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Translating “Asia” in Philippine missionary-colonial texts

Marlon James Sales*

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Resumo

A importância da tradução na prática da investigação histórica é ainda maior em contextos nos quais a língua funciona como uma barreira no acesso ao conhecimento, como é o caso das Filipinas. Este artigo analisa histórias e gramáticas missionárias de Tagalog, base da língua nacional actual das Filipinas, o Filipino, e examina a forma como, na textualização do seu povo, o conceito da «Ásia» é imaginado como um Outro exótico. Ao propor uma leitura em tradução de textos missionários, fornecerei exemplos de como a escrita colonial era instrumentalizada no sentido de inscrever o Outro na história da salvação cristã e de como textos históricos e linguísticos construíram uma visão colonial das Filipinas e da Ásia através da tradução.

Palavras-chave: estudos de tradução, Filipinas, linguística missionária, Tagalog, tradução de/como História

Abstract

The centrality of translation in the practice of historical research is magnified in contexts where language serves as an impediment to accessing knowledge, such as in the case of the Philippines. In this paper, I shall analyze missionary histories and grammars of Tagalog, the basis of the modern-day national language of the Philippines called Filipino, and examine how the concept of “Asia” is imagined as an exotic Other in the textualization of its people. In proposing a translational reading of missionary texts, I shall provide examples of how colonial writing was instrumentalized to inscribe the Other within the history of Christian salvation, and how historical and linguistic texts constructed a colonial vision of the Philippines and Asia through translation.

Keywords: translation studies, Philippines, missionary linguistics, Tagalog, translation as/of History.

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Introduction

The word “entrepôt,” from the French verb *entreposer* ‘to store,’ calls to mind the image of a warehouse, where items are delivered, kept and dispatched. It is perhaps for this reason that the historical portrayal of the Philippines as an entrepôt is often juxtaposed to a discussion of its strategic linkages to continental East Asia and the Americas. The descriptor is usually ensconced within the discussion of the Manila galleons, which plied the seas for more than two hundred years and facilitated trade between two extremes of the Pacific.¹ As an entrepôt, the city of Manila was imagined as an intermediary of material exchange between two geographical spaces that had been brought together by the exigencies of colonial commerce.

An exchange of material goods, however, would necessarily result in a traffic of persons (and I am using the word *traffic* here in its broadest sense of ‘flow’ or ‘movement’), and there are those like linguist Andrew Gonzalez who used entrepôt to mean a coming together of people, a space “where different ethnic tribes converged.”² Manila, in particular, was conceived as an emporium. The confluence of colonial bodies must have been so immense in the Philippine capital that Franciscan chronicler Marcelo de Ribadeneyra³ reported that,

[y] es la ciudad de Manila la mas principal de todas, por estar alli el Gouernador, y Audiencia Real, y la Iglesia Arçopispal, y quatro conuentos, de Santo Domingo, y de nuestro Padre San Francisco, y del glorioso San Agustin, y de la compañia de Iesus, y vn conuento de niñas recogidas, y es alli la contratacion de Chinos, Iappones, Canbojas, Cianes, Patanes, y de gente de Malaca, y Maluco, y de Burney, y de todas las Islas comarcanas.⁴

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- 1 See, for example, Ubaldo IACCARINO, “Manila as an International Entrepôt: Chinese and Japanese Trade with the Spanish Philippines at the Close of the 16th Century,” *Bulletin of Portuguese-Japanese Studies*, Vol. 16, 2008, p. 76.
 - 2 Andrew GONZALEZ, “Language Planning and Intellectualisation,” *Current Issues in Language Planning*, Vol. 3, no. 1, 2002, p. 7.
 - 3 Little is known about the life of Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneyra apart from what is revealed in his writings. It is speculated that he was born around 1561.
 - 4 Marcelo RIBADENEYRA, *Historia de las islas del archipelago y reynos de la Gran China, Tartaria Cuchinchina, Malaca, Sian, Camboxa y Iappon, y de lo sucedido en ellos a los religiosos descalços*, Barcelona, Gabriel Graells and Giraldo Dotil, 1601 (Digital facsimile from Google), p. 14.

A cursory perusal of other historical records reveals that references to the galleons would often touch not only on the commodities these vessels carried, but also on the persons who travelled on board, colonial administrators, priests, interpreters, and other *homines viatores*, all of whom transcended the spatial, linguistic and cultural divide.⁵ Over and above its condition as a commercial hub between Asia and America, the Philippines served as a venue of encounter of cultural mediators who attempted to make sense of what would have been a dissonant colonial space.⁶

As we shall later on see in this essay, texts written during the Spanish colonial period endeavored to present the dissentience of the colony and its environs through authorial mechanisms that accommodated them within the accepted regimes of truth. "The history of nations," Bankoff writes, "is always presented in the form of a narrative,"⁷ and is therefore, as Bandia contends, "a literary and ideologically self-conscious process of thought."⁸ Given that translation is "a necessary condition of writing,"⁹ and alternatively, "every act of writing is already a translation,"¹⁰ the metaphor of the *entrepôt* can be taken as an invitation to interrogate Philippine colonial history through the tools of Translation Studies (TS).

This approach draws on the work of Vicente Rafael, who has shown how translational practices in Hispanic Philippines contributed to the conversion of Tagalog society.¹¹ It similarly echoes the awareness among scholars in missionary linguistics and Latin American history about the role of translation in the making of the Spanish colonial enterprise.¹² Unlike Rafael, however,

5 Anthony PAGDEN, *European Encounters with the New World: From Renaissance to Romanticism*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1993, p. 2.

6 *Idem, ibidem*, pp. 2–3; Sherry SIMON, "Postcolonial Cities and the Culture of Translation" in Simona Bertacco (ed.), *Language and Translation in Postcolonial Literatures: Multilingual Contexts, Translational Texts*, Hoboken, Taylor and Francis, 2013, p. 196.

7 Greg BANKOFF, "Selective Memory and Collective Forgetting: Historiography and the Philippine Centennial of 1898," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, Vol. 157, no. 3, 2001, p. 539.

8 Paul F. BANDIA, "The Impact of Postmodern Discourse on the History of Translation" in Georges Bastin and Paul F. Bandia (eds.), *Charting the Future of Translation History*, Ottawa, University of Ottawa Press, 2006, p. 49.

9 Rita WILSON, "Response," *Translation Studies*, Vol. 6, no. 1, 2012, p. 108.

10 Edwin GENTZLER, "Translation, Poststructuralism, and Power" in Maria Tymoczko and Edwin Gentzler (eds.), *Translation and Power*, Amherst/Boston, University of Massachusetts Press, 2002, p. 198.

11 Vicente L. RAFAEL, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule*, Durham/London: Duke University Press, 1993.

