Imaging Our Lady in Sixteenth-century Manila: *Nuestra Señora del Rosario de La Naval*[1]

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Introduction

One of the most venerated Marian images in the Philippines is that of Our Lady of the Rosary, known as "Nuestra Señora del Rosario de La Naval." The "La Naval" was added after the delivery of Manila through a series of naval victories over the Dutch in 1646 was attributed to her intercession. In this paper, the name "La Naval" will be also be used to refer to the image simply in order to avoid repetition. Enshrined in Santo Domingo church in Quezon City, La Naval is recorded to have been carved in the 1590s, and it is thus believed to be the oldest dated Philippine-made ivory. In 1762, pillaging British troops desecrated her image, leading some scholars to wonder if today's image is the same as that carved four centuries ago. In this paper, we shall try to resolve this issue by retracing the history of the image, creating an "image biography" if you will.

A brief history of La Naval

The earliest published source on La Naval is in a chronicle of the Dominicans in the Philippines by Diego Aduarte, a Dominican historian, issued in Manila in 1640. Aduarte devoted chapter twelve to La Naval, from which we can glean the following. The image was commissioned by Don Luis Perez Dasmariñas, governor of the islands, and gifted to the Dominican convent in Manila, known as Santo Domingo. It was five *tercias* tall (152.5 centimeters), with ivory used for the face, hands, and Holy Child. The governor had it carved by a *sangley* (as a Chinese in the Philippines was called), with the assistance of Captain Hernando de los Rios Coronel. The *sangley* remained a pagan for many years, even as he traveled throughout the land accepting commissions from churches. Eventually, when he decided to come down from the Ilocos and be baptized, it was to be in front of his masterpiece in the chapel of the Dominicans. Aduarte continues with several chapters on the miracles wrought through the intercession of the Lady of the Rosary. The fame of Our Lady through her image at Santo Domingo steadily grew, and devotees filled her chapel with all sorts of silver lamps, candlestands, and other tokens of gratitude.

As a Dominican from Zaragoza, Spain, Aduarte arrived in Manila in 1595. He ministered to the Chinese from Santo Domingo convent in the walled city. In 1596-97, he was sent to Cambodia with an expedition led by Luis Perez Dasmariñas and Hernando de los Rios Coronel. Aduarte's account of the carving of the image of La Naval in his *Historia*, therefore, could very well have been obtained from Luis Perez Dasmariñas and Hernando de los Rios Coronel themselves, at least as early as 1596. As a historian of the Order, he would have had access to the steadily growing archives on the prodigious image, especially to those recording the acts of the Confraternity of

Our Lady of the Rosary and the first testimonials of miracles worked through the intercession of Our Lady.[2]

The carving of La Naval must have taken place between October 1593, when Don Luis Perez Dasmariñas became interim governor general of the Philippines (he replaced his father, Governor Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, who was slain by the Chinese crew on an expedition south of Batangas), and August 22, 1594, when the confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary was re-established in Manila.[3] The devotion to Our Lady of the Rosary grew so much that as early as 1596, a substitute, also with face and hands of ivory (the ancestor of today's *vicaria*) was brought out in procession on the Lady's feast day and on the first Sunday of every month, while La Naval stayed in her chapel.

A defining moment in La Naval's history was the series of victories over the Dutch in the seas around Manila in 1646. In the face of a superior enemy, the out-numbered Spanish-Filipino contingent dedicated themselves to La Naval. The victories were declared miraculous in 1652, and this is commemorated on the fiesta of La Naval held on the second Sunday of October.

As a result of the war between Spain and France on the one hand and England on the other, British troops sailed from India and besieged an unsuspecting Manila for thirteen days in 1762. On October 5, Manila's defenses were breached, giving way to the sacking of its sanctuaries and the massacre of its citizens for thirty hours. British and Indian troops looted the Dominican church of gold and silver sacred vessels, bejeweled accessories of images, and richly ornamented church vestments. In the chapel of Our Lady of the Rosary, the intruders broke the life-sized glass window of the niche protecting La Naval, severed the head of Our Lady and separated the arms of the Little Child Jesus, snatched the gilded silver crown and *rostrillo* (facial aureole) studded with precious stones, and destroyed their vestments.[4]

In 1907, La Naval was canonically crowned, the first Philippine image to receive such an honor. She was evacuated after Santo Domingo was bombed by Japanese Imperial Forces on December 27, 1941. She was enshrined for the remainder of the Second World War in the Sampaloc campus of the University of Santo Tomas.[5] In 1954, La Naval was brought in triumphal procession to her new home, also called Santo Domingo, in Quezon City.

