

# **The First Hundred Years of the Augustinians in the Philippines (1565 -1665): Daily Life, Customs, and Traditions**

*Ericson M. Borre\**

Augustinian Historical Institute, Order of St. Augustine,  
Real Colegio de PP. Agustinos - Valladolid, Spain

**Abstract:** Much has been written about the early missionaries in the Philippines especially about their contributions and their involvement in the country's history. However, we know little about their daily life, customs, norms, and how they lived with the natives and evangelized them. They left their country to accompany and be of service to the spiritual needs of the voyagers, and to propagate the Christian faith to the new territories acquired by the Crown of Castile.

The missionaries of the Augustinian Order arrived in 1565 and pioneered in the evangelization of the natives in the Philippines. They went from one island to another, establishing towns, building churches and convents, and continued to practice their religious vows and traditions under the new circumstances. The first hundred years of their presence reflects their ability to adopt and survive in a foreign land and demonstrate their ability to extend their influence on the lives of the 16<sup>th</sup> century Filipinos.

With the extant materials available, such as the *Libros de Gobierno* at the archives of the Augustinian Philippine Province in the convent of Valladolid (Spain) which contain written records of the Provincial Chapters and other reports since 1572, this paper attempts to reconstruct the daily life of the Augustinians during their first hundred years (1565 – 1665) in the Philippines. This article provides perspectives on how they should be seen in

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\*Ericson Borre can be contacted at [fraybhor@gmail.com](mailto:fraybhor@gmail.com). <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8848-1210>.

their simplicity and efforts to bring Christianity to their fellow human beings regardless of race vis-à-vis the undeniable offenses committed by some of them and the vilification they received due to the mistakes of the few. The context of their quotidian life brings light on the issue and explains it.

**Keywords:** Augustinians in the Philippines, early missionaries, daily life and customs.

## The Arrival of the Augustinians in the Philippines

The European Renaissance period brought significant changes in world history, which facilitated the spread of Christianity faster and even reach the other side of the globe. Europeans ventured into several expeditions composed of soldiers, merchants, and colonists. The religious missionaries, who committed themselves to the propagation of the Christian faith, also joined the expeditions.

In the Augustinian Order, it was the Province of Castile that promoted and participated in the missionary activity of the Church (Estrada Robles, 54). In the year 1527, the election of Juan Gallego as Prior Provincial of the said circumscription, introduced a series of missionary activities (Rano, 94). “For this reason, he became known as the creator of the missionary ideal in the Order. Though he was tasked to lead the first Augustinian mission to Mexico, he was not able to carry this out for his untimely demise in 1534” (Gutiérrez, II: 207).

After they obtain the necessary permission, seven religious men (Augustinians) were selected to take part in the new endeavor. They were “all men of great intelligence and talent and almost all of recognized holiness.” They left Seville on March 3, 1533 and arrived in Mexico after three months where the Dominicans welcomed them as guests for a month until they were able to establish their own house (Kavanagh, 59).

While the Franciscans and the Dominicans arrived earlier in the Americas, the Augustinians found a support from the first archbishop of Mexico and the Viceroy, and that they had to work in regions not occupied by their religious collaborators (Grijalva, 34, 149). Aside from their work of evangelizing, the missionaries labored intensely on humanitarian and socio-cultural program. The convent in Mexico became the base of operations for missionaries in this century, and what they have done in Mexico also applies to the Augustinian missions to the rest of Latin America and to the Philippines.

On November 1, 1542, in an expedition under the command of Ruy Lopez de Villalobos, four Augustinian friars were on-board (San Agustín, 151).<sup>1</sup> They travelled from Mexico to the Philippine Islands. On February 2, 1543, the expedition reached the Sarangani Bay area in Mindanao where they stayed for a short time but did not establish any missions, because aside from being driven away by the natives, they were also besieged by the Portuguese and affected by tropical sickness (Rano, 96).<sup>2</sup>

On September 24, 1559, King Philip of Spain through a letter, requested Andrés de Urdaneta, who later joined the Augustinians, asking him to participate in the expedition, which was to sail from Mexico “to discover the islands of the setting of the sun.” The King added: “according to the great knowledge which you say you have about the things of that land, and understanding as you do about navigation, and being a good cosmographer, it would be of great importance that you should set out in those aforesaid ships, to see what you may discover for your expedition and for the service of our Lord” (Grijalva, 239). The king also sent another letter to the Prior Provincial of the Augustinians in Mexico informing him about the content of the letter to Urdaneta. The king expressed his wish that the Provincial sent other Augustinians along with Urdaneta in order to undertake the task of Christianizing the islands they would discover (Gutiérrez, 221). Thus, the first five famous Augustinians joined the expedition and set sail for the Orient.

