A Visual Documentation of Fil-Hispanic Churches – Part XVII: Churches in Fottol and Capinatan, Apayao

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or this article, we shall use the names of the places as the Dominicans referred to them in the 17th to the early 20th centuries. The site of the church in the mission of Fottol, also spelled Fotol or Futul, is now known as Barangay Emilia, in the municipality of Pudtol, Apayao province; Fottol and Fotol will be used interchangeably in this article. The site of the church in Capinatan is now known as Barangay Mataguisi, also in Pudtol.

Early years of the Dominican mission in Apayao

The Dominicans, throughout their accounts, referred to the people who they encountered in what is the present province of Apayao as "Mandayas." Julian Malumbres, the Dominican historian of the Cagayan Valley, clarified that the name properly applied to those who lived along the riverbanks of the Masi River that passed through Pamplona. Those who lived along the riverbanks of the Apayao or Abulug River were properly called "Apayaos."¹ Morice Vanoverbergh, a Belgian missionary and anthropologist of the early 20th century, on the other hand, wrote that "Mandaya" was what the natives of the area referred to those living upstream (from the root word *daya*, upstream). Apayao was their name for the principal river that drained their region; it was called Abulug by the people on the coast where the river emptied. According to Vanoverbergh, the more appropriate name for these people was Isneg, which itself was a variation of Itneg: the people from the Tineg River, which coursed further south in the northern part of Abra province. Vanoverbergh explained that the "t" in the Cagayan region followed by "i" was changed to "s;" Tineg would be pronounced Sineg,

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¹ Malumbres 1918, p. 244.

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which eventually was vulgarized to Isneg. Among themselves, however, they used the name Isnag.²

The Dominicans declared the house of Nuestra Señora del Rosario de Fotol³ as their first mission along the Apayao river in the chapter of 01 May, 1610. The first vicar was Father Jeronimo de Molina, with Diego Carlos as his assistant. In the chapter of 04 May, 1614, another house was accepted, that of Santa Cecilia de los Mandayas. Elsewhere in the Acta of that chapter, Capinatan was mentioned for the first time: it was among the missions grouped under Pata (now a barrio of Sanchez Mira), together with Abulug, Masi (now Pamplona), and Fotol. Santa Cecilia de los Mandayas was assigned its first vicar, Diego Carlos, with his assistant Juan Naya, in the chapter of 30 April, 1616. In the chapter of 26 April, 1619, Santa Cecilia de los Mandayas was made a mission station (*visita*) of San Lorenzo de Capinatan,⁴ and renamed Santa Cecilia de Babulayan. In this chapter, Domingo de Borda was assigned as vicar of Capinatan, with Pedro Sobrino as his assistant.

In the first decade of Fotol, two assistants were assigned who were later to be declared Blessed. Pedro Vazquez and Domingo Castellet Vinale worked in Fotol between the years 1617 and 1619; they were martyred in Nagasaki, Japan, in 1624 and 1628, respectively.

In the chapter of 19 April, 1625, the house of the Holy Martyrs Justus and Pastor of Amjao was made a visita of Capinatan; this however was the first and only appearance of this mission in the acts. Tragedy struck on 8 June, 1625 when Padre Alonso Garcia and Hermano Onofre Palau, who were visiting from Tulag, were killed by Mandayas named Don Miguel Lanab and Alababan in San Lorenzo de Capinatan; they had celebrated two masses for the fiesta of Santísima Trinidad, one in Fotol, and the other in latter town.⁵ Capinatan was henceforth not listed in the Acta as an independent vicarage; it remained under either Fottol or Abulug, until it was formally revived in 1890.

In the chapter of 17 April, 1633, the house of Nuestra Señora del Pilar de los Mandayas was accepted as a visita of Fotol. For a short time, it replaced Capinatan in the acts; but it disappeared after 1637. In this latter year another mission was established, that of San Antonino de Florencia;⁶ it too, seems to have disappeared not long after. It may possibly be the one revived in 1735, a hundred years later.

The ministry of Father Pedro Ximenez, 1673-1677, and 1684-1690

The Dominican historian Vicente Salazar, whose book recounting the events of the Dominican province from 1669 to 1700 was published in Manila in 1742, develops the story

² Vanoverbergh 1932, pp. 16-18, 23-24. See also the other accounts of the Apayao missions in Keesing 1962, pp. 193-205; Scott 1975, pp. 83-84, 95-96, 106; and Scott 1977, pp. 65-67, 91-100.

³ The name is said to mean "cut" or "behead," in Malumbres 1919, p. 384.

⁴ The name is taken from *pinat*, plain, referring to the flatlands around this area; Malumbres 1919, p. 384.

⁵ Malumbres 1919, pp. 366, 385; Neira 1, pp. 134, 497-498. There was another massacre on 06 March, 1639, when the entire military detachment was wiped out: Malumbres 1919, p. 385.

⁶ Malumbres 1919, p. 367.

of Fotol and Capinatan in the second half of the 17th century. He identifies with certitude the builder of the churches in Fottol and Capinatan. Father Pedro Ximenez⁷ was born in 1642 in Las Casas de el Conde de Miranda, a town in a mountainous region in Salamanca and a league and a half away from the famous shrine of Our Lady of Peña de Francia. Ximenez took the habit in the Dominican monastery attached to the shrine. He arrived in the Philippines in 1666 and was assigned to Cagayan. His decision to reach his assignment on foot via Pangasinan, instead of waiting for the boat to take him there is one of several examples of Ximenez' commitment to mission recounted by Salazar. His first ministries were as assistant to the vicars of Cabagan, Isabela (1667-1669), and Babuyanes (1669-1671), then he was assigned as vicar of Malaueg, Cagayan (1671-1673), where he learned the language of the natives. These "frontier" assignments prepared him for the more challenging one at Fottol, to which he was directed in 1673 (he was then 29 years old).