12 For example, Victoria RÍOS CASTAÑO, *Translation as Conquest: Sahagún and Universal History of the Things in New Spain*, Madrid/Frankfurt: Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 2014; Roberto VALDEÓN, *Translation and the Spanish Empire in the Americas*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, 2014.

who arrived at translation through history, I am taking the inverse route by accessing history through translation. As such, my analysis of Philippine colonial history has a decidedly narrativistic and translational bent. I view history not as an enumeration of verifiable empirical data, but rather as a practice of retelling that emerged from the topoi of colonial representations and that instantiated a specific vision of the past.¹³ By particularizing missionary writing as a genre of colonial historicization, I take into account the proselytizing *skopos* of the texts, and read the themes that I shall discuss herein as functions of the prevalent mode of missionary authoring.

Translation, whether openly acknowledged or not, permeates the study of history. Santoyo argues that,

[s]e non è vero, è ben trovato, because this is how History is made, how it has been made throughout the centuries, threading its way through the silent protagonism of translated texts—so silent, indeed, that we are not fully conscious of how many strings translations may have pulled all along the centuries.¹⁴

History does not operate beyond the confines of language. As George Steiner has famously asked,

[w]hat material reality has history outside language, outside our interpretative belief in essentially linguistic records (silence knows no history)? [...] We have no total history, no history which could be defined as objectively real because it contained the literal sum of past life.¹⁵

Any kind of historical research will involve some sort of translation,¹⁶ for which reason “[t]ranslation represents not only a central process in historical work, but is, in itself, a historical practice.”¹⁷ Current TS scholarship maintains that “[t]ranslation supports cultural interaction by fostering mutual understanding and enabling people to access foreign cultures.”¹⁸ All cultures

13 Tejaswini NIRANJANA, *Siting Translation: History, Post-Structuralism, and the Colonial Context*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1992, pp. 1–4.

14 Julio César SANTOYO, “Blank Spaces in the History of Translation” in Georges Bastin and Paul F. Bandia (eds.), *Charting the Future of Translation History*, Ottawa, University of Ottawa Press, 2006, p. 38.

15 George STEINER, *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1975, p. 29.

16 Martha P. Y. CHEUNG, “The Mediated Nature of Knowledge and the Pushing-Hands Approach to Research on Translation History,” *Translation Studies*, Vol. 5, no. 2, 2012, pp. 156–71.

17 Clara Foz, “Translation, History and the Translation Scholar” in Georges Bastin and Paul F. Bandia (eds.), *Charting the Future of Translation History*, Ottawa, University of Ottawa Press, 2006, p. 131.

18 Rita WILSON, “Exchanging Views: Knowledge Transfer through Literary Translation,” *International Migration*, 2013, p. 1.

are approached unavoidably through a process of translation,¹⁹ and all cultural transactions, “from the most benign to the most venal,”²⁰ are said to be translational. Translation in its basest form occurs whenever an attempt is made to engage with the world and to negotiate its meanings, which then requires that a text—a written document, a pictographic image, or even people themselves—be transferred from one point to another. “Translation,” Polezzi clarifies further, “takes place not just when words move on their own, but also, and mostly, when people move into new social and linguistic settings.”²¹

It has to be said at this point that the limits of translation as an analytic framework remain a thorny issue among scholars in the field. The so-called “cultural turn” in TS has opened the discipline to practices and outputs that were not traditionally considered translational, and there has been no scarcity of commentators who have critiqued such openness.²² Nevertheless, this same openness has recognized that translation is not a uniform practice across the cultural spectrum, and has empowered translators and translation scholars—to borrow Maria Tymoczko’s words²³—to examine translation through its agents, procedures, outputs, positionalities, and so on. As Ricci avers,

[d]espite the way “translation” is often casually used in scholarly and popular debates to include theories and practices that cannot be reduced to uniform significance, many of the world’s translation traditions (and especially those of the ‘non-West’) have yet to be subjected to analysis and interpretation. Such traditions often do not conform to the expectations of what modern, literate, Western individuals have come to envision as the core dimensions of “translation”.²⁴

In this paper, therefore, I shall adopt Pym’s definition of the term *translation*, which “presupposes contact between at least two cultures, and does so in relation to language use [...]”²⁵. In those instances when the examples

19 Roman ÁLVAREZ and M. Carmen África VIDAL, “Translating: A Political Act” in M. Carmen África Vidal and Román Álvarez, *Translation, Power, Subversion*. Clevedon/Philadelphia/Adelaide, Multilingual Matters, 1996, p. 3.

20 Bella BRODZKI, *Can These Bones Live? Translation, Survival, and Cultural Memory*, California: Stanford University Press, 2007, p. 2.

21 Loredana POLEZZI, “Translation and Migration,” *Translation Studies*, Vol. 5, no. 3, 2012, p. 348.

22 See, for example, Boris BUDEN, “Response,” *Translation Studies*, Vol. 5, no. 3, 2012, pp. 364–8; Kyle CONWAY, “A Conceptual and Empirical Approach to Cultural Translation,” *Translation Studies*, Vol. 5, no. 3, 2012, pp. 264–79; Harish TRIVEDI, “Translating Culture vs. Cultural Translation” in Paul St-Pierre and Prafulla C. Kar (eds.), *In Translation: Reflections, Refractions, Transformations*, Delhi, Pencraft International, 2005, pp. 251–60.

23 Maria TYMOCZKO, *Enlarging Translation, Empowering Translators*, Manchester, St Jerome Publishing, 2007.

24 Ronit RICCI, “On the Untranslatability of ‘Translation’: Considerations from Java, Indonesia” in Ronit Ricci and Jan van der Putten, *Translation in Asia: Theories, Practices, Histories*, Manchester, St Jerome Publishing, 2011, p. 57.

25 A. PYM, op. cit, p. 2.

supplied are understood as translation *sensu stricto*, the term *translation proper*²⁶ will be used.

The centrality of translation in the practice of historical research is magnified in contexts where language serves as an impediment to accessing knowledge. Inquiry into Philippine Hispanism (and by extension, into Philippine colonial history) largely depends on what Filipino scholars are able to extract from historical records written in Spanish, a language that over time has become quite inaccessible for many Filipinos. Lifshy, in this regard, has coined the term “The Magellan Fallacy,” in allusion to the Portuguese explorer who led the 1521 Spanish expedition to the Philippines, to underscore the paradox of a nation where a considerable fraction of whose literary canon runs the risk of being “alienated from a home audience, who could not be counted on to know Spanish.”²⁷ The repercussions of the fallacy can be disastrous, for as Cano²⁸ and Palanco Aguado²⁹ have shown convincingly, this dependence on translation has skewed our appreciation of the history of the Philippines under Spain. Certain texts were decontextualized and their stylistic tenor, modulated, so much so that the version that reaches the reader through translation can be read as a distortion. *Traduttore, traditore*, the Italians would have said, ‘the translator is a traitor.’ Translation as a form of remembrance is situated within a locus of difference,³⁰ in which “[w]e remember culturally, as we do individually, by conventions of emphasis, foreshortening, and omission.”³¹

While this preamble does not appear to make a case for TS as a worthy paradigm of inquiry, it certainly functions as a hermeneutic caveat in our study of Philippine colonial history. If history is translation and translation is a process that both reveals and occludes, then historical writing, by the same token, unavoidably constructs historical truth from a certain positionality, and is fashioned following the dominant motifs of textual production. The decisions the historian takes as an agent of translation in the creation

26 Dilek DIZDAR, “Translational Transitions: ‘Translation Proper’ and Translation Studies in the Humanities,” *Translation Studies*, Vol. 2, no. 1, 2008, pp. 89–102.

