

The Liturgical Services and Religious Practices during the Holy Week in Filipino Franciscan Pueblos (II)*

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4. GOOD FRIDAY, THE NADIR OF EASTER CYCLE

Even if the *Monumento* was still majestically lit in the sancturay, the church was in desolation: the altars were bare; the crucifixes and the images of the saints were shrouded. Good Friday has been the commemoration of the lowest point in the kenotic movement of the saving act of the Lord. This was the day Jesus died on the cross. In sign of mourning the liturgical color of the day was black.

The day was generally considered *aliturgical* in the sense that there was no Mass, although in the High Middle Ages the Good Friday ceremonies included a Communion Rite which was made to appear like the Mass. This was the 'Mass of the Presanctified' which remained in the Tridentine Missal. According to the *Báculo de Ministros* everything prescribed in the Tridentine Missal governing the ceremonies of this day must be strictly observed.¹ The services of the day can be divided into four parts: (1) the Readings of the Word; (2) Prayers of Intercession; (3) Veneration of the Cross, and (4) the Mass of the Presanctified.

The ceremonies began impressively because of the omission of the usual introductory rite. There were no *ciriales* to accompany the

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¹ *Báculo*, cap. 22, par. 22.

entrance of the priest into the sanctuary. In front of the altar he prostrated himself for about the period of the recitation of the *Miserere* while the acolytes and cantors and the whole assembly knelt in silence.² The First Reading from the prophecy of Hosea (6:1-16) pointed to the healing power of the sufferings of the Messiah. Verse 2 seemed to point to the paschal event: "He will revive us after two days; on the third day he will raise us up, to live in his presence." The Tract *Domine audivi auditum tuum* showed the involvement of the assembly in this drama. The Second Reading (*Exodus* 12:1-11) was the institution of the first Jewish Passover. The paschal lamb prefigured Jesus Christ, the true Lamb of God, by whose blood the New People of God could obtain salvation. The following Tract, *Eripe me Domine ab homine malo*, exposed the hostile environment and the forces of evil which the sinner prayed God to be delivered from. The reading of the Passion (John 18:1-40 and 19:1-42) put the assembly in contact with the abuse and defilement and death suffered by Christ, the Lamb of God, who gave up his life that sinners might live. After the words, *Viderunt in quem transfixerunt*, the priest sang the remaining portions in the Sung Mass but without *ciriales*, *incienso*, signation and kiss.

Immediately after the Gospel reading the priest began the series of prayers of intercessions. This was actually a simple 'prayer of the faithful', performed in a solemn manner with sung monitiones or introductions to each intention.³ After each introduction he invited the assembly to kneel saying, *Flectamus genua*, and after some time, *Levate*. There were nine intercessory petitions: for the Church, the Pope, different ecclesiastical orders, the government officials, the catechumens, for those in need, for the unity of the Church, the conversion of the Jews and for the conversion of the infidels. But before the prayer for the Jews there was no introduction nor an invitation to kneel. The prayer began absolute. O.B. Hardison had a curious piece of information about his matter:

All sources agree that because the Jews mockingly bowed to Christ, calling him "king of the Jews," the Christian congregation should disregard the deacon's command during the prayer

² Good Friday ceremonies are described meticulously in the Franciscan Ceremonial, paying special attention to the duties of the sacristans: CRR-Tor, Trat.IV, 58-76.

³ This form of prayer has been reintroduced by the liturgical reform of Vatican Council II which was actually a very old practice in the Church. Cf. J.A. Jungmann *The Early Liturgy* (London: DLT, 1959), pp. 39-49.

for the Jews, a unique instance in the Easter liturgy of dramatic impulse overcoming regard for history.⁴

The next rite was the veneration of the cross, a rite that had been imported from Jerusalem. According to *Peregrinatio Etheriae*, the veneration of the cross was a well-developed devotion in Jerusalem in the fourth century.⁵ The Christian community of Jerusalem headed by their bishop went to Golgotha on Good Friday morning. The bishop seated himself in front of a table on which the relic of the true cross was lain. He held the upper part of the relic and the people approached the table one by one while deacons stood by as guards.⁶ By the seventh century the devotion of the veneration of the cross was already practiced in Rome at the Church of the Holy Cross of Jerusalem in the Lateran presided over by the Pope. It became officially incorporated in the liturgy for the first time in the tenth-century Romano-Germanic Pontifical of Mainz. The showing of the cross to the people with the *Ecce lignum crucis* was added in the twelfth century. The evolution of the rite was completed in the fourteenth century which substantially remained the same in the Missal of Pius V.⁷

In Franciscan pueblos the Good Friday ceremony of the veneration of the cross was performed according to the rubrics of the Tridentine Missal. The celebrant held in his hands with the help of the acolytes at his either side a big crucifix covered with black veil, facing the people. First, the head of the crucifix (not of the corpus) was unveiled; he held the crucifix with both hands elevating it a little and sang alone, *Ecce lignum crucis*, some cantors joined in the singing: *in quo salus mundi pependit*. The choir answered: *Venite adoremus*. Then everybody except the celebrant prostrated themselves towards the crucifix.

This was repeated for the second and third times; at each time the *preste* went up a step higher on the altar platform and the singing

⁴ Hardison, *Christian Rite and Drama*, p.115.

⁵ Arce, *Itinerario de la Virgen Egeria*, pp. 292-97.

⁶ Egeria reported a curious event which prompted the need for deacons to guard the relic from being damaged: a man, wishing to have a remembrance, bit off a piece of the relic. "Et quoniam nescio quando dicitur," Egeria wrote, "quidam fixisse morsum et furasse de sancto ligno, ideo nunc a diaconibus, qui in giro stant, sic custoditur, ne qui ueniens audeat denuo sic facere" (Arce, *Itinerario*, pp.292-94).

⁷ NCE (1967 ed.), s.v. "Good Friday," by W.J. O'Shea.

also higher in pitch. For the second time the right arm of the crucifix and the head of the corpus were unveiled; for the third time, the entire crucifix. After the last prostration everybody remained kneeling while the priest carried the cross to the designated place where it would be venerated by the people. The celebrant's act of veneration served as example to everybody after him. Having removed his shoes, he went a little distant from the crucifix now laying on a cushion to make three double-knee genuflections, each time coming a step or two nearer to the crucifix. Each double-knee genuflection must be long enough to enable him to say silently, *Adoramus te, Christe, et benedicimus tibi; quia per sanctam crucem tuam redimisti mundum*. The third genuflection was close enough so that he could, without moving any further, bow down to kiss the foot of the cross. After the priest made the veneration the acolytes followed his example, then the cantors, the oficiales de la iglesia, and the rest of the assembly, approaching the crucifix two by two. While this was going on the sacristans removed the veils of the processional cross as well as those of the altars.⁸

Part of the ceremony of the veneration of the cross was the singing of the *Improperia* or reproaches. This song was most touching and could not leave those who understood it in some way unaffected. There were several representational elements here. The crucifix was considered at this time to be the original cross; the reproaches were considered to be coming from the mouth of the dying Christ directed to different sectors of what he called *Popule meus*. The nadir of the Easter cycle was being expressed in this hymn while the assembly venerated the instrument of death. But the other hymn, *Pange lingua* of Fortunatus, tilted the conflict to the positive side. The cross no longer a gibbet but a throne. The emblem of ignominy became the symbol of victory: Jesus inflicted defeat and death to his adversary by his very death on the cross:

Sing, my tongue, the strife
Of the glorious conflict;
And over the trophy of the Cross,
Sing a noble song of triumph:
How the Redeemer of the world
Conquered through death.
Here the vinegar, the gall,
The spittle, the nails, the spear:

⁸ CRR-Tor, Trat.IV, pp. 65-67.

His tender body is pierced;
 Water and blood flow forth:
 With this river are cleansed
 The earth, the sea, the stars, the world.
 Everywhere be glory and honor
 To God, the Most High:
 Equally to the Father and Son
 And glorious Paraclete
 To whom praise and honor
 Through everlasting ages.⁹

When the veneration was about to end, the sacristans began to prepare the altar with linen and candles for the next ceremony—the Mas of the Presanctified.

The Mass of the Presanctified was essentially a Communion Service embellished with other rites so as to appear like a normal Mass. This type of service became popular in the Middle Ages but in no way universal.¹⁰ But this was the service prescribed by the Tridentine Missal. Here we encounter a series of structurally anomalous liturgical symbolization which disturbed the focus of the celebration of the particular moment of the Christian Paschal Event being commemorated at this time.

The Holy Eucharist was reserved the day before in order to be consumed on this day during a Communion Rite. We would expect the whole assembly to partake of it, but only the *preste* communicated. The day before, the reservation of the Holy Eucharist was performed in an entombment rite, a “burying act.” On this day the action was reversed as a “revival rite,” structurally becoming symbol of the resurrection in the height of the assembly’s contemplation of the sufferings and death of Christ. In actual practice, however, in Franciscan pueblos the entombment was enthronement of the Eucharistic King. Signs of festivity which were cautiously eliminated in the beginning of this Good Friday morning service came out suddenly: *ciriales*, *incienso*, *palio*, white vestments.

Preceded by the acolytes carrying the processional cross, incense, veil, *ciriales*, and by the *oficiales* carrying the white canopy, the *preste*

⁹ As translated in Hardison, *Christian Rite and Drama*, pp.133-34.

¹⁰ Hardison, *Christian Rite and Drama*, p. 136.

in Mass vestments proceeded to the *Monumento*. Having opened the casket, the *preste* incensed the Sacred Species, took it with white humeral veil. And the procession traced back the same path of the procession of reservation in the reversed direction.¹¹ Upon arrival at the altar the Host was incensed again. Then a simulated offertory rite was performed. Wine and water were poured into the chalice. The Franciscan Ceremonial called these *oblata* (sacrificial offerings). The altar and the chalice were incensed although other incensations of persons were eliminated. There was the *Lavabo*. The *Orate fratres* was said but no answer was expected. All this was performed "with the ceremonies of the *Santisimo patente*."¹² The Preface and the Canon were not said, of course; therefore, there was no consecration. The ceremonies continued with the singing of the *Pater noster* with the usual introduction, *Praeceptis salutaribus*. After the embolism the elevation of the Host took place without the accompanying ceremonies of *ciriales*, *incienso*, *matraca* (or bell); even the chasuble of the celebrant was not raised. The priest elevated the Host with his right hand above his head while his left hand held the paten on the altar. Then the commingling followed at once.

The Host was divided and a particle was dropped into the chalice containing the mixture of wine and water. After the prayer of preparation for Communion the priest received the Host and wine with the particle. The customary ablution rite was performed, the candles of the altar and the *Monumento* were extinguished. The priest then went down from the altar, took off his chasuble. Vespers were immediately said during which the altars were again stripped, including that of the *Monumento*. In this way the morning service of Good Friday, after a brief festive intrusion of the procession of the Host and the Mass of the Presanctified, ended in a mood of desolation which harmonized with the general spirit of the day.

The Mass of the Presanctified could have been eliminated and liturgical mood could have been structurally more consistent. Or Holy Communion could have been distributed to the assembly. As it happened in Franciscan pueblos, the Mass of the Presanctified was only a pretext to have an external manifestation of the devotion to the Holy

¹¹ CRR-Tor, Trat.IV, p.70.

¹² *Ibid.*, p.73.

Eucharist as extension of the *Fiesta del Monumento*. This arrangement really contributed to the fact that Holy Week in Filipino pueblos was penitential, solemn, and at the same time festive.