Noting that the church of light materials in Fottol was in need of constant repair, Fray Pedro decided on constructing a more permanent church of stone. The intrepid Dominican explored the area for building materials and, with the aid of "torches and bellows" he discovered lime deposits in the nearby mountains. He found an abundant supply of sand two fingers below the surface in an old river bed. According to oral tradition, every person who attended mass in those days had to drop a small pebble into a stone jar kept at the back of the door of the church; two large jars were collected every Sunday.⁸ With a license given by the bishop and the approval of his congregation, Father Ximenez began the construction of the church. The project was finished in a little more than a year, to everyone's surprise. It was rumoured that the church walls grew four fingers in height each night; this is said to have been verified by the soldiers from the presidio in Capinatan who came to measure such a growth. In all likelihood, this indicates the application of a layer of lime and stone every day, with the wet walls held in place by bamboo slat matting (called *sawali* in Tagalog and other languages). Such layering of masonry—each stratum about four fingers in height—can be plainly seen in the interior walls of Capinatan, which were not covered by plaster.

Unexpectedly, the church caught fire, which damaged the roof and a room in the convento, and a few houses in the area. Unfazed, Father Ximenez went back to work and in seven months the roof was repaired.

When the residents at Capinatan saw this, they also requested a similar stone church, which also took a year to build. Considering therefore that Father Ximenez' four-year term ended in 1677, and if we give about a year for Father Jimenez to energize the people of Fottol for such a project and to collect the building materials; seven more months to repair the burned roof; and another year for the church at Capinatan to be built: it may be proposed that the church in Fottol was built around 1675-1676, and the one at Capinatan was built around 1676-1677. Fray Pedro was assisted by two slightly younger Dominicans: Juan de

⁷ We use the spelling of this Dominican's name as it appeared in Salazar's 1742 *Historia*, which is the primary printed source for Jimenez' biography and work. On his formation and early years just before he reached the Philippines, pp. 534-542. On his first term in the Apayao missions, pp. 542-545. For a general summary of his biography, see Neira 1:207-208.

⁸ This detail is supplied in Vanoverbergh 1932, p. 31.

Arjona, who served from 1673-1674, and a confrere who not only had the same name but also came from the same region: Pedro Jimenez de la Peña, who served from 1675-1676. It was this latter *compoblano* who most probably assisted Fray Pedro in the building of Fottol church. Unfortunately, he died prematurely in Abulug, without witnessing the new mission to be founded by Fray Pedro in honor of their region's patroness in the 1680s.⁹

Salazar's account gives us a surprising one-year timetable for the building of stone churches, but it was based on Father Ximenez' letters at the Dominican provincial archives. The residents of Fottol petitioned the provincial to let Fray Pedro stay with them a bit longer, but the Dominican chapter of 1677 transferred Fray Pedro to the moribund Irraya mission in the vicinity of today's Ilagan, Isabela, where he worked for seven years (his success in Fottol moved the provincial to assign him this difficult region).¹⁰

In 1684, Father Jimenez was re-assigned to Fottol, although a reading of Salazar's accounts gives one the idea that Fray Pedro was more active in Capinatan. Through his letters, he was able to convince Diego Biguan, a *bajonero* or bass singer in the choir of Capinatan who had returned to the mountains, to come back and live a Christian life. When Diego and his relatives were about to descend, a murder was committed. Fray Pedro's offer to pay the blood debt consisting of two *tibores* (most probably Chinese heirloom jars), some small shirts, salt, combs, and needles among other things resolved the conflict.¹¹ Diego and 60 others came back to settle in Capinatan. Eventually, Fray Pedro was able to attract 2,000 more to come down from the hills.

The tireless Father Ximenez now set his eyes on bringing the faith further up the Apayao river. In 1686, after two years, he was able to gather 1,300 around a mission dedicated to Nuestra Señora de Peña de Francia—inspiration of his Dominican vocation—and from about 1688 until his transfer back to Irraya in 1690, he was living in the new mission.¹² In these last two years he also received an assistant in the person of Father Francisco Gonzalez.¹³ In 1690, Fray Pedro was re-assigned to the Irraya mission, but he developed a fever and died there at the end of the year. While he was incapacitated, warriors from across the mountains swooped down on Peña de Francia and took them captive. The 140 persons who remained were resettled in faraway Camalaniugan, a town along the Cagayan River near Aparri. Peña de Francia was entrusted to the vicar of Malaueg in 1694, in 1700 to Fottol, and it last appears listed in the Chapter Acts of 1704. The church that Father Brugués saw in ruins in 1895 must have been that built by Father Ximenez between 1686 and 1690.

⁹ On Juan de Arjona, see Neira 1, p.213. On Pedro Jimenez de la Peña, see Neira 1, p. 223.

¹⁰ See Salazar 1742, pp. 546-556, for Father Ximenez' years in Irraya.

¹¹ "This is precisely the procedure which is used in Kalinga today to restore a broken peace-pact." Scott 1977, pp. 65-66. See also Scott 1975, pp. 95-96.

¹² For Father Ximenez' second term in the Apayao mission, 1684-1690, see Salazar 1742, pp. 556-563.

¹³ Neira 1, p. 247.

Fottol and Capinatan in the 1740s until the end of the mission in 1814

Because of a lack of records, it has been the perception that the Fotol and Capinatan missions experienced some kind of decay towards the end of the 17th century or the early years of the 18th. However, a report prepared by Father Jose Tomas Marin when he turned over administration of the missions to his successor in 1743 provides us a slightly different picture.¹⁴ The mission was poor, to be sure: Father Marín received no silver from his predecessor, Father Martin Hernandez, in 1739, and just enough sugar, salt, and oil to last for a year. There were 71 tributes. But in 1743, he was able to forward 70 pesos to the Dominican province, and there were now 72 tributes. There were 250 souls capable of confessing, of which 235 indeed confessed.

Father Marin enumerated the household objects he encountered: a *tinaja* (large earthen jar) of wheat; oil, sent by the Dominican province; two *tinajas* of vinegar; two and a half *chinantas*¹⁵ of tobacco; 12 *chinantas* of salt; two *tinajas* of sugar; six *gantas* of cacao; 350 candles; six *gantas*¹⁶ of lard; one *cate*¹⁷ of cinnamon; a *tibor* (antique jar) full of *cachumbas* (pipes); cumin, pepper, *culiantro*,¹⁸ anise, tea, all a half *ganta*; one and a half *cates* of incense; and even a half *cate* of harp strings(!).