27 Adam LIFSHEY, *The Magellan Fallacy: Globalization and the Emergence of Asian and African Literature in Spanish*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2012, p. 5.

28 Glòria CANO, “Evidence for the Deliberate Distortion of the Spanish Philippine Colonial Historical Record in the Philippine Islands 1493–1898,” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 39, no. 1, 2008, pp. 1–30.

29 Fernando PALANCO AGUADO, “The Tagalog Revolts of 1745 According to Spanish Primary Sources,” *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 58, no. 1 and 2, 2010, pp. 45–77.

30 Maria TYMOCZKO, “Translations of Themselves: The Contours of Postcolonial Fiction” in Sherry Simon and Paul St-Pierre (eds.), *Changing the Terms: Translating in the Postcolonial Era*, Ottawa, University of Ottawa Press, 2000, p. 158.

31 G. STEINER, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

of the text must be read in correlation to his translatorial habitus, viz., a set of internalized dispositions that inform the creation of the text.³² As Burke points out,

[i]f the past is a foreign country, it follows that even the most monoglot of historians is a translator. Historians mediate between the past and the present and face the same dilemmas as other translators, serving two masters and attempting to reconcile fidelity to the original with intelligibility to their readers.³³

Given the space constraints, the following discussion will not be exhaustive in terms of examples or sources, but is instead a purposive enumeration of cases that illustrate my arguments. Although the main focus in this edition of the journal is the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, I have also included some texts published in later periods, given that periodization in TS does not always correspond to established centurial boundaries,³⁴ and that missionary writing typically builds up on previous materials.³⁵ The discussion is arranged thematically, and proceeds from an analysis of the Philippines as a product of translation, towards a reflection of the translated-ness of Asia. The presentation will not be chronological, since “[t]ranslation challenges the conventions of historiography by proposing a historical perspective that is never univocal, for in translation events often occur *in a different order*, not only chronologically but epistemologically as well.”³⁶

Begetting through translation

Since the Spanish colonial enterprise was configured in such a way that the territorial conquest was justified through the evangelization of the colonized

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- 32 Jean-Marc GOUANVIC, “A Model of Structuralist Constructivism in Translation Studies” in Theo Hermans (ed.), *Crosscultural Transgressions: Research Models in Translation Studies II: Historical and Ideological Issues*, Manchester, St Jerome Publishing, 2002, pp. 93–102; Rita WILSON, “Cultural Mediation through Translingual Narrative,” *Target: International Journal on Translation Studies*, Vol. 23, no. 2, 2011, pp. 235–50; Michaela WOLF, “The Sociology of Translation and its ‘Activist Turn,’” *Translation and Interpreting Studies*, Vol. 7, no. 2, 2012, pp. 129–43.
- 33 Peter BURKE, “Cultures of Translation in Early Modern Europe,” in Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia (eds.), *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007, p. 7.
- 34 Georges BASTIN, “Subjectivity and Rigour in Translation History: The Case of Latin America” in Georges Bastin and Paul F. Bandia (eds.), *Charting the Future of Translation History*, Ottawa, University of Ottawa Press, 2006, pp. 111–29; C. Foz, op. cit.
- 35 Manuel BREVA-CLARAMONTE, “El marco doctrinal de la tradición lingüística europea y los primeros misioneros de la colonia,” *Bulletin hispanique*, Vol. 110, no. 1, 2008, p. 30; Marlon James SALES, “Aproximaciones al verbo ‘ser’ en las gramáticas misioneras del tagalo,” *Humanities Dili-man*, Vol. 5, nn. 1 and 2 (2008), pp. 82–3.
- 36 Christopher LARKOSH, “Translating Women: Victoria Ocampo and the Empires of Foreign Fascination” in Maria Tymoczko and Edwin Gentzler (eds.), *Translation and Power*, Amherst/Boston, University of Massachusetts Press, 2002, p. 104. The author’s italics.

peoples, the Catholic priest performed tasks that were beyond the immediate competencies of his spiritual ministry and were instead ancillary to the political objectives of colonial expansion.³⁷ The priest, in representation of the Church, was a pacifier of strife³⁸ and the “cement of social unity.”³⁹ He acted as tax collector, judge, character reference, political adviser and landowner.⁴⁰ His role in the Philippines becomes even more pronounced when one takes into account that the archipelago was essentially a profitless venture for Spain, and was retained as a colony principally for the proselytization of Asia.⁴¹

Missionaries were also pioneers in the systematization of indigenous knowledge, and were often credited for their contributions in the production of grammars, dictionaries, histories and devotional texts.⁴² These texts were not only pedagogical materials that assisted ministers in learning about the colonies, but were also taken as “the fixing, once and for all, of the contemporary standard.”⁴³ The yield was immense: Sueiro Justel notes in his study of Spanish linguistics in the Philippines that by 1898 there were about 124 grammars and 108 references to vocabularies of Philippine languages, which in absolute terms constituted a feat that was similar to, if not greater than,

37 Barbara Watson ANDAYA, “Between Empires and Emporia: The Economics of Christianization in Early Modern Southeast Asia,” *Journal of the Economic & Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 53, no. 1/2, 2010, pp. 357–92; Jaume GORRIZ, “Pedro Chirino en la historiografía filipina: el manuscrito inédito de la ‘Primera parte de la historia de la provincia de Filipinas de la Compañía de Jesús’” in M.^a Dolores Elizalde, Josep M. Fradera and Luis Alonso (eds.), *Imperios y naciones en el Pacífico—La formación de una colonia: Filipinas*, Vol. I, Biblioteca de Historia, Madrid, Asociación Española de Estudios del Pacífico, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2001, pp. 227–47.

38 Pedro A. GAGELONIA, *Concise Philippine History*, Manila, Far Eastern University Consumers Cooperative, Inc., 1970, p. 194.

39 John Leddy PHELAN, *The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses, 1565–1700*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1959, p. 159.

40 Teodoro A. AGONCILLO, *History of the Filipino People*, Quezon City, Garotech, 1990, p. 79; Nicholas CUSHNER, *Spain in the Philippines: From Conquest to Revolution*, IPC Monographs, Quezon City/Rutland, Vt., Ateneo de Manila University/C.E. Tuttle, 1971, p. 99; Peter G. GOWING, *Islands under the Cross: The Story of the Church in the Philippines*. Manila: National Council of Churches in the Philippines, 1967, p. 61.

