



## The Religiosity of Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, Governor-General of the Philippines, 1590–1593

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Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, who was Governor-General of the Philippines from 1590 until his death in 1593, was a very devoted and religious man. He was born and grew up in Galicia in northern Spain deeply influenced by St James, whose famous shrine at Santiago de Compostela was nearby. His most important mission in the Philippines was to “strive for the propagation of the holy faith among the natives.” He took this very seriously and, besides fortifying the city of Manila, he was involved in the foundation of the College of Santa Potenciana for young women, and the publication of *Doctrina Christiana* in Tagalog and Chinese by the Dominicans. In his will he ordered many masses to be said for his soul and asked to be buried by the high altar in the Dominican church.

In a postscript, I discuss the possibility that the illustrations in the famous Boxer Codex from about 1590, which mainly concerns the peoples of the Philippine region, were influenced by the recently discovered sixteenth century University of Santo Tomas Hours. I also surmise that this Book of Hours may have belonged to one of the wives of Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas who died before he left Spain.

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**G**ómez Pérez Dasmariñas, who was the seventh Spanish governor-general of the Philippines and held that office from 1590 to 1593, is well-known for his disputes with Bishop Domingo de Salazar (1512–1594) about the imposition of tributes on non-Christian inhabitants of the Philippines.<sup>1</sup> His son, Luis Pérez Dasmariñas (?1567–1603), is famous for commissioning the statue of Our Lady of the Rosary, known as La Naval, which is now in the Church of Santo Domingo in Quezon City.<sup>2</sup> Much is known of the professional career of this distinguished governor but this paper will concern itself with tracing the religious activities of Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas from the events before he left Spain until his death.<sup>3</sup> It will end with a somewhat speculative postscript.

Gómez Pérez das Mariñas y Ribadeneira was born in Betanzos, Galicia, Spain, about a hundred kilometers north of Santiago de Compostela, around 1539.<sup>4</sup> He was the second son of Fernán Díaz de Ribadeneira (?–?) and his second wife Doña Berenguela das Mariñas (?–1549). He married twice in Spain. His first wife, Doña María Sarmiento Ribadeneira (?–1564), whom he married on 23 June 1564, is reported to have died in the first month of their marriage. Subsequently, he married Doña Ana de Sotomayor y Mendoza (?–?) but apparently she too died fairly soon though I do not know when. By her, he had three children: his son, Luis Pérez Das Mariñas y Sotomayor (?1567–1603), born in Viveiro (sixty kilometers northwest of Betanzos), and two daughters, Berenguela (?1568–after 1606), presumably named after her grandmother, and Gregoria (?1569– after 1606).<sup>5</sup> Perhaps because her mother had already died, Gregoria was brought up in the household of Alonso Teixero (1544–?), who was a merchant in the service of Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas.<sup>6</sup> Both daughters ultimately became nuns in San Pelayo (San Payo), the Benedictine

<sup>1</sup> See chapter 7 of Lucio Gutierrez, OP, 2001, *Domingo de Salazar, O.P.: First Bishop of the Philippines (1512–1594)*, Manila: UST Publishing House. Despite their differences, Gutierrez concluded: “The two of them were sincere, resolute and strong willed. Through their open and sincere dispute the cause of justice was greatly improved. The Filipino people should thank them both for this service rendered to them.” (*Ibid.*, p. 315.)

<sup>2</sup> See Lito B. Zulueta, ed., 2007, *The Saga of la Naval, Triumph of A People’s Faith*, Quezon City, Philippines: Dominican Province of the Philippines.

<sup>3</sup> The most famous account of his professional career that has been translated into English is to be found in Antonio de Morga, 1971, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, Cambridge: Published for the Hakluyt Society at the University Press. Translated and edited by J.S. Cummins. First published in 1609 in the house of Geronymo Balli by Cornelio Adriano Cesar in Mexico.

<sup>4</sup> Much of the basic information about father and son Dasmariñas may be found in *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americana: etimologias sanscrito, hebreo, griego, latín . . .*, Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1930, vol. XLIII, pp. 671–2.

