca		22
a los bienes de Agustin Sanchez bar		23
bero que murio vinyendo de las islas		24
del poniente en el galeon Sant M[artin]		25
digo que para acudir a la cobrança		26
de lo que al d[ic]ho difunto se le deve		27
de la rreal caxa de su salario tengo		28
neçesidad de la certificacion que el		29
d[ic]ho difunto haya de su servicio que		30
esta con los autos		31
 14v		
A v[uest]ra mer[ce]d pido y suplico mande	1	
se me de originalmente quedando	2	
un traslado en el proceso e pido	3	
justicia	4	
 Otro si quel escrivano presente	5	
me de testimonyo del ultimo dia	6	
mes y ano de su testamento para q[ue]	7	
se le libre hasta el tal dia el d[ic]ho su	8	
servicio y pido justicia Juan de Avendano	9	
 En Mexico a catorse dias del	10	
mes de septiembre de myll e quinyen	11	
tos e ochenta e nueve anos ante el do	12	
tor Al[ons]o Martines juez general	13	
de bienes de difuntos se llevo esta pe	14	
ticion	15	
e por el juez vista mando q[ue]	16	

se le de la original que pide	17
quedando un traslado ¹⁰¹ e se le	18
de testimonyo del día del otor	19
gamyento del testamento del di	20
ffunto signado y en manera que la haga	21
fee passo a[n]te my Hernando	22
de Paz.	23
 Di testimonyo de como por el yn	24
ventario parece el dia de la	25
muerte de Agustin Sanchez.	26
 yo Andres de Cauchela contador	27
general juez e fiscal de la rre[al]	28
 15r	
 hacienda de su magestad destas	1
yslas Philipinas del ponyente	2
doy ffee a quien la presente	3
viere como Agustin Sanchez barbe	4
ro y chirujano que vino de la nueva	5
espana en el galeon de su magestad	6
Sant Martin para curar los	7
enfermos de la d[ic]ha nao el año pasa	8
do de quinientos y ochenta y cinco	9
ha servido del d[ic]ho su oficio en la d[ic]ha	10
nao y en el hopital desta sudad	11
desde dies e nueve de junyo del d[ic]ho	12
ano hasta el dia de la fecha desta	13
ta resbido de su socorro por	14
quenta de su salario de la rreal	15
hacienda destas yslas veinte p[eso]s	16
de oro comun	17
 En ffee de lo qual e para que de ello	18
conste di la presente en manyla a	19
dose dias del mes de junyo de myll e	20
quinientos e ochenta y seys años	21
andres cauchela	22
 corregida con la original que	23
se entrego a Juan de Avendaño	24
y e recibido Juan de Avendaño	25

¹⁰¹ This refers to a copy.

Her[nan]do de Paz.	26
Sacose testimonyo que este pleyto	27
hasta aqui para Castilla e fue	28
ron por bienes de este difunto	29
juntas costas setenta e tres	30

15v

seys tomynes y ocho granos de oro	1
comun en la flota general ant[oni]o	2
navarro de prado ano de myll e	3
quinyentos e noventa e un años pagose	4
me a treynta y seys maravedies por onza de la	5
Saca va entre renglones Bernardino	6
Bala ytestado Agustin pase por testado etcer	7
E por ende fise aquí mi signo este firmo de su mano	8

Aviendose sacado este proceso y enviandose a los	9
reynos de Cast[ill]a el ano passado de noventa y uno la flota	10
general antonio navarro de prado y con el setenta y tres	11
p[eso]s seis t[omine]s y ocho granos de oro comunes q[ue] hasta entonces	12
habia líquidos en la caxa y deposito de bienes de difuntos perte	13
necientes al d[ic]ho Agustin Sanchez barbero difunto por aber ao	14
vido nueba que lo tomo el yngles con los demas processos que se	15
ynviaron de estos difu[n]tos el doctor Andres Çaldierna de Ma	16
riaca oydor desta re[a]l aud[ienci]a y jueg general de los bienes de diff[unt]os	17
en esta Nueva Spaña mandese tornase a sacar otra vez	18
Y se ynbiase a los dichos reynos de Cast[ill]a este press[ent]e ano la flota	19
general M[arti]n Peres de Olaçabal que de pres[en]te ano se apresta para	20
ellos como se ynbia off[ici]o en Mex[ic]o a veinte días de mes de mayo	21
de myll quinyentos y noventa y dos a[no]s.	22

16r

[blank]

16v

[right margin]

Año de 1592

Sanchez = barbero = n[ume]ro = 1000 =