41 Inmaculada ALVA RODRÍGUEZ, “La centuria desconocida: el siglo xvii” in Leoncio Cabrero (ed.), *Historia general de Filipinas*, Madrid, Ediciones de Cultura Hispánica, 2000, pp. 207–48; Henry Arthur Francis KAMEN, *Spain’s Road to Empire: The Making of a World Power, 1492–1763*, London, Allen Lane, 2002.

42 Sandra BREITENBACH, *Missionary Linguistics in East Asia: The Origins of Religious Language in the Shaping of Christianity?*, Germany, Peter Lang, 2008; Nicholas OSTLER, “The Social Roots of Missionary Linguistics” in Otto Zwartjes and Even Hovdhaugen, *Missionary Linguistics/Lingüística Misionera—Selected Papers from the First International Conference on Missionary Linguistics*, Vol. 106, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2003, pp. 33–46; Emilio RIDRUEJO, “Lingüística misionera” in Josefa Dorta, Cristobal Corrales and Dolores Corbella (eds), *Historiografía de la lingüística en el ámbito hispánico: fundamentos epistemológicos y metodológicos*, Madrid, Arco Libros, 2007, pp. 435–77.

43 N. OSTLER, op. cit., p. 44.

that of Latin America.⁴⁴ Missionaries likewise penned extensive chronicles on the progress of their ecclesiastical provinces in the preaching of the Christian faith and the establishment of local churches. These chronicles touch on the social and cultural histories of various ethnolinguistic groups in the archipelago, and are valuable resources not only for historiography,⁴⁵ but also for a postcolonial critique of history.⁴⁶ To a certain extent, whatever we know and do not know about Philippine pre-history and colonial history, whatever we remember or forget about the first years of contact between the Philippines and Spain is always contingent upon what these friars have recorded in their writings. As Lach points out,

[a]lmost no native writings of the pre-conquest period are extant, and significant archeological remains and inscriptions are few. Aside from the European sources, the historical records of the pre-Spanish period are limited to scattered references in the sparse annals of the neighboring insular areas and in the Chinese histories.⁴⁷

Although peripheral to what is readily considered literature in its narrowest canonical formulation, missionary grammars and histories can be read as translations inasmuch as they constituted a set of practices “whose aim was to compact and reduce an alien reality into the terms imposed by a triumphant Western culture.”⁴⁸ Trained in the Christian traditions of Europe, the missionaries were wont to emplot the history of the colonies into the overarching narrative of Christian redemption. We read, for example, in the 1751 chronicle of the Jesuit priest Juan José Delgado (Cadiz, 1697–Leyte,

44 Joaquín SUEIRO JUSTEL, *Historia de la lingüística española en Filipinas (1580–1898)*, [2nd ed.], Lugo, Axac, 2007, p. 171.

45 See, for example, Josep M. FRADERA, “La formación de una colonia. Objetivos metropolitanos y transacciones locales” and Albina PECZON-FERNANDEZ, “The Politics of Language and the Language of Politics: A Preliminary Study of the Spanish Language in Colonial Philippines” in M.^a Dolores Elizalde, Josep M. Fradera and Luis Alonso (eds.), *Imperios y naciones en el Pacífico — Colonialismo e identidad nacional en Filipinas y Micronesia*, Vol. II, Biblioteca de Historia, Madrid, Asociación Española de Estudios del Pacífico, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2001, Vol. I, pp. 83–103 and Vol. II, pp. 219–33, respectively.

46 For instance, Walter, MIGNOLO, *Local Histories/Global Designs Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 2000; V. L. RAFAEL, op. cit.

47 Donald F. LACH, *Southeast Asia in the Eyes of Europe: The Sixteenth Century*. Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press, 1968, p. 624. See also Sylvain AUROUX, *La révolution technologique de la grammatisation: introduction à l'histoire des sciences du langage*, Liège, Mardaga, 1994, p. 37. Walter MIGNOLO, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1995, pp. 112–28.

48 Sherry SIMON, “Introduction” in Sherry Simon and Paul St-Pierre (eds.), *Changing the Terms: Translating in the Postcolonial Era*, Ottawa, University of Ottawa Press, 2000, p. 11.

1755)⁴⁹ that the Philippine archipelago came to being during the creation of the world as narrated in the Book of Genesis:

El origen de estas Yslas es de fee Divina, que fue el mismo dela creación del universo, sacandolas la Omnipotencia del Criador, con la fuerza desu palabra del no ser, al ser, quando en el principio crio el Cielo, y la Tierra. Pero como no conste del sagrado texto, sí fueron criadas precisamente como Islas, separadas del continente [...]⁵⁰

Franciscan historian Juan Francisco de San Antonio (Madrid, 1682–Manila, 1744),⁵¹ on the other hand, marked the creation of the islands from the time of the Great Flood, explaining that, “el ser aquí tantas estas Islas, y tan continuadas, nos hace creible, que después del Diluvio se formarian muchas de ellas.”⁵² Another Franciscan, the grammarian Melchor de Oyanguren de Santa Ynes (Guipuzcoa, 1688–Mexico, 1747),⁵³ argued in his 1742 Tagalog grammar that the diversity of tongues was due to the “calamidad de todas las Lenguas, que procedieron de la Torre de Babel, que unas se destruyeron del todo; otras se mezclaron con otras distintas, y otras se dividieron en distintos Dialectos.”⁵⁴

These examples show that translation was performed in its most primordial form by transferring the country from the inexistence of collective remembrance into an a priori recognition of the numinous promise of the Biblical narrative. These islands in the Pacific should have always been there since the very beginning, hidden beneath the “tinieblas de la muerte, viviendo ciegos debaxo del tyranico imperio de Satanás,” as the Augustinian historian Gaspar de San Agustín (Madrid, 1650–Manila, 1724)⁵⁵ reported,

49 Horacio de la COSTA, *The Jesuits in the Philippines 1581–1768*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1961, p. 611.

50 Juan José DELGADO, *Historia general sacroprofana, política y religiosa de las Islas del Poniente llamadas Filipinas*, 1751 (Digital facsimile from the Biblioteca Nacional de España), Book 1, Chapter I, p. 2.

51 Wenceslao RETANA, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas por el Dr. Antonio de Morga*, Madrid, Librería General de Victoriano Suárez, 1909, p. 570.

52 Juan Francisco de SAN ANTONIO, *Chronicas de la apostolica prouincia de S. Gregorio de religiosos descalzos de N.S.P.S. Francisco en las Islas Philipinas, China, Japon, & C.*, Sampaloc, Manila, Convento de Nuestra Señora de Loreto del Pueblo de Sampaloc, Fr. Juan del Sotillo, 1738 (Digital facsimile from the Biblioteca Nacional de España), Book 1, Chapter II, p. 6.

53 José Toribio MEDINA, *La imprenta en México (1539–1821)*, Vol. 3, Santiago de Chile, Author’s own print shop, 1908 (Digital facsimile from the Biblioteca Nacional de España), pp. 514–5.

