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**Intercolonial Currents: Printing Press and Book Circulation in the Spanish
Philippines, 1571-1821**

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**Intercolonial Currents: Printing Press and Book Circulation in the Spanish
Philippines, 1571-1821**

by

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Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Texas at Austin

May 2015

Dedication

To Alice, Lucas, Eva, Gabriel, and especially Rhonda

Acknowledgements

Although I wrote the actual words contained in this dissertation, they would never have made it out onto paper without the invaluable support of many people. I first want to recognize my Spanish 611 course from Summer 2014 for being willing to go beyond dull one-page essays to see why learning Spanish is actually important and interesting. Similarly a big thank you goes out to my family and especially my Dad for helping in the downloading and transcription of some of the archival documentation. Thanks a bunch also to Don Miguel and Doña Yolanda for the many fun times and constant support over the course of my education.

Most of the material used in the elaboration of this dissertation came from archival research in Mexico City and Manila, and if it were not for a number of perfectly lovely people in those cities my research would have been ten times harder and a thousand times more lonely. I must first thank my Philippine friends, Marilou Idos, currently of Provo, Utah, and Resurreccion Hisita Ugay and Cathy Pimentel of Manila for helping me to find a comfortable and convenient place to stay while in Manila. Their efforts and concern were much appreciated. Thanks also to the helpful and friendly staff at the Antonio V. Rosario Heritage Library at the University of Santo Tomás, the archivists at the Archdiocesan Archives of Manila, the workers at the National Library of the Philippines, and the Lopez Memorial Library and Museum, for the opportunity to do research in their facilities. A very big “thank you” to Regalado Trota Jose, archivist at UST, for his patience, help, and collaboration in reading my manuscript. I also want to send a very grateful shout-out to my new friend Jorge Mojarro, most recently of Manila, for his correspondence and collaboration over the past year. Not only has he been an excellent sounding board for ideas about the press in Manila but he also provided me with a link to an absolute goldmine of archival data that I had previously been unaware of and which immeasurably

improved the depth and conclusions of Chapter Two. Also many thanks to both Ken Ward of the John Carter Brown Library for his comments and input, and for the collaboration of Ruth de Llobet Franch as I elaborated my arguments. Thanks, Jorge, Ken and Ruth.

In Mexico City I want to thank Laura Muñoz at the UNAM for her willingness to share her time and expertise with me, Johanna von Graffenstein of the Instituto Mora for the hot chocolate and the books, and the staff at the Biblioteca Nacional and the Archivo General de la Nación. I especially appreciate the unrestricted access to files at the AGN, for without their open and liberal policy this dissertation would have been much poorer and would probably not have been written. Most importantly, however, is my home away from home, the family and friends I didn't know I had, the Baqué Pérez de la Vega family: Juan, Rut, Tania, and Carla. Not only did they open their home to an almost complete stranger, but they have become some of the best friends I have ever had. Their kindness, generosity, and love are and will always be deeply appreciated: “He pensado varias veces en metáforas para describir esto lo que te digo: eres como una película perpetua que siempre se está pasando en la pantalla de mi memoria. O como una piedra preciosa que encuentras en la playa que te llevas siempre en el bolsillo, revolviéndola entre tus dedos recordando esos momentos pasados. Eso es lo que eres para mí, y nunca estás lejos de mis pensamientos.”

To the many faceless and nameless scanners and digitizers of books at Google Books, the employees of the Biblioteca Nacional de España, and to the employees of the Archivo General de Indias in Seville and the Archivo Histórico Nacional of Madrid via the PARES website, a great collective handshake and thank you for providing so many digital items. Their online repositories gave me access to more texts than would have ever been possible in a non-digital age, and this dissertation is so much the richer for it.

At the University of Texas I want to thank the E. D. Farmer Fellowship committee, the Carrie Lee Kennedy Fellowship committee, and the Department of Spanish and Portuguese for their financial contributions that allowed me to travel and do research abroad. Also a recognition of the fantastic holdings in the Rare Books section at the Benson Library and the helpful employees there. In the History Department I want to recognize Dr. Ann Twinam for introducing me to the unending, delightful downward spiral into the rabbit hole that is archival research. In the Department of Spanish and Portuguese I want to recognize Laura Rodríguez for her constant help and support, her boundless knowledge, and continual kind words over a period of six years; professors Madeline Sutherland-Meier for her kindness and support; Kelly McDonough for her always good academic and professional advice and her keen reader's eye; César Salgado for being willing to step in to fill a position on my exam committee without even knowing me and for being an unflinching supporter of this project from the beginning; and to Cory Reed for his long-time help and advice, beginning with his "Other" seminar in Spring 2010. I have always been welcome in his office and appreciate the continued support of my academic work over the past five years.

Saving the best for last, I want to thank my kids—Gabriel, Eva, Lucas, and Alice—for putting up with an absentee Dad while I was writing my dissertation. Most importantly, I must thank my wife, Rhonda. Although sometimes people exaggerate when they say, 'This wouldn't have been possible without you,' in her case it is the literal, absolute, unmitigated, and concrete truth. It is because of her constant support of our family and my education that I have been able to finish this project. Her patience, strength, determination, dedication, and love have helped me to overcome moments of despair and to ultimately see this triumph. She has kept me grounded

and has constantly reminded me of what is most important. Again, although I wrote the words of this dissertation, she made them possible. Thank you, Rhonda. This dissertation is for you.

Intercolonial Currents: Printing Press and Book Circulation in the Spanish Philippines, 1571-1821

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2015

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Although the printing and circulation of texts in Spanish America are well-documented phenomena, when it comes to the Philippines they have received far less attention. This dissertation addresses the large gap in scholarship in this area by examining press and book circulation activities in Spanish Manila from 1571 to 1821. Drawing on bibliographical and archival data this dissertation provides a macro-perspective on the role of the printing press in the islands, delineates general patterns of book importation into Manila, and exemplifies each of these trends in micro-perspective through case studies. Through these analyses I argue that the printed word had a constant presence from the beginning of the Spanish domination. I contend that the press in the islands, though relatively weak in comparison to the press in other colonial cities, was both relevant and important in the political, social, and historical development of the colony. Furthermore, I demonstrate that books were imported on a regular basis for educational, recreational, and religious use. Through the printed word, whether imported or produced domestically, Manila became the seat of a strong and vibrant intellectual tradition in the European fashion.

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Introduction

The study of books in Spain's overseas colonies has long been a major concern for historians of this period¹. Predominant among the many scholarly works that have appeared in this field are those elucidating the characteristics and role of the printing press in the ultramarine territories and the nature and extent of the trans-Atlantic book trade that kept the Spanish colonists and their descendants well-stocked with the latest typographical productions of Europe.

However, while the printing, importation, and circulation of European texts in Spanish America—in particular for New Spain and Peru—has received lengthy and detailed consideration, when it comes to the Philippines it has received far less attention. In 2008 Patricia May B. Jurilla wrote the following about the study of books in the Philippines: “the History of the Book has not yet arrived. It is a territory that is still largely unexplored if not totally unheard of in Philippine scholarship” (*Tagalog* 5). Although her work focuses specifically on printing and publishing in the Philippines in the twentieth century, her comments can be extended with accuracy to other areas in this field. Not the least among the areas germane to this topic is the book in the colonial period, its arrival, its production, its reach, and its impact. There are many reasons for this general lack, and though all of them are interesting none of them are grounds for continuing to leave this knowledge untapped. Like Jurilla's *Tagalog Bestsellers* for Filipino literary production in the twentieth century, so this dissertation aims to give the history of the book in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries the attention it deserves in the field of Hispanic colonial studies.

¹ In her 2003 essay “The Politics of Print,” Hortensia Calvo gives a summary of the development of book studies on Colonial Latin America, from the nationalist concerns of the nineteenth century to the revisionist studies of the late twentieth century.

With the exception of those scholars who studied the history and bibliography of the Manila presses, in particular those scholars of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the presence of the Philippines in studies on the book in the Spanish colonies is virtually absent. To date, no one has examined the real use of the press in the islands, nor has anyone attempted to systematically document the circulation of books across the Pacific between Mexico and the Philippines, and the impact that European writing and books had in the creation of a Western-style intellectual and academic tradition in the archipelago.

To address this large disparity in scholarship and to establish the basic parameters of printing and book circulation in the Philippines during the colonial era, this dissertation will examine these phenomena for the period 1571-1821, beginning with the foundation of Spanish Manila and corresponding to the archipelago's Mexican period². Specifically, I seek to answer the following questions, especially as they relate to Manila, the seat of Spanish power: What was the role of the typographical printing press in the Philippines? How did it contribute to the establishment of a lettered, scholarly culture in the European tradition? Who were the protagonists of the introduction of the typographical press? Who were the main beneficiaries and consumers of its products? How did it operate in the islands? What was the relationship between non-Europeans and the press? What kind of books circulated in the archipelago and how did they circulate? Who read them? How did those books get there in the first place and who brought them? What sort of book trade, if any, did the Spanish engage in, and what are the

² I use the term "Mexican period" to refer to the two-and-a-half centuries in which the Philippines were tied to Spain via Mexico and the annual trans-Pacific galleon. During this period Mexico was the primary trading partner with the archipelago, the source of its silver for the galleon commerce, the origin of many of its soldiers, officials, and priests, and its lifeline in times of economic hardship and military conflict. This period ended with the final proclamation of Mexican independence from Spain in 1821. Thereafter the Philippines dealt directly with Spain for all its economic and cultural exchanges.

characteristics of that trade? What external and internal factors promoted or inhibited the circulation of texts in the islands?

In answer to these questions I have divided this dissertation into two parts, the first dedicated to an exploration of the printing press in Manila and the second documenting the importation and circulation of books in the Philippines, focusing on Manila. My texts for these analyses come predominantly from the files of the Inquisition in the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City, supplemented by documents found in the Archivo General de Indias and the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid. In addition, I examine the bibliography of the Philippine presses as seen in Regalado Trota Jose's *Impreso* (1993) and Ángel Pérez's and Cecilio Güemes's *Adiciones* (1904) for the years 1593-1813³, these years corresponding, respectively, to the appearance of the first printed work in the islands and the establishment of the first private press in the country. With this documentation I provide a macro-perspective on the use and role of the printing press in the islands, delineate general patterns of book importation into Manila, and then exemplify each of these phenomena in micro-perspective through case studies found in the archival records, rectifying past assertions on the relevance of the printing press and the reality of textual dissemination in the Philippines.

Through the analysis of these materials I argue that the printed word had a constant presence from the beginning of the Spanish domination, whether through items published domestically or imported by merchants or missionaries. I contend that the press in the islands, though relatively weak in comparison to the press in other colonial cities, was both relevant and important in the political, social, and historical development of the colony. I further argue that, far from a cultural backwater, Manila through the printed word became the seat of a strong and

³ As Jose's bibliography only extends through 1811, it was necessary to draw on Pérez's and Güemes's bibliography, which covers through the late nineteenth century.

vibrant intellectual tradition in the European fashion, a tradition that did not disappear with the departure of the Spaniards.

Why books?

As a peripheral territory in Spain's vast empire, the Philippines had a less than desirable reputation. Not only was it the most remote colony from Spain but its lack of economic development and alleged hostile climate provided little incentive for people to come halfway across the world in search of their fortunes (Díaz-Trechuelo 250-52). This negative (though undeserved) reputation led some writers of the nineteenth century—notably the prolific Chilean scholar José Toribio Medina—to consider the archipelago and its capital city, Manila, a cultural backwater, a place where talent, people, and books, if they even got there, went to die⁴.

In spite of its negative reputation among Spaniards and the very real crises that affected it periodically, Manila flourished and its inhabitants were able to develop and sustain a European intellectual culture that lasted over three centuries and left a very real and very noticeable impact that continues to influence the Philippines to this day. While the purpose of this study is not to defend or justify Spain's actions in the archipelago, neither is it to attack or condemn them. Rather, it is to examine the crucial element in the development of that intellectual culture, without which this aspect of the Spanish colonization of the islands would never have taken root: books.

⁴ The Augustinian priest, chronicler, and convent librarian Agustín María de Castro had a number of terms for the Philippines: "miserable," "infecunda," "desgraciada," "melancólica," "infeliz," "pobre," "áspera," "triste." The islands for him were a "sepulcro de talento" and a "limbo de ingenios," a "corte y triste esfera," a land of extreme heat and extreme idleness, and to send someone to the Philippines "es lo mismo que echarlo a un pozo donde nadie lo encuentre." (Castro 25, 28, 32-33, 41, 52, 58, 46-47, 64, 66, 80, 99, 404, 115, 122, 198, 213, 233-34, 251, 270, 308, 389, 404).

The history of the Philippines is replete with books. The first known testimony of their existence in the islands comes from the letter of an Augustinian friar who reported their destruction in 1574. The Chinese pirate known to the Spanish as Limahon attacked and burned part of the city of Manila, even the Augustinian convent that housed all their possessions, including their books (Hernández, “Library” 323). Irving Leonard reports that when the first bishop of the Philippines, Domingo de Salazar, arrived in Manila in 1581, he brought with him a number of volumes that became a ““very good library”” that was destroyed by fire in February of 1583 (239; Rodríguez 706). Another fire in 1586 destroyed the Augustinian convent yet a third time, including what Fray Diego Muñoz called “their very rich library” (Hernández, “Library” 323). Unfortunately there is no known record of the books found in these libraries, only the testimonies that they existed and that their owners considered them rich and good.

A 1661 list of Dominican convent libraries in the province of Nueva Segovia reveals literally hundreds of books, some very old and some quite recent, the vast majority of which are theological works, though not all (AGN, Inq. 598-1). Scattered among the dense theologies and biblical commentaries are found *De los nombres de Cristo* by Fray Luis de Leon, the *Vida de Santa Teresa de Jesús*, the epic poem *El Macabeo* by Miguel de Silveira, all the works of Fray Luis de Granada, the life of San Isidro Labrador in verse (*Isidro*) by Lope de Vega, a book of Latin dialogues by Petrarch titled *De remediis utriusque fortunae*⁵, Vergil’s *Aeneid*, *Los sueños* of Francisco de Quevedo, and *La Cristiada* by Diego de Hojeda. Prior to 1762 the Augustinian convent library of San Pablo had a flourishing library until the British ransacked it and sold the

⁵ Written in the list as “de remediis Variarum fortunarum.”

books and manuscripts abroad (Hernández, “Library” 324-25)⁶. Hernández also reports that the Augustinian convent in Cebu had 2,000 “good and rare books” as of 1768 (“Library” 326).

The Dominican Juan Cobo took as his model for one of the first xylographic books in the islands—the *Shih-Lu* (1593)—the *Introducción al símbolo de la fe* by Fray Luis de Granada, allowing us to infer that Granada’s work was already in the Philippines when Cobo began work on the *Shih-Lu* (Villarroel 87). The prominent soldier, mathematician, astronomer, and later priest, Hernando de los Ríos Coronel (in the Philippines off and on from 1588 to 1618), brought to the Philippines a small library that, in addition to other works on natural history, meteorology, and biblical exegesis, included Nicolaus Copernicus’s *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium*, even though it appeared on the Index of Prohibited Books (Crossley 201-05)⁷. Around 1619 Franciscan monks in charge of the Hospital of San Juan de Dios in Cavite requested and received two medical books, “one entitled *De Medicina*, by the author Barrios, and the other by Dioscorides” (Blair and Robertson 47:166; Hernández, “Library” 342)⁸. The Dominican Baltasar de Santa Cruz had to have a Latin copy of the tale of Barlaam and Joasaph in order to be able to translate it into Spanish and publish it in Manila in 1692. Likewise, the Filipino printer Gaspar Aquino de Belén had to have a copy of Tomás de Villacastín’s *Manual de ejercicios* to translate it into Tagalog and publish it in 1703. Copies of Sor Juana’s *comedias* had to be in Manila for someone to perform them in 1708, etc.

However often books appear in the narrations of priests, merchants, soldiers, and bureaucrats, they always remain in the background, referenced, alluded to, but never center

⁶ According to Vicente S. Hernández, as of 1996 what remains of the Augustinian’s library in Manila is found in Tokyo, the Lopez Library of Manila, and the Lilly Library at Indiana University in Bloomington (“Library” 325).

⁷ Crossley does not indicate which Index of Prohibited books that *De revolutionibus* appeared on, the Roman or the Spanish.

⁸ The work by Barrios is probably *Verdadera medicina*, printed in Mexico in 1607 by Spanish physician Juan de Barrios. The book by Dioscorides is *De materia medica*, the classic text on pharmacopeia since antiquity.

stage. Despite their low profile, it is obvious that they played a fundamental role in the development of Manila's European intellectual culture. Even the perpetually pessimistic friar Agustín María de Castro recognized that there was a host of intellectually active people that read, wrote, and taught, and that was taking into account only the members of his own order (Augustinians) (388-90). Considering all the members of the religious orders, the government officials, students, scribes, interpreters, priests, and printers, both indigenous and European, there would have been a high number of educated and potentially intellectually active people, especially considering the Philippines' distance from the centers of Western power and learning. While this claim should not be exaggerated, neither should it be minimized. The existence of multiple presses in a small city producing relevant and valuable works for the city, the presence of two colleges and other smaller educational institutions, and the need to train the host of public officials to man the secular and religious positions in the islands, bear witness to the need of books.

Furthermore, I believe that the Philippines are unique, or at least distinct from the events that took place in other parts of the Spanish empire regarding phonetic writing and books. David Irving writes, "the written word was nothing new for the Philippines, as these islands had a thriving living tradition of phonetic writing" (Irving 81). Many groups of pre-Hispanic Filipinos were fully literate in their own script, known as *baybayin*, although this might have been an elite skill (Woods 202-04). Following the arrival of the Spaniards in the archipelago its indigenous inhabitants did not consider the conquerors' books and alphabetic writing as foreign concepts. In fact, all testimony points to the eager and early acceptance of books on the part of literate Filipinos and the beginning of the creation of books in *baybayin* for personal consumption (197-98). (For their part the resident Chinese population of Manila imported their own books).

Likewise, the Spanish missionaries did not have the same reaction to *baybayin* as they did to Native American recording systems, and there was no campaign to eradicate *baybayin* or destroy texts written in the script⁹. In fact, *baybayin* continued to appear in legally binding, government-sanctioned documents into the eighteenth century (202).

This pre-Hispanic and later colonial tradition of Filipino literacy, both in *baybayin* and in Latin characters, explains in part why the Filipinos took to European books so easily and why the printing press proved to be such an effective tool in the task of evangelization (Irving 82). Therefore, rather than an imposed, foreign practice, books appear in the Philippines as an adoptive technological extension of a pre-existing literacy tradition. Neither pre-European contact with lettered cultures nor the introduction of Western books diminished or eliminated native oral traditions in the Philippines, just as the introduction of Western books in Spanish America after the conquest did not eliminate indigenous or even Spanish oral traditions. The oral tradition continued to exist parallel with native Filipino and imported European characters.

Finally, although the establishment of a new intellectual culture does not justify or excuse Spain's conquest—for nothing justifies the forcible conquest of one people by another, whether those conquerors be European, Asian, Arab, or indigenous—the fact remains that books and other forms of the written word, printed or manuscript, played an essential role in creating and maintaining Manila's intellectual culture after the Spanish had attained a functional hegemony, a culture that has continued after the Spanish, and later the Americans, have left.

The phenomena of print production and textual importation examined in this dissertation point to what Pedro Luengo Gutiérrez has termed “networks of knowledge” and “cultural

⁹ The absence of an anti-*baybayin* campaign also might have to do with the fact that *baybayin*, according to the testimonies of the missionaries, was not used in the compilation of books or histories, but rather for interpersonal communication and the annotation of musical or poetic texts (Woods 198-201).

circuits” (15-16)¹⁰, what I call here “intercolonial currents,” a concept that helps to place the Philippines in perspective when considering the Spanish empire as a whole. Indeed, despite its relegation to the bottom of the colonial totem pole by some scholars, it is impossible to fully understand the empire without the Philippines, or as Luengo calls the archipelago, “a necessary piece in the global interpretation of America, Seville, and their relations with Europe and Asia” (18)¹¹, not only in the realm of international politics and commerce, but also in scholarly, intellectual, and creative exchanges.

However, the Philippines were not merely the terminus of a long westward journey for Spaniards but were also a participant in the regional particularities of Southeast Asia. Although the Acapulco-Manila galleon may have been the link that kept the Philippines Spanish (Bjork), it was China and other Asian nations (Japan, Indonesia, India, etc) that kept the galleon stocked and allowed Manila to enjoy the financial success that it did for so long. In addition to the native peoples of Asia are the European powers that established themselves there in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and that constitute another sphere of influence in the cultural development of the Philippines. The Portuguese, the Dutch, the English, and the French all contributed to this vast network of exchange. Despite the military nature of much of inter-European contact in Southeast Asia, scholarly and intellectual exchange did not completely disappear and in the latter half of the eighteenth century blossomed. For this reason it is frequent to find books in Manila that had only come off the press in Europe or Mexico a few short years earlier. Family and commercial ties linked the Philippines to both America and Spain, as well as to greater Europe,

¹⁰ Original, “redes de conocimiento,” “circuitos culturales”. Throughout the dissertation quotes in Spanish will be translated into English, with the exception of titles of books in Spanish, which will appear in the text in the original language with an English translation in the footnotes.

¹¹ Original, “una pieza necesaria en la interpretación global de América, Sevilla y sus relaciones con Europa y Asia”

connecting these geographically and culturally disparate places through currents of knowledge—frequently in the form of books—that transcended borders.

Despite the importance of these texts in the development of Spanish Manila, there are surprisingly few records of their arrival and circulation. This does not mean that books did not come, since it is quite apparent that the archival record in its current state represents only a relatively small remnant of what once was. For example, as I indicate in the chapters on book circulation, there is a large gap in documentation from the 1660s up to the 1740s, and while this is the most glaring gap, it is not the only one. If Lawrence Thompson could lament the effects of time and natural and human disasters on the printed word in Mexico (32), how much more so can the historian of the Philippines? Written records, whether printed books, manuscripts, or even day-to-day paperwork, faced an uphill battle in the Philippines and more often than not lost that battle.

The main culprits of this documentary void are insects, climate, and geography. One insect in particular called the attention of many writers of the Philippines, the *anay*, a kind of termite “capable of destroying in one night a warehouse of bales and an entire library, boring through the bales and the books from cover to cover” (Delgado 579)¹². Medina laments: “¡what a terrible enemy they found, newly born, in that hot and humid climate, in the thousands of anays [that] appeared on the shelves as if by enchantment and that in the briefest space of time reduced to fragments even the most considerable volumes of books!” (*Manila* lxiv)¹³. The *anay*, together with the humidity and heat, caused great devastation. Furthermore, natural disasters have taken

¹² Original, “capaz de destruir en una noche un almacén de fardos y una librería entera, traspasando los fardos y los libros de banda a banda.”

¹³ Original, “qué enemigo tan temible encontraban apenas nacidas, en aquel clima húmedo y ardoroso; en los millares de anayes aparecidos como por encanto entre los anaqueles y que en brevísimo espacio de tiempo reducían a fragmentos aún los cuerpos de libros más considerables!”

their toll on books, such as the frequent typhoons and earthquakes, which, as seen in recent events in the Visayas, are capable of vast destruction. Manila suffered a number of debilitating earthquakes during the Spanish domination, most notably that of November 30, 1645, which destroyed many buildings in Intramuros and inflicted high casualties on the already small Spanish population.

No less destructive are the disasters of human origin. Irving Leonard relates the tale of the fire of 1583, caused by the lengthy tapers lit at the funeral of the defunct governor, Gonzalo Ronquillo. As Manila at that time was built entirely of *caña y nipa* (bamboo and palm-thatch), the fire quickly spread from building to building “and in the space of two hours most of the city was reduced to a mass of charred and smoking ruins,” even destroying the archbishop’s ““very good library”” (Leonard 238-39). Wolf cites two very destructive fires in 1603 that “burned the Dominican convent in Manila to the ground and consumed the whole of Binondo just outside the walls” (2)¹⁴. War also took its toll. During the Battle of Manila in 1945, the old walled city of Intramuros, Manila proper, was almost totally obliterated, along with everything in it.

As for documents produced in the islands, the paper on which they appear has contributed to their deterioration and disappearance. The most prevalent type of paper used in the islands, of Chinese manufacture, is what is commonly called “rice paper,” though it was actually made from the paper mulberry tree (*Broussonetia papyrifera*) (Wolf 3-4). Pardo de Tavera provides the most complete description of this paper:

This paper is one of the causes of the great destruction of those books. It is detestable, brittle, without consistency or resistance [...] ¶ Like all Chinese-made paper it was coated with alum, both the finer [papers] as well as the thicker ones, with the object of whitening it and making the surface smooth, a deplorable manipulation, for it makes the paper very moisture absorbent, a disastrous condition for such a humid climate as that of those

¹⁴ Wolf here might have been referring to the Parián since Binondo is not right outside the walls but across the river from Intramuros.

islands. Moreover, as the alum they use is impure and contains large proportions of iron salts, the humidity and the weather cause an oxidation to form that eventually stains the paper, for which reason Philippine books present a coloration that runs the gamut of tones from the color of bone to that of dark cinnamon. (*Noticias* 9-10)¹⁵

As Pardo de Tavera indicates, old Philippine documents, whether printed or manuscript, are extremely delicate, and become more so with age. Papers that have not been meticulously preserved indeed break to pieces with the slightest exertion of the hands. The alum used to coat the surface of the paper, while not rendering entirely the documents entirely unreadable, does contribute to a gradual deterioration of their legibility. Of course, not all documents appear on this paper since thicker and more resistant European paper was also used (Sánchez, “Franciscanos II” 409-410; “Crónica” 525; Retana, “Inventario jesuítico,” Appendix 3). These texts, however, were an exception.

As a result of the drastic “opposition” that written records in the Philippine have faced throughout the country’s history, many of the documents that could have shed sufficient light on the topics discussed in this dissertation are now missing or destroyed. This paucity of written records from the early period of Spain in the Philippines has caused no small consternation on the part of historians and bibliographers attempting to write the histories of the Philippines. Given the challenges described above, there are large gaps that permit only educated supposition based on circumstantial evidence and the documents that have managed to survive up to the present. The information presented in this dissertation is, in part, an attempt to rescue that

¹⁵ Original: “Este papel es una de las causas de la grande destrucción de aquellos libros. Es detestable, quebradizo, sin resistencia ni consistencia [...] Como todos los de fabricación china, están cargados de alumbre, los más finos como los más gruesos, con objeto de blanquearlos y suavizar la superficie, manipulación deplorable, porque hace al papel muy higrométrico, condición fatal para un clima tan húmedo como el de aquellas islas. Además, como el alumbre que emplean es impuro y contiene grandes proporciones de sales de hierro, la humedad y el tiempo hacen que se forme un óxido que mancha al fin el papel, por cuya razón los libros filipinos presentan una coloración que recorre la gama de tonos desde el color de hueso al de canela obscuro.” Translation based on Wolf, pp. 4-5.

documentation and make it available to scholars with the ultimate goal of presenting a more complete picture of the Philippines' colonial past.

In Chapter One I discuss the nature of the press operations in the workshops of colonial Manila, focusing on the number and kinds of texts they produced, as well as the market for those texts. In order to quantify and qualify the output of the press, it is necessary to consider the entire "classical" period of Philippine printing. I use the word "classical" here and afterwards with some hesitation, recognizing that the two centuries of printing described here were neither the best nor the most productive, but simply the first period of printing, one that presents uniform characteristics and is readily delimited by defining events. This period begins in 1593 with the appearance of the first printed text and ends in 1813. Chapter One will also consider the printers who operated those presses, re-evaluating opinions and evidence regarding who they were and their role in the promotion of Hispano-Philippine culture through the press.

With this background established, Chapter Two will examine the real utilization of the Manila presses as seen through a case study. Specifically, this chapter will explore the jurisdictional conflicts that arose in 1734 between over the *Real Patronato* and licenses for royal chaplains, and the Inquisition's exclusive prerogative to censor the written word. The highlight of this conflict is the *Diálogo mixti fori*, an anonymous, satirical, legal tract published clandestinely in support of the regulars' and the Audiencia's position in this struggle over chaplain licenses. Not only does this case study effectively illustrate the real use of the press, it also demonstrates its intersection with the social, political, and religious currents of the colony and the greater empire, connecting it to both Latin America and Spain.

Chapter Three represents a first attempt to give a general overview of the conditions under which Western books came to the islands during the Mexican period. I argue that

although an international book trade did not take hold until the mid-eighteenth century, books had been arriving in Manila since the beginning of the Spanish presence and continued to do so throughout their tenure of the city. I also discuss the actions of both the Real Compañía de Filipinas and the religious orders in introducing texts, and the role of the Inquisition in regulating the flow of printed materials entering the colonial capital.

The fourth and final chapter continues the discussion of book circulation, focusing on individual transmission of texts. It discusses the concept of intellectual or print networks as the locus of textual exchange in the Philippines in contrast to the traditional relationship of book store and consumer. To exemplify this trend I take as a case study the Inquisition's investigations into the behavior and reading habits of one Tomás de Comyn, *factor* of the Real Compañía de Filipinas in Manila from 1803 to 1811. A prominent and well-read individual, Comyn introduced, read, shared, and sold prohibited books among his associates, both in Manila and later in Mexico (1812-1817) before returning to Spain. It was only in 1816 that Comyn decided to confess his misdeeds, allowing us a glimpse into the reading habits of the elite during a crucial historical moment in Spain's imperial history, as well as offering an insider's view of the actions and proceedings of the Inquisition in the twilight of its institutional life.

II. The printing press in Manila: a brief introduction

The origin of the press in the Philippines is without doubt a complicated issue, shrouded in 400 years of fires, earthquakes, floods, wars, looting, climate, insects, and neglect. For this reason, a basic understanding of the historical context of the origin of these presses is essential before proceeding to Chapter One.

Literature review

The study of the Philippine presses began in earnest in 1893 with the publication of T. H. Pardo de Tavera's *Noticias sobre la imprenta y el grabado en Filipinas*¹⁶. This text represents the first solid attempt to elucidate the origins of the Manila presses and establish a timeline of presses and printers, drawing on texts that the author had owned or seen, through the end of the nineteenth century when he was writing. At the time of publication, there were only three studies on the subject, one of which is now lost¹⁷. Furthermore, what was known at that time was little more than educated guesswork based on the small number of Philippine imprints available and on the known passages of historical texts in which the subject was treated. While Pardo de Tavera incurred in some inaccuracies¹⁸, this does not detract from the value of his work since he was working with very limited information.

Later in 1893 W. E. Retana published his edition of *Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas*¹⁹ by the Augustinian friar Joaquín Martínez de Zúñiga. Although the text itself says nothing about

¹⁶ English: "Notes on the press and engraving in the Philippines"

¹⁷ Retana cites one Guillermo Masnou, who had written a study that supposedly demonstrates the chronological priority of the Augustinian press ("Apéndice B" 112). Pérez and Güemes reference this same text, adding only that Masnou was the parish priest of the town of Sto. Tomás de la Pampanga and that the study was written around 1880 (xxxix-xxxiii). However, by the time Retana referenced this text in 1893, that study had already been lost, so Retana's reference to the content was only hearsay. The next study, first referenced by Pardo de Tavera in 1893 and copied later by Retana in 1911, was written by a "Sr. Sánchez de Arcos" in a Cádiz newspaper, *El Comercio*, in 1885, but, according to Pardo de Tavera, only contained generalities with nothing of relevance (8). I have never seen this text. The final study on the origins of the press carried out before 1893 is a 20-page manuscript written by one Francisco Díaz (y) Puertas called *Ligeros apuntes sobre la Imprenta en Fillipinas*, produced in Manila in 1887. Pardo de Tavera first referenced it in 1893 but states that it contains nothing of interest for the history of the origins of the Manila presses (8). Retana also references it in *Orígenes*, where he calls it a "joya de ingenuidad" because of the many alleged inaccurate statements made by the author (21-22). Retana further states that this manuscript was located in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid (21), but my searches in the online catalogue have produced nothing. Besides these three texts, there were other texts, both printed and manuscript, that contained *bibliographies* of the Philippines but no historical studies on the origins of the press in Manila.

¹⁸ One of the more inventive errors advanced by Pardo de Tavera was his suggestion that the Franciscans acquired their printing material from Goa in India, but that in its voyage to Manila, the ship carrying the press had to make an emergency landing on the southern shores of Luzon because of unforeseen circumstances (e.g. inclement weather), and because of this emergency landing the Franciscans established their first press in Tayabas instead of in Manila (*Noticias* 33-34).

¹⁹ English: "State of the Philippine Islands"

the Manila presses, Retana includes extensive annotations and appendices, one of which, “Apéndice B,” tackles the same issues as Pardo de Tavera’s *Noticias*, adding valuable data to the latter’s contribution and clarifying and correcting some of his suggestions²⁰. Retana included in this appendix an alphabetical and chronological table, with comments, quotations from historical sources, and select bibliographical references to printers and presses operating in Manila, for the purpose of establishing a timeline of important events and people in the history of the Philippine press. He later retooled both his introductory essay and the table into different publications²¹.

1896 saw the publication of José Toribio Medina’s *La imprenta en Manila desde sus orígenes hasta 1810*²². Besides his valuable though on occasion inaccurate introductory essay, the distinguished Chilean bibliographer includes a number of previously unpublished primary sources that shed light on printing practices in the islands. However, the main attraction of the text is his bibliography of Philippine imprints. Although later bibliographies have added substantially to this original work, it is the foundational text for the study of the Philippine press during its first two centuries of existence.

That Medina’s study is the first true bibliography of the Philippine press is attested to by the fact that Retana in his 1899 *La imprenta en Filipinas*²³ did not attempt to supplant Medina’s work but supplement it. Bibliographically Retana limited himself to adding titles that Medina had overlooked, while suggesting rectifications and adding knowledge to what Medina had

²⁰ For example, the printer of the 1610 text *Arte y reglas de la lengua tagala* was not Diego Talagay as Pardo de Tavera had surmised (basing his assumption on a damaged copy of that same text and on another text published in that same year (Pardo de Tavera, *Noticias* 12-13, 24-25)), but rather Tomás Pinpin (Retana, “Apéndice B” 103-04), the “patriarch” of Filipino printing, as Retana later calls him (*Orígenes* 60).

²¹ After his essay and table Retana adds a bibliographical catalog of texts pertaining to the Philippines, but it is not a strictly typographical bibliography. The bibliography also found further expression in the expansive, three-volume work, *Aparato bibliográfico de la historia general de Filipinas*, but as this is a general bibliography it does not form a part of this study except where it provides additional insights into Philippine imprints.

²² English: “The press in Manila from its origins until 1810”

²³ English: “The press in the Philippines”

already stated, though these additions and amendments are quite numerous. However, the true value of Retana's *Imprenta* lies in its excellent historical essay on the origin of the Philippine press and the first printed works, so while Medina is foundational in the bibliography, Retana can take the credit for establishing the most feasible and logical history of the Manila presses²⁴.

In 1904, Medina published his own *Adiciones y ampliaciones*²⁵, which was the incorporation into his original 1896 work of the titles and rectifications suggested by Retana. He did not accept everything Retana wrote, but enough to justify another small volume. After 1904 we do not hear again from Medina on the subject of the bibliography of the Philippine press²⁶. 1904 also witnessed the publication of *Adiciones y continuación de "La Imprenta en Manila" de D. J. T. Medina*²⁷ by the Augustinian friars Ángel Pérez and Cecilio Güemes. The value of this text is found in the inclusion of a number of hitherto un-catalogued Philippine imprints, and the extension of the bibliography to 1840.

In 1908 Retana again sent his work to press and published *Tablas cronológica y alfabética de imprentas y impresores de Filipinas*²⁸, the re-working of the table from "Apéndice B" in *Estadismo*. Retana separated the alphabetical list from the chronological and makes two different tables, substantially expanding and refining both, including additional findings and commentary under select numbers, through 1898. While it adds no new texts to the bibliography or makes many major revisions to the findings of his 1899 *Imprenta*, it is important for its

²⁴ Retana's *Imprenta* does not have page numbers, but rather column numbers. Therefore, when citing *Imprenta* for this study, the abbreviation "col(s)" appears before the number.

²⁵ English: "Additions and expansions"

²⁶ In 1897, the year after publishing his *Imprenta*, Medina also published a work titled *Bibliografía española de las islas Filipinas*, but as this text is a general bibliography of the history of the Philippines, it does not form part of the present study.

²⁷ English: "Additions and continuation of 'The Press in Manila' by D[on] J[osé] T[oribio] Medina"

²⁸ English: "Chronological and alphabetical tables of presses and printers in the Philippines"

capacity to illustrate chronologically the history of the Philippine press during the Spanish period.

The Philippine *criollo* Manuel Artigas y Cuerva made his mark on the history of the Philippine press with his 1910 study, *La primera imprenta en Filipinas*²⁹. In his introductory essay he rectified some assertions made by Retana in *Imprenta* and *Tablas*, and added an important discovery regarding the ownership of the original press in 1621. However, his greatest contribution to this field is the inclusion of the text *Librong pagaaralan nang manga tagalog nang vicang castila*³⁰, written by the first Tagalog printer, Tomás Pinpin, in 1610.

With Retana's publication of *Orígenes de la imprenta en Filipinas*³¹ in 1911, the cycle of works published near the turn of the twentieth century came to an end. Retana wrote this piece in 1909 as part of his submission into an international competition on the origin of the Philippine press. *Orígenes* is radical in many ways. First, Retana included a lengthy graphical demonstration of the common origin of early Philippine type. Second, based on his typographical findings he made a drastic about-face regarding the origin of the Philippine presses, contradicting his position and the evidence offered in *Imprenta* in 1899. While his conclusions are by no means definitive, he does offer an important challenge to historians investigating the origins of the Philippine press.

Finally, the publication of Regalado Trota Jose's *Impreso* in 1993 represents the most recent addition to the study of the Philippine press. Although he does not delve into any of the historical questions posed earlier by Retana, et al., he did compile the most extensive bibliography of the Philippine press to date, taking into consideration all the major and minor

²⁹ English: "The first press in the Philippines"

³⁰ English: "Book in which the Tagalogs learn the Spanish language"

³¹ English: "Origins of the press in the Philippines"

bibliographies on this topic published since 1911, as well as other scholarly works highlighting particular aspects of the press in Manila³². In fact, as a result of his research, Jose was able to double the number of known Philippine prints from Medina's original *Imprenta* in 1896. While this number is by no means large in comparison to other regions of the world where the press has existed, it is a substantial step forward in Philippine typographical studies of the early period of printing.

Parameters

By the time the first book came off the first typographical press in Manila in 1604, the printing press as an institution had already existed for more than 150 years. Hundreds of presses had been established in every major European city and even many of its smaller towns could claim to have their own print house (Steinberg 43). The publishing and selling of books from early on was a major international business concern, and publishers, printers, and booksellers were anxious to get a share in the lucrative book trade. Presses even began appearing in the growing number of colonies Europeans were setting up around the world. The Cromberger

³² For example: **Bernardo, Gabriel A. and Natividad P. Verzosa.** *Philippine Retrospective National Bibliography, 1523-1699*. Ed. John N. Schumacher. Manila: National Library of the Philippines; Ateneo de Manila P, 1974; **Cobo, Juan.** *Shih-lu [Pien cheng-chiao chen-ch'uan shih-lu]*. 1593. Ed. Fidel Villarroel. Manila: U of Santo Tomás P, 1986. *Orientalia Dominicana – Philippines* 3.; **Gayo Aragón, Jesús.** “Ordinaciones Generales, incunable filipino de 1604.” *Unitas* 27.3 (1954): 555-631; ---. “Catálogo de los impresos filipinos conservados en los archivos de la Provincia del S.mo Rosario de Filipinas y de la Universidad de Santo Tomás de Manila.” *Unitas* 25.2 (1952): 313-69.; **Sánchez, Cayetano.** “Los franciscanos y la imprenta en Filipinas. (Notas para la historia de la imprenta franciscana, 1578-1846) [Part I].” *Missionalia Hispanica* 112 (1981): 5-58. ---. “Los franciscanos y la imprenta en Filipinas. (Notas para la historia de la imprenta franciscana, 1578-1846) [Part II].” *Missionalia Hispanica* 116 (1982): 367-412; ---. “Crónica de unas Crónicas.” *Archivo Ibero-Americano 195-196* (1989): 491-530; **Streit, Robert.** *Bibliotheca missionum*. Vol. 5. Rom: Herder, 1964; **Van der Loon, P[eter].** “The Manila Incunabula and Early Hokkien Studies, Part 1.” *Asia Major* 12.1 (1966): 1-43; **Wolf, Edwin, II.** “Introduction.” In *Doctrina Christiana: The First Book Printed in the Philippines, Manila, 1593*. Philadelphia: Library of Congress, 1947. Most recently Patricia May B. Jurilla has published an article and a book on the topic of book production in the Philippines: “What Book? An Introduction to the History of the Book and Prospects for Philippine Studies.” *Philippine Studies* 51.4 (2003): 503-57; and *Tagalog Bestsellers of the Twentieth Century: A History of the Book in the Philippines*. Manila: Ateneo de Manila UP, 2008. However, her focus is predominantly on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and her discussion on printing prior to 1813 is limited to summarizing to findings of the above scholars.

family with the privilege of the King brought Mexico City its first press a mere 18 years after the victory of the Spanish over the Aztecs (1539), and Lima's first press appeared 45 years later (Chocano Mena 79; Thompson 35).

Yet from its inception the press in Manila was distinct from its European or Latin American counterparts. When it first “arrived” in Manila, the press underwent nothing like the growing pains of the first century of printing, the “heroic century” described by Steinberg and Eisenstein (Steinberg 165). It appeared as a pre-formed institution, with technology, skills, cultural associations, and laws that governed its use. Also, rather than the property of enterprising craftsmen and businessmen, the press from the beginning of its presence in the islands was the special province of the religious corporations: the Dominicans, the Augustinians, the Jesuits, and later the Franciscans. Although many of the works printed on the Philippine presses were made available for purchase, profit was never the main goal of textual production—much less in an international market—but rather, evangelization and the administration of the spiritual and temporal welfare of the new colony. These realities governed all aspects of the press in Manila and decided in large measure both the quantity and the qualities of the texts selected for printing.

The chronological parameters of this classical period as I define them in this study—1593 to 1813—diverge slightly from previous bibliographers. When José Toribio Medina published *La imprenta en Manila* in 1896, he placed as the chronological limit of his bibliography the year 1810. However, this end-date responds to a Hispanic-American perspective rather than a Filipino one, as Medina indicates in the “Carta dedicatoria” of his work: “within the historical past of the current Hispanic American nations, that year is...the one that marks for all of them, from the boundaries of their borders to the change of their institutions and a new literary era”

(*Manila* viii)³³. Whereas in America the *criollo*³⁴ or nativist sentiment led to generalized revolution beginning in 1810, in the Philippines a confluence of important factors caused all the attempts at independence from Spain in the early nineteenth century to come to nothing³⁵. While 1810 does have historical implications for Manila's commercial and cultural life (marking the beginning of the end of the Philippines' long relationship with New Spain), it had no impact on its presses and therefore makes little sense as the end-date of the classical period of Philippine printing.

Regalado Trota Jose extends this end-date to 1811, when, as he states, “the first newspaper, *del Superior Gobierno*³⁶, ushered in a new era in the history of printing. There was a virtual publishing explosion after this date, which went hand in hand with the opening of printing presses in other parts of the country” (7). However, looking at the number of publications in 1811 as recorded by Jose and those of 1812 as recorded by Pérez and Güemes, there is little to suggest that these years were any different from the previous 200. Known text production in 1811 and 1812 was lower than the highest years of the eighteenth century, and 1813 had only a slightly higher number of works produced in that year (21) than in 1739 (17) (see Appendix 1). And while scholars consider *Del Superior Gobierno* to be the first Philippine newspaper, it was a very irregular, ad hoc production that lasted only seven months, from 8 Aug. 1811 to 29 Feb.

³³ Original: “dentro del pasado histórico de las actuales naciones hispano-americanas, ese año es...el que para todas ellas marca, desde los linderos de sus fronteras, hasta el cambio de sus instituciones y una nueva era literaria”

³⁴ A “criollo” is a person of Hispanic descent born in the colonies and is typically differentiated from their Peninsular-born counterparts, the “peninsulares.”

³⁵ Among these factors are the immense distances between the archipelago and both Spain and America, ethnic rivalries between the relatively small *criollo* and Spanish-Filipino *mestizo* sector and that of the much more numerous and influential native and Chinese-Filipino *mestizos*, and Spain's experience in losing their American colonies (Phelan 106, 158; Llobet 4-5).

³⁶ English: “From the Superior Government”; the phrase “Superior Gobierno” refers to the civil authority, i.e., the Crown, in contrast to the ecclesiastical authority.

1812 (Retana, *Aparato* III: 1493-94; Pérez and Güemes 342-43)³⁷, and were it not for the eighteen issues of this *one* newspaper, the production numbers for 1811 and 1812 would be much lower. The increase that Jose cites is much more gradual and does not begin to assert itself until at least the 1830s, based on Retana's *Tablas* and *Aparato*, as well as Pérez and Güemes' *Adiciones*. Therefore, rather than basing the chronological limit of the classical period of Philippine printing on the content or productivity of the existing presses, one must consider exterior events and circumstances.

For this study, I have chosen the terminal year of 1813 based on two factors: the declaration of the freedom of the press in Manila in that same year, and the appearance of a privately-owned press in Manila in 1814. First, following the arrival of the Constitution of Cádiz in Manila in 1813, the new liberal government declared the freedom of the press (Retana, *Aparato* II: 484; *Teatro* 59)³⁸. While one can see a very slight increase in the number of texts produced in 1813, as noted above, the freedom of the press as such did not immediately produce hundreds or even dozens of publications. Granted, the type of publications do change—from predominantly religious texts and government decrees to texts of a more diversified nature, including political, satirical, journalistic, and poetic texts—overall production does not. In reality, the declaration of the freedom of the press only serves as a prelude to the second and most important factor, the establishment of the first privately-owned, commercial press in the islands, established by don Manuel Memije in 1814. With the founding of Memije's press and

³⁷ Medina, Retana, and Jose all place the end of *Del Superior Gobierno* on February 7, 1812. However, Pérez and Güemes cite issues that extend the life of the newspaper until February 29. Even so, issues 1-7 run from August 8 to September 30, while issues 8-18 run from January 1 to February 29, 1812, making the active life of the news paper only four months long, separated by a three-month gap.

³⁸ This freedom did not last, of course, as Ferdinand VII abolished the Constitution of 1812 shortly after reassuming power. The Spanish liberals in the Peninsula reinstated it at the commencement of their *trienio* starting in 1820 (1821 for the Philippines), but upon the defeat of the Liberal government in 1823 the King again abolished the Constitution and its liberties. However, by this time, both in Spain and in the Philippines, it was impossible return to the way things were prior to 1808, and the strength of the press continued to grow in the country.

the appearance in this same year of another press in the Dominican convent of San Telmo in Cavite, the monopoly on printing in Manila, held by the religious orders for more than two centuries, comes to an end. For these reasons, I have chosen as the final year of the bibliography the year 1813³⁹.

Origins of the Philippine press, 1593-1636

Although the first texts printed in the Philippines appeared in 1593, they were not created typographically, that is, on a letter press of moveable type in the European style. The first Philippine imprints were done xylographically, i.e., by block-printing, wherein a craftsman carves away portions of a wooden tablet, leaving only the text (or images) in relief. The printer then applies ink to the surface of the letters and presses the tablet into the paper, creating the image. The Chinese had been practicing the art of xylography for many centuries prior to their encounter with the Spaniards in Manila. Given the substantial Chinese population residing in the Parián (Chinese quarter) of Manila at the time, which historians estimate to have been at around 10,000 by 1589, and with reportedly just as many residing outside the Parián (Villaruel 62; Schurz 76), there were plenty of skilled artisans who could have carried out this task (Retana, *Orígenes* 34-36). That the first xylographical texts came from the hands of Chinese artisans is without question since the Dominicans, responsible for their evangelization, were the primary sponsor of these texts. Therefore, because of the pressing need for many uniform texts in the

³⁹ The kind of bibliography analyzed in Chapter One is not a general bibliography on the Philippines, but rather the bibliography of texts printed in the archipelago. Many historians have contributed to the general Philippine bibliography, but because the general takes into consideration texts that were produced and/or published outside of the islands, they cannot form a part of the bibliography of the Philippine press as such. For this reason I have not included in the bibliographical analysis of this chapter those bibliographies that include materials printed outside of the Philippines. Furthermore, Regalado Jose consulted most or all of those works in the preparation of *Impreso*, rendering it unnecessary to turn to these books for additional bibliographical information, with the exception of Pérez and Güemes for the reasons stated above.

task of catechization, the relative ease of producing a text xylographically, and the immediate availability of Chinese craftsmen, and in the absence of a typographical press, xylography was the natural option for the first printed texts in the Spanish Philippines.

Almost all the known xylographic works printed in Manila appeared between 1593 and 1607⁴⁰. We know of the existence of ten such books, all of them religious texts such as catechisms, confession aids, religious tracts, etc, and all published for the purpose of aiding the friars in their missionary labors. The texts are predominantly in non-European languages—Tagalog and Chinese—with some texts having portions in Latin and Spanish. For the Tagalog texts, at first the missionaries utilized the pre-Hispanic Filipino script, called *baybayin*, but soon came to favor Tagalog transliterated in the Roman alphabet (Retana, *Orígenes* 101-102). The use of transliterated Tagalog continued following the advent of typographical print, eventually replacing *baybayin* permanently as the vehicle of written expression in Filipino languages (*Orígenes* 101-102; Jose 22).⁴¹ Chinese always appeared in Chinese characters, which partially explains the rapid disappearance of Chinese texts after the establishment of typography.

The first two xylographic books appeared in 1593, though it is unknown which came first. One was a *Doctrina Christiana*⁴², or catechism, in Spanish and Tagalog, the Tagalog written in both the Roman alphabet and in *baybayin*. This *Doctrina* was printed on Chinese paper and published in the Dominican convent of San Gabriel in the Parián of Manila (Wolf 3). The second book is known today as the *Shih-Lu*, from the longer *Pien cheng-chiao chen-ch'uan*

⁴⁰ One text of likely existence (but no extant copy) was produced by the Dominican Alberto Collares. Collares arrived in the Philippines in 1632 and died there in 1673. The text would have been printed during this time, xylographically, since it utilized Chinese characters (Jose 286, entry 1010).

⁴¹ This does not mean that *baybayin* did not continue after this point, but rather that in its printed form, *baybayin* was supplanted by the Roman alphabet. Woods cites instances throughout the seventeenth and even through the eighteenth century where *baybayin* made manuscript appearances, particularly in notarial and legal records, though it seems that by the eighteenth century it was falling into disuse. See Woods' discussion, pp. 191-202.

⁴² English: "Christian Doctrine"

shih-lu, meaning, “Discussion of the right doctrine, true writings⁴³,” written by the Dominican friar Juan Cobo with the help of a Chinese assistant-scribe (Domínguez 43; Cobo 100). The Spanish translator of *Shih-Lu* calls the text “Apology of the True Religion⁴⁴” based on its content since the book itself has no title, the one appearing at the beginning of the text corresponding only to the first chapter (Domínguez 42).

The *Shih-Lu* is not a catechism; in fact, Fidel Villarroel, states that its most immediate model was the first part of Fray Luis de Granada’s *Introducción al Símbolo de la Fe*⁴⁵ published in 1583-1584 (88-89). Villarroel describes it as “a pre-catechism directed at Chinese pagans, above all to the educated ones. [...] Father Cobo planned the *Shih-Lu* as a work of apology, a philosophical-humanistic study whose purpose was to favorably incline the minds of the neo-believers toward a later and clearer exposition of the Gospel of Christ” (75)⁴⁶. Stylistically, the literary palate of the ideal readership of the *Shih-Lu*—educated connoisseurs of classical Chinese literature—demanded a more refined diet, and the *Shih-Lu* attempts to satisfy their tastes by writing in the classical Chinese style with an abundance of quotations and allusions to classical authors, all with the purpose of preparing the terrain for successful conversion to Catholicism (44).

Around the same time a third text appeared, titled *Doctrina Christiana en letra y lengua China, compuesta por los padres ministros de los Sangleyes, de la Orden de Sancto Domingo*⁴⁷.

This Chinese *Doctrina* has no date of publication, although it does include the name of the

⁴³ Original, “Discusión de la recta doctrina, verdadera propaganda”

⁴⁴ Original, “Apología de la Verdadera Religión”

⁴⁵ English: “Introduction to the Symbol of the Faith”

⁴⁶ Original, “un pre-catecismo dirigido a los chinos paganos, sobre todo a los cultos. [...] El Padre Cobo planeó el *Shih-Lu* como una obra de apología, un estudio filosófico-humanístico cuya finalidad era disponer favorablemente la mente de los neo-creyentes hacia una posterior y más clara exposición del Evangelio de Cristo”

⁴⁷ English: “Christian Doctrine in Chinese characters and language, composed by the father ministers of the *Sangleyes*, of the Order of Saint Dominic.” “Sangley” was the term that the Spanish used to refer to the Chinese in the Philippines.

wood-cutter/printer, “Keng-yong,” the only known signed xylographic text among the Philippine imprints (Villarroel vi-vii). Van der Loon cites certain evidences internal to the text itself and declares it to have been printed, possibly in an unauthorized edition, not later than the beginning years of the sixteenth century (11-22). Villarroel in his preliminary historic-bibliographical study of the *Shih-Lu* does not readily accept Van der Loon’s verdict while at the same time distancing himself from arguments that Keng-yong created this *Doctrina* even before the Tagalog *Doctrina* and the *Shih-Lu*. Although he favors an earlier dating, he declares that current evidence is insufficient for a definitive attribution of date of publication (53-57).

Despite the great benefit that both missionaries and their converts undoubtedly received from the xylographic texts, it is apparent that block-printing did not completely satisfy the evangelization needs of the missionaries. Therefore, out of the need for more printed texts, and for texts of greater volume, came the first Manila press.

How did the first typographical press come about? In his *Imprenta*, Medina asserts that the first typographical press in Manila came from the Jesuits via Macao. Although this assertion cannot be discarded out of hand, contemporary testimonies suggest that, rather than a press imported from abroad, the first Philippine press was created in the islands⁴⁸. The first and most important historical account we have of the origin of the first Philippine press comes from Fray

⁴⁸ Medina’s idea has perpetuated itself in more recent scholarship, making its way into Jacques Lafaye’s volume *Albores de la imprenta*, published in Mexico in 2002. As mentioned above, despite Medina’s primacy in the bibliography of Philippine imprints, the journalist and historian W. E. Retana deserves credit for the most reasonable and substantiated account of the first press in the islands. Had Lafaye consulted any of Retana’s works when writing about the Philippine press, he would not have cited Medina, who never attempted to refute or disprove any of the claims Retana made in his 1899 *Imprenta*, even when he published in 1904 the *Adiciones* to his own original work. Although Retana did like to toot his own horn, so to speak, there is no doubt that his studies on the origin of the press in the Philippines and his in-depth investigation into the bibliography of Philippine imprints are of lasting value and contributed greatly to the field.

Diego Aduarte, Dominican, Procurator General for his province⁴⁹ at court in Madrid, and later Bishop of Nueva Segovia⁵⁰ until his death in 1636. He was also the author of *Historia de la provincia del Sancto Rosario de la orden de predicadores en Philipinas*⁵¹, first published posthumously in 1640 in Manila on the University of Santo Tomás press. In his *Historia*, Aduarte tells of the life of one Fr. Francisco Blancas de San José, a missionary who had come with him to the Philippines in 1595. Upon arriving in Manila, Blancas de San José was assigned to the Tagalog missions and learned their language quickly, eventually becoming proficient enough to write elegantly in it (409-410). Aduarte writes:

He composed many devotional handbooks for them, and because there was no press in these islands, nor anyone who understood it or that was a press worker, he gave instructions how to do it through a good Chinese Christian who, seeing that the books of Father Fr. Francisco would be of great benefit, put such effort into the enterprise that he eventually produced (aided by what he was told by those who knew something [about printing]) everything necessary to print, and printed these books (410)⁵²

From this passage we learn that the first printer was “a good Chinese Christian” who developed the first typographical press in the islands, and that Blancas de San José (“Padre Fr. Francisco”) was a major instigator in the undertaking, though what his precise role was remains unclear.

Although Aduarte’s testimony does not explicitly state that this Chinese individual built the press

⁴⁹ The territorial jurisdictions of the various religious orders were called provinces and each province, with the exception of the Jesuits, was named after or dedicated to a particular saint or religious concept. The Franciscan province in the Philippines was dedicated to Saint Gregory the Great, hence its name, “la provincia de San Gregorio Magno.” The Dominican province was called “del Santísimo Rosario”; the Augustinian, “del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús”; and that of the Recollects of Saint Augustine, “de San Nicolás de Tolentino.” The Jesuit province was called simply “La provincia de Filipinas de la Compañía de Jesús” (Rodríguez, “Filipinas” 709).

⁵⁰ Nueva Segovia, territorial division under the Spanish corresponding roughly to the northern third of the island of Luzon and comprising the modern provinces of Tarlac, Pangasinan, Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, and the Cagayan Valley (Rodríguez 708).

⁵¹ English: “History of the Province of the Holy Rosary of the Order of Preachers in the Philippines”

⁵² Original: “Compúsoles muchos libros de devoción manuales, y porque no había imprenta en estas islas, ni quién la entendiese, ni fuese oficial de imprimir, dio traza cómo hacerla por medio de un chino buen cristiano que, viendo que los libros del Padre Fr. Francisco habían de hacer gran provecho, puso tanto cuidado en este negocio, que vino a sacar, (ayudado de lo que le decían algunos que sabían algo) todo lo necesario para imprimir, e imprimió estos libros.” Spelling, accentuation, and punctuation modernized. This comes from the 1693 edition, printed in Spain, that contains additions to Aduarte’s original work.

from scratch in the islands, the phrase “put such effort into the enterprise that he eventually produced...everything necessary to print” suggests that the materials for printing were not in the islands prior to that time and that rather than import them he fabricated them or had others fabricate them under his direction.

Fortunately, Aduarte does not leave the story there. In Book 1 of the same *Historia*, he provides more detail. Discussing the notable events and people in the town of Minondoc—modern Binondo, suburb immediately to the north of Intramuros, across the river Pasig—he writes:

There have been in this town many Chinese of very exemplary lives. Juan de Vera was not only a very devout man, and [given] to much prayer, but also one that caused that all his household to be the same. He always heard mass and frequented the Church very often, and he adorned it most handsomely with hangings and paintings because he was skilled in this art; and thinking only of the much fruit that would be had by means of holy and devout books, he dedicated himself to the great labor that was necessary to establish the press in this land, where there was no pressman who could show him the way nor explain the manner of printing in Europe, which is very different from the one they have in the kingdom of China. And with all that, the Lord aiding so pious intentions, and he putting in this undertaking not only continued and excessive labor, but also all the forces of his ingenuity, which was great, he attained that which he desired, and was the first printer in these islands, and this not from greed, for he earned much more in his trade as a merchant, and gladly lost this profit just to able to do this service to the Lord and this good work to the souls of the natives... (99-100)⁵³

In discussing this and the previous quote, Retana observantly highlights certain key phrases: “he dedicated himself to the great labor that was necessary;” “he putting in this undertaking not only continued and excessive labor, but also all the forces of his ingenuity, which was great, he

⁵³ Original: “Ha habido en este pueblo muchos chinos de muy ejemplar vida; Juan de Vera no sólo era hombre muy devoto, y de mucha oración, sino que hacía que todos los de su casa lo fuesen. Oía siempre misa y era frecuentísimo en la iglesia, y la adornaba curiosísimamente con colgaduras y pinturas por entenderse esta arte: y sólo atendiendo al mucho fruto que se sacaría con libros santos y devotos, se puso al gran trabajo que fue necesario para salir con imprenta en esta tierra, donde no había oficial ninguno que le pudiese encaminar, ni dar razón del modo de imprimir de Europa, que es diferentísimo del que ellos tienen en su reino de China. Y con todo eso, ayudando el Señor tan pío intento, y poniendo él en este negocio no sólo un continuo y excesivo trabajo, sino también todas las fuerzas de su ingenio, que era grande, vino a salir con lo que deseaba, y fue el primer impresor que en estas islas hubo, y esto no por codicia, que ganaba el mucho más en su oficio de mercader, y perdió de buena gana esta ganancia por solo hacer este servicio al Señor y bien a las almas de los naturales...” Translation based on Wolf, pp. 38-39.

attained that which he desired” (*Imprenta*, cols. 19-22). As Retana indicates, had Juan de Vera—the “good Chinese Christian” Aduarte refers to later in the *Historia*—limited himself to acquiring a press fabricated in Europe with its corresponding type, neither extenuating effort nor continuous, excessive intellectual labors would have been necessary since the actual operations of printing (i.e., placing the type in the form, imprinting the text on the paper, etc) are fairly straightforward once the training is complete⁵⁴. It would merely have been a question of ordering one, which happened on many occasions throughout Spain’s overseas colonies. As a wealthy merchant, Juan de Vera would have had the means of purchasing such a press and he himself would not have had to do the actual purchasing but only provide the funds to the religious orders (i.e., the Dominicans) who could commission the purchase of such a press via their contacts in America and Europe. In the end, although there is no document that explicitly states that Vera created the press in the islands, the testimonies given strongly suggest that this was the case, making the Vera press an “original” invention, what Retana classifies as a “semi-invention⁵⁵” of the typographical press (*Orígenes* 41).

It seems that such a development had been in the works for some time before its actual realization. Cayetano Sánchez, citing a 1595 letter from a Franciscan priest, indicates that steps had already been taken to create a typographical press, though apparently unsuccessfully since the first such publication did not take place until nine years later in 1604 (“Franciscanos I” 14-15). Whether or not this Juan de Vera was involved in these early attempts is unknown. Retana

⁵⁴ Retana supports this affirmation when he writes, “If Vera had had all the elements that constitute a typographical [press], acquired from abroad, why such great effort, why so very much work? In a dozen or so days any Chinese, any Tagalog for that matter, can pass as a type-setter. [...] There had to have been, then, something more than the apprenticeship itself of an office that certainly is not among the most difficult ones” (*Orígenes* 41). (Original: “Si Vera hubiera tenido todos los elementos que constituyen una tipografía, adquiridos del exterior, ¿a qué tanto esfuerzo?, ¿a qué tanto y tanto trabajo? En una docena de días, cualquier chino, cualquiera tagalo igualmente, se improvisa cajista. [...] Debió de haber, pues, algo más que el *aprendizaje por sí mismo* de un oficio que no es ciertamente de los más difíciles”)

⁵⁵ Original, “semi-invencción”

cites an additional source, Juan López in his *Quinta parte de la Historia de Santo Domingo, y de su Orden de Predicadores*⁵⁶, who writes that Vera created the press “just by [others] telling him the theory of it...and at a very low cost” (López 251)⁵⁷. Although López alleges a low cost in the creation of the first Philippine press, this does not seem consistent with excessive effort over a long period of time, especially in light of the fact that a printing press had never been seen in the Philippines prior to its development at that time. The establishment of a press in Europe was costly, particularly the type (Lafaye 28-29), let alone in the Philippines where the material conditions necessary for its fabrication were still nascent. The construction of the press itself, which undoubtedly passed through various prototypes and failed attempts, together with the creation of the type, the fabrication of the ink, the hiring and training of workers, etc, would not have been cheap.

Neither do we know on what model Juan de Vera based the construction of his press. Aduarte and López suggest an oral, collaborative effort between Juan de Vera and several individuals that happened to know something about printing, from which conversations Vera gathered the necessary information and began experimenting. Pardo de Tavera proposed that Blancas de San José could have provided Vera with a great deal of information due to his residence in Alcalá de Henares during his years of study, this city being a prominent publishing center during the years in question (Pardo de Tavera 12; Lafaye 32, 36-37). Speaking generally, Moran states that “[a]bout forty representations of the printing press before 1600 are known” (25); it is possible that Vera could have drawn inspiration from one of these illustrations in the

⁵⁶ English: “Fifth part of the History of Saint Dominic and of his Order of Preachers”

⁵⁷ Original, “con solo decirle la teórica della...y a muy poca costa.” It should be noted, as Retana indicates, that López took his information from Aduarte during the time the latter’s chronicle was in composition in Spain (*Orígenes* 38), making López a second-hand source. Even Aduarte himself was not present for these events, though his close relationship with Blancas de San José and his position as Procurator General for the Dominicans in Spain meant that he would have had the most up-to-date and noteworthy items from the province sent to him regularly.

creation of his press. There was even a sort of “how-to” manual on printing, *Dialogues françois pour les jeunes enfans*⁵⁸, published in 1567 by the French-born, Antwerp-based printer/publisher Christophe Plantin (Steinberg 179-80; Moran 30), who, coincidentally, was named the court printer of Spain for a time (Steinberg 181). Plantin’s text gives step-by-step explanations of the printing apparatus and process. Given the complexity of the printing process, from the form of the machine to the final printed product, it is surprising that anyone could successfully create and operate such a machine that they had never before seen or used; a book like Plantin’s could fill in the gaps. There is, of course, no record that this text or any other text containing a visual representation of a printing press had ever been present in the Philippines during the years in question. Whatever the model Vera used to create his press, the fact remains that he succeeded, with the result being the first fully functional typographical press in the Philippines.

There has been some debate as to when the first typographical work appeared. The traditional viewpoint comes from *Historia eclesiástica de nuestros tiempos*⁵⁹, published in 1611 in Toledo by Alonso Fernández, where he writes,

The friar Father Francisco Blancas has printed in the Tagalog language and characters...a book of Our Lady of the Rosary in the year 1602, which was the first of this and of any other subject that has been printed there. After this [book], he printed another on the sacraments in the language of the Philippines, in both characters, theirs and ours, with which he has obtained very much fruit. (303-04)⁶⁰

Here Fernández clearly states that Blancas de San José published a book on Our Lady of the Rosary in 1602—in Tagalog, using *baybayin*—and declares it to be the first of any printed

⁵⁸ English: “French dialogues for young children”

⁵⁹ English: “Ecclesiastical history of our times”

⁶⁰ Original: “El padre fray Francisco Blancas ha impreso en lengua y letra tagala...un libro de nuestra Señora del Rosario, el año de mil y seiscientos y dos, que fue el primero desta ni de otra materia allá se ha impreso. Después deste, imprimió otro de los sacramentos en lengua de Filipinas, en ambas letras, suya y nuestra, con los cuales se ha conseguido grandísimo fruto.” Spelling, punctuation, and accentuation modernized.

material ever in the Philippines. The early bibliographers on the Philippine press, Medina and Retana, never called this fact into question.

However, in 1951 José López del Castillo y Kabangis announced a new discovery found in a 1734 reprint of another book, *Libro de las cuatro postrimerías del hombre*⁶¹, printed in 1604 by Blancas de San José (Gayo Aragón, “Ordinationes” 569). As was customary at the time, the 1734 edition preserved some of the front matter from the first edition; in this case, the prologue⁶². Here, Blancas de San José writes the following:

This little work, my fathers, will at least serve to inform Your Reverend Honors of how we now have, through the mercy of our Lord God a complete and perfect printing in these our islands for the more perfect fulfillment of our ministry: for we will be able to teach these our brothers, not only preaching with the voice, but also with the written word, writing to them, either in Spanish characters, for those that know how to read them, or in their own Tagalog [characters], all that which we consider will help to greatly advance this mercy that the Lord has done to them, making them Christians. I had other larger and more developed works before this one, like a copious confessionary, sermons, rules of the language, but the new pressman didn't dare to commence his trade except with this smaller one. And incidentally it has been very opportune that he has not spent a lot of time on my things so that there is an opportunity for the better things that Your Reverend Honors probably have prepared...Receive, therefore, Your Reverend Honors, my father ministers of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, this little work as proof, as I said, of the new printing...” (qtd. in Gayo Aragón, “Ordinationes” 571)⁶³

From this prologue it is possible to come to the conclusion that prior to this time there had been no texts printed on this “new,” “complete and perfect” printing press, i.e., the typographical press, since Blancas de San José openly declares this to be the proof of the success of Juan de

⁶¹ English: “Book on the four last stages of man”

⁶² Another example of this is the 1669 edition of the *Ritual para administrar los santos sacramentos*, which maintains the dedication of the author published in the first edition of 1630.

⁶³ Original: “Servirá, padres míos, esta obrilla siquiera de dar aviso a V.R.S. de como ya tenemos por la misericordia de nuestro Señor Dios impresión entera y perfecta en estas nuestras islas para más perfecto cumplimiento de nuestro ministerio: pues podremos enseñar a estos nuestros hermanos, no solo en voz predicando, sino también por escrito, escribiéndoles, ora en caracteres españoles, para los que los saben leer, ora en los propios suyos tagalos, todo aquello que nos pareciera que ha de ayudar para que vaya muy adelante esta misericordia que el Señor ha hecho con ellos, haciéndolos cristianos. Otras obras mayores y más trabajadas tenía yo primeras que ésta, como un confesionario copioso, sermones, reglas de la lengua, pero el nuevo oficial no se atrevió a comenzar su oficio sino por ésta más pequeña. Y ha sido así, por cierto, muy conveniente que no se ocupase ya mucho tiempo con cosas mías, porque se dé lugar a las mejores que V.R.S. deben de tener trabajadas... Reciban pues V.R.S. padres míos ministros del evangelio de Jesucristo, esta obrita por muestra, como digo, de la nueva impresión...”

Vera's experimentation. Although Gayo Aragón recognizes the potential importance of this claim, he attempts to read between the lines of both the prologue and Castillo y Kabangis' conclusions in order to call this affirmation into question. However, his conclusions are somewhat of a stretch and the easier, most straightforward way to interpret the quote from Blancas de San José is to take him at his word. *Postrimerías* was the first typographically printed text in the Philippines, and anything else printed before it would have been xylographic.

Following the publication of *Postrimerías* in 1604, the first Manila press began a very modest but steady stream of publications. The first printer was, naturally, Juan de Vera, who most likely would have been assisted by a small team of workers performing the various successive tasks of printing: the *cajista*, or typesetter, the person responsible for placing the type in the form (frame for printing) and arranging the pages on the press so that they would print correctly; a *corrector*, or proofreader; and the two pressmen, the *batidor* (beater) and the *tirador* (puller), the first inking the type in the form and the second pinning the paper to the press, running the form under the platen⁶⁴, and pulling the actual handle of the press (Lafaye 26). Whether Juan de Vera played one or all of these roles during his time as printer, or to what point these roles had developed in the Philippines at the time of the first publication is unknown, yet the nature of the hand press itself requires multiple workers, and it is apparent that multiple roles had developed early on since the 1613 *Vocabulario de lengua tagala*⁶⁵ is signed by two printers, Tomás Pinpin and Domingo Loag.

⁶⁴ The platen is the solid metal plate that actually made contact with the paper placed over the inked form when the pressman pulled down the bar.

⁶⁵ English: "Vocabulary of the Tagalog language"

After Juan de Vera the first printers were Chinese, what Retana describes as the “cycle of Chinese regents” (*Orígenes* 48)⁶⁶. Neither Juan’s nor later Chinese printers’ known typographical work is very extensive, though it is probable that many more texts came from the “Vera” press during their regency than we have record of, based on the fact that by 1610 the type face was rather worn (Retana, *Orígenes* 51-52). It is interesting to note that during the time that during the first three years of typographical printing, xylographic texts continued to appear, but only in Chinese. In fact, these texts were mixed xylographic and typographic works, the title pages, licenses, approbation, etc, printed typographically in Spanish but the body of the text printed xylographically in Chinese. However, the missionaries seem to have seems to have abandoned this practice soon thereafter since there is no record of any xylographic texts following 1607 (see exception above). Retana cites another printer, Luis Beltrán, who was given license to print a work in 1608, though we do not have any texts signed by him (50-51). The last known work attributed to a Chinese Christian appeared in 1610, the printer identifying himself as Manuel Gómez (54-55, 87-88).

Although we can safely assume that the first press was privately owned and operated by the Vera brothers and other Chinese regents, it appears that this did not remain the case for long. In 1608, the Dominican superiors in Manila sent Fr. Francisco Blancas de San José, the instigator of the first typographical press, back to the town of Abucay in the Bataan peninsula (he had served there from 1598 to 1602) (*Acta* 23, 34, 49, 65). In addition to this assignment, they gave him the following order, found in the *Commissiones* of the chapter meeting held on April 26, 1608:

We commit to the R. P. Fr. Francisco de S. José, Preacher General, and if it is necessary, we command him, that those things which in the language of the Indians he has labored

⁶⁶ Original, “ciclo de regentes chinos”

on, he entrust to the press as soon as possible; for we hope [these things] will be for the great progress of the ministers and the Indians, just as the remaining things that he has studied up to this point.⁶⁷ (65)

Although this commission does not state that the Dominicans were now the owners of the Vera press, the events that follow are curious. Rather than simply send his manuscript to press in Manila, Blancas de San José had the press brought to him: the two texts produced during his stay in Abucay, both from 1610, state on the title page that they were printed in Bataan. This strongly suggests that the Dominicans had acquired their own press from those made by Juan de Vera.

Despite the fact that Retana changed his position on the ownership of the Vera presses over time, I hold to Retana's original conclusions found in his 1899 *Imprenta*: "It can, therefore, be affirmed that the first press, strictly speaking, belonged to the Dominican friars; they did not get rid of it, however much they lent it out" (col. 31)⁶⁸. This position finds support from Manuel Artigas y Cuerva in his 1910 study. Citing the Acts from the Dominican Provincial Chapter meeting held in Manila on May 1, 1621, he points out an item that appears in the section *Peticiones*, where the following petition is recorded: "Let the press be removed because it produces more costs than benefits; and let the history be put aside for now, because it still isn't time, and two religious have charge [of it], and will do more in another place" (*Acta* 125)⁶⁹. Artigas offers the following commentary on the petition: "This petition...shows us that upon the death of Father Blancas, two religious were designated to take charge of the press, and

⁶⁷ Original: "Committimus R. P. Fr. Francisco de Sto. Josepho, Praedicatori Generali, et si opus est, ei praecipimus, ut ea, quae in indorum idiomate habet elaborata, praelo mandet quantocius; speramus enim magno profectui ministrorum, et indorum futura, sicut et reliqua, quae hactenus excussit." Artigas y Cuerva and later Van der Loon point this out (Artigas y Cuerva 4; Van der Loon 39). Artigas y Cuerva translates "excussit" as "printed."

⁶⁸ Original: "Puede, pues, afirmarse que la primera imprenta propiamente dicha de Filipinas, fue de los frailes dominicos; éstos no se desprendieron de ella, por más que la prestaran."

⁶⁹ Original: "La imprenta se quite, porque tiene más gasto, que provecho; y la historia se deje por ahora, porque aun no es tiempo, y se ocupan dos Religiosos, que harán más en otra parte." It should be noted that there are alternate translations for some of the words. For example, "historia" could be translated as "story" with the connotation of "affair" or "issue." Likewise the verb "se ocupan" could refer to the religious taking charge of the press or the his/tory itself. Finally, the word "parte" could mean "time" or "occasion."

furthermore, it leaves us without a doubt that it belonged legally and lawfully to that community” (15)⁷⁰.

While I cannot agree with everything that Artigas affirms here⁷¹, I support the affirmation that the press belonged to the Dominicans, at least once it left Manila for Abucay. And although some of the language of this petition is somewhat vague, the fact remains that the Dominicans were speaking of the press as if they had a say in what happened to it, and that they were somehow financially and materially responsible for it and had been for some time. If they had not been the owners of the press up to this point, or if the other religious orders were consecutive owners of the press, as Retana fallaciously suggests (*Orígenes* 55), why declare that it was costing them too much? The 1621 Chapter Acts, together with the Dominicans’ long association with this press, are very strong indicators that the Dominicans were indeed the legal and legitimate owners of the original press from 1610 to 1621 and beyond.

The Augustinians

In addition to the Dominicans in these early years, the Augustinians also owned and operated a printing press. From 1617 to 1621, a modest number of texts (at least those that have survived to the present) appeared in the Augustinian convents in the towns of Lubao, Bacolor, Macabebe (all in the province of Pampanga, about 45 miles north of Manila), and in the main Augustinian convent of San Pablo in Intramuros. There are two competing theories on the origin of this press, both of them advanced by Retana at different periods.

⁷⁰ Original: ““Esta petición...nos demuestra, que a la muerte del P. Blancas, se designaron dos religiosos que estuvieron al cuidado de la Imprenta, y por otra parte, no deja lugar a dudas, que pertenecía de hecho y de derecho a aquella comunidad.”

⁷¹ For example, following 1610 we have nothing else from the pen of Blancas de San José, who died at sea in 1614 en route to Spain. He did not own the press or attempt to control it, and was absent from it following the publication of the 1610 books. Nor is it clear if the two religious were in charge of the unidentified “history” or of the press.

The first theory is that their press came from Japan (probably sold to them by the Portuguese Jesuits who were there and who owned and operated a press and type foundry) and that they eventually sold it to the Jesuits. This idea comes from three books written by two Augustinian friars who had continuous access to the archives of the convents of their province: the *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas*⁷² by Gaspar de San Agustín (1698); the manuscript *Historia del insigne convento de San Pablo de Manila*⁷³ by Agustín María de Castro (late eighteenth century); and the *Osario venerable*⁷⁴, written by the same Agustín María de Castro (1770). Gaspar de San Agustín writes, referring to the Augustinian convent in Lubao, “Many intermediate chapters have been celebrated in this convent...and we also had in it a very good press *brought from Japan*, on which were printed many books both in the Spanish language and in Pampango and Tagalog.” (592, my italics)⁷⁵. Castro wrote the following in his *Historia*: “This convent also had a very good press brought from Japan, and there are books here and there printed on it: but later it was sold to the Jesuit fathers in the year one thousand six hundred and fourteen, because of the great expense and little benefit that came to us from it, as can be read in the book of *Consultas*” (qtd. in Retana, *Imprenta*, cols. 36-37)⁷⁶. And in the “Third index of the most notable, curious, and strange thing that are scattered throughout the whole book” of the *Osario venerable*⁷⁷, under the heading “Imprenta,” Castro writes, “we had a good one [press] in

⁷² English: “Conquests of the Philippine Islands”

⁷³ English: “History of the distinguished convent of San Pablo of Manila”

⁷⁴ English: “Venerable sepulchre”

⁷⁵ Original: “Se han celebrado en este convento algunos capítulos intermedios...y teníamos también en él una muy buena imprenta *traída del Japón*, en que se imprimían muchos libros así en la lengua española como pampanga y tagala.”

⁷⁶ Original: “Tenía también este Convento...una Imprenta muy buena trahida de Japón, y por ahí andan algunos libros impresos en ella: pero después se vendió a los PP. Jesuitas el año de *mil seiscientos y catorce*..., por causa del mucho gasto y poco provecho que nos resultaba de ella, *como se lee en el libro de Consultas*.” The “Libro de Consultas” must have been some sort of accounting or other official record book kept by the Augustinian province, to which Castro obviously had access.

⁷⁷ Original, “Indice tercero de las cosas más notables, curiosas y raras que están esparcidas por todo el libro”

the convent of Lubao; I have seen two books printed on it. Later it was sold to the Jesuit fathers to the general disappointment of the Province” (408)⁷⁸.

From these quotations two facts should be apparent: first, that the Augustinian’s press came from Japan; and second, that they eventually sold their material to the Jesuits. Yet despite these statements a problem arises in the assignment of dates, since it is certain that the Augustinians were producing texts from 1617 to 1621, three years after the supposed sale of the press to the Jesuits. Although Retana does not arrive at any definitive conclusions based on historical evidence (which is frankly lacking outside of the two authors cited), his reasoned speculations allow for both the Japanese origin and the eventual transfer of the press to the Jesuits (Retana, *Imprenta*, cols. 37-40).

The second theory comes from Retana’s 1911 study, *Orígenes de la imprenta filipina*. In this book Retana repudiates his prior conclusions based on an extensive review of the typeface of all the known, extant works printed in the Philippines through 1640, at least those known as of 1911 (137-84). His logic is that if the typeface found on the texts produced by the Augustinians from 1617 to 1621 matches that of the known Japanese imprints prior to that time, then the Japanese origin of the Augustinian press is accurate. Retana found that the typeface of the Augustinian and that of the Japanese texts do not match at all. What the Augustinian texts do match, however, is the typeface from the known Dominican imprints. In fact, Retana asserts that the type of all the early Philippine imprints had a common origin in Juan de Vera’s matrices (the molds for casting type) and in additional matrices struck in the early 1620s (*Orígenes* 53, 59). From his discoveries he concludes that *all* of the early Philippine presses were created in the

⁷⁸ Original: “tuvimos una buena en el convento de Lubao; yo he visto dos libros en ella impresos. Después se vendió a los Padres Jesuitas con general sentimiento de la Provincia.”

islands, and that the Japanese origin of the Augustinian press (and therefore of the Jesuit) is an error introduced by Gaspar de San Agustín and repeated later by Agustín María de Castro.

Although I do not dispute Retana's proposition that the type used in the extant early Philippine texts has a common origin, what I do find questionable are Retana's wholesale rejection of the two independent sources (San Agustín and Castro) that declare a Japanese origin to the Augustinian press, and the straw man arguments he uses to bolster his claim. These boil down to the following, which in the interest of brevity I will not discuss: there is no bibliographical record of any texts from the alleged Japanese press; the Jesuits, not the Augustinians, had a press in Japan; and the date of 1614 can only be interpreted as the year the press came over from Japan, and in that year the severe Japanese persecution of Christians would have made it all but impossible to bring a printing press to Manila (*Orígenes* 55-57).

The one supporting argument offered by Retana that does have solid footing is the conspicuous lack of texts from this period (1614-1636) that bear the Jesuit imprint. In connection with this he also points out the existence of certain Jesuit-authored texts appearing in these years that came from the Dominican press. Together with the issue of the common origin of the type, Retana finds in these facts grounds for dismissing San Agustín's and Castro's assertions. This is a legitimate concern, though not one that necessarily discredits the transfer of the Augustinian press to the Jesuits.

First, the absence of texts, while problematic, is not definitive, given the previously cited climatic and human disasters inflicted upon books in the Philippines. Second, one order printing on another's press is not unheard of. There are known cases during the eighteenth century where texts written by members of one religious order with a known printing office, go to press in the

office of another order⁷⁹. Third, and more importantly, the Jesuits were at a numeric and financial disadvantage from the outset of their presence in the Philippines, one that never really abated until their departure in 1769⁸⁰. As a general overview, Antolín Abad writes the following: “In summary, the missionary labor itself was carried out by an approximate total of 7,865 religious, which are divided as follows: 2,830 Augustinians; 2,694 Franciscans; 2,318 Dominicans; 1,623 Recollects of Saint Augustine, and 718 Jesuits” (721)⁸¹. This total includes the statistics for the nineteenth century as well, and takes into account the Jesuits’ expulsion and reintegration into the Philippines in 1859 after an absence of almost 100 years.

Even when there was a larger number of Jesuits in the Philippines as a whole, relatively speaking, few of these had easy access to Manila where the printing press was located because of the distance from their assigned fields of labor, the vast majority of which—a full four-fifths—were not located near Manila or even in Luzon but in the Visayas and the southern islands of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago, and as far as the Moluccas when the Spanish held them (Phelan 167-176; Abad 725). The only Jesuits that could have viably been involved in the press would have been those residing in the Colegio Máximo. Yet even among those it is unlikely that anyone could have dedicated themselves full time to printing given their low numbers, their heavy responsibilities, and the extreme dedication and long hours required in the operation of a

⁷⁹ For example, in 1728 the Dominicans paid for the reprinting of a text from Spain, not on their own press but on the Franciscan press, then located in Intramuros: “Reimpreso a costa de la Prov. de el SS. Rosario, Orden de Predicadores de las Islas Philipinas. Manila: En el Convento de N. Señora de los Ángeles por el H.P. de la Concepción. Año de MDCCXXVIII” (*Impreso* 124, entry 387). And again, in 1734, a sermon by the Jesuit Bernardo Pazuengos was printed on the Franciscan press (140, entry 445). In the latter case a third party paid for the printing and for whatever reason chose to print with the Franciscans rather than the Jesuits. There is no apparent reason for the Dominicans choosing to print elsewhere in the first case.

⁸⁰ Although the order to expel the Jesuits was issued in 1767, it took a full year for the order to reach Manila, which occurred on May 19, 1768. However, they did not actually end up leaving until 1769 since the galleon commissioned to bring them to Mexico in 1768 “met a heavy storm and minus a mast or two...limped back to Manila Bay” (Cushner, *Diary* 4-5).

⁸¹ Original: “En resumen, la labor propiamente misional fue llevado a cabo por un total aproximado de 7.865 religiosos, que se desglosan así: 2.830 agustinos; 2.694 franciscanos; 2.318 dominicos; 1.623 recoletos de San Agustín, y 718 jesuitas.”

printing press (Sánchez, “Franciscanos I” 42). Adding to this the financial burden of a press, the paucity of texts from the Jesuits in these early years should come as no surprise. While other orders faced shortages of funds and personnel, the Jesuits, especially in the years in question, were undeniably more disadvantaged than the others.

However, there are three things that support the basic accuracy of San Agustín’s and Castro’s affirmations in the face of Retana’s typographical discoveries. First, unlike any other press or known text throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Augustinian is the only press known to have employed Japanese printers. Second, in his *Osario* Castro mentions the fact that the entire Augustinian province considered this sale an unfortunate occasion. If there never were such a Japanese press, why would or how could Castro make up such a statement? Third is the issue of the typographical uniformity itself. By way of a tentative explanation for this uniformity, I offer the following possibility, suggested by my reading of *Orígenes*.

Recognizing that type after a certain period of use becomes worn and defective, it is necessary to replenish one’s stock in order to provide quality, legible texts. Retana himself pointed out the periodic renewal of the type present in the earliest Philippine imprints, stating:

We can surmise that the series of matrices engraved in the days of Juan de Vera were not the only ones. Later, other series must have been engraved, and what is beyond all doubt is that the fonts were renewed, at least until 1623 when we find recently created type. The essential thing are the matrices; having them, renewing the fonts is not a big deal. (53)⁸²

If the type of their press had become worn or was missing entirely, the Augustinians would have found themselves under the necessity to replace it. However, Retana writes, “Let us not confuse

⁸² Original: “Es de suponer que las series de matrices grabadas en tiempo de Juan de Vera no quedasen por únicas. Posteriormente debieron de ir grabando nuevas series, y lo que no ofrece la menor duda es que las fundiciones se renovaron, por lo menos hasta 1623, en que hallamos tipos recién estrenados. Lo esencial son las matrices; habiéndolas, renovar las fundiciones es cosa de menos monta.”

type-casting with printing, which are two entirely different professions” (55)⁸³. In other words, even though the Augustinians might have had a press (the machine), they would not have had replacement type and it would have been impossible for them to fabricate it on their own. Given the fact that the Dominicans did have matrices, it would be logical for the Augustinians to purchase a set for their recently acquired press and, with that type, begin printing in their convents in Pampanga and Manila. However, finding the monetary and material costs of maintaining an active press in a stagnant market too great, they sell their press and their type to the Jesuits, relying thereafter on the other religious orders for their printing needs.

In summary, although it cannot be denied that Retana’s efforts in this regard are substantial, his basic determination—the inaccuracy of Gaspar de San Agustín and Castro’s assertion of a Japanese origin—is inconclusive and furthermore, bolstered by tenuous and speculative arguments. That said, there is always the possibility that San Agustín and Castro were in error. Yet given the circumstantial evidence surrounding their statements, I feel that even Retana’s discoveries are not sufficient to declare them so. The gaps in existing knowledge and documentation are simply too great to be able to make such sweeping affirmations.

The Jesuits, the Seminario, and the Franciscans: 1636-1813

The first text officially emanating from the Jesuit press appeared in 1639 (*Relacion de lo qve asta agora*⁸⁴), printed by Tomás Pinpin, though bibliographers and historians attribute a 1636 text (*Confesionario en lengua tagala*⁸⁵) to Pinpin, and the same Pinpin signed a 1637 text (*Svccesos felices*) at an undetermined location in Manila (*Impreso* 50, item 98; Retana, *Orígenes*

⁸³ Original: “No se confunda fundir con imprimir, que son dos profesiones enteramente distintas”

⁸⁴ English: “Account of what up until now...”

⁸⁵ English: “Confessionary in the Tagalog language”

119, 123-24). From this information Retana determines that the Jesuit press officially set up shop as of 1636⁸⁶. Once established, the Jesuits maintained their press in the College of San Ignacio in Intramuros. The College was part of the large Jesuit compound that also contained the Colegio de San José (a boarding school), a primary school, and the Jesuit chapel (Costa, *Jesuits* 193). The compound was located near the southwest corner of Intramuros between the southern wall and what is now Victoria Street on the north, and from east to west roughly between what is now General Luna Street and Cabildo Street (Reed 55; Costa, *Jesuits* 107, 193). By the eighteenth century, as Horacio de la Costa describes it, the

general plan of the main building was that of a quadrilateral with an inner patio open to the sky. Around this patio was a paved corridor, separated from it by low wall and pillars. Opening on the corridor were the classrooms of theology, canon law, civil law, philosophy, and grammar; the *aula general* or assembly hall in which public disputations and other academic functions were held; the offices of the province and college procurators; and...the pharmacy and the printing press. (*Jesuits* 556)

Pedro Murillo Velarde, writing in the 1740s, succinctly describes the press in this way: “In the printing office there are various presses and various letters of various sizes, and they make works just as fine, well-printed, and clean as in Spain, and sometimes with less contemptible and more tolerable errors” (*Historia* 198r)⁸⁷. The Jesuits operated their press until 1768 when the decree for their expulsion arrived from Mexico, at which time they were confined to the college and the press confiscated.

Following the Jesuits’ confinement and expulsion, the new and virulently anti-Jesuit Archbishop of Manila, Basilio Sancho de Santa Justa y Rufina, requested and received permission to house the recently established Archdiocesan Seminary in the Jesuit compound (specifically, the College of Manila), and to take control of its press (Costa, *Jesuits* 582, 586-87,

⁸⁶ Pardo de Tavera gives the same date as Retana (*Noticias* 24).

⁸⁷ Original: “En la imprenta hay varias prensas, y varias letras, de varios tamaños, y se hacen obras tan cabales, bien grabadas, y limpias como en España, y a veces con yerros menos supinos, y más tolerables.”

593-94; Retana, *Imprenta*, cols. 40-41). Pardo de Tavera states that the press continued in its same location but under new ownership (*Noticias* 37), but evidence offered by Costa suggests that the Archbishop had to move the press from its location in the College of Manila. Costa cites a letter from the King to the Archbishop wherein the latter gives his permission for the Seminary to occupy the press, based on the condition that it

must never be established, located, or operated on ecclesiastical property, and all its printers and workmen must without any exception whatever be laymen who cannot invoke any privileges under canon law and who will be bound in all things to observe keep, and obey the laws, ordinances, and regulations of their craft under pain of incurring the penalties therein provided. (qtd. in Costa, *Jesuits* 594)

While the term “ecclesiastical property” as translated by Costa could refer specifically to houses and convents operated by the various religious orders rather than to ecclesiastical property generally, Costa does not provide any further context for this communication and we are left to suppose that this regulation applied to the former Jesuit College, now the Seminario Conciliar, although the new locale of the press is unknown. All we know is what the same Archbishop wrote to the King in 1783, that the press was “in a place and [operated by] people devoid of all exemption and privilege,” and that since 1771 the press had been “entirely secularized” (qtd. in Medina, *Manila* xlii)⁸⁸.

Although the Seminary’s appropriation of the College was never in doubt, the press was only initially granted to the Seminary on a provisional, custodial basis (“by law of deposit”⁸⁹) (Medina, *Manila* xlii). Based on the permission from the King cited above and other documents of the period⁹⁰, this provisional ownership of the Jesuit press appears to stem from the general world circumstances that caused the expulsion of the Jesuits in the first place, the belief that the

⁸⁸ Original: “en lugar y sugetos ajenos de toda exención y privilegio;” “secularizada enteramente”

⁸⁹ Original, “a ley de depósito”

⁹⁰ For example, the *Diálogo mixti fori* that will be examined in Chapter Two.

Jesuits had used their press to criticize the government (Costa, *Jesuits* 594), and on the fact that the regulars in Manila had been known generally to flaunt printing regulations since they were the owners of the presses (Medina, *Manila* lxxvii-lxxviii). This provisional ownership was most likely granted in 1769, and printing began immediately since we find in that same year an *Explicación de la doctrina christiana*⁹¹ printed on “the Press of the King Our Lord, which the Council Seminary of this Archbishopric has by law of deposit” (Retana, *Tablas* 38; Jose 213, entry 727)⁹². Works printed on this press sometimes appeared without an imprint, sometimes with a slightly altered imprint (e.g., “el Seminario del Tridentino” (Jose 216, entry 738)), but never signed until 1773 where the imprint declares, “On the Press of the Ecclesiastical Seminary...In Manila: By Pedro Ignacio Ad-Vincula” (Retana, *Tablas* 38, Jose 218, item 744)⁹³. From this imprint it is reasonable to conclude that the provisional period of ownership had ended, and that the Seminary had officially taken possession of ex-Jesuit press and was operating it under the regency of one Pedro Ignacio de Ad-Vincula, a non-religious, native Filipino from Binondo (Medina, *Manila* xlirii). A letter from the same Archbishop dated July 18, 1772 confirms this. In this letter the prelate acknowledges the permission granted to operate the press on behalf of the Seminary (Retana, *Imprenta*, cols. 40-41). The 1773 imprint with various alterations remained until the final known text appeared from the Seminary press in 1804, after which time the press disappears from the historical record for good.

The Franciscan press is a very different story altogether. Although it is evident that Franciscans were interested in acquiring their own press very early on, it was not until the end of the seventeenth century that they actually took steps to obtain it, relying up until that time on the

⁹¹ English: “Explanation of Christian doctrine”

⁹² Original, “la Imprenta del Rey Nuestro Señor, que tiene a ley de depósito el Seminario Conciliar de este Arzobispado”

⁹³ Original, “En la Imprenta del Seminario Eclesiastico...En Manila: Por Pedro Ignacio Ad-Vincula”

other two presses in the city for their printing needs. Regarding the establishment of this press, the nineteenth-century Franciscan historian Félix Huerta writes the following, referring to the convent of Nuestra Señora de Loreto in the suburb of Sampaloc, near Manila: “In the year 1692 this province of Saint Gregory established a press in this same convent, which for a long time was of great utility to these Islands” (59)⁹⁴. However, later in the same text, Huerta states that one Fr. Antonio de Santo Domingo, elected provincial in 1699, “established a press in Tayabas, and sent to press the Tagalog dictionary composed by Friar Domingo de los Santos” (465)⁹⁵.

From these two statements it is obvious that there are some discrepancies both in the year and in the place of establishment. However, these discrepancies are more apparent than real. In the first quote, Huerta is simply incorrect in assigning the place of establishment as Sampaloc since the Franciscan press did not begin operating there until much later. Regarding the dates, both Pardo de Tavera (1893) and Retana (1908) attempted to reconcile them with the hypothesis that 1692 marks the year of the formal decision to acquire a press while 1699 marks the realization of that decision, although these two historians differ in the method of acquisition (Pardo de Tavera, *Noticias* 33-34; Retana, *Tablas* 28-29).

Cayetano Sánchez offers a solution that reconciles Huerta’s declaration of an earlier attempt by the Franciscans to found their own press with the known texts produced during that early period, while at the same time suggesting corrections to the ideas of Huerta, Pardo de Tavera, and Retana. Citing the accounting books for the Franciscan province discovered in the Franciscan archives in Spain, Sánchez affirms that the Franciscans attempted to establish a press

⁹⁴ Original: “El año de 1692 estableció esta provincia de S. GREGORIO en este mismo convento una imprenta, que por largo tiempo fue de gran utilidad a estas Islas.”

⁹⁵ Original, “estableció imprenta en Tayabas, y dio a la prensa el diccionario Tagalog, compuesto por Fr. Domingo de los Santos”

in the towns of Liliw and Longos around 1696⁹⁶, attempts that were ultimately unsuccessful because, in his opinion, the materials would have been obtained second-hand from the other presses already in existence in Manila, resulting in impressions of so inferior quality as to dissuade from further printing with those materials (“Franciscanos I” 34-36). Following the failure of these initial attempts, the Franciscans took a different approach and, in actions reminiscent of the Dominicans 100 years earlier, commissioned someone in 1700 to create new and original type for their press, confirming and adding to Retana’s earlier statement made in *Tablas* in 1908 (30-32). With their press now in working order, the Franciscans began printing in earnest and in 1702 published their first text, an account of the funerary memorial held for Charles II in Manila, followed the next year by the lengthy *Vocabulario de la lengua tagala*⁹⁷, a work that had been lying partially printed for over ten years (33-34).

For the first three decades of operation, the Franciscan press led an ambulatory existence, evidence of the Franciscans’ inability to find a suitable place for their newly acquired equipment. Following the brief and fruitless stints in Liliw and Longos, the press migrated to Tayabas. However, it is apparent that Tayabas was unsuitable as the seat of the press because it is located approximately 90 miles to the southeast of the capital, closer to the Bicol Peninsula than to Manila Bay⁹⁸. By 1705 the press had moved to the head convent of Nuestro Padre San Francisco in Intramuros. Furthermore, Sánchez cites expenditures made specifically for the renovation of the press, including tools, additional type, storage, paper, and facilities constructed especially to house the press, an effort that, according to Sánchez, is reflective of a desire to “put their press in

⁹⁶ Liliw, formerly Lilio; Longos, modern Kalayaan.

⁹⁷ English: “Vocabulary of the Tagalog language”

⁹⁸ Liliw, Longos (Kalayaan) and Tayabas are all in the modern CALABARZON region of southwestern Luzon. Although it seems unusual for a printing press to be located so far from Manila, Sánchez states that this is more understandable “si se tiene en cuenta que la zona geográfica en que se encuentran constituía el centro geográfico de la actividad misionera de los franciscanos y a lo largo de la ruta que seguían por tierra los franciscanos, que viajaban entre Manila y Camarines, los dos grandes focos del apostolado franciscano en Filipinas” (“Franciscanos I” 35).

a situation to compete in quality and competence with the existing [presses] in Manila at that time” (“Franciscanos I” 38)⁹⁹.

Despite these improvements, eight years later we find the press at the convent of Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria in the town of Dilao (Paco), and after less than a year there, it returned again to Intramuros, where it remained until 1736, the only change being in the name of the convent, which in 1728 took upon itself the name of Nuestra Señora de los Ángeles (38-40). Finally, in 1736, after different, unmentioned conflicts in the main house as a result of the printing press, the Franciscans made the decision to move the press to the convent of Nuestra Señora de Loreto in the town of Sampaloc (43-47), where it remained for the rest of the eighteenth century and into the first half of the nineteenth when it was decommissioned, being unable to compete with the increasing number of more modern presses that were being established in Manila at that time (Huerta 59)¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁹ Original, “poner a su imprenta en situación de poder competir por su calidad y competencia con las existentes entonces en Manila”

¹⁰⁰ Following his statement cited regarding the founding of the press in 1692, cited earlier, Huerta writes that the Sampaloc press “por los años de 1808 pasó á ser propiedad de los hermanos de nuestra V. Orden Tercera de Penitencia, quienes últimamente la enagenaron por hallarse bastante deteriorada, y no poder competir con las modernas establecidas en Manila de poco tiempo á esta parte” (59). Although it appears to be factual that the members of the Orden Tercera (the secular arm of the Franciscans (Sánchez, “Franciscanos II” 367), acquired the press at some point in the nineteenth century, Huerta’s affirmation of 1808 is not supported by historical fact since in 1813 Franciscan regulars were still operating the press (“Franciscanos I” 55). Additionally, Retana, basing his opinion on the imprints found on texts emanating from Sampaloc, declares the transfer to have taken place in 1822, and its decommission in 1846 since the latter is the last year when a text printed in Sampaloc appears (*Tablas* 44-52). Finally, while Sánchez concurs with Retana on the dates of transfer and decommission, he slightly modifies the details of the transfer based on previously unpublished manuscript sources, which details, though interesting, we omit here since they are not relevant to the present study (“Franciscanos I” 53-58).

Chapter 1

Profile of the Manila Press

The Philippine presses have always groaned officially!¹⁰¹
– T. H. Pardo de Tavera, 1893

Introduction

The appearance of the typographical press in Spanish Manila, described in the introduction, is a unique and remarkable tale of technical ingenuity, religious devotion, and community cooperation. However, these events tell us nothing about how the press was utilized after its establishment. Specifically, missing from this narrative are the number of texts produced, the kinds of texts produced, and the intended market for those texts. Understanding these elements is crucial to understanding the real use of the Manila presses, rather than projecting onto them preconceived notions of how a press should behave according to European historical and bibliographical standards. An accurate appreciation of what, how many, when, by whom, and for whom texts were printed in Manila is achieved in part through the analysis of the existing bibliographical record of the three presses operating in Manila during the period in question.

Bibliographical references to texts produced in the Philippines have existed since printing began there, but it was not until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when José Toribio Medina and others published their bibliographies of the Philippine press that a discernible profile came into view. However, time and further scholarship have demonstrated that the profile developed by these scholars is incomplete. To be precise, since Medina et al, scholars have shown the number of texts produced in Manila during this period to be

¹⁰¹ Original: “¡Las prensas filipinas, pues, han *gemido* siempre oficialmente!”

approximately double the figure established in the first decade of the twentieth century.

Additionally, although in their overall evaluation of the kinds of texts printed in Manila these historians are generally correct, they do not support their assertions with statistical data that would provide additional force and accuracy to their statements.

Given this gap, it is necessary to delve into the most up-to-date bibliographical data available, analyzing and examining the titles according to various criteria to provide the most complete picture possible of the Manila presses from 1593 to 1813. In order to accomplish this goal, Chapter One will analyze the textual production of the Manila presses as found in Regalado Trota Jose's *Impreso* (1993) and Pérez and Güemes's *Adiciones* (1904), breaking the bibliography down quantitatively and qualitatively with the purpose of providing solid numbers to support, update, and rectify past assertions on the products of the Manila presses. Through these analyses, a more complete profile of the press in Manila appears, one that allows us to determine with greater accuracy the role and impact of this institution in the Philippines in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Specifically, the institution of the press in the Philippines, like its counterparts in other overseas Spanish colonies, appears not as an agent of radical societal transformation as it was in certain parts of Europe, but rather as an instrument of religious and civil administration that maintained the colonial status quo (Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*; Chocano Mena 69-70; Calvo 278-80). Yet even this broad truth must be tempered to the Philippine situation. Despite the fact that the press remained the domain of the literate, European inhabitants of the city until the mid-nineteenth century, the position and vitality of the indigenous languages in the islands forced the institution of the press to include native Filipinos both as consumers as well as producers of texts. This inclusion effected certain important, gradual

changes in the non-European populace, so that although it is not possible to view the press in the Philippines as provoking radical departures from orthodox belief, as described by Eisenstein, the changes produced would greatly influence the future of the country, socially, spiritually, culturally, and politically.

Scholarly precedents

One of the things that most baffled, frustrated, and irritated the early historians of the Philippine presses, in particular Medina and W. E. Retana, was the apparently staggeringly low number of texts printed over the course of more than 200 years. Cayetano Sánchez summarized this situation for the seventeenth century, noting that Medina in his *Imprenta en Manila* (1896)¹⁰² had listed only 122 titles, but that following Retana's *Imprenta* (1899) and Bernardo, Verzosa, and Schumacher's *Philippine Retrospective National Bibliography* (1974), this number increased to 214 ("Imprenta" 1092). Using Sánchez's same method for the eighteenth century (excluding the *Retrospective* since it does not contain figures for this century), from the original 263 titles¹⁰³ reported in his *Imprenta*, Medina increased this number to 372¹⁰⁴ in his *Adiciones* (1904). The numbers for the nineteenth century through 1810 change little, from 21 titles to 29. In summary, in 1896 Medina attributed the insignificant figure of 420 titles to all three presses during more than 200 years, a number that he augmented only slightly to 565 in 1904 after reading Retana's *Imprenta*. While he recognized the possibility of more works than those he had described, he felt

¹⁰² When referring to this work in the body of the text I will call it *Imprenta*. However, as I cite other works by Medina throughout this dissertation, in the parenthetical citations I will refer to the 1896 *La imprenta en Manila* as "Manila," *La imprenta en México* as "México," and *La imprenta en Puebla* as "Puebla." Medina's *Adiciones* will be referred to as that.

¹⁰³ This number includes the texts for the eighteenth century in the section "Sin fecha determinada" of *Imprenta en Manila* (235-241), but not entry 346, dated to 1800 but which Medina includes in the eighteenth century (233).

¹⁰⁴ This includes eleven of the thirteen texts listed in the "Sin fecha determinada" of *Adiciones*: entries 553-560 and 562-564.

confident in both the number of works he described as of 1904 as well as his evaluation of the Manila presses and printers published in the introduction of *Imprenta* in 1896 (*Adiciones x*). For him the case was closed; the rest was just details.

With the publication of *Impreso*, however, Regalado Trota Jose reopened the field of Philippine bibliographical studies. This is not to say that there were not others working in this area prior to that time. Cayetano Sánchez published several notable studies from 1981 to 1992 on the history and bibliography of the Philippine presses and in particular the Franciscan contribution to that institution in Manila. Other earlier scholars, beginning in at least the 1940s with the discovery of the Tagalog-Spanish *Doctrina christiana*, updated and refined certain aspects of the field—for example, publishing minor bibliographical additions or highlighting the early xylographical texts—but, on the whole, scholars were still operating under the basic assumptions established by Medina and Retana at the turn of the twentieth century, bibliographically speaking.

Impreso, with its substantial additions and impressive breadth of bibliographical investigation on a topic considered more or less finished, is highly significant. Yet, despite Jose's welcome contribution to the field of early printing in the Philippines, there has been very little scholarly discussion on the Philippine press since that time, not to mention discussion or analysis of the implications of *Impreso* itself. Since 1993, only Vicente S. Hernández (1996), Jacques Lafaye (2002), Patricia May B. Jurilla (2008), and David Irving (2010) have mentioned the Manila press. It appears that Lafaye had consulted only Medina's 1896 *Imprenta* but nothing more and was therefore unaware of the many other developments that had taken place since that time. Irving cites *Impreso*, yet the purpose of his book is not to analyze the press but rather music in early modern Manila, and his comments on the press are, naturally, very brief.

Both Hernández and Jurilla only offer summaries of previous scholarship on the press as a prelude to other topics.

Regarding the kinds of texts, of the historians that have dealt with the early Philippine press only three have touched on the issue: T. H. Pardo de Tavera (*Noticias*, 1893), Medina (*Manila*, 1896), and Sánchez (“Imprenta,” 1990; “Filipinas,” 1992). Pardo de Tavera’s and Medina’s comments are very brief and reflect their then current belief that the Manila presses had produced a little over 400 texts. Sánchez’s comments are more well-developed and complete and he considers the texts according to broad categories while providing some examples. However, since Jose had not yet published *Impreso* at the time that Sánchez was writing, Sánchez’s opinions are still founded on bibliographies that had only been slightly updated in the nearly 100 years since their initial publication, based on the bibliography of the Manila press he includes at the end of his essay (755). These scholars’ comments warrant further discussion.

In their very limited remarks, Pardo de Tavera and Medina portray the Philippine presses only in broad strokes, limiting themselves to speaking in summary of the activities of these presses. Pardo de Tavera writes, “Morally it has been and is an instrument in the hands of the State and religion... Materially it is and has been modest, producing sufficient for the intellectual habits of those inhabitants” (*Noticias* 5-6)¹⁰⁵. Medina has greater difficulty in hiding his disdain for the use of the press in the Philippines during its first two centuries: “That there were very few authors is easily explainable; that [city] was not a literary center, small or great” (*Manila* lix)¹⁰⁶. Medina emphasizes the supposed little regard that *manileños* held for the institution and the

¹⁰⁵ Original: “Moralmente ha sido y es un instrumento en manos del Estado y la religión... Materialmente es y ha sido modesta, produciendo lo suficiente para los hábitos intelectuales de aquellos habitantes.”

¹⁰⁶ Original: “Que los autores fuesen contadísimos, es fácilmente explicable: aquél no era un centro literario, chico ni grande.”

power of the press, stating that the number of those people who published works was so limited that it was almost not worth the effort to write about them,

if it had not been that among the governors there were *some* that turned to the press to publish their proclamations...; the *small* number of bishops that distributed to the faithful printed pastoral letters; *two* seamen who dealt with matters especially applicable to those regions; *a few* panegyrics given on solemn occasions, and, finally, others that without giving their name recorded in print the accounts of certain events that particularly called the attention of the public, or who wanted to perpetuate the memory of festivals celebrated on the occasion of the swearing-in ceremony of a monarch or the canonization of a saint. (*Manila lix, my italics*)¹⁰⁷

In the quotation above Medina emphasizes the alleged limited number of authors through words like “some,” “small,” “two seamen,” and “a few.” Furthermore, he declares that even these texts, and especially those produced by the Church in the islands, only came about “because they were absolutely necessary” (*Manila lix*)¹⁰⁸, meaning that, had these texts been dispensable, they would not have appeared at all¹⁰⁹. Although Pardo de Tavera is less explicit in his contempt, it still shows through in his evaluation of the texts, considering them of “little merit,” and that the “intellectual habits of those inhabitants” responded to “to life in general, which is also poor in that country” (*Noticias 5-6*)¹¹⁰.

On the whole, they are right, at least in regards to the kinds of texts produced. However, as is evident in their remarks quoted above, they demonstrate a strong and characteristic nineteenth-century bias against Spain’s intellectual and cultural activities in their overseas colonies, a bias that tended to minimize Spain’s achievements and emphasize its failings,

¹⁰⁷ Original: “si no fuese porque entre los gobernadores figuraron *algunos* que ocurrieron a la prensa para promulgar sus bandos...; el *corto* número de obispos que repartieron a los fieles pastorales impresas; *dos* marinos que trataron cuestiones técnicas especialmente aplicables a aquellas regiones; *unos pocos* panegíricos pronunciados en solemnes ocasiones, y, por fin, otros que sin dar su nombre consignaban en letras de molde las relaciones de sucesos particulares que llamaban extraordinariamente la atención del público, o que quisieron perpetuar el recuerdo de las fiestas celebradas con ocasión de la jura de algún monarca o de la canonización de algún santo.”