The *Ceremonial* said that “after the Vespers [during which the altars were stripped] the sacristans take away the *Monumento* and clean the church of the service of Holy Saturday.”¹³ This would give us the impression that Good Friday commemoration of the Passion and Death of Christ ended in this way. But it was not so. The *Báculo de Ministros*, which reflects to us the popular practices in Franciscan pueblos, had this to say:

... the *Ministro* must endeavor to rise up early in the morning [of Good Friday], so that he have time to provide for the materials of the *Descendimiento*.¹⁴

Descendimiento was the popular ceremony of the ‘Descent from the Cross’ introduced by the missionaries to fill up the afternoon hours of Good Friday in contemplation of the mystery of the cross. It was a very powerful representational ceremony which transported the assembly to the top of Golgotha at the time when Jesus breathed his last and was taken down from the cross. So, the manual instructed:

When the ornaments of the *Monumento* had been taken away, a mountain of branches and herbs is set up in the same place, and three crosses are erected on it as described clearly in my Tagalog Ceremonial. The *Ministro* having sufficient knowledge of the language shall be ready to give the sermon before the procession goes [out of the church].¹⁵

The pueblo community must have been assembled in the church before three o’clock in the afternoon, the hour of Jesus’ expiration on the cross. A life-size crucifix stood in the middle of the *Calvario* flanked by two other crosses at either side. The *Ministro* placed himself near it and began his sermon. These must have been very moving moments.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p.79.

¹⁴ *Báculo*, cap.22, par.22: “...y procurará el Ministro madrugar, para que ayga tiempo para poner recado para el descendimiento.”

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, par. 23: “Quitado el adorno del Monumento en el mismo lugar se arma vn monte de ramos, y yervas, y en el se ponen tres cruces, como claramente se dize en mi Ceremonial tagalo, y siendo lengua bastante el Ministro tendrá dispuesto su sermón para predicarles antes de salir la Proceßión.”

The sermon here was a very important part of the ceremony. The *Ministro* was advised to invite one colateral (brother *fraile* of neighboring pueblo) to deliver the sermon in case he had some difficulty with the language of the people. In any case, "he must never leave out this holy ceremony which he should try to perform with all gravity and devotion."¹⁶

The big image of the Crucified was detachable from the cross; the arm joints of the image moved in sockets. When the bells of the *campanario* announced the death signal the head of the image dropped down. The designated oficiales disengaged the corpus from the cross, moved the extended arms to either side of the corpus, and wrapped the image in a linen cloth. The image was then taken away.¹⁷

After the Descent from the Cross the 'Funeral Procession' took place. Instead of the Nazareno, the principal image in this procession was the *Santo Entierro* or *Santo Sepulcro*—an image of the Dead Christ in an urn representing the sepulchre. On its breast lay a symbol of the Lamb of God carrying a victorious cross with white flag. The image of the Blessed Virgin, Saint John and the Veronica were now in black. The procession took place in the deep silence of a funeral procession.

Even in this procession there were *penitentes de azotes*. The discipline on this day must have been more assiduous since the contemplation of the sufferings and death of Christ had been particularly intense because Good Friday was the climax of the commemoration of the Passion and Death of the Savior. The *Bácvlo de Ministros* referred to many flagellants who "are prone to faint in the street for lack of blood and consideation" and for whom the *Ministro* had to provide some emergency measures. It also made reference to groups of women who took up the discipline in secluded areas and whom the *Ministro* had to protect from any disturbing activities of the youth.¹⁸

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ This is the present-day practice in some former Franciscan pueblos. We suppose that the ceremony proceeded more or less in the same way then.

¹⁸ *Bácvlo*, cap.22, par.24: "En todas estas Processiones donde huviere penitentes de azotes cuidará el Ministro, de que los que se desangraren demasiado, se vayan luego a curar a sus cassas, porque suelen caer desmayados en la calle por falta de sangre, y de consideración. Y también no deve permitir dos costumbres, que algunos pueblos ay introducidos, más provocativos de irrisión, que a devoción, la una es el poner muchas cruces a la puerta de la Iglesia para que la gente moza lleven; pues como se dixo arriba,

In Franciscan pueblos the procession of Holy Thursday really never came to be considered an entombment in spite of the fact that the altar of reservation was called *Monumento*. The real entombment procession was that which went out of the church after the ceremony of the *Descendimiento* on Good Friday. This procession was representationally more effective because of the coincidence of time. The image of the *Santo Entierro* was more expressive representationally than the Sacred Host. Just as the people were transported to the top of Golgotha during the *Descendimiento*, so now the entire community joined in the funeral of Jesus.

The procession ended quite early before dark today because the church must be prepared for the ceremonies for the following day. Most probably the *Santo Sepulcro* remained in the church till late at night. The community entered into night rest in mourning.

5. SABADO DE GLORIA, THE PREMATURE TRIUMPH OF THE LORD

Holy Saturday commemorated, a day too early, the triumph of Christ the Lord over his adversary—sin and death; in the Spanish Philippines it was called *Sabado de Gloria*. But it was not so “glorious” a day to the Filipino Indios as one would expect.

First, while Good Friday effectively commemorated the death of Christ through representational service, liturgical as well as extraliturgical, Holy Saturday in Franciscan pueblos lacked representational ceremonies that would arouse the emotions of the Filipino Indios. Death—accompanied by sentiment of grief—was universally-felt phenomenon and easily-dramatized human event. But resurrection is not a purely human reality. Direct representation of it lacked force and tended to cheapen the mystery. No wonder the New Testa-

si algun Indio o India de capacidad se quiera hazer esa penitencia podrá disponer la cruz en su cassa. La costumbre es, que en algunos pueblos salen a bandadas de mugeres estas dos noches, azotándose en las asentaderas, y no dezan de seguirles algunos vellacones gente moza, y es materia indecente, y que no se deve permitir, y más quando en semejantes noches haze la Luna bastante clara, y si quisieren azotarse lo pueden hazer en sus cassas o en el campo...”

¹⁹ In Christian literature there are direct accounts of the resurrected Christ coming out of the tomb. But these are extrabiblical or apocryphal narratives. Cf. A Santos Otero (ed.), *Los evangelios apócrifos* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos [148], 1963).

ment itself did not have a direct account of Christ's coming back to life.¹⁹ And the first-known liturgical drama (*Quem quaeritis*) which developed out of the biblico-liturgical text used the technique of implication through symbolism of the empty tomb.²⁰

Moreover, the Holy Saturday liturgical rites —being originally composed as night services— were performed in the morning so that the symbolism lost much of their symbolizing force. According to the Missal of Pius V, the liturgy of Holy Saturday consisted of the service of the light, the reading of prophecies, the blessing of the baptismal font, and the Vigil Mass. These ceremonies were more intellectual than emotional, and less attractive than the services of the preceding days. But even with less enthusiasm the Filipino Indios went to the church just the same to celebrate the resurrection of the Lord.

The *Ministro de Indios* had to get up early on this day, "because the services are long; he should begin at least at the break of dawn."²¹ One of the reasons the priest had to get early today was the fact that he had to supervise the last preparation of the necessary habiliments, furnishings, utensils, books, decoration for the morning liturgical rites. This was considered the beginning of *Pascua Florida*; special decoration of the place of liturgical action had to be taken into consideration. The Ceremonial reminded:

The whole area... should be strewn with sweet-smelling herbs and flowers as well as the church itself, and the presbytery (*Capilla mayor*) because this is *Pascua florida*; in it is hidden a great mystery.²²

Officially the morning services began immediately after the recitation of None for which the *matraca* was sounded by the sacristan along the streets of the pueblo at eight o'clock in the morning.²³ All things necessary for the ceremonies having been made ready by the

²⁰ Hardison, *Christian Rite and Drama*, p.140.

²¹ *Bácullo*, cap. 22, par. 25: "El Sabado Santo ha de madrugar el Ministro, porque son largos los officios, y por le menos empiece al reir el Alba."

²² CRR-Tor, Trat.IV, pp. 79-80: "Todo el ámbito... esté sembrado de yervas olorosas y flores, y lo mismo la Iglesia, y Capilla mayor, porque esta es la Pasqua florida, y en ello ay gran Mysterio."

²³ *Ibid.*

sacristans, and None the people of the pueblo being sitted in their assigned places, the holy Saturday liturgy began with the Service of the Light. This rite began outside the church (*foris ecclesiam*) where a fire had been struck before the recitation of None. All the burning lamps in the church (except the sanctuary lamp) were put out.²⁴ The ceremony basically consisted in the blessing of fire, carrying of the light from the blest fire in procession, the blessing and lighting of the paschal candle, while the paschal hymn was sung.

From liturgical sources it appeared that this rite of the light as found in the Missal of Pius V did not originate in the Roman Liturgy alone but was rather a combination of rites from the Roman and Gallican traditions. The oldest Roman tradition consisted in the use of many lights during the vigil in order to solemnize the paschal night and to symbolize *Christus-lux*, who expels the night of sin. In the course of the liturgical action more and more lights were added, two big candles as tall as the statue of man being the principal lights (placed at either side of the altar, of the celebrant and of the baptismal font at the different moments of the celebration). But there was no mention of the blessing of the candles. It was under the influence of the Gallican tradition that one big candle was blessed from whose light other candles and lamps in the church were kindled and before which a *Laus Cerei* was sung.²⁵

But now let us see how the Missal of Pius V used in the Franciscan pueblos described the Service of the Light:

At the appropriate time the altars are covered with clothes but the candles remain unlighted until the beginning of the Mass. Meanwhile the fire is struck off the flints outside the church and from it the charcoals are lit. After saying None on the choir, the priest puts on amice, alb. cincture, stole, and violet pluvial cape, or without chasuble. The [minor] ministers standing near him with the cross, holy water, and incense, the priest blesses the new fire before the door of the church, if it is convenient there, or

²⁴ *Báculo*, cap.22, par. 25: "...algunas advertencias; y sea la primera, que ante todas cosas el vasso con las formas que se dixo se avía de reservar en la sachristía, para los enfermos se llevará al sagrario del altar mayor la qual después se apagará quando se aya encendido a fuego bendito, porque no ay rúbrica que mande, que no ayga luz en la Iglesia estos días."

²⁵ *Hedomada Sancta*, 2:812-13.

at the entrance of the church. He says [three prayers of the blessings].²⁶

Then he blesses the five grains of incense; without introduction he says this prayer: [*Veniat quaesumus omnipotens Deus*].

As he blesses the grains of incense, the acolyte takes some blest burning charcoals and places them in the thurible. After saying the above prayer, the priest puts some incense into the thurible from the incense boat, blessing it in the usual manner. Then he sprinkles thrice the said grains of incense with holy water, saying: *Asperges me, Domine*, without singing and without the psalm and incense it thrice. In the meantime the lights of the church remain extinguished so that afterwards they are lighted from the blest fire.²⁷

This is the first part of the Service of Light in the Missal of Pius V. The Franciscan Ceremonial emphasized that the fire to be blessed must be produced from flint (*pedernal*) and not from any other source.²⁸ The production of fire from natural means made it a symbol of creation. The first prayer of blessing referred to the fire as the flame of brightness coming from the capital stone who is Christ (*Deus qui per Filium tuum angularem scilicet lapidem, claritatis tuae ignem fidelibus contulisti*). In the second prayer the light is Christ himself or his Spirit by which we are illumined until we reach the eternal light (*ut ab eo*

²⁶ OR Andrieu, vol. 3, 17: 105.

²⁷ *Missale Romanum juxta decr. Conc. Trid.*, Sabbato Sancto: "Hora competenti tobaleis cooperiuntur altaria, sed candelae extinctae manent usque ad principium missae. Interim excutitur ignis de lapide foris ecclesiam, et ex eo accenduntur carbones.