During his term, he acquired the following pieces of furniture: five chairs, two benches, two *catres* (stretcher beds), and one large table; also four *parras* (earthen jugs), only two of which are still usable. Most telling are the herbs and trees that he had planned to cultivate in the area: four *arboles de caballero* (fire trees), which were good for head-aches; two mulberry trees; a small field of *ajonjoli* (sesame), another of onions, and another of squash, with a little *zafran de sangley* (Chinese saffron) and ginger; 31 young coconuts; 555 *cocales* (coconut seedlings?); eight orange trees; nine cedars; ten *cajeleros* (*dalandan* orange trees); five lemon trees; and six *bongares* (betel nut palms). He found three cows, but one died and another was eaten by foxes or dogs, leaving one with its calf.

For the church, he had commissioned a set of vestments of *lampazo* with blue borders on a red background; an alb and a rochet (lace vestment); and soutanes and rochets for the sacristans. The door to the sacristy was repaired. (All this indicates that the church was intact and needed very little repairs.)

Father Marin had four wooden bridges constructed on the road to Capinatan, as well as seven and a half wooden bridges on the road to Abulug. The other half of the last bridge landed within the territory of Abulug. All the tribute-payers had built their own houses.

The population of Capinatan was about a third the size of Fottol. When Father Marin arrived, there were only two tributes and two catechumens; this is probably why he resettled the populace to a place where it was easier to administer them. At present, he counted 78

¹⁴ Malumbres 1918, pp. 75-76.

¹⁵ Weight used in the Philippines, the tenth of a *pico*, or 6 kg. and 326 gms., or 13 lbs. and 12 oz.

¹⁶ Weight used in the Philippines, of 8 *chupas* or 3 liters.

¹⁷ Weight used in the Philippines, the 10th of a *chinanta*, or 22 oz.

¹⁸ *Culantro*, a Latin American herb similar to cilantro.

souls, 36 of which he had baptized. There were 28 receiving catechetical instruction. There were many Mandaya settlements around, the nearest one a day's upriver journey. He hoped that in time others would come and settle in the mission.

A report by a certain Don Juan Varona y Velazquez prepared in 1746 and kept in the Dominican provincial archives added the following information on Capinatan. The pueblo counted 178 souls, who paid 52 ½ tributes. For its protection was a palisaded fort like the one in Cabicungan (now Sanchez Mira, Cagayan). The fort had seven Spaniards, five Pampangos, a chief, a chaplain, and six soldier escorts.¹⁹

In 1735, a new mission for the Mandayas was announced in the Acta of that year; it was made a visita of Fottol. It was founded on the banks of the river Ngagan, midway between Fottol and Capinatan, and it was dedicated to San Antonino de Florencia (could this be the revival of the mission of the same name established in 1637?). Ngagan is mentioned by name in the Acts of 1753, with Gregorio de la Fuente its first vicar. However, it is not mentioned after 1765.²⁰

Malumbres narrates that the Apayao missions were transferred three times. The third time, on 02 March, 1769, the residents of Fotol were relocated further down river to Simayun, a barrio of Abulug. An attempt to transfer them in 1770 to a site along the coast between Pamplona and Abulug, also named Fotol, did not push through due to the petitions of the natives.²¹ This is matched by a gap in the Acta between 1765 and 1781 when none of the Apayao missions appeared. When Fotol re-appeared in 1781, it was as an adjunct of the vicarage of Abulug. It remained so until its last mention in the Acta of 1814.

Revival of missionary work in Apayao in 1890

The Spanish colonial government renewed its efforts to the control of the northeastern section of the Cordilleras only in the last decade of 19th century. The establishment of a *comandancia* that would comprise this area was made in close consultation with the Dominicans, whose provincial Father Santiago Payá suggested the boundaries of the district upon the request of Governor General Valeriano Weyler, Marqués of Tenerife in a letter dated 11 March, 1890.²² The Comandancia Politico-Militar of the Apayaos was created by Weyler on 8 May, 1890.²³ Fottol (this time under the patronage of San Pio Quinto) and San Lorenzo de Capinatan were revived in their original sites by Royal Decree dated July 20, 1890.²⁴

The capital of the *comandancia* was initially situated in Malunút, on the banks of an eponymous estuary, between the old town of Fottol and Lubbang, a barrio of Abulug.

¹⁹ Malumbres 1918, pp. 72-72; Malumbres 1919, p. 387.

²⁰ Malumbres 1919, p. 386, who says the name is said to be derived from the word for "duck." However, it also means "name" in Iloko.

²¹ Malumbres 1919, p. 387.

²² Malumbres 1919, p. 363.

²³ Malumbres 1918, p. 244.

²⁴ Malumbres 1919, p. 452.

Father Julian Malumbres was the first Dominican to be sent to the Apayao missions almost 80 years after their closure in 1815. He was assigned to Fottol in 1891, reaching the place of his prospective apostolate on 7 February that year. Although he found Malunút inadequate as a capital, primarily because it was too far from the Mandaya territories, he built a residence there about five meters on each side; this also served as a provisional chapel.²⁵ The capital was relocated further upstream to Bagubagu, just next to Capinatan, by 1895, no doubt upon the strong recommendations of Malumbres.

The churches of Fottol and Capinatan as they were encountered in the 1890s

When Malumbres reached Fottol in 1891, he found it practically abandoned except for about 15 families of Negritos. The church ruin was so heavily overgrown and he had no resources to rehabilitate it. He could only begin to repair the old convento with the aid of the Negritos, but these worked only two days a week. Relegating Fottol to a half-way station en route to Abulug, he decided to set up his mission headquarters in Capinatan.