La Naval: an artistic encounter between a Spanish captain and a Chinese pagan in a Philippine context

What kind of person would the Governor General have entrusted the carving of a very special devotional image? We have no inkling when or where he was born, but Hernando de los Rios Coronel arrived in the Philippines in 1588; he must have landed then (and made friends) with the second boatload of Dominicans that reached Manila this same year from Acapulco. In 1595, he was listed as an *alarife*, an occupation generally recognized as equivalent to the *albañil*, or carpenter. Much more

responsibility was probably wielded here, however, because in sixteenth-century Mexico, the *alarife* was a municipal official who resolved complaints, questions of expertise, charges of sub-standardnes, etc., among various professions. *Alarife*, however, could be interchanged with other words such as *albañil, arquitecto, dorador, escultor, ensamblador*, and *entallador*, all of which could be used to refer to work related to sculpture.[6]

Drawing from his knowledge in mathematics, navigation, geography, astronomy, and commerce, he drew the first map of Luzon (in 1597), and completed an astrolabe. His busy life took a remarkable turn as he entered the priesthood shortly before 1600. As a priest, he resided in Quiapo, where the Chinese insurrection of 1603 overtook him.[7] Even in clerical state, Rios Coronel was appointed Procurator General (business manager in today's terms) of the Philippines and sent twice (in 1605 and 1618) to Spain on errands for the colony. There he poured his knowledge and experience into a famous *Memorial* that advocated reforms for his beloved Philippines. After this work, published in Madrid in 1621, we hear nothing more from him. Luis Perez Dasmariñas introduced him to the King as a man "of such virtue and such uprightness of life, and so zealous and desirous of the service of God and your Majesty, and of the common welfare, that I know not if there be a man in these parts to exceed him in this."[8] Wenceslao Retana, the Spanish Filipinologist and Rizal's contemporary, eulogized him as one of the greater figures of import in Philippine history, a true intellectual who combined the skills of a writer, politician, and scientist.[9]

It is unknown who selected the Chinese pagan artist to carve La Naval. One scenario may be the following. Dasmariñas may have been approached by his Dominican friends to commission a statue for the newly established Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary. The Dominicans, who were proselytizing among the Chinese, could have suggested an artist to the Governor, who would then have approached his friend Rios Coronel to supervise the carving.

The Chinese, mostly transient merchants and artisans, were allowed to set up their stalls in the Parian, a market that was established just outside the walls of Intramuros in 1581. Antonio Sedeño, the first Jesuit superior in the Philippines, trained the Chinese as artists from the time of his arrival in 1581 until his death in Cebu in 1595.[10]

> He [Sedeño] sought out Chinese painters and kept them in his house painting images, not only for our own churches but for the others in Manila and outside the city, and he encouraged *encomenderos* to display in their churches the images that he himself provided. In this way he adorned almost all the churches with images, the great majority of which represented the mother of God.[11]

In 1588 the second mission of Dominicans from Mexico reached Manila. Among them was Fray Juan Cobo, who was assigned to evangelize the Chinese in the

Parian. From this year until 1592, when he was sent on a diplomatic mission to Japan, he imparted technical and artistic skills to his wards:

> He also taught them [the Chinese] various skills necessary for the Spaniards, which were unknown to them in China, such as painting artistic images, binding books, cutting and sewing habits, and similar jobs.[12]

The Chinese achievements in ivory carving were so developed by 1590 that the first bishop of Manila, Domingo de Salazar—a Dominican who arrived together with Sedeño and the first Jesuits—enthusiastically wrote the King:

> In the Parian are found all the workers with all the skills and mechanical arts needed for a Republic, and in such great quantity. … They have so perfected themselves in this art, that they have wrought marvelous works both with the chisel and with the brush. Having seen some ivory images of the Child Jesus it seems to me that nothing more exquisite than these could be produced; and such is the opinion of those who have seen them. The churches are now being provided with these images, which they sorely lacked before; with the Sangleys' ability to replicate those images from Spain, it should not be long when even those made in Flanders will not be missed.[13]

These Chinese, according to Sedeño's confrere Pedro Chirino, who was in the Philippines from 1590 to 1602,