¹⁰⁸ Original, “porque se necesitaba en absoluto”

¹⁰⁹ Pérez and Güemes take particular offense at this phrase used by Medina in their introductory essay.

¹¹⁰ Original: “escaso mérito,” “hábitos intelectuales de aquellos habitantes;” “la vida en general, que es también pobre en aquel país.”

especially the impardonable obscurantism alleged by not a few writers in the nineteenth century (Calvo 280-81). Not only do the above-cited authors consider textual production negligible (both in quantity as well as quality), but they also downplay the relative importance or impact of the texts produced, marginalizing the texts because of their regional particularity (e.g., “two seamen who dealt with matters especially applicable to those regions”)¹¹¹. Furthermore, their overly short observations suggest that they felt the bibliography spoke for itself and was therefore not worth further time or discussion.

Despite Medina’s and Pardo de Tavera’s overall correctness in their description of the Manila press, their broad-strokes approach glosses over many important details. Additionally, their marginalization of the texts due to the fact that these addressed local concerns says more about nineteenth-century values than it does about the values of the period in question. Even Cayetano Sánchez, whose evaluation of the nature of the texts is more objective and complete, demonstrates at times a tendency to judge the worth of the texts according to current values and standards rather than considering the texts in their historical and cultural contexts. He declares, for example, that in the latter half of the seventeenth century the Manila presses produced “a scant number of books real interest,” and that “the greater part of Philippine imprints of that period refer to domestic controversies among the ruling classes of the country, many of which revolved around matters more or less futile and insignificant for the majority of the population (“Imprenta” 1056)¹¹².

Although Sánchez is most likely correct in declaring that for an average modern reader the products of the Philippines presses from this period—not just the late seventeenth century—

¹¹¹ Original, “dos marinos que trataron cuestiones técnicas especialmente aplicables a aquellas regiones”

¹¹² Original: “escaso número de libros de verdadero interés;” “La mayor parte de los impresos filipinos de esa época se refieren a polémicas domésticas entre las clases dirigentes del país, muchas de las cuales giraban en torno a asuntos más bien fútiles e intrascendentes para la mayoría de la población.”

are of no interest, this does not mean that they were of no interest for their intended audience. On the contrary, despite their relative unimportance for today's readership, in their moment they were quite influential and on occasion enjoyed relatively wide distribution. Additionally, while it may be true that the majority of the population—both Spaniard and Filipino—might have demonstrated little concern for the products of the Manila presses, this does not mean that these texts were of no importance or had no bearing on these groups. Furthermore, it is not far-fetched to say that in no place during the first three hundred years of typographical printing world-wide was the press ever the realm of the masses—i.e., a general, universal, literate reading public—since such a population did not exist until the nineteenth century (Lafaye 16-17). In this sense, the products of all presses around the world were limited to a minority of the population. This was true throughout Europe and throughout Spain's overseas colonies, even Mexico (Chocano Mena 70).

Ironically, only in the Philippines with its pre-Hispanic tradition of alphabetic literacy was the printed word more accessible to a greater percentage of the non-European population, though this was probably still have been limited to an elite minority of the native population residing in the vicinity of Manila (see Damon Woods, "Tomás Pinpin and the Literate Indio," particularly pages 202-04). Therefore, when considering the kind of texts produced on the Manila presses, these points must be kept in mind since to do otherwise is to impose the characteristics of the press in Europe and in Spain's wealthiest and most populous colonial cities (Mexico City and Lima) onto a very different place, resulting in anachronisms and a skewed view of the real role of the press in Manila in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Again, because of the gaps and biases in the existing bibliographical analyses, it is necessary to re-visit and revise the profile of the Philippines presses.

Method

My analysis considers both the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the bibliography. The method in carrying out these analyses was straightforward. It consisted of going through *Impreso* and Pérez and Güemes's *Adiciones* entry by entry and tallying and classifying the entries according to the following criteria: total number of works (overall, per century, and year); number of works per press; languages of texts; size of texts; percentage of reprinting; and by predetermined categories designed to classify the texts according to their type or purpose; these categories will receive more detailed discussion further on. The attribution and classifications realized here are based on the titles of the texts and other annotations and commentary included by Jose and previous bibliographers and, on occasion, where possible or necessary, on the texts themselves. While an examination of each text would have been ideal, it has not been possible, mainly because, as Sánchez indicates, the number of texts actually available for consultation is far lesser than the number of texts of which there is bibliographical record ("Imprenta" 1093). Additionally, even when copies are extant, these texts are found in various libraries scattered throughout the world, and although many holding institutions have made their materials available digitally, this is not the case for every institution. Despite this limitation, the bibliographical record provides enough details regarding each text so that classification according to the above criteria is both feasible and informative.

The quantitative analysis focuses on overall production across all three presses over time. While Jose has already quantified the total number of texts, no one has broken down this number year by year, nor attempted to quantify and compare the output of the different presses, neither in a given moment nor across time. In carrying out this aspect of my analysis, I tallied each entry

according to year and press, the results of which appear in Appendix 1. During this portion of the analysis, issues arose in attributing certain texts to a given press or year. To be precise, the regrettably high incidence of imprints appearing with no printer or press on the title page complicates the possibility of attributing a press for every one. For those publications that cannot be readily attributed to a press, I have created the category of “Unlisted Press,” recognizing that although one of the existing presses in Manila had to have printed them, a definitive attribution in such cases is impossible and even a supposition would be forcing the evidence. Additionally, uncertain dating on some of the works makes the yearly production number a less-solid-than-desired figure, though these cases do not invalidate the aggregate production for a given year since the incidence of uncertain dating is far lower than that of an unidentified press. These chronological problems disappear when considering printing over time or during certain periods since potential errors that are the result of a minor discrepancy in dating become irrelevant in the aggregate. Finally, the quantitative analysis discusses, but not categorizes, the edition size. While important, information on the size of an edition is simply not available for the vast majority of the texts. What information is available is found only in the notes in a handful of scattered bibliographical entries and in Retana’s “Inventario jesuítico,” an inventory of the Jesuit bookstore after their expulsion, included in this study as Appendix 2.

The qualitative analysis focuses on the kinds of imprints produced, organized by category, language, and size. Categorization of the kinds of texts produced is not always a clear-cut task. Besides the difficulties described above regarding the accessibility of the works, there are the issues of what categories to include and how to determine the most appropriate category for each publication. In creating the categories, it was not possible nor desirable to create a separate category for each and every possible genre—invitations, obituaries, chapter acts,

religious decrees, civil decrees, pastoral letters, eulogies, panegyrics, legal manifests, ecclesiastical letters, etc—because this would have multiplied the number of categories to such a degree that categorization would be pointless: such a high number of categories renders the task of determining the role of the press ineffective. Neither are the categories so overly broad that they are rendered meaningless and not reflective of the use to which the texts were put.

Therefore, I have organized the categories of this analysis more according to purpose, excepting those genres whose representation was so numerous as to validate the creation of a separate category, such as the Sermon. Also, since the categories examined reveal the biases of this study, I have attempted as much as possible to allow the bibliography to dictate the categories used rather than pre-determining what kinds of books should be present, even though there are certain genres that I am interested in, such as literary texts and accounts of public festivals. In this sense it is important to deal with the bibliography on its own terms rather than faulting the producers of texts for not printing more *comedias* or newspapers, for example.

In determining where to place each item, the greatest difficulties arose for those publications whose titles are inconclusive. In these cases, I turned to the commentary and notes provided by Jose and other bibliographers and examination of the text itself. Where it was impossible to determine the nature of a particular text after attempting these two actions, I placed it in the Unknown category (#16). However, these cases are limited since after titles, notes and commentary, and actual textual examination, it is possible to reasonably categorize most of the texts. Additionally, not a few of the works produced can be considered under multiple categories, so determining which of the possibilities is the most accurate, representative, or prominent becomes tricky.

For example, entry 1007 of *Impreso* is an *Arte y Vocabulario de la Lengua tagala, Doctrina Cristiana, Confesonario, y Catecismo, donde por modo de dialogo va desde la creacion del mundo, dando noticia de todo lo que le parecio mas a proposito de las historias sagradas para moverles a devocion y cebarles la curiosidad, pasando de alli a todos los misterios que enseña nuestra santa fe*¹¹³, by the Dominican Teodoro de la Madre de Dios (286). As the title indicates, not only is it a dictionary (“vocabulario”) and grammar book (“arte”), placing it in the Linguistic studies category (#3), but it also contains a catechism and a *confesonario*¹¹⁴ (category 12), devotional accounts of sacred events (category 11), and explanations of the mysteries of the faith (category 13). Although entry 1007 is an extreme example of this phenomenon, it is not an isolated occurrence, and in these cases, I have categorized the text according to what I judged to be the predominant characteristic of the book¹¹⁵. The results of this categorization can be seen in detail in Appendix 3. For all these categories and the attributions I have made, it is possible that my categorizations have been inaccurate, and I welcome those amendments and revisions that will better organize the bibliography along more representative and meaningful lines.

Finally, with regards to language and size, I determined the language of the imprints by their title, notes and commentary, and, on occasion, by physical examination of the text itself. I discuss the incidence of bilingualism among Philippine imprints but do not analyze or organize this information since in order to do so it would have been necessary to physically examine all of the texts, which is not possible. The results of this analysis I have placed in Appendix 4. Size

¹¹³ English: “Grammar and dictionary of the Tagalog language, Christian Doctrine, Confessionary, and Catechism, where through the method of a dialogue it goes through the creation of the world, giving an account of all that seemed most appropriate to move them to devotion and to arouse their curiosity, moving on from there to all the mysteries that our holy faith teaches.”

¹¹⁴ Confession aids meant for the use of priests and confessors

¹¹⁵ For example, I have classified entry 1007 as category 3, Linguistic studies.

refers to the categorization of books according to traditional categories, such as folio, quarto, etc. When the physical dimensions (e.g., 15 x 10 cm) appear in the bibliographical entries in *Impreso*, I categorized the text according to the guidelines provided by Jose on page twelve (see Appendix 5)¹¹⁶. Approximately 25% of the texts cannot be classified since they do not contain a reference to traditional size categories or the physical dimensions of the text. In relation to size, page length is also discussed but not categorized.

All of these factors, in conjunction with the quantitative analyses, put flesh on the bones, so to speak, since without understanding the nature of the texts being printed, this is just a study of printing volume, which is quickly ascertained from the final tally of works at the end of *Impreso*. However, when the quantitative and qualitative analyses are considered together with external sources, the bibliography provides a wealth of information on the goals and priorities of colonial society in Manila, as seen through what they chose to print.

I. Quantitative analyses

As mentioned earlier, *Impreso* is the result of scouring all known bibliographies or bibliographical lists¹¹⁷ of Philippine imprints, major or minor, printed up until 1993. Although

¹¹⁶ Although the terminology of book size has remained more or less constant throughout history, the actual dimensions of a book have varied depending on the size of the original sheet of paper, which also varied according to the place of production and the time period (Lafaye 24; Gaskell 66-68, 73-75). Therefore, a book labeled *quarto* in one place may be considered a different size in another place. The dimensions suggested by Jose in *Impreso* are expressed in centimeters and tend to be smaller than standard, traditional book measurements used in the United States, although he affirms that the measurements he provides follow traditional standards (12). For example, Pedro Murillo Velarde's *Historia* of 1749 is 30 centimeters tall, or a little under 12 inches, and Jose has it listed as "Fol." However, a book *in folio* by American standards is 15 x 12 inches (height listed first), making the *Historia* not a *folio* but a *quarto* (\approx 12 x 9 in.) by American standards. (By comparison, the hardback American *Harry Potter* editions are 9 x 6 inches, or in *octavo*). This seems to apply for all sizes described by Jose, i.e., the dimension terminology used in *Impreso* refers to one size down in standard American terminology. See Appendix 5 for a list of approximate book sizes as Jose describes them in *Impreso*.

¹¹⁷ I make the distinction between the two terms here due to the fact that some authors include lists of hitherto unlisted Philippine imprints in articles or other scholarly works that are not, strictly speaking, bibliographies, such as Cayetano Sánchez's article about the Franciscan press but that also includes a list of texts ("Franciscanos I" 20-24).

Jose remits the reader to these and other studies for the history of the Manila presses, *Impreso* took Medina’s bibliographical findings and almost doubled them, bringing the total number of works produced on the Manila presses during the period 1593-1811 from the 565 to 1,089¹¹⁸: 289 for the seventeenth century, 716 for the eighteenth, and 114 for the nineteenth up through 1811. With the 35 additional titles from Pérez and Güemes to bring the bibliography up to the year 1813, this number ascends to 1,124 texts (see Table 1). This averages out to about five titles per year over the 220-year period in question, though in the eighteenth century there were more than twice the number of titles printed than in the seventeenth, and there were some years in the seventeenth century in which no works were printed at all, or at least of which we have record. Although Jose attempted to be exhaustive in his efforts, there is a very strong possibility that there are works that exist or existed that were printed in Manila of which we simply have no record. For example, where is the calendar printed in 1755 on the Dominican press mentioned by Tomás Adriano in his statement (Medina, *Manila lxi*)? It has not been found

Table 1: Total number of texts per press

Year	Xylography	Press 1	Press 2			Press 3	Unlisted Press	Total
		Dominicans 1604- 1813	Augustinian ≈ 1617- ≈ 1622	Jesuit ≈ 1623- 1768	Seminario 1769-1804	Franciscans 1700- 1813		
1593-1603	5*	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
1604-1699		119 [†]	8	75	-	-	87	289
1700-1799		202	-	118	60	188	148	716
1800-1813		22	-	-	2	70	20	114
Subtotal	5	343	8	193	62	258	255	1124

* multiple sponsorship
[†] includes mixed typographical and xylographical texts

¹¹⁸ Although the number of the final entry tally in *Impreso* reads “1088,” Jose on two occasions inadvertently left blank an entry number (133 and 500) and repeated another (there are two entries numbered 744), making the actual count 1,087. However, Jose lists entry 625 and 625a as one text since they were printed and bound together in one volume. Yet since they are reprints of Blancas de San Jose’s and Tomás Pinpin’s 1610 works, originally printed separately, I consider them separate texts (like works in an anthology) and have therefore counted each text in the overall tally. Similarly, Jose counts entry 935 as one text, even though it was composed of two volumes containing distinct, separate works with separate pagination, volume two being a reprint of the *Recopilación de Indias*, or at least portions of it, bringing the operating total for this study to 1,089 titles.

nor listed, even though the very printer who created it affirmed its existence. Additionally, among the entries that Jose included some of them are undoubtedly apocryphal or contain errors, as is the case with all bibliographies, yet the removal of these entries from the bibliography would not substantially diminish the number of texts Jose has managed to gather.

A panoramic view of printing production in Manila in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries reveals the Jesuit press to be the least productive press. Not only did they typically print fewer texts in a given year in comparison with the other presses, but their output from year to year was less consistent, even in the eighteenth century when printing “boomed” among all three presses. However, it must be recognized that the Jesuits began printing later than the Dominicans in the seventeenth century and had their activities cut short in the eighteenth with their expulsion. The Santo Tomás press, with the exception of certain lean years in the seventeenth century, was the most consistent press, even managing to print their Chapter Acts in 1763 during the English occupation of Manila (Jose 205, entry 694). This consistency allowed them to produce the highest number of texts in both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, though the Franciscans came close to matching them in the latter. The Franciscan press, despite a 30-year dry spell in the latter part of the eighteenth century, was, on the whole, a consistent producer even into the nineteenth century when the Franciscans decommissioned it.

The Seminario press was a flash in the pan, a shooting star, shining bright for a brief moment but burning out quickly. Even though the Seminario held the press for nearly 40 years, its life more or less ended in 1788 with the publication of the first five volumes of the *Historia general de Philipinas*¹¹⁹, since following this year it only produced four known texts, one in 1791, another in 1798, and two more in 1804, before disappearing completely. Furthermore, the

¹¹⁹ English: “General history of the Philippines”

fate of the Seminario press appears to be tied to that of Archbishop Basilio Sancho de Santa Justa y Rufina (arrived in 1767), at whose request the King granted it to the Seminario. Based on the titles of works produced by or attributed to the Seminario press, Sancho seemed to consider it his private play thing. Of the 60 known or attributed Seminario texts published in the eighteenth century, he produced no less than 30 of them and probably would have published more had death not ended his prolific career as a writer of edicts, pastoral letters, and sermons in 1787¹²⁰.

Production in Manila following the advent of typographical printing in 1604 varied per press and fluctuated, each press enjoying at times periods of relative productivity, at other times producing few to no publications. These ups and downs were sometimes the result of external factors, such as wars, rebellions, galleon loss, or natural disaster. (For example, in 1646, the year after the great earthquake of 1645, not a single text was printed). After the initial brief and very modest burst of texts from 1604-1607, the Vera/Dominican press did not begin printing at least one text annually until 1625, this year marking the permanent transfer of the Dominican press to the Colegio de Santo Tomás, allowing the denizens of Intramuros greater access to the press than ever before. Prior to 1625 it had been residing at the Dominican convent in Binondo, and before that it had led an ambulatory existence as the Dominicans lent or rented it out to the various religious orders according to their printing needs, the press following the author rather than the author following the press. Yet even with the permanent establishment of the Santo Tomás press in 1625, known production on occasion amounted to only one item per year. This state of affairs lasted until around 1640 when production began slowly petering out until the 1650s, after which printing became quite sporadic. Although it is not possible to say that the Dominicans stopped

¹²⁰ Sancho apparently loved to see himself in print. Even prior to the Crown awarding the ex-Jesuit press to the Seminario in 1769, Sancho had already published five texts on the Santo Tomás and unidentified presses; he also published a sermon in 1786 on the UST press. There were only two years during the twenty he spent in the Philippines in which he did not publish something, and the second one was the year he died.

printing during the 1660s due to the presence of unattributed texts, it is curious to note during this period of apparent Dominican decadence that the Jesuit press began to increase in both quantity and frequency of imprints. The relative ascendancy of the Jesuits in printing continued until the 1680s and 1690s when both presses practically ceased production, this dearth abating only in the opening years of the eighteenth century and only for the Santo Tomás press; the Jesuits did not really begin printing again in earnest until the mid 1720s, though they produced a handful items in the early 1710s.

One possible reason for this Jesuit lack in the opening years of the eighteenth century is the appearance of the Franciscan press. The Franciscans' first two decades were timid but beginning in the mid-1720s they began to produce consistently—though very modestly—year after year. Since Jesuit production had begun to pick up again at this time, and since the Santo Tomás press had been steadily printing since the first decade of the eighteenth century, the period beginning around the year 1728¹²¹ and continuing until around 1755 constitutes what can be called the “golden age” of classical Philippine printing, both in quantity and, according to some, in quality of texts as well (Pardo de Tavera 10-11; Sánchez, “Franciscanos I” 42-43, 49-51)¹²². During these three decades the combined presses consistently produced high numbers of imprints, relatively speaking, reaching a high of 17 total works in 1739 and falling below nine texts in only six of those years, the average number per year being ten. Following 1755, the Franciscan press seems to have lost steam since production is sporadic at best after 1756 and

¹²¹ 1728 was the year that the Franciscan convent in Manila changed names from “Nuestro Padre San Francisco” to “Nuestra Señora de los Ángeles,” a change that Sánchez describes in these terms: “Esta novedad, vista superficialmente, cualquiera podría calificar de accidental, responde en realidad a un cambio radical en cuanto a la utilización que de ahora en adelante se va a hacer de la imprenta. Este mismo año encontramos ya una partida en el libro de cuentas, según la cual se invierten «170 p. de reedificar la Ymprenta»...” (40).

¹²² Pardo de Tavera describes this period in this way: “Los más hermosos impresos, la flor de aquellas imprentas, vieron la luz desde principios a mediados del siglo XVIII: fue el período de apogeo y brillo, bien modesto por cierto, pero brillo al fin, que decayó rápidamente” (*Noticias* 10-11).

does not recover until around 1780. Both the Jesuits and Santo Tomás printed regularly until the expulsion of the Jesuits and the confiscation of their press in 1768. The Seminario’s acquisition of the ex-Jesuit press resulted in a fruitful albeit brief period that on occasion resulted in numbers reminiscent of the “golden” period a decade earlier. With the Seminario press effectively out of commission after 1788, both Santo Tomás and the Franciscans produced a steady stream of texts until the end of the period in question when the Governor declared the freedom of the press and Manuel Memije established the first private press in the Philippines.

During this period, reprints—i.e., new editions of texts first printed either abroad or in the islands themselves—were a regular product of the Manila presses, though this was more prevalent in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries than the seventeenth. Of the 290 known texts from 1604 to 1699 only sixteen were reprints (see Table 2), or about 5% of the total output. Of these sixteen, two-thirds were works originally produced in Manila, texts such as catechisms in Tagalog, statutes of the religious orders, and even an occasional best-selling account of persecutions and martyrdoms in Japan (Jose 35-36, entries 50-52). One text, a *Doctrina cristiana* in Ilocano, went through three editions before the end of the seventeenth century (87, entry 243). The eighteenth century shows a higher rate of reprinting than the previous century, where 110 of the 716 works—one out of every seven texts—were reprints. In both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, those reprints that came from abroad came entirely from

Century	Philippines	Foreign	Total
17 th	11	5 (Rome, Lisbon, Spain, Unknown)	16
18 th	62	48 (Spain, Rome, Mexico, “La Puebla,” Unknown)	110
19 th (until 1813)	5	24 (Spain, Rome, Mexico, London, Baltimore, “America,” Unknown)	29

Spanish- or Catholic-held territories such as Rome, Portugal, Mexico, and from all parts of Spain¹²³. The kinds of texts reprinted during both centuries are similar, though in the eighteenth century we find a larger number of decrees, bulls, edicts, etc., from Rome and Spain regulating the Church and/or the government in the Philippines. The first thirteen years of the nineteenth century saw a disproportionately larger number of reprints, with the vast majority—about 80%—of the texts coming from abroad, predominantly from Spain but also, on a few occasions, from Protestant regions: London and Baltimore. This high percentage of reprints in these years reflects the dissemination via the press of news of events in the Peninsula, i.e., the progress of the war against Napoleon and the establishment of the Cortes at Cádiz. In other words, the Manila presses, though isolated, were not completely out of touch.

Finally, during the latter half of the eighteenth century, output on the presses underwent a process that Cayetano Sánchez describes as the “massive increase of the print runs” (“Franciscanos I” 52)¹²⁴. While this may not be true of all works published¹²⁵, many texts appeared in high numbers¹²⁶. Retana provides evidence to this effect in his “Inventario jesuítico,” an inventory of the books in the Jesuit library and bookstore shortly after the time of their expulsion, published in his *Imprenta* in 1899¹²⁷. For example, the scribe carrying out the inventory writes: “Item: 1,116 [books]...on Chinese paper and covered in painted paper, titled Course of Philosophy of the royal College of Salamanca of the Society of Jesus...by the author P.

¹²³ There was even a Jesuit text originally published in Germany in 1641 (Jose 120, entry 372).

¹²⁴ Original, “masificación de las tiradas”

¹²⁵ For example, Sánchez estimates that the *Crónicas* of the Franciscan province of San Gregorio cited earlier would not have exceeded 300 copies (“Crónica” 515-16).

¹²⁶ Sánchez also writes the following: “La imprenta de Sampaloc, al igual que otras existentes entonces en Filipinas, llega a lanzar ediciones de hasta 50.000 ejemplares, aunque suponemos que sólo en casos contados” (“Franciscanos I” 52). Unfortunately he does not cite where he got such an elevated figure, since it certainly does not appear in the “Inventario jesuítico” cited ahead.

¹²⁷ The appearance of the “Inventario” is actually the second time Retana published it, but since the first publication was, in Retana’s words, “en una revista que carece de circulación entre los bibliógrafos” (col. 55), he decided to reprint it in *Imprenta*.

Luis de Losada printed in Manila in the year 1759” (col. 60)¹²⁸. The text in question was the first part of a textbook meant for use in the Jesuit colleges and was printed in that same year with parts two and three of the same textbook. Of the second part there were 880 copies and of the third there were 959. The third part was 186 pages long and had the price of fourteen *reales* (Retana, *Imprenta*, col. 60; Jose 201, entry 677). They also found 668 copies of the fifth edition of *Manual de ejercicios* translated into Tagalog by Gaspar Aquino de Belén, printed in 1760¹²⁹.

Another item: “5,348 primers on Chinese paper covered in painted paper in the Castilian language, without name of author, place, or year of printing, one *barilla*” (col. 63)¹³⁰. This primer (*cartilla*) is followed by another in “Visayan,” an edition of 2,554 copies, followed by a confession guide in Tagalog (“Questions and answers of the Christian Doctrine in the Tagalog language”¹³¹), an edition of 2,110 copies (col. 63). A few other texts have editions in the thousands, and many more have editions that range from around 100 to almost 800, some more and some less. It must also be noted that the numbers presented in this inventory, performed in 1773, did not represent the original edition size; it is very probable, for example, in the eight years or so since the printing of Belén’s translation, that a number of copies had already been sold, basing its popularity on the fact that it was the fifth edition in 57 years. Even when the

¹²⁸ Original: “Iten mil ciento y diez y seis dichos...en papel de China, y forrados en papel pintado, intitulados Cursus Philosophici regalis Colegiy salmanticensis societatis Jesu, prima pars...autore P. Ludovico de Losada...impresos en Manila en el año de mil setecientos cinquenta y nueve.”

¹²⁹ The writer of the inventory labels it “Recommendation of the Soul composed by the Father Thomas de Villacastin of the Society, and translated into the Tagalog language by don Gaspar Aquino de Belene, native of the town of Rosario, who inserted in this book the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ in Tagalog verse, fifth printing in Manila, year of 1760, one peso each” (Original: “recomendacion del Alma compuesta por el Padre Thomas de Villacastin de la Compañia, y trasumptada en el Idioma Tagalo por don Gaspar Aquino de Velen natural del Pueblo del Rossario, quien insertó en este Libro la Pasion de nuestro Señor Jesuchristo en verso Tagalo, quinta impresion en Manila año de mil setecientos y sesenta a peso cada uno”) (col. 63).

¹³⁰ Original: “cinco mil trescientos quarenta y ocho Cartillas de papel de China forradas de papel pintado en lengua Castellano, sin nombre de autor, lugar, ni año de su impresion a barrilla.” A “barrilla” was a copper coin in circulation exclusively in Manila during part of the eighteenth century “para el trafico Ynferior de esta Capital.” A decree printed on the Seminario press in 1773 withdrew it from circulation (Jose 218, entry 746).

¹³¹ Original, “Preguntas, y respuestas de la Doctrina Christiana en Idioma Tagalo”

editions themselves (or what copies remained of those editions) were not in the hundreds, some of them represented very substantial texts, such as the 150 remaining copies of Pedro Murillo Velarde's *Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas de la Compañia de Jesus*¹³², an 800-plus page book (438 folios) printed *in folio* (about 12 x 9 inches) by Nicolás de la Cruz Bagay in 1749 (col. 56)¹³³. In summary, during the eighteenth century, the size of editions began to increase dramatically, and although no definitive reason can be found from the "Inventario" as to why this increase took place, a probable cause is an increase in market demand.

II. Qualitative analyses

Categorization

Table 3 contains an explanation of the analytical categories used in this study, while Table 4 shows the total number of texts per century and category since the advent of printing in the islands. A cursory glance at these tables confirms the general description of the use of the press cited earlier, that is, a tool in the hands of the church and the state to administer the colony. However, this reductionist view glosses over important details that should not be ignored but which are not apparent by simply reading through *Impreso*.

For example, while it is true that texts produced by or about the Church or of a religious or devotional nature far and away dominate production, it is telling to note that the highest portion of religious publications by category were printed for the purpose of Church

¹³² English: "History of the Province of the Philippines of the Society of Jesus"

¹³³ Jose cites another example of such a text from 1801 in entry 935, *Real ordenanza para el establecimiento e instruccion de Intendentes de Exercito y Provincia en el Reino de la Nueva España*, accompanied in the same volume by the *Leyes de la Recopilacion de Indias*; all together, the volume consists of 578 pages. Furthermore, Jose adds the following observation: "According to the preliminaries, the request to produce 250 copies of this work, a reprint of the original 1786 Madrid edition, was approved by Governor General Aguilar" (268).

administration (category 10), texts such as pastoral letters (Jose185, entry 613), Chapter Acts (165, entry 540), manuals for priests working in an indigenous parish (168, entry 552), or *aranceles eclesiásticos*—the list of fees for church services—in Spanish (160-61, 217 entries 526, 741) or native Filipino languages such as Ilocano (160, entry 525), among many others. By comparison, they produced relatively low numbers of catechisms and confesionarios (category 12), about which so many authors have written as being among the principal products of the press (Sánchez, “Imprenta” 1098; Phelan 65). This does not mean that the number is low, speaking in absolute terms, but in comparison to those texts designed for administrative purposes, it is a significant difference, especially in the eighteenth century¹³⁴.

Admittedly, the number appearing for category 12 in Table 4 does not take into account those texts that had a double function, that is to say, for example, texts that contained sermons and a confesionario, such as entry 375, printed in 1726: *Thomo primero de platicas, y sermones, en idioma Bisaya para todos los Domingos, y Fiestas del año de los Naturales, y un Confesonario en idioma Español, y Bisaya, con sus documentos, y exortaciones saludables* (Jose 121)¹³⁵. An examination of which texts also contained catechisms or confesionarios would provide an important supplement to the number in Table 4. However, while no one can dispute the vital importance of the catechisms to Spain’s missionary enterprise in the Philippines, the fact that more printed texts were dedicated to administration than to catechism demonstrates whom the products of the Philippine press ultimately came to serve.

¹³⁴ On the other hand, since these texts saw heavy use they often did not survive, so it is possible that entire editions may have disappeared, skewing the bibliographical record in favor of those volumes that did survive.

¹³⁵ English: “First volume of conversations and sermons in the Visayan language for all the Sundays and feasts of year for the natives, and a confessionary in the Spanish and Visayan languages, with its documents and beneficial exhortations”

1	Educational	Texts destined for use at an educational institution, such as UST, or the Colegio de San Jose; also, texts resulting from education, such as <i>conclusiones</i> , theses, etc. Academic <i>conclusiones</i> here differentiated from professional or ecclesiastical <i>conclusiones</i> .
2	Erudite/Scholarly/Professional	Texts directed at an adult audience of professionals or as a work of erudition in a particular field, such as a treatise on medicine, chemistry, or military science; theological <i>conclusiones</i> without pastoral ramifications.
3	Linguistic/Dictionaries/Grammars	Spanish, Latin, Tagalog, Pampango, etc
4	Literary texts	Theater; Poetry; Narrative fiction (including purportedly non-fiction texts with novelistic elements)
5	Descriptions of Public Festivals	Must include an account of festivities/mourning; literary texts present
6	Civil Histories/Historical & Political Accounts	Includes newspapers
7	Official texts of a non-religious nature	Texts emanating from the government of a legal or political nature; decrees, <i>consultas</i> , <i>pareceres</i> , law cases, petitions from private individuals, manifests
8	Accounting/Financial/Commercial	Public or private documents
9	Church or Missionary Histories/Accounts	<i>Crónicas</i> , etc
10	Church Administrative/Pastoral	Bulls; pastoral letters (general and within the religious community); decrees from archbishops or other religious authorities; internal administration of religious orders (acts of chapter meetings, manuals for priests, etc), petitions/letters of a religious nature
11	Relations of Holy Lives and Martyrs	
12	Catechisms and confession aids	<i>Catecismos</i> , <i>confesionarios</i>
13	Other devotional	<i>Novenas</i> , <i>octavarios</i> , prayers, indulgences, <i>oficios de nuevos santos</i> , spiritual exercises, miscellaneous religious tracts (<i>Buen morir</i> , etc)
14	Sermons/Panegyrics/Eulogies	No description of festivities present. Minor descriptions of motives for the event do not count.
15	Miscellaneous	Texts that do not easily fit into one of these categories
16	Unknown	Identification of a text cannot be given without undue speculation

Table 4: Texts sorted by category and century					
Cat.	1593-1603	1604-1699	1700-1799	1800-1813	Total
1		1	32		33
2		7	22	11	40
3		18	26	1	45
4		1	12	13	26
5		11	17		28
6		14	31	26	71
7		37	60	27	124
8			29	1	30
9		12	34	1	47
10		56	150	2	208
11		16	18		34
12	2	34	45	4	85
13	2	53	115	16	186
14		25	102	8	135
15		3	12	4	20
16	1	1	10		12

This is not to say that devotional texts meant for the consumption of the general public (both Spaniard and non-Spaniard alike) were unimportant. In fact, devotional texts of all kinds are the next most numerous categories (13 and 14), only slightly behind texts for Church administration, and when considered together represent a substantially larger figure than those texts dedicated to Church administration. These categories include works such as Ignacio de Loyola's spiritual exercises (185, entry 611), Villacastín's exercises (96, 202-03, entries 280, 684), or novenas (185, 231, entries 614, 792); sermons on special occasions such as high-profile funerals (104-05, entry 308), religious celebrations and *fiestas* (164, 168, entries 538, 550), or sermons given by the most prominent religious of the city (226, entry 774). In fact, rather than the "unos pocos" described by Medina, sermons of all kinds are the third most printed product, a high though unsurprising position since we see the same phenomenon in New Spain in the seventeenth century, where "quantitatively, the most significant development of this genre [religious literature] in Spanish was the printed sermon" (Chocano Mena 77).

Neither does this number take into consideration the many sermons that were printed in accounts of public festivals or mournings, which, while not overly numerous, happened with enough regularity to assert that the number of sermons printed overall was likely much higher than represented in Table 4. This is even more striking since, unlike category 10 which is a composite of different texts that have a common purpose, category 14 is dedicated to one genre, religious oratory. Even category 12 considers both catechisms and confesionarios. Therefore, the quantitative importance of the printed sermon rivals and even exceeds that of the catechism or the confesionario as a means of reaching the devout public, both Spaniard and non-Spaniard alike.

Finally, although numerically insignificant, accounts of holy lives and martyrs (hagiographies) are also among the number of devotional texts printed for popular use in Manila (category 11), accounts such as the life of Santa Rosa de Lima (Jose 71, entry 186), of San Vicente Ferrer (111, entry 331), or the best-selling account of the persecutions and martyrdoms suffered in Japan as it closed its doors to Spain and the rest of world in the first quarter of the seventeenth century (36-37, entries 50-52). This last text, according to Sánchez, went through two more editions besides the three Manila editions, and has been praised by at least one reader as one of the most gripping and dramatic accounts of its kind (“Imprenta” 1097).

Although not devotional texts strictly speaking, the histories of the various religious orders (category 9) contain many inspirational accounts of the events of their “spiritual conquests,” including miracles, the lives of some of the principal protagonists among the missionaries, and their progress and accomplishments in their various spheres of action. Such is the case with the description given of Francisco Blancas de San José in the *Historia de la provincia del Sancto Rosario de la orden de predicadores en Philippinas, Iapon, y China*¹³⁶ by Diego Aduarte, published in 1640, or the information regarding the establishment of the first Philippine printing press at the hands of Juan de Vera in that same book (entry 100). In this sense, these religious chronicles have become, as Sánchez has stated, “the most important source to know their own history and that of the archipelago in general” (“Filipinas” 747)¹³⁷.

There are, of course, histories and other accounts that are entirely—or at least mostly—secular (category 6), such as the *Breve, y veridica relacion del lastimoso Estrago, que hicieron los Terremotos, y Temblores, en las Iglesias, y Conventos, que estan en las faldas de los Montes*

¹³⁶ Original: “History of the Province of the Holy Rosario of the Order of Preachers in the Philippines, Japan, and China”

¹³⁷ Original, “la fuente más importante para conocer su propia historia y la del archipiélago en general”

*de Saryaya, Tayabas, Lucban, Mahayhay, Lilio, y Nagcarlan*¹³⁸, written and published in 1743 by the Melchor de San Antonio, a Franciscan curate in the southern Tagalog region and eyewitness to the event (Jose 166, entry 544). Or the infamous *Relacion de la entrada del Sultan Rey de Jolo Mahamad Alimuddin en esta Ciudad de Manila*¹³⁹ (184, entry 607), penned and then published illegally in 1750 on the Santo Tomás press by the powerful Joan de Arechederra, former commissary of the Inquisition in Manila, former Dominican provincial in the Philippines, and at the time of publication, “Bishop-elect of Nueva Segovia, Governor, and Captain General of these Islands, and President of its Royal Chancery” (184, entry 607)¹⁴⁰. The publication of this text almost landed the master printer of Santo Tomás, Jerónimo Correa de Castro (who was forced to print it by Arechederra and the rector of the University, Bernardo Ustáriz), in very hot water with the office of the archbishop of Manila. Of particular importance among the secular histories is the 14-volume *Historia general de Philipinas*¹⁴¹, printed on the Seminario and Franciscan presses from 1788 to 1792.

However, with the exception of the appearance of newspapers in 1811, these more secular histories were never very numerous. For that matter, neither were the histories of the religious orders, though the latter tend to be more comprehensive in their scope due to the fact that, rather than just the recounting of a particular event, the purpose of these religious chronicles was the panoramic narration of the whole missionary enterprise as carried out by the religious orders who published them. As such, they often contained general historical and geographical details that are of great value to historians trying to piece together the reality of life in the

¹³⁸ English: “Brief and true account of the lamentable devastation that earthquakes and tremors caused on the churches and convents that are on the slopes of the mountains of Saryaya, Tayabas, Lucban, Mahayhay, Lilio, and Nagcarlan”

¹³⁹ English: “Account of the entrance of the Sultan King of Jolo Mahamad Alimuddin into this City of Manila”

¹⁴⁰ Original, “*Obispo Electo de Nueva Segovia, Governador, y Capitan G[ene]ral de estas Islas, y Presidente de su Real Chancilleria*”

¹⁴¹ English: “General history of the Philippines”

Philippines under the Spanish. Among the more important chronicles printed in Manila by the religious orders during this period were the *Historia* of the Dominicans, cited above; the second part of the *Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas de la Compañia de Jesus...desde el año de 1616. hasta el de 1716*¹⁴² by the polymath Pedro Murillo Velarde, 1749; and the three-part *Chronicas de la Apostolica Provincia de San Gregorio de Religiosos descalzos de N.S.P.S Francisco, en las Islas Philipinas*¹⁴³, by Juan Francisco de San Antonio, printed in 1738, 1741, and 1744¹⁴⁴. There were also other important chronicles of these religious orders printed outside of the Philippines, such as Gaspar de San Agustín’s *Conquistas de Filipinas* (Madrid, 1698)¹⁴⁵, but since they were not printed in Manila they do not figure into the tables above.

Surprising for its relatively low number in Table 4 are those texts dedicated to linguistic studies (category 3). Despite the emphasis that all historians have placed on the importance of the dictionaries and grammars produced by the religious—an importance which cannot be overstated—they are startlingly underrepresented in the press. Furthermore, the printing of such texts seemed to happen at longer intervals when compared to the frequency of the sermon or even catechisms. What is even more striking is that among those texts counted in category 3, not all of them are dedicated to Filipino languages: a Spanish-Latin grammar was printed in 1790 on the Santo Tomás press (Jose 247, entry 861). The low numbers of linguistic publications also raises the question of whether more editions were printed in Manila but subsequently lost due to frequent use, or whether some were commissioned from foreign presses, as is the case of two

¹⁴² English: “History of the Province of the Philippines of the Society of Jesus...from the year 1616 until that of 1716”

¹⁴³ English: “Chronicles of the Apostolic Province of Saint Gregory of the Discalced Religious of O[ur] H[oly] F[ather] S[aint] Francis, in the Philippine Islands”

¹⁴⁴ Cayetano Sánchez has written a fascinating and illuminating article about the Franciscan chronicles (“Crónica de unas Crónicas”) that illustrates the many pitfalls of printing in the Philippines during the eighteenth century.

¹⁴⁵ English: “Conquests of the Philippines”

Tagalog grammars printed in Mexico, one in 1679 and another in 1742 (Sánchez, “Filipinas” 747). However, this practice seems to be the exception rather than the rule.

Educational texts are a different story. The two institutions of higher learning in Manila during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—the University of Santo Tomás and the Jesuit College of San Ignacio—were founded in the first years of the seventeenth century, yet production of textbooks in the Philippines was almost non-existent in the seventeenth century. The only thing that could possibly pass as educational materials is entry 135, an *Explicacion de tiempos, segun el methodo con que se enseñaba en las escuelas de la Compañia*¹⁴⁶, printed in 1653 (Jose 58). It was not until the eighteenth century that textbook production began, and from the bibliographical record it appears that they printed only what was absolutely necessary since textbooks proper appear only in negligible amounts during this century—speaking in terms of different editions—and were only printed intermittently, possibly when their supply ran out. This would explain the high number of copies of the Jesuit textbooks, *Cursus Philosophici*, parts one, two, and three, printed in 1759, mentioned above (Retana, *Imprenta*, col. 60; Jose 201, entries 675-677).

Those textbooks that did appear were sometimes reprints, such as the *Ortografia de la lengua castellana*¹⁴⁷ (Jose 253, entry 883), originally printed in 1704 (97, entry 282) by the Dominicans for use in their classes at the University of Santo Tomás and reprinted in 1793 at the expense of the Real Sociedad Económica de la Ciudad de Manila. Given the sponsorship, the latter text could have been in use either as an educational text at the University of Santo Tomás (the only one operating in Manila after the expulsion of the Jesuits 25 years earlier) or as part of the slow but ongoing campaign to propagate the Spanish language among the Filipinos. Antonio

¹⁴⁶ English: “Explanation of times, according to the method that is taught in the schools of the Society”

¹⁴⁷ English: “Spelling of Castilian language”

Nebrija also made an appearance in Manila's presses: his *De institutione grammaticae libri quinque*¹⁴⁸ (187-88, entry 621), a Latin grammar meant for use by university students, was reprinted in Manila in 1752 by the UST press.

Not every textbook was grammar and philosophy, however, since 1750 saw the publication of *Fragmentos que se reimprimen...para el uso de la Universidad. Arte poetica de Horacio, Eneidos de Virgilio, Libro Primero, Ovidio Libro Primero de los Metamorfoseos. San Geronimo Epistola a Nepomuciano* (183, entry 602)¹⁴⁹, undoubtedly meant to cultivate the students' knowledge and appreciation of classical poetry and poetics. However, despite these interesting and revealing volumes printed on the Manila presses, the vast majority of the city's textbook needs were most likely met through the importation of educational volumes from Europe or Mexico, as suggested by Sánchez: "the centers of teaching tended to use as textbooks those that were commonly accepted at similar institutions (universities and seminaries) in the Peninsula" ("Filipinas" 745)¹⁵⁰. Moreover, the number appearing in category 2 in Table 4 does not take into consideration only the limited number of textbooks printed in Manila, but also texts that came about as the result of the educational process, such as *conclusiones*, or the points argued at the oral defenses in the universities, a requirement for conferral of the degree (Jose 206, entry 697). Again, it is important note that the number of texts printed for educational purposes in the eighteenth century is not much lower than the number of catechisms and confesionarios printed in the same period.

¹⁴⁸ English: "On the instruction of grammar, five books"

¹⁴⁹ English: "Fragments that are reprinted...for the use of the University. Horace's *Arte poetica*, Vergil's *Aeneid*, First Book, Ovid, First Book of the *Metamorphoses*. Saint Jerome, *Epistle to Nepomuciano*"

¹⁵⁰ Original: "Los centros docentes solían usar como libros de texto los que eran comúnmente aceptados en instituciones similares (universidades y seminarios) de la Península."

One category whose unsurprisingly low numbers belie its cultural importance is that of literary texts (category 4), considering here the traditional broad categories of poetry, prose fiction, and theater, whether in Spanish or in Filipino languages. This category only takes into consideration stand-alone texts, that is, texts printed by themselves specifically as literary texts rather than appended to or included in other works. Therefore, the number of literary texts is higher than the tally suggests. It is also revealing to note the progression of the printing of stand-alone literary texts, from an astounding one in the seventeenth century (1692) to twelve in the eighteenth to thirteen texts in the first thirteen years of the nineteenth century alone, pointing to the importance of quicker and more frequent communication with the Peninsula in the development of the Philippine presses for literary purposes.

Of the thirteen literary texts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, nine have a religious theme while the remaining four include poems praising the heroic virtues of Simón de Anda (208, 290, entries 707, 1040), or an eight-page “paean in verse written on the launch of the galleon San Pedro, beginning with the gathering of the timber and ending with its maiden voyage” in 1778 (226, entry 775). The last is a literary contest (known as a “certamen literario”) held at the University of Santo Tomás to show off the students’ abilities (227-28, entry 781). While this certamen undoubtedly reproduced religiously-themed poems, that was not the only purpose of the exercise, and the resulting published text would likely have included classically- or secularly-themed verses. All the known nineteenth century texts have no religious theme, at least as far as the titles reveal.

Of the religious literary texts, there are some that call attention because of their length or meter. For example, the Augustinian friar, Gaspar de San Agustín, the same who wrote and

published his order's chronicles in 1698, penned the *Descripción chronologica, y topographica de el sumptuoso templo de Nuestra Señora la Virgen Santissima de Guia, nombrada la Hermita, extramuros de la Ciudad de Manila*, most likely published in 1717 (Jose 110, entry 329)¹⁵¹. The *Descripción*, 44 pages long and written in *octavas reales* (octaves), narrates the history of the Virgen de Guía, one of the most venerated virgins in the Philippines, from the time of her first arrival in the islands, through the numerous destructions and rebuildings of her shrine over the course of 120 years, until the construction of the church built for her by archbishop Francisco de la Cuesta (1707-1723). It also includes a poetic description of the church itself, with accompanying illustrations of the church and the Virgin, and octaves praising the Virgin and the devotion given to her in the islands.

Even more notable than San Agustín's octaves is the *Academia devota, poetico sagrado certamen, vida panegyrica del Gloriosissimo S. Pedro de Verona*¹⁵² published on the Franciscan press in 1740 (155, entry 503). This lengthy work (348 pages) is a poetic tour de force, containing nearly 250 poems in a wide variety different stanzaic forms—sonnets, *canciones*, *redondillas*, *romances*, *coplas*, *tercetos*, *cuartetos*, *quintillas*, *octavas*, *décimas*, *endechas*, *liras*, *silvas*, *madrigales*, *idilios*, epigrams, and acrostics—in Spanish and Latin, and arranged by chapters narrating the life and miracles of San Pedro de Verona. The collection appears to be a labor of love by the Núñez de Villavicencio family, most recently of Mexico: its principal author is Pedro Núñez de Villavicencio y Orozco, supplemented by his nephew Nuño Núñez de Villavicencio y Peredo, and published with the sponsorship of their *deudo* (relative, kin) Joseph Antonio Nuño de Villavicencio, *regidor* (councilman) of the city of Manila. Additionally, there

¹⁵¹ English: “Chronological and topographical description of the magnificent temple of Our Lady the Most Holy Virgin de Guía, called the Hermita, outside the walls of the City of Manila”

¹⁵² English: “Devout academy, sacred poetic competition, panegyric life of the Most Glorious St. Peter of Verona”

are poems written by other, different members of the family, including the author's son and brothers. The title page states that the sponsor of the publication is presenting it "nuevamente," meaning that the 1740 edition was the first, which raises the question as to why he did not choose to publish it in a place where it would enjoy greater circulation and possibly success.

Besides these noteworthy poetic works, there was a small amount of prose, including dialogues. However, the most outstanding—though not representative—text is the tale of Barlaan and Josaphat, printed in 1692 on the Dominican press as *Verdad nada amarga: hermosa bondad: honesta, util, y delectable, grata y moral historia. De la rara vida de los famosos, y singulares Sanctos Barlaan, y Iosaphat* (Jose 89, entry 253)¹⁵³. Though there were various renderings of the story into Spanish during the medieval period, including a published translation from Latin done by Juan de Arce Solorzeno in 1608 (Cañizares 260-62), this 1692 version is an original translation completed in Manila by a Dominican friar named Baltasar de Santa Cruz (Medina, *Manila* 74-75). While not meant to be a strictly literary text, the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* calls it a novel (Musurillo 100), as does Patricia Cañizares, due to the many entertaining stories interpolated into the Christian narrative, many of which had lost their original doctrinal value, making it a very popular and well-known tale among the general European public during the medieval period and later (Cañizares 262-263). In fact, Cañizares declares Santa Cruz's translation to be the first novel printed in the Philippines, and certainly the only one printed during the period in question (263)¹⁵⁴.

¹⁵³ Alternately spelled "Barlaam and Josaphat" and "Barlaam and Joasaph." The story, which is a Christian rewriting of a Buddhist legend, "relates how the monk Barlaam converted the Indian prince Joasaph against his father's wishes. There is much discussion of the meaning of Christianity, monasticism, and the truths of the faith. Joasaph, becoming king, converts his entire realm and then dies a hermit" (Musurillo 100). The translation of the title is as follows: "Truth not at all bitter: beautiful kindness: honorable, useful, delightful, pleasing, and moral story of the rare lives of the famous and singular saints Barlaan and Iosaphat."

¹⁵⁴ Ironically, Santa Cruz's translation suffered a few setbacks after its publication. Medina reports in his *Adiciones* that the work was "denounced and expurgated by the Tribunal of the Holy Office in Mexico" (46), this in spite of

Because Santa Cruz published the narrative in Spanish rather than in Latin or a native Filipino language, the intended audience was most likely the lay Spanish elite. However, Antonio de Borja, a Jesuit priest, translated Santa Cruz's *Barlaan y Josaphat* into Tagalog in 1712 (entry 304). While there are no records of sales of this or any other Manila edition, the fact that this novel was translated into Tagalog very strongly indicates the existence of an educated indigenous population, most likely elite, and most definitely literate in Roman characters. Unlike other devotional texts, the length and size of this work does not lend itself to on-the-go reading. Though it is feasible that a Spanish priest could utilize different anecdotes from the translated account in sermons or pastoral counseling, a more reasonable proposition is that Borja intended his translation to be read by the indigenous elite, who were often involved in textual copying and transmission, whether as scribes or through the press. Furthermore, as elites, they probably had the economic wherewithal to purchase such a volume, and sufficient education to enjoy their purchase. Whoever the actual readership, the Tagalog translation highlights the use of the press and popular stories as tools of evangelization in the Philippines.

Notwithstanding the importance of Borja's translation, it was not the most important or even most representative literary text in a Filipino language. That honor goes to genre a known as the *pasyon*, "an account of the life of Jesus Christ in an indigenous Filipino language, typically made in several thousand verses in the Spanish *quintilla* poetic form" (Irving 147). *Impreso* records three stand-alone versions of the *pasyon*, one done in Ilocano by Antonio Santos Megía (Jose, entry 1075), another in the "language of Panay" by Juan Sánchez (entry 480)¹⁵⁵, and another in Tagalog by one Luis Guián, a "Tagalog noble" (Jose 290, entry 1038; Delgado

the story's longstanding orthodox, Catholic reputation, its faithful rendering from Latin, and Santa Cruz's position as Commissary of the Inquisition in Manila.

¹⁵⁵ Original, "lengua panayana"

332-33)¹⁵⁶. David Irving also cites a *pasyon* written by the Jesuit Pedro de Estrada in a Visayan language, though this text is not recorded in *Impreso* as a separate text (129, 148). Besides these stand-alone editions, there were many versions included as parts of other texts, such as the *Pasyong Mahal* by Gaspar Aquino de Belén, mentioned earlier, appended to his translation of Tomás de Villacastín’s *Manual de ejercicios*, which will be remembered went through five editions from its initial publication in 1703 until 1760 and even enjoyed two editions in the nineteenth century (Jose 202-03, entry 684)¹⁵⁷. Irving cites one authority who states that there was a *pasyon* in the text *Infierno abierto en lengua panayana*¹⁵⁸ (Jose 157, entry 509; Irving 148). However, rather than just being read, the *pasyon* was meant to be publically enacted, whether sung or in dialogue. The performance of the *pasyon* was an indispensable part of annual Lenten celebrations and its popularity only increased throughout the Spanish colonial period, with a corresponding increase in editions of the various *pasyon* texts, which continues to be sold in the Philippines even today (Irving 148-49).

One aspect of the *pasyon* that deserves mention here is its syncretic nature. When the first Catholic missionaries arrived in the Philippines, they observed a penchant among all Filipino peoples for singing and poetic composition and exploited it in the furtherance of their missionary goals (Irving 85-86). For example, missionaries would take indigenous tunes and compose devout Catholic lyrics to be sung in place of the former “infidel” lyrics. The indigenous population not only immediately took to this substitution, but also began creating their own compositions, adopting and mixing indigenous and Spanish elements according to

¹⁵⁶ Original, “principal de tagalos”

¹⁵⁷ The popularity of Belén’s translation raises the question of whether people bought the book because of Villacastín’s exercises or because of Belén’s poem.

¹⁵⁸ English: “Hell opened, in the Panayan language”

their tastes (Irving 149-50)¹⁵⁹. The Jesuits Francisco Colín and Pedro Chirino attest to this tendency: “They, men and women, compose, in their celebrations and even in the labors that they do as a community, these verses with such grace and skill that one day...the Father sitting down to listen from his house what they were singing, realized that a young woman...was putting into it [the song] all the ideas from the sermon that he had preached to them that day” (368-69; Costa, *Jesuits* 157; Irving 108)¹⁶⁰. It should come as no surprise, therefore, that the *pasyon* should develop in the Philippines as it did, nor that it should come to have such an important place in their public celebrations. Furthermore, David Irving attributes to the performance of the *pasyon*, called a *pabasa*, a counter-hegemonic quality due to the fact that Filipinos were appropriating the Catholic story *par excellence* to their own ends, reinterpreting the story “according to their own theological perspectives” in a “paraliturgical” annual performance: “these performative genres had the contradictory effect of providing Filipinos with a linguistic and dramatic vehicle to enable the articulation of their own values, ideals, and aspirations for freedom and autonomy” (149, 151). Since the performance of the *pasyon* was public, it tended to create and cement community identity and bonds, and, according to Irving, fomented nationalist pride in the

¹⁵⁹ In this regard, Colín writes: “Plantáronse en los pueblos tantas Cruces por las calles, quantos eran los barrios...de la vezindad, y alrededor de ellas se juntavan por la tarde a las Ave Marias los niños, niñas, y doncellas del barrio a rezar las oraciones, y dezir la doctrina. Despues de la qual en lugar de los antiguos, y profanos cantarcillos de su Gentilidad, entonaván otros sagrados, reduciendo a versos los Misterios de la Fe, y doctrina Christiana” (Colín 368-69). Juan Delgado, writing 100 years later, writes: “Con estas letras [*baybayin*] se entendían ellos muy bien, y aun ahora se entienden en muchas partes, y apuntan también sus cosas, porque no se les olviden, y sus versos para cantar; porque entre los indios hay buenos poetas, que componen con grandísima elegancia, y muchas perífrasis y alusiones, con excelentes comparaciones y parábolas; y no sólo esto, sino que traducen con propiedad y gracia nuestras comedias y versos castellanos en su lengua, tagala o visaya. Y han impreso algunos libros con singular elegancia en verso heróico, uno de los cuales hice yo reimprimir en Manila, de que gustan muchos los tagalos, y contiene la Pasión de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo. Su autor es don Luis Guian, principal de tagalos.” (Delgado 332-33).

¹⁶⁰ Original: “Componen ellos y ellas en sus celebridades, y aun en las faenas que hacen de comunidad, estos versos con grande gracia y destreza, tanto, que poniéndose un día...el Padre a oír desde su casa lo que cantaban, advirtió que una doncella...ponía en el toda la materia del sermón que aquel día les había predicado” Spelling, punctuation, and accentuation modernized.

nineteenth century (151-52). For these reasons the *pasyon* is probably among the most important genres in Filipino languages produced on the Manila presses.

In spite of the cultural importance of the works described above, the reality is that most literary works would not have made it to the press as stand-alone publications. Instead, if they were printed at all, they would likely have formed a part of the written account of public celebrations¹⁶¹. In the Philippines, as in other parts of the Spanish empire, the most prevalent source of colonial Spanish literature is found in the descriptions of public festivals, accounts of the *fiestas* written and published as commemorative acts after the celebration had taken place (Rodríguez Hernández 19-21). Regarding the celebration of public festivals in colonial Mexico City, Linda Curcio-Nagy writes, “Festivals were pervasive, a defining characteristic of life in the capital” (2). From local processions honoring the neighborhood saint to the massive, state-sponsored entrance of the new viceroy, public festivities were ubiquitous. Colonial Manila was no different, with many days out of the year dedicated to one festival or another¹⁶².

David Irving separates the occurrence of public festivals into two broad categories, seasonal and occasional celebrations. Seasonal refers to those events that formed part of the regular religious calendar, while occasional celebrations were special events that arose incidentally to commemorate such moments as “royal births, accessions, marriages, and funerals; royal, gubernatorial, and religious entries into the city; or beatifications and canonizations” (216-217). These events could last as little as one day and as much as two or three weeks, depending on the nature of the festival and the priority it enjoyed (216, 225). Because theater, poetry, and

¹⁶¹ In reality, the festival description should be considered a separate genre, as Dalmacio Rodríguez Hernández argues in chapter three of his book, *Texto y fiesta en la literatura novohispana*.

¹⁶² The number of days dedicated to festivals became such an issue in Manila that in 1737 the Archbishop issued an edict declaring the reduction of obligatory feast days, claiming that they took up at least a third part of the year (Medina, *Adiciones* 71).

prose recitations were such an integral part of these festivals, it is common to find the transcriptions of poems, plays, and dialogues in their pages. Notable texts include the 1709 *Leales demostraciones*¹⁶³, which celebrated the birth of Luis Felipe, heir to Philip V (Jose 100, entry 293), the *Sagrada fiesta tres vezes grande* in which the Dominicans commemorated the canonization of three saints (78, entry 213)¹⁶⁴, or the *Descripcion de las funebres exequias* of Carlos III in 1791 (249, entry 868). Besides being a creative outlet for the literary-minded, these published accounts made their way to the metropolis as a testimony of the celebrating city's loyalty and devotion to the crown and the church. In this sense, these descriptions were more than just a chance for publicity for artists, poets, and dramaturges, but concrete objects that reaffirmed the link between colony and metropolis through the institution of the press.

It was probably to the items placed in categories 2, 7, and 8 that Sánchez was referring when he wrote that most publications of the late seventeenth century were irrelevant for the majority of the population (“Imprenta” 1056), since they tended to have little direct bearing on the lives of everyday people. For example, from category 2 there is the *Navegacion especulativa y practica* by the Canary islander Joseph González Cabrera Bueno, admiral and *piloto mayor* of the galleon route (Jose 138-39, entry 442). Cabrera's text is a specialist work of theoretical navigation, with obvious implications for those responsible for guiding the all-important galleons from Manila to Mexico and back. The intended audience would have been rather limited, even among the Spanish population of Manila. Likewise of scant importance for “everyday people” are works such as Miguel Cayetano Sanz's 1779 treatise, *Modos y forilla de instruir, y substanciar las causas criminales; obra utilissima para juezes, asesores, abogados, escrivanos, y demas curiales de qualesquiera tribunales del reyno, asi ecclesiasticos, como seculares* (229,

¹⁶³ English: “Loyal demonstrations”

¹⁶⁴ English: “Sacred feast three times large”

entry 787)¹⁶⁵, or Pedro Murillo Velarde’s 1745 *Practica de testamentos, en que se resuelven los casos mas frequentes, que se ofrecen en la disposicion de las ultimas voluntades* (169, entry 555)¹⁶⁶.

When considering books such as these, it is easy to write off the Manila press as a highly irrelevant institution for the vast majority of the city’s inhabitants. However, in this respect the question arises, when have legal or nautical treatises ever been a best-seller item in a general book market? How many “normal” people—i.e., non-specialists—sit down to read about how to execute wills or the best way to try cases? Very few. The limited and specialized nature of such texts precludes a significant portion of the population, even the literate ones, especially at the moment when they were published, but this does not mean they are irrelevant or that they had no bearing on the lives of *manileños*. On the contrary, these publications contributed to the development of the European scholarly and legal tradition in the Philippines, which for good or ill would affect all inhabitants of the archipelago. Furthermore, given the higher mortality rate prevalent in the eighteenth century, for example, the proper execution of a will would be of paramount importance to those who had something to leave their posterity. In other words, even though such imprints were not directly relevant to the daily lives of thousands of people in Manila, their indirect impact could be strong and far-reaching.

This is not to say that every single publication placed in category 7, for example, had this effect on the life of the colony. Some of these texts include legal petitions or manifests, such as the one written by the Dominicans in protest of various *autos* (i.e., legal proceedings and

¹⁶⁵ English: “Ways to instruct and argue criminal cases: a most useful work for judges, legal advisors, lawyers, notaries, and other employees of any tribunal of the kingdom, both ecclesiastical and secular”

¹⁶⁶ English: “Practicum of Wills, in which are resolved the most frequent cases that arise in the execution of the last will.” It should be noted that this particular text was an international bestseller. Following its initial publication in 1745, it saw at least eight editions in Mexico through the mid-nineteenth century and another in Manila in 1778.

records) produced in Mexico against them (Jose 117, entry 360), or that written on behalf of *Sargento Mayor* Thomas Gómez de Angulo, requesting that he receive custody of his step-children rather than the executor of his wife's deceased husband's will (156, entry 506, an interesting case of family law), or those surrounding the Cecilia de Ita y Salazar controversy (186-87, entries 615 and 620)¹⁶⁷. The imprints themselves were not revolutionary or even important for every part of society, but they are only the proverbial tip of the iceberg, meaning that those things that did go to press were parts of much larger and noisier events that were important for the individuals and groups involved, notwithstanding the fact that these events did not always have a lasting social, cultural, or economic impact on the colony, and even if the texts produced as a result of their cases are of no interest to modern readers.

There were, however, works in these categories that produced an immediate, direct and dramatic impact on all aspects of life in the colony, as is the case with many of the decrees, edicts, *bandos*, etc, emanating from the governor's palace or the Audiencia's hall. Take, for example, the decrees announcing the implementation of the economic reforms instituted by José Basco y Vargas, Governor and Captain General from 1778 to 1787. The crown for some time had been interested in the creation of a commercial company similar to those created by the English and the Dutch in the seventeenth century (Díaz-Trechuelo 3). This interest was due in part to the chronic fiscal insolvency of the city of Manila that required the Viceroyalty of New Spain to send an annual *situado*, or subsidy in the form of silver, on the returning galleon. This permanent deficit was, ironically, a consequence of the famous and wildly lucrative galleon trade

¹⁶⁷ Jose provides a succinct summary of this controversy: "Dona Cecilia entered the Beaterio [of Santa Catalina, operated by the Dominicans] to escape from matrimony with her old uncle. However she fell in love with the government secretary across the street, D. Francisco Antonio de Figueroa, and sought release from her vows to enable her to get married. The Archbishop in taking up her cause ran against the Dominicans; thereupon a company of soldiers surrounded the Dominican convent with artillery and facilitated the release of Dona Cecilia. The two lovers got married and sailed off to Mexico." (187)

since the stupendous profits derived from the galleons removed all incentive for Spaniards to develop agriculture or industry in the islands or to reside anywhere outside Manila (Schurz 49-51; Reed 15-16). As a result, the colony was completely dependent on the galleon and the Chinese for its survival, a precarious position to say the least.

After a number of proposals and aborted attempts in first half of the eighteenth century, the colonial government took substantial steps toward economic development and self-sufficiency (Díaz-Trechuelo 3). Basco y Vargas was a key figure in this transition from dependency to self-sufficiency, and his policies are reflected in the Manila presses, items such as his *Plan General Economico* (Jose, entry 778), or the *Instruccion formada por el Superior Gobierno de estas Islas para el plantio, cultivo, y beneficio de la pimienta* (Jose 231, entry 793)¹⁶⁸, or the competitions sponsored by Sociedad Económica de las Islas Filipinas¹⁶⁹, such as entries 814 or 828, which sought to foment, among other things, the development of agriculture and the teaching of Spanish to the Filipinos (Jose 236, 239; Díaz-Trechuelo 252-53). In fact, as a result of Basco y Vargas's efforts during his tenure as governor, "he succeeded in freeing the insular government from its long dependence...on the annual subsidy from Mexico" (Schurz 52). Naturally there were other reformers before and after Basco y Vargas, but these imprints demonstrate the role of the press in disseminating Enlightenment reforms in the Spanish colony, often in the face of stern opposition from the proponents of the galleon trade, reforms that had real impact on the daily lives of all the inhabitants of the archipelago since these reforms went substantially beyond Manila, the seat of the press.

¹⁶⁸ English: "Instructions formed by the Superior Government of these Islands for the planting, cultivation, and benefit of pepper"

¹⁶⁹ Two different "Societies" are listed in *Impreso*, the Sociedad Económica de las Islas Filipinas and the Sociedad Patriótica de los Amigos del País. However, William Lytle Schurz calls the society through which Basco y Vargas propagated his ideas as the "Sociedad Económica de los Amigos del País" (50), while Lourdes Díaz-Trechuelo calls it the "Sociedad Económica de Manila" (253).

Finally, in the politico-legal realm the press proved itself to be a very fecund institution. The Philippines was a breeding ground of legal and jurisdictional conflict, between different religious orders, between the orders and the archbishop, between the archbishop and the Audiencia, between the Inquisition and the archbishop, etc. This was due in part to the isolation of the Philippines, the overlapping spheres of power among holders of high office, and the privileged position of the religious orders in the colony. As each player in the power game in Manila asserted their alleged privileges or jurisdiction, it was not uncommon for an individual or group to present their printed reports, manifests, and accounts to the competent authorities to argue in their favor, which would be followed counter-reports from their opponents, some of which reports remained in the Philippines while others went on to Mexico and not infrequently to Spain to be decided by the Council of the Indies. These conflicts could get quite ugly and sometimes ended in arrests, exile, excommunications, mass resignations of priests, and a host of other ills for the colony. Examples of texts from some of these conflicts include those surrounding the Pardo controversy (see Costa, *Jesuits* 489-502), entries 226, 227, 231, 232, 235, 240, 242, and a number of other texts printed outside of Manila; the Camacho Ávila controversy, entries 258, 262, 263, and 266; the *Diálogo mixti fori* scandal (to be discussed in Chapter 2), entries 438, 439, 440, 449, 450, and 465; the Basilio Sancho visitation conflict, entries 722, 723, and 724; and other minor scuffles that made their way into print.

In summary, the kinds of texts printed, though generally used in the administration of Church and colony, were in reality much more varied than such a broad statement would admit. Furthermore, rather than an institution that remained aloof and isolated from the everyday lives of *manileños*, non-European and European alike, the press in Manila was a tool that found use in many hands, whether it was for the publication of a legal defense, an economic decree, chapter

acts, or a beloved Lenten poem. That the institution of the press should produce texts that reflected predominantly local interests is unsurprising, nor is it grounds for the dismissive attitudes of Medina and Pardo de Tavera. By understanding the Manila presses in their proper historical context, it is possible to see the press as a dynamic instrument in a slowly evolving society, one that helped to articulate the views and conflicts of its populace.

Languages

One characteristic of the Philippines generally that finds reflection in the press is its multilingualism (see Table 5). Naturally, texts in Spanish far and away dominate production throughout the entire period in question: 68% of texts (199 of 289) in the seventeenth century and 73% (524 of 716) in the eighteenth were entirely in Spanish. Of the non-Spanish texts (approximately 30% of the total output for each century), 81% of the texts produced in the seventeenth and 62% in the eighteenth were printed in non-European languages, the remaining 19% and 38%, respectively, being occupied by Latin and Portuguese. In terms of total production, texts produced in non-European languages represent a full 25% in the sixteenth century (73 of 289)¹⁷⁰, while this number decreases to 16% in the eighteenth century (119 of 716). It is interesting to note that although Latin became more important in terms of total production in the eighteenth century (72 of the 192 non-Spanish texts), in the sixteenth century textual production in Tagalog was approximately twice that of publication in Latin: 33 texts in Tagalog with only 16 in Latin. Besides the most prevalent languages, the Manila presses also printed texts in some of the lesser-spoken or more-distant languages of the archipelago, such as

¹⁷⁰ Included in the numbers for Non-Spanish texts are the bilingual texts mentioned below.

the various Visayan languages (e.g., Cebuano, Hilligaynon, etc)¹⁷¹ or other prominent language groups on Luzon (e.g., Bikol, Ilocano), though with much less frequency than Tagalog because of the distance of the presses from the areas where those languages are spoken. In this sense Tagalog was privileged due to its proximity to the center of Spanish power.

Although Chinese and Japanese texts appeared during the early part of the seventeenth century, printing in these languages quickly fell out of use, primarily due to external factors, such as Japan’s severing of ties with Spain following the expulsion of Catholic missionaries in the 1610s and 1620s. Following this interruption, the Japanese in Manila slowly integrated into the demographically much larger Filipino population until they ceased to be a separate ethnic, cultural, or linguistic entity, with obvious repercussions on the number of Japanese-language texts produced in Manila. The absence of more Chinese texts is less easily explained. Although texts in Chinese would be excluded from the products of the Manila presses following typography because of technical concerns, the Chinese, unlike the Japanese, remained a large,

1593-1603		1604-1699		1700-1799		1800-1813	
Spanish		Spanish		Spanish		Spanish	
0		199		524		98	
Non-Spanish		Non-Spanish		Non-Spanish		Non-Spanish	
Chinese	1	Bikol		Bikol		Bisayan	“Bisayan”
Tagalog	4	7		9		3	Cebuano
		Bisayan	“Bisayan”	Bisayan	“Bisayan”		
		10	6	29	21		
			Hiligaynon		Cebuano		Cuyano
			3		2		1
			Waray-Waray		Panayano		Ibanag
			1		5		1
			Chinese		Waray-Waray		Ilocano
			4		1		2
			Ilocano		Cagayano		Latin
			5		1		5
			Japanese		Ilocano		Tagalog
			4		12		4
			Latin		Latin		
			16		72		
			Pampango		Pampango		
			4		9		
			Pangasinan		Pangasinan		
			6		2		
			Portuguese		Portuguese		
			1		1		
			Tagalog		Tagalog		
			33		57		

¹⁷¹ The friars publishing in these languages often used the generic term “bisaya” in the titles instead of specifying the particular Visayan language they were studying, though there are occasions when this distinction does appear on the title page, such as the *Infierno abierto...En lengua Bisaya, Zibuana* printed in 1731 on the Santo Tomás press by Jerónimo Correa de Castro (entry 416). The names “Cebu” and “Cebuano” often suffered linguistic deformations when expressed in Spanish, as seen above. “Sugbu” or “Sugbuano” are other variations (*Impreso*, entries 84 and 422).

important, and distinct community for the entire Spanish period, in spite of a high rate of intermarriage between the Chinese and indigenous Filipinos (Phelan 134-135; Reed 35-36).

Finally, counted among the non-Spanish works are a handful of bilingual texts such as grammars (*Arte de la lengua bisaya de la provincia de Leyte*¹⁷² (Jose 67, entry 169)), dictionaries (*Vocabulario de la lengua tagala*¹⁷³ (Jose 96,entry 279)), or confesionarios whose purpose was the linguistic and catechistic preparation of the missionaries who served in native communities (Phelan 65), as well as proclamations, such as the one reported by Pérez and Güemes (entry 924) for the year 1813 that had side-by-side columns in Spanish and Tagalog.

The language profile of textual production described above contrasts notably with the output of the Mexican presses as reported by Magdalena Chocano Mena for the periods 1539-1600 and 1601-1700. Although the period of time that she examines differs from the one examined in this chapter, the comparative results are nevertheless valid and quite informative. Chocano Mena reports that from 1539 (the year of the founding of the first Mexican press) until 1600, the presses of Mexico City produced 94 books in indigenous languages out of the 300 total works produced in that 60-year period, or 31.33% of the total output (71-73). The seventeenth century saw a dramatic decrease of production in indigenous languages. She states that of the 2,007 editions printed in Mexico City during that period, only 62 of those were in native languages, “barely 3.05 percent” of total textual production (73). In other words, whereas in the sixteenth century Mexican presses saw an initial high number of indigenous-language publications, in the seventeenth century this quantity decreased so substantially in relative terms as to be insignificant.

¹⁷² English: “Art of the Visayan language of the province of Leyte”

¹⁷³ English: “Vocabulary of the Tagalog language”

In absolute terms, not only did the Manila presses not decrease production of texts in non-European languages, but actually increased it, even though in relative terms the percentage of items in non-European languages went down nine percentage points from the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries. Furthermore, while editions in Latin were only 5% of the total output in the seventeenth century Manila, they increased in both absolute and relative terms in the eighteenth to 10%. This stands in contrast to Mexico where Latin editions decreased relatively and absolutely, though in raw numbers there were many more texts produced in Mexico than in Manila.

For Chocano Mena, these changes in the language profile of Mexican printing represents a substantial shift in the purpose of the printing press (71). Whereas the press in the sixteenth century, and especially in the first forty years of operation, “was viewed as a crucial aid for the religious conversion of the native population” (71), the seventeenth century witnessed the abandonment of that initial purpose in order to accommodate the wants and needs of Spanish-*criollo* culture (72). In Manila, although editions in Spanish did not diminish, the relatively high percentage of imprints in non-European languages reflects the continuing status of the Philippines as a missionary state, held together by the presence of the friars and missionaries in the islands and provinces of the scattered archipelago¹⁷⁴. Texts in Latin were predominantly items of religious administration, such as chapter acts, liturgical calendars, pastoral letters, bulls, and the like, so although there were few works in Latin of a scholarly nature *per se*, the use of Latin was still prevalent because the most important sector of the population, the religious, were the owners and principal clients of the press, and employed it according to their needs.

¹⁷⁴ See Horacio de la Costa’s description of the visitation face-off in the 1650s in *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, chapter 17, pages 417-429.

Finally, it is interesting to note that although in absolute terms the number of editions printed in non-European languages in Manila increased in the second century of printing, this number represents only a fraction of the works written in these languages. The Augustinian historian Agustín María de Castro, writing toward the end of the eighteenth century in his *Osario venerable*, states the following: “the Royal Audiencia does not want to grant permission to print [in other] languages, because it has been commanded in repeated royal cédulas that the Castilian language be used and propagated among the native Indians, and that all obstacles that impede it be removed. The same thing is ordered by the provincial councils and the Acts of this province, ancient and modern” (390)¹⁷⁵. Given the official opposition to printing in native Filipino languages alleged by Castro¹⁷⁶, it is surprising that 119 of these editions still went to press. This is a testament to the position of Spanish as a language in the Philippines in comparison to that of the indigenous languages of the archipelago.

Spanish was always a minority language and until the late nineteenth century was spoken only by the conquerors and those who worked in the administration of the colony, including a number of Filipinos. As such it never had the demographic force necessary to displace Tagalog, Cebuano, Bikol, and others. The great distances and difficult travel between the Spanish center of power at Manila and the outlying provinces exacerbated this numerical inferiority, allowing the languages spoken there greater permanence and strength, and necessitating their continued use as the vehicle of evangelization and administration, a situation which lasted, in greater or lesser degree, until the end of Spanish rule. Phelan describes the situation in this way: “The

¹⁷⁵ Original: “la Real Audiencia no quiere dar licencia para imprimir idiomas, a causa de estar mandado por repetidas Cédulas Reales el que se use y propague la lengua castellana entre los indios naturales, y que se quiten todos los tropiezos que lo impidan. Lo mismo mandan los Concilios Provinciales y las Actas de esta Provincia, antiguas y modernas.”

¹⁷⁶ Phelan supports Castro’s assertion by stating, “In the seventeenth century...royal policy became one of encouraging the Indians to become bilingual, and in the eighteenth century frantic efforts were made to compel the natives to adopt Spanish” (131).

isolation of the Filipinos from Spanish-speaking people provides the basic explanation for the strange fact that after more than three hundred years of Spanish rule less than 10 per cent of the population spoke Spanish” (131). In summary, even though non-European languages are not heavily represented in the current bibliography, relatively speaking, their continued and increasing appearance over the course of two centuries demonstrates their vitality and relevance, and although the Spaniards were always numerically inferior, Spanish-language texts have a disproportionately large representation in the press, reflective of the role of the press in Spanish colonial administration.

Size

The physical characteristics of the books also followed certain patterns over the course of two hundred years. The most commonly printed book size was quarto, meaning that a whole sheet of paper (a folio) was folded twice to produce four leaves with eight printed pages, while books in folio (folded once, two leaves, four printed pages) come in at a close second. This is in following with printing practices in Spain where books in quarto were the primary size produced (Lafaye 44). Books in octavo are a distant third, while the number of books printed in twelvemo, sixteenmo, and thirty-two mo is negligible¹⁷⁷. It is interesting to note, however, the kinds of books printed in these smaller formats. Nearly all of them are devotional texts such as *novenas* or spiritual exercises and even some manuals destined for priests (Jose 172, 211, entries 565 or 720), suggesting that they were meant to be carried around as “pocket” editions. Furthermore, it

¹⁷⁷ These are modern bibliographical terms in English. Traditional terms for these book sizes are duodecimo, decimosexto, and trigesimo-secundo, respectively. Spanish terminology for these sizes is doceavo, dieciseisavo, and treintadosavo, respectively. Each number represents the number of leaves into which a sheet of paper was divided when folded for printing. Regarding the quantity of different editions in these smaller sizes, the “survivability” of these texts is an important factor since volumes in folio tend to survive better than ones printed in 16mo, for example. The same is true for longer books, which had a greater survival rate than single sheets or ephemeral texts.

was not until the 1740s that these books began to be produced in greater numbers (in the seventeenth century there were only five texts printed in these formats), and not only in greater numbers, but also in Tagalog (175-76, entries 578 and 581). Entry 581 in particular, *Pensamientos Christianos*¹⁷⁸, suggests that it was destined not for Spanish priests, but for Tagalogs literate in the Roman alphabet.

The Manila presses were also capable of books of substantial length, even from the beginning. Blancas de San José's *Arte y reglas de la lengua tagala*¹⁷⁹ was over 300 pages long; the 1613 Franciscan text *Vocabulario de la lengua Tagala* was 715 pages; the 1640 Dominican *Historia de la Provincia del Sancto Rosario* by Diego Aduarte is over 800 pages long; Baltasar de Santa Cruz's translation of the tale of Barlaam and Josaphat is over 600 pages long, including the devotional appendix at the end. The three-volume Franciscan chronicles published in the eighteenth century 800 pages, 700 pages, and 990 pages, respectively. The fourteen volumes of the *Historia General de Philipinas* published from 1788 to 1792 have between 400 and 600 pages each. This is not to say that the Manila presses only published works of substantial length; frequent products of the presses were also *pliegos sueltos*—literally, “loose sheets,” items such as *sacras* (prayer cards for priests), masses, prayers for lay people, *cartillas* (primers), bulls, decrees, edicts, *bandos*, etc—that could be produced in massive quantities and sold quickly. Lafaye states that in Spain these smaller items were the “economic stabilizer of the presses” (30)¹⁸⁰; in other words, the texts that paid the bills. It is logical that the Manila presses would follow this Peninsular precedent, in all likelihood providing much of the funds necessary to pay

¹⁷⁸ English: “Christian thoughts”

¹⁷⁹ English: “Art and rules of the Tagalog language”

¹⁸⁰ Original, “estabilizador económico de las imprentas”

the workers and to allow the presses to keep operating. It also provides a glimpse into the real market for Philippine imprints.

III. Market

Many factors entered into how many books were printed and when, such as the seventeenth-century wars with the Dutch, the occasional armed uprising by the Chinese or Filipinos, lack of money and personnel among the religious orders, the practice of importing the majority of books from Europe or Mexico, and the all-too-frequent loss of galleons in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which no one seems to have taken into account as having an impact on printing¹⁸¹. But of all the reasons given for the relative lack of press activity during the period in question, the market for Philippine books is probably the most decisive factor.

The creation of printed books in general has always been dominated by market demand for the purpose of financial gain (Lafaye 15). Unless motivated by other factors than pecuniary benefit, publishers do not print what will not sell (29-30). Even in Europe where printing and book markets flourished, printers and publishers took risks when they printed larger works since they were not guaranteed a return on their investment. This is precisely the reason why in Spain and in Manila the *pliegos sueltos* were produced in such abundance: “they demanded little investment and short working time and they sold quickly in large amounts” “(30)¹⁸². But Manila’s presses were not operated solely or even predominantly on the principle of market demand since the owners of those presses were religious orders and not private entrepreneurs out looking for a buck. In fact, as has been demonstrated above, the establishment and operation of

¹⁸¹ See Schurz, Chapter 7, pp. 204-13.

¹⁸² Original, “exigían escasa inversión y corto tiempo de trabajo y se vendían rápido en gran cantidad”

the three presses in Manila answered to the needs of the missionaries in their labors of evangelization: the missionaries were, in essence, the market.

This is not to say that other parties did not use the press for their needs; the government was using the press to publish their *bandos* (edicts) and *pareceres* (opinions) by at least 1616 (Jose 28-29, entries 23-24), and private individuals turned to the press in order to make requests, manifest opinions, and seek redress. Nevertheless, the representatives of the Church in the islands, whether friars, fathers, parish priests, or bishops, largely determined the use of the press in the Philippines: “the book is a hybrid product, it simultaneously depends on the cultural medium, on capital, and on the market” (Lafaye 15)¹⁸³. The cultural medium of early seventeenth-century Manila demanded that the books produced on their presses be of a religious nature or for religious purposes; as Sánchez points out, even the grammars and dictionaries were produced for the purpose of furthering the work of Christianization by fitting the missionaries with the requisite linguistic tools to accomplish their goals (“Filipinas” 744).

Regarding capital, as the religious orders did not print mainly for profit (and in the Franciscan case they could not make a profit at all or even handle money, theoretically, at least), it is possible and even likely that they usually did not get a return on their investment (Sánchez, “Crónica” 499-500), leaving them more often than not without sufficient capital to take on large or non-essential texts. This general lack of capital among the religious orders was compounded by the high price of printing. If printing was prohibitively expensive in Mexico where printing flourished in the eighteenth century (Rodríguez Hernández 42-43; Chocano Mena 78-79; Medina, *México*), how much more so would it have been in the Philippines? When used, European paper elevated the price of a book greatly. Even when the infamous “rice” paper was

¹⁸³ Original, “el libro es producto híbrido, depende a la par del medio cultural, del capital y del mercado”

used, the other materials and labor necessary for printing could make the price of publishing, and therefore purchasing, a book prohibitive. The selection of texts for printing would therefore have been based on their needs or when someone else was footing the bill. This explains, in part, the high number of texts dedicated to Church administration and the very meager production of literary or strictly secular texts.

Then there is the issue of readership. Besides the missionaries, the other principal consumers of books were the lay Spaniards, and in a city where Spaniards were a distinct and always very small minority the market was quite reduced. Although Philippine books could technically have been exported for sale to Mexico or Spain, there were too many legal and bureaucratic hoops to jump through, and the costs of shipping books across one or more oceans for a non-guaranteed sale and a very slow return was simply too high and problematic to attempt (Sánchez, “Crónica” 500)¹⁸⁴. Even the Mexican presses rarely exported texts back across the Atlantic to Spain (Chocano Mena 78). To this issue Medina adds, “and who, on the other hand, would think of bringing to Europe those extremely poor editions of books that many times had first met the public eye in Spanish cities?” (*Manila* lxiv)¹⁸⁵.

Despite his negative value judgment of Manila imprints, Medina is entirely correct in asking this question since, as seen earlier, reprints in the eighteenth century were a high percentage of the total textual output and it makes little economic sense to send a reprinted book back across the ocean to sell it in the place where it was first published. The lack of readership

¹⁸⁴ This does not mean that this never happened, but it would have been an isolated phenomenon. At any rate, the documented evidence in this regard is very, very scant.

¹⁸⁵ Original, “¿y quién, por otra parte, podía pensar en traer a Europa aquellas pobrísimas impresiones de libros que muchas veces habían visto la luz pública en las ciudades españolas?” Of the early historians of the Manila press, Medina was the only one to discuss market, but he did so tangentially since he focused more on the other reasons he gave for the apparent lack of Philippine imprints, in particular the alleged lack of interest in cultivating intellectual activity by anyone in the colony because they were either all too busy with their respective occupations or because Spanish laws on books and the press inhibited intellectual development (*Imprenta* lviii-lix, lxiv-lxv). Sánchez is the only other historian to mention the topic.

was even more pronounced among the indigenous inhabitants of the city since, with some exceptions, the majority would not have been literate in Spanish or in the Roman alphabet. It is for this reason that the Augustinian Juan de Medina, writing in 1631, makes the following affirmation: “for to imagine that the Indian will buy a book is a ridiculous notion. And even if he had it, he would be too lazy to read it. This is the reason why so little has been printed in all the languages of these regions” (Blair and Robertson 23: 230)¹⁸⁶. Laying aside the racial and cultural animus displayed in Juan de Medina’s comments, there is still some truth to his statement, at least in the 1630s, for the linguistic reasons given above. Sánchez, while questioning Juan de Medina’s assertion of lack of interest in reading among native Filipino, concurs with Medina on the purchasing of books by the Filipinos, citing their “scant or nil acquisitive power” (“Crónica” 500)¹⁸⁷, an idea which he repeats in 1992 (“Filipinas” 745). Sánchez sums up his opinions of printing in the Philippines in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by writing, “In such circumstances writing was risky; printing, madness” (745)¹⁸⁸.

And yet they printed. José Toribio Medina’s statement that the presses often spent a great deal of time idle is more or less confirmed by the quantitative analysis of the press (*Manila lxi*). The orders battled constantly with being perpetually understaffed and short of funds, wars came and went, galleons were lost at sea or came limping back into port with disastrous financial and human consequences, and yet they continued to print, a little over 1,100 texts over a 220-year period. What is even more surprising is that there still was a market for Philippine imprints—local and meager, but still a market. Religious orders printed and sold texts in Manila,

¹⁸⁶ Original, “porque pensar que el indio ha de comprar un libro, es cosa de risa; y cuando lo tenga, de pereza no lo leerá. Esta es la razón de no haberse impreso mucho en todas las lenguas que hay acá” (qtd. in Sánchez, “Crónica” 500).

¹⁸⁷ Original, “escaso o nulo poder adquisitivo”

¹⁸⁸ Original: “En tales circunstancias, escribir resultaba arriesgado; imprimir, una locura.”

both multi-volume works and cheap *pliegos sueltos*, the latter undoubtedly providing a great deal of the needed funds to continue printing. Some historians of the Philippine presses¹⁸⁹ have commented on the fact that since the majority of the authors were affiliated with the Church, these authors went above and beyond their multitudinous and heavy pastoral responsibilities by printing the many catechisms, confesionarios, and essential linguistic books developed to teach the missionaries the bewildering array of independent languages that exist in the Philippines. Pérez and Güemes in their introductory essay take particular offense to Medina's insinuation that the religious personnel were lazy or hostile toward intellectual cultivation (Pérez and Güemes xliii-xvi).

Of course, in comparison with other places where the press had existed, the number of Philippine imprints is miniscule. For example, José Toribio Medina's *La imprenta en México* shows nearly 11,000 texts in the same period in Mexico City alone¹⁹⁰. Yet the human and material conditions in the Philippines and Mexico City were so different that the fact that books were printed at all in the Philippines is astounding—let alone 1,100—and it is extremely likely that the number of works actually produced was higher, though it is impossible to make an estimate of how much higher due to lack of evidence¹⁹¹. On the other hand, in comparison to

¹⁸⁹ Sánchez, "Filipinas" 737, 745; and Pérez and Güemes. Medina also mentions it, but as a criticism that they did not do more (*Manila* lix).

¹⁹⁰ *La imprenta en México*, printed between 1908 and 1912 in seven volumes, covers texts printed only in the capital city, and covers from 1539-1821. The precise number of texts that Medina includes for Mexico City between 1593 and 1813 is 10,779 texts. This number does not take into consideration the many texts that other bibliographers have added to that number since Medina first published *La imprenta en México* (see Chocano Mena 72).

¹⁹¹ It is significant, however, that just in the course of the investigations for this dissertation I have discovered or learned of four additional imprints not mentioned in *Impreso* or any other bibliography of Philippines imprints. These texts do not figure into the total number of works presented in Table 1 or into the categories presented in Tables 3 and 4. Their titles are as follows:

1. *Theses Mathematicas de la munitoria, pyrotechnia, y polemica defensiva, y ofensiva: ...por Juan Dominguez Zamudio, cadete del Real Regimiento de Manila su Patria: presidiendo el Rp Pasqual Fernandez SJ profesor publico de Mathematicas en la Real Pontificia Universidad de la misma Compa. Manila: Imp. de la Compa. a por Nicolas de la Cruz Bagay, 1766.*

other cities of the Spanish empire, Manila was simply on the low side of normal. In Lima—capital and largest city of the second viceroyalty of Spanish America—the first printed work appeared in 1584, and Lawrence S. Thompson notes that from 1584 to the end of the colonial period printers produced only 3,948 titles (34, 42). The press in Guatemala printed 2,700 texts during the entire colonial period (printing began in 1660) (Van Oss 167; Calvo 278), and Manila was only slightly behind the city of Puebla in the number of imprints produced in roughly the same period: 1,600 texts between 1640 and 1813 (see J. T. Medina’s *La imprenta en Puebla de los Ángeles*). In terms of the appearance of the typographical press, Manila was years ahead of other colonies of the Luso-Hispanic world: Paraguay only got the press in 1700, Havana in 1707, Bogotá in 1736 (“exactly two hundred years after the city was founded”), Quito in 1759, Buenos Aires in 1780, and Caracas and Brazil both in 1808 (Calvo 278; Irving 25).

Furthermore, the low number of texts produced on the Manila presses in the seventeenth century does not mean that no one was writing. Retana in 1899 expresses frustrated bewilderment at “the great amount of what has been written and the little that has been printed” (col. 44), declaring that “the disproportion between what is written and what is published is

2. *Practica de maniobras de los navios en que se enseña el modo de darles todos los movimientos, de que son capaces, mediante el Timon, y las Velas impelidas del Viento: Dispuesta por el D. Antonio Gabriel Fernandez, Maestro tercero de Matematicas en la Real Academia de Caballeros Guardias Marinas de la Ciudad de Cadiz y reimpresso por D. Ignacio Juan de Mayoralge: Alférez de Navio, y Theniente de Batallones, de la Real Armada de su Magestad. Con las licencias necesarias en Manila en la Imprenta de la Compañia de Jesus. Por Don Nicolas de la Cruz Bagay, año de 1753.*

3. A decree from Juan de Arechederra prohibiting a satirical manuscript denigrating prominent individuals of the Manila community, *Pronostico mixto del Año 1736*, given on 28 Jan. 1736 (AGN, Inq. 894, 71-78). It was probably printed on the press of the University of Santo Tomas. This text has not been described before.

4. Conclusiones at the Jesuit college, 1649. *Praeclarissimo domino nobilissimo [...]viti, in toga heroi praestanti, in sago marti strenuissimo, manilanae m[...] inclyto Magistro, dignissimo E...marcho, Regi[s] clarissimo Cancellario D. D. Emanueli Estacio Venegas, has assertion[es] [...]oplicas Bacchalaorus D. Nico...us de Santillan, y Tamayo, amoris, & observantiae monumentum. Propugnabuntur ad arguentium libitum in Manilensi Academia Societatis IESV, ipsius auspiciis, et Beatissimae Dei parae sine originali labe conceptae, matutina, et vespertina luce, hora 8. et 3. Die 27. Mensis Septembris anno 1649.* This text has also never been described before.

enormous” (col. 45)¹⁹². This was true for all Spanish colonies, even Mexico City despite its opulence, wealth, and large European population, and has more to do with the elevated costs of printing than with intellectual laziness. With the exception of certain genres, a large portion of colonial writings circulated as manuscripts, a physical form that by its very nature is destined to destruction and loss (Rodríguez Hernández 42). Rodríguez Hernández describes this phenomenon as the rule in Mexico, a place where they only used European paper and where Spanish literary culture took deep root. If the majority of manuscripts of colonial writing have disappeared from such a place as Mexico, it is even less surprising in Manila where the extreme climatic and geographical hazards and the fragile nature of the paper used meant that books, whether print or manuscript, were promptly consumed out of existence. Due to the ephemeral nature of manuscripts, the majority of people who wrote during this period have vanished from the historical record, however well-known they might have been in life and however important their work. Even those individuals whose work merited publication often had no opportunity to do so because of the religious and legal factors and the prohibitive costs of printing.

Additionally, Manila, despite the many crises that afflicted it, continued to prosper. In fact, even during the first half of the seventeenth century when crises seemed to be appearing at every turn, intellectual and poetic prowess were on display for the city to see. Retana cites a Jesuit testimony of a literary event held in Manila in 1611 with more than 250 poetic compositions in multiple European, Amerindian, and Filipino languages (*Origenes* 43-44). Murillo Velarde describes a similar event in his *Historia de la provincia de Philipinas*. In June of 1623 the *Cabildo* received the papal bull announcing the canonization Saint Ignatius of Loyola and San Francisco Xavier. On November 4, 1623, approximately four and a half months

¹⁹² Original, “lo mucho que se ha escrito y de lo poco que se ha impreso;” “la desproporción entre lo escrito y lo publicado es enorme”

after receiving the announcement, an eleven-day celebration began. The different religious orders took turns hosting the festival and providing masses and entertainment, though the Jesuits were the most active group in organizing the festivities.

The first day, Murillo Velarde informs us that, “More than three hundred placards with ingenious poems adorned the corridors [of our church], composed by the Fathers of the College in the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Biscayan, Japanese, Tagalog, and Visayan tongues, for the praise and glory of the Saints, and the enjoyment of the multitude in attendance” (23v)¹⁹³. Nightly firework displays were held in the Jesuit College, and the city sponsored a bullfight. In addition to these festivities, there were multiple triumphal arches, most likely with accompanying poetry; various floats (*carros*) whereon performers acted out at least five dialogues (*colloquios*), sung or recited; and seven different *comedias*, including one in Tagalog performed by residents of the town of Taytay. In short, even in the midst of disasters and crises, of which there were many in Manila, life continued, including the press. These workshops continued to print, hindered but not thwarted, and although the texts they produced were, because of circumstances, few and far between, and works that could be called masterpieces of world literature were not regular items, it must be remembered that the production of high-volume best-sellers was not the purpose of the press in Manila in the first place.

Finally, although we can grant to Juan de Medina the possibility that indigenous Filipinos would not have purchased many books in 1631 due to lack of funds, as Sánchez suggests, it is unwise to extrapolate this assertion forward into the eighteenth century, when many native

¹⁹³ Original: “Y para alabanza y gloria de los Santos, y diversión del concurso, adornaban los tránsitos más de trescientas tarjetas de ingeniosas poesías en las lenguas hebrea, griega, latina, española, italiana, portuguesa, vizcaína, japona, tagala y bisaya, compuestas por los Padres del Colegio.” Spelling, punctuation, and accentuation modernized.

Filipinos had become an integral part of the colonial administration, working as scribes, printers, playwrights, translators of devotional texts, composers of wildly popular poems, and even parish priests¹⁹⁴. For the latter we have the case of “Bartholomaeus Saguinsin Indus Tagalus Parochus Populi Quiapo,” or Bartolomé Saguinsín, Tagalog indian, parish priest of the town of Quiapo, who wrote a series of epigrams in Latin dedicated to Simón de Anda, *oidor*, promotor of the guerilla war against the British during the 1762-1764 occupation, and later Governor and Captain General of the Philippines (Jose 208, entry 707). Surely as parish priest Saguinsín would have had both the need to purchase books and the money to do so.

Moreover, for whom were the pocket editions of *Pensamientos christianos* in Tagalog? While a Spanish friar certainly could have utilized this tiny volume when the need arose for an impromptu sermon in Tagalog, it is reasonable to suppose that they were also meant for those Tagalog-speaking Filipinos that had learned to read Roman characters. This finds support in the

¹⁹⁴ Beginning in 1677 the Crown urged the religious hierarchy to commence the training of a native Filipino clergy (i.e., *indios* and Chinese mestizos), which the Spanish clergy nearly universally resisted. However, it is apparent that this training had indeed commenced around this time since we find in 1698 the first ordination of a native Filipino to the priesthood. This was not a rare exception and ordinations became a matter of course throughout the eighteenth century, to the point that, according to Horacio de la Costa, by 1750 “native priests had charge of 142 parishes and missions out of a total of 569,” and that they were, on the whole, “equal to the demands of their vocation” (“Development” 87). The number of native priests continued to grow, though in the late eighteenth century they were dealt a blow that crippled the growth and respect of the native clergy (Phelan 84-89). In the wake of the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1768 and the continued obstinacy on the part of the regular clergy to submit to visitation, recently arrived archbishop Basilio Sancho de Santa Justa Rufina, hastily and without training them adequately, began to ordain native priests to fill the open positions left by the expelled Jesuits and the regulars whose parishes had been stripped from them (Augustinians mostly, though there were some parishes that the Dominicans voluntarily relinquished (Manchado López, “Concordia” 72)). According to most scholars, many of the newly ordained priests did not have the training or education necessary to fulfill their responsibilities and scandal resulted, tarnishing the reputation of native priests even into the twentieth century. However, numerically speaking it appears that they continued to be ordained and serve in priestly functions. Based on the testimony of Tomás de Comyn, *factor* for the Real Compañía de Filipinas in Manila from 1803-1811, it appears that in 1810 there were still a large number of active native Filipino priests serving, much to the chagrin of Comyn (162-64). For more information on the development of the native clergy in the Philippines, see Horacio de la Costa’s chapter, “The Development of the Native Clergy in the Philippines” in Anderson’s *Studies in Philippine Church History* (1969); Luciano Santiago’s groundbreaking work, *The Hidden Light: The First Filipino Priests* (1987); and John N. Schumacher’s most recent addition to this discussion, “The Early Filipino Clergy: 1698-1762” in *Philippine Studies* (2003). Schumacher synthesizes the most current research on the native Filipino clergy and offers both a number of rectifications of previous ideas and a useful bibliography for studies on this topic.

fact that, following the commencement of the ordination of native Filipino priests beginning in 1698, some of these native priests served in regions where the language spoken was not their native language (e.g., native Tagalog speakers serving in Bikol- or Cebuano-speaking regions), meaning that the grammars and dictionaries utilized by the European missionaries to learn the various Filipino languages would have also found used in some of the native priests. This further suggests that if native Filipinos (whether priests or laypersons) could and did read Roman characters, they also had the means to purchase such little volumes as the presses in Manila produced¹⁹⁵. In other words, while the general outline of the market for Manila imprints is valid across the entire period from 1593-1813, this should not limit us to supposing that there was no change in the use of the texts emanating from that press, nor that the changing frequency and kinds of texts produced were not reflections of changes in the greater *manileño* society.

One of the more substantial though subtle changes that took place among the native Filipinos as a result of their long contact with the press is the replacement of the native script, *baybayin*, with Roman script. Ultimately derived from Sanskrit, *baybayin* was found in all parts of the Philippines, though it seems that its epicenter was the Tagalog region of central Luzon, whence it spread outward to the remaining Philippine islands, a process that continued even after Spanish contact (Woods 193, 197). Similar alphabetic systems were in use in Sumatra, Java, and Sulawesi (Irving 81; Woods 193). Scholars disagree as to the direction of the script, some affirming that it was written vertically, others horizontally, from top to bottom or bottom to top, and from right to left or left to right (Woods 196). However it was written, there were three vowels and “between twelve and fourteen consonants,” depending on regional variation (193).

¹⁹⁵ For further details see Santiago, pp. 75, 79, 82-83, 115, 121, 142-43, and possibly 145-46.

Yet *baybayin* is not, strictly speaking, an alphabet, but rather a syllabary, meaning that each character represented a consonant and a vowel. The default vowel value for each letter was “a,” and the writer could place diacritical marks either above or below the letter to change the vowel pronounced with the consonant (193). “Such a system,” writes Woods, “presented problems for non-Filipinos because it could not be used to write consonant-final words” or syllables (193)¹⁹⁶. (Filipinos, in contrast, had no problems understanding each other). In attempting to convey concepts that had no direct translation, particularly religious vocabulary, the missionaries used Spanish words.

Despite the fact that the first printed texts incorporated Filipino languages in both *baybayin* and Roman script, the missionaries soon came to favor transliteration. Due to the above-mentioned linguistic difficulties they encountered in conveying ideas of Spanish origin, they considered *baybayin* to be unsuitable for clear, uniform, unambiguous transmission of their message (Retana, *Orígenes* 101-02). Although Damon Woods suggests that this change had more to do with practicality in matters of typographical printing than because of problems with the script itself (200), the use of typographical *baybayin* characters in both 1610 and 1621 would suggest less a technical issue than one of European convenience and preference. Following the printing of the 1621 text (in Ilocano), the missionaries stopped printing texts that employed *baybayin*: all texts printed in Filipino languages thereafter appeared in the Roman alphabet.

It is important to note here that there is no record of any campaign to eradicate *baybayin* (Hernández, *History* 13-16). In fact, *baybayin* continued to be used into the nineteenth and even twentieth centuries, though these cases were limited to very small and very isolated geographical regions. Woods cites instances throughout the seventeenth and well into the eighteenth century

¹⁹⁶ Woods uses the examples of “barba” and “cantar” to illustrate the point. In *baybayin*, due to script’s inability to indicate terminal consonants, these words would be read “baba” and “cata” respectively (193).

where *baybayin* made appearances, particularly in notarial and legal records and poetic texts, though it seems that by the late eighteenth century it had already fallen into disuse (199, 201-02; Irving 83-84). Additionally, with the exception of the two texts cited earlier, *baybayin* always appeared in manuscript, never in print, making it more susceptible to destruction and permanent loss.

A fundamental reason for the discontinuation of *baybayin* for written communication in native Filipino languages was the incorporation of the native populations into the Spanish colonial system. From the beginning, native peoples received training in the use of the Roman alphabet, particularly in the Tagalog regions where Spanish power was concentrated, and where native Filipinos served as interpreters, functionaries, and officials within the colonial administration. Furthermore, as David Irving writes, “the ability of Filipinos to read and write Roman characters had become a status symbol by the mid-eighteenth century” (84). In other words, rather than an imposition, many Filipinos began to see learning Roman characters as a means of social advancement and openly embraced the new script. This tendency can be seen as early as 1610 in the text written and published by the Tagalog printer Tomás Pinpin: the *Librong*, or “Book in which the Tagalogs can learn the Spanish language,” where Pinpin encourages his fellow Tagalogs to learn Spanish—and by extension Roman characters—so as to be like the Spaniards. This is consistent with John Leddy Phelan’s description of the selective process of adaptation of the native Filipinos to the Spanish conquest; that is to say that the Filipinos quickly and enthusiastically accepted certain parts of Spanish culture, such as the impressive liturgy of the church or the use of Roman characters, while resisting and rejecting other parts.

Despite the inclusion of certain sectors of native Filipinos in the written processes of colonial administration, it is unlikely that *baybayin* would have disappeared as the written

vehicle for communication in native Filipino languages without the appearance of typographical printing in the islands in 1604, due to nature of printed texts. Steinberg writes that “mass-production...is the distinguishing feature of printing” (23). Elizabeth Eisenstein puts this into perspective when she writes that, “A unique bilingual lexicon [the term “unique” here meaning an individual or single manuscript copy] cannot do the same work as hundreds of thousands of trilingual reference guides” (93). Although Philippine editions never reached into the hundreds of thousands, mass production allowed the linguistic and evangelizing work of the missionaries to be multiplied quickly and efficiently rather than being limited to a single record that had to be copied by hand, a very time-consuming process that resulted in only one copy.

This same process of mass production allowed for much wider dissemination and consumption of texts, so that rather than just a handful of scribes, scholars, and priests, the written word was more available to more people, including native Filipinos. Eisenstein continues: “Indeed the more abundant they [printed materials] have become, the more frequently they are used, the more widespread their impact” (17). This multiplication of texts also leads to the preservation and greater permanence of the written word since “[a]fter the advent of printing...preservation could be achieved by using abundant supplies of paper rather than scarce and costly skin. Quantity counted for more than quality” (114). Although paper in Manila was expensive, fragile, and scarce, the presses were still able to reproduce sufficient copies so that many of these texts still exist today in spite of the hundreds of years of natural and human calamities that have afflicted the Philippines. Given the fact that after 1621 printing in Filipino languages happened exclusively in Roman script, the constant and repeated multiplication, dissemination, and preservation of these texts eventually led to the permanent replacement of *baybayin* as the vehicle of written communication in Filipino languages. With the gradual and

increasing inclusion of Filipinos into the realm of European letters, the market for Philippine imprints increased as well.

However, indigenous participation in the intellectual life of the city was not limited to the consumption of books. In fact, with the exception of the initial, brief period of Chinese regents from 1604-1610¹⁹⁷, the printers of whom we have record were almost entirely indigenous Filipinos: “There are three presses in Manila, and they are all operated by *indios*,” writes Pedro Murillo Velarde in his 1752 *Geographia Historica* (8:38)¹⁹⁸. The printers were predominantly Tagalogs, exceptions to this being the Pampangan Antonio Damba and the Japanese Miguel Saixo, both of the Augustinian press, and the Franciscan printers that signed their names, most of these being Spanish friars (Sánchez, “Franciscanos II” 368-71). I disagree with Sánchez who states that in *all* the presses there was a *religioso impresor* who supervised the work, and that underneath him was a lay “master printer” (“Franciscanos II 368, 371, note 9)¹⁹⁹, since in both the Dominican and the Jesuit presses the only ones that ever signed were the Filipino regents, people such as Simón Pinpin, Tomás Adriano, Gaspar de los Reyes, or Nicolás de la Cruz Bagay²⁰⁰.

While it is very likely that there might have been a Dominican or Jesuit regular to whom these regents reported, we have no record of it. In fact, what historical documents we do have for these two presses suggest that ultimate responsibility for the activities of these presses resided not with an unknown religious supervisor, but with the master printers themselves. For example,

¹⁹⁷ The first printers were Chinese: Juan and Pedro Vera, Luis Beltrán, and later Manuel Gómez. Retana assumes the latter two to be Chinese also because unlike the native Filipinos, who often retained their indigenous surnames in the early years of Spanish colonization, baptized Chinese persons had the custom of adopting the surname of their sponsor at baptism (*Imprenta*, col. 36, note 37; *Orígenes* 50-51).

¹⁹⁸ Original: “Hay en Manila tres Imprentas, y todas las manejan los indios.”

¹⁹⁹ Original, “maestro impresor”

²⁰⁰ This assertion finds support in the declarations made by the printers in 1737 in the wake of the *Mixti fori* scandal, to be discussed in Chapter 2 (AGI, Filipinas, 147, n.15). The notary who went to receive their declarations called Jerónimo Correa de Castro, Felipe de Lara, and Juan de Sotillo master printers of their respective presses.

Table 6: Printers by year and press worked for

Years	Augustinians/Jesuits/Seminario	Years	Dominicans	Years	Franciscans
1617- 1621	Antonio Damba/Miguel Saixo/ "Unos japones" (Augustinian)	1604- 1605	Juan de Vera	1702- 1703	Juan Flores*
1623/1630?	Unlisted printer (Jesuit)	1606- 1607	Pedro de Vera	1705	Francisco Rodríguez
1636-1639	Tomás Pinpin	1608	Luis Beltrán (no works recorded)	1707	Unlisted printer
1640	Unlisted printer	1609	Unlisted printer		
1641	Raimundo Magisa	1610	Tomás Pinpin/Diego Talaghay/ Manuel Gómez	1708- 1717	Francisco de los Santos (with Lucas Francisco Rodríguez*, 1714)
1643-1669	Simón Pinpin	1612- 1613	Tomás Pinpin/Domingo Loag	1718	Julián de San Diego
1670-1672	Unlisted printer	1616- 1617	Unlisted printer	1720	Placidus Albrech de Walch
1673	Raimundo Peñafort	1621	Unlisted printer	1721- 1725	Unlisted printer
1674-1678	Santiago de Matangso*	1622- 1627	Tomás Pinpin	1726	Clemente de Santa Cecilia y Cardoso
1681	Unlisted printer	1628- 1634	Jacinto Magarulau (with Tomás Pinpin, 1630; with Raimundo Magisa, 1634)	1727	Unlisted printer
1682-1683	Raimundo Peñafort	1634- 1635	Raimundo Magisa	1728- 1729	Pedro de la Concepción
1685/1690/1692	Unlisted printer	1636	Tomás Pinpin	1730- 1736	Unlisted printer
1695-1701	Lucas Manumbas*	1637- 1641	Luis Beltrán (with Andrés de Belén, 1637)	1737- 1744	Juan de Sotillo
1703-1716	Gaspar Aquino de Belén*	1642- 1645	Unlisted printer	1745- 1747	Unlisted printer
1719	Unlisted printer	1647	Gregorio Calara	1749	Lucas de San Francisco
1722	Felipe de Guzmán*	1648	Unlisted printer	1750- 1787	Unlisted printer(s) (with Plácido Simón Navarro, 1755)
1726-1732	Sebastián López de Sabino*	1649- 1660	Ventura (Buenaventura) Lampao	1788- 1794	Baltasar Mariano
1734-1736	Unlisted printer	1662- 1670	Unlisted printer	1795- 1796	Pedro Argüelles de la Concepción
1737	Felipe de Lara*	1672- 1692	Gaspar de los Reyes*	1797	Francisco de Paula Castillo / Juan Eugenio
1738-1741	Unlisted printer	1697- 1728	Juan Correa*	1798- 1804	Pedro Argüelles de la Concepción
1743-1768	Nicolás de la Cruz Bagay*	1729- 1752	Jerónimo Correa de Castro*	1807- 1813	Jacinto de Jesús Lavajos
1769-1772	Unlisted printer (Seminario)	1753- 1781	Tomás Adriano		
1773-1785	Pedro Ignacio Ad-Víncula	1783- 1786	Juan Francisco de los Santos		
1786-1787	Cipriano Romualdo Bagay	1788- 1804	Vicente Adriano		
1788, 1791, 1798	Agustín de la Rosa y Balagtas	1805- 1813	Carlos Francisco de la Cruz*		
1804	Vicente Adriano				

* Indicates use of "don" or "capitán" on one or more title pages

Medina includes testimonies given by the master printers in 1749, 1750, and 1755, and for both the Dominican and Jesuit presses, only Nicolás de la Cruz Bagay and Jerónimo Correa de Castro give testimony, not a *religioso impresor* (*Manila* lxxxi-lxxxiv, lxxxviii-xc)²⁰¹. Furthermore, when the Archbishop summoned to his palace the master printer of the Dominicans to answer for an illicit publication made on the Santo Tomás press, it was not a Dominican regular that appeared but the Tagalog regent Jerónimo Correa de Castro (lxxxviii-xc). Even on the Franciscan press where we know—thanks to Sánchez—that there was a religious printer running the whole operation, and that this printer worked in close contact with lay workmen (Sánchez, “Franciscanos II” 371-73; Medina, *Manila* lxxxiii), typically only the head religious signed his name to works, as is the case with Juan de Sotillo in the 1730s and 1740s.²⁰²

Unlike printing in Europe generally (Lafaye 36-37), printing in the Philippines was never a family affair—at least no printing dynasties like that of the Crombergers developed since the owners of the presses were not private individuals but religious corporations. That does not mean that printing as an occupation did not ever go from father to son, as is the case with Tomás Pinpin and his alleged son, Simón, who continued to print for the Jesuits after his father had died or retired; or possibly with Juan Correa and Jerónimo Correa de Castro, consecutive printers for the Dominican press from 1699-1752, but this seemed to be the exception rather than the rule. Such cases only happened on the Dominican and Jesuit presses since the Franciscan printers were all friars or somehow affiliated with the Order. Again, usually only the master printer, who oversaw the general printing operations, signed his name to a publication, if he signed at all. The number of publications from 1593-1813 where the printer does not identify himself is quite high,

²⁰¹ In the case of these two presses, it might be that the regents reported directly to the directors of the Colleges, as suggested by the documents published by Medina, cited above.

