

The Scenes of the Life of Christ in the *Virgen S. Mariano* of 1623: The earliest extant Philippine *estampitas*?¹

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Abstract: There is a dearth of knowledge on the emergence of books with illustrations in the Philippines. In 1623, the *Virgen S. Mariano* was published in Binondo, containing images which were printed on individual slips of paper and then pasted on its pages. Such images may be classified as *estampitas*, which for Filipinos are pocket-sized cards with religious meaning. Since works printed before 1623 do not contain images of this format, the illustrations in the 1623 *Virgen S. Mariano* can be considered the oldest extant *estampitas* printed in the country.

Keywords: Dominican books, engravings, *estampitas*, Japanese Christians, Japanese in Manila

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Introduction

Legend of libraries and archives

AFIO	Archivo Franciscano Ibero-Oriental, Madrid
AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Seville
APSR	Archivo de la Provincia del Santísimo Rosario, Ávila
AUST	Archivo de la Universidad de Santo Tomás, Manila
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid
LC	Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
LMM	Lopez Memorial Museum, Metro Manila
NLP	National Library of the Philippines, Manila
ONV	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna
UST	University of Santo Tomás, Manila
VL	Vatican Library

Very little is known about the early development of printed images and illustrated books in the Philippines. In the Archivo de la Universidad de Santo Tomás (AUST) there is an early 17th century bound volume with *Rosario Daiichi* inscribed on its spine (Fig. 1).² The volume actually consists of three separately titled publications, all printed in Binondo, Manila, in 1623. The presence of printed illustrations in one of these tracts, the *Virgen S. Mariano*, provides us rare data on this aspect of the first century of Spanish colonization.



Fig. 1.

In this study we shall first try to trace the appearance of printed illustrations from the first book printed in the Philippines until 1623, the printing of the tracts in the *Rosario Daiichi*. Second, we will locate the volume within its milieu, or the reasons for its printing. Third, some bibliographical notes on the *Rosario Daiichi* will be presented. Fourth and last, we will have a few words on the

illustrations themselves in the 1623 *Virgen S. Mariano*.

² *Rosario Daiichi*, Archivo de la Universidad de Santo Tomás, Manila (AUST), Rare UST Press section, no catalogue number.

Part One. The first printed illustrations, (1593-1623)

Philippine bibliographers and book scholars have applied the name *incunabula* to the books printed within the half century between 1593 and 1640.³ 1593 marks the appearance of the first two books, the *Doctrina Christiana en lengua española y tagala*, and the work popularly known as the *Shih-lu*. 1640 is the year when Tomas Pinpin, the “Prince of Philippine Printers,” seemingly stopped printing; the year also marks the printing of Diego Aduarte’s *Historia de la Provincia del Sancto Rosario de la orden de predicadores en Philippinas, Japon, y China*, the largest book of its kind up to that date. Furthermore, the Spanish bibliographer Wenceslao Retana considered Aduarte’s *Historia* as “the most considerable and best printed work in the Philippines in the 17th century.”⁴

Using the catalogue of imprints that were reliably printed in the Philippines in Jose’s *Impresso* as a guide,⁵ we have prepared a list of Philippine incunabula from 1593 to 1623, with indications referring to any illustrations.⁶ The bold numbering in brackets follows that used in *Impresso*, which will then point out to the interested researcher the complete titles of the works and many other bibliographic details. The entries in a smaller font refer to works of which no known copy exists. Such a list is of course provisional, because in many cases the works themselves are difficult of access and we have to rely on earlier bibliographers for their descriptions.

[1]. 1593. Several blockprints featuring: a Dominican offering a book to a Mandarin (on the first page, *Fig. 2*); diagrams showing the Ptolemaic system of astronomy, as well as fables; The fable of the crab and the oyster, 52b (*Fig. 3*); The fable of the fox and the crabs, 54a (*Fig. 4*); and The fable of the storks, 60a (*Fig. 5*) in Juan Cobo’s *Shih-lu* (San Gabriel, Manila). BNE.

³ For an updated review of Philippine incunabula, see Jorge Mojarro, “Los primeros libros impresos en Filipinas (1593-1607),” *Hispania Sacra* LXXI 145 (2020): 231-240.

⁴ Carolina Afan, “Philippine Incunabula in the National Library of the Philippines,” *International Association of Orientalist Librarians Bulletin* 15 (Spring, 1979): 3. Aduarte’s *Historia* had 100 pages less than the 1,009 of Alonso de Méntrida’s 1637 *Bocabulario de lengua*; however Aduarte’s volume was of folio size, whereas the *Bocabulario* was in *cuarto* (one fourth of a folio). Wenceslao E. Retana, *Origenes de la imprenta Filipina*, (Madrid, 1911), 129.

⁵ Regalado Trota Jose, *Impreso. Philippine Imprints, 1593-1811* (Makati City: Fundación Santiago and Ayala Foundation, Inc., 1993).

⁶ For a pioneering study on graphic art in early Manila presses, see Carla T. Gamalinda, “Contributing to the identification of publications from the Dominican, Jesuit and Franciscan presses through a study of graphic art in Manila, 1625-1815,” *Philippiniana Sacra* LVI 168 (2021): 409-441.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.

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[2]. 1593. Blockprint of “St. Dominic beneath a star holding a spray of lilies and a book, comparable in style to the first page of Cobo’s *Shih-lu*,” (Fig. 6) in Juan de Plasencia’s *Doctrina Christiana, en lengua española y tagala* (San Gabriel, Manila). LC.



Fig. 6.

Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

[3]. pre-1600. Juan de Villanueva, *Tratadillos en Tagalog*, (Batangas?). No copy extant.

[4]. (159- or 16-). Francisco Blancas de San Jose, *Tratado de los sacramentos*. No copy extant.

[5]. 1602. Francisco Blancas de San Jose, *Libro de las excelencias del Rosario...* (Bataan). No extant copy.

[6]. 1604. Francisco Blancas de San Jose, *Libro de las quatro postrimerías del hombre en lengua tagala ...* (Binondoc, by Juan de Vera). No copy extant.

[7]. 1604. Type ornaments on the title page, and a blockprint of the Dominican seal, enclosing the words *Mihi avtem abst gloriari nisi in crvce Dñi Nri Iesv Xpi ad Gal.*

6,⁷ on the last page (Fig. 7), of Juan de Castro's *Ordinationes generales* (Binondo, by Juan de Vera). Van der Loon: "The type founts and ornaments were all cast locally, apparently all by the same foundry, and were used in Manila imprints at least until 1640 and beyond. This is the first extant work in Philippine typography. The type ornaments were also used in the *Arte y reglas de la lengua tagala* (1610), *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala* (1613), *Vocabulario de Japon* (1630), etc."⁸ LC.

[8]. [16--]. Cristobal Ximenez, *Arte del idioma bisaya* [Manila]. No copy extant.

[9]. [16--]. Cristobal Ximenez, *Confesionario en lengua bisaya* [Manila]. No copy extant.

[10]. circa 1605 (presumably before 1607). Dominican seal as seen in #7, on title page of *Doctrina christiana en letra y lengua china* (Parian, Manila, by Keng Yong; Fig. 8). Van der Loon: "The armorial design is inferior to the illustrations in the two imprints of 1593, [and] the motto is so poorly executed, or rather imitated, that it is difficult to believe that the work was supervised by any of the Dominicans themselves...The same design occurs in the *Arte y reglas de la lengua tagala* [Bataan 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 into the titlepage. It lacks artistic merit in any case and was certainly not created by a Chinese...; the printing was not closely supervised by the Dominican missionaries, but was undertaken by a non-Christian Chinese." The second part of this *Doctrina*, occupying most of the rest of the book, is a treatise on the rosary, which "has no parallel in the *Doctrina* in Spanish and Tagalog... 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."⁹ VL



Van der Loon 1966, 27

Fig. 7.

⁷ "But may I never boast [glory] except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ," from the Letter of Paul to the Galatians, 6:14. In this Letter Paul argues for the correct understanding of the faith, a faith which all authentic Christian missionaries must preach (*The Catholic Bible. Personal Study Edition* (Oxford University Press, 2007), 1626, also RG 389). This admonition underlined the preaching activities of the Dominicans, the Order of Preachers.

⁸ Piet Van der Loon, "The Manila Incunabula and Early Hokkien Studies," *Asia Major* 12 (1966): 25-28.

⁹ Van der Loon, 11-25. Due to the work's rough printing, Mojarro 2020 proposes it may have been issued between 1592 and 1593.

Van der Loon 1966, 12



Fig. 8.

[11]. 1605. Francisco Blancas de San Jose, *Memorial de la vida Cristiana en lengua tagala*, [Binondoc, by Juan de Vera?]. No extant copy.

[12]. 1606. Type ornaments on title page of Domingo de Nieva's *Memorial de la vida christiana en lengua china* (Binondoc, by Pedro de Vera; Fig. 9). Van der Loon: also included the mysteries of the rosary.¹⁰ ONV.