<sup>5</sup> There was a famous Berenguela (1180–1246) who was Queen of Castile and Toledo in 1217 and Queen consort of León from 1197 to 1204. She is commemorated in the name of the southwestern tower of the cathedral in Santiago.

<sup>6</sup> See <http://www.xenealoxiasdoortegal.net/ortegal/teixeiro16.htm>.

convent in Santiago de Compostela. It seems likely that their mother's death and the daughters' entrance to the convent all took place before Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas left for the Philippines in 1589.<sup>7</sup>

Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas was appointed *Corregidor*<sup>8</sup> of León in 1579 and was responsible not only for buildings but also for fountains and roads. In 1584, King Philip II of Spain (1527–1598) named him *Corregidor* of the cities of Murcia, Lorca and Cartagena. In Murcia, he was involved in the foundation of the convent of Nuestra Señora del Carmen.<sup>9</sup>

In 1589, King Philip II appointed him a knight of the Order of Santiago and in the same year appointed him Governor-General of the Philippines.<sup>10</sup> This appointment was supported by the secular bishop, Antonio de Pazos, chair of the Council of the Indies, but Alonso Sánchez, SJ, (1547–1593) had been sent from the Philippines to ask the king for a suitable governor. Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas had all the qualities that Sánchez required.<sup>11</sup> He set out in March and arrived in the Philippines on 1 June 1590, only 25 years after the founding of the colony and 19 years after the settlement of the Spanish in Manila. His son, Luis Pérez and his nephew, Fernando de Castro (?–after 1604) accompanied him on the voyage.<sup>12</sup>

The first instruction given to him by the king for his work in the Philippines was that:

“... the most worthy and important thing in these islands [is] to strive for the propagation of the holy faith among the natives herein, their conversion

<sup>7</sup> Supplementary information about Dasmariñas in Spain and his will comes from Raimundo Núñez-Varela y Lendoiro at <http://www.cronistadebetanzos.com/trabajos/gomezper.pdf>.

<sup>8</sup> Perhaps “Regional Governor” is the best English translation of *Corregidor*.

<sup>9</sup> Archivo Municipal de Murcia, Actas Capitulares, Sig. 204, Año 1586 20-XI-1584, folios 258, 301, 302, quoted by Raimundo Núñez-Varela y Lendoiro, *op. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> The Order of Knights of Santiago is a chivalric order which, under the Emperor Charles V, came under royal control. Membership was only granted to people of noble birth. See [http://www.chivalricorders.org/orders/spanish/santiago.htm#FOOTNOTE\\_13](http://www.chivalricorders.org/orders/spanish/santiago.htm#FOOTNOTE_13).

<sup>11</sup> See Carlos Quirino and Mauro Garcia, “The Manners, Customs and Beliefs of the Philippine Inhabitants of Long Ago,” *The Philippine Journal of Science*, 87, 1958, no. 4, pp. 325–453 at p. 331 re Bishop Pazos, and de Morga, *op. cit.*, p. 69, re Sánchez.

<sup>12</sup> “Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas brought with him a nephew named Don Fernando de Castro, of as good family as was his uncle, or even better.” See vol. X, p. 184 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, hereafter referred to as “BR”: Letter from Bishop Benavides to Joan de Ibarra. Gaspar de San Agustín, OSA, 1998, *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas, 1565–1615*, Manila: San Agustín Museum, first bilingual edition, tr. Luis Antonio Mañeru, ed Pedro Galende, OSA, originally published in 1698, p. 976, says he was accompanied by his family but does not list the members. Later Fernando was to marry the famous Isabel Barreto.

to the knowledge of the true God, and their reduction to the obedience of His holy church and of our king, the sovereign ...”<sup>13</sup>

Among other instructions he was told: “The cathedral at Manila is to be built, for which purpose the king appropriates the sum of twelve thousand ducats. Similar aid is to be granted to the two hospitals in Manila. More religious are to be sent to the islands.”<sup>14</sup>