²⁰² One exception to this was in 1714 when “el Capitán D. Lucas Francisco Rodríguez” signed alongside the *religioso impresor* “Hermano Francisco de los SS” (Jose 107, entry 317).

especially when the text was an official government or religious decree. The Franciscans seemed particularly averse at times to signing their names to the publications that came from their presses: from 1750 to 1787 there is no known text that carries the name of the responsible printer, and even before that signing was a sporadic affair among them. Sánchez attributes this lack of signing among the Franciscans to their particular emphasis on avoiding ostentation and vanity (“Franciscanos I” 13-14), although in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries signing became the norm (see Table 6). As far as the other lay workmen operating under the direction of the master printers, we unfortunately know nothing.

According to the documents published by Medina, both the Jesuit and the Dominican colleges provided the printing materials and those who did the actual printing were wage workers. Testimonies from both Nicolás de la Cruz Bagay and Tomás Adriano indicate that they received compensation from the press according to amount of business they got in a given year, which varied from a low of around 60 pesos to an atypical high of 300 pesos per year, with the press in an average year bringing in around 100 pesos (Medina, *Manila* lxxxi-lxxxiii). Of this sum the colleges received half and the master printer and his officials received the other half and divided it among themselves.

From the evidence that Sánchez provides, it seems that the Franciscan press did not operate in this way. He states that unlike the Dominican and the Jesuit presses where the materials were provided by the owners, the *religioso impresor* was the one responsible for obtaining all materials (paper, ink, typeface), for hiring and training workers, for supervising and executing the printing process itself, and even binding and selling the printed texts. Sánchez writes, “In summary, the Franciscan religious printer frequently became a publisher, a printer, a

bookbinder, and a bookseller” (“Franciscanos II” 369, 372)²⁰³, not unlike the very first printers in Europe during the *incunabula* period (Eisenstein 56). The Filipino lay-workers that operated under him received compensation “according to how much they worked” (“según lo que trabajan”) (Medina, *Manila* lxxxiii).

This phrase is vague, and Sánchez interprets it as meaning that the compensation arrangement used for the Dominicans and the Jesuits was not used by the Franciscans (“Franciscans II” 372). However, he does not provide any evidence to suggest that it was not, only the reasonable supposition that the very strict Franciscan vow of poverty and the prohibition of ever receiving any money would prevent the *religioso impresor* from directly receiving funds for the printing jobs they performed, for which reason “the Franciscans would request that their benefactors make the corresponding payments directly to the printers, delivering the books to the Franciscans afterward as a kind of alms in kind (“Franciscans I” 25)²⁰⁴. In other words, the lay printers working underneath the head religious printer might have received payment directly from the individual sponsoring the publication, and the resulting text would be given to the Franciscans as a donation in kind. It is very likely, however, given the irregular wages earned from printing, that the master printers and officials at all the presses, not just that of the Franciscans, had different, additional employment or income outside of their printing duties (“Franciscanos II” 372).

But who were the printers? What were they like? What is known of them? Since Medina, Retana, Pardo de Tavera, Artigas y Cuerva, and Sánchez have all provided some

²⁰³ Original: “En resumidas cuentas, el religioso franciscano impresor se convertía con frecuencia en editor, impresor, encuadernador y librero.”

²⁰⁴ Original: “los franciscanos rogarían a sus bienhechores hicieran ellos mismos los pagos correspondientes directamente a los impresores, entregando posteriormente los libros a los franciscanos en forma de limosna en especie.”

biographical details of the individual lives of many of the printers, I refer the reader to their statements. However, since the printers share some general characteristics, it is possible to speak of them in categorical terms, keeping in mind individual variation and the paucity of more detailed information. Of the contemporary historians of the Philippines press, Medina takes the most negative view, considering them little more than wage-laborers (²⁰⁵) (*Manila* lvii). He had no qualms in declaring many of the works as notably inferior, nor in ascribing this lack to the alleged natural ineptitude of the indigenous printers: “Of course it is not possible to expect works of polished typographical execution from Filipino printers. Almost all of them [are] Indians...they lack the requisite ingenuity” (*Manila* liv)²⁰⁶. Although Retana is more fair and generous in his overall appraisal of the work of the Filipino printers²⁰⁷, he still considers their work to be generally mediocre, a fact that stems, in part, from being *indios*: “that predominant mediocrity is explained by the lack of good models, which the indigenous work won’t improvise; they need it to be given to them” (*Orígenes* 60)²⁰⁸. In other words, Retana says, they could not

²⁰⁵ Medina calls them “meros empleados.” He takes this phrase from Jerónimo Correa de Castro’s testimony regarding the illicit text he printed in 1750 on the Santo Tomás press, *Relación de la entrada del Sultán, Rey de Joló Mahamad Alimuddin en esta Ciudad de Manila*. Correa de Castro printed the text on the orders of Bernardo Ustáriz, rector of the Colegio de Santo Tomás, and of Joan de Arechederra, Bishop of Nueva Segovia and acting Governor and Captain General of the Philippines, even though the text did not have the necessary licenses, in direct violation of an edict issued by the archbishop in 1749, to which edict both Ustáriz and Correa de Castro swore obedience. When Correa de Castro reminded Ustáriz of this edict before printing the *Relación*, the latter told the printer the following: “que bien podía imprimir dicha relación sin contravenir al auto, que su reverendísima [Ustáriz] no era tan ignorante, ni tan poco temeroso de Dios, que había de mandarle cosa en qué se ofendía a su Divina Magestad y a los prelados y príncipes de su Iglesia, y que el respondiente [Correa de Castro] *no era otra cosa que un mero jornalero*, que la imprenta era del Collegio, y así el respondiente debía deponer todo escrúpulo en ese caso y sugetarse, así por su ignorancia, *como por ser jornalero*, a lo que por su reverendísima se la mandaba” (Medina, *Manila* lxxxvi-lxxxix, my italics). When the printer brought the same concerns to Arechederra, the latter threatened him, “añadiendo, que si no la imprimía dicha relación, le podía poner en un trabajo del que nadie libraría” (*ibid*). Naturally, Correa de Castro relented and printed the text.

²⁰⁶ Original, “Desde luego no es posible esperar trabajos de ejecución tipográfica acabada de los impresores filipinos. Indios casi en su totalidad...carecían del suficiente ingenio.”

²⁰⁷ He writes, “El tipógrafo filipino, falto casi siempre de buena dirección, con material malo de ordinario, y, por último, teniendo que componer en una lengua que no es la suya, ha hecho, en ocasiones, más de lo que razonablemente podía exigírsele, y así, es acreedor a la estimación de los espíritus justos” (*Orígenes* 60).

²⁰⁸ Original: “esa mediocridad predominante está explicada por la falta de buenos modelos, que el operario indígena no ha de improvisar; necesita que se los den.”

be expected to produce better works than they did because besides high quality printing materials, they also lacked “true originality” and “inventiveness” (*Imprenta* col. 43)²⁰⁹.

In reality, both Medina and Retana²¹⁰ are merely repeating common places regarding indigenous Filipinos—and specifically indigenous printers—dating back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when authors either praised or vilified them. The Franciscan chronicler Francisco de Santa Inés wrote in the 1670s, “They are, in the end, the printers of the two presses that are in this City of Manila, and they do it with competence, in which is well seen their ability and intelligence (42)²¹¹. The Jesuit priest and scholar Pedro Murillo Velarde in the 1740s declared that the native printers produced works “just as fine, well-printed, and clean as in Spain, and sometimes with less contemptible and more tolerable errors” (*Historia* 198r)²¹², and that in comparison to the errors produced by the Filipino printers, he had seen more “more grievous errors in imprints from Spain and Milan (*Geographia* 8:38)²¹³. And again in his *Sentir* that appears in the preliminaries of the first volume of the Franciscan *Crónicas* of 1738, he writes, “the errors they produce are not infinite” (San Antonio 1: n.p.)²¹⁴. The author of the same *Crónicas*, Juan Francisco de San Antonio, wrote regarding the native Filipino printers, “These days they are the printers, with sufficient intelligence” (1:143)²¹⁵. What typographical errors

²⁰⁹ Original, “verdadera originalidad,” “inventiva”

²¹⁰ Pardo de Tavera in his *Noticias* avoided sweeping generalizations of the printers themselves, limiting himself to comments on the quality of the texts on an individual basis rather than on racial or ethnic categories. Pérez and Güemes do not say anything at all about the printers in their introductory essay.

²¹¹ Original: “Ellos, finalmente, son los impresores de las dos imprentas que hay en esta Ciudad de Manila, y lo hacen con suficiencia, en que se descubre bien la de su habilidad y viveza.” At the time this friar was writing, the Franciscan press had still not been established, hence his reference to the two presses in Manila.

²¹² Original, “obras tan cabales, bien grabadas, y limpias como en España, y a veces con yerros menos supinos y más tolerables”

²¹³ Original, “yerros más garrafales en impresiones de España y de Milán”

²¹⁴ Original, “no son infinitos los yerros que producen”

²¹⁵ Original: “Hoy en día son ellos los impresores con inteligencia bastante.” It is significant that Medina uses this same passage from Juan Francisco de San Antonio’s *Crónicas* in his argument against the Filipino printers, but both cites the incorrect page number (43 instead of 143) and misquotes San Antonio by replacing the “con” with “sin” (Medina, *Manila* liv-lv).

they did make have often been attributed to their lack of mastery of the Spanish language and are therefore, in the opinion of these authors, deserving of forbearance: “The *indio* printers of these islands have more excuse because of their lack of comprehension of the Castilian language” (San Antonio, “Prólogo” 2: n.p.; see also Medina, *Manila* liv-lv; Retana, *Orígenes* 60; Sánchez, “Franciscanos II” 377-378)²¹⁶. Yet in light of the free and variable spelling that was characteristic of Spanish up to the nineteenth century, there is little reason (in the opinion of this author) to censure the Filipinos for their supposed poor orthography. If the Filipino printers’ spelling was bad, it was probably more likely due to defects in their models than to an alleged incompetency in the Spanish language.

However, not all colonial authors were so generous or forgiving. In the prologue to his 1626 *Triunfo del Santo Rosario*, Francisco Carrero writes that works printed by the indigenous Filipinos are full of errors because the native printers “aren’t good for anything else” (n.p.)²¹⁷. Francisco de Acuña in 1682 writes a lengthy complaint against the Filipino printers, calling them “terrible,” “inexperienced...*indios*” who through their lack of skill ruin any text sent to them to print (Paz, “Carta dedicatoria” in *Consultas*, n.p.)²¹⁸. Furthermore, despite the praise lavished by

²¹⁶ Original: “Los indios impresores de estas islas tienen más disculpa por la falta de comprensión de la lengua castellana.”

²¹⁷ Original, “no son para más”

²¹⁸ The quote in full: “A esta falta de religioso que pueda entender en sus impresiones se le arrima otra plaga no pequeña contra los tristes papeles desta nuestra Provincia, y es la impericia de nuestros impresores, que comparados con los de Europa, tienen tanta diferencia entre sí como las hebreas y egipcias: y en esto consistía la diferencia, entre otras cosas, en que las hebreas tenían pericia para partear, de la cual carecían las egipcias, como lo dijeron las comadres de Egipto a Faraón: *Non sunt Hebraeae sicut Aegyptia mulieres, ipsae enim obstetricandi habent scientiam*. Pues esta misma diferencia hay entre estos impresores, y así se puede decir no son estos como aquellos, ni aquellos como aquestos: *Non sunt Hebraeae sicut Aegyptiae*. Los impresores de libros de la Europa tienen pericia para partearlos: *Obstetricandi habent scientiam*, y así sacan a luz cada día tantos bien logrados partos de los ingenios, y los de acá por su impericia (indios, en fin, bozales) o nos encaminan mal los partos o nos los hacen todos abortivos, conque si se ha de imprimir alguna obra, ha de asistirles un religioso, y no los hay de sobra en la Provincia. Por dichas faltas, pues, de dineros que allanen la impresión, de religioso que la emprenda o asista y de estos pésimos impresores, se han malogrado y malogran cada día tantos escritos nuestros...” (*ubi supra*, spelling, punctuation, and accentuation modernized). Acuña’s comments are part of a larger exposition on the great obstacles facing book production and printing in the Philippines. He precedes the commentary on the printers with a discussion of the lack

Murillo Velarde and other Spanish writers of the period, it is evident that they never considered the Filipinos fully capable, intellectually speaking, since nearly all of the above-quoted passages that praise their skills as printers and in other manual occupations (scribes, sculptors, painters, singers, etc) are accompanied by others that declare them to be imitators rather than innovators, incapable of abstract thought, requiring paternalistic direction, perpetual liars, duplicitous, materialistic, lazy, mutable, contradictory, and essentially unknowable²¹⁹.

Although it is easy to dismiss these negative concepts of indigenous Filipinos and Filipino (and Chinese) printers simply as products of Spanish imperialism and colonialism, it is better to let the historical record speak for itself. Regarding printers in Europe generally, Jacques Lafaye writes that, following the initial period of printing, “the corporation of the typographers has been the most educated of the working world” (26)²²⁰. This is no less true of the master printers of Manila than it is of those of Europe. Testimony regarding the creator of the first Philippine press and first printer in the European style, Juan de Vera, reveals an intensely creative, resourceful, and intelligent man, one who was, not coincidentally, fluent in Chinese, Tagalog, and Spanish (Aduarte 100). Tomás Pinpin, the first Tagalog printer, was also the first one ever to have published his own book, a book written in his language using Roman characters, whose purpose was to teach Spanish to his countrymen, a skill he would have had to possess himself in order to be able to transmit it to others. Gaspar Aquino de Belén, printer for the Jesuits, published in 1703 his own Tagalog translation of the Jesuit Tomás de Villacastín’s

of friars to attend to printing and the hostility of the climate to books and paper, recurring frequently to the story of Moses and motifs of childbirth, all with the purpose of attracting the sympathies of the addressees of the dedicatory letter, the “muy reverendos padres del insigne Colegio Mayor de Santo Tomás de Sevilla.” (*ibid.*, n.p.). Given this context, it is possible to understand Acuña’s comments as an exaggeration of his feelings in order to win over his audience with the plight of Spanish intellectual labor in the Philippines.

²¹⁹ Of the authors cited above, Francisco de Santa Inés is the only one who abstains from these additions.

²²⁰ Original, “la corporación de los tipógrafos ha sido la más culta del mundo obrero”

Manual de ejercicios espirituales, printed originally in Spain in 1610²²¹. Tomás Adriano on at least two occasions signed his work with the title “Bach” or “Bac,” meaning *Bachiller* or *Baccalaureus*, i.e., Bachelor, indicating that he was at least moderately well-educated (Jose 191, entry 634; 200-201, entry 674).

The testimonies of the master printers cited earlier indicate that Nicolás de la Cruz Bagay, Tomás Adriano, Plácido Simón Navarro, and Pedro Ignacio Ad-Víncula were all “fluent in the Castilian language” (Medina, *Manila* lxxxii-lxxxiii, xcv), and that some were even quite fluent, though Jerónimo Correa de Castro required the use of an interpreter (lxxxviii)²²². It is significant to note that Navarro was only “one of the main workers of said press” (lxxxiii)²²³, since he worked under the *religioso impresor* of the Franciscan press, suggesting that other native lay pressmen under the master printer also spoke Spanish well enough to be considered “ladino.” However, it is also possible and even likely that some of the native press workers might have not spoken Spanish at all and may have even been illiterate since many of the functions carried out in a printing office were strictly manual activities and therefore would not have required any special linguistic capabilities (Lafaye 26). In this, however, they would not have been out of keeping with some of their fellow printers in Europe (Gaskell 6-7).

²²¹ Although Medina and others following him state that the translation of the Tagalog title of Belén’s text in Spanish is rendered as *Recomendación del alma*, the title of the original text used by Belén was actually *Manual de ejercicios* (Medina, *Manila* 86, 176-177, entries 129, 265). José, following Medina and Pardo de Tavera, says that the first edition of Villacastín’s *Manual* was printed in Zaragoza in 1613 (José 96, 202-203, entries 280, 685; Pardo de Tavera, *Biblioteca* 28, entries 92-93). However, the 1767 Barcelona edition of this text carries the original license to print dated September 1610. Additionally, a search on the online catalogue of the Biblioteca Nacional de España showed an edition from 1612 declaring itself to be the third printing, and another edition from 1615 affirming itself to be the fifth printing (<http://catalogo.bne.es/uhtbin/cgiisirs/cpCif8tCT8/BNMADRID/103220012/2/23>. Accessed 14 Apr. 2014). It could be that there was a 1613 Zaragoza edition that Belén used for his translation, and that is where Medina and later Pardo de Tavera obtained their information.

²²² Original, “ladino en la lengua castellana;” “bastante” or “bastantemente ladino”

²²³ Original, “uno de los oficiales principales de dicha imprenta”

Apart from their linguistic capacities, many of the printers were talented in their own right. Gaspar Aquino de Belén included in his translation mentioned earlier his own poetic composition, now known as *Pasyong Mahal* (Jose 7), or *La pasión de nuestro señor Jesucristo* (Medina, *Manila* 177, entry 265), written in Tagalog in quintillas (Retana, *Aparato* 1:367-368). Retana further states in his *Aparato* that the *Pasyong Mahal* was considered at the time (1906) the best Tagalog poem ever written (1:367); Aquino de Belén's translation and poem went through five editions by 1760. Besides their duties at the presses of the religious orders, many of the master printers were also engravers and print-makers. Nicolás de la Cruz Bagay engraved in 1734 a map of the Philippines, drawn by Pedro Murillo Velarde at the request of the king, that became the standard map for Spanish navigation for many years and was reproduced several times into the nineteenth century (Pardo de Tavera, *Noticias* 27; Hanisch Espíndola 56; Costa, *Jesuits* 567). Bagay later reduced and reproduced this same map, with some changes, for publication in Pedro Murillo Velarde's *Historia* of 1749²²⁴, which text he also happened to print. Tomás Pinpin, Juan Correa, Jerónimo Correa de Castro, Cipriano Romualdo Bagay, Vicente Atlas, and Pedro Ignacio de Ad-Víncula were also engravers and illustrators (Medina, *Manila* xlvi-li)²²⁵.

Finally, not a few of the printers held high social rank among their peers, relatively speaking, as attested by the titles of "don" or "capitán" or both placed before their names on many of the texts produced on their presses. "Don," as elsewhere in Spanish-held territories, indicated high social status, a class of people known in the Philippines as "principales:"

²²⁴ The 1734 map is viewable online on the website of the Biblioteca Nacional de España. Murillo Velarde's 1749 *Historia* with Bagay's map can be found, among other places, at the Rare Book Room at the Benson Latin American Library at the University of Texas at Austin. Both the map and the *Historia* demonstrate excellence in printing.

²²⁵ See also Cayetano Sanchez's comments in "Los franciscanos y la imprenta," part II, p. 372, note 11.

The Filipino upper class, the *principales*, largely consisted of two groups, namely, the hereditary *cabezas*²²⁶ and a whole series of elected officials. [...] Filipinos in the service of the Church also belonged to the upper class, in particular, the *fiscales* (the sacristans) and the cantors of the choir. All these magistrates enjoyed the statutory privileges of the *cabezas*. In practice there was much overlapping in the political functions of this class. [...] The possession of wealth and the participation in the local administration tended to coincide but perhaps not in all cases. (Phelan 125-26)

Phelan continues, indicating that “[t]he political authority of the local magistracy was not negligible, although it was limited,” and that “[w]ithin these limitations the Filipino magistrates exercised considerable power and prestige over their fellow countrymen” (126). Additionally, as Pardo de Tavera states, the use of the title “capitán” by a native Filipino “indicates that, prior to 1752, he had been named *gobernadorcillo*, a title that the mayor carries in the towns of the Philippines and that authorizes he that has exercised the office to be called *capitán* when his responsibilities cease” (*Noticias* 20)²²⁷. Phelan writes that the *gobernadorcillo*, or “petty governor,” called “alcalde” by Pardo de Tavera above, was “the elected magistrate of a township” (165).

The term “township” as translated by Phelan here is rendered in Spanish as “pueblo” or, later, “municipio” (125), which, beginning in the seventeenth century, was “an extensive territorial unit” consisting of “a principal settlement, the *cabecera*, where the main parish church was located,” and “a whole series of outlying clusters of population, the *visitas* or *barrios*,” all of which were “a collection of *barangays*²²⁸” (124). The responsibilities of the *gobernadorcillo*

²²⁶ *Cabeza de barangay*: “Hereditary chieftain who, in Spanish times, headed the smallest unit of local administration” (Phelan 165). The pre-conquest nobility continued to enjoy their status of nobility in the Spanish period, though often with greatly reduced sphere of action and wealth.

²²⁷ Original: “indica que, anteriormente al 1752, fue nombrado *gobernadorcillo*, título que lleva el alcalde en los pueblos de Filipinas y que autoriza al que ha ejercido el cargo a llamarse *capitán* cuando cesa en sus funciones”

²²⁸ *Barangay*: “In the pre-Hispanic Philippines the *barangay*, which generally comprised between 30 and 100 families [100 to 500 people], was the fundamental unit of socio-political organization. The word apparently derives from a slender wooden boat tapered at both ends and used by the Filipinos in their migrations to the archipelago from Malay realms elsewhere in Southeast Asia. It is thought that the typical craft carried a discrete family grouping which served as the human nucleus for each settlement established by the newcomers in the Philippines.

included general management of the town, the enforcement of law and policy in their jurisdiction, and hearing certain civil cases (124-127, 129). The crown issued a *cédula* “that no Filipino who did not read, write, and speak Spanish could be elected to public office,” but this was largely unenforceable even though such individuals were technically “preferred” (132). In summary, those who held the titles of “don” or “capitán” were members of the indigenous elite, usually educated, sometimes bilingual in Spanish, and very often involved in the local governance of their communities. They were likely well known and well respected where they resided. Of the indigenous Filipino master printers, Gaspar de los Reyes, Santiago de Matangso (or Dimatangso), Lucas Manumbas, Juan Correa, Juan Flores, Gaspar Aquino de Belén, Lucas Francisco Rodríguez, Felipe de Guzmán, Sebastián López Sabino, Felipe de Lara²²⁹, Jerónimo Correa de Castro²³⁰, Nicolás de la Cruz Bagay, and Carlos Francisco de la Cruz all used the titles “don” or “capitán” or both²³¹.

[...] The Spaniards retained the term *barangay* to identify the village community. Even today the word is used...to designate the neighborhood unit or voting precinct” (Reed 7; 76-77, note 18).

²²⁹ None of the Jesuit imprints from 1734-1741 are signed, nor are any of the Franciscans’ from 1730-1736. However, documentation from the Archivo General de Indias provides additional information. In the wake of the *Mixtiferi* scandal, presented in Chapter 2, the Governor ordered that the printers of the city promise not to print anything without the name of the author or without the necessary licenses (AGI, Filipinas, 147, n.15). As a result, we have the names of the Jesuit and Franciscan master printers for 1737, Felipe de Lara and Juan de Sotillo, respectively. For Sotillo this is just an extension of his printing activities in Sampaloc to one year earlier. Lara’s tenure was unknown prior to this discovery. It is not known, however, how long Lara served as the master printer or which works he printed.

²³⁰ It is interesting to note that the first time we see these titles appearing next to Jerónimo Correa de Castro is in 1742, thirteen years after he began printing. It is possible that he was first elected to the position of *gobernadorcillo* only in this year, or possibly a few years earlier, and he was now enjoying the titles of “don” and “capitán,” either during or after his service.

²³¹ Jose, *Impreso* entries: 197 (“Capitan D. Gaspar de los Reyes”); 218 (“D. Santiago de Matangso”); 255 (“D. Lucas Manumbas”); 265 (“D. Iuan Correa”); 272 (“Capitan Don Juan Flores”); 281 (“D. Gaspar Aquino de Belén”); 317 (“Capitan D. Lucas Francisco Rodríguez”); 350 (“D. Phelipe de Guzman”); 375 (“D. Sebastian Lopez Sabino”); 535 (“Cap.n D. Geronimo Correa de Castro”); 538 (“D. Nicolas de la Cruz Bagay”); Carlos Francisco de la Cruz (Pérez and Güemes, entry 714).

Conclusion

Although the institution of the press has traditionally been considered an agent of radical change in the history of the West, fomenting the rapid spread of scholarly knowledge and having a democratizing tendency, this radicalizing potential was greatly attenuated when the press came to Spain's colonies, as "the printed text...reached only a small group of literate colonists" (Chocano Mena 70). When applied to the Philippines, however, both of these assertions are only partially true. It is true that, on the whole, as with all Spanish colonial presses, the Philippine press served to maintain the colonial status quo through the printing of numerous religious documents that served the purpose of catechizing indigenous Filipinos, increasing loyalty and devotion to the Christian message, and carrying out the affairs of Church administration. It is true that the Crown utilized the press to disseminate decrees, *cédulas*, reforms, and other executive orders, and that the ruling class in the islands employed it in the resolution of local concerns, presenting their law suits, legal briefs, *memoriales*, and *representaciones* to the Audiencia and to the Crown back in Madrid.

However, it is also true that, due to the pre-Hispanic tradition of literacy in the islands, indigenous Filipinos were active producers and consumers of colonial imprints, a tendency that, while initially minimal, only increased as the Spanish period wore on, to the point that even when texts in indigenous languages were decreasing dramatically in other parts of the empire, texts in Filipino languages, and in particular Tagalog, continued to increase steadily. The texts produced in Filipino languages were neither insignificant nor inconsequential, as demonstrated by the vigorous and enduring *pasyon* tradition in Manila and elsewhere throughout the archipelago. Indigenous participation in the institution of the press was facilitated by the replacement of traditional *baybayin* script with the Latin alphabet in Philippine imprints, a

practice that contributed to the widespread use of the Latin alphabet and the eventual disappearance of *baybayin* in most places, but not to the disappearance of Filipino languages. On the contrary, the printing of texts in Filipino languages only strengthened the position of those languages in all parts of the islands, preserving and codifying them.

Furthermore, although the products of the Manila presses were predominantly used for administration, this does not mean that it was used exclusively for this purpose. Intellectual and literary pursuits, though a minimal portion of the overall tally of Philippine imprints, still figure in printing production, a number that is not representative of their true cultural importance. Admittedly such texts as were printed kept within the bounds of religious and political orthodoxy, but this is not surprising nor unexpected since that was the case with all colonial presses in the Spanish-speaking world; to demand otherwise from the Manila presses is to fall into anachronisms and inconsistencies. Rather, if one looks closely at the real historical, social, and economic contexts of printing in the Philippines, the profile of the press in Manila changes from one of stagnant irrelevance to one of dynamic perseverance in relative cultural isolation. One cannot help but be surprised by the sometimes high quality of both the content and physical characteristics of Philippine imprints. While this study does not purport to be an apologetic defense of the institution of the press as practiced by the Spaniards in Manila, it has attempted to present the Philippine presses and their products in an objective light, allowing the profile of the press to speak for itself.

Chapter 2

Jurisdictional Blues: The Press and the Case of the *Diálogo mixti fori*

...at this rate I am expecting to see an infinite number of papers,
some reactions and the others counterreactions²³².
- *Diálogo mixti fori*

Introduction

With the broad profile of the Manila presses established in Chapter 1, it is now possible to examine in detail how certain sectors of *manileño* society utilized this institution through the analysis of a specific case, the jurisdictional conflicts that began in 1734 over alleged violations of the Real Patronato.

Legal confrontations among the various colonial authorities were the order of the day in Spain's overseas dominions. While many scholars of Philippine history have examined different aspects of the clashes that arose over issues of jurisdiction, there is a preponderance of studies dedicated to events in the seventeenth and late eighteenth centuries, to the exclusion of the first 50 years of the eighteenth. Furthermore, the majority of scholarly work on this topic deals with either the problem of episcopal visitation or the tenancy of beneficed curacies among the regular and the secular clergy. Although these issues inform the 1734 case and represent a continuum of conflict throughout the course of the Spanish domination, they were not the point of contention here. Rather, the controversy in 1734 was over the alleged papal privileges of the regulars and the licensing of royal chaplains. This distinction is important and affected the course of the struggle and the actions of those who participated in it. Additionally, detailed examination of this case helps fill the void in scholarly knowledge on this topic for this time period.

²³² Original: "...pues según va la cosa, espero ver una infinidad de papelones, los unos reflejos y los otros contrarreflejos."

However, more important for the purposes of the present study is the fact that the role of the press in such legal battles has not received any attention at all in the many studies which have appeared on jurisdictional conflicts in the Philippines. This is perfectly understandable given the purposes of those studies, yet it leaves us without a proper understanding of how the Manila presses intervened in these quarrels and what their ultimate contribution was to the historical and religious trajectory of the islands. Such a perspective is a necessary addition to scholarly knowledge both for the jurisdictional issues themselves and for the history of the press in the archipelago. In response to these gaps in scholarly knowledge, Chapter 2 will discuss the imprints arising out of the 1734 chaplain licensing controversy and how they intervened in it, highlighting one of the imprints produced out of that conflict, the *Diálogo mixti fori*.

The *Diálogo mixti fori* was an anonymous, humorous, and highly acerbic critique of the position of the *Cabildo eclesiástico* (cathedral chapter) in *sede vacante*²³³. Although the appearance of anonymous, critical texts was a relatively common occurrence in Hispanic cultures, the content and circumstances of the *Mixti fori* are unique. First, rather than a simple manuscript, satirical opinion, the text is a thorough, printed legal defense of the Real Patronato and the actions of the Audiencia against the Cabildo, indicating that its author or authors were well versed in canon and civil law. Second, there were only three printing offices in Manila during the eighteenth century and all were owned by religious orders—the Dominicans, the Jesuits, and the Franciscans—meaning that one of them printed and possibly authored the tract. Determining who wrote and printed the tract is an essential concern in the discussion of this imprint.

²³³ The cathedral chapter was the body of men in charge of running the diocese under the direction of the bishop or archbishop. The term “sede vacante” means “vacant seat” and refers to the vacancy of a bishopric or archbishopric due to death, resignation, transfer, or other reasons. The cathedral chapter then governs the diocese or archdiocese until a new prelate is appointed.

Through the case of the 1734 chaplain licensing controversy we are witness to the operations of the press in Spain's remotest colony. I argue that, far from being a mere tool, the press was a key factor in the continuation, expansion, and resolution of this conflict. Furthermore, although technically the civil and ecclesiastical authorities had equal access to the press in publicly voicing their positions, I argue that as the property of the religious orders, the press was their special province and they used it to their advantage in 1734, bypassing licenses and censorship on the one hand, and on the other hand blocking the printing of texts that opposed their position, all in the defense of their alleged papal privileges. Finally, I argue that, although the individuals that intervened in this controversy were small actors in what, in the end, would be a local drama, in reality this conflict and the publications it produced were simply one small manifestation of the empire-wide debates on the relationship between the monarchy and the Church and the place of the regular clergy in the religious life of the empire, debates that would lead to the subjection of the Spanish Church to the Crown and to the expulsion of the Jesuits.

Preliminary considerations

Jurisdictional conflicts were part and parcel of governance in Spain's overseas possessions in the colonial period. These clashes were the result of built-in tensions within the colonial structure. John Leddy Phelan writes:

There were four administrative hierarchies in the colonies, namely, the viceroys and governors, the Audiencias, the ecclesiastical, and the fiscal authorities. In spite of the nominal centralization of power in the hands of the viceroys and governors, the three other hierarchies retained a substantial amount of autonomous power. (6)

As could be expected from a power-sharing structure such as this, there was much occasion for disagreement. Phelan further states that the overlap of jurisdiction (though not the conflicts that

arose) was a deliberate strategy on the part of the Crown to prevent one sector from acquiring and exercising too much authority, “given the long distances and the slow communications with Spain” (6). As the furthest colony from the Peninsula, the Philippines were the outstanding example of the effects of long distances and slow communications with metropolitan power.

Within the ecclesiastical hierarchy, which Phelan lists here as one entity, there were distinct sectors that often came into contact with each other, sometimes amicably but at other times acrimoniously. Besides the all-powerful Inquisition (which can be considered both a state and an ecclesiastical body²³⁴), there were two other influential groups that formed the Church establishment in Spain’s ultramarine territories, the secular and the regular clergy. The secular clergy were those religious living non-communally and who were subject to the authority of the Ordinary, or the bishop of the local diocese. The regular clergy, represented by religious orders such as the Franciscans or the Dominicans, were those clergy who lived communally according to a *regula*, or rule, and who were not subject to the jurisdiction of the Ordinary but rather to their own elected prelate or superior.

The entire purpose of the regulars coming to the Indies was to engage in the task of preaching and conversion. Armed with the 1522 papal bull known as the *Omnimoda*, the Franciscans and later other regular orders were at liberty to “administer the sacraments to the Indians and to perform the duties of parish priests independently of the local bishop” (Phelan

²³⁴ Henry Kamen writes, “The Inquisition was in every way an instrument of royal policy, and remained politically subject to the crown...But royal control did not make it exclusively a secular tribunal. Any authority and jurisdiction exercised by the inquisitors came directly or indirectly from Rome, without which the tribunal would have ceased to exist” (137-38). Richard Greenleaf goes even farther, “La Inquisición española era una institución nacional, y no papal o episcopal, porque existía en España y en el Nuevo Mundo un importante control civil de las actividades inquisitoriales” (15). The activities of the Inquisition, like most official religious corporations, were coordinated under the Real Patronato. John Schwaller states, “Political thought was considered merely one manifestation of religious thought. As a result, the Inquisition functioned as a tool for the maintenance of the homogeneity of the body politic” (*History* 86).

32)²³⁵. Popes Paul III and Pius V confirmed and clarified these privileges in 1535, 1546, and 1567 (Lisi 39-40; Shiels 214-15; Costa, “Episcopal” 47-48; Manchado López, “Extensión” 205, note 33; Cushner, *Spain* 82-83)²³⁶. Yet regular clergymen accepting parish responsibilities was an abnormal arrangement since in Europe diocesan priests carried out all parochial work, the regulars being confined primarily to urban monasteries (Schwaller, *History* 88; *Church* xiv). The only reason for this phenomenon in the colonies was the lack of established dioceses in newly converted territories. Following the establishment of dioceses, however, it was expected that secular priests would take over parish work, allowing the regulars to push on to “the pioneering work which their vocation and their privileges presupposed” (Costa, “Episcopal” 48-50), a process known as secularization²³⁷.

However, in Spain’s territories there was frequently a dearth of secular priests, especially in frontier areas, obligating regulars to continue as parish priests and producing the perpetual confrontations between them and the Ordinaries under whose jurisdiction they operated. These confrontations were the inevitable result of incompatibilities between the regulars’ *omnímoda* privileges and the decrees of the Council of Trent (1545-1563). Specifically, Tridentine policy

²³⁵ For more information on the *Omnímoda*, see Shiels, chapter 13, especially pp. 211-15; Lisi, p. 39; Cushner, *Spain*, pp. 75-83; Schwaller, *Church*, pp. 4-5; Costa, “Episcopal,” 48, 51.

²³⁶ It is interesting to note that although the continued legal efficacy of these bulls, and therefore the privileges enumerated therein, had been in question since the end of the sixteenth century, all the regular orders clung to them tenaciously, in particular the 1522 *Omnímoda* (titled “Exponi nobis feciste”) and the 1567 “Exponi nobis nuper.” In Manila the Augustinians printed these bulls in the 1630 *Ritual* by Alonso de Métrida. The Jesuits reprinted the *Ritual*—including the bulls—in 1669.

²³⁷ “Secularization” was a fundamental part of the Council of Trent and the 1574 Ordenanza del Patronazgo issued by Philip II in order to bring the Church in the Indies into conformity with Trent and with the King’s privilege (see Schwaller, *Church*, chapter 3, pp. 81-109, for discussion of the Ordenanzas del Patronazgo). Although secularization was decreed in the late sixteenth century, it was a piecemeal process that took two centuries to complete, coming to a head in the 1750s and 1760s under the reign of Charles III. For a description of this process in Mexico, see William B. Taylor’s *Magistrates of the Sacred*, pp. 14-15, 24, 78-79, 83-85. For a description of Guatemala’s challenges, see Adriaan C. Van Oss’s *Catholic Colonialism*, chapter 5, particularly pp. 126-42. It is interesting to note that Guatemala faced very similar challenges when it came to applying the guidelines of Trent and the Ordenanzas, primarily due to the distance and difficulty of travel among the highland Indian parishes operated by regulars. Although in the seventeenth century the Guatemalan regulars were forced to incorporate some of the stipulated requirements of the Patronato, for the most part the regulars operated independently of the Bishop in Guatemala City, including the lack of real presentation by the Vice-Patron of the territory.

made it imperative that all religious with pastoral responsibilities—regular or secular—should be subject to the visitation and correction of the Ordinary (Costa, *Jesuits* 258)²³⁸. This supervision included the licensing of those who administered the sacraments, heard confession, and served as preachers, even if they did not serve as parish priests (Schwaller, *History* 88-89; Schwaller, *Church* 184; Manchado López, “Concordia” 73). However, such oversight was totally contrary to the constitutions of the regular orders, who, they claimed, answered only to the Pope, from whom their existence and authority emanated (Costa, *Jesuits* 422; Cushner, *Spain* 81-83). Because of this, the regulars in the Indies, and especially in the Philippines, stubbornly resisted episcopal “encroachments” through all possible means at their disposal.

Whereas in Latin America the regulars who put up resistance were brought to heel and eventually replaced by the secular clergy (not without “acrimonious rearguard action,” says Phelan²³⁹), in the Philippines things were different (32). This is due to the simple fact that, unlike the rest of the Spanish empire²⁴⁰, secular priests in the Philippines were *always* in short supply and confined predominantly to Manila (Costa, “Episcopal” 44, 50)²⁴¹. The regulars, as the most numerous sector of the clergy in the Philippines, were absolutely indispensable for the continuation of the work of the Church and for the preservation of the archipelago in the hands of the Spanish: “The regulars in the islands were irreplaceable. They knew it, and they took

²³⁸ See also Shiels, chapter 13; Van Oss 53-58; Farriss, 19-20; Schwaller, *Church* 82.

²³⁹ One example of these conflicts is the case of Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, bishop of Puebla in the 1640s. Upon assuming control of his diocese he began to butt heads with the mendicants who resisted his attempts to oversee their work. As a result, Palafox removed the mendicants from 36 of the 37 parishes under consideration and replaced them with secular clergy (Schwaller, *History* 89; Ward 79-80).

²⁴⁰ There were, of course, certain exceptions, such as Guatemala, mentioned previously. However, even places such as Guatemala were finally able to be completely, or almost completely, secularized in the eighteenth century. Although attempts were made in the Philippines at the same time under Archbishop Basilio Sancho de Santa Justa y Rufina, his efforts would come to naught and following a short period the previous status quo was reinstated.

²⁴¹ Phelan writes, “In 1655 there were not more than sixty secular priests in the whole archipelago, in contrast to 254 regulars” (33). The urban preference of secular priests was not limited to Manila. Schwaller indicates that urban assignments were also the general preference of secular priests in Mexico in the sixteenth century (*Church* 131).

pains to make everyone else aware of the fact,” writes Phelan (32-33; see also Reed 14-16; Costa, *Jesuits* 419, 429)²⁴². As a result, attempts to subject the regulars’ parishes to visitation or to enforce the process of nomination for curacies under regular control were entirely unsuccessful for the majority of the Spanish period²⁴³.

This is not to say that the regulars completely ignored all Tridentine and royal decrees. By at least the time that Archbishop Diego Camacho y Ávila attempted visitation in 1697, the religious orders had been consistently presenting themselves to the Ordinary to receive license to preach, hear confessions, and administer the sacraments. When Camacho y Ávila first arrived he requested that the regulars appear before him to renew these licenses, they unanimously responded that his predecessor had already examined their religious and that “the privileges and exemptions that they enjoyed made a new examination unnecessary” (Manchado López, “Concordia” 73)²⁴⁴. In this case Camacho was forced to accept and approve a “memoria” of the licensed regular confessors. Therefore, while the religious were willing to accept an initial examination and licensing from the presiding bishop, they refused to do so twice because, they averred, it violated their privileges.

Overshadowing all the conflicts of jurisdiction between the bishops and the regulars was the Real Patronato. Although at first glance the conflicts between the regular and secular clergy

²⁴² Tomás de Comyn, *factor* for the Real Compañía de Filipinas in the early nineteenth century, would dedicate an entire chapter (XIV) to the pivotal role of the clergy in keeping the Philippines in Spanish power in his 1820 book, *El estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1810*.

²⁴³ Horacio de la Costa provides the most comprehensive picture of visitation and presentation in the seventeenth century. The first attempt was by Archbishop Diego Vázquez Mercado in 1610. Archbishop Miguel Serrano tried in 1622. From 1654-1656 Archbishop Miguel de Poblete was nearly successful in enforcing visitation, but the threat and execution of mass resignations by the regulars in the face of episcopal visitation caused him to retract. His attempt was only moderately successful because he had the backing of the Governor and the Audiencia, elements that were lacking in the previous attempts. However, even their support could not break the regulars’ resolve to resist the Ordinary’s “intrusion.” The last attempt in the seventeenth century was by Archbishop Diego Camacho y Ávila in 1697 and 1698. All of these attempts were unsuccessful. See Costa, *Jesuits* 419-29, 524-527.

²⁴⁴ Original, “Los privilegios y exenciones de que gozaban hacían innecesario un nuevo examen...”

seem to be entirely ecclesiastical in nature and therefore irrelevant to the interests of the Crown, this was not the case. As the one and only patron of the Catholic church in Spain's overseas territories, the Spanish monarchy was the head of the Church in the Indies. The key elements of Spain's royal patronage were the right of presentation and the right to tithes to support the functioning of the church (Shiels 6-7, 61). Presentation is the right to select the individuals who would serve in ecclesiastical capacities in the Indies, and the Spanish monarchs received the right to universal presentation in the Indies, "from archbishop to altar boy" (Cushner, *Spain* 75)²⁴⁵. The only right or responsibility granted to the diocesan hierarchy (i.e., the Bishop or Archbishop, or in their absence, the Cabildo in sede vacante) was the right of confirmation, also known as collation²⁴⁶ or canonical institution²⁴⁷, of the appointments made by the Crown or his Vice-Patron, represented in the Philippines by the Governor²⁴⁸.

In light of the above discussion, it is important to remember when considering conflicts between the regular and secular clergy, that although these were ecclesiastical issues, the Real Patronato made them the Crown's business, and it did not hesitate to intervene if it felt its rights were under attack. In fact, the regulars were often a sore point in the implementation of Patronato policies. As Phelan puts it, "The Crown looked with misgivings upon the regulars' disregard for episcopal jurisdiction as an implicit denial of many of the privileges the Crown enjoyed by virtue of its patronage over the colonial church" (32). To which Shiels adds, quoting

²⁴⁵ Costa's detailed description of this right graphically demonstrates the power of the Crown over the Church in the Indies: "without the consent of the Crown or the competent Crown official, no cathedral church, parish church, monastery, hospital, votive chapel, or any other pious or religious institution may be erected, founded, or built; nor may any archbishopric, bishopric, prelacy, canonry, prebend, half-prebend, benefice, curacy whether simple or otherwise, nor any other ecclesiastical or religious office be created or appointment thereto made" (*Jesuits* 417).

²⁴⁶ New Catholic Encyclopedia, "Collatio": "(5) Formerly in Canon Law, the act of conferring an ecclesiastical benefice or office (*collatio tituli*) on a designated person or presentee, whether by right ordinary jurisdiction (e.g., a bishop) or of a prerogative arising out of a lawful title, custom, or privilege (e.g., patronage)" (836).

²⁴⁷ Schwaller considers these two terms as referring to two distinct parts of the confirmation process (*Church* 84). The authors of the *Diálogo mixti fori*, however, considered them entirely synonymous (AGN, Inq. 861, 71r).

²⁴⁸ In the Philippines the chief executive had two titles: Governor and Captain General.

Joaquín García Icazbalceta, “it could be said of the kings that ‘they wanted the religious, but without their privileges’” (196)²⁴⁹. Both the Crown and the Bishops frequently attempted to bring the orders in the Philippines under their control but nearly always met with failure or inaction. Even when the Crown issued legislation designed to curb the excesses of the regulars, the islands were simply too far out of reach and the regulars too entrenched to effect any lasting change²⁵⁰.

In spite of the frequent conflict between the regulars and the seculars (with the support of the Crown), this was not a static relationship. Depending on who was in power, old alliances could break, new ones could form, and it was not abnormal for the regulars and the Audiencia to side together against the governor, or for the Inquisition to unite with the regulars against the Cabildo, etc. Costa relates two incidents in particular where the Archbishop and the Audiencia/Governor collided, the Guerrero conflict (1636) and the Pardo controversy (1681-1689). These jurisdictional battles resulted in the multiplication of legal injunctions, vehement pastoral letters, anonymous libelous papers, the arrest and/or banishment of the Archbishop, confiscation of goods, multiple excommunications, exiles, disinterment of dead *oidores*, and stinging rebukes from the King (*Jesuits* 377-82; 489-502). Phelan summarizes these moments best when he writes, “The jurisdictional conflicts...produced periodic states of turmoil with demoralizing consequences for all parties involved” (34). This was precisely the case in 1734.

²⁴⁹ Costa (*Jesuits*, “Episcopal”), Schwaller (*History, Church*), Cushner (*Spain*), Van Oss, Manchado López (“Extensión,” “Concordia”), and Lisi all concur with this assessment.

²⁵⁰ Such was the case of two cédulas issued in 1624 and 1629. Whereas prior to these cédulas the Crown only required that the regular provincials in the islands inform the Vice-Patron of changes made in parishes and missions headed by their orders, these new cédulas demanded that the provincials receive the consent of the Vice-Patron before making changes in mission staff and obligated them to submit to the Vice-Patron for approval a list of candidates for new appointments and transfers. Costa describes the result of this legislation: “This was in 1632, and again, the colonial government did nothing beyond calling the two cédulas to the attention of the religious orders; it made no attempt to enforce them” (*Jesuits* 422-24).

Conflict in Manila

In December of 1733 the Governor of the Philippines, Fernando Valdés Tamón, sent an armada against the Muslim raiders of the southern island of Mindanao, naming as the head chaplain of the expedition the Jesuit Francisco Xavier Mompó²⁵¹. The day of the departure of the armada²⁵², with Mompó and his assistants already on board the ships, the Cabildo sent a message to the Jesuit Vice-Provincial, Buenaventura Plana, stating that they considered it strange that “the chaplain appointed had not presented himself to request the titles or licenses to be able to administer the Holy Sacraments” (AGN, Inq. 861, 222r)²⁵³. In remedy of this apparent oversight, the Cabildo sent the Jesuits a license to administer the sacraments in confirmation of the appointment given by the Governor. The Jesuits, however, interpreted this action very differently. Claiming that neither they nor any of the other regular orders who had served as chaplains had at any time gone to the Archbishop or its Cabildo to receive such licenses, Plana refused to accept them and informed the Governor of the Cabildo’s actions, asserting that if they were to receive the title²⁵⁴, it would be in violation of both long-established custom and, more importantly, the King’s privileges via the Real Patronato. The Governor took the side of the Jesuits and ordered the Cabildo to stop issuing licenses.

However, on January 2, 1734, the Cabildo sent to the Jesuits a *monitorio*, or formal suspension of the right of any Jesuit priest to act as chaplain in the future if they did not first

²⁵¹ *Copia de la Real Cédula*, AGN, Inq., Vol. 861, 221r-224v; AGI, Filipinas 145, N. 16, 2v-3r; *Alegato fiscal*, in AGI, Filipinas 145, N. 16, n. pag.

²⁵² The departure was the 29th of December. This date comes from the *Alegato fiscal*. The Jesuits in their testimony to the Governor regarding the *monitorio* state they informed the Governor on the 30th and 31st of December (AGI, Filipinas 145, N. 16, 3r-3v).

²⁵³ Original, “extrañaba que el capellán nombrado no hubiese recurrido a pedir los títulos o licencias para poder administrar los Santos Sacramentos.” Spelling, punctuation, and accentuation modernized in this and other quotes from archival sources.

²⁵⁴ In the existing documentation the words “título” and “licencia” are used freely and interchangeably, and refer in all cases to the same thing. Both terms are used here accordingly.

appear before the Cabildo to receive license to administer the sacraments, “declaring them from now until that time suspended and as having incurred the punishments established by law” (*Alegato fiscal*, “Hecho”)²⁵⁵. In view of the Cabildo’s aggressive and unusual stance, the Jesuits sent their Procurador General, Francisco Méndez, to the Governor to ask him to persuade the Cabildo to rescind their monitorio and to desist in their claims²⁵⁶. Again the Governor acceded to the Jesuits’ request and referred the case to the royal *Fiscal*²⁵⁷, Don Pedro de Vedoya y Ossorio. Vedoya, in turn, recommended that the Governor issue a “request to the effect that the Cabildo abstain from such pretensions” (*Alegato fiscal*)²⁵⁸, citing as his motives for pursuing the case the same arguments used by the Jesuits. When the Cabildo refused the Governor’s request, Vedoya became suspicious and launched an investigation to determine if the Cabildo had violated the Real Patronato in its attempts to issue additional titles to newly-appointed chaplains²⁵⁹.

He began by sending a request to the Cabildo and to all the provincials of the regular orders in Manila, asking them if any of their number who had served as chaplains at any time had ever asked for or received licenses from the Ordinary, and if so, to show the licenses to the *escribanos*²⁶⁰ of the Audiencia. The regulars all responded with a resounding, unanimous “no.” The Cabildo, on the other hand, only gave him the runaround. When Vedoya asked the Cabildo to permit secular priests subject to the Cabildo to exhibit past licenses for chaplaincies, he first

²⁵⁵ Original, “declarándolos desde ahora para entonces por suspensos y por incursos en las penas por derecho establecidas.”

²⁵⁶ It is unusual to note that apparently Méndez did not make his petition to the Governor until March 16, based on the date given in the autos, although it could be that Méndez made his petition earlier and this date was simply when the Governor ordered it to be sent to Vedoya for prosecution. Either way, from the time the Cabildo issued the monitorio until the Audiencia took cognizance of the case (31 March), three full months had passed.

²⁵⁷ “Fiscal” = the Audiencia’s attorney

²⁵⁸ Original, “ruego y encargo para que el Cabildo se abstuviese de semejante pretensión.” A “ruego y encargo” was a traditional formulaic term for making a formal, legal request.

²⁵⁹ The order to begin investigating was given on 4 May 1734.

²⁶⁰ scribe or notary

sent the request to the *Chantre* (Precentor)²⁶¹ and Vicar General of the Cabildo, Isidoro de Arévalo, who excused himself by saying the request should be directed to the entire Cabildo. Vedoya again sent the request, this time to the entire Cabildo, and they answered that the request had not been made in the proper way, and therefore they could not give satisfaction. When the Fiscal sent the request to the Cabildo yet a third time, the Cabildo stated they would do what was necessary once the request had been legally certified (AGI, Filipinas 145, N. 16, 19v)²⁶².

By this time Vedoya was quite fed up with their evasive tactics and penned a memo to the Cabildo in which he accused them of open disrespect toward the Audiencia, deliberate obstruction of his investigation, and of purposefully wasting his time with frivolous responses and vain paperwork. The secretary copied the memo word for word and included it in the fourth request that the Vedoya sent to the Cabildo. On the fourth attempt the Cabildo finally responded to the request by rejecting the Fiscal's petition. With the help of their *Promotor Fiscal*²⁶³, Doctor Nicolás de León, they declared that the Audiencia had no business in making such a request because the licenses were a spiritual concern and as such had nothing to do with the Real Patronato. They furthermore requested that the Governor reprimand Vedoya for the strong language used in his final request.

Such was the state of things when the Audiencia struck gold. At the time that the initial appeal went out to the religious to exhibit any licenses issued by the Cabildo, all the regulars

²⁶¹ The precentor, or *chantre*, was the third of the five *dignidades*, or dignitaries, assigned to a cathedral chapter. The others, in hierarchical order, were the dean (*deán*), archdeacon (*arcediano*), schoolmaster (*maestrescuela*), and treasurer (*tesorero*). "The chantre directed the music of the cathedral services. By canon law, he led the chapter in the singing of the canonical hours and taught music to all those persons who served in the cathedral. In short, he took charge of all things which dealt with the music performed in the cathedral, directing the musicians, organists, and singers, and choosing the music they played. He also drew up the work schedule, assigning each member of the chapter such ecclesiastical duties as officiating or assisting at the various masses" (Schwaller, *Church* 16). However, as Schwaller indicates on this same page, "there is also no evidence that the chantre ever gave music lessons either."

²⁶² The language used is "testimonio jurídico de este ruego y encargo."

²⁶³ "Promotor fiscal": a consulting attorney for the Cabildo.

responded negatively except a number of Augustinians who were out of the city when the request came. However, in June of 1734, the Augustinians remitted a letter from one Fr. Ignacio Gracia, including a license given to Gracia when he had served as chaplain on the 1732 galleon to Acapulco. In his letter Gracia indicated that he neither presented himself before the Cabildo nor asked for the title since he already had permission to hear confession and administer the sacraments in Manila. He also stated that he was already in the town of Parañaque²⁶⁴ on the way to Cavite²⁶⁵ to board the galleon when a representative of the Cabildo gave him the license and requested payment for its issuance. Although Gracia initially refused, he eventually relented and sent the Cabildo's agent the money from Cavite "so that the said *Maestro* wouldn't suffer any losses" (AGI, Filipinas 145, N. 16, 42v)²⁶⁶.

But more importantly for the Vedoya's case against the Cabildo was the license issued by the former Dean and Vicar General of the Cabildo, Manuel Antonio de Ocio y Ocampo²⁶⁷:

We, Doctor Don Manuel Antonio de Ocio y Ocampo...Inasmuch as the Reverend Father Fr. Ignacio Gracia, religious of the Hermits of Saint Augustine *has made presentation to us* of a title from the Superior Government of these Islands...by which it appoints him chaplain...*he asked and requested that we would agree to confirm said appointment* of chaplain...giving him for his use and exercise the necessary faculties and licenses: Therefore, we hold as the appointed chaplain of said galleon the aforementioned R. P. Fr. Ignacio Gracia, *and if necessary we select and appoint him as such a chaplain* and we give him power and commission as required by law so that in it he can freely administer the Holy Sacraments and exercise the other ministries pertaining to said office. (AGI, Filipinas 145, N. 16, 42v-44r, my italics)²⁶⁸

²⁶⁴ Municipality in modern Metro Manila. In that period it was a distinct town and suburb of Intramuros.

²⁶⁵ Cavite was the primary port in Manila Bay and the loading and launching place of the galleons.

²⁶⁶ Original, "porque dicho Maestro no padeciera detrimento."

²⁶⁷ Shortly after the license cited above, Ocampo became the bishop of Cebu.

²⁶⁸ Original: "Nos, el Doctor Don Manuel Antonio de Ocio y Ocampo...Por quanto el Reverendo Padre Fr. Ignacio Gracia, religioso de los Ermitaños del Señor San Agustín, *nos ha hecho presentación* de un título del Superior Gobierno de estas Islas...por el cual lo nombra por capellán...*nos pidió y suplicó fuésemos servidos de confirmar dicho nombramiento* de capellán...dándole para su uso y ejercicio las facultades y licencias necesarias: Por tanto habemos por capellán nombrado de dicho galeón a dicho el R. P. Fr. Ignacio Gracia, *y en caso necesario le elegimos y nombramos por tal capellán* y le damos facultad y comisión cuanta por derecho se requiere, para que en él pueda libremente administrar los Santos Sacramentos, y ejercer los demás ministerios concernientes a dicho oficio."

Besides the glaring factual errors included in this license, there are other items of much greater legal concern, which were not lost on Vedoya. Whereas prior to the receipt of Gracia's letter and license the Fiscal had been acting on mere suspicion of Patronato violations, here now was conclusive proof, found in the words "and if necessary we select and appoint him as such a chaplain." In other words, from the perspective of the Audiencia, the Cabildo was trying to interfere in the naming and appointing of royal chaplains, a power reserved exclusively to the Governor as Vice-Patron. Convinced of the existence of further incriminating licenses being hidden by the Cabildo, Vedoya took his evidence and employed it in the best way he could to persuade the Cabildo to exhibit their titles: he went to press.

"Reflejos y contrarreflejos"

The first imprint to come out the chaplain conflict was Vedoya's *Alegato fiscal en defensa del Real Patronato*, printed on the Jesuit press shortly after June 26, 1734. Although some have suggested that this was a *Jesuit* defense against the pretensions of the Cabildo, the existing documentation suggests that this is not the case (Jose 137, entry 438)²⁶⁹. While it is true that Méndez's recourse to the Governor was the catalyst for the Audiencia's investigation, and again later for the rescinding of the monitorio, the Jesuits' actions cannot be interpreted as decisive since, in the end, they could only petition. Any conclusive and binding action had to be taken by the Audiencia, not the Jesuits, and indeed it was. For all intents and purposes, then, following Méndez's final petition in July of 1734, documented Jesuit participation in this aspect

²⁶⁹ Despite the fact that it was printed by the Jesuits on their press, Vedoya's *Alegato fiscal* is not a Jesuit defense, nor even a Jesuit document. Jesuit participation in the Patronato aspect of the controversy was limited to Plana's initial messages in December 1733, Méndez's petitions regarding the monitorio in March and July 1734, and the testimonies given in May of 1734 by certain Jesuits that had previously served as chaplains. Yet even this last action was no greater than that of other orders who also gave testimony in response to Vedoya's request.

of the controversy ends. Vedoya and his subordinates, with the solid, active, and personal support of both the Governor and the Audiencia, were entirely responsible for the legal proceedings against the Cabildo, as well as the official legal texts that resulted therefrom.

The *Alegato fiscal* is a brief text (only 36 pages long including the title page) and is first a legal rejoinder to the Cabildo in an attempt to set the record straight regarding the events that had preceded the *Alegato*'s publication²⁷⁰. Second, it contains a series of public and forceful requests to the Governor, namely, that he force the Cabildo to allow the priests subject to its jurisdiction to exhibit any chaplaincy titles they had received, that he order the Cabildo to lift the monitorio against the Jesuits, and that he ensure that no one repeat any of the Cabildo's actions in the future. Third, and most importantly, the *Alegato fiscal* is a clear and well-argued defense of the Real Patronato as it pertained to the current situation. Vedoya's goal in this defense is to refute the Cabildo's alleged self-attributed jurisdiction in issuing licenses for chaplains, whose basic premise lies in the interpretation of Law 50, Title 6, Book 1 of the *Recopilación de Indias* regarding the naming of chaplains in the Indies, which contains the following sentence: "And we plead and exhort the Archbishops and Bishops that they do not appoint them, and only intervene to give their approval and license to administer the Holy Sacraments" (29v).

The Cabildo and its legal adviser León had interpreted the phrase "approval and license"²⁷¹ to mean something similar to collation and canonical institution, wherein a candidate

²⁷⁰ The four official legal texts printed in Manila in this conflict (*Alegato*, *Papel*, *Verdad*, and *Jurisdicción*) all begin with an "Hecho," or establishment of the basic events of the case. In the *Alegato*'s "hecho" Vedoya tells the story of the struggles that had taken place prior to the publication of the *Alegato*, related previously. Among the many points Vedoya makes is the fact that in their initial response to Vedoya's request (16 Apr. 1734), the Cabildo called Vedoya "Joseph" rather than "Pedro" (Letter from the Cabildo to the Audiencia, AGI Filipinas 145, N. 16, 7v). He takes a few lines to correct them in a humorous way: "...la primera de poner nombre al Fiscal de José, que no le ha tenido en España ni en estas Islas después de dichos trece años; porque la confirmación del bautismo recibió en dicha España, y conservando el nombre de Pedro que se le puso en el bautismo, y en estas Islas no encuentra el motivo de la variación de Pedro a José." (*Alegato fiscal*, section 2).

²⁷¹ Original, "aprobación y licencia"

presented for an ecclesiastical position received official investiture of the position from the appropriate ecclesiastical authority. Vedoya invalidates this claim with the real cédula originally given by Philip III in 1609 to address this very same issue precisely in the archdiocese of Manila, where the phrase “approval and license” refers specifically to the determination of “idoneidad,” the suitability or aptitude of the candidate presented, and to the initial granting of permission to administer the sacraments in a given diocese (*Alegato fiscal*, sections 16-18). Both of these events would have taken place when a priest first arrived in Manila.

As a result of Vedoya’s *Alegato fiscal*, the Governor forced the Cabildo to capitulate. After concerted and substantial pressure by the Governor and the Audiencia and a great deal of unpleasant back and forth, the Cabildo eventually lifted the Jesuit suspension and allowed the Audiencia to examine the titles for chaplaincies. The result of their examination upheld the affirmation of the Audiencia and the testimony of the regulars: in a period of more than 150 years, the Ordinary or his Cabildo had only issued 29 such licenses²⁷², a very meager precedent on which to base a supposed inviolable necessity, as was the position of the Cabildo (*La verdad defendida* 15r). Furthermore, this lack of licenses applied to both the secular and the regular clergy, both groups attesting to the superfluity of said licenses, with some exceptions among the seculars²⁷³.

With the Cabildo defeated, the naming of chaplains continued as before, without any additional licenses. But the Cabildo did not let the matter rest. Although the Audiencia had

²⁷² Of the 29 titles that the Audiencia discovered in the archdiocesan records, six employed the language, “en caso necesario lo elegimos y nombramos por tal capellán,” or something to that effect. Five were issued by Ocio y Ocampo and one by the present Cabildo (AGI, Filipinas 145, N. 16, Letter of Valdés Tamón, n. pag.).

²⁷³ The secular priests most loyal to the Cabildo protested loudly of the necessity of the licenses and of the violation of their ecclesiastical immunity against the Audiencia’s order of exhibition. However, two secular priests that had served as chaplains on different occasions, Manuel de Ochoa and Miguel García, stated that never on all the occasions when they had served as chaplains had they ever asked for or received licenses. Furthermore, Miguel García cited a case in the Cabildo’s archive where Archbishop Francisco de la Cuesta had ordered him not to use a chaplain’s license issued prior to his arrival (AGI, Filipinas 145, N. 16, Letter of Valdés Tamón, n. pag.).

forced them to acquiesce, they were not prepared to relinquish their claims. Against the arguments presented by Vedoya in his *Alegato fiscal*, the *Chantre*, Provisor²⁷⁴, and Vicar General of the Cabildo, Maestro Don Isidoro de Arévalo, published a legal treatise, whose full title and translation are as follows:

Papel en que se intenta persuadir no ser la intención del V. D. y C.²⁷⁵ de Manila, Gobernador de su Arzobispado en sede vacante, introducirse en el nombramiento y confirmación de los capellanes de armadas, galeras y navíos que se despachan de orden de su Majestad, ni en el conocimiento de cosas pertenecientes al Real Patronato, sino sólo defender la jurisdicción de que goza como Ordinario, de que se le pretende desposeer. Y que el señor Fiscal debe, por razón de su oficio, ampararlo, por ser conforme a la voluntad de su Majestad, explicada en sus leyes y otras decisiones del Real Patronato

Paper in which it is attempted to persuade that the intention of the Venerable Dean and Chapter of Manila, Governor of its Archbishopric in sede vacante, is not to interfere in the appointing and confirmation of the chaplains of armadas, galleys, and ships that are dispatched by order of His Majesty, neither in the cognizance of things pertaining to the Real Patronato, but only to defend the jurisdiction that it enjoys as the Ordinary, which they are trying to deprive it of. And that the *Fiscal* should, because of his office, defend it [the Cabildo] in conformity with the will of His Majesty, explained in his laws and other decisions of the Real Patronato

Arévalo's divides his 44-page *Papel*—printed on the Santo Tomás press—into 72 numbered paragraphs in which he dissects Vedoya's *Alegato* and attempts to refute its arguments. Arévalo's purpose in writing is to defend the Cabildo's claims and to vindicate its honor and reputation, impugned by Vedoya. In the process, however, he accuses the Audiencia of interfering in affairs that do not concern them, quoting the Bible to do so, and surreptitiously blames the Jesuits of complicity, disobedience, and of fomenting discord and prejudice against the Cabildo. Although he cites and analyzes Patronato laws and their interpretations, he also

²⁷⁴ "Provisor": In the Spanish church, the dignitaries of the cathedral chapter helped to govern the diocese, whether under the supervision of the Ordinary or in his absence during a sede vacante. The *Provisor* was the head of those dignitaries in sede vacante, and was also known as the *Vicario General*, with authority to carry out the business of the diocese in the absence of the Ordinary (Murillo Velarde 1: 377-382).

²⁷⁵ "V. D. y C.": Venerable Deán y Cabildo. The Cabildo, though a corporate body, was personified in this phrase.

falls, in the apt judgment of Retana, into “the most trivial minutiae in order to justify the conduct of the Cabildo” (*Aparato* 1: 271, entry 243)²⁷⁶.

More importantly, since Arévalo was a theologian and not a jurist by vocation, no one in the Audiencia or among the religious orders took his arguments seriously, pointing out, among other alleged problems, that Arévalo did not follow conventional legal formatting or style²⁷⁷.

These problems aside, the biggest problem that Audiencia and others had with Arévalo’s *Papel* was the fact that it opposed their position, which was, from their perspective, legally unassailable, fully documented, and based in irrevocable fact. They universally considered Arévalo’s incursion into the world of jurisprudence an insult from an ignorant upstart whose only goal was, in the words of the Governor, the “respect...of his own opinions” (AGI, Filipinas, 145, N. 16, n. pag.)²⁷⁸. Plus, after the intense conflict and belligerent accusations exchanged between both parties over the better part of 1734, the Audiencia was inclined to interpret any action by the Cabildo as deliberate and malicious insubordination rather than a justified and reasoned defense. Although Arévalo had his supporters, they were not found either in the Audiencia or among the regulars.

The Diálogo mixti fori

If the Cabildo found hostility and offensive incriminations in the Audiencia and in the *Alegato Fiscal*, nothing could have prepared them for what was to come. On the evening of

²⁷⁶ Original, “minucias las más triviales, a fin de justificar la conducta del Cabildo.” This is not to say that some of the evidence that he presents does not have solid legal support, but in his attempt to justify the Cabildo and discredit the Audiencia he descends into inane and irrelevant squabbling over minor and unimportant details.

²⁷⁷ The legal Asesor of the Audiencia, José Correa Villa Real, describes Arévalo’s style thusly: “No pude adaptarme a las doctrinas...del Maestro D. Isidoro de Arévalo...porque pesaron más en mi respeto la verdad y la sustancia del negocio que el pulido adorno de las palabras con que se pretendió persuadir lo contrario en el Papel” (*La verdad defendida* 41v); that is to say, Correa considered it a lot of fancy-sounding fluff with no substance. He also writes off Arévalo’s *Papel* as a “Papel sin orden” (2r-2v). The *Mixti fori*’s evaluation is much harsher.

²⁷⁸ Original, “respeto...de sus propios conceptos”

Monday, November 8, 1734, shortly before nightfall²⁷⁹, a number of Filipino boys delivered copies of the third imprint to appear in this conflict, an anonymous legal tract titled the *Diálogo mixti fori*,²⁸⁰ to certain residents of Manila and to the Provincials of the religious orders throughout the city²⁸¹. The sender, one “Pedro Buscadle” (Peter Go-and-look-for-him) remitted between 20 and 30 copies of the text to each order, presumably for distribution among their members. Although the Cabildo later claimed the number of copies printed to be about 500 (AGN, Inquisition, Vol. 861, 4r), this appears to be an exaggeration, and the number of copies distributed was more likely somewhere between 150 and 200²⁸². Joan de Arechederra, at this time Commissary of the Inquisition in Manila, would later mock the Cabildo for their insistence on this large edition size²⁸³. And if Governor Valdés Tamón’s testimony about the publication date of the *Papel* is accurate (“around November of last year [1734]²⁸⁴), the *Mixti fori* was composed and printed in less than a week. This would explain the total lack of formatting²⁸⁵, the occasional unintelligible words, misspellings, and apparently missing quotes that the author or authors in their haste neglected to insert into the final product before bringing it to press.

²⁷⁹ Some of the testimonies from the religious declare it was the seventh. Of those that mentioned the time, they differed slightly in their descriptions: “ya de noche se repartieron...por mano del Padre Procurador General...a quien se los enviaron aquella misma tarde;” “por la tarde, poco antes de la oración;” and “por la tarde.” (AGN, Inq. 861, 84r-96r)

²⁸⁰ For the full text, see Appendix 6.

²⁸¹ Arechederra states: “Y de dicha distribución tocaron algunas copias muchos vecinos, y todas las comunidades, excepto la del Señor San Juan de Dios, y las de los Colegios de Santo Tomás, San José, y San Juan de Letrán (donde reside dicho Reverendísimo Comisario) a las que no llegó dicha distribución” (*Por la jurisdicción* 118r).

²⁸² Specifically, the Franciscans received 20; the Augustinian Recollects, 19 or 20; the Augustinians, 20; the Jesuits, 20 or 30; and the Dominicans, 20, making the total between 100 and 110 copies for the regulars alone. It is possible that the Dominicans received two packets, one at the Hospital de San Gabriel in Binondo and one at their main convent in Intramuros, but the testimonies are unclear on that point. These copies plus those distributed to the “muchos vecinos” cited by Arechederra gives an estimated edition size of 150-200 copies, probably closer to 150.

²⁸³ Arechederra makes a jab at the Cabildo’s exaggerations: “sin embargo de lo que el V. D. y C. pondera de copiosa y universal dicha distribución” (*Por la jurisdicción* 118r; see also ff. 147v, 152v).

²⁸⁴ Original, “por Noviembre del año inmediato pasado,” Fernando Valdés Tamón in a letter of 20 July 1735 to the Consejo de Indias (AGI, Filipinas 145, N. 16, n. pag.). It is possible that the Governor had remembered incorrectly the approximate date of the publication of the *Papel*, since November is when the *Mixti fori* came out.

²⁸⁵ Although the *Diálogo mixti fori* is a dialogue, it does not appear in dialogue format. Rather, all the text is squished together into very long paragraphs in very tiny font, the only modification from this type appearing on the title page and in the frequent italics.

The *Diálogo mixti fori* is a response to Arévalo's *Papel*, and as such contains reasoned legal arguments supported by quotations from prominent jurists, popes, and other figures of legal authority, such as the *Recopilación de Indias* (for the full text of the *Diálogo mixti fori* see Appendix 6). However, instead of adopting the somber, formal tone typical of legal texts, the *Mixti fori* is irreverent, playful, humorous, sarcastic, and oftentimes just mean. Its full title and translation are a preview of things to come:

Diálogo mixti fori, y semiespiritual coloquio entre el autor semisopito Bachiller D. Atanasio López Gatica y el canudo de D. Pedro Cabildo, opuesto ex-diametro, & per antiperistasim al papalote defensorio, y voladores luces de las primeras intenciones, que ha fraguado la presente Vacante en este año de 34, sobre querer a puras fuerzas adjudicar a su Capítular agregado un reflejo Vice-Real Patronazgo, y una como jurisdicción papal, que tira por la calle de en medio, de qué se me da a mí, y sepan sólo quién es Callejas.

Dialogue of mixed jurisdiction and semi-spiritual conversation between the half-asleep author Bachiller Don Atanasio López Gatica and the white-haired Don Pedro Cabildo, opposed diametrically and by counter-argument to the flying-kite manifest and flying lights of the first intentions that the present Sede Vacante has cooked up this year of '34, on trying by sheer force to attribute to his collective Chapter a pseudo-Vice-Royal Patronage, and a kind of papal jurisdiction, that is way off target, what do I care, and who's your daddy²⁸⁶.

As indicated by the title, rather than the methodical, section by section unfolding of the argument seen in the *Alegato* and the *Papel*, the author has chosen to arrange his rebuttal in the form of a dialogue. The author divides the *Mixti fori* into two parts, though only the second part is labeled as such. At first this division seems somewhat arbitrary since the arguments found throughout the text appear to be nothing more than a collection of ostensibly unrelated critiques, yet a cross-examination of the *Diálogo* and the *Papel* reveals that the first part is directed at the first two main sections of Arévalo's work (labeled §I and §II) and the "Segunda Parte" is a

²⁸⁶ The *Nuevo diccionario de la lengua castellana* states that the phrase "saber quién es Callejas" was used by someone to boast of their power or authority ("Con que alguno se jacta de su poder o autoridad"). Since there is no direct translation for this phrase I have used an analogous phrase in modern English.

rebuttal of section three (§III) of the *Papel*. While the unlabeled Part One of the *Mixti fori* can accurately be described as a potpourri of criticisms directed at Arévalo, the Cabildo, and the *Papel*, Part Two has only one purpose: to demonstrate the falsity of the Cabildo's claim of additional licenses for chaplains appointed by the Governor.

In Part One the author sets the stage and introduces the interlocutors of the dialogue, Bachiller Don Atanasio López Gatica, the Bachiller, and Don Pedro Cabildo, who goes by Pedro. Throughout the text, the Bachiller always represents the voice of logic and sound legal opinions, with Pedro acting as his foil, setting up opportunities for the Bachiller to expound his reasoning and to refute the propositions presented by Arévalo. Pedro, in addition to personifying the voice of the unschooled neophyte, also plays the role of the *gracioso*, inevitably coming up with a humorous anecdote or sarcastic joke—often at the expense of Arévalo or another member of the Cabildo—to hammer home the legal argument of the Bachiller. At the beginning of the *Diálogo mixti fori* we find the Bachiller sitting under a tree, “urgently desiring someone with whom to communicate his laborious legal task” (AGN, Inq. 861, 69r)²⁸⁷. When Pedro unexpectedly shows up and notices the Bachiller's consternation, he tells him to confide the reason for his concern, to which the Bachiller replies: “What should I have, my son? I have anxieties, weariness from Minerva, and a host of shocks! And so you believe it, look at this little volume, or pickled manifest, that has come to me from the Town of Arévalo for its approval and correction” (69r)²⁸⁸. After asking for Pedro's help with his commission, the Bachiller and Pedro begin their critique of the *Papel*.

²⁸⁷ Original, “deseando con vehemencia con quién comunicar lo laborioso de su legal tarea”

²⁸⁸ Original: “¿Qué tengo de tener, hijito mío? Tengo congojas, fatigas de Minerva, y todos sustos. Y para que lo creas, mira aqueste volumen, o manifiesto en escabeche, que me ha venido de la Villa de Arévalo, para su aprobación y censura.”

The attacks leveled at Arévalo's text in Part One are many and varied but boil down to two basic manifestations: personal insults and accusations of professional incompetence.

Although the *Mixti fori* directs most of its insults toward the Chantre, the other members of the Cabildo are not spared its satirical lash. Among the more common insults are those directed at their intelligence, such as when the Bachiller calls Arévalo "a waste of a *Maestro*" (62r)²⁸⁹. Or, for example, when the Bachiller is recounting the back and forth between the Cabildo and the Audiencia over the diocesan clergy exhibiting their titles, he mentions the intervention of their consulting attorney ("promotor fiscal"), Dr. Nicolás de León, after receiving Vedoya's final memo:

And on the third occasion they outdid themselves: because ignoring the fact that there was a doctoral Canon that took charge of their lawsuits, maybe because they forgot, they showed it [Vedoya's letter] to their consulting attorney, who showed up with a roaring temper, reprimanding and correcting the language of the Fiscal, being as it is that *said consulting attorney started learning the Spanish language at age fifteen*, as is commonly and publicly known. (70v, my italics)²⁹⁰

Not only, then, does the Bachiller mock the Cabildo's supposed ignorance of proper protocol in these situations, but he also belittles León's linguistic capabilities²⁹¹, implying that he is unable to speak Spanish properly and therefore fit neither to censure Vedoya's writing nor to hold the post that he does.

²⁸⁹ Original: "¡Qué lástima de maestro!"

²⁹⁰ Original: "Y en la tercera coronaron la fiesta: porque sin hacer caso, quizá porque no se acordaron, de que había Canónigo doctoral que sacase la cara a sus pleitos, le dieron vista al Promotor Fiscal, quien vino con una calentura de león, reprehendiendo y fiscalizando las expresiones del Señor Fiscal, siendo así, que dicho Promotor Fiscal comenzó a aprender la lengua española de 15 años para arriba, como es de público y notorio." The "calentura de león" is probably a play-on-words with the surname of the *Promotor Fiscal*.

²⁹¹ It is interesting to note that according to León's "relación de mérito," both of León's parents were Spaniards. It is possible that, since he was born in the city of Iloilo on the island of Panay (and therefore a Philippine *criollo*), he grew up speaking a Filipino language with his caretakers. This, however, is pure speculation and one is left to wonder why the Bachiller would assert this alleged linguistic deficiency. León was born 14 Dec. 1708 and received all his degrees at the Jesuit college in Manila. At the time of the *Mixti fori* scandal he would only have been 25 years old (AGI, Filipinas 150, n. 39).

The Cabildo's alleged stupidity also manifests itself in their incapacity to think for themselves. One of the arguments that the Chantre makes in his *Papel* was that the only reason the Cabildo continued to issue licenses with the phrase "and if necessary we select and appoint him as such a chaplain," was because they had seen other licenses with that language, and that by continuing to issue such licenses they erred innocently, in ignorance. The Bachiller and Pedro did not hold back in skewering that argument:

Bachiller: ...following something without knowing why you follow it is the error of many errors. And so it is not surprising that in the present situation *Errent & super errent*, and that in the end they become *herrerros* on purpose.

Pedro: So then, according to this, the Canons with their accustomed humility have imitated rams, who when one jumps they all jump, without any other reason than having seen someone jump, and thus it is verified that *Canonicorum ars imitatur naturam arietum vulgo borregorum*. (62v)²⁹²

The Latin phrase "errent et super errent" can be translated as "they err and double err," meaning that the Cabildo not only repeated their predecessor's mistakes but also magnified them. The Bachiller further plays with the idea of "errar" ("to err" in Spanish) and "error" with the inclusion of the word "herrerros," literally "blacksmiths," but in this context it becomes a play-on-words to suggest the intentional perpetuation of errors on the part of the Cabildo. The English translation of Pedro's Latin is as follows: "The art of the Canon imitates the nature of rams, or in common speech, *borregos* (sheep)." In other words, the Cabildo is a herd of mindless sheep, incapable of making any decisions on their own.

This particular passage, besides deftly belittling the Cabildo, also highlights one of the most salient aspects of the *Diálogo mixti fori*, the anonymous author's vast erudition. As seen

²⁹² Original: "*Bachiller*: ...seguir una cosa sin saber por qué se sigue, es yerro de muchos yerros. Y así no es mucho que en la materia presente *Errent, & super errent*, y sean finalmente *herrerros* intencionales.

Pedro: Luego, según esto, los señores Canónigos con la humildad que acostumbran han imitado a los señores carneros, que en saltando uno, saltan todos, sin más razón que el haber visto saltar, y así se verifica que *Canonicorum ars imitatur naturam arietum vulgo borregorum*."

here, not only is he conversant in Latin, but he seamlessly weaves Latin words, phrases, and entire sentences into the surrounding Spanish text, all while maintaining proper grammar. For example, the verbs “errent et super errent” above are used in the subjunctive in accordance with the grammatical construction of the sentence in Spanish, which requires the subjunctive in the subordinate clause. Additionally, “borrego” is an entirely Spanish word, and so “borregorum” is playful, macaronic Latin. However, the author’s competence in Latin extends far beyond verb conjugation and the occasional macaronic phrase, and includes extensive knowledge of the formidable tomes of canon and civil law, whose passages litter the pages of the *Mixti fori*. He also demonstrates familiarity with classical literature through quotations from Aesop’s Fables (in Latin), Vergil’s *Eclogues* and the *Aeneid*, and Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, as well as certain Neo-Latin authors, such as Marco Girolamo Vida and his epic poem *The Christiad*. All of these classical references and Latinisms, whether macaronic or not, lend the writer greater authority while still allowing him the opportunity to criticize Arévalo and his *Papel*. Clearly, the writer (or writers) of the text was an intellectual force to be reckoned with.

Not so, in the opinion of the same writer, was Arévalo, and many of his attacks are directed at Arévalo’s supposed faulty education. For example, the Bachiller mocks his apparently nonsensical conclusions in the *Papel*: “And to prove this conclusion he utters...such arguments that are expressions of the ignorant and errors of jurisprudence, which he has acquired *per confusionem*...rather than *per infusionem scientiae*” (62r)²⁹³. Or this exchange between Pedro and the Bachiller:

Pedro: Do you know what I think?

²⁹³ Original, “y para probar esta conclusión respira...tales cuales motivos que son flores del vulgo y desaliños de la jurisprudencia, que *per confusionem* ha adquirido...que no el de *per infusionem scientiae*.” The Latin reads, “through confusion” and “through an infusion of knowledge.”

Bachiller: What?

Pedro: That the author of the paper is a know-it-all, who with only having attended the beginning...when he started his classes of sacred canons at the College of Santo Tomás, has been able in only that brief amount of time to acquire such knowledge as to elevate him to profess to write papers, even in law, without even having listened to his teacher, Doctor Correa, four days in a row. (69r-69v)²⁹⁴

These jabs at Arévalo's deficient schooling not only attack his intelligence but also suggest that he is simultaneously lazy and arrogant since he has assumed the privilege of writing legal treatises without the necessary education. The Bachiller and Pedro harp on this self-attributed educational superiority when mentioning Arévalo's titles: "His Vicary Lordship," "Vicar Semi-General," "our sudden and scrupulous canonist" (64r, 72r, 73v)²⁹⁵, or in the following comical exchange found at the beginning of the *Mixti fori*:

Pedro: And who is the author of that paper?

Bachiller: [...] Master Don Isidoro de Arévalo.

Pedro: Master in what?

Bachiller: Well, it doesn't say; maybe *in cunctis* [in everything] because the word "Master" generally defined means universal...

Pedro: I've seen the same sort of thing written on letters that said, "to my son the *Maestro* dressed in black in Salamanca." (69r)²⁹⁶

²⁹⁴ Original: "*Pedro*: ¿Sabes lo que me hace fuerza?

Bachiller: ¿Qué?

Pedro: Que el autor del papel haya sido un sabiondo, que con sólo haber asistido al *initio*, que se tuvo cuando se comenzó la lectura de sagrados cánones en el Colegio de Santo Tomás, recopilase en sólo aquel poco tiempo una literatura que lo eleve a profesar hacer papeles y en derecho sin haberle oído a su maestro, el Doctor Correa²⁹⁴, siquiera cuatro días seguidos."

²⁹⁵ Originals: "su Vicarial señoría," "Vicario semi-General," "nuestro escrupuloso y repentino canonista."

²⁹⁶ Original: "*Pedro*: ¿Y quién es el autor de ese papel?

Bachiller: ...El *Maestro* Don Isidoro de Arévalo.

Pedro: ¿Maestro en qué?

Bachiller: Pues no lo dice; será quizás *in cunctis*²⁹⁶, porque el verbo *Maestro* indefinido equivale a universal...

Pedro: Del mismo jaez he visto sobre escrito que decía, *à mi hijo el Maestro vestido de negro en Salamanca*."

In other words, through the publication of the *Papel*, Arévalo is trying to elevate himself beyond his actual accomplishments, something that our author does not tolerate, especially when it comes to his own profession.

Ultimately, however, the cracks at his education attack the most galling part of the conflict for the *Mixti fori*'s author: Arévalo's attempt to write legal treatises. If José Correa Villa Real in 1735 could complain mildly of Arévalo's embellished prose, the *Mixti fori* engages in loud, unabashed ridicule. In addition to the contemptuous "pickled manifest", Pedro calls the *Papel* "forraje," fodder or fluff, and the Bachiller tells Pedro, "your ingenuousness is worth more than a hundred of these papers" (69r)²⁹⁷. Among the particular faults he finds with the Chantre's writing is his ignorance of the conventions of legal writing. For example, in one spot Pedro and the Bachiller discuss the fact that, unlike traditional legal texts where the many obligatory quotations and sources appear either in the margin or in the body of the text, Arévalo included them as endnotes:

Pedro: Well, I've noticed that the quotations of that paper are not in the body nor in the margin like they usually are. What, then, might be the cause?

Bachiller: Let me tell you briefly: The quotations are so screwy and so shabby-looking that they thought it would be better to hide in the back rather than to appear in front of people. I suppose that, as the author is a novice, it shows how behind he is in quotations of this nature.

Someone asked an *indio* where the customs house was, to which he responded: 'Yoo know where Pascual the guitar player lives? Well, it's not there. Yoo know those folks that have their turkeys? Well, it's not there either.' And he didn't give him the directions. And so it happened to me that, having asked the first page where the quotations were, [and] after seeing a bunch of turkey-brained ideas, I was at a loss until I ran into them [the quotations], as if I hadn't seen them. (62r)²⁹⁸

²⁹⁷ Original: "manifiesto en escabeche"; "vale más tu ingenuidad que cien papeles de estos"

²⁹⁸ Original: "*Pedro*: Pues he reparado que las citas de ese papel ni están en la escritura, ni en la margen, como regularmente se estila. ¿Cuál, pues, será la causa?

Bachiller: Óyela en breve: Están tan descabelladas las citas, y de tan mal pelaje, que tomaron más bien irse a la cola que parecer delante de gentes. Supongo que, como es novel el autor, muestra bien lo atrasado que se halla en las citas de aquesta facultad.

Independently of the conventions of the legal genre, our critic finds major problems with Arévalo's writing, among which are inappropriately-used terminology and quotations, including from the Bible; unlawful, derogatory comments against the religious orders; and a lack of documentation of the events of the case as found in their *autos* (official files and records). In sum, the author of the *Diálogo mixti fori* judged Arévalo's writing and found it wanting.

Perhaps of even greater concern for the creator of the *Mixti fori* is the fact that someone like Arévalo was in a position of authority, and in this he incriminates the other members of the Cabildo. To be precise, the Council of Trent dictated that upon the death of the bishop, the chapter should choose "an official or vicar...who shall be at least a doctor or licentiate in canon law, or otherwise as competent a person as is available" (Session 24, Chap. 16, in Schroeder 206; see also Murillo Velarde, *Curso* 1:378, n. 297; 1:345, n. 232). As vicar general or provisor²⁹⁹, Arévalo should have met this requirement, yet as he was only a Master of Arts³⁰⁰, he was far from competent, which fact the Bachiller disparages in the following comment:

Bachiller: ...because not even being a Bachelor of Law we find him Provisor against the basic intentions of the Council of Trent. [...] Here we can see that in this choice our Doctor Fuentes fell asleep on the job, and therefore [we have] a judge that pronounces sentences on delicate points without any other aid than the blue tassel of a Master in Arts. This is sede vacante in China³⁰¹, and riding your little wooden horse. (69v)³⁰²

Le preguntó uno a un indio a dónde estaba la aduana, a que le respondió: '¿Sabe oste dónde vive Pascual el guitarrero? Pues, no es allí. ¿Sabe oste de aquel gente que tiene sus guajolotes? Tampoco es allí la aduana.' Y no le dio las señas. Así me sucedió, que preguntándole a la primera foja dónde estaban las citas, después de haber visto una chusma de guajolotes conceptos, me quedaba en blanco hasta que di con ellas, como si no las viera."

²⁹⁹ Pedro Murillo Velarde states that these terms were synonymous in Spanish realms (*Curso* 1:378, n. 295).

³⁰⁰ Original, "Maestro de Artes"

³⁰¹ For many Spaniards, anything or anybody west of Mexico's west coast was "China" or "Chinese," hence the common name of the Manila galleon, the "nao de China" (Schurz 59).

³⁰² Original: "...porque no siendo ni aun Bachiller en los derechos, lo vemos Provisor contra la primordial intención del Tridentino. [...] Aquí se echa de ver que en aquesta elección durmió sin perro nuestro Doctor Fuentes, y por consiguiente juez que pronuncia sentencias en delicados puntos sin más accesoria que la borla azul de Maestro de Artes. Esto es sede vacante en China, y estar en su caballito de palo."

The Bachiller accuses this Doctor Fuentes³⁰³, a member of the Cabildo, of blatant negligence (“fell asleep on the job”) in allowing a person such as Isidoro de Arévalo to be elected as the Provisor in sede vacante. He further casts aspersions on the general competence of the Cabildo by suggesting that although such circumstances (i.e., a Master of Arts in the position of Provisor) were abnormal and inappropriate, they represented typical ecclesiastical procedure in the Philippines (i.e., “China”). Finally, through the “little wooden horse” comment he casts Arévalo in the role of a little boy trying to play grown-up but finding that the reality of running a diocese and making appropriate decisions according to canon law was far beyond his skills and education³⁰⁴.

In addition to all of these faults (and indeed because of them), he mocks Arévalo’s physical attributes (“Your Honorable Fatness”) and calls him a Pharisee (62r, 69v)³⁰⁵. On three separate occasions he accuses the Cabildo of avarice, even going so far as to imply that they were in the habit of charging fees to poor mestizos for family inquiries prior to marriage, “against the Council of Trent, bulls, and His Majesty’s royal cédulas” (62v, 70v, 71r)³⁰⁶. He calls the Cabildo criminals, law-breakers, disobedient, bad examples, and therefore worthy of punishment: “they have most justly deserved that their subjects have had their titles forcefully taken from them so that they receive their *mandoble*” (62r, 62v, 64r, 69v, 70v, 71v)³⁰⁷.

“Mandoble” refers to an open-handed slap on the face, or a strong blow with a very large sword,

³⁰³ The Bachiller is probably referring here to Dr. Juan de la Fuente, who at the time was serving as the interim Archdeacon of the Cabildo (AGI, Filipinas 145, n. 16. No folio number).

³⁰⁴ He repeats this idea later in the text when he says, “Ay, qué bien dicen los D.D. Zevallos y el Doctor Carrasco...que los teólogos, por doctos que sean, no penetran bastantemente la teórica y práctica de la jurisprudencia, y que por la mayor parte determinan los pleitos caprichosa o arbitrariamente, apartándose de las sólidas doctrinas” (72v).

³⁰⁵ Original, “la corpulencia de V.S”

³⁰⁶ Original, “contra el Tridentino, bulas y reales cédulas de su Majestad”

³⁰⁷ Original: “reos”; “contumaces”; “justísimamente han merecido que a sus súbditos se les hayan sacado los títulos con apremio para que les venga un mandoble.”

suggesting that the behavior of the Cabildo was worthy even of physical punishment, a proposition that he repeats further on: “And it would be better that each one receive six lashes to the good health of the *Asesor* [Dr. José Correa Villa Real] so that they don’t go around correcting him, he being able to teach all of them jurisprudence” (64r)³⁰⁸. Thus, the anonymous author of *Diálogo mixti fori* vents his frustration against the *Papel* and its author, asserting in no uncertain terms his disdain for those who tried to best him at his own profession.

The miscellaneous criticisms leveled at Arévalo and the Cabildo in Part 1 of the *Diálogo mixti fori*, though pertinent to the events of the case (admitting that many things are probably exaggerated and reflect a great deal of personal animosity), are only peripheral to the real concern of the conflict, which is the alleged necessity of second licenses for chaplains under the Real Patronato. In fact, the entire second part of the imprint is dedicated to explicating the Audiencia’s position on the topic and in disproving the arguments offered by Arévalo in his third section. And while the sarcasm and humor does not disappear by any means in the second part, there is a perceptible change in the overall tone of the piece as the comedian steps back and lets the lawyer take center stage in its showdown against the Cabildo. In doing so the author shows himself to be extremely well-versed in Spanish jurisprudence, especially in Patronato and regalist laws and thought.

The arguments against the Cabildo’s assertion that appear in the *Mixti fori* are the same ones used by Vedoya in the *Alegato fiscal* and later by José Correa Villa Real in his 1735 *La verdad defendida*. For this reason, I will only offer a summary of the three basic points, supported by pertinent quotes and laws cited in the text itself. The *Mixti fori*’s arguments are the following: first, that both precedent and custom dictate that additional license for chaplains are

³⁰⁸ Original: “Y mejor fuera que a cada uno se le pegaran seis azotes a la salud del Asesor para que no le anden fiscalizando la plana, pudiéndoles a todos enseñar jurisprudencia.”

unnecessary; second, that the Cabildo misinterpreted Law 50, Title 6, Book 1, and of Law 24, Title 4, Book 3 of the *Recopilación de Indias* to understand that the words “approval and license” refer to two separate things, giving rise to the belief that additional licenses were necessary; and third, that the King as head of the Church in the Indies has both the right and the privilege to delegate spiritual jurisdiction to chaplains through his Vice-Patron in the islands, the Governor.

The Bachiller begins his rebuttal by quoting Arévalo’s basic conclusion, which reads, “that no religious nor secular cleric can administer Sacraments without his [the Ordinary’s] approval and license, for which the necessary jurisdiction is conferred upon him, which is so exclusive to the Ordinary that there is one else in the whole Archbishopric that can confer it” (*Papel*, n. 28)³⁰⁹. The Bachiller quickly dismisses the Chantre’s conclusion by asserting that such jurisdiction refers to the first approval and licenses, and then recasts the problem, stating that the only question was “whether the regular, or cleric, once approved, and with the general licenses from the Ordinary to confess and preach, needs second licenses or a second approval to administer the sacraments in the case of being named a Royal Chaplain by the Vice-Patron” (AGN, Inq. 861, 64r)³¹⁰. As his answer to this question is an obvious ‘no,’ he begins his first argument, the precedent of no additional licenses.

The Bachiller’s argument for precedent is based on the search of the Cabildo’s archives carried out by the Audiencia during Vedoya’s investigation, as well as the testimonies of the priests, both regular and secular, who had previously served as chaplains, some on multiple

³⁰⁹ Original: “que ningún religioso ni clérigo secular puede administrar Sacramentos sin su aprobación y licencia, por la que se le confiere la jurisdicción necesaria, y que es tan privativo del Ordinario, que no hay en todo el Arzobispado otro, que pueda conferirla.”

³¹⁰ Original: “*utrum* el Regular, o Clérigo, una vez aprobado, y con las licencias generales del Ordinario, para confesar y predicar, necesite segundas licencias, o segunda aprobación, para administrar los sacramentos en el caso de ser nombrado Capellán Real por el señor Vice-Patrón.” *Utrum* is Latin for “whether” and is used to introduce an indirect question with two possible options.

occasions. All the evidence found during the course of this investigation points to the fact that on all the expeditions that had been dispatched of all kinds—military, exploratory, or otherwise—the vast majority of chaplains had gone out “in virtue of the appointment of the Governors...without the necessity of new licenses or approval from the Ordinary” (64r)³¹¹. This uninterrupted custom warrants the Bachiller’s attention and he spends three pages elaborating on the legal ramifications of custom, piling on quotes, citations, and authorities to argue that the precedent established by 150 years of chaplains not receiving second licenses gave it the force of law, for “custom is as powerful as the favor of a prince or a Pope” (71r)³¹². He later spends another two pages pointing out that if these second licenses had been so vital as Arévalo claimed they were, then all the Archbishops and their Cabildos had been negligent in the fulfillment of their duties (73v-74r). By doing so, the Bachiller gives Arévalo an option: either accept responsibility for the negligence of your predecessors (with “scandalous consequences against the welfare of the soul” (74r)³¹³), or admit the non-necessity of additional licenses.

The Bachiller’s second basic argument is that the Cabildo misinterpreted the laws of the *Recopilación* that deal with the naming of chaplains: Law 50, Title 6, Book 1, and of Law 24, Title 4, Book 3³¹⁴. Law 24 merely refers back to the Bishop’s responsibility in examining and licensing priests as contained in Law 50. As mentioned in the earlier discussion of this law as it

³¹¹ Original, “en virtud del nombramiento de los señores Gobernadores...sin necesidad de nuevas licencias ni aprobación del Ordinario”

³¹² Original: “Tantum valet Consuetudo quantum gratia Principis, seu Papae.”

³¹³ Original, “consecuencias escandalosas contra el bien del alma”

³¹⁴ The full text of these laws are as follows:

Law 50: “Declaramos y mandamos que el nombramiento de capellán mayor y otros capellanes de las armadas, galeras, navíos y cualesquier bajeles de nuestra cuenta, nos pertenece y en nuestro nombre a los Capitanes Generales de las Islas Filipinas y las demás partes de las Indias donde sea necesario nombrarlos, como se hace en las galeras de España, Italia, y otras partes. Y rogamos y exhortamos a los Arzobispos y Obispos, que no los nombren, y solamente intervengan en dar su aprobación y licencia para administrar los Santos Sacramentos.”

Law 24: “Los Generales de nuestros ejércitos nombre capellanes que administren los Santos Sacramentos y den buen ejemplo a los soldados y a las demás personas que concurrieren, y los puedan remover a su voluntad. Y encargamos a los prelados eclesiásticos que los examinen y den licencia para administrar, siendo suficientes, y no se haga presentación como en las doctrinas, conforme a la ley 50 del título del Patronazgo.”

appears in Vedoya's *Alegato fiscal*, the term "approval and license" refers not to an act of examination after receiving the Governor's appointment but rather to the establishment of "idoneidad," or the suitability or aptitude of a particular priest for the position of chaplain, an act that would have taken place when the priest first arrived in the diocese, together with the licensing of the priest to hear confessions, preach, and administer the sacraments. This had long been a practice in the islands, as Marta Manchado López indicates ("Concordia" 73), and both the regulars and the seculars faithfully complied with this requirement. However, Law 24 also specifically states that the naming of chaplains was not like the installation of parish priests in a beneficed curacy where presentation had to be made by the Vice-Patron ("and let not presentation be made as for the *doctrinas*"³¹⁵) and then confirmed by the Ordinary through collation and canonical institution. Rather, the Vice-Patron installed and removed chaplains at his pleasure, without the need of additional licenses from the Ordinary.

Although the concepts are really quite simple, the Bachiller spends an inordinate amount of space stating and re-stating the same idea with copious examples. (In fact, Pedro complains about it: "Don't go on anymore about the words 'approval' and 'license', for you make your point excessively in what you've said" (72r)³¹⁶. For the Bachiller, then, the error of the Cabildo here is merely one of semantics. However, to lend support to his thesis he cites the opinions of many respected jurists, among them Diego de Avendaño, who writes, "Those examined and approved once are not to be examined again, neither by their own Archbishops and Bishops, nor by their successors" (Title 17, Chap. 4, n. 29)³¹⁷. And again, "It is not ever necessary [to receive]

³¹⁵ Original, "y no se haga presentación como en las doctrinas"

³¹⁶ Original, "No te fatigues más sobre las voces aprobación y licencia, que demasiadamente en lo que expresas concluyes."

³¹⁷ Original, "Los examinados y aprobados una vez no han de volver a serlo, ni por sus propios Arzobispos y Obispos, ni por sus sucesores."

twice the Ordinary's approval or license to hear confessions" (Title 12, Chap. 11, n. 338)³¹⁸.

Although the Bachiller's discussion on the synonymy and unity of the words "approval" and "license" extends for three pages of very dense text, these explanations and examples suffice to make the point.

The third and final argument that the Bachiller makes in favor of the Audiencia's position is that the Spanish monarchs, as head of the Church in the Indies, are able to delegate spiritual jurisdiction to chaplains through his Vice-Patron in the islands, the Governor. Specifically, in his *Papel Arévalo* finds justification for additional licenses from the Ordinary in the absence of a *Vicario General Castrense*, or chief military vicar over all the armies in the islands. The Bachiller's response to Arévalo's protest is the longest and most complex section of the entire work (seven pages), most likely because it is Arévalo's main argument. However, it comes down to two basic concepts. First, that just as the *Vicario General Castrense* (presumably of Spain) has full military ecclesiastical jurisdiction with only the appointment of the King (through the delegation of jurisdiction from the Pope to the King), the chaplains named by the Governor of the Philippines have the same jurisdiction through the sub-delegation of powers from the King to the Governor (AGN, Inq. 861, 72r). Second, that through the powers and privileges of the Real Patronato, as well as through long-standing custom, the King—and therefore his Vice-Patrons in the Philippines—has the right to appoint chaplains entirely independently of the jurisdiction of the Ordinary (72v), and that this same practice is the rule in both Spain and Italy (74v).

³¹⁸ Original, "Non est necessaria umquam duplicis Ordinarii approbatio aut licentia ad audiendas confessiones." Directly after quoting Avendaño here, the Bachiller speaks directly to Arévalo: "¿Lo quiere más claro el señor Maestro?" Well argued, but not very charitable.

Although Arévalo protests that the regular clergy has especial need of additional licenses due to the fact that Pope Urban VIII revoked the regulars' *omnimoda* privileges, the Bachiller states simply that the Pope can delegate his ministry to whomever he pleases, as he indeed does, adding this stinging response:

Besides...what does he [Arévalo] care if the Vice-Patron presents or doesn't present the regulars for his ministries? Is he, by chance, his *Juez de Residencia*?³¹⁹ [...] We therefore draw the legitimate conclusion that even against the person of the Vice-Patron *vult falcem in suam messem ponere*. Don't be like that, Your Honor: *tractent enim fabrilia fabri, & quam quis norit artem in ea se exercent*. (73r)³²⁰

The delightful Latinisms uttered by the Bachiller here were three common sayings and their literal translations are as follows, respectively: "He wants to put a sickle in his crops," "Let smiths perform the work of smiths (Bouvier 148)," and "Let every man practice the trade which he best understands" (Henderson 351). These expressions all have the same basic meaning: mind your own business. The Bachiller is telling Arévalo in no uncertain terms not to meddle in affairs that he knows nothing about.

The *Diálogo mixti fori* ends where it begins, that is to say that the purpose of the Bachiller's and Pedro's conversation within the narrative framework of the dialogue was to subject the *Papel* to the customary examination and correction that all printed material underwent to determine if it was worthy of circulating freely among the reading public. For this reason, near the end of the piece we find our two interlocutors sharing their final evaluations of the *Papel*:

³¹⁹ "Juez de residencia" refers to the individual in charge of the official investigation into the conduct of a Crown official to determine if he had committed any wrongdoing during his time in office, and if so, to castigate him accordingly. The "juez" (judge) was typically the successor of the person investigated.

³²⁰ Original: "Demás de lo expresado, ¿quién le mete a que el señor Vice-Patrón presente o no presente a los Regulares para sus ministerios? ¿Es acaso, por ventura, su Juez de Residencia? [...] Luego sacamos por legítima consecuencia, que hasta contra la persona del señor Vice-Patrón *vult falcem in suam messem ponere*. No sea V.S. así, *tractent enim fabrilia fabri, & quam quis norit artem in ea se exercent*."

Pedro: [...] But tell me, where do we stand on the approval and correction of our paper³²¹? Will it be able to circulate and pass through the pikes of Flanders³²²?

Bachiller: [...] I say finally that it deserves to be sculpted onto plates of molave³²³, and that it achieve the understanding of the ignorant, and that it be perpetuated with the immortality of burlap, and finally that [it is] worthy of the virtues of Amsterdam. And with all this done, my opinion is that privilege [to print] be obtained from the Prince of Orange³²⁴ so that it can circulate freely through the exclusive territory of the leaky roofs of the Parián³²⁵. I confess, naturally, without being in any way flattering, avoiding unpleasant adulation, that the said paper is not opposed in any way to the rites of Confucius and to the dogmas of the mother and queen Proserpina³²⁶. I have spoken. (74v)³²⁷

True to form, the author of the *Diálogo mixti fori* leaves the reader with a few well-placed and highly comical insults aimed at Arévalo, reminding him never to dare to write in jurisprudence again.

In the wake of the Mixti fori

The *Mixti fori* took the Cabildo completely by surprise and left them reeling. Although they had experienced bullying and vexing annoyances in their interactions with the Audiencia, they were not prepared for the extreme ridicule that they found in the *Diálogo mixti fori*. “One

³²¹ Referring to the *Papel* of Arévalo, not the *Mixti fori*.

³²² “poder pasar por las picas de Flandes.” DRAE, “Tener toda su perfección y poder pasar por cualquier censura y vencer toda dificultad”

³²³ Molave is a medium size tree found in Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines. Molave is well known for its strong, rough and durable wood.

³²⁴ “Prince de Orange”: a reference to the Dutch Protestant royal family, the House of Orange.

³²⁵ “Parián”: the Chinese quarter of Manila, set apart for the residence of the non-Christian Chinese traders that came every year to Manila.

³²⁶ “Proserpina”: from Greek mythology, “Persephone,” “The daughter of Zeus and Demeter; wife of Pluto; queen of Hades” (Zimmerman 200, 222). In other words, the Mother and Queen of Hell would have no objection to the content of Arévalo’s *Papel*.

³²⁷ Original: “*Pedro*: [...] Pero dime, ¿en qué para la aprobación y censura de nuestro papeluco? ¿Podrá correr y pasar por las picas de Flandes?

Bachiller: [...] Digo finalmente que merece esculpirse en láminas de molave, y de que consiga la luz del vulgo, y se perpetúe con la inmortalidad de la estopa, y digno finalmente de las prendas de Amsterdam. Y fecho todo esto, mi sentir es que se saque privilegio del Príncipe de Orange para que pueda correr libremente por el privativo territorio de las goteras del Parián. Confieso desde luego, sin ser en nada lisonjero, prescindiendo de feas adulaciones, que dicho papel no se opone en cosa alguna a los ritos del señor Confucio, y a los dogmas de la madre y reina Proserpina. *Dixi*.”

can imagine with what pain they read its words, each one finding himself mistreated, roasted, and mocked for no other crime than having attempted to defend the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which it did not do,” wrote the Cabildo in a letter to the Tribunal of the Inquisition in Mexico City in July of 1735 (2v)³²⁸. In view of the great offense given by the *Mixti fori*, the Cabildo determined to cut off the abuse at the root. In their meeting of November 10, 1734, they drew up an edict declaring the *Mixti fori* as “unseemly, obscene, scandalous, slanderous, and disparaging” (AGN, Inq. 861, 8r)³²⁹, and that these qualities, together with its illicit nature, made it unsuitable for reading. Therefore, the Cabildo declared it prohibited and ordered every copy to be collected, and those found reading or keeping any copy of the text after three days would be automatically excommunicated and subject to a heavy fine (8r).

The next morning, Thursday, November 11, between 10 and 11 AM, manuscript copies of the Edict were posted in the usual places throughout the city (8r, 85v). The response was immediate and visceral. A Franciscan priest, Fernando de San Antonio, upon seeing the prohibitory Edict affixed to the doors of the chapel of the Third Order of St. Francis, ripped it off the door and tore it into pieces, “lashing out, in addition to this great insult, with comments ill-suited to his state, nor to the respect due to the Cabildo” (3v, 224r)³³⁰. The Audiencia summoned the Jesuit Pedro Murillo Velarde to the Governor’s palace for a consultation on whether or not “the Cabildo had contravened the *regalías* of His Majesty in the prohibition that they published,” then ordered the Cabildo to remove the Edicts, claiming that the *Mixti fori* was written in defense

³²⁸ Original: “Ya se deja entender con cuánto sentimiento leerían sus cláusulas, cada uno hallándose en ellas maltratado, asado y mofado, sin más delito que haber procurado defender la jurisdicción eclesiástica, que no consiguió.”

³²⁹ Original, “indecorosas, malsonantes, escandalosas, denigrativas y despreciativas”

³³⁰ Original, “prorrumpiendo, a más de este desacato, en proposiciones no correspondientes a su estado, ni a lo respetuoso del Cabildo.”

of the Real Patronato (9r, 3r)³³¹. The Governor also prevented the Cabildo from investigating the author of the *Mixti fori* and instructed them not to act in the punishment of Fernando de San Antonio, or so the Cabildo claimed (3r, 4r). Two days later (Nov. 13), Murillo Velarde wrote a formal denunciation of the Edict and sent it, along with an original copy of the Edict, to Joan de Arechederra as Commissary of the Inquisition in Manila.

