

THE MANILA INCUNABULA AND EARLY HOKKIEN STUDIES

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PART 1

Much has been written about the beginnings of printing in the Philippines.¹ Its history has presented some difficult problems, because few of the earliest imprints have been preserved and not until recently have scholars been able to lay their hands on copies of books published before 1606. Descriptions of these incunabula are now available, but bibliographers have to some extent been hampered in their work by unfamiliarity with Chinese, the language in which several of the oldest surviving books are written. I propose to give a survey of printing in Manila between 1593 and 1607, basing myself on an analysis of the five imprints generally known and adding a sixth, which I believe is here identified for the first time. Special attention will be devoted to the date and authorship of one of these books, which is important for the history of Hokkien vernacular and of which the contents will be confronted with romanized texts found in a nearly contemporary manuscript.

The six books to be discussed were printed, under the auspices of Dominican missionaries, by Chinese immigrants, the so-called Sangley, who not only introduced blockprinting but pioneered typography as well. Already before the Spanish conquest of Manila in 1571 a Chinese community had settled near Tondo, on the opposite bank of the Pasig river, in a place later called Baybay. In 1581 the ministry of these Chinese was entrusted to the order of Augustines, but it seems that after some years they neglected their Sangley parishioners. In the meantime a place closer to the city had been set aside as a market for the Chinese merchants. This market, or Parián, rapidly attracted large numbers of traders and craftsmen. Most of the immigrants had come from southern Fukien, where the main port of embarkation was Hai-ch'eng. Even the events of October 1603, culminating in the massacre of the bulk of the Chinese population, some twenty thousand souls, only temporarily stopped this inflow.²

¹ The best general account is by W. E. Retana, *Orígenes de la imprenta filipina: Investigaciones históricas, bibliográficas y tipográficas*, Madrid 1911.

² The 1762 edition of the *Hai-ch'eng hsien chih* 海澄縣志, 18.13a states that 80% of those killed were from Hai-ch'eng, but the *Tung hsi yang k'ao* 東西洋考 of Chang Hsieh 張燮, published in 1618, 5.5b merely implies that a large proportion of the 25 000 victims were from that district.

It was near the Parián that the Dominicans, soon after their arrival in 1587, established themselves. In order to provide for the spiritual and material needs of the Chinese inhabitants, they built in 1588 the church of San Gabriel and a hospital of the same name in the following year. In competition with the Augustinians they also founded a church at Baybay, where they continued to work among the Chinese until 1614. Most of the resident population of the Parián were expelled in 1594, but a new settlement was made available to them in Binondoc on the north bank of the Pasig, opposite Manila. A few years later the hospital of San Gabriel was moved to this new parish of Binondoc.³

So much for the historical and geographical setting. I shall now describe, in chronological order, each of the incunabula, giving at the same time an account of their authors and a discussion of their technical features.

Hsin-k'o seng-shih Kao-mu Hsien chuan Wu-chi t'ien-chu cheng-chiao chen-chuan shih-lu 新刻僧師嗎嘜嘆撰無極天主正教真傳實錄, "A printed edition of the Veritable record of the authentic tradition of the true faith in the Infinite God, by the religious master Kao-mu Hsien."

Blockprint. In Chinese. 62 numbered leaves and four unnumbered sheets folding out, sewn in eight gatherings. Single rule border, 18.4 by 12.9 cm, 10 columns of 20 characters. The only copy known is in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (R 33. 396).⁴

The author of this work can be identified without any difficulty, because the Hokkien pronunciation of Kao-mu Hsien is Ko-bə Suan, representing the name of the Dominican friar Juan Cobo, who had come to Manila in 1588. The book (hereafter referred to as *Shih-lu* or "Veritable record") is written in Classical Chinese, mostly in dialogue form, and consists of nine chapters, of which the first three are devoted to theological discussions, whereas the other chapters deal with Western concepts of cosmography and natural history. There is no formal introduction; but an interesting statement of the author's aims and his study of Chinese philosophy is found on 4b (see text figure facing page 4). Some of its phraseology is not too clear, and part of the following translation is necessarily tentative:

"Although I am a foreigner, as soon as I gained some information my interest was aroused in the sacred religion and the traditional faith of China. But day and night I was worried, because I knew that only by religion would faith be spread, only by study would religion be known, and only by close

³ For full details cf. Gayo, *Doctrina christiana* (see below note 12).

⁴ First noted by Fang Hao 方豪 in *Hsüeh-shu chi-k'an* 1, 2, 1952, 151-152. Cf. Carlos Sanz, *Primitivas relaciones de España con Asia y Oceanía: Los dos primeros libros impresos en Filipinas, más un tercero en discordia*, Madrid 1958, pp. 247-252 with a photographic reproduction in reduced size; Carlos Quirino, "A Chinese treatise of 1593", *International Association of Historians of Asia Second Biennial Conference Proceedings*, Taipei 1962, pp. 723-732.

辨正教真傳之章

Heer el principio del libro

此書之作非敢專製乃旨命領下
蠟君良工刊著此版係西士乙千
和尙王國三始就民希
百九十年仲春立



大明先聖學者有曰率性
之謂道禱道之謂教性道
無二致也教其有二術乎
哉知此則天主何與一本
之理性同也道同也教亦
同也何以差殊現乎予慨
當世之人惑於異端不聞
正道不遵正教其習倍新
高尚者雜於妖邪之說虛
無寂滅之教是以淫於佛

新刻僧師嗎嘜嘆撰無極天主正教真傳實錄章之一

Javadaon quanto vesales *Juande molter*

contacts with scholars and gentlemen would religion and faith be propagated. Hence I was not ashamed to put myself in the position of a student and did not neglect to examine everything, but constantly increased the labour devoted to discussion, so that 'thinking of it I was intent on it, trying to dismiss it I was still intent on it'. I was seeking the essential thought behind the outward appearance of the books and the written word and, although I do not presume to compare myself with other Frankish religious or say that they could not surpass me, yet in the few years since I started to learn Chinese I have acquired a good knowledge of the aims expressed in these books. Adding my own opinions I have thereupon written this 'Veritable record' to provide for future disciples who join our faith, in the hope that it may be the means whereby they are influenced. Having previously studied the Chinese religion and faith, I was fortunate in cultivating my understanding through contact with some distinguished people; and one or two scholars frequented this church and visited me, each stating his views, wishing to discuss the way to enter the Church and find the faith . . ."

Cobo's Chinese studies will be discussed later, but his reference to other "Frankish" (*Fo-lang-chi*) priests needs a word of explanation. Apparently he compares his own work with that of the Jesuits, who had established a mission in China itself. Elsewhere, in a letter dated 13 July 1589, he mentions having seen a book in Chinese characters by a member of the Society of Jesus, which had been printed in China in 1584.⁵ There is no doubt that this was the *T'ien-chu shih-lu* 天主實錄 of Michele Ruggieri, whose example must have encouraged Cobo.⁶

Unlike a normal Chinese book, the *Shih-lu* is printed on both sides of the paper, except for the four extra sheets which fold out in the middle of the book. These contain diagrams showing the Ptolemaic system of astronomy. Equally interesting are the illustrations on 1a, 52b, 54a and 60a, each occupying the top half of the page. The first of these woodcuts represents a Dominican priest explaining the contents of a book to a Chinese scholar.⁷

The absence of a titlepage in Spanish is perhaps due to later damage; it is however compensated by adequate details of publication on the first page. In the tail margin is a handwritten note, "Tassada en quatro reales", signed "Juan de Cuellar". This is the official valuation by the Governor's notary,

⁵ Antonio de Remesal, *Historia de la Provincia de S. Vicente de Chyapa y Guatemala de la Orden de nro glorioso padre Sancto Domingo*, Madrid 1619, p. 683.

⁶ For Ruggieri's book see Pasquale M. d'Elia, "Quadro storico-sinologico del primo libro di dottrina cristiana in cinese", *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 3, 1934, 193-222; idem, *Storia dell' introduzione del cristianesimo in Cina*, Vol. I (Fonti Ricciane I), Rome 1942, pp. 197-198, and Pl. 10 and 11 for a reproduction of the titlepage and other preliminary matter.

⁷ A later owner has written "La señora Juana fra Deogracias" on the picture, but on my text figure this has been blotted out.

無愧天主矣。何少畏忌人言。而羞耻吾心耶。僧雖外國也。竊聞風興起。有志於中國之聖道遺教焉。然日夜焦思。知惟道可以敷教。惟學可以知道。惟親賢人君子。可以廣道教之傳。是以下問不耻。省察不怠。時加辯論工夫。念茲在茲。釋茲在茲。求旨意於書言文字之表。雖未敢比方我佛即機之僧衆。謂不得而踰我也。但自習學中華。以至於今。已有數年餘。頗諳其歸趣。竊附以己意。遂定著實錄一章。以俟後學從教之人。庶可為觀感之資云尔。先得中華之道教。僧幸私淑而與有聞夫。有一二賢者。往來斯廟。進見於

setting four reals as the price at which the book could be sold.⁸ The full title, as given above, is not printed inside the frame enclosing the text but in the right-hand, or inner, margin and seems to have been added at a later stage. The same applies to the two columns in the outer margin, which say:

"This book has not been made without authorization, but is published with licence of the Bishop and the Governor. When we first came to Manila, we ordered a skilled craftsman to cut these blocks. Completed in the second month of spring in the year of our Lord 1593."

We may comment that the Bishop of Manila, Domingo de Salazar, had left his see in June 1591 and gone to Spain. It is not clear whether the licence was issued before his departure or by the Vicar-General afterwards. The words "when we first came to Manila" suggest that the cutting of the blocks was begun long before March 1593, the date when the *Shih-lu* was published. This is borne out by the postface on 62a (see text figure), contrasting with the rest of the book by the irregular number of characters in each column (19 instead of 20) and its different inking. Moreover, the originally single rules between the columns are duplicated and overlap, some even crossing the characters, which means that for this page two separate blocks were used, the impressions of which are "out of register". This postface reads as follows:

"The word of God has been handed down for a long time, but there was nobody who could find its essential meaning and authentic tradition. I, Juan, a priest of this church, have transmitted the Scriptures and analysed them in Chinese, editing several chapters which I have had cut on woodblocks in order to increase their circulation, and hoping that those who join our faith will thoroughly study the meaning of this book and follow the true religion, as when the clouds have scattered and one sees the blue sky or when the thornbush is cleared away and one follows the open road. But having only written a few chapters without completing the rest of the work, I am now entrusted with a political mission and shall wait till next year before I go into further detail and compose the remainder, which I shall add to the book so as to form the complete text of the 'Veritable record'. For the time being I have written this by way of preface."

The circumstances of Cobo's mission are well known.⁹ He had been appointed ambassador to Japan and left Manila at the end of June 1592. After having been received by Hideyoshi, he set sail for home in November of the same year, but was apparently shipwrecked and lost.