After his arrival in the Philippines, he was concerned with getting the administration of Manila into proper order, sending expeditions to Cagayan and maintaining order around Manila, especially involving disputes with the people of Zambales. In Manila, there was much to be done. Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas found there were no adequate fortifications for the city itself and began the circumvallation of what is now known as Intramuros.<sup>15</sup> This took three years and remains as a permanent monument to him. In addition, he set up a foundry that made heavy guns. On the external front there were threats from the Japanese that he deftly deflected.<sup>16</sup>

During his time in the Philippines, he had a long running conflict in his relations with Bishop Salazar, OP.<sup>17</sup> This must have taken up quite a lot of his time and it resonated as far as Madrid. Apart from abuses in the collection of tributes<sup>18</sup> the main problem was whether unconverted Indigenes should pay the full tribute or not. It would appear that Governor Dasmariñas viewed this as a political question while Bishop Salazar saw it as a moral one, but we shall not discuss this matter further here.<sup>19</sup>

In 1585, upon the suggestion of Bishop Domingo de Salazar, Philip II had asked Pérez Gómez Dasmariñas to study the possibility of setting up a boarding school for orphan girls in Manila, which was subsequently established as the College of Santa Potenciana, including a system to grant them dowries so that they could get married.<sup>20</sup> Later, the school, which was finally completed in 1594, was supported

<sup>13</sup> See “Articles of contract for the conquest of Mindanao,” in BR VIII, p. 73.

<sup>14</sup> See BR VII, pp. 141 ff. Letter from King Philip II dated 9 August 1589.

<sup>15</sup> Intramuros is the pentagonal-walled old city in the center of Manila at the estuary of the Pasig River. It comprised the main area inhabited by Spaniards from their arrival.

<sup>16</sup> In his will the only documents and souvenirs that he explicitly mentions are those concerning the embassy of the emperor of Japan. See <http://www.cronistadebetanzos.com/trabajos/gomezper.pdf>.

<sup>17</sup> For full details see Gutierrez, *op. cit.*, especially chapter 7, pp. 277 ff.

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, Ruperto C. Santos, STL, *Anales Ecclesiásticos de Philipinas, 1574–1682, Philippine Church History, A Summary Translation*, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Manila, 1994, vol. I, p. 38.

<sup>19</sup> Again the reader is referred to Gutierrez, *op. cit.*

<sup>20</sup> Letter of King Philip II to Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, San Lorenzo, 9 August 1589; Philippine National Archives (PNA), Cedulaario 1552–1600, folio 71 verso, translated in BR VII, pp. 141 ff. In the

by the Confraternity of the *Misericordia*. The Spanish name for such brotherhoods was *Casa de la Misericordia*, a House of Mercy, a type of brotherhood popular in Portuguese territory. Its role was to look after the needy of the place where it was established. The proponents of the foundation believed that the characteristics of *Misericordias* could fit well in the setting of Spanish Manila at the end of the sixteenth century.

The confraternity in Manila was modeled on the Portuguese one and formally began in 1594 following the proposal of Juan Fernández de León (?-?), who went to the Philippines in 1585.<sup>21</sup> Luis Pérez Dasmariñas, the governor's son, was the first presiding officer of the confraternity and he informed the king about the establishment of the college as a school for orphan girls and daughters of Spanish soldiers.<sup>22</sup> Monarchs felt a special responsibility towards the orphan daughters of army men who had died in wars or military campaigns abroad. Such concern covered both the moral and physical conditions of the girls, so that they could be educated properly, eventually marry Spaniards and propagate the race in the colonies. The *Misericordia* was also responsible to some extent for looking after those girls; its statutes followed the usual thrust of all Portuguese *Misericordias*, on which the Manila Confraternity was based, and granted dowries to orphan girls. In 1621, the *Mesa*, the governing body of the *Misericordia*, informed the king that the recipients of dowries from the *Misericordia* were orphan daughters and descendants of destitute conquistadores, soldiers of the first cohorts and of prominent people.<sup>23</sup>

Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas also supported other enterprises. From the first advent of the Spanish, the priests in the Philippines had been learning the languages used locally and Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas issued licences for the publication, by the Dominican Juan Cobo, with whom he had sailed from Acapulco, of *Doctrina Christiana* in Tagalog and Chinese in 1593.<sup>24</sup> Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas wrote to the

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same document the king also indicated that the governor-general should provide for some dowries for native girls so they could marry poor Spanish soldiers and sailors. The European practice had been for girls to raise their own dowries, but this was not the case in the Philippines.

<sup>21</sup> See Juan O. Mesquida, *A historical study of the institutional, economic, and social aspects of the Misericordia of Manila*, PhD thesis, University of Santo Tomas, 2005, p. 31.

<sup>22</sup> On 15 June 1594 Luis Pérez Dasmariñas wrote to King Philip II asking for support for the college and commending the Confraternity for its good works (see BR IX, pp. 138–140). See also the letter of the King to Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, Madrid, 11 June 1594, approving the statutes of the school. PNA, Cedulaario, 1568-1721, 108-114, and the letter of Luis Pérez Dasmariñas to the King, 15 June 1594, Manila. Archivo General de Indias, Seville, (AGI), Filipinas, 18B, R.4, N.27.

<sup>23</sup> Archbishop Miguel García Serrano to king, July 25, 1621, Manila; AGI, Filipinas, 74, folios 596 verso–604 recto.

<sup>24</sup> See Jesús Gayo Aragon, OP, 1951, *Doctrina Christiana, primer libro impreso en Filipinas*. Manila: University of Santo Tomas, Gayo Aragon 1951. According to Edwin Wolf, 2<sup>nd</sup>, *Doctrina Christiana, The first book printed in the Philippines, Manila, 1593, A Facsimile of the copy in the Lessing J. Rosenwald*

king regarding the licensing of the printing of *Doctrina Christiana*: "...I hope great benefits will result in the *conversion* and instruction of the peoples of both nations."<sup>25</sup>

In the same year that the *Doctrina* was published, Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas undertook an ill-fated expedition attempting to take over Ternate in Maluku during which he was killed by his Chinese crew on 25 October 1593.<sup>26</sup> At that time Hernando de los Ríos Coronel (1559–1623/4?) had asked permission for the rest of the fleet to go ahead since an opposing wind was slowing down the galley in which the governor was traveling.<sup>27</sup> De los Ríos was in a ship with Luis Pérez Dasmariñas; and it was the latter who later appointed de los Ríos to supervise the carving of the statue of Our Lady, known as La Naval.<sup>28</sup> Subsequently, Luis Pérez Dasmariñas succeeded his father as Governor-General. On his return to Manila he sent his cousin, Fernando de Castro, to try to find the Chinese who had murdered his father, but without success.<sup>29</sup>

Before he had left Manila, Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas had made his will on 30 September 1592.<sup>30</sup> The will is typical of the period beginning with dedication/confession to God; then arrangements for the funeral and masses for the soul of the deceased, and finally instructions for the disposal of his goods and property. He has a very long dedication in which he offers his soul to the Holy Trinity. After this, he orders (*mando*) that, if he dies in Manila, "his body be deposited in the convent of Santo Domingo, in the sanctuary of the main chapel on the right side of the main altar, with his habit of [the Order of] Santiago and a tomb covered with a plain black cloth and the said habit ... ." <sup>31</sup> This was of course a high place of honor for anyone. He then orders that on the day of his funeral all masses possible should be sung or said for his soul in that church and that the following day all the sung and said masses possible should be held in all the churches of the city.

For the funeral procession he orders that his body be accompanied by the *cabildo* of the cathedral<sup>32</sup> and that all the confraternities of the city should also accompany him. Around his tomb should be four large wax candles (or torches) and

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*Collection, Library*, Washington: Library of Congress, 1947, one copy of this *Doctrina* was sent to Philip II by the Governor of the Philippines in 1593.