In 1565, Legazpi's expedition arrived in the Philippines together with the first group of Augustinians missionaries. More missionaries arrived in the succeeding years. Apart from their achievements in evangelical work, they distinguished themselves in the areas of history, linguistics, art, literature, pedagogy, theology, engineering, architecture, botany, and medicine. In the first hundred years, the Province<sup>3</sup> administered 92 cities and towns and established there some convents, parishes and *visitas* (Pérez, 816-820).

### **General Conditions of the Missions**

From 1565 to 1572, though many of the Augustinians in the Philippines were from Spain, they were actually affiliated to the Province of Mexico, like Fr. Andrés de Urdaneta, and most of those sent to the Philippines had their stop-over and formation in the convent of Mexico (Monasterio, 141). The ecclesiastical set-up followed the civil structure of governance in the New Spain (Mexico) and the Philippines. Most of the executory orders regarding the missionary activities in the

<sup>1</sup> They were Gerónimo de San Esteban, Nicolás de Perea, Alonzo de Alvarado, and Sebastián de Trasierra. Also see Robles Estrada, 39.

<sup>2</sup> It was not until twenty years later that the Augustinians established themselves in the Philippines.

<sup>3</sup> This refers to the the *Provincia del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas*.

Philippines came from and were directed by the Prior Provincial of Mexico, even though their governance was overseen by the Province of Castile, that provided the Visitor General. This indirect influence, however, ended in 1605 by an order coming from the Prior General Hipólito de Rávena.<sup>4</sup> It should be noted that all the Augustinians who arrived in the Philippines after the first Provincial Chapter of 1572 were immediately affiliated to the Province of the Philippines,<sup>5</sup> except those who were appointed bishops and assigned to the Philippines. These prelates had the options to maintain their affiliation with their own province like Nicolas Zaldívar Zapata (Mexico) and Pedro de Agurto (Philippines). They named the new Augustinian province *Filipinas* and called themselves as *Filipinos* (Monasterio, 130).

From 1565 to 1633, a total of 538 Augustinians arrived in the Philippines onboard 32 various missionary voyages (Pérez, 1-87).<sup>6</sup> According to Fr. Elviro Pérez, OSA, there were about 300 Augustinians in the Philippines in the year 1663, eighteen of whom made their profession of the religious vows already in Manila (Pérez, 60-70). Unfortunately, during the early years of the mission, many of the missionaries died from various diseases and shipwrecks.

The life of the Augustinians in the Philippines was difficult and many of them had a short span of life.<sup>7</sup> The majority of them travelled to the archipelago in their prime age, a few though were beyond their age. The average age was around 20 years old, yet many of them died young due to tropical sickness.<sup>8</sup> Within the first hundred years, the missionaries experienced several difficulties concerning (among other things) the pacification of the natives. Although the missionaries were generally received positively because of their charisma, the soldiers and the *conquistadores*, in contrast, were resisted by the locals (Mojarro, 2018). In the midst of resistance, some missionaries were also attacked and killed. Some of them, however, did not abandon the natives and opted to stay with them even when they were ordered to retreat from the area (San Agustín, 536).

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<sup>4</sup> Monasterio, 141-142: “Es verdad que el Provl. de Castilla pretendía tener alguna autoridad en las Provincias de Indias, y allí estaba entonces un Padre Visitador por ella nombrado; pero fue por delegación del Rmo. Gral., por no poder ir ninguno de los 3 que él había nombrado. Creemos, pues, que la de Filipinas y Mechoacán son hijas de la de Mexico, como las de Ecuador, Colombia y Chile lo son de la del Perú y no de la Castilla.”