Dicta Nona in Choro, Sacerdos indutus Amictu, Alba, Cingulo, Stola, et Pluviali violaceo, vel sine Casula, astantibus sibi Ministris cum Cruce, aqua benedicta, et incenso, ante portam ecclesiae, so commode protest, vel in ipso aditu ecclesiae benedict novum ignem, dicens: [follow three prayers after introduction, *R. Dominus vobiscum. R. Et cum spiritu tuo.*

Deinde benedict quinque grana incensi ponenda in Cereo, dicens absolute hanc Orationem: [*Veniat quaesumus omnipotens Deus*].

Dum benedict grana incensi, Acolythus assumens de carbonibus benedictis ponit in thuribulo: et finita Oratione supradicta, Sacerdos de navicula ponit incensum in thuribulo, benedicens illud more solito: deinde praedicta grana incensi et ignem ter aspergit aqua benedicta, dicens: *Asperges me, Domine*, sine cantu, et sine Psalmo, et ter adolet incenso. Interim omnia luminaria ecclesiae extinguuntur, ut de igne benedicto postmodum accendatur."

²⁸ CRR-Tor, Trat. IV, p. 79: "Cerca de tocar a Nona, el sacristán saca fuego de vn pedernal, y no de otra cosa..."

lumine accendamus, atque illuminemur igne claritatis tuae... ut ad vitam et lucem aeternam pervenire mereamur). The third prayer asked for the help of the Trinity against the fiery seductions of the enemies (*adjuva nos contra ignita tela inimici, et illustra gratia caelesti*). Again this rite of blessing of fire came from the Gallican liturgy.

Before being influenced by the Gallican usage the Roman tradition had no blessing of fire. Pope Zacharias (741-752 AD) said in his letter to St. Boniface that in Rome in Holy Saturday there was no custom of striking a fire from flints or crystal; instead, at the end of the Mass of the Chrism on Holy Thursday three big lamps were kept burning and hidden in a secluded part of the church and brought out again during the Holy Saturday vigil to be used for the baptismal rites.²⁹ And old Roman *Ordo* commented regarding the lights of the church on Good Friday: "In this night no light in the church is kindled but rather hidden so that it may not be seen by men until Saturday."³⁰

The rite of the blessing of fire can be traced back to the Gallican breed *Ordo Romanus* 26.³¹ According to this *Ordo* the fire was struck off the flints outside the basilica on Holy Thursday after None. From this blest fire was lit a candle which was placed on top of a reed and was carried by a minister to the altar in procession in the presence of the assembly. From this candle the candles of the altar and all other candles and lamps in the church were enkindled.³² This rite of producing light and procession was repeated every beginning of vigil service or Matins for three successive days —Holy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday.³³

²⁹ P. Zacharias ad Bonifatium, PL 89:951: "De igne autem paschali quod inquisisti, a sanctis priscis Patribus, ex quo per Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi gratiam, et pretioso sanguine eius Ecclesia dedicata est, quinta feria Paschae, dum sacrum chrisma consecratur, tres lampades magnae capacitatis, ex diversis candelis ecclesiae oleo collecto, in secretiori ecclesiae loco ad figuram interioris tabernaculi insistente, indifienter cum multa diligentia ardebunt, ita ut oleum sufficere possit usque ad tertium diem. De quibus candelis sabbato sancto pro sacri fontis baptismatis sumtus ignis per sacerdotem renovabitur. De crystallis autem, ut asseruisti, nullam habemus traditionem."

³⁰ OR Andrieu III, 17:98: "Et in ipsa nocte lumen in ecclesia non accenditur sed absconditur, ut non ab hominibus videatur usque in sabbatum."

³¹ OR Andrieu, III, 26: 3-4.

³² OR Andrieu, III, 26: 9-10.

³³ The service of light for three successive days was prescribed at least in OR Andrieu III, 26, 27, 29. The *Regularis Concord* prescribed this rite to be performed on

Here we already noticed the presence of the reed on top of which a candle was fixed in order to carry the blest fire from the outside of the church to the sanctuary. At one time this staff came under the form of a serpent.³⁴ But the Franciscan Ceremonial was clear about this: it must be a reed and must appear so even though adorned with flowers.³⁵ It followed the rubricist Barth. Gavanto who wrote: "[The reed] is usually adored with flowers: but it should be done in such a manner as to leave the apperance of reed and not of a cane or of something else."³⁶ The reed was of three varas or about seven feet in height on top of which are fixed three white candles bound together as one in the bottom part and divided on the upper part forming a triangle. This was considered to symbolize the Trinity. But the *Bácvlo de Ministros*—following the custom of Spain—called the three candles, *Tres Marías*.³⁷ This was quite confusing because their main purpose in the Holy Saturday ceremonies consisted in carrying the blest light (symbolizing Christ or the Spirit of Christ) to the big paschal candle.

The transport of the blest light from the outside of the church to the sanctuary was done in procession. The Missal of Pius V described the rite:

The deacon in white dalmatic takes the reed with the three candles on top arranged in a triangle. Thurifer takes the lead with the acolyte carrying the five grains of incense in a vessel: the subdeacon follows with the cross and the clergy according to order: then the deacon with the reed; behind him comes the celebrant.

When the deacon has entered the church, he inclined the reed and the acolyte carrying the candle lighted from the new fire

three days, first by the sacrist (*aetus*), next by the dean (*decanus*) and finally by the provost (*praepositu*); in other churches, successively performed by subdeacon, deacon, and priest; or by deacon, priest, and bishop. Cf. Hardison, *Christian Rite and Drama*, p.146, Note 14.

³⁴ This is found in the Mozarabic *Missale Mixtum*, which prescribed that the staff on which the fire was to be carried must be in the form of a serpent; cf. PL 85:470.

³⁵ CRR-Tor, Trat. IV, p. 78: "Ha de aver prevenido vna caña, y no sea otra cosa, adornada a trechos con flores y yerbas olorosas, de suerte que no la cubran; porque ha de quedar de modo que sepan, y vean todos, que es caña."

³⁶ *Thesaurus*, 1:243: "Solet ornari floribus, sed ita ornetur, ut appareat ex parte arundo non baculus, seu quid aliud."

³⁷ *Bácvlo*, cap. 22, par. 25: "...la caña con las tres Marías."

enkindles one of the candles fixed on top of the reed. The deacon raises the reed up, genuflects together with all the rest except the subdeacon carrying the cross, and sings alone: *Lumen Christi*. Response: *Deo gratias*.

Continuing to the middle of the church, another candle is lighted there: and again, genuflecting, as above, sings in higher pitch: *Lumen Christi*. R/. *Deo gratias*.

Then the celebrant ascends the altar to the Epistle side, and the deacon gives the reed to one acolyte: he takes the book, asks the celebrant for blessing, as it is done for the Gospel. The priest says [*Dominus sit in corde tuo*]³⁸

The cry of the deacon, *Lumen Christi*, showed that the fire symbolized the resurrected Christ. This rite was added only in the fifth century.³⁹ The original Roman tradition did not have it.⁴⁰ In the twelfth-century *Pontificale Romanum* there was the procession with three stops, at each stop the acclamation, *Lumen Christi*, being sung.⁴¹ But the

³⁸ *Missale Romanum juxta decr. Conc. Trid.*, Sabbato Sancto: "Tum Diaconus indutus Dalmatica albi coloris, accipit arundinem cum tribus candelis in summitate illius, triangulo distinctis. Praecedit Thuriferarius cum Acolytho deferente in vase quinque incensi: sequitur Subdiaconus cum Cruce, et Clerus per ordinem: deinde Diaconus cum arundine, post eum Celebrans.

"Cum Diaconus ingresus est ecclesiam, inclinat arundinem, et Acolythus deferens candelam accensam de novo igne, accendit unam ex illis tribus candelis desuper positis: et Diaconus elevans arundinem, genuflectit, similiter et omnes alii cum eo, praeter Subdiaconum Crucem ferentem, et cantat solus: *Lumen Christi*. R/. *Deo gratias*.

"Et procedens ad medium ecclesiae, accenditur alia candela: et iterum genuflexus, ut supra, altius cantat: *Lumen Christi*. R/. *Deo gratias*.

"Tertio procedit ante Altare, ubi accenditur tertia candela: et rursum genuflexus, ut prius, adhuc altius cantat: *Lumen Christi*. R/. *Deo gratias*.

"Deinde Celebrans ascendit ad Altare in cornu Epistolae, et Diaconus dat arundinem uni Acolytho: et accipiens librum, petit a Celebrante benedictionem, ut fit ad Evangelium, Sacerdote dicente: [*Dominus sit in corde tuo*]."

³⁹ DACL, s.v. "Praeconium paschale," by Leclercq.

⁴⁰ OR Andrieu, III, 28:39. procedunt simul omnes de sacrario cum ipso cereo in ecclesiam cum silentio, nihil cantantes; et ponitur candelabro ante altare." The archetype of this *Ordo* can be placed back around the year 800 AD; cf. OR Andrieu, III, p.387.

⁴¹ Le pontifical romain du XIIe siècle, cap. 32, 7, in Andrieu, *Le pontifical romain en moyen-âge*. Tome I (Città del Vaticano: 1938): "Omnibus igitur sicut diximus in sacrario indutis, antequam ipsi procedant ad altare, benedicto novo igne, iunior diaconus diaconorum cardinalium, iuxta consuetudinem romanae ecclesiae, de ipso novo igne triplicem candelam coniunctam accendat et eam in capite harundinis ponat, ipsam harundinem in manu tenens et processionaliter procedens cum schola cantorum et

same *Pontificale* offered a variant practice introduced by Pope Zosimus: the big paschal candle was first placed on its stand before the altar, and only after that did the deacon sing thrice, each time in a higher pitch, the acclamation, *Lumen Christi*.⁴² This was adopted in the thirteenth-century *Pontificale* Guilielmi Durandi.⁴³ The Roman Missal of Pius V, however, followed the practice of the twelfth-century pontifical.

After asking for the blessing, the deacon went to the ambo. The acolyte (or subdeacon) carrying the processional cross and thethurifer positioned themselves at his right side; the acolyte with the Tres Marias and the other carrying the grains of incense to his left. The deacon began to sing the *Praeconium paschale* (Easter Proclamation). This hymn—one of the most beautiful Roman liturgical music—was considered to be an *Oratio* (Prayer) called *Benedictio cerei* by the Roman Missal itself. In fact in the old Roman Ordines (Or 17, 128 and 32 Andrieu's edition) this was preceded by *Dominus vobiscum* which was repeated at the end of the introductory hymn *Exultet* before the *Sursum corda*.⁴⁴

aliquibus subdiaconibus, primum in porta, secundo iuxta quintanas, tertio iuxta ambonem, *Lumen Christi*, vocem singulis vicibus exaltando, decantet, schola cantorum cum subdiaconibus, qui cum ipso procedunt, per omnem vicem *Deo gratias* respondente."

⁴² Ibid., cap. 32, 10: "Haec est consuetudo ecclesiae romanae. Sed iuxta institutionem beati Zosimi papae, cereus magus qui benedicendus est ponitur in candelabro ante altare et, clero et populo ibi prope congregato, venit diaconus qui benedicere debet cereum et cum stylo facit crucem in ipso et et et annum ab incarnatione domini describit. Postmodum vero humiliter inclinatus ad sacerdotem veniens recipit ab ipso benedictionem et tunc surgens et conversus ad chorum dicit ter, vocem exaltando: *Lumen Christi*. Caetera fiunt sicut dictum est."