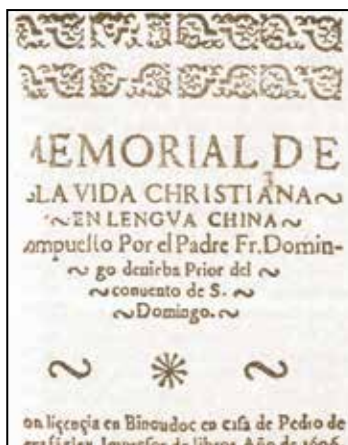


Fig. 9.

Van der Loon 1966, 29

[13]. 1607. Blockprints showing the parable of the cows (10a, Fig. 10), a sea monster stranded on a shore in Portugal (98b, Fig. 11); other illustrations on 11b, 22a, 88a (diagrams showing that the earth is round), 95b-96a, and 113b-114a, in Thomas Mayor's *Símbolo de la Fe, en lengua y letra China* (Binondoc, Pedro de Vera). Van der Loon: partly an adaptation of Luis de Granada's *Introducción del símbolo de la fe* (1583). "There is no doubt that these were taken from Cobo's *Shih-lu*, because not only are the diagrams very similar but the Chinese explanations are almost identical."¹¹ ONV.

Van der Loon 1966, 32



Fig. 10.



Fig. 11.

Van der Loon 1966, 35

¹⁰ Van der Loon, 28-31.

¹¹ Van der Loon, 31-36.

[14]. [1607?]. Tomas Mayor. *Libro de Nuestra Señora del Rosario* (Binondo?). No extant copy.

[15]. [c.1607]. Francisco Blancas de San Jose. *Librong pinagpapalamnan yto...* [Binondo, Pedro de Vera]. No extant copy.

[16]. 1610. Roberto Belarmino. *Doctrina Christiana in linguam Bisaya* (Manila, by Manuel Gomez). No extant copy.

[17]. 1610. Wood blockprint seal of the Dominican order, framed with the words: *Mihi avtem abst gloriari nisi in cruce dni nri Jesvxpiad Gal. 6* (Fig. 12) as in # 7, on the title page of Francisco Blancas de San Jose's *Arte y reglas de la lengua tagala* (Bataan, by Thomas Pinpin). BNE, LC, two other libraries.

[18]. 1610. Sparse typographical adornments (fleurons) on the title page of Tomas Pinpin's *Librong Pagaaralan nang manga Tagalog nang uicang Castilla* (Bataan, by Diego Talaghay, Fig. 13). NLP.

[19]. [1610]. Jeronimo Montes y Escamilla. *Librong ang pangalan, ay caolayao*. No extant copy.

National Library of the Philippines
and Villaruel 2010

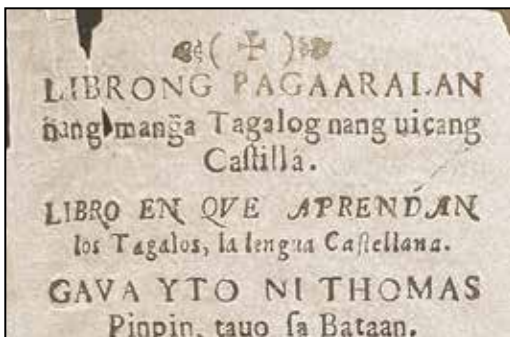


Fig. 13.

Francisco [Manila]. No extant copy.

[21]. [between 1610-1613]. Pedro Matias de Andrada. *Relacion ... de las honras funebres de la Reina Doña Margarita de Austria* [Manila]. No extant copy.

[22]. 1613. Woodcut representing the Virgin and Child on the titlepage of Pedro de San Buenaventura's *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala* (Pila, by Thomas Pinpin and Domingo Loag; Fig. 14). Van der Loon suggests the print was probably of Chinese craftsmanship. He cites Retana as saying that the print was not quite suitable for a



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Fig. 12.

[20]. [between 1610-1613]. Jose de Santa Maria. *Historia de la tercera Orden de N.P.S.*

dictionary by a Franciscan, and could have originally been made for the titlepage of the book of the rosary printed in 1602. Typographical ornaments on the last pages of the Spanish-Tagalog and Tagalog-Spanish dictionaries (*Figs. 15 and 16 respectively*). “Then, after a history of twenty years, illustrated books and printed images disappear from the scene.”¹² AFIO.

1994 reprint of *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala*



Fig. 14.



Fig. 15.



Fig. 16.

[23]. [1616]. Juan de Silva. *Proposición de don Juan de Silva* [Manila]. Copy (in the Hague) not examined.

[24]. [1616]. Juan Manuel de la Vega. *Parecer ... sobre si convenia que el Señor Ivan Manvel de Silva ...* [Manila]. AGI (not examined).

[25]. 1617. Francisco Coronel. *Arte de la lengua Pampanga* [Manila?]. No extant copy.

[26]. 1617. Mateo Leon. *Ritual para la administracion de los sacramentos* (Lubao, impreso por unos japones). No copy extant.

[27]. [1617]. Miguel de Talavera. *An casalanan ipinag cacasal sa onan otos nang Dios* [Manila]. No extant copy.

[28]. 1618. Religious seal on title page of Hernando Becerra's *Relacion de el martyrio de el S. F. Hernando de S. Iosep. En Iapon, y del santo F. Nicolas Melo en Moscouia* (Bacolor, by Antonio Damba Pampango and Miguel Saixo Iapon; Fig. 17). NLP.

¹² Van der Loon, 42.

W. Retana, *Origenes de la Imprenta Filipina* 1911, 148-H2



Fig. 17.

[29]. [1618]. Alonso de Mentrída. *Arte de la lengua bisaya hiligayna* [Manila]. No copy extant.

[30]. 1618. Francisco Morales. *Relacion del martirio del B.P.F. Alonso Nauarrete* ("Philipinas," by Antonio Damba). BNE.

[31]. 162-. Archbishop Miguel Garcia Serrano. *Auto impreso de una junta de Theologos*. No copy extant.

[32]. 162-. Jose de Santa Maria. *De la tercera Orden de N.P.S. Francisco y de sus santos* (Manila). No copy extant.

[33]. 1620. Woodcut of a chalice being supported by a winged angel on either side, with the sacred host marked by a cross and ringed by triangular rays. Roberto Belarmino. *Libro a naisuratan amin ti bagas ti Doctrina Cristiana* (Manila, by Antonio Damba and Miguel Saixo). LMM.

[34]. [1620]. *Ritual para la administracion de los sacramentos...* No copy extant.

[35]. 1621. The same woodcut used in the 1620 edition of Roberto Belarmino's *Libro a naisuratan amin ti bagas ti Doctrina Cristiana...* (Manila, by Antonio Damba and Miguel Saixo; Fig. 18). Escorial, Madrid.

[36]. [1621]. Diego de Bobadilla. *Conclvsionem theologicam...* [Manila]. No copy extant.

[37]. [1621]. Francisco Coronel. *Catecismo y doctrina christiana en lengua pampanga* (Macabebe). No copy extant.

[38]. 1621. Miguel Garcia Serrano. [Edict on absolution of a demented person in the throes of death. [Manila]]. No designs. AUST. BNE.



Fig. 18.

W. Retana, *Origenes de la Imprenta Filipina* 1911, 153-K

[39]. 1621. *Ritual para la administración de los sacramentos...* No copy extant.

[40]. 1622. Dominican seal on the title page of *VIRGEN S. MA-/RIANO TATTOQI ROSARIO/ no-xu-guioto, vonajiqu Iesusno/ minano Cofradiani ataru/ riacuno qirocu./ CORE PREDICADORESNO MON-/ pano vchi Padre Fr. Iuan de los An-/ gesno foniacu nari./ SCVTVM* [Dominican seal] *FIDEI/ Ordinariono yuruxiuo comuri, Binondoc no S./ Gabrielno Hospitalni voite fanni fraqu/ mono nari*

1622. (“Summary for the followers of the holy rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and for the members of the Confraternity of the Holy Name of Jesus. This is a translation of Fr. Juan de los Angeles of the Order of Preachers. It received the license of the Ordinary and was printed in the Hospital of San Gabriel of Binondo. 1622.”). BNE: <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000112262&page=1> (Fig. 19). An album of photographs taken of the copy at the Archives of the Dominican Province of the Holy Rosary (APSR) in 1931, when the Archives had not yet been transferred to Ávila, Spain, is at the Archivo de la Universidad de Santo Tomás (AUST), Old catalogue no. Libros 288a (Fig. 20). Also, a seal with the monogram IHS, with a cross above and a heart with three nails below, framed by typographical ornaments, over the text: *Sit Nomen Domini Benedictum* (“May the Name of the Lord be Blessed”) on page 195 (Fig. 21); and typographical ornaments at the end of the book (Fig. 22).



Fig. 19.



Fig. 20.



Fig. 21.



Fig. 22.

