

The books in the earliest library of the University of Santo Tomas

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Abstract: It has recently been confirmed that many books were brought to the Philippines from Europe in the 1564 expedition of Miguel López de Legazpi. Fr. Martín de Rada, OSA, later brought books from China and he also possessed European books. It is well-known that Fr. Benavides gave his books in founding the University of Santo Tomas. The earlier UST Archivist, Fr. Jesús Gayo, analyzed the writings of Fr. Benavides, so we know to what books he referred. Building on this earlier work by Fr. Gayo, and other more recent work, we are now able to give a picture of more than fifty titles of books that were very likely in the library of the University of Santo Tomas when it began. We also know of five people whose books entered the library at that very early stage. Besides Fr. Benavides, there were Fr. Diego de Soria, OP, Archbishop Ignacio Santibáñez, OFM, the government fiscal Hierónimo Salazar y Salcedo, and Hernando de los Ríos Coronel, the Procurator General of the Philippines. Most of the books are on religious matters and Dominicans wrote fourteen of them. The fifty books listed are still in the Heritage Library of the University of Santo Tomas.

Keywords: *University of Santo Tomas, Miguel Benavides Library, History of University of Santo Tomas, Rare books, Early Philippine libraries*

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Miguel de Benavides Añoza, OP, (c. 1552–1605), archbishop of Manila, “feeling that his remaining days were few, made a testament of his modest possessions and bequeathed ... his personal library for the foundation of a College.”¹ So much is well known, but the question of *what* these books were still remains problematic. In this article, I shall discuss books that the Spaniards had brought to the Philippines in the early days of the new colony and still reside in the Antonio V. del Rosario Heritage Library of the University of Santo Tomas. I shall revisit Fr. Gayo’s article in which he enumerated the books Fr. Benavides referred to in his writings² and, in particular, correlate them with the recent *Catalogue of Rare Books* in the University of Santo Tomas (UST) Library.³ Fr. Gayo’s article does not make any conjecture as to which of the early books were in the UST Library from the beginning, though he notes a number of interesting and important books from the sixteenth century—and before. I should point out that the names Fr. Gayo used for the books Fr. Benavides referred to are often not the same as in the recent catalogue by Fr. Aparicio mentioned above in n. 1. We do know that some of the early books did not arrive at UST until quite late, for example, the single *incunabulum* that the Benavides Library possesses, a Spanish version of Josephus, *The Jewish Wars* [*La guerra judaica*].⁴ Others, for example, [St] Albertus Magnus, *De Animalibus Libri Viginti Sex*, 1519, arrived because of the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Philippines in 1768.⁵

First, however, let me turn to the context of the early library. We can assume it began in 1605 with the bequest of Fr. Benavides. This was only forty years after Miguel López Legazpi (c. 1502–1572) had arrived to begin Spanish settlement. Manila itself was only founded in 1571 and the Spanish population even in the time of Fr. Benavides was still very small. Those who had come were still conscious of the Moorish occupation of Spain that had only been ended in 1492, the same year as Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) arrived in the Americas. They brought with them a hatred of the Moors, as they called the Muslims. On the Christian front

¹ See, for example, Fidel Villarroel, OP, 1982, “The University of Santo Tomas Library – A Historical Outline,” *Philippiniana Sacra*, XVII (49), 76–93, reprinted and abridged as Appendix A of Angel A. Aparicio, OP, ed., *Catalogue of Rare Books, University of Santo Tomas Library*, Manila: University of Santo Thomas Library, vol. 1, 1492–1600; vol. 2, Part 1, 1600–1699, pp. 545–556, at p. 545.

² Jesús Gayo, OP, 1955, “Rarezas bibliográficas en la Biblioteca de la Universidad de Santo Tomas,” *Unitas*, XXVIII, 184–192. See also Angel Aparicio, OP, 2006, “The Books of Benavides,” *News in Print*, Miguel de Benavides Library, Issue no. 53 (Special Issue), 7–8, which is based on Fr. Gayo’s article.

³ Aparicio, *Catalogue*.

⁴ An *incunabulum* (or incunable) is a book from the earliest days of printing, that is to say, before 1501. The book is Flavius Josephus, *La Guerra Judaica*, Menardo Ungut and Lanzalao Polono, Seville, 1492. Translated into Spanish by Alonso de Palencia. I am grateful to Fr. Aparicio for the information that this book arrived in the library relatively late.

⁵ This book originally belonged to Hernando de los Ríos Coronel, see p. 119 of John Newsome Crossley, *Hernando de los Ríos and the Spanish Philippines in the Golden Age*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.

the Council of Trent (1545–1563) had set in place the Counter Reformation to counteract the spread of Protestantism in Europe. This was also the time of significant theological debate about the languages of the Bible and the interpretation of some of its books, most notably the *Song of Songs* and the *Epistle of Paul to the Romans*. In Spain the status of the Indigenous peoples in the new colonies had been a subject of ardent debate, initiated by Bartolomé de las Casas (1476–1576): a debate that centred on the University of Salamanca. Incidentally, Las Casas wrote his seminal and most famous work about the year in which Fr. Benavides was born and clearly had a profound effect on the latter.⁶ All of these factors are evident in the books that I believe were in the first library of what is now UST.