Summing up the evidence available, we find that the cutting of the blocks probably began during 1591, but in any case well before June 1592; that the

⁸ Cuéllar was already secretary to the Governor on 12 January 1591; the latest document attested by him as notary which I know of is dated 28 April 1594.

⁹ Henri Bernard, "Les débuts des relations diplomatiques entre le Japon et les Espagnols des Iles Philippines (1571-1594)", *Monumenta Nipponica* 1, 1938, 122-126.

九之章

六十二

世人之易病者然耶。非惟去禽獸不遠也。又弗類之矣。克類而克肖者。僧於世人有厚望乎。慎勿以僧言為迂濶之談焉。

夫天主之說傳之者久而無能得其旨趣真傳者。本廟僧羨遵述古典辯析唐字校正數章梓以廣傳。為冀從教者深習此書之旨率由中正之道。如撥雲霧而覩青天。翦荆棘而由大路矣。但聊述幾篇餘功未完。適奉委國度之役。候來年再加詳盡編撰。竊附為實錄。全章姑著此以為首引。

work was interrupted because of the absence of the author, who wrote his "preface" just before he left; and that the impression of the unfinished *Shih-lu* took place in March 1593.

Doctrina Christiana, en lengua española y tagala, corregida por los Religiosos de las ordenes Impressa con licencia, en S. Gabriel, de la orden de S. Domingo En Manila. 1593.

Blockprint. 38 leaves, sewn in four gatherings. Titlepage in Spanish, single rule border, 20.5 by 14.2 cm. Text in Spanish, Tagalog romanized, and Tagalog in Tagalog script, consisting of 37 unnumbered leaves, pages without border, printed area circa 18 by 12.5 cm (with considerable variations), 14 lines. The only copy known is in the Library of Congress, Washington (Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection).¹⁰

This *Doctrina*, or book of instruction, contains the basic teachings of the Roman Catholic Church. It begins with a Spanish syllabary and the Tagalog alphabet and then gives, in three versions, the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, the Apostles' Creed, *Salve Regina*, the fourteen articles of faith, the Ten Commandments, the commandments of the Church, the sacraments, capital sins, works of mercy, the Confiteor, and a catechism. No preface or colophon is provided, but there is little doubt that the text derives from the *Doctrina christiana* translated into Tagalog by the Franciscan friar Juan de Plasencia and approved by the diocesan synod which was convened in 1582 by Bishop Salazar.¹¹ According to the titlepage it had been corrected by the religious of various orders.

The publication of the work was undertaken by the Dominicans, whose church and hospital of San Gabriel were, as we have seen, situated near the Parián. They could thus avail themselves of the services of a skilled Chinese craftsman, for whom the cutting of gothic and Tagalog letters on woodblocks would hardly be a problem if he had a good manuscript to work from. Unmistakably of Chinese workmanship is also the illustration on the titlepage, showing St. Dominic beneath a star holding a spray of lilies and a book, and comparable in style to the first page of Cobo's *Shih-lu*, which was published in the same year.

On the verso of the titlepage is a note, "Tassada en dos rreales", with the signature and "rúbrica" of Juan de Cuéllar. It will be observed that the price is half that allowed for the *Shih-lu*, which in fact has nearly twice as many pages.

¹⁰ *Doctrina christiana: The first book printed in the Philippines, Manila, 1593*. A facsimile of the copy in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, with an introductory essay by Edwin Wolf 2nd. Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1947. The text is also reproduced by Carlos Sanz, *Primitivas relaciones*.

¹¹ For this synod see in detail H. de La Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines 1581-1768*, Cambridge, Mass., 1961, pp. 15-36.



Doctrina Christiana, en
lengua española ytagala, co:
regida por los Religiosos de las
ordenes Impressa con licencia, en
S. Gabriel, de la orden de S. Domingo
En Manila. 1593. 〰

homonym or even with a newly invented character. Probably the first colloquial to be recorded in this way was the court language, which was based on a northern Chinese dialect and therefore understood by more than half of the population. Although this official language, or "Mandarin", in its written form did not supersede Classical Chinese until recent times, a substantial body of early literature in this and other northern dialects has come down to us.

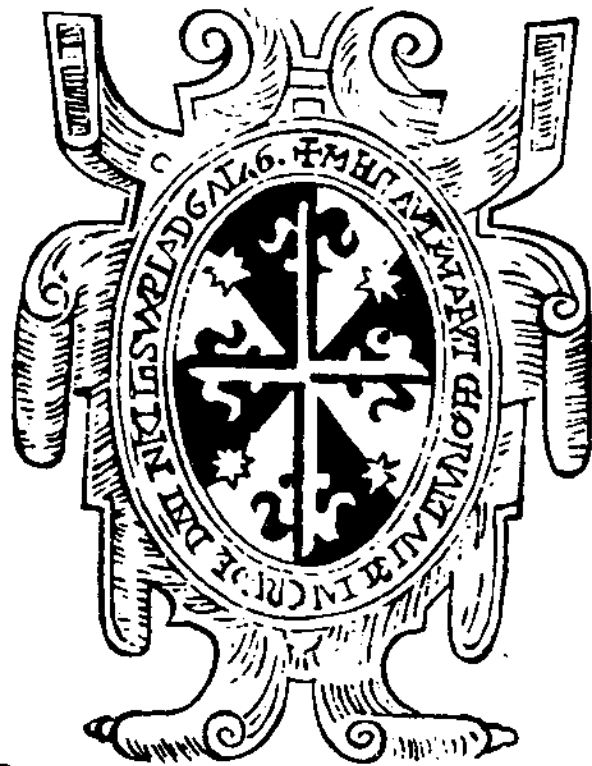
Literature in the southern idioms is more difficult to trace and has been generally neglected by scholarship. There is an appreciable amount of printed material in the Wu dialects and in Cantonese, though both have always been despised by most educated men and suspected by the officials. The suppression of written vernacular has been more thorough in southern Fukien, of which the language is variously known as Hokkien, Amoy, Hoklo or, more recently, Southern Min, the last two names covering also the closely related dialect of Chaochow (and Swatow) in eastern Kwangtung. What little has survived of early Southern Min literature mainly consists of printed editions of plays in libraries outside China. The two oldest of these are the *Li ching chi* 荔鏡記 of 1566 and the *Li-chih chi* 荔枝記 of 1581.¹³ How widely this vernacular was read by the population, including the emigrants to Manila, becomes clear when we find it used for the first part of the *Doctrina christiana en letra y lengua china*.

Leaving a more detailed discussion of the vocabulary till the second part of this study, we may note here some typical examples of adapted and invented characters as found in the first part: 只, "this", 許, "that", 阮, "we", 伊, "he", 俾, "at the time when", 厝, "house", 那, "only", 袂, "cannot", 做年, "how", 乜事, "why", 值處, "where". In contrast to this, the second part uses characters from Classical Chinese and colloquial Mandarin, e.g. 此, "this", 彼, "that", 他, "he", 止 or 只, "only", 何如, "how". However, the use of "standard" characters is not entirely consistent here; thus the author occasionally writes 只 (20a, 26b) when he normally has 此, and other irregularities of the same kind. Very interesting is his lapse into 度 in the phrase 送度汝, "offer to thee" (15b), which occurs fourteen times with 與 instead. 度 is a Hokkien character not found in the first part of the *Doctrina*. Finally, attention should be drawn to the act of contrition on 30b, which stands out from its surroundings by the prevalence of Hokkien elements, for instance 卽是不着, "such wrong".

The presence of two systems of "orthography" is relevant to the question

¹³ Copies of the *Li ching chi* are in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and in Tenri University Library. A critical transcript was published in mimeographed form by Wu Shou-li 吳守禮 in 1961. The existence of the *Li-chih chi* has not been recorded before. It is in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna and consists of 47 acts in 4 *chüan*, with the full title *Hsin-k'o tseng-pu ch'üan-hsiang hsiang-t'an Li-chih chi* 新刻增補全像鄉談荔枝記.

†
DOCTRINA CHRISTIANA
en letra y lengua China, compuesta por los
padres ministros de los Sangleyes, de la Orden
de sancto Domingo



Con licencia, por Keng yong china, en el parran de Manila.

of authorship. It is most unlikely that the two parts were written by the same person. To all appearance the *Doctrina* originally ended with the catechism, exactly like the *Doctrina* in Spanish and Tagalog, whereas the lengthy explanation of the rosary and the appended disciplinary rules are by another hand. Within this second part, the act of contrition is again incongruous and seems to have been an independent composition, related in style to the first part.

Who were the authors? The titlepage states that the book was composed by the Dominican priests who were working among the Sangleys but does not give further details. Since the translation of this basic manual was one of the first activities of missionaries to any part of the world, attention has been concentrated on the earliest period of the Dominican mission to the Chinese, between 1587 and 1595. The most detailed study of the problem hitherto published concludes from the external evidence that, of the four friars coming into consideration, Miguel de Benavides should be regarded as the original author; that his work was corrected, perhaps substantially, by Juan Cobo; and that the final editing was done by Domingo de Nieva and Juan Maldonado de San Pedro Mártir.¹⁴ In studying the problem afresh we should bear in mind the testimony offered by the text itself and examine the linguistic competence of these four priests.

Miguel de Benavides, who was born in 1552 and died in 1605 as Archbishop of Manila, was one of the Dominicans who arrived in Manila in 1587. Juan Cobo came a year later and consequently for some time spoke Chinese less well than Benavides. "Father fray Miguel was catechizing them and preaching in their Chinese language, and made a *Doctrina* in their language. I myself did not yet know the language, but the Lord has been served, so that in a short time I had some success", as he reports on his first year in the letter of July 1589 to friends in Mexico. The nature of the *Doctrina* which Benavides had prepared is not clear, but one may strongly doubt whether, after less than two years of study, he could have written a Chinese text without assistance. Cobo's own progress sounds impressive. He had learned to speak the language, but also attempted to read a number of Chinese books, which he describes in some detail in his letter. With the help of his neighbours he had even begun to translate one of these, a guidebook of China. Trying to dispel some misconceptions about the tens of thousands of characters which bewilder the outsider, he writes: "In actual fact the ordinary signs which they commonly use are not so difficult that they cannot be reduced to vocabularies. These we are already making, so that the people who come after us will not find so many difficulties as we find in this abysmal language." Despite the difficulty of the characters and although the Chinese coming to Manila were the scum of the earth, there were very few illiterates among them:

壹拾

只靠罪人。獨自做不着。亦有罪靠。俺本頭
西士奇。兀實道。伊做人情。有娘父否。答曰。
無。有娘奶否。答曰。有。伊娘奶叫是七名。答
曰。名叫山礁媽。厘哩。美里矧。只名美里矧
做年改說。答曰。伊是得道婦人。平生不識
男人氣味。伊不識男人氣味。做年會生子。
答曰。是卑兀厨山厨化箇。俺本頭西士奇
厘實道。做人了。後有受艱難否。答曰。有受
艱難。乞人釘死在居律上。愛替人罪靠。救

¹⁴ Gayo, *Doctrina christiana*, pp. 60-69.