Given the circumstances, the content of the *Mixti fori*, and the powers granted to the Ordinary for maintaining a healthy spiritual atmosphere among its parishioners, the issuing of the Edict might seem a logical and justified step for removing such material. What the Cabildo neglected to take into account, however, was the Inquisition, who claimed authority and jurisdiction over *all* matters pertaining to the prohibition, censorship, and withdrawal of written materials, printed or manuscript. In fact, on November 9, the day after the *Mixti fori* first appeared in the streets of Manila, Joan de Arechederra had already begun an *auto* to examine the anonymous tract for evidence of censurable material, sending off copies to three examiners for their evaluation and correction (76r-76v). What was his surprise, then, to hear that the Cabildo had preempted him by the promulgation of their prohibitory Edict, in direct violation of the Inquisition's exclusive jurisdiction in this regard.

Shortly after hearing of the promulgation of the Cabildo's Edict, Arechederra wrote a letter to the Cabildo, requesting satisfaction in the violation of the Inquisition's jurisdiction. While Arechederra³³² describes his letter and style as "urbane and well mannered... reasonable...

³³¹ Original, "el Cabildo había contravenido a las regalías de su Majestad en la prohibición que promulgó."

³³² In this and all other references to the author of *Por la jurisdicción*, I attribute authorship to Arechederra. However, it is possible that the actual piece was written by Joan (or Juan) Álvarez, "su Abogado fiscal en esta causa" (AGN, Inq., 861, 180r), (who also signed and annotated the PDF copy of *Por la jurisdicción* available electronically on the website of the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid), or one of the other assistants Arechederra consulted in the case (*Por la jurisdicción* 119r), or all or some of these in collaboration. Even so, given that Arechederra as the head commissary would have commissioned the work and was ultimately responsible for its content, I use Arechederra's name. (AGN, Inq., 861, 4r-4v).

temperate... without losing composure even in the slightest,” expressing in his letter “both politic desires for a rational agreement and a fervent and charitable zeal toward the reestablishment of the peace,” the Cabildo responded, in the Commissary’s words, with “acrid and strident resistance,” “breathing out caustic expressions and accusing said Father Commissary of negligence” (*Por la jurisdicción* 117r-117v, 119r)³³³. In their letter the Cabildo claimed that the *Diálogo mixti fori* had not appeared on November 8th but on November 1st, and that since no one was doing anything to stop the circulation of the text, they resolved to publish the Edict. In affirming this earlier date, they accused the Commissary not only of negligence in his duty to halt the spread of the *Mixti fori*, but also of active collusion with its authors. They repeated these same accusations to the Tribunal of the Inquisition of Mexico, asking them to correct and reprimand Arechederra for his alleged abuses (AGN, Inq. 861, 3r-4v).

Although we can attribute to the Cabildo a tendency towards dramatics, self-victimization, self-justification, exaggeration, embellishment, and even outright fabrication of the facts in their letters, there is some truth to their accusations, at least after December 13, 1734. Prior to the promulgation of the Edict Arechederra had been actively though quietly prosecuting the examination of the *Mixti fori*, and it is very likely that had the Cabildo not preemptively intervened, Arechederra would have come to the same conclusion on his own and ordered the withdrawal of the *Mixti fori*. However, following the Edict and the Cabildo’s recriminations of his conduct he began to actively work against them, building a case against their version of the story and their allegations of misconduct and complicity. While it is incorrect to state that he was party to those working to remove the Edict, following its removal he did nothing to prevent

³³³ Original: “urbanas y bien instruidas... plausible... templado... sin perder un punto de la circunspección;” “así políticos deseos de una racional avenencia como ferviente y caritativo celo al restablecimiento de la paz;” “acres y duras resistencias;” “respirando asperezas y fulminando negligencias en contra de dicho P. Comisario.”

its circulation. In the meantime, he gathered testimonies from the heads of the various religious orders in Manila regarding the day and time of the distribution of the *Mixti fori*, building a solid wall of evidence against the Cabildo's ignorant or fabricated story, the result of which he published in the form of a legal manifest, *Por la jurisdicción del Santo Oficio de México*³³⁴, some time in the first half of 1735, prior to the departure of the galleon.

Por la jurisdicción is divided into four main parts: the *Preludio* with its *Hecho*, or description of the facts of the case and the reason for the tract, and three chapters, called *Puntos*. In Punto 1 he demolishes the Cabildo's case for assuming jurisdiction in the prohibition and withdrawal of prohibited books and papers, affirming categorically the Inquisition's exclusive right to intervene in all such cases. Punto 2 is a sarcastic critique of the Cabildo's *calificación* (i.e., Inquisitorial-style examination) of the *Mixti fori*, showing their ignorance and ineptitude in using the categories involved. Punto 3 is a refutation of the allegations of negligence in carrying out his Inquisitorial duties with respect to the *Mixti fori*, for which his secret investigations begun on December 13 of the previous year were the basis. While the basic content of the piece is not surprising, some of the arguments Arechederra employs are very surprising indeed, especially regarding the *Diálogo mixti fori*.

In his arguments against the Cabildo, the Commissary goes out of his way to defend and justify the anonymous text. Although the Cabildo uses the very same language and reasoning to prohibit the *Mixti fori* in its Edict as the Mexican Inquisition later does in their final and permanent decree of prohibition, Arechederra gives excuse after excuse for the *Mixti fori*,

³³⁴ English: "For the jurisdiction of the Holy Office of Mexico." The full title is: *Por la jurisdicción del Santo Oficio de México en su Comisaría de Manila, capital de estas Islas Filipinas, sobre la vulneración de su fuero y primordiales derechos causada por el V. D. y C. sede vacante con el hecho de haber publicado en su Santa Iglesia Metropolitana el día 11 de noviembre del año de 1734 Edicto en que con diversas censuras teológicas y eclesiásticas, prohíbe y condena por malsonante, etc, un papel anónimo impreso intitulado Diálogo mixti fori, que se distribuyó en esta ciudad el día 8 de dicho mes, en cuyo examen y reconocimiento se hallaba de oficio entendiéndolo el Comisario del Santo Oficio de dicha ciudad desde el día 9 de dicho mes.*

bending over backward to show that, rather than a defamatory libel, it was merely a legal manifest that might have been excessive in its humor against the Cabildo (*Por la jurisdicción* 134r-135r; 140r-141v; 144v-146r). In reality, the position he adopts regarding the *Mixti fori* in *Por la jurisdicción* is merely rhetorical, since he had already begun a process against it. Arechederra uses these arguments in defense of the *Mixti fori*, not because he was necessarily in favor of its humorous attacks on the Cabildo³³⁵, but because he needed to destroy the Cabildo's assertion of jurisdiction in the Edict (144v, 150v, 156r). Arechederra the defender of Catholic orthodoxy steps aside in favor of Arechederra the defender of Inquisitorial jurisdiction, soundly refuting and publicly humiliating the Cabildo in the interests of the Holy Office and, coincidentally, those of the Audiencia and the regulars.

It is interesting to note the Cabildo's, or rather Arévalo's, reaction to *Por la jurisdicción*. Although the Cabildo in their letter to the Mexican Inquisition of July 30, 1736, states that they never saw Arechederra's treatise, this is false, since Arévalo, only fifteen days after *Por la jurisdicción* went public in 1735, wrote a satirical piece against it and Arechederra—*Encuentro verdadero del Bachiller Don Francisco Gatica con Pedro Cabildo*³³⁶—and circulated it manuscript as an anonymous satire, while openly confessing to many people that he was the author of the text (AGN, Inq. 861, 121r-122r, 230r-232v). This happened after the departure of the 1735 galleon but before the departure of the 1736 galleon to Mexico since the autos of the Mexican Inquisition contain examinations of and censures against the *Encuentro*, unanimously condemning it. Apparently Arévalo had had enough of his role as the victim and decided to

³³⁵ It should be noted, however, that Arechederra, like most Commissaries of the Inquisition in Manila, was a Dominican, and was therefore very solidly aligned with the position of the Audiencia in the licensing conflict. In reference to Vedoya's *Alegato fiscal*, Arechederra writes that Vedoya had written "sólida y doctamente" in opposition to the Cabildo's pretension.

³³⁶ English: "True encounter of the Bachelor Don Francisco Gatica with Pedro Cabildo"

follow in the footsteps of his antagonists. The Audiencia, meanwhile, was taking matters into their own hands. After managing to get the Cabildo's Edict removed, the legal adviser (*asesor*) to Vedoya, José Correa Villa Real, published some time after February 6, 1735, the last legal treatise in the licensing conflict, titled *La verdad defendida*, wherein he reaffirms the position of the Audiencia, refutes the arguments and style of Arévalo's *Papel*, and vindicates the honor and reputation of the Audiencia. Of all the manifests produced in these jurisdictional conflicts, it is the longest, 88 pages long (44 folios), a definitive end to the conflict from the perspective of the Audiencia.

The aftermath

Following the publication Arévalo's *Papel*, we do not hear again from the Cabildo on the licensing controversy, nor on the jurisdictional conflicts with the Inquisition. By July of 1734 the Governor had already resumed the naming of chaplains in the way it had been done prior to the Cabildo's intervention. By mid-1735 the Audiencia had had the last word in *La verdad defendida* and Arechederra had put the Cabildo in its place with *Por la jurisdicción*. The dust had begun to settle. This was the state of things when the galleon arrived from Acapulco in August of 1737, bringing with it decisions from both the Inquisition in Mexico and the Consejo de Indias in Seville.

The Inquisition's response was not surprising. The *Diálogo mixti fori* and the *Encuentro verdadero* were both prohibited in a formal decree printed in Mexico and shipped throughout the jurisdiction of the Tribunal of Mexico, corresponding to the territories of the Viceroyalty of New Spain (see Appendix 7 for the complete text of the decree), and the Inquisitors warned everyone not to attempt to usurp the jurisdiction of the Holy Office. This was the public decree; however,

they also instructed Arechederra to use stronger words to the Cabildo in private (AGN, Inq. 861, 179r)³³⁷. Whether or not he did this is unknown, since by this time a new Archbishop, Juan Ángel Rodríguez, had arrived in Manila (January 1737) and was taking charge of the affairs of the archdiocese (Delgado 169-70); the Cabildo, therefore, was out of the picture. The Mexican Inquisitors also ordered the new Archbishop to erase all signs of the prohibitory Edict from the Cabildo's record books, which he did willingly (AGN, Inq. 861, 198r-198v). Even though the decree arrived in August of 1737, Arechederra did not immediately make it public at the request of the Archbishop, who hoped to avoid stirring the pot again with a formal declaration of the verdict. Arechederra obliged for a time but ultimately ordered the decree to be read in all churches in November and December of that same year, against the protests of the Archbishop (202r-214r). The Mexican Inquisition congratulated Arechederra and his companions for their faithful dedication in the preservation of the Inquisition's jurisdiction (180r).

The Crown's response, on the other hand, was totally unexpected. King Philip V sent a real cédula dated January 30, 1736, which upon arrival was printed on the Santo Tomás press, though exactly when it was printed and how widely it was distributed is unknown. Its title is as follows:

Copy of the Real Cédula that, at the request of the Venerable Dean and Chapter of the Holy Metropolitan Cathedral Church of the City of Manila in the Philippine Islands, the Catholic Majesty of Our Lord and King, Don Philip the Fifth saw fit to dispatch, declaring that the chaplains of galleons, *pataches*, armadas, galleys, and other ships that are dispatched from the said city, should appear before the Most Illustrious Lords the Archbishops of said Holy Church, and in their absence, before the Venerable Dean and Chapter, to request the licenses to administer...the holy sacraments, even though they might have general licenses to confess and to preach³³⁸. (see Appendix 8 for full text)

³³⁷ The Spanish employs the phrase "expresiones más vivas" to describe the manner of Arechederra's chastisement.

³³⁸ Original: "*Copia de la Real Cédula que, a pedimento del Venerable Deán y Cabildo de la Santa Metropolitana Iglesia Catedral de la Ciudad de Manila en las Islas Filipinas, se sirvió de despachar la Majestad Católica de Nuestro Rey y Señor, Don Felipe Quinto...declarando, que deben los capellanes de galeones, pataches, armadas,*

While none of the available documentation makes any mention of the reaction of the interested parties to the *cédula*, I cannot imagine that Governor Valdés Tamón or the members of his Audiencia would have been very pleased. After more than two years of manifests, counter-manifests, illicit publications, personal interventions, emergency sessions of the Audiencia, strong words, bitter disputes, and further manifests on a point he and his Audiencia considered beyond dispute, to have the Crown come down strongly in favor of the exact position of the Cabildo would have been insulting and damaging to his authority and reputation and that of the Audiencia³³⁹.

The total rejection by the King of the Audiencia's position raises an important question: why did the Governor and the Audiencia side with regulars against the Cabildo? That the regulars should have taken the position that they did was to be expected. Submitting to the Ordinary for confirmation of chaplain licenses was, from their perspective, a blatant violation of their alleged privileges, and they wouldn't have any of it. But what did the Audiencia have to gain from siding with the Jesuits? The regular orders had always been a sore point for the colonial government due to their autonomous character and independent action in defiance of the Real Patronato. An opportunity such as this to bring the regulars further under the influence of the Ordinary did not come along every day; to act upon it would have been entirely in keeping with Royal policy over the previous 200 years, and yet the Governor chose to defend the Jesuits and the other orders against the Ordinary jurisdiction. Why?

galeras y demás embarcaciones que se despachan de dicha ciudad recurrir a los Ilustrísimos señores Arzobispos de dicha Santa Iglesia, y por su falta a su Venerable Deán y Cabildo, a pedir las licencias para administrar...los santos sacramentos, aunque las tengan generales para confesar y predicar”

³³⁹ The Cabildo did receive one rebuke regarding the use of the phrase “elegimos, y en caso necesario nombramos de nuevo,” but besides this was completely exonerated and vindicated by the *cédula*.

While it is unrealistic to expect that the desires of the King and the actions of his officials would coincide at all times in every respect, at the same time one would suppose that in such basic practices as appointing chaplains, bolstered by long-established laws and centuries of experience and precedent, there would be little room for discussion. In fact, among the members of the Audiencia and the Governor, there was no discussion nor doubt (as far as the historical record allows us to see) as to the justice and full legality of their cause. Vedoya and Correa were not stupid, inexperienced, or uneducated men. On the contrary, their position as *Fiscal* and *Asesor*, respectively, and their long education and experience attest to their intellectual and professional capacity. This suggests that the conclusions at which they arrived in the *Alegato fiscal* and *La verdad defendida* were the result of informed study and practical application rather than merely the printed expression of personal animosities (though there is plenty of that in their imprints). For these same reasons it is improbable that the Jesuit procurator Méndez would have been able to insinuate a non-canonical interpretation of the law upon the Governor and the Audiencia. It appears that the way that these men understood Patronato law simply corresponded to its orthodox and canonical interpretation, strengthened by long-standing precedent. As the defenders of the King's privileges, they were obligated to take a stand against the Cabildo and they defended that position with all their resources until the final resolution came from the King.

On the other hand, the King's decision in the matter raises yet another question: why did the Crown come down in favor of the Cabildo? The answer appears to be precisely the royal desire to reign in the regulars and fully subject them to the authority of the Ordinary and therefore the Crown. Although in the real cédula of 1736 the King states that his motivations in his decision were to bring the practice of naming chaplains into conformity with canon law, the

Council of Trent, and other previous royal laws and cédulas, it would rather seem that the King's decision represents a significant change in policy. The arguments of all three publications produced by the Audiencia and its supporters coincide in every respect and affirm unequivocally that the Jesuit position was indeed canonical. Personal resentments alone cannot account for this perfect alignment of thought and action. Therefore, the position of the Cabildo does represent a legal novelty that was confirmed by the King in an attempt to subdue the regular clergy and their privileges.

As to the fulfillment of the royal decision, the documentation is silent and we are left to speculate. The history of the regular clergy in the Philippines suggests that the cédula would not have been enforced. The many attempts to subject them to episcopal visitation of their parishes and to obligate them to submit to the stipulated process for appointing priests to the parishes under their care had all failed spectacularly over the past 150 years and would in fact continue to fail spectacularly until the end of Spanish rule. However, the issue in 1734 was not over visitation or the tenancy of parishes but over the right or necessity for the Cabildo to issue second licenses to chaplains named by the Governor. The King's decision in this case would have been more difficult to disobey since there was no possibility to paralyze the government with the threat of abandoning hundreds of isolated parishes, as was the regulars' strategy in the seventeenth century. Appointments to chaplaincies took place in Manila and they were assigned to priests, both regular and secular, in Manila. A replacement chaplain, unlike a replacement parish priest, would have been easy to find. Although there is no way to confirm that the cédula did result in a new arrangement, the circumstances of this conflict suggest that it would have.

The intervention of the press

In examining this case study I have attempted to demonstrate that the press was not a passive spectator or a mere indirect influence on the outcome of the 1734 chaplain licensing controversy. On the contrary, with the exception of the very beginning of the conflict, the press was present at every new development, and was, in fact, the crucial factor in its continuation, expansion, and eventual resolution. Vedoya's *Alegato fiscal* spurred the temporary resolution of the clashes with the Cabildo, but unwittingly instigated a counter-manifest in Isidoro de Arévalo's *Papel*. This prompted the publication of the wildly satirical legal tract, the *Diálogo mixti fori*, which in turn spawned the Cabildo's prohibitory edicts. These edicts, though manuscript, landed the Cabildo in hot water with the Inquisition and resulted in the Cabildo's public humiliation against the authority and jurisdiction of the Holy Office in the form of *Por la jurisdicción* and the Mexican Inquisition's prohibitory decree of 1737. Likewise, Correa Villa Real's *La verdad defendida* served to restrain the Cabildo from taking further action prior to the King's final decision. Finally, through the real cédula printed on the UST press—very likely at the expense of the Cabildo—the conflict came to an end.

However, this discussion of the press has left a number of questions unanswered. Who wrote the *Diálogo mixti fori*? Which press printed it? How could such a document be published in a time and place like eighteenth-century Manila? After it was published, how could it continue to circulate?

Regarding the authorship of the *Mixti fori*, the existing documentation, unfortunately, reveals very few concrete facts about the identity of its author. When it first appeared, the Cabildo automatically attributed it to the regulars since they were the owners of the only presses in town, and because the Cabildo's position, if enforced, would have been prejudicial to the

regulars' autonomy and privileges³⁴⁰. For its part, the Audiencia remained suspiciously quiet on the subject, making no comments nor even allusions to the *Mixti fori* in all the documentation that I have found. Of contemporary scholars only W.E. Retana ventured a guess, the Jesuit Pedro Murillo Velarde, though he does so without any evidence³⁴¹.

In spite of this dearth of information on his identity, based on my analysis of the text there are certain characteristics that the author must have if he can be considered a candidate for authorship. First, the author would have to be *seseante*, that is, he must pronounce the letters 'z' and 'c' as an 's.' The spelling of certain words in the *Mixti fori*—e.g., Sevallos for Cevallos, accessor for asesor—strongly suggest an American or Southern Spanish pronunciation and therefore origin. Second, the author would have had to have spent a significant amount of time in Mexico due to the appearance of words used almost exclusively in Mexico, words such as “guajolote” (turkey) and “papalote” (kite). Third, the author must be an expert in canon and civil law, and be especially zealous of the regalías of the Real Patronato. Fourth, the author must have had continued and unimpeded access to the Audiencia's files (*autos*) since the Bachiller references them in detail multiple times throughout the text.

Beyond these basic requirements, there is other evidence on the identity of the author found in the *Mixti fori*. At one point the Bachiller describes himself in this way: “As I am the

³⁴⁰ “...nos persuadimos que es obra de algún regular y sin el consentimiento de su prelado no se pudo imprimir, pues en estas islas no hay más imprentas que las tres que hay en esta ciudad: la una tiene en su convento la Religión de San Francisco, la otra la de Santo Domingo en el Colegio de Santo Tomás de Aquino [...], y la terecera en el Colegio de dicha sagrada Compañía de Jesús. Y no pudiendo los Regulares de otro modo contradecir ni impugnar el claro derecho que asiste a este Caibldo y a la Mitra en su pretensión, desairaron con dicho papel anónimo” (Letter from Cabildo to the King, 10 July 1735, Medina, *Manila* 121-123).

³⁴¹ Medina in his *Imprenta* does not offer any opinion beyond what he copied from the Cabildo's letter to the King in July of 1735, and Pardo de Tavera merely limited himself to copying directly from Medina in his 1904 *Biblioteca filipina*. Retana's very brief comments are the following: “Contra este *Papel*...descolgáronse los jesuitas con una sátira cruel. [...] Impreso subrepticio, pero evidentemente hecho en la oficina tipográfica de los jesuitas de *Manila*; [...] No sabemos por qué se nos figura que fue el AUTOR el P. MURILLO VELARDE” (*Aparato* 1: 272-74). And, “Aunque sin ninguna indicación tipográfica, como fue sin duda obra de jesuitas, debieron imprimirlo en su imprenta” (Vindel 372-73).

least of the daily lawyers³⁴²”. If the Bachiller’s persona is related in any way to the life of the author, which it appears to be, then the author must be a practicing lawyer, which would also explain the attention to legal writing style that the Bachiller gives in the *Mixti fori*. All of the above characteristics point to an American or Andalusian lawyer, possibly non-religious, that worked for the Audiencia, or who at least had access to the Audiencia’s files on demand.

Of the known officials working in the Audiencia, only one meets all of the above requirements, the *oidor* José Ignacio Arzadún y Rebolledo. Arzadún was born in 1700 in Campeche in the Yucatán peninsula of *criollo* parents. He received both his *Bachillerato* and his *Licenciatura* in Mexico, the latter in Law, and was a practicing lawyer in both Mexico and Spain. He was appointed as an *oidor supernumerario* to the Audiencia of Manila in 1731 and became a full-fledged *oidor* in 1733 (Camacho 488). His name appears on two documents created at the beginning of July when the Audiencia stepped in to pressure the Cabildo to lift the *monitorio* (AGI, Filipinas, 145, N. 16, 194v, 197v). Arzadún had the legal training to write the *Mixti fori*, access to the Audiencia’s autos, and the position and motivation to put down Arévalo’s *Papel* in a ruthless and decisive way.

On the other hand, there are also certain elements within the *Mixti fori* that suggest that the author could be a regular. First is the familiarity with which the author speaks of religious life, referring to common terminology used by the religious³⁴³. Furthermore, the Bachiller in one moment states regarding the poor quality of Arévalo’s writing, “But to write like that in my *facultad*, I can’t accept that, because what would the jurists Papinian and Baldo say about me?”

³⁴² Original, “Yo, pues, que soy el mínimo de los diarios causídicos”

³⁴³ For example, “Cada señor Capitular tiene su Lárraga y dos bonetes, uno para el Corpus, y otro que se llama mi quotidie” (*Diálogo mixti fori* 74r). “Lárraga” refers to the *Prontuario de la teología moral*, by Francisco de Lárraga, a go-to reference manual for priests, while a “bonete” is a hat worn by certain ecclesiastics.

Or likewise my colleagues?” (AGN, Inq. 861, 74v)³⁴⁴. Though the word “*facultad*” has various meanings, it can refer to a college or department, implying that the author had teaching responsibilities, and the only colleges in Manila were the College of San Ignacio and the University of Santo Tomás, operated by the Jesuits and the Dominicans, respectively. Finally, the *Mixti fori* is very laudatory of the regulars and indicates awareness of their actions in this conflict, including the fact that the regulars had closed their presses to further manifests from Arévalo or the Cabildo.

In light of the above evidence, it is possible that Retana was correct in attributing authorship to the Jesuit Pedro Murillo Velarde. Murillo Velarde was born in Granada in 1696 and studied Canon law at the University of Salamanca, eventually teaching Civil Law in the same university for four years. On his way to the Philippines he passed through Mexico, spending enough time there to acquire a minimum familiarity with life in the country (Carrillo Cázares 125-31). After his arrival in the Philippines in 1723, he taught Canon law twice at the College of San Ignacio, in 1727 and again starting in 1733, shortly before the licensing conflict began. The Audiencia consulted him at least once regarding the case of the *Mixti fori*, and it is likely that he was the author of a denunciation of Arévalo’s *Papel* that made its way to the Tribunal of the Inquisition in Mexico City as part of the continuing conflict with the Cabildo (AGN, Inq. 861, 183r-185v). His correspondence with Commissary of the Inquisition, Joan de Arechederra, besides demonstrating an unrestrained antipathy toward Arévalo and his *Papel*, also exhibits detailed knowledge of both the *Mixti fori* and the *Papel* (9r-11r). Like Arzadún, Murillo Velarde has the basic necessary qualities for authorship of the *Mixti fori*: Southern

³⁴⁴ Original: “Pero el escribir así, así, en mi facultad eso no admito, porque, ¿qué dijeran de mí los jurisconsultos Papiniano y el señor Baldo? ¿Y asimismo mis compañeros?”

Spanish origin, time in Mexico, expertise in legal matters, possible access to the Audiencia's autos, and, as a Jesuit, every motive in the world to write against Arévalo and his *Papel*.

In the end, however, while all the evidence produced here strongly points to one of these two candidates, there is no conclusive proof of authorship for either one³⁴⁵. For that matter, neither is there proof that the *Mixti fori* had to be written by one person. Given the common and strong opposition to the Cabildo's actions found among both the regulars and the Audiencia, and the latter's unusual silence on the matter, it is possible that the *Mixti fori* represents a collaborative effort among certain members of these two groups to silence Arévalo, protect inviolate the Real Patronato, and preserve the privileges of the regulars.

Regarding the press that produced the *Diálogo mixti fori*, there is sufficient evidence to determine who printed it. A detailed typographical examination of the works produced on all three presses in and around 1734 clearly points to the Franciscans³⁴⁶. Furthermore, there is circumstantial evidence that points to this order as the printers of the piece. In May of 1735, approximately six months after the appearance of the *Mixti fori*, the Franciscans in their general provincial meeting decided to move their press from the main convent of Nuestra Señora de los Ángeles in Intramuros to a different location due to the "stress, disturbance and disquiet, and other serious detriments...caused by the presence of the press; [it was] ordered that the press which is in it be taken out of this convent of Manila and put in another spot, where it will not cause the damage that it is known to have caused by being here" (Sánchez, "Franciscanos I," 43-

³⁴⁵ There were other people who would have been familiar with Spanish law in Manila at the time. For example, there were professors of Canon law at the University of Santo Tomás, and there could be other secretaries or scribes working for the Audiencia that had some legal training and access to the autos. However, the testimonies given by the faculty at UST suggest a lack of knowledge of the existence or content of the *Mixti fori* until its appearance.

³⁴⁶ Although Retana affirms without question that the Jesuits printed the *Mixti fori*, my typographical examination clearly eliminates the Jesuits. Between the remaining two printing offices in Manila in the eighteenth century, there was only one that used the kind of italics found exclusively in the *Mixti fori*, and that was the Franciscans'. While there are some similarities between the typography of the *Mixti fori* and that of Dominican imprints of the period, that of the Franciscans is a much firmer match in many respects.

46)³⁴⁷. Sánchez laments that the Franciscans did not include in the minutes of their meeting the specific reasons for the change, and while his explanation—incompatibility of a printing business with the reverent and peaceful atmosphere that must prevail in a Franciscan convent—is not incorrect, in light of the typographical evidence of the *Mixti fori*, it must be amended to include the possibility of an illicit publication (43, 46).

Sánchez admits the possibility of illicit publications on the Franciscan press when he writes that, in spite of regulations to the contrary,

we have the impression that they were not always complied with or, if they were complied with, it was done according to the more or less flexible criteria of the superior at the moment, who could concede greater or lesser decision-making power to the brother printer. It is only in this way that we can explain the proliferation, in certain moments, of all kinds of pamphlets that, printed illegally, satirized one sector of Philippine society or put some religious groups into conflict with others... (“Franciscanos II,” 370)³⁴⁸

Given that all of the religious orders—not just the Jesuits—were deeply invested in the defeat of the Cabildo’s sudden and insistent pretension to administering extra licenses, it is logical and in the realm of reasonable possibility that the Franciscans would consent to print a text such as the *Mixti fori*.

In fact, there exists the possibility, undocumented, that the actions of the regulars toward the Cabildo in the licensing conflict, and the choice to print the *Mixti fori*, were predetermined. Costa cites the signing of a *concordia* or agreement in 1697 by representatives of the religious orders in the face of episcopal visitation. The terms of the *concordia* were, in essence, that whenever they received any official ecclesiastical or royal communication that affected them in

³⁴⁷ Original: “inquietud, perturbación y desasosiego, y otros graves daños...causados de estar la imprenta; [...] mandó...saque fuera de este convento de Manila la imprenta que en él se halla y la ponga en otro paraje, donde no cause los perjuicios que estando aquí se sabe haber causado.”

³⁴⁸ Original: “tenemos la impresión de que no siempre se cumplían o, si se cumplían, se hacía de acuerdo con el criterio más o menos elástico del superior de turno, quien podría conceder mayor o menor poder decisorio al hermano impresor. Solamente así se explica la proliferación, en determinados momentos, de todo tipo de panfletos que, impresos de forma ilegal, satirizaban algún sector de la sociedad filipina o enfrentaban entre sí a unos grupos religiosos con otros...”

any way, they were to agree upon a common strategy and universally implement it, considering that what happened to one order happened to all (*Jesuits* 524-25; see also Manchado López, “Concordia”). This might explain, in part, why the Jesuit Francisco Méndez waited so long before reporting the monitorio to the Governor: i.e., the regulars were developing a strategy to overcome the Cabildo’s position. Although there is no documented evidence of the regulars coming together in this crisis in fulfillment of the 1697 concordia, it is not out of the realm of possibility for actions of the regular orders in the Philippines.

Finally, the anonymity of the *Mixti fori* raises the question of how such a text could have been printed in the first place, and afterward how it could have circulated for so long. In Spain and Spanish-held territories licenses from the Ordinary and the civil authority—in Manila, the Audiencia—were necessary to print most items and had to be included in the finished product (Lafaye 47-48); the *Mixti fori* has neither license. Furthermore, texts printed anonymously or without the name of the publisher were generally prohibited by Law 10 of the Index of Prohibited Books³⁴⁹, especially those that were defamatory or derogatory in nature³⁵⁰, an accurate description of the *Mixti fori* both for its anonymous authorship and press, and for its reviling of Arévalo and the Cabildo. The answer to the above questions lies in the ownership of the presses, the juridical nature of the *Diálogo mixti fori*, and distance.

³⁴⁹ Law 10 of the 1707 Expurgatory, in use during the time of the *Mixti fori* scandal: “Prohíbense todos los libros o tratados que desde el año 1584 a ésta se han impreso y divulgado, y de aquí adelante se imprimieren y divulguen, sin tener nombre de autor, impresor, lugar, ni tiempo en que se imprimen: y cualquiera de estas cosas que falte se tengan por prohibidos, como sospechosos de mala y perniciosa doctrina. Y porque consta que muchos hombres doctos y santos, para que la República Cristiana se aprovechase de sus trabajos, han sacado a luz libros muy útiles, callando sus propios nombres por huir la vanidad, o por otras razones cristianas. Es declaración, que por esta regla solamente se prohíben los libros que contienen mala doctrina, o dudosa en la Fe, o perniciosa a las buenas costumbres, reservando para Nos la declaración de lo dicho en todos los libros impresos, hasta el año de 1640. Y en que faltaron las dichas condiciones, y confirmando la dicha regla para adelante con la dicha reservación y declaración.” (*Novissimus* n. pag.)

³⁵⁰ Law 16 of the 1707 Expurgatory has a long list of offenses that, if found in a text, were grounds for prohibiting or expurgating it. It was on the basis of this law that the Mexican Inquisition eventually decreed the prohibition of the *Diálogo mixti fori*.

As the owners of the only presses in the islands, the regular orders had more or less complete control over what they decided to print. Although I know of no other example of the orders denying access to the press for ideological or polemical reasons, that is exactly what happened in the case of the *Mixti fori* after Isidoro de Arévalo published his *Papel*:

Pedro: I also almost forgot to tell you that they are going to send two more papers about the size of this one for approval, from what they've told me.

Bachiller: Don't believe it, Pedro my son, because I've had word that the prudent regulars have closed their presses to their Honors [the Cabildo], because they say that they are pulling out all the stops against their privileges. (AGN, Inq. 861, 75r)³⁵¹

This blocking of access to the press is confirmed circumstantially by the complaints registered by the Cabildo in their letter of July 10, 1735 to the Inquisition where they state that they are unable to take any steps to defend themselves "because even a complaint is a crime" (2v)³⁵²; and by the fact that after Arévalo's *Papel*, neither the Cabildo nor any of its members printed anything else on the matter. On the opposite extreme, the fact that the Franciscans allowed such a text to be printed, openly contravening established civil and canonical laws, is surprising, though not the motivations that might have led them to do so. However, Medina and Arechederra offer clues as to how the Franciscans might have legally justified its printing.

In the documentation printed by Medina in his *Imprenta*, he includes the 1755 testimonies of the master printers of the three presses regarding the licenses necessary for printing in the city. Tomás Adriano, printer for the University of Santo Tomás, stated:

there are orders in the said press so that they do not print without the license of the governor and the archbishop, or his provisor, and what is done is that to print any book or sermon, the said licenses come first; but to print *conclusiones*, government edicts,

³⁵¹ Original: "*Pedro*: También a mí se me quería volar de la memoria el decirte que otros dos papelones del tamaño de éste han de remitir para su aprobación, según me han dicho.

Bachiller: No lo creas, hijo Pedro, pues ya he tenido noticia de que se les han cerrado las imprentas a sus Señorías por los discretos Regulares, porque dicen que a roso y velloso sueltan la barredera contra sus privilegios."

³⁵² Original, "porque aun la queja le fuera delito"

licenses for the Chinese, and other loose sheets that are sent by the government, no additional license is sought. (Medina, *Manila* lxxxiii)³⁵³

In other words, texts that came to the press specifically from the government only required the license of the Governor, not the Archbishop. The declarations provided by Nicolás de la Cruz Bagay and Plácido Simón Navarro echo Adriano's statement.

Joan de Arechederra provides further information on this topic. After repeating part of the Cabildo's prohibitory Edict where it declares that the *Mixti fori* was printed without the necessary approval and licenses, Arechederra openly affirms "that no license or approval at all [is] necessary for the printing of legal briefs" citing in support of his assertion Law 24, Title 7, Book 1 of the *Recopilación de Castilla*, with the following excerpt from that law: "the memoranda or briefs that are produced in lawsuits can be freely printed" (*Por la jurisdicción* 145r)³⁵⁴.

Again, the *Diálogo mixti fori* is first and foremost a legal document, a juridical manifest in the conflict against the Cabildo that echoes the official position of the Audiencia. If the superior of the Franciscans were not paying attention, if he left the printing of government papers to the discretion of a headstrong and opinionated master printer, if the master printer delegated the task to a Filipino worker who did not speak Spanish, or even if the Franciscans knew of the

³⁵³ Original, "hay en dicha imprenta órdenes expresas para que no impriman sin licencia de los señores gobernador y arzobispo, o su provisor, y lo que se practica es que para imprimir cualquiera libro o sermón, preceden dichas licencias; pero para imprimir conclusiones, bandos de gobierno, licencias de sangleyes y otros papeles sueltos que se remiten de gobierno, no se solicita más licencia."

³⁵⁴ Original: "no [ser] necesaria licencia ni aprobación alguna para la impresión de memoriales en derecho;" "las informaciones, o memoriales, que se hacen en los pleitos, que se puedan libremente imprimir." It appears, however, that this privilege had been revoked long before Arechederra cited it. Kenneth Ward writes the following: "*Libro VIII, Título XVI, Ley III* of the *Recopilación de leyes de España*, dated 7 September 1558 specifically exempted "the briefs or memorials presented in suits" from licensing requirements, although a *Real pragmática* revoked this exemption on 13 June 1627 and the same law required that all publications include the name of the author and the printer" (100-01). Although the law that Arechederra cites and the one Ward cites are different laws, the effect of the 1627 prohibition would have been the same, and one wonders why Arechederra would cite it in this case.

Mixti fori's content and were entirely complicit, as a “manifest in law³⁵⁵” the *Mixti fori* would still have been perfectly legal, technically speaking. These circumstances strongly implicate the Audiencia in the authorship, publication, and distribution of the *Diálogo mixti fori*, as do its action in the wake of its publication.

Although the author or authors and printers of the *Mixti fori* could have found legal justification in printing the text, they would have been under no illusion as to the effect it would have, nor of the difficulty in keeping it in circulation. Yet astoundingly, eight months after its appearance, the Cabildo writes that it was still in circulation, at least among the regulars (AGN Inq. 861, 3v). Apart from the coercive measures on the part of the Audiencia discussed previously, the biggest factor in its continued circulation was the great distance that separates the Philippines from Spain. Thus it happened that the resolution of these conflicts had to wait three and a half years. Letters of 1735, 1736, and 1737 from the Cabildo, Arechederra, and the Inquisition in Mexico City all lament the effect of the long distances on the settlement of the whole affair³⁵⁶.

Conclusion

Jurisdictional conflicts were a frequent occurrence in the Spanish empire, a tendency that only became more pronounced in the Indies, and even more so in the Philippines. While many of the more severe conflicts revolved around the issues of episcopal visitation and regulars serving as parish priests, the controversy that disturbed Manila from 1734-1737 centered on the

³⁵⁵ Original, “memorial en derecho”

³⁵⁶ Their various comments are as follows: “la falta de remedios, que habiendo de llegar de tantas distancias, o hallarán ya difunto al enfermo, o tan obstinado el mal que desobedezca los lenitivos”; “[Arechederra] pretende valerse de la distancia para que visto sin oposición ni descargo abulten más y se impriman indeleblemente sus especies”; “en la tiranía de esta distancia”; “atendidas las circunstancias del tiempo y tan larga distancia”; “aquellas tan remotas provincias”; “por el gran peligro y perjuicio que se ha considerado en la dilación y tardanza” (AGN, Inq. 861, 4r, 5v, 173v, 174r)

licensing of royal chaplains. Despite the Audiencia's orthodox and canonical position in its battle against the Cabildo, ultimately their efforts were not successful, as Bourbon absolutism in the Peninsula dictated a small but significant change in practice, a change designed to reign in the independence and autonomy of the regular clergy in favor of the jurisdiction of the Ordinary.

Although the press typically served the everyday needs of the Crown and the Church through the publication of decrees, edicts, etc, it could also become a point of ardent and bitter conflict. Legal struggles such the one described in this chapter often spilled over into the press, stirring up the city and pitting different groups against each other in a shifting game of alliances and recriminations. As the owners of the presses, the religious orders used the press to their advantage, granting or denying access according to what best suited their privileges and purposes. The publication of texts like Vedoya's *Alegato fiscal* or Arévalo's *Papel* were common fare when the controversies could not be kept behind closed doors, each side attacking the other in a war of words that only found resolution in the metropolis.

The *Diálogo mixti fori*, however, was a totally different animal. Though there was never a shortage of either legal or satirical texts in any part of Spain's vast territories, very rarely did the two come together in such a sensational and colorful fashion. Despite the shock that the *Mixti fori* created, it is impossible to know its full impact in terms of influence through readership. For that matter it is impossible to determine the actual readership of any of the texts produced in this legal scuffle, though the nature of the texts themselves and the parties involved imply that the readership would not have extended beyond the political and religious authorities of the colony, as well as a number of influential and/or wealthy members of the small Spanish community.

Finally, although the conflict described in this chapter can appear to modern readers to be a petty drama, with petty people battling over petty issues, this is only half the picture. On the one hand there are obvious signs that professional disagreements turned into personal attacks, magnifying relatively minor offenses and resulting in rash and reckless decisions, the most obvious manifestation of which was the *Diálogo mixti fori*. On the other hand, in a hierarchical society such as that of eighteenth-century Manila where rank and position meant everything and where the civil and the religious were so enmeshed as to become almost indistinguishable, the actions of the various parties reinforce the very serious nature of the conflict for those involved. Ultimately, this was a small conflict that was resolved with royal and Inquisitorial decrees and the passage of time, yet underlying this apparently minor scuffle were deeper and more extensive currents of conflict that were sweeping the empire, currents that would bear bitter and difficult fruit in the decades to come.



DIALOGO
MIXTI FORI,
Y SEMIESPIRITVAL
COLLOQVIO,

ARCHIVO GENERAL DE LA NACIÓN
MEXICO

ENTRE

EL AVTOR SEMISOPITO
Bachiller D. Athanasio Lopez Gatica, y el
Canudo de D. Pedro Cabildo, opuesto ex
diametro, & per antiperistasim à el Papalote
defensorio, y voladores luces de las primeras
intenciones, que ha fraguado la presente Va-
cante en este año de 34. sobre querer à puras
fuerzas adjudicar à su Capítular agregado vn
reflexo Vice-Real Patronazgo, y vna como
Jurisdicción Papal, que tira por la Calle de en-
medio, de que se me dà á mi, y sepan solo
quien es Callejas.

DELANTAR DE LA OBRA.

A la Plaza, y Mercado del Mundo, deslizo aquestas reacias voces, con-
fiado en la buena acogida, que tienen en su estimacion, qualesquiera borro-
nes, mas ricos de papel, que affuentes de razon. Procuro en breve lisongear
su novelero gusto, assegurado, de que su corta vista graduarà desde luego
lo sudo de mi Musa, ensalzando mi humilde Gerigonza,
hasta el Caracter del grave Magisterio.

Vale Celeberrime Munde.

En Zurrate: por el Gran Kang de Tartaria, Año de tantos &c.

Figure 1 Title page of the *Diálogo mixti fori*
Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, Fondo Novohispano, Inquisición 861-s/n, 68r

Chapter 3

Book Circulation in Colonial Manila, 1571-1821

Introduction

Up to this point, this dissertation has been considering texts printed exclusively within the archipelago for domestic consumption. However, as noted in Chapter One the Manila presses produced neither the kind nor the quantity of books necessary to meet all the textual needs of the islands or even the city, necessitating the importation of texts produced on foreign presses. While it is abundantly clear from the historical record that books were arriving from Europe and America throughout the islands' Mexican period (through 1821), the nature and extent of this exchange is virtually unstudied.

Unlike scholarship on the Philippine presses for the period in question, attention to the introduction, trade, and circulation of print materials in the Philippines is very scarce. With the exception of Irving Leonard's *Books of the Brave* (1949, reprinted 1992), all scholars that have touched on the topic have done so only incidentally on their way to discussing other things. David Irving's 2010 *Colonial Counterpoint*, for example, briefly discusses the presence of musical texts shipped from Europe during the early modern period (45-52). Pedro Luengo Gutiérrez's *Manila: Plaza fuerte* (2013) makes reference to the books and ideas brought by military engineers in the last half of the eighteenth century (section 1 and pages 272-280). Antonio García-Abásolo ("Private Environment," 1996) mentions the books found in the possession of two men who had died in the Philippines. Vicente S. Hernández's book, *History of Books and Libraries in the Philippine, 1521-1900*, and his article, "The Spanish Colonial Library Institutions," both from 1996, contain a number of very valuable references to the arrival of

books. However, in all these cases, the focus is on something else: music in Manila, military architecture in the wake of the British invasion, the private lives of those who had settled and died in the Philippines³⁵⁷, and the formation and history of libraries in the Philippines under the Spanish. There are allusions in other scholarly studies attesting to the presence of single copies of certain works, but like the above-mentioned books and authors, their attention is to matters other than the shipment and circulation of the printed word.

Due to the relative lack of studies dedicated specifically to the movement of books to and within the city of Manila, this chapter represents a first attempt to define the characteristics of this phenomenon, focusing on the following questions: What kind of books were coming to the Philippines? Who brought them? Was there an international book trade similar to what occurred between Spain and its American colonies? If so, what was the nature of that trade?

To answer these questions I have divided this chapter into two parts. In the first I will outline the conditions under which books came to the islands up until 1821. Although such an explanation may seem superfluous to those familiar with the economic and sociopolitical position of the Philippines during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it is necessary in order to distinguish trans-Pacific text circulation from its trans-Atlantic manifestation. In the second part I will examine published scholarly work and archival evidence documenting the transportation of printed materials to the archipelago, focusing specifically on books as merchandise and books from institutional purchase (i.e., those dispatched by the religious orders for their use in the islands) and highlighting the relevant bio- and bibliographical information to place these cargos into their historical context. I will consider not only books proper but also

³⁵⁷ García-Abásolo does so through an examination of the records of the *Juzgado de Bienes Difuntos*. This tribunal was responsible for settling the affairs of those who had died and making sure that the heirs received their inheritance.

imprints of any kind, such as newspapers, papal bulls, and prayer sheets. Documenting these shipments of books is of capital importance since, with the exception of the limited references found in the studies previously mentioned, this has not yet taken place for the Philippines for the period under consideration.

Through the examination of these materials I argue first, that books had an early and constant presence in the islands, and that while a high-volume book trade did not take hold until at least the mid-eighteenth century, this did not impede the arrival in Manila of the most recent items produced on European and Mexican presses throughout the Mexican period. Second, I argue that, despite previous assertions to the contrary, the Inquisition did not impede the entry of popular Spanish literature into the city, consistent with this same phenomenon in Spanish America. Third, I argue that even before the mid-eighteenth century books had begun to come from sources other than Spain via the annual galleon, and that around this same time there is a notable shift in the kinds of books that begin to arrive, with a manifest tendency toward English and especially French authors. Fourth and finally, I argue that such phenomena were made possible by the existence of intercolonial networks maintained both by institutions (such as the religious orders or the Real Compañía de Filipinas) and through personal or family connections.

Book Circulation in the Philippines: An Overview

The term “circulation” as used in this dissertation refers not only to the concept of book trade—i.e., printers mass-producing and shipping texts for wide circulation and purchase by individuals at a book store or printer’s shop—but also to the transportation and ownership of books by individuals or groups without the intention to sell, and the informal sharing or purchase of texts between individuals. When considering book circulation in the archipelago it is

important to make and include these distinctions because, although book shipping and selling did take place, trade was not the main vehicle for books to enter into the Philippines during the Mexican period.

For both Europe and the major cities of colonial Latin America, this focus on trade is both logical and easier given the more abundant documentation. This documentation appears most typically in the form of book lists, whether for shipment or as the inventory of booksellers. Those book lists that do exist for the Philippines usually fall outside of the traditional mold typified by Irving A. Leonard in his seminal study on the sixteenth-century trans-Atlantic book trade, *Books of the Brave*. That is to say, long lists representing hundreds of copies of multiple titles of the most recent literary, scholarly, and religious texts from the most respected presses of the Peninsula and greater Europe, while relatively frequent for the major cities of Spanish America according to Leonard, are virtually non-existent when it comes to the Philippines³⁵⁸. This does not mean that lists of books as merchandise do not exist; it simply means that they are shorter and much harder to come by. Although both climate and geology have contributed to this dearth of documentation, the fact is that the Philippines' geographical location in comparison to Spain and Mexico and the politico-religious situation of the islands under the Spanish made a book trade proper much more problematic and much less frequent. To understand the significant differences between the trans-Atlantic print exchange and that of the Pacific, a very brief and very schematic overview of the general characteristics of the book trade in Europe and Mexico will be helpful.

³⁵⁸ The only known inventory of a book store in the Philippines was that made in 1773 of the Jesuits bookstore following their expulsion, published by Retana in 1899. This list was indeed very long with multiple copies of dozens of titles, but printed almost exclusively—as far as we can tell—on Manila presses. See Appendix 2 for more details.

The geographical proximity of the major cities of Europe and the relative ease of travel among them facilitated the rapid spread of printing and the international book trade in Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The wealthier and more important cities became centers of print production and distribution, and given the wide reach of the international European scholarly community, printed books quickly became an important commercial commodity in an established book market (there was already a trade in manuscript books) with a pre-existing trade infrastructure (Lafaye 15-16, 27-29; see also Eisenstein, chapters 1 and 2). Significantly, despite the appearance of the press in Spain by 1473 and its establishment throughout most major and minor cities of the Peninsula by the end of the sixteenth century, Spain was always a greater importer than producer of printed books, with most foreign-printed books coming out of Catholic-held territories: Paris, Lyon, Antwerp, etc (Lafaye 28, 34, 42, 120). Texts produced in Protestant strongholds—e.g., Amsterdam, Basel—were less frequent, though not absent, in Spain and its colonies.

The establishment of the viceregal capitals in Mexico City and Lima on the heels of the conquest extended European trade routes, and books from all over Europe poured into these powerful urban centers via Seville and later Cádiz. New Spain was a particularly important market for Peninsular authors (Chocano Mena 80). Although there was only one authorized port of entry for European goods coming into New Spain—San Juan de Ulúa (Veracruz)—the annual *flota* was composed of multiple, privately-owned ships exporting a variety of European goods, including books. Furthermore, there were multiple potential destinations within the viceroyalty for the books to go, with a substantial market of European and *criollo* consumers that continued to expand as the years passed. Mexico City was the logical target, yet the penetration of

European books was not limited to the capital but rather extended widely throughout the secondary cities of the northern viceroyalty (80).

The print exchange, however, was not reciprocal. The monopolistic hold of the Cromberger family and later other Peninsular printers and book merchants guaranteed continued commerce and high profits (in the early years as high as 100%) in the general colonial market, in part due to the substantial price increase that came as a result of the trans-Atlantic crossing (Chocano Mena 79-80). Furthermore, despite the early arrival of the press in Mexico (1539) printing was relatively weak in the first 160 years, producing only around 2,300 editions, and Mexican printers only rarely exported books back to Spain (72, 78-79).

The situation in the Philippines could not have been more different. Prior to the arrival of the Spanish, many of the numerous and different ethnic and tribal groups that inhabited the islands had already established a trade network with China and the different Malay groups surrounding them. With the advent of the *adelantado* Miguel López de Legazpi³⁵⁹ to Manila and the beginning of the galleon commerce, the Spanish imperial network now stretched half way around the world, connecting five continents and plugging directly into this pre-existing Asian market in which China was a key player (Bjork 26, 30-32). However, in this region Western books had never been an item of interest due to the absence of Europeans, meaning that for a book trade to develop in the Philippines, it would have to do so exclusively with Mexico, or at least indirectly with Spain and Europe via Mexico, since European geopolitics precluded Spanish travel to Southeast Asia via the Cape of Good Hope. The only link between the archipelago and

³⁵⁹ Legazpi was the conqueror of the Philippines. Although previous expeditions had managed to reach the islands, they never attempted to make any conquests and usually did not even return to Mexico, whence they originated. Legazpi was the first to make permanent Spanish settlement in the islands, in 1565 on the island of Cebu. After a time, however, finding supplies on Cebu and later Panay inadequate and defense unsuitable, he went north to the island of Luzon where he had rumors of a wealthy city in a large harbor, Maynilad. Legazpi conquered Maynilad in 1571 and had consummated the conquest of the rest of Luzon and the Visayas within a few years.

Spain (“the link that kept the Philippines Spanish,” in the words of Katharine Bjork) until 1765 was the annual galleons between Manila and Acapulco, and the number of ships plying this route only rarely exceeded two and only then in the euphoria of the first unregulated years of the line (Schurz 161).

Trade with other European colonies in Southeast Asia was strictly regulated, including a prohibition against direct trade at Manila that was only lifted in 1785 (García de los Arcos, *Estado* 38), making a book trade if not impossible at the least very difficult, especially in the first century of Spanish rule. Generally speaking the Portuguese resented the Spanish presence in what they considered their side of the world (Schurz, Chapter 3). The Dutch, perennial enemies of the Spaniards due to their wars in Europe, began attacking the Philippines in 1604 and did not let up until 1648 (Alonso 255-56; Schurz 287), and after that religious differences made most books published by the Dutch suspect. The British presence in the Philippines largely consisted of privateers and invasion forces. Although there was cooperation at different periods that permitted the transfer of printed materials and a gradual relaxation of trade over the course of the eighteenth century³⁶⁰, for the majority of the Mexican period these other European colonies hardly contained the elements necessary for a thriving and lucrative exchange in Western books.

The internal organization of the islands also had a direct bearing on the development of a trade in books after the European fashion. Besides the city of Manila, the conquest of the archipelago by Legazpi resulted in the founding of a small number of Spanish cities and *villas*—

³⁶⁰ For example, in the early years of the seventeenth century the Spanish aided the Portuguese in retaking the islands of Tidore and Ternate in the Moluccas during the Dutch attempt to take control of the spice trade (Schurz 276-82). Or, after the Dutch wars, the Spanish regularly sent ships to buy spices on Java from the Dutch, who had definitively asserted their control over the spice islands (45-46, 287). Ships from Manila occasionally went to Chennai (formerly Madras) to purchase goods on commission (García de los Arcos, *Estado* 38-39), and Portuguese ships on occasion entered and traded in Manila. Following the opening of Manila to world trade, many European powers set up trading houses in Manila (Llobet 57-58). For a brief summary of Dutch and English conflicts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see García-Abásolo, “Llegado de los españoles al extremo Oriente,” pp. 178-81; and García de los Arcos, *Forzado* 43-45.

Arévalo, Cebu, Lal-lo, Naga, and Vigan³⁶¹—established in key locations in Luzon and the Visayas at the end of the sixteenth century. These cities were an attempt to follow the pattern of colonization established in America, that is, an urban system featuring “a comparatively small number of major colonial capitals, each of which functioned as the governmental, religious, and commercial nerve center” of a particular region (Reed 15-16). Despite a period of early prosperity these cities quickly declined due to the primacy of the galleon trade, which drew Spanish colonizers out of the provinces and into the world of easy commerce in Manila, effectively halting these cities’ political and economic growth and preventing the development of a strong local trade network. As Reed points out, only Naga, Vigan, and Cebu maintained some level of importance due to their position as the seat of the three suffragan bishoprics in the islands (15-16). Due to the low population of Spaniards or Europeans in the provinces, the effective consumer base of a potential book trade in the Philippines were the Spanish and Europeans at Manila.

Although it might be tempting to assume that the exact same trade relationship that existed between Spain and its American colonies also existed between Spain and the Philippines, including a high-volume book trade, in reality the relationship between Madrid and Manila was fundamentally different. In fact, apart from the orders that emanated from the metropolis and the peninsular clergy and officers that came to serve in the administration of the colony, the Philippines were more dependent on New Spain than they were on the Old one. Where book commerce is concerned, given the relatively weak editorial industry that characterized Mexico

³⁶¹ Naga, formerly known as Nueva Cáceres, was the seat of the bishopric of Nueva Cáceres and is the current capital of the Camarines Sur province in the Bicol Peninsula in southern Luzon. Lal-lo, in the Cagayan Valley of northern Luzon, was known during the Spanish period as Nueva Segovia and was the seat of the bishopric of Nueva Segovia until the mid-eighteenth century when the bishopric was transferred to the city of Vigan—known then as Fernandina—in the modern province of Ilocos Sur. Arévalo was a city on the southern coast of the island of Panay, but has since been incorporated into the modern city of Iloilo. Cebu has retained its name, location, and importance.

throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it should come as no surprise that we do not find the same dynamic between Mexico and the Philippines that existed between Spain and Mexico. Though some texts printed in Mexico did cross the Pacific, for the most part printed materials ultimately came from Europe, with Mexico serving merely as a way station. There were, of course, no additional legal hoops for Peninsula-based book merchants to jump through had they wanted to ship their wares to the Philippines, yet the small consumer base, the prohibitive shipping costs (distance really did matter (Díaz-Trechuelo xvi)), and known documentary evidence on the subject suggest that it was generally not worth the effort to ship and sell books in Manila on a large scale. Though there were certain notable exceptions to the basic outline described above, this paradigm was more or less in force until the mid-eighteenth century.

In light of the above assertions it might seem easy to claim that if books came at all, they were few and far between³⁶². However, the existing evidence contradicts this statement. In fact, the work of nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars, as well as the records preserved in the archives of the Mexican Inquisition attest to a steady albeit modest flow of books throughout the period, one that continued to increase as time passed and that blossomed in the wake of the Bourbon reforms and the declaration of free trade in the empire.

³⁶² Cayetano Sánchez (1990) sustains this view for the latter half of the seventeenth century, declaring Manila to be a city in decline, beset with ignorance and intellectual apathy, reflected in the alleged lack of books of any interest in the city (“Imprenta” 1056-59). In support of this view Sánchez cites the 1682 letter of a Jesuit in Manila, who writes “qui non c'e un libro spirituale, e non si tratta d'altro che di fardi...c'e una ignoranza infinita” (in “Imprenta” 1058-59). A rough translation of this statement renders the following: “There aren’t any spiritual books here, and no one worries about anything except *fardi*...There is an infinite ignorance.” “Fardi” seems to be an antiquated Italian word that, if the modern Spanish “fardo” is any point of comparison, might be an allusion to commerce or trade via the reference to the packages of goods that were loaded on the galleons and which were known as “fardos.” Alternatively, “fardi” could be translated as “irritating,” “boring,” or “tiresome,” with reference to the kind of books available.

The Bourbon reforms brought significant and lasting change to both the internal and external aspects of life in the archipelago. Internally, the economic development of the islands for an export economy and a shift in administrative and fiscal practices would begin to alter the position of the provincial cities, including the local and native elite, giving these cities and their inhabitants more economic and political importance and putting more money into circulation in the islands than had ever been known before (García de los Arcos, *Estado* 34-35, 38-40). Externally, the opening of trade in the last decades of the eighteenth century brought with it an undesirable (for some) though unsurprising consequence.

Besides heralding the end of the long-standing and intractable galleon trade and introducing the archipelago fully into the sphere of world commerce, it brought the inhabitants of the Philippines into close and continuous contact with foreigners (Díaz-Trechuelo 277). Of course, there had always been foreigners in Manila because the city's geographical position made it an international crossroads. In fact, one of Manila's most salient features throughout its existence has been its cosmopolitan make-up, which only amplified under the Spanish. However, these foreigners had been predominantly, but not exclusively, of non-European origin (Chinese, Japanese, Persians, etc) for the simple fact that the Spanish did not permit other Europeans to trade directly at Manila (see Schurz, Introduction and Chapter 3). The relatively low numbers of non-Spanish Europeans prior to the period of Bourbon reforms³⁶³, especially of the Protestant variety, limited the potential for textual exchange beyond the designated channel (i.e., Mexico).

³⁶³ An exception must be made for the Jesuits, whose international membership allowed for a significant number of non-Spanish fathers to come to the islands, though, of course, they all came from Catholic countries or regions, such as the German Paul Klein (Pablo Clain as the Spaniards rendered his name), author of a number of important texts printed in Manila during and after his lifetime (Costa 507-508). See also Appendix A-2 in Nicholas Cushner's edition of the diary of the Jesuit Francisco Puig (162-173), which contains the names and origin of all the Jesuits in the province at the time of the expulsion in 1768.

This does not mean that foreign books did not come at all to the islands. In fact, beginning in at least the 1740s foreign books managed to make their way into the islands by means other than just the galleon. The number of books arriving from all parts began to grow steadily in the 1750s, and when other Europeans and their books began arriving *en masse* in Manila harbor in the late 1780s, the previous trickle of books—prohibited or not—had become a strong and potentially dangerous current, or at least this was the perspective of the Inquisition (Greenleaf 209). English and French texts of all kinds flooded the islands³⁶⁴. French books seem to have come predominantly via the island of Mauritius—Isle de France as it was known then—while those in English via India and China, though of course there were many paths that the books could take to arrive at Manila and many points of origin. Sometimes these books came directly from the foreigners, at other times via Spaniards who had visited different ports throughout Asia or America. Informal distribution by lending helped to disseminate texts that arrived as single copies. In some cases these texts enjoyed widespread distribution when they were reprinted on the Manila presses, such as those introduced during the time of the wars of Independence against the French in the Peninsula.

Added to these foreign imports was an increase of texts from Spain and Mexico. The increase in Peninsular imprints was partially the effect of direct contact with Spain inaugurated in 1765 when the *Buen Consejo* arrived from Cádiz via the Cape of Good Hope. The establishment of the Real Compañía de Filipinas in 1785 added yet another possible vehicle for books to reach the Philippines. Additionally, voyagers from Spain had the option of travelling around Africa, around Cape Horn, and through Mexico. When travelers took the traditional route they had the opportunity to acquire additional texts. Not only were books from all over

³⁶⁴ Texts in Latin were also common.

Europe (including prohibited ones) freely circulating throughout all parts of New Spain at this time, but Mexico City's printing volume had increased exponentially over the course of the eighteenth century, allowing for Mexican imprints to be brought to the Philippines in higher numbers.

Once the texts arrived in Manila, however, they encountered a major obstacle to their circulation: the Inquisition. In the late sixteenth century the Crown began requiring that when shipping books, "each shipping manifest should be accompanied by a list of the titles of the printed works in the consignment it covered" (Leonard 100). Officially, upon the arrival of the books at a Spanish-held port, the Inquisitors were to personally examine all personal books to assure the non-presence of prohibited ones. Commercial shipments went on to Mexico City for examination, the censor comparing the books on the list provided with the Index, yet this did not always happen according to the strictness that the laws decreed, especially when there were a great deal of books to inspect (85, 88). The low number of European ships arriving in Manila harbor in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and the first half of the eighteenth centuries permitted the commissaries there to maintain a fairly tight grip on what came into the city. After the mid-eighteenth century, however, they found their capacity to effectively police the introduction and circulation of the printed word severely taxed, though by no means completely inhibited. The Inquisition was still a force to be reckoned with at this time and commanded great respect, or at least compliance. However, in the years before its suppression in 1821³⁶⁵—a result of the inauguration of the liberal *trienio* in Spain (1820-1823) that coincided with Mexico's independence and the end of the Philippines' Mexican period—the Holy Office was a moribund

³⁶⁵ The order to abolish the Inquisition in Spain took place in March 1820. The order did not reach the Philippines until 1821, and by August of that year the governor had already made public the announcement (Medina, *Inquisición*, 170).

institution. With its loss of political power, the Holy Office was reduced to the capacity of a censor, albeit an active and somewhat effective one that was still capable of inflicting significant personal and professional damage (Llobet 45-46, 61).

It is curious to note that the Inquisition's effectiveness was only as great as Spaniards allowed it to be, since the Inquisition took action only after having received a denunciation (Kamen 82, 178-79, 261). Though undoubtedly many appearances before the agents of the Holy Office arose out of sincere belief, the Inquisition was also an effective way to settle old scores (175-77). Whatever the stimulus behind a particular denunciation, the origin of Inquisitorial action in the people meant that they effectively policed themselves, and the fear of others' denunciations was often a strong motivator either in self-incrimination or in the denunciation of others, as we shall have occasion to see in Chapter Four. As this pertains to books, what success the Inquisition achieved in controlling the flow of prohibited volumes, whether in Madrid or in Manila, came out of more or less voluntary compliance by individuals who reported these publications to the Holy Office. Those who wished to keep their prohibited books, it seems, were able to do so as long as their presence went undetected, which was not always difficult (Kamen 133).

But what of those works that did come under the scrutiny of the Inquisition? Items that were prohibited in their entirety (*in totum*) in the Index of Prohibited Books often met their end in flames, or at least hidden away in carefully guarded archives, or shipped off to Mexico. On occasion over-zealous commissaries took it upon themselves to withdraw a text from circulation even though it did not appear in the Index if they felt its author or contents would be detrimental to the spiritual or political health of the colony (AGN, Inq. 903-19, 191r-194r). Such actions did not always meet with approval in Mexico, as was the case with Juan de Álvarez, whom the

Inquisitors in Mexico City ordered to discreetly step down from office in 1750 for a number of reasons, summarized in the phrase, “his recklessness, indiscreet zeal, and lack of reflexion and formality in his decisions and conduct, and with the fear that because of his advanced age his mind might have become weakened” (in Medina, *Inquisición*, 134-35; see also AGN, Inq. 897-21 and 1151-4)³⁶⁶. However, it seems that on the whole the labors of the Manila branch of the Mexican Inquisition had the sanction of its superiors in this regard.

On the other hand, it is essential keep in mind that merely reporting a text to the Inquisition did not mean they automatically withdrew it from circulation. Many books that the Inquisition’s officers inspected were able to enter into the islands and from there circulate freely. Even those works that appeared on the Index were not always prohibited *in totum*, but required only minor expurgation to remove the offending passages. Additionally, there were cases where the commissaries ordered the recall of a text but upon further inspection determined there was no reason for concern and allowed the item to circulate. Furthermore, in select cases the Inquisition granted special licenses so that certain individuals could read prohibited books, usually very educated or prominent people considered less likely to be deceived by heretical publications. Such was the case with the wealthy businessman and deputy to the 1810 Cortes at Cádiz, Ventura de los Reyes, who requested and received permission to retain and read Diderot and D’Alambert’s *Encyclopédie* printed in Lausanne and Bern in 1778, on the condition that the books be returned to archives of the Inquisition in Manila upon his death (Llobet 59; Medina,

³⁶⁶ Original: “su intrepidez, celo indiscreto y poca reflexión y formalidad en sus resoluciones y conducta, y con el recelo de que por su avanzada edad pudiese habersele debilitado la cabeza.”

Inquisición 170; AGN, Inq. 1435-19, 250r-252v)³⁶⁷. These cases were infrequent to be sure, but still occurred³⁶⁸.

Finally, it is ironically fortuitous that the Inquisition took note of texts entering the Philippines since it is precisely because of these controls that a written record of texts arriving or circulating in the Philippines still exists today. Naturally, the archives of the Inquisition do not contain all references or documentation regarding books in the islands, but the fact is that the vast majority of records I have found regarding the importation and circulation of books in the archipelago in this period come from the files of the Inquisition, and even these are incomplete³⁶⁹. Had it not been for this vigilance on the part of the Holy Office, knowledge of these print and ink arrivals would have been lost forever. While this does not, from the perspective of the twenty-first century, justify censorship, it does afford a small glimpse into the reading habits of certain sectors of the literate populace and, by extension, the kind and quantity of texts circulating in the islands.

³⁶⁷ Reyes first made the request to read the *Encyclopedia* to the Inquisitors in Mexico City in 1800, from whom he received permission to retain only the three volumes containing the illustrations, with instructions to remit the remaining 36 volumes to Fray Nicolás Cora, Commissary of the Inquisition in Manila, upon his arrival in the Philippines. Reyes sent the volumes to Cora with a letter dated 17 Apr. 1801. It was not until 1805 that Reyes received word that the Inquisitors of Mexico had granted him permission to keep and read all but three of the volumes, numbers 3, 16, and 25.

³⁶⁸ Another example is the license given by the Inquisitor General of Spain, Francisco Javier Mier y Campillo, to the *fiscal* of the Real Audiencia of Manila, Pedro del Águila e Ycaza in 1817 (AGN, Inq., 5867-024).

³⁶⁹ In addition to the various climatic and geological incidents that have afflicted the Philippines, José Toribio Medina relates the story of the commissary of the Inquisition in Manila in the 1760s, Fray Luis de Sierra, who, upon learning that the British troops occupying the city in 1762 intended to arrest him and seize the documents housed in the Inquisition's archives, he burned all of these documents to prevent them from falling into enemy hands (*Inquisición* 156-57). Who knows what priceless historical documents disappeared as a result of Sierra's action.

Vehicles of circulation

Books and other imprints came to the islands in three principal ways: personal “libraries,” institutional purchase by religious orders overseas, and as merchandise. This chapter will consider the latter two categories.

Although the importation of books to the Philippines, as David Irving suggests (47), generally reflects the nature of the same phenomenon from Spain to America (at least in terms of the vehicles of distribution as described by Pedro Rueda Ramírez (2005)³⁷⁰), there are substantial differences. First is the issue of volume, since the potential destinations for books in the Americas were much more numerous than in the Philippines, with a corresponding increase in trade volume for those areas. Second, while the mechanisms that Rueda Ramírez describes correspond roughly to the main vehicles of book importation and circulation that I have enumerated, the biggest difference is that trade was the least common way for books to arrive in the islands due to the economic, political, and demographic conditions described earlier, not the least of which was the non-protagonism of the Seville printers and booksellers. To this is added the fact that bookstores were a rare commodity in Manila for the majority of the Mexican period³⁷¹. This contrasts greatly with the larger and more important areas of the colonies such as New Spain and Peru while at the same time showing parallelism with other peripheral areas of the Americas, such as the Antilles and Central America (Rueda Ramírez 138-43). However, even these outlying American territories had greater opportunity to acquire books from Europe due to their geographical proximity, an advantage that the Philippines did not enjoy.

³⁷⁰ See in particular the second part of that study, “El tráfico de libros, I: Los cargadores de libros”.

³⁷¹ The only known public bookstores during the entire Mexican period belonged to the Jesuits, prior to their expulsion, and later to the Real Compañía de Filipinas, as will be discussed further on. It is not known, however, when the Jesuits established their public bookstore.

Despite these disadvantages, it is clear that books still did arrive as saleable merchandise, but in the absence of the large European sellers what we find in Manila is the exclusive appearance of low-volume, independent traders, most of whom typically dealt in wares other than books. By independent I refer to traders not affiliated with or at least not acting as agents of the Seville booksellers, even though the items they sold would have originally gone through Seville. Ultimately, however, all books that came to the Philippines, with the exception of those books brought by individuals for their personal use, reflect the operations of trans-Pacific and trans-Atlantic networks of personal and economic interest.

The earliest account of a low-volume merchant comes from Leonard's *Books of the Brave*. In chapter 15 of that work, titled "One Man's Library," Leonard examines a shipment of books that made its way from Mexico to Manila in 1583³⁷². Consistent with the title of the chapter, Leonard considered the books a personal library, and treats it as such in his analysis of the list. Although Leonard's discovery was important in demonstrating the far reach of Spain's intellectual products at such an early point in the colonization of the archipelago, he left the most fundamental question unanswered, i.e., the identity of the owner of the books. He identifies him only as "trebiña," based on the caption that appears at the beginning of the list, which reads,

³⁷² The date is somewhat problematic due to the timing of Treviño's arrival in the Philippines, the date of the establishment of the Inquisition in Manila, and the title of the *expediente* (file) in the Inquisition archives. On the first page of the document containing the list (AGN, Inq., 133-12) appears the date "Enero 1583," followed by the descriptive title, "documentos remitidos por el comisario de Manila a los inquisidores de Mejico sobre varios asuntos" (246r). Here, then, we find the Inquisitors of Mexico, in January of 1583, acknowledging the remission of documents from the commissary of the Inquisition in Manila. The problem is that the Inquisitors of Mexico only issued the commission and instructions to the first commissary on 1 Mar. 1583. The first designated commissary, Fray Francisco Manrique, who had already been in the Philippines for eight years, would not have received these documents until late August or early September of 1583, based on a letter of response from the bishop of the Philippines, Domingo de Salazar, dated 8 Sep. 1583 (Medina, *Inquisición*, 16-17). Furthermore, Salazar was very opposed to the establishment of the Inquisition in the Philippines and fought to have Manrique instated as commissary, meaning that he might not have begun to exercise his authority until some time later (17-19). If Treviño did come over on the 1583 galleon, then it is possible that Manrique attempted to exercise his authority and collected Treviño's list. In this case, Leonard's guess—"Since it was January, the writer may have inadvertently set down the year just closed, the actual date being 1584"—is entirely plausible. Even if not, the list cannot be any earlier than 1583.

according to Leonard, “List of the following books that I, Trebiña, am carrying” (228, 358)³⁷³.

However, it appears that the copy of the document that Leonard had was incomplete, since in the original document the abbreviation for the name “Juan” appears clearly at the end of the first line, followed by the beginnings of what is most likely the word “de” (AGN, Inq. 113-12, 147r). The list clearly identifies its owner as one Juan de Treviño³⁷⁴.

Who was Juan de Treviño? Leonard, noting that non-religious literary texts make up the bulk of the list, supposed that he was a layman but neither a dealer nor a merchant in books since, in his opinion, “practically all the titles are represented by one copy only” (235). He had discovered the name of a Spanish bookseller by that name living in Mexico City but did not explore this lead any further since he was operating under the assumption that the owner was “trebiña.” However, based on a comparison of the *Catálogo de pasajeros a Indias*³⁷⁵ and Francisco Fernández del Castillo’s *Libros y libreros en el siglo XVI* (1914)³⁷⁶, it appears that there was no one in the Indies, much less in New Spain, with the name Juan de Treviño, except the Mexico City bookseller³⁷⁷.

³⁷³ Original, “Memoria de los libros sig. tes q traygo yo trebiña”

³⁷⁴ The letter that Leonard’s paleographer assumed to be an ‘a’ can be read simply as an unusually formed ‘o.’ There is no reason to demand uniformity in handwriting from anyone, let alone in the sixteenth century.

³⁷⁵ English: “Catalogue of passengers to the Indies”

³⁷⁶ English: “Books and booksellers in the 16th century”

³⁷⁷ A review of the catalogues of passengers to the Indies from 1539 to 1585 finds no passengers listed with the name “Juan de Treviño” except for entry 3277, volume 5, part 1, corresponding to the year 1571, which reads thusly: “3277. JUAN DE TREVIÑO, natural del Logroño, hijo de Juan de Treviño y de Ana de Licha, con Juan Baptista, hijo suyo y de Juan[a] Díaz, a Nueva España. –16 de julio” (Romera and Galbis 479). We can identify this Juan de Treviño with the bookseller of the same name through a declaration given in December 1585 in a lawsuit over a shipment of books he had purchased in October 1584: “E luego ante el dicho Señor Inquisidor Licenciado Bonilla, pareció llamado y juró en forma de derecho de decir verdad Juan de Treviño, librero, vecino de esta ciudad, natural de Logroño en Castilla, de edad de más de cuarenta y cinco años” (Fernández del Castillo 254-56, 281-85). Given this strong coincidence, it is safe to say that the Juan de Treviño of the passenger list and that of the lawsuit are the same person.

It must be mentioned, however, for transparency sake, that entry 1820 of volume 3 of the *Catálogo de pasajeros a Indias*, corresponding to the years 1539-1559, lists a Juan (“niño”), son of Francisco de Ortiz and María de Treviño, who would have come with his parents to New Spain in 1551. It is possible that he took his mother’s last name and could have been Juan de Treviño, but his father’s occupation as a silversmith, a prestigious office in New Spain,

Yet it is very probable that this Juan de Treviño was not on the 1583 galleon to Manila since we find him in October of 1584 in Mexico City involved in a commercial transaction³⁷⁸. The catalogue of passengers to the Indies reveals that Treviño had a son by the name of Juan Baptista. Although there is no confirmed account that also lists Juan Baptista as a bookseller, it is very probable that he would have followed in his father's footsteps, learning and expanding his father's business. The newly opened market of Manila could offer just such a possibility to a young bookseller in his father's employ. This coincidence of events and people suggests that Juan de Treviño's son, Juan Baptista de Treviño, had come to Manila to find a corner in the book market in the newly founded city on the edge of Spain's global empire.³⁷⁹

With regard to the books that Treviño brought to Manila, operating under the supposition that he was the son of a bookseller and probably a bookseller himself, it is more likely that the list, rather than a personal library as Leonard asserts, represents the first documented shipment of books for sale in Spanish Manila. This idea finds support in the kinds of books that make up the list since one its most salient features is its variety of titles, a characteristic typical of the shipments sent to the Philippines, as we will have occasion to see further on. Not only is there a relatively low percentage of religious or devotional works (only around 36 percent, compared to the typical 60 or 70 percent that Leonard asserts for other colonial book lists), but of the literary

suggests that this potential Juan de Treviño would have remained in the viceroyalty with his parents and learned his father's trade rather than go the Philippines with a shipment of books (Bermúdez 115).

³⁷⁸ Travel to and from the Philippines was a long and arduous process and timing was important in these voyages. Passengers that came to Manila from Mexico most frequently stayed there for the year since to embark on a six-month trans-Pacific crossing only weeks after having undergone a three-month journey in the opposite direction was very taxing. With regards to the Juan de Treviño of the booklist, given that he arrived in Manila, most likely in June or July of 1583, even if his only purpose was to deliver a shipment of books, he would have to wait another year for the arrival of the next galleon to take him back to Mexico. This would place him back in Mexico by very late 1584 or early 1585, and therefore unable to engage in the October 1584 commercial transaction in Mexico City.

³⁷⁹ There is, of course, the possibility that Juan de Treviño, Sr., was simply dropping off a shipment or sending it via an agent. However, the phrase "que traigo yo" suggests that this Treviño was personally carrying the shipment rather than simply sending it with an agent. Compare this to Juan Leonardo Malo Manrique's language in a 1756 shipment, "que remito a vender" (AGN, Inq. 776-42, 391r).

texts (comprising 43 percent of the titles) there is a wide variety of poetry and prose, many of the texts still very much in fashion and in print³⁸⁰ (228).

Additionally, considering the circumstances, many of the books included on the list do not make sense as part of a personal library. Of the books Leonard denominates secular non-fiction (21 percent), there are two books on medicine and surgery and another on the art of plainchant. Leonard explains these particular texts as the reflection of the well-read character of the owner (228, 233), the need to know something about medicine in a place that, having been founded so recently, was lacking in doctors (232-33), and “the owner’s concern for one aspect of music” (234). Of the religious texts included on Treviño’s list we find the *Directorium curatorum, o instruccion de curas, util y provechoso para los que tienen cargo de animas* (360), “Instructions for priests, useful and beneficial for those that have charge of souls.” Assuming that Treviño was indeed a layman and not a priest, this volume makes little sense as an option for personal, devout reading.

However, there are three more items on this list that support the hypothesis of the books as merchandise, and they are the “imprints from Rome of all kinds,” “books for children,” and the “little primers” all in the plural (360)³⁸¹. “Imprints from Rome” could be bulls, indulgences, or other such *pliegos sueltos*³⁸² as people frequently purchased in Catholic territories, and unless Treviño was learning to read or learning his catechism, the primers are very illogical, as are the

³⁸⁰ Although Leonard rightly points out that many of the titles on the Treviño list were hot topics in 1583, he erred in one particular detail, though it is an error of degree rather than fact. One of the literary texts that appears was the *Honesto y agradable entretenimiento de damas y galanes*, which Leonard has listed as appearing in its first edition in Granada in 1583, the very year that the book shipment supposedly arrived in Manila (359). Besides being physically impossible due to the lengthy travel time from Spain to the Philippines—approximately one year, overland to Seville, across the Atlantic, overland from Veracruz to Acapulco, across the Pacific to Manila—recent research has revealed that the first edition of this text was actually from 1578 and printed in Zaragoza. See David González Ramírez’s article, “La *princeps* del *Honesto*...”, 2011.

³⁸¹ Original, “estampas de Roma de todas suertes”; “libros para niños”; “cartillas pequeñas”

³⁸² Literally, “loose sheets,” a reference to ephemeral items meant for rapid mass consumption, usually consisting of only one or two sheets of paper.

books for children. Granted, he could have brought his own children with him, assuming he had any, but considering all the other items in this very broad list of books, it is more logical to conclude that Juan de Treviño was attempting to appeal to as wide an audience as possible, including the literarily inclined, parents with small children, the devout, and priests.

But what became of the books once they arrived in Manila? Though Vicente S. Hernández declares that they “only reached the Manila harbor” (“Library” 322), there is no compelling motive to assume this position since all the texts that appear on the list circulated freely in Spain and in Mexico. Hernández raises the objection that Manila was the only port of entry into the Philippines, thereby eliminating the opportunity to circumvent inquisitorial inspections. While this was true for the Philippines, it was also true for New Spain. Veracruz was the only authorized port of entry for European merchandise, yet books still came through, including works of creative fiction. As noted earlier, the difference between customs inspections in New Spain and those of Manila was not the number of ports, but the number of Spanish ships that came to Manila and the low consumer base in the city³⁸³. Hernández also cites in evidence the same laws that Leonard demonstrated to be so ineffectual in Mexico and Peru (i.e., works of creative fiction were prohibited in the Indies by royal decree), so by that same token it is possible that the new commissary allowed the books entrance into the city. Furthermore, it is not known if there was yet an Index of Prohibited Books in the islands against which the new commissary could compare Treviño’s list, though it is very unlikely considering that in 1583 the Inquisition had just been established in the islands. If there was an Index, it would have been the 1559 Index and not the 1583-1584 Index since the latter had not even finished being printed yet, much

³⁸³ However, Llobet mentions a case from 1793 where French pamphlets and newspapers were intercepted in Ilocos, a province to the far north of Manila along the west coast of Luzon. During the Inquisition’s investigations they discovered that Ilocos—not an authorized port—was a point of entry for illicit materials such as prohibited books (59).

less shipped to the farthest colony in the empire (Kamen 112-14). Perhaps a better question would be, what happened to the books once they came into Manila? Was Treviño able to sell any? If so, to whom? These, however, are questions to which there are no answers, however much we look³⁸⁴.

From the historical record it appears that some of the earliest booksellers in the islands were actually Chinese. In Diego Aduarte's *Historia de la provincia del Santo Rosario* he tells of "a Chinese Christian bookseller called Pablo Hechiu" (Blair and Robertson 30: 263; Hernández, "Library" 342). Unfortunately, Aduarte does not go into any detail about Hechiu's bookselling activities, yet the reference to his profession is important because we find a similar reference only sixteen years later. W. E. Retana cites a "Testimony of a report on the habitations and stores that have been built in the Parián of the Chinese after the uprising,³⁸⁵" found in the Archivo General de Indias and dated 27 May 1606 in Manila: "*Small stores and residences*. First, store in which is Zunhu, *bookseller* who is from Quioctan: he is paying ten pesos for this store" (*Orígenes* 49, italics in original)³⁸⁶. Nine years later, in 1615, Fray Bernardo de Santa Catalina, commissary of the Inquisition in Manila, reports that

³⁸⁴ It is possible to speculate that Treviño was the subject of an anecdote related by Domingo de Salazar to Felipe II in a letter of 1590 about a bookbinder that arrived in Manila: "Lo que acá a todos nos a caydo en mucha graçia es que vino aquí un encuadernador de México, con libros, y puso tienda para encuadernar; asentó con un sangley, diçiendo que le quería servir, y, disimuladamente, sin que el amo lo hechase de ver, miró cómo encuadernava, y en menos de..... se salió de su casa diçiendo que ya no le quería servir, y puso tienda deste oficio; y certifico a Vuestra Magestad que salió tan exçelente oficial, que al maestro le a sido forçoso dexar el oficio, porque todos acuden al sangley, y haçe tan buena obra, que no haçe falta el oficial Español; y al punto que estas escrivo, tengo en mis manos un Nabarro en latín, encuadernado por él, que en Sevilla a mi juiçio no se encuadernara mejor" (Retana, *Archivo*, 3:66-67). Although it impossible to affirm with any certainty that Juan de Treviño of the book list and the bookbinder of Salazar's letter are the same person, the close association of book binding and book selling, as well as the timing and people involved, suggest a confluence of identities.

³⁸⁵ The uprising (*alzamiento*) referred to here is the 1603 Chinese revolt, the first to take place in Manila during the Spanish period. During the fighting the entire Parián (the Chinese quarter) and other parts of the city were burned and, according to Schurz, more than 23,000 Chinese died (78-79).

³⁸⁶ Original, "Testimonio de una informacion sobre las habitaciones y tiendas que se an hecho en el Parian de los Sangleyes despues del alzamiento;" "*Tiendas bajas y bibiendas*. Primeramente, tienda en que está Zunhu, *librero*

A pagan Chinese man came here and showed me a book of images from heretics, asking me for permission to sell it. And when asked who had given it to him, he told me a Chinese man that had gone to Siam [...]. The [first] Chinese man said that some Dutchmen that have a factory there in the kingdom of Siam had given it to [the Chinese man who had gone to Siam]. (AGN, Inq. 293.2, 316r)³⁸⁷

From these testimonies it appears that the Chinese had an early handle on the trade in books.

This is logical since according to historians of the Philippines the Chinese were the economic motor of the city and their residence, the Parián or immigrant Chinese quarter, was the center of business, a trend that continued through the nineteenth century (Villarroel 9). For this reason we find in 1778 the following text: “*New calendar for the year of the Lord 1779 [...] It is sold in the Parían*” (Jose 224, entry 770)³⁸⁸. In other words, the economic impact of the resident Chinese was felt both externally through their supplying of the galleons, and internally through small-time businesses of every kind, from clothes to food to leather and even books (Schurz 59, 80-81).

What these Chinese book merchants actually sold, besides calendars, is up for debate. Retana takes the most limited view, affirming that neither native Chinese texts nor secular European fiction would be found in their shops, the former because “the religious considered it beyond doubt that the books of the Chinese were plagued with monstrous sins” and the latter because of the oft-repeated prohibition against introducing “profane” works into the Indies, mentioned earlier (*Orígenes* 49-50)³⁸⁹. In Retana’s view the only possible items of sale would have been the imprints made in the islands on the domestic presses. However, around the time of the publication of the 1593 xylographic religious treatise in Chinese, the *Shih-Lu*, its author

que es de quiocan: paga diez pesos por esta feria.” A “sanglely” was a common term used by the Spanish to refer to the Chinese who came to live and trade in Manila.

³⁸⁷ Original: “Aquí vino un sanglely infiel y me enseñó el libro de estampas de herejes, pidiéndome licencia para venderle. Y preguntado quién se le había dado, me dijo que un sanglely que había ido a Siam [...]. El cual sanglely dijo que unos holandeses que tienen allí en el reino de Siam factoría se le habían dado.” Spelling, punctuation, and accentuation modernized in this and other quotes from archival sources.

³⁸⁸ Original, “*Kalendario nuevo para el año del Señor de 1779 [...] Se vende en el Parían*”

³⁸⁹ Original, “los religiosos daban por inconcuso que los libros de los chinos estaban plagados de monstruosos pecados”

Juan Cobo remarked on the intellectual achievements of many inhabitants of the Parián and their attraction to books, specifically their own books written in Chinese (59-62). While it is possible that the Chinese could have made (and probably did make) Chinese books themselves in the Parián, it is also reasonable to suppose that they were also bringing such books from China. Unlike the galleons, Chinese ships did come in very high numbers, which would allow the introduction of clandestine Chinese goods—including books—into the city. In this sense, and although it lies outside the scope of this dissertation, the Chinese in Manila seemed to have created an alternative book trade with their mother country, one about which the vast majority of the Europeans in the island would know nothing and in which they did not participate because of their ignorance of the Chinese language.

On the other hand, considering Bernardo de Santa Catalina's 1615 testimony cited above, there is no reason to suppose, as Retana did, that European books of all kinds, whether domestically or internationally produced, did not also find their way into these shopkeepers' inventory if they managed to make it into the city³⁹⁰. At times there might have been stricter controls than others, depending on who was at customs, yet it is very apparent that the inspectors at customs did not wholesale prohibit and seize works of creative fiction, as Retana implies in his comments cited earlier (*Orígenes* 49-50). Such a belief betrays a misunderstanding (typical of nineteenth-century writers) of the original royal prohibitions, which the monarchs issued against chivalric novels, not every kind of publication of a creative nature (Leonard, chapter 7, especially pages 78-83). Proof of this is the public, government-sponsored performance of Sor

³⁹⁰ In the case of the 1615 Chinese with the Dutch book, it is obvious that the friars would not have allowed it to be sold since it was from a "heretic" country with which Spain was at war, yet it still demonstrates that books could come from anywhere, and that if there was a will buy it, someone might sell it.

Juana's comedies, *Amor es más laberinto* and *Empeños de una casa*, in 1708³⁹¹. As this relates to the items sold by the Chinese in their shops, they very well could have sold European imprints if they managed to get a hold of them. The absence of records of such sales, far from suggesting that they did not take place, more probably has its origin in the weak international book trade that characterized the islands in the first century or so of its existence, a fact that has more to do with distance and market economics than with inquisitorial or royal control³⁹².

In addition to the Chinese in these early years, there were other people like Juan de Treviño who dealt in books, possibly in addition to whatever regular business they attended to. This applies to the *alférez*³⁹³ Pedro de Zúñiga, native of the small village of Torija in the province of Guadalajara in Spain (García-Abásolo, "Private" 359). Although a soldier, Zúñiga was heavily involved in the galleon trade (Japanese goods, in his case), a common occurrence in a place like Manila where merchants and military men were often difficult to distinguish (352, 362). Upon his death in 1608 the executors of his will found among his effects a number of books that he had agreed to sell in partnership with a friar in Mexico, Father Albarránez (362, 365). The books are predominantly of a religious character, such as missals, prayer books, and breviaries, but included other common texts such as unspecified works by Cicero and the equally non-descript "epístolas," as well as some choral collections (365). Apparently business was bad, since in his will he orders them to be returned to Father Albarránez, with the exception of those

³⁹¹ These two *comedias* were first printed in 1692 in Seville, though it is always possible that the copies used for the 1708 presentation were manuscript.

³⁹² Again, climate, geography, and history probably also had a hand in the disappearance of such records, if they ever existed.

³⁹³ *Alférez*: Word Reference offers the following possible translations of this word: second lieutenant, sub-lieutenant, or midshipman.

lost by loaning them to friars³⁹⁴. However, it still demonstrates that a will to ship and sell books had existed since the earliest days of the Spanish occupation of the Philippines, as well as highlighting the trans-Pacific connection to merchants in Mexico.

After the early seventeenth century, the historical record is silent on merchants dealing in books. No signs of these individuals or their books show up in the files of the Mexican Inquisition again until the 1740s³⁹⁵. This should not lead to the conclusion that no one was introducing and selling books in Manila. The continued growth of Manila over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (in spite of the many ups and downs that affected the city) demands the presence of books, and it is virtually if not literally impossible that no one else in the very long period of time between 1615 and 1740 (125 years) took it upon themselves to sell books for profit in the city. Whatever the reason behind it, there is no immediately available written record on this subject until the 1740s when books as merchandise begin to enter in the city in greater numbers than had been recorded before by the Inquisition.

Given the length of time between documented shipments of books as saleable commodities, it is inevitable that there should be some change both in the kinds of texts on the market and in the agents of those transactions. One of the most notable characteristics of the book lists and reports of publications recorded by the Inquisition is the high incidence of texts in languages other than Spanish, especially French and English. It is logical that this change in

³⁹⁴ García-Abásolo also mentions that some of the books were destroyed in a fire in Zúñiga's house, which raises the possibility that part of the reason for the slow sales were the recent Chinese riots (1603) that had decimated the already small Spanish population and caused substantial property damage ("Private" 365; Schurz 77-79).

³⁹⁵ I must qualify both of these statements with the phrase "as far as I have discovered." Kenneth Ward has found a notarial document from 1660 in which Antonio Calderón of the famous Calderón-Rivera printing/bookselling clan gave his power of attorney (*poder*) to "Diego de Palencia, Tomás García de Cárdenas, and Cap. Marcos Pestaña of Manila to conduct business there on his behalf" (114). Though Ward finds no explicit evidence of bookselling activities, he reasonably concludes that Calderón's actions were somehow related to the book trade, possibly representing an attempt to expand the family's business prospects in the Philippines. Ward further cites the testament of one José Guillena Carrascoso from 1704, who stated he had a box of books in the Philippines (114-15).

particular came as a result of the Bourbon ascension to the Spanish throne in 1700, with its attendant Francophone literary and intellectual culture. The eighteenth century was also a period of gradual opening, both to foreigners and to Enlightenment thought, again accompanied by changes in the kind of texts being read and the advancement of “useful” knowledge within the Spanish colonies. These developments did not take place overnight, of course, but the appearance of three book traders and their cargos in the same year, 1742, suggests that by this time they had already begun to bear fruit. Specifically, the three shipments that arrived in this year represent a change in the kind of publications being shipped to Manila, the origin of these publications, and in the trading activities of the men who brought them.

The first merchant to arrive that year, Captain Manuel Correa, was not officially a merchant but a pilot of the galleon line, and when he arrived in Manila harbor in July he presented to the commissaries of the Inquisition for their inspection two boxes of books (97 volumes in total) that he had acquired while on business in the Dutch colonial capital of Batavia (modern Jakarta) (AGN, Inq. 902-27). From the comments of the inspector we learn that the texts dealt mainly with “liberal arts, atlases with maps and descriptions, volumes with missing sections, histories, dictionaries of foreign languages, travels and navigational routes, and some on law, etc”³⁹⁶ (257r-258r). Unfortunately the complete list is missing from the *auto*, but even so this shipment is surprising because of its origin in a colony held by the Dutch, perennial enemies of the Spaniards.

³⁹⁶ Original, “artes liberales, atlas con mapas y descripción, tomos truncados, historias, vocabularios de lenguas extranjeras, viajes y derroteros de navegaciones, y algunos en derecho, etc.”

Likewise remarkable the book shipment of the French captain and merchant, Cesar Falliet³⁹⁷, who in early September of 1742 sailed into Manila harbor and presented a list of 292 books to the commissary of the Inquisition, Joan de Arechederra. The commissary, in turn, instructed his notary, Captain Ygnacio Xavier Gómez, to deliver the books to the correctors for their inspection and expurgation (AGN, Inq. 903-18, 181r). The first thing that calls the attention from Falliet's list is its disorder (AGN, Inq. 903-19). This seems to be the result of the later archiving of the documents once they were in Mexico rather than any issue with the papers themselves. In spite of the disorder it is possible to follow the correct page order by following the sequence of book sizes, beginning at folio and continuing through duodecimo³⁹⁸. However, this disorder is not what is unusual about Falliet's list, but rather the origin of the books and the titles presented.

Neither the list nor any of the documentation indicates the origin of the imprints, yet it is possible to deduce an origin based on the numbering of the items and the language of the list. First, the numeration of the texts follows no apparent logical order. For example, the list begins with number 83 under the sub-heading "In folio" and then its numbering skips around, jumping from item 115 to 125, for example (185r). However, it is possible that these apparent irregularities represent numbers from a book inventory or catalogue with its own numeration system. This finds support in the language of the list (not the language of the titles). Its heading reads, "Account of books sent to Manilha," written in English, as are the other notations that appear on the list (i.e., "volumes," "continued," "ditto"). Furthermore, the titles, with some

³⁹⁷ José Toribio Medina states that this same Falliet later found himself imprisoned by the Inquisition (some after 1754) and sent off to Mexico, though he does not specify the cause (*Inquisición* 154). Falliet was back in Manila by at least 1762, though probably much earlier (156). His last name is sometimes spelled "Fallet" in both the Inquisition files and by Medina.

³⁹⁸ Books in quarto predominate, followed by octavo, then folio, with only one text in duodecimo.

exceptions, are not very recent texts at all. In fact, a sampling reveals that most of them were published in the second half of the seventeenth century. Taken together, these characteristics suggest the possibility that an English bookseller was trying to clear out his inventory of used books by shipping them off to Manila. Falliet, as a merchant, could simply have been a commissioned agent.

The books themselves are also atypical, especially considering that they were sent to Manila. Latin and French titles predominate, with a smattering of English, Dutch, and Portuguese. What is even more surprising about this shipment is that a sizeable portion of the texts are from “heretical” authors on Protestant topics and often printed on Dutch presses, authors like Campegius Vitringa and Hugo Grotius. Catholic authors also make an appearance, such as the *Dialogo rustico e pastoril entre o cura de uma aldeia e um pastor de ovelhas*³⁹⁹ by the Flemish Jesuit Jean-Baptiste Maldonado, a work in Portuguese against the Protestant Portuguese polemicist João Ferreira de Almeida (Menezes 465-66; López Lázaro 62-63). However, on the whole there are more Protestant authors than Catholic ones. Those texts that are not religiously-oriented are mainly historical and linguistic, such as the description in Italian of the Palazzo Venaria Reale by Amedeo di Castellamonte of 1672; the *Histoire de la Grande Isle de Madagascar*⁴⁰⁰ by the French former governor of that colony, Etienne de Flacourt⁴⁰¹; or the trilingual dictionary *Prosodia in vocabularium...latinum, lusitanicum, et castellanicum*⁴⁰² by the Portuguese Jesuit Bento Pereira, printed in Lisbon in 1653. Classical Latin authors (Cicero, Ovid, Virgil, etc) appear in different titles and sizes, sometimes separately, sometimes in compilation. Descartes’s *Principia philosophiae*; histories of France, the Catholic Church, and

³⁹⁹ English: “Rustic and pastoral dialogue between a country priest and a shepherd of sheep”

⁴⁰⁰ English: “History of the great island of Madagascar”

⁴⁰¹ The list does not include the year, though the first edition was 1658 and the second 1661.

⁴⁰² Very roughly translated: “Dictionary of Latin, Portuguese, and Castillian languages”

Constantinople; a French-Italian dictionary; Latin grammars; numerous volumes of the annals of the French Royal Academy of Science, are all just samples of the many titles included on Falliet's list.

The third and final 1742 book merchant was Joseph de Barreda⁴⁰³, captain of the chalupa⁴⁰⁴ *Nuestra Señora del Rosario* who docked in Cavite in October (AGN, Inq., 903-18). The route that the ship took back to the Philippines from Jakarta is interesting to relate because of its international itinerary, though by no means unusual for intercolonial traders. After leaving Jakarta, they went to the island of Tidore, then on to what is probably the port of Cateel on the east coast of the island of Mindanao⁴⁰⁵. From Cateel they followed the coast until they reached Palapag on the island of Samar, and from there to Cavite. While in Jakarta a Dutchman, expressing a desire to abandon Calvinism and embrace Catholicism, joined Barreda's crew and eventually received baptism from a priest in Cateel. Also while in Jakarta, either the Captain or the unnamed Dutchman bought and brought aboard the ship two boxes of books (163v)⁴⁰⁶. Besides certain books belonging to the ship's chaplain and another passenger, the total of the books found in the boxes totaled 493 books, "both large ones and small ones, and some notebooks" (164r)⁴⁰⁷. The inspector placed these boxes in the care of captain Barreda, who at his earliest convenience was to report to the offices of the Inquisition in Manila with the books and the newly baptized Dutchman.

⁴⁰³ While the officers of the Inquisition in Manila consistently refer to him as "de la Barreda," his signature only contains the word "de."

⁴⁰⁴ A *chalupa*, according to the dictionary of the Real Academia Española, is an "embarcación pequeña, que suele tener cubierta y dos palos para velas." Although a chalupa can be a launch attached to a larger ship or even a small canoe, the *Nuestra Señora del Rosario* was apparently rather large, since in addition to the three officers mentioned in the auto it also carried five passengers and forty-one crew members, plus cargo.

⁴⁰⁵ The auto has the name of the port as "Catel" (163v).

⁴⁰⁶ The documentation calls the boxes "una caja y un cax[o]n." This *expediente* from the Inquisition files at the AGN is on microfilm, and the edges of some of the pages are cut off. As a result, it is unclear whether the books belonged to Barreda or the Dutchman.

⁴⁰⁷ Original, "entre grand[e]s [y] chicos, y alg[un]os cuadernos"

Like Falliet's books, the ones presented by Barreda are unusual because of the variety and origin of the titles⁴⁰⁸. Most of the books are older, though not all. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that there are a great number of books common to both lists, such as the thesaurus *Gradus ad parnassum*, the *Histoire du diable*, and the *Histoire de Constantinople*⁴⁰⁹. French and Latin titles predominate, with a very small number of texts in Dutch and English. Classical authors are frequent and appear in all editions and sizes. There are even two copies of Baltasar Gracián's *Oráculo manual y arte de prudencia* in French (*L'home de [c]our*)⁴¹⁰. As on Falliet's list, there is an unusually high amount of Protestant religious texts for a shipment headed to Manila. However, it is possible that the owner of the list (either Barreda or the unnamed Dutchman) did not read either Latin or French and were therefore ignorant of the content when he agreed to sell them. The non-religious texts are geared toward a highly educated, cosmopolitan audience, focusing on history, law, philosophy, and linguistics.

What is the significance of these men and their books? The first and most striking feature of all three of these lists and the books they represent is their origin. While for Falliet's list we can reasonably speculate its origin in some second-hand English bookshop, maybe somewhere in their southeast Asian colonies, for Correa and Barreda (or the unnamed Dutchman) we know that they acquired the books in Jakarta and deliberately brought them to Manila to sell as merchandise. Second, and more importantly, although these particular merchants stand out because they all just happened to arrive in Manila in the same year, their trading activities should not be considered atypical or isolated events. Rather, they are representative of the new breed of book merchants in the region, men who frequented many international ports, irrespective of

⁴⁰⁸ Although the pages are out of order, the list appears to be complete, and the books range from folio all the way down to duodecimo, with books in octavo far and away dominating in terms of numbers.

⁴⁰⁹ English: "Steps to Parnassus"; "History of the Devil"; "History of Constantinople"

⁴¹⁰ The title of this books is commonly translated into English as "The Art of Worldly Wisdom."

religious or national identity, acting as unofficial intermediaries between countries whose diplomatic relations were less than cordial. In this position these businessmen acted as points of cultural and intellectual contact and represent the opening of an unofficial book trade with the other European powers who held colonies in the region.

One question left unanswered in the discussion of the 1742 book lists is the nature of the “welcome” offered to them by the Inquisition upon their arrival. Of the 97 texts presented by Captain Correa in July the censor recommended the retention of 35, which he lists along with his commentary for each text (AGN, Inq. 902-27, 257r-258r). Not all of the texts that he recommended be retained were found in the Index, though he admits that it is possible that he missed some, “because of the lack of the third volume of the Expurgatory, since only two or three are to be found in all of Manila,” but he remedied this lack with an undue zeal in prohibiting those texts he found suspicious according to the general rules of expurgation, including ten notebooks “quadernos” of French and Italian music whose themes (“secular and romantic”) he considered too frivolous (“excessively light-minded”) (258r-259r)⁴¹¹. The Inquisition returned the 62 permitted books to Correa only in August of 1745, three years after Correa first presented them.

The actions taken by the Inquisition in Falliet’s case was similarly and unnecessarily drawn out. After Falliet presented his list, the commissary’s notary, Gómez, gave one hundred books each to two Discalced Augustinians, Benito de San Pablo and Francisco de la Encarnación, and the remaining 92 to the Jesuit Pedro Murillo Velarde, professor of Theology at the College of San Ignacio (AGN, Inq. 903-18, 181r-181v). By early February of 1743 Falliet had only received 78 books back from the Inquisition (those delivered to Murillo Velarde) due to

⁴¹¹ Original: “por falta del tercer tomo del Expurgatorio, pues solos [sic] dos o tres se hallan en toda Manila”; “quadernos”; “humanas y amorosas”; “sobradamente livianas”

the fact that not all of the expurgators had finished their assigned task (AGN, Inq. 903-19, 190r-190v). Benito de San Pablo only turned in his recommendations at the end of June of 1743, yet by this time Falliet had left Manila with the passing of winter to conduct business and as a result the volumes entrusted to Benito de San Pablo had to remain in the archives of the Inquisition until Falliet's return (190r-190v, 194r). In his examination of the books Benito de San Pablo showed himself to be rather over-zealous since many of the books and authors that he recommended the Inquisition retain did not appear in the Index⁴¹². However, of the 100 books given to San Pablo, Falliet was able to recover 72 of them, but only in August of 1744 (AGN, Inq-Cajas, 1558-93, 2v-3r). By August of 1745 Francisco de la Encarnación had still not yet sent the Inquisition the books with his *calificaciones*⁴¹³, alleging that he was very busy, very tired, and did not have a scribe to write them down, so the notary Gómez went to collect the books from him in his convent (2r-2v). The friar stated that of the 100 texts given him, only ten or twelve were fit for circulation, though the documentation does not indicate whether or not Arechederra⁴¹⁴ accepted all of his recommendations. If he did, Falliet would have received back approximately half of the books he originally gave to the Inquisition in 1742, a surprising amount given the number of Protestant works on the list.

In the case of the books introduced by Barreda (or by the unnamed Dutchman), one month after the captain had initially presented the books to the Inquisition's inspectors in Cavite, Arechederra sent a summons to Barreda to bring himself, the Dutchman, and the boxes of books for detailed examination by the Holy Office (AGN, Inq., 903-18, 164v-165v). Although when

⁴¹² San Pablo would have been using the Index of 1707.

⁴¹³ The official list with commentaries on each text and the recommendation of prohibition or permission based on the Index.

⁴¹⁴ By 1745, Arechederra had been appointed as Bishop of the diocese of Nueva Segovia, although he had not yet officially taken office and was still the first commissary of the Inquisition in Manila.

the inspectors first inspected Barreda's books they found 493, when they recounted them at the offices of the Inquisition in Manila (due to the lack of a list of authors or titles) they found only 435 (165v). While it is possible that the ship inspectors simply miscounted in their initial examination, the discrepancy is suspect, though apparently no one else found this unusual since no mention of the missing 58 books appears anywhere in the documentation. Yet another month later, Arechederra ordered his notary, Gómez, to send all 435 books to Pedro Murillo Velarde for their inspection and expurgation, in addition to the 92 books from Falliet's shipment (166r-167r). By the end of April 1743, Murillo Velarde had inspected 200 of the 435 books and handed them back over to the Inquisition (174r-176v, 178r-179r). Of these 200, Barreda was free to keep 132 of them, the Inquisition retaining the other 68 (177r). Although the rest of this *auto* says nothing of the remaining 235 books that Murillo Velarde was to examine, a short note in another file from December of 1743 reveals that Barreda had received 66 more books from the Holy Office. It does not indicate, however, whether this figure represents the final number of books fit for circulation after the examination and expurgation of the 235 outstanding volumes, or if it is only a portion of those texts (AGN, Inq-Cajas, 1558-93, 5r).

What do the Inquisition's actions reveal? First, it is apparent that the Inquisition was indifferent to the origin of the books. The documentation of these cases, with the exception of Falliet's, plainly indicates the place where these merchants acquired the publications, and even if there had been some scrupulous individual opposed to the practice of *manileños* trading in books at European-controlled ports, none of the officers of the Inquisition seemed to have cared. Second, though we can in no way describe the actions of the Inquisition and its book-examiners as lenient, the relatively high number of texts that did pass inspection is surprising given their printing on foreign presses in foreign languages, suggesting that the Inquisition's officers were

not automatically or categorically opposed to the entrance of foreign texts, though some censors showed greater distaste for them than others. The majority of texts to which they objected were precisely those that dealt with scripture or theology, which was the special purview of the Inquisition, not knowledge and learning generally, consistent with Irving Leonard's description of the phenomena of censorship in Latin America, where literary and non-heretical historical works were largely ignored by the inspectors of goods and ships (72, 113, 117). Granted, only very few of the works contained in Correa's, Falliet's, and Barreda's lists are purely literary, but this should not detract from the fact that many books from Europe did circulate in the city. Therefore, more important than whether or not foreign books entered Manila—which they did, despite the tardiness of some censors in examining their charges—is who actually sold the books, who bought them, and how long it took to sell them, and answers to these questions are not readily available in the archives of the Inquisition.

The final two examples of low-volume, independent trading in books found in the archives of the Inquisition in Mexico are almost 50 years apart, yet both highlight the importance of trans-oceanic networks, both business and personal, in the successful importation and sale of books in Manila. Furthermore, they indicate the important place that Enlightenment thinkers and Francophone culture would have in the preferences of the general Hispanic reading public, whether peninsular or *criollo*.

In 1756 Juan Leonardo Malo Manrique presented a list of items to the Inquisitors of Mexico for their approval: “[I], don Juan Leonardo Malo Manrique...send to the province of the Philippines a box of books to sell” (AGN, Inq. 776-42, 391r)⁴¹⁵. The Inquisitors in turn gave their permission for all the books on the list to pass into the city of Manila since all the texts that

⁴¹⁵ Original, “D. Juan Leonardo Malo Manrique...a la Provincia de Manila remito a vender un cajón de libros.”

needed it had received the adequate correction, notation, and expurgation (391r-391v). Unlike the 1742 lists, Malo's does not indicate either the quantity or any bibliographical information (size, year and place of publication, press), but the books on the list are much more reflective of "typical" Spanish book lists and tastes. Besides the many devout works that dominate the list (e.g., the histories of different virgins [Remedios, Antigua, Guadalupe], *Ejercicios de San Ignacio*, and *Vida de San Luis Gonzaga*)⁴¹⁶, Malo also includes *Don Quixote*; the fourth volume of the *Cartas eruditas* by Benito Jerónimo Feijoo⁴¹⁷; a work titled *Destierro de imposturas*⁴¹⁸, written by one Ángel de Rivafreda between 1735 and 1759 in defense of Feijoo's *Teatro crítico*; a volume titled *Averiguaciones de las antigüedades de Cantabria*⁴¹⁹, first published in 1689; and the political treatise *Oráculo de Europa*⁴²⁰, translated from French and published in Spain. The list contains some newer volumes: Feijoo's *Cartas* was printed first in 1753 and then reprinted in 1754, and the *Oráculo* first appeared in Spain in 1744. Additionally, Malo included some unspecified "books for students," "Quevedo," different images and *novenas*, and some "mercurios" (a kind of early newspaper) in the shipment to Manila, though he does not indicate what news the latter carried or when they were published⁴²¹.

Juan Leonardo Malo Manrique was a wealthy businessman from Seville who traveled frequently to New Spain and lived the last 20 years of his life there, dying sometime after the shipment of these books (Gutiérrez 315-17). His name shows up on the title page of a number of different books as the financial sponsor of the publications: *Narracion de la maravillosa aparicion que hizo el arcangel San Miguel* (1692); *Reflexiones santas o maximas grandes de la*

⁴¹⁶ English: "Exercises of Saint Ignatius"; "Life of San Luis Gonzaga"

⁴¹⁷ English: "Erudite letters"

⁴¹⁸ English: "Banishment of slander"

⁴¹⁹ English: "Investigations on the antiquities of Cantabria"

⁴²⁰ English: "Oracle of Europe"

⁴²¹ Original, "Libros p.a estud.tes," "Quebedo,"

vida espiritual para todos los meses del año (1732); *La milagrosa invencion de un thesoro escondido* (1745), a history of the image of the Virgen de los Remedios of Mexico; and *El pan nuestro de cada dia* (1750)⁴²², all printed in Seville. He was also involved in shipping books to other parts of Iberian America, including a shipment in 1728 to Buenos Aires (Soyer 65). Given that Malo was at an advanced age in 1756 and would pass away soon after, it is most likely that he did not accompany the books to their final destination but instead sent the shipment to or by an agent who would take charge of selling them once they arrived in Manila, though he does not indicate in the documentation the name of the agent or agents in either Mexico or Manila. Furthermore, it is possible that the *Aparicion* and the History of Our Lady of Remedies (Nuestra Señora de los Remedios) mentioned in the list are the same texts that he sponsored in 1692 and 1745. If so, it appears that Malo was trying to make a return on his investment, at least as far as those texts are concerned. The *auto* gives no indication of when the shipment arrived in Manila or its success upon arrival, yet the fact that Malo attempted to sell them gives support to the hypothesis of an increase in shipments of books as merchandise arriving from Europe and Mexico in the mid-eighteenth century, prior to the period of Bourbon reforms. Furthermore, Malo Manrique's shipment points to the essential network of business contacts in carrying out the trans-Pacific book trade.