> supplied skilled practitioners in every craft and trade, all of them experienced, proficient and cheap, … Consequently, the Chinese are now the tailors, the shoemakers, the blacksmiths, silversmiths, sculptors, locksmiths, painters, masons, weavers, and in short all the craftsmen of the country.[14]

The question of artistic standards, control, and models has yet to be answered. In the Philippines, unlike Mexico, there were no guilds for artists, although such groups were founded for racial concerns. There was, therefore, no clear process for the refinement of an art. What is significantly clear, however, is that pagans—especially the Chinese—were freely allowed to work for the decoration of churches. Now we may ask, what models would have been available in the late sixteenth century for a statue of Our Lady of the Rosary?

Sources and models for Marian images

Throughout the history of depicting the Blessed Mother, we may broadly distinguish two types of posture, sitting and standing, and two types of dress, the tunic (essentially based on her Jewish background) and the royal gown (a development parallel to the rise of the European court). A secondary consideration would be the

positions of the hands. These could be held together in prayer, or one arm could be cradling the Child in one hand while the other proffered any kind of symbol such as a rosary, rose, cincture or belt, scapular, candle, bird, or scepter.

The figure of Our Lady of the Rosary is basically derived from that of Our Lady of Mercy, *la Virgen de la Misericordia*, and was developed from the end of the fifteenth century.[15] This model, characterized by Our Lady dressed in a tunic, standing, and protectively extending her mantle on both sides over kneeling figures, does not seem to have gained much favor in the Philippines.

In the late sixteenth century, Our Lady of the Rosary was often depicted in a tunic, with or without a mantle. She could either be standing or sitting down, but always with the Christ Child supported on one arm. Mother and Child were often crowned. The standing *Virgen del Rosario* in a tunic is the model for such venerable Philippine icons as the Rosary statues at Manaoag, Orani, and Piat, and the painting of the Parian's *Biglang Aua*. The early dates of these images suggests the availability of this model to late-sixteenth and seventeeth-century Philippine artists.[16] The type has endured, as can be seen in the later ivory and wood image of Our Lady of the Rosary at the Parish Church in the University of Santo Tomas, Manila.

There are fewer likenesses of the second type of Our Lady of the Rosary (dressed in a tunic but seated) in the Philippines. A rare example in wood and ivory (with the carved robes painted red and blue) was lost to a fire in Bayombong, Nueva Vizcaya. A later work is the engraving *Cofrades de número del Rosario en Japón* by Ysidro Paulino, which appeared in an 1868 hagiographical work.[17] Sassoferatto's version, hanging in a chapel in Santa Sabina (the basilica in Rome where St. Dominic lived and died), became the inspiration for sculpture copies in the early-twentieth-century chapel at Dominican Hill, Baguio, and today's Santo Domingo compound in Quezon City.

In the New World, religious practice was marked by a reliance on processional images. Early images brought overseas from Spain were generally small and light—easily transportable.[18] They often consisted of well-articulated heads (fitted with human hair and, later, glass eyes) and hands mounted on sketchily carved torsos that were meant to be covered with real clothes, and were thus known as *imágenes de vestir*. The acts of the Third Mexican Provincial Council, held in 1585, allude to the production of *imágenes de vestir* in that country.[19] The image of Our Lady of the Rosary in the elaborate Dominican convent in Puebla, Mexico, was an *imagen de vestir*, and dates from before 1596. The statue was made by Jorge Antonio Lois, a Portuguese residing in Mexico. [20] It is quite likely that this particular image made a strong impression on Philippine-bound passengers—including Hernando de los Ríos Coronel and the first Dominicans—who had to pass through Puebla on their way from Veracruz to Mexico and eventually Acapulco.

In the Philippines, Marian *imágenes de vestir* fitted with royal dress were described as *de bastidor*—from the word referring to a light framework, such as an

embroidery hoop, inasmuch as the gowns were formed over a conical structure of wooden splats.