"In a thousand there will be ten who do not know quite a lot of characters", just the opposite of the peasant villages in Cobo's native Castile.¹⁵ Manila could even boast some booksellers, for instance the convert Pablo Hechiu whom Cobo in 1590 tried to prevent from returning to China.¹⁶

The most informative account of the Chinese in Manila, their trade, occupations and skills, is that written by Bishop Salazar in his letter of 24 June 1590 to King Philip II. He reports that there were normally some six or seven thousand Sangleys living in Tondo and the Parián, excluding the few thousand traders who came with the annual fleet from China and returned the same year. Four members of the Dominican order were engaged in their conversion and instruction. "Of these four, two have learned the language of the Sangleys so well, and one of them also their writing (which is the most difficult part of the language), that the Sangleys marvel at their knowledge." In what follows Salazar mentions by name the two who knew Chinese. Benavides was the first to learn the language, but Cobo knew characters as well. "Fray Juan Cobo, the Dominican religious who, as I have said before, knows the language of the Sangleys and their writing (which is what they esteem most) is sending to Your Majesty a book extracted from others brought to him from China. This contact which is already being made between them and ourselves is not a bad beginning for the object we have in view. The book is in Chinese writing on one half of the leaf, and Castilian on the other, the two corresponding to each other."¹⁷

The object which Salazar had in view, and the real aim of the Dominican mission, was no less than the conversion of the Chinese empire. In his letter he describes how after long preparations the Father Provincial, Juan de Castro, together with Benavides had set out for the mainland. They had left a month ago, and Salazar did not yet know how they had been received. It had not been a friendly welcome. As soon as they reached the coast, they were arrested by coastguards and taken to the city of Hai-ch'eng, where they were imprisoned in the temple of Neoma, the goddess of the sea.¹⁸ Brought before the magistrate, they had to kneel down and were asked why they had come. "To teach the true religion", Benavides replied. The word "teach" displeased the judge so much that he snapped "Bo ly", meaning "You are wrong",¹⁹ and remanded them to prison. When the temple became flooded through a storm – perhaps sent by the goddess because she did not wish to have guests whose

¹⁵ Remesal, *Historia de la Provincia de S. Vincente*, pp. 682–686.

¹⁶ Diego Aduarte, *Historia de la Provincia del Sancto Rosario de la Orden de Predicadores en Philipinas, Japon y China*, Manila 1640, Book I, p. 132; summarized in Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson, *The Philippine islands 1493–1898*, Cleveland, Ohio, 1903–1909, Vol. 30, p. 263.

¹⁷ W. E. Retana, *Archivo del bibliófilo filipino*, Madrid 1895–1905, Vol. 3, pp. 70–79; Blair and Robertson, *Philippine islands* 7, 230–238.

¹⁸ Niō-ma 媽媽 in Chang-chou dialect. The goddess is better known as Ma-tsu 媽祖.

¹⁹ Bo-li 無理 in Hokkien.

presence was so embarrassing for her, as the chronicler puts it – they had to go to an open hut on the city wall, where they suffered abuse from soldiers and were exposed to the weather, but later were given shelter in the house of a rich sea captain who had been to Manila. After some time a charge of espionage and bribery was brought against the two priests, and a letter was produced in court in support of this accusation. Unable to prove their innocence, Benavides one day on his way to the tribunal met a stranger who advised him to ask to see the letter, so that he could plead that it was not signed. This move was successful, but the advantage gained was nearly lost when the court became suspicious of a petition which Benavides had submitted, as it was not believed that he could have written it himself. "Actually he could not have done it alone if the Lord had not helped him very specially, because although he knew some commoner characters he could not have known the uncommon ones which were needed in such a special and unusual transaction, let alone those required for the words and expressions which in the higher places are used in China and with which he was not acquainted." He insisted however that no Chinese had helped him. In order to resolve all doubts he was ordered to write another petition on the spot. The friar did not lose his confidence, but rather than thinking about what he should write began slowly and with devotion to say the rosary, and when he had finished with this promptly wrote down the petition, to the astonishment of those present. God had helped him to do much more than what he knew by himself, and had also inspired him to absorb some characters which he had seen on a note held by a boy in the street and which came in useful for the petition. As a result Benavides and Castro were acquitted, but being foreigners had to leave the country.²⁰

The author of this hagiographic account is the Dominican Diego Aduarte, who himself first arrived in Manila in 1595 and later, as procurator of his province, spent many years in Spain. His book was not published until 1640, four years after his death, but while in Spain he had lent the unfinished manuscript to the Dominican historian Juan López. The story as told by the latter differs in some significant details, the most important of which is that Benavides in writing the first letter had in fact been helped by a Chinese friend.^{20a} Was Aduarte's account embellished afterwards? It is certainly not surprising that Benavides was unable to write in the documentary style, but in view of the discrepancy between the two versions one wonders whether he had reached fluency even in written Hokkien, as used in the first part of the *Doctrina*. Moreover, Bishop Salazar says only of Cobo that he knew characters.

Having returned to Manila in March 1591, Benavides left again in June

²⁰ Aduarte, *Historia* 1, 118–121.

^{20a} Juan Lopez, *Quinta parte de la historia de Santo Domingo, y de su orden de Predicadores*, Valladolid 1621, fol. 253–255.

of that year to accompany Salazar to Spain. During the previous year the mission to the Chinese had been strengthened by the appointment of two more Dominican priests. The first was Juan Maldonado, who until shortly before his death in 1598 devoted himself to the Chinese mission and of whom we are told that he compensated for a bad pronunciation by acquiring a large vocabulary.²¹ There is no evidence that he ever attempted to read or write in Chinese. More important as a linguist was Domingo de Nieva, already proficient in Tagalog before he entered upon his new duties and later very successful in his Chinese studies, to be discussed below. It is however clear that the dominant personality in this early period was Juan Cobo. We have already seen that when in June 1592 he left for Japan he had for a long time been engaged in writing the *Shih-lu*.

Cobo's letter, as quoted before, states that he had begun to compile some sort of dictionary. It is possible that this was the work mentioned by Francisco de Montilla, a Franciscan friar who had been in the Philippines from 1582 to 1595 and thus had known Cobo personally. In Montilla's enigmatic, if not nonsensical, words, "Father Cobo reduced to a grammar the way of writing in Chinese which, as it had sixty thousand different letters or characters, was very confusing; and finally he reduced all the characters to four categories: very general characters, general characters, specific characters, and particular or individual characters, because for almost everything they use, see or hear they have a different character".²² As far I know, no other contemporary author makes mention of a grammar or dictionary by Cobo, and such a work may never have been completed. Perhaps he took his notes with him on his journey, in which case they must have been lost.

The historian-hagiographer Aduarte has more to say about Cobo's achievements: "This father rendered the *Doctrina christiana* in the Chinese language, and saw to it that they learned and recited it aloud in church, as well as saying it in their private houses, something which until then had never happened and from which they have drawn great benefits; and because he could not succeed the first time without mistakes, as it was in such a difficult language, which he had learned in such a short time, he went over it again and brought it to such perfection that there was afterwards very little which the priests who followed after him had to correct." He learned to read and write three thousand characters and translated some Chinese books, "because they contained very profound sayings, though written by heathens, like those of Seneca and others of that kind among us. He taught astronomy to some of them whom he found suited for it . . ."²³

²¹ Aduarte, *Historia* 1, 257.

²² Remesal, *Historia de la Provincia de S. Vicente*, p. 687, from Montilla's unpublished *Relación de la propagación de la fe en las islas Filipinas*, which was completed in 1602.

²³ Aduarte, *Historia* 1, 140.

A treatise of astronomy is part of Cobo's *Shih-lu*, a learned apologetic work which Aduarte may never have seen. The *Doctrina christiana* of which he speaks was, on the other hand, an elementary handbook for the faithful, evidently similar to, if not identical with, the *Doctrina* under consideration. Its rendering in Chinese is unambiguously ascribed to Cobo, and no mention is made of Benavides.

Then there is the translation of the "very profound sayings", which Aduarte compares to those of Seneca. It is probably the same work as that mentioned in Salazar's letter of 1590, but contrary to what he and Aduarte say it was not compiled from various Chinese books by Cobo himself: he merely translated an existing collection, the *Ming-hsin pao-chien* 明心寶鑑. This translation, occupying each right-hand page of a manuscript volume, with the Chinese text on the following page, is now in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (MS. 6040).²⁴ The original was copied from an illustrated edition and consists of 20 chapters in 2 *chüan*. As compiler is given Fan Li-pen 范立本 of Hangchow, an indication which is confirmed by the shelflist of the imperial library made in 1441.²⁵

As the first translation into a European language ever made of a Chinese book, Cobo's work commands respect. It would therefore be ungenerous to insist on its shortcomings, but something must be said about the transcriptions of proper names since these should reveal which dialect Cobo had learned. His romanization of the title itself, *Beng sim po cam*, clearly represents Hokkien²⁶; and an examination of over a hundred names of persons and books in the translation leads to the same conclusion. A number of variants occur, some of which seem to result from copying errors. In one case, the mistake is due to a confusion of two names, probably on the part of the Chinese informant, when we find Chu buncon for 韓文公 (fol. 71), Chu Hsi and Han Yü having the same posthumous title. The very imperfect representation of the velar nasal, written *-ng*, *-nc*, but mostly *-n*, is hardly surprising, because *n* and *ŋ* are not separate phonemes in Spanish. More interesting is the treatment of the implosive *-t*, in most cases represented by *-r*, which in Spanish stands for a flapped sound (*l*), e.g. *lier* 烈, *chier* or *cher* 節, *cuar* 訣. The only real disagreement is the diphthong *-ou*, indicated in such

²⁴ The translation has been edited in the Biblioteca Clásica Dominicana by L. G. Alonso Getino under the title *El libro chino Beng sim po cam, o Espejo rico del claro corazón*, Madrid 1924. An edition by Carlos Sanz is included in the photolithographic reprint of the original manuscript published at Madrid in 1959 as *Beng sim po cam, o Espejo rico del claro corazón: Primer libro traducido en lengua castellana*. Note that the translation on fol. 35-48 does not match the accompanying text; apparently the Chinese text was put in the wrong order (41, 43-48, 35-40, 42) before the translation was copied out. Cobo quotes from this work in *Shih-lu* 21b.

²⁵ *Wen-yüan ho shu-mu* 文淵閣書目 (ed. in *Tu-hua chai ts'ung-shu*) 8.15b. I have not found anything else about Fan Li-pen, but presume that he lived around 1400.