⁴³ *Le pontifical de Guillaume Durand*, cap. III, 9, in Andrieu, *Le pontifical romain au moyen-âge*, Tome III (Città del Vaticano: 1940): "Prius tamen, stans in gradibus qui sunt ante altare, clamat ter alta voce, in tono lectionis: *Lumen Christi*, vocem qualibet vice exaltando. Et chorus respondet semper: *Deo gratias*. Et mox ad pulpitem ornatum ascendunt."

⁴⁴ A. Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen in Mittelalter* (Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 1909), 1:519-53. Cf. also *Hebdomada Sancta* 2:819. Here H. Schmidt proposed a reconstruction of the structure of the early *Praeconium paschale* as follows, in order:

- 1) *Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo. Oremus.* (Probably);
- 2) *Exultet*;
- 3) *Per Dominum until per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.* (Probably).
- 4) Dialog: without *Dominus vobiscum* (probably) but with *Sursum corda* (with certainty);
- 5) *Vere dignum et iustum est* (with certainty);
- 6) *Invisibilem Deum...*

The *Praeconium paschale* sang the praises of the victorious Lord. Light was the dominant image illustrating Christ's triumph over sin and death. "Let the earth be filled with joy, aglow with so great a glory: and let her know that the darkness which overspread the whole world is chased away by the splendor of our eternal King."

After the dialog part the singing switched to the melody of the Mass preface. The text began to praise the redemptive effect of Christ's passing from death to life on mankind and the blessedness of this night when Christ resurrected from death. Here the deacon stopped for a while, affixed the five grains or *clavos* of incense on the paschal candle, as yet unlit. Here the paschal candle became the symbol of the body of Christ. "The candle signifies the rising Christ; the wax designates the body; the wick the soul; the light the deity," wrote Barth. Gavanto.⁴⁵

The Easter Proclamation continued to say that the candle was being lighted in God's honor. Then the deacon stopped once more and lighted the paschal candle directly from the light of one candle of the triangle to signify the resurrection as work of the Trinity.

At the praise of the bees from whose work the candle was formed, the deacon stopped the singing for the third time. Then the lamps and candle of the church were lit from the light of the paschal candle and the *Tres Marías*. This could make the rite quite impressive in those days—even if the ceremonies were performed in the morning—for there was as yet no electricity and Franciscan churches in the Philippines (especially those with adobe walls) were generally dim in the inside. But still the originally intended symbolism could not be effectively brought out to the full.

In Franciscan pueblos where the *Ministros de Indios* had a *fraile compañero* acting as assistant pastor, the assistant performed the role of the deacon—carrying the *Tres Marías*, singing the Paschal Proclamation and lighting the paschal candle. Understandably in pueblos where the *Ministro* had no assistant, he performed everything with the help of his *sacristanes-acólitos*.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ *Thesaurus*, 1:243: "Significat autem cereus Christum resurgentem, et quidem cera corpus, elychnium animam, lumen deitatem designat."

⁴⁶ CRR-Tor, Trat.IV, p. 85: "En las administraciones, que solo ay vn sacerdote, este lo haze todo, aydado de los Acólitos."

After the Easter Proclamation the second part of the Holy Saturday liturgical service immediately followed. This was the singing of the prophecies or readings from the Old Testament which prefigured the saving acts of God throughout the history of mankind. Originally the passages were intended to acquaint the catechumens of the pristine blessed life God bestowed on men which was lost by sin, and of the restoration of that gift through Christ's paschal mystery and men's participation in it through baptism. In Franciscan pueblos these readings had to be performed in spite of the fact that, even though there were catechumens present, they still could not understand them.⁴⁷ The rubrics had to be followed as faithfully as possible. In pueblos where there were communities of *frayles*, the community members sang the readings in choir while the celebrant read everything in silence by himself.⁴⁸ But where the *Ministro* was alone, he had to depend very much on the services of the cantors and had to do much of the reading himself. This was perhaps a most boring time on the part of the Filipino Indios assembled because they did not understand anything of the Biblical passages being read. And there was no time for the *Ministro* to explain to them in a *plática* precisely because the ceremonies were long enough without it. And yet the reading had very instructive baptismal message, which the faithful should reflect upon. In fact there was a time when the readings were performed in Latin and Greek for the mixed congregation of Rome to understand.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ In the beginning of Christianization of the Philippines there were many adult baptisms. But they were baptized as soon as they met the requirement of knowing the principal prayers and basic tenets of Christian faith. Later, the general rule was infant baptism. But it could be possible that sometimes there were adult baptisms during the Holy Saturday liturgical services, although perhaps extremely rare. The *Constituciones 1730* said: "Quando en nuestras Doctrinas y Misiones se huviere de bautizar algún adulto, estará el Ministro con mucho cuydado, y advertencia, para aver de administrar el Bautismo, mirando vna, y muchas veces, lo que tienen obligación a saber, y hacer atendiendo al motivo que tienen para pedir el Bautismo, y la disposición que traen catequizarlos primero con mucha diligencia, y que traygan dolor de sus pecados, procurando también, quanto fuere posible, que dichos Bautismos se hagan en Sábado Santo, o Vigilia de Pentecostés."

⁴⁸ CRR-Tor, Trat.IV, pp.87-88.

⁴⁹ The practice of having the readings in two languages occurred about the year 585 to 750 AD during the time of the Oriental Popes of the seventh and eighth centuries: John V (Syrian: 685-686), St. Sergius I (Syrian: 687-701), John VI (Greek: 701-705), John VII (Greek: 705-741), Sisinnius (Syrian: 708-715), St. Gregory III (Syrian: 731-741), St. Zacharias (Greek: 741-752). Cf. *Hebdomada Sancta*, 2:843.

The number of readings had varied throughout the centuries according to different traditions or systems. The Old Gelasian system had ten readings;⁵⁰ the Gregorian (purely Roman) tradition had only four;⁵¹ the later Gelasian system (amplification and "Gregorianization" of the Old Gelasian system) had twelve.⁵² The Missal of Pius V used in the Franciscan pueblos followed the later Gelasian system with twelve readings, which were the following, in this order: *Gen.* 1-2, *Gen.* 5-8, *Gen.* 22, *Ex.* 14-15, *Is.* 54-55, *Bar.* 3, *Ez.* 37, *Is.* 4, *Ex.* 12, *Jon.* 3, *1 Deut.* 31, and *Dan.* 3. The old Gelasian system did not have *Baruch* 3 and *Jonas* 3; the Gregorian system had only *Gen.* 1-2, *Ex.* 14-15, *Is.* 4 and *Is.* 54-55. Each reading was followed by a prayer, and tracts or canticles were sang after the fourth, eighth, eleventh and twelfth. The four canticles

⁵⁰ The sacramentary containing the ten-reading scheme was the SACRAMENTARIUM GELASIANUM VETUS, ed.: K. Mohlberg, OSB, *Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae Ordinis Anni Circuli (Sacramentarium Gelasianum)* (Roma: Herder, 1960).

⁵¹ Sacramentary representative of this tradition: SACRAMENTARIUM GREGORIANUM CAMERACENSE (AD 811-812), ed.: H. Lietzmann, *Das Sacramentarium Gregorianum nach dem Aachener Urexemplar*. Mit Registern von H. Bornkamm (LQ 3; Münster i.W.: 1921).

⁵² Sacramentaries of this tradition: 1) SACRAMENTARIUM GELASIANUM ENGOLISMENSE (c.AD 800), ed.: P. Cagin, OSB, *Le sacramentaire gélasien d'Angoulême publié sous les auspices de la Société historique et archéologique de la Charente (avec un fac-similé d'une page du manuscrit original)* (Angoulême: 1919); 2) SACRAMENTARIUM GELASIANUM REMENSE (AD 798-800), ed.: U. Chevalier, *Sacramentaire et martyrologe de l'abbaye de Saint-Remy*. Martyrologe, calendrier, ordinaires et prosaire de la métropole de Reims (VIIe-XIIIe siècles), (Publiés d'après des manuscrits de Paris, Londres, Reims et Assise) (Paris: 1900); 3) SACRAMENTARIUM GELASIANUM RHENAUGIENSE (c. AD 800), ed.: H. Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacramentary*. Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae; edited with introduction, critical notes and appendix. (With two facsimiles) (Oxford: 1894), pp. 317-371; 4) SACRAMENTARIUM GELASIANUM ROSSIANUM (AD 1050), ed.: J. Brinktrine, *Sacramentarium Rossianum. Cod. Ross. Lat. 204*. Mit drei Tafeln. (Römische Quartalschrift 25, Supplementheft) (Freiburg i. Br.: 1930); 5) SACRAMENTARIUM GELASIANUM SANGALLENSE (AD 800-820), ed.: K. Mohlberg, OSB, *Das fränkische Sacramentarium Gelasianum in alamannischer Ueberlieferung (Codex Sangall. No. 348)*. (St. Galler Sakramentar-Forschungen I, Zweite verbesserte Auflage, Mit Tafel, LQ 1-2) Münster i.W.: 1939).

This system was also followed in the *Comes Murbacensis* (end of 8th cent.) ed.: A. Wilmart, OSB, "Le Comes de Murbach," *RevBén* 30 (1913): 25-69, 124-132; also in COMES THEOTINCHI (c. AD 800), ed.: PL 30: 487-532; in LECTIUNUM CAPITULARE CORBEIENSE (AD 772-780), ed.: W. Frere, *Studies in Early Roman Liturgy. III. The Roman Epistle-Lectionary* (Alcuin Club Collections 32) (London: 1935), 1-24.

and the prayers showed the reference of the baptism to the paschal mystery by enhancing the different types of prefigurements illustrated by the Old Testament readings.

The readings began *sine titulo*, that is, without announcement of their Biblical origin as during the ordinary Mass. There were several fanciful explanations about this ritual detail: to represent the blindness of the catechumens who did not know the origin of our doctrine, to prevent those who came from among the Gentiles from repudiating the message because of their Hebrew authors, or to signify the absence of the head of the Church who is Christ.⁵³ This omission made the beginning of the readings quite dramatic. Without any preamble then the reader began: *In principio creavit Deus coelum et terram*. Nor was there at the end the usual answer, *Deo gratias*.

The first reading placed the events of the creation of the world within the context of the saving action of God. The prayer pointed to redemption as the perfection of creation: *Mirabiliter creasti hominem, et mirabilius redemisti*.

The second reading announced the story of the sin of mankind, its destruction as punishment and a new creation guaranteed by God's promise not to destroy mankind again. This story prefigured the purifying effect of baptism, the death of the old sinful man and the coming-out of the new man, a new creation, who entered a covenanted life of God's adopted children. The prayer addressed God as the eternal light—linking the readings with the theme of the paschal light—that renovates through the sacraments of the Church (especially baptism) men's effort to render back everything to God, the beginning of all things, (*totusque mundus experiatur et videat, dejecta erigi, inveterata renovari, et per ipsum redire omnia in integrum, a quo sumpserunt principium*).

The story of Abraham's sacrifice in the third reading prefigured the ascent of faith that is needed for the reception of baptism. His sacrifice of Isaac was the type of Christ's sacrifice on the cross, and Abraham's willingness to sacrifice his son prefigured God's merciful love of mankind who did not spare even his own Son to be offered upon

⁵³ *Thesaurus*, 1:244: "Sine titulo. Tradit Ordo Romanus quia adhuc sine capite Christo, nondum viso ab Apostolis videtur esse Ecclesia,...Vel tacentur tituli...ne Catechumenis de Gentilitate venientibus, Hebraeorum auctorum nominibus auditis, lectione vilescant: vel ad repraesentandum caecitatem catechumenorum, qui nesciunt doctrinae nostrae originem."

the cross for the redemption of mankind. It was through this sacrifice that grace of divine adoption flowed to all men as the prayer elaborated it (*In toto orbe terrarum, promissionis tuae filios diffusa adoptionis gratia multiplicas*).