There were more possibilities in Capinatan, encouraged by the flat lands, the navigable rivers, and the new military *comandancia* in nearby Bagubagu. Malumbres hoped these conditions would attract more Ilocanos and "old Christians" to settle and provide lifestyle models to the Negritos and Mandayas. He explored the possibility of establishing schools for the Negritos in both Capinatan and Fottol. Preparing to build a new mission house from which to overlook the rehabilitation of the old church and convento of Capinatan, he purchased an abandoned wooden house in Abulug for 250 pesos and directed to have its parts delivered to the project site. Unexpectedly, the murder of his 70-year old assistant and 14-year old helper on 24 May, 1892 forced him to suspend all activities, leave the house parts in Fottol, and relocate to Abulug.²⁶

We next read of Fottol and Capinatan in Father Jose Brugués' letter on his visit to the area in 1895. Brugués was the parish priest of nearby Abulug (1894-1898) and he had come to Capinatan to assist Father Alfredo Colinas in the rebuilding of the convento there. A "builder-priest," Brugués provides our earliest detailed glimpse of these two venerable ruins.²⁷

The church of Fottol was located on a small eminence beside an estuary of the same name. From the inside, its presbytery was 5.25 meters long and 5.50 wide; the rest of the

²⁵ Malumbres 1919, p. 247-251.

²⁷ Jose Ma. Brugués Descamps (1850-1900) repaired the conventos of Tumauini, Bagabag and Solano, excavated the foundations for the latter church, and renovated the churches of Tuguegarao and Aparri: Neira 2, pp. 183-184. For his accounts on the Apayao missions, see Brugués 1895 and 1897. Brugués' description of the church in Fottol was later used by his confrere Father Malumbres, who was then cited by later scholars such as Vanoverbergh, Keesing and Scott.

²⁶ See Malumbres' accounts in Malumbres 1891 and Malumbres 1892. The assassination of his assistants occurred when the Dominican was away. Malumbres ascribes the murder to those from Tauit, a short distance upstream from Capinatan, because their control of the trade between the other mountain peoples and the Christians was being broken by the older man who acted as intermediary with the lowlanders: Malumbres 1892, pp. 149-150; also Malumbres 1918, pp. 251-252.

church was 33.50 meters long and 10.40 wide. There was an incomplete façade 1.40 meters high. Attached to it was a larger one which undoubtedly was meant to replace the first. This second façade was 4.40 meters thick. Thus, the church would have been at least 43 meters long—excluding the thickness of the apse and the first façade which were not measured— and 12.40 meters wide. The walls along the nave were 5.25 meters high and 1 meter thick. There were buttresses every 5 meters (therefore there would have been 8 on each side).²⁸

The second facade had a "perfectly arched" door that was more than 5 meters high. Brugués described its style as "pure Tuscan"—referring to a classical order distinguished by minimal decorations—though nevertheless it was elegant and graceful. On each side of this façade was a tower of regular height,²⁹ unfinished and of the same style, but with some ornamentation. The entrance arch was cracked from top to bottom, leaving the towers slightly detached from the façade. Brugués suspected that the church had hardly been finished and the cementing not quite hardened when the town was abandoned; thus, when the arch cracked the rest of the building suffered. He also noticed that damage was exacerbated by the improper laying of stones, which should have been applied *de soga y tizón*—that is, stones with the longer end facing the viewer alternating with those laid sideways.

The interior of the relatively intact sacristy measured 7.50 by 6.50 meters, and the walls were about 4 meters high. The convento measured 27.60 by 6.35 meters; its walls, in good condition, were 60 cm. thick and reached a height of about 5 meters. There were other remnants of structures, possibly of a patio and an orchard, both walled, but unfortunately lack of time and the thickness of the forest did not permit this.

Most impressive was the ceiling over the presbytery made of masonry, which was quite well preserved. All over the surface and the adjacent walls were bas-reliefs set into the stonework. However, the figures and inscriptions on the bas-reliefs could not be discerned due to their deterioration. Remnants of painting could also be seen on the ceiling.

In Capinatan, Father Brugués found both church and convento in a fair enough state that it would not cost much to restore the mission. The seal of the Dominican order could be observed on the façade. This time, Brugués measured the church in *varas*, the equivalent of a yard, instead of in meters. The interior of the nave measured 35 *varas* and one foot, by 13 *varas* and 5 inches; the presbytery measured 5 ½ *varas* squared. This would have made the length of the church at least 40 *varas* or almost 37 meters, excluding the thickness of the front and back walls: the church was some 5 or 6 meters shorter than that at Fottol.

The sacristy measured 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ varas. The walls of the church reached to a height of 6 varas. The small convento was 16 varas long and 8 varas and 7 inches wide; its walls were 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ varas high. The church complex was some 1,000 meters away from the *comandancia* or fort in Bagubagu.³⁰

²⁸ These are Scott's measurements: 35 by 130 feet, with eight sturdy buttresses on each side, and a door 16 feet high. Scott 1977, p. 91.

²⁹ Brugués does not tell us his idea of a "regular" height.

³⁰ Brugués noted this name was given by the military, for no known reason.

In the rehabilitation of the church and convento in Capinatan, the Dominican fathers had to send workers from Abulug since there were none in the former place who possessed the necessary skills. Some Negritos and Mandayas helped them clear the space; Father Brugués carefully noted that "they were paid."

Father Brugués was impressed by some fantastic rock formations on both sides of the Apayao river, which he hypothesized to be the source of the building materials for the churches. North and northeast of Capinatan he also noticed mountains of granite which the natives quarried for *sillares* (ashlar stones), although they lacked the compactness needed for edifices such as churches. In the forests he found a timber stronger than the molave which the natives called *narag* and the Ilocanos *naret*. Another hardwood was *lasila-t*, which was similar to the *yacal*. A road was opened about 2 to 3 kilometers away through which the lumber to be used in the projects would be hauled. A shed was built to protect the logs; more so, since the laborers could only work until they temporarily returned to tend to their lands in Abulug. Father Malumbres, from his parish in Aparri, sent capiz panes, window sills, doors, and windows. The church and convento were also roofed with galvanized iron sheets.