<sup>25</sup> Letter of 20 June 1593, quoted in Wolf, *op. cit.*, p.6. Emphasis added.

<sup>26</sup> See pp. 73 ff. of de Morga, *op. cit.*

<sup>27</sup> See, for example, John N. Crossley, *Hernando de los Ríos Coronel and the Spanish Philippines in the Golden Age*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2011, pp. 38 ff.

<sup>28</sup> See p. 48 of Regalado Trota Jose, "La veneranda imagen de Nuestra Señora del Rosario de la Naval," pages 45–72 in Lito B. Zulueta, *op. cit.*

<sup>29</sup> See BR IX, pp. 203 ff., letter of Luis Pérez Dasmariñas to the King.

<sup>30</sup> Archivo del Reino de Galicia, Real Audiencia. Legajo 26.657-15, quoted by Raimundo Núñez-Varela y Lendoiro, *op. cit.*, pp. 5 ff.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* The next few paragraphs are very close paraphrases of the text of the original will.

<sup>32</sup> The *cabildo* was the governing body of the cathedral.

these should be lit for all the masses said at the high altar. Further, he ordered that a mass should be said every day in the Santo Domingo convent for a whole year. In addition, another fifty masses were to be said in all the convents and the cathedral. Appropriate donations for these masses, at the usual rate, were to be made by his executors. However, while the Dominicans were to be paid for the masses at the regular rates, the religious of St Francis were not to be paid.<sup>33</sup>

He then goes on to list the masses that should be said and the directions for what should happen to his bones.<sup>34</sup> On the day of his burial, twelve poor people are to be looked after suitably by his executors in honor of the twelve apostles. On the ninth day, his honors are to be read out in the convent and the same is to happen at the end of the twelve months.

He did recognize the possibility that he might die outside Manila or the Philippines but in that case, he orders that if there is a Santo Domingo convent then he should be buried there and not in any other convent or church. Further, if he is buried outside his home province of Galicia, then his bones are to be taken there and buried in the convent of San Francisco in Viveiro, the town where his son Luis was born, or else in the main chapel of San Joan in Betanzos where his father and grandparents had been buried, or in Santo Antonio in the Puebla del Caramiñal (A Pobra do Carmiñal, sixty kilometers southwest of Santiago de Compostela, near Villagrancia de Arosa),<sup>35</sup> whichever seemed most suitable to his son Luis. In the church or convent where his bones are interred, a requiem mass is to be said for his soul.

All the expenses are to be met from money in a chest with three keys, a standard way of safeguarding money. The will continues with his wish to pay any outstanding debts and then his legacies to family and servants. It is perhaps therefore not surprising that Luis should later complain to the king that he did not have much money and would need assistance. He wrote to the king:

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<sup>33</sup> "... atento que los religiosos de San Francisco no pueden tener propiedad y por eso no se los señalo en renta." (The Spanish spelling has been modernized.) ("Note that the religious of St Francis cannot hold property so for this reason they are not included in the payment.")

<sup>34</sup> Only the first half of these instructions is noted below.

<sup>35</sup> There is a Plaza de San Antonio in A Pobra do Caramiñal but the seventeenth century convent of San Antonio has long been in ruins. (See <http://www.agalicia.com/puebladecaraminal/index.htm>.) However the Dasmariñas family had a long connection there for it was his uncle, also called Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas (?-?), who in 1554 was instrumental in the place being given the title of "town," see Vaamonde Lores, *Gómez Pérez das Mariñas y sus descendientes: apuntes historicos y geneologicos*, La Coruña: Litografía e Imprenta Roel, 1917, p. 181 and [http://www.obarbanza.es/?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=24&Itemid=38](http://www.obarbanza.es/?option=com_content&view=article&id=24&Itemid=38). Further members of the Sotomayor family, from which came the second wife of Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, were buried there.