[41]. 1623. Seal of the Dominicans, with the rising sun in the center and above it a copperplate engraving of a bust of Saint Thomas Aquinas, on the title page of *VIRGEN S. MARIANO/ TATTOQ I ROSARIO-NO IARDIN/ tote fanazoni tatoyuru qio./ VONAIQU JESUS-NO COFRADIANO/ REGIMIENONO RIACO./ Core Predicadoresno mompano vchi Fr. Joan de/ los Angelesno fonyacu nari./ Supperiorto, Ordinariono yuruxiuo comuri, Binondocno S. Gabriel/ no Hospitalni voite fanni firaqu mono nari/ Goxuxxe yori 1623.* (“Garden of the Holy Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary, or a Book similar to a garden flower. And a short manual on the Confraternity of Jesus. This is a translation by Fr. Juan de los Angeles of the Order of Preachers. The license was received by the Superior and the Ordinary, and it was printed in the Hospital of San Gabriel in Binondoc. Of the era 1623.”) A copy each at the AUST (Rare UST Press; also an album of the photographs taken in 1931, old catalogue no. Libros 288b) (Fig. 23: typographical ornaments in the preliminary section, from the photo album) and the AFIO (Fig. 24: title on the spine, *Jard[i]n d[e]l Ross[ari]o en Leng[u]a Jap[ones]a*). The AUST copy does not have the Dominican seal and bust of St. Thomas Aquinas; this page was also absent in the copy of the Franciscans, when this writer visited the archive in 2019.



Archivo de la Universidad de Santo Tomás

Fig. 23.

Archivo Franciscano Ibero-Oriental

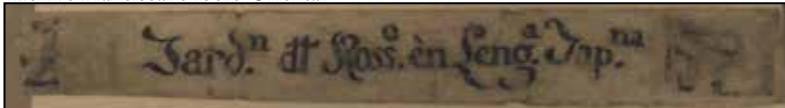


Fig. 24.

[42]. 1623. *LVZONNI VOITE ARU/ FITO SVCAXONO TEVO VOI YAGATE/ xixezu xite canauazarixi teirarito iyedomo,/ tattoqi Rosariono goqidocunite ino-/ chiuo nobetamō coto.* No designs. AUST, Rare UST Press (Fig. 25); also an album of the photographs taken in 1931, old catalogue no. Libros 288b.

Archivo de la Universidad de Santo Tomás



Fig. 25.

Archivo de la Universidad de Santo Tomás



Fig. 26.

[46]. [1623]. Pedro de Herrera. *Postrimerias en Tagalo* [Manila]. No copy extant.

Apart from illustrations in books, it is important to note that on All Saints' Day in 1602, the Jesuit College in Manila issued pictures of the saints of the year on slips of paper.¹³ This is the first documented instance of *estampitas* in the Philippines. For Filipinos, *estampitas* are pocket-

¹³ Van der Loop, 42. He continues: "Were the missionaries aware that the printing of paper gods for the new year was an old Chinese custom?"

[43]. 1623. *Vareraga vōaruji IESV Christo S. Brigida, S. Isa-/ bel, S. Mitildesni tçuguetamo vonmino go Passiōno/ voncuruximino iroxinano coto. Core voncana-/ ximino gocagiono Mysteriosuo quanzu-/ rutameni tayorito naru nari.* [at the back] *Iesusno Compañiano Padre Garcia Garçes cono goqidocuno, yauari [?]/ gueuo Approbar xerarexiuo Ordinariono yuruxiuo motte Bonondoc-/ no S. Gabrielno Hospitalni voite fanni fraquumono nari./ Fanguiyaua Thomas Pinpin nari. Groxxuxeyori. 16023.* [sic.] No designs. AUST, Rare UST Press (Fig. 26; Fig. 27: colophon); also an album of the photographs taken in 1931, old catalogue no. Libros 288b.

[44]. 1623. Juan Bautista Fernández. *Constituciones de la santa y apostolica Provincia de S. Gregorio.* No copy extant.

[45]. 1623. Elaborate coat of arms of the Dominicans on the title page of Melchor de Manzano de Haro's *Relacion verdadera del insigne y excelente martyrio [...]* (San Gabriel de Binondoc, by Tomas Pinpin, Fig. 28). BNE.

Archivo de la Universidad de Santo Tomás

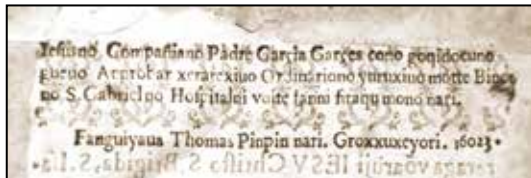


Fig. 27.

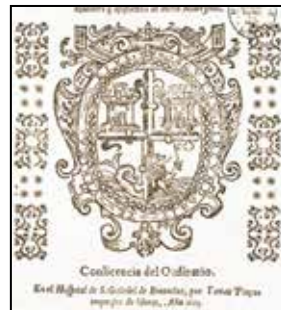


Fig. 28.

W. Retana, Orígenes de la Imprenta Filipina 1911, 155-111

sized cards featuring portraits of saints or scenes with religious meaning. They are usually given on special occasions such as fiestas, birthdays, first communion, priestly ordinations, or death anniversaries as keepsakes. The word is derived from the Spanish *estampeta*, literally a small *estampa* or print.

Most important for this study, the 1623 *Virgen S. Mariano*—unlike the 1622 edition with almost the same title—carries a number of illustrations that may qualify as *estampitas*, which seem to be the earliest known examples of their kind in the Philippines. Before we discuss this artistic aspect it would be worthwhile to briefly dwell on its reason for being: the Christianization of the Japanese.

Part Two. The *Rosario Daiichi* of 1623 and its historico-cultural contexts

The 'Christian Century' in Japan

Christianity came to Japan with Saint Francis Xavier in 1549. Jesuit missionaries from Goa and Macao continued his evangelization. A Dominican, Fray Juan Cobo, was sent from the Philippines as the governor's emissary to Nagoya in 1592, to negotiate with Hideyoshi Toyotomi (Taikosama) who threatened to invade the Philippines. The invasion did not push through, but Cobo perished in the sea on his return voyage.¹⁴ A second embassy was sent the following year; under the leadership of the Franciscan Fr. Pedro Bautista, a concession was gained for missionaries to stay and preach the faith.¹⁵ The first formal missionary expedition of Dominicans and Augustinians arrived in 1602. However, intrigues sown by Portuguese and Dutch merchants, with the aim of preventing the Spaniards from participating in the lucrative trade with the Japanese, had adverse consequences on Spanish missionary efforts. Persecution of Catholics was marked by executions that reached horrendous proportions in 1597, 1622 and the years leading to 1637.¹⁶ Fr. Pedro Bautista was himself martyred in Nagasaki in 1597 (he was canonized in 1862). An edict in 1614 expelled all Christians from Japan, although

¹⁴ Pablo Fernandez, O.P., *Dominicos donde nace el sol* (Barcelona: [Provincia de Nuestra Señora del Rosario], 1958), 31. For introductory texts on the Dominicans in Japan, see *ibid.*, 81-95; Honorio Muñoz, O.P., *Los dominicos españoles en japon (siglo xvii)*, (Madrid: Missionalia Hispanica, 1965); and Fidel Villarroel, O.P., *Lorenzo Ruiz. The Protomartyr of the Philippines and His Companions* (Pasay City: Saint Paul Publications, 1980).

¹⁵ He had been sent as an envoy to Japan by Governor Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas in 1593: José Eugenio Borao, "La colonia de Japoneses en Manila en el marco de las relaciones de Filipinas y Japón en los siglos XVI y XVII," *Cuadernos Canela* 17 (2005), 7. San Pedro Bautista is the patron of the Franciscan Province in the Philippines.

¹⁶ For a 1623 account published in Madrid on the martyrdoms of Dominicans in Japan, see Jorge Mojarro, "A rare Spanish imprint on Dominican martyrs in Japan: edition and study," *Philippiniana Sacra* LVI:168 (May-August 2021), pp. 639-654.

many believers and missionaries remained. Especially memorable is a group of lepers who were among those banished from their native country; they were given succor in the Franciscan hospital of San Lazaro in Manila. In 1640 Japan turned its back to the world, closing what was a most brilliant “Christian Century.”

A Jesuit press operated in Japan from 1591 to 1597, with six of seven works printed at the Jesuit College in Amacusa. The press transferred operations, now clandestine, in Nagasaki in 1604. The Dominican press in Manila rallied with the 1622 and 1623 works just described, as well as with a Japanese-Spanish dictionary published in 1630 (Fig. 29). After 1640 no more manuals for the Japanese Christians left the Manila press.

Needless to say, books contemporary with the Christian Century in Japan are exceedingly rare. The UST Heritage Library possesses a *Compendium Manualis Navarri* printed in Amacusa in 1597 (Fig. 30), and a *Nova Grammatica Latina* printed in Tokyo in 1602.¹⁷

Biblioteca Nacional de España



Fig. 29.



University of Santo Tomás AVR Heritage Library

Fig. 30.

¹⁷ Angel Aparicio, O.P., ed., *Catalogue of Rare Books University of Santo Tomas Library, Volume I, 1492-1600* (Manila: University of Santo Tomas Library, 2001), 529-530.