The remains of a third stone church were also discovered by Father Brugués. Three days' boat trip upriver from Capinatan was Nagsimbanan, just after the present capital of Apayao province, Kabugaw. The place means "a place where a church was built," and was the site of the mission named Nuestra Señora de la Peña de Francia, founded in 1686. Here, Brugués found the foundations of a church about 30 to 35 meters long, with walls two meters high. He imagined the size of the ruin gave an idea of the large population then, and of the hopes the missionary (most probably Father Ximenez) had in baptizing more natives.

At the time when Father Colinas was about to occupy the newly built convento in Capinatan, the Katipunan revolutionaries had arrived in Aparri aboard the ship "Filipinas." A few days before the arrival of the revolutionaries, the Dominicans added up the expenses incurred in rehabilitating the convento and furnishing it: 7,000 pesos, which came from the pockets of the missionaries and the generosity of the Dominican province.³¹

Conclusion

The churches of Fottol and Capinatan were inaccessible for much of the 20th century due to bad travelling conditions but more so to the unstable political situations. These past decades, however, the province of Apayao has been more attractive to travellers, and the church ruins of Fottol and Capinatan have appeared in several social media sites. The complex at Fottol has lost much of the original structures, as compared with the description of Father Brugués in 1895. The façade, towers, and much of the nave have disappeared, as well as the convento. Hollowed spaces in the vaulted presbytery and the walls are mute witnesses to the bas-reliefs that once were inserted here; perhaps some of these remnants may still be found in the homes of the townspeople. Visible, too, are the black tendrils and leaves painted on a white background on the ceiling. It is very possible that these are among the earliest examples

³¹ Malumbres 1918, pp. 263-264.

of mural painting in the country, second only to the strapwork designs in the refectory of San Agustin church in Intramuros. The massive church hulk is now a meditation garden, nestled between a modern church and a school. The church at Capinatan is more complete than the larger one at Fottol. The Dominican seal is still visible on the façade, formed of plaster over brick and stone bits. Parts have been gouged out, said to have been inflicted by treasure hunters. Flanking the seal are two creatures that should be lions, but remind one more of unicorns. Very little of the convento remains, but there is a low stone wall that could have once protected an orchard.

The survival of the stone churches in such an isolated place as Apayao is short of miraculous. They are rare examples of 17th century architecture, joined in the Cagayan Valley by the church complexes at Pata (now a barrio in Sanchez Mira), Malaueg (now Rizal), and Fuga Island in the Babuyanes.

Table 1. Dominican ministers of the vicarage of Fottol, Apayao

Legend for biographical citations:

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N1	Neira, Eladio, OP, ed. 2000. <i>Misioneros Dominicos en el Extremo Oriente</i> . Volume 1, 1587-1835 [Edited, updated and corrected version of Hilario Ocio, OP's <i>Compendio de la Reseña Biográfica de los Religiosos de la Provincia</i> <i>de Nuestra Señora del Rosario de la Orden de Predicadores</i> (Manila, 1895)]. Manila: [Provincia de Nuestra Señora del Rosario].			
N2	2, 1836-1940 [Con	. 2000b. <i>Misioneros Dominicos en el Extremo Oriente</i> . Volume 10 [Continuation of Ocio's <i>Compendio</i> , updated by Gregorio 19 to 1940.] Manila: [Provincia de Nuestra Señora del Rosario].		
Names in	n bold	Vicars or parish priests.		
Indented names		Assistants or socios.		
		Not found in Neira		
b.		born		
Bd.		Blessed		

Hermano, member of the Third Order

nth time assigned in the place

Years, taken from Name/ Remarks Lifespan Biographical the corresponding source Acta and biographical sources. Please take note that information in the Acta may differ from other sources. 1610 May 8: Nuestra Señora del Rosario de Fotol accepted as a house. 1610-1612 Jeronimo de Molina c.1576-1628 N1:79

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1610-1612	Diego Carlos	c.1574-1626	N1:78
1612-1614	Diego Carlos ; 2 nd time in Fotol, but this time as vicar	c.1574-1626	N1:78
1612	Francisco Mola	c.1582-?	N1:110
1612	Luis de San Raymundo	?-?	N1:113
1614-1616: Fotol g vicarage of Siguiran	rouped together with Pata, Abu 1, based in Pata.	lug, Masi, and Capin	atan under the
1614-1616 (Pata)	Mateo de la Villa	c.1580-c.1670	N1:101
1614-1615	Miguel de Ureña	?-1618	N1:88
1614-1615	Diego Carlos	c.1574-1626	N1:78
1614-1615	Lorenzo de Alduayen/ Elduayen	1570-1640	N1:91
1614-1615	Francisco Mola	c.1582-?	N1:110
1614-1615	Gabriel Lucio	?-1617	N1:111-112
1614-1615	Jeronimo Morer	?-1638	N1:91
1615	Juan de Naya	?-1620	N1:96-97
1616-1617	Francisco Cabrera	c.1580-1624	N1:101
1616-1617	Matias Rubi	?-c.1620	N1:119
1616-1617	Juan Valverde	?-?	N1:112
1617-1619	Diego Carlos, 3x	c.1574-1626	N1:78
1617-1619	Bd. Domingo Castellet Vinale; martyred in Nagasaki	1592-1628	N1:117
1617-1619	Bd. Pedro Vazquez; martyred in Nagasaki	1590-1624	N1:117
1619-1621	Pedro Gascon	?-?	N1:113
1619-1621	H. Francisco Gonzalez	?-c.1621	N1:113
1621-1623	Lucas Garcia de la Madre de Dios	1575-1651	N1:120
1623-1624	Diego Benete	c.1589-1624	N1:116
1625-1629	Andres de Haro	1594-1670	N1:126-127
1629-1631	Lucas Garcia de la Madre de Dios, 2x	1575-1651	N1:120
1629-1631	Francisco Bravo	?-1634	N1:146
1631-1635	Jeronimo de Zamora	c.1589-1655	N1:116