²⁶ Despite Peiliot, in *T'oung pao* 26, 1929, 46, who suggests Cantonese.

transcriptions as *sou* 蘇, *gou* 吳, *hou* 侯, where modern Hokkien dialects have *-o* though Chaochow has *-ou*.

During his stay in Spain, Benavides presented the manuscript of the *Beng sim po cam* to the Crownprince, the future Philip III. The dedication, dated 23 December 1595 and written in the name of the Order of St. Dominic, expresses the hope that these first fruits of China's moral treasures would soon be followed by her request to the Spanish King to take her under his protection and peacefully bestow the benefits of the Catholic faith upon her. It continues: "The first translation of a Chinese book into another language, and also the first translation of the *Doctrina christiana* into Chinese script and language were made by this sacred habit; and the first church where the faith and the gospel were publicly and peacefully preached to the Chinese and the sacraments administered to them in their language – as is done in Castilian in Madrid – was built by this sacred habit; the first preaching of the faith and the gospel in the courts and towns of China itself God has wished to be done by this sacred habit . . ."

We should not read too much into this passage. It has been argued that "sacred habit" must refer to Benavides, the author of the dedication, himself, except for the first translation of a Chinese book into another language, which in a previous sentence is explicitly said to have been made by Cobo.²⁷ I suggest instead that Benavides merely wanted to describe the joint achievements of the two friars, to the greater glory of the Dominican order, figuratively called "this sacred habit". In this collective claim is included a translation of a *Doctrina* which, whoever was responsible for it, is designated by the same title as the *Doctrina christiana* printed by Keng Yong. But was it the same work? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to introduce a complicating factor.

The Spanish court probably understood which *Doctrina* Benavides had in mind, for by this time the following letter, written on 20 June 1593 by Governor Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas to the King must have arrived: "Sire: – In the name of Your Majesty, I have granted a licence whereby for this once, because of the great need for them, the *Doctrinas christianas* herewith enclosed have been printed, the one being in the Tagalog language, which is the native and best in these islands, and the other in Chinese, from which I hope great benefit will result in the conversion and instruction of those belonging to both nations; and since in everything the lands of the Indies are on a larger scale and more expensive, I have set the price of them at four reals a copy, until Your Majesty be pleased to decree in full what is to be done."²⁸

Another document, also referring to 1593, confirms the information

²⁷ Gayo, *Doctrina christiana*, p. 63.

²⁸ Retana, *Origenes de la imprenta filipina*, p. 31; Blair and Robertson, *Philippine islands* 9, 68–69.

given in the letter of Dasmariñas. It says: "There have been printed primers and catechisms of the faith, one in Spanish and Tagalog, which is the native language, and the other in Chinese, which are being sent to Your Majesty, the Tagalog priced at two reals and the Chinese at four, which it is hoped will be of great benefit."²⁹

One of the two books licensed by Dasmariñas is, without doubt, the present *Doctrina* in Spanish and Tagalog, which we have discussed above. The two documents disagree about its price; but the second account, giving it as two reals, is borne out by Cuéllar's valuation in the book itself. They do not differ about the price of the other book, the *Doctrina* (or "primer" or "catechism") in Chinese, which is set at four reals. This corresponds to Cuéllar's valuation of the *Shih-lu*, containing roughly twice the number of pages of the *Doctrina* in Spanish and Tagalog and printed in the very year 1593. It would seem, therefore, that the book which the Governor had allowed to be published was the *Shih-lu*, not the present *Doctrina christiana en letra y lengua china*, a much slimmer volume bearing neither date nor price.³⁰

Before the *Shih-lu* was rediscovered (or in the absence of a proper description) scholars have understandably regarded our *Doctrina christiana* as the book licensed in 1593, and hence believed that it was printed in that year if not some time before. In support of this opinion the following reasons have been presented: the titlepage is in blockprint, whereas the works published in the first decade of the seventeenth century have a titlepage set in type; the printer Keng Yong must have been an infidel, in contrast with the christened Chinese Juan and Pedro de Vera of the later publications; it was printed in the Parián, not in Binondoc like those later books; its anonymity is comparable to that of the earliest *Doctrinas* printed in America.³¹ It will be observed that these arguments are inconclusive. The Parián continued to be used after the expulsion of most of its residents in 1594; and the fact that a non-Christian bookseller, called Zunhu, in 1606 had his shop there is suggestive.³² The equipment needed for the cutting of blocks is very modest, such as a private printer or bookseller could easily find anywhere, but naturally he would not have any type at his disposal. Consequently, it is possible that publication took place after 1593 and that the record of the licence to print is lost.

A further comparison with the other two books, both firmly dated 1593,

²⁹ W. E. Retana (ed.), *Sucesos de las islas Filipinas por el Dr. Antonio de Morga*, Madrid 1909, p. 425.

³⁰ Cf. Carlos Quirino, "The first Philippine imprints", *Journal of History* (Manila) 8, 1960, 219–228.

³¹ Gayo, *Doctrina christiana*, pp. 2–3. Sanz, *Primitivas relaciones*, pp. 175–189, is more speculative, suggesting that the book was printed much earlier and that the licence was issued retrospectively.

³² Retana, *Origenes*, p. 49.

may be helpful. As I have only seen the *Shih-lu*, I cannot say anything about the paper used. With regard to the size and also – more important for Chinese blockbooks – the printed area per page, Keng Yong's *Doctrina* is much smaller than either the *Shih-lu* or the *Doctrina* in Spanish and Tagalog. Unlike these two books but in accordance with Chinese practice, it is printed on only one side of the paper. The characters are more crudely cut than those of the *Shih-lu*; and the text is enclosed in a double instead of a single rule border.

The woodcut titlepage is also significant. Its roman letter is much more successful than the gothic of the *Doctrina* in Spanish and Tagalog and seems to have been carefully cut after a well written model, or even patterned upon typography. On the other hand, the armorial design is inferior to the illustrations in the two imprints of 1593, which are comparable to each other in style. Especially the motto, "Mihi avtem abst gloriari nisi in cruce Dñi nri Iesv Xpi ad Gal. 6.", is so poorly executed, or rather imitated, that it is difficult to believe that the work was supervised by any of the Dominicans themselves.³³

Clearly the *Doctrina* in Chinese stands apart from the two books printed in 1593 at the Dominican residence of San Gabriel; moreover, the element of imitation suggests that this private venture was not undertaken very early in the history of the mission. Such an inference is supported by a feature already discussed, the difference in orthography between the two parts of the text, the second of which, mainly consisting of a treatise on the rosary, has no parallel in the *Doctrina* in Spanish and Tagalog. We shall see later that a book of Our Lady of the Rosary in Tagalog is reported to have been printed in 1602, whereas the Chinese version occurs also in the *Memorial de la vida christiana en lengua china* by Domingo de Nieva, which was published in 1606. My tentative conclusion, therefore, is that Keng Yong's *Doctrina* was not printed before the early years of the seventeenth century.

I now revert to the problem of authorship. Whether Nieva, or possibly Tomás Mayor, was responsible for the translation of the mysteries of the rosary is a question I cannot discuss here. We may, however, take it that the first part of the present text, which I should like to call the "basic *Doctrina*", was made at an early stage of the mission, although we do not know whether it was ever printed before Keng Yong's edition. It is desirable to clarify the parts played by Benavides and Cobo in this work. We can disregard the report made in 1595 by Benavides himself, since it probably refers to the same "*Doctrina*" as the one sent to Spain by Dasmariñas, namely Cobo's *Shih-lu*,

³³ The same design occurs in the *Arte y reglas de la lengua tagala*, published in Bataan in 1610, but it is unlikely that it was used there for the first time, because, although the motto is free from error, the top ends of the design have been arbitrarily shortened so as to fit it into the titlepage. It lacks artistic merit in any case and was certainly not created by a Chinese. Cf. Retana, *Origenes*, p. 61.

which after all is also a "book of instruction". There remain Cobo's letter of 1589, stating that Benavides "made a *Doctrina* in their language", and the much later information by Aduarte that Cobo had translated a *Doctrina christiana* into Chinese which was recited in church and at home. Only in the case of Aduarte can we be sure that a work comparable to part or the whole of the present *Doctrina* is meant.

Benavides or Cobo, or both? I consider it unlikely that Cobo should have been able to compose a text in Hokkien vernacular as well as writing his *Shih-lu* in Classical Chinese. On the other hand, the attribution to Benavides is contradicted by Aduarte's account, his own weakness in written Chinese and his apparent lack of interest in the language after his return to the Philippines. We need not press the matter any further, because there is independent evidence that the two friars availed themselves of the services of Chinese assistants who had been placed at their disposal. Thus we may correct the impression created by Aduarte's remark that, when Benavides was faced with that difficult language, "there was no grammar, nor dictionary, nor teacher, nor anything else to help him to learn it."³⁴

In point of fact, when the Dominicans were put in charge of the conversion of the Chinese, they were provided with interpreters to teach them the language, as Governor Santiago de Vera reports to the King on 13 July 1589. "Two of the religious have been so apt that one of them already understands and speaks the language well and the other will know it in a short time."³⁵ We have seen that Cobo at that time was translating a Chinese book "with the help of neighbours". An attempt will be made to discover some particulars of these assistants.

The main source of information available is the record of the official inquiry, held in 1593 at Manila, into the result of Cobo's mission to Hideyoshi, the disappearance of his ship, and the arrival, in rather suspicious circumstances, of the Japanese ambassador Harada Kiemon.³⁶ One of the principal witnesses was the interpreter Antonio López, a Chinese Christian about forty years old who had accompanied Cobo to Japan but made the return journey on Harada's vessel. In addition to his public testimony, there are a number of statements by him on what he had heard in Japan, his conversations with Cobo, and the sentiments of the Chinese and Japanese in Manila. He also reported what he had learned from another Christian Sangley, Juan Sami, described as a "master of Chinese letters" belonging to Cobo's entourage

³⁴ Aduarte, *Historia* 1, 139.

³⁵ Pablo Pastells (ed.), *Labor evangélica de los obreros de la Compañía de Jesús en las islas Filipinas, por el Padre Francisco Colín de la misma Compañía*, Barcelona 1900-1902, Vol. 1, p. 506; Blair and Robertson, *Philippine islands* 7, 91.