Japanese communities in Manila

For the purposes of this article, the history of the Japanese colony in Manila will be treated only up to 1623, when the tracts of the *Rosario Daiichi* including the *Virgen S. Mariano* were published. According to a Spanish report in 1570, there were forty Chinese and twenty Japanese in Manila. One of these introduced himself to Legazpi's men as a Christian named Pedro; he showed them an icon and requested for a rosary. After trade between the Japanese and the Spaniards in Manila began in 1584, the former were joined by their compatriots whose encampments in Aparri, Lingayen and Ago, had been closed by the Spaniards in the 1580s.¹⁸ The Japanese were eventually settled in enclaves under the spiritual administration of the Franciscans and Jesuits. This area was just across a creek from the Parian, which had been founded for the Chinese around 1580 and placed under the care of the Dominicans. In the Franciscan "sphere of influence" was the town of Dilao, which was placed under their religious administration in 1580;¹⁹ the number of Japanese was increased by survivors of a shipwreck in 1585. In 1593 there were 300 Japanese, and in 1595 there were 1,000.²⁰ Most of them were expelled, however in 1597, as a result of the first massacre of Christians in Japan in that year.²¹ Among those martyred were the Franciscans Pedro Bautista and Felipe de Jesús,²² who with their companions were beatified in 1627 and canonized in 1862.

A village was established specifically for the remaining Japanese in 1601 in nearby Balete along the eponymous creek which still retains its name, and was likewise placed under the care of the Franciscans.²³ 500 emigrants arrived in 1603.²⁴ In 1606, there were 91 shops and lodgings; the cultural ambience was reflective of Japan.²⁵ Though some of their number fought on the side of the Spaniards and native Filipinos against the Chinese in 1603,²⁶ there were also some anti-Spanish uprisings led by the Japanese in 1606, 1607 and 1608. In this last year, Dilao almost disappeared, and the Japanese were expelled for the second time.²⁷ An offer to build

¹⁸ Borao, 4.

¹⁹ Felix de Huerta, O.F.M., *Estado geográfico, topográfico, estadístico, histórico-religioso, de la Santa y Apostólica Provincia de S. Gregorio Magno* [...] (Binondo: Imprenta de M. Sánchez y C.a., 1865), 54.

²⁰ Borao, 8.

²¹ News of the massacre expectedly provoked unrest in Manila. Additionally, the Jesuits blamed the Franciscans for their imprudence; these in turn celebrated the martyrdom as a goal: Borao, 9.

²² San Felipe de Jesús is Mexico's first canonized saint.

²³ Huerta, 557.

²⁴ Borao, 9.

²⁵ Birgit Tremml-Werner, *Spain, China, and Japan in Manila, 1571-1644. Local Comparisons and Global Connections* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015), 282-283.

²⁶ Borao, 12.

²⁷ Borao, 13.

a seminary for the Japanese in Dilao in 1621 was nipped in the bud.²⁸ Due to their diminishing numbers, the community at Balete was transferred to Dilao in 1626.²⁹ In 1632, the Franciscans' Hospital de Naturales (relocated after a fire in 1603 to a site just southeast of Dilao) became the refuge for 150 Japanese lepers banished from their homeland, and thereafter was known as the Hospital de San Lázaro.³⁰ The creek separating the Japanese from the Chinese communities was eventually renamed Estero de San Lázaro.

Later incoming Japanese were housed in the adjoining town of San Miguel, which had been ceded to the Jesuits in 1603 (although a chapel was here since in 1572).³¹ A large group of Japanese Christians, exiled by the Tokugawa shogunate, were settled here in December 1614; they were accompanied by 38 missionaries, among them Augustinians, Dominicans, Franciscans and Jesuits.³² Among the exiles were the nobles Justo Takayama Ukon³³ and Naito Tadatoshi (also known as Juan Nayto or Nayto Yukiyasu Tokuan)³⁴ and their households, as well as women religious who were under the spiritual direction of the Jesuits. These women had grouped together to form a *beaterio* in Meaco (Kyoto), where they lived a life of prayer bound by vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience; it has been argued that this was the first institution of its kind in Asia that was founded by Asians.³⁵ Dr. Nayto established a place for the *beatas*, headed by his sister the prioress, Sor Julia; this is most likely the 'Casa de Balete' that appears in a map dated before 1757 (Fig. 31).³⁶

²⁸ Anon., "Papel sobre los inconvenientes que tiene la Obra del Seminario de Japoneses de Dilao, y el daño que resulta de los Estancos," Archivo Franciscano Ibero-Oriental (AFIO), Madrid, 88/2.

²⁹ Huerta, 557.

³⁰ Huerta, 67.

³¹ Rene B. Javellana, S.J., *Wood & Stone for God's Greater Glory. Jesuit Art & Architecture in the Philippines* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1991), 198.

³² Villarreal 1980, 33. The number of Japanese exiles varies from 100 (Borao, 15) to more than 300 (Luciano P.R. Santiago, *To Love and to Suffer. The Development of the Religious Congregations for Women in the Spanish Philippines, 1565-1898* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2005), 60; "a large group," Tremml-Werner, 303. Borao, 16, says that Naito founded a new settlement for the Japanese which became known as San Miguel; according to Javellana, the town had been with the Jesuits since 1603.

³³ Justus Takayama Ukon died just 44 days after his arrival in Manila. A petition for his canonization was presented by the Archdiocese of Manila to the Vatican in 1630. He was beatified in 2017. <https://takayamaukon.com/>.

³⁴ Possible descendants of the Nayto family in 18th century Manila include Juan Nayto and Lucas Nayto who were learned and prominent priests, and Juan Bautista Nayto, who helped design a monastery for *mestizo sangley* religious sisters in Binondo: Santiago, 62.

³⁵ Santiago, 60-61.

³⁶ Borao, 16. The map, formerly catalogued 86/34 is located in Carpeta 7-15, AFIO. If the 'Casa de Balete' is indeed Sor Julia Nayto's *beaterio*, then it stood on what is now Isla de Provisor, a short distance from the church of San Miguel along the banks of the Pasig River. Although the *beaterio*

In 1615 the Japanese had reached 1,500, making the governor enlist 500 of them to counter the Dutch in the Moluccas (they eventually escaped to Siam and returned to their homeland). In 1616, more Japanese Christians arrived here with their Jesuit mentors.³⁷ Despite an order to limit the Japanese to 3,000, they had exceeded this number in 1623³⁸ (curiously, an average of only one Japanese licensed ship (*shuinsen*) docked between 1616 and 1623). Half of this number were Christians, according to Archbishop Serrano.³⁹ A seminary for the Japanese was established in 1624, and the first graduates left for Japan in 1629.⁴⁰

It would be good to give the modern reader an idea of the area covered by the Japanese colony in the early 17th century. The church of Dilao stood approximately on the site of today's SM City behind the Manila City Hall. The Hospital de San Lázaro was on a bend of the Balete Creek, now occupied by the Adamson University. The church of San Miguel was somewhere near the western landing of the Ayala Bridge from the Isla de Convalecencia, between the Suntrust Solana Condominium and the PLDT Marqués de Comillas office along Romualdez Street. The *beaterio* of Sor Julia Nayto, in keeping with its reclusive character, was isolated on what is now the Isla de Provisor. The Japanese community was separated from the Parian (now the land occupied by the Metropolitan Theater, the Mehan Gardens, the Arroceros Forest Park, and the Universidad de Manila, among other landmarks) by the Estero de San Lázaro, also called Estero de Arroceros, which was later filled up to become today's eponymous street.⁴¹ As a result of the British Occupation of Manila, 1762-1764, all these buildings were deemed threats to the security of the walled city. The districts were thus relocated to other areas and their buildings demolished. San Miguel crossed the Pasig and settled on its northern shore. Dilao moved to where Paco is now (the lonesome statue of Lord Takayama is misplaced there). The Hospital de San Lázaro was rebuilt in Tayuman, in Manila's Santa Cruz district, and is the seat of the country's Department of Health.

ceased to exist in 1656—some 30 years after Balete had been incorporated with Dilao—the building may have been used for other purposes. The Balete Creek connected it to the Franciscans' Hospital de San Lázaro.

³⁷ Tremml-Werner, 303.

³⁸ Borao, 18.

³⁹ Borao, 19.

⁴⁰ Borao, 20. Javellana, 198, says another attempt in 1636 was unsuccessful.

⁴¹ The buildings that stood in this area, as depicted in the map mentioned earlier, are described in Pedro Luengo Gutierrez, "Balete. Arquitectura en la comunidad japonesa de Manile entre 1601 y 1762," *Quiroga* 1 (2012): 20-28.