1631-1635	Antonio Gomez de Espejo, b. in Manila	1604-1678	N1:499
1633-1635	Luis Oñate del Rosario	1607-1678	N1:154
	Señora del Pilar de los Mandayas wa l to Fotol until 1637.	as accepted as a ho	use and assigned
1635-1637	Francisco de Herrera	?-?	
1635-1637	Jacinto Lopez de San Jeronimo	c.1578-1637	N1:102
1637-1639	Juan de Herrera	?-1656	N1:146
1637-1639	Pedro de Mesa	?-?	N1:164
1639-1641	Martin Real de la Cruz	?-1651	N1:143
1639-1641	Manuel de Barrio/ Berrio/ Bérriz	?-1642	N1:162
1641-1643	Manuel de Barrio, 2x	?-1642	N1:162
1641-1643	Pedro de Mesa, 2x	?-?	N1:164
From 1643 to 164 vicar, and Juan Hu	5, Fotol was administered through 1guet, assistant.	Abulug, with Fr. J	uan Sanchez,
1645-1648	Juan Huguet	?-1667	N1:161
1645-1647	Ignacio de Herrera	c.1620-1667	N1:504
1647-1648	Juan Pavon	c.1619-1666	N1:168
1648-1650	Juan de Herrera, 2x	?-1656	N1:146
1650-1652	Juan Pavon, 2x	c.1619-1666	N1:168
1650-1652	Felipe Muñoz	?-?	N1:172
1652-1654	Juan de Herrera, 3x	?-1656	N1:146
1652-1654	Felipe Muñoz, 2x	?-?	N1:172
1654-1656	Bernardo Lopez	1619-1676	N1:168
1654-1656	Juan Rodriguez de Ladera, b. in Mexico but lived in Lallo before he joined the Dominicans.	1622-1670	N1:511
1656-1657	Antonio Gomez de Espejo, 2x	1604-1678	N1:499
1657-1659	Juan Rodriguez de Ladera, 2x	1622-1670	N1:511
1659-1661	Diego Sanchez de Santa Maria	1632-1681	N1:565

		1	
1659-1661	Antonio Calderon	1627-1685	N1:188-189
1661-1663	Antonio Martinez	1631-1669	N1:192
1661-1662	Alonso de Leon Araujo	1622-1662	N1:191
1663-1665	Leonardo Marquez	1631-?	N1:194
1663-1665	Esteban de Rivera	1636-1675	N1:193
1665-1667	Antonio Calderon, 2x	1627-1685	N1:188-189
1665-1667	Melchor Vigil	1636-1673	N1:194
1667-1669	Bernardo Alvarez	1634-1691	N1:195
1667-1669	Juan de la Cueva	1640-1708	N1:200
1669-1671	Bartolome Duque de	1638-1670	N1:512
	Estrada		
1669-1671	Jose de la Torre	1643-1685	N1:209
1671-1673	Jose de San Jacinto	1643-1699	N1:209
1671-1673	Jose de la Torre, 2x	1643-1685	N1:209
1672-1673	Juan de Arjona	1646-?	N1:213
1673-1677	Pedro Jimenez	1642-1690	N1:207-208
1673-1674	Juan de Arjona, 2x	1646-?	N1:213
1675-1676	Pedro Jimenez de la Peña	1650-1696	N1:223
1677-1680	Francisco de Olmedo	1644-1706	N1:208-209
1680-1682	Bernardo Noriega	1614-1693	N1:203
1682-1684	Alonso Cabello/ Cobello	1653-1685	N1:233
1684-1688	Pedro Jimenez, 2x. Entrusted with the Mandaya mission in 1686, then living in said mission with more regularity from 1688 to 1690 (Peña de Francia).	1642-1690	N1:207-208
1686-1688	Jose Beltroli	1660-?	N1:242-243
1686-1688	Jaime del Munt	1654-1690	N1:243
1688-1692	Diego de Casanova	1660-1694	N1:243
1688-1690	Francisco Gonzalez (for the Mandaya mission)	1658-1691	N1:247
1692-1694	Miguel Matos	1655-1719	N1:246
1694-1696	Francisco de la Vega	1662-1710	N1:244
In 1694, the N	landaya mission (Peña de Francia)) was entrusted to I	Malaueg.
1696-1698	Andres Lozano	1674-1723	N1:258

1698-1700	Francisco de la Vega, 2x	1662-1710	N1:244	
1700-1702	Diego Constantino	1672-1715	N1:255	
In 1700, the Mandaya mission (Peña de Francia) was again entrusted to Fotol.				
1702-1704	Francisco de la Vega , 3x	1662-1710	N1:244	
(Pedro Jimenez join	ya mission was finally listed as Sa ed the Dominicans at the conver a; Pedro Jimenez de la Peña prof ıblishment.	nt of Nuestra Señora d	e la Peña de	
1704-1706	Miguel Matos, 2x	1655-1719	N1:246	
1706-1710	Francisco de la Vega, 4x	1662-1710	N1:244	
Fotol.	n of Capinatan (still along with Po Fotol and Capinatan were admin		ntrusted to	
1710-1712 (Abulug)	Fernando de la Mota	?-1713	N1:257	
1712-1714 (Abulug)	Juan Iñiguez	1658-1720	N1:229-230	
1714-1716 (Abulug)	Juan de Santo Tomas	1689-1743	N1:278-279	
1716-1718	Juan Bel	1692-1723	N1:282	
From 1716, Capinat	an and Peña de Francia were adr	ninistered from Fotol.		
1718-1720	Vicente del Riesgo	1668-1724	N1:254	
1720-1723	Juan Sebastian	1690-1746	N1:289-290	
1723-1725	Francisco Rojano	1690-1751	N1:290	
From 1725 to 1731, from Abulug.	Fotol, along with Capinatan and	l Peña de Francia, wer	e administered	
1725-1727 (Abulug)	Tomas Fernandez	1692-1728	N1:294	
1727-1729 (Abulug)	Benito Gomez Gabaneja	1692-1727	N1:294	
1729-1731 (Abulug)	Juan Barrera	1692-1742	N1:283	
	isted as San Jose de Fotol. Capina nd then re-established in Ngagan			
1731-1733	Manuel Rodriguez	1698-1736	N1:303	