³⁶ Lengthy but unsystematic extracts from the MS. account in the Archivo general de Indias in Seville (1-1-3/25) are made by Pastells, *Labor evangélica*, Vol. 2, pp. 59, 62-65, 69-70; it is rather unsatisfactorily translated in Blair and Robertson, *Philippine islands* 9, 33-55. The document deserves to be critically edited and annotated

and hence presumably lost. Sami must have been employed as Chinese secretary, for by order of Cobo he had drafted a petition to Hideyoshi on behalf of a Spanish captain then in Japan; and he had read the letter addressed to Governor Dasmariñas which Hideyoshi had given to Cobo. The substance of this letter was reconstructed from memory by Antonio.³⁷

Juan Sami was no doubt responsible for the Chinese version of Dasmariñas's own letter to Hideyoshi.³⁸ As "master of Chinese letters" he wrote in the documentary style; it is therefore more likely that he was one of the scholars collaborating with Cobo on the *Shih-lu* than that he should have deigned to use the vulgar characters required for expressing colloquial speech. Whether Antonio López, evidently a close associate of Cobo, had a hand in the translation of the *Doctrina* we cannot tell. He may be the same as the Sangley of that name who is portrayed as an honest and just magistrate and a great benefactor of the church at Binondoc.³⁹ We are told that his wife was entrusted with the upbringing of an infant girl, saved by one of the friars when the mother died in childbirth.⁴⁰ This identification, however, is doubtful, since Antonio López, Christian Chinese and resident of Binondoc, is elsewhere stated to have been 44 years old when giving evidence during legal proceedings held in 1602,⁴¹ which conflicts with the approximate age of forty given at the inquiry of 1593.

The names of other interpreters are known. The story of one of them may illustrate their background and the hazards of their career. Miguel Onte (or Honte; "On" probably represents the family name Wang) was one of the two interpreters who in September 1588 assisted a group of Christian Chinese petitioning the governor for permission to build a church, so that the religious of St. Dominic could minister to them.⁴² In connection with the official inquiry of 1593 he made statements very hostile to the Japanese. If given the chance, he said, they would behave towards the Spaniards in the same way as they had done in China, where they had ostensibly settled peacefully, pretending to be only interested in trade, before they started to raid and plunder. Thirty-four years ago he himself and many others with him had been robbed by them; and he promised that two or three thousand

³⁷ It differs significantly from the original Spanish translation, of which a copy, apparently made by Jesuits in Japan and now in Rome, has been edited by J. L. Alvarez in *Monumenta Nipponica* 3, 1940, 663-664.

³⁸ This interesting document, dated 10 June 1592, has been edited by Murakami Naojirō 村上直次郎 in *Shigaku zasshi* 36, 1925, 388-389. It is a very free translation of the Spanish original, for which see Pastells, *Labor evangelica* 2, 56; cf. Blair and Robertson, *Philippine islands* 8, 263-267. In the Chinese rendering of Cobo's name, 斐高茂, the last character is different from that in the *Shih-lu*, but its pronunciation in Hokkien is the same. Compare also the use of 本國王 for "governor".

³⁹ Aduarte, *Historia* 1, 109; Blair and Robertson 30, 233.

⁴⁰ Aduarte 1, 123.

⁴¹ Gayo, *Doctrina christiana*, p. 100.

⁴² Op. cit. p. 48.

Chinese troops could be recruited in Manila, who would fight bravely.⁴³ Ironically, during the uprising of 1603 it was the Japanese who helped the Spaniards to kill off the Chinese. Miguel Onte, though one of the most prominent Christian Sangleys, was accused of treason and executed.⁴⁴

We shall perhaps never know for certain which of the interpreters translated the *Doctrina* into Hokkien vernacular, and the Sangley printer Keng Yong is also otherwise unknown. Nevertheless, they deserve to be remembered together with the Black Friars who struggled with "that difficult language".

To summarize: the *Doctrina christiana en letra y lengua china* is a heterogeneous text, the first part of which was probably translated soon after 1587 by the Chinese interpreters working with Benavides and Cobo; the tract on the rosary, occupying most of the rest of the book, is an independent composition not older than the beginning of the seventeenth century; the printing was not closely supervised by the Dominican missionaries, but was undertaken by a non-Christian Chinese at a date impossible to determine, but presumably before 1607.

Ordinationes generales provinciae Sanctissimi Rosarii Philippinarum. Factae per admodum Reverendum patrem fratrem Ioannem de Castro, primum vicarium generalem eiusdem provinciae. De consilio, et unanimi consensu omnium fratrum, qui primitus in provinciam illam se contulerunt, evangelizandi gratia. Sunt que semper usque in hodiernum diem in omnibus eiusdem provinciae capitulis infalibilter acceptatae, inviolabiliter ab omnibus fratribus observandae. Binondoc. per Ioannem de Vera chinam Christianum. Cum licencia. 1604.

Typography. In Latin. 8vo, 8 leaves, the last blank. Type-page 11.7 by 7.9 cm, 26 lines, catchwords. The only copy known is in the Library of Congress, Washington (Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection).⁴⁵

The ordinances of the Dominican Province of the Rosary had been written by Juan de Castro in December 1586 and approved by his colleagues a month later, while they were still in Mexico. They were printed by order of the Provincial, Miguel Martín de San Jacinto, whose preface is dated 24 June 1604. This earliest surviving typographical book of the Philippines was published by a Chinese Christian, about whom Aduarte gives the following information:

"Juan de Vera was not only a very devout man, and much given to prayer,

⁴³ Blair and Robertson, *Philippine islands* 1, 49-51, 54.

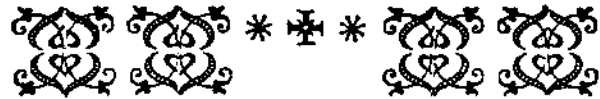
⁴⁴ *Relacion verdadera del levantamiento de los sangleyes en las Filipinas* (Seville 1606), as translated in Blair and Robertson 14, 130.

⁴⁵ Edwin Wolf 2nd, *Doctrina christiana*, p. 39 and note 127. More details in J. Gayo Aragón, "Ordinationes generales, incunabile filipino de 1604: Facsimile del ejemplar existente en la Biblioteca del Congreso, Washington, con un ensayo histórico-bibliográfico", *Unitas: Revista de cultura y vida universitaria* 27, 1954, 555-631.

but one who caused all his household to be the same. He always heard mass and was very regular in his attendance at church. He adorned the church most handsomely with hangings and paintings, because he understood this art. He also, thinking only of the great results to be attained by means of holy and devout books, gave himself to the great labour necessary to establish printing in this country, where there was no craftsman who could show him the way or give him an account of the manner of printing in Europe, which is very different from that of his own country of China. The Lord aided his pious intention, and he himself gave to this undertaking not only continued and excessive labour, but all the forces of his mind, which were great. Thus he succeeded in what he desired and became the first printer in these islands; and this not from avarice – for he gained much more in his business as a merchant, and readily gave up his profit – but merely to do this service to the Lord and this good to the souls of the natives. For they could not profit by holy books printed in other countries, because of their ignorance of the foreign language; nor could they have books in their own language, because there was no printing in this country, no one who made it his occupation, and not even anyone who understood it.”⁴⁶

Thus was printing with movable type established in the Philippines. It was hailed as a great success, in contrast with the silence of all contemporary authors about the blockprints which had been published earlier. Much of the credit was given to the Dominican friar Francisco Blancas de San José (1565-1614), who soon after his arrival in 1595 learned the language of the Tagalogs. “He wrote many books of devotion for them; and since there was no printing in these islands, and no one who understood it or who took it up as a trade, he planned to have the printing done by means of a Chinese, a good Christian, who, seeing that the books of Father fray Francisco were sure to be of great use, bestowed so much care upon this undertaking that he finally (aided by some who told him some details they knew) achieved everything necessary to do printing; and he printed these books.”⁴⁷

An analysis of the founts as represented in book production before 1640 has demonstrated that the types were cast locally, apparently all by the same foundry. It is even more significant that the punches were cut and the matrices struck in Manila itself, and not imported from abroad. Accordingly, Vera’s achievement has been called a “semi-invention” of typography.⁴⁸ This conclusion is confirmed by the technical features of the *Ordinationes generales*, which having come to light only recently has not previously been



ORDINATIONES GENERALES
prouintiae Sanctissimi Rotarij
Philippinarum.

Factæ per admodum Reuerendum patrem fratrem
Ioānem de Castro, primum vicarium generalem e-
iusdem prouintiae. De consilio, & vnanimi con-
sensu omnium fratrum, qui primit⁹ in pro-
uintiam illam se contulerunt, euan-
gelizandi gratia.

Sunt que semper vsque in hodiernum diem in om-
nibus eiusdem prouintiae capitulis infalibiliter
acceptatæ, inuiolabiliter ab omnibus
fratribus obseruandæ.

Binondoc. per Ioannem de Vera chinā
Christianum. Cum licentia. 1604.



⁴⁶ Aduarte, *Historia* 1, 108; Blair and Robertson, *Philippine islands* 30, 230-231.
⁴⁷ Aduarte 2, 16; Blair and Robertson 32, 52-53. Lopez, *Quinta parte* fol. 251, explicitly says that this Chinese, “after having merely been told the theory of printing, had the skill to put it into practice, and at very little cost”.

⁴⁸ Retana, *Origenes*, pp. 38-44, 52-60, 178-180.

compared with other books. The resemblance is unmistakable, including the type ornaments of the titlepage.⁴⁹

Unfortunately the Chinese name of Juan de Vera is unknown. He seems to have been a fairly prosperous trader, but he is also said to have understood the art of painting and tapestry. Was he an engraver as well? I prefer to see him as a brilliant and energetic organizer, who gathered a group of artisans around him, imported the metal and set to work.

Here the question arises to what extent Vera availed himself of the experience which the Chinese themselves had gained of printing with bronze type. The earliest surviving book printed in this way, dated 1490, shows a poor alignment of the types; moreover the ink used did not adhere very well to the printing surface. Judging from specimen pages, these weaknesses were soon overcome; and during the sixteenth century a number of books were produced from bronze type, mainly in Wusih in Kiangsu province, but from 1551 also in the publishing centre of Chien-yang in Fukien.⁵⁰ It is doubtful whether the types were cast from moulds, although such a method was certainly known, since it had been used in Korea as early as 1403. However, neither China nor Korea discovered the printing press; therefore, even if Vera was familiar with some aspects of typography and thus receptive to new ideas, the technique which he developed was mainly of European origin.

Memorial de la vida christiana en lengua china [C]ompuesto Por el Padre Fr. Domingo denieba Prior del convento de S. Domingo. [C]on liçençia en Binondoc en casa de Pedro de [V]era sangley Impresor de libros Año de 1606. Chinese title: *Hsin-k'an Liao-shih cheng-chiao pien-lan* 新刊僚氏正教便覽, "A printed edition of the Guide to the true faith in God". Author's name written 羅明教黎尼媽.

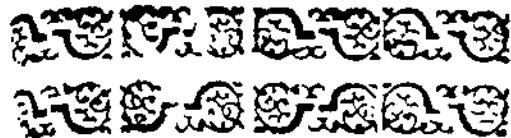
Typography for titlepage, approbation, licences and dedication, in Spanish, 4 leaves, type-page 9 by 7 cm etc. (irregular), catchwords. Blockprint for preface, table of contents and 2 *chüan* of text, in Chinese, 2+4+121+131 leaves, single rule border, 9.1 by 7.2 cm, 9 columns of 15 characters. The only known copy is in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna (Sin. 282).⁵¹

Domingo de Nieva, the author of this pocket-size book, had arrived in

⁴⁹ They are also found in the *Arte y reglas de la lengua tagala* (1610), *Vocabulario de lengua tagala* (1613), *Vocabulario de Iapon* (1630), etc. See Retana, op. cit. pp. 140-143.