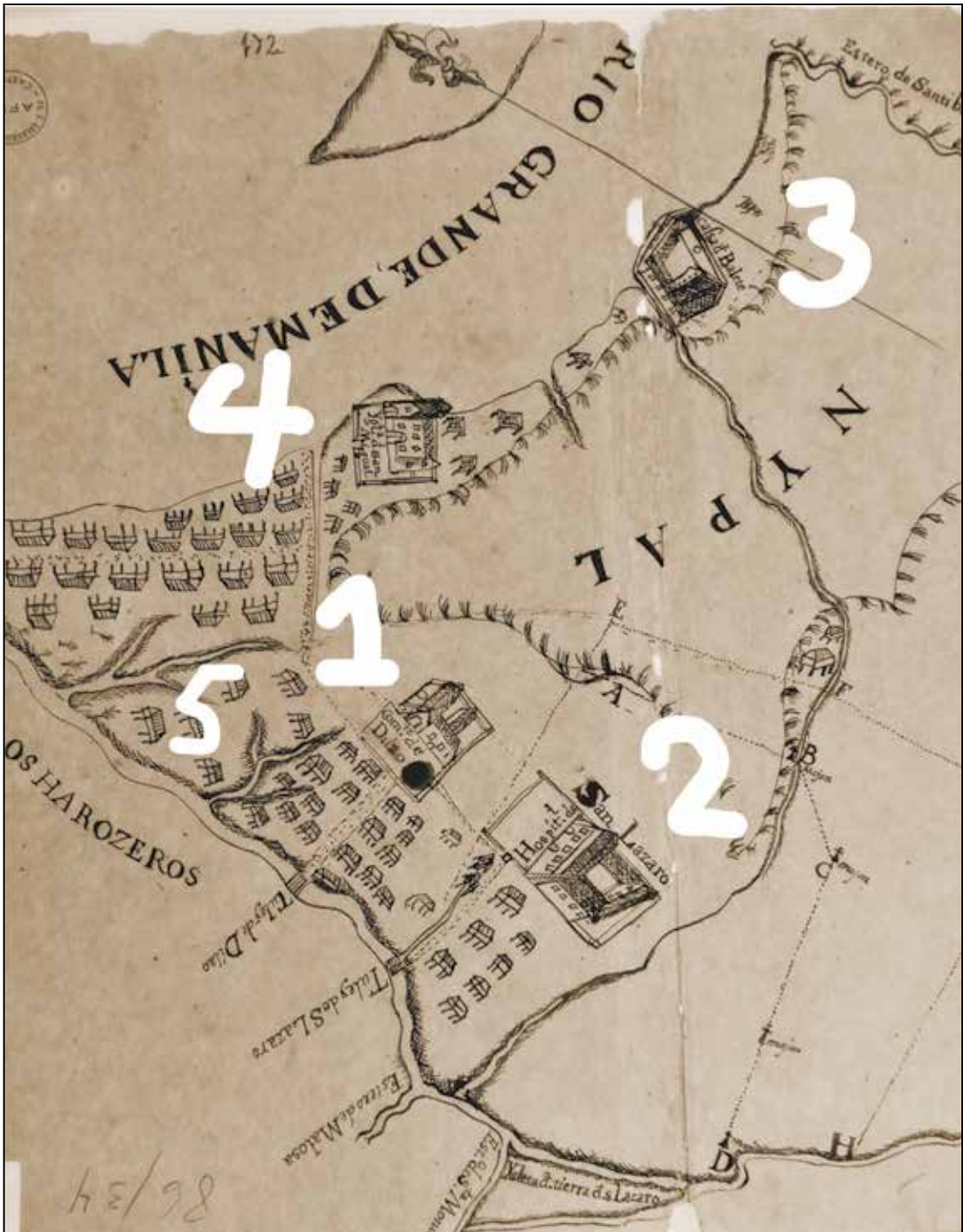


Fig. 31.

Map of the old Dilao and San Miguel districts, Manila, before 1757. AFIO, Carpeta 7-15

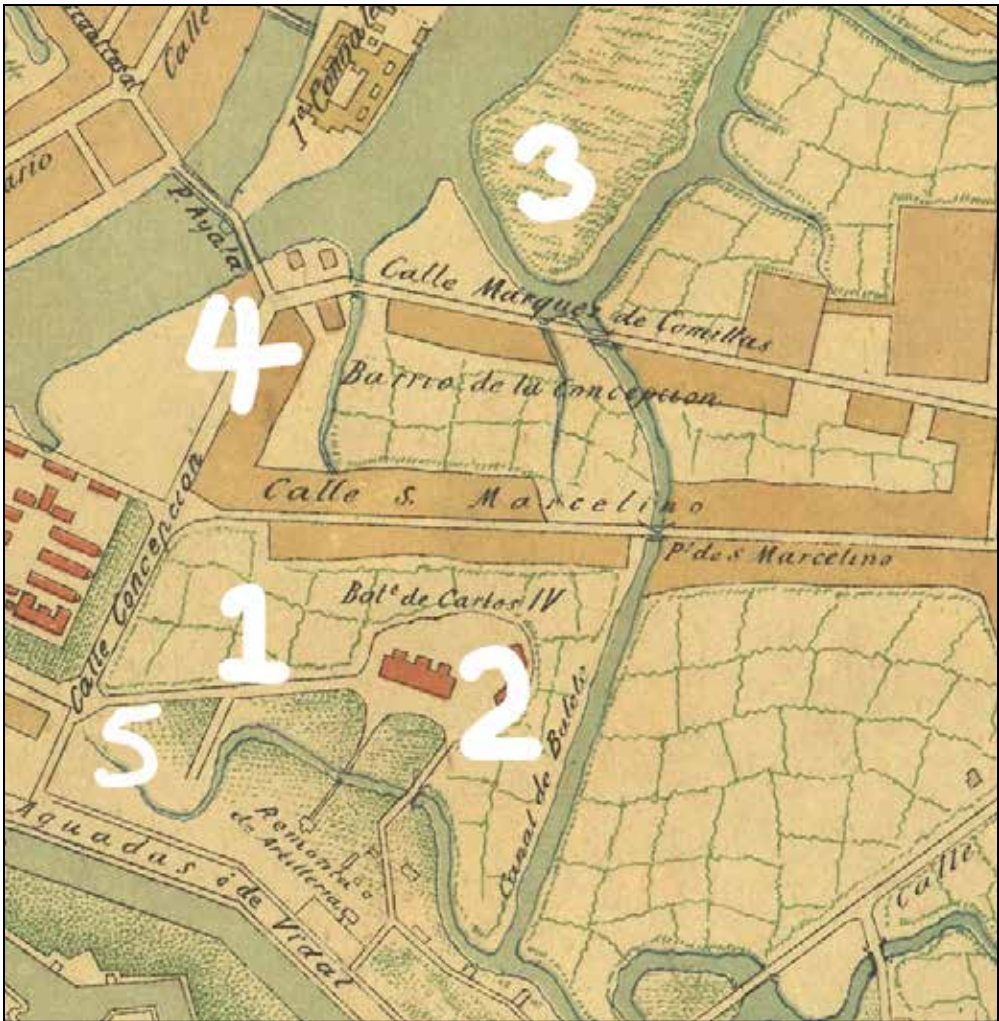


Fig. 32.

Map of the same area, circa 1898
legacy.lib.utexas.edu maps historical manila_and_suburbs_1898

Legend:

- 1 Church of Dilao
- 2 Hospital de San Lázaro
- 3 Casa de Balete
- 4 Church of San Miguel
- 5 Present-day Manila City Hall

Japanese Dominicans in Manila

The Dominican mission to Japan began in 1602, The first Dominican mission in 1602 consisted of four priests and a lay brother. Curiously, it seems none of them had received an adequate preparation for the Japanese language. Fray Francisco de Morales Sedeño, who had been in Manila since 1598, was a theologian in that city's Dominican convent. The four others had barely rested after arriving in Manila (April 30, 1602)⁴² when the Provincial Chapter selected them on May 6 for the new mission in Satzuma;⁴³ the five, headed by Morales, arrived in Japan just three months later.⁴⁴

Indeed, it seems not unusual for the Dominicans to assign their freshly arrived confreres to Japan with only a few months preparation, if at all. This may have been prompted by the urgency of sending missionaries due to the increasingly bloody persecution against Christians in that land. Although the Dominicans regularly appointed language examiners for those to be sent to the Tagalog region, Pangasinan, Cagayan, and China, there was no provision for Japan. The biographies of Jose Salvanes de San Jacinto, Juan Martínez Cid de Sto. Domingo, Angel Ferrer Orsucci, Domingo Castellet Vinale, Luis Bertran Exarch, and Lucas Alonso Gorda del Espíritu Santo tell of their learning the language in Japan. In fact, Juan Martínez and Angel Ferrer Orsucci were caught while studying Japanese.⁴⁵

Given the difficult language situation, the production of the four Japanese titles listed above dated 1622 and 1623, albeit in romanized form, is all the more extraordinary. Linguistic knowledge must have been obtained both from Dominicans and other missionaries returning from Japan, and also from the Japanese communities in Dilao, Balete, and San Miguel. It has been suggested that among the exiles were candidates for the priesthood, who finalized their education in Manila and were ordained here.

⁴² Hilario Ocio, O.P., and Eladio Neira, O.P., *Misioneros Dominicanos en el Extremo Oriente 1587-1835*, (Manila: [Provincia de Nuestra Señora del Rosario], 2000), 82. Hereafter referred to as Ocio-Neira.

⁴³ *Acta Capitulum Provincialium Provinciae Sanctissimi Rosarii Philippinarum. Ordinis Praedicatorum*. Vol. 1, 1588-1698: 43 (Manila: Collegii Sancti Thomae, 1874).

⁴⁴ Francisco de Morales, Tomas de Zumárraga Lezcano del Espíritu Santo, and Alonso de Mena Navarrete served the underground Church after the 1614 expulsion decree. They were martyred in 1622 and beatified in 1867. Ocio-Neira, 74, 83-84, and 85 respectively.