There are altogether about 400 books printed before 1619 that are still in the Heritage Library of UST. Of these we know of more than thirty books that *definitely* belonged to the UST Library from about the time of the foundation of the Colegio del Santísimo Rosario de Nuestra Señora—the first incarnation of what is now UST. I have discussed these books in my earlier writings, but include them here for completeness.⁷ If we assume that those works still in the Heritage Library that were named in Fr. Gayo's article, actually belonged to, or were used by, Fr. Benavides, then this makes a total of eighteen more works, bound in 27 volumes. This is not an unreasonable number for a small, newly established, library in a distant Spanish colony, though many libraries from that time in the Spanish Americas have been recorded with hundreds.⁸ However, it now seems most likely that there were more than twice as many books as this in the earliest library in what is now the University of Santo Tomas.

Books were always highly prized in the new colony. A letter from 1629 dramatically underscores just how much they were valued. After the disastrous wreck of the aid fleet that was being sent to the Philippines in 1619, Fr. Otaço, SJ (who arrived in the Philippines in 1595) wrote:

⁶ Bartolomé de Las Casas, OP, *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*, Seville: En casa de Sebastian Trugillo, 1552.

⁷ See the Table below. The book is Crossley, *Hernando*, but see also *ibid.*: “One Man’s Library, Manila, ca. 1611 – a first look,” *Script & Print (Bulletin of the Australian and New Zealand Bibliographical Society)*, 30(4), 201–209, 2006 (printed 2008); “Copernicus in the Philippines 1600,” *Ometeca Journal*, vol. 13, 14–26, 2009, available at <http://www.ometeca.org/>, accessed 15 December 2010; “The oldest personal library in the Philippines,” pp. 29–36 in Angel Aparicio, OP, ed., 2010, *Lumina pandit: A collection of historical treasures*, Manila: University of Santo Tomas Miguel de Benavides Library, 2010; and “Una biblioteca en las Filipinas en 1611,” *Cuadernos para la investigación de la literatura hispánica*, 35, 2010, 189–221.

⁸ See Maxime Chevalier, 1976, *Lectura y lectores en la España de los siglos XVI y XVII*, Madrid: Ediciones Turner, and, for Peru, Teodoro Hampe Martínez, 1996, *Bibliotecas privadas en el mundo colonial, La difusión de libros e ideas en el virreinato del Perú (siglos XVI–XVII)*, Textos y estudios coloniales y de la independencia, vol. 1, Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert Verlag and Madrid: Iberoamericana.

I hope that our boxes of books which were in it were spared, for, so far as such things are concerned, I feel the loss of them greatly, although their loss is not to be mentioned in connection with that of our fathers.⁹

Concerning the advent of other books to the Philippines, the article and book by Vicente S. Hernández are the best sources I know of.¹⁰ His claim for “the earliest account found about the existence of ‘books’ in the island of Luzon” as being in a letter of Fr. Albuquerque in December 1574 still stands.¹¹ The latter was referring to the loss of books by the Augustinians following the attack by Limahon and he says, “The first books brought to the island must have come with Legazpi, with the people in the ship, or with the first missionaries.”¹² In confirmation of this a report has recently been discovered that, in a shipwreck when he transferred his headquarters from Cebu to Panay in 1570, Miguel López de Legazpi lost more than a hundred and thirty books, not to mention many other possessions.¹³ These books were described as being “very good” and of “historias”—which is always ambiguous in Spanish. The word may mean history books like the “crónicas” or else fiction such as, for example, romances of chivalry.¹⁴ So it appears that not only passengers but also Legazpi himself brought many books to the Philippine Islands. These must have been the first western books to come to the Philippine Islands.

In 1575, Fr. Martín de Rada, OSA, (1533–1578) brought “many books” written in Chinese from his expedition to China.¹⁵ These would probably have been books produced by the xylographic process, i.e. using carved wood blocks. This was the method used when the Spaniards started printing in the Philippines towards 1592.¹⁶ However, the Chinese had been printing books, and using paper, for several centuries before that.

⁹ Letter from Francisco de Otaço, S.J., to Father Alonso de Escovar, 14 January 1620, see vol. XIX, p. 37, of Emma Helen Blair, & James Alexander Robertson, 1903–1909, *The Philippine Islands 1493–1898*, Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co. Tr. from the originals, edited and annotated. 55 vols, republished as 55 vols in 19, Mandaluyong, Rizal, Philippines: Cachos Hermanos, Inc., 1973. This work will subsequently be referred to as “BR.”

¹⁰ Vicente S. Hernández, *The Spanish Colonial Library Institutions*, *Philippine Studies*, 44, 1996, 321–348 and *ibid.*, *History of Books and libraries in the Philippines, 1521–1900, A study of the sources and chronology of events pertaining to Philippine Library History from the Sixteenth to the end of the Nineteenth century*, Manila: The National Commission for Culture and the Arts, 1996. Both are based on his Master of Library Science thesis, University of the Philippines, Diliman, 1994.

¹¹ Hernández, 1994, p. 323.

¹² Hernández, 1996, p. 11.

¹³ See f. 74v of *De la Historia de las Philipinas ...*, Bloomington, IN, Lilly Library, Philippine Mss II. This manuscript is being edited and translated by Clive Griffin and the present author.