1733-1735	Juan Bautista de Olzina	1701-1735	N1:305
1735-1737	Manuel Moliner	1703-1738	N1:309
1737-?	Antonio Nuñez	1704-1749	N1:312
?-1739	Martin Hernandez	1708-1743	N1:317
1739-1743	Jose Tomas Marin	1710-1769	N1:320-321; Malumbres 1918:74
1743 Fotol not listed.			
1745-1747	Vicente de Castro	1717-1787	N1:327
1749-1751 (Abulug)	Jose Prego	1694-1752	N1:295-296
1751-1753	Francisco Casas		N1:331
From 1751, a new M would henceforth ne	fandaya mission was referred to a ot be listed.	as Ngagan; that of Peñ	a de Francia
1753-1755	Gregorio de la Fuente	1708-1768	N1:328
1755-1757	Juan Bautista de la Cruz	1726-1775	N1:350-351
1757-1759	Matias Gonzalez	1732-1769	N1:359
1759-1763	Juan Tur	1730-1771	N1:358
1763-1769	Jose Tomas Marin, 2x. Made a trip across the mountains to Laoag. Attempted another crossing to Vigan but had to return to Malaueg due to illness.	1710-1769	N1:320-321
No mention of Foto a mission of Abulug	l and the nearby missions after 1' in 1781.	769. Fotol re-appears	in the Acta as
ceased to be mention this time, Abulug wa	Fotol (and presumably its mission ned after 1765), was placed under as also entrusted with San Juan N d under the town of Pamplona (er the administration of lepomuceno and Masi	of Abulug. At
1781-1807 (Abulug)	Francisco Borja del Rosario, <i>mestizo chino,</i> b. in Santa Cruz, Manila	1754-1807	N1:527-528
1810-1812 (Abulug)	Juan Guidotti Monsagrati	1774-1838	N1:431
1814-1822 (Abulug)	Jose Maria Sanchez	1778-1822	N1:433

From 1814 to 1894, Fotol was not mentioned in the Acta. It was revived in its old site under the patronage of San Pio Quinto, by Royal Decree dated July 20, 1890. In 1894, it began to be listed as San Pio V de Fotol in the <i>Acta</i> (Malumbres, 452).				
1891-1892				
1891-1892	Jose Fito Badia	1864-?	N2:260-261	
1894-1898	Alfredo Augusto Colinas Mon (actually based in Capinatan, not Fotol)	1860-1914	N2:219	

Table 2. Dominican ministers of the vicarage of Capinatan, Apayao

Years (taken from the corresponding <i>Acta</i> and biographical sources)	Name/ Remarks	Lifespan	Biographical source		
the same chapter, re into the vicarage of S	1614 May 4: the mission of Santa Cecilia de los Mandaya is accepted as a house. In the same chapter, reference is also made to Capinatan; as such, it was incorporated into the vicarage of Siguiran, based in Pata (now a barrio of Sanchez Mira), which also encompassed the missions of Abulug, Masi (later Pamplona), and Fotol.				
1614-1616 (Pata)	Mateo de la Villa	c.1580-c.1670	N1:101		
1614-1615	Miguel de Ureña	?-1618	N1:88		
1614-1615	Diego Carlos	c.1574-1626	N1:78		
1614-1615	Lorenzo de Alduayen/ Elduayen	1570-1640	N1:91		
1614-1615	Francisco Mola	c.1582-?	N1:110		
1614-1615	Gabriel Lucio	?-1617	N1:111-112		
1614-1615	Jeronimo Morer	?-1638	N1:91		
1615	Juan de Naya	?-1620	N1:96-97		
1616-1617	Diego Carlos, 2x	c.1574-1626	N1:78		
1617-1619	Diego Collado	c.1585-1641	N1:109-110		
1617-1619	Pedro Gascon	?-?	N1:113		

1619 April 26: Santa Cecilia de los Mandaya is listed as San Lorenzo de Capinatan and los Mandayas, while the new mission of Santa Cecilia de Babulayan is accepted as a house. In 1621, its name is shortened: San Lorenzo de Capinatan.

1619-1623	Domingo de Borda/ Laborda	?-1625	N1:110-111
1619-1621	Pedro Sobrino	?-1632	N1:121
1621-1623	Pedro Martyr Lucenilla	?-1649	N1:105
1621-1623	Jose Carrillo	?-?	
1621-1623	Juan de San Lorenzo	?-1621	N1:127
1623-1625/1627?	Lucas Ruiz de Montanero	1593-1663	N1:127
1623-1625	Domingo Fernandez	?-1628	N1:121

1625 April 19: Santos Justo y Pastor de Amhao accepted as a house, entrusted as a visita of Capinatan.

1625 June 8: Padre Alonso Garcia and Hermano Onofre Palau, who were visiting from Tulag, were killed by Mandayas named Don Miguel Lanab and Alababan in San Lorenzo de Capinatan, after having said two masses for the fiesta of Santísima Trinidad, one in Fotol, and the other in Capinatan. (N1:134, 497-498). Capinatan is not listed in the 1627 Acta and thereafter.

1633 April 17: Nuestra Señora del Pilar de los Mandayas accepted as a house, entrusted as a visita of Fotol.

1633-1637	Under Fotol		
1637-1639 (Ntra. Sra. del Pilar de Mandayas)	Martin Real de la Cruz	?-1651	N1:143
1637-1639	Lorenzo de Arnedo	c.1610 (b. in Nueva Caceres, Camarines)-1644	N1:503

No mention of Capinatan or the Mandaya mission from the Acta of 1639 until that of 1643, in which San Lorenzo de Capinatan is made an adjunct of Abulug (together with Fotol). No mention of Capinatan in the Acta of 1645 until that of 1686, when the Mandayas mission was again entrusted to the vicar of Fotol.