This same sort of network is exemplified in the dealings of the Memije family, whose various branches had roots in Cádiz, Mexico, and Manila. The Manila branch was one of the wealthiest and most powerful families in that city during the eighteenth century and its members held valuable and important positions within the ecclesiastical and the secular hierarchy (Luengo

⁴²² English: "Narration of the marvelous appearance of the archangel Saint Michael"; "Holy reflexions or great maxims of spiritual life for all the months of the year"; "The miraculous invention of a hidden treasure"; "Our daily bread"

54-63)⁴²³. One of the more prominent members of the Manila clan was one Vicente Laureano de Memije, who wrote and presented a document titled *Theses mathematicas* for his final project before graduating from the Jesuit Colegio de San José. As Pedro Luengo demonstrates, many of the sources used in the elaboration of his thesis represented the latest scientific and mathematical ideas produced on European presses (65-71), and he attributes Vicente Laureano's access to these books in part to his network of family contacts across the Spanish empire (62, 277).

For this reason it should be no surprise to find the merchant Manuel de Memije sending a box of books to the city of Manila in 1790 (AGN, Inq. 725, 24-25). Manuel had been trading between Spain and Mexico for some time and had been involved in previous shipments of books, some in partnership with other book traders⁴²⁴. On this occasion Manuel stated that he was sending the books “at the expense of and to be delivered in Manila to don Miguel de Memije of the traders of that city”⁴²⁵. The precise relationship between Manuel and Miguel is unknown, but it is very likely they are related given the long and established presence of the Memije family in Manila. Whatever the connection, this and other documents suggest that Manuel was Miguel's agent in Mexico for acquiring and shipping books to Manila.

That this is a commercial shipment rather than a personal favor finds support in Manuel and Miguel's common profession, merchant, and in the type of books that Manuel sent.

⁴²³ Luengo Gutiérrez writes their last name as an *esdrújula*—Mémije—though I have not been able to determine why since this does not appear in any of the documentation I have found for this family.

⁴²⁴ Records from the Archivo General de Indias from 1764 and 1772 have Manuel leaving Cádiz to trade in New Spain (Contratación 5507, n.3, r.68; 5516, n.70). He or Miguel was involved in book shipments to Mexico in 1778, 1779, and 1788, and on another unspecified occasion he worked with the book trader Antonio Espinosa de los Monteros (AGN, Inq. 1023-10; 1100-28; 1108-5; 1159-3). I do not know if these books were destined for Manila or if they were to remain in Mexico. Besides books, one of the products that Manuel traded in was clothing. Given his trans-oceanic trade network and his dealings in books, it is possible to speculate that this Manuel was the same that established the first non-religious-owned press in the Philippines. If not, it is very likely that it was one of his many relatives that lived in Manila.

⁴²⁵ Original, “por cuenta y a entregar en Manila a don Miguel de Memije de aquel comercio.” Although on the following page Manuel writes “por cuenta y a entregar a d. Manuel de Memije del com.o d Manila,” this should be considered an unintentional error since it would be impossible for him to send and then deliver to himself the same box of books, especially since he was not himself going to Manila.

Although all the books are religious, it is the common origin of the books and their quantity that imply a commercial transaction. First, with the exception of two titles, all the books were printed in Madrid, suggesting that Manuel or another individual acquired them in Madrid all at the same time rather than assembling a personal library of older books with potentially different places of publication. The other two titles, “little pamphlets of prayers of American saints” and “daily spiritual exercises” were both printed in Mexico⁴²⁶. These titles lend strength to the notion of the increased power of Mexican presses in the eighteenth century and indicates that Manuel acquired multiple copies while in Mexico specifically to sell in a market familiar with and devoted to American saints, like the relatively large *novohispano* contingent residing in Manila (García de los Arcos, *Forzados*, 249-50). Second, with some exceptions, most of the titles are a complete set with multiple volumes. For example, Manuel included sixteen volumes of the sermons of the famous French Jesuit preacher Louis Bourdaloue and twenty copies of the prayer pamphlets already mentioned; one does not need twenty copies of the same prayer sheet when one will suffice. The titles also reflect a preference, whether among Madrid’s printers or Manuel’s own, for French authors. Of the twelve titles Manuel only included authorship for five of them, and of these five, four are French and the other Italian⁴²⁷. Furthermore, the publications are recent: Bourdaloue’s sermons were reprinted in Madrid from 1777-1783, Padre Eliseo’s sermons appeared for the first time in Spanish in 1787 (Élisée 7), Senault’s *Panegíricos* and Neuville’s sermons both began printing in 1784, and Berti’s *Compendio de la historia eclesiástica*⁴²⁸ was translated and printed in four volumes in Spain between 1786 and 1787.

⁴²⁶ Original, “cuadernillos de rezo de santos americanos;” “ejercicios cotidianos espirituales.”

⁴²⁷ The French authors are Louis Bourdaloue, Charles Frey de Neuville, Jean-François Copel Élisée (known in Spanish as “Padre Eliseo”), and Jean-François Senault. The Italian author is Giovanni Lorenzo Berti.

⁴²⁸ English: “Compendium of ecclesiastical history”

The shipments of both Juan Leonardo Malo Manrique and of Manuel de Memije highlight the importance of business and family networks in bringing books to the Philippines (Luengo 18), as well as the Francophile and Enlightenment tendencies of the Spanish reading public. Such tendencies were not absent in Manila, with a resulting elevation of the educational and intellectual level of the city, as stated by Pedro Luengo in reference to the above-mentioned Vicente Laureano de Memije and his *Theses*:

Without a doubt [the *Theses*] are a palpable demonstration of the substantial bibliographical training that a person like Memije had, for whom there is no evidence that he ever left the archipelago. He must have learned from the well-provisioned libraries of the Dominican and Jesuit colleges [...]. On the other hand it makes very clear the cultural level that Manila had attained, much higher than what is *a priori* to be expected for a peripheral capital so far from the metropolis. (55)⁴²⁹

Though Manuel de Memije's 1790 shipment does not necessarily reflect the tendency toward high academic and intellectual achievement after the Enlightenment fashion, it is part of the general current of knowledge that flowed throughout Europe, Spain, and their overseas colonies, with surprising results.

After Manuel de Memije's shipment in 1790, the Inquisition's records give no further evidence of private sellers, though again, this is not proof that more books did not make their way to Manila via these small-scale, independent purveyors. What we do find, however, is the appearance of public book sellers, corporations or Crown officials selling books and other imprints in Manila. Of the latter was a large shipment of bulls, both Lenten and of the Crusade, sent from Mexico, most likely in 1804 (AGN, Marina, 5256-069). Among the Bulls of the Crusade there were those denominated *de vivos*, *de difuntos*, *de composición*, and *lactocinios*, at

⁴²⁹ Original: "Sin duda una demostración palpable de la enorme formación bibliográfica que tenía un personaje como Mémije, de quien no se tienen noticias saliera del archipiélago. Debió aprender de las nutridas bibliotecas de los colegios dominicos y jesuitas [...]. Por otra parte deja claro el nivel cultural al que habían llegado en Manila, mucho más alto de lo previsible *a priori* para una capital periférica tan alejada de la metrópoli."

differing prices. Together with the Lenten bulls there is a total of 140,924 bulls worth more than 4,785 pesos, 324,000 reales⁴³⁰. The recipient of this shipment of bulls would have been an agent of the Tribunal de la Santa Cruzada. As the Crown had a state monopoly on the sale of these Bulls (similar to the one it held on playing cards), it was the primary beneficiary of the wealth they produced (Llobet 21; Benito 26-29). It is guaranteed that this was not the only such shipment since the Tribunal de la Santa Cruzada had been established in Manila in the early 1600s, and in the Indies the Bula de la Cruzada lasted two years, meaning that every three years a new round of Bulls would appear (Benito 27-29, 46, 66).

Of greater interest than these bulls, however, are the dealings of the Real Compañía de Filipinas in the international book market, a facet of its labors hitherto unknown. Established in 1785, its mission was more than just to foment trade with the Far East. In fact, the fundamental mission of the Company was the economic development of the Philippines themselves, an aspect that generations of Spaniards had neglected since the beginning of the galleon trade (Díaz-Trechuelo 250-58). Although its main avenue of development was through the implementation of cash crop industries for export (spices, cotton, sugar, rice, etc) and the growth of local industries such as textiles (264-76), the Company also introduced other items of trade, among them books. This is reflective of the policies and programs implemented in the last quarter of the eighteenth century by figures such as governor José Basco y Vargas in his “Plan General Económico,” or in the actions of groups like the “Sociedad Económica de las Islas Filipinas” (or

⁴³⁰ This price is only for the Bulls of the Crusade since the Lenten bulls have no price listed, only the designations “1.a clase,” “2.a,” “3.a,” and “4.a.” It is possible, however, that these designations had some bearing on the price. I have not consolidated these numbers into pesos, totaling separately those bulls whose price was listed in pesos and those in reales. Nevertheless, assuming the standard eight reales per peso, this comes to a total of 45,285 pesos.

“de Manila”) or the “Sociedad Patriótica de los Amigos del País,” who offered incentives for individuals willing to develop new industries, technologies, or scholarship within the country⁴³¹.

The first mention of the Company’s book selling activities in the files of the Inquisition is the report of a large shipment of French books in 1787, two years after the Company’s establishment (AGN, Inq. 937-12, 154r-157v). The books were sent by “a certain Arrieta, , agent of the *Gremios*, who is on the Coast⁴³², and is now the Director of the Company” through his associates Pedro Escusa and “the deceased Gayoso, secretary of the Royal Philippine Company”⁴³³. According to the letter of the censor, he only returned to Escusa the 160 volumes of the “Historia de la Academia de las Ciencias de París,” the remaining works being prohibited by the general rules of the Index. The list of prohibited works retained by the Manila Inquisition strongly reflects Enlightenment currents of rationality, anti-clericalism, and eclectic religious thought. Voltaire appears on the list in a 1776 London edition of his *Lettres Philosophiques*; the poet Alexis Piron’s *Poesies diverses* also shows up, as do a number of historical works including a *Memoire sur le Bastille*, printed in London in 1783.

A few years later, the Company introduced into Manila 114 complete sets of the work *Vida de Federico II Rey de Prusia*⁴³⁴, translated from the French and published in four volumes by Bernardo María de Calzada on the Imprenta Real in Madrid between 1788 and 1789 (AGN, Inq. 937-12, 158r; Freire 143). The documentation from the Inquisition files does not indicate

⁴³¹ For the role of the press in the dissemination of these goals, see José, *Impreso*, entries 805, 806, 814, 819, 820, 821, 828. It is also interesting to note that, following the dissolution of the Sociedad Económica de los Amigos del País, “seventeen big boxes with a total of 2,587 books” were found in the home of Diego García Herreros, the last treasurer of the Sociedad (Hernández, *Historia* 137). “All were copies of three books dealing with craftsmanship and Spanish grammar” (137-38). This datum is found in the National Archives of the Philippines, an as yet unmined source of potential information on the circulation of books in the Philippines.

⁴³² The “Coast (“Costa”) refers to Coromandel Coast in Southeastern India.

⁴³³ Original, “un tal Arrieta, apoderado de los Gremios, que está en la Costa, y es ahora Director de la Compañía;” “el difunto Gayoso, secretario de la Real Compañía de Filipinas.”

⁴³⁴ English: “Life of Frederick II, King of Prussia”

when the texts left Spain (the letter is only half a page long) but it would not have been after September of 1791 since in that month the Council of the Inquisition in Spain declared the entire work prohibited, following up with another prohibitory decree in March of 1792 (Freire 143). The Mexican Inquisition would have received the latter decree very soon after its issue, based on the comments of the commissary of Manila, Fray Nicolás Cora, who refers to the reading of the Mexican Tribunal's own edict of 28 July 1792 ordering the work to be collected. However, Cora only reported the reading of the decree in July of 1795, meaning that there was a substantial gap between the announcement of the prohibition in Mexico and the execution of the order in Manila. From the time the books arrived in Manila until the Inquisition collected them, the Company had sold at least thirteen sets. The commissaries also confiscated the Company's remaining copies, all of which remained in the Inquisition's archives due to the large size of the shipment and the impracticability of remitting the texts to Mexico as the decree had stipulated⁴³⁵.

Fortunately these setbacks do not appear to have affected the Company's practice of book importation as less than ten years later we find another testimony in this regard. In response to a request from the Inquisitors in Mexico to find and collect a particular prohibited text, in 1803 the commissary of Manila—still Nicolás Cora—made a general request of all the religious and educational institutions of Manila to determine if they had a copy of the book (AGN, Inq. 1423). Although the answer to this query was apparently negative (only the Augustinians' response is found in the file), Cora in his reply to the Inquisitors relates a very important piece of information: "In Manila there is no other public bookstore than that of the Royal Philippine

⁴³⁵ It is interesting to note the Mexican Inquisition's response to Cora's determination to not send the books: "Prevéngase a este comisario mantenga en aquella Comisaría los libros prohibidos que expresa, con especificación de los dueños a quienes correspondan por si con el tiempo se alzare la prohibición, y se mandaren devolver."

Company” (58r, 60v)⁴³⁶. Although Cora calls the Company’s bookstore the only public one in the city, it was not the first bookstore, as has been demonstrated.

Besides the early Chinese vendors, the Jesuits also had a bookstore (at least until their expulsion), and it is likely that the Dominicans and possibly even the Franciscans had their own shops, too, even if Cora apparently considered the Dominicans’ store private. Additionally, in this same file, Cora refers to “people who have their private bookshops” (60v)⁴³⁷, suggesting that the small-scale book vendors were still in business, though it is possible that in this use of the word “librería,” translated here as “bookshop,” Cora is referring to personal libraries. That the Company’s establishment was a proper bookstore and not just a library is confirmed in the testimony of the Company employee in charge of the bookstore, don Joseph Antonio Larraar, who states, “That in the lists of books belonging to this Royal Company said work has not come in any language, and therefore it is not here, *nor has it been sold to anyone*” (71v, my italics)⁴³⁸. Also, the notary’s own notations preceding Larraar’s testimony provides information on the bookstore’s location: “the Warehouses of the Royal Philippine Company, located in the town of Binondo in the neighborhood of Rosario outside the walls of Manila (71r)⁴³⁹.

In light of this revelation it is possible that the Company sold the copies of the volumes of the French Academy of Science and the *Vida de Federico II* in this same bookstore, placing the founding of this institution to the first years of the Company’s presence in Manila and confirming its commitment to improving the economic life of Manila through books and education. It also suggests that the shorter, direct route from Cádiz to Manila permitted a greater

⁴³⁶ Original: “En Manila no hay más librería pública que la de la Real Compañía de Filipinas.”

⁴³⁷ Original, “personas que tienen sus librerías particulares.”

⁴³⁸ Original: “Que en las nóminas de libros pertenecientes a esta Real Compañía no ha venido tal obra en idioma alguno, y por consiguiente no existen, ni se ha vendido a nadie.”

⁴³⁹ Original, “la Casa de Almacenes de la Real Compañía de Filipinas, sita en el Pueblo de Binondo en el Barrio del Rosario extramuros de Manila.” Spelling, punctuation, and accentuation modernized. Abbreviations spelled out. This is probably on what is now Quintin Paredes Street in Binondo.

flow of books than had been previously available to the residents of the islands. Additionally, it also demonstrates that on occasion these books did not come from Spain but from other European colonies in South Asia (i.e., the Coromandel Coast), where any Spanish or *criollo* traders from the Philippines would have ample opportunity to read these works outside the gaze of the Inquisition. Finally, these documents suggest that the officers of the Company were personally involved in introducing new European ideas into the city. Although not every text they remitted to the city escaped the attention of the Inquisition, those texts that did enter in undoubtedly influenced those who had the opportunity to read them.

One of the major impediments to a thriving book trade in the Philippines was the great distance that separated the islands from Europe, the primary source for books and other imprints. Not only did the distance inhibit large-scale Spanish immigration to the islands, limiting the consumer base for European books, but the shipping prices—and therefore the book prices—increased proportionally to the length of the journey. This price concern, however, did not affect the religious orders. The Spanish crown, as the one and only sponsor and patron of the Church in the Indies, completely covered all transportation costs for the religious that crossed one or more oceans to serve as missionaries, at least until the final decade of the eighteenth century (Rodríguez 705). This subsidy included not only passage, food, lodging, and clothing, but also books⁴⁴⁰. Those missionaries going to the Philippines received double favors in that the royal treasury covered their journey from Seville or Cádiz to Veracruz and from Acapulco to Manila,

⁴⁴⁰ *Recopilación de Indias*, Law 6, Title 14, Book 1: “*Que a los Religiosos, que por orden de el Rey passaren a las Indias, se les socorra, como se ordena.*” This law enumerates the amount of money to be allotted to each religious both in general and according to their order. All received 18,326 *maravedís* for passage across the Atlantic, as well as transportation to Seville, and food and lodging once in Seville until their ship departed. In addition, each religious received a stipend depending on their order, the Dominicans receiving 907 *reales*, 10 *maravedís*; the Discalced Franciscans 714. 5 *reales*; the Augustinians 1,049 *reales*; and the Jesuits 1,020 *reales*.

the law specifically stipulating that the religious were not to be charged a tax for the books they carried with them⁴⁴¹.

Through these concessions, the Spanish state—a missionary state, in the words of Salvador Cárdenas (100)—allowed the religious in the Philippines to become prime movers of texts into the islands. Although some might object to this statement on the basis that the books were primarily religious and for the most part destined for the use of the orders, the fact remains that as one of the largest and most stable elements of the European population, as one of the more educated demographics whose occupation required books, and as communal organizations connected to vast networks of resources (Rueda Ramírez 177-78; Irving 46-48)⁴⁴², the religious were uniquely positioned to carry out the mass importation of printed material into the islands. Furthermore, not all books they brought into the Philippines were for the exclusive use of the religious.

Besides those books that individual religious brought with them for their personal use, the most common way that the religious introduced books into the islands in large numbers was through institutional purchase overseas. By this I refer to the purchase or shipment of books by a *procurador* (procurator) or other agent of a religious order (*comisario*, *vicario*, etc) who managed the affairs of the order overseas, whether in Mexico, the Peninsula, or Rome. The procurators always had a commission from their order or another corporation such as the city to represent them for a time, and usually with a specific purpose or problem to resolve. These

⁴⁴¹ This tax was not a sales tax but rather the *avería*, or fleet tax, since books in general were not charged export duties. *Recopilación de Indias*, Law 26, Title 14, Book 1: “*Que los Religiosos, que fueren a Filipinas sean favorecidos, bien despachados, y sin derechos. Nuestros Virreyes de la Nueva España favorezcan a los Religiosos, que por nuestra Orden y cuenta passaren a las Islas Filipinas, y los Oficiales de nuestra Real hacienda, y otros qualesquier Ministros nuestros les den breve despacho, y hagan buen tratamiento, y no les lleven derechos por sus personas, libros y libranzas que se les dieren para cobrar la costa del viage*” (63v-64r).

⁴⁴² The Jesuits were especially connected due to their centralized and active channels of communication (Rueda Ramírez 172-77; Ledezma and Millones 11).

agents were instrumental in organizing and sending the various contingents of missionaries that served in their respective provinces, in representing their province before kings, popes, and other influential people, in resolving conflicts that had arisen in their field of labor, and in remitting back to their provinces materials available only in the metropolis. Common among these remittances were books, and the procurators were diligent in providing the Office of the Inquisition with the necessary lists enumerating the books they were bringing with them to the Philippines, though of course not all of these lists have survived to the present day.

A chronological listing of book shipments by the religious orders over the course of the Mexican period demonstrates the constant movement of printed items through their instrumentality. Although admittedly the vast majority of the texts that they transported were religious works pertaining to their individual and collective responsibilities as missionaries, they also present a number of surprising volumes reflective of the common literary and intellectual preferences of their day, which naturally changed as the years passed. Such preferences ranged from the most popular literary expressions to the most “useful” tomes on human and natural history, and everything in between.

In 1660 the procurator of the Jesuit Province of the Philippines, Francisco Vello, brought a large shipment of books over from Spain (AGN, Inq., 438.2-70). One of the most salient aspects of the books on Vello’s list is their recency. All of the texts were printed within 50 years of the shipment, and a large number of them were printed within the previous ten years, some even in 1658 and 1659. Many of the books are either by or about Jesuits, or both, including the history of the Jesuit province of Portugal, some hagiographic accounts of prominent members of the order, as well as various devotional works, including the *Ejercicios* by Ignacio Loyola. The majority of the texts are in Spanish and Latin, with a smattering of French, Italian, and

Portuguese texts. In addition to the numerous theological, devotional, legal, linguistic, and historical works, there are also many more well-known books such as the *Lusíadas* by Luís de Camões, printed in 1639 in Madrid in the office of Juan Sánchez and sponsored by the book merchant Pedro Coello. This is a unique text in that it is an annotated, abridged, bilingual edition, with most of the volume dedicated to commentary (in Spanish) by Manuel de Faria e Sousa. Some of the more prominent texts in Spanish include the *Guía de pecadores*⁴⁴³ by Fray Luis de Granada, the complete works of Baltasar Gracián printed on different presses between 1646 and 1658⁴⁴⁴, and the 1655 edition of *Don Quixote*, produced in Madrid by Melchor Sánchez. Classical Latin authors make the cut: Cicero's *Orationes*, a book of Horace's writings, and Ovid. Of Neo-Latin authors Antonio de Nebrija's *De institutione grammaticae* and *Dictionarium* appear, as do Athanasius Kircher's *Scrutinium fisico-medicum*, *Musurgia universalis*⁴⁴⁵, and *Obeliscus Pamphilius*. There is also a text identified on the list as *Apparatus linguae latinae*, which is probably the *Apparatus Latinae locutionis* by Mario Nizzoli and Alexander Scot, a Latin dictionary and thesaurus for students; the edition on Vello's list was printed in Cologne in 1616. Maps are also found on the list: the famous cartographer Abraham Ortelius appears in his 1612 *Teatrum orbis terrarum* and there is a 1654 atlas of China, *Novus atlas sinensi*, by Martino Martínez.

Although some of the books were meant for Jesuit houses in Mexico City and Puebla, Vello asserts that these were few in number (“algunos pocos”) and that most of them were

⁴⁴³ English: “Guide of sinners”

⁴⁴⁴ Vello lists the following works under the author “Lorenzo Gracián”: *El discreto*, *El político*, *Oráculo manual y arte de prudencia*, *El criticón* (all three volumes), *Agudeza y arte de ingenio*, *El héroe*, and *El comulgatorio*, the latter listed as being by Baltasar Gracián.

⁴⁴⁵ It is interesting to note that this particular text, *Musurgia universalis*, a text on musical theory, had already made its debut in Manila at least six years earlier. David Irving relates the letter of a Jesuit by the name of Juan Montiel to Kircher in 1654 thanking him and praising him for his erudition in the *Musurgia* (48-49).

headed to different houses and residences in the Philippines (598r)⁴⁴⁶. The initial list that Vello presented to the censors was only one page front and back, with very abbreviated titles, authors, and lacking both date and year. The censors, noting the lack of details, ordered Vello to re-submit the list and include the full titles, authors' names, year, and places of publication. This Inquisitorial insistence on detail permits a more in-depth and precise view of the texts headed to the Philippines, as well as a glimpse at censorial procedure for those texts requiring inspection and expurgation. Only four of the texts required censorship and three of these were Catholic devotional works, the other being the edition of Horace. However, Vello received all four texts again after their expurgation, meaning that the entire shipment entered into the Indies licitly. Notably, none of the censors or Inquisitors in Spain or Mexico made mention of the presence of *Don Quixote* or the *Lusiadas*. Even though it is impossible to know which texts actually made the trans-Pacific voyage and which remained in Mexico, the fact that the vast majority of these books did make their way to Manila, as Vello asserts, is exciting⁴⁴⁷.

⁴⁴⁶ There are actually three lists associated with Vello's 1660 arrival in New Spain. One included in the same auto was written in Seville by one Pedro Salinas, "*procurador* de las provincias de Indias" (597r), and sent with Vello on his voyage to New Spain. In this list Salinas specifies that the works on the list were going to different houses and colleges in the Philippines and New Spain, though he does not specify which went where. However, in the folio prior to Salinas's list Vello writes to the Inquisitors of Mexico that all the books were going to the Philippines (596r). The third and final list is found in a different auto, AGN, Inq., 438.2-48, where one Francisco Ximenez acknowledges the receipt of books brought by Vello. There are some texts by Athanasius Kircher, some devotional works in French, and other theological texts. I cannot verify that these went to the Philippines or if they stayed in Mexico with this Ximenez. The same Pedro Salinas mentioned above was also the recipient of a number of books brought back from the Philippines by the recently appointed *procurador* of the city of Manila, Magino Solá. These books were found following the death of an *hermano coadjutor* by the name of Juan de Gaceta and accompanied Solá back to Spain, where the latter delivered them to one Hernando Rodríguez to give to Salinas and other Jesuits (AGN, Filipinas, 1708-009).

⁴⁴⁷ Vello first presented the list to the Mexican Inquisition in September of 1660 but did not receive all the books again until January of 1661. If he was able to bring all the books to Acapulco before the galleon left in March or April, it is probable that he and the books would have arrived in the archipelago in the summer of 1661.

In the early 1660s⁴⁴⁸, probably some time after Vello's shipment, Manuel Duarte, *procurador* for the Jesuits in Mexico (Murillo Velarde, *Historia*, 356v), sent a small shipment of books back to his province, who was requesting them (AGN, Inq. 438.2-50, 509r). The twenty books (divided among twelve titles) are legal, theological, philosophical, and homiletic texts, such as Juan de Solórzano Pereira's *Política indiana*, two volumes of Lenten sermons by the Spanish Jesuit Manuel de Nájera, and the omnipresent *Suma de Diana*, an A to Z encyclopedic compendium of canon law.

In 1679 Francisco de Villalba, *vicario general* of the new mission of Dominican friars headed to the Philippines, submitted a list of books to the Mexican Tribunal for their approval and safe conduct across New Spain and into the Philippines (AGN, Inq.-Cajas 1579B-175; Ocio, 215-16)⁴⁴⁹. Unfortunately the *memoria* of the books he provided is no longer with the letter that accompanied it, though he does state that the shipment consisted of seven boxes ("caxones"). In 1695 the Dominicans sent another shipment of books to Manila under the direction of Jacinto Jorbá, *vicario general* of the hospital of San Jacinto that the Dominican province of Santo Rosario maintained in Mexico City (AGN, Inq.-Cajas 1603-121). Although there are only seven different titles, there are multiple copies of each title: 34 copies of the *Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario de Filipinas*, hot off the presses in Zaragoza (1693), 21 volumes of the *Ceremonial dominicano*, 40 *breviarios*, 34 *diurnos*, 12 "libros de la cofradía del Nombre de Jesús," 19 "rezos de la semana," and one copy of *Theologia Moral* by Tirzo Gonzalez (2r). It is

⁴⁴⁸ The page that contains the book list is found with another, unrelated set of documents that are labeled as being from 1656. Murillo Velarde's account states that Duarte, a Portuguese, was indeed the *procurador* of the Manila province of the Jesuits in Mexico for fourteen years, after having served in Madrid and Rome for an unspecified time. However, a few of the books on Duarte's list were only published after 1656, making it impossible for the list to be from that year. Based on these titles, the list cannot be earlier than 1661.

⁴⁴⁹ Although the Inquisition files do not indicate the year, Hilario Ocio in his *Compendio de la Reseña biográfica de los religiosos de la provincia del Santísimo Rosario de Filipinas* indicates that this Villalba led a mission of Dominicans to the Philippines in 1679.

apparent from the titles that the books were ultimately meant to serve in the internal life of the convents of the Dominican province.

After a 60-year lapse in documentation the Inquisition documentation attests to a gradual upsurge in book shipments by the religious orders beginning in the 1750s⁴⁵⁰. In 1756 the *procurador general* in Mexico of the Augustinian province of the Santísimo Nombre de Jesús, Antonio Valenzuela, received four boxes of books from Spain with instructions to remit them to the Philippines (AGN, Inq. 1126-45). The list is long and with some exceptions is made up of single or a small number of copies of each text listed. Its wealth of titles, however, is counterbalanced by the scant details regarding the texts, most entries consisting only of an author's last name or a few key words from the title. A cursory glance at the abbreviated titles reveals a high percentage of devotional and theological works (not unexpected for a religious order), including bulls, hagiographies, ecclesiastical histories, a Bible, and even what appears to be an account of a public festival. The very few titles that are not religious are historical, linguistic, and legal, with one unusual volume, the so-called *Despertador sobre el comercio*, a book dedicated to the idea of increasing and developing national commerce and agriculture, probably published in 1743. In 1769 the Augustinians sent another, smaller shipment (two boxes) to the Philippines via their procurator in Mexico (AGN, Inq., 1042). While the titles are not unique in and of themselves, it is curious to note that approximately half of the books were authored by one person, Enrique Flórez, a prominent Spanish Augustinian historian. This

⁴⁵⁰ The exceptions to this are two book shipments from 1721 and 1722. In 1721 the *procurador general* of the Philippines, Mariano Andrés Cicardi, brought five boxes of books from Spain, three *caxones* and two *caxoncitos*, the latter two destined for the Marianas islands (AGN, Filipinas, 6488-107). However, although Cicardi is called "padre" in the file, I cannot determine from the documentation to which order he belonged. It is possible that he was a Jesuit, based on the ownership mark on the boxes given in the margins of the document. The list of books is also absent. In 1722 the Jesuit Agustín Soler, *procurador general* of the Philippines, received clearance from the Inquisitor General to take two boxes of books to the port of Veracruz (AGN, Inq., 3490-001). While it is logical to suppose that the ultimate destination of the books was the College of San Ignacio in Manila, the final whereabouts of the books cannot be determined from the existing documentation.

shipment alone has 24 volumes of his *España sagrada*, an ecclesiastical history of Spain, volume 24 having just come off the press in 1769. His other texts included in the shipment are a history of the queens of Spain, a numismatic history of the coins of Spain, and a translation of a Portuguese text titled *Los trabajos de Jesús*.

In February of 1787 “Fray Juan de Jesús María, reader of theology and commissary of the mission of Discalced Franciscan religious residing in the Hospital of San Agustín de las Cuevas” requested permission from the Inquisition in Mexico to send a cargo of books to his province in the Philippines on the ship *San Andrés* that was already in Acapulco ready to depart (AGN, Inq., 1243-22, 334r)⁴⁵¹. Although the friar does not indicate how many boxes the shipment entailed, it potentially could have occupied three or four boxes based on the fact that there are many titles and, while most are represented by a single or small number of copies, some of the titles have twenty or more. In addition to the typical theological and pastoral texts we find a copy of *Arte de canto llano*⁴⁵², an unspecified volume of the poet-soldier Gerardo Lobo, the oft-printed *Arithmetica practica y speculativa* by Juan Pérez de Moya⁴⁵³, a text labeled as *Maniobra de Navios* (probably referring to Antonio Gabriel Fernández’s *Practica de maniobras de los navios*⁴⁵⁴, published originally in 1732 and reprinted in 1753 in Manila and also in 1774 in Cádiz), and a book titled *Economía de la vida humana*⁴⁵⁵. This last volume is a series of short essays on moral and ethical topics such humility, wisdom, emotions, family life, and social obligations that purports to be a work “composed by an ancient Brahman: translated successively to the Chinese, English, French languages, and from this to the Spanish language” by Joseph

⁴⁵¹ Original, “Fray Juan de Jesús María, lector de teología y comisario de la misión de religiosos franciscanos descalzos existente en el Hospital de San Agustín de las Cuevas.” Spelling, punctuation, and accentuation modernized. Abbreviations spelled out.

⁴⁵² English: “Art of plain chant”

⁴⁵³ English: “Practical and theoretical arithmetic”

⁴⁵⁴ English: “Practice of maneuvers of ships”

⁴⁵⁵ English: “Economy of human life”

Méndez del Yermo and published in Barcelona in 1781 (title page)⁴⁵⁶. Méndez's translation of this supposedly ancient Hindu text reflects many Spanish Catholic values that would make it palatable and even welcome to Spanish society, though the name of the person who carried it to Manila and the ultimate purpose of bringing it there is unclear.

Only one year later in 1788 the Franciscans sent another shipment of books to their province in the Philippines, this time under the direction of their *procurador general*, Joseph de Pedro Bernardo (AGN, Inq., 1292). He specifies that these books belong to the 37 missionaries that would shortly be making the trip to Manila on the ship the *San Joseph* (188r, 189r). Among the unique texts that appear on this list are a volume of *Costumbres de los israelitas*⁴⁵⁷, two of Nebrija's *Vocabulario*, a number of books on philosophy by authors such as Giuseppe Antonio Ferrari, Sebastian Dupasquier, and Lorenzo Altieri, the *Quixote* in four volumes, and 69 volumes of medical books on anatomy, pharmacopeia, home remedies, and surgery divided among eighteen titles or authors. In 1804 the Franciscans sent another mission with their accompanying books, whose titles are briefly described and generally unremarkable with the exception of a work on geography by Enrique Flórez, *Clave geográfica*⁴⁵⁸, a beginners guide to the study of this discipline (AGN, Inq. 1420, 194r-195r).

In 1790 the Augustinian Recollects sent a small shipment of books to accompany the mission headed for Manila (AGN, Inq., 1348-15, 39r). The short list contains typical missionary books such as sermons, catechisms, manuals of theology, and other devotional texts, though like other lists of the latter half of the eighteenth century there is a significant proportion of French authors among the typical Spanish and Italian ones. In 1795 the Recollects sent another small

⁴⁵⁶ Original: "Compuesta por un antiguo bramán: traducida sucesivamente a la lengua china, inglesa, francesa, y de ésta a la española."

⁴⁵⁷ English: "Customs of the Israelites"

⁴⁵⁸ English: "The Geographic Key"

shipment (two boxes), including Pedro Murillo Velarde's *Cursus juris canonici* (probably the 1791 edition⁴⁵⁹); the *Recopilación de Indias*⁴⁶⁰; "various loose papers, gazettes, and newspapers⁴⁶¹;" another text by Enrique Flórez, his *Clave historial*⁴⁶²; unspecified "books of home remedies (medicine)⁴⁶³;" Luis de Granada's *Símbolo de la fe, Meditaciones*, and *Guía de pecadores*; and a *Historia de España* by one Salcedo⁴⁶⁴ (AGN, Inq. 1354, 127r-128r). Yet again in 1796 the Recollects sent a shipment, though besides 160 copies of an unidentifiable text and yet another copy of Flórez's *Clave historial*, the books are unexceptional (AGN, Inq. 1264, 365r-367r).

In 1803 Thomas Aillon de la Soledad, president of a group of seven Recollect missionaries travelling to the Philippines, presented the list of books that these religious were carrying (AGN, Inq. 1419, 201r-201v). Unlike the 1796 list, there are a number of unexpected works. In history there appears two volumes in duodecimo of a work described as a "History of the Kings of Aragon⁴⁶⁵" and two volumes of Juan Francisco Masdeu's 20-volume work *Historia crítica de España y de su cultura*⁴⁶⁶, printed between 1783 and 1805. In oratory we find the *Oración fúnebre del excelentísimo señor D. Alexandro de O'Reilly*⁴⁶⁷ printed in Cádiz in 1794 and an *Elogio de Carlos III*⁴⁶⁸ given by Francisco Cabarrús in a meeting of the Sociedad

⁴⁵⁹ English: "Course of canon law." See Alberto Carrillo Cázares's "Presentación," page 13, in his translation of Murillo Velarde's *Cursus*.

⁴⁶⁰ Although the list does not specify which edition of the *Recopilación* they brought, it was possibly the most recent Bourbon version, the so-called "Nuevo Código de Indias," printed in 1792 (Sánchez Bella 181). It could also be the 1791 reprint of the original *Recopilación*.

⁴⁶¹ Original: "varios papeles sueltos, gacetas y mercurios"

⁴⁶² English: "Historical key"

⁴⁶³ Original, "libros de medicina casera"

⁴⁶⁴ Possibly referring to Manuel Pablo Salcedo of the Consejo de Indias, but I have been unable to locate a text by this man with that title.

⁴⁶⁵ Original, "Historia de los Reyes de Aragon"

⁴⁶⁶ English: "Critical history of Spain and its culture"

⁴⁶⁷ English: "Funeral oration for the most excellent gentleman D[on] Alexandro de O'Reilly"

⁴⁶⁸ English: "Praise of Charles III"

Económica de Madrid in 1789⁴⁶⁹. In geography there is Enrique Flórez's *Clave geográfica*. In journalism the missionaries brought "the gazettes of the year 1803 and other loose papers"⁴⁷⁰ and the collected issues of *El Escritor sin título*⁴⁷¹, a humorous critico-literary newspaper published by Juan Cristóbal Romea y Tapia between 1763-1764 and reprinted in one volume in 1790 (Romero 142). One friar brought a novel, *El viajador sensible, o mis viajes a Iverdun*, a translation done by Bernardo María de Calzada in 1791 of the French novel by François Vernes⁴⁷² (Freire 143). Another brought the "Arte de cuentas," possibly an abbreviated reference to the *Disertación crítica y apologética del arte de llevar cuenta y razón*⁴⁷³, a treatise on fiscal and commercial accounting published by Sebastián de Jócana y Madaria in 1793. In political thought we have what is called on the list "El buen ciudadano," two volumes that probably correspond to the book titled *El amigo del príncipe y de la patria, o, El buen ciudadano* (1788)⁴⁷⁴, a translation of a French book by one Monsieur de Sapt printed in Paris 1769. The text contains a series of essays ranging from topics such as stupidity to the Chinese, nature, science, politics, and beyond. Finally there is the "Critica de los currutacos," a single copy of an as-of-yet unidentified text criticizing the phenomenon of the *currutacos*, an eighteenth-century version of the dandy philosopher.

1808 represents a distinct year for book shipping by the religious orders. In this year we find a consignment sent by the Dominican Francisco Muiñoz, who declared: "I find myself under

⁴⁶⁹ Francisco Cabarrús, first Count of Cabarrús, was the author of the plan for the Real Compañía de Filipinas and a founding member of the same, as well as a founding Director of the Banco de San Carlos (Díaz-Trechuelo 27-30, 46). He later collaborated with the Bonapartes in the French invasion of the Peninsula, including a foiled plan to acquire the Company's capital to finance the French occupation (121-122). He died in 1810.

⁴⁷⁰ Original, "las Gacetas de año 1803 y otros Papeles sueltos"

⁴⁷¹ English: "The Writer without a Title"; also could be translated as "The Writer without a License"

⁴⁷² Title in French: *Le voyageur sentimental ou ma promenade à Yverdun*. In English: "The sensitive traveler, or my travels to Iverdun"

⁴⁷³ English: "Critical and apologetic dissertation on the art of keeping accounts"

⁴⁷⁴ English: "The friend of the prince and of the fatherland, or, The good citizen;" Title in French: *L'ami du prince et de la patrie ou le bon citoyen*

the necessity to send to the Colleges of Santo Tomás and San Juan de Letrán belonging to my Province in Manila, the following books for public education” (AGN, Inq. 1440, 219r)⁴⁷⁵. It is natural to suppose that many of the shipments of books sent by the Jesuits prior to their expulsion and by the Dominicans—whether we have record of their existence or not—were meant for use in the schools of these orders, but up until this point in the files of the Inquisition, no shipment of books headed to Manila and registered with the Holy Office had ever contained the declaration that they were destined specifically for educational use. It is also very probable that books remitted by the Dominicans and Jesuits in the extant lists were meant for their educational institutions but they simply do not indicate it. Cayetano Sánchez declares that “the centers of teaching tended to use as textbooks those that were commonly accepted at similar institutions...in the Peninsula” (“Filipinas” 745)⁴⁷⁶. In light of this statement, and when we compare Muiñoz’s list with other book lists, it is reasonable to conclude that many of the texts that appeared on previous lists were indeed school textbooks.

The first three items that appear on Muiñoz’s very short list make up for its lack of length in strength of numbers: “500 Artes de Nebrixa. 190 Fabulas de Esopo en Latin. 62 Epistolas de San Geronimo” (AGN, Inq. 1440, 219r). Such large numbers, though common for book lists whose ultimate destination was New Spain or Peru, are very atypical in Philippine lists. Whether the Dominicans would have charged their students for these textbooks or whether they gave the texts to the pupils as part of the tuition is unknown, yet this shipment represents a big investment in school textbooks. It also demonstrates that books were still coming the traditional route via

⁴⁷⁵ Original, “me hallo en la precisión de remitir a los Colegios de Santo Tomás y San Juan de Letrán de mi Provincia de Manila, para la enseñanza pública, los libros siguientes.” Spelling, punctuation, and accentuation modernized.

⁴⁷⁶ Original, “los centros docentes solían usar como libros de texto los que eran comúnmente aceptados en instituciones similares...de la Península.”

Mexico and the Acapulco galleon in spite of the greater shipping options available to the Spaniards after 1785. The *Arte* referred to here is the *Introductiones latinae* of Nebrija (1481), refitted for pedagogical use by the Jesuit Juan Luis de la Cerda and appearing under the title *De institutione grammaticae libri quinque* (Martínez 327-29). According to María Dolores Martínez, by 1601 this was the only Latin textbook authorized for use in universities and other centers of learning in Spain and Spanish territories (327-28). Aesop's fables were also common pedagogical tools for their brevity and easy Latin⁴⁷⁷. In addition to these three textbooks we find among the shipment a "Bocabulario" by Nebrija (probably his Latin-Spanish dictionary), six sets of Pedro Murillo Velarde's *Cursus juris canonici*, Thomas Kempis's *De imitatione Christi* (six copies), and nine copies of "Calepino de Salas," a standard Latin-Spanish thesaurus that served as a reference book throughout the Renaissance and Baroque periods (Rey and González 86). In total, the Dominicans imported 815 books across fourteen titles for the cause of "public education."

Finally, in 1810 the Dominicans, the Augustinians, and the Augustinian Recollects all sent shipments of books to their provinces on the Acapulco galleon (AGN, Inq. 1449-1, 1-5). This is surprising, coming in the middle of the Peninsula's war of liberation against the French and the call for the *Cortes Extraordinarias* to decide Spain's political future. Nevertheless these orders continued to send missionaries and books out to the Philippines, including news of events back home. The Augustinians sent a shipment via the procurator general of their hospice in Mexico City, Josef de Alonso, containing typical missionary fare on the whole with some exceptions in the "Poesia de Huerta" and Enrique Flórez's *Clave historial*. Surprisingly, along with the typical collections of sermons, moral theologies, and other religious texts, the Recollects

⁴⁷⁷ The author of the *Diálogo mixti fori* quoted two of Aesop's fables, "The Flies" and "The Wolf and the Old Woman."

through Tomás Tólez sent a large number of educational texts in the fields of physics, the history of Spain, natural history, grammar, Latin, geography, philosophy, and (presumably) literature. Among the more well-known texts are Feijoo's *Cartas eruditas* and *Teatro crítico* and unspecified works by Quevedo. Likewise, the Dominican Francisco Muiñoz sent with the new missionaries 40 more copies of Aesop's Fables and two copies of the *Arte de escribir* by one Torquato Torío de la Riva y Herrero (from 1798). They also included in their shipment "150 notebooks of new prayers" printed in Mexico and 170 masses of certain saints⁴⁷⁸. Of greater interest for the inhabitants of the islands in the political circumstances of the period are "2 sets of gazettes and newspapers from Mexico" and another two of "Public papers printed both in Spain and in Mexico about the current events⁴⁷⁹." These "public papers" would be some of the last communications regarding events in the Peninsula until 1812 (Llobet 125).

Like commercial shipments, the number of books sent to the Philippines by the religious orders were substantial in the second half of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth, although it is difficult to compare these decades with the preceding ones due to the lack of documentation. However, considering all the different contingents of missionaries that made their way to the archipelago from all the religious orders in the Philippines in the 250 years covered in this chapter, there would have been an equal number of book shipments that accompanied them, not an insignificant number. Unfortunately the above lists represent only those missions for which there survives a record of their books, though there is proof of their existence⁴⁸⁰.

⁴⁷⁸ Original, "150 Quadernos de Rezos nuevos"

⁴⁷⁹ Original: "2 Juegos de Gazetas y Diarios de Mexico"; "Papeles publicos impresos asi en España, como en Mexico sobre los actuales acontecimientos"

⁴⁸⁰ AGN Inquisition file 1390 (folios 366, 376, and 382) contains three petitions for the free passage of missionaries' books, though none is accompanied by its respective list. In 1797 the Franciscan Gregorio de San José led a mission

Furthermore, despite the preponderance of religious texts—an expected phenomenon—the religious were also instrumental in bringing in popular literary publications such as *Don Quixote* and works by Francisco de Quevedo into Manila, along with a host of histories, both religious and secular, books of law, textbooks, technical manuals, medical treatises, and much more. Despite their religious vocation the religious were not out of touch with the intellectual and creative world of the empire (at least not all the time) and the books shipped through their procurators and other official agents were a fundamental part of the creation of the Western intellectual tradition that was implanted in Manila during the colonial period.

Conclusion

How should we understand the book shipments described above? On one hand they clearly demonstrate that books were coming into the islands from the very beginning of the Spanish presence there, and that starting in the mid-eighteenth century this flow of books increased gradually but substantially until by the early nineteenth century large shipments of books of all kinds, not just religious reading, were a common occurrence. The kinds of texts themselves demonstrate a gradual shift from traditional “Hispanic” book lists (i.e., primarily devout literature and Peninsular authors) to more cosmopolitan European and Enlightenment texts, especially of the French variety, a common occurrence across the colonial world. The inhabitants of the city, religious and non-religious alike, welcomed foreign works into city provided they did not openly conflict with their theology or political system. While this did

to the Philippines, and between 1794 and 1803 the Augustinian Manuel Guerra, president of the Hospicio de Santo Tomás de Villanueva in Mexico City (the halfway house for Augustinian missionaries traveling to and from the Philippines), sent at least two groups to the islands. Guerra indicates in one of his petitions that a group of missionaries had gone book shopping while in Mexico City and needed to add those books to the list of texts they had brought from Spain. Going in the opposite direction was the Franciscan friar Pedro de San Pascual, who as part of his commission as *custodio* for his province in Spain he passed through Mexico, indicated to the Inquisition the books he had brought from the Philippines for his personal use (AGN, Inq. 1411, ff. 147, 152).

preclude entrance of certain works prominent in Europe at the time, it certainly did not provoke a wholesale exclusion of these texts from the residents of Manila and its suburbs. Key works like Feijoo's *Cartas eruditas* and *Teatro crítico*, "useful" knowledge appearing in texts on economics, critical historiography, and natural history, and the circulation of newspapers attest not only to a shift in the type of texts consumed by the literate public in Manila over the Mexican period, but also to the fact that new developments in thought and practice reached the islands and influenced those who came into contact with them. This does not mean that *manileños* completely discarded their roots, as seen by the repeated presence of Peninsular favorites like *Don Quixote* and the works of Francisco de Quevedo in the book lists described above. These literary texts in particular bear witness to the fact that the all-scrutinizing gaze of the Mexican Inquisition seems to have left popular Peninsular literature more or less un-scrutinized.

These book lists also indicate the very important "who" of the matter, that is to say, they provide us the names, identities, and social functions of the individuals who brought books into the city for one reason or another. As I have demonstrated, the main vehicle for the importation of books into the city as merchandise was not the prominent printers and booksellers of the Peninsula and greater Europe, as happened in Mexico and Peru. Rather, the documentation presented in this chapter suggests that small-scale, independent traders, who dealt in many items in addition to books were the prime movers of texts as merchandise. Their success in this endeavor is unfortunately not known, as we have no knowledge of any record that either they or their agents left of their business transactions, though it is reasonable to suppose that they achieved at least moderate success that would encourage them to continue in this line of work.

In addition to these minor traders is the presence of the big trader, the Real Compañía de Filipinas. The documentation of its book trading activities is a new though logical revelation on

their economic and developmental activities in the islands. It clearly indicates that the leadership of the Company were much more at ease with Enlightenment thought than their religious contemporaries in Manila, and that following the founding of the Company these leaders became key players in introducing imprints into the city. It also raises the question of the current whereabouts of lists of the Company's inventory that would allow researchers the opportunity to delve even further into their actions in this regard.

Besides these commercial ventures, the other principal importers of imprints into the Philippines were the religious through their agents abroad: the *procuradores*, *vicarios*, *comisarios*, and other such titles. Although the main purpose of these institutional book shipments was to facilitate the administration of the religious provinces and their evangelization efforts, meaning that these texts were destined for use primarily by the orders, this does not mean that no one else benefitted from them. In addition to the individual borrowing of books, the importation of texts for educational purposes would have been a regular occurrence even if the documentation does not declare it to be so. There are far too many *Artes* and *Vocabularios* of Antonio de Nebrija in the orders' shipments to classify all of these as being strictly for personal use.

On the other hand, the large gaps between recorded shipments—especially between 1660 and 1740—make any generalizations about the nature and frequency of book shipments into Manila throughout its Mexican period somewhat problematic. If the book shipments described above really were the only moments when texts came into the islands, José Toribio Medina, Agustín María de Castro, and others would be entirely accurate in their description of Manila as an intellectually barren and decadent city. However, that books were coming into Manila is without question. The administration of the secular and religious government of the islands, as

well as the simple fact that reading was a common European past-time (especially on long ocean voyages) and the prime disseminator of knowledge in European learned cultures, demands the presence and therefore shipment of books. It is impossible that during the long gap in documentation encountered in this study—from the late seventeenth to the early eighteenth centuries—no books came into the islands. The only question is what happened to the evidence of their arrival. The general absence of documentation for this period, in the opinion of this author, rather than proof that books were not coming into the islands, suggests the misplacement, theft, or destruction of documentary evidence regarding book shipments into the Philippines.

The other major problem in the complete understanding of the above lists is their reception at Manila. Many of the lists represent an intermediate stage of their journey to the islands, i.e., their presentation and inspection at the customs house of Mexico City prior to their embarkation on the Manila galleon. While it is apparent that for these lists there were never any major issues with the censors of the Mexican Tribunal, it is impossible to know the reactions of the inquisitorial inspectors at Manila for all such shipments. However, if the Inquisition's track record for inspection, whether of these particular cargoes or others throughout the empire, offers any clue as to how they would have been received in Manila, then the vast majority of these texts would have had no problem clearing customs upon their arrival. Once they were in the city was an entirely different matter and something about which we know next to nothing. The existing documentation on bookselling in and around Manila is simply too fragmentary and sparse to reach any satisfactory conclusion, though it is obvious that people both bought and sold books on a regular basis within the city⁴⁸¹. On the other hand, the censors of the Holy Office in Manila

⁴⁸¹ Again, it is essential to remember W. E. Retana's "Inventario jesuítico" of 1773. This is probably the most solid proof of bookselling activities in Manila, especially the testimony repeated by Regalado Trota Jose about the "Catecismo y exposicion breve de la Doctrina Christiana" printed by the Jesuits in 1747 and part of the items the

demonstrated a heavy-handed and unflinching intolerance of the Enlightenment philosophers and heterodox political and religious thought. If such texts were to enter into the city, they could only do so illicitly, which they did.

As can be seen in the shipments described above, books were a regular part of the cargo of ships coming into Manila. However, they represent only a portion of books that arrived in the Philippines from overseas. This brief description of the shipment of texts to the Philippines from 1571 to 1821 is merely the first step in a much larger project to understand the role of books in the intellectual and cultural life of Manila, the circulation of books in the archipelago, and the intercolonial textual currents that flowed through all parts of the Spanish empire.

state auctioned off following the Jesuits' expulsion from the islands. Of the 2,741 copies found in the Jesuits' bookstore, "454 were sold 4 months after the inventory was made" (Jose 295, entry 1071).

Chapter 4

Print Networks, Prohibited Books, and the Inquisition: The Case of Tomás de Comyn

They would see that within 60 years the Inquisition would be extinguished.
- Denunciation of Manuel Tena to Inquisitors of Mexico against
Bernardino del Yerro, Ayudante de Milicias of Manila, 1803⁴⁸²
(AGN, Inq.-Cajas 1600-14)

Introduction

The broad outline of text circulation in Manila during the Mexican period presented in Chapter Three, though an important step in understanding the role of books and other imprints in the intellectual and cultural life of the city, is still incomplete. In addition to the large gaps in documentation mentioned previously, this outline has not yet taken into consideration the role of individuals in introducing and distributing books, nor of the relatively undocumented phenomenon of informal sharing or sale of books. Likewise, this outline has not yet considered the circulation of prohibited books among the literate inhabitants of the city.

In order to complete this outline—inasmuch as it is possible—Chapter Four will discuss some documented instances of transportation of books by individuals for personal or professional use and cases of informal distribution. In addition, it will briefly examine representative instances when books in circulation in Manila were denounced or turned in to the Inquisition. Finally, in contrast to the macro-perspective presented previously, Chapter Four will examine the case of Don Tomás de Comyn, *Factor*⁴⁸³ of the Real Compañía de Filipinas in Manila from 1803 to 1811. The testimonies given by Comyn in his self-denouncement to the Mexican Inquisition

⁴⁸² Original: “Ya verían como dentro de sesenta años se extinguía la Inquisición.” Although this *auto* on Yerro’s anti-Inquisition opinions declares his surname to be “Fierro,” this is inaccurate. His surname was “del Yerro,” attested in an autograph letter requesting his books to be released from customs in Mexico City in 1803 (AGN, Inq. 1419, 180, 268).

⁴⁸³ A “factor” in business is an agent or manager. In this case, Comyn was the head business executive in Manila and had responsibility over the affairs of the Company throughout the archipelago. There were other *factores* in other locations throughout the world where the Company traded, such as in Mexico, Venezuela, or China.

recount his reading habits over the course of twenty years, highlighting those books prohibited by the Inquisition. Not only does he confess what books he had read but he also relates where he had acquired them, how he had avoided detection at Manila customs, and the names of those individuals with whom he had shared books, both during his time in Manila as well as in Mexico (1812-1817).

Through the examination of these materials I argue that due to the absence of bookstores in Manila for a significant portion of the Mexican period, these played a less significant role in the distribution and circulation of printed materials in that city than they did in the large cities of Spanish America. Rather, I argue that the primary vehicle of textual dissemination were local print networks, where single copies of texts circulated from individual to individual.

Furthermore, I argue that book of all kinds had been circulating since the beginning of the Spanish presence there and that the most recent products of the European presses frequently made their way to Manila, especially in the second half of the eighteenth century when Enlightenment thought made deep inroads among the literate sectors of the population, including elite women and non-Europeans. I argue that these largely prohibited publications were accessible to anyone who wanted to read them and that the consumption of these volumes demonstrates a continuity of thought between the Philippines, America, and Europe in an age of political upheaval and war.

Additionally, the analysis of these documents provides a glimpse into the operations of the Inquisition in Spain's farthest colony in the twilight of its institutional life. Specifically, I argue that the Inquisition was unable to stem the tide of liberal thought that was sweeping the empire, and that as a result prohibited books circulated undetected and unpunished throughout the city. I further argue that this willingness to engage in the reading of prohibited material

reveals a general indifference toward the Inquisition's demands that effectively neutralized the its capacity to impose its will on the people.

Personal libraries and informal circulation

Personal libraries entail everything from a handful of books for personal or professional use to large-scale affairs involving multiple boxes of books. Among the more well-known of the latter is the library of the first bishop of the Philippines, Domingo de Salazar. Irving Leonard reports that Salazar spent large sums to bring his books over, but unfortunately the fire of 1583 completely destroyed Manila, including Salazar's library, and its contents remain unknown to modern researchers (239-40). The library of the University of Santo Tomás had its beginning through the donation of the private libraries of the Dominicans Miguel de Benavides and Diego de Soria (Crossley 206). The same library later received an addition to its collection through the acquisition of the former library the soldier, statesman, adventurer, and later priest, Hernando de los Ríos Coronel (Crossley 209). Following the arrest of Diego de Salcedo, Governor of the Philippines from 1663 to 1668, the commissary of the Inquisition ordered the inventory and confiscation of his belongings (AGN, Inq., 609-9). Among these were a very small collection of books including *Le miroir, ou la metamorphose d'Orante* by Charles Perrault, published in Paris in 1661⁴⁸⁴, two devotional books printed in Mexico in 1662 and 1663, and a devotional book in French from 1658⁴⁸⁵. José Toribio Medina cites the presence, around 1750, of a particularly

⁴⁸⁴ English: "The mirror, or the metamorphosis of Orante." "Although not a fairly tale, this text recounts how Cupid transforms the portraitist Orante into a mirror because of his indiscriminately accurate verbal portrayals of women. The moral of the story, so Perrault makes clear, is that the 'faiseur de portraits' must learn to 'tourner [les petites vérités désagréables du plus beau côté]' (show the most beautiful side [of disagreeable little truths]...). The ideal portraitist masters the truth about the subject but divulges only what this same subject wishes to see or hear...Perrault's salon piece offers a sociable 'lesson' (to flatter women is to keep the upper hand)..." (Seifert 173).

⁴⁸⁵ In carrying out the inventory of Salcedo's books, the Inquisition's officials misidentified the language of this book as being of the language of Flanders, i.e., Dutch (484r).

large library belonging to one Pedro Fallet of Neufchatel, Switzerland, reflective of refined, educated, and cosmopolitan tastes, including texts in Greek, Latin, French, Flemish, English, and Spanish (*Inquisición* 132-39)⁴⁸⁶. It seems, however, that such large shipments from private individuals were a rare occurrence.

On the opposite side of the spectrum are private individuals transporting their own books, whether for personal or professional use, and this represents the most common way for texts to enter the islands. At the same time it is the least documented due to the fact that individual books are much harder to track and control than commercial or institutional shipments. The Augustinian biographer Elviro Pérez writes that the friar Luis de Amezquita was an avid reader of Luis de Góngora and, following his arrival to the Philippines in 1645, produced an allegedly brilliant commentary on the poet's *Polifemo* and *Soledades*, meaning that Amezquita had brought these and other texts with him on his missionary labors (119-20). Antonio García-Abásolo discusses the books of two Manila-based Spaniards, Juan Carmona and Francisco Mínguez y Arana, the latter a chaplain and ex-Jesuit and the former a pilot, both of whom died while in Southeast Asia between 1780 and 1781 (365-66, 368). As García-Abásolo notes, "Their books were fundamentally professional," Carmona's books dealing with navigation while Mínguez's were theological and devotional (365-66). The notable exceptions were Carmona's novel *Las aventuras de Telémaco* by François Fénelon, and Mínguez's book "Elogios, de Erasmo Roterodamus," presumably an edition of Erasmus's *In Praise of Folly*. In 1803 three soldiers destined for Manila—Blas Gómez, Luis Regiol, and Bernardino del Yerro⁴⁸⁷—requested

⁴⁸⁶ Pedro Fallet (probably Pierre) was eventually arrested by the Inquisition for a number of offenses, only one of which was holding prohibited books (just two), and sent to Mexico, whence he returned a more faithful and practicing Catholic. I have not been able to ascertain whether this Pedro Fallet is related to the Cesar Falliet (or Fallet) of Chapter Three.

⁴⁸⁷ This is the same Yerro who declared that Inquisition would be extinct within 60 years.

the release of their private books from customs in Mexico City (AGN, Inq. 1419, 180, 268). Although Yerro's list is not found with his petition, he declares that he brought twenty books, while Gómez and Regiol had a total of four books between them: "two works titled *Juzgados Militares*, that of the Quijote, and another by Gerardo Lobo⁴⁸⁸." Likewise, in 1807 Manuel Darvin Colombien requested his books ("a few books"⁴⁸⁹) from customs, all of which dealt with astronomy and navigation, so that he could continue his journey to Acapulco and Manila (AGN, Inq. 1436, 331). Although there are many more references to specific books, it is unnecessary and prolix to enumerate every single one, and these brief descriptions are sufficient to understand the scope of the issue.

These lists and petitions sent to the Inquisition in Mexico City, though helpful in learning what books were going to Manila, are actually relatively infrequent in comparison to the many lists formed in Manila by the commissaries following the denunciation of a particular text. Sometimes the commissaries collected the books; at other times, they merely noted that someone had denounced a particular volume without proceeding to collect it. There are frequent lists of books residing in their archives, lists of those destined for the Tribunal's archives in Mexico City, and less frequently records of items that they had burned. These reports date back to the beginning of the seventeenth century and extend to the very end of the Mexican period, though again, with a notable gap in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. They are an excellent source for determining the nature of texts circulating in Manila.

A brief "tour" through some of these denunciations to the Inquisition provides an idea of the kinds of texts circulating through Manila throughout this period. During the early years of

⁴⁸⁸ Original, "dos obras intituladas Juzgados Militares, la del Quijote, y otra de Gerardo Lobo." Spelling, punctuation, and accentuation of this and all other quotations from archival sources have been modernized.

⁴⁸⁹ Original, "unos libros"

the seventeenth century the commissary, Bernardo de Santa Catalina, was very active in denouncing those texts—some of them published quite recently—that were circulating in Manila⁴⁹⁰. The texts he mentions to his superiors in Mexico were almost entirely religious texts and his denunciations of them were theologically (rather than politically or literarily) based⁴⁹¹. In the year 1700 the *fiscal* of the Manila Inquisition denounced to the Tribunal in Mexico two “propositions” found in the comedy *Las cadenas del demonio*⁴⁹² by Pedro Calderón de la Barca (AGN, Inq. 713-50). Since neither Calderón nor any of his works appeared in the 1667 *Index*, it is probable that the play continued to circulate in Manila until the censors in Mexico sent back the verdict. The documentation in the Inquisition files, however, does not indicate the final decision, since the opinion was split between the two censors, one declaring it totally free of heresy and the other agreeing with the *fiscal* of Manila. In 1742 Joan de Arechederra sent a list of texts from the archives of Manila that he had burned the previous November (AGN, Inq. 903-24). The list is approximately half devotional works in Spanish and half political, historical, and literary texts in French, though the *Diálogo mixti fori* appears on it also. This list provides no information as to the provenance of the texts or when they were first denounced and delivered to the Inquisition, but it does confirm that French books had been arriving in Manila in high numbers since at least the 1740s. In 1747 Juan de Álvarez ordered the destruction of nearly 450 books, 200 of which were a *novena* in Tagalog that the Tribunal of Mexico had yet not forbidden but that he had, on his own authority, ordered to be withdrawn from circulation (AGN, Inq. 977-

⁴⁹⁰ Santa Catalina’s denunciations can be found in the AGN, Inquisition 293.1-10; 293.1-40; 293.2-s-n, 316; 368-27; 759-s/n, 470-80, 502.

⁴⁹¹ An exception to this is an unspecified poetic work by Pietro Bembo, written in Italian in *octavas*, but the commissary’s objection to this text was not literary, but theological, and only one *octava* (AGN, Inq. 263-1X, 387v).

⁴⁹² English: “The chains of the devil”

20). This and other unauthorized excesses of Álvarez earned him a stinging rebuke from his superiors in Mexico and his dismissal as commissary (AGN, Inq. 897-21; 1151-4).

The latter half of the eighteenth century has particularly dense and meticulous records of denunciations to the Inquisition. Despite some gaps at different periods, the commissaries in Manila attempted to send an annual or bi-annual list of texts that had been denounced to or collected, or that were in their archives, a practice that continued into the nineteenth century. Whereas in the days of Bernardo de Santa Catalina the majority of books denounced were religious ones, from the 1750s onward books on political and philosophical thought in French and English predominates, as well as literary texts in foreign languages. For example, in 1787 the commissaries retained at customs four volumes of *L’Espion Anglois, ou correspondance secreta entre Milord All’Eye et Milord ALLE’ar*⁴⁹³, a series of “letters” that discuss politics, society, and religion throughout Europe, printed in London in 1780 (AGN, Inq. 937-12, 155r-155v). The censors at Manila customs declared the books “a work of Protestants, libertines, and unbelievers, and very defamatory against sacred celibacy, Popes, kings, and other individuals of the highest order⁴⁹⁴.” In 1792 the commissary of Cebu, Ignacio Collazo⁴⁹⁵, sent to the commissary of Manila, Nicolás Cora, four volumes of the works of Voltaire that he had found for public sale (“at an auction house⁴⁹⁶”) (AGN, Inq. 1382-15). A short time later Cora examined a box of books belonging to one José García Armenteros, newly appointed secretary of the Real Compañía de Filipinas (Díaz-Trechuelo 261), among which were sixteen volumes of the

⁴⁹³ English: “The English Spy, or secret correspondence between Milord All-Eye and Milord All-Ear”

⁴⁹⁴ Original, “obra de protestantes, libertinos, e incrédulos, y muy infamatoria del celibato sagrado, Papas, reyes y otros personajes de primer orden.”

⁴⁹⁵ Augustinian. Elviro Pérez has his surname as Callazo (332). In the correspondence, the friar signs “Collazo.”

⁴⁹⁶ Original, “en una almoneda”

*Cours d'étude pour l'instruction du Prince de Parme*⁴⁹⁷ by the Abbé de Condillac and five volumes by Helvetius, three volumes of his complete works and two of his *De l'homme, de ses facultés intellectuelles et de son éducation* (AGN, Inq. 1382-15)⁴⁹⁸. Armenteros and his books had arrived on a French ship via the Isle de France, and when he went to retrieve them from Cora he declared that he had received them as a gift from a friend on that island. In addition to other unnamed books, Cora permitted Armenteros to keep ten of the volumes of l'Abbé de Condillac, retaining the other six and all the works by Helvetius for the archives of the Inquisition. In 1802 Cora sent a book in French, rendered in Spanish as *Retrato, o cuadro de París*⁴⁹⁹ for examination by the censors of Mexico (AGN, Inq. 5271-002). Finally, in 1819, fray Juan Barranco denounced one José María Barredo, resident of Manila and captain of the ship *San Juan Bautista*, for owning and reading works by Voltaire, which he had purchased in Spain during the time of the Cortes (AGN, Inq. 1469-3). Barranco confronted Barredo about his reading preferences but the latter defended himself saying "right now I don't have anything besides the tragedies...and that's not prohibited" (31r)⁵⁰⁰. When summoned by the commissary, Barredo delivered the play *Brutus* to the Inquisition and stated that he would hand over another work by Voltaire, *History of Charles XII, King of Sweden*⁵⁰¹, if he could find it.

Though it is possible to multiply the cases of individuals transporting and reading books in the Philippines during this period, the examples above suffice to confirm the obvious but unstated conclusion that this phenomenon took place on a regular basis in the islands. It is also possible to conclude that despite a gradual change in the kinds of books coming into Manila over

⁴⁹⁷ English: "Course of study for the instruction of the Prince of Parma"

⁴⁹⁸ English: "On man, his intellectual faculties and his upbringing"

⁴⁹⁹ English: "Portrait, or picture of Paris"

⁵⁰⁰ Original, "ahora no tengo más que las tragedias...y eso no está prohibido."

⁵⁰¹ Both texts were in Spanish.

the space of 250 years, the residents of Manila had access to much of contemporary European thought, if they wanted to read it. In the early seventeenth century the presence of texts in Manila that had only come off the presses in Europe one year previous is a surprising though not uncommon feature of the documentation provided in the archives of the Inquisition and elsewhere. Peninsular literary products seem to have encountered few or no problems in entering into the islands, and when literature did come under fire it was usually of the foreign variety, especially in the late eighteenth century in the wake of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. In this regard Richard Greenleaf states, “The Holy Office judged heretics as traitors and traitors as heretics. For the Mexican Inquisitors, the social and political philosophy of the Age of Enlightenment was heresy” (201).⁵⁰². In other words, this historical juncture colored everything that was foreign, and especially French, with a dangerous political hue that in other circumstances may have found a more benign reception.

However, even in these circumstances *manileños* were able to acquire foreign imprints, even of the prohibited kind, if they knew where to look and, on occasion, if they were willing to ignore Inquisitorial restrictions. In this regard it is informative to read the testimony of Joaquín del Rosario, commissary of Manila. In a letter to the Inquisitors of Mexico in 1769, Rosario laments the lack of participation of the *manileños* in the Inquisitorial process:

I am sending the list of the few books that have been handed in to this Commission..., and at the same time I submit to Your Most Illustrious Lordship that in the short time that I have managed the affairs of this Commission I have found myself perplexed in some cases that have come up regarding papers, songs, and satires that have circulated with public scandal and offense. Nobody has denounced them. [...] Your Most Illustrious Lordship knows how tied my hands are in these cases, since as it is necessary that the final resolution come from Mexico, what happens is that the papers circulate, time passes and when they are prohibited, either they don't exist anymore except in the library of some *curioso*, or nobody remembers what happened, and the shame is that for a few

⁵⁰² Original: “El Santo Oficio juzgaba a los herejes como traidores y a los traidores como herejes. Para los inquisidores mexicanos, la filosofía social y política del Siglo de las Luces era herejía.”

weeks or months these papers circulated, to the sorrow of the pious, and even though later the few that are left are collected, the remedy arrives too late. (AGN, Inq. 937-12, 143r).⁵⁰³

Although Rosario here refers specifically to the circulation of *papeles* and other, probably locally-produced materials, the same lack of fervor on the part of Manila's residents applies equally to more substantive texts. The many instances of illegal books circulating (and even being offered for sale publicly in the case of the works by Voltaire in Cebu in 1792) demonstrate a willingness to engage in illicit reading in spite of all the regulations against it. Armenteros and Captain Barredo above may have lost their particular copies of Voltaire and Helvetius, but there were always opportunities to acquire additional copies, whether in another port in Southeast Asia, in Mexico, or surreptitiously in the islands themselves. The fact is that books circulated in Manila, prohibited or not, and though some people had more scruples than others and were willing to report a potentially heretical text, the reality seems to be that many either ignored or were ignorant of the obligation placed upon them by the Inquisition to denounce heretical texts.

But how did these texts circulate and who circulated them? It may be tempting to think of book circulation during this period in Manila as being similar to contemporary book-purchasing practices that posit the bookshop as the nexus of book circulation, the only authorized source and dispenser of texts to which individual buyers/readers flock, instantly gaining access to a potentially infinite number of titles that they can purchase and read at will in isolation. While

⁵⁰³ Original: "Envío la lista de los pocos libros que se han entregado a esta Comisaría..., y al mismo tiempo propongo a V. S. Illma. que en el poco tiempo que he manejado los negocios de la Comisaría me he visto perplejo en algunos casos que se han ofrecido sobre papelones, coplas o sátiras, que con escándalo y ofensa del público han corrido. Nadie los ha denunciado. [...] Sabe V. S. Illma. cuán atadas tengo yo las manos para este caso, porque como es necesario que de México venga la última resolución, lo que sucede es que corren los papeles, se pasa el tiempo y cuando se prohíben, o no existen ya sino en el archivo de algún curioso, o nadie se acuerda de lo que pasó, y es la lástima el que por algunas semanas o meses corrieron los tales papeles con sentimiento de los piadosos, y aunque se recoja después alguno u otro que ha quedado, llega tarde el remedio." "Curioso" literally means a "curious person," but can have the connotation of "fond of novelty," "nosy," and even "odd." In this case it seems to be a combination of inquisitiveness and fondness for novelties.

the importance of bookstores, booksellers, and their clients should not be discounted in the circulation of the printed word, the fact remains that more often than not book circulation in this period took place on an individual level through the informal lending and sale of texts.

Dalmacio Rodríguez Hernández states that this was the norm when it came to literary texts in New Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (46-47), and although this chapter is not considering manuscript poetic texts, the weak international book trade that characterized Manila for approximately 175 years meant that even printed books circulated more commonly from person to person than from shop to home.

Said differently, in a place like Manila where bookstores were less common than in Spain or its American colonies, informal, interpersonal text circulation became the rule. For this reason it is common to find in the inquiries of commissaries and inquisitors in cases of illicit book circulation questions directed at uncovering the current whereabouts of the texts under investigation. As will be seen later in the case of Tomás de Comyn, the Inquisitors of Mexico and their representative in Manila followed this line of inquiry as far as they could in the recovery of the illicit texts Comyn read and distributed among his associates.

Personal and local networks of like-minded individuals facilitated this informal method of distribution, which could also take the form of individual sales. In writing of the transition from a hearing to a reading society following the advent of typographical print, Elizabeth Eisenstein comments on the changes in the social and community fabric effected by print:

But even while communal solidarity was diminished, vicarious participation in more distant events was also enhanced; and even while local ties were loosened, links to larger collective units were being forged. Printed materials encouraged silent adherence to causes whose advocates could not be found in any one parish and who addressed an invisible public from afar. New forms of group identity began to compete with an older, more localized nexus of loyalties. (132)

The creation and preservation of the Western intellectual community in Manila owes a great deal to the constant flow of books that came from the centers of power. These texts aided and expedited the process of co-opting traditional indigenous Filipino community structures into the sphere of Roman Catholicism and Spanish imperial rule. Following the consolidation of this new community, books sustained loyalty and/or submission to the Spanish crown in spite of the immense distances from the Peninsula, a place that most native Filipinos would never see. In the eighteenth century, however, this community founded (in part) on books found itself challenged by books as well, though the source was quite different. Enlightenment authors created fissures within the old community of Manila by encouraging the association of adherents to their philosophies who discussed, debated, and shared these texts among themselves in local congregations of larger, collective, intellectual movements.

Concretely, in Manila as in other parts of the Spanish empire in the eighteenth century, traditional Hispano-Catholic and cosmopolitan European print networks existed side by side and often in conflict with each other. A benign and probably very frequent example of a local print network in Manila is seen in a small note found in the Archdiocesan Archives of Manila, where one Bachiller Máximo, presumably a member of the cathedral chapter in 1764, wrote to himself, “Our books [that have been] lent out...Others’ books that I have,” followed by a number of religious, pastoral, and theological works and the names of the borrowers or owners of those books, all of whom appear to be members of the substantial population of clergy that resided in the islands (AAM, 36.D.10, folder 1, 2r).⁵⁰⁴

Of a more subversive nature are the undesirable individuals that officials in Spain and Mexico sent off to the Philippines where, presumably, they could do less harm. Richard

⁵⁰⁴ Original, “Libros nuestros prestados...Libros ajenos que tengo.”

Greenleaf cites the case of Manuel Zumalde, a political dissident of noble Spanish birth (210). Around 1780 Zumalde was expelled from Spain and sent to the Philippines in the capacity of an army officer, but testimonies regarding his time in Manila suggest that “he took little concern for military matters and spent most of his time studying, reading books, and conversing with the local intelligentsia” (210).⁵⁰⁵ The Inquisition also investigated him out of suspicion that he was a mason though they were unable to convict him due to lack of evidence (210). That Zumalde could engage in these intellectual pursuits while in exile in Manila is testimony to the existence of a network of individuals committed to or at least inclined toward the philosophical and political ideals of Enlightenment writers. Whatever the political or ideological orientation of these local intellectual networks, it was within them that books circulated and had the greatest influence.

The Inquisition vs. Tomás de Comyn

In February and March of 1816 the *ex-factor* of the Real Compañía de Filipinas in Manila, Don Tomás de Comyn, made two spontaneous self-denunciations (*espontáneas*) to his confessor, Romualdo Urquidi, in the Casa de la Profesa church in downtown Mexico City regarding “various acts of disobedience pertaining to the Holy Tribunal” (AGN, Inq. 0847-003, 16r)⁵⁰⁶ (see Appendix 9 for Comyn’s full testimonies). Comyn’s confession was a belated and unexpected victory for the long-time commissary of the Manila branch of the Mexican Inquisition, the Dominican Fray Nicolás Cora del Rosario.⁵⁰⁷, who had been suspicious of

⁵⁰⁵ Original, “se ocupó poco de los asuntos militares y que pasó la mayor parte de su tiempo estudiando, leyendo libros y conversando con la intelectualidad local.”

⁵⁰⁶ Original, “varias inobediencias pertenecientes al Santo Tribunal”

⁵⁰⁷ Nicolás Cora of Lugo, Galicia, arrived in Manila in July of 1769 at the head of a Dominican mission (Ocio 468-69). Among many other prominent positions that he held during his life in Manila, he became the first commissary

Comyn more or less since the beginning of the latter's seven-and-a-half year stay in Manila but had been unable to prosecute him due to lack of evidence and his elevated social position.

Comyn's sudden *espontáneas* in Mexico permitted Cora to renew the investigation that had remained on the shelf in Manila for six years and to follow up on the wealth of information that Comyn had provided. Furthermore, his confession affords an insider's view into a network of readers sympathetic to forbidden French and English authors that operated more or less with impunity throughout the many years covered in the documentation.

Who was Tomás de Comyn? As the background and education of this self-accused reader of illicit books is fundamental to understanding his actions in Manila and Mexico, a short biography is in order. Tomás Mar[...] Félix de Comyn was born in the city of Alicante in Valencia, Spain on 29 July 1771, the son of Don Juan de Comyn (probably John) of Ireland and Doña Catalina Quilty Valois of Málaga (AHN, Hacienda, 2783, Exp. 1135; AGN, Inq. 0847-003, 17r)⁵⁰⁸. Witnesses in Manila stated that he was taller than average, thickset, red-haired or blond, blue-eyed, freckled, and slightly cross-eyed (AGN, Inq. 0847-003, 4r, 6v, 30v, 37v)⁵⁰⁹. Tomás's father had been a *familiar*⁵¹⁰ and an interpreter for the Holy Office in Alicante and his uncle, whom he identifies only as "Father Comyn⁵¹¹," had been an Augustinian monk and "confessor of the Royal Family of Don Carlos III⁵¹²;" he also had four sisters who became nuns in the convent

of the Inquisition in September of 1791, a position which he retained until 1819 (AGN, Inq. 1382-15, 153r; 1469-3). He died in 1827 in Manila at the age of 88.

⁵⁰⁸ The documentation indicating Tomás's middle names cuts off just after "Mar" and what appears to be a "c," so "Marcos" is a possibility. "Felix" appears clearly on the next line.

⁵⁰⁹ The descriptions in Spanish are as follows: "alto, y grueso de cuerpo, colorado, con granos en la cara la vista algo atravesada;" "es más alto de lo regular, grueso, y rubio;" "más de una estatura regular, grueso, y pelo rubio, ojos garzos, y un poco bizco;" and "era hombre grueso, colorado, y en ciertas posiciones bizqueaba, o cruzaba la vista."

⁵¹⁰ A *familiar* was "a lay official of the Inquisition," an honorary post that granted to the holder certain privileges in exchange for performing "duties in the service of the tribunal" (Kamen viii, 145). Kamen states that during the peak of the Holy Office's power and prestige the familiars were frequently of high birth, though this depended on the time and place (145-48). In the case of Juan de Comyn, it appears to be true.

⁵¹¹ Original, "el Padre Comyn"

⁵¹² Original, "confesor de la Real Familia del Señor Don Carlos III"

of Nuestra Señora de la Paz in Málaga (17r-17v). He was educated in the “seminary of San Pablo in Valencia” and then later in the “big college of the English missions in the city of Douai” until he was about seventeen years old, learning Latin, French, English, and some Greek (17v)⁵¹³. Later he travelled through France, England, and the Netherlands and served as the personal secretary to the Duque de Parque “when this grandee was named ambassador” (17v-18r)⁵¹⁴. While in Spain he frequented the library of Count of Cabarrús, founder of the Real Compañía de Filipinas, spent time in the home of the Countess of Jaruco, and was on friendly terms with the poet Manuel José Quintana (22v). At a later date while travelling in London he received his commission to work as factor for the Real Compañía in Manila, arriving there near the end of 1803 (3r, 18r).

Almost immediately after his arrival suspicions about his reading preferences began to surface. A letter from Nicolás Cora dated 16 May 1806 indicates that by 1804 the Manila office had already heard reports that Comyn had in his possession the comic-epic poem *Gli Animali Parlanti* (a political allegory of Europe whose interlocutors were talking animals, printed in Italian in Paris in 1802) and what is more, that Comyn had lent it to the governor of the Philippines, Rafael María de Aguilar (AGN, Inq. 1434, 74-76). When the Mexican Inquisitors received word of the presence of the poem in Manila, they ordered Cora to collect it immediately, which he attempted to do, asking Comyn for the book but receiving the reply that the Governor still had it, whereupon Cora visited the governor, requesting the text. The Governor, in turn, responded that he would send word to the commissary. Two or three days later Comyn—not the Governor—sent *Gli Animali* to Cora, “humbly requesting that in the event

⁵¹³ Original, “seminario de San Pablo de Valencia;” “colegio grande de las misiones inglesas en la ciudad de Douai.”

⁵¹⁴ Original, “cuando este grande fue nombrado Embajador”

that that Holy Tribunal not find any censurable material that would prohibit its reading, that they return it to him” (76r-76v)⁵¹⁵.

As was typical in such cases, neither party received any sort of punishment or even a warning. As long as they cooperated with the Inquisition and handed over the offending texts more or less promptly, the Inquisition did not consider them as having incurred the stipulated consequences of reading and retaining prohibited books, which only took place after three official warnings⁵¹⁶. In addition, the social position of Comyn and Aguilar prevented Cora from proceeding against them disdainfully or aggressively. In the end, although Comyn did lose the book, the slowness of communications between Mexico and the Philippines allowed it to circulate for a couple of years before Cora collected it and sent it to Mexico City.

This episode, though indicative of how the most recent literary productions could arrive and circulate among the most prominent individuals in the colony, is not why the Inquisition began pursuing Tomás de Comyn. The title of the file in the archives of the Mexican Inquisition reads thusly: “The Inquisitor Prosecutor of the Holy Office against Don Tomás Comyn, former *factor* of the Royal Philippine Company, for the crime of *Proposiciones*” (AGN, Inq. 0847-003, 1r, my italics)⁵¹⁷. “Proposiciones” refer to heretical, blasphemous, or irreverent statements made against the Church, its dogma, practices, or any of its prominent figures, and its commission

⁵¹⁵ Original, “suplicando sumisamente que caso de no hallar ese Santo Tribunal censura alguna que prohibiese su lectura, se la devolviese.”

⁵¹⁶ A decree from 1806 prohibiting a number of books reads thusly: “En su consecuencia, por tenor de la presente exhortamos, y requerimos, y siendo necesario, en virtud de santa obediencia, so la pena dicha de excomuni6n mayor, y pecuniaria, mandamos que desde el d1a en que esta nuestra Carta os fuere le1da, o publicada, o como de ella supiereades en cualquiera manera hasta los seis primeros siguientes, *los cuales os damos, y asignamos por can6nica monici6n en tres t6rminos, y el uno perentorio*, traig1ais, exhib1ais y present1ais ante Nos los dichos libros, tratados, y papeles enteramente prohibidos, con lo dem1as en este Edicto contenido, o ante los Comisarios del Santo Oficio, que residen en los lugares de nuestro distrito, para que nos remitan los que tuvi6reades, y manifest6is los que otras personas tuvieren, y ocultaren.” (AGN, Edictos de Inq. 0113-006, my italics). This has also been expressed as “triple amonestaci6n can6nica” (Murillo Velarde, *Curso* 4:86).

⁵¹⁷ Original: “El Se1or Inquisidor Fiscal del Santo Oficio contra don Tom1as Comyn, factor que fue de la Real Compa1a de Filipinas, por el crimen de *Proposiciones*.”

constituted minor heresy (Rawlings 114-17). In pre-Tridentine Spain, people on the whole, though especially in rural areas, “were lax in their observance of religion and woefully ignorant about their faith” (Kamen 256). Though reform and re-educative efforts were being undertaken in a number of ways and through various channels throughout the Peninsula, in the wake of the Council of Trent the Inquisition “intervened increasingly to correct the unorthodox beliefs and behavioural practices of the Old Christian” (Rawlings 114). Once the Inquisition began prosecuting these offenses in the 1560s, they constituted the majority of prosecutions and were taken very seriously, though, as Kamen states, “the offence arose less with the words than with the intention behind them and the implicit danger to faith and morals” (260-61). For this reason it is common to see in these cases questions from the commissaries or inquisitors to determine whether the denounced was drunk or in an altered state of mind from grief, insanity, or other circumstances that would excuse or explain the instances of blasphemous utterance. The conviction of propositions could result in anything from a “fine, lashes, or, in the most serious cases, public penance or imprisonment” (Rawlings 117). In the case of Tomás de Comyn, the primary offense was propositions and his activities as far as prohibited books were of secondary though significant concern since the vast majority of the statements that he was accused of making came from his prohibited books. Furthermore, unlike rural Spaniards in the sixteenth century, Tomás de Comyn could allege no ignorance. He was a highly educated, well-read, and prominent individual. Heretical statements from such a person would receive the full weight of canon law if prosecution were to go forward.

Since it was necessary to first receive denunciations for the Inquisition to begin an investigation, official action against did not commence against Comyn until December of 1807 when 20-year old Rita Ramírez, married to Manuel Conde, *regidor* of the city of Manila,

presented a denunciation against him (AGN, Inq. 0847-003, 8r-12v). She claimed that in the four years that Comyn had been frequenting her house, he had on repeated occasions made blasphemous and heretical remarks, including that the sixth commandment (adultery) was nonsense and that a woman could sleep with whomever she wanted without offending God or her husband, that friars were fools who were out of touch with the real world, and that the only time in his life when he had acted religiously was to get a girl to sleep with him⁵¹⁸, among many other accusations. When asked whether or not Comyn owned or read prohibited books, she replied that she did not know. Eight months later in August of 1808, Juan Francisco Urroz, also a *factor* for the Company, brought more reports of irreligious opinions from Tomás de Comyn. Significant among the accusations brought forward by Urroz were that Comyn “detests and looks with horror upon the Inquisition and everything that is not absolute religious toleration,” “he is imbued with principles and maxims taken from corrupt sources,” and “he [Urroz] is convinced that he has prohibited books” citing specifically that one of Comyn’s opinions probably came from John Locke (2r-3v)⁵¹⁹.

It is significant that in both testimonies the denunciators indicated Comyn’s circle of acquaintances. This is due to the nature of the questions that Cora asked but also to the fact that in making denunciations and confessions, the person was to provide as many details as possible not only about their own activities but also about the activities of others, even if they were only apparently indirectly or tangentially involved. Rita Ramírez was the wife of a city councilman, a position of no small importance in a territory with only one *cabildo* (city council) (Llobet 11). Allegedly present for some of the opinions shared by Comyn was one Manuel de Solís, an

⁵¹⁸ The Spanish expresses this idea as “que le amase una muchacha.”

⁵¹⁹ Original: “mira con horror y detesta la Inquisición y todo lo que no sea absoluto tolerantismo;” “está imbuido de principios y máximas tomadas de fuentes viciadas;” “se persuade a que tiene libros prohibidos.”

officer in the Royal Navy and military commander in the provinces of Tondo and Cavite. Urroz stated that Comyn frequented the house of the new governor, Mariano Fernández de Folgueras, who had arrived in Manila in 1806 shortly before the death of Rafael María Aguilar. He was also a regular visitor to the home of the naval officer Ventura Barcáistegui⁵²⁰, where he often rubbed shoulders with other military officers—Benito Ortiz, Esteban Salaverria, and Diego Obando—and one José Félix Gastelu, later *alcalde mayor* (provincial governor) of the Camarines province. Urroz also mentioned that Comyn often spent time in the home of the *oidor*⁵²¹ Matías Fáez.

The purpose of such detailed testimony regarding others' activities was so that the Inquisitors or their agents could follow up on leads given to them in the course of their investigations that would provide further evidence against the individual who was the object of their inquiries and potentially uncover networks of heretical belief and activity. These individuals—termed *contestes*—would receive summons to declare what they knew about the subject under investigation and his or her activities. According to Richard Greenleaf, the Mexican Inquisition—under whose jurisdiction the *Comisaría* of Manila fell—had to receive three separate, trustworthy denunciations or declarations before proceeding against a person (36-37). It seems that this rule was still in force in the early nineteenth century since Cora, although he had already received denunciations from Rita Ramírez and Juan Francisco Urroz, still took no action against Comyn for his alleged propositions, despite their wildly heretical content⁵²². In

⁵²⁰ His name is spelled with different variants throughout the documentation, including “Valcástegui” and “Varcaeístegui.” He signed his name “Barcáistegui.”

⁵²¹ An “oidor” was a member of any of the royal Audiencias (courts) established in Spanish territories and acted as a judge over secular cases.

⁵²² This also could be due in part to Comyn's social position since the Inquisition proceeded against individuals in different ways according to their social rank (“según su calidad”) (Medina, *Inquisición*, 175). Notably, neither Manuel Conde, Governor Folgueras, nor the *oidor* Fáez were summoned before the Inquisition to answer for their knowledge of Comyn's activities.

order to acquire the third condemnatory testimony against Comyn, Cora obtained declarations from Solís, Barcáistegui, Ortiz, Salaverria, and Gastelu, Obando having died before Cora sent his initial reports to Mexico in 1811.

Unfortunately for Cora, none of the potential witnesses were able to confirm any of the many things that Comyn was alleged to have said. Most simply replied that they had never heard anything like the propositions that the commissary read to them and frankly admitted that they did not really pay attention to that sort of thing. Only Barcáistegui admitted that Comyn on occasion had offered some semi-heretical opinions while in his home, but attributed these statements to a penchant for showing off his vast knowledge acquired from his extensive reading, which tendency was in turn fueled by his mischievous personality and active imagination that led him—“without being able to help it”⁵²³—to debate for the sake of debate, independent of the ideological position he adopted (AGN, Inq. 0847-003, 6v). However, even then Barcáistegui could not recall any of the specific items that Cora repeated to him and refused any responsibility in reporting Comyn’s words, stating,

he didn’t think that he had such a strict obligation to report propositions that had no risk of spreading, being spoken in a gathering of reasonable and prudent people, and especially being uttered by a good-natured man that was trying to enjoy himself, more with the intention to debate, as is his nature, than to pervert anyone. (6v-7r)⁵²⁴

Barcáistegui’s response is surprisingly bold, frank, and revealing. Not only does he deny—directly to the commissary of the Inquisition—that he had any obligation to denounce these heretical pronouncements, but he also implicates all the people that frequented Comyn’s social circle in the same negligence. Of all the people that Comyn saw and spoke to in his seven-and-a-

⁵²³ Original, “sin poderlo remediar”

⁵²⁴ Original: “no creyó que tuviese tan estrecha obligación de delatar unas proposiciones que no había riesgo de que se propagasen, siendo dichas en una concurrencia de gente de razón y prudencia, y mayormente siendo producidas por un hombre de buen humor que trataba de pasar el rato, con más empeño, según su genio, de disputar, que de pervertir a nadie.”

half years in the Philippines, only two denounced him. This strongly suggests that among certain portions of the *manileño* elite (the “reasonable and prudent people”), Enlightenment thought was discussed and debated and that there was a generalized ignorance or indifference toward their obligations to the Holy Office. Unlike Ramírez and Urroz, Barcáistegui and all the other *contestes* only gave their declarations after having received a summons from the Inquisition, and their testimonies proved most unhelpful in advancing Cora’s case against Comyn.

Cora’s lack of success in obtaining the desired confirmation of Comyn’s unorthodox opinions was probably due in part to the long periods of time that separated the initial denunciations (1807 and 1808) from the declarations of the *contestes*. Solís and Barcáistegui appeared before Cora in 1811 and 1809 respectively, and Ortiz, Salaverria, and Gastelu in 1817. Even if they had been present to hear Comyn’s remarks it is little wonder that they did not remember conversations held anywhere from one to ten or more years earlier.

On the other hand, Cora’s investigations encountered serious obstacles in the events that occurred during Comyn’s stay in Manila and later Mexico. The Napoleonic invasion of the Peninsula, the Spanish War of Independence, and the Cortes at Cádiz had a great impact on the ability of the Holy Office in Manila to carry out its mission. The liberal Constitution, first promulgated in Spain in March 1812, arrived in Manila in early 1813, and Governor Manuel González de Aguilar officially proclaimed it in April of that same year, though he also reported that copies of the Constitution in English had been circulating throughout the city prior to that time (Llobet 147). Included in that document was Article 371, which granted the freedom of speech and the press, a concept very much out of harmony with the activities of the Holy

Office⁵²⁵. The same Cortes took one step further and in their decree of 22 Feb. 1813 abolished the Inquisition entirely (Escudero 411). This decree would have reached Manila sometime in late 1813 or early 1814, and the Holy Office entirely ceased operations for about a year (1815) until Fernando VII's annulment of the Cortes legislation in May of 1814, marking the beginning of the absolutist *sexenio*⁵²⁶ that would last until 1820 (announced in 1821 in Manila) (Medina, *Inquisición*, 170). In the end, due to a confluence of serious obstacles, Cora was unable to proceed against Comyn for his *proposiciones*, and following the final testimony of the above witnesses, ceased inquiries in this matter.

Much more successful were Cora's attempts to track down Comyn's prohibited books, though not initially. Following the *Gli Animali Parlanti* episode, Cora seems to have marked Comyn down as a suspicious character, for in the denunciation of Rita Ramírez he asked her specifically if Comyn had any prohibited books. No prodding was necessary for Urroz. However, for unknown reasons Cora put off any attempts to forcibly determine the truth behind his suspicions, limiting himself to polite requests. Comyn, after confessing in his first *espontánea* that he had brought prohibited books to Manila, declares his guilt "in having hid them and denied to the Reverend Father Cora, commissary of the Holy Office, on two occasions when he requested with the greatest consideration that [I] turn them over to him if [I] had them,

⁵²⁵ Article 371 reads: "Todos los españoles tienen libertad de escribir, imprimir y publicar sus ideas políticas sin necesidad de licencia, revisión o aprobación alguna anterior a la publicación, bajo las restricciones y responsabilidad que establezcan las leyes" (*Constitución* 100). Regarding this period, W. E. Retana writes: "Llegó el período constitucional. El Código fundamental promulgado por las Cortes de Cádiz en 1812 hizo extensivo a Filipinas, y merced a este progreso salieron a luz en aquel país papeles de todas clases, sin ningún género de previas aprobaciones. Pudieron entonces, por primera vez, los filipinos exponer sin tapujos ni trabas cuanto pensaban. Y por cierto que no se halla una hoja, grande ni pequeña, que envuelva conceptos contrarios a la soberanía de España en aquellas islas; hay varias, en cambio, en las que se contienen ataques más o menos violentos a los frailes, mayormente por las señales que daban éstos de aborrecimiento al régimen liberal. Frailes y anti-frailes dijeron horrores en los papeles públicos, y es digno de notarse que los que con más violencia atacaban al clero regular no eran precisamente los hijos del país, sino ciertos españoles: los filipinos, por lo común, limitaban su campaña a exaltar la Constitución; pero los seculares no filipinos iban más allá: bendecían el nuevo régimen y renegaban de los frailes." (*Censura* 2).

⁵²⁶ A "sexenio" is a period of six years.

or that [I] tell him to whom [I] had given them” (18v)⁵²⁷. In addition to these two warnings, Cora paid a last-minute visit to Comyn before the latter boarded the *Rey Fernando VII* that was about to depart for Acapulco in 1811. Not finding Comyn at home, he sent him a letter, to which Comyn responded in a letter dated 12 Mar. 1811, which bears repeating in full:

My good sir and of my highest esteem. I am sorry to not have been at home when Your Reverence did me the honor of visiting me, and in due response to what Your Reverence saw fit to indicate to me in your esteemed [letter] of yesterday late, I say that it is not true that I have or have had among my books the works of Locke and Raynal, and so unfortunately I cannot comply with the request that you so graciously make to me in the matter.

I give Your Reverence a thousand thanks for your good wishes and attentive offering and will rejoice to have occasions to employ myself in the service of Your Reverence. Whose life may God protect many years.

B. L. M. de V. R.⁵²⁸, your sure and solicitous servant,
Tomás de Comyn (15r-15v)⁵²⁹

It is significant that on all three occasions, all Comyn had to do was smile and lie in order to render the Inquisition powerless to inquire further. In fact, this is how he brought the books into Manila in the first place. Upon his arrival at customs in Manila, “in order to get past the just vigilance of the Holy Office and keep my evil books, I presented a false list at customs” (23v-24r)⁵³⁰. When asked by the inspector if he had prohibited books, he simply said ‘No.’

Fortunately for Cora, his patience and adherence to proper Inquisitorial protocol paid dividends and by 1816 he was able to resume the case begun in 1807, thanks to Comyn’s

⁵²⁷ Original, “en habérselos ocultado y negado al Reverendo Padre Cora, comisario del Santo Oficio, por dos veces que le requirió con la mayor consideración que se los entregara si los tenía o le dijera a quiénes se los hubo cedido.” I substitute the word “he” for “I” in the translation because the reports of the Inquisition are always in third person.

⁵²⁸ “B[esa] l[a] m[ano] de V[uestra] R[everencia]” = “kisses the hand of Your Reverence”

⁵²⁹ Original: “Muy señor mío y de mi mayor aprecio. Siento no haberme hallado en casa cuando V. R. me hizo el favor de visitarme, y en debida contestación a lo que se sirve V. R. indicarme en su estimada de ayer tarde, digo que no es cierto que tenga ni haya tenido entre mis libros las obras de Locke y Rainal, así que mal puedo cumplir con la prevención que con tanta urbanidad se me hace en el particular.

Doy a V. R. mil gracias por sus buenos deseos y atento ofrecimiento y celebraré que se me presenten ocasiones de emplearme en el obsequio de V. R. Cuya vida guarde Dios muchos años.

B. L. M. de V. R. su seguro y atento servidor,
Tomás de Comyn.”

⁵³⁰ Original: “a fin de burlar la justa vigilancia del Santo Oficio y quedarme con mis malos libros, presenté una lista falsa en la aduana.”

unexpected confessions. In the two *espóntaneas* he gave to Inquisition in February and March of 1816, Comyn provides a brief sketch of his life and reading habits. It is apparent from this sketch that the Comyn family operated in liberal circles and consorted with a number of “undesirable” characters, a fact that would cause him to write in 1816, “besides reading prohibited books I sought them out anxiously from among my acquaintances” (23r)⁵³¹. As early as 1793 an unnamed English Protestant lent him “an obscene novel” that he read and later turned in to his confessor (22r)⁵³². In Málaga among his family he spent time with an English consul he identifies only as “Gregori,” who lent him a number of forbidden books. Likewise his uncle, Diego Quilty of Málaga, “had in his library many of the prohibited ones”⁵³³; he also borrowed them from the library of Francisco Cabarrús, the Countess of Jaruco, and Manuel José Quintana (22v).

While in France and England his taste for these books only grew, purchasing and borrowing many volumes in those countries, and once in Manila, Comyn’s books did not lay idle: “During close to three years I read around an hour and a half or two hours daily the works of Voltaire and Bayle in the company of the lawyer Don Íñigo Gonzales Azaola” (23r)⁵³⁴. Comyn was also happy to borrow books from people while in Manila, including the physician Antonio Linares (22v, 42r)⁵³⁵. Upon learning that Ana María Osorno, the wife of Ildefonso Aragón, “Colonel of Engineers”⁵³⁶, read forbidden French books, he praised her and gave her a number of recommendations. Immediately prior to his departure from Manila, Comyn sold a

⁵³¹ Original: “Que además de leer libros prohibidos los buscaba con ansia entre mis conocidos.”

⁵³² Original: “una novela obscena”

⁵³³ Original, “tenía en su biblioteca muchos de los prohibidos”

⁵³⁴ Original: “Que durante cerca de tres años leí diariamente como hora y media o dos horas las obras de Voltaire y de Baile en compañía del abogado don Íñigo Gonzales Azaola.”

⁵³⁵ In his confession Comyn mis-remembered Linares’s first name and called him Juan. In Linares’s testimony in Manila in 1817, Cora notes that his name is Antonio, not Juan.

⁵³⁶ Original, “Coronel de Ingenieros”

number of his books to different individuals in the city: the regent of the Audiencia, Nicolás Mesía, the same Gonzales Azaola, and the Manila-based merchant Andrés Palmero (19r). On his journey from Manila to Acapulco in 1811, he borrowed and read an unspecified volume by Voltaire and the novel *Le compère Matthieu* by Henri-Joseph Du Laurens from the same Palmero (22v).

Once in Mexico he lived prominently in the heart of downtown Mexico City, only blocks from the *zócalo*⁵³⁷, and continued his heretical misdeeds unhampered, lending and borrowing various volumes of works by the author Dupuis (probably Charles-François Dupuis) and Montesquieu with one Ramón de la Roca and José María Fagoaya (22v-23r). Wherever he went and whomever he was with, Tomás de Comyn sought after and read prohibited books, especially of the French variety, and freely shared them with his like-minded associates, all with impunity.

The above summary of Comyn's travels and texts permits the delineation of his print network, those people among whom texts—in this case, prohibited ones—circulated, one that extended all the way across the world and found a place in every major city he resided. His confessions spurred a search for the whereabouts of the books he claimed to have sold while in Manila. In a letter of October 1816 the Inquisitors of Mexico ordered Nicolás Cora to collect “all the books mentioned [in] this denunciation and get a statement from all the individuals that have them” (25v)⁵³⁸. Accordingly, Cora summoned and received declarations from Íñigo

⁵³⁷ His address was “Calle de Cadena, no. 1,” modern-day Venustiano Carranza street in the historic downtown, just around the corner from the Casa de la Profesa church where he gave his confessions.

⁵³⁸ Original, “todos los libros que expresa esta denuncia y tome declaración a los sujetos que los tienen.”

Gonzales Azaola, Andrés Palmero, Antonio Linares, Ana María Osorno de Aragón, and Nicolás Mesía between 1817 and 1818⁵³⁹.

Who were the people in Comyn's print network? What was their life like outside of their interaction with Comyn? What became of the books that Comyn sold to, read, or shared with them? What is the significance of their participation in Comyn's circle? What bearing, if any, would their books and reading have on the political and social life of Manila? To answer these questions, insofar as this is possible, I will describe their lives and their interactions with Comyn, as well as the fate of the books he gave them.

Íñigo Gonzales Azaola was a liberal lawyer from Burgos, Spain. After his arrival in the Philippines sometime in the early 1800s, he quickly adapted to life there and came to identify very strongly with the city and the islands. During the first constitutional period he was at the center of a conflict with the Manila *cabildo* over the implementation of the new charter, specifically as it related to the political representation of indigenous and mestizo Filipinos and non-creole Spaniards in the new governing body, which led to a trial and two months' imprisonment. In 1814 he was elected as one of the archipelago's *diputados* to the recently convened Cortes Ordinarias, a position that he did not fill due to the dissolution of that body by Fernando VII in 1814. He learned and spoke Tagalog fluently and presented himself as a defender of native rights. Later in life he fomented and contributed to the Tayabas Revolt of 1841, which sought the Philippines' independence from Spain. He died in the Philippines in 1846 (Llobet 27, 118-21, 172, 287; 108, n. 78).

⁵³⁹ As the regent of the Audiencia—"real justicia," in Cora's words—Mesía did not receive a summons. Rather, Cora sent him a cordial but frank letter regarding the texts he had purchased from Comyn, and Mesía responded in kind (AGN, Inq. 0847-003, 53v, 74r-76r).

Azaola was one of Comyn's primary contacts in his print network. Besides Comyn's testimony that he and Azaola spent the better part of three years reading Voltaire together and making fun of the Church, Azaola was also the primary recipient of the texts Comyn sold or gave away before leaving for Mexico in 1811. Comyn stated that he sold to Azaola three unspecified volumes of works by Bolingbroke (probably Henry St. John, 1st Viscount Bolingbroke); three more unspecified works by "Shafesbury" (Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury); the collected works of the Scottish writer William Robertson, including *The History of America*, *The History of the Reign of Charles V*, *An historical disquisition concerning the knowledge which the ancients had of India* (identified by Azaola as "Yndia antigua"), and *The History of Scotland*; and Robert Watson's *History of Philip II*, all of them in English (AGN, Inq. 0847-003, 19r, 29v-30r). Azaola declared that while he did not remember getting the works by Bolingbroke from Comyn, he did receive the others. However, he also stated that he did not read any of the Shaftesbury, and that he had sold the whole lot, minus Robertson's *History of Scotland*⁵⁴⁰, to a bookseller on the Isle de France on his way to accept his position as *diputado* for the Cortes in 1814, presumably after having read them. He claimed that he did not know that the books were prohibited. As requested, Azaola handed the remaining text over to the Inquisition.

Andrés Palmero was a merchant from Ronda, Andalucía, involved in the traffic of Asian goods, a resident of Manila, and married to one Rita Verzosa (36r-38v). It is very likely that he is the father of the *criollo* Palmero brothers, Vicente and Miguel, who were planning a conspiracy against the Peninsular authorities to gain Philippine independence in 1829 (Llobet

⁵⁴⁰ The edition that Comyn and Azaola had was the sixth, printed in Edinburgh in three volumes. No year is provided (AGN, Inq. 0847-003, 52r).

287)⁵⁴¹. At the time of Andrés's declaration he was 50 years old, only slightly older than Comyn. In his testimony he denied any knowledge of reading Voltaire and *Le Compère Mathieu* with Comyn on the journey to Acapulco in 1811 but readily acknowledged the receipt of the books. He had received only two titles from the ex-factor, but each had several volumes: the work commonly known as *Histoire des deux Indes* by Guillaume-Thomas Raynal in seven volumes⁵⁴², and the fifth edition of Pierre Bayle's master work *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* in five volumes. However, like Azaola he also claimed that he was unaware that Raynal and Bayle were prohibited authors, and promptly handed the books over to Cora. He also stated that he had not read these or any other books in about seven years because his circumstances did not allow him to do so.

Nicolás Mesía, regent of the Real Audiencia, whose contact with Comyn was neither frequent nor close, purchased from him Edward Gibbon's *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* in twelve volumes. Although he does not indicate whether or not he read it, he expresses shock that Comyn would be so bold as to sell him a forbidden book, believing he was merely receiving a history of the Roman empire, "without even suspecting that it could be prohibited" (75v-76r)⁵⁴³. Like Azaola and Palmero, Mesía immediately sent the books to the commissary.

Antonio Celestino Linares, age 51, was a doctor and professor of medicine in Manila, where he had lived for the previous thirteen years (42r-45v). Since Linares had not received any books from Comyn, Cora's questions to Linares were to determine if he really did own, read, and

⁵⁴¹ As a result of their actions Miguel was sentenced to be executed by hanging with eight other companions and Vicente was exiled and imprisoned with seven more conspirators to remote places in the archipelago (Llobet 287).

⁵⁴² English: "History of the two Indies." The full title is *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, first printed in 1770.

⁵⁴³ Original, "sin sospechar siquiera pudiera estar prohibida"

lend prohibited books as Comyn asserted in his confession, and if so, which books and to whom. As in the other interrogations, Cora is careful never to mention the name “Tomás de Comyn” unless the witness did, limiting himself to suggestions and impersonalized descriptions of Comyn’s actions. However, Linares entirely denied owning, reading, or lending prohibited books to anyone around the time of Comyn’s departure, even going so far as to say that he was not even sure he was in Manila at that time, and he never mentioned Comyn. What he did confess to was owning, reading, and then sharing two anti-Inquisition pamphlets, the *Inquisición sin máscara* by Antonio Puigblanch and an unspecified text by Antonio José Ruiz Padrón, a radical ex-Franciscan priest and a participant in both the Cortes Extraordinarias and later the Cortes during the liberal *trienio*⁵⁴⁴ of 1820-1823 (Escudero 371, 404). Ruiz Padrón’s speech against the Inquisition was legendary in its time and though riddled with factual errors had a great impact on the debate raging in the Cortes prior to the abolition of the Holy Office (404-06). Even more significant is that Linares shared these texts with one Mariano Tuason, “Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment of the *Real Príncipe*,” in late 1815 or early 1816 (AGN, Inq. 0847-003, 43r)⁵⁴⁵.

What is the significance of Tuason and the Regiment of the *Real Príncipe*? Following the British occupation of 1762-1764, the Spanish Crown took steps to make sure that such an event never again took place. Part of the measures taken was the order to create two urban militias for the city of Manila, “one called the *Real Manila* for Spaniards, creoles, and Spanish mestizos who were *vecinos* of the city; and another one called the *Real Príncipe* for Chinese mestizos,” that is, the children of Chinese and indigenous Filipino unions (Llobet 39).

Participation in these militias, especially as officers of those bodies, greatly enhanced the social

⁵⁴⁴ A “trienio” is a period of three years.

⁵⁴⁵ Original, “teniente Coronel del Regimiento del Real Príncipe”

status of its members. The *Real Príncipe* was inaugurated in 1779 “with the blessing of the archbishop,” but more importantly was the fact that one Antonio Tuason, “a wealthy Chinese mestizo of Binondo” and “former *Gobernadorcillo* of the *Gremio* of Chinese mestizos” of that same community (Binondo), entirely financed the whole regiment, with the exception of their weapons (40, 62). In fact, this act, together with other financial contributions by the Tuason family, allowed Antonio Tuason to achieve a title of nobility—*hidalgo*—making him and his descendants legally, though not socially, Spaniards (27, 64).

While the exact relationship between Antonio Tuason and Lieutenant Colonel Mariano Tuason is not currently known, the fact that the Regiment of the *Real Príncipe* was manned exclusively by Chinese mestizos means that Mariano was one of them. His reading of the anti-Inquisition tracts shared via Antonio Linares extends Comyn’s indirect print network to the elite Chinese mestizo community of Manila. This should not be surprising, of course, since Chinese mestizos had been authorized to receive university degrees from Manila institutions of higher education since 1780 (Llobet 43-44)⁵⁴⁶. Even before that time the Chinese mestizo community had been growing in social and economic importance in the city. Rather, the presence of Mariano among the individuals who partook in texts preferred by Comyn and his kind merely serves to confirm the wide reach of such texts among different sectors of *manileño* society during this period.

Perhaps the most surprising figure among the *contestes* summoned to answer for Comyn’s confessions regarding his books is Ana María Osorno, wife of Ildefonso Aragón,

⁵⁴⁶ Although the decision to grant advanced degrees to Chinese mestizos came to a head in 1780, in reality there had been precedents for this decision long before this date. Luciano Santiago cites the cases of Joseph de Ocampo and his nephew Juan de Ocampo, who would become the first Chinese mestizo priests. Joseph was apparently also the first Chinese mestizo “to earn licentiate and magistral degrees in arts at the University of Santo Tomás in 1699 and 1700, respectively” (74-76). Juan received his Bachelor of Arts from the same university in 1717 (137-38).