¹⁴ I am indebted to Clive Griffin for this analysis. Personal email, 17 September 2013.

¹⁵ See p. 209 of Pedro G. Galende, OSA, 1980, *Apologia pro Filipinos*, Manila: Salesiana Publishers, quoting J. Medina, OSA, 1893, *Historia de los sucesos de la Orden de N. Gran Padre S. Agustín de estas Islas Filipinas, desde que se descubrieron y poblaron por los españoles con las noticias memorables*, Manila.

¹⁶ See Piet van der Loon, 1966–67, “The Manila incunabula and early Hokkien studies,” *Asia Major*, part 1: 12, 1–43, part 2: 13, 95–186 for a detailed study and BR IX, p. 68, n.13 for a very brief account.

Rada, like many others, bemoaned the lack of (western) books in the early Spanish Philippines. De Rada wrote several books, but he complained to Fr. Alonso de la Veracruz (1507–1584), who was in Mexico:

... we have nothing more than Euclid and Archimedes on geometry, Ptolemy and Copernicus on astronomy, Vitellius on perspective, [and] Hali ben Zagel on astrology. I also have a book on triangles and the directions of mote regio [Regiomontanus] and the *Ephemerides* of Cipriano Leonistio and the Alfonsine and Prusenic tables.¹⁷

We know nothing about the earliest books the Franciscans brought, since the only information we have dates from the nineteenth century.¹⁸ The Jesuits had a very small library when they arrived in 1578: "... the chest in which they kept their books was the table upon which they ate."¹⁹ The Dominicans arrived in 1587 and I shall turn to their books shortly.

In Mexico in 1583 a list of 54 books, which is now well known, was found. The books were apparently destined for someone named "Trebiña" who has been identified as a bookseller, Juan de Treviño, in Mexico.²⁰ There are three books on this list that seem to be the same as ones in the UST Library:²¹ These are number 10 in the Treviño list: Antonio Guevara, *Epistolas familiares*, Alcalá de Henares, 1599–1600 (#458 and Part 2, #238)²²; number 18: Phelippe de Meneses, OP, *Luz del Alma christiana*, Medina del Campo, 1556 (#122 and Part 2, #109); and number 26: Juan Fragoso, *Chirurgia universal*, Alcalá de Henares, 1591 (#381 and Part 2, #209). I have not found any other authors in common between the Treviño list and the UST catalogue.

¹⁷ The above translation has been amplified from Martín de Rada, OSA, 1576, Al muy reverendo padre nuestro el maestro fray Alonso de la Vera Cruz provincial de los agustinos en la nueva España. Mi padre Transcribed from BNF (Bibliothèque nationale de France), Fonds Espagnol, 325.7 (M F 13184), ff. 35–36 by Dolors Folch Fornesa, available at <http://www.upf.edu/asia/projectes/che/s16/rada7.htm>, accessed 14 December 2010: "Porque no tengo mas de geometria a Euclides y archymedes, de astronomia a Ptolomeo y Copernico, de perspectiva Vitellio, de judiciaria Hali aben Zagel. Tengo tambien un libro de triangulos y las direcciones de mote regio, y el ephemerides de Cipriano Leonistio y las tablas alphonsinas y Prusenicas."

¹⁸ Hernández, 1994, p. 326.

¹⁹ BR XII, p. 194.

²⁰ See Irving Albert Leonard, 1947, "One man's library, Manila, 1583", *Hispanic Review*, 15(1), Schevill Memorial Number), 97–100, at p. 84 or p. 227 and Document 4 of *ibid.* 1964, *Books of the brave: being an account of books and of men in the Spanish conquest and settlement of the sixteenth-century new world*, New York: Gordian Press.

²¹ Of course they may well be different editions.

²² References in this form are to the catalogue entry and then, in Part 2, the report on the book, which are to be found in Aparicio, *Catalogue of Rare Books*, vol. I.

The first bishop of Manila, the Dominican Fr. Domingo de Salazar, (1512–1594) arrived in 1581 and brought many books with him. Leonard says: “The records of the Casa de Contratación at Seville indicate that substantial sums were allotted to Bishop Salazar and the clergy accompanying him to the Philippines to pay the cost of transportation of a large number of books.”²³ Unfortunately, we do not know what happened to those books. It seems highly likely that most of them were destroyed in a fire in February 1583 since, on 18 June of that year, Bishop Salazar wrote to the king bemoaning the loss of his living quarters and “a very good library.”²⁴ What we do know is that, when Bishop Salazar left the Philippines with Fr Benavides in 1591, he had with him 15 bundles and 33 chests.²⁵ So it is clear the bishop travelled with a large amount of material. Perhaps this included some of his books.