The event described in the fourth reading was a type of Christian baptism. It was the passage through the Red Sea, liberating the Israelites from slavery unto freedom. This reading was followed by the first tract or canticle which actually a continuation of the Biblical reading: a canticle of praise to the God that saves. The prayer clearly acknowledged the continued effect of this "passing-through" in the incorporation of those being baptized into the chosen people (*in salutem gentium per aquam regenerationis operaris... in Abrahae filios... totius mundi transeat plenitudo*).

The fifth reading showed a vision of a wasteland fully restored and the prayer acknowledged that the prophecy was already partly fulfilled in the Church of which now the candidates for baptism were about to become members (*ut quod priores sancti non futurum, Ecclesia tua magna iam ex parte cognoscat impletum*).

The following three readings from the books of the prophets (Baruch, Ezekiel and Isaiah) reflected the image of the renewed life of the baptized and Christians in general. The valley of the dry bones shall be inhabited by living people again (Ezekiel); the Lord shall remove the disgrace from his people (Isaiah); they shall be guided by directives or commandments and be protected from imprudence that could lead them away from God (Baruch). The picture was enhanced by the canticle: *Vinea facta est... vinea enim Domiri Sabaoth, domus Israel est*; and by the prayer: *Deus... manifesti... satorem te bonorum seminum... et cultorem: tribue populis tuis... digna efficiantur fruge fecundi*).

The ninth reading related the story of the original Passover. The prayer clearly pointed that this was a type of the Pasch of Christ (*Intelligent redempti tui, non fuisse excellentius, quod initio factus est mundus quam quod in fine saeculorum Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus*).

The message of the tenth reading was emphasized by the prayer after it. The invitation to be converted in order to be saved was being offered by God to all men, even to non-Israelites, (*diversitatem gentium in confessione tui nominis adunasti*). Once converted to the Lord, the adopted children of God were reminded by the eleventh reading and by

the following canticle (*Attende, coelem, et loquar*) to be faithful to the will of the Lord. The prayer asked, however, for strength and joy albeit the obligations in the service of the Lord (*excita in omnem justificatarum gentium plenitudinem potentiam tuam, et da laetitiam, mitigando terrorem*).

The twelfth and last reading served as inspiration to all Christians to stand firm in the faith just like the youth in the white-hot furnace of Nebuchadnezzar. In this struggle, however, the steadfastness of the children of God does not really come from themselves but from God (*quia in nullo fidelium nisi ex tua inspiratione, proveniunt quarumlibet incrementa virtutum*).

Such was the rich paschal message of the twelve readings of the Holy Saturday liturgical service. They were primarily directed to catechumens who were getting ready for baptism at this service. In Franciscan pueblos, however, as elsewhere in the Spanish Philippines most probably, there was hardly an occasion for baptism during that hour. In the beginning of the Christianization of the Philippines there were many adult baptism as expected. Generally, however, baptisms were performed as soon as the candidates met the requirement of knowing the principal prayers and basic truths of Christian faith. Later, the general rule was infant baptism.

It could be possible that there were adult baptisms during the Holy Saturday liturgical services. The rituals, in principle, encouraged the performance of adult baptisms on Holy Saturday and Pentecost, at least in cathedrals.⁵⁴ But they must have been very rare in Franciscan pueblos. Because the Franciscan constitutions only suggested the possibility of having adult baptism on Holy Saturday "quando fuere posible," we can assume that baptism was normally omitted during the Holy Saturday paschal services. In fact the official Franciscan Ceremonial skipped the blessing of the baptismal font in their Holy Saturday ceremonies. It prescribed:

⁵⁴ *Ritual S. Greg.*, pp. 58-59: "Según establecimiento Apostólico, es conveniente administrar el bautismo a los Adultos en los dos Sábados de Gloria, y Espíritu Santo. Por tanto, si no hay inconveniente, se dilatarán los tales bautismos hasta estos días. Mas haviendo causa para ello, aunque no sea más que el no tener a bien dichos Cathecúmenos el que su bautismo se dilate, se podrán bautizar en qualquier día, precediendo el examen, e instrucción, que queda dicho." A simple wish, therefore, of the catechumen not to wait till Easter or Pentecost was sufficient ground to get baptized outside the two recommended days.

After the conclusion of the prayer of the last prophecy, the preste takes off the chasuble and maniple at the Epistle side and prostrates himself on the step of the altar. The cantors in the middle of the choir begin and continue the double litany; that is, the choir answers the same thing that the cantors sing. It is not necessary for the preste to recite the litanies. When the choir sing *Peccatores*, the celebrant rises. With two acolytes before him he goes to the sacristy, takes off the violet stole and puts on the white vestments which the sacristan has prepared for the Mass. He removes the violet frontal, the chasuble and maniple which were left upon the altar, lights the candles: he places the chalice in the center as is the custom, and thethurifer puts charcoal in the censer. As soon as the choir sing, *Christe exaudi nos*, the cantors continue *more solito* the *Kyries*.

The celebrant comes in with only two acolytes, says the Psalm *Judica me Deus* and confession in the ordinary form, ascends the altar and incenses it...⁵⁵

The Mass was the climax of the Holy Saturday liturgical services. After the *Kyrie*, the celebrant intoned the *Gloria in excelsis Deo* and the choir sang this hymn of the angels *con mucha solemnidad*.⁵⁶ At this moment —after the long silence since Holy Thursday— the bells were again rung for quite a long time, because the Ceremonial prescribed to ring the bell practically throughout the entire singing time of the hymn, that is, until the verse, *Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris*. The ringing was usually considered by the peoples as the announcement of the Resurrection. The *repiques* from the belfry was awaited by the

⁵⁵ CRR-Tor, Trat.IV, pp. 88-89: "Concluída la Oración de la Prophecía última, el Preste dexa la Casulla, y Manípulo a el lado de la Epístola, y se postra en la grada de el Altar. Los Cantores en medio de el Coro comienzan, y prosiguen la Letanía doble, esto es, que el Coro responde lo mismo, que los Cantores cantan. No es necessario que el Preste diga las Letanías. Aviéndose cantado en el Coro: *Peccatores*, se levanta el Celebrante, y yendo por delante el Acólito va a la Sachristía dexa la Estola, y se viste los Ornamentos blancos, que para la Missa tiene ya el Sachristan prevenidos. Quita este el Frontal morado, la Casulla, y Manípulo, que quedaron en el Altar, enciende las velas de él: pone el Cáliz en el medio, como es costumbre, y el Turiferario previene en el Incensario brasas. Luego, que en el Coro se dize: *Christe exaudi nos*, prosiguen los Cantores los *Kyries more solito*. Sale el Celebrante con solos dos Acólitos, dize el Psalmo, y confesión en la forma ordinaria, sube a el Altar, lo incienso..."

⁵⁶ Ibid.

people who were unable to go to church as the signal of the resurrection of Christ.⁵⁷

The singing of the *Gloria* stood out in a special way in this Mass not only because of the extended time of the ringing of the bells but also because of the omission of some parts of the Mass usually present at the other times of the year. There was no Introit, as we have seen, because the litany served as the substitute for it.⁵⁸ The *Credo*, Offertory antiphon, the *Agnus* and *Pax* and Communion verse were all omitted. Moreover, the *Bácvlo de Ministros* advised the *Ministros de Indios* "not to distribute Communion to anybody at this Mass," most probably in order not to make the ceremonies any longer.⁵⁹ This was starkly contrary to the early practices during the early times as in the time of Rabanus Maurus (780-856 AD) who considered those who did not receive Communion during the Holy Saturday Vigil Mass unworthy of the name Christian.⁶⁰

Besides the solemn singing of the *Gloria*, the singing of the *Alleluia* after the first reading was another feature of this Mass. The celebrant sang the *Alleluia* three times, each time in a higher pitch and the choir echoed the same acclamation every time. Then the chorus

⁵⁷ In some former Franciscan pueblos, as in Lucban, people at home jumped or tossed little children up into the air at the sound of the *repiques* of the *Gloria* of the *Sabado de Gloria* for some unclear reason (people say they do this in order to grow taller); but perhaps it was in order to remind themselves of Christ's "rising" from the dead while imitating the rambling of the earth when the tomb was opened. They also poured water at each other's head, also for some forgotten reason; most probably it was to remind them of their baptism. The same practice is found in some places on the feast of John the Baptist.

It is interesting to note that according to H. Schmidt's investigation the Old Gelasian Sacramentary considered the *Gloria in excelsis* as a baptismal hymn (*Hebdomada Sancta*, 2:867). It could be possible that these private rituals of the morning of *Sabado de Gloria* originated from the time of the Franciscan Frailes with baptismal connotation.

⁵⁸ Cf. *Hebdomada Sancta*, 2:863-88.

⁵⁹ *Bácvlo*, cap. 22, par.25: "...ni se da la Comunion a ninguno." However, any sick person may be given Holy Communion after the Mass. But it should be done in a way that others might not see it because they might also ask for it. To refuse them then would create possible misunderstanding, "porque los Indios hazen poca diferencia entre sanos [y enfermos]."

⁶⁰ R. Maurus, *De clericorum institutione*, PL 107: 350c: "...cuius participatione quicumque fidelium se hac nocte adstinuerit, nescio quomodo dicam illum Christianum."

continued with one verse of Psalm 117: *Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus: quoniam in saeculum misericordia eius*. Throughout the entire season of Lent, and as early as Septuagesima Sunday to this moment, the *Alleluia*, had been omitted. The triple chanting emphasized its return in the liturgical services. *Alleluia* in this way appeared to be the acclamation to the resurrected Christ, the Lord.

For the reading of the Gospel only the incense bearer accompanied the deacon or the celebrant to the ambo. The omission of the torches meant undoubtedly to draw attention once more to the paschal candle and *Tres Marias* flickering at the side of the ambo. The Gospel reading of this Mass (*Matthew* 28:1-7) evoked the story of the empty tomb and the holy women. Some allegorists wanted to see the incense in the censer as representing the *aromata* the women brought with them to anoint the Lord.⁶¹ Through the reading the liturgy transported the assembled community of the pueblo to the side of the empty tomb.

The Mass continued in all solemnity, the parts we have mentioned above being omitted. But after the priest took the *Sanguis*, the shortened form of Vespers was incorporated into the Mass.

It began with the three *Alleluia* as antiphon to the short Psalm 116, *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes*. When the three *Alleluias* had been repeated, the celebrant intoned the antiphon of the *Magnificat*: *Vespere autem sabbati*; and the choir immediately followed: *Quae lucescit in prima sabbati: venit Maria Magdalena, et altera Maria videre sepulchrum, alleluia*. As it was the custom in Spain, the celebrant incensed the altar and was himself incensed, then the choir and the people, during the singing of the Marian Canticle. The antiphon having been repeated, the celebrant sang the Postcommunion prayer. And to conclude the Mass the priest sang the dismissal: *Ite Missa est, alleluia, alleluia to which the choir answered: Deo gratias alleluia alleluia*.

The liturgical services of this day ended in this way, if the *Ministro de Indios* decided not to have the *Renovación del Santísimo*; otherwise, as a general rule, the services went further on. The *Renovación* was no other than the consecrative of "fresh" Eucharistic bread during the Mass. It was an established custom in the Philippine Church to consecrate the pieces of wafers every fifteen days during the Sunday *Misa Mayor*.⁶²

⁶¹ Pseudo-Alcuin, *De divinis officiis*, PL 101: 1222a.