54 Melchor OYANGUREN DE SANTA YNES, *Tagalysmo elucidado y reducido (en lo possible) â la latinidad de Nebrija*, Mexico, Francisco Xavier Sánchez, 1742 (Digital facsimile from the Biblioteca Nacional de España), p. 1.

55 W. RETANA, *op. cit.*, p. 570.

and waiting to be brought back into the light of Christian truth.⁵⁶ It was God, continued San Agustín, who in His mercy willed that these islands be “discovered” apropos. Hence, in imitation of the first Apostles who through the power of the Holy Spirit were able to preach the Gospel in a multitude of tongues, missionaries were encouraged to pray that they be likewise endowed with a similar gift in order to fulfill their salvific mission. “Lengua de fuego os pido,” wrote the Dominican Francisco Blancas de San José (Tarazona, 1560–Pacific Ocean, 1614)⁵⁷ in the prefatory prayer of his 1610 grammar of Tagalog, “con q abrasado mi pecho, se enciendan los oyentes con vuestro amor.”⁵⁸

Translation and the practice of naming

Translation proper was prominent in the nomothetic sections of grammars and histories, as toponyms and demonyms were often introduced in missionary texts as translations of concepts or experiences. The name of the Philippines is a good example:

Despues con la ocasiõ de aver dado vista Magallanes â este Archipiélago en el año de 1521, en vn Sabado, que comúnmente llamamos el de *Lazaro*, en reverencia de dia tan santo, y nombrado, tituló con el de *San Lazaro* â este Archipiélago; y en muchos Mapas està impresso este titulo de *Archipiélago de San Lazaro*. // Continuando esta Conquista en el año de 1543, el General Ruy Lopez de Villalobos, las diò el nombre de *Islas Philipinas*, â contemplación, y obsequio del Principe de España Don Philipo. Como fuè desgraciada su Cõquista, fuè tambien este nombre desgraciado, y en breve tiempo se fue perdiendo, y tomando cuerpo el nombre antiguo de *Islas de Ponñete*, q̃ le avian dado los Castellanos.⁵⁹

Whether the name was *Filipinas* or *Archipiélago de San Lázaros* or *Islas de Poniente*, it was clear from the historical account that the country was designated through translation. Elsewhere, the historian San Antonio⁶⁰ and the grammarian Oyanguren⁶¹ similarly mentioned that the word *Tagalog* came

56 Gaspar SAN AGUSTÍN, *Conquistas de las islas Philipinas: la temporal por don Phelipe Segundo el Prudente; y la espiritual, por los religiosos del Orden de san Agustin*, Vol. 1, Madrid, Manuel Ruiz de Murga, 1698 (Digital facsimile from the Biblioteca Nacional de España), Book 1, Chapter II, p. 1.

57 Diego ADUARTE, *Historia de la provincia del Sancto Rosario de Filipinas, Iapon, y China de la sagrada Orden de Predicadores*, Zaragoza, Domingo Gascón, 1693 (Digital facsimile from the Biblioteca Nacional de España), pp. 403–13. The year of birth was taken from Emilio RIDRUEJO, “El problema de la descripción del sujeto o del tópico nominal en las primeras gramáticas filipinas” in Otto Zwartjes, Gregory James and Emilio Ridruejo (eds.), *Missionary Linguistics III/Lingüística misionera III: Morphology and Syntax*, Amsterdam, John Benjamins, 2007, p. 237.

58 FRANCISCO BLANCAS DE SAN JOSÉ, *Arte y reglas de la lengua tagala*, Bataan, Tomás Pinpin, 1610 (Digital facsimile from the Biblioteca Nacional de España), n.p.

59 J. F. de SAN ANTONIO, op. cit., Book, 1, Chapter III, p. 9 (the author’s italics).

60 *Idem, ibidem*, Chapter XXXIV, p. 134.

61 M. OYANGUREN DE SANTA YNES, op. cit., p.1.

from the phrase *taga-ylog* (\approx *taga-ilog*) ‘from the river.’ Jesuit historian Francisco Colín (Ripoll, 1592–Makati, 1660),⁶² meanwhile, explained in his 1663 chronicle that the people of the Visayas were called *Pintados* ‘The Painted Ones’ because of their tattoos.⁶³

In addition, translation proper was given in those sections of the texts where customs and traditions of the colony were described and contrasted to familiar parameters. An example of this was when San Antonio described boiled rice as “[e]l *pan* de los Naturales.”⁶⁴ Words such as *comida* or *manjar* certainly existed in Castilian during this time, but the way rice was translated by San Antonio as the indigene’s bread was indicative of the stylistic considerations the historian took into account in his historicization of indigenous culinary habits. Far from the tactile and gustatory specificities of the victual itself, the signifier *pan* connoted quotidianity: rice was *pan* in that it was the Filipinos’ staple meal. Indeed, by cross-checking food-related entries in a Tagalog missionary dictionary—say, in the 1613 *Vocabulario de lengua tagala* by Fray Pedro de San Buenaventura (?–Pacific Ocean, 1627)⁶⁵—we can easily see that this schematic equivalence was operative in missionary writing. *Comida*⁶⁶ and *manjar*⁶⁷ were both translated as *canin* (\approx *kanin*), which though referred strictly to *morisquesta* ‘boiled rice,’ could be used, according to the Franciscan lexicographer, to refer to “cualquier tipo de guisado.” Along these lines, it may be recalled that the *Doctrina christiana* of 1593, one of the earliest printed texts in the Philippines, proposed a translation solution that ran parallel to the examples I have mentioned. The line *panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie* from the *Pater Noster* prayer, whose Spanish translation retained the signifier *pan* (i.e., *danos hoy nuestro pan de cada día*), was rendered in Tagalog as *bigyã mo camí ngaion nang amin cacanin para nang sa araoarao*,⁶⁸ where the noun *panem/pan* was transposed into the verbal nominative *cacanin*, derived from the root *canin* ‘rice.’

62 H. de la COSTA, op. cit., p. 611; W. RETANA, op. cit., p. 530.

63 FRANCISCO COLÍN, *Labor euangelica, ministerios apostolicos de los obreros de la Compañia de Iesus: Fundacion, y progressos de su prouincia en las Islas Filipinas*, Vol. 1, Madrid, Ioseph Fernandez de Buendia, 1663 (Digital facsimile from the Biblioteca Nacional de España), Book 1, Chapter XIV, p. 60.

64 J. F. de SAN ANTONIO, op. cit., Book 1, Chapter VIII, p. 27. The author’s italics.

65 W. RETANA, op. cit., p. 570.

66 PEDRO DE SAN BUENAVENTURA, *Vocabulario de lengua tagala*, Pila, Tomas Pinpin and Domingo Loag, 1994 [1613] (Facsimile published by Librería París Valencia, Valencia, Spain), p. 173.