For, although, as I wrote and told your Majesty in former letters, it seemed—and when I wrote I believed—that I should have something to leave instead of so much to pay, yet matters have happened and fallen out in this way, and thus I find myself in my present condition. ... the little coming to me from the sale of my father's estate—a very small sum indeed.<sup>36</sup>

There are a lot of conditions in the will, which is normal since life expectancy was low and people mentioned in the will might well predecease the testator. Little mention is made of particular items but he does say that the furnishings of his dwelling should go to his son rather than be sold, if his son so wishes. From his career, the one important group he mentioned are several items, including a gilded spear, from the embassy of the king of Japan, Taico Sama, properly known as Hideyoshi.<sup>37</sup> Clearly Dasmariñas regarded his dealings with Japan as being of great importance and indeed he had achieved a remarkable back down on the part of the Japanese who were dissuaded from attacking the Philippines by his diplomacy. This group of objects includes the papers from that time. However, Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas did not mention any books, religious or secular, though there is some reason to believe that he had such, as will be discussed in the postscript to this article.

Because of the way he died and the location of his death, it seems unlikely that his body was recovered.<sup>38</sup> That would have been very difficult since the Chinese rowers went off with the galley and were never caught, and only two Spaniards escaped from them, Juan Cuéllar (?-?), the secretary of the governor, and the Franciscan Fr Montilla (?-?).<sup>39</sup> The circumstances of the death of Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas are somewhat puzzling. Up to that time he seems to have had a close relation with the Chinese, though there was always tension because the Spanish resented the presence of the Chinese though they were dependent on them for most basic services from food production to craft work. For his expedition, Dasmariñas had recruited a Chinese crew for his galley and promised them that they would not be treated like galley slaves; on the contrary they would be paid and allowed to keep their weapons. Nevertheless, after his galley had been held up by headwinds he seems quite suddenly to have turned on the crew harshly, threatening to treat them as galley slaves and beat them. In the night, they manifested their resentment by murdering the other Spaniards on the vessel, and then making a vicious attack on Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas with their very sharp and curved *dao* (the Chinese equivalent of the

<sup>36</sup> BR IX, p. 205, letter of Luis Pérez Dasmariñas to King Philip II, 6 December 1595.

<sup>37</sup> See Raimundo Núñez-Varela y Lendoiro, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>38</sup> According to p. 50 of Rafael Bernal, “The Chinese Colony in Manila, 1570–1770,” in Alfonso Felix, Jr., ed., *The Chinese in the Philippines, 1570–1770*, vol. I, the corpse of the governor was thrown overboard. San Agustín, *op. cit.*, p. 966, simply says all the corpses were thrown overboard.

<sup>39</sup> See de Morga, *op. cit.*, chapter V, p. 75.



Japanese *katana* sword). Thus ended the career of the man whom Hernando de los Ríos Coronel describes in his famous *Memorial* of 1621 as the best governor of the Philippines in the sixteenth century.

“For thirty years I have served in the Philippines, and I have not seen a governor as was needed there, except Gómez Pérez de las Marinas, who more improved, and bettered that land, in only three years when he governed, than all those together before or since.”<sup>40</sup>

That Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas was a good Christian is also attested by de los Ríos, who wrote:

And if Gómez Pérez was successful, it was because he had already had experience in governing, and had been *corregidor* many times, where he was obliged to deal with not only government matters, but also those of war, and above all, he was a very good Christian, and desirous of doing right, which is the basis, and whereon is founded all that is good, and so with his death, [the Philippines] lost the flavor that he had given it, but his memory will endure for many years in that city [Manila], with his renown as the father of the country.<sup>41</sup>

## Postscript

Around 1590 or a little thereafter, it seems that either Gómez Pérez Dasamariñas or his son commissioned a work describing the inhabitants of the Philippines and the surrounding lands. This contains 300 pages of rice paper<sup>42</sup> and includes 75 pages of colored images of Tagalogs, Visayans, other peoples of the region, Chinese gods and strange, sometimes mythical, animals. The image of the Tagalog couple on folio 56 recto has been reproduced many times in the Philippines and adorns the cover of William Henry Scott’s book *Barangay*.<sup>43</sup> The whole work was