⁴⁵ All six were martyred between 1619 and 1628. Lucas Alonso Gorda was beatified in 1981 and canonized in 1987. The others were beatified in 1867. For their biographies, see Ocio-Neira: Salvanes, 99; Martínez, 83; Ferrer, 84; Castellet, 117-118; Exarch, 123-124; and Gorda, 124-125.

In both 1622 and 1623 titles beginning with *Virgen S. Mariano*, there is an indication that the work was translated by Fr. Juan de los Angeles into Japanese. However, the Dominican historian and former archivist of the AUST Fr. Alberto Santamaria opines that rather than a direct translation of a certain work it could have been a collection of texts gathered from different sources and only then roughly translated and written in romanized Japanese. Juan de los Angeles is actually the religious name taken by Juan Rueda, a native of Villasandino in Burgos, Spain, when he entered the Dominican Order. He arrived in the Philippines with fourteen other Dominicans in 1604. He was one of those almost immediately assigned to the Dominican missions in Japan. Having managed to evade the *daimyo's* henchmen when all foreign missionaries were expelled from that country in 1614, Fr. de los Angeles returned to Manila in 1619 to recruit re-enforcements. After four years, on April 21, 1623, he embarked on another voyage back to Japan with three more Dominicans, four Franciscans, and two Augustinians. In the interim, he was able to write and publish two books for the Japanese Christians, the ones described here. The author of *Virgen S. Mariano* was not destined to reach Japan, for it is reported that some time perhaps in 1623 or 1624 he was beheaded and thrown into the sea off the Lequios (Ryukyus) Islands.⁴⁶

The 1622 and 1623 *Virgen S. Mariano*, as well as the *Lvzonni voite* [...] and *Vareraga voaruji* [...] were written in romanized Japanese most possibly for the European missionaries who could not read Japanese script; this way, a knowledge of the life of Christ through the devotions to the rosary and the Holy Name of Jesus could be spread more “rapidly,” if at all possible, given the underground nature of evangelization at that time. In the brief window between 1619 and 1623 De los Angeles most probably collaborated with young Japanese seminarians whose vocations were interrupted by their exile in 1614 and other years. It is known that he assisted in the Dominican formation of Jacobo Samonaga de Santa Maria, a son of Japanese Christians. Jacobo was admitted into the Order in 1624, was ordained a priest in 1626,⁴⁷ and assisted Fray Jacinto Esquivel⁴⁸ in translating into Spanish a thick Japanese-Portuguese dictionary published in 1630.⁴⁹ Other Japanese

⁴⁶ Ocio-Neira, 95.

⁴⁷ Jacobo Samonaga de Santa Maria was martyred in Japan in 1633 and was canonized in 1987: Ocio-Neira, 501, 138, 536-537.

⁴⁸ Like many of his Dominican peers, Jacinto Esquivel del Rosario evangelized in Formosa as a steppingstone to Japan; unfortunately, he was killed at sea in 1633 before reaching his goal: Ocio-Neira, 138.

⁴⁹ The *Vocabulario de Iapon* was published by the Colegio de Santo Tomás and printed by Tomás Pinpin and Jacinto Magaurlua [Magarulao]. A copy, said by Fr. Fidel Villarroel to have been used by Saint Miguel González de Aozaraza (martyred in Japan in 1637 and canonized in 1987: Ocio-Neira, 160), is kept at the Archives of Santo Tomás. The Portuguese original was published in the Jesuit College in Nagasaki in 1603.

Dominicans who may have worked with Fray Juan Rueda were Tomas Hioji de San Jacinto, who studied at the then Colegio de Santo Tomás, was admitted into the Order in 1622, and ministered in his native land in 1629 until his martyrdom in 1634;⁵⁰ Vicente Shiwozuka de la Cruz, who was ordained a priest in 1619, taught Japanese to the missionaries, joined the Dominicans in 1636 before leaving for Japan, and was martyred there a year later;⁵¹ and Diego de Santa Catalina and Luis de Santo Tomás, who eventually took the Dominican habit in 1625 and professed in 1626.⁵²

Part Three. Bibliographical notes on the *Virgen S. Mariano*

As seen above, *Virgen S. Mariano* is the portion of a title that appears on two books, printed in 1622 and 1623 respectively. Two books of almost the same title coming out within a year of each other would certainly cause some confusion. Hence, we must make sure how one is distinct from the other. Both were written, or at least compiled, by the same author, Fray Juan Rueda de los Angeles, a Dominican. Both were written in romanized Japanese, which was printed with exactly the same fonts, on rice paper, also known as Chinese paper. Both were among the last known imprints to have come out of the Dominican press at the Hospital de San Gabriel in Binondo, which would move across the Pasig River to the Colegio de Santo Tomás by 1625. Both titles were first introduced to Philippine bibliography in 1904 by Augustinian Fathers Angel Pérez and Cecilio Güemes.⁵³ These bibliographers noted two copies of each in their bibliography.

⁵⁰ It was Fr. Tomas Hioji de San Jacinto, passing by the Ryukyus on his way to Japan from Manila via Formosa, who learned about Fr. Juan Rueda de los Angeles' tragic end and wrote about it to the Dominican Provincial in 1630: Ocio-Neira, 95. He was beatified in 1981, and canonized in 1987: Ocio-Neira, 538.

⁵¹ Vicente Shiwozuka de la Cruz joined the Dominican mission to Japan in 1636: Ocio-Neira, 538-539. In this group were the Dominicans Antonio González (ibid., 149), Guillermo Courtet (ibid., 159), and Miguel de Aozaraza (ibid., 160), and the *mestizo sangley* Lorenzo Ruiz (ibid., 542-543). All five were martyred in 1637, beatified in 1981 and, with Lorenzo Ruiz at the head, canonized in 1987.

⁵² Both were assigned to Cagayan, but both died prematurely in 1627: Ocio-Neira, 501. Some of the younger Japanese Christians studied in the Colegio de Letran which had just been founded (1632). Those who joined the Dominicans were Pedro de Sta Maria, Tomas de San Jacinto, Francisco Shoyomon, Jacobo de Sta Maria, Vicente de la Cruz (ibid., 540). As a matter of interest, we would like to include here the names of later Japanese who joined the Dominicans in Manila: Felipe del Espiritu Santo (ibid., 502); Domingo Maitichi del Espiritu Santo (ibid., 510); Miguel Sanyuro de San Raymundo (ibid., 516); and José Oscorta (ibid., 519).

⁵³ Angel Pérez, O.S.A., and Cecilio Güemes, O.S.A., *Adiciones y continuaciones de "La Imprenta en Manila" de Don Jose Toribio Medina* (Manila: Imprenta de Santos y Bernal, 1904). Henceforth to be referred to as Perez y Güemes.

Of the 1622 *Virgen S. Mariano tattoqi rosario no-xu-guioto* (“Summary for the followers of the holy rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary”) two copies were found, one in the Franciscan monastery in Intramuros, and the other—incomplete—in an unspecified place (that is, not necessarily with the Franciscans). Eventually, a third copy was found by Fr. Alberto Santamaria in the Archive of the Dominican Province of the Holy Rosary in Intramuros, filed in the *Impresos* section, volume 169.⁵⁴ Inscribed on the title page of the Dominican copy is “Es del Noviciado de N. P. S. Domingo de Manila.” The 1622 *Virgen S. Mariano* has approximately 237 pages. Fr. Alberto Santamaria measured each page at 11.50 x 7.10 cm., containing 20 lines of text. He also noted that the work and its translation were examined by Fray (later Saint) Pedro Bautista. The translation to Spanish of the Japanese titles was made by Fr. Claudio Nieto, who ministered in Japan from 1912 to 1931, when he went to Manila to research on the early history of the Japanese missions.⁵⁵ The miracles of Our Lady of the Rosary begin on page 100. From page 195 begins the treatise on the Holy Name of Jesus.⁵⁶

Of the 1623 *Virgen S. Mariano tattoqi rosario-no iardin* (“Garden of the Holy Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary”) one copy was at the Franciscan monastery, the other—also incomplete—was with the Dominicans. This latter copy used to belong to the University of Santo Tomas Library, but by the 1930s it had been removed to the Archive of that University (AUST), filed under the *Filipinos* section, volume One. This is the work bound in the *Rosario Daiichi*. There is a 1623 *Virgen S. Mariano* at the AFIO in Madrid. Is this the one formerly at the Franciscan monastery in Manila?

Fr. Santamaria provided more information about the 1623 *Virgen S. Mariano*. It has approximately 131 pages more than the 1622 edition. It is a little

⁵⁴ Jesus Gayo Aragon, O.P., “Catálogo de los impresos Filipinos conservados en los archivos de la provincia del S.mo Rosario y de la Universidad de Sto. Tomás de Manila,” *Unitas* 25:2 (1952): 313-368.