Vesture for a Queen

From an inventory made on the re-establishment of the confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary in Manila (August 22, 1594), we obtain a reasonably clear understanding of how the image appeared, almost as soon as she was commissioned.[21] The first 1594 entries include two *sayas*, two *sayas enteras*, two *corpiños*, one *jubón*, three *ropas*, and three *mantos*. The *saya* was a dress composed of two parts, often made of the same fabric: a blouse with long sleeves whose cuffs fitted the wrist, and a skirt, which ended in a train (*cola*). Sleeves with generous openings (*mangas de punta*) distinguished the *saya entera*. The *corpiño* and *jubón* (jerkin) referred to types of upper garments, whose lower front, like that of the blouse of the *saya*, often ended in a point as it joined the skirt. Over the *saya* or other kinds of dress was worn the *ropa*, a floor-length coat with sleeves; its cut narrowed at the waist. The *manto* or mantle covered the head and the whole ensemble when its wearer went outdoors.[22] Subsequent inventories, such as that of 1619, list similar types of clothes. It is clear that what was later to be known as La Naval was an *imagen de vestir*.

What, then, was the inspiration for the type of gown that La Naval wore? The style of the vestments of the image of La Naval corresponds to Spanish court dress of the second half of the sixteenth century, i.e., from the court of Philip the Second (King of Spain, 1556-98) as continued to that of his son Philip the Third (1598-1621). This is further corroborated when, in order to understand the structure that went into shaping the dress of our image, we notice three elements of late-sixteenth-century Spanish court dress: the hoopskirt or farthingale (*verdugado*), the chest flattener or *carton de pecho*, and the high-soled platform shoes called *chapines*. The *verdugado* was an inner framework of hoops or *verdugos* (smooth twigs) that gave shape to the *basquiña* or *saya*, giving them the characteristic inverted "V" silhouette. The use of the *carton de pecho* explains the flat-chested torso of the La Naval, a fashion popular during the reign of the two Felipes. The female form of the period was thus encased, as it were, in a richly ornamented jewel box with flat and hard surfaces.[23] The apparent height of La Naval alludes to ladies of the Spanish court who often appeared taller than they were because they wore *chapines*. The height of such shoes, whose soles consisted of layers of cork, could range from a few fingers to an extreme of forty-nine centimeters.

The La Naval always wore a crown, as seen in her first inventory dating from 1594. This regal apparatus was not a prerequisite for images of Our Lady of the Rosary, however. The appearance of a crown on a likeness of Mary, in fact, carried certain meanings. Our Lady was often identified with the Church; portrayed as a ruler with a crown, scepter, *baston de mando* and other royal trappings, she embodied the power of the Church over secular authorities. Furthermore, as one scholar observes, "Typically, in the periods when the Church found itself on the defensive, it gave

special stress to Mary's position as Queen of Heaven, while this role lost importance when the Church's power was on the rise."[24]

Thus we have arrived at an idea of the earliest appearance of La Naval: a *de bastidor* image with head and hands of the Virgin and Child of ivory, dressed in late-sixteenth-century court style, and crowned.

Would the fall of the mantle (*manto*) have formed as triangular (volcanic, as some have put it) a silhouette as we see today? The silhouettes of some Marian images in seventeenth-century representations are not as pronouncedly triangular; in fact, their rounded shoulders and the smaller circumference of the gown and mantle at floor level (in relation to that of the present-day La Naval) have led to these images being described as *acampanado*, or bell-shaped. Examples of this type may be seen in the paintings *Virgen de Toledo con Carlos II* in Potosí, Bolivia (ca. 1670), and *Return of the Corpus Christi Procession to the Cathedral* in Cuzco, Peru (ca. 1680).[25] The innermost structure of the La Naval is a narrow octagonal cone, which corresponds to both royal portraits of the late–sixteenth-century and to the seventeenth-century images just mentioned. It should be noted that during the subsequent reign of Philip IV (1621-65), court dress changed substantially, with exaggeratedly wider hoopskirts known as *guardainfantes* and *tontillos*. Therefore, it is highly likely that the initial silhouette of the image of La Naval was somewhat less substantial than as we now see it. (Present-day image makers posit that the widening of the triangular silhouette of our image through the addition of *bombas* was an effort to make her appear more hieratic.[26])

It must be noted that our queenly image lacks one piece of clothing common in royal portraits of the era: the *lechuguilla*, or ruff, which in the late sixteenth century surrounded a women's neck like a wide plate. We may assume that this contraption was not worn during forays into the outdoors, which ties in with the use of the mantle. The all-protecting mantle, as noted elsewhere, was incorporated into the iconography of Our Lady of the Rosary from the earlier one of Our Lady of Mercy.