Colonel and Commander of the Corp of Engineers in the Plaza of Manila (47r-49r). The first report of the couple dates to 1802 when the newly commissioned Aragón arrived at Cádiz prior to his departure for Veracruz on the *urca*⁵⁴⁷ Santa Polonia in 1803, requesting permission for his new wife to accompany him to Manila. They most likely arrived in Manila by the summer of 1804 (AGI, Arribadas, 439-A, n. 27). When Ana María gave her testimony to Cora in July of 1817, she was 28 years old, meaning that she was only 15 when she first came to the islands and had spent nearly half her life there. During the time that Comyn frequented her house he would have watched her grow from adolescence to adulthood. Nicolás Cora described her in this way: “She is a woman of cheerful and festive character, fond of books, even if they’re French, which language she understands. Her behavior is regular, without scandal” (AGN, 0847-003, 48r)⁵⁴⁸.

Ana María’s testimony seems to confirm Cora’s description, at least her affinity for books. When Cora asked her whether she knew or had heard of anybody speak against the Church or the Inquisition, she referred to the noise made against the Inquisition in the “public papers⁵⁴⁹” that came from Spain during the time of the Revolution. Likewise, when asked if she knew anyone who had read prohibited French books, she gave the following response (recorded from the perspective of the scribe):

She knows that some have read [them], and that she herself has read them in the said times of the Revolution but without knowing before that they were prohibited, and that [with] the Inquisition reestablished, she gave to the Father Commissary the papers that

⁵⁴⁷ *Urca* = A kind of ship.

⁵⁴⁸ Original: “Es señora de genio alegre y festivo, aficionada a libros, aunque sean franceses, cuya lengua entiende. Su porte es regular, sin escándalo.” Although the words “alegre” and “festivo” can have pejorative connotations, I have translated them as “cheerful” and “festive” based on the rest of Cora’s description.

⁵⁴⁹ Original, “papeles públicos”

she had [that were] prohibited, among them *La Abeja*⁵⁵⁰ and other public papers that she doesn't remember. (48v)⁵⁵¹

Ana María's statements indicate easy access to the printed word, not only the materials that were being produced abroad out of the conflicts in the Peninsula, but also more substantial publications in French that had been pouring into the islands since the mid-eighteenth century.

However, her declaration that she had handed in all her illicit reading material upon the reestablishment of the Inquisition is not entirely true. In fact, out of all the readers that Comyn mentions in his testimony, she had the most varied and extensive library, excepting perhaps Comyn himself. Her testimony continues: "She has read and has in her possession various French novels, and she has requested them from every person that she knew had them, but without knowing that they were prohibited" (48v)⁵⁵². This is probably the most revealing portion of her statement. Not only does she openly admit to owning and reading French novels, but she actively requested them from those people who had them. This means that these prohibited books had entered into circulation in Manila undetected, she had solicited them undetected, she had read them undetected, she had never encountered any trouble with the Inquisition for reading them, and had Comyn not spontaneously confessed a year earlier, it is likely that Cora would never have learned of their existence. As to Comyn's declaration that she knowingly and proudly read prohibited books, and that he praised her for it and recommended further prohibited reading, she flatly denied it, stating that she would be offended if such a thing took place and that

⁵⁵⁰ *La Abeja Española*, a liberal newspaper active during the Cortes Extraordinarias, noted for its extreme mordacity against conservatives and especially against those that defended the Inquisition (Escudero 417-21).

⁵⁵¹ Original: "Que sabe que algunos han leído, y que ella mismo los ha leído en dichos tiempos de la Revolución pero sin saber que estaban prohibidos antes, y que restablecida la Inquisición, entregó al P. Comisario los papeles que tenía por malos o prohibidos, y entre ellos *La Abeja* y otros papeles públicos que no tiene presente."

⁵⁵² Original: "Que ha leído y tiene en su poder varias novelas francesas, y que las ha solicitado de toda persona que sabía las tenía, pero sin saber que estaban prohibidas" Spelling, punctuation, and accentuation modernized.

“she wouldn’t accept such a recommendation” (48v)⁵⁵³. She also declared that even when everyone else was criticizing the Inquisition, she did not give heed to those statements. In the end, like all the other *contestes*, Ana María claims to not have known that the books she owned and read were prohibited and willingly sent her French books to Cora for his inspection. They are as follows:

- *L’Espion Anglois ou correspondance secrete entre Milord All’Eye, et Milord All’Ear.*
(7 vols, nos. 3, 5-10. London, 1803-1804)
- *L’Homme sans-taçon ou Letres Dun Voyageur Allan de Paris a Spa.*
(By M. L’Abbé Besançon, 1786)
- *Considerations Sur les Causes de la Grandeur des Romain[s] et de Leur Decadence
nouvelle édition a la quelle on á [?] un Dialogue de Silla et D’Eucrate.*
(Amsterdam and Leipzig, 1759)
- *Julie ou la Nouvelle Heloise. Lettres de Deux Amans habitans d’une petite Ville au
pied des Alpes.*
(4 vols. By J. J. Rousseau. Amsterdam, 1761)
- *Nouveau Testament.*
(1 vol. No year)
- *Les Liasons Dangereuses, ou Letres Recueillies dans une Societé et publiques pour
l’instruction de quelqu[.] autres. Par M. C..... De L..... J’ai vules moeurs de mon
tems J’ai publieces Lettres. J. J Rouseaum Pret. de la Nouvelle.*
(2 vols. Amsterdam, 1782)
- *Vie et Amours du Chevalier de Faublas.*
(13 vols. By M. Louvet de Couvray)
- *Pensees de Pascal Avec les Notes M. de Voltaire*
(1 vol. Genoa, 1778)
- *Oeuvres completes de Voltaire*
(1 vol. 1775)
- *Remarques Sur le Menteur.* Comédie representée en 1642.
(1 vol.)
- *Histoire de Dannemarc*
(By P. H. Mallet. Paris, 1788)
- *Entretiens ou Amusemens serieux et comiques*
(1 vol. Amsterdam, 1705)
- *La Vie et les opinions de Tristram Shandy, traduit’s de l’Anglois de Stern, Pa M.
Frenais*
(6 vols. London, 1784)
- *L’Ingenu, Histoire Veritable, tirée des manuscrits du père Guesnel.* (51v-52r)

⁵⁵³ Original, “no usaría de semejante recomendación”

The trajectory of the people involved in Comyn's print circle provides an interesting perspective on the impact of the books that they read. While we cannot say by any stretch of the imagination that the specific books Comyn lent to or read with these people caused an immediate impact on the historical development of the Philippines, it does demonstrate that the active dissemination of print materials advocating a certain worldview (i.e., rational governance, useful knowledge, cosmopolitan literary tastes, progress, etc) would and did have an impact on these individuals' later actions. Participation in such a circle, even and especially after Comyn left, would have habituated these individuals to sympathize with certain events happening elsewhere in Spain's empire, that is, the independence movements of Latin America. I do not think it is coincidence that the sons of Andrés Palmero and Azaola himself both actively participated in attempts to break Spain's hold on the Philippines. While such participation is not true of all the members of Tomás de Comyn's former circle, among those for whom it is true, the impact of their involvement in this print network is significant, bearing witness to the fact that the same ideological motivations informing Latin American independence in the nineteenth century had long been at work in the Philippines, even though their efforts did not bear fruit at that time.

Aftermath

Upon the conclusion of his investigations in 1818, Nicolás Cora gathered all the books and documentation he had amassed—together with a couple of books by Montesquieu to balance out the box—and sent them to Acapulco on the frigate *María* in the care of her owner and captain, Alonzo Morgado (78r). Sometime after this case, probably in 1819, Cora seems to have retired from his position as commissary since his name does not appear in any documents after that year. As for the books, on January 30, 1819, one Felipe Clavi[...] wrote a short note to José

María Ris, secretary of the Holy Office in Mexico, indicating that he had received the books from Morgado and was remitting them to Mexico City, where they presumably met their fate (80r-80v). Tomás de Comyn, on the other hand, fared much better.

Following his second confession in March 1816, Comyn's confessor, Romualdo Urquidi, asked for and received from the Holy Office the jurisdiction to absolve Comyn of the crime of heresy, but only "pro foro conscientiae," meaning, that though Comyn had received absolution and was again part of the body of the Church, he still had to complete his penance (AGN, Inq. 0847-003, 22r, 25r; Murillo Velarde 2:47; 4:282-83). The documentation provides no clear information as to what his penance entailed but does suggest that he spent a certain period in the Casa de la Profesa (a prominent church in downtown Mexico City) doing spiritual exercises (21r). It is also possible that Comyn paid a large fine, as stipulated by various decrees for those who retained, read, and distributed (even informally) prohibited books⁵⁵⁴. Either way, by the following July Comyn had received license from the Viceroy to depart for Spain pending the Inquisition's approval. After this brief note, Comyn disappears from the *autos* of the Inquisition. He does not stay hidden for long, however. In 1818 he appears in Madrid as a candidate for the directorship of the entire Real Compañía de Filipinas, though he did not get the post (Díaz-Trechuelo 168-69, and note 46). In June of 1820 we find Comyn acting as personal secretary to none other than king Ferdinand VII, who also granted him the "Cross of Knight Commander of the American Order of Isabella the Catholic" (AHN, Estado, 6317, Exp. 68)⁵⁵⁵. That same year

⁵⁵⁴ For example, a decree of 1806 contains the following language: "ninguna persona pueda vender, leer, ni retener dichos libros, y papeles impresos, ni manuscritos, en qualquier lengua, o impresion, que los esten, pena de excomunion mayor *latae sententiae*, y de doscientos ducados para gastos del Santo Oficio, y demas establecidas por derecho" (AGN, Edictos de Inq. 0113-006). A set of instructions to commissaries from 1770 forbids anyone from selling books on an individual level without first presenting a list of the books to be sold for their examination and potential expurgation (AGN, Edictos de Inq., 4669-008).

⁵⁵⁵ Original, "Cruz de Comendador en la Orden Americana de Isabel la Católica"

he published a book, *Estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1810*⁵⁵⁶, a treatise designed to call attention to the economic problems of the islands and to offer guidelines to increase their productivity and profitability. In July of 1823 he was named an official of the Secretaría del Despacho de Estado, a position which he held until October 1st of that same year when, as a part of Ferdinand VII's annulment of the previous three years' legislation, he was dismissed by royal decree (6r; Carr, xvii). Following Ferdinand's death in 1833, Comyn was appointed the Consul General of Spain in Lisbon (18 Apr. 1834) and served in this capacity until October of 1838, when he was relieved of his responsibilities with a lifetime pension for his long years of outstanding service (AHN, Estado, 6317, Exp. 68, 2r, 6r-6v). All in all, his brief run-in with the Inquisition seems not to have affected him in the slightest.

However, one question remains regarding Comyn's actions in this drama: after more than twenty years of reading prohibited books in all parts of the world without the slightest scruple in lying directly to the Holy Office, why did he suddenly and spontaneously denounce himself? In July of 1817⁵⁵⁷, apparently very soon after requesting permission from the Inquisition to depart for Spain, Comyn was summoned before the *fiscal* of the Holy Office in Mexico, José Antonio Prado, to answer some questions (AGN, Inq. 0847-003, 26r-26v). Comyn must have been expecting such a summons, for when Prado asked him the standard opening question, "Do you have any idea why you are here," he immediately responded: "because of some personal resentment he might have been accused by Don Ramón de la Roca of having read prohibited books, [Roca] basing [his accusation] on suspicions arising from the close contact with [Comyn]

⁵⁵⁶ English: "State of the Philippine Islands in 1810"

⁵⁵⁷ The record of Comyn's audience before the *fiscal* Prado does not contain the year it took place, just the phrase "veinte y cinco días del mes de Julio de mil ochocientos diez y ," with a large space where the year should go. In responding to the questions put to him Comyn affirmed that his age was "cuarenta y seis años no cumplidos." Since Comyn was born 29 July 1771, not quite 46 years old would make the date of this declaration July of 1817.

during the last two years,” later adding that the hostility between him and Roca arose from “a nasty argument with Roca in the house of Cervantes in January of 1816,” in which this Roca swore that Comyn would pay for his offenses⁵⁵⁸. After asking Comyn to recognize his *espontáneas* of February and March of 1816, Prado openly accused him of self-denouncing to save his own skin, rather than out of sincere contrition for his misdeeds, to which Comyn responded, “this incident and the holy fear of God made [me] think seriously about [my]self and to resolve to observe divine law⁵⁵⁹.” Although apparently the Mexican Tribunal took no further action in this regard, Comyn’s final testimony provides a very plausible motive for his “spontaneous” confession. While this explanation does not rule out the possibility of Comyn actually feeling sincere remorse for his conduct, it is entirely reasonable to assert that fear of Roca’s potential denunciation was the principal stimulus for his actions. Comyn was intelligent enough to recognize that the Tribunal still had the power to determine the future course of his life, so he pre-empted them, allowing him to minimize the damage that could have come from a malicious, vengeful, unsolicited denunciation.

Conclusion

The evidence produced in this chapter has suggested that books of all kinds had been circulating in Manila since the beginning of the Spanish presence, but that they were especially prevalent in the second half of the eighteenth century. However, the question might be raised as to the impact of a single or a limited number of copies of a book. While the documentary

⁵⁵⁸ Original: “a efecto de algún resentimiento personal, se le acusaría por D. Ramón de la Roca de haber leído libros prohibidos, fundándose para ello en sospechas nacidas del trato familiar del que declara durante los dos años anteriores;” “un lance pesado que hubo con Roca en casa de Cervantes en enero de 1816.”

⁵⁵⁹ Original: “este incidente y el santo temor de Dios le hicieron volver seriamente sobre sí mismo y resolver y observar la ley divina.”

evidence provided here cannot answer as to the ultimate impact such books had on the political, economic, and social life of the colony, it does demonstrate that single copies of texts, whether multi-volume historical works or ephemeral newspapers, could and did circulate from individual to individual by open solicitation that often went undetected and unpunished in the case of the prohibited works.

This chapter has also demonstrated that a great deal of the most current European thought had penetrated the colony long before the advent of the liberal Constitution, and that these ideas and texts were easily accessible to anyone who wanted to find them. Furthermore, these ideas and their authors were pan-imperial. Though Spain was not the ultimate source of these books, it is a well-attested fact that they were circulating through Spain, through the length and breadth of the American colonies, and even in Southeast Asia, including the Philippines. It was this current of thought that would provide stimulus and direction to the *criollo* elite in Latin America in their quest for autonomy and independence, and although the attempts at Philippine independence in the early nineteenth century were foiled by a number of confluent circumstances, the influence of liberal thought had already taken root, thanks in part to the constant circulation of printed material.

The case of Tomás de Comyn also sheds a great deal of light on who was reading. Comyn's circle was admittedly an elite one, filled with *oidores*, governors, high-ranking military officials, lawyers, and wealthy international merchants. However, it was also a stridently liberal one that did not think twice about reading foreign books or entertaining heterodox ideas. Furthermore, Comyn's case also reveals that the readers were not just white, elite males. The Chinese mestizo Mariano Tuason, Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment of the *Real Príncipe*, reflects the fact that the elite of other ethnic groups of the capital were also participating in this

circle of readers. The bibliophile Ana María Osorno brings women into this group, though how much she is representative of other women of the colony cannot be determined from the evidence at hand. Even so, she was probably not the only woman in Manila reading the literary and scholarly products of the Enlightenment.

Finally, through Comyn's case we gain a perspective on the role and effectiveness of the Inquisition in Manila toward the end of its institutional life. The commissary Nicolás Cora's efforts, though dogged, patient, and unflagging, even in the midst of severe obstacles, ultimately proved ineffective. Not only were those involved in the case almost universally indifferent to or ignorant of Inquisitorial restrictions, but some—notably Azaola, Barcáistegui, and Comyn—were openly hostile and contemptuous of it. For Comyn, this was deliberate and with full knowledge, possibly as a result of his father's involvement with the Holy Office in Alicante. However, even if his father's activities had no influence on his son later in life, Tomás knew exactly what he was doing when he introduced prohibited books into Manila and hid them from Cora during eight years, and then an additional five years in Mexico.

Furthermore, the universal claim of ignorance among the *contestes* in Comyn's case is problematic. On the one hand, if it were true, it would indicate a serious gap in the abilities of the Inquisition—in Manila or elsewhere—to effectively communicate with the residents of their respective territories, and this in spite of the periodic decrees that went out announcing the prohibition and/or expurgation of texts. If the elite did not know that the texts they were reading were forbidden, who would, beyond the handful of Inquisition employees and the parish priests commissioned to read the edicts? However, this position, while possible, does not seem likely, at least not universally. Joaquín del Rosario's statement to the Mexican Inquisitors in 1769 indicates a generalized indifference to the Inquisition's attempts to police their thoughts and

reading materials, and Tomás de Comyn's demonstrated print network 40 years later seems to confirm it. The claims of ignorance, therefore, are more likely a strategy to avoid fines and punishment. In the end, it appears that if someone wanted to read prohibited books in Manila, they could, as long as the wrong people did not find out. Yet even if they did, there was still a chance of retaining them if their suspicions remained as suspicions.

A story attributed to Aesop tells the story of a Lion who, in his old age, was no longer able to hunt and defend himself, so he laid in cave where animals would come in to greet him, whereupon he would eat them. The clever Fox, seeing that although many animals went in, none came out, escaped death at the Lion's hands by not falling into the trap. Likewise, the Spanish Inquisition, despite its old age and increasing ineffectiveness, was still capable of ruining your life if you ran afoul of it. Tomás de Comyn was fully aware of this fact and used it to his advantage, mitigating the potential damage that could have come to him from his enemies who also knew that the Inquisition was an effective way to settle old scores. As it was, the Inquisition's days were numbered. Far less than the 60 years that Bernardino del Yerro predicted in 1803, the Inquisition would exist for only another three past the date of Comyn's final appearance before the Inquisition. In March of 1820 the newly re-established liberal regime abolished the Inquisition; yet in 1823 when Fernando VII annulled all legislation executed during the *trienio*, he significantly omitted the restoration of the Inquisition. Therefore, although *de jure* it was rehabilitated by the royal order of 1 Oct. 1823, the liberals' 1820 abolition remained the *de facto* position of the Crown during the Ominous Decade (Vega 313; Escudero 432-36). By the time the regent María Cristina signed the definitive abolition of the Inquisition on 15 July 1834, the institution had been long dead, the dusty relic of a more intolerant past (Escudero 436-38).

A photograph of a handwritten signature in dark ink on aged paper. The signature reads "Tomás de Comyn" in a highly stylized cursive script. The letters are connected, and there are several loops and flourishes, particularly at the end of the name. The ink is dark brown or black, and the paper has a slightly textured, off-white appearance.

Figure 2 Signature of Tomás de Comyn
Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, Fondo Indiferente virreinal, Inquisición 0847-003, 26v

Conclusion

As I have hoped to demonstrate in this dissertation, the Western book has been present from the beginning of the Spanish presence in the Philippine archipelago, whether coming from abroad or produced domestically. The acceptance and spread of books among native Filipinos was aided by the pre-Hispanic tradition of literacy in the native script, *baybayin*, or its other regional variations. For this same reason the Spanish saw in books and other print or manuscript media an invaluable tool for the task of Christianizing the indigenous peoples of the islands.

Key in that conversion process was the establishment of the printing press. Although the first texts were made xylographically, typographical printing began in 1604 thanks to the “semi-invention” of the press in Manila through the efforts of the Chinese merchant Juan de Vera. However, unlike most printing presses in Europe and colonial Latin America, the presses in the Philippines were never purely commercial ventures and served rather to aid the missionaries in their labors, allow the Church to administer its affairs, and the Crown to make its will known. Despite its use as a tool in the hands of the conquerors, the press also became an integral part of the lives of non-Europeans, both through the work of the all-native printers and through the continued printing of texts in transliterated Filipino languages, including texts authored by native Filipinos.

However, as the property of the religious orders—the Dominicans, the Augustinians, the Jesuits, and the Franciscans—the press became their special province and they controlled who printed what. In times of conflict, such as the frequent jurisdictional scuffles that plagued the city, the press became a weapon used against one’s adversary and was often decisive in the continuation and resolution of these conflicts and others. Whatever the motive for turning to the press, the reality is that it affected all parts of life in the city, both directly and indirectly. The

press produced many of the religious books used in worship in the islands, both in Spanish and Filipino languages. In the eighteenth century the press began producing textbooks for the educational institutions of the cities. It even produced certain literary works of great importance, such as the Lenten *pasyon* poems that were a staple of colonial Filipino religious celebrations. Although the total print production from 1593 to 1813 is almost insignificant in comparison to the press output in New Spain and Europe, the press was a very significant and relevant institution in the legal, intellectual, and religious life of the colony.

On the other hand, for a variety of reasons, the Manila presses were unable to satisfy the textual needs of the city, necessitating the importation of books from abroad. Although the products of the Mexican presses did make it across the Pacific ocean, the overwhelming majority of books that arrived in the Philippines came from European presses. However, the geopolitical situation of the archipelago precluded direct trade with Spain, including a book trade, meaning that all books that arrived in Manila were filtered through Mexico, a costly and time-consuming endeavor that resulted in a weak book commerce up until the mid-eighteenth century. With the change of royal dynasty, however, there came changes in the way books came to the islands, eventually bypassing the long layover in Mexico and coming directly from Spain, either via the Cape of Good Hope or Cape Horn. Furthermore, the gradual opening up of trade in the eighteenth century meant that books could come from places other than Spain. For this reason we see independent merchants introducing texts originating in Dutch, French, British, or Portuguese-held territories. With the advent of the Enlightenment books of all kinds flooded the islands so that by the beginning of the nineteenth century, the literate inhabitants of the city were already well-versed in liberal authors and ideas.

The dissemination of the printed word, however, was less likely to take place via the traditional relationship between bookstore and customer, and more likely to happen informally between individuals in networks of print circulation. These fluid and informal networks permitted like-minded individuals to share texts in a city known for its lack of bookstores, allowing single or a reduced number of copies to make an impact beyond a single reader. Furthermore, these print networks, whatever their ideological affinity, included not only white European males, but also women and native Filipinos.

A key player in the production, dissemination, and acceptance of typographical materials was the Tribunal of the Inquisition. As a tribunal it was often involved in power struggles with the other bodies of the ecclesiastical and secular authority in the islands, and was aggressive in defending its rights, privileges, and jurisdiction, frequently turning to the press to do so. As a censor of printed materials and monitor of morality it enjoyed general acceptance and prestige for a long time, though over the course of the eighteenth century its power began to wane, both in the Peninsula and in the Philippines, until by the early nineteenth century both its power and its prestige were severely undermined and rendered ineffective. For this reason we find, beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, prohibited volumes of all kinds circulating unimpeded in the islands. Although the Inquisition made every effort to stamp out and remove these “heretical” works, the tide of liberal thought sweeping the Spanish empire made the Inquisition’s failure inevitable.

In summary, the presence of the book in the Spanish Philippines was a fundamentally important element in the Christianization of the indigenous Filipinos, in the religious and secular administration of the colony, and in the development of an intellectual culture after the Western tradition, a tradition that continues to this day. It was fomented by the early establishment of the

press in the islands and by the constant albeit modest arrival of books from Europe over the course of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Following the Bourbon ascension at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the volume of books increased dramatically until by the end of the Mexican period books of all kinds were flooding the city, with a dramatic impact on the academic, intellectual, and cultural level of the city.

One thing that should be apparent in the success of the establishment of the Western tradition of books in the Philippines is the essential and continuing contribution of the native Filipinos in this process from the beginning. Their active appropriation of books, Roman characters, and even the Spanish language allowed them participate fully in nearly all aspects of the administrative, religious, and intellectual life of the colony. Unlike in Spain's American colonies, there was never a high rate of European immigration to the islands, with the result that many of the clerical, notarial, and scribal functions that would have been filled by Spaniards passed to the educated native elite. This is even more noticeable in the continued ordination of native priests beginning in 1698 that made Filipinos not merely auxiliary officials but full agents in the ongoing process of Christianization of the archipelago in the eighteenth century. Such high-profile participation, whether in secular or religious affairs, was made possible in part by the fact that from the mid-seventeenth century a portion of native Filipinos were able to receive a European education in the institutions established in the capital at the beginning of Spanish rule.

However, native Filipinos were not mere passive recipients of Western thought, institutions, or technologies, even though they utilized them predominantly within the bounds of the Western canon as stipulated by Spanish colonial rule. The *pasyon* tradition bears witness to the appropriation of both Spanish poetic forms and Roman Catholicism in a new, hybrid form that tended to reinforce indigenous community identities. The *pasyon* also testifies to the

contribution of Filipino translators, poets, printers, and performers to the cultural and religious life of the city, a contribution that was not limited to the *pasyon* but extended also to other areas of cultural production, such as *comedias*, *loas*, and devotional texts. In later years Filipino and mestizo communities would utilize liberal, Enlightenment thought to their own advantage in the implementation of the Constitution of 1812, preventing *criollos* from creating a government that served only their own interests and forcing the inclusion of people of non-European descent in the political process.

Finally, this dissertation has served to rectify and modify previous assertions made regarding the press in the islands and the presence of books. Though José Toribio Medina, W. E. Retana, and T. H. Pardo de Tavera laid the foundation of the history and bibliography of the Manila presses, their late nineteenth century perspective influenced their overall appraisal of the state of the printing press under the Spanish, preventing them from seeing the full range of the intervention of that institution in the events of the archipelago. This faulty and misinformed point of view further influenced them to an unwarranted condemnation of intellectual and cultural life in Manila during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, manifested in the allegedly lethargic and irrelevant printing press and the few European books that managed to trickle into the city via the annual galleons. However, as I have demonstrated, the press was neither irrelevant nor as weak as they had supposed, and though it was unable to completely satisfy the textual needs of the city, it still provided an essential source of cultural, religious, academic, and intellectual expression.

The complement to the above rectifications is the fact that shipments of books imported from Spain, greater Europe, and even Mexico, were regular occurrences that served to increase the availability of the printed word in the city. Manila was no cultural backwater in spite of its

distance from the centers of European power and learning. The presence of the most recent items from European presses attests to the fact that books were flowing frequently throughout and within Spain's global empire. Furthermore, I have demonstrated that it was precisely the connections between the colonies that facilitated the transfer of printed materials across two oceans and a continent. Familial and commercial links tied the Philippines to Mexico to Spain to Europe and back again in intercolonial currents of books and ideas that transcended borders.

Despite the significant contributions that this dissertation makes to the study of the book in the Philippines during this period, as it comes to a finish there are more questions than answers, more areas of research that had to be left unexplored in the pursuit of the reduced goals of this study. Not least among these is the more detailed study of specific periods of time. Although this dissertation included case studies for the years 1734-1737 and the years 1803-1817, there is much more to be said on the activities of the press and the volume of book importation over the period of 250 years (1571-1821) covered here. For example, what were the causes of the substantial decrease in press activity in the second half of the seventeenth century? At what point in the eighteenth century did French texts begin to come *en masse* into the city? Is it possible to determine an accurate timeline of the founding of the Manila press in the early 1600s? Further and more delimited studies of the phenomena of the press and book circulation must be undertaken to determine with greater accuracy their impact on the city and its inhabitants.

Geographically, this study has limited itself to Manila. While such an approach finds justification in the limited space of a dissertation and in the more abundant sources pertaining to Manila, this is not a perpetually valid excuse. Although admittedly the penetration of printed materials was weaker in areas outside Manila, this does not necessarily mean they were absent,

and a study of the impact of the press and book circulation in areas such as Cebu, Naga, Vigan, or the Cagayan Valley in northern Luzon is necessary to round out the geographic extent of the influence of the printed word.

One of the areas left almost completely untouched in this study is the reception of the books arriving in Manila from abroad. This can be considered from the perspective of the Inquisition, i.e., what did they actually let into the city, but also from the perspective of market and sales. For example, in Chapter Three we learn that Juan Leonardo Malo Manrique sent a box of books to Manila to be sold, but we have no record of who bought the books, how much they cost, how long it took to sell them, to whom the books were sold, what their ultimate fate was, etc. Related to this and to shipping generally, who were the agents of these international merchants? Did these agents run private bookstores out of their houses? Did they peddle them on the street? How involved were the Chinese in later book sales? Were there other bookstores in Manila, either public or private? How many books did these hypothetical bookstores sell? How often? What was the extent of native Filipino consumption of imported texts? These are some of the myriad questions that arise in discussing the fate of the books upon their landing in Cavite .

The materials analyzed in the elaboration of this dissertation also have further knowledge to offer us. For example, the lists of books presented in Chapter Three received only minimal analysis in this dissertation in order to put them into a historical context. How much more information can be extracted from an in-depth analysis of the titles of these lists? In the same vein, a detailed examination of the sources used in the *Diálogo mixti fori* would provide invaluable insights into the ideological position of the author or authors. Likewise, what might be gained from an extended study of some of the “characters” that appear in these chapters,

people like Nicolás Cora, one of the last commissaries in Manila, the bibliophile Ana María Osorno, Joan de Arechederra, or the consummate Tagalog printer and engraver, Nicolás de la Cruz Bagay? Such studies would be invaluable to our understanding of the phenomena of the printing press and book circulation as they affected the everyday lives of the people who participated in these activities.

However, one of the most fundamental areas for further research is the greater development of the archival resources on this topic. The main source for the information presented in the chapters comes from the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City, in particular the Inquisition document group. While this document group has shown itself to have marvelous treasures in this regard, it is by no means the only source for information regarding the printing and book trade in the Philippines. The other document groups at the AGN remain untapped in regards to books. Furthermore, despite the great utility of the PARES website that makes accessible documents in Peninsular archives, there are certainly many more documents that remain undigitized in the Archivo General de Indias, the Archivo Histórico Nacional, and other repositories with information on the arrival and impact of books in the Philippines. For that matter, the National Archives of the Philippines in Manila have not been examined at all for documents that could shed light on these topics during the Mexican period. Further investigation in these and other archives would also serve to close the unfortunate and unusual gap in the Inquisition's records for the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, allowing us a fuller picture both of books coming to the Philippines, books in circulation, and inquisitorial censorship and activity during the period in question.

* * *

In 2008 Patricia May B. Jurilla wrote the following about the study of books in the Philippines: “the History of the Book has not yet arrived. It is a territory that is still largely unexplored if not totally unheard of in Philippine scholarship” (*Tagalog* 5). Although her work focuses specifically on printing and publishing in the Philippines in the twentieth century, her comments can be extended with accuracy to other areas in this field. The fact is that that the study of the book in the Philippines in all its facets, not just printing, is still in its infant stage.

Not the least among the areas germane to this topic is the book in the colonial period, its arrival, its production, its reach, and its impact. There are many reasons for this general lack, and though all of them are interesting none of them are grounds for continuing to leave this knowledge untapped. It is a territory begging to be explored but far too vast to be encompassed in one or even many studies. Like Jurilla’s *Tagalog Bestsellers* for Filipino literary production in the twentieth century, so this dissertation has aimed to give the history of the book in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries the attention it deserves in the field of Hispanic colonial studies. Admittedly this project represents only the first small steps toward the realization of this goal, yet they are necessary steps toward something that will hopefully become much larger and much richer in the years to come.

As this study comes to a close, my hope is that the information presented here will contribute to a reevaluation of the role of the printed text in the historical, social, political, and intellectual life of the Philippines up through the early nineteenth century. However, if this were the only goal, it would be insufficient. What does the history of printing and book circulation as I have presented it here have to offer the present-day Philippines? I submit that it offers an understanding of the foundation (as well as of the subversion and the subsequent modification) of the Western intellectual tradition in the islands. By saying this I do not suggest that other

ways of knowing and kinds of knowledge—especially non-Western ones—have no value. I mean simply that to understand the intellectual and academic culture of the Philippines as it exists today one must look back to when it first took root, to one of the elements that made that tradition possible: Western books.

Appendix 1: Number of texts per press per year

Due to the frequent number of texts that do not indicate the press or printer or either, in determining the provenance of texts for this chart I have had to make attributions to the various presses. It is probable that I am in error in making certain attributions, but I welcome such corrections as more evidence comes to light to rectify such attributions as I have made. In making attributions, I have followed certain criteria to maintain consistency.

Absent the press and/or printer, attributions to a press are made if:

- there is a previous, logical attribution by another bibliographer in *Impreso* or previous bibliographies;
- the printer attributed to a text worked for an order with a press;
- the author was a member of an order with a press and was living and serving in the Philippines during the time of publication;
- the title/content of the text indicates the intended users, and these users correspond to an order with a press; for example, a liturgical calendar meant for the use of the Dominicans in the province;
- After 1768, if the text is a religious edict or decree, especially if it is written by the office of the archbishop, attribution is made to the Seminario press.

If one or more of these criteria are lacking, I have placed the text under the Unidentified Press category. Additionally, for Franciscan texts prior to 1700, unless the entry indicates the press and/or printer, I have placed them in the Unidentified Press category. The same applies to the Augustinians after 1621, and the Augustinian Recollects, secular priests, or the government or its representatives at any time during the period in question when the printer or press is not stated.

In the case of incomplete or unsure dating of a text within a specified range of years, I have typically chosen the earliest year of the range of possibilities. For example, if a text is dated as “1653/1654,” I have chosen 1653. Exceptions to this include the Keng-yang *Doctrina cristiana* mentioned in the text, for the reasons stipulated there, and other texts. On other occasions I have chosen the year closest to an attributed year, such as the case where a particular text was attributed by one bibliographer to 1610, but *Impreso* indicates that this is date has no foundation in existing evidence. In this case I attributed the text to 1609. When it has been necessary to make an attribution of either press or year in cases of potential dispute, I have indicated it with a footnote referring to the entry number, accompanied by a brief explanation for the motive of attribution.

Finally, at the end of the table there is a small note indicating texts of unsure dating for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These were placed by Jose near the end of *Impreso* (entries 1004-1075) because the range of dates was too great to be able give a probable attribution in the main text; many of these are also missing the press. Because of these reasons, I have not included them in the table itself, but have placed them apart at the end. This does not apply to the Addenda (entries 1076-1088), which are entries with a definitive or probable year

and/or press that belong in the main body of text but which Jose for one reason or another did not place there.

Year	Press 1	Press 2			Press 3	Unlisted	Total
		August. (≈1617- ≈1623)	Jesuits (≈1623- 1768)	Seminario (1769- 1804)			
1593	2 ⁵⁶⁰						2 ⁵⁶¹
1594- 1599	2						2 ⁵⁶²
1600							
1601							
1602	1						1 ⁵⁶³
1603							
Total:	5						5
1604	2						2 ⁵⁶⁴
1605	2						2 ⁵⁶⁵
1606	1						1 ⁵⁶⁶
1607	3						3 ⁵⁶⁷
1608							
1609	2						2 ⁵⁶⁸
1610	4						4 ⁵⁶⁹
1611	2						2 ⁵⁷⁰
1612							

⁵⁶⁰ Green shading indicates collective publishing, not just Dominicans

⁵⁶¹ Entries 1-2 (xylographic)

⁵⁶² Entries 3-4 (xylographic)

⁵⁶³ Entry 5 (xylographic)

⁵⁶⁴ Entries 6-7

⁵⁶⁵ Entries 10 (xylographic)-11

⁵⁶⁶ Entry 12 mixed xylography and typography

⁵⁶⁷ Entries 13-14 mixed xylography and typography; 15

⁵⁶⁸ Entries 8-9, by Ximenez, date given as "16--" and Jose writes "Title deduced from Murillo Velarde's Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas"; and "Pardo: 1414 (date 1610 given, which is neither given nor implied in Murillo's account." I have placed it in 1609.

⁵⁶⁹ Entries 16-19

⁵⁷⁰ Entries 20-21, between 1610-1613

1613	1						1 ⁵⁷¹
1614							
1615							
1616	2						2 ⁵⁷²
1617	1	2					3 ⁵⁷³
1618		3					3 ⁵⁷⁴
1619							
1620		1				1	2 ⁵⁷⁵
1621	1	2				4	7 ⁵⁷⁶
1622	1						1 ⁵⁷⁷
1623	4		1			1	6 ⁵⁷⁸
1624							
1625	5					1	6 ⁵⁷⁹
1626	1						1 ⁵⁸⁰
1627	1						1 ⁵⁸¹
1628	1					3	4 ⁵⁸²
1629	3					1	4 ⁵⁸³
1630	2		1				3 ⁵⁸⁴

⁵⁷¹ Entry 22

⁵⁷² Entries 23-24

⁵⁷³ Augustinian, entries 25-26; Dominican, entry 27

⁵⁷⁴ Augustinian, entries 28-30; entry 29 has as the place of printing the office of the Jesuits. I have attributed it to the Augustinians because they had a press in 1618.

⁵⁷⁵ Augustinian, entry 33; Unlisted, entry 34

⁵⁷⁶ Augustinian, entries 35, 37; Dominican, entry 39 attributed to Dominicans because of title; Unlisted, entries 31-32: "162-"; Entries 36 & 38, "Manila"

⁵⁷⁷ Dominican, entry 40

⁵⁷⁸ Jesuit, entry 46 states that it was printed by the Jesuits, though Retana in 1911 says this text is of doubtful existence because he believes that the Jesuits did not have a press at this time. I distinguish it from entry 29 because, based on the extant bibliographical record, the Augustinians had a press in 1618 whereas after 1621 they did not; Dominican, entries 41-43, 45; Unlisted, entry 44.

⁵⁷⁹ Dominican, entries 48-52; Unlisted, entry 47: "1625-1630"

⁵⁸⁰ Dominican, entry 53

⁵⁸¹ Dominican, entry 54

⁵⁸² Dominican, entry 56; Unlisted, entries 55, 57-58

⁵⁸³ Dominican, entries 59-60, 62; Unlisted, entry 61

⁵⁸⁴ Jesuit, entry 64 (apocryphal); Dominican, entries 63, 65

1631	3						3 ⁵⁸⁵
1632	1					1	2 ⁵⁸⁶
1633	1						1 ⁵⁸⁷
1634	2						2 ⁵⁸⁸
1635	2					1	3 ⁵⁸⁹
1636	1		1			1	3 ⁵⁹⁰
1637	3		2			5	10 ⁵⁹¹
1638	4					1	5 ⁵⁹²
1639	3		1			1	5 ⁵⁹³
1640	1		1				2 ⁵⁹⁴
1641			2				2 ⁵⁹⁵
1642	1					1	2 ⁵⁹⁶
1643	1		2			1	4 ⁵⁹⁷
1644						1	1 ⁵⁹⁸
1645	1					2	3 ⁵⁹⁹
1646							
1647	1		2			6	9 ⁶⁰⁰

⁵⁸⁵ Dominican, entries 66-68; 67 has no place of printing, but a manuscript copy found at UST.

⁵⁸⁶ Dominican, entry 70; Unlisted, entry 69

⁵⁸⁷ Dominican, entry 71

⁵⁸⁸ Dominican, entries 72-73

⁵⁸⁹ Dominican, entries 74-75; Unlisted, entry 76

⁵⁹⁰ Jesuit, entry 78; Dominican, entry 77; Unlisted, entry 79

⁵⁹¹ Jesuit, entries 80, 89; Dominican, entries 81, 82, 84; 82 attributed to UST because bound with entry 84, but with distinct pagination; Unlisted, entries 83, 85-88

⁵⁹² Dominican, entries 90, 92-94; Unlisted, entry 91

⁵⁹³ Jesuit, entry 98; Dominican, entries 95-97; Unlisted, entry 99

⁵⁹⁴ Jesuit, entry 101 attributed to Jesuits because of author and title; Dominican, entry 100

⁵⁹⁵ Jesuit, entries 102-103

⁵⁹⁶ Dominican, entry 104; Unlisted, entry 105

⁵⁹⁷ Jesuit, entries 106, 108; 108 attributed to Jesuits because of title; Dominican, entry 109; Unlisted, entry 107

⁵⁹⁸ Unlisted, entry 110

⁵⁹⁹ Dominican, entry 113; Unlisted, entries 111-112; 111 placed in Unlisted Press because although original author was a Jesuit, the translator was Augustinian.

⁶⁰⁰ Jesuit, entries 116-117; Dominican, entry 114; Unlisted, entries 115, 118-122

1648	1		3				4 ⁶⁰¹
1649	1		3				4 ⁶⁰²
1650	1						1 ⁶⁰³
1651	2						2 ⁶⁰⁴
1652	1						1 ⁶⁰⁵
1653			2			5	7 ⁶⁰⁶
1654			2			4	6 ⁶⁰⁷
1655	1		1			1	3 ⁶⁰⁸
1656			1			3	4 ⁶⁰⁹
1657			2				2 ⁶¹⁰
1658			1			2	3 ⁶¹¹
1659							
1660	2					2	4 ⁶¹²
1661			2				2 ⁶¹³
1662	1		1			1	3 ⁶¹⁴
1663			1			2	3 ⁶¹⁵
1664			2			1	3 ⁶¹⁶

⁶⁰¹ Jesuit, entries 123-124,126; 123 lists Tomás Pinpin as the printer, but this is an error. It should be Simón Pinpin (see Retana, *Imprenta*, cols. 81-82, entry 9); Dominican, entry 125 attributed to UST because of title;

⁶⁰² Jesuit, entries 127-128, 130; Unlisted, entry 129

⁶⁰³ Dominican, entry 131: “165-”

⁶⁰⁴ Dominican, entries 132, 1088 (Addenda)

⁶⁰⁵ Dominican, entry 134; entry 133 skipped in *Impreso*'s numbering

⁶⁰⁶ Jesuit, entries 135-136; Unlisted, entries 137-141

⁶⁰⁷ Jesuit, entries 144-145; Unlisted, entries 142-143: “1653/1654?”; 146-147

⁶⁰⁸ Jesuit, entry 150; Dominican, entry 149; Unlisted, entry 148

⁶⁰⁹ Jesuit, entry 153; Unlisted, entries 151-152, 154

⁶¹⁰ Jesuit, entries 155-156; 156 attributed to Jesuits because of title, author, and being bound together.

⁶¹¹ Jesuit, entry 157; Unlisted, entries 158-159

⁶¹² Dominican, entries 160-161; 160, “166-”, attributed to UST because author was prominent Dominican in the Philippines; Unlisted, entries 162-163

⁶¹³ Jesuit, entries 164, 168; 168 appears after the entries for the year 1662, though it is attributed to 1661. Attributed to Jesuits because author was Jesuit and because the Jesuits occupy first place in the title.

⁶¹⁴ Jesuit, entry 167; Dominican, entry 165 attributed to UST because author was Dominican; Unlisted, entry 166

⁶¹⁵ Jesuit, entry 169; Unlisted, entries 170-171

⁶¹⁶ Jesuit, entries 172-173; Unlisted, entry 174

1665			1				1 ⁶¹⁷
1666	1					2	3 ⁶¹⁸
1667							
1668			2				2 ⁶¹⁹
1669	1		2			2	5 ⁶²⁰
1670	1		2			1	4 ⁶²¹
1671			3			3	6 ⁶²²
1672	1		1				2 ⁶²³
1673	4		1			1	6 ⁶²⁴
1674			1			1	2 ⁶²⁵
1675	2		2				4 ⁶²⁶
1676			1			2	3 ⁶²⁷
1677	2		1			1	4 ⁶²⁸
1678			1			2	3 ⁶²⁹
1679	1						1 ⁶³⁰
1680	4						4 ⁶³¹
1681			1			1	2 ⁶³²

⁶¹⁷ Jesuit, entry 175

⁶¹⁸ Dominican, entry 176, attributed to UST because of title; Unlisted, entries 177-178

⁶¹⁹ Jesuit, entries 179-180

⁶²⁰ Jesuit, entries 181-182; Dominican, entry 184, attributed to UST because author was Dominican; Unlisted, entries 183, 185

⁶²¹ Jesuit, entries 187-188; 188, "167-", attributed to Jesuits because author was student at San José and the text was written from San Jose on May 30, 1670; Dominican, entry 186, attributed to UST because of translator of text; Unlisted, entry 189: "167-"

⁶²² Jesuit, entries 190-191, 195; 190-191 attributed to Jesuits because of author and title; Unlisted, entries 192-194

⁶²³ Jesuit, entry 196; Dominican, entry 197

⁶²⁴ Jesuit, entry 198; Dominican, entries 199-202; Unlisted, entry 203

⁶²⁵ Jesuit, entry 204; Unlisted, entry 205

⁶²⁶ Jesuit, entries 206, 208; Dominican, entries 207, 209;

⁶²⁷ Jesuit, entry 210; Unlisted, entries 211-212

⁶²⁸ Jesuit, entry 214; Dominican, entries 213, 215; 215 attributed to UST because author was Dominican residing in Philippines; Unlisted, entry 216: "1677/1678"; placed in 1677 because of title which reads, "In capitulo privato die 5 August. anno domini MDCLXXVII."

⁶²⁹ Jesuit, entry 218; Unlisted, entries 217, 219

⁶³⁰ Dominican, entry 220

⁶³¹ Dominican, entries 221-224: 221-223, "168-", all attributed to UST because of titles and authors.

⁶³² Jesuit, entry 226: "1681-1688?"; Unlisted, entry 225

1682			3				3 ⁶³³
1683	1		1			1	3 ⁶³⁴
1684						1	1 ⁶³⁵
1685	2		1				3 ⁶³⁶
1686	2						2 ⁶³⁷
1687	1					2	3 ⁶³⁸
1688	1					1	2 ⁶³⁹
1689	3						3 ⁶⁴⁰
1690	4		1				5 ⁶⁴¹
1691							
1692	1		1				2 ⁶⁴²
1693							
1694							
1695			1				1 ⁶⁴³
1696			2				2 ⁶⁴⁴
1697	3		1				4 ⁶⁴⁵
1698						3	3 ⁶⁴⁶

⁶³³ Jesuit, entries 227-229

⁶³⁴ Jesuit, entry 231; Dominican, entry 232, attributed to UST because of author, subject matter, and place of composition; Unlisted, entry 230

⁶³⁵ Unlisted, entry 233

⁶³⁶ Jesuit, entry 236, attributed to Jesuits because Jesuits were in charge of the evangelization of the Marianas; Dominican, entries 234-235

⁶³⁷ Dominican, entries 237-238

⁶³⁸ Dominican, entry 240; Unlisted, entries 239, 241

⁶³⁹ Dominican, entry 242; Unlisted, entry 243: Although the author was a Jesuit, he was not a Philippine Jesuit and there is no way to determine which religious order published this text.

⁶⁴⁰ Dominican, entries 244-246, attributed to UST because texts are authored by Philippine Dominicans for the province.

⁶⁴¹ Jesuit, entry 249, "169-", attributed to Jesuits because of author and title; Dominican, entries 247-248, 251-252; 247-248, "169-", attributed to UST because authors were Dominicans.

⁶⁴² Jesuit, entry 254, attributed to Jesuits because of title; Dominican, entry 253

⁶⁴³ Jesuit, entry 255

⁶⁴⁴ Jesuit, entries 256-257; 257 was likely printed by the Jesuits they were in charge of the evangelization of the Marianas.

⁶⁴⁵ Jesuit, entry 260; Dominican, entries 258-259, 261

⁶⁴⁶ Unlisted, entries 262-264

1699	1		1				2 ⁶⁴⁷
Total	110	8	65			77	260
1700						4	4 ⁶⁴⁸
1701	1		1				2 ⁶⁴⁹
1702	1				1		2 ⁶⁵⁰
1703	3		3		1		7 ⁶⁵¹
1704	1		1				2 ⁶⁵²
1705					2	1	3 ⁶⁵³
1706	1					1	2 ⁶⁵⁴
1707					1	1	2 ⁶⁵⁵
1708	2				2	1	5 ⁶⁵⁶
1709	1		1				2 ⁶⁵⁷
1710	1						1 ⁶⁵⁸
1711	2		2		1		5 ⁶⁵⁹
1712	1		1		1	1	4 ⁶⁶⁰

⁶⁴⁷ Jesuit, entry 250, “169-?”; ““Silva came to the Philippines in 1690; hence if the work belongs to the seventeenth century at all, it must be subsequent to that date, and printed in Manila.”” I have placed it in the last year of this century; Dominican, entry 265

⁶⁴⁸ Unlisted, entries 266-269; 267 states that this text was printed on the Franciscan press, but this is unlikely; 268-269 say “c. 170-”. Even though 269 was written by a Franciscan, he had been dead for 90 years. Since the Franciscans published a *Vocabulario* on their press in 1703, 269 was most likely not printed by the Franciscans.

⁶⁴⁹ Jesuit, entry 270; Dominican, entry 271

⁶⁵⁰ Dominican, entry 273; Franciscan, entry 272

⁶⁵¹ Jesuit, entries 274-275, 280; 274 attributed to Jesuits because of author and title; 280 because author was Jesuit, though not a Philippine Jesuit, but the translator of the text and the author of the *Passion* was D. Gaspar Aquino de Belén, printer of the Jesuits.; Dominican, entries 276-278; 277 attributed to UST because author was Dominican and was part of the Inquisition, operated by Dominicans.; Franciscan, entry 279

⁶⁵² Jesuit, entry 281; Dominican, entry 282

⁶⁵³ Franciscan, entries 284-285; Unlisted, entry 283, “before 1706: 1705?”

⁶⁵⁴ Dominican, entry 286; Unlisted, entry 1076 (Addenda)

⁶⁵⁵ Franciscan, entry 287; Unlisted, entry 288

⁶⁵⁶ Dominican, entries 289-290; Franciscan, entries 291-292; Unlisted, entry 1087 (Addenda); the entry date reads, “170_”; I have put the date as 1708, the year before the author died.

⁶⁵⁷ Jesuit, entry 293; Dominican, entry 294

⁶⁵⁸ Dominican, entry 295

⁶⁵⁹ Jesuit, entries 299-300; Dominican, entries 296, 298; 298 attributed to UST because author was prominent Dominican (bishop of Nueva Segovia at the time); Franciscan, entry 297

⁶⁶⁰ Jesuit, entry 304; Dominican, entry 301; Franciscan, entry 303; Unlisted, entry 302: “Dominican or Jesuit press”

1713	1		1		6	1	9 ⁶⁶¹
1714	1		2		2		5 ⁶⁶²
1715	2					2	4 ⁶⁶³
1716	1		1		1		3 ⁶⁶⁴
1717	1				1	2	4 ⁶⁶⁵
1718	2				1	1	4 ⁶⁶⁶
1719	1		2			2	5 ⁶⁶⁷
1720	4				1	1	6 ⁶⁶⁸
1721	2				1	1	4 ⁶⁶⁹
1722	2		1		1	2	6 ⁶⁷⁰
1723	1				2		3 ⁶⁷¹
1724	5				1	1	7 ⁶⁷²
1725	4				1		5 ⁶⁷³
1726	2		3		2		7 ⁶⁷⁴
1727	2				1		3 ⁶⁷⁵

⁶⁶¹ Jesuit, entry 311; Dominican, entry 305; Franciscan, entries 306-309, 312-313; Unlisted, entry 310

⁶⁶² Jesuit, entries 315, 318; Dominican, entry 314; Franciscan, entries 316-317

⁶⁶³ Dominican, entries 320, 322 (“1715/1716”); Unlisted, entries 319, 321 (“Sampaloc or Santo Tomas?”)

⁶⁶⁴ Jesuit, entry 323; Dominican, entry 324; Unlisted, entry 325

⁶⁶⁵ Dominican, entry 326; Franciscan, entry 328; Unlisted, entries 327, 329

⁶⁶⁶ Dominican, entries 330-331; Franciscan, entry 333; Unlisted, entry 332

⁶⁶⁷ Jesuit, entries 336-337; 336 attributed to Jesuits because author was Jesuit; Dominican, entry 338 attributed to UST because of title and because author was Dominican; Unlisted, entries 334-335

⁶⁶⁸ Dominican, entries 339-342; 341-342 attributed to UST because author was Dominican, and because of titles; Franciscan, entry 344: Although Jose has written “Santo Tomas?”, I have attributed this text to the Franciscans since it was printed by “P. Placidus Polonus,” a Franciscan friar who worked at the Franciscan press during that time (Sánchez, “Franciscanos II” 380-84); Unlisted, entry 343

⁶⁶⁹ Dominican, entries 346, 348; 348, “1721 or 1722”, attributed to UST because author was Dominican; Franciscan, entry 345; Unlisted, entry 347

⁶⁷⁰ Jesuit, entry 350; Dominican, entries 349, 353; Franciscan, entry 351; Unlisted, entries 352, 354

⁶⁷¹ Dominican, entry 355; Franciscan, entries 356-357

⁶⁷² Dominican, entries 358-361, 363; Franciscan, entry 362; Unlisted, entry 364

⁶⁷³ Dominican, entries 365-368; Franciscan, entry 369

⁶⁷⁴ Jesuit, entries 372-373, 375; 372 attributed to Jesuits because author and translator were Jesuits, and translator was Philippine Jesuit; Dominican, entries 370-371; Franciscan, entries 374, 376; 376 attributed to Franciscans because author was Franciscan.

⁶⁷⁵ Dominican, entries 377-378; Franciscan, entry 379, attributed to Franciscans because of title/author.

1728	3		2		3	5	13 ⁶⁷⁶
1729	2		3		4	2	11 ⁶⁷⁷
1730	4		1		1	2	8 ⁶⁷⁸
1731	5		3		3	1	12 ⁶⁷⁹
1732	1		4		4	1	10 ⁶⁸⁰
1733	2				2		4 ⁶⁸¹
1734	5		1		4	1	11 ⁶⁸²
1735	5		3		1		9 ⁶⁸³
1736	3		2		2		7 ⁶⁸⁴
1737	4		1		4		9 ⁶⁸⁵
1738	1		2		5	1	9 ⁶⁸⁶
1739	9		3		4	1	17 ⁶⁸⁷

⁶⁷⁶ Jesuit, entries 384-385; Dominican, entries 381, 386, 391; Franciscan, entries 382, 387, 390; Unlisted, entries 380, 383, 388-389, 392

⁶⁷⁷ Jesuit, entries 393-394, 397; Dominican, entries 395-396; Franciscan, entries 399-401, 403; 401 attributed to Franciscans because author was Philippine Franciscan; Unlisted, entries 398, 402

⁶⁷⁸ Jesuit, entry 408; Dominican, entries 404-405, 409-410; 405 attributed to UST because author was prominent Philippine Dominican; Franciscan, entry 407, attributed to Franciscans because of title; Unlisted, entries 406, 411; 411, "1730/1731"

⁶⁷⁹ Jesuit, entries 413-415; 413 attributed to Jesuits because translator was Philippine Jesuit; 415 because of title; Dominican, entries 412, 416, 418-419, 422; Franciscan, entry 417, 420, 423; 417 attributed to Franciscans because of author; Unlisted, entry 421

⁶⁸⁰ Jesuit, entries 428, 430-431, 433; 428 attributed to Jesuits because of author/title; 431 because of title; Dominican, entry 424, attributed to UST because author was prominent Dominican who later became Bishop of Nueva Segovia and who because of his connection with UST and the Inquisition would have printed on the UST press; Franciscan, entries 425-427, 432; Unlisted, entry 429

⁶⁸¹ Dominican, entries 434, 436; Franciscan, entries 435, 437;

⁶⁸² Jesuit, entry 438; Dominican, entries 439, 441, 443-444, 448; 448 attributed to Dominicans because of author; Franciscan, entry 440, 442, 445-446; 440 attributed to the Franciscans because of typographical similarities. Only Retana attributed the text to the Jesuits and did so based only on speculation; Unlisted, entry 447

⁶⁸³ Jesuit, entries 450, 453-454; 453 attributed to Jesuits because of author/title; 454 because of title; Dominican, entries 449, 451, 455-456, 1077 (Addenda); 456 attributed to UST because of author/title; Franciscan, entry 452

⁶⁸⁴ Jesuit, entries 458, 463; 463 attributed to Jesuits because of author/title; Dominican, entries 459-461; Franciscan, entries 457, 462

⁶⁸⁵ Jesuit, entry 467, attributed to Jesuits because of author/title; Dominican, entries 464-466, 470; Franciscan, entries 468-469, 471-472;

⁶⁸⁶ Jesuit, entries 480-481; 481, "1738-40"; Dominican, entry 473; Franciscan, entries 474-475, 477-479; 474 attributed to Franciscans because of title, 479 because of author/title; Unlisted, entry 476

⁶⁸⁷ Jesuit, entries 483-485; Dominican, entries 482, 486, 489-490, 492-496; 496 attributed to UST because the author is the same person that published entries 494-495; Franciscan, entries 487-488, 491, 497; Unlisted, entry 498

1740	2		3		5	2	12 ⁶⁸⁸
1741	2		1		8	2	13 ⁶⁸⁹
1742	2				6	3	11 ⁶⁹⁰
1743	2		6		4		12 ⁶⁹¹
1744	2				2		4 ⁶⁹²
1745	6		2		5		13 ⁶⁹³
1746	4		4		1		9 ⁶⁹⁴
1747	2		4		2	1	9 ⁶⁹⁵
1748	4		4			1	9 ⁶⁹⁶
1749	3		4		2	3	12 ⁶⁹⁷
1750	3		1		1	1	6 ⁶⁹⁸
1751	1		5		2	3	11 ⁶⁹⁹

⁶⁸⁸ Jesuit, entries 501-502, 509; Dominican, entries 499, 506; Franciscan, entries 503-505, 507, 510; Unlisted, entries 508, 511; Jose states that the author of 508 was a Dominican, but he was not. He was a member of the order the “Santísima Trinidad, redención de cautivos” (Delgado 169-70); Entry 500 inadvertently skipped in *Impreso*’s numbering.

⁶⁸⁹ Jesuit, entry 512, attributed to Jesuits because author was a Philippine Jesuit; Dominican, entries 515, 520; 520 attributed to UST because of author/title; Franciscan, entries 514, 516-517, 519, 521-524; 521 attributed to Franciscans because author was Franciscan and the original text published in 1722 was published by the Franciscans. The title of the 1722 edition makes clear that this is a manual for Franciscans and not just any order; Unlisted, entries 513, 518.

⁶⁹⁰ Dominican, entries 534-535 ; Franciscan, entries 527-531, 533 ; Unlisted, entries 525-526, 532

⁶⁹¹ Jesuit, entries 538-539, 541, 545-546, 1078 (Addenda); Dominican, entries 537, 540; Franciscan, entries 536, 542-544

⁶⁹² Dominican, entries 548, 550; Franciscan, entries 547, 549

⁶⁹³ Jesuit, entries 552, 555; Dominican, entries 551, 553-554, 556-557, 562; 562 attributed to UST because of author, who would eventually become *rector* of UST; Franciscan, entries 558-561, 563

⁶⁹⁴ Jesuit, entries 564-566, 1079 (Addenda); Dominican, entries 568-571; Franciscan, entry 567

⁶⁹⁵ Jesuit, entries 574-576, 578; Dominican, entries 572, 577; Franciscan, entries 573, 580; Unlisted, entry 579

⁶⁹⁶ Jesuit, entries 581, 583, 588-589; following Jose, I count 583a as part of 583; for entry 588, Jose has written “1747” next to it, but the year is really 1748 based on the title; Dominican, entries 582, 585-587; 582 attributed to UST because it is a continuation of 572, written by Arechederra and published by UST. At the time, Arechederra was the Governor/Captain General and Bishop of Nueva Segovia; Unlisted, entry 584

⁶⁹⁷ Jesuit, entries 590, 595, 598, 600; Dominican, entries 591, 593, 597; Franciscan, entries 599, 601; Unlisted, entries 592, 594, 596

⁶⁹⁸ Jesuit, entry 604, attributed to Jesuits because author was Jesuit and translator was a Jesuit residing in the Philippines; Dominican, entry 602 (“c.1750”), 603, 607; Franciscan, entry 605; Unlisted, entry 606 (“c.1750”)

⁶⁹⁹ Jesuit, entries 609, 611-612, 617-618; 611, 612, and 617 attributed to Jesuits because of author/title; Dominican, entry 610; Franciscan, entries 613-614; 613 has different attributions: Medina and Sanz said it came from UST, and Pérez and Güemes said it came from the Jesuits or the Franciscans. After looking at the text itself, I have come to the conclusion that it was a Franciscan text; Unlisted, entries 608, 615-616

1752	5		1		1	3	10 ⁷⁰⁰
1753	1		2		2	5	10 ⁷⁰¹
1754	2		2		4	4	12 ⁷⁰²
1755	3		2		1	2	8 ⁷⁰³
1756	1		2		1		4 ⁷⁰⁴
1757	1		2				3 ⁷⁰⁵
1758			2		1	4	7 ⁷⁰⁶
1759	6		3				9 ⁷⁰⁷
1760	2		1		1		4 ⁷⁰⁸
1761			2				2 ⁷⁰⁹
1762	2		5				7 ⁷¹⁰
1763	1						1 ⁷¹¹
1764	3		2			1	6 ⁷¹²
1765	1		1			2	4 ⁷¹³
1766	3		1		1	1	6 ⁷¹⁴
1767	2		3		1	2	8 ⁷¹⁵

⁷⁰⁰ Jesuit, entry 626; Dominican, entries 621, 624-625a, 627; Jose lists items 625 and 625a as one entry/text. However, since they are reprints of Blancas de San Jose's and Tomás Pinpin's 1610 works, I consider them separate texts, even though they were printed and bound together, like works in an anthology; Franciscan, entry 623; Unlisted, entries 619-620, 622

⁷⁰¹ Jesuit, entries 630, 632; 630 attributed to Jesuits because of title; Dominican, entry 634; Franciscan, entry 631, 633; Unlisted, entries 628-629, 635-636, 637

⁷⁰² Jesuit, entries 645-646; Dominican, entries 648-649; Franciscan, entries 640-641, 643, 647; Unlisted, entries 638-639, 642, 644

⁷⁰³ Jesuit, entries 653, 655; Dominican, entries 650, 654, 657; Franciscan, entry 656; Unlisted, entries 651-652

⁷⁰⁴ Jesuit, entries 658-659; Dominican, entry 660; Franciscan, entry 661

⁷⁰⁵ Jesuit, entries 662, 664; Dominican, entry 663

⁷⁰⁶ Jesuit, entries 665-666; Franciscan, entry 667; Unlisted, entries 668-671: "between 1758-1764"

⁷⁰⁷ Jesuit, entries 675-677; Dominican, entries 672-674, 678-680

⁷⁰⁸ Jesuit, entry 684; Dominican, entries 681, 683; Franciscan, entry 682

⁷⁰⁹ Jesuit, entries 685-686; 685 attributed to Jesuits because author/title.

⁷¹⁰ Jesuit, entries 688-689, 691-693; 689 attributed to Jesuits because of title; Dominican, entries 687, 690

⁷¹¹ Dominican, entry 695

⁷¹² Jesuit, entries 696-697; 697 attributed to Jesuits because of title; Dominican, entries 698-700; Unlisted, entry 695

⁷¹³ Jesuit, entry 703; Dominican, entry 701; Unlisted, entries 702, 1080 (Addenda)

⁷¹⁴ Jesuit, entry 706; Dominican, entries 704-705, 708; Franciscan, entry 707; Unlisted, entry 1081 (Addenda)

⁷¹⁵ Jesuit, entries 709, 711, 714; Dominican, entries 712-713; Franciscan, entry 710; Unlisted, entries 715-716

1768	4		1		2	2	9 ⁷¹⁶
1769	1			3			4 ⁷¹⁷
1770				2	2	1	5 ⁷¹⁸
1771	1			2	1	1	5 ⁷¹⁹
1772	1			1			2 ⁷²⁰
1773	3			4			7 ⁷²¹
1774	2			2	1		5 ⁷²²
1775	2			4			6 ⁷²³
1776	2			2		1	5 ⁷²⁴
1777	2			2			4 ⁷²⁵
1778	1			6		2	9 ⁷²⁶
1779	2			6	2	2	12 ⁷²⁷
1780				1		3	4 ⁷²⁸
1781	6			4	1	4	15 ⁷²⁹
1782				3	1	5	9 ⁷³⁰
1783	1			2	1	3	7 ⁷³¹
1784				3	1	3	7 ⁷³²

⁷¹⁶ Jesuit, entry 721; Dominican, entries 717, 722-723, 725; Franciscan, entries 718-719; Unlisted, entries 720, 724

⁷¹⁷ Seminario, entries 727-729; Dominican, entry 726

⁷¹⁸ Seminario, entries 733-734; Franciscan, entries 731-732; 732 is possibly a repeat of 731; Unlisted, entry 730

⁷¹⁹ Seminario, entries 738-739; Dominican, entry 736; Franciscan, entry 735; Unlisted, entry 737

⁷²⁰ Seminario, entry 741; Dominican, entry 740

⁷²¹ Seminario, entries 744-747; Dominican, entries 742-743, 748

⁷²² Seminario, entries 752-753; Dominican, entries 749-750; Franciscan, entry 751

⁷²³ Seminario, entries 754, 757-759; Dominican, entries 755-756

⁷²⁴ Seminario, entries 761, 764; Dominican, entries 760, 763; Unlisted, entry 762

⁷²⁵ Seminario, entries 765, 768; Dominican, entries 766-767

⁷²⁶ Seminario, entries 770-774bis; number 774 repeated, counted twice because there are two separate entries;

Dominican, entry 775; Unlisted, entries 769, 1082 (Addenda)

⁷²⁷ Seminario, entries 776-777, 783-786; Dominican, entries 781-782; Franciscan, entries 780, 787; Unlisted, entries 778-779

⁷²⁸ Seminario, entry 791; Unlisted, entries 788-790

⁷²⁹ Seminario, entries 796, 803, 805-806; 806 attributed to Seminario because the same author used the Seminario press for a similar announcement in the same year; Dominican, entries 792, 797, 799, 801-802, 804; 792 attributed to UST because author was Philippine Dominican; Franciscan, entry 798; Unlisted, entries 793-795, 800

⁷³⁰ Seminario, entries 811-813; Franciscan, entry 1083 (Addenda); Unlisted, entries 807-810, 814

⁷³¹ Seminario, entries 817-818; Dominican, entry 815; Franciscan, entry 819; Unlisted, entries 816, 820-821

⁷³² Seminario, entries 822, 824, 827; Franciscan, entry 826; Unlisted, entries 823, 825, 828

1785	1			2	2	2	7 ⁷³³
1786	2			1			3 ⁷³⁴
1787				1	3	1	5 ⁷³⁵
1788	1			5	3	1	10 ⁷³⁶
1789					2	1	3 ⁷³⁷
1790	3				5	1	9 ⁷³⁸
1791	2			1	2	2	7 ⁷³⁹
1792					5	1	6 ⁷⁴⁰
1793	2				3		5 ⁷⁴¹
1794	1				3	3	7 ⁷⁴²
1795	1				6		7 ⁷⁴³
1796					9		9 ⁷⁴⁴
1797	1				4		5 ⁷⁴⁵
1798	3			1	7		11 ⁷⁴⁶
1799	2				3	1	6 ⁷⁴⁷
Total	202		110	58	187	116	673
1800					1	1	2 ⁷⁴⁸

⁷³³ Seminario, entries 834-835; Dominican, entry 831; Franciscan, entries 829, 833; Unlisted, entries 830, 832

⁷³⁴ Seminario, entry 838; Dominican, entries 836-837; 836 attributed to UST because of author/title;

⁷³⁵ Seminario, entry 840; Franciscan, entries 841-843; Unlisted, entry 839

⁷³⁶ Seminario, entries 844-848; Dominican, entry 850; Franciscan, entries 849, 852-853; Unlisted, entry 851

⁷³⁷ Franciscan, entries 854-855; Unlisted, entry 856

⁷³⁸ Dominican, entries 861, 863, 864; Franciscan, entries 857-859, 862, 865; Unlisted, entry 860

⁷³⁹ Seminario, entry 866; Dominican, entries 869-870; Franciscan, entries 867-868; Unlisted, entries 871-872

⁷⁴⁰ Franciscan, entries 874-878; Unlisted, entry 873

⁷⁴¹ Dominican, entries 879, 882; Franciscan, entries 880-881, 883

⁷⁴² Dominican, entry 888; Franciscan, entry 884, 887, 889; Unlisted, entries 885-886, 1084 (Addenda)

⁷⁴³ Dominican, entry 890; Franciscan, entries 891-896; 893, the title page states that it was printed in 1793 by Baltasar Mariano, but the *fe de erratas* says 1795, which is why Jose put it under 1795. However, Mariano died in 1793, so what might have happened is that he died in the middle of printing, and Argüelles de la Concepción finished up in 1795.

⁷⁴⁴ Franciscan, entries 897-905

⁷⁴⁵ Dominican, entry 907; Franciscan, entries 906, 908-910

⁷⁴⁶ Seminario, entry 917; Dominican, entries 913-914, 921 (“before 1799?”); Franciscan, entries 911-912, 915-916, 918-920

⁷⁴⁷ Dominican, entries 923, 927; Franciscan, entries 922, 925-926; Unlisted, entry 924

⁷⁴⁸ Franciscan, entry 928; Unlisted, entry 929

1801	1				9		10 ⁷⁴⁹
1802	2				4	1	7 ⁷⁵⁰
1803					2		2 ⁷⁵¹
1804	1			2	4	2	9 ⁷⁵²
1805	2					2	4 ⁷⁵³
1806	1						1 ⁷⁵⁴
1807						1	1 ⁷⁵⁵
1808					6		6 ⁷⁵⁶
1809	2				5	8	15 ⁷⁵⁷
1810	4				4	1	9 ⁷⁵⁸
1811	1				12		13 ⁷⁵⁹
1812 760	2				5/6	1	14 ⁷⁶¹

⁷⁴⁹ Dominican, entry 933; Franciscan, entries 930-932, 934-938; I have split entry 935 into two entries since it is two entirely different texts with different pagination, even though they were printed together.

⁷⁵⁰ Dominican, entries 939, 941; Franciscan, entries 940, 942-943, 945; Unlisted, entry 944

⁷⁵¹ Franciscan, entries 946-947

⁷⁵² Seminario, entries 951, 956; Dominican, entry 955; Franciscan, entries 949-950, 952, 954; Unlisted, entries 948, 953

⁷⁵³ Dominican, entries 959-960; Unlisted, entries 957-958

⁷⁵⁴ Dominican, entry 961

⁷⁵⁵ Unlisted, entry 962; Retana, *Tablas*, p. 43, entry 106, cites a *pie de imprenta* from 1807 where appears the printer Jacinto de Jesús Lavajos, but not the title of the text. Jose does not include this citation in *Impreso*.

⁷⁵⁶ Franciscan, entries 963-968

⁷⁵⁷ Dominican, entries 975, 982 (“180?”); Franciscan, entries 974, 976, 980, 981, 1085 (Addenda); for 1085, Jose cites the date as 1810 but the *pie de imprenta* says it is 1809. I have used the earlier date; Unlisted, entries 969-973, 977-979

⁷⁵⁸ Dominican, entries 983, 986, 989-990; Franciscan, entries 984-985, 988, 991; Unlisted, entry 987

⁷⁵⁹ Dominican, entry 1086 (Addenda); Franciscan, entries 992-1003; 997-1003 are *Del Superior Gobierno*, the first Philippine newspaper, which began on August 8, 1811. Entry 997 attributes the paper to the Franciscans, but leaves the others blank. Pérez and Güemes also attribute the 1812 editions to Sampaloc. Because of this, I have attributed all the issues to the Franciscans. In Entry 1003 Jose writes, “Nos. 8 to 12 of *Del Superior Gobierno* are unknown. No. 13 resumes on 25 January 1812. The last edition, No. 15, comes out 7 February 1812.”

⁷⁶⁰ All information for years 1812-1813 taken from Pérez y Güemes, *Adiciones*, 1904.

⁷⁶¹ Dominican, P & G entries 708 and 1151; Franciscan, P & G entries 912-916. These are numbers from *Del Superior Gobierno*, issues 8 (1 Jan), 9 (6 Jan), 11 (14 Jan), 12 (18 Jan), and 18 (29 Feb). Apparently they had access to these supposedly lost numbers when they wrote their *Adiciones* in 1904. Given that issues 13-15 are documented by Retana (*Aparato III*: 1493-94, entry 4461), and Pérez and Güemes here document issue 18, it is logical that issues 16 and 17 existed. Therefore, even though Pérez and Güemes do not list these two issues or issue 10, I am counting them since they had to have existed. With issues 10 and 13-17, we add six more texts to 1812. I have put these issues apart from the number of those that appear in *Impreso* and Pérez and Güemes. It should be noted that neither 1811 nor 1812 would have such high numbers if *Del Superior Gobierno* were not inflating the figures. Unlisted, P

1813	6				12	3	21 ⁷⁶²
Total	22			2	70	20	114

Number of works of uncertain dating:

17th century: 29

Dominicans: 9 (1004, 1007-1010, 1013, 1022-1023, 1025)

Jesuit: 10 (1005-1006, 1011, 1016, 1018-1021, 1024, 1027)

Unlisted: 10 (1012, 1014-1015, 1017, 1026, 1028-1032)

18th century: 43

Dominicans: 0

Franciscans: 1 (1040)

Jesuits: 8 (1034-1038, 1042, 1048, 1053)

Seminario: 2 (1070, 1073)

Unlisted: 32 (1033, 1039, 1041, 1043-1047, 1049-1052, 1054-1069, 1071-1072, 1074-1075)

& G 917, has text as coming from Memije's press, but since Memije did not begin printing until 1814, I have placed it in the Unlisted category.

⁷⁶² Dominican, P & G 714, 716-718, 1154, 1156; Franciscan, P & G 710-713, 715, 921-923, 1152-1153, 1155, 1259; Unlisted, P & G 709, 919, 924

Appendix 2: "Inventario jesuítico," 1773

For purposes of easy reference and because it is worth reproducing in its entirety, I include the "Inventario jesuítico" published by Retana in 1899. Not only does it provide the price of books but is also a testament to the large and varied editions that the Jesuits were producing in the eighteenth century.

From:

Retana, W.E. *La imprenta en Filipinas: adiciones y observaciones a La imprenta en Manila de D. J. T. Medina*. Madrid: Imprenta de la viuda de M. Minuesa de los Ríos, 1899. Print. Columns 55-76.

SEÑOR

Por el Capitulo 19 de la Instruccion dispuesta por el Illmo. Sor. Fiscal Don Pedro Rodriguez Campomanes á 22 de Abril de 1767 y aprobada por V.M. en 23 del mismo se previno que de las obras impresas de los Regulares que por cuenta de sus comunidades se vendian en las Porterias, devia hacerse inventario con expresion de los exemplares en papel, ó encuadernados que se vendia cada tomo, ó juego para darle salida, como caudal, y efectos de la misma Casa. Y aviendo advertido que en la Libreria de particulares, y en la del Colegio de San Joseph se hallaban muchas de las citada obras confundidas con los demas libros me dedique á su separacion; y en cumplimiento de su referido capitulo 19 y de la carta circular de 14 de Octubre del mismo año de 1767 comprendida en la primera parte de la Coleccion general de providencias, se formalizó su Imbentario; y de acuerdo con el M. R. en Christo Arzobispo de la Metropolitana Iglesia de estas Islas se han vendido algunos exemplares, cuio producto que hasta principios del corriente ha ascendido á la cantidad de ciento nueve pesos tres rreales y once granos, queda introducido en la Caxa destinada al Deposito de los caudales de Prov.a segun que todo consta por el adjunto testimonio del Inventario de las citadas obras.

Nro. Señor guarde la importante vida de V. M. por m.s a.s con las maiores delicias. Manila y Junio 30 de 1773. — Señor. — A los R.s P.s De V. Mgd. — JUAN FRAN.co ANDA. (*Rubricado.*)

INVENTARIO

Para dar salida á las obras impresas de los regulares expulsos, que por cuenta de la comunidad se vendian en este Colegio, y otros; segun se previene por el capitulo diez y nueve de la Instruccion dada en Madrid á veinte y tres de Abril de mil setecientos sesenta y siete; procedase al reconocimiento de las que sean, y entresacandose de la Libreria de particulares donde se hallan confundidas con los de mas Libros se formará Imbentario de ellas, con expresion de los exemplares en papel, ó encuadernados, que se encontraren, y el precio á que se vendia cada Tomo, ó Juego. Proveyólo asi el señor oidor Juez Comisionado Don Juan Francisco de Anda en la Ciudad de Manila, y Colegio, que se tituló de San Ignacio á primero de Marzo de mil setecientos setenta y tres años, y le firmó, de que doi fee. — ANDA. — Ante — mi: GREGORIO BUENVECINO escrivano receptor.

En consecuencia de lo mandado por el auto, que antecede, dicho señor oidor Juez Comisionado acompañado de Don Joachin de la Cuesta procedió por antemi el presente escribano al reconocimiento, y separacion de todas las obras arriva referidas, y concluida que fue esta diligencia, se formalizó imventario de ellas en la forma, y manera siguiente.

ENQUADERNADAS

1. Primeramenta ciento y cincuenta Libros en folio de Papel de China forrados en pergamino, intitulados: Segunda parte de la Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas de la Compañia de Jesus, que comprehende los progresos de ella desde el año de mil seiscientos diez y seis, hasta el de mil setecientos diez y seis, su autor el Padre Pedro Murillo Velarde de la misma Compañia impresos en esta ciudad de *Manila* en el año de mil setecientos quarenta y nueve, á doce reales cada vno.
2. Iten otro del mismo tamaño, forro, y pap. mui maltratado intitulado: Primera, y segunda parte del Bocabulario de la lengua tagala su autor el Padre Fray Pedro de San Buenaventura Religioso Franciscano descalzo impreso en la Villa de *Pila* año de mil seiscientos y trece.
3. Ocho dichos vsados; intitulados: Bocabulario de la lengua tagala, primera y segunda parte compuesto por el Padre Fray Domingo de los Santos Religioso Franciscano descalzo, impresos en la Villa de *Tayabas* año de mil setecientos y tres.
4. Trescientos veinte y siete asimesmo en folio y forrado en pergamino, los trescientos y siete en papel de China, y los veinte restantes en papel de Europa, intitulados: Bocabulario de la lengua tagala trabajados por varios sujetos doctos, y graves, y ultimamente añadido, corregido, y coordinado por el Padre Juan de Noceda, y el Padre Pedro de San Lucar, ambos de la Compañia impresos en *Manila* el año de mil setecientos cinquenta y quatro á doce rreales cada uno, de los de Papel de China, y á diez y seis los de papel de Castilla.
5. Ciento setenta y quatro dichos con el mismo forro, y papel de China, intitulados: Bocabulario de la lengua Bisaya compuesto por el Padre Matheo Sanchez de la Compañia, y aumentado por otros Padres de la misma Compañia para el vso, y comodidad de los Padres Ministros de los Partidos de Bisayas impresos en *Manila* año de mil setecientos y once con advertencia que los catorce de ellos, notienen [sic] forro, y todos se hallan algo dañados de humedad á doce rreales cada vno.
6. Iten veinte y siete dichos del mismo papel, y forro intitulados: Historia Magistral de la vida de Barlaan, y Josaphat traducida en tagalo por el Padre Antonio de Borja de la Compañia impresos en *Manila* año de mil setecientos y doce á doce rreales cada vno.
7. Ciento veinte y seis Quadernos en folio de la Carta, en que se vindica la Justicia, y equidad de las Reales sentencias con el dinero salvado de la Cobadonga á medio rreal.

EN QUARTO

8. Vn. Libro de Papel de Europa forrado en pergamino, y maltratado, intitulado: Ritual para Administrar los Santos Sacramentos sacado casi todo del Ritual Romano, y lo demas del Ritual Indico con algunas advertencias necesarias, y vna declaracion sumaria de lo que las Religiones mendicantes pueden en las Indias por privilegios. Apostolicos, que se traen á la letra, recopilado por Fray Alonso de Mentrída del orden de San Agustin para vso de los Ministros de su orden en

Philipinas, y añadidas muchas bendiciones, impreso en *Manila* año de mil seiscientos setenta y nueve.

9. Otro idem: intitulado: Ritual para la recta administracion de los Santos sacramentos, y demas funciones sagradas pertenecientes á los Parrocos conforme al Ritual Romano publicado por la santidad de Paulo Quinto, y dispuesto con las notas, y privilegios concedidos á los Ministros, de las Indias por el Padre Maestro Fray D. Francisco Sanchez del orden de Predicadores, impreso en *Mexico* año de mil seiscientos ochenta y nueve.

10. Otro de Papel de china con el mismo forro, y vsado intitulado: Ritual para administrar los santos sacramentos sacado del Romano, y de otros Indicos para el vso de los Padres Ministros de las Doctrinas de la Compañia de Philipinas impresa en *Manila* año de mil seiscientos noventa y dos.

11. Otro asimismo de Papel de china, y forrado en pergamino, intitulado: Manual de Parrochos para administrar los santos sacramentos, y exercer otras funciones Ecclesiasticas conforme al Ritual Romano mandado observar en este Arzobispado de Manila por el Illustrissimo señor Venerable Dean, y Cavildo Gouvernador en sede vacante, impreso en Manila en el año de mil setezientos treinta y seis en [sic]

12. Trescientos y vno en Papel de Europa, y forrados en pergamino, intitulados: Breve Ritual para administrar los santos sacramentos sacado del Romano, y otros Indicos para el vso de los Padres Ministros de las Doctrinas de la Compañia de Jhs. en estas Islas Philipinas, impreso en *Manila* en el año de mil setecientos treinta y dos, á seis rreales cada vno.

13. Veinte y tres dichos en papel de china, y pergamino: intitulados: Ritual para la recta administracion de los santos sacramentos, y demas funciones Parrochiales, Ecclesiasticas arreglado al Ritual Romano, Apendice Toledano, y Decretos de la sagrada Congregacion de Ritus mandado coordinar, y observar por esta santa Provincia de Religiosos menores descalzos de San Gregorio de Philipinas en sus Capítulos Provinciales, travajado, y compuesto por diferentes Religiosos doctos, y practicos de esta Santa Provincia: al fin se ponen las Bulas Apostolicas de los Privilegios concedidos á los Regulares en las Indias con vna Breve declaración de ellos impreso en el Convento de *Sampaloc* en el año de mil setecientos cinquenta y seis, á seis rreales cada vno.

14. Iten ciento sesenta y cinco dichos en papel de China, y forrados en pergamino, intitulados: vida virtudes, y milagros de San Luis Gonzaga de la Compañia de Jesus su autor el Padre Joseph Casani de la misma Compañia, segunda impresion en *Manila* año de mil setecientos cinquenta y ocho á seis reales cada uno.

15. Iten doce dichos en papel de Europa, y forrados en pergamino, intitulados: Vida del Padre Francisco Maria Gallusi de la Compañia de Jesus escrita en lengua toscana por el Padre Juan Baptista Memmi [sic] de la misma Compañia, y traducida en lengua Castellana por el Padre Bernardo Parrienga Procurador General de la Provincia de Philipinas de la misma Compañia, impresa en *México* en el año de mil setecientos sesenta y vno, á tres rreales cada uno.

16. Iten trescientos diez y siete dichos en papel de China, y forrados en pergamino, intitulados: Remedios faciles para diferentes enfermedades apuntados por el Padre Pablo Clain de la Compañia de Jesus para el alivio, y socorro de los Padres Ministros Evangelicos de las Doctrinas de los Naturales, impresos en *Manila* en el año de mil setecientos y doce á seis rreales cada vno.

17. Iten quinientos veinte y ocho dichos en pap. de China, y forrados en pergamino intitulados: Arte de la lengua Bisaya de la Provincia de Leyte compuesto por el Padre Domingo

- Ezguerra de la Compañía de Jesus tiene ingeridas algunas advertencias de la lengua de Cebú, y Bohol, reimpresso en *Manila* en el año de mil setecientos quarenta y siete, á tres rreales cada vno.
18. Iten seis dichos en papel de China, y forrados en pergamino, intitulos: segunda parte de la explicacion del Cathecismo Bisaya, ilustrada con exemplos, y moralidades compuesta por el Padre Pedro de Estrada de la Compañía impresa en *Manila* año de mil setecientos treinta y cinco á tres rreales cada vno.
19. Veinte y cinco dichos del mismo Papel, y forro intitulos: Tercera parte de la explicacion del Cathecismo Bisaya compuestos por el Padre Pedro de Estrada de la Compañía impreso en *Manila* año de mil setecientos triente y siete á tres rreales cada vno.
20. Iten mil ciento y diez y seis dichos en papel, y forrados en papel de China, y forrados en papel pintado, intitulos: *Cursus Philosophici regalis Colegiy [sic] salmanticensis societatis Jesu, prima pars continens institutiones dialecticas, seu summulas, et logicam magnam, seu Philosophiam rationalem, autore P. Ludovico de Losada ejusdem societatis impresos en Manila* en el año de mil setecientos cinquenta y nueve á catorce rreales cada vno.
21. Iten ochocientos y ochenta dichos del mismo papel, y forro, intitulos: *Cursus Philosophici regalis colegii salmanticensis societatis Jesu incompendium redacti, et in tres partes divisi, secunda parte, continens Phisicam, seu Philosophiam Naturalem de corpore naturali generatim, autore R. P. Ludovico de Losada, ejusdem societatis, impresos en Manila* en el año de mil setecientos cinquenta y nueve á catorce rreales cada vno.
22. Iten nuebecientos cinquenta y nueve, dichos con el mismo Papel, y forro, intitulos: *Cursus Philosophici regalis Colegii salmanticensis societatis Jesu in compendium redacti, et intres partes divisi, tertia pars continens tractatus de generatione, el corruptione, de mundo, de Coelo, de Elementis, et mixtis, necnon de anima, et disputationes Methaphisicas, autore R. P. Ludovico de Losada, ejusdem societatis, impresos en Manila* en el año de mil setecientos cinquenta y nueve á catorce rreales cada vno.
23. Iten ocho en papel de China, y forrados en pergamino, intitulos: *Vida de el Glorioso San Juan Nepomuceno, Canonigo de la Metropolitana de Praga Protomartir del sigilo de la confesion, escrita en Italiano por el Padre Francisco Maria Gallusi de la Compañía de Jesus, y traducida en Español por el Padre Nicolas de Segura de la misma Compañía reimpressa en Manila* en el año de mil setecientos y cinquenta á quatro rreales cada vno.
24. Iten siete dichos de Papel de Europa, y forrados en pergamino, intitulos: *practica de los exercicios espirituales de nuestro Padre San Ignacio por el Padre Sebastian Izquierdo de la Compañía de Jesus nuevamente corregida en esta vltima impresion en Madrid* en el año de mil setecientos veinte y ocho á tres rreales cada vno.
25. Iten trece dicha [sic] de Papel de China, y forrados en pergamino, intitulos: *El Corazon Sagrado de Jesus descubierto á nuestra España propagado ya en varias Provincias del Orbe Christiano, se autor el Padre Juan de Loyola de la Compañía de Jesus reimpressos en Manila* año de mil setecientos cinquenta y vno á quatro rreales cada vno.
26. Iten veinte y quatro dichos en papel de China, y forrados en pergamino, intitulos: *apparatus selectorum, sive propueritia latinitate erudienda idonea quaedam, quorum syllabum a prima proxima pagella dabit ad usum studiose Manilensis Juventutis Novisme Colecta, impresos en Manila* en el año de mil setecientos cinquenta y tres a seis rreales cada vno.
27. Iten cinquenta y quatro dichos asimesmo en papel de China, y forrados en pergamino intitulos: *Oficios nuevamente concedidos por la Santa Sede Apostolica, los vnos para la Iglesia*

vniversal, y los otros particulares para los Reynos, y señorios de España, impresos en *Manila* en el año de mil setecientos treinta y dos á tres quartillos.

28. Iten doscientos y nueve dichos tambien en papel de China, y forrados en pergamino intitulados: Brebe Explicacion de tiempos, segun el methodo, con que se Enseña en las Escuelas de la Compañia reimpressos en *Manila* en el año de mil setecientos cinquenta y tres, á dos rreales.

29. Iten quatrocientas quarenta y dos Cartas Pastorales en papel de China y forradas en papel pintado, que empieza: Venerabilibus Dei sacerdotibus, et animarum pastoribus S. P. impresos en *Manila* en el año de mil setecientos sesenta y dos, aquartillo.

30. Iten tres dichos de Papel de China, y forrados en pergamino en lengua de Bisaya intitulados: Manual de Devocion y Exercicios Acristianos [sic] para instruccion de los Hermanos Bisayas congregantes de las Congregaciones de la Virgen Maria señora nuestra dispuesto por el Padre Ignacio Alcina de la Compañia de Jesus reimpressos en *Manila* en el año de mil setecientos y tres á vno y medio rreal cada vno.

31. Iten treinta y quarto dichos en papel en China, y forrados en pergamino, intitulados: Practica del Cathecismo, donde se enseña vn methodo compendioso para componer las costumbres por el Padre Pedro de Estrada de la Compañia de Jesus reimpressos en *Manila* año de mil setecientos quarenta y seis en lengua Bisaya á dos y medio rreales cada vno.

32. Iten quarenta y tres dichos en papel de Europa, y forrados en pergamino, algo maltratados, intitulados: Doctrina Christiana, y preguntas en lengua Bisaya, y juntamente vna *introduccion á esta lengua*, y confesonario breve hecho por el Padre Christoval Jimenes de la Compañia de Jesus, tercera impresion en *Manila* año de mil setecientos treinta y dos á dos y medio rreales cada vno.

33. Iten ciento sesenta y quatro dichos de papel de China, y forrados en pergamino, intitulados: segunda parte del Pedagogo Christiano traducido en lengua Bisaya por el Padre Francisco Texada de la Compañia de Jesus impresos en *Manila* año de mil setecientos cinquenta y vno á seis rreales cada vno.

34. Iten tres, como los antecedentes algo corroidos de polilla, intitulados: Confesonario copioso en lengua Española, y Tagala para direccion de los Confesores, é instruccion de los penitentes dispuesto por el Padre Fray Gaspar de San agustin Religioso del orden de San Agustin impresos en *Dilao* en el año de mil setecientos y trece á rreal y medio cada vno.

35. Iten seiscientos setenta y ocho dichos, pero nuevos intitulados: recomendacion del Alma compuesta por el Padre Thomas de Villacastin de la Compañia, y trasumptada en el Idioma Tagalo por don Gaspar Aquino de Velen natural del Pueblo del Rossario, quien insertó en este Libro la Pasion de nuestro Señor Jesuchristo en verso Tagalo, quinta impresion en *Manila* año de mil setecientos y sesenta á peso cada vno.

36. Iten ciento noventa y quatro dichos, intitulados: Meditaciones en lengua tagala, que compusieron algunos Religiosos de la Provincia de Agustinos calzados añadidas varias meditaciones por el Padre Predicador Fray Juan Serrano traducidos en dicha lengua tagala por el Padre Francisco de Salazar de la Compañia, impresos en *Manila* año de mil setecientos sesenta y dos á seis rreales cada vno.

37. Iten cinquenta y tres dichos intitulados: Beneficios, y favores singulares hechos por el Glorioso Archangel San Raphael al Santo Patriarcha Tovias, y su familia traducidos en el Idioma Tagalo por el Padres Pablo Clain de la Compañia impresos en *Manila* año de mil setecientos cinquenta y quatro á seis rreales cada vno.

38. Iten cinco mil trescientos quarenta y ocho Cartillas de papel de China forradas de papel pintado en lengua Castellano, sin nombre de autor, lugar, ni año de su impresion á barrilla.
39. Dos mil quinientos cinquenta y quatro dichas en Idioma Bisaya, como las antecedentes á dos barrillas.
40. Iten dos mil ciento y diez quadernillos de papel de China forrados en papel pintado de Preguntas, y respuestas de la Doctrina Christiana en Idioma Tagalo, sin nombre de autor, ni traductor, lugar, ni año de su impresion á quartillo.
41. Iten treinta y tres quadernos assimesmo en octavo, y en papel de China sobre el juicio particular del hombre, sin expresion de autor, ni lugar de su Impresion á dos quartos cada vno.

EN DIEZ Y SEIS AVO

42. Dos mil setecientos quarenta y vno de papel de China, y forrados en pergamino, intitulados: Cathecismo y exposicion breve de la Doctrina Christiana compuesto por el P. M. Geronimo de Ripalda de la Compañia de Jesus impreso en *Manila* año de mil setecientos quarenta y siete árreal y medio cada vno.
43. Vn mil trescientos y vno dichos reimpresos del mismo titulo, autor, lugar, y año de su impresion traducidos en Idioma Tagalo por el Padre Luis de Amesquita, del orden de San Agustíná dos rreales cada vno.
44. Iten trescientos treinta y seis quadernillos de papel de China, y forrados en papel pintado intitulados: Novena del Santisimo Corazon de Jesus, sin nombre de autor, lugar, ni año de su impresion á quartillo cada exemplar.
45. Iten setecientos noventa y dos dichos. Del mismo Papel, y forro, intitulados: Epítome breve de las Glorias de San Francisco Xavier de la Compañia de Jesus Apostol de las Indias con el modo de hacer su novena y otras devociones por el Padre Francisco Garcia de la misma Compañia impreso en *Manila*, sin expresion de año, á medio rreal cada vno.
46. Iten mil veinte y nueve dichos del mismo Papel, y forrados en pergamino, intitulados: Pensamientos Christianos, que se deben tener presentes cada dia por tiempo de vn mes compuesto por el Padre Domingo Bohevre de la Compañia de Jesus, y traducido al tagalo por el Padre Pablo Clain de la misma Compañia, reimpresso en *Manila*, año de mil setecientos quarenta y ocho á tres rreales cada vno.
47. Iten cinquenta dichos de Papel de China, y forrados en papel pintado intitulados: Novena de Nuestra señora de los Dolores reimpressa en *Manila* año de mil setecientos sesenta y ocho sin expresion de autor á quartillo cada vno.
48. Iten ciento, y diez Libritos en diez y seisavo forrados en papel de Ofrecimiento del Rosario su autor el Ilustrisimo, y Reverendisimo señor Don Fray Alonso de Santo Thomas impresos en *México* en el año de mil setecientos cinquenta y nueve á medio rreal cada vno.

EN PAPEL SIN ENCUADERNAR

49. Primeramente cinquenta y siete atados en octavo de pliegos del Libro de Exercicios de San Ignacio en papel de China.
50. Iten veinte y seis dichos de Libro intitulado: Aparatus selectorum, sive propueritia latinitate exudienda impreso en *Manila* año de mil setecientos cinquenta y tres en papel de Europa.

51. Catorce dichos de Papel de China.
52. Quarenta y tres dichos en folio en papel de Europa, y parte en el de China.
53. Iten cinco Idem del Libro intitulado: Explicacion de tiempos, segun el methodo con que se enseñaba en las Escuelas de la Compañia reimpresso en *Manila* año de mil seiscientos cinquenta y tres en papel de China.
54. Iten quarenta dichos del Libro intitulado: recomendacion del Alma, y Pasion de Christo su autor el Padre Thomas de Villacastin de la Compañia, y traducido al tagalo por Don Thomas Aquino de Belen impreso en *Manila* año de mil setecientos y sesenta.
55. Iten nueve dichos del Cathecismo en Castellano del Padre Ripalda impreso en *Manila* año de mil setecientos quarenta y siete.
56. Iten trescientos noventa y cinco atados en octavo de pliegos en papel de China del dicho Cathecismo de Ripalda en Castellano.
57. Iten trescientos cinquenta y ocho quadernos en quarto de oficio de varios santos á dos rreales cada vno.
58. Iten seiscientos cinquenta y seis dichos en octavo tambien de oficio de varios santos á medio rreal.
59. Iten veinte y tres Misas de la Concepción de nuestra señora en folio, y papel de Europa á medio rreal cada Misa.
60. Ocho dichas del mismo tamaño, y papel de nuestra señora de Guadalupe á medio rreal cada vna.
61. Treinta y seis dichas assimismo en folio y papel de Europa de San Stanislao de Kostia [sic] á medio rreal cada vna.
62. Treinta y vna dichas de San Juan Nepomuceno tambien en folio, y papel de Europa á medio rreal.
63. Quinientas y nueve dichas del mismo tamaño, y papel de la Commemoracion de todos los difuntos á medio rreal cada vna.
64. Iten quinze Canones de la Misa en folio, y papel de Europa á medio rreal cada vno.
65. Iten ciento diez y nueve pliegos de Sacras en papel de China á quartillo cada vno.
66. Iten ciento reinta [sic] y tres pliegos de lababos [sic], y Evangelios tambien en papel de China á quartillo cada vno.
67. Iten veinte y siete pliegos de Letanias de los santos, no completas á medio rreal cada vna.
68. Cient pliegos del complementos de dichas Letanias á medio rreal cada vno.
69. Iten Nuebe quadernos de las tablas del Padres Musancio en papel de Europa á quartillo cada vna.
70. Iten quatrocientos ochenta y ocho collectas de oraciones para la Misa en fiestas solemnes en papel de Europa á quartillo cada vna.
71. Iten Noventa y seis exemplares de la Bulla de la Cena, quarenta y vna de ellas en papel de marca maior, y las restantes en papel regular.
72. Iten ciento veinte y ocho dichos del Decreto de la santa Inquisicion sobre los casos reservados al mismo Tribunal en papel de marquilla.
73. Iten doscientos treinta y vno dichos en papel de China del Decreto de la suprema y general Inquisicion de Roma sobre que los regulares obedezcan lo que mandan los Tribunales de dicha santa Inquisición.
74. Iten ciento sesenta y nueve dichos de los Inquisidores de Mexico sobre que no se confiese en lugares secretos, y ocultos.

75. Iten treinta y cinco dichos y de los expresados Sres. Inquisidores de Mexico sobre el solicitante inconfesione de papel de China.
76. Iten doscientos sesenta y nueve dichos del Compendio, y sumario del Edicto General de la Fee, y casos en el contenidos.
77. Iten treinta y vno. dichos del Edicto del Sr. Inquisidor General Rocaberti sobre que los regulares no escriban contra otros, ni en general, ni en particular.
78. Iten ciento setenta y tres dichos del Ilmo. Sr. D. Fray Juan Angel Rodriguez sobre las fiestas, que se deben guardar en este Arzobispado de Manila.
79. Iten nueve dichos del Ilmo, señor Roxo, en que concede Indulgencia plenaria á los convertidos de la Heregia nuestra santa fee y á quales quier fieles en el Artículo de la muerte, subdelegando facultad de conceder dicha Indulgencia en el Provisor de este Arzobispado, y demas personas Ecclesiasticas, que en el se nominan.
80. Iten dos dichos del Illustrisimo señor D. Basilio Sancho de Santa Justa, y Rufina sobre el modo de predicar los sermones panenericos [sic].
81. Iten quarto dichos del referido señor Arzobispo Don Basilio Sancho sobre el cumplimiento de los Legados pios.

ESTAMPAS

82. Primeramente cinquenta y vna Estampas de San Joseph de Calasanz de á medio pliego en papel de China á quartillo cada vna.
83. Iten trescientas sesenta y quatro dichas de apliego, y papel de China de San Ignacio de Loyola á quartillo.
84. Treinta y vna dichas tambien de San Ignacio de Loyola de á medio pliego, y papel de Evropa á quartillo.
85. Iten diez y nueve dichas en octavo de San Magino Martir en papel de China á quarto cada vna.
86. Iten sesenta dichas en quarto, y papel de Europa del Padre Francisco Maria Gallusi á dos quartos.
87. Iten quatrocientas veinte y nueve dichas del Papa Julio Roberio en octavo, y papel de China á quarto.
88. Iten trescientas noventa y nueve del Papa Inocencio Cibo del mismo Papel y tamaño, que la partida antecedente á quarto.
89. Iten quatrocientas cinquenta y siete dichas del Papa Pio Piccolomino tambien en octavo, y papel de China á quatro.
90. Iten quatrocientas y tres del Papa Paulo Carafa assimesmo en octavo, y papel de China á quatro.
91. Iten doscientas veinte y quatro dichas y con el mismo tamaño, y papel, que las anteriores del Papa Leon Medicci á quarto.
92. Iten doscientos ochenta y quatro dichas del Papa Adriano sexto, como las antecedentes á quarto.
93. Iten trescientas setenta y cinco dichas del Papa Alexandro quinto tambien en papel de China á quarto.

MAPAS

94. Iten quatro Mapas nauticos de marca maior y á servidos á dos rreales cada vno.
95. Siete dichos de estas Philipinas, el vno, en papel de marca maior, y los seis restantes en el regular formado por el Padre Pedro Murillo Velarde á dos rreales cada vno, y el vno á dos y medio.
96. Cinco dichos de la Nueva planta de Roma á medio rreal cada vno.
97. Iten quarenta y quatro Mapas formados por el Padres Pasqual Fernandez de la Compañia representando la Persona del Rey Catholico con las conclusiones Matematicas, que defendió Don Vicente Memije en papel de China á dos rreales.
98. Iten quarenta y cinco dichos, en que se explican las de las tres Matematicas del Padre Pasqual Fernandez, que defendió D. Vicente Memije á vn rreal y medio.
99. Iten dos dichos del Archipiélago de las Islas Philipinas en seis pliegos cada vno de papel de China á cinco rreales cada vno.
100. Iten ocho dichos del glovo terrestre de amedio [sic] pliego de papel de Europa á medio cada vno.
101. Quarenta y nueve dichos del mismo Papel, y tamaño, que el antecedente de la Africa á medio.
102. Treinta dichos de la Europa á medio.
103. Quarenta y cinco dichos de la Asia á medio.
104. Veinte y ocho dichos de la America tambien de á medio pliego, y papel de Europa tambien á medio.

Con lo qual, y por no haverse hallado otras obras, que inventariar de las prevenidas en el auto de primero del corriente, se concluyó este Inventario aviendose ocupado en el, en la separacion de las obras, que comprehende, á reglo de la Libreria de particulares, traslacion á ella de los Libros remitidos de los ministerios, que ocupaban los regulares en la Jurisdiccion de la Provincia de Tondo, y sus correspondientes repasos de limpieza diez y seis dias continuos, y lo firmó dicho señor con el citado don Joachin de la Cuesta, de que doi fee. - ANDA. - JOACHIN DE LA CUESTA. - Ante mi: GREGORIO BUENVECINO, Escrivano Receptor.

Exceptuando las ocho primeras partidas de las obras en papel sin enquadernar, que comprehende este Inventario, lo demas se colocará en el Aposento numero primero á este fin destinado, con estantes; y se notificará á Don Calixto Torralba que de ello se haga cargo, otorgando el correspondiente rezivo, y que dando salida por aora solo á los Cathecismos; conserve con la debida separacion, aseo, y cuidado las demas obras hasta nueva orden. Proveyólo assi el señor oidor Juez Comisionado en la Ciudad de Manila, y Colegio, que se tituló de San Ignacio á diez y siete de Marzo de mil setecientos setenta y tres años, y lo firmó de que dol fee. - ANDA. - Ante mi: GREGORIO BUENVECINO, Escrivano Receptor.

En la Ciudad de Manila, y Colegio, que se tituló de San Ignacio á veinte de Marzo de mil setecientos setenta y tres años. Yo el presente Escrivano, despues de haverse colocado en el Aposento numero primero las obras, que reza el antecedente imventario, exceptas las que señala el auto inmediato, notifiqué su tenor para los efectos prevenidos en el á Don Calixto Torralba, quien enterado dixo: - Que le oye, y está prompto á dar el debido cumplimiento á quanto se le ordena, y viniendo en su execucion se hizo entrego, y cargo, de todas las citadas obras, segun se contienen en dicho Inventario, que consta de once foxas con esta reconocidas, y contadas á su satisfaccion, y confianza, y en su conformidad, dixo: Que otorgaba, y otorgó haverlas recibido, y darse por entregado de ellas á su voluntad, y solo dará valida á los Cathecismos teniendo su

producto en fiel custodia á disposicion del señor oidor Juez Comisionado, y todas las demas obras las conservará con la separacion, aseo, y cuidado, que se le manda, de suerte que por omision suia, no padezcan extravio, ni deterioro hasta tanto que otra cosa se mande por dicho señor Comisionado. Y para su cumplimiento obligó en forma su persona, y bienes havidos, y por aver, con renunciacion de quales quiera Leyes, que hablen en su favor, y lo firmó, de que doi fee. - CALISTO DE TORRALBA. - GREGORIO BUENVECINO, Escrivano Receptor.

Para precaver los inconvenientes de sacar al publico alguna de las doctrinas de laxar, que en varias de sus obras enseñaban los Regulares de la compañia; Saqueve Lieva [sic] de las inventariadas constantes en este expediente, y con vn exemplar de cada una, se remitira al Illustrissimo señor Arzobispo á fin de que se digne reconocerlas, y exponer se halla su Illustrissima algun reparo en que se den al publico. Proveyolo assi el señor oidor Juez Comisionado en la ciudad de Manila á veinte y dos de Marzo de mil setecientos setenta y tres, de que doi fee. - ANDA. - Ante mi: GREGORIO BUENVECINO Escribano receptor.

En cumplimiento de lo mandado por el auto, que antecede se sacó la Lista prevenida en el, y se remitió al Ilmo. señor Arzobispo con exemplar de cada obra acompañando á todo la carta del tenor siguiente. - Illustrissimo señor. - Mui señor mio: Por el Artículo diez y nueve de la Instruccion dispuesta por el Illmo. señor Fiscal Don Pedro Rodriguez Campomanes á veinte y dos de Abril de mil setecientos sesenta y siete, y aprovada por el Consejo en veinte y tres de mismo se previno que de las obras impresas de los regulares, que por quenta de sus comunidades se vendian en las Porterias, debia hacerse inventario con expresion de los exemplares, en papel, ó enquadernados, que se encontrasen, y el precio, á que se vendia cada tomo ó juego para darle salida, como caudal, y efectos de la misma Casa. - Con arreglo á dicha prevencion tengo ya formalizado el inventario, y aviendo en consecuencia del beneplácito de V. S. despachado algunos exemplares del Cathecismo compuesto por el Padre Ripalda deseoso de proceder á dar salida á las demas obras con igual aprovacion, passo á manos de V. S. la adjunta Lista de las que se han encontrado con vn exemplar de cada una para que enterado de ellas, se digne prevenirme si halla algun inconveniente en que se den al publico; como lo espero con ordenes de V. S. cuia vida guarde Dios muchos años. - Manila, y Colegio, que se tituló de San Ignacio a veinte y nueve de Marzo de mil setecientos setenta y tres. - Ilmo. señor B. L. M. de V. S. su seguro servidor. - JUAN FRANCISCO DE ANDA. - Y Para que conste lo pongo por diligencia y de ello doi fee. - GREGORIO BUENVECINO, Escribano receptor.

Acumulese á este expediente la carta del Ilmo. señor Arzobispo su fecha de primero del corriente, y hagase saver á Don Calixto Torralba que la orden, que se le dió para dar salida solo á los Cathecismos, se estiende tambien á todas las demas obras, que se pusieron á su cuidado, y constan inventariadas en este expediente: y para que con la posible puntualidad se logre su venta, se fixaran carteles en los parages acostumbrados, dando al publico noticia de ello. Proveyólo assi dicho señor oidor Juez Comisionado en la Ciudad de Manila y Colegio, que se tituló de San Ignacio a dos de Abril de mil setecientos setenta y tres, de que doi fee. - ANDA. - Ante mi: GREGORIO BUENVECINO, Escrivano receptor.

Incontinenti acumulé á estas diligencias la carta, que se cita en el auto, que antecede. Y para que conste lo noto, y de ello doi fee. - BUENVECINO.

Mui señor mio: En vista de la de V. S. De veinte y nueve de Marzo, referente de la formacion del Inventario de varias obras de los expulsos, citadas en la Lista, que se sirvió incluirme, con exemplares de cada vna para que enterado de ellas, dixese si hallo, ó no, algun inconveniente, en que se den al publico; debo decir, despues de vna seria reflexion de las

materias, que contienen dichas obras, que en la expresada Lista no hallo Libro, Quaderno, Estampa, ó Mapa, que incurra en alguna nota, o prohibicion, que sea impedimento, a que se comuniquen al Publico, de modo, soi de parecer en la parte, que me toque, asi se execute. - Soi de V. S. con invariable afecto: con el que pido al señor me le guarde muchos años: Palacio Arzobispal de Manila, y Abril primero de mil setecientos setenta y tres. - B. L. M. de V. S. su mas ateno seguro servidor, y obsequioso Capellan. - BASILIO Arzobispo de Manila. - Señor Licenciado Don Juan Francisco de Anda, oidor de esta Real Audiencia y Juez Comisionado en las temporalidades de los regulares expulsos de la Compañia llamada de Jesus.

En la Ciudad de Manila, y Colegio que se tituló de San Ignacio á dos de Abril de mil setecientos setenta y tres años. Yo el presente Escribano Receptor notifiqué el auto de este dia, que se halla á foxas trece buelta diligencias á Don Calixto Torralba, quien quedó enterado de su efecto, y lo firmó, de que doi fee. - CALIXTO DE TORRALBA. - GREGORIO BUENVECINO Escribano Receptor.

Incontinenti se fixaron en los Parages acostumbrados de esta Ciudad, y sus extramuros los Carteles del tenor siguiente. - Se hace saber al publico que en la Porteria del Colegio, que se tituló Maximo de San Ignacio se venden Dictionarios en Castellano, Tagalo, y Bisaya, Cathecismos, y otro Libros Doctrinales, y de demos, y otros Libros Doctrinales, y de devocion al precio mismo que antes tenian. - Notolo para que conste, y de ello doi fee. - BUENVECINO.

Notifiquese á Don Calixto Torralba que dentro de tercero dia dé quenta con pago de lo que hubiese producido lo venta de Libros puesta á su cuidado. Proveyólo asi el señor Oidor Juez Comisionado en la Ciudad de Manila á dos de Junio de mil setecientos setenta y tres, y lo firmó, de que doi fee. - ANDA. - Ante mi: CLEMENTE JOACHIN CABRERA Escribano publico.

Incontinenti. Yo el presente Escribano notifiqué [sic] el auto que antecede para el efecto que por el se previene á Don Calixto Torralba, y enterado dixo. - Que lo oye, y dará el debido cumplimiento, y firmó de que doi fee. - CALIXTO DE THORRALBA. - CLEMENTE JOACHIN DE CABRERA, Escribano publico.