⁵⁵ Alberto Santamaria, O.P., “Prólogo” and notes to the 1622 and 1623 *Virgen S. Mariano*, Typescript dated 1932 June 4 at the Archivo de la Universidad de Santo Tomás, Manila. On Fr. Claudio Nieto, see Hilario Ocio, Eladio Neira, and Gregorio Arnaiz, O.P. 2000. *Misioneros Dominicanos en el Extremo Oriente 1836-1940*. Manila: [Provincia de Nuestra Señora del Rosario], 452-453.

⁵⁶ Bibliographers register the pages thus: 3 leaves + 225 numbered pages + 3 leaves. The 1622 copy that Fr. Gayo described pertains to the Archives of the Province of the Holy Rosary (APSR), formerly in UST but now in Avila, Spain; he measured this copy at 13 x 9 cm., perhaps including the covers. This work was also examined before its printing by Fr. Pedro Bautista, a Franciscan who himself would be numbered among those martyred in Japan. The copy at the Dominican Archives lacks pages 179 to 194. Antonio Graiño (catalog #11) acquired an incomplete copy, on very fine *papel de China*, which Tomas Sanz conjectures could be that mentioned by Perez y Güemes: Carlos Sanz, *Bibliografía descriptiva y critica de libros filipinos de Don Antonio Graiño*, (Manila: Instituto Nacional de Historia, 1976).

bit larger, measuring 17.20 x 11 cm., each page accommodating 29 lines of text. The 1623 edition is composed of four parts. Part 1, *Quanda ichi* (whence the second part of the title on the spine, Fig. 33), introduces the confraternity of the rosary, its origin and rules, from pages 1-56. Part 2, *Quandaini*, presents the excellencies of the rosary and ways to apply them, on pages 57-86. Part 3, *Quandai san Rosariono*, dwells on the mysteries of the rosary, and is the longest section running from pages 87 to 209. Part 4, *Quandaixi*, recounts the miracles of Our Lady of the Rosary from pages 210 to 287. Close to the end of the book is a chapter on the Confraternity of the Holy Name of Jesus, with a Litany for the same. A short Japanese-Spanish dictionary begins on page 316. The last ten unnumbered pages constitute the Table of Contents.⁵⁷

The AUST's 1623 *Virgen S. Mariano* is bound in the *Rosario Daiichi* volume with two other works, also in romanized Japanese; their full titles are in the chronological list in Part One above. The first, *LVZONNI VOITE ARU...* (Fig. 25) is the heading of a short work that recounts the miracle bestowed by Our Lady of the Rosary on Francisco Lopez in 1613, which was confirmed in 1621. Although it bears no colophon, the printing is identical to that of the 1623 *Virgen S. Mariano*. The copy in the Franciscan library catalogued by Perez y Güemes contained 16 unnumbered pages. A copy is at the Franciscan Archives in Madrid, bound with the 1623 *Virgen S. Mariano*. The AUST *Lvzonni* copy appears at the beginning of the bound *Rosario Daiichi*, as if it were an introduction to the *Virgen S. Mariano*; but Fr. Gayo suggests it must have been added to the *Virgen* in the manner of an Appendix. Above the first page of *LVZONNI* is inscribed, *Conv[en]to del Parian*, and below it is another by a later hand: *Ahora de la Libre[ri]a de S[an]to Tomás*. It cannot be determined at this point if only *Lvzonni*, or if the entire *Rosario Daiichi* volume belonged to the Dominican convent in the Parian; in any case, this is an exceedingly rare artifact from the storied compound for the Chinese. The AUST copy also lacks the last page.

The *Vareraga vōaruji IESV Christo* (Fig. 26) is the heading of a two-page work bound at the end of the 1623 *Virgen S. Marianno* of the AUST. The work contains Christ's Revelations of His Passion to St. Brigitte, St. Elizabeth, and St. Matilde. It is in a font smaller than the *Virgen S. Mariano* and the *Lvzonni voite*, and

⁵⁷ That is, 3 unnumbered pages + 355 numbered pages + 10 unnumbered pages: Perez y Güemes, 21-22; Gayo, 324, categorizes its size as 4° (*cuarto*, one fourth of a *folio* or sheet, or about 20 x 15 cm.). Fr. Santamaria noted that the copy at AUST lacks several pages: the Title page, the page for the licenses to print (including that of Fr. Pedro Bautista), and the first pages of the prologue; pages 36-37, 48-49, 94-95, 118-119, 130-133, 160-161, 166-169, 174-175, 288-303, 320-321, 326-327; and the last two leaves of the Table of Contents. He also added that this work was reprinted in 1869 by the Bishop of Japan, Msgr. Petitjean in Japanese characters.

Fr. Gayo opines that it may have been printed just after these two left the press. At the back of the page is the colophon, stating that the *Vareraga* was printed in 16023 (sic) in the Hospital de San Gabriel in Binondo. Unlike the *Virgen S. Mariano*, it mentions Thomas Pinpin as the printer (*Fig. 27*).⁵⁸

In January of 1931, a Japanese doctor by the name of Masao Ota⁵⁹ came to Manila to examine *Virgen S. Mariano* and similar titles listed by Perez y Güemes in the Franciscan monastery. Not successful in locating them, he found copies of them with the Dominicans. He commissioned the Sun Photo Supply of Mr. Yamamoto to make photocopies of them, and gave one set to the UST Archives.⁶⁰ Two sets of copies and the negatives were taken to Japan, to some unknown government ministry. Fr. Gayo notes that during the Japanese Occupation, the Franciscans were “obliged” to turn them over to the Japanese, who presumably brought them to Japan.⁶¹ But a copy of the 1622 *Virgen S. Mariano* was purchased by the collector Antonio Graño who sold it to the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. Could this be one of the two listed by Perez y Güemes in 1904, then transported to Spain? Of the 1623 *Virgen S. Mariano*, the only known extant copies are those at the UST Archives (AUST- Rare UST Press section) and at the Franciscan Archives in Madrid (AFIO, 1014/3).

The *Rosario Daiichi* volume is also significant on another level. The three works it contains are considered among the Philippine incunabula, having been printed within the first 50 years of printing in the country (1593-1640). One certainly, and the other two most probably, were printed by Tomas Pinpin, the “Prince of Philippine Printers.” Fr. Fidel Villarroel, O.P., former archivist of AUST, catalogues thirteen books known to have been printed by Tomas Pinpin.⁶²

⁵⁸ Fr. Santamaria notes the understandable difficulty the Filipinos encountered with the printing of romanized Japanese. The same words appear in different spellings in various pages, and some words are mistakenly combined with others. On the title page of the *Vareraga*, for example, *goxuxxe yori* is correctly spelled; on the back page, it is misspelled *groxxuxeyori*. Apparently, Fr. Rueda was not able to benefit from the services of Miguel Saixo, a Japanese who had worked a few years before in the press under the Augustinians.

⁵⁹ His calling card in French read: “Docteur Masao Ota, Professeur á la Faculté de Médecine de l’Université Impériale á Sendai – 4 Kozenji-Dori, Sendai, (Japon).” Santamaria 1932.

⁶⁰ These are now in two bound photo albums, still bearing the old catalogue number Libros 288; the numbering has not been changed, although later archivists reused ‘Libros 288’ for other titles.

⁶¹ “Durante la dominación japonesa fueron obligados los dichos Padres [Franciscanos] a entregar estos ejemplares a los japoneses, quienes, es de suponer, los mandarian a Japón. Creemos que el Gobierno Filipino debería hacer todo lo possible para que volviesen a Filipinas.” Gayo, 326.

⁶² The first of these was printed in 1610, the last in 1639. Eleven were printed in the printing press of the Dominicans, of which six (1625-1630) were printed when the press had found its permanent home, the University of Santo Tomas. The twelfth book does not bear a place of publication apart from Manila; we know that in the thirteenth work, as evidenced in the colophon, Tomas Pinpin had transferred to the press of the Society of Jesus. Fidel Villarroel, O.P., “Tomas Pinpin, of Abucay, “The

The *Virgen S. Mariano* was printed in the Dominican press, which also printed the first books in the Philippines in 1593. Within its first thirty years the press had chalked up some remarkable mileage. It had travelled from its original site in San Gabriel, a Dominican mission just outside the Intramuros bulwark of the same name, to a Dominican-run mission across the Pasig River in Binondo (1604-1607), to the Dominican mission in Abucay, Bataan (1610), to the Franciscan mission of Tayabas, Quezon (1612), to the Franciscan mission in Pila, Laguna (1613), and to the Augustinian mission in Bacolor, Pampanga (1618), then to San Agustin in Manila (1620 and 1621). The press finally returned to the Dominicans, this time to the Hospital de San Gabriel in Binondo (1621-1623).⁶³ The compound of the Hospital de San Gabriel, presently bounded by the Pasig River and the streets of Quintin Paredes, San Gabriel, and Juan Luna, is now occupied by the masses of several buildings, including the Bank of the Philippine Islands (fronting Plaza Cervantes) and the First National City Bank (facing the Pasig).

The *Rosario Daiichi* volume, composed of the *Virgen S. Mariano*, the *Lvzonna voite* and the *Vareraga*, all printed in 1623, is the earliest Philippine incunabulum and the earliest issue from the venerable Dominican press now in the University of Santo Tomas. Furthermore, the *Rosario Daiichi* is a mute witness to the heroic effort at the Christianization of the Japanese, especially directed from Manila. Even more, the *Virgen S. Mariano* contains a surprise: the first “artifactual” evidence for the printing of religious images for public devotion known as *estampitas* in Philippine culture.