Exceptional ivory

The use of ivory in the image of La Naval alludes to a certain facility the Dominicans had in the acquisition of ivory. The "white gold" could have been obtained through their missions in Manila (Binondo, Parian, and San Gabriel were established for the Chinese), through those in Fujian and Vietnam, and even through those of their Portuguese confreres in Macao. There are important Fil-Hispanic ivory pieces in the two museums of the Dominican monasteries that trained and sent missionaries to the Philippines: San Esteban, Salamanca and Santo Tomás, Ávila. Apart from La Naval, other early-seventeenth-century Marian images in Dominican churches had ivory parts, notably those at Manaoag and Piat.[27]

The head of Our Lady is composed of at least four parts of ivory. The largest, comprising the face and neck, at about thirty-two inches is a sizable section of tusk

indeed. A continuous, incision-like cut marks the separation of the facial piece from the upper forehead, temples, and neck sides. A hint of a dimple appears on the flat, right cheek. The other ivory parts form the upper forehead, pate, temples, and back of the head and neck. About eleven ivory pegs are ranged round the crown of the head to the nape, to hold the wig in place.

The image seems not always to have been accessible for viewing. Panels, or perhaps curtains, covered the niche and were opened only for devotions. A large sheet of glass was placed over the niche; this was broken by the British in 1762 to get the jewels. Furthermore, La Naval's movements outside the shrine were restricted to important occasions such as her feast day, or the sending off of a galleon. All this may have sufficiently protected the image from dust and candle smoke, which in turn may explain why the ivory portions of La Naval have remained milky white, with minimum hairline cracks. Fray Juan Ferrando, who finished his *Historia* in 1840, wondered how La Naval's original lustre had hardly faded two hundred fifty years after her carving.[28]

The eyes are of glass, and must have been added later. (Insertion of glass eyes in images was introduced in the seventeenth century and became common in the eighteenth.[29]) In the 1980s, new eyelashes were glued on, and at the same time some chemical was applied over the crack extending from the left side of the lips (the chemical has since discolored.) Just under her chin may be espied a small bullet-sized mark, said to be left behind when the British manhandled the image in 1762. However, this is much more likely an ivory plug covering that part of the tusk where an inner canal runs through. The rather long ears are carved separately; each is pierced with two holes. The head is inserted into a flat-chested, waisted torso of unpainted wood.

It would be interesting to compare the image of La Naval with another image of the same provenance and period, the *Nuestra Señora del Buen Suceso* in Ciudad Rodrigo (Spain), sent there from Mexico in 1617. We see that La Naval differs substantially from the *Buen Suceso*. The latter piece is a solid ivory statuette, one of the earliest dated ivory Marian images of Philippine-Sino-Hispanic provenance. If La Naval was carved in the 1590s, then the Buen Suceso would be its nearest artistic counterpart. Its style has been described by the noted Spanish ivory scholar Margarita Estella as *sino-hispanic*, with reference to its being crafted by Chinese in the Philippines; by this she shifts the attribution of similar works from Chinese-Portuguese workshops on the Chinese coast (especially Macao and Fujian) to Manila.[30] Both La Naval and the Buen Suceso have oval faces, but the Buen Suceso's has an observably higher forehead and fuller cheeks. She has a rounded chin, while La Naval's is more pointed.

The La Naval eyebrows are arched, while those of the Buen Suceso are relatively flat. The eyelids of the latter are not as bulging or "demarcated" as those of La Naval. (These heavy eyelids, typical of early Philippine ivory images, are somewhat obscured by the present excessively thick eyelashes.)[31] The outer corners of

the Buen Suceso eyes end in folds represented as slits, an early example of the "Chinese eyes," a feature absent in the La Naval. The nose of La Naval is more pointed than that of the Buen Suceso, but the nostrils in both images are rounded. The philtrum or frenulum—the "canal" linking the nostrils to the upper lip—of the Buen Suceso is an inverted V, while that of the La Naval is more natural with its parallel lines. Both images have small mouths—not extending beyond the width of the nostrils—that form a nascent smile. Neither image exhibits the neck folds that would characterize Philippine ivories for the next few centuries. The hands of the Buen Suceso are rudimentarily done with stiff fingers, while those of La Naval are more worked, with long and rounded, candle-like fingers (more rounded in fact than normally seen on Oriental statues).