Acumulese á este espediente la quentta [sic] prevenida por Don Calixto Torralba, y hallandose arreglada, se despachará Papeleta para la Introduccion de los ciento dies y nueve pesos tres rreales quince quartos y medio, que importa en la Caja de su destino. Preveyólo [sic] assi el señor Oidor Juez Comisionado en la Ciudad de Manila á quatro de Junio de mil setecientos setenta y tres, y lo firmó, de que doi fee. - ANDA. - Ante mi: CLEMENTE JOACHIN CABRERA, Escribano publico.

Incontinenti aviendo reconocido, y hallado arreglada dicha quenta la acumle á este expediente en las dos foxas, que siguen Y para que conste lo noto, dando de ello fee. - CABRERA.

Libros expendidos desde el mes de Marzo del corriente año hasta oy de la fecha del mismo, por orden del señor Oidor Comisionado por el precio, que en el Inventario de ellos consta y son los siguientes.

Primeramente Quatrocientos y cinquenta y quatro Cathecismos del Padre Ripalda en Castellano apreciado á vn rreal y medio cada vno importan ochenta y cinco pesos y vn. rreal.

Iten tres dichos por el mismo en Tagalo á dos rreales cada vno importan seis rreales.

Iten treinta y ocho Misas de la Concepción cada vna á medio rreal importan dos pesos y tres rreales.

Iten cinco de la Vida de San Juan Nepomuceno á quatro rreales cada vno importan dos pesos y quatro rreales.

Iten cinquenta, Novenas de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores á medio rreal cada vna, importan tres pesos y vn rreal.

Iten dos Bocabularios Bisayas en vn peso y quatro rreales cada vno importan tres pesos.

Iten otro dicho Tagalo en vn peso y quatro rreales.

Iten once Artes de la lengua Bisaya á tres rreales cada vno, importan quatro pesos y vn. rreal.

Iten, otro de la Pasion en Tagalo en vn peso.

Iten otro, Historia de Barlaan, y Josaphat en Tagalo en vn peso y quatro rreales.

Iten otro, beneficios de San Raphael en Tagalo en seis rreales.

Iten otro, Pensamientos Christianos en Tagalo en tres rreales.

Iten otro, Exercicios de San Ignacio tres rreales.

Iten otro, Practica del Cathecismo Bisaya en dos rreales y medio.

Iten otro, Preguntas de la Doctrina Christiana en Bisaya en dos rreales y medio.

Iten tres confesionarios en Español y Tagalo á rreal y medio cada vno importan quatro rreales y medio.

Iten dos Manual de Devociones, y Exercicios Christianos en Tagalo á vn rreal.

Iten otro el Sagrado Corazon de Jesus en quatro rreales.

Iten tres Remedios faciles por el Padre Clain á seis rreales cada vno importan dos pesos y dos rreales.

Iten Quinientas Cartillas en Castellano á dos quartos cada vna importan siete pesos dos rreales y catorce quartos.

Iten Quatro Mapas de las Islas Philipinas por el Padre Murillo Belarde á dos rreales cada vno importan vn peso.

Iten dos ofrecimientos del Rosario á medio rreal.

Iten dos Estampas de San Ignacio á medio rreal.

Iten dos dhas. pequeñas de San Maximo Martir á vn quarto cada vna.

Iten dos Cartillas en lengua Bisaya á quartillo cada vna.

Importan las partidas antecedentes Ciento dies y nueve pesos, tres rreales y medio siete quartos y vn maravediz, en la inteligencia, que en esta cantidad se incluyen dies pesos muchos dias antes de publicarse el Bando de su prohibición, y juro en forma ser como llevo dicho. Y para la introduccion de ella, pido se me dé la Papeleta correspondiente dandome el resguardo, que me corresponda para la quenta, que debo dar de los Libros que se hallan á mi cargo. Colegio Titulado de San Ignacio Manila y Junio tres de mil setecientos setenta y tres años. - CALIXTO DE TORRALBA.

Los Oficiales Reales de la Real Hacienda y Cajas de estas Islas. - Certificamos que Don Calixto Torralba vecino de esta Ciudad introdujo en el dia de esta fecha en la Caja destinada para el Deposito de los Caudales de Provincia ocupados á los regulares expulsos, que se nombraron Jesuitas ciento y nueve pesos tres rreales y once granos en moneda redonda corriente, y dies pesos en plata cortada no corriente que pesaron cinco onzas quatro adarmes y medio procedidos de la venta de varios Libros, que se hallaban en su poder. Y para que conste damos la presente. - Real Contaduria de Manila á cinco de Junio de mil setecientos setenta y tres. - JOSEPH ANTONIO DE LARZABAL. - JUAN FRANCISCO ROMAY.

Al Expediente de su materia, del qual se sacará testimonio para dar quenta á S. M. en el presente despacho. Proveyólo asi dicho señor oidor Juez Comisionado en la ciudad de Manila á cinco de Junio de mil setecientos setenta y tres, y lo firmó de que doi fee. - ANDA. - Ante mi: CLEMENTE JOACHIN CABRERA, Escribano publico.

Concuerta con su original que para en la oficina de este Juzgado a que me remito. Y en cumplimiento de lo mandada por el auto suprainserto saqué el presente siendo testigos á lo veer sacar, corregir, y concertar Don Joachin de la Cuesta, Don Augn. de Ocio, y Ocampo, y Joseph Ponce de Leon presentes. Y es fecho en esta Ciudad de Manila, y Colegio, que se titulo de San Ignacio á once de Junio de mil setecientos setenta y tres. - Vá en diez y nueve fojas con esta. - En testimonio de Verdad. - GREGORIO BUENVECINO, Escribano receptor.

Appendix 3: Texts sorted by category and century

Table: Texts sorted by category and century				
	1593-1603	1604-1699	1700-1799	1800-1813
1		135	282, 333, 371, 415, 436, 443, 444, 466, 571, 602, 627, 628, 629, 630, 675, 676, 677, 697, 706, 711, 736, 743, 748, 749, 801, 836, 879, 896, 1046, 1047	
2		160, 173, 224, 234, 237, 238, 1015	276, 301, 442, 518, 555, 631, 641, 662, 664, 665, 693, 710, 718, 725, 771, 769, 780, 787, 804, 816, 821, 908	931, 935, 935bis, 936, 940, 959, 961, 963, 989; P&G 714, P&G 1151
3		8, 17, 18, 22, 25, 29, 54, 65, 82, 83, 84, 119, 124, 130, 169, 229, 252, 1007	269, 278, 279, 300, 393, 403, 425, 457, 497, 504, 513, 561, 576, 592, 621, 625, 625a, 643, 645, 841, 861, 877, 883, 889, 893, 895, 905, 1084	950
4		253	304, 329, 342, 419, 480, 503, 707, 775, 781, 1038, 1040, 1075	956, 975, 977, 978, 979; P&G 710, P&G 711, P&G 713, P&G 716, P&G 718, P&G 921, P&G 1154, P&G 1156
5		21,127, 158, 163, 170, 179, 180, 204, 213, 218, 1022	293, 325, 359, 370, 373, 397, 414, 437, 533, 543, 583, 594, 598, 687, 850, 866, 868	
6		89, 91, 103, 107, 114, 116, 117, 155, 156, 183, 192, 231, 232, 235, 242, 257	277, 334, 335, 446, 544, 572, 582, 607, 623, 646, 653, 659, 698, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 854, 857, 858, 859, 867, 874, 875, 876, 919, 920, 924, 1037	946, 980, 986, 990, 991, 997, 998, 999, 1000, 1001, 1002, 1003; P&G 712, P&G 912, P&G 913, P&G 914, P&G 915, P&G 916, P&G 917, P&G 1259; Retana, <i>Aparato III</i> : 1493-94, entry 4461: <i>Del Superior Gobierno</i> , nos. 13, 14, 15; conjectured nos. of <i>Del Superior Gobierno</i> , 10, 16, 17
7		23, 24, 47, 49, 55, 60, 81, 95, 97, 99, 104, 110, 112, 136, 144, 145, 146, 150, 151, 152, 154, 159, 168, 177, 188, 193, 194, 195, 205, 215, 220, 226, 227, 228, 240	275, 347, 360, 364, 382, 383, 384, 385, 392, 402, 433, 438, 439, 440, 447, 449, 450, 465, 482, 483, 484, 485, 490, 506, 574, 616, 622, 638, 639, 651, 652, 658, 695, 730, 777, 783, 784, 788, 789, 790, 796, 800, 807, 808, 810, 822, 823, 824, 832, 839, 865, 884, 885, 886, 890, 897, 898, 899, 1068, 1069	928, 929, 930, 937, 948, 949, 952, 957, 958, 962, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 976, 981, 987; P&G 709, P&G 919, P&G 922, P&G 923, P&G 924, P&G 1152, P&G 1153, P&G 1155
8			468, 469, 494, 495, 496, 498, 637, 657, 746, 747, 755, 778, 779, 793, 794, 797, 798, 805, 806, 809, 814, 825, 828, 830, 870, 871, 872, 880, 1081	994
9		20, 32, 53, 66, 71, 100, 129, 166, 172, 236, 1018, 1026	286, 288, 318, 338, 381, 387, 391, 396, 454, 456, 462, 478, 479, 486, 493, 520, 523, 534, 549, 560, 562, 586, 587, 595, 599, 618, 647, 656, 708, 760, 815, 833, 852, 1034	947
10		7, 26, 31, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 44, 62, 63, 64, 67, 69, 70, 74, 75, 76, 77, 79, 85, 94, 101, 105, 108, 109, 137, 142, 143, 148, 149, 162, 164, 182, 184, 185, 191, 196, 199, 200, 201, 203, 209, 216, 239, 245, 246, 251, 254, 255, 258, 259, 262, 263, 1011, 1031	266, 271, 283, 290, 302, 313, 314, 322, 326, 330, 339, 344, 349, 351, 355, 356, 357, 363, 365, 366, 369, 377, 380, 386, 390, 395, 400, 401, 404, 406, 407, 417, 420, 426, 427, 434, 451, 458, 459, 464, 470, 472, 474, 488, 489, 492, 507, 508, 515, 521, 522, 525, 526, 532, 540, 552, 553, 566, 567, 570, 577, 584, 593, 605, 608, 610, 613, 615, 619, 620, 624, 633, 634, 635, 636, 642, 644, 649, 650, 661, 663, 667, 668, 670, 674, 685, 689, 691, 694, 701, 704, 709, 712, 715, 716, 722, 723, 724, 728, 729, 731, 732, 733, 734, 738, 739, 741, 742, 744, 745, 751, 752, 753, 754, 756, 757, 758, 759, 761, 767, 772, 773, 774bis, 786, 799, 803, 813, 818, 831, 838, 843, 853, 862, 881, 892, 900, 903, 910, 912, 1039, 1041, 1064, 1065, 1066, 1067, 1070, 1071, 1076,	966, 993

			1077, 1087	
11		28, 30, 45, 48, 50, 51, 52, 59, 72, 73, 90, 93, 98, 102, 186, 1017	311, 331, 430, 519, 548, 569, 573, 597, 604, 626, 654, 666, 688, 735, 763, 1036, 1042, 1078	
12	1, 2	9, 10x, 15, 16, 19, 33, 37, 57, 78, 80, 86, 87, 88, 115, 118, 120, 126, 147, 165, 178, 189, 190, 198, 217, 243, 247, 249, 264, 1008, 1010x, 1014, 1021, 1028, 1030	284, 285, 291, 292, 310, 312, 320, 321, 324, 327, 343, 352, 372, 408, 411, 421, 422, 423, 428, 467, 453, 476, 505, 517, 541, 565, 578, 579, 669, 702, 703, 714, 727, 762, 766, 826, 842, 851, 855, 873, 878, 894, 925, 1044, 1079	933, 941, 953, 982
13	4, 5	6, 11, 12x, 13x, 14x, 27, 40, 41, 42, 43, 46, 58, 68, 96, 111, 113, 122, 123, 125, 131, 132, 134, 138, 139, 140, 141, 175, 176, 210, 211, 212, 219, 221, 222, 223, 241, 244, 248, 250, 256, 260, 261, 1004, 1005, 1009, 1013, 1016, 1019, 1024, 1025, 1027, 1032, 1088	274, 280, 295, 297, 306, 315, 323, 332, 337, 346, 367, 388, 389, 398, 399, 409, 413, 416, 418, 429, 431, 441, 455, 460, 463, 477, 501, 502, 509, 512, 516, 530, 531, 551, 554, 556, 557, 563, 580, 581, 585, 588, 590, 596, 600, 601, 609, 611, 612, 614, 617, 632, 640, 648, 655, 671, 673, 678, 679, 681, 682, 684, 692, 705, 713, 720, 721, 726, 737, 740, 750, 764, 765, 768, 792, 829, 835, 860, 882, 887, 891, 902, 906, 911, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 921, 922, 926, 927, 1035, 1043, 1048, 1049, 1050, 1051, 1052, 1053, 1054, 1055, 1056, 1057, 1058, 1059, 1060, 1062, 1063, 1073, 1074, 1080, 1082, 1083	955, 983, 1086, P&G 708 951 (novena, 1804) 932, 934, 943, 945, 954, 964, 967, 968, 985, 995, 1085
14		56, 61, 92, 106, 121, 128, 153, 157, 161, 167, 171, 181, 187, 197, 202, 206, 207, 208, 214, 225, 233, 265, 1012, 1020, 1029	273, 289, 294, 296, 298, 305, 340, 348, 353, 358, 361, 368, 405, 410, 412, 424, 461, 473, 499, 535, 537, 550, 568, 591, 603, 680, 683, 690, 699, 700, 782, 802, 837, 863, 864, 869, 907, 923 774, 776, 785, 791, 817, 827, 834, 840 270, 281, 299, 336, 375, 394, 481, 538, 539, 545, 546, 564, 575, 589, 686, 696 268, 319, 354, 1033 272, 287, 303, 307, 308, 309, 316, 317, 328, 345, 374, 376, 432, 435, 445, 452, 471, 475, 487, 491, 510, 514, 524, 527, 528, 529, 536, 542, 547, 558, 559, 719, 901, 904, 909, 918	938, 942, 944, 960, 988, 992, 996; P&G 715
15		174, 230, 1006	267, 350, 362, 379, 770, 795, 811, 812, 819, 820, 856, 888, 1072	939, 965, 984; P&G 717
16	3	1023	341, 378, 448, 511, 606, 660, 672, 717, 1045, 1061	

Appendix 4: Languages of texts

The languages of the texts produced were determined by the title, and on some occasions by consulting the text itself. The number listed corresponds to an entry number in *Impreso* or Pérez and Güemes's *Adiciones*.

1593-1603

Non-Spanish: 2 (Chinese), 3 (Tagalog), 5 (Tagalog)

Bilingual: 1 (Span/Tag), 4 (Tag/Lat)

Languages of texts: 1604-1699		
Spanish		
8, 9, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26, 28, 30, 31, 32, 34, 38, 39, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 81, 85, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 107, 108, 110, 112, 113, 114, 116, 117, 127, 128, 129, 132, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 166, 167, 168, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 199, 200, 201, 202, 204, 205, 206, 208, 209, 210, 211, 213, 214, 215, 218, 220, 223, 225, 226, 227, 228, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 238, 239, 240, 242, 245, 248, 249, 253, 254, 257, 258, 259, 260, 262, 263, 264, 265, 1005, 1006, 1009, 1010, 1011, 1013, 1014, 1015, 1016, 1017, 1018, 1019, 1020, 1021, 1022, 1023, 1025, 1026, 1029, 1030, 1032, 1088		
Non-Spanish		
	Bikol	115, 118, 119, 120, 121, 212, 1028
Bisayan	“Bisayan”	16, 80, 82, 147, 198, 217
	Hiligaynon	29, 83, 84
	Waray-Waray	169
	Chinese	10, 12, 13, 14
	Ilocano	33, 35, 54, 229, 243
	Japanese	40, 41, 42, 43
	Latin	7, 36, 62, 79, 106, 109, 125, 134, 203, 207, 216, 219, 224, 237, 246, 251
	Pampango	25, 37, 122, 256
	Pangasinan	221, 222, 244, 247, 252, 1008
	Portuguese	261
	Tagalog	6, 11, 15, 17, 18, 19, 22, 27, 46, 57, 78, 86, 87, 88, 96, 111, 123, 124, 126, 130, 131, 165, 178, 190, 241, 250, 255, 1004, 1007, 1012, 1024, 1027, 1031

Languages of texts: 1700-1799		
Spanish		
266, 267, 268, 270, 271, 272, 273, 275, 276, 277, 281, 282, 283, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 301, 302, 303, 305, 307, 308, 309, 314, 316, 317, 319, 321, 325, 328, 329, 331, 334, 335, 336, 338, 340, 342, 345, 347, 349, 351, 353, 354, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 367, 368, 369, 370, 373, 374, 376, 377, 378, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 387, 390, 391, 392, 394, 396, 397, 398, 400, 401, 402, 404, 405, 406, 407, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 417, 418, 419, 420, 424, 426, 427, 429, 432, 433, 434, 435, 437, 438, 439, 440, 442, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 454, 455, 456, 459, 460, 461, 462, 464, 465, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 477, 478, 479, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 498, 499, 503, 506, 507, 508, 510, 514, 516, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 526, 527, 528, 529, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 562, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 572, 574, 575, 580, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 591, 592, 594, 595, 597, 598, 599, 601, 602, 603, 604, 606, 607, 608, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 620, 622, 623, 624, 626, 630, 632, 633, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 642, 644, 646, 647, 648, 649, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 665, 666, 668, 670, 672, 673, 678, 679, 680, 681, 683, 685, 686, 687, 688, 690, 693, 694, 695, 696, 698, 699, 700, 704, 705, 708, 710, 712, 713, 715, 716, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 734, 735, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 744, 745, 746, 747, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 764, 765, 766, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 774bis, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 800, 802, 803, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 827, 828, 829, 830, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 852, 853, 854, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 874, 875, 876, 880, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 890, 891, 894, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 912, 913, 915, 916, 917, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 1033, 1036, 1037, 1039, 1041, 1042, 1043, 1045, 1046, 1048, 1049, 1050, 1051, 1052, 1053, 1054, 1055, 1056, 1057, 1058, 1059, 1060, 1061, 1062, 1063, 1064, 1065, 1066, 1067, 1068, 1069, 1071, 1072, 1073, 1074, 1076, 1077, 1079, 1080, 1081, 1082, 1083, 1087		
Non-Spanish		
Bikol	291, 292, 379, 403, 497, 525, 643, 826, 895	
Bisayan	“Bisayan”	274, 300, 310, 343, 372, 375, 388, 389, 428, 431, 453, 463, 467, 476, 579, 762, 855, 911, 918, 1035, 1047
	Cebuano	416, 422
	Panayano	408, 480, 501, 502, 509
	Waray-Waray	576
Cagayano	341	
Ilocano	324, 337, 346, 563, 703, 714, 877, 878, 893, 1070, 1075, 1084	
Latin	313, 322, 326, 330, 333, 339, 344, 348, 355, 366, 386, 395, 415, 436, 443, 444, 458, 466, 489, 511, 515, 540, 553, 570, 571, 577, 593, 605, 610, 619, 621, 627, 628, 629, 631, 634, 641, 650, 663, 664, 667, 674, 675, 676, 677, 689, 691, 697, 701, 706, 707, 709, 711, 724, 733, 736, 742, 743, 748, 749, 763, 767, 799, 801, 804, 831, 861, 862, 879, 881, 892, 1040	
Pampango	320, 327, 332, 393, 425, 457, 513, 590, 596	
Pangasinan	371, 717	
Portuguese	350	
Tagalog	269, 278, 279, 280, 284, 285, 304, 306, 311, 312, 315, 318, 323, 352, 399, 409, 421, 423, 430, 441, 504, 505, 512, 517, 518, 530, 541, 561, 573, 578, 581, 600, 609, 625, 625a, 640, 645, 669, 671, 682, 684, 692, 702, 841, 842, 851, 873, 889, 905, 914, 925, 926, 927, 1034, 1038, 1044, 1078	

Languages of texts: 1800-1813		
Spanish		
928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 935, 935bis, 936, 937, 939, 940, 941, 942, 944, 945, 946, 948, 949, 951, 952, 956, 957, 958, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 983, 984, 986, 987, 988, 990, 991, 992, 994, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000, 1001, 1002, 1003, 1085, 1086; P&G 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 919, 921, 922, 923, 1151, 1152, 1153, 1154, 1155, 1156, 1259; <i>Del Superior Gobierno</i> , 13, 14, 15; Retana, <i>Aparato</i> III: 1493-94, entry 4461; Speculated issues <i>Del Superior Gobierno</i> , nos. 10, 16, 17.		
Non-Spanish		
Bisayan	“Bisayan”	938, 985
	Cebuano	950
Cuyano	995	
Ibanag	982	
Ilocano	954, 955	
Latin	947, 959, 966, 989, 993	
Tagalog	934, 943, 953; P&G 924 (Tag/Span)	

Appendix 5: Size of books. From *Impreso*, p. 12

“**Size.** This is given according to the traditional standards: folio, 4°, and so on. Where a measurement is given, the figure refers to the height; with two figures, height precedes width.

Broadside- an outsized sheet, reaching to 92 x 64 [c]m., meant for posting in public places.

A normal sheet of book paper (*una hoja*) would average to about 40 x 30 cm

Folio (Fol.)- a sheet of paper folded once, resulting in two leaves with four pages; that is the book would be about 30 x 20 cm.

Quarto (4°)- The sheet is folded twice, to comprise four leaves with eight pages; about 20 x 15 cm.

Octavo (8°)- The sheet is folded thrice, to contain 8 leaves with 16 pages; about 15 x 10 cm.

Doce avo (12°)- A third of the sheet is cut off to make 2 quires, (folded or gathered sections), one of 8 leaves with 16 pages, the other of 4 leaves with 8 pages, for a total of 12 leaves with 24 pages; about 13.3 x 7.5 cm.

Diez y seis avo (16°)- Since the quire would be too thick, the sheet is cut in two, resulting in 2 quires of 8 leaves with 16 pages, for a total of 16 leaves and 32 pages; about 10 x 7.5 cm.

Treinta y dos avo (32°)- For a work this small, the sheet was probably cut in two, with each being folded 4 times, resulting in 2 quires of 16 leaves with 32 pages for a total of 32 leaves with 64 pages; 7.5 x 5 cm. (smaller than a matchbox).

Please take heed however that bibliographers were not too exact when it came to distinguishing between 12°, 16°, and 32°.”

Appendix 6: The *Diálogo mixti fori*, revised

Source:

Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City
Fondo Novohispano
Grupo documental Inquisición (61)
Vol. 861, ff. 68r-75r

The text of the *Diálogo mixti fori* that appears here has been modernized for spelling, punctuation, and accentuation. I have also broken up the large paragraphs of the original text into dialogue format for easier reading. Exceptions to these revisions are the quotes that appeared in the original text (which appeared and still appear in italics) and the title page, all of which retain their original spellings, punctuation, accentuation, and formatting. Although in updating the *Mixti fori* I have added punctuation and accents and have modernized and corrected spelling, I have attempted to stay as close to the original as possible. Where there were unusual words or notable or important spellings, I have indicated them with a footnote containing the word as they originally appeared in the text. I have also added in the folio breaks for easy citation. These numbers are not found in the original text but were added by the Inquisitors in Mexico City when the *Mixti fori* was added to the files of the Inquisition, which explains their irregularity. I have also annotated the document, attempting to be as thorough as possible in the annotations, clarifying enigmatic words and phrases, identifying references to people, places, and things, and translating from the Latin when needed. With a few exceptions, the translations are my own, and I take full responsibility for their accuracy or lack thereof. Although I attempted to locate each quotation in its original source, this was not possible since many quotations do not contain a citation.

+
 DIALOGO
 MIXTI FORI⁷⁶³,
 Y SEMIESPIRITVAL
 COLLOQVIO,
 ENTRE
 EL AVTOR SEMISOPITO⁷⁶⁴
 Bachiller D. Athanasio Lopez Gatica, y el
 Canudo de D. Pedro Cabildo, opuesto ex
 diámetro, & per antiperistasim⁷⁶⁵ à el Papalote
 defensorio, y voladores luces de las primeras
 intenciones, que ha fraguado la presente Va-
 cante en este año de 34. sobre querer à puras
 fuerzas adjudicar à su Capítular agregado vn
 reflexo Vice-Real Patronazgo, y vna como
 Jurisdiccion Papal, que tira por la Calle de en-
 medio⁷⁶⁶, de que se me dà á mi, y sepan solo
 quien es Callejas⁷⁶⁷.

DELANTAR DE LA OBRA•

A la Plaza, y Mercado del Mundo⁷⁶⁸, deslizo aquestas reacias voces, confiado en la buena acogida, que tienen en su estimacion, cualesquiera borrones, mas ricos de papel, que afluentes de razon. Procuro en breve lisonjear su novelero gusto, asegurado, de que su corta vista graduarà desde luego lo rudo de mi Musa, ensalzando mi humilde Gerigonza, hasta el Caracter del grave Magisterio.

*Vale Celeberrime Munde*⁷⁶⁹.

⁷⁶³ “mixti fori”: “of mixed or shared jurisdiction/privilege” (*my translation*); in support of this definition, Juan de Paz, *Consultas y resoluciones*, referring to negligent heirs in the fulfillment of parts of a will: “donde se ve claramente, que en todas tres leyes...toca, y pertenece a los herederos disponer del quinto...y solamente pertenece al Obispo, o a la justicia secular, en caso de conocida negligencia de los herederos, porque es *mixti fori*” (478). The *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* (DRAE) also defines the word thusly: “1. m. Embrollo o mezcla de cosas heterogéneas.” The title *Diálogo mixti fori* is therefore very appropriate given the topic, i.e., conflicts in jurisdiction between the Crown and the *cabildo eclesiástico* of Manila over questions of the Real Patronato, as well as the tone of the piece and the frequent humorous stories intermingled with multitudinous legal references and the occasional scripture.

⁷⁶⁴ “semisopito”: “half asleep” (*my translation*); prefix “semi-” + Latin “sopitus,” perfect passive participle of “sopio, sopire,” “to cause or lull to sleep; to render insensible, stun”

⁷⁶⁵ “opuesto...antiperistasim”: “opuesto ex diámetro” = possibly, “diametrically opposed”; “per antiperistasim” = possibly, “by anti/counter-argument”; DRAE: *perístasis*: 1. f. *Ret.* Tema, asunto o argumento del discurso. All together, “Opposed diametrically and by counter-argument”

⁷⁶⁶ “Según el diccionario María Moliner: echar [o tirar] por la calle de en medio: Actuar sin contemplaciones y con decisión en cierto asunto.” (www.wordreference.com, under “tira,” forum consultation, accessed 14 Mar. 2014.)

⁷⁶⁷ “sepan...Callejas”: *Nuevo diccionario de la lengua castellana* (NDLC): *sépanse quién es Calleja o Callejas, o ya verán quién es Calleja*: fr. fam. Con que alguno se jacta de su poder o autoridad (under “calleja”).

⁷⁶⁸ “Plaza y Mercado...”: Manila

En Zurrate⁷⁷⁰: por el Gran Kang⁷⁷¹ de Tartaria, Año de tantos &c.

[68v blank]

)?(+)?(

[69r] Era, pues, una apacible tarde, brindadora de parla y de festejo, que epilogando con acuerdo las bizarrías de toda su hermosura, en un frondoso y erguido *Calumpan*⁷⁷², bajo de su sombrío, ostentaba industriosa un tendido *Lancape*⁷⁷³, en cuyo feliz establo de la tierra yacía, más marchito que machucho⁷⁷⁴, nuestro peregrino Bachiller. *Quasi titere tupatule recubans sub tegmine fagi*⁷⁷⁵, deseando con vehemencia con quién comunicar lo laborioso de su legal tarea y lo infatigable de sus apurados discursos, cuando (¡oh, auspicio prontísimo de Apolo!) con tartamudos pasos se dejó claramente ver el corpulento Pedro, quien caminando hacia el asombrado bulto de nuestro Bachiller, en este modo le saluda:

Pedro: ¡Salve, peritísimo⁷⁷⁶ Gatica, Bachiller y Maestro de Artes, Oráculo de la Jurisprudencia! Ante tu debido acatamiento se halla el anciano Pedro Protoportero de aquesta Capital. ¿Qué tienes? ¿En qué piensas? *Surge rumpe moras*⁷⁷⁷. Desbrocha ya tus cuitas, pues sabes que yo he sido otro tú, y tu verdadera hechura.

Así lo ejecutó nuestro jurista, quien, accionando enérgicos visajes y respirando tiples consonancias, de aquesta suerte le responde al impensado Pedro:

Bachiller: ¿Qué tengo de tener, hijito mío? Tengo congojas, fatigas de Minerva, y todos sustos. Y para que lo creas, mira aqueste volumen, o manifiesto en escabeche, que me ha venido de la

⁷⁶⁹ “Vale...Munde”: “Farewell (Be strong) Most Distinguished (renowned, famous, notorious) World”

⁷⁷⁰ Old spelling of the city of Surat, in western India (Flückiger and Hanbury 189).

⁷⁷¹ “Kang”: possibly meaning “Khan”

⁷⁷² “calumpan”: The *kalumpang* tree (*Sterculia foetida* L.), also known as Wild Almond, among other things. Widespread throughout the Philippines and Southeast Asia (Lim 192-97).

⁷⁷³ “LANCAPE A bamboo bed, in Pangasinan province. –People v. Macaso, 198-R, April 29, 1947” (Moreno 532).

⁷⁷⁴ DRAE: *machucho, cha*: adj., sosegado, juicioso.

⁷⁷⁵ This quotation is the (misspelled) first line of Virgil’s first *Eclogue*: “Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi,” meaning, “You, Tityrus, reclining underneath the wide-spreading protection of the beech tree.” It should also be noted that the “ae” vowel cluster was often eliminated in favor of the simple “e” in many neo-Latin texts.

⁷⁷⁶ DRAE: *perito, ta*: adj. Entendido, experimentado, hábil, práctico en una ciencia o arte.

⁷⁷⁷ “Surge, rumpe moras”: literally, “Rise up, break delays.” A more colloquial translation is: “Arise without delay” (Vida 73). This appears to be a quote from the *Christiad* (Latin, *Christiados*), an epic poem in the Vergilian style on the life of Christ by Marco Girolamo Vida, published in Latin in Cremona, Italy in 1535. This quote is part of the angel’s instructions to Joseph to flee Bethlehem and go into Egypt to escape King Herod.

Villa de Arévalo⁷⁷⁸, para su aprobación y censura. Pues habiendo leído su contexto, he descubierto en lo fragoso de sus como jurídicos fragmentos y retazos⁷⁷⁹ canónicos un diluvio de dudas, y unas proposiciones de una moneda tal, que lindan con panjolos⁷⁸⁰ y rematan con peruleros⁷⁸¹. Y quisiera para proceder con acuerdo remitirlo por voto consultivo⁷⁸² a los señores tumultuantes y sectarios villadieguitas⁷⁸³, Bachiller Don Miguel Simón del Rosario, y al Maestro Simón Ramas. Pero, pues, has venido tan a tiempo, te lo tengo de leer en *lo pertinenti*, para que en su inteligencia me vayas apuntando tu sentir. Porque asentado que a los parvulitos se les revelan cosas que ignoran los que estudian, tu podrás, mi Pedro, fiscalizar⁷⁸⁴ a toda libertad sus cláusulas en lo modal y substancial, confiado que te apoyaré lo que fuese razón.

Pedro: En esta buena fe acepto la promesa, y así, manos a la obra, salga el forraje fuera.

Bachiller: Salga en hora buena, y sea su carátula en *Initio*, dice así: *Papel en que se intenta persuadir*.

Pedro: *Specta, specta*⁷⁸⁵: dice que es papel, no sino calabaza. ¿No fuera mejor, que dijera papilla, o papelada, para decir algo de nuevo? Jesús, qué mal papel.

Bachiller: Eso me agrada, Pedro. Adiciona lo que te pareciere, que vale más tu ingenuidad que cien papeles de estos.

Pedro: Si sólo intenta persuadir y no persuade, es muy mala intención.

Bachiller: Prosigo: *no ser la intencion del V. D. y C.*⁷⁸⁶ *de Manila, Governador de su Arzobispado en Sede Vacante*.

Pedro: Del Cabildo de Manila, dice. Yo entendí que fuese de Terrenate⁷⁸⁷ o de Zurrate. No en balde refiere el Señor Solórzano. lib. 4. polit. c. 14. vers. y últimamente, *que por lo tocante à la*

⁷⁷⁸ According to Retana, *Estadismo*, vol. 2, Apéndice C, p. 355: “Arévalo (Villa de).— Prov. de Iloilo, isla de Panay. Data de 1581; fundóla D. Gonzalo Ronquillo en la llamada entonces «jurisdicción de Otong».— Tiene brillante historia.— II, 91.” It could also be that the author of the *Mixti fori* is referring to the author of the *Papel*.

⁷⁷⁹ DRAE: *retazo*: n., trozo o fragmento de un razonamiento o discurso

⁷⁸⁰ As far as I can tell, this refers to a small region of the Bulacan province in Central Luzon, so “panjolos” would be “Panjolese” or “Panjolans” (“the inhabitants of Panjolo”).

⁷⁸¹ DRAE: *perulero, ra*²: 1. adj. Natural del Perú; 2. adj. Perteneciente o relativo a este país de América; 3. m. y f. Persona que ha ido desde el Perú a España, y especialmente la adinerada.

If this is what the author is referring to with “peruleros,” between this and “panjolos” it might be that the author is stating that the *Papel* is so poorly written that it could have been written by the inhabitants of Panjolo or Peru, with a despective connotation.

⁷⁸² DRAE: *voto consultivo*: dictamen que dan algunas corporaciones o personas autorizadas a quienes han de decidir un negocio. (under “voto”)

⁷⁸³ “villadieguita”: Most likely from the phrase, “tomar las del Villadiego” (see note 45). This possibly means that the individuals named immediately after have left the city. I have not been able to determine their identity.

⁷⁸⁴ DRAE: *fiscalizar*: v., criticar y traer a juicio las acciones u obras de alguien

⁷⁸⁵ “Specta, specta”: “Look, look.”

⁷⁸⁶ “Venerable Deán y Cabildo,” the governing body of the Manila archbishopric in *sede vacante*. The Maestro Isidoro de Arévalo was the head of this body at the time he wrote his *Papel*.

Iglesia Metropolitana de estas Islas impetraron de su Santidad los Embaxadores del Rey Nuestro Señor, que quando sucediesse vacar se llamasse a su Gobierno el Obispo mas cercano.

Bachiller: Me regocijo de que hayas visto ese lugar, para que infieras lo que es una vacante en esta tierra. Prosigo: *Introducirse en el nombramiento Confirmacion de Capellanes de Armadas, Galeras, y Navios, que se despachan de orden de su Magestad.*

Pedro: Supongo que hablará del tiempo futuro, porque de lo pretérito, según he oído, ha incurrido el Cabildo en el canon, *Si quis suadente diabolo*⁷⁸⁸.

Bachiller: Escucha, ello dirá: *ni en el conocimiento de cosas pertenecientes al Real Patronato, hijo Pedro, a esto que oyes traslado a los autos. Sino solo defender la Jurisdiccion de que goza. Hoc opus, hic labor est*⁷⁸⁹, *de que se le pretende desposseer.*

Pedro: ¿Ha probado el Cabildo su anterior posesión?

Bachiller: No.

Pedro: Pues llevóselo todo el Diablo.

Bachiller: Antes ha venido a ser el perturbador de la cuasi posesión de los derechos reales.

Pedro. Pues contra él y sus secuaces con el que llamáis *interdicto retinendae*⁷⁹⁰.

⁷⁸⁷ Old/alternate spelling for the island of Ternate, in the Maluku Islands (Moluccas, Spice Islands). Alternatively, Terrenate could refer to the town of the same name in Cavite, which was settled by natives of the island of Ternate. When the Spaniards abandoned the island permanently in 1663, they brought with them, voluntarily, according to Costa, those native *ternateños* who had converted to Catholicism and who did not wish to remain without spiritual guidance (475). They then settled on the south shore of Manila bay and named their new town after their old island home.

⁷⁸⁸ “*Si quis suadente diabolo*”: literally, “If anyone, by the urging of the devil.” These are the first words of Canon 119 of the *Codex Iuris Canonici*, given in the Second Council of the Lateran in 1139, and is also known as the “*Privilegium canonis*,” or “*Privilege of Canons*,” which states that anyone who lays violent hands on a religious person receives the penalty of excommunication *latae sententiae*, meaning that one is automatically excommunicated from the sacraments of the church by the mere commission of the act, without the necessity of a trial or hearing to prove guilt. Writing facetiously, the author here refers to the actions of the Cabildo in attempting to prevent the regulars assigned as chaplains to leave unless they accepted the titles issued by the Cabildo (AGN 861, 222r).

⁷⁸⁹ “*Hoc...est*”: “This is the task, this is the toil” (*my translation*). From the *Aeneid*, Book VI, line 129. Here the Sybil is telling Aeneas what he must do to gain entrance to the lower world, and that getting out is much more difficult than getting in (*Aeneid* 314-15). The author of the *Mixti fori* uses the quote to say that the task that the Cabildo has set itself to, i.e., defending its alleged jurisdiction, is akin to Aeneas’s getting out of Hell: it is impossible because the Cabildo has no jurisdiction whatsoever over appointments made under the authority of the Real Patronato.

⁷⁹⁰ “*Interdicto retinendae possessionis*”: In Roman law, this legal recourse was used to prevent the unlawful or illicit alienation of goods or property from the rightful owner (Savigny 202). Its mention here is in defense of the Governor’s authority and position as Vice-Patron of the Real Patronato in the Philippines. Due the great time and distance between the Philippines and Spain, the Governor and Captain General had the authority to exercise the Real Patronato on behalf of the King, who would send his ratification or rejection later (*Recopilación*, book 1, title 4,

Bachiller: Prosigo: *Y que el Señor Fiscal debe por razon de su Officio ampararlo.*

Pedro: ¿Acaso gozan el privilegio de menores o miserables?

Bachiller: Pues ahora dudas eso, atiende la causal que da el papel por ser conforme a la voluntad de su Majestad, explicada en sus leyes y otras decisiones del Real Patronato.

Pedro: O, pues, si el Cabildo tiene aquesta voluntad a su favor, no hay qué hacer.

Bachiller: Quiere, hijito, tenerla; explica su deseo.

Pedro: ¿Y quién es el autor de ese papel?

Bachiller: Óyelo, y no te cause admiración. *El Maestro Don Isidoro de Arévalo.*

Pedro: ¿Maestro en qué?

Bachiller: Pues no lo dice; será quizás *in cunctis*⁷⁹¹, porque el verbo *Maestro* indefinido equivale a universal, y este en su sentir se da desde luego *a parte rei*⁷⁹².

Pedro: Del mismo jaez he visto sobre escrito que decía, *à mi hijo el Maestro vestido de negro en Salamanca.*

Bachiller: Cuyos más principales títulos son *Vicario General*⁷⁹³.

Pedro: Traslado sobre lo General al Doctor Fuentes⁷⁹⁴, quien dicen le ha coartado la jurisdicción del Vicariato.

Bachiller: Juez de Testamentos⁷⁹⁵.

Pedro: Faltan los codicilos⁷⁹⁶ e intestados⁷⁹⁷.

laws 16, 50) . The Cabildo's attempts to name substitute chaplains and issue titles is the offense that causes Pedro here to call for the application of this law in favor of the King, represented in the Philippines by the Governor.

⁷⁹¹ "In cunctis": "in all things"

⁷⁹² "a parte rei": in scholastic philosophy, "objectively, in reality"; here the author uses the phrase to indicate that it is obvious to anyone who might read Arévalo's *Papel* that he is trying to appear to be an expert or Maestro in all things.

⁷⁹³ The *vicario general*, or vicar general, is the representative of the bishop while the bishop is alive and, acting under the direction and authority of the bishop, does everything the bishop can do, with certain exceptions. When a diocese is in sede vacante, the vicar general is the head of the chapter (Cabildo) until the appointment of a new bishop, after which time he is released from his office. (Murillo Velarde, *Curso* 1:376-81).

⁷⁹⁴ "Doctor Fuentes": Dr. Juan de la Fuente Yepes, Arcediano (archdeacon) of the Cabildo at the the time.

⁷⁹⁵ "Juez de Testamentos": One of the functions of a bishop was to execute wills in the absence of a will or an executor, or in the case of negligent heirs or executors. As the representative of the bishop or archbishop in sede vacante, the *vicario general* was also a Juez de Testamentos (Paz 476-78).

Bachiller: Examinador Sinodal⁷⁹⁸. Ahora, ya no sé si es práctico o especulativo⁷⁹⁹, pero sea lo que fuere: vamos a nuestro intento, y no nos detengamos.

Pedro: ¿Sabes lo que me hace [69v] fuerza?

Bachiller: ¿Qué?

Pedro: Que el autor del papel haya sido un sabiondo, que con sólo haber asistido al *initio*, que se tuvo cuando se comenzó la lectura de sagrados cánones en el Colegio de Santo Tomás, recopilase en sólo aquel poco tiempo una literatura que lo eleve a profesar hacer papeles y en derecho sin haberle oído a su maestro, el Doctor Correa⁸⁰⁰, siquiera cuatro días seguidos.

Bachiller: Eso no te haga fuerza en tal sujeto, porque no siendo ni aun Bachiller en los derechos, lo vemos Provisor contra la primordial intención del Tridentino, *ut in cap. finali. in fine, ubi Abbas de consanguini. & affinit. rota dec. 84. alliatio 778. t. de rescript. ubi dicit: quod causa terminanda sedum doctrinam iuris Canonici debet committi auditori in iure Canonica*⁸⁰¹. Aquí se echa de ver que en aquesta elección durmió sin perro nuestro Doctor Fuentes, y por consiguiente juez que pronuncia sentencias en delicados puntos sin más accesoria que la borla azul de Maestro de Artes. Esto es sede vacante en China, y estar en su caballito de palo. Pero atiende a este sagrado texto, con que exordia su triste mamarracho: *Labia enim Sacerdotis custodient*

⁷⁹⁶ DRAE: *codicilo*: 1. m. *Der.* Antigüamente, y hoy en Cataluña, toda disposición de última voluntad que no contiene la institución del heredero y que puede otorgarse en ausencia de testamento o como complemento de él.

⁷⁹⁷ “intestados”: those who die without creating a will

⁷⁹⁸ DRAE: *examinador sinodal*: 1. m. Teólogo o canonista nombrado por el prelado diocesano para examinar a los que han de ser admitidos a las órdenes sagradas y ejercer los ministerios de párrocos, confesores, predicadores, etc.

⁷⁹⁹ “práctico o especulativo”: can be translated as “practical or theoretical,” a reference to the role and responsibilities of an *examinador sinodal*. In other words, as *examinador*, Arévalo would have had the responsibility to examine candidates for benefices, holy orders, etc, whether in praxis or in theory. However, here the author seems to be using it facetiously, suggesting that Arévalo was incompetent to perform such examinations, i.e., he doubts whether Arévalo had any actual experience in performing an examination or not.

⁸⁰⁰ Doctor José Correa Villa Real, an *asesor*, or legal advisor to the Real Audiencia.

⁸⁰¹ “quod...Canonica,” where “sedum” is understood to indicate “secundum,” or “according to”: “that the decision of the lawsuit, according to the doctrine of Canon Law, should be committed to the advisor (judge) in Canon Law.” (Thanks to Alberto Carrillo Cázares for his help with “sedum”). The word “auditori” (literally, “hearer”) here could refer to the “canónigo doctoral,” in times past one of the four canonries (“canonjías”) of a cathedral chapter. This canon, according to the DRAE, “Es el asesor jurídico del cabildo catedral y debe estar graduado en derecho canónico o ser perito en cánones.” (under “canónigo”). Alternatively, “auditori” could be translated as “oidor” or “judge.” Isidoro de Arévalo, author of the *Papel* that the *Mixti fori* is refuting, was the *vicario general* of the Manila chapter in sede vacante. Regarding the office of *vicario general*, Pedro Murillo Velarde writes, “En español se llama comúnmente *Provisor*” (*Curso* 1:378, n. 295). The DRAE states that the *provisor* is a “juez diocesano nombrado por el obispo, con quien constituye un mismo tribunal, y que tiene potestad ordinaria para ocuparse de causas eclesiásticas.” As *vicario general*, i.e. as *provisor*, Arévalo should have met certain requirements, among which is the following: “debe ser doctor en derecho canónico o licenciado, o de otro modo, cuanto fuere posible, idóneo.” (*Curso* 1:378, n. 297; 1:345, n. 232). Since Arévalo was only a “Maestro de Artes,” he did not meet this requirement at all, which fact the author is disparaging in the above paragraph.

scientiam, ... Vos autem recessistis de via, & scandalizastis plurimos in lege irritum fecistis pactum. Malach. c. 2.⁸⁰²

Perico, hijito, este texto sagrado es de Malaquías del Testamento Viejo, y sábetelo que no viene al caso porque dicho texto habla de Sacerdotes, y a quien se dirige en el papel es al señor Gobernador⁸⁰³, al señor Fiscal⁸⁰⁴ y al Doctor Correa, que son legos lisos, llanos y abonados, quienes (dice el sazonado autor) han escandalizado a Manila. Siendo así que dicho Maestro de Leva⁸⁰⁵ o de Artes abusa de la Sagrada Escritura, aplicándola impropriamente para sugerir y echar pullas contra lo que está dispuesto en el Tridentino (Sess. 4)⁸⁰⁶, y en el Expurgatorio del año de 1707. Y con toda propiedad le conviene al Cabildo porque son Sacerdotes y se apartaron del camino real y carretero y escandalizaron a todo el pueblo con sus ideas y novedad, y si por acaso no han tomado las de Villadiego⁸⁰⁷ y se meten en sagrado, por un tris los envían a Batavia a continuar sus competencias con los *desarrapados* holandeses, para que no alborotasen más.

O si acaso dicho texto es a los Padres jesuitas, lo primero es saltar *extra Chorum*⁸⁰⁸. Lo segundo, está prohibido por la Inquisición soltar dicitivos contra las religiones. Lo tercero, es abusar de la Escritura contra el Expurgatorio y Tridentino; y lo cuarto, es falso que se les pueda atribuir esta inquietud o escándalo porque sus Reverendísimas, como Capellanes Reales, no debían perjudicar el Patronato, y discurriendo⁸⁰⁹ que el título del Cabildo podía ser, como con efecto era, contra dicho Patronato, no quisieron admitirlo sin avisar primero al Vice-Patrón.

Pedro: No seas tan malicioso, puede ser que se dirija el texto contra las demás religiones que se han prescindido de las licencias del Cabildo, y no le han hecho caso las veces que han sido nombrados Capellanes.

Bachiller: Digo, que dicho texto es contra la Sagrada Compañía, y para que lo creas, oye el n. 49 del paparracho, donde trae el siguiente texto de San Francisco Javier, que dice así, hablando del Señor Frasso. Y por último trae la doctrina que daba San Francisco Javier a los de su Compañía, la que saca del Padre Luzena, lib. 6, cap. 11, cuyas palabras son las siguientes: *Sereis con grande puntualidad obedientes al Vicario de la Ciudad, al qual ireis luego en llegando, à besar la mano*

⁸⁰² Malachi 2: 7-8, "For the lips of the priest shall keep knowledge... But you have departed out of the way, and have caused many to stumble at the law: you have made void the covenant..."

⁸⁰³ Fernando Valdés y Tamón, governor from 1729-1739.

⁸⁰⁴ Pedro Vedoya y Osorio.

⁸⁰⁵ DRAE: *leva*¹: 2. Recluta de gente para el servicio militar; 4. trampa (|| ardid).

⁸⁰⁶ The fourth session of the Council of Trent, held 8 Apr. 1546, contains two decrees: "Decrees concerning the canonical scriptures" and "Decree concerning the edition and use of the sacred books" (Schroeder 17-20). Here the author of the *Mixti fori* is referring to the content of the second decree, especially where it states that, "...wishing to repress that boldness whereby the words and sentences of the Holy Scriptures are turned and twisted to all kinds of profane usages, namely, to...detractions...defamatory libels...it is commanded and enjoined that all people of this kind be restrained by the bishops as violators and profaners of the word of God, with the penalties of the law and other penalties that they may deem fit to impose" (20).

⁸⁰⁷ DRAE: *coger, o tomar, las de Villadiego* (under "Villadiego"): ausentarse impensadamente, de ordinario por huir de un riesgo o compromiso.

⁸⁰⁸ "saltar extra chorum": "met. Decir alguna cosa que no viene al intento de lo que se trata, o responder intempestivamente aquel con quien no se habla" (625-26, "Saltar," in *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*, 1852).

⁸⁰⁹ DRAE: *discurrir*: 2. tr. Inferir, conjeturar.; 6. intr. Reflexionar, pensar, hablar acerca de algo, aplicar la inteligencia.

hincadas ambas rodillas en tierra, y con su licencia, predicareis, confessareis, y os exercitareis en las otras obras espirituales. Hete aquí la puya: pero, ¡oh infelices moscas! *Quae melle effuso implicitis autem pedibus evolare no poterant*⁸¹⁰.

Se les cayó la sopa en la miel, sin que pueda volar a rienda suelta su papalote⁸¹¹ capitular. Oiga, pues, el señor Vicario General aquesta distinción, y no se me enfurune⁸¹²: San Francisco Javier habla de los jesuitas como particulares, y no de los jesuitas que están nombrados Capellanes Reales, ni de los jesuitas que saben que con ir a ver al Vicario, se perjudica al Patronato.

Pedro: Aguarda. Yo discurro que semejantes expresiones son ardientes efectos de un sotán⁸¹³, que les ha causado el descubrimiento de los títulos, que hizo la Compañía, como si fuesen Palaos⁸¹⁴ inaccesibles.

Bachiller: Es así; pues, ¿quién les tiene la culpa? ¿Para qué van a usurparlos? ¿No saben que los jesuitas estudian más que los Canónigos? ¿Para qué les hacen cocos?⁸¹⁵ Les sucedió por buena cuenta lo que al otro, que poniéndose a jugar con un gato, tanto le hurgó que el gato con una arañada les impuso perpetuo entredicho, viendo que no le bastaba mostrar las uñas.

Pedro: Según esto, no es mala arañada la que ha llevado el Cabildo, y parece que quiere llevar otras, *secundum allegata, & probata*⁸¹⁶. Ello es, que su Señoría Ilustrísima, dicen, que está escandalizado del caso.

Bachiller: Pues.

Pedro: Sábetse, que es escándalo de los fariseos; y así, buena pro le faga. Vamos aunque perdamos tiempo, al número primero, donde dice dicho Maestro que la ley que sigue es lidiar sólo con el entendimiento, y no con la voluntad. Ya atendiste la que acaba de soltar por debajo de la cuerda agarrándose de S. Francisco Javier. No digo yo, que *in hoc tugurio aliud dicunt, & aliud faciunt?*⁸¹⁷ Pues esta sentencia no la dijo Pateta⁸¹⁸, sino un lobo, cuando los animales hablaban. Dice también en dicho número, *que escribe para ver si puede desengañar a algunos, que haciendole todo favor creyeren sus expresiones.* ¡Qué tal estará el papel, pues para creerle es necesario que algunos le hagan todo favor! ¿Y que este, ya cifradamente con capa de humildad, lo pide?

⁸¹⁰ “Quae... poterant”: “who [the ‘moscas’], with honey having been spilled out...but with their feet entangled they were not able to fly away.” From *Aesop’s Fables*, “The Flies.”

⁸¹¹ “papalote”: “kite.” Based on the use of this word, the author might be Mexican.

⁸¹² Maybe, “enfurrñarse,” meaning “enfadarse.”

⁸¹³ “sotán”: “un achaque que llaman *sotan*, especie de pasmo que coagula de suerte la sangre, que no pudiendo circular regularmente, en breve tiempo oprime el corazón y lo priva de su vital movimiento. Dicha enfermedad es muy común y la curan fácilmente los naturales, lo que no consiguen los preceptos y aforismos de Galeno, Hipócrates y Avicena con otros físicos, por ser regional” (Delgado 170).

⁸¹⁴ The islands comprising the modern Republic of Palau.

⁸¹⁵ DRAE: *hacer cocos*: Halagar a alguien con fiestas o ademanes para persuadirle a hacer algo. (Under “coco²”).

⁸¹⁶ “secundum...”: “according to the allegations and the proof”; legal term used here to say, “apparently.”

⁸¹⁷ “in hoc... faciunt”: “In this house they say one thing but do another.” From *Aesop’s Fables*, “The Wolf and the Old Woman.”

⁸¹⁸ DRAE: *pateta*: 3. m. pl. u. c. sing. Méx. diablo (|| príncipe de los ángeles rebelados). *EL patetas*.

Pedro: ¿Conque dicho Maestro no escribe para todos, sino para los que le hicieren todo favor? Pues llévelo [62r⁸¹⁹] a las Recogidas, que allí seguramente favorecerán. O diga que escribe para los amancebados y retraídos, que luego le harán todo favor.

Bachiller: ¡Qué lástima de Maestro! Y cita el pobrecito a Séneca en dicho número primero, ibi: *magna est vis veritatis, quæ contra omnium ingenia, calliditatem solertiam, & contra fictas hominum insidias facile se, per se ipsam defendit*⁸²⁰. Y es todo en su contra, porque si escribe en razón y en verdad, y ésta por si se defiende, ¿para qué pide todo favor, y que le crean? No mira el señor Maestro que la verdad no necesita padrinos para mantener su eficacia. *Igitur*⁸²¹, quedamos *pessime* con la cita de Séneca.

Pedro: Pues he reparado que las citas de ese papel ni están en la escritura, ni en la margen, como regularmente se estila⁸²². ¿Cuál, pues, será la causa?

Bachiller: Óyela en breve: Están tan descabelladas las citas, y de tan mal pelaje, que tomaron más bien irse a la cola que parecer delante de gentes. Supongo que, como es novel el autor, muestra bien lo atrasado que se halla en las citas de aquesta facultad.

Le preguntó uno a un indio a dónde estaba la aduana, a que le respondió: “¿Sabe oste dónde vive Pascual el guitarrero? Pues, no es allí. ¿Sabe oste de aquel gente que tiene sus guajolotes⁸²³? Tampoco es allí la aduana.” Y no le dio las señas. Así me sucedió, que preguntándole a la primera foja dónde estaban las citas, después de haber visto una chusma de guajolotes conceptos, me quedaba en blanco hasta que di con ellas, como si no las viera.

En el segundo número se difunde en ponderar que se deben las dos lumbreras, eclesiástica y secular, dar mutuos auxilios; pero tanta prosa es en su contra, porque de lo eclesiástico se han negado los auxilios a lo secular, y si no, diga dicho Provisor, y su Cabildo: ¿dieron las licencias que se pidieron por el Señor Vice-Patrón para que exhibiesen los Clérigos sus títulos? No. *Igitur*, sóplate ese huevo⁸²⁴, y bebe caldo. En el número 3 impugna el título del manifiesto del señor Fiscal⁸²⁵ con la paridad de los fariseos que le impugnaron a Pilatos el título,

⁸¹⁹ Irregular numbering in expediente.

⁸²⁰ “magna...defendit”: “Great is the power of truth, which against the machinations of all things, cunning, shrewdness, and against the false artifices of men, easily defends itself, by itself” (*my translation*). This is actually from Cicero in his *Oratio pro Caelio*. In quoting it here the author seems to have switched the place of “omnium” and “hominum.” It may have been printed this way in Arévalo’s *Papel*.

⁸²¹ “Igitur”: “therefore”

⁸²² Arévalo’s *Papel*, rather than putting the multitudinous obligatory legal quotations and references either in the text, as the *Mixti fori* does, or in the margin, as *Por la jurisdicción* does, includes all references and quotations as endnotes. Hence Bachiller’s comment immediately following Pedro’s question.

⁸²³ “guajolotes”: “turkeys”; another Mexicanism.

⁸²⁴ Originally, “guebo.” This might correspond to *sórbete ese huevo*: Denota la complacencia de que a otra persona le venga un leve daño. (DRAE, under “huevo”).

⁸²⁵ “título...Fiscal”: The *Mixti fori* is a manifest against the *Papel* of Isidoro de Arévalo, which was in turn a manifest against a text written by the royal Fiscal, Pedro Vedoya, titled, *Alegato fiscal en defensa del Real Patronato, y sus regalías en el nombramiento y título de capellanes de armadas, galeras y navíos que se despachan de orden de Su Mag.d, contra la pretensión del V. Dean y Cabildo de Manila de introducirse en el nombramiento y confirmación de dichos capellanes en el conocimiento de cosas pertenientes a dicho Patronato. POR EL LICENDIADO DON PEDRO VEDOYA y Ossorio del Consejo de su Majestad, Fiscal de la Real Audiencia y Chancillería de las Islas Filipinas, y Electo de la de México en los reinos de la Nueva España* (Retana, *Aparato* 1:276, spelling and punctuation modernized). Vedoya published his *Alegato* in June or July of 1734.

o INRI, de la cruz. Y en esto hace a todos los canónigos judíos, que claman contra el título sin que les sufrague la otra parte de la metáfora, porque por acá somos mejores retóricos que sus Señorías, porque el título que puso Pilatos fue cierto y verdadero, que era Nuestro Señor verdadero Rey de los Judíos, quienes querían que se pusiese que se fingía rey, conque como en nuestro caso de parte del señor Fiscal se haya pretendido tenga el debido cumplimiento lo mismo que dijo Jesucristo: *Reddite quæ sunt Cesaris Cesari, & quæ sunt Dei Deo*⁸²⁶. Según lo que producen los autos, no viene al caso en contra del Real Fisco el farisaico pensamiento.

En el num. 4 asienta a su albedrío el hecho tan siniestramente, que no constando cosa de lo que dice en los autos, quedó en los términos de la nada. Y así *fallit*⁸²⁷ en el hecho, pues es común proverbio: *Quod id quod non constat ex actis, non dicatur esse in mundo*⁸²⁸; y porque *tandem tandem facti narratio non facit Ius*⁸²⁹, c. ex literis de fide Instrum. Por lo que, hijo mío Pedro, viniendo al 13, número de aqueste mamotreto, oye lo que asevera. Dice, *que la pretension del Cabildo no ha sido introducirse en el nombramiento, y Confirmacion de los Capellanes Reales*; y para probar esta conclusión respira en lo aparente tales cuales motivos que son flores del vulgo y desaliños de la jurisprudencia, que *per confusionem* ha adquirido, que es el mejor título, que no el de *per infusionem scientiæ*⁸³⁰.

Yo, pues, que soy el mínimo de los diarios causídicos⁸³¹, tengo de refutar semejante entusiasmo, ayudándome tú con lo que te sugiriere la natural sindéresis⁸³².

Pedro: Digo que así lo haré, porque habiendo asistido al *initio* en el referido Colegio con el susodicho autor, me prometo sin duda ser partícipe de alguna quisicosa⁸³³ que apoye tu dictamen. Y así, manos a la obra.

Bachiller: *Igitur exordium capiamus*⁸³⁴ a la guerra, dividiendo mis conceptos en aparejados instrumentos que con su pólvora obscurezcan, con su horrendo tronido avasallen y con su ejecución gallardeen. Toca al arma. Al arma toca. *En tuba, en tuba chlangit*⁸³⁵.

Digo, pues, en conclusión, *que el Cabildo Ecclesiastico se ha introducido en el nombramiento, y Confirmacion de los Capellanes Reales*, cuya prueba de la presente tesis tiene su consistencia en el título expedido el año de 32 por el V.D. y C. mediante su Vicario General,

⁸²⁶ Matthew 22:21: “Render therefore to Cesar the things that are Cesar’s: and to God, the things that are God’s.” (See also Luke 20:25; Mark 12:17)

⁸²⁷ “fallit”: “fails”

⁸²⁸ “Quod... mundo”: “because that which does not exist in the acts (decrees, statutes, laws), let it not be said to exist in the world.” (*my translation*)

⁸²⁹ “tandem... Ius”: “finally, finally, the narration of a deed does not make (it) law” (*my translation*)

⁸³⁰ “per infusionem scientiæ”: “through a pouring in of knowledge” (*my translation*)

⁸³¹ DRAE: *causídico*, ca: 1. m. y f. *Der.* Procurador o representante de una parte en un proceso. It could be that the person who is writing this was involved in this was not a Jesuit at all, but just a very opinionated, non-religious lawyer.

⁸³² DRAE: *sindéresis*: n., Discreción, capacidad natural para juzgar rectamente.

⁸³³ Original, “cosi cosa.” NDLC: *quisicosa*: Enigma u objeto de pregunta muy dudosa y dificultosa de averiguar.

AEnigma.

⁸³⁴ “Igitur...”: “Therefore let us give start”

⁸³⁵ “In tuba... chlangit”: literally, “on the trumpet, on the trumpet it sounds”; it could be that there is a typographical error and the author meant to write “c(h)langitg,” which is the imperative plural of the verb, in which case the Latin phrase would mean “The trumpet, sound the trumpet,” which corresponds more closely to the preceding words, “Toca al arma. Al arma toca.”

cuyas palabras son, *y en caso necessario le elegimos, y nombramos por tal Capellan a dicho Padre Fr. Ignacio Gracia*. Las mismas voces contiene el título del Maestro Gabriola, y del Bachiller Afán, aunque el dicho Padre Gracia, tan sin dicha en este caso, dijo que no había pedido tal título, y lo mismo asevera su R.P. Provincial, como consta de los autos. Con lo que, querido Pedro mío, le hago presente al Señor Cabildo, como el primer documento en puntos criminales consiste en la existencia del cuerpo del delito, según Julio Claro, q. 4, n. 1, y consta del autor de dicho Maestro, *scilicet*⁸³⁶, Cavallo, caso 255. De tal suerte, que cuando se traspassa un precepto, el cuerpo del delito será el mismo precepto. Es expresamente doctrina de Matheu, de re Crimin., controvers. 18, n. 22. Y teniendo como tenemos en nuestro hecho el tit. 6 de la Recop. de Indias, que prohíbe al eclesiástico cualquier género de nombramiento de Capellanes Reales y presentaciones de otros beneficios, es indubitable el cuerpo del delito en la presente causa.

Y que este se halla plenísimamente probado es más que evidente, porque siendo la mejor prueba la que se urde, teje y labra por medio de instrumentos públicos, cuando el delito se comete [62v] escrituralmente, según lo explaya nervosamente el referido Math., Controv. 28, n. 22, probando aqueste tema con diez solidísimos argumentos, porque dicha especie de prueba se caracteriza en el derecho por *probatio probata fides incorrupta: & potior testibus*⁸³⁷: Con cuyos epítetos de prueba se elogió por el Abad, Barbosa Tiraquelus, Acevedo y el jurisconsulto Marcellus, a quienes refiere el citado Math. al n. 42, y hallándose, como se halla, la transgresión del Patronazgo cometida *in scriptis*⁸³⁸ por las palabras mal sonantes: *Titulo aprobamos, y en caso necessario lo elegimos por tal Capellan*, constante y permanente la vulneración por los expresados títulos de los susodichos Padre Gracia, Maestro Gabriola y el citado Afán, que se hallan en los autos, es cierto que en su tenor consta, y ya tenemos una mar que, verosímil y presuntiva, prueba de la vulneración de dicho Patronazgo.

Sin que obste la frívola excepción de decir que las Vacantes y su Cabildo no dieron tales títulos sin su Provisor, y que aunque los que introdujeron los primeros actos pecaron, no pecó el Cabildo por su buena fe, pues como quiera que el Cabildo restrinja, limite y amplíe la jurisdicción de su Vicario (Gutier. Canonic. q. q. lib. 1, c. 11, n. 10; Valenz. Concil. 102), es cierto que a su Señoría⁸³⁹ se le debe imputar el hecho de su Provisor: porque *nostra omnia facimus quibus auctoritatem nostram impartimus*⁸⁴⁰ (Gom., l. 40. Taur. n. 89, l. 48, n. 3; Rebuff. in prax. benefici. p. 1, t. de iufirm(?). Glos. 2, n. 3, pag. 204). Y parece cosa dura, si no digna de risa, que a los que parece fueron inventores de dichos títulos les quiera atribuir nuestro Maestro una mala fe, y no atribuírsela a sí y a su Cabildo, que continuaron un yerro, que es más torpeza su imitación que el emprenderlo. Cuya razón es clara, porque el primero y segundo acto pudieron proceder con buena fe, haciendo mal de buena voluntad, pero la reincidencia y

⁸³⁶ “scilicet”: “namely, that is to say”

⁸³⁷ “Probatio...testibus”: “Demonstrated proof, genuine good faith, and better with witnesses” (*my translation*).

⁸³⁸ “in scriptis”: “in writing”

⁸³⁹ “Su Señoría” here refers to the Cabildo as a personified, corporate body.

⁸⁴⁰ “nostra...impartimus”: “We carry out all our own affairs, through which we share our authority” (*my translation*). Alternatively, this could read, “We carry out all our own affairs by those to whom we impart our authority” where a pronoun, absent in the original, is supplied: “eis,” “to them.” I have looked up the quote in its original context (Antonio Gómez, *Ad Leges Tauri Commentarius*, 1628 revised edition) and it reads exactly as cited above, though Gómez also includes the text that inspired his comments, which reads, “Omnia enim merito nostra facimus, quia ex nobis omnis eis impartietur auctoritas.”: “For rightly we carry out all our own affairs, because our authority is imparted to all of them [secular and regular priests] from us.”

continuación en el pecado siempre es de suyo nociva y más que reprehensible, porque seguir una cosa sin saber por qué se sigue, es yerro de muchos yerros. Y así, no es mucho que en la materia presente *Errent, & super errent*⁸⁴¹, y sean finalmente herreros⁸⁴² intencionales.

Pedro: Luego, según esto, los señores Canónigos con la humildad que acostumbran han imitado a los señores carneros, que en saltando uno, saltan todos, sin más razón que el haber visto saltar, y así se verifica que *Canonicorum ars imitatur naturam arietum vulgo borregorum*⁸⁴³.

Bachiller: Es así, hijo mío, pero ni dicho Cabildo ha probado la buena fama que se aplica, ni la podrá probar sobre el particular, siendo así, que *non sufficit dicere sed oporteat probare*⁸⁴⁴ (Menoch. remid. 2. recuperan. n. 178). Antes bien, del vicio en el principio del primero error, debemos deducir que todo el Cabildo se halla errado en lo mismo, que se excepciona, y si no, suéltente una excomunión a Séneca, aunque sea menor, porque dijo en lib. 5, polit. c. 1, ibi: *nam impossibile est ex primo errore in principio comisso non evenire ad extremum aliquid mali*⁸⁴⁵. E impugnen también al Cap. *principatus*, causa 1, q. 1.

Pedro: Bien está, Maestro mío y Bachiller Gatica, pero le favorece a dicho Cabildo: Lo primero, el haber bastoneado las cláusulas, título, &c. de sus libros de gobierno. Lo segundo, su inocencia explicada en el mismo hecho de defenderse tan a las claras, sin ponerse descoloridos. Antes bien he encontrado yo a muchos Capitulares en el Parián, riéndose con los Sangleyes, y preguntándoles, que si querían ser Padres de San Pedro? De que se arguye una tuta⁸⁴⁶ conciencia. Lo tercero, que según dice nuestro Provisor, que para pronunciar definitiva sentencia no basta una vehemente presunción⁸⁴⁷. Y lo cuarto es, que así como el señor Gobernador en las presentaciones que hace de prebendas no se presume delinquir contra las supremas regalías, así también el Cabildo no delinque en las voces con que parece ha confirmado dichos nombramientos.

Bachiller: Qué engañado que vives, Periquito, porque para lo primero has de saber que la penitencia es buena en los delitos para excusarse de la pena, cuando el juicio no se ha comenzado, y está como dicen los Juristas, *reintegra*⁸⁴⁸, según trae el citado Math., Controv. 67, n. 4. Pues si se quedara en el estado de penitencia la cosa, era dejar a los susodichos en términos de niños de escuela, que con tal que se enmienden, muchas veces les perdona el maestro sus

⁸⁴¹ “errent...”: The addition of the adverb “super” to a verb indicates an increase of degree “over” and “above”, so “they err and double err,” to put it colloquially.

⁸⁴² “herrero”: “blacksmith,” a play on words with the Spanish words “errar”/“error”

⁸⁴³ “ars...borregorum”: “The art of the Canon imitates the nature of rams, or in common speech, *borregos* (sheep)” (*my translation*). It should be noted that “borrego” is an entirely Spanish word and so “borregorum” is fake, playful Latin.

⁸⁴⁴ “non...probare”: “It is not sufficient to say, but rather let it be necessary to prove” (*my translation*)

⁸⁴⁵ “nam...mali”: “For it is impossible that out of the first error committed in the beginning there should not come in the end something evil.” (*my translation*)

⁸⁴⁶ This is unclear.

⁸⁴⁷ “Presunción es impulso nacido de alguna o algunas circunstancias que mueven al juez para que forme este o el otro concepto. La dividen los intérpretes en vehemente o violenta, probable o mediana y leve. A la vehemente le falta poco para ser prueba plena” (Sala 266). “Definitiva sentencia”: “Definitiva, por lo contrario, es la que se da sobre el todo de la causa, acabando con el juicio, absolviendo o condenando al reo o demandado...” (275).

⁸⁴⁸ “reintegra”: I have not been able to find a definition for this term.

tundas. A lo segundo, de defenderse, es acción que ejecuta cualquier reo, que por más que esté convicto de un crimen, se defiende, lo niega y se perjura, y por eso dice Gómez en sus varias de probat. delict., que mejor fuera que no se les tomara juramento en sus confesiones por la ocasión próxima del perjuro, y no ha estado tan fuera de temor nuestro Provisor que no me preguntase el otro día, que si temporalidades⁸⁴⁹ equivalían a tēporas⁸⁵⁰, porque le sonaba mal el haber oído que le habían de soltar las temporalidades. A lo tercero, bien se conoce que no ha leído nuestro Juez de Testamentos, ni ha oído aquel decantado y prudentísimo definitivo decreto del Sabio en el cap. Afferte de presumpt., donde consta expresamente la vehemente presunción, y en su virtud la definitiva sentencia, como lo sienten los D.D. con González, a quien cita, además que en nuestro caso hay más que presunción con los referidos títulos.

Pedro: Qué bien que has dicho, Maestro mío, y permíteme corroborar con esta repliquilla esto último que has dicho. Digo pues, las voces no explican los conceptos: ¿y aquello que tenemos detrás de la frente? Diránme a *fortiori*⁸⁵¹ que sí. Luego, la voz *Titulo* y la voz *Aprobacion* nos explican [70r⁸⁵²] que el ánimo y la mente del Cabildo fue aprobar y confirmar dichos nombramientos, porque no me podrán negar asimismo aquesta latincejo que le oí a mi confesor: *Verba nostra Talia iudicant, qualia foris sonant*, Cap. II. 22, q. 5⁸⁵³. Conque según esto se ha descubierto el ánimo de la parte contraria, y por consiguiente no estriba en presunción nuestra prueba, ni en crepúsculos de la aurora, sino en realidades, y en una luz que brilla en el cenit.

Bachiller: ¡Oh valiente Perico, y qué bien te explicas! Pues oye la respuesta de tu cuarta disculpa del Cabildo. La paridad que pone nuestro Provisor con las presentaciones del señor Gobernador, creo que se fraguó a boca del lobo, porque cuando el señor Vice-Patrón pide colación⁸⁵⁴ y canónica institución⁸⁵⁵ para sus presentados, de tal suerte la ha pedido, que la pide su Señoría arreglándose a la l. 38, tit. 6, lib. 1, Recop. Ind., donde se dispone que a los que se proveyeren por oposición a beneficios u oficios eclesiásticos, se les haga la provisión y canónica institución por vía de encomienda y no en título perpetuo⁸⁵⁶. En cuyo sentido habla la presentación connotando la suposición, no de presente & *pro statu*⁸⁵⁷, sino distrayendo el tiempo de presente al futuro, por lo que mira a lo perpetuo, a la manera que *Cæci vident, id est, qui sunt*

⁸⁴⁹ DRAE: *temporalidad*: 3. f. Frutos y cualquier cosa profana que los eclesiásticos perciben de sus beneficios o prebendas. U. m. en pl.

⁸⁵⁰ DRAE: *tēpora*: 1. f. Tiempo de ayuno en el comienzo de cada una de las cuatro estaciones del año. U. m. en pl.

⁸⁵¹ “a fortiori”: “even more so”; philosophical term

⁸⁵² The regular numbering resumes here.

⁸⁵³ “Verba...sonant”: This quote comes from the *Decretum* of Gratianus, first part of the *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, Part 2, *causa* 22, question 5, chapter 11. The quote as it appears here is missing the first two words, “Humanae auræ.” All together, the English reads like this: “Human ears judge our words such as they sound outwardly” (Crane, Raisewell, and Reeves 23)

⁸⁵⁴ DRAE: *colación*: 1. f. Acto de colar o conferir canónicamente un beneficio eclesiástico, o de conferir un grado de universidad.

⁸⁵⁵ DRAE: *institución canónica*: 1. f. Acción de conferir canónicamente un beneficio (under “institución”). This term and “colación” are often used together as a set phrase, as it is here, even though the actions mean the same thing.

⁸⁵⁶ “a los que...perpetuo”: This is almost a direct quote from the law cited.

⁸⁵⁷ “pro statu”: “in favor of the current state of things” (*my translation*)

*Caeci erant videntes*⁸⁵⁸: porque el querer interpretar a su modo dicho Maestro dichas presentaciones es constituirse ciegos cuando *vident* (¡ojalá!) la referida ley 38, y desentenderse de la acordada práctica que se estila en el Superior Gobierno, pretendiendo vendar los ojos a su Señoría y a su Secretario por hacer a sus personas de su condición. Lo que no logrará, principalmente cuando debían discurrir que el señor Vice-Patrón no ignora que los que presenta su Majestad son perpetuos para colación canónica, y los que presenta su Señoría son amóviles *ad nutum*⁸⁵⁹ por el título de encomienda; lo que tiene muy bien visto en la Recopilación de Indias, que está en romance, como el susodicho Maestro y su Cabildo han visto muy bien, *quid sit turibulum* (el Incensario) en sus Lárragas⁸⁶⁰, que cada uno tiene. Y así, o condescendían los susodichos a dicha colación canónica *in perpetuum*, o no. Si lo primero, han vulnerado el Patronato y no han entendido las presentaciones de señor Gobernador. Y si lo segundo, es señal que *per potentiam obedientialem*⁸⁶¹ penetraron el sentido de dichas presentaciones de dicho Superior Gobierno. Y finalmente cualesquiera cosa que se responda se abona nuestro intento.

Viniendo pues al n. 18, dice dicho Maestro que el punto de la dificultad fue si debían o no los Capellanes ocurrir por las licencias, y que de ahí se originó el tema de los títulos, que no le constaban al señor Fiscal, porque contra tan favorable discurrir le obsta el primer libelo del expediente, en cuyo contexto la mente del R.P. Procurador de la Sagrada Compañía fue no querer recibir el título por el fin de no vulnerar el Patronazgo Real con la recepción de sus ilegítimas cláusulas. De que se ve que la primera intención ha sido conservar la inmunidad del Real Patronato, sin permitir que se vulnere, o por los nuevos y reflejos nombramientos o por las nuevas licencias contra la cuasi posesión en que se halla el señor Vice-Patrón. De que se infiere que ni han leído el primer libelo de los autos, y que se claudican en el hecho: ¿qué será en el derecho? Asimismo, que el Fisco no hubiese presentado su prueba y justificación no arguye que ignorase los títulos con que había de probar su intención. Antes bien prueba que le constaba su existencia, puesto que pidió su exhibición. *Etenim nihil volitum, quin praecognitum*⁸⁶², dice todo Bachiller en Artes, y por consiguiente el Asesor⁸⁶³, habiendo dado su dictamen conforme al libelo de la causa, dio su parecer muy conforme a derecho, pues *Sententia debet esse conformis libelo*⁸⁶⁴. De que se arguye que nuestro Juez de Testamentos no ha tenido razón para censurar al Doctor Correa su maestro, desde *ab initio*⁸⁶⁵ acá: *Quippe non est Discipulus supra Magistrum*⁸⁶⁶.

Y aunque se diga que no existe más que un título, es falta de vista, pues en su serie constan de varios acumulados en toda forma de derecho, y estos fueron exhibidos, no por el referido religioso, sino que también por diversos Clérigos, los que aunque sean simples en el

⁸⁵⁸ “*Caeci... videntes*”: “The blind see, that is, those that are blind used to be able to see” (literally, “used to be seeing people”). (*my translation*)

⁸⁵⁹ The phrase “a movibile, ad nutum” (hispanicized here to “amóviles”), translates out to “moveable at will” and in ecclesiastical parlance referred to the ability of a bishop, the King, or his vice-patron to the ability of “to appoint and remove parish priests at will” (Schwaller, Church 77).

⁸⁶⁰ It’s possible that “Lárragas” refers to a book called *Prontuario de teología moral*, by one Francisco Lárraga, first published in 1705 or 1706. It went through many editions throughout the first half of the eighteenth century. However, I have not yet found any reference to the “Incensario” in any of them.

⁸⁶¹ “per...”: “through the power of obedience”

⁸⁶² “*Etenim... praecognitum*”: “For indeed nothing is desired without having been known beforehand.”

⁸⁶³ Originally spelled “Acessor,” suggesting that the writer was not “ceceante,” indicating a Southern Spanish or American origin.

⁸⁶⁴ “*Sententia...*”: “The sentence should always be in agreement with the book.”

⁸⁶⁵ “*ab initio*”: “from the beginning”

⁸⁶⁶ “*Quippe... Magistrum*”: “Surely the disciple (student) is not above (greater than) the master (teacher).”

papel, que causa la pobreza del juzgado eclesiástico, no son simples en la fe pública, que tiene el Secretario de dicho Cabildo, con cuyo signo autoriza el Cabildo sus despachos. Porque si dicho título es simple, se infiere por precisa ilación que todos los autos y demás forraje que despacha el Cabildo es una simplicidad de simplicidades, porque todas sus ideas las estampan en papel común. Y como esto no hayan de conceder, menos concederán lo del título, porque aunque todo instrumento privado pida reconocimiento *fallit regula*⁸⁶⁷ en los autorizados por los Notarios eclesiásticos, pues aunque se recele peligro de falsedad y suposición de firma, la misma milita en el poder fingir una escritura pública en lo secular. Cuyo acontecimiento siempre se saneará con la existencia de los archivos, donde queda el original.

Pedro: ¿Puede ser que no tenga archivo el eclesiástico?

Bachiller: Pues, hijo mío, si no lo tiene, allá se lo dirán de misas⁸⁶⁸. Y antes que se me olvide, no reparaste en aquella panarra, o cataplasma⁸⁶⁹ del título exhibido por un religioso simple con la colita, que le añade, sobre decir en dictamen de los realistas⁸⁷⁰. Pues sábetes que no hay tal cosa, ni tienen tan pésimos dictámenes los señores realistas. El dictamen será solamente de nuestro Provisor, que por soltarle una simplicidad a dicho religioso les levanta ese falso testimonio a los realistas.

Lo otro, ¿qué quiere decir religioso simple? [70v] Lo que quiere decir es, nada mixturado, ni vestido de paliaduras, ni aforrado en solapas, si un religioso ingenuo que declaró que por el título le llevaron ciertos ochavos⁸⁷¹ con el título de pitanza⁸⁷² eclesiástica, y chapines⁸⁷³ para los Canónigos.

Pedro: Lo que yo le dijera al autor del papel con toda seriedad, es como está V.S. colorado, digo, que está colorado⁸⁷⁴. Este sí que es concepto en dictamen de los antirrealistas y sus antípodas⁸⁷⁵.

⁸⁶⁷ “fallit regula”: “the rule fails”

⁸⁶⁸ DRAE: *allá se, o te, lo dirán de misas* (under “misa”): 1. U. para advertir a alguien que pagará en la otra vida lo mal que obre en esta, o que pagará en otro tiempo lo que obre mal de presente.

⁸⁶⁹ DRAE: *panarra*: 2. m. coloq. Hombre simple, tonto; *cataplasma*: 2. f. coloq. Persona pesada y fastidiosa. Here these words seem to mean, rather than people, stupid and foolish things.

⁸⁷⁰ “realistas”: supporters of the concept and practice of absolute monarchy in Spain. Since this conflict stems from questions of the Real Patronato, Arévalo in his *Papel* must have attacked the “realistas” who support the Crown’s claim to the right to name chaplains, etc, against the claims of the church, represented here by Arévalo.

⁸⁷¹ DRAE: *ochavo*: 2. m. Moneda española de cobre con peso de un octavo de onza y valor de dos maravedís, mandada labrar por Felipe III y que, conservando el valor primitivo, pero disminuyendo en peso, se siguió acuñando hasta mediados del siglo XIX.

⁸⁷² DRAE: *pitanza*: 1. f. Distribución que se hace diariamente de algo, ya sea comestible o pecuniario.

⁸⁷³ “chapines...canónigos”: It is not very clear what the author means by this phrase. The DRAE says that a “chapín” is either a “Chancho de corcho, forrado de cordobán, muy usado en algún tiempo por las mujeres,” or a “Pez parecido al cofre, que vive en los mares tropicales.” My guess is that the author is describing, facetiously and with exaggeration, the compensation—the *pitanza eclesiástica* mentioned immediately before—that the cabildo offered to the priest designated as chaplain, while the chapines could be the benefits gained by the Canons of the cathedral chapter. Although the chapín was almost exclusively a woman’s shoe, one blogger has described some limited occurrences of the term describing masculine footwear (<http://filadis.blogspot.com/2013/01/el-chapin.html>, accessed May 1, 2014).

⁸⁷⁴ I have no idea what this means.

⁸⁷⁵ Possibly a reference to those who oppose the Real Patronato and their associates, although the word “antípodas” indicates a diametrically opposed position. It could be, however, that the author is using “antípodas” in opposition to

Bachiller: Has de notar asimismo, Pedro, que dicha contravención del Patronazgo justifi[c]ada por medio de los títulos, según lo que has oído y entendido, no se puede tergiversar ni ocultar aunque la cubran con todos los manteos de cuantos monigotes salen al público el día de Corpus Christi. En cuyos términos dicha vulneración es una cosa ya notoria, y como en los delitos: *Ordo procedendi est Ordinem non servare ut pluribus probat* el Señor Salg. de Reg. protect. p. 3, c. 14, n. 47; el Señor Matheu, Controv. n. 3⁸⁷⁶. De que resulta, que por más que se queje dicho Maestro sobre que no han sido oídos, no se le debe oír en las circunstancias de nuestro hecho y expediente *mere informativo*, por más que alegue dos textezuelos civilejos y dos capitulillos de los Canónicos cuando las comunes de los D.D. *ad vultum tuum*⁸⁷⁷ al n. 5.

Dice, pues, dicho Vicario General, que no deben exhibir los libros, porque recogidos los títulos nulos, que son los originales, se les quita en los libros, que son el accesorio la fuerza⁸⁷⁸. Lindamente, discurrimente, Provisor, dígame V.S., ¿los protocolos no son el principal, y todos los instrumentos de ellos no son el accesorio que siempre dicen relación al archivo, de tal suerte que aunque falten, como V.S. confiesa que han faltado, no faltará el archivo, o principal? Pues ¿cómo la corpulencia de V.S. les quiere mudar la naturaleza a los libros de Cabildo? Estos son el fundamento, y en su tenor ha estado viva la vulneración del Patronato. Las leyes siempre miran el fundamento, y a las fuentes: *Etenim fundamento destructo, corrui edificatum*⁸⁷⁹ (L. n. m. origo. ff. quod vi, aut clam. Torreblanca de iure spirituali lib. 13, c.13, y n. 13), y no a lo que *per incidentiam venit*⁸⁸⁰. Con que *interin* dichos libros no se recojan, o en su vista el Supremo Consejo determine lo que se ha de hacer, los habrán de exhibir, por más que clamen penitencia, y que los han borrado a puras lágrimas.

Pedro: Óyeme un cuentecito: Llevaba un muchacho que iba por una calle un real de carne en una mano, y en la otra el papel y guijo⁸⁸¹ de ella. Hete aquí que viene un perro y arrebatósela, y cuando yo entendí que corriese tras el perro, se puso a reír del animal, diciéndole, “Anda, tonto. ¿Qué importa que te lleves esa carne si me has dejado el guijo?” Así claman y se ríen, a mi ver,

the “realistas,” or that he is simply using it incorrectly, since the context suggests the idea of “associate” or “supporter.” This is consistent with the ideas expressed here, where the author is contrasting the opinions of the both parties to the embarrassment of Arévalo.

⁸⁷⁶ “Ordo...probat”: Here the author is not citing Salgado (Francisco Salgado de Somoza), even though the reference to his text (*Tractatus de regia protectione criminali*, 1626?, p. 466) appears first, but rather Lorenzo Mateu y Sanz, *De re criminali* (Lyon, 1676), Controversia 29, number 3, which reads, “In notoriis enim ordo procedendi est ordinem non servare, ut pluribus probat Dominus Don Franciscus Salgado *de Reg. protect. parte 3. capite 14, numer. 47*” (219). This translates out to, “For in notorious crimes the order of proceeding is to not protect rank, as Sir Don Francisco Salgado proves with many [examples/authorities]” (*my translation*). In the scandal of the titles, the author of the *Mixti fori* uses Mateu to highlight the necessity of denouncing notorious crimes—i.e., the violation of the Crown’s right of presentation—even though they were committed by members of the cathedral chapter.

⁸⁷⁷ “ad vultum tuum”: literally, “to your face,” but this apparently became the phrase “al tuntún,” indicating something done “sin cálculo ni reflexión o sin conocimiento del asunto” (DRAE, “tuntún”). Here, the author is declaring that item number five of Arévalo’s *Papel* was done without any reflection or the requisite knowledge of law, according to the common opinions of the venerable doctors of law.

⁸⁷⁸ This phrase is unclear. Should it read “accesorio *a* la fuerza,” or maybe “*del* accesorio la fuerza”?

⁸⁷⁹ “Etenim...edificatum”: “For indeed with the foundation having been destroyed, the building collapsed.”

⁸⁸⁰ “per incidentiam venit”: “comes by chance”

⁸⁸¹ Difficult word to find. The DRAE has “guijo” as meaning, among other things, the word “gorrón,” which in turn can mean “chicharrón.” Therefore, given the context, we believe “guijo” = “chicharrón,” i.e., pig skin.

los señores Canónigos, diciendo, “¿Qué importa que la justicia les haya quitado la carnada de los títulos, si han dejado y se quedan con el guijo de ellos en sus libros capitulares?”

Bachiller: A cada paso nos amenaza con la Bula de la Cena⁸⁸², como si fuera el Coco de los Seculares, diciendo que se atropelló la inmunidad con mandar que exhibiesen los Clérigos los títulos sin licencia del Cabildo, y que los autos fueron al Consejo sin tener estado por no haber sido oídos. Pues se le responde que lea su Señoría los autos y verá que en el Superior Gobierno se usó de la buena correspondencia, y se le despachó ruego y encargo⁸⁸³ al Cabildo para la referida licencia, a que se excusó por tres veces. La primera con el pretexto de que no era el ruego y encargo regular. La segunda, que se les remitiese testimonio jurídico de dicho ruego. Y en la tercera coronaron la fiesta: porque sin hacer caso, quizá porque no se acordaron, de que había Canónigo doctoral que sacase la cara a sus pleitos, le dieron vista al Promotor Fiscal⁸⁸⁴, quien vino con una calentura de león⁸⁸⁵, reprehendiendo y fiscalizando las expresiones del Señor Fiscal, siendo así, que dicho Promotor Fiscal comenzó a aprender la lengua española de 15 años para arriba, como es de público y notorio. Con cuyos antecedentes, perjudicada ya la contumacia⁸⁸⁶ en desprecio de la autoridad judicial y en vilipendio del Señor Vice-Patrón y de la causa pública, puesto ya a luz del mal ejemplo un grave delito, como el negarse a la justa obediencia de los superiores (Cap. 1 de iudicijs), se providenció con maduro acuerdo el que se pasase a la exhibición de los títulos, pues aunque los Clérigos estén exentos de la jurisdicción real, no por ello dejan de ser vasallos de su Majestad y comprenderse debajo del nombre de tales y de la fidelidad y obediencia que todos le juramos y debemos, especialmente en los mandatos y órdenes que se enderezan a la pública utilidad, como por expresas palabras lo enseñan y resuelven Salg. (de Reg. protect., p. 1, c. 1, prælud. 2, n. 57) [y] Sevall.⁸⁸⁷ (de violentia, in prologo., n. 72). Y como en las presentes circunstancias se violase el derecho público del Patronato, como lo confiesan muy arrepentidos y muertos de atrición, y fuese preciso informar a su Majestad en el galeón que estaba próximo para salir para el Puerto de Acapulco, se debió proceder a dicha exhibición. Así porque sin el miedo de los Seculares, Prelados y Obispos (Solorz. polit. lib. 4, c. 17), como porque atendida la práctica de los Superiores Tribunales, está recibido y muy bien admitido que el reo exhiba los instrumentos al *Actor & viceversa*, cuando fuese conveniente. Cuya práctica trae el Señor Larrea (allegat.⁸⁸⁸ 5, n. 5), y el citado Gonz. al cap. 1 de probationi, a quien no leyó con cuidado dicho Maestro. Conque por los títulos de ser vasallos de su Majestad, violadores de sus leyes, reos que deben exhibir, contumaces que se

⁸⁸² The Bula de la Cena, or Bulla in Coena Domini (Bull of the Lord's Supper), was a bull published annually in Rome on Maundy Thursday during Holy Week, on the occasion of the feast of the Lord's Supper. "The Bull contained a collection of censures of excommunication against the perpetrators of various offences, absolution from which was reserved to the pope." During the eighteenth century it saw increasing opposition from absolutist sectors, and was formally annulled in the nineteenth century (Prior, "In Coena Domini").

⁸⁸³ An archaic phrase indicating a formal request.

⁸⁸⁴ The *Promotor Fiscal* worked for the cabildo while the Señor Fiscal in the next line is the Royal Fiscal who works for the Audiencia, Don Pedro Vedoya y Osorio. The Promotor's name is Dr. Nicolás de León (AGI Filipinas 145, N. 16, 38v). León was the Cabildo's legal counsel.

⁸⁸⁵ "calentura de león": I am supposing that this means with great anger, animation, and vehemence.

⁸⁸⁶ DRAE: *contumacia*: 1. f. Tenacidad y dureza en mantener un error.

⁸⁸⁷ The author cited here is "Cevallos." Note the seseante tendency of the author of the *Mixti fori*. It is written "Zevall." in other occasions.

⁸⁸⁸ Original, "allegar."

[64r⁸⁸⁹] obligan a padecer, y Clérigos que debían dar buen ejemplo de la buena correspondencia que se les ha encargado, justísimamente han merecido que a sus súbditos se les hayan sacado los títulos con apremio para que les venga un mandoble⁸⁹⁰, o sepan cuantos vieren⁸⁹¹ los libros y títulos del señor Cabildo.

Dice finalmente al n. 27 que *mejor hubiera sido, que el Acessor huviesse aconsejado, que los despachos se huviessen enmendado, y quitado el vicio corriese en lo de adelante*. A que se les satisface que mejor hubiera sido que dicho Maestro se lo hubiese ido a suplicar al Asesor⁸⁹², como fue [a] hacer cierta súplica a cierto P. Provincial para que no los extrañasen. Y mejor fuera que a cada uno se le pegaran seis azotes a la salud del Asesor⁸⁹³ para que no le anden fiscalizando la plana, pudiéndoles a todos enseñar jurisprudencia.

Pedro: He reparado que dice en dicho número dicho Maestro, que el Cabildo tiene costumbre legítimamente prescrita, y que lo probará en lo de adelante. Pregunto, tú que has leído otra vez el papel, ¿has visto que la pruebe?

Bachiller: Ni se acuerda de tal cosa, y la prueba se ha quedado en pura promesa. Y lo que sí sé es que dicho Maestro ha hecho paquiao⁸⁹⁴ con cierto Bachiller para que el día del juicio en la tarde le busque, trayendo por divisa un cuello, para que entre los dos prueben la referida costumbre, porque entonces, como anda todo emborucado⁸⁹⁵, dice que conseguirá su intento. Y para no demorarnos más en este segundo párrafo, pasemos al tercero.

SEGUNDA PARTE

Bachiller: Comienza nuestro memoralísimo Maestro con la siguiente confesión: *Confieso ingenuamente, que no he podido distinguir en este negocio, qual sea el punto de la dificultad, porque se han ido introduciendo las dificultades de tantos puntos, que se ha hecho vn monstruo mas horrible. que la Hidra.*

Pedro: Qué confesión implicatoria es ésta, pues como al número 18 sindicá⁸⁹⁶ al Asesor⁸⁹⁷ sobre que no conoció el punto de la dificultad de esta causa, y se la pone a explicar. Según eso le

⁸⁸⁹ Second instance of irregular numbering.

⁸⁹⁰ DRAE: *mandoble*: 2. m. bofetada (|| golpe con la mano abierta); 4. m. p. us. Amonestación o reprensión áspera.

⁸⁹¹ “sepan cuantos vieren”: “may it be known to whosoever sees...”; formulaic beginning to formal and official documents or letters of a legal, commercial nature, etc, used here to indicate the public nature of the Cabildo’s violation of the Real Patronato.

⁸⁹² Originally, “Acessor.”

⁸⁹³ Originally, “Acessor.”

⁸⁹⁴ “paquiao”: I have not been able to ascertain what this means. The context suggests the meaning “promise” or “pact.”

⁸⁹⁵ The DRAE says that “emborucarse” is a Mexicanism that means “confundirse.” Another element suggesting that the author was Mexican, or at least that he spent a great deal of time in Mexico before going to the Philippines.

⁸⁹⁶ DRAE: *sindicar*: 1. tr. acusar (|| denunciar); 2. tr. Poner una nota, tacha o sospecha.

⁸⁹⁷ Originally, “Acessor”

podré yo decir a su Señoría con toda devoción, que es mal Lógico, y que no sabe guardar consecuencia⁸⁹⁸.

Bachiller: Es así, y sábetelo que el monstruo horrible de la *Hidra*, que le espanta con sus muchas cabezas, son los títulos tan horrendos y los libros de Cabildo que se hallaron en la Laguna Estigia de su archivo, y si no hubiera sido por el valiente y esforzado Hércules del señor Fiscal, quien cauterizó y cortó tan soberbia máquina, creo que se hubieran extendido los títulos hasta las Islas de Pintados y Marianas. Pues mámate este huevo de culpa, con toda tu confesión, hermana Filotea.

La conclusión que saca al público su Vicarial Señoría es del tenor siguiente: *Que ningun Religioso ni Clerigo Secular puede administrar Sacramentos sin su aprobacion, y licencia, por la que se le confiere la jurisdiccion necessaria, y que es tan privativo del Ordinario, que no ay en todo el Arzobispado otro, que pueda conferirla*. Esta aserción se debe entender de las primeras licencias y aprobación, pues lo que se ha dificultado, si es que hay dificultad, ha sido solamente *utrum*⁸⁹⁹ el Regular, o Clérigo, una vez aprobado, y con las licencias generales del Ordinario, para confesar y predicar, necesite segundas licencias, o segunda aprobación, para administrar los sacramentos en el caso de ser nombrado Capellán Real por el señor Vice-Patrón. Éste sí que es el blanco de tanta lid sin sangre, y es tan cierta y segura la proposición negativa que le dio a toda plenitud de voces a nuestro Provisor, que son superfluas, como un *ente super addito*⁹⁰⁰, las licencias que pide para que administren los Capellanes Reales los santos sacramentos. Este punto y aquesta conclusión exuberantemente se prueba si damos una vista a los autos.

Es constante de su tenor y serie que en todas las expediciones que se han ofrecido de despachos de armadas contra los joloes y mindanaos, pataches de Marianas, galeones anualmente para el Puerto de Acapulco, reales cortes de maderas y descubrimientos de nuevas islas, solamente se ha practicado desde tiempo inmemorial, que en virtud del nombramiento de los señores Gobernadores pasen los Capellanes nombrados a los ejercicios de su empleo, sin necesidad de nuevas licencias ni aprobación del Ordinario. Así uniformemente lo han declarado cinco religiosos del Orden de Predicadores que fueron de Capellanes en la armada y en los cortes que se hicieron en tiempo del señor Mariscal de Campo⁹⁰¹. De la Sagrada Compañía contestan cinco religiosos sobre el mismo asunto, y el Reverendo P. Bobadilla declaró que el año de 1709 fue de Capellán al descubrimiento de las Islas de Palaos, tres veces, en compañía de otros tres religiosos, sin dichas nuevas licencias, y sólo en virtud del nombramiento y las licencias generales, a que concuerdan otros cuatro religiosos de la misma Compañía y cuatro religiosos del Orden de San Agustín, contestes sobre nuestro asunto. Y se corrobora lo expresado con el bachiller Don Miguel García, Clérigo Presbítero, quien habiendo sido tres veces Capellán del Hospital Real, y dos de Santa Potenciana, no ha pedido dichas licencias. Y lo que es más, que ni

⁸⁹⁸ DRAE: *guardar consecuencia*: 1. loc. verb. Proceder con orden y conformidad en los dichos o hechos (under “consecuencia”)

⁸⁹⁹ Original, “virum.” This is most likely an unintentional typographical deformation of the word *utrum*, which means “whether.” In Latin it is used to begin indirect questions, such as the one above, and I have changed it accordingly.

⁹⁰⁰ “ente superaddito”: “a being/thing having been tacked on,” from *superaddo*, *superaddere*, “to add or affix to a surface”

⁹⁰¹ “Mariscal de Campo”: Fernando de Bustamante Bustillo y Rueda, known by his title *Mariscal*, was governor of the Philippines from 1717 until 1719 when he was murdered by a mob. See also note 200.

aun en tiempo del señor Arzobispo D. Carlos Bermúdez, difunto, se suscitó semejante novedad. Antes bien el Maestro D. Manuel Ochoa, Clérigo Presbítero, yendo a despedirse de dicho señor, como que iba de Capellán para el Puerto de Acapulco, no le tocó semejantes licencias, y lo que puramente le dijo fue que cumplierse con su obligación, y el mismo consentimiento y silencio manifestó, siendo [64v] últimamente nombrado Capellán de dicho Hospital el referido Bachiller Don Miguel García. En cuyos términos: *Cum acta faciant rem notoriam*⁹⁰² (Mascard. de probat. Conclus. 1101), veamos lo que en derecho corresponde a nuestro referido hecho.

Es sublimemente autorizado en todas clases de derechos que la costumbre ha sido la matriz de las leyes, a quien se debe reverencia como a madre (Bobad. c. 10, lib. 2, n. 35); la intérprete de sus inteligencias (ley 6, l. 1, p. 1); la árbitra de sus prácticas y la precursora de sus observancias; que conduce por la senda, que les abre con el uso, el que imprime en los corazones de los hombres, a quienes los alumbrá, los guía y los señorea con su blando imperio; la que para quedar suficientemente comprobada, hablan *in incorporalibus*⁹⁰³, basta que tenga un acto a su favor, que es lo que se requiere por derecho, como lo tiene Antúnez (præcit. l. 3, c. 42, n. 19), con Aretin. Reyn. Bart. Bursat. Graciam. Pereir. Phaeb. Cabed, Castell. Noguero. & Ludovicus Posthius. Lo mismo siente Frass. (l. 2, c. 97, n. 24) con algunos de los referidos, a que añade a Ciarlin. Pot. Rom. Zeval. Larrea, Latro. Marin. Valeron; & Urrutigoi. O dos actos, según Flores de Men. (p. 1, q. 1, n. 14); Molin. (de primog. l. 2, c. 6, n. 24); Antun. (cit. l. 2, c. 10, n. 104); Sum. Dian. (V. Vssus, n. 15 & V. Consuetudo n. 1); & ipse Diana (p. 6. tract. 5. resol. 7. ex Dual Eman, & Silvest. Mich. Gras. & comm. DD. de com. opin. l. 1, c. 1, q. 10). O tres actos, según Les. aput. præcit. Dian. Azor. y Panor. Mach. (ubi supra l. 3, p. 4, tract. 4, doct. 1, n. 5; & t. in cap. ita nos Caus. 25, q. 2). O cuatro (iuxta Gloss. cap. mosdist. 1. Sum. Dian. V. Vssus, & ipse Dian. vbi proxime citat). O diez actos, como lo juzgó de Host. Zerol. (prax. Episcop. 2, p. V, Consuetudo., §. sexto), que es el mayor número que he encontrado en los autores que he visto, debiendo ser dichos actos pacíficos y deliberadamente aprobados, porque los actos violentos contra dichos y repugnantes no sufragán para la posesión a quien los deduce (Frass. tit. 2, cap. 93, a num. 11). Cuyas doctrinas, así en breve establecidas, se le forme *ad hominem*⁹⁰⁴ el siguiente argumento: según el Señor Maestro, al n. 27, para que se int[r]oduzca costumbre contra un derecho justificado, son precisos repetidos actos, continuados y no interrumpidos. Es así, que en la relación de nuestro hecho constan muchos y repetidos nombramientos que bajo de una misma especie han constituido muchos actos fijos y sin alteración asentados, ni prohibición en contrario que los interrumpa, ni otra orden que la novedad de presente. Luego forzosamente vendrá nuestro Maestro a conceder que tenemos ya en casa la costumbre, y que no pidan dichos Capellanes licencia para administrar los sacramentos. Es tan cierta la menor de mi silogismo, que en todo y por todo se conforma con la ley 21, t. 2, lib. 2., R. Indiar., donde se prescribe con la mayor elegancia y concisión⁹⁰⁵ una perfecta y legítima costumbre. Y además de la veracidad en que ciertamente dicha mi menor estriba y se apoya en la doctrina del citado Frasso⁹⁰⁶, cap. 11, n. 20, 21 y 23, quien afirma que multiplicados los actos de presentaciones, se dirán aquellas que constituyan a lo menos el número de dos, y que la posesión no de otra suerte se adquiere que por

⁹⁰² “cum...notoriam”: “because acts make a thing well-known/evident,” (my translation). I cannot find the quote in Mascardo’s *Conclusiones probationum*, Conclusion 1101.

⁹⁰³ “in incorporalibus”: “about intangible things” (my translation)

⁹⁰⁴ “ad hominem”: “to the man,” referring here to Isidoro de Arévalo, i.e., this argument is made against him.

⁹⁰⁵ Original: “concises”

⁹⁰⁶ Original: “Frasto”. I believe this is just a typographical error.

presentación con tal calidad, que ésta para ser mantenible en su posesión basta que por su suerte haya granjeado el efecto en sólo un acto. Y como quiera que el señor Vice-Patrón en el hecho de sus presentaciones haya disfrutado la buena suerte de conseguir no ser necesarias nuevas licencias para ejercer el oficio de Capellanes Reales, si no es la antecedente aprobación y licencias generales, como lo testifican las sagradas religiones, es por cierto indefectible que dicho nuestro Provisor, tan amigo de confesarse, que venga a confesar en la presente que ya el señor Vice-Patrón ha logrado el adquirir contra la pretensión del Cabildo el derecho consuetudinario en orden a no pedir nuevas licencias.

Pedro: Por cierto te he escuchado atentamente, mas no puedo menos que replicarte en esta forma: toda esta costumbre que conclamas se halla del todo interrumpida con los títulos del Maestro Gabriola y Bachiller Afán, conque, Bachiller, *mi nihil denique probas*⁹⁰⁷.

Bachiller: A la verdad, Pedro mío, que es valiente tu réplica, pero te disuelvo el argumento con la ley Real, que poco ha te he citado. Dicha decisión de tal suerte requiere muchos actos para introducir costumbres, que estos no han de ser dos, ni tres, sino repetidos y sin contradicción. Es así que los títulos del religioso agustino y dichos clérigos apenas hacen el número de tres; luego no son los actos que requiere la ley. Demás de eso, dichos títulos son nulos por el nombramiento reflejo de Capellanes, que incluyen en su narrativa: *Sed sic, que es, que non entis nullæ sunt qualitates*⁹⁰⁸ (Com. varian. cap. 1, n. 9; cap. 10, n. 43, l. 17; Taur. n. 19), y que ni pueden producir efectos de legítima contradicción: porque *nullum quod est, nullum producit efectum, neque impedimentum, neque ius allegabile*⁹⁰⁹ (Narbon l. 10, Glos. 5, n. 12, tit. 6, lib. R. C). Luego, dichos títulos, caso que fuesen muchos y repetidos, son de ningún momento por la nulidad que desde luego incluyen.

Mas según la doctrina del Taurista, siempre que falta la ley se recurre a la costumbre legítimamente prescrita por el lapso de diez años y la pluralidad de dos actos a lo menos (Anton. Gom. ad leg. 1; Taur., n. 8). *Deficiente lege revertitur ad Consuetudinem legitime præscriptam, per lapsum decem annorum, & pluralitatem actuum non minus quam duorum*⁹¹⁰. (Tex. l. de quibus ff. de legibus, & ibi Magistraliter Bald. & communiter DD, antiqui, & moderni). Es así, que en la presente tiene el señor Vice-Pa [71r⁹¹¹] trón radicado el derecho en el lapso del tiempo inmemorial y en la pluralidad de muchísimos actos, y lo que es más, que dicha costumbre, siendo conforme a derecho, según doctrina de Molina (lib. 2, c. 1, n. 13, & lib. 1, cap. 3, n. 28), ubi ait: *Tantum valet Consuetudo quantum gratia Principis, seu Papæ*⁹¹². Es cierto, que en virtud de dicha costumbre tan circunstanciada se adquiere un título justificado y privilegio legal, y por consiguiente es inapeable su vigor y actividad, sin que los actos que pretende inducir la parte contraria en virtud de los títulos que ha dado, sean de momento alguno por no ser legítimos. Antes bien, como clandestinos por haber sido con una absoluta falta de noticia de los superiores.

⁹⁰⁷ “mi...probas”: “In the end, you prove nothing to me” (*my translation*)

⁹⁰⁸ “sed sic...qualitates”: “but thus, non-being has no characteristics” (*my translation*)

⁹⁰⁹ “nullum...allegabile”: “That which is nothing produces no effect, neither impediment nor admissible law” (*my translation*). It seems that the Latin as quoted here differs slightly from other versions of this phrase by switching the order of “nullum quod” to “quod nullum.”

⁹¹⁰ “Deficiente...duorum”: The author provides the translation into Spanish immediately before quoting the Latin.

⁹¹¹ Resuming of almost normal numbering.

⁹¹² “Tantum...Papæ”: “Custom is as powerful as the favor of a prince or a Pope” (*my translation*)

Pedro: Yo estaba en la inteligencia de que para adquirir el derecho de la costumbre eran suficientes tales cuales actos, pero luego me desengañé con un caso jurídico que me refirió un Procurador de la Curia Eclesiástica, que se reduce en pocas palabras: a que en cierto tiempo pretendía un indio, Pedro Candelaria, la plaza de Perrero, para lo que presentó al Cabildo un escrito en que decía que para dicho oficio vacante se hallaba con los méritos de haber muchas veces echado los perros de la iglesia en vida del otro Perrista con universal aceptación de todos los Capitulares, pues a algunos les había librado los manteos de sus dientes, y a otros les había también alcanzado agua bendita, y a otros encendídoles el opus y llevádoles el diurnito, actos que le habían adquirido derecho para la perrería. A que corrió vista con el Promotor Fiscal, quien sólo extrañó las expresiones del pretendiente ante un Cabildo tan venerable, si no por sus canas, por sus ínsulas, y visto en acuerdo el caso, dijeron: Sala Capitular y tercera llana fallamos, que los actos de haber echado a los perros en vida del difunto Perrero son nulos por haber sido en su perjuicio, y por no tener título de esta sala despachado en forma bastante. Y por los demás actos de servicio se le notifique con apercibimiento continúe como hasta aquí, que se le tendrá presente en el Chocolatero universal. Con cuyo fallo formo ahora mi argumento: dicen que lo mismo es ser el título nulo que no tenerlo. Es así, que el Sacristán se quedó sin ser Perrero por la falta de título. Luego los señores Canónigos por sus títulos nulos se quedarán sin los ochavos, que por los títulos les pescaban a algunos Regulares, cogiéndolos a boca de cañón, esto es, cuando ya se iban a embarcar les encajaban el título, y vengan los cuatrines⁹¹³, y según me dijeron semejante forraje se formaba a toda prisa y en un diabliamén. Y por último, la verdad se ha [de] decir, tienen tanto apetito innato sus Señorías a los tominejos⁹¹⁴ y sicavalos⁹¹⁵, que a los pobres mestizos les hacen sacar informaciones para sus casamientos, contra el Tridentino, bulas y reales cédulas de su Majestad: pues, que peje pillamos, señor Bachiller.

Bachiller: Pues ya te has desengañado de las calidades que te he referido acerca de la costumbre, pasemos a otra prueba y finjamos que cesará dicho derecho, que no cesa. Es cierto, el que no necesitarían los Capellanes Reales más que la aprobación del Ordinario, sin recurrir a otras doctrinas, que al tenor de la cédula del año de 1609⁹¹⁶, en las palabras con que concluye de esta suerte: *Que el nombramiento de dichos Capellanes me pertenece à mi, y en mi nombre à mi Governador y Capitan General de esas Islas, y que solo os tocarà a vos la aprobacion de ellos, para que teniendolo entendido, no os embarazeis en nada, que contravenga à esto, como os ruego, y encargo lo hagáis.* Y con mayor expresión y mejor prueba de la Ordenanza militar 73, su fecha en 8 de junio de 1632, ibi: *Aprobados de sus Ordinarios*, de cuyos antecedentes se forma el argumento.