⁵⁰ Chang Hsiu-min 張秀民, "Ming-tai ti t'ung huo-tzu" 明代的銅活字, *T'u-shu kuan* 1961, 4, 55-61; K. T. Wu, "Ming printing and printers", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 7, 1943, 213-222; *Chung-kuo pan-k'o t'u-lu* 中國版刻圖錄, Peking 1960, fasc. 7.

⁵¹ Stephan Endlicher, *Verzeichnis der chinesischen und japanischen Münzen des K.K. Münz- und Antiken-Cabinetes in Wien, nebst einer Übersicht der chinesischen und japanischen Bücher der K.K. Hofbibliothek*, Vienna 1837, p. 132; Retana, *Origines*, pp. 181-184; Henri Bernard, "Les origines chinoises de l'imprimerie aux Philippines", *Monumenta Serica* 7, 1942, 312-314.



MEMORIAL DE
LA VIDA CHRISTIANA
EN LENGVA CHINA
Compuesto Por el Padre Fr. Domin-
go denieba Prior del
conuento de S.
Domingo.



on liçençia en Binondoc en casa de Pedro de
erafágly Impresor de libros Año de 1606.

巴禮 羅明教黎尼媽 新刊僚氏正
教便覽
夫道之不行語塞之也教之不明字異
跡也僧因行道教周流至此幸與大明
學者交談有既粗知字語有感于心乃
述日本變成大明字語著作此本以便
入教者覽之○序曰若世人之欲孝諸
業必先覽全書道製成式乃主理會
訓知董稚初孝必先授之先聖道亦督

1587 and was first assigned to the mission to the Tagalogs in Bataan, whose language he rapidly learned. From May 1590 he worked among the Chinese in the Parián and later in Binondoc. In 1606 he was sent as procurator of his province to Spain, but died on the journey. According to his biographer, Nieva wrote several devout tracts in the language of the Indians, "and some others in that of the Chinese, for whom he had printed in the language and characters of China a *Memorial of a Christian life*, with other brief tracts of prayer and meditation, in preparation for the holy sacraments of confession and the sacred communion, from which notable benefits are derived. He always very much disliked idleness, and so worked much in the Chinese language, in which he wrote, practically afresh, a grammar, a dictionary, a manual of confession and many sermons, in order that those who had to learn this language might find it less difficult."⁵²

It is clear that Nieva was the first Dominican who had the opportunity to devote a long time to the study of the Chinese language. Accordingly, the provincial chapter held in 1602 appointed him examiner in Chinese to test the linguistic knowledge of the other friars in the mission.⁵³ In his own preface to the *Memorial* (see text figure) he refers to the scholars who had taught him: "When religion does not use language it is obstructed; when faith is explained in an unknown script it will not be recognized. In compliance with our religion and faith I wandered to this place, where I was fortunate in conversing with scholars of the Great Ming dynasty. After I had acquired a rough knowledge of their script and language I was very grateful, so I passed on to them the contents of an old work, which I rendered in the script and language of the Great Ming. I publish this book in order to guide those who become members of our faith."

I have not had a chance to compare Nieva's book with the "old work" from which it was adapted, the *Memorial de la vida cristiana* of the Spanish mystic Luis de Granada (1504-1588). As mentioned above, the text includes the mysteries of the rosary (2.107b-131a). The Christian terminology is also the same as that in the *Doctrina christiana en letra y lengua china*. Transcriptions such as 僚氏 *liau-si* for "Dios", but translatable as "Mr. Liao", and 西士 *se-su* for "Jesús", but no doubt interpreted by the Chinese as "scholar from the West", annoyed the Jesuit Alessandro Francesco Saverio Filippucci, who during the Rites Controversy cited the *Memorial* to fight the Dominicans with their own weapons.⁵⁴

⁵² Aduarte, *Historia* 1, 342.

⁵³ *Acta capitulorum provincialium Provinciae Sanctissimi Rosarii Philippinarum, Ordinis Praedicatorum ab anno 1588 a sua in Provinciam erectione primo*, Manila 1874-1878, Vol. 1, p. 42.

⁵⁴ *De Sinensium ritibus politicis acta seu R.P. Francisci Xaverii Philippucci missionarii Sinensis e Societate Jesu, Praeludium ad plenam disquisitionem an bona vel mala fide impugnentur opiniones et praxes missionariorum Societatis Jesu in regno Sinarum ad cultum Confucii et defunctorum pertinenses*, Lyons and Paris 1700, pp. 147-149.

The approbation of Francisco de Herrera, also a member of the mission of Binondoc, is dated 12 June 1606. Publication must have followed soon afterwards, probably before Nieva sailed for Mexico. However, he had already finished the book a year earlier, since the licence of Governor Pedro de Acuña, setting the price at four reals, is dated 26 August 1605; that of Archbishop Benavides, 23 July 1605; and that of the Provincial of the Order, Miguel de San Jacinto, 26 May 1605.

Dedicating his book to the Bishop of Nueva Segovia, Nieva states that it was the first to be printed in Chinese. This mistake suggests that he was unaware of the publication of the *Doctrina christiana* by Keng Yong (which may have taken place later) and that he had not played a role in the editing of Cobo's *Shih-lu* (of which at least one copy was available, as we shall see shortly).

Pedro de Vera, who was responsible both for the typography of the preliminaries and for the blockprinting of the Chinese text (which teems with abbreviated characters), may be identified as the brother of the "semi-inventor" of printing from type. Aduarte has the following to say about this successful merchant and benefactor of the church in Binondoc: "Juan de Vera had a brother somewhat younger than he; and when Juan saw that he was about to die he called him and said to him: 'Brother, there is one thing which I wish to ask you to do for me, that I may die in comfort; and that is, that you will carry on this business of printing, so that the great service done by it to God may not come to an end. I know well that you are certain in this way to lose much gain; but of much greater importance to you is what your soul will gain by it. When you print devout books for the Indians, you may well afford to lose this temporal gain in return for that eternal one.' The brother promised, and much more than fulfilled his word . . ."⁵⁵

Simbolo de la Fe, en lengua y letra China, compuesto por el Padre fray Thomas Mayor, de la orden de Sancto Domingo, de la provincia del sancto Rosario, en las islas Philippinas. Con licencia, en Binondoc en casa de Pedro de vera China Christiano. Año de 1607.

Descriptions of copies in three libraries are available, none of which can be tracked down today. I have however found a fragmentary copy in the Sinologisch Instituut at Leiden (1981.2, Acc.1096).

The first library is that of the Convento de Predicadores in Valencia, where the *Simbolo*, an octavo volume three fingers thick, had been seen by Vicente Ximeno some time before 1747. He reports that the titlepage, dedication, licences and approbations were in European script and the rest of the book in Chinese.⁵⁶ It is believed that part of the books in this convent

⁵⁵ Aduarte, *Historia* 1, 108; Blair and Robertson, *Philippine islands* 30, 232.

⁵⁶ Vicente Ximeno, *Escritores del reyno de Valencia*, Valencia 1747-1749, Vol. 1, p. 281.

were later transferred to the Casa del Pueblo of Valencia; and early in the present century a Chinese book was in fact found there, but without titlepage or preliminary matter, so that it could not be identified.⁵⁷ My own inquiries at the Ayuntamiento and elsewhere in Valencia have been unsuccessful.

A second copy was held by the Dutch bibliophile Gerard Meerman (1722-1771), who listed it as an octavo volume in an unpublished catalogue compiled after 1747.⁵⁸ After the death of his son, Johan Meerman, the library was sold by auction in 1824, when the *Simbolo de la fe* fetched the price of fl. 100.25.⁵⁹ Unfortunately the name of the purchaser is not known.

Less excusable is the loss of the copy in the former court library in Vienna, now the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. The catalogue of 1837 lists it as a 12mo, giving a transcript of the titlepage but no other details.⁶⁰

The incomplete book in Leiden, an illustrated Chinese work which originally was part of the collection in the University Library, is a block-print containing only leaves 10-288 sewn in fours (except 93-100, 113-120), with *chuan* 1 except the beginning, 2 (from 122b) and part of 3 (from 253a).⁶¹ Double rule border, 14.3 by 9.5 cm, 9 columns of 21 characters, catchwords (*sic*). Although the original title has long been lost and the spine merely bears the indication "Een Chinees Boek met Wiskonstige figuren", the book can be recognized without difficulty as a Christian work written by a Spanish priest. Not only are the translations and transcriptions of Christian terms identical with those in Nieva's *Memorial*, but the author calls himself a Castilian 干系蠟人 (194b)⁶² and states that he is writing in the 34th year of Wan-li (136a), which corresponds to A.D. 1606. We can bring definite proofs that it is in fact the *Simbolo de la fe* of Tomás Mayor.

In the first place, the book is partly an adaptation of the *Introducción del simbolo de la fe* of Luis de Granada, first published in 1583. The very first page preserved (10a) corresponds to Part I, chapter xvii, introduction and paragraphs 1 and 2, of Granada's work. Especially the beginning of that chapter (based on Job xxxix) is rendered very freely in the Chinese book; an illustration on the same page refers to the parable of the cows from paragraph 2. Even more compelling is the translation of the story, from Part I, chapter xxi,

⁵⁷ Retana, *Origenes*, p. 76.

⁵⁸ *Bibliothecae Meermannianae Supplementum continens libros praestantissimos quos inde ab anno 1747 tum in Gallia, Helvetia, et Belgio Possessor ipse emit, tum etiam ex aliis regionibus accessivit*, p. 12b (MS. in the Museum Meermannno-Westrenianum, The Hague).

⁵⁹ *Bibliotheca Meermanniana; sive Catalogus librorum impressorum et codicum manuscriptorum, quos maximam partem collegerunt viri nobilissimi Gerardus et Joannes Meerman*, Vol. 1, p. 64; Jacques-Charles Brunet, *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres*, 4th ed., Brussels 1838-1839, Vol. 3, p. 206.

⁶⁰ Endlicher, *Verzeichnis*, p. 132.

⁶¹ It has been described, but not identified, by Fang Hao in *Hsüeh-shu chi-k'an* 6, 3, 1958, 73-77.

⁶² Also written 干施蠟 (47a), 干施耶 (147a, 213b).