⁶² CRR-Tor, Trat.IV, pp.66-67; "El uso común de esta Provincia es hazer la Renovación en Domingo. Algunos Autores graves dicen debe ser en Jueves. Siguiendo

Holy Saturday, however, was a special occasion of the *Renovación* after the omission of the consecration in the Presanctified Mass of Good Friday.

The rite of the *Renovación del Santísimo* was in substance the rite of the Benediction with the Blessed Sacrament inserted into the Mass.⁶³ After the offertory verse the priest took the ciborium containing the remaining species from the tabernacle. He placed them on the altar a little to the Gospel side and incensed it while kneeling on the lowest step of the altar. He proceeded to the offering of the gifts together with the new wafers to be consecrated for the communion of the faithful and a big host for public exposition. After the preparation of the chalice, followed another incensation of the *oblata*, the Blessed Sacrament and lastly the altar.

The Mass continued with the special rubrics for the Mass with the *Santísimo patente*, as we shall see in the discussion on the Mass for the pueblo's patron saint.⁶⁴ After the *Sanguis* had been taken by the celebrant, he consumed likewise the old wafers (in other Masses these were distributed in Communion), because there was no distribution of Communion today, as noted above. The ciborium was purified and the new "forms" were placed in it.

As soon as the last blessing was imparted by the celebrant, the cantors sang the *Tantum ergo*. The priest went down the steps of the altar and more solito incensed the Santísimo. He ascended the altar once more after *Deus qui nobis sub Sacramento*; he took the ciborium with the humeral veil and blessed the people with the Blessed Sacrament, making the sign of the cross with it toward the people.

More candles and lamps and torches were lighted at this time. The bells continuously sounded *repiques* during the singing of the hymn *Tantum ergo* and also during the act of benediction with the Blessed

esta opinión el Mro. Don Juan Fernandez de Guevarra, Provisor en Sede Vacante de el Obispado de Nueva Caceres, determinó, que en dicho día se hiziere. Faltóle la solemnidad, porque en días feriados los naturales son poco amigos de Fiestas, y fue necessario por nuevo Auto reducir la a los Domingos, para que la renovación pudiesse hazerse con solemnidad de concurso. Esta es la práctica de esta Provincia, y en adelante no se variara, como el hazerla de quinze, en quize días; pues tenemos experiencia, que no ay riesgo de corrupción de las Formas, y assi se executa comúnmente."

⁶³ For the rite of the *Renovación del Santísimo* see CRR-Tor, Trat.III, pp.66-76.

⁶⁴ Cf. *infra*, pp. ?? in book form ff.

Sacrament. After depositing the ciborium in the tabernacle —accompanied by the thurifer and candle bearers who were prominent members of the community— the celebrant returned to the altar with solemn gait, put away the corporal left on the altar and returned to the sacristy.

In this way the long liturgical rites ended: not only in the triumph of the Resurrected Christ over sin and death but also in the entronement of the Eucharistic King.

The agon between Christ and his adversary was recalled in the liturgical services of the Church during the whole season of Lent and Holy Week through dramatic imitation and representation, sometimes in a powerful coincidence of time as in the services of Holy Thursday and Good Friday. But the dramatic effect of the Holy Saturday liturgical services being originally meant for the evening Vigil Office were performed in the morning. The Service of the Light and the incorporated Vespers towards the end of the functions clearly demonstrate the mislocation of the Holy Saturday services. The texts indicate that these ceremonies were originally performed in the evening or night vigil.

There had been a tendency to anticipate the Paschal Vigil as early as the fifth century. But the final transfer of the Holy Saturday services from evening to morning occurred in the fourteenth century when it became an accepted opinion that it was permissible that the Easter ceremonies began even in the morning of Holy Saturday, provided the Hour of None of the Divine Office was recited beforehand. This was officially adopted in the Missal of Pius V.⁶⁵

Holy Saturday then which was supposed to be spent in the contemplation of the mystery of faith by the side of the empty tomb, became another hectic day. But it seemed that after the solemn commemoration of the sufferings and death of the Redeemer through impressive and moving rites and public penitential practices, the celebration of

⁶⁵ J.A. Jungmann, "Die Vorverlegung der Ostervigil seit dem christlichen Altertum," *LJ* 1 (1951): 53: "Für die Fastenmessen bleibt zwar die alte Bestimmung aufrechtig, dass sie erst *post Nonam* stattfinden sollen; allein man erlaubt sich seit dem 14. Jahrhundert mehr und mehr die Umdeutung, dass es genüge, wenn die Non des Stundengebetes vorher gebetet sei, die man nun auch in die Morgenstunden vorzuverlegen began. [...] Seit Pius V. ist die Vorverlegung der Messfeier in die Morgenstunde aus dem Stadium der Duldung in das Vorschrift übergegangen, das gerade für die österliche Vigilmesse strenge festgehalten wird."

the triumph and glory of the Resurrected Lord came too soon to be relished to the full. As a matter of fact, the spirit of penance among the native Filipinos in Franciscan pueblos lingered throughout the year (partly because of the emphasis of Franciscan spirituality on penance). Moreover, the liturgical ceremonies used symbolisms that were enfeebled by their unnatural temporal setting and by Biblical figures which were not familiar to native Filipinos in general. And no significant extra liturgical religious practices enhanced the Holy Saturday celebration for the rest of the day. All this contributed to the fact that *Sábado de Gloria* was unable to convey to the Filipino *Indios* the joy of the Resurrection in the same degree Holy Thursday and Good Friday impressed them. The ceremonies that would emphasize the mystery of the Resurrection to the Filipino *Indios* would come in the early hours of the Resurrection Sunday.

6. EASTER SUNDAY, THE DAY OF *SALUBONG*

The drama of Easter cycle in Franciscan pueblos reached its climax in the liturgical services which represented the triumph of the Lord over his adversary in the morning of *Sábado de Gloria*. But we can say that the climax reached the apex on the *Domingo de Pascua* — the real reversal-recognition of the Easter drama.

Because the rites of the Holy Saturday were highly intellectual and because there were no other religious folk practices to support the official services of the Church, the joy of Easter expressed in the Holy Saturday ceremonies was hardly felt by the populace of the pueblo. Without any religious folk practices Easter could have been just like any other Sunday with its *Misa Mayor*.

But in Franciscan pueblos (and in many other pueblos of the Spanish Philippines) Easter Sunday was the day of *Salubong* or *Procesión del encuentro*. This was a dramatized encounter of the Virgin Mary and the Resurrected Christ through the use of their wooden images. Mother and Son met at the singing of the *Alleluia* amidst the admiration and approving smiles of both old and young, amidst the peals of *campanas* and the salvos of *cohetes*, amidst the tramping cadences of the brass band. And everybody shared in the joy of the Virgin Mother meeting her Savior Son.

The *Procesión del encuentro* was, again, one of the religious folk practices of Spain that had been transplanted on the Philippine soil. It

was so old a custom in Spain that it became the theme of several popular religious songs. Here is an example from Fresnedillas de la Oliva: [the text is of course in Spanish]:

Por allí viene Jesus; por aquí viene su Madre.
 Hagan anchura, señores, que vienen a visitarse.
 Quítele usted ese manto a la señora María,
 y también a las doncellas que van en su compañía.
 Quítele usted este luto, que este luto es muy pesado;
 quítele usted este luto, que su Hijo ha resucitado.
 Ya repican las campanas, ya sale la procesión,
 y también la cruz de plata y en medio Nuestro Señor.⁶⁶

And another, from *El Berrueco*:

¡Mírale por donde viene el Redentor de la aurora!
 Viene vestido de blanco, trae bandera de victoria.
 Desde el Jueves por la tarde, Señora, no le hemos visto.
 ¡Albricias, Virgen pura, de vuestro Hijo bendito!
 En la cruz se han encontrado la Virgen y Jesucristo,
 en la cruz donde murió. Días han que no se han visto.
 Ya repican las campanas, ya sale la procesión,
 ya sale la cruz de plata y el colorado pendón.
 El es que ha resucitado ¡mayordomo de María!
 ¡Quita ese manto de luto y pónsele de alegría!
 Andemos todas las gentes, andemos con devoción,
 que llevamos a María y a su Hijo el Redentor.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ M. García Matos, *Cancionero popular español de la provincia de Madrid* (2 vols.; Madrid: 1952), no. 303, as quoted by Gabriel Llopart, "La llamada 'Procesión del Encuentro' en la isla de Mallorca y la filiación medieval del folklore postridentino," in *RDTP* 39 (1967): 173. Here is our translation of it:

There comes Jesus; here comes his mother.
 Give way, oh people, they come to see each other.
 Take off this veil from Señora Maria.
 Take off the veils from the girls joining her train.
 Stop this mourning; take off this heavy veil of sorrow.
 Stop this mourning, because your Son has come back to life.
 The bells are pealing now, the procession commences,
 the silver cross comes out, and in the midst of it all, Our Lord.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, (no. 300). Our translation:

Behold, from the dawn comes the Redeemer,
 he comes all dressed in white, carrying the flag of victory.
 Hear the good news, pure Virgin, about your blest Son!
 since Thursday afternoon, Lady, we caught no sight of him.

The two popular songs give us some important details of the procession of the *Encuentro* which were also found in the *Salubong* in Franciscan pueblos in the Spanish Philippines. From the song of Fresnedillas de la Oliva we come to know of the main characteristics of this procession. There were two trains: one carrying the image of the Resurrect Christ (*por allí viene Jesus*); the other, that of Our Lady (*por aquí viene su Madre*). The two trains merged into a single procession at a designated place where the veil of mourning (*manto de luto*) over the image of Our Lady was taken off.

Both songs mentioned the removal of the mourning veil: *quítele usted este luto, que su Hijo ha resucitado; and quítale ese manto de luto y pónsele de alegría*. This was performed in different ways according to varying customs of different places. In Tudela, for instance, a boy dressed as an angel, suspended by a hemp rope, descended slowly from the balcony of the municipal building towards the Virgin and removed from the image the veil of mourning in order to reveal the white one underneath.⁶⁸ Exactly the same methods is being followed in some parts of the Philippines today, and could have been used since its introduction in the Philippines.

There was also a mention of *doncellas que van en su compañía* (young girls who come along in her company). But in Barcelona —where the procession was introduced in 1590—, not only were there young girls in the train of Our Lady but only women were allowed to join this portion of the procession, while only men went in the other portion with the image of the Resurrected Lord.⁶⁹

One most important part of the *Encuentro* was the performance of reverence by the image of Our Lady before the image of the Resurrected Christ. Our Lady's image was made to bow or curtsy three times

It was on the cross that the Virgin and Jesus last met,
on the cross where he died. For days now they did not see each other.
Now the bells are ringing, the procession commences:
the silver cross comes out as well as the colorful standard.
Come along, all ye people, come along with devotion,
as we carry Mary and her Son the Redeemer.

⁶⁸ *De Pascuas a Ramos* (Pamplona: 1946), pp.251-59, as cited in Llompart, "La llamada Procesión del Encuentro," p.174.

⁶⁹ Llompart, "La llamada Procesión del Encuentro," p.172.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.168.

to the Resurrected Lord. In some Spanish villages the wooden image of Our Lady was provided with a contrivance which enabled the image to incline the head.⁷⁰ When the two images had been positioned face to face, the image of Our Lady was carried four steps closer to that of the Christ and was then made to bow towards it. The four steps and curtsy was a *rúbrica de rigor* (indispensable rubric) everywhere, so that in Ciudadela (Menorca) the *Encuentro* was called the spectacle of "*ses tres reverencies*."⁷¹

As regards the time of the procession, it was generally done a *primera hora de la mañana* (in the first hours of the morning). In Mallorca, however, where it was performed for the first time and presided over by the bishop in 1621, the procession began *acabada la nona* (after None had been sung), most probably at half past ten o'clock in the morning.⁷² In Franciscan pueblos in the Spanish Philippines it was *al reir el alba* (at the break of dawn).