The two holes in each of the unusually long ears of La Naval call to mind the ancient Filipino taste for numerous earrings. The twin-hole feature is also present in another very early ivory Marian image found in Vigan, Ilocos Sur. The long ears, however, with the heavy eyelids, dreamy eyes, nascent smile, and long fingers of La Naval are originally of Buddhist tradition, which came to Manila from India via China.[32]

It should not surprise us that two images from the same place and time should manifest distinct differences. In the world of Southeast Asia, "art styles that may often be contrasting or embody religious persuasions coexisted within the same site. … Statues were therefore done in different styles almost simultaneously, making it difficult to trace a consistent development from one style to the next," as pointed out by the Philippine scholar Aurora Roxas-Lim.[33]

A nagging question

Thus far, we have been able to establish that the image of La Naval, as commissioned in the mid-1590s,

> was carved by a Chinese pagan, under the direction of a Spanish captain
> had the heads and hands of ivory was outfitted as a Queen, with several changes of garments wore court dress of the time of Philip II and Philip III
> was brought out in procession only on rare occasions, and was well-protected.

All these correspond in one way or another to the present La Naval image, as has been discussed above. There remains the nagging question: how much damage was inflicted by the British on the ivory parts of La Naval in 1762? Since her image was present in the Mass of Thanksgiving in 1764, we may assume that the damage to the image must not have been so great as to necessitate expensive and time-consuming repair. Even though the head may have been thrown on the floor, ivory can prove to be resilient. This writer saw a large ivory Niño fall from the table to the floor, but no resulting damage or crack was observed. If the head of La Naval was indeed damaged to a point that it needed major repair or even replacement, this would most probably

have been reflected in some document. The back area of the head may have been damaged, and the pieces put back together. It was a practice in the Hispanic world to retain whatever could be saved from the old material, to be incorporated into the renovated work.[34]

The Child Jesus is assembled from a single large piece of ivory, with the arms carved separately but also of the same material. The statue is about forty-one centimeters long, measured horizontally, although the upper part of the head consists of three interlocked pieces. The face is paler than the rest of the body, which exhibits the same kind of "patina" of nicks and scratches on the thorax region (the fleshy area between the neck and the chest) of his Mother. The arms, though carved separately, are of the same color as the body, indicating they were carved at the same time. These were taken apart during the British Invasion, and indeed there is much evidence of repair in the joints where the arms join the torso. This *Niño* has a decidedly less Oriental air than his Mother, making it more difficult to locate the piece stylistically in the same period as La Naval. He is more puffy-cheeked than what one would expect from a late-sixteenth- or seventeenth-century piece. To be sure, the sheer size of the ivory conforms to the large examples of very early ivories. The *Niño*'s head is shaved bald, just like Chinese baby boys. The ears, with the upper arches curving inwards like whorls, are smaller replicas of Our Lady's, a bit of evidence perhaps in favor of the same maker for both Mother and Child.

Finally, let us look at the historic and present-day measurements. Aduarte's five *tercias*, with a *tercia* signifying a third of a yard, or one foot, or twelve inches (30.5 cm.), would be equivalent to 152.5 centimeters. Fr. Rodriguez in 1907 wrote that the La Naval's height was seven *palmos*; at one *palmo* equivalent to a *cuarta* (twelve *dedos*) of a *vara* (83 cm.), with a fourth of a *vara* thus being 20.75 cm., seven *palmos* would be 145.25 centimeters. Both historic measurements are quite close to the approximately 154 centimeters read in a measurement taken in September of 2006.

The measurements, the vesture, the carving style and the quality of the ivory all strongly point to today's La Naval as the same one carved more than four hundred years ago. There remains the question of the ivory substitute, carved just a couple of years after the original, whose whereabouts are unknown. I doubt, however, if this latter image would have reached the same size or quality as the first one. The intensity of the people's devotion would have ensured that the first La Naval be recognized as *the* original. But perhaps beyond questions of authenticity is the search for La Naval's meaning for us Filipinos today. This search for meaning has been posed as a challeng to us by the rector of the University of Santo Tomas, Father Rolando de la Rosa, O.P., and with his words I conclude my paper:

> This image is the symbol of what is good in our character as a people, what is true in our culture, what is powerful in our faith. If we can display this image in all its grandeur, why can we not exhibit the best in each of us for all the world to see?[35]