<sup>40</sup> See folio 59 verso of Hernando de los Ríos Coronel, *Memorial y relacion para su Magestad, del Procurador General delas Filippinas, de lo que conviene remediar, y de la riqueza que ay en ellas, y en las islas del Maluco*, Madrid: Por la viuda de Fernando Correa, 87 folios, 1621, English translation available at <http://www.csse.monash.edu.au/~jnc/Rios/1621Memorial.pdf>, and partly translated in BR XVIII & XIX.

<sup>41</sup> See part II, chapter VI, folio 60 recto and verso, of de los Ríos, *op. cit.*

<sup>42</sup> “Rice paper was the main paper in the Philippines until 1830. It was used for everything, from books and letters to cigarettes. Rice paper is extremely brittle, exacerbated by the fact that it was often coated with alum which served to whiten and smooth the paper, but made it susceptible to moisture and discoloration.” (Jean Hazel Mendoza and Bruce Gutierrez, see [http://www.brown.edu/Facilities/John\\_Carter\\_Brown\\_Library/philippines/pages/printing.html](http://www.brown.edu/Facilities/John_Carter_Brown_Library/philippines/pages/printing.html).)

<sup>43</sup> William Henry Scott, *Barangay, Sixteenth-Century Philippine Culture and Society*, Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1994, fifth printing 2004.

subsequently bound in Spain and is now in the Lilly Library in Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.<sup>44</sup> It had been in an English library and was bought by Charles Boxer (1904–2000), the eminent historian of the Portuguese empire, in London in 1947 for the princely sum of £70. He subsequently donated it to Indiana University, one of the places where he had taught. The bound book has become known as the “Boxer Codex” and Scott’s book includes black and white reproductions of many of the colored images.

The paintings seem to have been done by Chinese and use a number of colors together with gold, which would have been expensive. About half of the full-page colored pictures are of people, but all the colored pages have narrow decorative borders in which there are birds, animals, insects and flowers.<sup>45</sup> In 1950, Boxer wrote:

The Chinese influence in the colored drawings of this MS. is clearly tempered by the use of several Western forms. The decorated borders of foxes,<sup>46</sup> birds, bees, and flowers, are reminiscent of the marginal borders designed by the celebrated Parisian artist printer, Geoffrey Tory ([c. 1488-]died 1533) for his printed Books of Hours ... .<sup>47</sup>

A Book of Hours is a devotional manual, which was intended to offer to lay people, usually women, a parallel to the devotions of monks and nuns. They were very popular, among those who could afford them, around the year 1500. They were usually manuscript books about the size of a small prayer book, and generally contained a number of miniature paintings of scenes related to the life of Christ. The cost of the paintings made them expensive, especially if they contained gold, and the presence of the reflective gold led to such miniatures being described as “illuminations.” Around the miniatures, and sometimes also around the edges of some of the text pages, there was usually a border containing birds, animals, flowers and insects. However, Books of Hours have many different styles and the borders vary enormously from very simple to exceedingly complex. The borders in the Codex

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<sup>44</sup> Bloomington, Indiana: Library, Boxer MSS. II. See Charles R. Boxer, “A Late Sixteenth Century Manila MS,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 1/2 (April): 37–49, 1950. PDF file available at <http://purl.dlib.indiana.edu/iudl/general/VAB8326> and John N. Crossley, “The early history of the Boxer Codex,” submitted for publication.

<sup>45</sup> They are clearly visible on the cover of Scott’s book, *op. cit.*

<sup>46</sup> In fact foxes are not endemic to the Philippines. The animals seem much more likely to be civets. See the illustration in *Encyclopædia Britannica Online Academic Edition*. Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 2011, under “Civet.” Ríos, *op. cit.*, Part II, chapter I, specifically mentions their abundance: [folio 77 recto] “[The island of] Luzon, where there is much cinnamon [*canela*], and rich gold mines, and considerable civet, and such a quantity of [civet-]cats, that they do no more than catch them with snares, and take the civet [musk] out and set them free again, and thus profit by them without giving them food.”