The earliest-known *Procesión del encuentro* ever performed in Spain was in Madrid in the year 1570. It started from the Convento de la Victoria in Madrid at the dawn of Easter Day. The *Encuentro* proper took place in the middle of the Puerta del Sol.⁷³ A special feature of that procession was the presence of the Blessed Sacrament. The desire for vividness and realism suggested this detail, just as the Blessed Sacrament was entombed with the cross on Holy Thursday. In Calañas the image of Christ was completely substituted by the blessed Sacrament.⁷⁴ We have no records that testify to this kind of substitution during the *Salubong* in the Spanish Philippines.

From the foregoing information we know that the procession of *Salubong* in Franciscan pueblos in the Spanish Philippines was not a theatrical creation *ex nihilo* by the missionaries. Like other religious practices, this Easter morning spectacle was simply transplanted in the Philippines context with some little adaptations. The essential

⁷¹ F. Hernandez Sanz, *Compendio de geografia y historia de Menorca* (Mahón: 1908), p. 113.

⁷² Llompart, "La llamada Procesión del Encuentro," p. 169.

⁷³ Miguel de Herrero, *La Semana Santa en Madrid* (Madrid: 1935), p. 56.

⁷⁴ This substitution of the Blessed Sacrament for the image of the Resurrected Lord was common in Castilla and Asturias; cf. Llompart, "La llamada Procesión del Encuentro," p. 174.

parts—the merging of two processional trains, the removal of the black veil, the three curtseys—were basically the same. This we shall verify as we look now into the typical celebration of Easter morning in Filipino Franciscan pueblos.

The day began quite early in this Easter Sunday morning. At about four o'clock the joyous *repiques* from the belfry awoke the pueblo populace, and announced at the same time the solemn services, which consisted in the solemn chanting of *Maytines*, the procession of *Salubong* and the Solemn chanting of Sung Mass.⁷⁵ Both young and old hurried to the church for these dawn services. The church was in full regalia, adorned in the best possible way. The altars as well as the rest of the church were decorated with flowers and green arches, and sweet-smelling herbs were all over the floor. It was *Pascua florida*! The Easter of flowers!

In front of the rows of benches at the Gospel side stood the image of the resurrected Lord on a especially embellished *andas*, while to the Epistle side on an equally decorated platform was the image of the Virgin Mother Mary with black veil. All the paraphernalia of procession were readied. This time two palios were needed: one for each image. And two groups of dancing *dalaguitas* in white dress waited anxiously for their part.

When the people had been assembled in the church, the *preste* in white stole and cape went out of the sacristy, preceded by the train of *acolytes* (among whom were the bearers of four *ciriales* and *incensario*). The *dalaguitas* went ahead of the procession towards the main altar, dancing to the music of the *Escuela* boys' string and wind instruments and to the singing of the cantors. Upon reaching the lowest step of the main altar, the *preste* genuflected to the Blessed Sacrament with the *acolytes* (except the *ciriales*), while the dancing girls betook themselves to one side in front of the rows of benches. Then he intoned the opening verses of Matins: *Domine labia mea aperies*. After the *Gloria Patri* was sung, the *preste* directed his steps to the silla or main celebrant's chair which was especially decorated with flowers for this occasion. The choir then sang the *Invitatory*.

The singing of *Maytines* continued in the same manner as the *Primeras Vísperas* were solemnly conducted on the eve of the *Fiesta del*

⁷⁵ *Báculo*, cap.22, par.26.

Patron. As during the Vespers the *tiples* had the important function of 'presenters', which consisted in introducing the singing of the psalm antiphons.⁷⁶ Everything was so timed that by the break of dawn the *Te Deum laudamus* was being sung. As this hymn was intoned, the bells sounded the jousting *repiques* from the belfry and the *preste* went up to the altar, incensed it *more solito*, went down to the floor plain once more and recited the *Oración* of the *Maytines*. After saying the *Benedicamus Domino*, he received a lighted candle and everybody got ready for the procession.

The processional train of Our Lady went out first of the church through the main door, the image being carried by women. For practical reason these women did not put on their veils but their heads were adorned with garlands of flowers. Presumably all the women joined this portion of the procession.⁷⁷ But men carried the *patio* over the image as well as the other insignias of procession, because these things required manly strength and endurance. The wife of the *Fiscal mayor*, however, carried the *Tres Marías*.⁷⁸ The other train went out through the side door with the image of the Resurrected Lord. All men joined this portion of the procession and one of the *officiales* of the church carried the *Cirio pascual*. Before each image went a group of young people dancing, most probably in the manner of the *seises* of Spain; the *dalaguitas* in front of the image of the Resurrected Lord.

The use of the *Cirio pascual* and the *Tres Marías* during the procession of *Salubong* enhanced the symbolism of the Resurrection. Perhaps it was in this procession that the three candles forming a triangle on top of a reed used during the Service of the Light on Holy Saturday received the name of '*Tres Marías*'; representing the holy women who went in search of the body of Christ to anoint it. However, after the publication of the official Franciscan Ceremonial, the *Tres Marías* were almost probably not allowed anymore in this procession because the Ceremonial explained that the *Tres Marías* ceased their function after the Holy Saturday services and that they should be put away thereaf-

⁷⁶ Cf. *infra*. p. 390 ff.

⁷⁷ This was after the common practice in Spain; our presumption was suggested by the fact that even the bearers of the image of Our Lady had to be women.

⁷⁸ Carrying the standards and other insignias of procession was an office of honor reserved to prominent members of the community. Among the women the wife of the *Fiscal mayor* held the highest honor as regards religious affairs of the pueblo.

ter.⁷⁹ Present day *Salubong* in the Philippines do not use the paschal candle at all. The attention of the people was gradually directed solely to the two images of Mother and Son.

Each train of the procession traced a different path. The streets through which the processional trains passed were decorated with triumphal arches and sweet-smelling herbs and flowers. An especially-decorated place was designated as the 'point of encounter', the place of *salubong* or *encuentro* of the two images, usually in the center of the pueblo. "In the place where they have to merge," instructed the *Bácvlo de Ministros*, "there must be a vault over four columns with four arches."⁸⁰ All these contraptions and trappings were made of bamboos, palms, decorative plant leaves, flowers and sweet-smelling herbs.

The two-images —Mother and Son— were made to face each other. At this point, the *Bácvlo de Ministros* said, the black veil of Our Lady was taken off.⁸¹ It was in all probability removed by a boy or girl dressed as an angel as it was the custom in Spain. In some pueblos today the angel recites a *loa* (a short dramatic panegyric) to Mother and Son, or sings the antiphon *Regina coeli laetare* to which the choir answers; afterwards, the angel showers fragrant petals on the images. Our sources, however, do not mention these present-day practices, although they could have been there right from the introduction of this procession in the Spanish Philippines.

When the black veil had been taken away and the white one had come to view, the image of Our Lady made delightful *tres cortesías* to

⁷⁹ CRR-Tor, Trat. IV, pp. 86-87: "Por esto, la mañana de Resurrección no saldrán en Procepción las tales velas [las tres Marías] ni se sacara el *Cirio Pasqual*, pues es contra el Decreto de la Sagrada Congr. el encenderlo fuera de los días, que allí están señalados. *Cereus Paschalis regulariter accendendus est ad Missas, et Vesperas solemnes in Triduo Paschalis, in Sabbato in Albis, et in Dominicis usque ad Ascensionem*. Y avnque el Decreto permite, que en lo demás se observe la costumbre de los Pueblos: *in aliis servanda est locorum consuetudo*, es solo para encenderlo en algunas funciones, como en las Missas Votivas *pro re gravi*, que se cantaren, en las Fiestas de Títulos o Patronos &c. según dize Bauldri: no para sacarlo fuera de la Iglesia encendido la mañana de Pasqua; y dado caso, que fuese costumbre el hazerlo, desde aora se encarga, que el *Cirio*, y las *Marías* no salgan, ni se saquen en la Procepción de la Resurrección, por graves inconvenientes, que en ello se han conocido."

⁸⁰ *Bácvlo*, cap.22, par.26: "...en la parte donde se huvieren de juntar, ha de haver vna bóveda sobre quatro columnas con quatro arcos."

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, "...puestos frente a frente Madre y Hijo quitarán el velo negro a Nuestra Señora."

the image of the Son.⁸² Then the hymn *Te Deum laudamus* was sung. As soon as the hymn was intoned, a signal to the belfry of the church was given (most probably through the ringing of the big hand-bell), so that the *campanas* sounded the joyous *repiques* once more. It was not unlikely that the peals of the bells were accompanied by the brass band as in Spain. After the singing of the hymn, the two trains merged into one and the single procession now made its way back to the church.

The images —the width of the streets permitting— were carried side by side under one canopy, the Resurrected Christ occupying the right side; otherwise, it went ahead of the image of Our Lady. While the procession from the church until the place of *encuentro* was made *en silencio*, we could presume that the procession back to the church was filled with band music while the dancing of the *dalaguitas* and *escuelas* (young boys) was more spirited.

If in the pueblo the *Ministro* had a *campañero*, both of them donned the cape and joined the procession, the *Ministro* behind the image of the Savior, his *compañero* behind that of Our Lady. But if the *Ministro* was alone, he joined the image of the Resurrected Lord.

As the procession reached the main door of the church, the cantors intoned the antiphon, *Regina coeli laetare*. The singing continued as the procession entered the main door of the church. When the *preste* reached the lowest step of the main altar and the images were replaced on their proper *andas*, the cantors sang the versicle *Gaude et letare, Virgo Maria*. The *preste* ended the singing with the prayer, *Deus qui per resurrectionem*. He returned then to the sacristy to vest for the Mass which immediately followed.

The Mass today was one of the most solemn liturgical celebrations of the year. It was one of the *Cuatro Pascuas* and the external apparatus of solemnity were used at this Mass. The solemn *Vidi aquam*, the *danzas de dalaguitas y escuelas*, the use of at least four *ciriales*, the big number of lighted candles and lamps, the incensation of the images, the special singing of *cantores* and *tiples*, the delightful music

⁸² Since the images of the Virgin in the Spanish Philippines did not seem to have contraption in the neck, another way must have been used in order to effect this curtsy. In Spain they also used an alternative method: "...la figura de Palma [de Mallorca]... tiene un dispositivo para flexionarle la cabeza, mientras que en las villas se suele bajar y levantar la figura en el momento cumbre para remedar las reverencias del Barroco cortesano" (Llompert, "La llamada Procesión del Encuentro," p.172).

from string and wind instruments. It was time to be merry, to forget the sorrows of Holy Week, to share in the joy of Mary who had met her Son —resurrected from the dead, alive and triumphant!

Through the procession of *Salubong* or *Encuentro* —set between two liturgical services (the solemnly-sung *Maytines* and Mass)— the Filipino *Indios* were led to experience the joy of Easter. It was in this procession that they participated actively with full dedication, giving out their time, talents and money. But the joy they experienced on this occasion did not come directly from the Gospel truth that the Lord Jesus resurrected from the dead but rather from the belief that Mary rejoiced upon meeting her Son who had died but now was again found alive. The Filipino Easter joy then was a kind of a participated joy, participation in the joy of Mary, and not a direct joy over the triumph of Christ against sin and death.

The procession of *Salubong* brought out to us the realization that the devotion to the saints —to Our Lady in particular— was the path through which the official Church Liturgy came to be attended and participated in by the Filipino *Indios*. The *Salubong* was a particular expression of devotion to Our Lady that intimately brought the indigenous inhabitants of the Spanish Philippines in contact with the liturgy of Easter Sunday and the mystery it celebrated.