67 *Idem, ibidem*, p. 405.

68 [s.a.], *Doctrina Christiana, the First Book Printed in the Philippines, Manila, 1593*, Edwin Wolf (ed.), 2005 [1593.] [Accessed on 24/04/2014]. Available from <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/16119/16119-h/16119-h.htm>.

Most importantly, translationality was prominent in the translation of religion. Many scholars have already demonstrated the problematics of translating religious concepts in missionary texts in both the Philippines and Latin America. Their analyses maintain that the missionaries detected a certain degree of incommensurability between the terms the locals had to refer to their deities and those that the missionaries eventually employed to designate the Christian God and the pantheon of saints.⁶⁹ Indeed, colonial historians writing on the Philippines, such as the Jesuit Pedro Chirino (Osuna, 1557–Manila, 1635),⁷⁰ spoke about the local gods as untranslated signifiers in a Christianized discourse:

En estos cantares barbaros cuentan las fabulosas genealogias i vanos hechos de sus dioses. Entre los quales hacen uno principal, i superior de todos: a quienes los Tagalos llaman Bathala Mei capal, que quiere dezir el dios fabricante, o hazedor; i los Bissayas Laon, que denota antiquedad. (...) Al cuervo adoraban (como los antiguos al dios Pan, o a la diosa Ceres) llamándole Mei lupa; que quiere dezir el dueño del suelo. Al Cayman tenían en grandissima veneracion: i en todo su juicio. Quando le vian en el agua, lo llamavan Nono, que quiere decir aguelo.⁷¹

The names of pre-Christian deities were deemed incompatible to the Christian *Dios*, while the practice of worshipping creatures such as the raven and the crocodile was modulated as a form of worship similar to that accorded to the Roman gods. The local belief system was framed as an aberration, an abhorrent defect that kept the indigenous people from attaining grace. Local deities—*Bathala*, *Laon*, *Nono*, or whoever else—were made equivalent to Pan or Ceres, whose significance and signification were bound within the contextual contours of the Filipinos' pre-conquest religion but were incapable of crossing over the cultural interstices.

69 For example, Rebeca FERNÁNDEZ RODRÍGUEZ, "Traducción de términos religiosos en los vocabularios filipinos (1565–1800)" in Otto Zwartjes, Klaus Zimmerman and Martina Schrader-Kniffki (eds.), *Missionary Linguistics V/Lingüística Misionera V-Translation Theories and Practices. Proceedings from the Seventh International Conference on Missionary Linguistics (Bremen, Germany)*, Vol. 5, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2012, pp. 273–94; Esperanza LÓPEZ PARADA, "Poder y traducción coloniales: el nombre de Dios en lengua de Indios," *Revista Chilena de Literatura*, Vol. 85, 2013, pp. 129–56. See also Jan ASSMANN, "Translating Gods: Religions as a Factor of Cultural (Un)Translatability" in Sanford Budick and Wolfgang Iser (eds.), *The Translatability of Cultures: Figurations of the Space Between*, Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 1996, pp. 25–54.

70 W. RETANA, op. cit., p. 532. H. de la COSTA, op. cit., p. 610.

71 P. CHIRINO, *Relacion de las islas Filipinas i de lo que en ellas an trabajado los Padres de la Compañia de Iesus*, Rome, Esteban Paulino, 1604, pp. 52–3.

Asia as a translation

The examples I have given thus far concern the modes through which the Philippines was translated in missionary histories and grammars. But missionary texts were a locus not only for the translation of the Philippines, but also for the translation of Asia, forasmuch as the expansion towards the continent was part of Spain's colonial aspirations and was hence a recurring theme in Philippine missionary writing. Missionary writers, however, did not refer to any single Asia, and there was no extensive entry on Asia as a unitary geographical and cultural space in missionary texts. Historians wrote meticulous chronicles about nearby countries to where Catholic missions were sent, and often highlighted how different their people and surroundings were from one another. As such, Franciscan historian Marcelo de Ribadeneyra focused on China, Cochinchina, Siam and Cambodia in the second book of his history,⁷² and on Japan in his fourth, always in relation to missionary undertakings in these areas.⁷³ The Dominican Diego Aduarte had a thematic index, the *Índice de las cosas más notables*, at the end of his history,⁷⁴ where he listed down his observations on the traditions and customs of the people in those places that were made objects of the missions organized by the Order of Preachers.

The political organizations of these countries fascinated missionary historians, who translated them by establishing schematic equivalences with the imageries of a European kingdom. Ribadeneyra thus spoke of the *reinos* ('kingdoms') of China, Tartaria, Cochinchina and Siam.⁷⁵ The kingdom of China, he said, was ruled by a *señor y rey universal*, who counted on *virreyes* and *gobernadores* in the exercise of his powers. Appointments, he added, were carried out "*no haziendo caso de linage, sino de letras.*"⁷⁶ The same was true in Japan, which was ruled by a *rey natural* called *Vo* or *Dairi*, who divided his kingdom among his *capitanes*, called *tonos*.⁷⁷ In the kingdom of Cambodia, Ribadeneyra went on to say, were ruins of an ancient city, which was so magnificent that it could only have been built either by Alexander the Great or the Roman Empire.⁷⁸

In a similar fashion, the missionaries who were investigating the languages of the colonies employed essentialist differentiations to illustrate grammatical

72 M. RIBADENEYRA, op. cit., pp. 93–188.

73 *Idem, ibidem*, pp. 349–470.

74 D. ADUARTE, op. cit., n.p.

75 M. RIBADENEYRA, op. cit., pp. 109, 144, 155, 163, 184.

76 *Idem, ibidem*, pp. 103–4.

77 *Idem, ibidem*, p. 351.

78 *Idem, ibidem*, p. 187.

rules. In his 1679 Tagalog grammar, for example, the Franciscan Fray Agustín de Magdalena (León, ?–Santa Cruz, Laguna, 1689)⁷⁹ illustrated the usage of the clitic *mag-* by appending it to demonyms:

Este *mag*, con nombres de nacion dize averse en algo como la gente de aquella nacion, estado, ô oficio, *magtagalog* averse como Tagalog, *magcastila* como Español, *maglalaqui* como hombre, &c. para lo que toca al vestido mejor se dize, *magramit Iapon* vistete como Japon, para quitar la equivocacion. *Mag* con nombres de vestidos, dize vsar de ellos *mag tapis* ponerse, ò traer *tapis* vestidura de India en lugar de saya.⁸⁰

Although primarily a grammatical commentary, the explanation presented here by Magdalena was anchored on the perceived distinctions among the different groups of people in the translatorial habitus. *Magramit Iapon* ('to dress up like a Japanese') was not the same as *magtapis* ('to wear a *tapis*'), a type of overskirt, which the friar explicitated as *vestidura de India* ('an Indio woman's article of clothing'). *Mag-Tagalog* ('to be Tagalog') was different from *mag-Kastila* ('to be Spaniard').