In 1590, Fr. Benavides went to China on what turned out to be an unsuccessful missionary venture.²⁶ He and his companions were accused of being Spanish spies. Nevertheless they “brought back many books of the great philosophers [of China] with four or five commentaries.”²⁷

As mentioned at the beginning of this essay, Fr. Benavides gave the books in “his personal library” to found the new college. Regarding the beginnings of the college I use the phrase “at its foundation” somewhat ambiguously to mean “in its earliest years.” There is some fluidity about the dates since Fr. Benavides had given his books when he died in 1605, but it is well known that the earliest official date for the nascent University of Santo Tomas is 1611.²⁸ Initially the college was known as the “Colegio del Santísimo Rosario de Nuestra Señora” and that name remained current until 1619 from which time it became known as the “Colegio de Santo Tomás.”²⁹

²³ Leonard, *Books of the Brave*, pp. 95 and 239–40. He has a footnote: “ ‘Carta del Obispo a S.M., 18 de Junio, 1583 [AGI ES.41091.AGI/1.16403.14.75// Filipinas, 74,N.19],’ quoted in Torres y Lanzas, vol. 2, p. ccxxxiii.” This latter book is Pedro Torres y Lanzas, *Catálogo de los documentos relativos a las Islas Filipinas*, precedido de una Historia general de Filipinas por Pablo Pastells, SJ. 1925, Barcelona: La viuda de L. Tasso, 2 vols.

²⁴ AGI ES.41091.AGI/1.16403.14.75// Filipinas, 74,N.19. See also de Morga, 1971, p. 66, n. 1, which refers to Colín, 1904, vol. I, p. 170. Evidently Bishop Salazar restocked his library, for he later donated books to the Jesuits: see p. 351 of Horacio Villamayor de la Costa, SJ, *The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581–1768*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1961.

²⁵ See “Register of merchandise carried in the ship ‘Sant Felipe,’” BR VIII, p. 255. BR misdated the departure of Bishop Salazar, claiming it was a year later.

²⁶ See Miguel Ángel Medina Escudero, “Fray Miguel de Benavides Añoza, Una vida al servicio de Dios y del hombre, en el cuarto centenario de su muerte,” *Studium, Revista cuatrimestral de filosofía y teología*, XLV, Fasc. 3, 2005, pp. 443–476 at pp. 453–4.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, n. 34, quoting f. 118v of G. Arriaga and M. Hoyos, *Historia del Colegio de San Gregorio de Valladolid*, II ed., Valladolid 1930.

²⁸ See volume I, chapter VII, of Fidel Villarroel, OP, *A History of the University of Santo Tomas, Four centuries of Higher Education in the Philippines (1611–2011)*, University of Santo Tomas Publishing House, Manila, 2012.

²⁹ See p. 41 of Fidel Villarroel, OP, *A History of the University of Santo Tomas: Four centuries of*

A number of books still in the UST Library have “Colegio del Santísimo Rosario de Nuestra Señora” or some abbreviation of that name written on their title pages. I have found 25 books with such an annotation that previously belonged to Hernando de los Ríos Coronel (1559–1623/4). It seems very likely that de los Ríos acquired a number of his books on his return to Spain in 1605 and prior to his becoming a priest on Holy Saturday, 1610.³⁰ There are eight more books that bear the college’s name but not that of de los Ríos. So this means we can positively identify at least 33 books that were in the original college. However, we do not know the donors of the other books or whether they were bought.

There were other persons who gave books to the early college but we have no knowledge of what the books were. Fr. Diego de Soria, OP (1558–1613), gave “his personal library and three thousand pesos from his possessions ... to the College of Santo Tomás in Manila.”³¹ The fiscal, Hierónimo Salazar y Salcedo (d. 1604), who had been appointed in 1598, has recently been identified as the source of just one book in the UST Library: Ioannes Segura Davalos, *Directorium iudicum ecclesiastici fori*, published in Madrid in 1585 by Alfonso Gomezzi.³² Thus we know of four early donors.

In addition it should be noted that at least five books that belonged to Archbishop Ignacio Santibáñez, OFM (1512–1598), are still in the UST library, though he had lamented that he had had to sell many of his books when he was in Mexico on the way from Spain, even before he arrived in Manila.³³ All five books subsequently passed into the possession of Hernando de los Ríos before entering the UST Library. We have no information as to why these books came to the college. It is possible that they came as a bequest to de los Ríos, since Archbishop Santibáñez left some silver to found a chaplaincy in the town of Santibáñez in the archbishopric

Higher Education in the Philippines (1611–2011), Manila: University of Santo Tomas Publishing House, 2012.

³⁰ There are numerous books of de los Ríos in the library that were published before his departure for the Philippines in 1588 but none published after his return to Spain in 1605.

³¹ “*Su librería personal y tres mil pesos de sus haberes ... al colegio de Santo Tomás de Manila, de reciente fundación.*” See p. 44 of Ocio, OP, Hilario, Neira, OP, Eladio, & Arnáiz, OP, Gregorio, 2000, *Misioneros Dominicanos en el Extremo Oriente 1587–1835*, Manila: Life Today Publications. Two volumes of Orientalia Dominicana, General, No 7, Edición corregida y actualizada de la obra del P. Hilario Ocio OP: *Compendio de la Reseña Biográfica de los Religiosos de la Provincia de Nuestra Señora del Rosario de la Orden de Predicadores*, Manila, Filipinas, 1895.

³² It is incorrectly stated in Crossley, *Hernando*, p. 132, that this is not in the catalogue. In fact it is there as #321.