<sup>5</sup> This Augustinian Province was founded in 1565 with the arrival of the first five Augustinians in the Philippines. It celebrated its first Provincial Chapter in Manila in 1572 and was canonically approved in 1575 in Rome.

<sup>6</sup> This number includes those whose arrival dates were unknown, and those who entered already in the convent of Manila and also made their profession there.

<sup>7</sup> See Rodríguez and Álvarez, 1992, and Vela, 1913-1931.

<sup>8</sup> An exceptional case is Fr. Juan de Alva, who came beyond the age of 70 and converted the people of Dumangas (Panay) through his virtue, example, and preaching (San Agustín, 526). Fray Alva, during his first few days in Dumangas, only ate potatoes, wild fruit (Pérez, 787), and other ordinary roots, such as parsimony (Pérez, 535).

Nevertheless, as Fr. Gaspar de San Agustin commented on the continuous arrival of the missionaries, “great was the joy of our religious with the arrival of their prelate and two companions. Not less was that of the rest, because they received the first dispatches from his Majesty, with orders to populate and pacify these islands for the conversion of the natives to our holy Catholic faith” (541). There was also an animosity among Augustinians between those who came from the Iberian peninsula and those who entered through the Indies.<sup>9</sup>

Even after a century later, the life in the convent of Manila was still far from better. This is how Fray Agustin Maria Castro vividly described the friars’ condition in the convent of Manila, which gives us some idea of how worse the condition was in the provinces.

Living and staying in this convent is neither appetizing nor healthy, as the entire city of Manila is because of its humid atmosphere, pestiferous and intemperate, sad melancholy and indolence. Earthquakes are frequent and great. The thunders and lightning are unfailing from May to October. The hurricanes or storms and whirlwinds are not so frequent. The insects, venomous, such as snakes, scorpions, spiders, centipedes, and others abound in the rainy season, and escaping from the water they go up the cells and to the beds. The bothersome little animals like mosquitos, cockroaches, ants, bats, large lizards, and rats are in such abundance that one can fill two *fanegas* of them daily. The bedbugs and fleas also do their job. The heat and the scant wind make it difficult to sleep and only in the season of the north (Northern monsoon) wind can one sleep and eat well with pleasure. Dwarves and nocturnal visions are never missing and all the above combined makes a long stay in the convent odious and minimally healthy (Castro, 34).

### **Characteristics of the Convents**

When the first missions arrived in 1565, the convents and churches that the missionaries built were patterned after the native Filipino structure. They utilized light materials like wood, bamboo, and nipa, as in the case of the church and the convent of the Sto. Niño de Cebú and of Ibalon, which were prone to fire (San Agustín, 411-412, 591). Eventually, much stronger and more decent convents were built complete with all the typical parts of a convent. It took them six years before they could have a convent made of stone.

The first convent that was constructed out of stone and corals was the San Agustín church in Manila, which was founded in 1571. The construction using

<sup>9</sup> According to Phelan, “the specific bone of contention was the battle over which group was to get the lion’s share of the offices and benefices which were voted upon in the triennial chapter meeting” (35).

concrete materials was started only in 1587 and was completed in 1607. As Fr. San Agustín describes:

It is located at the most important and beautiful place in the city and on the firmest terrain thereat. Both the convent and the church were totally made from stone. It had strong arches known artistically as '*de media caña*.' The entire church and chapel, the convent with all the cloisters, ladders, refectory, sacristy and other offices, had beautiful, strong stone arches. [...] So much so, that despite the strong earthquakes suffered by the city, principally in the years 1645 and 1658, the convent did not suffer much. The beauty of the church – especially the altarpieces, the cloisters, the paintings, and other living quarters – is at par with the beauty of the churches found in more advanced and most populous cities in other parts of the world at that time. The adornment and wealth of its sacristy – wrought silver, gold, and other things pertinent to the divine faith – are so rich and majestic that few convents throughout Europe can equal it, let alone surpass it (589).