The same principle was at work in the grammar of Fray Toribio Minguella de las Mercedes (La Rioja, 1836–Navarre, 1920),⁸¹ an Augustinian Recollect, who explained the use of the prefix *magsa-* by proposing the phrase *portarse como* ('to behave like') as a translation solution. *Magsa-insic* was *portarse como chino* ('to behave like a Chinese'), *magsa-tagalog* was *portarse como tagalo* ('to behave like a Tagalog'), *magsa-bisaya* was *portarse como visaya* ('to behave like a Visayan'), *magsa-camorosan* was *portarse como moro* ('to behave like a Muslim'), and so on.⁸² Note that no further explanation was given to define what "Chinese-ness," or "Tagalog-ness," or "Muslim-ness" entailed, which in turn would suggest that some sort of tacit cultural leitmotif was already in place, which allowed the signifiers to be understood within the bilingual ambit of the text.⁸³

79 J. T. MEDINA, op. cit., Vol. 2, pp. 508–9.

80 Agustín de la MAGDALENA, *Arte dela lengua tagala, sacado de diversos artes*, Mexico, Francisco Rodríguez Lupercio, 1679, p. 42.

81 The date of birth was given in W. RETANA, op. cit., p. 553. Minguella at this time was still alive, and was serving as the bishop of Siguënza, after a brief stint as bishop of Puerto Rico. He died in the municipality of *Cintruénigo in Navarre in 1920*.

82 Toribio MINGUELLA DE LAS MERCEDES, *Ensayo de gramática hispano-tagala*, Escolta, Manila, Establecimiento Tipográfico de Plana y C^o, 1878 (Digital facsimile from the Biblioteca Nacional de España), p. 281.

83 These concerns are at the heart of cultural translation. For a more thorough discussion, please refer to Boris BUDEN and Stefan NOWOTNY, "Cultural Translation: An Introduction to the Problem," *Translation Studies*, Vol. 2, no. 2, 2009, pp.196–208.

Nomothetic accounts on Asia were similarly translational, the best and most famous example of which was perhaps the name given to the Chinese. San Agustín reported that, “[I]llaman los de la Isla de Manila à los Chinos, Sangleyes, que quiere dezir Mercaderes que vienen; y sale este nombre de estas dos palabras Chinas, xiang lay, que significan lo mismo.”⁸⁴ Translation in this particular example happened as a series of successive adaptations. The people were translated by establishing equivalence between their race (Chinese) and their profession (merchants), and then by adapting a word in both form and meaning from the language spoken by the people themselves as their designative appellation.

It can be affirmed from the foregoing that the concept of “Asia” during the colonial period was indeed quite nebulous. In this regard, one might recall the work of Zialcita,⁸⁵ who has traced how the word was constructed in the Western imaginary, and has located it in the dichotomized vision of a rational West and a mystic East, the pure Self and the contaminating Other, as Rojinsky would have put it.⁸⁶ The exoticism of the East was so recurrent a theme in colonial writing that Augustinian friar Joaquín Martínez de Zúñiga (Navarre, 1760–Manila, 1818)⁸⁷ opined that

[n]uestros Historiadores afectando siempre lo maravilloso dividen en diferentes castas las gentes, que los Españoles encontraron en Philipinas. No faltan en sus Historias los Sátiros, los hombres con rabo, los hombres Marinos, y quanto puede causar admiración en la humana naturaleza.⁸⁸

In like manner, San Antonio made a succinct review of all the theories that had been made as regards their origins in the introduction to his chapter on the Indios:

Y esto es, dejando à vn lado otros muchos absurdos, que hân escrito, de que los Indios fueron ex putre producidos, como animales immundos, ô como plâtas silvestres del Campo, ô haciéndolos mucha merced otros, les dieron por Padre al Sol, que de alguna material noble los produjo: otros por Arte ingeniosa de Chímicos, ô de Mágicos: otros, que hubo dos Adânes en el Mundo, vno en la Asia, y otro en las Indias Occidentales, y que de vno de ellos proceden nuestros Indios:

84 G. de SAN Agustín, op. cit., Book 2, p. 253.

85 Fernando ZIALCITA, “Why insist on an Asian flavor?” in M.^a Dolores Elizalde, Josep M. Fradera and Luis Alonso (eds.), *Imperios y naciones en el Pacífico—Colonialismo e identidad nacional en Filipinas y Micronesia*, Vol. II, Biblioteca de Historia, Madrid, Asociación Española de Estudios del Pacífico, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2001, pp. 5–11.

86 David ROJINSKY, *Companion to Empire: A Genealogy of the Written Word in Spain and New Spain, c. 550–1550*, Amsterdam/New York, Rodopi, 2010, p. 126.

87 W. RETANA, op. cit., p. 551.

88 Joaquín MARTÍNEZ DE ZÚÑIGA, *Historia de las islas Philipinas*. Sampaloc, Fr Pedro Argüelles de la Concepción, 1803 (Digital facsimile from the Biblioteca Nacional de España), pp. 19–20.

otros, que yà avia Gentes en el Mundo, antes que Adàm fuesse criado; y que de aquellas procedian los Gentiles, y de Adàm los Hebreos.⁸⁹

Although, to be fair, both Martínez de Zúñiga and San Antonio refuted these theories at the end of their respective introductions, these paragraphs nevertheless presented how the alterity of the colonies was synthesized as a convenient model for textualization.

The Devil as a translated historical actor

Also worthy of note is the involvement of the Devil in San Antonio's account as an active and pivotal participant in human affairs. Even though the Franciscan used it in this particular instance to reject exoticized portrayals of the Indios, the figure of the Devil would prove to be a reiterative device in missionary writings to mark colonial differences. The exotic character of the East was often justified through its association with evil. The Devil was said to have incited the cruelty of the Japanese against missionary martyrs,⁹⁰ while the setbacks that the missionaries encountered in Cochinchina were attributed to his machinations.⁹¹ The failure to preach in China was the fruit of his treachery,⁹² and he could even influence the affairs of state in Macau.⁹³

The immanence of evil in anything that did not resemble Christianity was employed to problematize its peculiarity, as this description of China from San Antonio's history reveals: "Miraba vn Reyno tan opulento, como poblado de Bárbaros, y se lastimaba de ñ estubiéssen sujetos al demonio vnos Hombres tan racionales, ingeniosos, políticos, sabios, entre las densas tinieblas de Idolatrías, Supersticiones, y brutales Ritos."⁹⁴ The Franciscan bemoaned the incompatibility between an opulent kingdom of rational men and the barbarity of demoniac darkness to which the same kingdom was subjected. Enlightenment in missionary writing, it appears, was not a measure of human reason, but was rather a function of Christian truth. Despite the achievements of the Chinese civilization, which missionaries often reported on with awe, the Chinese were faulted for their idolatrous practices.