³³ Letter to the King [Philip II], 1 November 1596. See p. 263 of Virginia Benítez Licuanan and José Llavador Mira, *The Philippines under Spain: a compilation and translation of original documents, 1990–1996*, Manila: National Trust for Historical and Cultural Preservation of The Philippines, Book VI (1594–1602) and Archivo General de Indias, Legajo 1415, CAT. 4990.

of Burgos in northern Spain.³⁴ De los Ríos left the Philippines for the last time in 1617. As I wrote some time ago, “it would appear that [the books de los Ríos had] arrived at the college at, or before, that time, presumably as a gift from de los Ríos, who unlike his friend Archbishop Benavides apparently did not wait until his death to give them.”³⁵

It is interesting to note that there are two books to which Benavides refers (by Luis López and García Loaisa) that were only printed during the time Fr. Benavides had returned to Spain with Bishop Salazar in 1591. Did Fr. Benavides buy copies of them while he was in Spain and bring the copies back to the Philippines, or did he just see them in Spain?

Fr. Gayo commented on the subject matter of the books he mentions in his article, saying that it was not surprising that most of the books were on Sacred Scripture, Theology, and Philosophy.³⁶ On a number of occasions, Fr. Gayo mentions specific works that formed just a part of a volume. For example, he mentions the work *De iusta haereticorum punitione libri tres*, which is the first work in volume II of the *Opera omnia* of Fr. Alonso A. Castro (#259). In the Table at the end of this article I have used the names Fr. Aparicio used, since this should make it easier to identify the actual copies in the UST library.

The classification of the books given by Fr. Gayo also largely applies to the collection of books owned by de los Ríos, but among the books listed in the Table there is a handful of scientific books that he previously owned.³⁷ Twenty-eight of the authors were priests. It is surely not surprising that in a Dominican library half of these (that is to say, fourteen) should have been Dominicans, including St. Thomas Aquinas himself. However there are also five Franciscans, one Augustinian plus St. Augustine himself, two Jesuits, and one, or possibly two, Carthusians. Among the religious works there are books on sermons (which together cover the whole church’s year), a number of exegetical works and also three works on philosophy. Two of the religious books exhibit the hatred of the Muslims that I have mentioned earlier: those by de Castro (#259) and Guerra de Lorca (#329). While they are ostensibly concerned with the conversion of Muslims, the methods advocated by Guerra de Lorca are very harsh, certainly by present day standards. The subjugation of the Muslims was certainly a dominant force for the Spaniards in general and in particular for Frs. Benavides and de los Ríos.

³⁴ Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Contratación, 943, “Número 22.-Autos de los bienes del arzobispo de Manila, fray Ignacio de Santibañez, una partida de plata que dejó para fundar una capellanía en Santibañez, arzobispado de Burgos.”

³⁵ Crossley, *Hernando*, p. 130.

³⁶ Gayo, *Rarezas*, p. 187.

³⁷ See Crossley, *Hernando*, pp. 117 ff.

[Figure 1]



There is one final intriguing little problem about the books by Fr. Alfonso de Castro, OFM (#259 in the Catalogue), to which I shall shortly return. The work comprises two volumes. The actual copy of volume I is interesting because of the insight it gives us into the library of the University of Santo Tomas. At the bottom right of the title page (see Figure 1) there is written “del Colegio de n[uest]ra [Señora]// del Rosario,” which is crossed out.³⁸ It is clear that this phrase was written after the phrase “Del P[adr]e Hernando de los Ríos” (which is followed by his *rúbrica* or Spanish flourish), which is also crossed out. This provides evidence that the book was first in the possession of de los Ríos and then of the Colegio de Nuestra Señora del Santísimo Rosario. Above that writing, straddling the woodcut in the middle of the page we find “Del Collegio de Sto [woodcut] Thomas de Manila.” Again, this is clearly later than the attribution to the Colegio de Nuestra Señora del Santísimo Rosario. In addition, there is a shelf mark 10//C-175 and two stamps: on the left a stamp in blue of the Fathers’ Library from the early 1900s and on the right a stamp of the Librería del Real Colegio de Santo Tomás, again from the early 1900s.³⁹

The first work in the *second* volume of this work by Fr. Castro is the one to which Fr. Gayo says Fr. Benavides refers.⁴⁰ So who was the first owner of these two volumes? It would seem odd if Fr. Benavides had volume II and not volume I. Since the name of Fr. Benavides does not occur in any of the books Fr. Gayo mentions, it is possible that the volume Hernando de los Ríos acquired came from Fr. Benavides, but then one might ask: did he not receive both volumes? The puzzle remains unsolved.

There are a number of books whose title pages are missing and that contain no informative annotations. These include a number of books that Fr. Gayo noted as being mentioned by Fr. Benavides. It seems quite possible that, in some cases, the title pages were lost before the books were bound. It should be noted that many of the early books in the UST Library were bound in similar fashion—a not very expert vellum binding almost certainly done in the Philippines. These seem to have been bound no later than the seventeenth century.

When we count all the books, that *may* have been in the library of the University of Santo Tomas when it was initially founded, we find that *in toto* these may be described as follows: 27 volumes that Benavides cited; 29, plus possibly four more, belonging to de los Ríos, of which five previously belonged to Archbishop

³⁸ The edge of the page is damaged and “señora” was almost certainly abbreviated.