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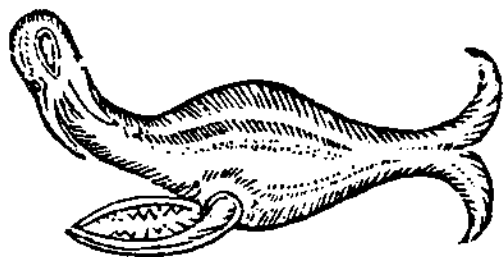
群牛背圖



其子

巢外使勿污穢其巢。以鳥母亦自知保護其兒。或有鳥為巢於土裡。若有蛇來要食其卵。那鳥母則飛遠哀鳴於上。為欲保護愛其子故也。又兔母於養子之時。若欲出外求食。則知以草在門。勿使獵者見而取子。又牛於帶子之時。若見虎來欲咬其子。則頭角向出。將以觸虎。可以保

how on 22 April 1575 a huge sea creature was stranded on the shore near Peniche in Portugal. Granada's own illustration⁶³, based on the picture which had been brought to Cardinal Henrique, figures, recut and much improved, on 98b. Since we may assume that a book which was adapted from such a famous work would also copy the title, in the same way that Nieva's *Memorial* derived its name from another work by Granada, its identification as Mayor's *Simbolo* is assured.



¶ En la fabrica deste pesce se deve notar el artificio de la divina providencia, porque la cabeça leuanto en alto para q̄ estuuieffen los ojos en ella como en vna

Confirmation comes from Filippucci, the Italian Jesuit whom I have mentioned before. Referring to a book in Chinese by Tomás Mayor which was printed at Manila in 1607 and discussing his use of the word *sheng* 聖, meaning "sacred" or, according to Filippucci, "eminent", he indicates the exact page and column of several examples.⁶⁴ Filippucci's work was written in 1682 and published in 1700; unfortunately the printed edition not only leaves out the Chinese characters but is very inaccurate, as appears from a comparison with the work of another Jesuit, Antonio Baldigiani, who had copied Filippucci's account before it was published.⁶⁵ I have therefore checked the details in the manuscript now in the Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele II in Rome.⁶⁶ Altogether there are seven examples of *sheng*, in the combinations *sheng hsien* 聖賢, *sheng chün* 聖君 and *sheng shang* 聖上. Three of these refer to pages that are lost, one (223a.3) cannot

⁶³ We do not, of course, know which edition was available to the Dominicans in Manila. This illustration is, however, practically identical in all the early editions which I have examined. My reproduction is based on the Saragossa edition of 1584, *Parte primera de la introduction del simbolo de la fe*, p. 97.

⁶⁴ *De Sinensium ritibus politicis acta*, pp. 111-112.

⁶⁵ *Expositio facti de Sinensibus controversiis*, n.p., 1700, p. 43.

⁶⁶ *Praehudium ad plenam disquisitionem . . .*, in *Manoscritti Gesuitici*, N 1249 (3378), n. 7. I should like to express thanks to my friend and colleague Pierro Corradini for consulting Filippucci's MS. on my behalf.



be found, but the other three (70b.9, 71a.3, 85b.2) correspond to the actual pages and columns in the Leiden copy. While remaining silent about the Spanish name of Mayor's book, Filippucci gives the Chinese title as *Ko-wu ch'ung-li pien-lan* 格物窮理便覽, "Guide to the investigation of nature and the study of fundamental principles".

Tomás Mayor arrived in Manila in 1602 and was assigned to the parish of Binondoc. In 1612 he went, together with Bartolomé Martínez, to Macao but, because of the opposition of the Jesuits, was unable to enter China. He then returned to Spain, and died on the journey. His book was printed by Pedro de Vera, who had also been responsible for Nieva's *Memorial* a year earlier. Like its predecessor, the *Símbolo de la fe* was printed from blocks, except the Spanish titlepage, dedication, licences and approbations, for which typography was used. European influence may be seen in the catchwords at the end of each Chinese page and also in the foliation, which is continuous instead of divided by *chüan*. There were probably no more than three *chüan*, with a total of about 360 leaves.⁶⁷ Illustrations are found on 10a, 11b, 22a (full-page), 88a(id.), 95b-96a, 98b, 113b-114a. Of special interest are the diagrams on 88a, intended to show that the earth is round. There is no doubt that these were taken from Cobo's *Shih-lu*,⁶⁸ because not only are the diagrams very similar but the Chinese explanations are almost identical.

The well-known Dominican friar Navarrete writes that Mayor (whom, like Nieva, he mistakenly calls Juan) had two volumes printed in Chinese. These were brought to China and so much pleased the missionaries who worked there that "they made at different times two reprints of them".⁶⁹ Nothing further is known about the reprints, but it may be asked whether the two volumes both formed part of the *Símbolo* or represented different works. Equally puzzling is the information by the historian of the order, Juan López, that Mayor had a *Libro de nuestra Señora del Rosario* printed in the Chinese language.⁷⁰ López had no first-hand knowledge of the Philippine mission, and as he does not mention the *Símbolo* one is tempted to disregard his statement as being based on a misunderstanding. However, as long as the origin of the mysteries of the rosary as included in Keng Yong's *Doctrina* and also found in Nieva's *Memorial* remains obscure, caution is advisable.

The *Símbolo* itself makes use of the "basic *Doctrina*" which I have tried to trace to the Chinese assistants of Benavides and Cobo; it gives, for example,

⁶⁷ The end of the first *chüan* is marked as 上卷終; the last page to which Filippucci refers is 306b.

⁶⁸ Reproduced in Sanz, *Primitivas relaciones*, p. 506.

⁶⁹ Domingo Fernandez Navarrete, *Controversias antiguas y modernas de la misión de la Gran China*, p. 56. This book though printed at Madrid in 1679 was never published, and only a few copies survive.

⁷⁰ Juan Lopez, *Quarta parte de la historia general de Santo Domingo, y de su Orden de Predicadores*, Valladolid 1615, p. 952.

the complete text of the Ten Commandments (258ab), which differs very little from Keng Yong's edition. The character 只, used in Hokkien for "this", has been replaced by 此, but 那 for "only" is retained. Linguistically more important is the Apostles' Creed (252b-253a), which by keeping almost all the Hokkien elements is set apart from the rest of the book, where only Mandarin characters are used. Although again there are only a few differences, it can be shown that Mayor's version represents a later stage; thus of the two instances of 再活起來, "rise again", it changes the first into 復生起來, while leaving the second unaltered. In the explanations of the sacraments (259b-263a) the use of Hokkien characters has been abandoned altogether.

I am inclined to the belief that Mayor availed himself of the *Doctrina christiana en letra y lengua china* printed by Keng Yong. We should, however, not forget that there may have been several such tracts printed from blocks. A book of the rosary, whoever had translated it into Chinese, was perhaps one of them.

A discussion of printing in the Philippines before 1608 should not be restricted to the six books surviving in the original editions, but should also deal with the books of which only reprints are available. There are three of these, all written in Tagalog by Francisco Blancas de San José and probably first published by Juan and Pedro de Vera. They were entirely printed from movable types in the Latin alphabet and therefore formed the major part of the output of the Binondoc press, much more important than the two Chinese books, of which only the preliminary matter was set in type.

The first of the three, *Libro de las quatro postrimerias del hombre en lengua tagala y letra española*, is preserved in the reprint of 1734.⁷¹ On its titlepage, which may be assumed to reproduce most of the details of the first edition, Blancas is called Preacher-General, a title given to him at the provincial chapter of the Dominicans on 9 May 1604. As the *Postrimerias* is referred to in the next book of Blancas, which dates from 1605, it was probably published in 1604, the same year as the *Ordinaciones generales*. The dedication, which is in Spanish, reads as follows:

"This opusculum will at least serve to inform you, Reverend Fathers, how through the mercy of our Lord God we now have in these our islands complete and perfect printing for a more perfect fulfilment of our ministry. For we shall now be able, not only verbally by preaching but also in writing, to teach these our brothers, and write for them, either in Spanish characters for those who know how to read them, or in their own Tagalog script, everything which will seem to us to further the progress of this mercy which the Lord has done to them in making them Christians. I have prepared other works before this one, which are larger and have involved more labour, such as a copious manual

⁷¹ José López del Castillo y Kabangis, *El impreso tipográfico príncipe filipino* (Manuales de Información, Oficina de Bibliotecas Públicas, No. 8), Manila 1956, pp. 44-66 and Pl. 5-10.

of confession, sermons, and rules of the language; but the new craftsman has not dared begin his business except with this smaller work. And thus it has certainly been fitting that he did not occupy himself for too long with my things, because this leaves room for the better things which you must have prepared; for it is right that we should all be without personal claims, and pleased if preference is given to that which will be most agreeable to our Lord, whom we all preach and in whom we are all one and not distinguished from each other except by the nap or colour of the robe. Accept then, Reverend Fathers, ministers of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, this little work as a sample, as I say, of the new printing and, at the same time, of the old interest which (most sinful though I am) I have in all things which will further the salvation of these our brothers."

There can be no doubt that the *Postrimerias* was one of the earliest books published by means of the "new printing" and indeed may well have been the very first book produced in this way. The expression "complete and perfect printing" stands for typography, probably in contrast with blockprinting, which had been used hitherto and could still be applied to material in Tagalog script. The "new craftsman" is of course Juan de Vera.

The next book, *Memorial de la vida christiana en lengua tagala*, only exists in the reprint of 1835, which is based on an edition published in 1692 in Mexico.⁷² According to the titlepage, the original edition came out in 1605, the year when the licences for its Chinese counterpart (published in 1606) were issued. In his dedication the author defends his use of the Latin alphabet and rejects the Tagalog script as being unpractical. He mentions his treatise on the confession, of which the printing had not yet been completed. That, he says, would be his last book for laymen; thereafter he intended to write for the missionaries who had to learn the language. There is also a reference to his previous book, the *Postrimerias*. The volume includes a bilingual poem by Fernando Bagongbanta, praising Blancas for his "great diligence in search of printing".

We are less well informed on the third book, of which the Spanish title may have been *Tratado del sacramento de la confesión en lengua tagala*.⁷³ The 1792 edition, based on that of 1662, is combined with a treatise on the communion, which perhaps was not included in the original edition but published separately. We have seen that the author had already announced the treatise on the confession in 1605. His dedication repeats the now familiar wish to bring something more substantial, "in particular", he says, "the book of rules, which I have promised elsewhere", a reference to the grammar mentioned in the *Postrimerias*. He goes on: "However, for the moment the press is not able to prepare something which can be published, for the reader will find even the

⁷² Retana, *Origenes*, pp. 72-75; Castillo, *El impreso tipográfico príncipe filipino*, pp. 57-61.

⁷³ Retana, *Origenes*, pp. 76-79.

letter of this book obscure and worn". Evidently the printer, who was probably Pedro de Vera, had run into technical difficulties. This must have happened in 1607, in my opinion the most likely time when the first edition was published.