1686-1694	Under Fotol	
1694-1696	Under Malaueg	

1698	No mention of Mandayas mission		
1700-1706	Under Fotol		
1710-1716	Under Abulug, with Fotol		
1716-1725	Under Fotol		
1725-1731	Under Abulug		
1731-1745	Under Fotol; a call was made in the 1735 chapter to renew evangelization in the Mandayas mission.		
1745-1765	Under Fotol. In 1753, the Mandaya mission was listed as Ngagan; together with Capinatan, under Fotol. Neither the Mandayas mission or Capinatan are mentioned in the Acta after 1765. Later, Fotol is administered through Abulug, and is not mentioned in later Acta until the 1890s.		
A Royal Order dated original site.	l July 20, 1890 re-establishes Sar	n Lorenzo de Capinata	an in its
1897-1898	Juan Manuel Recio Hernandez	1868-1923	N2:286

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Photographs

Photographs by Loida Olegario and Architect Richard Tuason-Sanchez Bautista, courtesy of the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA), taken in 2013 and 2007 respectively.



Map of Dominican missions in Apayao, from Morice Vanoverbergh, CICM, *The Isneg* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic Anthropological Conference, 1932).

Courtesy of the Antonio Vivencio del Rosario Heritage Library, University of Santo Tomas.



Church of Nuestra Señora del Rosario, Fottol, Apayao

General view of the ruins of the church in Fottol (now Pudtol), Apayao. The solidly built apse boasts of a barrel vault, a rarity in Fil-Hispanic constructions.

Loida Olegario, NCCA, 2013



View towards the apse with what remains of the nave walls.



The *arco toral* or triumphant arch framing the apse. Visible are slightly depressed spaces which formerly contained bas-reliefs, probably of wood or fired clay.



Close-up of a wall of the apse, showing depressions that formerly contained bas-reliefs related to those on the *arco toral*.

Loida Olegario, NCCA, 2013



View of the wall of the apse, left of the main altar. Visible are the spaces for the bas-reliefs over a small arched window.

View of the wall of the apse, right of the main altar. Partially visible above the spaces for the bas-reliefs are traces of black-and-white mural painting; details shown in the next illustrations.

Loida Olegario, NCCA, 2013



Vaulted ceiling of the apse. Visible are spaces for large and small bas-reliefs. Although the ceiling or *boveda* is whitewashed, traces of mural painting consisting of floral designs in black can be discerned.



Closer view of a portion of the mural on the upper wall to the right of the main altar. Visible are branches drawn in black, with heart-shaped leaves in a reddish pigment.

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Rubble-work construction of the wall on the right of the *arco toral*, as one faces the main altar. Visible on the upper portion are two depressed spaces for bas-reliefs.

Rubble-work construction of the exterior of the wall flanking the left side of the *arco toral*. Adjoining its right are the remains of a low stone wall.

Loida Olegario, NCCA, 2013



Only a short section of the left wall of the nave has survived. A buttress added later has partially separated from the wall. Partially visible to the right of the buttress is a window; just below it to the right are remains of a low wall. The rest of the main wall was repaired in a more recent time, still using rubble-work construction.



Rear wall of the apse, flanked on either side by corner buttresses. A smaller buttress props up the middle.



Church of San Lorenzo Martir, Capinatan, Apayao

The approach to the church in Capinatan (now Mataguisi, Pudtol, Apayao) from the river. The triangular façade can hardly be seen due to the surrounding trees.

Archt. Richard Tuason-Sanchez Bautista, NCCA, 200



The façade is very simple and forthright. Over the main entrance are three arched windows. Above the central window is the seal of the Dominican Order.



Archt. Richard Tuason-Sanchez Bautista, NCCA, 2007

The seal of the Dominican Order (a Greek cross with each point ending in a fleur-de-lis) is enclosed in a roundel, from which sprout fleur-de-lis-like extensions. The seal is topped by a crown surmounted by four stars. On each side of the seal is a creature standing on its haunches that recalls the Dominicans' "dog of God:" a dog with a lighted torch that appeared in a dream of Blessed Joan of Aza before she gave birth to the saint, a premonition that Dominic would bring a light that would enlighten the world. Not much has remained of the depictions, however, such that the creatures appear as unicorns at first sight. Both seal and dogs were formed by moulding plaster over bits of brick and pebbles encrusted into the wall.



Archt. Richard Tuason-Sanchez Bautista, NCCA, 2007

The plaster on the inner side of the windows' arches reveals traces of split bamboo slats (*sawali*) used in forming and holding up the plaster as it hardened.



Inner side of the façade. The various levels of construction, using round and flat river stones, can be clearly seen. It seems that for the lower two-thirds of the façade, the proportion for mortar versus rubblework was greater than in the upper third (more stones show through the mortar in the apex than in the lower part of the façade).



Upper portion of the inner side of the façade, giving a clearer view of the river stone construction. Thin bricks were used to form the arches of the windows. The damaged section corresponding to the rear of the Dominican seal is said to have been the result of thieves who believed there was treasure hidden behind the seal. Two square holes mark where the beams supporting the choirloft were inserted. A small bell, possibly 20th century, is suspended over the left side of the façade.



Inside the church walls, a simple shed has been constructed.



Inner side of the arch over the main entrance, showing pieces of roof tiles included in the construction.



Section of the wall to the left as one enters the church. A rectangular door connects with an enclosed space outdoors. Another rectangular opening above may be a window or a door leading to a now non-existent convento.



View of the wall to the right, as one enters the church. The remains of a masonry support abut the wall.



The apse, formed as a narrower extension of the nave. Holes in the back indicate where the retablo was attached.



Arched doorway connecting the apse with a walled enclosure, possibly the sacristy.



Right wall of the apse, as one faces the altar. An arched opening, possibly formerly containing the holy water stoup, is slightly visible below the rectangular window.



An arched opening corresponding to the one on the opposite wall is also present in the wall left of the altar.



Exterior of the apse and the section where it meets the right side of the nave.



Exterior of the left side of the apse. The strong sunlight delineates the various levels of construction.



General view of the low stone wall enclosing the space to the left of the apse, possibly the sacristy.



View of the possible sacristy as one leaves the apse.



View of the exterior of the left side of the nave.



View of the space adjoining the left side of the nave, partially enclosed by a low stone fence.