³⁹ Concerning these stamps see pp. 346 and 348 of Aparicio, *Catalogue*, vol. II, part 1, AppendixA: Ownership marks, compiled by Estrella S. Majuello, ed. Aparicio, pp. 335–349, which has notes on, and illustrations of the UST library stamps.

⁴⁰ Gayo, *Rarezas*, p. 186.

Santibáñez;⁴¹ and eight (including the volume from Salazar y Salcedo), that belonged to the Colegio del Santísimo Rosario de Nuestra Señora before it became the Colegio de Santo Tomás.⁴² Because of the overlaps of ownership, altogether there are 55 titles represented in 56 volumes and, in addition, there are possibly four more volumes that were in the library of what was then the Colegio del Santísimo Rosario de Nuestra Señora in its early days. All of these are still in the Rare Books section of the Miguel Benavides Library of the University of Santo Tomas to this day.

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Table. The books that may have been in the earliest library in the University of Santo Tomas.

Notes.

1. This table should be read in conjunction with Aparicio, ed., *Catalogue of Rare Books* (see footnote 1 above.) An entry such as #395 (Part 2, #218) refers to item 395 in this catalogue and Part 2, #218 refers to Report no. 218, one of the reports that were compiled by Maynard and Strong in 1943–1945.⁴³ These reports are reprinted in the catalogue beginning on p. 79. Alternative forms of the authors' names are included in brackets and English translations are given of titles of the works.

2. In the column headed "Owners", "B?" indicates the book may have belonged to Archbishop Benavides, "C" that the book was in the possession of the Colegio del Santísimo Rosario de Nuestra Señora before it became the Colegio de Santo Tomás, "F" that the book belonged to the fiscal Hieronimo Salazar y Salcedo, "R" that the book belonged to Hernando de los Ríos Coronel, and "S" that the book belonged to Archbishop Santibáñez.

⁴¹ There are four books still in the UST Library that would complete the five-volume set of the work by Carthusianus (Denis the Carthusian), but their title pages are missing. There is also one book now in the library that de los Ríos owned, namely St Albert the Great, 1519, *De animalibus*, but this went first to the Jesuits and then came to UST when the Jesuits were expelled in 1768.

⁴² See Crossley, *Hernando*, Tables 7.1–7.4 (from pp. 135–143).

⁴³ Leila Maynard and Robert M. Strong were imprisoned in the University of Santo Tomas when the Japanese used it as an internment camp in World War II. They obtained permission from their captors to prepare reports on numerous rare books in the university library, see Leila Maynard, "Dusty sanctuary," printed as Appendix B of the *Catalogue of Rare Books*, vol. 1, pp. 559–562.

No. in Catalogue of Rare Books, vol. 1 (Report no.)	Owner	Author	Title	Translation of Title	Year
#34	S, R, C	Carthusianus, Dionysius, Sanctus (St. Denis the Carthusian)	<i>In Quatuor Evangelistas Enarrationes</i> ¹	<i>Exegeses of the Four Evangelists</i>	1532–35
#36 (Part 2, #37)	B?	St. Augustine	<i>Expositio in Epistolas Divi Pauli ex Operibus Sancti Augustini Collecta á Venerabili Beda</i>	<i>Exposition of the Epistles of St. Paul from the Works of St. Augustine, Collected by the Venerable Bede</i>	1534
#52 (Part 2, #50)	B?	St. Thomas Aquinas	<i>In Epistolas Sancti Pauli Commentaria</i>	<i>Commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul</i>	1541
#63 (Part 2, #58)	B?	Ubaldis, Petrus Baldus de	<i>Commentum in Primum, Secundum et Tertium Decretalium (Commentaria Baldi Super Decretalibus)</i>	<i>Commentary on the First, Second And Third Decretals (Commentaries of Baldus on the Decretals)</i>	1542
#64 (Part 2, #60)	B?	Theophylactus	<i>Omnes D. Pauli Apostoli Epistolas Enarrationes, per Joannem Lonicerum Conversas (Enarrationes in Omnes Pauli Epistolas)</i>	<i>Exegeses of all the Epistles of St. Paul The Apostle, By Johannes Lonicerus (Exegeses of all The Epistles of Paul)</i>	1542
#67 (Part 2, #62)	R	Copernicus, Nicholaus	<i>De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium, Libri VI</i>	<i>On the Revolutions of the Celestial Spheres</i>	1543
#84 (Part 2, #78)	R	Galenus, Pergamenus (Claudius Galen)	<i>De Alimentorum Facultatibus Libri Tres; De Attenuante Victus Ratione</i>	<i>On the Sources of Foods, Three Books; On a Diminishing Quantity of Food</i>	1549

¹ There are four other volumes of this work. None of them has a title page or any indication of ownership.