When, in April 1608, Blancas was transferred to Abucay in Bataan, he was instructed to continue printing the books which he had written in the language of the natives.⁷⁴ Hence it was in Bataan that he finally succeeded in getting his grammar published. It was brought out in 1610 (with an approbation dated 6 February 1609) by Thomas Pinpin, under the title *Arte y reglas de la lengua tagala*.⁷⁵ In the same year appeared the *Libro en que aprendan los tagalos la lengua castellana*, written by the same Thomas Pinpin and published in Bataan by Diego Talaghay.⁷⁶ This book includes the *Interrogatorio para confesión compuesto en ambas lenguas tagala y española*, which was written by Blancas; apparently the same work as the manual of confession that he mentions in the *Postrimerias*. Inasmuch as Pinpin and Talaghay were both Tagalogs, their activities mark the end of the period when printing in the Philippines was organized by Chinese immigrants. There is, however, little doubt that the type they used was supplied by the original foundry, which had been established by Juan de Vera.

After the discovery, in 1951, of the reprint of the *Postrimerias*, the proposition was made that the original edition was the first typographical book published in the Philippines and that printing from movable type began in 1604.⁷⁷ With this opinion I agree, because Blancas's dedication cannot be convincingly interpreted in any other way. An effort has however been made to defend the view that typography was introduced two years earlier.⁷⁸ The evidence consists of the following quotation from a work by Alonso Fernández published in 1611:

"Father fray Francisco Blancas in the year 1602 printed in the Tagalog language and script of the Philippines a *Book of Our Lady of the Rosary*, which was the first that was printed there on this or any other subject. After this he printed another book, dealing with the sacraments, in the language of the Philippines and in both scripts, theirs and ours. . . In the Chinese language and script, Father fray Domingo de Nieva, son of [the Convent of] San Pablo in Valladolid, printed a *Memorial of a Christian life*; and Father fray Tomás Mayor of the province of Aragon, son of the convent and college of Orihuela, a *Symbol of the faith*."⁷⁹

⁷⁴ *Acta capitulorum provincialium* 1, 64.

⁷⁵ Retana, *Origenes*, pp. 79-81.

⁷⁶ *Op. cit.* pp. 81-87.

⁷⁷ Castillo, *El impreso tipográfico príncipe filipino*, pp. 18-43, 51-66.

⁷⁸ Gayo, *Unitas* 27, 567-602. The author corrects some points of detail in Castillo's study, but is rather indecisive in his general conclusion.

⁷⁹ Alonso Fernández, *Historia eclesiastica de nuestros tiempos*, Toledo 1611, pp. 303-304.

Elsewhere in the same book Fernández says that he had personally seen Nieva's *Memorial* and Mayor's *Símbolo*, and that these two books were distributed to the Chinese merchants, of whom many thousands came each year to the Philippines, returning to their own country afterwards.⁸⁰ Quite possibly he had also seen the two books written by Blancas, but unfortunately these no longer exist, even as reprints. The tract on the sacraments in two scripts can hardly have been the same as the treatises on the confession and the communion, which apparently concentrate on the sacraments of penance and the Eucharist and were, as we have seen, in Latin script only. The book of the rosary was, according to Fernández, exclusively in Tagalog script. Was it printed from type?

The problem is complicated by an additional detail in another work by Fernández, which was specially devoted to the miracles wrought by the rosary. In the section entitled "On some writers of the Order of St. Dominic who lived in this year 1612", he repeats his earlier information, but makes no mention of the year when the *Libro de nuestra Señora del Rosario* was printed. On the other hand he gives for all four books the place of publication as Bataan,⁸¹ even though he had seen the two Chinese books and could have known that they were not published in Bataan but in Binondoc. Was he right about the two books of Blancas? As far as the book of the rosary is concerned, the assumption of 1602 as the year and Bataan as the place of publication is not contradictory, since Blancas left Bataan in April 1602, not to return there until six years later. But this obviously would exclude Juan de Vera as the printer.

When discussing the works of Blancas, Fernández does not make a mention of the *Postrimerias* printed in 1604, nor of the *Memorial* printed in 1605. This suggests that his information was not obtained from Aduarte, who had left Manila in 1607 to become procurator in Spain. It is, of course, possible that he did not know of these two works himself, but he certainly could have told Fernández that Nieva was no longer alive in 1612 but had already died in 1606. In his own history he lists a *Libro de los misterios del Rosario de nuestra Señora* among the books printed by Blancas, but no work on the sacraments.⁸²

In the 1792 reprint of the treatises on the confession and communion, immediately after the licences for the 1662 edition, there is a list of Blancas's works, divided into printed books and works the author had left in manuscript. The former comprise the five works that I have mentioned above: the *Memorial*, the manual of confession, the *Postrimerias*, the grammar, and the treatises on the confession and the communion; whereas a *Libro de las*

excelencias del Rosario y sus misterios is included among the manuscripts.⁸³ Since the reliability of this list has been called in question, it is important to note that it was not made up in 1792 but no doubt formed part of the 1662 edition. The Augustinian Juan Eusebio Polo mentioned the list as being included in a printed book by Blancas, when in 1772 he reported some of his other books to the inquisition;⁸⁴ and Juan Peguero, in a history of the Dominicans in the Philippines completed in 1690, states that Blancas printed five books in Tagalog.⁸⁵

Evidently no printed edition of the book of the rosary was known in 1662, though perhaps it was still circulating in manuscript. Blancas himself apparently never refers to it, as he does to his other books. Unfortunately no analysis seems to have been made of his Tagalog works, or we would know whether, on the analogy of the Chinese text, a short tract on the rosary is included in the *Memorial*. However, in view of the mutually independent evidence of Fernández and Aduarte, there remains the likelihood that a separate edition was printed during the author's lifetime. As it used the Tagalog script, which Blancas soon discarded, its early disappearance is easily explained.

We can now state the problem in simple terms. The book of the rosary was probably a short tract, comparable to the Chinese text which has also claimed so much of our attention. It was printed in Tagalog script in the year 1602, possibly in Bataan. If so, Juan de Vera is ruled out as the printer; consequently it was not a typographical book. But even if the place of publication was Binondoc, could it have been printed from movable type? I believe not. First, the eight months between the arrival of Blancas and the end of the year would be too short a time to cut the punches, strike the matrices, cast the type and set up a press, not to speak of the other details which had to be planned and executed for the first experiment in typography. Moreover, it is unlikely that such an attempt should have begun by creating a fount of Tagalog type, which had to be specially designed, rather than taking over a roman letter for which plenty of models were available. Most important of all, Blancas himself declares unambiguously that the new printer began his work with the *Postrimerias*.

The question can be settled without difficulty. The book of the rosary was printed, not from type but, like the *Doctrina christiana en lengua española y tagala*, from blocks cut by an unknown Chinese. The tract on the sacraments in Tagalog and Latin scripts, which was published afterwards, also

⁸⁰ Op. cit. p. 318.

⁸¹ Alonso Fernandez, *Historia de los insignes milagros que la Magestad Divina ha obrado por el Rosario santissimo de la Virgen soberana su Madre*, Madrid 1613, fol. 216-217. The information on Blancas is summarized by Juan Lopez, *Quarta parte*, p. 951.

⁸² Aduarte, *Historia* 2, 18.

⁸³ Retana, *Origenes*, p. 69.

⁸⁴ J. T. Medina, *El Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición en las islas Filipinas*, Santiago de Chile 1899, pp. 161-162.

⁸⁵ Manuel Artigas y Cuerva, *La primera imprenta en Filipinas*, Manila 1910, p. 10, from Peguero's unpublished *Historia en compendio de la Provincia del Santissimo Rosario de Philipinas de la Orden de Predicadores*.

may have been a blockprint. It is immaterial where they were printed; xylography could be practised with simple tools wherever a block-cutter was at hand. Thus we can explain how the Augustinian friar Juan de Villanueva, who in 1599 died as prior of Batangas, was able to print certain little tracts. The Jesuit Pedro Chirino, reporting this, says that Villanueva and Blancas were the first to print material in Tagalog.⁸⁶ Chirino, Fernández, Nieva, Aduarte: each gives his version of the origin of printing in the Philippines, but only the last-named distinguishes (at least by implication) typography from blockbooks; and none of them mentions the two works published in 1593 at the Dominican residence of San Gabriel.

Blockprinting was not only applied to books. On All Saints' Day 1602, pictures of the saints of the year, in the form of slips printed in the Jesuit college, were distributed to the people of Manila.⁸⁷ Were the missionaries aware that the printing of paper gods for the new year was an old Chinese custom? Some years later, a woodcut representing the Virgin and Child and probably of Chinese craftsmanship was chosen to adorn the titlepage of the *Vocabulario de lengua tagala*, published in 1613.⁸⁸ Then, after a history of twenty years, illustrated books and printed images disappear from the scene.

In the following table are listed all works known to have been printed between 1593 and 1607. Details include the title of each work (surviving imprints in bold type), the language in which it was written, the author, the place of publication with the name of the printer, and the date.

BLOCKPRINTS

Yu-chi t'ien-chu cheng-chiao chen-chuan shih-lu (illus.)	Chinese	Cobo	S. Gabriel Manila	1593
Doctrina christiana (illus.)	Spanish and Tagalog	Plasencia <i>et al.</i>	S. Gabriel Manila	1593
Short tracts	Tagalog	Villanueva	Batangas (?)	pre-1600
Libro de nuestra Señora del Rosario	Tagalog	Blancas	Bataan (?)	1602
Libro de los sacramentos	Tagalog	Blancas	?	?
pictures of saints on separate slips			Jesuit college Manila	1602
Libro de nuestra Señora del Rosario (?)	Chinese	Mayor (?)	?	?
Doctrina christiana	Chinese	Benavides <i>et al.</i>	Keng Yong Parián	c. 1605
Memorial de la vida christiana	Chinese	Nieva	Pedro de Vera Binondoc	1606
Símbolo de la fe (illus.)	Chinese	Mayor	Pedro de Vera Binondoc	1607
TYPOGRAPHY				
libro de las quatro postrimerias	Tagalog	Blancas	Juan de Vera Binondoc	1604
Ordinaciones generales	Latin	Castro	Juan de Vera Binondoc	1604
Memorial de la vida christiana	Tagalog	Blancas	Juan de Vera (?) Binondoc	1605
Prelims. of Nieva's Memorial	Spanish		Pedro de Vera Binondoc	1606
Prelims. of Mayor's <i>Símbolo</i>	Spanish		Pedro de Vera Binondoc	1607
Tratado del sacramento de confesión (etc. ?)	Tagalog	Blancas	Pedro de Vera Binondoc	c. 1607

⁸⁶ Retana, *Orígenes*, pp. 45-48, from Chirino's unpublished *Primera parte de la historia de la provincia de Philipinas de la Compañía de Jesús*, which was completed in 1610.

⁸⁷ La Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, pp. 202-203.

⁸⁸ Retana, pp. 61-62, 141, where the suggestion is made that, as this woodcut is not very suitable for a dictionary by a Franciscan, it had originally been made for the titlepage of the book of the rosary printed in 1602.