[1] This paper is an updated and revised version of an article that appeared in *The Saga of La Naval. Triumph of a People's Faith*, ed. Lito B. Zulueta, Quezon City: Dominican Province of the Philippines, 2007.
[2] BR 14, 81; Ocio and Neira 2000, 64-65.
[3] Fernando Zobel de Ayala, author of the first scholarly book on Philippine religious imagery (1963) gave 1593 as the year of carving; Zobel de Ayala 1963, 70. In *La Naval de Manila*, written in 1943, Nick Joaquin incorrectly placed the year of the image's carving at 1612: Joaquin 1964, 24. Dasmariñas eventually settled down near the church and convento of Binondo. On October 4, 1603, the Chinese in Binondo and Tondo were roused by rumors and revolted against the Spaniards, eventually slaying Dasmariñas and a number of Spanish soldiers in the vicinity of today's San Francisco del Monte, Quezon City. Jose 2007, 49-51.
[4] Zurita 1764, 5; Huy 1762; En este mes el dia cinco... 1762. Marquez de Ayerbe 1897, 67; Rodriguez 1907, 58; Malumbres 1908.
[5] Labrador 1989, 30, 35.
[6] Alva Rodríguez 1997, 406; Gutierrez 1995, 26; Ruiz Gomar 1990, 41.
[7] de la Costa 1961, 209.
[8] Perez Dasmariñas 1597, 299.
[9] Retana 1906, 72. A first edition (1542) of Copernicus' revolutionary work on astronomy that bears Ríos Coronel's handwritten comments is now part of the Heritage Library of the University of Santo Tomas. It may have been entrusted to the library of the University when it was established in 1611 as a result of a friendship with Miguel Benavides, first Dominican missionary among the Parian Chinese (1587-1590), whom he must have met during his search for a Chinese artist for the La Naval.
[10] Javellana 1991, 23.
[11] Chirino 1604/1969, 37, 270. These images were blessed by Padre Sedeño by virtue of the authority bestowed on him by the Pope in 1591 through the offices of his confrere Father Alonso Sánchez: de la Costa 1961, 101.
[12] Aduarte 1640/ 1962, I, 219. Cobo perished in the return journey to Manila, when the ship from Japan foundered off Taiwan.
[13] Gayo Aragon 1951, 77-78.
[14] Chirino 1604/1969, 11, 243.
[15] Sebastian 1992, 48.
[16] A modern variant is the representation of Our Lady based on the apparitions at Fatima, Portugal in 1917. Dressed in a white tunic with a crown on her head, the 'Lady' identified herself on October 13, 1917, as 'Our Lady of the Rosary', with the notable difference that this time she was not with her Child.
[17] Francisco Carrero, O.P. 1868. *Triunfo del Santo Rosario Orden de Santo Domingo en los Reinos del Japón desde el1617 hasta 1624*. 2nd ed. Manila: Imp. del Col. de Sto. Tomás, a cargo de D. Babil Saló.
[18] Gutiérrez 1995, 205.
[19] Maquívar 1995, 49-50.
[20] Sebastian 1990, 163. The first confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary in Mexico was established in 1538: Sebastian 1992, 48.
[21] Libro de los Cabildos 1592, fol. 29v.

[22] Insights on Spanish court dress of the 16th century, especially on the archaic terms, were taken from Anderson 1979, 200-241 and Bernis n.d., 87-104.
[23] Bernis n.d., 87.
[24] Kirchberger 1997, 180. He adds, rather ruefully however: 'Jesus' words at the beginning of the Sermon on the Mount, 'Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven' (Matthew 5:3), had obvously been forgotten.'
[25] *Los Siglos de Oro* 1999, 350 and 65, respectively.
[26] Conversation with Tom Joven (by telephone) and Ramon Villegas, Dec. 26, 2006, Makati City.
[27] Jose and Villegas 2004, 72, 104-105.
[28] Ferrando-Fonseca 1870-1872, I, 244; Rodríguez 1907, 51.
[29] Manrique 1995, 107; Maquívar 1995, 86.
[30] Estella 2000, 60-61. The Philippine provenance of much of the "Chinese"-looking ivory images, over that of Macao and other Chinese centers, has been argued for recently in Jose 2004, 53-57, 98-101.
[31] The removal of these tasteless externals might actually enhance the spiritual character of the image.
[32] Jose 2004, 63-64.
[33] Roxas-Lim 2005, 71,
[34] Manrique 1995, 105.
[35] de la Rosa 2007, 28.

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