As in the case of the Philippines, local rituals that were incongruous with Christian practices were dismissed as abominable colloquia with the Devil. Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneyra observed that, "los Chinos (como tienen de

89 J. F. de SAN ANTONIO, *op. cit.*, Book 1, Chapter XXXIX, p. 129.

90 D. ADUARTE, *op. cit.*, Book 1, Chapter XI, p. 459.

91 M. RIBADENEYRA, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

92 D. ADUARTE, *op. cit.*, Book 1, Chapter VI, p. 17.

93 J. F. de SAN ANTONIO, *op. cit.*, Book 3, Chapter XII, p. 617.

94 *Idem, ibidem*, Book 2, Chapter XX, p. 381.

costūbre en semejantes trabajos) pidieron en aquel trabajo a sus Idolos, hechando suertes, y ofreciendo olores. Y siempre les suele responder el demonio, entrando en alguno de ellos.”⁹⁵ Meanwhile, those rituals that had some resonance to Christian liturgical practices were taken as permutations of a certain universal form of religious worship to the one true God. On the Japanese religion Ribadeneyra wrote that, “[y] aunq no tienē (como dixē) conocimiento claro de Dios, despues q̃ han rogado a sus Idolos alguna cosa, si no salen con ella, suelen con grā despecho dezir. Hagase lo que Tēto quisiere, y bien entēdido lo q es Tēto, es lo mismo que Dios nuestro Señor.”⁹⁶

These accounts sustain that translational writing had a modality that was either disjunctive or reconciliatory. On the one hand, it could distance an ethnographical observation by contrasting it with what was held as true or good or acceptable. On the other, it could also be utilized to fix belongingness and mark an observed practice as permissible. This is what Carbonell terms as the estranging and familiarizing effects of cultural translation,⁹⁷ a refinement of Lawrence Venuti’s celebrated translation metaphor of foreignization versus domestication.⁹⁸ From a translational perspective, history was useful in establishing textual distances between the colonizer and the colonized, and often accentuated the ambivalence of their relationship. The colonized, though flawed, were not inherently evil and were also worthy of redemption.

Both passages likewise support what has been previously described as the emplacement of colonized subjects into colonial history. The opposition between God and Satan, between Christian and pagan, between good and evil, between truth and non-truth, was a topos that polarized these subjects into tropes that accommodated conflicting stories into a syncretic narrative. Take this fragment of San Agustín’s history as another example:

Viendo nuestros Religiosos el espacioso campo, que se les abria à su ardiente desco de propagar la Fè de Christo en todas las Naciones de este Archipelago, consideraron el colmado fruto, y crecido logro que podian esperar con la conversion de vna Nacion tan politica, y sabia como era la de aquel Imperio, por el natural afable, y buena disposicion, que en los Chinos conocían, y el buen gobierno que en su tierra tenian; pues el Monarquico, que tienen, se dize aver comenzado 2952 años antes del nacimiento de Christo N. Redemptor, segun el computo de las Cronologias, y se entiende, que FoKi, primer Rey de la China, fue vno de los que entraron en el Arca de Noè [...]⁹⁹

95 M. RIBADENEYRA, op. cit., pp. 99–100.

96 *Idem, ibidem*, p. 354.

97 Ovidi CARBONELL I CORTÉS, “Misquoted Others: Locating Newness and Authority in Cultural Translation” in Theo Hermans (ed.), *Translating Others*, Vol. 1, Manchester, St Jerome Publishing, 2006, p. 46.

98 Lawrence VENUTI, *The Translator’s Invisibility*, London/New York, Routledge, 1995.

99 G. de SAN AGUSTÍN, op. cit., Book 2, p. 251.

The spiritual conquest of China was imagined as the zenith, the *colmado fruto* and the *crecido logro*, of Christian proselytization in Asia. The Chinese, after all, had always been part of the history of salvation, since their first emperor—or so San Agustín speculated based on the works of Cornelio, Samerio, Genebrardo and Belarmino, all cited in the marginalia—was among those who entered Noah’s ark before the Great Deluge. We once again see how missionary writing emplaced secular history into the grand Christian narrative. Whether or not the story in the Book of Genesis accounted outright for a Chinese emperor among Noah’s household and/or the pairs of animals who were admitted into the ark was immaterial in the description. The Chinese emperor had to be there. He had to be translated into the space.

Compare this to San Agustín’s account of how the Japanese imagined their creation:

En lo q toca al principio q tuuieron las cosas, dizen los engañadores dela gente comun, que al principio hauia vn globo como hueuo. y que vn grãde ayre se quebro por medio, y q de la mitad se hizo la tierra, y dela otra mitad el cielo, y del medio salieron tres hombres y tres mujeres, de quien procedieron los Iappones los quales dezian que el sol andaua el rededor de vn monte junto a Iappon.¹⁰⁰

For the missionary, that the first Japanese were said to have come out of an egg-like sphere was but an explanation that deceivers offered to the commonfolk, and was therefore not true. In light of these examples, it can be said that colonial histories and grammars were written from the missionaries’ position as truth-bearers, and were conceived as instruments of conversion. It was through translation that missionary writings “designated one particular epistemic/theological perspective as correct, conceiving as deviant and insufficient other forms of knowledge.”¹⁰¹ Translationality in missionary writing did not only constitute the overt transformation of texts at the level of the word or the idea, but was also ideated as “el traducir los coraçones de Regiones tan incultas, y asperas del engaño diabólico, a la verdad Euangelica sacrosanta [...]”¹⁰²

100 *Idem, ibidem*, Book 4, p. 396.

101 Walter MIGNOLO and Freya SCHIWY, “Double Translation: Transculturation and the Colonial Difference” in Tullio Maranhão and Bernhard Streck (eds.), *Translation and Ethnography: The Anthropological Challenge of Intercultural Understanding*, Tucson, The University of Arizona Press, 2003, p. 5.

102 “Parecer del P. Maestro Fray Migvel de Cardenas, Predicador de su Magestad, y Calificador del Consejo de Insquisicion” in F. COLÍN, *op. cit.*, n.p.

Conclusion

The “cultural turn” has allowed TS to participate discursively with other fields of the human sciences, and to put forward the tools of literary inquiry as a mode of analyzing history. A translational reading of historical accounts attempts to problematize how they were authored by agents, whose positionality informed and colored the texts. Philippine missionary-colonial writings constitute an important corpus not only for the study of colonial history, literature and grammar, but also for an exploration of the applications of cultural translation in missionary-colonial narratives. In the examples given in this paper, translation was concomitant to the production of knowledge through the transfer of meanings onto the ideological template of colonial authorship. Equivalence was established either by emplotting a historical observation into the pre-existing Christian narrative of salvation, or by depicting it as an idolatrous aberration from Christian truth.

The metaphor of the *entrepôt* locates the Philippines in a position of “in-betweenness,” the same interstitial locus that has so intrigued many TS scholars of late. Future researches on Philippine colonial history may benefit from a translational approach that explores such positionality, in the same way that TS has gained so much through its interdisciplinary incursions into history.

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