#86 (Part 2, #80)	B?	Mazzolini di Priero, OP, Sylvester (Sylvestre Prierate, OP)	<i>Summae, Quae Summa Summarum Meritò Nuncupatur (Summa Sylvestrina)</i> ²	<i>The Summaries, which are Rightly Called The Summary of Summaries (Sylvester's Summary)</i>	1549
#95 (Part 2, #87)	C	Durandus, OP, Guilelmus (William Durandus, OP)	<i>Prochiron, Vulgo Rationale Divinorum officiorum</i>	<i>Prochiron, Commonly Known as The Rational of the Divine Offices</i>	1551
#100 (Part 2, #95)	B?	Las Casas, OP, Bartolomé de	<i>Brevíssima Relación de La Destrucción de Las Indias</i>	<i>A Very Short Account of the Destruction of The Indias</i>	1552
#101 (Part 2, #96)	B?	Las Casas, OP, Bartolomé de	<i>Disputa o Controversia entre Las Casas y el Doctor Ginés Sepúlveda (Controversia entre Las Casas y el Doctor Ginés Sepúlveda)</i>	<i>The Dispute or Controversy between Las Casas And Doctor Ginés Sepúlveda (Controversy Between Las Casas And Doctor Ginés Sepúlveda)</i>	1552
#123 (Part 2, suppl. #7)	R, C	Sancto Portiano, OP, Durandus a	<i>In Quatuor Libros Sententiarum</i>	<i>Four Books on the Sentences [of Peter Lombard]</i>	1556
#130 (Part 2, #112)	R, C	Carthusianus, Dionysius, Sanctus (St. Denis the Carthusian)	<i>Enarrationes in Quatuor Prophetas Maiores</i>	<i>Exegeses of the Four Major Prophets</i>	1557–68
#136	R, C	Viguerius, OP, Joannes	<i>Institutiones Theologicae</i>	<i>Theological Institutions [i.e., Practices]</i>	1558
#139	B?	Turrecremata, Ioannes, OP (Juan de Torquemada)	<i>Summae Ecclesiae Libri Quatuor</i>	<i>Summary of the Church in Four Books</i>	1560
#165 (Part 2, #149)	S, R	Pinto, OSH, Hector	<i>In Esaiam Prophetam Commentaria</i>	<i>Commentaries on the Prophet Isaiah</i>	1567

² There are two volumes bound in one.

#167	S, R, C	Pozo, Martinus Alphonsus del	<i>Elucidaciones in Omnes Psalmos David Regis</i>	<i>Explanations of all the Psalms of King David</i>	1567
#168	R, C	Titelmannus, OFM, Franciscus (Francis Titelmann, OFM)	<i>Elucidatio in Omnes Psalmos</i>	<i>Explanations of all the Psalms</i>	1567
#179	R, C	Fero, OFM, Juan	<i>Commentarium in Ioannem et Ad Romanos</i>	<i>Commentary on John and [the Epistle to the] Romans</i>	1569
#187 (Part 2, #142)	B?	St. Thomas Aquinas	<i>Commentaria D. Thomae Aquinatis en Aristotelem</i> ³	<i>Commentaries of St. Thomas Aquinas on Aristotle</i>	1570
#196	R? ⁴	Polygranus, OFM, Franciscus	<i>Postillae sive Enarrationes in Evangelia per Singulos Dominicos Dies</i>	<i>Postils or Exegeses of the Gospels For Each Sunday</i>	1570
#201	S, R, C	Arias Montano, Benedictus	<i>Commentaria In Duodecim Prophetas</i>	<i>Commentaries on the Twelve Prophets</i>	1571
#204 (Part 2, #145)	C	Granatensis, OP, Ludovicus (Louis of Granada)	<i>Collectanea Moralis Philosophiae: in Tres Tomos Distributa</i>	<i>Collected Works of Moral Philosophy: Divided into Three Volumes</i>	1571
#214 (Part 2, #150)	R	Palacio, Michaelis de	<i>Dilucidationum et Declamationum Tropologiarum in Esaiaam Prophetam, Libri Quindecim Tomis Tribus Divisi</i>	<i>Explanations and Elucidations of Figurative Language in the Prophet Isaiah, Fifteen Books Divided Into Three Volumes</i>	1572
#218	R, C	Vega, OFM, Andreas	<i>De Iustificatione Doctrina Universa Libris XV. Absolute Tradita</i>	<i>On the Justification of Universal Doctrine. Delivered Absolutely</i>	1572

³ There are five volumes of this work bound in three volumes.

⁴ The attribution of this to de los Ríos is doubtful, see Crossley, *Hernando*, p. 125.

#225	R, C	Arias Montano, Benedictus	<i>Davidis Regis ac Prophetarum Aliorumque Sacrorum Vatum Psalmi, Ex Hebraica Veritate in Latinum Carmen Observantissimè Conversi</i>	<i>The Poetry of the Psalms of David The King and Other Prophets, Most Faithfully Translated from the Hebrew into Latin Verse</i>	1574
#233	R, C	Arias Montano, Benedictus	<i>Elucidationes In Quatuor Evangelia et Acta Apostolorum</i>	<i>Explications of the Four Gospels And The Acts of the Apostles</i>	1575
#241	C	Passeri, Marcus Antonius	<i>In Tres Libros Aristotelis De Anima Exactissimi Commentarii</i>	<i>Most Precise Commentaries on the Three Books of Aristotle's De Anima</i>	1576
#259	B?, R, C ⁵	Castro Zamorensi, OFM, Alfonsus, (Alfonso A. Castro)	<i>Opera Omnia [Vol. I]</i>	<i>Collected Works [Vol. I]</i>	1578
#259	B?, R, C	Castro Zamorensi, OFM, Alfonsus, (Alfonso A. Castro)	<i>Opera Omnia [Vol. II] (De Iusta Hereticorum Punitio Libri Tres)</i>	<i>Collected Works [Vol. II] (On the Just Punishment of Heretics In Three Books)</i>	1578
#268	R, C	Eckius, Johannes	<i>Homiliarum Super Evangelia, Tomus Secundus⁶</i>	<i>Homilies on the Gospels, Volume Two</i>	1579
#276	R, C	Iavellus, OP, Chrisostomus	<i>Opera</i>	<i>Works</i>	1580
#276a (Not in catalogue)	R, C	Isidorus Hispalensis (Isidore of Seville)	<i>Opera Omnia</i>	<i>All The Works</i>	1580

⁵ Benavides only refers to volume II but the two volumes of this work are bound as one.