La ley y la ordenanza deben decir lo que se requiere, y basta para que los Capellanes Reales administren los santos sacramentos como es indisputable. *Sed si*, que es, que la ley y la ordenanza sólo requieren asignación de parte del Patrón y aprobación de parte del Ordinario,

⁹¹³ DRAE: *cuatrín*: 1. m. Moneda de pequeño valor, que corría antiguamente en España.

⁹¹⁴ DRAE: *tomín*: (Del ár. hisp. *ṭ úmn* [*addárham*], ochavo de adarme) 2. m. Moneda de plata que se usaba en algunas partes de América. With the diminutive suffix “-ejo,” indicating a despective attitude, i.e., a jab against the Cabildo’s alleged love of money.

⁹¹⁵ “sicavalo”: I have not been able to find this reference. Although Blair and Robertson include a reference to a Sicavalo river somewhere in the eastern Visayas, the context suggests another kind of money.

⁹¹⁶ Original, “1690.” This cédula was actually given in 1609, not 1690. See the marginal notes to Law 50, Title 6, Book 1, folio 29v, *Recopilación de Indias*, 1756 edition.

luego no se requiere otra cosa, porque aunque en otras leyes se dice licencia, se deben entender que es término sinónimo y que significa lo mismo que la aprobación, como lo toman varias veces los D.D. y con toda expresión el Padre Avendaño en su Thesau. Indic., tit. 17, c. 4⁹¹⁷, n. 26, donde tratando del examen de los religiosos párrocos y el examen que debe preceder del Ordinario, refiere las palabras de una cédula que trae el Señor Solorz. al cap. 17, ibi: *Deben ser examinados por los Obispos, y Ordinarios.... Pues ninguno puede cuydar de su ocupacion Christianamente sin licencia suya.* En cuyo texto bien se ve que para decir que no pueden pasar los religiosos a la administración de sacramentos sin la aprobación del Ordinario se usa de la frase *sin licencia suya*. Y se corrobora lo expresado con la siguiente paridad, *ad intentum allata*⁹¹⁸. Es cierto que para el título para un beneficio eclesiástico basta la colación o la institución canónica, según expresó texto en el cap. 1 de Reg. in 6, y es común sentir de todos los D.D. Es así, que en muchas leyes y títulos de prebendas y beneficios se pone que se les dé a los presentados colación y canónica institución, no porque sea necesaria una y otra, sino porque entonces se ponen dos voces que vienen a significar una misma cosa. Luego la misma identidad de significación le debemos conceder a las palabras licencia y aprobación.

Mas explicando Julio Caponio, Dicep. 1, tit. 1, n. 30, como los Regulares tenían potestad en las Indias para administrar, como párrocos, los santos sacramentos, sin otra licencia de los Curas u otra aprobación de los Obispos, que la licencia de sus Superiores, trae estas palabras: *In novo ta [71v] men Indiarum Orbe habebant Regulares potestatem. vt indefectu Presbiterorum Sæcularium, habita solum licentia, à suis superioribus in Capitulis Provincialibus, sine alia Parrochorum licentia, vel alia aprobatione Episcoporum, fungi possent Officio Parrochi, dummodo intelligenrent idioma indorum*⁹¹⁹. De cuyas palabras con gran facilidad desquiciamos la dificultad de nuestro Maestro, porque si fueran necesarias las dos cosas, aprobación y licencia, como separables extremos, dijera el Señor Julio, *vel alia aprobatione, & licencia Episcoporum*; y como no lo exprese un tan limado jurista en lo que explica, es porque en su concepto viene a ser lo mismo aprobación que licencia.

Lo otro: cuando la ley 24, tit. 4, lib. 3, Recop. Ind., concluye en esta forma, ibi: *y encargamos a los Prelados Ecclesiast[i]cos, que los examinen, y dén licencia para administrar, siendo suficientes, y no se haga presentacion*: que quiere decir, sino que si examinados los Capellanes fueren suficientes, les den licencia o los aprueben. De que se ve que en la palabra licencia se halla embebida la voz aprobación, pues el decirse *siendo suficientes*, no es decir aprobados, porque son términos separables, y es compatible que uno sea suficiente y no esté aprobado por muchas causas. Por lo que la palabra *suficiencia* y su significado antecede a la aprobación. Y para que lo conozca el Señor más, que Maestro⁹²⁰ atienda a la real cédula que cita el citado Avendaño, ubi supra al n. 29, ibi: *Los examinados, y aprobados vna vez, no han de volver à serlo, ni por sus propios Arzobispos, y Obispos, ni por sus subcessores. Y esto se ha de entender para el mismo Arzobispado, ò Obispado, en que fueren examinados y en que se les huviere dado, y diere la aprobacion... Mas si sobreviniere causa, que lo pida... Declaro, que*

⁹¹⁷ Original, "14". The actual place where this is found is in Chapter 4, Title 17 of Avendaño's *Thesaurus indicus*.

⁹¹⁸ "ad intentum allata": possibly a neo-Latinism meaning, "brought for [this] purpose" (*my translation*)

⁹¹⁹ "In novo...indorum": "Nevertheless, in the new territory of the Indies the Regulars had power that, in the absence of parish priests, with just the license from their superiors in the provincial chapters, without any other license from the parish priests, or any other approval from the bishops, they can act in the office of parish priest, provided that they understand the language of the Indians." (*my translation*)

⁹²⁰ "Señor...atienda": this is written exactly as it appears in the original text.

pueden, y deben ser examinados de nuevo, porque yà no se halla en ellos aquella suficiencia, que merecia la primera aprobacion... Luego se saca a luz que la aprobacion recae sobre la suficiencia, y que cuando la ley dice que siendo suficientes les concedan licencia, es decir cifradamente que les den su aprobacion.

A que conduce, que si en nuestro caso fuera necesaria la aprobacion, como cosa distinta de la licencia, y la licencia juntamente del Ordinario, parecia accion muy natural nacida de la prudencia que los catedráticos de Salamanca en la Conclusion 7, donde ponen los requisitos para que los Capellanes mayores puedan administrar los sacramentos, pusiera a más del requisito aprobacion, la voz *licencia* del Ordinario como particular fundamento. Es así, que dichos tan condecorados sujetos no mencionan semejante palabra *licencia* en todo el contexto de su séptima conclusion, luego porque en la palabra aprobacion se incluye la de la licencia. La mayor se prueba con la fiel y literal narracion de dicha tesis, *ibi*⁹²¹: *Dos Capellanes menores Subdelegados para administrar los Santos Sacramentos, y en especial el de la Penitencia han de estar aprobados por idóneos por sus Ordinarios; pero supuesta esta aprobacion, que los hace habiles con sola la destinacion, nombramiento, y Subdelegacion del Vicario General, quedan con toda la Potestad dicha, y omnimoda de absolver de casos reservados, sin que sea nec[e]ssaria aprovacion especial del Vicario del Exercito, que no la pide el Breve en ninguna clausula, al modo, que el Vicario General con solo el nombramiento de vuestra Magestad queda luego con toda la dicha Jurisdiccion Ecclesiastica no porque vuestra Magestad se la dè, sino porque su Santidad ex tunc pro tunc à los nombrados les dà la dicha Jurisdiccion, de que hallamos otro exemplar, ò simil, en Derecho.* La consecuencia se comprueba: porque a más de la aprobacion del Diocesano, se requi[e]re su licencia en los Capellanes, que le están sujetos, o *ratione domicilij, vel beneficij*⁹²². Siendo la razon la misma que produce la 4 conclusion: *Pero si los Capellanes menores estan sugetos al Diocesano ratione domicilij, vel beneficij, no tiene iurisdiccion en ellos el Vicario del Exercito, ni en los Religiosos, que tienen Superior en el distrito, y Obispado.* Conque sin litigio alguno, en la palabra aprobacion se incluye la palabra licencia.

Y para que se le quite toda duda al señor Provisor, oiga al citado Avendaño al tit. 12, c. 11, n. 338, *ibi*: dico 3. *Non est næcessaria vnquam duplicis Ordinarij aprobatio, aut licentia ad audiendas Confessores*⁹²³. ¿Lo quiere más claro el señor Maestro? Pues vaya otra prueba más enérgica. Su Magestad en la l. 50 del lib. 1, tit. 6, R. Ind., requiere licencia de administrar los sacramentos, entendiéndose de la licencia que se da después de la aprobacion, donde se da licencia para confesar y dar la comunión, como lo sienten los D.D. en su común modo de hablar. Y lo que más conduce que en la cédula de 1609⁹²⁴ se dice: *Que los Capitanes Generales nombran Capellanes de Galeras, sin q̄ los Obispos se entremetan en cosa ninguna de esto, siendo los tales Capellanes, aprobados, y teniendo licencia del Ordinario para administrar los Santos Sacramentos.* De cuyas palabras se supone, sin violencia alguna, que dichos Capellanes tienen o pueden tener licencia para administrar los sacramentos antes que los nombren por tales Capellanes, en cuya atencion se discurre con estas expresiones: o tienen licencia para administrar

⁹²¹ “*ibi*”: “there, in that place”

⁹²² “Because of [their] residence or benefice” (*my translation*)

⁹²³ “Non...Confessores”: “It is not ever necessary [to receive] twice the Ordinary’s approval or license to hear confessions.” (*my translation*). The original reads “confessiones” rather than “confessores.”

⁹²⁴ Original, “1690.” As mentioned earlier, this cédula was actually given in 1609, not 1690. See the marginal notes to Law 50, Title 6, Book 1, folio 29v, *Recopilación de Indias*, 1756 edition. The text that appears here, however, does not appear in the published *Recopilación* of 1756 but in the original cédula itself.

los sacramentos en todo el obispado—y esto no es verosímil ni regular—o para cierta parroquia, y de esto tampoco habla la cédula, pues rara vez sucederá que saquen un Cura para Capellán de Armada, y aun cuando esto sucediese necesitará de nueva licencia, porque siendo la antecedente limitada a cierta parroquia, no podía servirle, por la que de nuevo le daban. Luego se debe entender de la aprobación y licencia de administrar sacramentos que da el Obispo cuando los tales Clérigos y Capellanes se exponen de Confesores, y así hablan estas leyes y otras cédulas conforme al estilo y frase de los Moralistas.

Y finalmente la l. 54, tit. 30, lib. 9, Recop. Ind. dice: *Que en los Navios, que salen de España para la Veracruz, se repartan los Religiosos, que passaren à Indias, y que administren los Sacramentos à los que vienen en los Navios.* Ahora bien, ¿o por aquella palabra administración de sacramentos se entiende precisamente confesar y comulgar, o se entiende administrar los sacramentos de viático y extremaunción? Si lo primero, luego en la l. 50 y 24, aquel dar licencia para administrar sacramentos se entiende de la que se da cuando el Sacerdote se expone de Confesor, que es lo cierto según la ley. Y si lo segundo, luego sin licencia especial del Ordinario, teniendo la licencia y aprobación primera puede administrar los sacramentos. Pero para qué es cansarnos, cuando el querer que las palabras aprobación y licencia de las leyes se deban entender diversas, y que se reiteren y repitan, y que no obstante la supuesta aprobación y licencias generales de predicar y confesar se pidan otra vez por el nombramiento de Capellanes Reales, es querer invertir las reglas del derecho, así porque *Sermo simpliciter prolatus intelligitur de prima vice*⁹²⁵ (l. boves, §. hoc sermone, ubi late Tiraq. ff. de verba signif.), como también porque siendo la primordial intención de los Sumos Pontífices eximir del Ordinario a dichos Capellanes Reales, el querer conferir la jurisdicción dicho Cabildo era inducir de nuevo el que se le permitiese al Ordinario lo que por privilegio de la Sede Apostólica le estaba prohibido abiertamente. Y como *id, quod est prohibitum vna via, non censeatur alia permissum*⁹²⁶ (Surdo. Concluc. 301, n. 75). De ahí es que nos obligamos a confesar no ser necesarias dichas licencias, y solamente ser bastante la aprobación.

Pedro: No te fatigues más sobre las voces aprobación y licencia, que demasiadamente en lo que expresas concluyes. Óyeme un *tanti quanti*⁹²⁷: Había un panadero en Badajoz que todas las noches iba a despertar a los Regidores de diputación, dando feroces golpes a sus puertas. Y preguntado qué era lo que quería, respondía luego al punto, que iba a pedir licencia para amasar al otro día. A que le respondían los Regidores *cejijuntos* y enfadados, que si ya no estaba examinado y aprobado para hacer pan? A que replicaba nuestro escrupuloso panadero que en su título no había más que la voz aprobación para amasar, y así, o que le interpretasen una vez los términos, o si no los había de ir a despertar todas las noches. Y para evitar los Regidores su incansable molestia, le dieron título en que se le decía en claras voces que tenía licencia de licencias para amasar, y que era Licenciado del abasto y aprobado fuera de la licencia para hacer pan donde quisiese y con la licencia que quisiese, y con tan repetida licenciatura quedó el finchado panadero muy contento, firmando desde entonces sus billetes de esta suerte: De las

⁹²⁵ “Sermo...vice”: “A sermon simply given is understood the first time.” (*my translation*)

⁹²⁶ “id...permissum”: “That which is forbidden by one way, let not permission be granted by another” (*my translation*)

⁹²⁷ or “tanto cuanto” / “algún tanto” / “tantito,” “a little bit,” here with the connotation of time.

licencias Licenciado de la Panadería, con todas las licencias necesarias y con todas licencias aprobado. Conque la ilación⁹²⁸ que yo deduzco es que los Señores Canónigos pretenden, como tan agradecidos, graduar a los Regulares de Licenciados y aprobados de licencias, ya que estos les hicieron a sus Señorías a lo menos Bachilleres condicionales, *hoc est usque ad viginti annos*⁹²⁹. Lo otro, que nuestro Maestro en su título de Provisor, bien sabes que se contienen las voces Vicario General, Provisor, Juez de Testamentos, Oficial del Obispo y Oficial del Cabildo, que todas juntas significan una cosa tan solamente, por más que se les añadan mil copulativas. Luego, aunque la voz aprobación esté amarrada con la voz licencia, no por esto tendrán diversos sentidos, ni significarán diversas cosas.

Bachiller: Pero el eje y basa en que estriba nuestro Maestro Vicario semi-General, es en la no existencia de Vicario General⁹³⁰, razón a mi ver tan débil que si me hubiera hablado un poco al oído, no hubiera dado tanta campanada como ha dado con tantos dichos venidos de Badajoz⁹³¹ que contiene el papel, y para que se vea que es de ninguna substancia dicho defecto de Vicario General de los ejércitos, así discurro con las palabras de la referida Conclusion 7 de los D.D. Salmantinos, ibi: *El Vicario General con solo el nombramiento de Vuestra Magestad, queda luego con toda la Jurisdiccion Ecclesiastica, no porque Vuestra Magestad se la dà, sino porque su Santidad ex tunc pro tunc*⁹³², à los nombrados les dà la dicha Jurisdiccion. Luego parece que debemos decir que cualesquier Capellán que nombre el Vice-Patrón, que da luego con la facultad de administrar los santos sacramentos, no porque el señor Vice-Patrón se la dé, sino porque el Vicario General a los así nombrados *ex tunc pro tunc* les subdelega la jurisdicción, o si quieren su Santidad; y que esta racional epiqueya⁹³³ a favor del Real Patronato deba tener lugar, es innegable. Lo primero porque en la ambigüedad de los casos que ocurren en las Indias siempre debemos entender lo que es más verosímil y lo que dispusiera el mismo Sumo Pontífice si de ello fuera preguntado, como lo advirtió bien el Doctor Marth. (de Jurisd. p. 1, c. 16, n. 15 y 16); Solorz. (polit. lib. 4, c. 9). Es así, que si a su Santidad se le propusiera el caso presente, desde luego había de condescender a la colación de la jurisdicción en virtud de dichos nombramientos, sin embargo del defecto de Vicarios Generales, y lo mismo respondieran los catedráticos de Salamanca, y el mismo Vicario General.

Siendo la causal y motivos el primero, porque la mente de su Santidad fue eximir a los Capellanes Reales del Ordinario, como lo declara el Tridentino (Sess. 24, de Reformat. c. 11; Julio Capo [72v] nio, tit. 1, dicept. 27, n. 4), así por las competencias que se ofrecían con los Vicarios Generales y Capellanes, como también porque la independencia del Ordinario es del todo necesaria en una armada o en un ejército, y sin dichos Capellanes no es posible que se erijan, mantengan, marchen, ni subsistan.

Lo segundo, que siendo los méritos de su Majestad más y más cada día para con el Romano Pontífice, como dijeron el señor Salgado (de Reg. protec., p. 2, c. 10, n. 96); Castillo (de

⁹²⁸ DRAE: *ilación*: 1. f. Acción y efecto de inferir una cosa de otra.; 2. f. Trabazón razonable y ordenada de las partes de un discurso.

⁹²⁹ “hoc...annos”: “for the period of twenty years” (*my translation*). literally, “This is all the way up to twenty years”)

⁹³⁰ The author is not referring to Arévalo, who was Vicario General of the cabildo in sede vacante, but rather the Vicario General de los Ejércitos referred to below, which title did not exist in the Philippines at this time.

⁹³¹ “venidos de Badajoz”: original “Vadajòz.” This may be a play on words with “badajo,” or bell clapper.

⁹³² “ex tunc pro tunc”: the phrase has the effect of “immediately” or “from the beginning”

⁹³³ DRAE: “epiqueya”: Interpretación moderada y prudente de la ley, según las circunstancias de tiempo, lugar y persona.

tertijs, c. 36, n. 36); y como dijo Martha (de Jurisd., p. 2, c. 40, n. 13): *Romana Ecclesia magno favore prosequitur Regem Catholicum*⁹³⁴, no es creíble que en éste le quisiese desfavorecer, desentendiéndose de la inveterada costumbre que afianza el derecho que tiene su Majestad sobre los nombramientos de su Capellanes, con independencia del Ordinario, y del especial Patronazgo, que en el particular ha adquirido, como expresamente se asevera en dicho tratado militar, donde el Doctor D. Francisco Ramos del Manzano afirma *que la proteccion, y amparo, y defensa de esta Jurisdiccion militar, toca à su Magestad, como de su Patronato*. Proposición tan clara que se le escapó a los anteojos de nuestro Maestro. En cuya virtud se hace como evidente la mente e intención de los Sumos Pontífices.

Principalmente cuando de lo contrario se siguiera el absurdo siguiente: Que si su Majestad sólo pudiera nombrar Capellán, y éste tuviera necesidad de acudir al Ordinario para sus licencias, no fuera de mejor condición que un capitán particular de un barco, quien señala un Capellán y éste acude al Ordinario para sus licencias. Y según los títulos que ha dado el Cabildo, aun de peor condición le hacen al Rey, porque al capitán de plano le conceden lo que pide; a su Majestad tienen por necesario confirmarle sus nombramientos. A aquél ni la costumbre ni privilegio alguno le favorece; a su Majestad, muchos Sumos Pontífices y la inmemorial posesión de sus nombramientos con total independencia del Ordinario, porque el haber impetrado el privilegio del señor Inocencio X fue, no porque absolutamente lo necesitase, sino para mayor superabundancia de la costumbre: *Etenim quæ abundant non nocent*⁹³⁵, y para que vieran los Ordinarios que lo que podía por costumbre, podía también por privilegio. Pero, ¿de qué le sirven a su Majestad los privilegios, de qué el Patronazgo, de qué la costumbre, de qué las bulas de varios Pontífices? ¿Para qué fueron las consultas de doctísimos abogados? ¿Y el haber acudido a los D.D. de Salamanca, si después de tantos privilegios le había de equiparar el Cabildo a un Lascar, o a otro de los armatostes⁹³⁶ que suelen venir de capitanes de barcos? Ay, qué bien dicen los D.D. Zevallos y el Doctor Carrasco (de violent. p. 1, Glos. 6, n. 24) que los teólogos, por doctos que sean, no penetran bastantemente la teórica y práctica de la jurisprudencia, y que por la mayor parte determinan los pleitos caprichosa o arbitrariamente, apartándose de las sólidas doctrinas.

Y para que no le parezca a nuestro Provisor algún hipocentauro⁹³⁷ este modo de discurrir sobre la tácita delegación, o de su Santidad o subdelegación del Vicario General, le hago patente la doctrina de su Angélico Doctor Santo Tomás, quien in 2. 2. q. 3, art. 8, ad 1, trae dos especies de licencias, una expresa especial y otra tácita y general, a la cual llama “presunta” el Santo, la que se colige principalmente de la persona del Prelado, como si sea fácil o difícil a conceder a los súbditos, y que esta interpretativa licencia basta para excusar aun de la violación del voto de la pobreza, según el citado Caponio (t. 1, Decept. 13, n. 5). Y como de la concesión del señor Inocencio X esté manifiesta la voluntad que tuvo de concederle al señor Felipe IV la jurisdicción militar eclesiástica, con independencia del Ordinario en virtud de sus nombramientos a mayoría de razón, deberemos colegir la voluntad interpretativa de su Santidad en la independencia del Ordinario que tengan los Capellanes Reales luego que los nombre su Majestad por medio de sus Capitanes Generales, concediéndoles la jurisdicción militar eclesiástica, o por sí o por medio del Vicario General por su tácita subdelegación.

⁹³⁴ “Romana...Catholicum”: “The Roman Church visits the Catholic King with great favor” (my translation)

⁹³⁵ “Etenim...nocent”: “For indeed, those things which are plentiful are not harmful” (my translation)

⁹³⁶ Original, “almatrostes.” DRAE: Persona corpulenta que para nada sirve

⁹³⁷ Originally “hyposentauro.” Again, the seseante tendencies of the author stand out.

Demás de esto, el acto de nombrar Capellanes y otras regalías del Patronato el Ordinario, más se debe atribuir al que lo manda hacer y da la autoridad para que se haga. Y es la razón porque los señores Virreyes y Capitanes Generales representan a su Majestad, y en su nombre operan (Gloss. in Clem. Religiosus. de procurat. l. ítem eorum 4. Decuriones ff. quod cuiusque Vniversitatis. Velascus in aciom. Jur. lit. A. n. 136). Es así, que si su Majestad en persona nombrara aquestos Capellanes, el Vicario General delegara su jurisdicción ordinaria, o su Santidad en lícita e interpretativa epiqueya, luego nombrándolos quien a su Majestad representa, y en su nombre y con su poder, sin linaje de duda se habrá de reputar prudentemente hecha dicha delegación.

Pedro: Haz, por tu vida, una leve digresión a tu prueba. El otro día le oí decir a un jurista de tomo y lomo que en la jurisdicción episcopal concurrían dos leyes, la una nombrada ley diocesana, y la otra ley de jurisdicción, y en todo ese papel no he oído con distinción a cual de estas leyes pertenezca la intención del Cabildo.

Bachiller: Ay, hijo Pedro. Le decía Júpiter a su hijo Faetón cuando le pidió el carro prestado: *Magna petis Phaeton, & quae non viribus istis = Munera conveniunt, nec tam puerilibus annis*⁹³⁸ (Methamor. lib. 2, fol. 62). Si supiera nuestro Maestro tal primor, Zipotes⁹³⁹, llévóselo todo el Diablo. Pero sin embargo de que no explican dichas leyes, déjamele meter a dicho Maestro en el laberinto de Creta a que se divierta con el Minotauro⁹⁴⁰ interín que le meto en la mayor [73r] confusión con la doctrina siguiente: Dicha facultad de dar tales licencias no consiste en la ley diocesana porque ésta funda su naturaleza *in recipiendo*, como en el sinodático, catedrático, etc, y en otras exacciones que tocan por derecho de regalía (Lothar. de Re. benef. lib. 1, q. 21). Y la ley de jurisdicción consiste *in dando*, es, pues, en hacer estatutos. Es así, que ni en el presente caso, aunque pretenden introducir nuevos estatutos, no son de la ley de jurisdicción, porque esta se arregla a los derechos; ni menos a la diocesana. Luego a ninguna de dichas leyes pertenecen dichas nuevas licencias, pues, pregunto, ¿en qué derecho estriba el intento del Cabildo? Mas, *intereaque*⁹⁴¹ barruntan la respuesta, prosigo mi anterior prueba en el siguiente método. Aunque por derecho común y antes del Tridentino no hubiese texto expreso que aseverase tener los Obispos potestad para dispensar, es cierto que la tuviera, siendo la razón por ser dicha potestad muy necesaria al buen gobierno de la Iglesia. Suarez tit. 2, de Religio., lib. 6, de voto. c. 10, n. 3, ibi: *Quia hæc potestas est necessaria ad regimen Episcopale*⁹⁴², siempre que hubiese justa causa. Luego, aunque en estas Islas no exista Vicario General que expresamente subdelegue, deberemos *a fortiori* decir que le hay, para que *interpretativè, & tacite*⁹⁴³ haga dicha subdelegación, por pedirlo así el buen régimen de la milicia, sin la necesidad de andar pidiendo licencias a los Obispos sufragáneos y para que cesen del todo las competencias, y por consiguiente estén exentos del Ordinario. Por lo que hace a la referida

⁹³⁸ “Magna...annis”: “It is a great favor that you seek, Phaeton, one which is not appropriate to your strength and young years”; from Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, Book 2, lines 54-55, (*my translation*).

⁹³⁹ “Zipotes”: possibly an interjection, something like “vaya,” but more crude, according to the DRAE (“cipote”).

⁹⁴⁰ Originally “Minotanto.” I think that this spelling is reflective of the circumstance under which the *Mixti fori* was printed, i.e., an illegal publication done in a hurry under a cloak of clandestinity, with resulting typographical errors. There are other errors that could be ascribed to the same cause.

⁹⁴¹ “intereaque”: “while/meanwhile/in the mean time”

⁹⁴² “Quia...Episcopale”: “Because this power is necessary for episcopal governance” (*my translation*)

⁹⁴³ “interpretative & tacite”: “interpretively and tacitly”

administración, que fue la mente e intención de su Majestad, a la que se debe atender mejor que a sus palabras (Tiraquel. de Cessant. Causa p. 1, n. 3), sin que en esto se considere inconveniente alguno. Porque así como el religioso recibe la jurisdicción de su Santidad luego que está aprobado por el Ordinario, *Ex tunc pro tunc, vel principaliter*, a Romano Pontifice, & *dispositive ab Ordinario*⁹⁴⁴, como sienten los D.D. y los Salmanticenses (tom. 1, tract. 6, c. 11, punt. 7, a num. 95 y tom. 4, tract. 18, c. 4, §. 3, n. 70), discurriendo seguros por tan cierto nivel, la misma ficción de derecho debemos admitir en el presente caso.

Pedro: Esto último me hace alguna fuerza, porque dice dicho Maestro que el señor Urbano VIII revocó privilegios concedidos a los Regulares para poder oír confesiones de los fieles, sin aprobación del Obispo.

Bachiller: ¿Qué tenemos con eso? Aunque hay mucho que ver sobre el particular, ¿quitará, por ventura, dicha revocación que su Santidad no sea pastor universal de la iglesia, y que no pueda encomendar sus ovejas a quien quisiese? Como de facto se las encomienda a los Regulares. Parece que no han leído al P. Mattinon, ni a Diana p. 10, tract. 14, Resol. 23, pues oye lo que refiere el citado Avendaño, tit. 12, cap. 11, n. 340, donde refiere las siguientes palabras de Pedro del Castillo, ibi: *In Religiosis autem aliam dicit esse rationem, quibus à Pontifice iurisdictione tribuitur dependenter ab approbatione quo vniversalis Pastor cum sit, omnes illis potest oves comendare*⁹⁴⁵.

Demás de lo expresado, ¿quién le mete a que el señor Vice-Patrón presente o no presente a los Regulares para sus ministerios? ¿Es acaso, por ventura, su Juez de Residencia? ¿No sabe que *à diversis non sit illatio*⁹⁴⁶, y que si *par imparem non habet imperium*⁹⁴⁷, menos lo tendrá *toto Coelo, qui est impar*⁹⁴⁸? Luego sacamos por legítima consecuencia, que hasta contra la persona del señor Vice-Patrón *vult falcem in suam messem ponere*⁹⁴⁹. No sea V.S. así, *tractent enim fabrilia fabri*⁹⁵⁰, & *quam quis norit artem in ea se exercent*⁹⁵¹ (Straca, de mercatura, p. 3,

⁹⁴⁴ “Ex tunc...Ordinario”: “Immediately and from that point, indeed principally from the Roman pontiff and by agreement from the Ordinary” (*my translation*). Note how many of the Latin quotes are intertwined and acting together with the surrounding Spanish text.

⁹⁴⁵ “In...comendare”: “Moreover, regarding the religious, he [Pedro del Castillo] says there is another reason jurisdiction is granted to them by the Pope, pending approval: because he is the universal pastor, he can entrust to them all [his] sheep” (*my translation*). Note that in Avendaño’s original text (*Thesaurus Indicus*, vol. 2, citation above), there is a colon after “aprobatione,” and “quo” is actually “qui.”

⁹⁴⁶ “a...illatio”: “from others let there not be a conclusion/opinion/judgment” (*my translation*). Although this apparently comes from Papinian, *De minoribus*, I have not been able to find the original quotation to provide context for my translation.

⁹⁴⁷ “par...imperium”: “an equal has no authority over an equal” (Bouvier 139). Note that the word “imparem,” which means “unequal, inferior,” should read “in parem,” which means “against/on/over an equal.” This legal maxim deals with the issue of jurisdiction.

⁹⁴⁸ “toto...impar”: this is unclear, since “toto coelo” is an idiom that means “completely,” yet it appears here as referring to the heavens, so possibly, “in all of Heaven, which is unequal” (*my translation*). The author is obviously using this quotation in conjunction with the previous. Therefore, all together the sentence might read, essentially, “Doesn’t he know that not everybody gets an opinion, and that if an equal has no authority over an equal, much less so will he have it [authority] in Heaven, which is unequal.” This should be understood as another jab against the cabildo’s impingement on the Crown’s right of presentation under the Real Patronato.

⁹⁴⁹ “vult...ponere”: “he wants to put a sickle in his crops” (*my translation*).

⁹⁵⁰ “tractent...fabri”: “Let smiths perform the work of smiths” (Bouvier 148), i.e., “zapatero a tus zapatos,” mind your own business.

tit. de nautir. n. 33). Pues no repara V.S. la tolerancia y prudencia, así de los señores Vice-Patronos en las presentaciones que refiere, como los señores predecesores Arzobispos en las visitas y canónicas colaciones, por evitar graves inconvenientes. Conque si en lo referido *conticuere omnes intentique hora tenebant*⁹⁵², porque así lo consiente y permite su Majestad, quien no lo puede ignorar, es cierto, que a V.S. se le retuerce en contra el argumento, porque le coge de medio a medio su réplica, y parte a su Cabildo.

Pedro: Fuego⁹⁵³, y lo que echa su Señoría⁹⁵⁴ contra los Regulares. No en balde me preguntó el otro día que había oído decir por Manila sobre el punto de si el Emperador Justiniano era Regular, porque traía cierta levadura entre manos, y que la había de esparcir por los conventos con cierto hisopo eclesiástico, sin más ruego y encargo; que así lo dijo el Maestro Arévalo, y que sentiría que el Señor Justiniano entrase en la danza, porque le había pedido prestado el título de *hæreticis*⁹⁵⁵.

Bachiller: Sin embargo de tus graciosos ofrecimientos, prosigo devanando el hilo de mi tema, representándole al señor Provisor, *pro Tribunali sedenti*⁹⁵⁶, que si cuando su Majestad nombra a los Vicarios Generales, *ex tunc pro tunc* les concede su Santidad la jurisdicción, ¿por qué no se la habrá de conceder a los menores el Vicario General con presunta voluntad de su Beatitud, cuando por medio de sus Capitanes Generales los nombre, *nam qui per alium facit per se ipsum facere videtur*⁹⁵⁷? Y es cierto que para que se entienda dicha subdelegación hecha, milita a nuestro favor aquel célebre brochadito del derecho, conviene a saber: *Si vinco vincentem te à fortiori vincam te, Et illud: quod plus continet, in se continet quod est minus*⁹⁵⁸, como fue decidido por la Sacra Rota (apud Pharinaci., decis. 54, n. 2, in fin. p. 1, recen.). Pues si otro bastardo pensamiento abrazara mi tosca Minerva, desde luego *in Sillam incidere*⁹⁵⁹.

Porque si a quien se le concede lo más, se le concede lo menos, y a su Majestad no sólo se le ha concedido conferir en virtud de su nombramiento al Vicario General la omnimoda jurisdicción, *Non à se, sed per receptam ex privilegio à Summo Pontifice*⁹⁶⁰, ministerialmente, como la Sede Apostólica a su Santidad [73v] (que no lo puede negar nuestro Maestro y autor que es el sentido de los de Salamanca), tienen jurisdicción espiritual *in habitu*⁹⁶¹. Pues ni son incapaces de ella cuando gozan las de las cuatro órdenes militares, como administradores perpetuos con la potestad espiritual, y Maestros de la de Santiago, Calatrava y Alcántara, por concesión de Alejandro VI, Inocen. VIII, Sixto V, según el P. Mendo (de Ordinib. militar.,

⁹⁵¹ “quam...exerceat”: “Let every man practice the trade which he best understands” (Henderson 351).

⁹⁵² From Virgil’s *Aeneid*, book 2, line 1. “Hora,” “hour,” is a misspelling and should read “ora,” “faces.” The translation reads, “All fell silent, and attentive they held their faces (their faces were all attention).”

⁹⁵³ Used here as an interjection, I think.

⁹⁵⁴ “Señoría”: Isidoro de Arévalo.

⁹⁵⁵ I have not been able to determine the meaning of this joke.

⁹⁵⁶ “pro Tribunali sedenti”: “on behalf of the sitting (current) tribunal” (*my translation*)

⁹⁵⁷ “nam...videtur”: “for he who does [something] through another, is considered to have done it himself” (*my translation*).

⁹⁵⁸ “Si vinco...minus”: “If I defeat the one defeating you, even more so will I defeat you”; “And that which holds the most, holds within itself that which is the least” (*my translation*)

⁹⁵⁹ “In silla incidere”: “I would fall into a chair” (*my translation*)

⁹⁶⁰ “Non...Pontifice”: “Not from himself, but through receipt from the privilege from the Supreme Pontiff” (*my translation*). Note, that “receptam” as transcribed above, was originally somewhat illegible.

⁹⁶¹ “in habitu”: here, something like “as a general condition, by force of identity”

disquis. 1, n. 204), quien dice que su Majestad es General de las órdenes militares, y como Obispo y Patriarca. Y en su sentir de Casáneo en su Catálogo *gloriæ mundi*, todos los reyes son clérigos, y no sólo lo son de España, sino Prebendados de algunas iglesias, y en especial de la de Santiago, y de la de Toledo (Solorz. t. 2, de Iur. Indias, lib. 3, c. 2, n. 45), y en las Indias Legados y Vicarios del Pontífice, con tan plena potestad de administrar y disponer en estos reinos, no sólo las cosas temporales, sino que también se extiende a las espirituales. Así expresamente Mirand., in Manual.⁹⁶² præla., q. 42., art. 6., ibi: *Quod Romani Pontifices quo ad Indias Occidentales. & earum Causas fecerunt Reges Castellæ, & legionis suos Legatos, & Commissarios cum plenaria potestate administrandi, & disponendi in istis Regnis, non solum temporalia, verum etiam spiritualia*⁹⁶³. Y lo que es más, en opinión de los A.A. Emman. Rodrig. (quæstionum Regularium, tit. 1, q. 35, art. 11); P. Pellizar (in Manual. Regular. tit. 2, tract. 8, c. 3, n. 304); P. Ángel María Verriceli (q.q. moralium, tit. 1, tract. 1, q. 98, a n. 239), en virtud de la delegación apostólica que disfruta su Majestad Católica, puede sin el Obispo y su intervención constituir Párrocos y Doctrineros. Y como trae Frasso al cap. 52, n. 38, los Regulares con sola la licencia de su Majestad por el privilegio del señor Alejandro VI pueden administrar los sacramentos a los fieles e infieles, por lo que es indispensable a mayoridad de razón que le habíamos de conceder que el Vicario General, *ex tunc pro tunc*, subdelegue, o que su Majestad ex privilegio, como Legado de su Santidad, opere semejante delegación.

Pero si se le negase esta tácita delegación al decoro y reputación de la Real Corona, que displicencia deberemos discurrir exista en el arcano y regio pecho de su Majestad, viendo que si en el capítulo Menam. 7. 2. q. 6, S. Greg. comete a Bruniquilde, Reina de Francia, el conocimiento de la causa de un Obispo, que es más, pues con la repugnancia del estado concurre la del sexo y la del conocimiento de causa tan reservada (Felin. in c. 2, de maior, & Obedi.), y que en Italia las mujeres son capaces de jurisdicción episcopal, como algunas Abadesas, y la de las Huelgas de Burgos, y en Francia la Abadesa del Orden de Fuente-Ebraldo, según Pellizar in Manual Regular., t. 1, tract. 3, c. n. 3, cuando éstas son incapaces de órdenes y de jurisdicción, que depende *à potestate clavium*⁹⁶⁴, según Flores Díaz de Mena (var. quæst. lib. 1, q. 10, n. 1 y 2). Y lo que puede causar más admiración es que el lego puede ser elegido por Pontífice, y lo prueba el ceremonial romano en la forma que da de ordenar al Pontífice, y en el tiempo que no estuviere ordenado puede ejercer toda la jurisdicción espiritual que no toca al orden, según Barbos. (de Iur. Eccles. Vnivers. lib. . c. 1, n. 78), y si su elección, que es tan sagrada, se puede cometer a legos, como lo hizo con el Rey de Francia (Adriano. C. Adrianus. d. 65), y León con Otón Primero, Rey y Emperador de Alemania (C. in Synodo. d. 62), y que como su Santidad al seglar le puede dar potestad de conferir beneficios (c. 2, de præb., in 6), ¿quién duda que le concederá la de nombrar quien ejerza la jurisdicción militar eclesiástica? Pues sólo comete el nombramiento al seglar y concede la jurisdicción al nombrado por él, o por quien su poder huviere. Con razón se diera por deservido de sus Magistrados e integérrimos Maestros, a cuya literatura y prudencia tiene confiado el desempeño de su Real Patronazgo.

⁹⁶² Original: "Mannal."

⁹⁶³ "Quod...spiritualia": "Because the Roman Pontiffs for this purpose made the kings of Castille and Leon his delegates to the western Indies and commissaries of their cases, with full power in administering and governing, not only in temporal things, but also in spiritual things" (*my translation*).

⁹⁶⁴ "a potestate clavium": "on (by/from) the power of keys" (*my translation*)

Pedro: Aguarda un poco. Has de saber que yo conocí a un Monigote⁹⁶⁵ que de una sentada se comía una ganta⁹⁶⁶ de arroz, y más que un almud, como dicen en nuestra tierra, y así que fenecía y saciaba su desaforada hambre, decía, “*Sic argumentor*⁹⁶⁷, quien puede lo más, puede lo menos; más una ganta de arroz que media ganta de bagón⁹⁶⁸: Ergo, yo que me he comido una ganta de aquel género, me podré acabar media de la de aqueste suavísimo bagón.” Otro nada menos contrincante, que le estaba viendo mamar, le replicó, como nos replica nuestro Vicario semi-General al num. 58, diciéndole, “El bagón, amigo mío, no se contiene en facultad de vuestra hambre canina, y así falso es vuestro principio.” A lo que el gordiflón zaparrastroso⁹⁶⁹ agarró su media ganta de bagón y le dio finiquito, diciéndole, “Está fuera de mi esfera aquella comidilla de mi tierra.” Pues lo mismo, creo, que le ha sucedido a nuestro Maestro: porque ello es, que una muchedumbre de religiosos han ido de Capellanes sin pedir las licencias que quieren, por más que diga ahora nuestro escrupuloso y repentino canonista que la jurisdicción de los menores Capellanes no se contiene en la facultad y esfera del Señor Vice-Patrón *moraliter*⁹⁷⁰, como es cierto que se contiene.

Bachiller: Hijo Pedro, qué buen punto has tocado, y permíteme proseguirlo, ya que me has despertado las especies siguientes: Señor Provisor, Vmd. dice al n. 27 que son necesarias para la válida y lícita administración de los sacramentos el que los Capellanes reales pidan las licencias del litigio. Pues ¿cómo Vmd. y el Señor Cabildo han dejado, y permitido, y consentido, clara y abiertamente, que tantos Regulares hayan pasado sin dichas licencias? Porque una de dos: o Vmdes saben más que los Regulares, o los Regulares solos saben lo que se hacen. Lo primero no se puede decir porque todos Vmdes son y [74r] han sido discípulos de los doctísimos Regulares. Porque si Vmdes quieren decir que saben más que sus Maestros, vuelve a preguntar mi curiosidad:

¿O esa mayoría de ciencia es adquirida por sí mismos desde que son Canónigos, o con la dirección de sus Maestros? Si lo primero, no lo creo, así porque aquí suya mucho duélme⁹⁷¹, como también porque es imposible: *Si quidem impossibile dicitur, quod tantum fieri potest per remedium extraordinarium*⁹⁷² (Sanch., lib. 4, de Matrim., disputa 5, n. 4), & *impossibilium, & valde difcilium idem est iudicium*⁹⁷³ (L. 2, §. ex quo, ff. de verb. oblig.). Conque viene a ser lo segundo, y por consiguiente consigo mi intento. Lo otro que de dicha proposición se infiriera [es]⁹⁷⁴ que todos los sacramentos administrados en tantas armadas y otras reales expediciones fuesen nulos, y que de esto se siguiera y hubieran seguido unas consecuencias escandalosas contra el bien del alma, siendo la causa principal de tanto daño Vmdes, que se han estado

⁹⁶⁵ DRAE: *monigote*: 1. m. Lego de convento; 2. m. Persona ignorante y ruda, de ninguna representación ni valer.

⁹⁶⁶ DRAE, “ganta”: Medida de capacidad para áridos y para líquidos, usada en Filipinas, equivalente a tres litros.

⁹⁶⁷ “*Sic argumentor*”: “Thus I reason/conclude” (*my translation*)

⁹⁶⁸ The closest thing that I have been able to find on this is something called “Bagón de Lisa,” described as “pickled mullet roes” (Sawyer 225).

⁹⁶⁹ “gordiflón zaparrastroso”; variations of “gordinflón zarrapastroso”: “shabby fatso”

⁹⁷⁰ “*moraliter*”: “morally”

⁹⁷¹ “suya mucho duélme”: This appears to be a typographical error and makes no sense.

⁹⁷² “*Si...extraordinarium*”: “Indeed, if it is said [to be] impossible that which can be done only through an extraordinary solution” (*my translation*).

⁹⁷³ “*et...iudicium*”: “the same verdict is both impossible and extremely difficult” (*my translation*). My translation for this and the preceding quote should be taken with a grain of salt since I was unable to locate the quote in the original source.

⁹⁷⁴ Missing in the original.

agazapados en tantas intercadencias de tiempo, consintiendo tan repetida nulidad de actos, caso que la hubiese, que lo niego, pudiéndolo impedir. Pues su propia negligencia les debe en todo tiempo dañar en doctrina del Card. Tusco (pract. Conclus., t. 5, lit. N, Conclus. 36), y solamente pían cuando se les despierta de su profundo sueño, y como quiera que *intellectus ab surdus sit vitandus*⁹⁷⁵ (L. nam absurdum. absurdum ff. de bonis damnato), se le debe decir al señor Juez de Testamentos, que tarde piachi⁹⁷⁶.

Más: en el tiempo del señor Mariscal, ni en el del señor Marqués de Torre Campo⁹⁷⁷, ni en el de este señor hasta la presente, han tenido por necesarias dichas licencias. Luego si en aquel entonces eran superfluas, la misma superfluidad se ha de evitar en la presente, consecuencia tan legítima que si me la niega su Señoría reverendísima, me vendrá a negar abiertamente tres lugares legales, cuales son el prim[e]ro, que *à solitis fieri validum est argumentum*⁹⁷⁸ (Valenz. Concil. 94, n. 62; Solorz., tit. 1, lib. 2, c. 24, n. 82). El segundo, *à superfluitate evitanda validum est argumentum*⁹⁷⁹ (Mantica, de coniectur., lib. 3, tit. 6, n. 8). Y el tercero, *à tempore ad tempus*⁹⁸⁰ (Marc. Anton., de amatis, decis. 28, n. 17). Conque, como no hubiesen acostumbrado sus Señorías el haber pedido dichas licencias en el tiempo pretérito, la misma superfluidad y costumbre habrá de padecer, a su pesar, en el tiempo presente.

Lo otro, que el señor Cuesta ni el señor Bermúdez⁹⁸¹, Arzobispos que fueron de esta Metrópoli, tuvieron por indispensable requisito para los nombramientos de Capellanes Reales la expresada licencia para administrar los sacramentos, como consta de los autos en el nombramiento de Capellán del Hospital Real, D. Miguel García, y en el Maestro D. Manuel de Ochoa, y muchos de los Regulares. Luego, porque dichos señores Arzobispos juzgaron prudentemente su superfluidad y ninguna urgencia, ¿para qué se pidiese dicha licencia, supuesta ya la aprobación? Es así, y por eso es más que cierta la consecuencia. Lo primero, porque dichos señores bien sabían que el mismo estilo y práctica de no pedir licencia se ha tenido en la Ciudad de México, como lo significan varios que han pasado de Capellanes de los galeones de estas Islas, de los Regulares. Lo segundo, porque no es de creer que tan graves y doctos Prelados ignorasen en tan grave perjuicio de sus conciencias dicho requisito. Y como los actos celebrados por doctos y graves varones como el señor Bermúdez, que fue Doctor jubilado en Sagrados Canones, Vicario General del arzobispado de México, por más de diez años Asesor de los señores Virreyes, de quien puede trinar la más acorde lira, *Vnum pro cunctis fama loquatur opus*⁹⁸², porque aunque a la primera vista parezcan injustos, debemos presumir que son justos,

⁹⁷⁵ “intellectus...vitandus”: “Let nonsensical meanings be avoided” (*my translation*)

⁹⁷⁶ DRAE: tarde piache: 1. (Del gall[ego] *tarde piache*, 'tarde piaste', frase que la tradición atribuye a un soldado que, al tragarse un huevo empollado, oyó piar al polluelo). expr. coloq. U. para indicar que alguien llegó tarde, o no se halló a tiempo en un negocio o pretensión. (under “piache”)

⁹⁷⁷ “del señor Mariscal...Campo”: El señor Mariscal: Fernando de Bustamante Bustillo y Rueda, cited earlier (see note 131); Archbishop Francisco de la Cuesta served as interim governor until his replacement, Toribio del Cossío, Marquis of Torre Campo, arrived in 1721. Cossío was replaced in 1729 by Valdés y Tamón, governor during the scandal in question. (Costa 600)

⁹⁷⁸ “a solitis...argumentum”: “by customary actions taking place, the proof/argument is valid” (*my translation*).

⁹⁷⁹ “a superfluitate...argumentum”: “by avoiding superfluity, the argument is valid” (*my translation*).

⁹⁸⁰ “a...tempus”: “from time to time” (*my translation*)

⁹⁸¹ Archbishops of Manila: Francisco de la Cuesta, from 1707-1723; Carlos Bermúdez de Castro, 1728. From 1723-1728 and from 1729-1736 the archbishopric was in sede vacante (Costa 600).

⁹⁸² “Unum...opus”: literally, “Let Fame speak of one work on behalf of them all” (*my translation*). This is the final line of the first epigram by the Roman author Martial, “De Spectaculis,” which praises the building of the Colosseum in Rome. Here, the author of the *Mixti fori* uses this line to say that as Archbishop Bermúdez was a man

lícitos y honestos por su autoridad y calidad, hasta que de ellos seamos mejor informados, según doctrina terminante del Señor Solorz., lib. 4, polit. c. 20, versic. lo otro: Luego nos necesitamos a decir, que la referida licencia por ningún camino ni motivo puede ser necesaria.

Pedro: A mí se me está asomando, y tengo ya cuasi *in cuspide linguae*⁹⁸³, aquesta lancetilla espiritual. Replico así: Cada señor Capítular tiene su Lárraga y dos bonetes, uno para el Corpus, y otro que se llama mi quotidie. Es así, que no por otra razón tienen otros Moralistas, sino es al dicho Lárraga, y dicho numero de bonetes, sino porque los otros fueran superfluos, y siempre les he oído decir a los que son filósofos, que *non debent fieri per plura, quæ fieri possunt per pauciora*⁹⁸⁴. Luego, como en nuestro caso, con sola la aprobación y licencias generales tengamos suficiente moral para administrar los sacramentos, es cierto que son superfluas otras cualesquiera licencias.

Bachiller: En esta atención, ya se ve que no obsta la cédula del año de 1678, porque cuando en su contexto se declara que en este arzobispado no hay más jurisdicción eclesiástica que la del Ordinario, se debe entender en genuina inteligencia que habla de la jurisdicción en el fuero externo, mas no que sea la única en el interno, porque los Regulares, a pesar de dicho Maestro, la tienen de su Santidad en el fuero interno; y siempre que llevasen la negativa de este tema y de nuestro intento, es cierto que vulneran la jurisdicción de su Santidad, infiriendo o no poderla conferir, o no haberla concedido, que uno y otro *est malignantis naturæ*⁹⁸⁵ en vista de las claras doctrinas que al caso prevalecen. Lo otro: que no cuestionamos en la presente que el Capellán de aqueste Real Tercio tenga jurisdicción exenta, *quo ad externa*⁹⁸⁶, ni menos que sea exenta del Ordinario, siempre que delinquiese, pues entonces se habrá de sujetar al Obispo: porque cuando concurren diversas cualidades en un sujeto, *prævaletque qualitas, [74v] & respectus, qui actui occasionem, & motivum præbuit*⁹⁸⁷. (l. 1, ff. de Ofic. Consul. 1. ff. de legatis. 1; Solorz., lib. 2, c. 21, n. 23). Demás de lo dicho, para que se verifique en estas Islas la observancia del privilegio del señor León X, tenemos así la doctrina del citado Solorz., lib. 2, polit., c. 30, quien afirma que las Indias, como actuario de las de España y accesoriamente incorporadas en ella, disfrutan y deben disfrutar los privilegios que gozan los europeos, como también *circa subiectam materiam*⁹⁸⁸ (l. 50, tit. 6, lib. 1, Recop. Ind.), donde quiere su Majestad que los nombramientos de estas Islas sean como los de España e Italia. Y como los de Italia y España se eximan de la jurisdicción del Ordinario, la misma igualdad habrá de militar en nuestros controvertidos nombramientos.

Sin que pueda servir de instancia y réplica el defecto de dicho Vicario General: porque para que tenga lugar la comunicación de un privilegio, no es necesario que exista y se extienda siempre con todas sus cualidades, sino que basta puramente que se aplique a cosas semejantes al

of sound and orthodox judgment, so have been all the Archbishops of Manila, and as Bermúdez's actions were, in view of the author, in favor of the position of the *Mixti fori* on this topic, so all the other archbishops have been or would be in this same situation.

⁹⁸³ “in cuspide linguae”: “on the tip of the tongue” (my translation)

⁹⁸⁴ “non...pauciora”: “What can be done by few should not be done by many.” (my translation)

⁹⁸⁵ “est malignantis naturæ”: “is of a malignant/malicious nature” (my translation)

⁹⁸⁶ “quo ad externa”: “externally” (my translation), referring to ecclesiastical jurisdiction and *fueros*.

⁹⁸⁷ “prævaletque...præbuit”: “the quality or characteristic that produced the motive and occasion for action prevails” (my translation).

⁹⁸⁸ “circa subiectam materiam”: “with a related matter” (my translation)

respective y con la debida proporción, porque así se colige ser la intención del concedente. Así el Doctor Eximio⁹⁸⁹ (lib. 8, de legib., cap. 18, n. 7), ibi: *Tamen cum proportione ad omnia similia privilegia est aplicanda, vt respective intelligatur facta communicatio*⁹⁹⁰. Luego, aunque en estas Islas, por no existir dicho Vicario General, no se pueda hacer la expresa y formal subdelegación, se hará interpretative en los términos en que existe. Demás de lo dicho, no es cosa nueva en el derecho que el uso de los privilegios concedidos a alguna religión, con tal cual limitación, pase con la misma a otras religiones en las que hay diverso modo de gobierno, diversas constituciones y diversos estilos según doctrina de Diana (p. 3, tract. 2, resol. 14; p. 5, tract. 13, resol. 43). Conque aunque dicho privilegio del señor Inocencio fuese concedido con la cualidad de la existencia del Vicario General, bien se podrá en estas Islas usar dicho privilegio, aunque sea diverso el gobierno de la disciplina militar, por juzgarse con justa causa ser así la voluntad del concedente.

Pedro: Dime, querido Bachiller, ¿todas tus razones se fundan en opinión probable, o son acaso principios *lumine naturæ notos*⁹⁹¹?

Bachiller: Hijo Pedro, cuanto he dicho es tan cierto que no debes dudar en cosa alguna. Es la pura verdad, y del modo que la explayo se constituye *luce clarior*⁹⁹². En lo que podías poner algún reparo era en el modo de sus circunstancias y en el modo expresivo de sus voces, que parece huelen a picante, y no es picante.

Pedro: Cómo no, si se me afigura que arde y que abrasa con toda actividad.

Bachiller: ¡Hola, hola! Pues, ¿no sabes que mayor picante contiene el papelón de nuestro Maestro? ¿No dice que el señor Gobernador comete yerros insanables, y rectamente dirigido, que el señor Fiscal no sabe deducir una conclusión, y que el Doctor Correa es un idiota, como enfáticamente lo da a entender? Y así mismo, ¿no se desahoga contra los padres jesuitas y demás Regulares, ayudándolo el Promotor Fiscal eclesiástico? Y lo que es más, ¿no suelta por la calle de en medio con el texto de Malaquías? Pues donde las dan, las toman, *interrogatio, & responsio eidem casui coherent*⁹⁹³. No se acuerda de este oráculo del señor Nebrija: antes bien puede agradecer que la pluma no se fundamenta más lince, ni se encumbra más ligera que el águila; por lo que chito en boca y chitón⁹⁹⁴, que saldrá el Lobo. Y si acaso se pican de esto, que me muestren los títulos que debían tener para escribir en derecho. Yo, en fin, no quiero creer que han estudiado, y procuro con arte estimular a mi señor Maestro el que se aplique en forma a dicha facultad, que es una ardiente caridad y obra pía que remito a su juzgado como Juez de Testamentos que es.

⁹⁸⁹ Francisco Suárez, author of various theological and legal texts (Murillo Velarde, *Curso* 1:175-76).

⁹⁹⁰ “Tamen...communicatio”: “Nevertheless it ought to be applied proportionally for all similar privileges, that the communication realized might be understood correspondingly” (*my translation*). It should be noted here that it is not in chapter 18 but in chapter 17 of book 8 of Suárez’s *Tractatus de legibus ac Deo legislatore* that this quote appears (537).

⁹⁹¹ “lumine...notos”: “known by the light of nature” (*my translation*)

⁹⁹² “luce clarior”: “brighter than daylight” (*my translation*). A more colloquial translation might be “Plain as day.”

⁹⁹³ “interrogatio...coherent”: “The question and the answer for the same issue are bound together” (*my translation*).

⁹⁹⁴ DRAE: *chitón*: 1. interj. coloq. U. para imponer silencio; 2. interj. coloq. U. a veces denotando ser necesario o conveniente guardar silencio para precaverse de un peligro.

Pedro: Es cierto que tus voces ni son por su naturaleza picantes, ni en tu ánimo poseen tal intención por lo que he oído, pues, a mi ver, tu escrito responsorio sólo es incitativo al estudio y a su aplicación. Creo que se logrará el fruto, pero dime, si como han escrito en derecho escribiesen de medicina, ¿les creyeras?

Bachiller: Digo que sí, porque todos somos curanderos y sabemos raspar y sacar los colores⁹⁹⁵ no tan sólo a la cara al que los tiene, sino también a todo el cuerpo, y yo sé que tú muy bien te raspas⁹⁹⁶. Pero el escribir así, así, en mi facultad eso no admito, porque, ¿qué dijeran de mí los jurisconsultos Papiniano⁹⁹⁷ y el señor Baldo⁹⁹⁸? ¿Y así mismo mis compañeros? Dijeran a lo menos que era un pigérrimo⁹⁹⁹ desaliñado que dejó maltratar a la jurisprudencia. No, no: doy por muy bien empleado mi trabajo, que Minerva me dará el premio con su suavísima ambrosia.

Pedro: Basta ya de tantos argumentos, que te aseguro que has usado de más prosopopeyas que almas tengan tus voces; ello es que tú me has divertido con tu sazónada leyenda. Pero dime, ¿en qué para la aprobación y censura de nuestro papeluco¹⁰⁰⁰? ¿Podrá correr y pasar por las picas de Flandes?¹⁰⁰¹

Bachiller: Lo cierto es, Pedro mío, que me hallo bastante perplejo, no por su aprobación, sino por el modo de explicar mi sentir. Digo finalmente que merece esculpirse en láminas de molave¹⁰⁰², y de que consiga la luz del vulgo, y se perpetúe con la inmortalidad de la estopa, y digno finalmente de las prendas de Amsterdam¹⁰⁰³. Y fecho todo esto, mi sentir es que se saque privilegio del Príncipe de Orange¹⁰⁰⁴ para que pueda correr libremente por el privativo territorio de las goteras del Parián¹⁰⁰⁵. Confieso desde luego, sin ser en nada lisonjero, prescindiendo de feas adulaciones, que dicho papel no se opone en cosa alguna a los ritos del señor Confucio¹⁰⁰⁶, y a los dogmas de la madre y reina Proserpina¹⁰⁰⁷. *Dixi*¹⁰⁰⁸.

⁹⁹⁵ “sacar los colores”: DRAE: *sacarle a alguien los colores, o sacarle los colores a la cara, o al rostro*: 1. locs. verbs. Sonrojarle, avergonzarle. (under “color”)

⁹⁹⁶ “yo sé...raspas”: I have not been able to determine the meaning of this phrase.

⁹⁹⁷ “Papiniano”: “Papinian, Latin in full Aemilius Papinianus (born 140 ce, probably Emesa, Syria—died 212), Roman jurist who posthumously became the definitive authority on Roman law” (“Papinian”).

⁹⁹⁸ “Baldo”: Baldo degli Ubaldi, (≈1327-1400), famous medieval Italian lawyer (Murillo Velarde, *Curso* 1:146).

⁹⁹⁹ Latinism meaning “extremely dull, lazy, or slow”

¹⁰⁰⁰ Referring to the *Papel* of Arévalo, not the *Mixti fori*.

¹⁰⁰¹ “poder pasar por las picas de Flandes:” DRAE, “Tener toda su perfección y poder pasar por cualquier censura y vencer toda dificultad”

¹⁰⁰² Molave is a medium size tree found in Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines. Molave is well known for its strong, rough and durable wood.

¹⁰⁰³ Originally “Absterdan.”

¹⁰⁰⁴ “Príncipe de Orange”: a reference to the Dutch Protestant royal family, the House of Orange.

¹⁰⁰⁵ “Parián”: the Chinese quarter of Manila, set apart for the residence of the non-Christian Chinese traders that came every year to Manila.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Originally “Confusio.” Again, an indication of the seseante speech of the author. This also might be a play on words with “confuso.”

¹⁰⁰⁷ “Proserpina”: from Greek mythology, “Persephone,” “The daughter of Zeus and Demeter; wife of Pluto; queen of Hades” (Zimmerman 200, 222). In other words, the Mother and Queen of Hell would have no objection to the content of Arévalo’s *Papel*.

¹⁰⁰⁸ “Dixi”: “I have spoken.”

Pedro: Pues, yo también, doy mi aprobación al papelón de nuestro Maestro, y así digo que es digno de bambolearse con [75r] los sufragios de un gran cirio flamante, por las rotundas bóvedas de toda aquesta máquina, recopilando en breve todos sus lucimientos en lo mas vocinglero de la fama, y que diga en Parañaque¹⁰⁰⁹, *Imprimatur*¹⁰¹⁰, y resuene en Tambobo¹⁰¹¹, *Legatur*¹⁰¹², y finalmente sus ecos en reflejas y de organizadas voces digan y publiquen a un tenor, *aquí iacè Vasco Figueira contra à sua vontade*¹⁰¹³, y salga el otro Pinto, que a capa tendida le aguardamos¹⁰¹⁴, aun contra Fuentes del Pindo y de Castalia, para desmentir al caballo Pegaso¹⁰¹⁵. Y con esto, buenas noches te dé Dios, señor Gatica, que ya dió la oración en Santiago¹⁰¹⁶, y cenará el señor Cura.

Bachiller: A no se te olvide aqueste *Recorderis*¹⁰¹⁷: sábete que hasta ahora no saben sus Señorías cómo es el nombre del señor Fiscal, y están tan trastrocados que a lo que es lícito, lo llaman nulo, y a la delegación, subdelegacion, de tal suerte, que discurro que están tres Capitulares formando un nuevo vocabulario eclesiástico para que lo corrija el Bachiller Ocio.

Pedro: También a mí se me quería volar de la memoria el decirte que otros dos papelones del tamaño de éste han de remitir para su aprobación, según me han dicho.

Bachiller: No lo creas, hijo Pedro, pues ya he tenido noticia de que se les han cerrado las imprentas a sus Señorías por los discretos Regulares, porque dicen que a roso y velloso¹⁰¹⁸ sueltan la barredera contra sus privilegios. Y yo no pongo duda en eso, pues según lo que has

¹⁰⁰⁹ Suburb of Manila at the time, currently a municipality in the greater Metro Manila area.

¹⁰¹⁰ “Imprimatur”: “Let it be printed,” an ecclesiastical censorship term: “The *Imprimatur* is a negative approval, and means nothing more than that the work has been examined and found to contain nothing contrary to ecclesiastical standards” (Wiest 61).

¹⁰¹¹ A bay on the southern tip of the island Negros Oriental in the Visayas.

¹⁰¹² “Legatur”: “Let it be read”

¹⁰¹³ “Aqui...vontade”: This was an apparently proverbial saying that is explained by one source this way, referring to epitaphs: “Sendo pela incomprehensivel ambição humana, quasi todos os epitaphios mentirosos, e quasi todos filhos da loucura, e da estravagancia, notaremos hoje um, posto sobre o sepulchro de um illustre fidalgo portuguez, que só em dous pequenos versos explica a maior verdade, o mais nobre talento, e alto juizo. ¶Elle se acha, se acaso a violencia de um fado destruidor alli não chegou ainda, n’um dos mosteiros dos Bentos, de Santarem, e é o seguinte: *Aquí jaz Vasco Figueira / Mui contra sua vontade*” (*Jardim* 398-99). With this quote the author of the *Mixti fori* mocks the bitter frustration of the cabildo and the ineffectiveness of Arévalo’s *Papel* (due to incompetence) in fulfilling its intent. This and the preceding jabs at Isidoro’s *Papel* indicate the low esteem in which they hold it—as if it weren’t obvious already.

¹⁰¹⁴ Bullfighting language

¹⁰¹⁵ “Fuentes...Pegaso”: Pindo (Pindus in English) is a mountain range in Greece, in the past famous for its many rivers; Castalia is the famous spring in Greece, famous for its association with the Muses and poetry. These references are possibly in line with the comments in this and the preceding paragraphs describing the author’s appraisal of Arévalo’s writing.

¹⁰¹⁶ Referring to the tolling of the bell in Fort Santiago, the main military garrison in Intramuros.

¹⁰¹⁷ “Recorderis”: “Remember,” a verb, but used here like a noun.

¹⁰¹⁸ Original, “aroso y velloso”: DRAE: *a roso y velloso*: 1. loc. adv. Totalmente, sin excepción, sin consideración ninguna. (under “roso¹”)

oído del primer mamarracho¹⁰¹⁹, más fatales parcas de privilegios Regulares discurro serán aquesos futuros papalotes, en el estado de la posibilidad, imaginados, *quasi, in egredi, & in statu viali*¹⁰²⁰: Esto es, se hallan dichos papelones a puerta de toril, sobre si saldrá el rucio o se soltará primero el bragado. Preven tú tu capote intencional, que ya yo he prevenido en casa más de una canga de banderillas¹⁰²¹ por lo que puede suceder en tal conflicto, pues según va la cosa, espero ver una infinidad de papelones, los unos reflejos y los otros contrarreflejos. Y para no cansarte mas, guárdete el cielo. Pedro, adiós.

Pedro: Adiós, Señor Bachiller, y cuidado con la ronda¹⁰²².

Vitor, y vanse.

B.D. Vbi supra sæpe sæpius, atque
nuper, & nuperrime citatus.¹⁰²³

D. Petrus à Capitulo clavibus
condecoratus, & reliqua.¹⁰²⁴

¹⁰¹⁹ DRAE: *mamarracho*: 1. m. coloq. Persona o cosa defectuosa, ridícula o extravagante; 2. m. coloq. Cosa imperfecta; 3. m. coloq. Hombre informal, no merecedor de respeto.

¹⁰²⁰ “quasi...viali”: a very loose translation would be, “as it were, wandering and in a state of journeying”

¹⁰²¹ “a puerta... banderillas”: Bullfighting language, used here as a metaphor for the impending arrival of more legal manifests weighing in on the scandal:

DRAE: *toril*: 1. m. Sitio donde se tienen encerrados los toros que han de lidiarse;

rucio, cia: adj. Dicho de una bestia: De color pardo claro, blanquecino o canoso. U. t. c. s.

bragado/a: 1. Dicho del buey o de otros animales: Que tienen la bragadura de diferente color que el resto del cuerpo.

capote de brega: 1. m. Capa de color vivo, por lo común rojo...usada por los toreros para la lidia.

banderilla: 1. f. Palo delgado de siete a ocho decímetros de largo, armado de una lengüeta de hierro en uno de sus extremos, y que, revestido de papel picado y adornado a veces con una banderita, usan los toreros para clavarlo en el cerviguillo de los toros; 3. f. coloq. Dicho picante o satírico, pulla. *Clavar, plantar, poner una banderilla.*

“Canga” is somewhat mysterious. The first DRAE definition refers to a yoke of any animal but oxen, or a harness for only one animal. The third definition refers to a Chinese device whose linguistic origin is the Portuguese word “canga,” which translates as “yoke.” So here “canga” could mean “a pair” (i.e., two animals are yoked together), yet the author writes as if “canga” meant “many” instead of just two.

¹⁰²² “Cuidado...ronda”: While we do not know the circumstances under which the *Mixti fori* was composed and published, this last phrase highlights the clandestinity of the enterprise and the necessity to avoid detection, both in the printing of the manifest and in its delivery.

¹⁰²³ “B.D....citatus”: “Bachiller Don where above often, more often, and now recently and most recently cited” (*my translation*). “Citatus” can also mean “quick, swift, hurried, excited,” so there is a possible play on words here.

¹⁰²⁴ “D. Petrus...reliqua”: “Don Pedro of the Cabildo, adorned with keys, etc” (*my translation*).

Appendix 7: Decree of the Tribunal of the Holy Office of Mexico, 1737, prohibiting the *Diálogo mixti fori* and the *Encuentro verdadero*.

Source:

Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City
Fondo Indiferente Virreinal
Grupo documental Edictos de Inquisición
Caja-Expediente 1259-010

[+]

NOS LOS INQUISIDORES

Apostolicos, Contra la Heretica pravedad, y Apostasia en esta Ciudad y Arçobispado de Mexico, y en todos los Estados, Reynos, y Provincias de la Nueva-España, con los Obispados de la Puebla, Mechoacàn, Goatemala, Guadalaxara, Chiapa, Yucatán, Oaxaca, Vera-Paz, Honduras, Nicaragua, Nueva-Viscaya, Islas Philipinas, sus distritos, y jurisdicciones, por Authoridad Apostolica, &c.

Haviendo llegado a nuestra noticia que en la Ciudad de Manila de las Islas Philipinas, con motibo de algunas diferencias de Jurisdiccion, entre la de aquel Venerable Dean, y Cavildo Sede-Vacante, y la de el Real Patronato: salió a luz un Papel Anonymo Impreso, Intitulado *Dialogo mixti fori, y semi Espiritual Coloquio que empieza, Era pues una apazible tarde, y acaba, Victor y vanse*, y abiertamente contraviene a la Regla 16. del Expurgatorio novissimo del año passado de 1707. por contener Propositiones respectivamente Injuriosas a la Dignidad, y Gerarquia de un Cavildo Ecclesiastico de Iglesia Arçobispal Sede-Vacante, y a los Individuos que le componen, escandalosas, sediciosas, mal sonantes, *piarum aurium* ofensibas, y contra las buenas costumbres, cuyo Examen, Calificazion, Censura, Expurgazion, y Prohiuicion con estas, o semexantes qualidades, toca, y perteneze, propria y priuativamente a este Santo Oficio en todo su Distrito, con exclusion de otra qualquiera Jurisdiccion: Para que no crezca la Audazia de los que con poco temor de Dios Nuestro Señor, y atropellamiento de los reysterados mandatos del Santo Oficio, bien publicos, y notorios, assi en dicho Expurgatorio, como en varios particulares Edictos, en grave daño de sus Conciencias, y peligro de sus Almas, se atreben con temerario arrojio a denigrar con tales, y semexantes Clausulas sus personas, y a disminuir la Authoridad, y estimacion, que tan justamente se les deve por su sagrado Character, especialissimamente en cuerpo de Comunidad: Por el thenor de las presentes hemos acordado prohiuir, y prohiuimos intotum el referido papel Anonymo impreso, intitulado Dialogo mixti fori &c.

Tambien prohiuimos en la propria conformidad: otro papel Anonymo manuescrito, que empieza *Encuentro verdadero del Br. D. Francisco Gatica, con Pedro Cavildo*, y acaba, *Cerrò la tarde acabose la conversacion, Pedro se quedó en su casa, y nuestro D. Francisco se vino para la suya*, y se esparció despues del referido arriba, en dicha Ciudad de Manila de las Islas Philipinas; por contener Propositiones respectivamente temerarias, escandalosas, y en alguna manera cismaticas, injuriosas, y ofensibas a personas Ecclesiasticas de Authoridad, y Jurisdiccion, y Ministros del Santo Oficio. Por tanto por el thenor de las presentes, mandamos a todas, y qualesquiera Personas Ecclesiasticas, Seculares, y Regulares, Vezinos, y Moradores, Estantes, y Hautantes, en todo nuestro distrito, de qualquier Estado, Calidad, Condicion, o

Appendix 8: The Real Cédula of 1737

Source:

Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City

Fondo Novohispano

Grupo documental Inquisición (61)

Vol. 861, ff. 221r-224v

Copia DE LA REAL CEDULA, QUE A PE
dimento de el Venerable Dean, y
Cabildo de la Santa Metropolitana
Iglesia Cathedral de la Ciudad de
Manila, en las Islas Philipinas se sirvió
de despachar la Magestad Catholica
de Nuestro Rey, y Señor
DON PHELIPE

QVINTO

(q□ Dios guarde) declarando, q□ deben
los Capellanes de Galeones, Pataches
Armadas, Galeras, y demás embar-
caciones, que se despachan de dicha
Ciudad, recurrir a los Illustrissimos
Señores Arzobispos de dicha Santa
Iglesia, y por su falta a su Venerable
Dean, y Cabildo, a pedir las Lizencias
para administrar en ellos, y ellas los
Santos Sacramentos, aunque las ten-
gan Generales para Confessar, y
Predicar.

Recibiòse este año de 1737.

221v

[engraving of coat of arms of Castille and Leon under Bourbons]

222r

EL REY

Muy Reverendo en Christo

Padre Arzobispo de la Iglesia Metropolitana

de la Ciudad de Manila, en las Islas Philipinas de mi Con-
sejo, o al Venerable Dean, y Cabildo Sede Vacante de

ella. En Carta de 5. de Iulio de 1734. dio cuenta con
testimonio de mi Governador, y Capitan General de essas Islas,

de que haviendo nombrado a *Francisco Xavier Mompò*,

Religioso de la Compañia de IESVS por Capellan de la

Armada, que despachò el año de 1733. al Reyno de Min-

danao, passò esse Cabildo a embiar vn recado a el *Vize Provincial de la Compañia de IESVS*, manifestandole extrañaba, que el Capellan nombrado no huviesse recurrido a pedir los Titulos, o Lizencias para poder administrar los Santos Sacramentos, y le remitiò vn Titulo, o Lizencia para el referido Capellan, la que no quiso admitir el *Vize Provincial*, expressando era novedad nunca practicada especialmente, por lo respectivo a su Religion. Pues aunque havian salido muchos Capellanes para otras Armadas, no havian sacado tales Lizencias, ni las necessitaban, porque les bastaba para la administracion de los Santos Sacramentos las Lizencias Generales, que antes tenian para Confessar, y Predicar, demàs de que le parecia, que de pedir las, o admitir la que se le embiaba, se ofendia a mi Real Patronato; por lo que darìa cuenta al referido mi Governador de essas Islas, como lo executó, quien con esta noticia embiò vn recado verbal a esse Cabildo, el qual suspendiò por entonces hazer novedad; pero despues despachò vn Monitorio a el *expressado Superior de la Compañia*, haziendole saber suspendia todas las Lizencias Generales, que tuviessen sus Religiosos, que en adelante se nombrassen por Capellanes de las Armadas, si primero no occurrian a esse Cabildo a sacar las Lizencias, para administrar los Santos Sacramentos: Que en este estado el *Procurador de la referida Compañia de IESVS* pidió a el *expressado Governador*, que en virtud de las facultades del Real Patronato

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nato diesse la providencia correspondiente De cuya instancia dio traslado al Fyscal de essa mi Audiencia, quien pidió que por estraña la pretencion de esse cabildo, y contraria (en su modo) a la Regalia de mi Real Patronato se le librasse ruego, y encargo para que se abstuviesse, y dejasse correr los nombramientos de Capellanes: porque no necessitavan de otra Lizencia, que la General de Aprobacion que ya tuviessen (a el tiempo de sus nombramientos) para Confessar, y Predicar; a cuyo despacho no condescendiò el Cabildo, fundandose en que era materia *mere espiritual. y consiguientemente derecho Ecclesiastico, y Ordinario*, por el qual le tocava la Aprobacion de dichas Lizencias, sin que les pudiesse bastar a los *Capellanes, las Generales para Confessar, y Predicar*; a que añadiò tenia derecho para poder siempre que quisiesse suspenderles las Lizencias que tuviessen, y que con los referidos Capellanes se debia practicar lo mismo que con los de Galeones, Pataches, Armadas, y otros a quienes anualmente daba especiales Lizencias, o Titulos para administrar los Santos Sacramentos. Que entendido de esta respuesta el referido Fyscal

de essa mi Audiencia, pidió que los Capellanes Seculares, y Regulares, que huviessen sido nombrados por mi Vize Patrono, exhibiessen los Titulos, que tenian de aprobacion de esse Cabildo, para ver si havia en ellos alguna clausula que pudiesse ser contraria a mi Real Patronato. Para lo qual se despachò ruego, y encargo a todos los Superiores de las Religiones, quienes respondieron vniformemente que nunca sus Religiosos avian sacado tales Lizencias, por bastarles la General que tenian de Confessor, exepto el *Superior de los Augustinos Calzados* que exhibiò un Titulo de Capellan del Galeon de essas Islas, despachado el año de 1732. a *Fray Ignacio Gracia* quien aseguró no le avia pedido; Que el Provissor se escusò a dar Lizencia a los Capellanes Seculares para que exhibiessen las q̄ tuviessen con el motivo de que se havia de hazer saber esta diligencia a esse Cabildo, como se executò, y entendido de ella se negò a dar dicha Lizencia. Respondiendo que este negocio era *mere espiritual, por lo qual se declaraba por Iuez competente y que las partes si tenian que pedir, acudiessen a su Iuzgado* y despachò vn Exorto al expressado Governador para-

que

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que assi lo declarará mandó lo viesse el referido Fyscal de essa mi Audiencia. El qual expuso los fundamentos, que constarian de su Memorial impresso, proponiendo en èl debia el expressado Governador declararse por Iuez competente, y repetir ruego, y encargo a esse Cabildo para que se contuviesse en los precissos terminos de su Iurisdiccion; y quando huviesse alguna duda recurriesse a mi Consejo de las Indias, como estava mandado por la Ley 45. lib. 1. tit. 6. de la Recopilacion de Indias, y que de nuevo le compeliessse a que diesse la Lizencia a los Capellanes Seculares para que exhibiessen sus Titulos, y que manifestasse los Libros en que se assentaban. Que executado lo referido se exhibieron seis Titulos, los cinco dados por el Provissor que fue de esse Arzobispado Doctor Don Manuel de Ocio, y Ocampo actual Obispo de Zebu, y el otro por esse Cabildo, los quales contenian las clausulas reparables de *aprobamos, y en caso necessario nombramos de nuevo*, las q̄ eran contrarias a la Regalia de mi Real Patronato, y que sin embargo de la providencia dada insistiò esse Cabildo en su primer dictamen, sin querer manifestar los Libros, y solo exhibiò vn testimonio por el que constava de distintos Titulos despachados en varios tiempos. Vista en mi Consejo de las Indias la referida carta, y testimonio con lo que dixo mi Fyscal de èl, y teniendose presente otras tres cartas, vna del *Fyscal de essa mi Audiencia* de 24. de Junio de 1734. con el testimonio, que la acompañó, y las dos

de el referido Cabildo de 5. de Julio, y veinte y vno de Noviembre de èl sobre el mismo assumpto con los papeles que remitiò en las que expressò, no avia suscitado novedad alguna. Pues avia procedido en la forma, que por Leyes de Indias està mandado, y se halla en practica inconcussa en essas Islas, y si a algunos Capellanes no les avia dado las Lizencias in scriptis para administrar los Santos Sacramentos, avia sido porque no avian recurrido a pedir las; pero que se las avia dado verbales por el peligro de la nulidad que podia resultar faltandoles la Lizencia del Ordinario, que si en las de Aprobacion se hallassen algunas voces, que desdigessen en algo a el modo con que las debia dar avia sido equivocacion de los Secretarios; y sin intencion, ni animo en esse Cabildo de atribuirse facultad o derecho que
no le

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no le competa, y que si se le huviera hecho la menor insinuacion para que tildasse la mas leve palabra, lo huviera executado, y estava prompto a hazerlo, *por lo qual me supplicaba fuesse servido mandar que todos los Capellanes de Armadas, Galeones, y Galeras, assi Regulares, como Seculares nombrados por mi Vize Patrono, acudan a Vos, o a esse Cabildo en Sede Vacante, a sacar las Lizencias de aprobacion, para la administracion de los Santos Sacramentos. Que al Fyscal de essa mi Audiencia se le corrigiesse por el desprecio con que tratò a esse Cabildo en las voces de que usò en sus escriptos, y que mandasse recoger un papel Anonimo, que havia salido, sin firma de Author, impresso en essa Ciudad, contra el Defensorio, que escriviò el Maestro Don Ysidoro de Arebalo Chantre de essa Iglesia, por ser el citado papel, injurioso, escandaloso, y denigrativo, añadiendo, discurre, seria obra de algun Regular, por no haver en essa Ciudad mas Imprentas, que las de Santo Domingo, San Francisco, y la Compañia de IESVS, y que haviendo hecho poner Edictos, para recoger el referido papel, y fijadose vno de ellos en la puerta de la Venerable Orden Tercera de San Francisco, le havia rasgado el Comissario de ella Fray Fernando de San Antonio delante de muchas personas. Ha parecido participaros (como lo hago) que por despachos de la fecha de este, advierto a mi Governador, y Capitan General de essas Islas, y al Fyscal de essa mi Audiencia, que los capellanes, que nombrare, o huvire nombrado el Governador como mi Vize Patrono (ya sean Seculares, o Regulares) para las Armadas, Galeras, o Pataches, y demàs embarcaiones, recurran con los Titulos, o nombramientos, que de tales Capellanes les diere, a Vos, o a esse Cabildo en Sede Vacante, a pedir la aprobacion, y Lizencias que precisamente necessitan para la administracion de los Santos Sacramentos, por referir como reside en Vos, y en esse Cabildo en Sede Vacante la Iurisdiccion Ordinaria, y la Cura animarum, sin cuya aprobacion, y Lizencia, es dudosa la*

validacion de los Santos Sacramentos, y cierta la illicita administracion de ellos, segun lo dispuesto por el Santo Concilio de Trento, Canonicas disposiciones, y Bullas Pontificias, que prohiben esta facultad a los Regulares, y estar mandado por la Ley 50. tit. 6. lib. primero de la Recopilacion de Indias, que los Arzobispos, no se entrometan en mi Real Patronato; pero si en la aprobacion, y Lizencia para administrar los Santos Sacramentos, y por la Ley 24. del Libro tercero tit. 4. se manda no solo que se apruebe, y dè Lizencia a los Capellanes nombrados por mi Vize Patrono, sino es que los Prelados Ecclesiasticos los examinen, y aprueben, si les hallaren suficientes, y que en muchas Cedulas, que se han expedido en diferentes

oca-

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ocasiones, que se ha suscitado esta question, siempre he declarado, y mandado se observe lo dispuesto por el *Santo Concilio de Trento, Canonicas disposiciones, y Bullas Pontificias; y assi mismo mando al expressado Governador, dè las providencias convenientes a fin de recoger el citado papel Anonimo, y si huvieren salido otros, cuyos contextos puedan perturbar los animos, y la paz de la Republica, practique lo mismo, haziendo las mas eficazes diligencias, para averiguar el expressado Author del papel, y constandole del sugeto, que le hizo, proceda contra èl, y le castigue condignamente, y si no fuere de su Jurisdiccion dè parte a su Luez, o Superior, para que lo execute, y en caso de ser cierto, que el referido Fr. Fernando de San Antonio Religioso de San Francisco rasgò, y quitò el Edicto que a la puerta de la Venerable Orden Tercera, havia hecho fijar esse Cabildo, para recoger el citado papel, dè parte a su Superior, para que le corrija, y tambien ordeno al expressado Governador, advierta a los Prelados de las tres Religiones de Santo Domingo, San Francisco, y la Compañia de IESVS, no permitan, que en sus imprentas se saquen semejantes papeles a luz; y aunque esse Cabildo en su citada carta de 5. de Julio de 1734. expressò, quedaba en borrar, y tildar las palabras de que vsaba en las aprobaciones, y Lizencias, que havia dado a los Capellanes de las Armadas, Galeras, y otras embarcaciones, para administrar los Santos Sacramentos como son las de *elegimos, y en caso necessario nombramos de nuevo,* y que no vsarà de ellas en adelante, las quales, dijo, recaían sobre la aprobacion, y no sobre la nominacion, no obstante, por lo equivoco, y dudoso de dichas palabras, os ruego, y encargo, *no useis en adelante de ellas, ni de otras semejantes, que puedan tener visos de incluiros en el nombramiento de Capellanes, por pertenecer este a mi Vize Patrono, y solo si, le dareis Lizencia, y aprobacion para que puedan administrar los Santos Sacramentos.* Fecha en el Pardo a 30. de Henero de 1736. = = = = =*

YO EL REY.

Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor = D. Iuan Bentura
Maturana. = Officio duplicado =

R R R

Al Arzobispo de Manila, participandole la orden que
se da al Governador de Philipinas, sobre que los Capellanes,
que

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que huviere nombrado, o nombrare para las Galeras, Pata-
ches, y demàs embarcaciones, occurrian al referido Arzobispo,
o a aquel Cabildo en Sede Vacante, por la aprobacion, y
Lizencia, para administrar los Santos Sacramentos, y lo de-
màs que se expressa.

Appendix 9: The testimonies of Tomás de Comyn

Source:

Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City
Fondo Indiferente Virreintal
Grupo documental Inquisición
0847-003

16r

Recibida en 9 de Febrero de 1816

Yll.m^o Señor

Haviendose aconsejado y dirigido con migo, D.n Thomas Comin ha conocido que ha cometido varias inobediencias perteneciente al Santo Tribunal Nra^o. Santa Fee, y convencido hace asi mismo espontanea y libre delacion, pidiendo al mismo t^o al St^o. Tribunal lo trate con misericordia como costa de su escrito, el que incluyo p.a el gobierno y usos q.e al Santo Tribunal le pareciesse

Profesa y Febrero nueve de mil ochocientos diez y seis.

Yllmo. So^r.

B.L.M a V. S.Y. Romualdo Urquidi [rúbrica]

17r

Yll.mo S.or

Tomas de Comyn natural de Alicante con la mas profunda humildad ante la piedad de V.S. Y.ma se presenta espontaneamente y dice. que es hijo legitimo de D.n Juan de Comyn natural de Yrlanda y de D.a Catalina Guilty Valois natural de Malaga ya difuntos el primero familiar e interprete del S.to Oficio en dha ciudad de Alicante: q.e el exponente tuvo un tio carnal llamado el Padre Comyn

17v

religioso Agustino y confesor

del la R.l familia del S.r D.n
Carlos 3.o y quatro más her-
manas de su difunta madr[e]
religiosas en el convento de
nr.a S.ra de la Paz en Malaga
que fue educado primero en
el seminario de S.n Pablo d[e]
Valencia y luego en el cole-
gio grande de las misiones
inglesas en la ciudad de
Douai en la Flandes adon[de]
permaneció hasta cerca d[e]
los 17 años de su edad, apr[en]-
diendo el latin un poco de
griego, francés, é ingles
que andando el tiempo
viajó por Francia Ynglat[e]

18r

-rra y Olanda, que le
sirvió de secretario intimo
al Ex.mo S.r Duque del Par.-
-que quando este grande fue
nombrado Embaxador: que
posteriorm.te obtuvo una
comisión importante de
su comp.a de Filipinas en
Londres y ultimam.te se
inastado a Manila adon-
-de permanecio 7½ años
en clase de Factor de aquel
establecimiento de dha□. R.l
compañía: que habiendo
incurrido en la culpa de
haber llevado á aquella
remota colonia libros

18v

prohibidos la agravó en
haberlos tenido en su pode[r]
todo aquel tiempo: en ha-
-berselos ocultado y negado
al R.do P.e Cora comisario
del S.to Oficio por dos veces
q.e le requirió con la mayo[r]
consideracion q.e se los entr[e]
-gara si los tenia o le di-
-xera de quienes se los hubo

cedido: y ultimamente a
su salida p.r este reino el
exponente los vendió a l[os]
sugetos q.e se expresan a
continuacion según lo me[jor?]
de su memoria.

El Gibbon en ingles 12 tom[os]
al S.r D.n Nicolas Mesia.

19r

regente de aquella R.l Audien
-cia.

El Bolingbroke en ingles
tres tomos quarto mayor
al Lic.do Gonzales Azaola -
nombrado diputado a las cor
-tes ordinarios y cuyo parade
-ro actual se ignora aunq.e
es de presumir q.e sea Madrid.

El Shafesbury en ingles
tres tomos octavo – á ídem

El Robertson opera omnia
á ídem en ingles –

El Watson tres tomos
en ingles historia de Felipe
2.do á ídem

El Baile 5 tomos en
folio mayor en francés
a D.n Andres Palmero
del comercio de Manila
El Raynal á ídem

19v

el Dupuis igualm.te en
francés = ambas obras
prestadas le por el S.r I.
Jose M.a Fagoaya: en la
que confiesa del mismo mo
-do q.e en lo demás su deli[to]
y su arrepentim.to esperando
y suplicando q.e el S.to Tri-
bunal trate con alguna
comiseracion á un pecador
resuelto á la enmienda
y á morir si fuese menes-
-ter en defensa de la S.ta fe
q.e ha profesado y profe-
sara hasta la muerte.

Ill.mo S.r

Tomas Comyn [rúbrica]

[in bottom left margin]

Calle de Cadena N.o 1.

21r

+

Ill.mo Señor

Haviendo comenzado su Confesion gra^l. D.n Thomas Comin en esta Casa de Ejercicios quien se expontaneó hace días a ese St^o. Tribunal, como lo hace a hora también de todo lo que se á podido acordar; suplica a V.S. Ill^{ma}. se sirva de delegarme la jurisdiccion de la absolucion de los reservados a ese St^o. Tribunal, y todo lo de mas que séa de el agrado de V.S.Y.

Romualdo Urquidi [rúbrica]

Profesa y Marzo doce de mil ochocientos diez y seis.

22r

Ynq.on de Mex.co 14 de Marzo de 1816

S. Ynq.or

Flores

Agreguese esta expontanea, y la anterior de dh^o sujeto con los oficios del P. Vrquidi a su Expediente y libre se com.on a dh^o P.e p.a q.e absuelva a D. Tomas Comyn de los delitos q.e se ha expontaneada pro foro con cienciae solam.te haga entender a dh^o Comyn q.e el Trib.l ha recibido sus expontaneas y poniendo razón de haverlo executado asi al pie de la com.on la devolvera orig.l [rúbrica]

Yll.mo Señor

Tomas de Comyn ante V.S.Y.ma con la mayor humildad comparezco y digo: que habiendo examinado esrupulosamente mi pasada vida y halla dome culpado de muchos delitos cometidos en distintas epocas de ella y varios lugares del mundo, me he creido obligado en conciencia a acusarme de todos ellos en particular y general ante el S.to Tribunal de la Fé en confirmación y ampliacion de la espontaneidad q.e le eleve al mismo pocos tiempos hace por medio de mi director espiritual el P.e D.n Romualdo Urquidi. Me acuso pues y delato especial y generalm.te de haber leído deliberadamente los siguientes autores prohibidos Voltaire, Rousseau, Baile, Helvetius, Raynal, Dupuis, Volney, Montesquieu, Gibon, Roberson, Panny[?] y otra multitud de producciones las unas irreligiosas y las otras hereticas y obscenas.

	Que en Alicante lei una novela obscena q.e me presta un ingles protestante y la entregue al P.e Solisfre
de 1793 a 1794	
22v	
desde 1795 a 1798 inclusive	Carmelita Calzado con quien me confesaba á la sason. Que en Malaga me prestaba algunos de los referidos y otros iguales un consul Ingles llamado Gregori ya difunto y un tio carnal mio llamado D.n Diego Quilty residente alli q.e tenia en su biblioteca muchos de los prohibidos.
desde parte de 1798 a 1802 con intervalo de un año parte de 1802 y 1803 +	Que en Madrid me los tomaba de la biblioteca del difunte conde de Cabarrus y me los prestaba la difunta condesa de Jaruco y D.n Man.l Jose Quintana autor del semanario q.e tenia varias obras prohibidas y si no me engaño está actualm.te preso en dh□a Corte. Que en Francia e Ynglaterra compré y me fueron prestados varios libros de dha especie.
1804 a 1805	Que en Manila me prestó muchos un D.n Juan Linares de aquel comercio q.e se fugó por deudas e ygnoro su paradero aunq.e puede haber vuelto á Manila.
1811..	Que durante la navegacion desde Manila á Acapulco me prestó un tomo de <u>Voltaire</u> y el <u>Compere Mathieu</u> un pasagero llamado D.n Andres Palmero residente actual.te en Manilda adonde ya regresó.
1813 y 1814 +	Que en Mexico me prestó el Dupuis y el Montesquieu D.n Jose M.a Fagoaya.
1805 a 1806	Que en Manila sabiendo q.e D.a Ana Aragon muger del Coronel de ingenieros D.n Ildefonso Aragon leía libro franceses prohibidos elogié y le recomendé varios de la misma especie.
23r	
desde 1804 a 1806 inclusive	Que durante cerca de tres años lei diariamente como hora y media ó dos hora las obras de Voltaire y de Baile en compañia del abogado D.n Ynigo Gonzales Arzaola cuyo paradero ignoro pero se q.e fue nombrado diputado a las cortes ordinarias y puede hallarse en Madrid ó Burgos q.e es su patria y de q.e ambos nos burlabamos con el autor de las cosas

- 1811 – muy sagradas de su religion.
Que durante la navegación de Filipinas á Acapulco lei
dh□o Compere Matieu y Voltaire alguna ver en compañía
del expresado Palmero.
- 1813 y 1814
Que en Mexico le presté varios tomos del Dupuis al Capi-
-tan D.n Ramon de la Roca y me consta q.e los leyó.
Que además de leer libros prohibidos los buscaba con ansia
entre mis conocidos y no contento un alimentarme con su
veneno los elogio y recomende á otros muchos haciendo
alarde de las máximas irreligiosas y repitiendo las obsceni-
-dades q.e contenian en grave daño y escandalo de los q.e me
oían. Que sostuve en varias ocasiones opiniones liber-
-tinas y hereticas y con particularidad por dos veces dis-
-putando con un letrado delante de 5 o 6 personas y entre
ellas una mujer contra el libre alvedrio apoyandome en la
pervernsa doctrina de Helvecio cuya lectura recomendé
aunq.e en realidad estuviese yo interiormente persuadado
de la falsedad de dh□a doctrina y solo arguia por ostentar
erudicion y por ≠ orgullo y vanidad de brillar. Que por
este mismo principio me exprese en muchas otras ocasio-
-nes y delante de distintas personas en términos, irreverentes
- El letrado era
D.n Simon de Viegas
en casa de la
Condesa de Jaruco
por los anos de 1800
- 23v
obscenos, hereticos y escandalosos en materias de religion
a términos q.e pudieron hacer dudar de mi fé y acuso
hicieron titubear á otros en la suya, aunq.e sin haber
dudado yo jamas interiormente de la verdad de la
revelacion ni de la sublimidad de nr□a S.ta ley. Declar[o]
q.e arrastrado con sobrada facilidad por los malos autor[es]
cité en globo una nota de Baile delante de dos ó tres
personas en q.e se pretende q.e el Papa Leon X.mo era un
deísta y solo cristiano en la apariencia.
Que desee y expresé con mucha frecuencia y libertad
mis deseos de q.e ve extinguieran todas las ordenes mon[as]
ticas menos los capuchinos diciendo q.e las juzgabos per
judiciales. Que en diferentes ocasiones y delante de
varios hable con ligereza y falta de respeto de la igles[ia]
en general diciendo q.e los pontifices se habían apro[ve]
chado de la ignorancia de los fieles p.a hacer decreto[s]
en su propio favor y abusar de su autoridad. Que
en otras hablé con criminalidad de los desorden[es]
y escandalos de la corte Romana en general con [el]
fin de desacreditar a los papas y cardenales dan[do]
de esta suerte sobrada margen p.a q.e se pudiera
sospechar de mi fé al oírme producir sin necesidad
ni licencia en tanta acrimonia y falta de respeto
en dh□as material.
- en Mexico
en estos dos
años anteriores
- 1803
Que á mi llegada á Manila a fin de burlar
la justa vigilancia del S.to Oficio y quedarme con mi[s]

24r

malos libros presente una lista falsa en la aduana

1803

Que habiendo sido preguntado por el comisario del S.to Oficio en Manila si tenia obras prohibidas en general sin mentarme alguna respondí deliberadam.te que no, no siendo este conforme con la verdad.

1811 –

Que poco antes de partir de Manila habiendo sido requerido por dhño Comisario a la entrega de varias obras q.e se me citaban por escrito respondí falsamente por escrito q.e no las conocía ni habia tenido, siendo asi que las acababa de vender a los sugetos q.e tengo ya de-clarados en la espontaneidad expresada al principio de este papel.

Finalmente es mi animo delatar -me de quantos dichos irreverentes malsonantes y here-ticos haya proferido en el discurso de mi vida q.e por desgracia ha sido muchos tiempos libertina escanda-losa e irreligiosa con daño probable de muchos de ambos sexos y de todos estados; me retracto formal-mente de los errores en q.e pueda haber incurrido, aunq.e protesto con la mayor verdad q.e ni he dudado ni dudare jamas de las verdades eternas q.e nos enseña la iglesia nrña madre y resulto á pensar, hablar y obrar en un todo cristianamente mediante la gracia de nrño. S.or durante el resto de mi vida confio en la bondad divina q.e se me perdonará

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y en la benignidad del S.to Tribunal q. se dignan mirar mi pasados yerros y miserias con ojos de piedad.

Yll.mo Señor

Tomas de Comyn [rúbrica]

Por advertencia de mi padre espiritual puesto en las márgenes los años en q.e cometi varios delitos de q.e me acabo de delatar segun lo mexor de mi memoria –

Vive en la Calle de Cadena
N.o 1.

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En este S.to Oficio se han se recibido las dos expontaneas hechas p.r D.n Tomas Comyn p.r el crimen de heregia. y su vista hemos acordado comisionar al P. D. Romualdo Urquidi p.a q.e absuelva a dhño Comyn de los delitos q.e se ha expontaneado p.r foro concienciae solam.te y haga en tender a dhño Comyn q.e el Trib.l ha recibido sus expontaneas y poniendo a continuación de esta razon de haver lo asi executado, devolviendo original

Dios guñe a nrño Com.o m.s a.s Inq.or de Mex.co y Marzo 14 de 1816

D.r D.n Manuel de Flores [rúbrica]

D.n Jose M.a Ris [rúbrica]

En cumplimiento de la orden superior de V.S.Y. he hecho saber á D.n Thomas Comin que quedan en ese S.to Tribunal de la fee las dos Espontaneidades, y en virtud de los S.tos ejercicios y Confesion grñal q.e ha hecho en est casa de la Profesa lo e absuelto pro foro conscientie , de los Crimenes de Heregia Dio que a V.S.Y. m.s a.s Profesa y Marzo 16 de 1816.

Romualdo Urquidi [rúbrica]

P.D. Romualdo Vrquidi Com.o del S.to Oficio

25v

quisicion de Mex.co y Oct.e de 1816
S. Inq.or
Flores

Librese Com.on al Com.o de Manila p.a q.e recoge todos los libros q.e expresa esta denuncia y tome declaracion a los sujetos q.e los tienen en los terminos acordados y pase este Exped.te al S. Fiscal.

[rúbrica]

26r

En el S.to Oficio de la Ynq.on de Mex.co a Veinte y cinco dias de mes de Julio de mil ochocientos diez y estando en su Aud.a del mañana el S. Fiscal ^ D. D. Jose Antonio Prado ^ mando entrar a ella un hombre q.e fue citado del qual siendo presente, fue recibido juramente en debida forma de drño so cuió cargo prometio decir verdad de q.to supiere y fuere preguntado y de guardar secreto de q.to con el se tratare y dijo llamarse

D. Tomas Comyn, nat.l de Alicante, de estado soltero de cuarenta y seis años no cumplidos

Preguntado si sabe o presume la causa p.r ha sido llamado

Dijo q.e presume q.e a efecto de algun resentimiento personal se le acusaria p.r D. Ramon de la Roca de haber leído libros prohibidos fundandose p.a ello en sospechas nacidas del trato familiar del q.e declara durante los dos años anteriores, aunq.e este Declarante no recuerde hecho o dicho particular alguno q.e indicase haber delinquido en esta parte

Preguntados q.e motivo tiene p.a creer q.e Roca lo haya denunciado?

Dijo q.e de resultar de un lance pesado q.e hubo con Roca en casa de Cervantes en En.o de 816 protestó el mismo Roca q.e lo habia de perder y p.r eso teme q.e lo haya denunciado, aunq.e (como ha dicho) no alcanza sobre q.e materia

Preguntado si ha presentado a este Trib.l alguno o algunos escritos espontaneados?

Dijo q.e en efecto ha presentado dos p.r conducto de su confesor D.n Romaldo Vrquidi en nueve de Febrero y doze de Marzo de 816.

Fue le dh□o reconozca un papel q.e comienza:= Thomas Comyn natural de Alicante: y acaba: profesara hasta la muerte: y otro q.e comienza = Tomas de Comyn ante V.S.Y. y acaba: con ojos de piedad, ambos formados del mismo Tomas Comyn, y diga si la firma y letra de ellos es suya y la q.e acostumbra hacer

Dijo q.e ambos papeles los reconoce p.r suios y las firmas de su puño y letra y la q.e acostumbra en todos sus negocios, y se ratifica en todo el contenido de ambos papeles

Preguntado si tiene mas q.e decir sobre las dos espontaneas de si o de otros?

Dijo q.e en q.to a si procuro decir q.to sabia y se le recordó y en q.to a otros nada tiene q.e decir mas q.e lo q.e tiene expuesto en dh□os papeles.

Fuele dh□o q.e seg.n tiene declarado se denunció temeroso de q.e lo pudiera hacer o hubiera hecho D. Ramon Roca.

26v

Dijo q.e este incidente y el S.to temor de Dios le hicieron volver seriam.te sobre si mismo y resolver y observar la ley divina con su entendimiento y corazón, y arrepentido pidió la misericordia del S.to Trib.l q.e le concedió el tiempo necesario p.a purificarse y desahcer con su christiana vida los daños producidos p.r conducta anterior

Preguntado si tiene mas q.e decir

Dijo q.e no, y haviendole leído esta declaracion dijo q.e estaba bien escrita y asentada y como el habia declarado q.e no tenia q.e alterar añadir ni innovar q.e conforme estaba escrito era la verdad en la q.e se afirmaba y afirmó ratificaba y ratifico q.e todo lo dicho lo ha dicho, en descargo de su conciencia y lo firmó de certificado.

Tomas de Comyn [rúbrica]

D. Jose M.a Ris [rúbrica]

27r

S.to Of.o de Mex.co 23 de ^1817
S.? Inq.es
Perada y Finado

Al Ministro
del Secreto q.e
hace de Fiscal
donde se hallan
los antecedentes =
Entre renglones Julio.
vale [rúbrica]

Illm^o Sr.

D.n Tomas Comyn del Comercio de
Manila ante V.S.Y. Digo: Que como
consta del Sup.or Despacho q.e debida-
m.te presento el Exmo^o. So^or Virey me
ha consedido permiso p.a pasar á España
previa licencia de este St^o. Trib.l á
cuyo efecto ocurro á V.S.Y. Suplicando
le se sirba mandar se extienda á
continuac.n del Despacho y se me devu
elva original p.a los usos correspon-
dientes. Por tanto.

A. V. S. Y. se sirba mandar aser lo que

27v

es justicia juro &.a

Tomas Comyn [rúbrica]

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36.D.10, folder 1, 2r. "Libros nros prestados...Libros agenos que tengo." 1764.

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Note: AGN call numbers refer to a "Volumen" and an "Expediente." For example, Volumen 100, Expediente 2 would read "100-2." If a volume has multiple parts (part 1, part 2), I have indicated this with a period followed by the part number, after the volume number, e.g., "100.1-2". When there is no Expediente number, the letters "s/n" appear after the dash. When multiple, unrelated documents appear in the same Expediente, the folio numbers also appear to indicate the document's location.

Fondo Novohispano

Inquisición

113-12. "Documentos remitidos por el comisario de Manila a los inquisidores de Mejico sobre varios asuntos." 1583.

263-1X. "Da q.ta de siertos Libros p.hibidos y de enmiendas q se deben azer en otros q. no lo estan." 1612.

293.1-10. "Advertencias de libros." After 1605.

293.1-40. "Proposiciones Que se hallaron en una estanpa de la orden de S. Fran.co Ynpresa Hispali Seuilla año 1608." After 1608.

- 293.2-s/n, f. 316. “Despues q las naos salieran el año pasado de 1615...” After 1615.
- 368-27. “Lo q. se a aduertido digno de deser [sic] enmendado desde el año 604 asta 1605.”
1605.
- 438.2-48. “Memoria de los libros que reciui por la flota de este año de 1660, por
mano del her.o Fran.co Vello de la comp.a de Jesus...Francisco Ximenez.” 1660.
- 438.2-50, f. 509. “Memoria de los libros que el Hermano Manuel Duarte de la Compania de
Jesus, rremite en esta ocassion a la Ciu.d de Manila a quien se los pide.” 1660-1665(?).
- 438.2-70. “Autos hechos acerca de las mem.s de libros q. en este tribunal ha press.do el
P.e Fran.co Bello de la Comp.a de Jhs. y Proc.r de su Provincia de Filipinas.” 1660-
1661.
- 609-9. “Ynventario de los Papeles que se hallaron entre los bienes del Mro de Campo D Diego
de Salcedo presso p.r El ss.to ofi.o.” 1668.
- 713-50. “El S.r Fiscal del S.to offi.o c[ontr]a Vna Comedia de D.n Pedro Calderon, intitulada:
Las Cadenas del Demonio.” 1700.
- 725-s/n, ff. 24-25. “Manuel de Memije pide licencia para que en el puerto de Acapulco se le
embarque un cajón de libros a la ciudad de Manila.” 1790.
- 759-s/n, ff. 470-480, 502. Books denounced by the Commissaries of Manila.
- 759-s/n, ff. 487-491. Reports of *conclusiones* held in the college of San Ignacio. 1649.
- 861-s/n. “Autos fechos por el Comisario de la Ciu.d de Manila en las Yslas Philipinas, sobre
hauer el Cavildo Ecclesiastico en Sede vacante de aquella Ciudad, publicado y fijado vn
Edicto, prohiuiendo y recojiendo vn papel impreso anonimo.” 1734-1739.
- 894-s/n, ff. 71-78. Proceedings taken against the *Pronostico mixto del Año 1736* by Joan de
Arechederra. 1736.

- 897-21. "Se recibió en este tribunal una lista de libros que mandó quemar nuestro comisario en Manila." 1750.
- 902-27. "Lista de los libros prohibidos, hallados entre los que vinieron en dos Caxas, grande, y chica de Battavia por Macao." 1742.
- 903-18. "Dilig.as executadas so.e la Visita de la Chalupa N.a S.a. del Ros.io q llegó al Pu.to de Cau.te de la Costa de Java con mercancías de libros." 1742.
- 903-19. "Diligencias Executadas Sobre los Libros Presentados por el Cap.n Monsieur D.n Cesar Falliet." 1742.
- 903-24. "Diligencia de quema, y extincion de Libros condenados, executada en este Hospital de San Gabriel el dia 9 de Noviembre, del año passado de 41." 1742.
- 937-12. "Expediente de los Libros prohividos de la Comisaria de Manila." 1752-1795.
- 977-20. "Lista de los libros, que el press.te año de mill setecientos, y quarenta, y siete; mandó quemar el M. R. P...Fr. Joan Alvarez." 1747.
- 1023-10. "Don Manuel de Memije solicita se le dé pase para sacar de la aduana unos libros." 1788.
- 1042-s/n, f. 213. "Lista de los libros contenidos en dos caxones que en la flota se me remitieron para las Misiones de Philipinas del orden de N. P. san Agustín." 1769.
- 1100-28. "D. Manuel de Memije pide se le dé pase para sacar de la aduana los libros que cita." 1778.
- 1108-5. "Razón de los libros que vienen en un cajón, pertenecientes a D. Miguel Memije." 1779.
- 1126-45, ff. 321-322. "Fr. Antonio Valenzuela de N P S Ag.n Proc. General de la Prov.a del

- ss.mo Nombre de Jesus de Philip.s...se sirve remitir p.ra dha mi Prov.a los Libros que Constan de la adjunta citada Lista.” 1756.
- 1151-4, ff. 356v-360v. “Carta al comissario de Manila en la que se le prohíbe quemar y recoger libros sin orden de este S.to oficio.” 1750.
- 1159-3. “Antonio Espinosa de los Monteros, tratante en libros en esta corte, solicita se le entreguen los libros que están detenidos en la aduana al cargo de D. Manuel de Memije.” No date.
- 1243-22. “Fr. Juan de Jesus M.a...Comm.o de la Miss.n de Relig.os Franc.os Desc.os existente en el Hosp.l de S.n Ag.n de las cuevas con destino a la Prov.a de S.n Gregorio en las Yslas Philipinas...dice: Que se halla en la precission de conducir a dha Prov.a los Libros, q.e expresa la adjunta Lista.” 1787.
- 1264-s/n, ff. 365-367. “Fray Mauro de S.n Agustin Vice Presidente del Hospicio de S.n Nicolas de Agustinas descalzos de la Provincia de Filipinas...dice: Que en virtud de hallarse en la R.l Aduana los Libros q.e en la Lista adjunta presento.” 1796.
- 1292-s/n, ff. 188-190. “Fray Joseph de Pedro Bern.do Proc.r g.l de la Prov.a de S.n Gregorio de los Desc.os de N. S. P. S.n Franc.co en las Yslas Philip.s...dice: Que en las dos Listas de Libros...con destino a aquellas Yslas.” 1788.
- 1348-15, f. 39. “Lista de los Libros q.e trae la Mision de P.P.s Agustinos Descalzos de la Prov.a de S.n Nicolas de Philipinas.” 1790.
- 1354-s/n, ff. 127-128. “Nomina de los libros q.e lleva la Mision de Filipinas de Pp Agustinos Descalzos.” 1795.
- 1382-15. Correspondence from Nicolás Cora, commissary of Manila, to the Inquisitors of New Spain on the remission of books to Mexico. 1792-1795.

- 1390-s/n, ff. 366, 376, 382. Petitions for free passage of books from Gregorio de San José and Manuel Guerra. 1797, 1794-1803.
- 1411-s/n, ff. 147, 152. “Memoria de los Libros que lleva a su uso el infraescrito [Pedro de San Pascual], que pasa de Philipinas para España.” 1802.
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- 1420-s/n, ff. 194-195. “Fr. Julian Bonhome, de la mas estrecha obserbancia de N. P. S. Fran.co...suplica, se le con.da el pase de los Libros que constan de la adjunta Nota.” 1804.
- 1435-19, ff. 250-252. “Sobre licencia que tiene D. Ventura de los Reyes para poder leer y retener la obra francesa titulada *La Enciclopedia*, impresa en Lausana y Berna el año de 1778”. 1805-1807.
- 1436-s/n, f. 331. “D. Manuel Darvin y Colombien...dice: Que tiene detenidos en la R.l Aduana unos libros.” 1807.
- 1440-s/n, f. 219. “Fr. Fran.co Muiñoz del Sagrado Orden de Predicadores...me hallo en la precision de remitir a los Colegios de Santo Thomas, y S. Juan de Letran de mi Provincia de Manila, para la enseñanza publica, los Libros siguientes.” 1808.
- 1449-1, ff. 1-5. “Quaderno de Facturas, y Listas de Libros que se presentan en el Tribunal para que se les den los correspondientes pases, y han corrido por la mesa del Srio. Naxera.” 1810.
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- 1603-121. “Fr. Jacintho Jorba del orden de Predicadores vicario del Hospicio de S. Jacintho extra muros desta Ciudad de Mexico, dice: que en esta Flota le han venido de España para su Provincia de Filipinas los libros contenidos en la memoria que con este presenta.” 1695.
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This manuscript was typed by the author.