The 'visit of Jesus with Mary' or simply the *Encuentro* after Jesus' resurrection —of which the procession of *Salubong* has been the dramatized depiction in the Philippine context after the Spanish model— was a popular theme in the Spanish literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁸³ It was indeed a common belief among the people and common topic of religious talks and sermons that after the resurrection Mary was the first person to whom Jesus appeared, even before he did to Peter, the apostles and Mary Magdalene. And this came from the speculation of serious teachers and theologians.⁸⁴ Spanish popu-

⁸³ Llompart, "La llamada Procesión del Encuentro," pp.175-178.

⁸⁴ The famous Jesuit theologian, Francisco Suarez, in the *Disputa 49-sección 1* of his *Misterios de la vida de Cristo* (vol 2, BAC 55; Madrid: 1950) introduced the discussion by saying that it was a common teaching of catholic writers from early times, *ya que no se puede señalar la época en que comenzó a enseñarse en ella esta doctrina* (p.621). He concluded the long discussion with these words: "De donde resulta que creemos que a la Virgen se le concedió este beneficio no sólo por su provecho sino también porque, por el sumo amor que la Virgen le tenía, debió también corresponder

lar piety then wove the maze of opinions of theologians and spiritual writers with the fibers of the apocriphal Gospels, such as that of Nicodemus.⁸⁵ In the newly-restored *retablo* of Nicoláu Falcó in the Diocesan Museum of Mallorca the Virgin Mother is shown on her knees in front of the standing resurrected Son who is holding a processional silver cross with banderole and behind whom kneels a multitude of patriarchs.⁸⁶ In the *retablo* executed by John of Flanders under the commission of Queen Isabel la Católica, among the multitude of the elect whom Jesus liberated from gehenna were a nude man and a nude woman, interpreted to signify Adam and Eve.⁸⁷ The religious literature as well as the many iconographical pieces, all became the rich storehouse from which the Spanish popular religious piety drew the elements for the construction of the *Procesión del encuentro* which the colors and sounds of the baroque exuberance enhanced. Fortunately for the liturgy it became a powerful means to attract the Filipino *Indios* to the official Church worship.

The *Salubong* or *Encuentro* was a good case of an expression of the devotion to the saints that congregated the Filipino *Indios* into religious gatherings which were readily and spontaneously converted into

con singulares muestras de amor. Por lo que fue necesario que por este singular beneficio creciera y se rebusteciera muchísimo la fe, la esperanza y la caridad de la Virgen para con Cristo." (p.625).

Jacobo de Voragine, on the side of popular piety, already gave testimony to the popularity of this belief in his *La légende dorée* (ed. Wizewa; Paris: 1925, p.205).

⁸⁵ Among the sixteenth-century Spanish theatrical pieces L. Rouanet collected was the "Auto de la Resurrección." Its first scene depicted the meeting of Jesus with Mary his Mother—even before the meeting with Mary Magdalene—and the topic of conversation was the Harrowing of Hell (L. Rouanet, *Colección de autos, farsas, y coloquios del siglo XVI* [vol. 4; Barcelona: 1901], p. 73).

This must have been inspired by the Gospel of Nicodemus (sometimes called "Acts of Pilate") which contained the testimony of Karino and Leucio—two of those who resurrected when Jesus died—concerning Jesus' descent into hell, the confrontation with Satan, the liberation of the patriarchs from hell (cf. A. de Santos Otero, *Los evangelios apócrifos* [BAC 148, 3a ed.; Madrid: 1979], esp. pp.442-470). The descent into hell of the Lord was a topic usually joined with the first apparition of the Virgin Mother.

⁸⁶ *Pintura gótica mallorquina* (Madrid: 1964), fig. 68.

⁸⁷ Neil MacLaren, *The Spanish School* (National Gallery Catalogues; London: 1952), pp. 21-22; cf. F.J. Sánchez Cantón, "El retablo de la Reina Católica," *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología* 6 (1930): 87-133, also lám. 19.

liturgical assemblies. The people who came to church even before the break of dawn for the *Salubong* gathered first as a liturgical assembly to sing, or at least attend the singing of *Maytines*, (practically, the integrated liturgical hours of Matins and Lauds). And immediately after the procession they enthusiastically participated in the solemn celebration of the Mass. Without this colorful *Salubong* it would be quite difficult to arouse the enthusiasm of the populace and celebrate the triumph of the Resurrected Lord as zestfully as they actually did in Franciscan pueblos.

7. CONCLUSION

While Sunday is the weekly commemoration of the paschal event—the core of Christian faith—, Easter is its yearly, solemn celebration. In Franciscan pueblos the preparation period for this celebration became—just like in far away Spain—a very deeply penitential season. The *frailes* made the native Filipinos understand the need for doing penance in order to be saved from eternal damnation. They consequently took up the penitential practices which their *Ministros* introduced to them: they fasted and used the disciplina, imitating the missionaries as closely as possible. It was also the period to perform their annual confession and receive Holy Communion.

This penitential period is Lent, which is meant to lead the Christians to join Christ in dying to self and to sin so that they could celebrate with the resurrected Lord their own liberation from enslavement of sin. Lent is basically a period of education for a kenotic way of life patterned on the paschal event, that is, education for Christian discipleship. Lent is meant to achieve this through the liturgy. Through symbolic rites, readings and prayers, liturgy has the power to educate the Christians towards the joy and peace of a renewed life in union with the resurrected Christ.

But when the Christian order of worship was introduced among the native Filipinos, it was not in the best shape to achieve its formative end. Since the instructive power of liturgy largely depends on the understandability of the liturgical words (i.e., the readings and euchological parts), the Lenten liturgical rites—accompanied by Latin texts—had very weak formative value. As a matter of fact, many Lenten liturgical rites and Holy Week services lent themselves quite easily to dramatization which could be a source of education in faith. But because the accompanying words were in Latin and were not understood

by the people, the liturgy was not able to perform its formative function to the full. The missionaries had to devise some means to make up for the deficiencies of the Latin liturgy.

The Franciscan Constitutions and manuals emphasized the importance of *pláticas* during this period. These moralistic talks of the *frailes* made up for the unintelligibility of the official Latin euchological texts and readings. These *pláticas* were heavily penitential, as doing penance has been the principal purpose of Lent. The Filipino *Indios* therefore got their idea of penance mainly from the *pláticas* which, as the Franciscan Constitutions insisted, contained the teachings and examples of penitent saints. Penance in this way tended to be emphasized for its own sake and become dissociated from the paschal perspective. Penance was taken up as prerequisite for forgiveness but not necessarily as preparation for enjoying peace and happiness found in a renewed life with the resurrected Christ.

The Spanish missionaries also introduced extra liturgical religious practices which became, combined with the *pláticas*, an effective source of the Filipino *Indios*' education for Christian discipleship. These religious practices bolstered the native Filipinos' devotion to the passion and death of Our Lord and gave them opportunity to put penance into practice. The Filipino *Indios* responded earnestly; penitential practices, therefore, filled up the weekdays of Lent and, in a hectic manner, those of the Holy Week. The processions, public discipline, the *Pabasa*—all helped to bring home to the native Filipinos the penitential aspect of Lent; but again, not necessarily for Easter joy.

The succession of the Lenten and Holy Week liturgical services could be seen in itself as a drama of Easter agon between Christ and his adversary. This dramatic perspective was enhanced by the many extraliturgical religious practices. These religious practices intertwined or became integrated with the official liturgical rites, so that the succession of liturgical and extraliturgical services became, as it were, acts of a single drama. The extraliturgical services served as a preparation to, or prolongation of, liturgical rites. A fine example was the procession of the *Salubong*. The singing of *Maytines*, the procession of *Salubong* itself, and the solemn Mass were performed in succession as parts of single act. Thus, the extraliturgical practices, besides educating the native Filipinos to a life of penance, sustained the Easter cycle drama. They were not really separated from the theme of the official liturgical rites.

Taking into consideration the shape of the Latin liturgy at that time, we can say that the Spanish missionaries followed a rather sound liturgical pastoral by introducing extraliturgical religious practices during Lent, Holy Week and Easter Sunday. Because they knew that the Filipino Indios could not as yet easily grasp the intellectual content of liturgy, they enhanced the external and dramatic elements of liturgical rites, and added extraliturgical practices that could make use of many perceptible objects (e.g., images), and could bring them to enter into the mystery being celebrated. The use of images rather than live persons in order to portray the paschal events respected the Filipino pre-Christian religious value of using images (*larawan, lik-ha*) of the sacred, and save the *frailes* from the embarrassment of being constrained sometimes to select persons whose private lies were not in consonance with the roles to be played.

The Lenten and Holy Week rites, when supported by extraliturgical religious practices, became after all an effective source for the Filipino paschal formation was too saturated with element of suffering and penance to be able to appreciate the joy and peace flowing out of a renewed life in union with the resurrected Christ.

The Holy Saturday rites themselves, meant to celebrate the glorification of Christ, were ineffective in transmitting to the Filipino Indios the joy of Easter. This was so for various reasons. First, much of the symbolism of the Holy Saturday rites was lost; for, being originally composed as evening or night services, they were performed in the morning in anticipation. Moreover, the basic structure was "baptismal", that is, geared towards the immediate preparation of the catechumens for the reception of baptism, while catechumenate was a non-existing institution in Filipino Franciscan pueblos. Lastly, the Holy Saturday liturgical rites were more intellectual than emotional, and, consequently, not within the easy grasp of the native Filipinos: they were not yet proficient in Christian psychology much less in prophetic figures of the Old Testament.

Perhaps what made it so difficult to catch the genuine Easter joy is the fact that Christ's resurrection is not a simple natural phenomenon immediately apparent to the senses. True Easter joy can only be experienced in faith. And that could only come about after a man had known Jesus Christ, Savior and Lord, and had more or less direct personal encounter with him in faith. The Filipino Easter joy came not from a direct faith-encounter with the resurrected Christ but through a sharing in the joy of Mary exulting at her Son's coming back to life.

What helped the Filipino *Indios* experience the joy of Easter was the extraliturgical procession that dramatized, through the use of wooden images, the pious belief that Jesus appeared to his Virgin Mother before he did to anybody else —a pious belief based on an apocryphal Gospl narrative. This procession of *Salubong* was the only significant contract of the Filipino *Indios* with Easter joy. This offered them a kind of indirect Easter joy. Man's sharing with Christ's resurrection by becoming 'new creation' through baptism or penitential renewal could never be the main reason for Filipino *Indios'* Easter joy in this situation.

Exactly the opposite happened within the early Christian communities. Because the people understood the liturgical language, they had not to look for any other thing than liturgy itself as source of Christian formation and of growth in faith. Liturgy then needed no extraliturgical religious practices to lead the people to have contact with the paschal mystery it celebrated and proclaimed. Moreover, the people had very little need for intermediaries (e.g., cantors and servers) between them and the presiding celebrant during the actual liturgical celebration. Their participation in the liturgy was direct; they contact with the Christian Mystery, immediate.

As the case was with Filipino Franciscan pueblos, liturgical services had to be sustained by extraliturgical practices. We cannot deny the fact that the Lenten and Holy Week extraliturgical religious practices contributed a lot toward the development of the Filipino local Church. Up to the present day, one can sense the penitential air that pervades the former Franciscan pueblos in the Philippines during Lent and, in a special way, within the Holy Week. More or less the same penitential services as of the time of the frailes are still performed today in many of these town ships. Indeed, the heavily, one-sided penitential aspect of the Filipino *Indios*, not so much by the liturgical rites as by the extraliturgical practices. □