⁶ There is no copy of volume I in the library.

#277	B?	Medina, OP, Bartholomaeus de (Bartolome de Medina, OP)	<i>Expositio in Primam Secundae Angelici Doctoris D. Thomae Quinatis</i>	<i>Exposition of the First [Part] of the Second [Part] of the [Summa] of Angelic Doctor, Thomas Aquinas</i>	1580
#291	R, C	Villanova, OSA, Thomas a	<i>Conciones Sacrae</i>	<i>Sacred Addresses</i>	1581
#293	B?	Vio Caietano, OP, Thomas de (Thomas de Vio Cajetan)	<i>Opuscula Omnia Rever. D. Thomas De Vio Cayetano</i>	<i>All The Shorter Works of the Reverend Thomas De Vio Cayetano</i>	1581
#296 (Part 2, #178)	B?	Vio Caietano, OP, Thomas de (Thomas de Vio Cajetan)	<i>Summula – Ientacula Novi Testamenti (Summula de Peccatis Et Ientacula Novi Testamenti)</i>	<i>Summary of Sins, and Thoughts on the New Testament</i>	1581
#299	R, C	Bernardus Patritius, Ioannes Baptista	<i>Seminarium Totius Philosophiae</i>	<i>The College of All Philosophy</i>	1582
#302	R, C	Cantapetrensis, Martínus de	<i>Libri Decem Hypotypose on theologicarum sive Regularum ad Intelligendum Sacram Scripturam</i>	<i>Ten Books on the Hypotyposeon of Theology or Rules for Understanding Sacred Scripture</i>	1582
#304 (Part 2, #180)	R, C	Rao di Alessano, Cesare	<i>I Meteori</i>	<i>The Weather</i>	1582
#321	F, C	Segura Davalos, Ioannes	<i>Directorium Iudicum Ecclesiastici Fori</i>	<i>The Entrance to the Directory of Ecclesiastical Judgments</i>	1585
#327	R, C	Capella Valentinus, Andreas	<i>Commentaria in Ieremiam Prophetam</i>	<i>Commentaries on Jeremiah The Prophet</i>	1586

#329	R, C	Guerra De Lorca, Petrus	<i>Catecheses Mistagogicae pro Advenis ex Secta Mahometana</i>	<i>Mystical Instructions For Those Coming From The Sect of Mohammed</i>	1586
#330	S, R, C	Oleastro, OP, Hieronymus ab	<i>Commentaria In Pentateuchum Mosi</i>	<i>Commentaries on the Pentateuch of Moses</i>	1586
#334	B?	Tudeschis Nicolas de (Abad Panomitano)	<i>Commentaria on Quinque Libros Decretalium</i> ⁷	<i>Commentaries on the Five Books of Decretals [of Pope Eugenius IV]</i>	1586
#352	B	Azpilcueta, Martín ab (Martín de Azpilcueta, called Dr Navarro)	<i>Commentaria et Tractatus</i>	<i>Commentaries And Tracts</i>	1588
#369	B	Domingo de Soto, OP	<i>De Iustitia et Iure, Libri Decem</i>	<i>On Justice And Law, Ten Books</i>	1589
#383a (Not in catalogue)	C	Duranti. Joannis Stephan	<i>De Ritibus Ecclesiae Catholicae</i>	<i>On the Rites of the Catholic Church</i>	1591
#389	B?	Lopez, OP, Ludovicus (Luis López, OP)	<i>Instructorum Conscientiae</i>	<i>On the Instruction of the Conscience</i>	1592
#395 (Part 2, #218)	C	Arias Montano, Benidictus	<i>Hymni Et Secula</i>	<i>Hymns And Secular [Poems]</i>	1593
#401	B?	García Loaisa, OP	<i>Collectio Conciliorum Hispaniae</i>	<i>Collection of the Spanish Councils</i>	1593
#405	R, C	Scaligerus, Josephus	<i>De Emendatione Tempore</i>	<i>On the Correction of Chronology</i>	1593
#420	C	Plati, SJ, Hieronymo	<i>Libro del Bien del Estado Religioso</i>	<i>On the Book of the Well-Being of the Religious State</i>	1595
#430	C	Giuvara, SJ, Petrus	<i>Compendium Manualis Navarri</i> ⁸	<i>Abridgment of the Manual of Navarrus [Martín de Azpilcueta]</i>	1597

⁷ There are three books here bound in seven volumes.

⁸ Dr. Navarrus is the author, Martín de Azpilcueta, of #352 above.

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