While in convents, the a choir was lacking, there was an oratory where the religious could pray together the divine office,<sup>10</sup> the San Agustín convent of Manila had both. The convent also had a prison cell for those who did not follow the house rules and needed to be disciplined.<sup>11</sup>

Regarding the convent of Tondo in Manila, its ancient structure was sumptuous and strong because it was all made from stone and designed with a beautiful architecture; while the Oton convent in Iloilo was designed in such a way as to adapt to the local climate (San Agustín, 591). In fact, many of the churches founded by the early Augustinians in Panay used limestone, in this regard.

In 1607, it was specified that convents to be built from thereon must be moderate, and if possible, observe a rectangular form. Furthermore, they must be comfortable, safe, and dignified.<sup>12</sup> In terms of design, many of the churches built by the early Augustinians were not so lofty in style, according to Fr. Castro, because, for him, they lacked some elevation, majestic beauty and harmonious distribution. It was more of a compromise between aesthetics and strength due to frequent earthquakes (Rodríguez, 1976: 10).

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<sup>10</sup> *Libro de Gobierno 1*, May 3, 1572 – June 10, 1608, Archivo Provincial de los Padres Agustinos, Folder 2, Real Colegio de los Padres Agustinos, Valladolid, Spain. 1575 – “cada convento donde no hubiere choro haya un oratorio donde se rece el oficio divino y se junten los religiosos a orar”: p. 4. (Subsequently referred to as LG 1.)

<sup>11</sup> LG 1, 105. “Este priso el dicho p. prov.al ...en la cárcel común de este nro conv.to de S. Pablo.”

<sup>12</sup> *Libro de Gobierno 2*, April 26, 1608 – June 13, 1654, Archivo Provincial de los Padres Agustinos, Folder 4, Valladolid, Spain. - 1607 – “que las casas que de aquí adelante se edificaren sean moderadas, de modo que se puedan hacer en cuadro, para que así estén más acomodadas, seguras y honradas. 2”: p.41. (Subsequently referred to as LG 2)

Another must for every convent was a deposit box with two keys to be kept one by the prior and the other one by one of his companions. Such box contained the book of income and expenses, possessions and other properties, and even the names of the slaves that the house had acquired (LG 1: 2). There was also another book for the sacristy that recorded all the alms and other important donations like silver and gold which the religious were forbidden to personally possess (LG 1: 2). The convents of San Agustin in Manila and of the Sto. Niño in Cebu had a *cofre* or a particular box to keep the collections of the Masses intended for distribution as subsidy to other convents (LG 1: 5). The convents and parishes must also maintain a book of records of the deceased religious detailing the money they left and other valuables for deposit, their debt (if ever they had any),<sup>13</sup> and an inventory book that kept a record of the properties of every convent and parish,<sup>14</sup> of estates, *haciendas* and furniture.<sup>15</sup> Other books were intended for the records of money donations, celebrated Masses for the dead, and administered baptisms and weddings.<sup>16</sup>

### General House Rules

Before coming to the Philippines as a mendicant order, the Augustinians were governed by the Rule of St. Augustine and the Order's Constitutions at that time. As missionaries, they also subscribed to the *Leyes de Indias*, *Patronato Real*, and the *Instrucciones de la Audiencia de Nueva España*. Specifically, as they lived with the natives and few Spanish nationals in the archipelago, new set of rules had to be established suitable to the environment and situations they were in (LG 1: 18). These are some of the peculiar norms they had (gathered from the above-mentioned documents):

1. No religious could receive Spanish guest(s) or secular person(s) without the permission from the Prior Provincial or else he will be expelled from the convent; nor should they go out of the convent without the permission from their superior (LG 2: 130).<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> "Libro de los difuntos los religiosos se manda q.si tuvieran dineros o preseas o qualesquier otra cosa de valor por deposito, pagadas (si deviere particulares deudas), todo lo restante se aplica a la obra desta iglesia deste nro. Conv.to de Manila" (LG 1: 69).

<sup>14</sup> "Que cada prior o vicariato traiga por cuenta y razón todo lo que en su tiempo a aumentado así en edifo de casa como ornamentos y cosas del ornato..." (LG 1: 19).

<sup>15</sup> "Todos los conventos se tenga un libro donde se vayan asentado los estados de los conventos y todos los bienes y haciendas raíces y muebles a él pertenecientes" (LG 2: 211).