<sup>47</sup> Boxer, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

differ significantly from those of Tory, although in both they are what are known as “strewn” borders, because the natural elements look as though they have been lightly tossed around the main picture.<sup>48</sup>

The question then arises: since the Boxer Codex was produced in the Philippines, had its (probably Chinese) artists seen a Book of Hours? Until 2010, none from early Spanish times was known in the Philippines. However, a manuscript Book of Hours dating from the first quarter of the sixteenth century has recently been found in the archives of the University of Santo Tomas in Manila, which has a large collection of sixteenth century books.<sup>49</sup> As in many other Books of Hours, the borders in the University of Santo Tomas Book of Hours are not symmetric, while those in the Codex have a significant degree of symmetry in that the same object (animal, bird or flower) occurs at symmetric places, such as the upper corners, though the color or pose may be different.<sup>50</sup>

As noted above, such books were usually the possessions of rich and devout women. Now the wife of a zealous Christian Governor-General, who was also rich—the estate of Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas is estimated at one million pesos<sup>51</sup>—is just the sort of person who would have had such a book.<sup>52</sup> As far as is known, the son, Luis Pérez Dasmariñas never married but his father married twice as noted at the beginning of this article. Even at that time Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, who came from a wealthy family,<sup>53</sup> had held relatively high offices in Spain so it is entirely possible that his wife could have received the Book of Hours as a wedding present. Moreover, the Book of Hours is of very high but not the highest quality and seems to have been bought, as one might say, “off the shelf” rather than having been made especially for the wife of Dasmariñas.<sup>54</sup> Since both wives seem to have died before he set off for Spain it would be very human of him to treasure such a devotional book that had belonged to his departed wife, especially as he was a very devoted Christian and, as exhibited in his will, a very strong supporter of the Dominicans even though he had many disputes with the Dominican bishop Salazar. So it seems possible that

<sup>48</sup> After the introduction of movable type, Books of Hours were often printed in the early sixteenth century, but the University of Santo Tomas Book of Hours is a manuscript.

<sup>49</sup> For an account of it, complete with many colored illustrations, see John N. Crossley and Regalado Trota Jose, “The University of Santo Tomas Hours: Surprising discovery of a treasure,” this journal [*Philippiniana Sacra*], vol. XVI, no. 138, pp. 731-758.

<sup>50</sup> See, e.g., folios 18 recto and 24 recto of the Codex.

<sup>51</sup> See Cesar Vaamonde Lores, *op. cit.*, p.217.

<sup>52</sup> The Book of Hours has been dated to the first quarter of the sixteenth century, see Crossley and Jose, *op. cit.*, so it is also possible that it belonged to his mother, Berenguela das Mariñas y Junqueiras (?–1649), for whom see <http://www.fundacionmedinaceli.org/casaducal/fichaindividuo.aspx?id=6633>.

<sup>53</sup> See Vaamonde Lores, *idem*.

<sup>54</sup> See Crossley and Jose, *op. cit.*, p. 738.

the University of Santo Tomas Book of Hours belonged to a wife of Governor-General Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas and that either through him, or his son Luis, it subsequently came to the university.<sup>55</sup> De Morga wrote of Luis Pérez Dasmariñas and his relationship with the Dominicans, though he disapprovingly asserts that he was governed in everything by the friars, so this, and the fact that his father was so attached to the Dominicans, makes it unsurprising that the volume ended up in the library of the Dominican university of Santo Tomas.<sup>56</sup> ■

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<sup>55</sup> The Book of Hours was rebound in the eighteenth century, but this could easily have been when it was in the possession of UST, see Crossley and Jose, *op. cit.*, p. 733.

<sup>56</sup> See p. 82 of de Morga, *op. cit.*