Part Four. The first Philippine *estampitas*?

We have seen from the list of Philippine imprints given in Part One that the first printed illustrations we know consisted of woodblock prints of scenes related to certain philosophical points. There are two scenes related to the Dominicans and their preaching. All other illustrations consisted of seals of the religious Orders, or anagrams of Jesus and Mary. But with the 1623 *Virgen S. Mariano* we are furnished with six prints related to the Life of Christ (five in the AUST, the sixth in the AFIO). The engravings illustrate the mysteries of the rosary in the third part, the *Quandai san Rosariono*. Each engraving is followed by a meditation on the pertinent mystery. What is most interesting is that the scenes are printed separately on rectangular slips of paper, and then pasted on the appropriate page within an ornamental border. Although there are five illustrations, we know from blank pages that other

Prince of Filipino Printers,” in *Peninsula of Faith and Valor. Bataan Through the Centuries*, Robie R. Reyes, ed., 96-131, (N.p.: Tomas Pinpin Publications, 2010).

⁶³ Villaruel 2010, 119-120.

illustrations are missing, due to any number of reasons. There are also missing pages which could have incorporated other missing mysteries; in fact, the page numbers roughly coincide with scenes of mysteries not presented. We list below the blank pages and illustrations as they appear in the book, together with the titles as named by Fr. Santamaria, and the missing pages with the hypothetical mysteries. Figures 34, 35, 37, 38, 44, and 45 are taken from the photos in the 1931 album, while Figures 36, 39, 41, 42, are 43are contemporary photographs taken by Mr. Paul Quiambao. Figure 40 is courtesy of the Archivo Franciscano Ibero-Oriental in Madrid.

p. 89, blank for *The Annunciation* (Fig. 34)

[missing pp. 94-95, for *The Visitation*?]

p. 99, *Nacimiento* [*The Birth of Christ*] (Fig. 35, Fig. 36)

p. 103, blank for *The Presentation in the Temple* (Fig. 37)

p. 108, blank, for *The Finding of Jesus in the Temple* (Fig. 38)

[missing pp. 118-119, for *The Agony in the Garden*?]

p. 126, *Flagelación* [*The Scourging at the Pillar*] (Fig. 39)

[missing pp. 130-133, for *The Crowning with Thorns*; this in turn is the only print in the AFIO copy] (Fig. 40)⁶⁴

p. 139, *La cruz a cuestras* [*The Carrying of the Cross*] (Fig 41)

p. 145, *Crucifixión* [*The Crucifixion*] (Fig 42)

p. 156, *Resurrección* [*The Resurrection*] (Fig 43)

[missing pp. 160-161, for *The Ascension*?]

p. 165, blank, for *Pentecost* (Fig 44)

p. 170, blank, for *The Assumption* (Fig 45)

[missing pp. 174-175, for *The Coronation of Our Lady*?]

⁶⁴ The AFIO 1623 *Virgen S. Mariano* only has one *estampita*, *The Crowning with Thorns*, which is not present in the AUST copy. However, both AUST and AFIO copies have indications on the empty frames of the other pages that *estampitas* were pasted on them and then at some time peeled off.

Archivo de la Universidad de Santo Tomás



Fig. 33.

Archivo de la Universidad de Santo Tomás

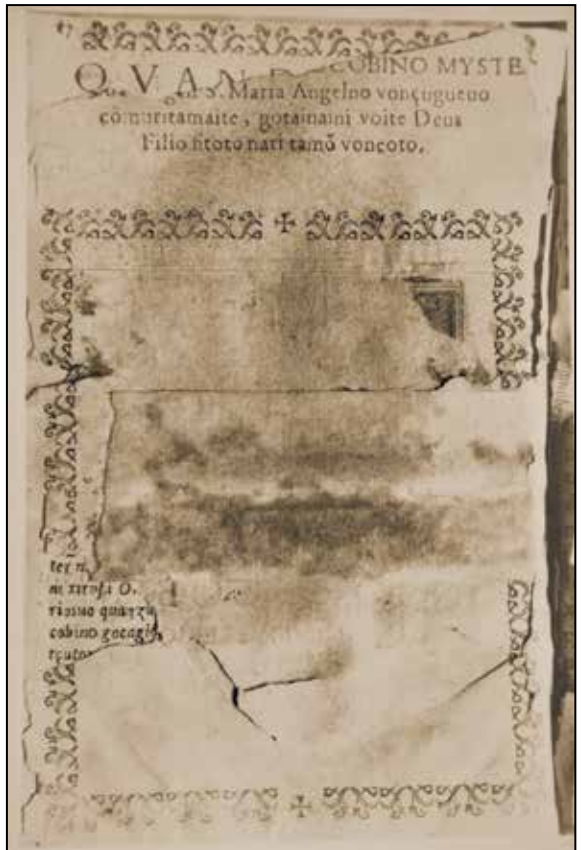


Fig. 34.

Archivo de la Universidad de Santo Tomás



Fig. 35.



Fig. 36.

Archivo de la Universidad de Santo Tomás

Archivo de la Universidad de Santo Tomás



Fig. 37.

Archivo de la Universidad de Santo Tomás

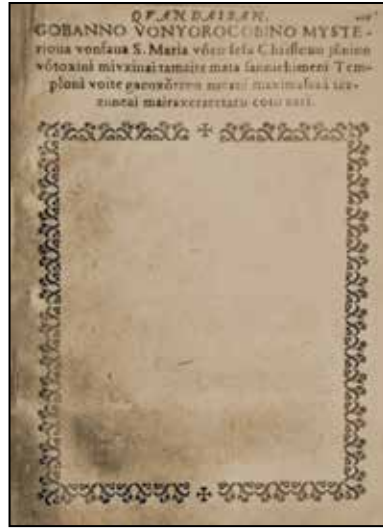


Fig. 38.

Archivo de la Universidad de Santo Tomás



Fig. 39.

Archivo Franciscano Ibero-Oriental



Fig. 40.



Fig. 41.

Archivo de la Universidad de Santo Tomás



Fig. 42.

Archivo de la Universidad de Santo Tomás



Fig. 43.

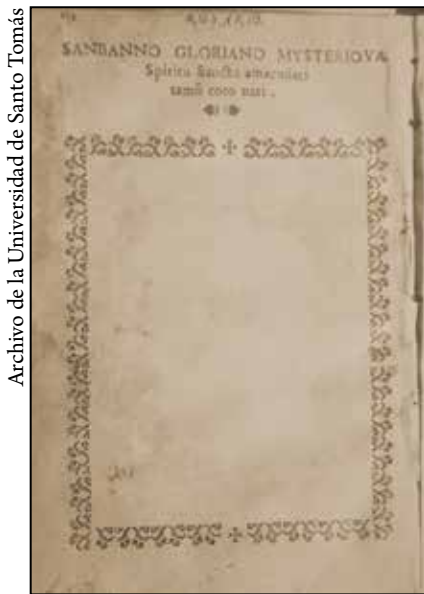


Fig. 44.



Fig. 45.

It is yet too early to conjecture on the identity of the artist of these illustrations. Since the Dominican press was manned by Tomas Pinpin and other Tagalogs (the Chinese had dropped out of the scene by 1610, the first year of Pinpin), it is highly likely that the engravers were Tagalogs too. However, it must be remembered that a Japanese printer, Miguel Saixo, worked the Augustinian press from 1618 to 1621. In addition, it is interesting to point out that the Blessed Mother at the foot of the Crucifixion wears shoes (which seems to be a Chinese convention), in contrast with the barefooted Saint John. Depictions of Our Lady with a shoed foot or two showing from the rounded folds of the tunic became a convention in Philippine art as early as the 17th century. But we must leave for the future any further assessment on artistic style and influences. It is curious though that so much effort was made to visually enhance this work for an embattled Christian community, when no similar publication can be found so far for the other communities such as the indigenous Filipinos and Chinese during the same period.

There is the possibility that the engravings may have been used in earlier books on the rosary. It will be remembered that the first such book, authored by the Dominican Francisco Blancas de San Jose, was printed in Bataan in 1602, although there is no extant copy.

Perez y Güemes mention that the title page of the *Virgen S. Mariano* with the Franciscans had a copperplate engraving of Saint Thomas Aquinas. Sadly, the title page is among those lacking in the AUST copy.

It is clear that the Mysteries of the Rosary in the 1623 *Virgen S. Mariano* were printed on separate slips of paper and could just as well have been distributed on their own, without appearing in a book, in the manner of today's *estampitas*. We have seen that similarly, pictures of saints were issued by the Jesuit college on All Saints' Day of 1602. This is not the case of the picture of the Virgin and Child on the 1613 *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala*, which was imprinted on the title page (although of course it could very well have been printed separately). Thus, the 1623 Mysteries of the Rosary in the *Rosario Daiichi*—five kept in the Archives of the University of Santo Tomas and one with the Franciscans in Madrid—are the oldest extant Philippine *estampitas*.**PS**



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