<sup>16</sup> "Que en cada casa se tenga un libro blanco que se escriban los bautizados y casados, y que si ni fuere necesidad estrima ninguno bautize si no fuere adonde los pueda visitar y administrar..." (LG 2: 5)

<sup>17</sup> In 1629 they made exceptions: "exceptamos empero las personas de los señores de la Audiencia a los cuales se les podrá de comer y dormir, y los jueces, oficiales reales, alcaldes mayores y encomienderos a los cuales se les puede dar de comer, pero no dormir en los conventos. Y en todo puede dispensar N.P.Prov."

2. No women, both Spanish and natives, were allowed from the *porteria* and inside the convent; no religious should speak to them (*dalagas*) in the *porteria* or in the church without a companion, and instead of having the *dalagas* do the sweeping in the church, they should be replaced by *muchachos* coming from the nearby towns or by the old ladies (*mujeres viejas*) who prayed in the church (LG 1: 9; LG 2: 40, 43).
3. No religious, either subordinates or superior, could receive anyone to eat and sleep in the convent. Persons in authority (*alcalde o capitan*) might be allowed to eat but never to sleep. Thus, they better avoid having relatives in the town to avoid any of this occurrence. Even during the town feast day, this rule applied (LG 1: 43).
4. No religious, whether by himself or through an *indio*, was allowed to buy anything other than what was necessary. All purchasing must be done through the *Procurador General* (LG 1: 53).
5. Whenever a religious would come to Manila, they were not allowed to stroll around the city nor enter anybody's house, including an *indio's* house (LG 1: 75).
6. Whenever a religious would visit another convent especially the (poor) convent of Tondo, they should have a written permission (*licencia in scriptis*) from the Prior Provincial. When they arrived in the morning, there was nothing more but a meal to offer them. If they arrived in the afternoon, they could be allowed to eat and stay overnight but no more meals were to be given them on the next day (LG 1: 60).
7. In holding a feast, there should be no competition (which caused budgetary problem and disturbance among the locals) in the celebrations. Only the feast of the *Ssmo. Sacramento* provided them allowance to receive eight to ten religious visitors nearby. During the festivity, there should be no guitar, harps, dances, and secular songs, which may contain indecent notes that were improper for a convent (LG 1: 68).
8. No religious could lend carved gems, gold and silver to another convent or persons (including locals) without the permission from the Prior Provincial (LG 1: 74).
9. It was prohibited for the male servers (*indios muchachos*) to sleep in the cells and dormitories of the convent. In case of necessity, two servers were permitted to sleep in the convent, but not in the cells nor in the dormitories of the friars (LG 2: 46).



## Individual Room / Cell and Personal Properties

The individual rooms for the friars were initially large. Some even had an internal divider. However, “due to serious drawbacks and observations by lay people after seeing the large cells” they removed the *trans* cells by eliminating the dividers in the prior’s cell and other chambers, and remodeled a more moderate cell –clean, transparent, and without hidden places (LG 2: 41).<sup>18</sup>

Each room contained a single simple bed,<sup>19</sup> a mosquito net (LG 1: 3), a study table, a chair, a religious icon or laminated images which should not be more than five. All the excesses must be turned over and placed in the church, or else they would be confiscated (LG 2: 183).<sup>20</sup> To illustrate further what the religious’ rooms contained, Fr. Castro narrated the following, which the early records are silent about: “Each cell is provided with a candle of white wax, half a bottle of coconut oil, twenty-five cigars of tobacco to smoke, a small box of good powdered tobacco...” (Castro, 39).

The religious were forbidden neither to own personal properties nor to keep money amounting to more than a hundred pesos (LG 1: 90). However, beyond such amount, it must be deposited in the common fund. They were also forbidden to borrow money or to keep somebody else’s property (LG 2: 74).<sup>21</sup>

## The Number of Friars

The number of religious that the convent of San Agustín in Manila usually had could hardly be determined, but some historical record shows a rough estimate of about thirty to forty (San Agustín, 591), or, as Antonio Morga<sup>22</sup> confirms, it was never less than fifty (200). The table below shows the number of friars who arrived in particular years (Pérez, 1-28). Most of the missionaries were housed at the convent of Manila, which served as the main house of formation, before they could be dispatched to various provinces.

<sup>18</sup> “por los inconvenientes graves que hay y nota de seglares viendo las grandes celdas de que usamos en esta provincia ordenamos...deshagan las transceldas, quiten las secretas de la celda prioral y despensillas, y haciendo una celda proporcionada, este limpia y clara sin escondrijos.”

<sup>19</sup> “...que no duerman en colchones.”

<sup>20</sup> In 1627, it was observed that many of the religious kept much stuff which was not supposed to be in their cell. “Y lo mismo entiende de contadores, escritorios, escribanías que tuvieran obra de embutidos por de fuera...asimismo quitamos cualesquiera adornos, como son ramilletes, relicarios y otras cosas curiosas, ...que las sillas, bufetes, catres y mesas no sean embutidos, sino de los comunes y ordinarios, y que no sean propios de los religiosos ni se lleven de unos conventos a otros.”

<sup>21</sup> “...ningún religioso pida prestados dineros, ni tome cosa alguna fiada de seculares por los muchos inconvenientes que se siguen de que haya cuentas entre los religiosos y ellos.”

<sup>22</sup> “Dentro de la ciudad, es el monasterio de San Agustín, muy grande y copioso de dormitorios; refitorio y oficinas; base acabando un templo, que es un edificio, de los más sumptuosos que hay en aquellas partes, tiene de ordinario este convento, cincuenta religiosos.”

### The number of religious who arrived from 1565 to 1665

Mission Year	No. of Religious	Mission Year	No. of Religious
1565	5	1598	16
1569	2	1601	14
1570	2	1604	7
1571	6	1610	17
1573	4	1613	11
1575	3	1617	26
1576	9	1618	7
1577	4	1624	22
1578	9	1628	24
1582	9	1635	25
1583	21	1643	6
1584	7	1645	16
1586	16	1650	2
1590	27	1654	16
1593	25	1663	9
1595	18	Unknown date before 1565	48
1596	4	Professed in Manila before 1665	18

### Prayer / Liturgy

For a mendicant Order that had its roots in monasticism, prayer played a central part, if not the most important, in the daily life of the early Augustinian missionaries. The basic structure of their way of life was governed by the Rule of St. Augustine, which emphasizes community living –that is, every aspect of religious life has to be lived out in common, including the apostolate. Thus, together they had to ‘pray at the hours and times appointed.’<sup>23</sup>

Prior to Vatican II, monastic and even mendicant Orders followed the prescribed canonical hours (LG 1: 1), comprised of the matins (at 2:00 AM), the lauds (at 5:00 AM), the prime (at 6:00 AM), the terce (at 9:00 AM), the sext (at 12:00 NN), the none (at 3:00 PM), the vespers (at 6:00 PM), and the compline (at

<sup>23</sup> *Rule of St. Augustine*, II. 10.

7:00 PM).<sup>24</sup> Added to all these, they practiced a thirty-minute meditation (at 6:30 PM) after the vespers (LG 1: 107).<sup>25</sup> They also had to recite a Marian antiphon after the compline, as was customary at that time.<sup>26</sup> The first convent that strictly observed this monastic schedule was the San Agustin Convent in Intramuros, Manila. The first Provincial Chapter of 1572, which was held there clearly followed such *horarium* (LG 2: 182). When numbers began to grow reaching as many as forty due to the arrival of more missionaries (Pérez, 1-22), they started to pray in choir (LG 1: 2),<sup>27</sup> chanting in the monastery's chapel or oratories (LG 1: 7; LG 2: 182).<sup>28</sup> The chapter of 1607 indicated that they started singing and chanting in the Mass and also during the vespers (LG 1: 109). Liturgical celebrations like the vespers, the divine office and the processions with dances (such as those of the Blessed Sacrament), could be accompanied by a harp, but never with guitars which were strictly forbidden (LG 1: 71).<sup>29</sup>

Other particular religious observance in the convents was the Friday discipline, which refers to fasting (LG 1: 7)<sup>30</sup> and corporal penance (LG 2: 109).<sup>31</sup> On Saturdays, when there were no other feasts, a memorial of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception was celebrated in prayer and in the Mass (LG 2: 72).<sup>32</sup>

Masses were celebrated daily after the lauds (at 6:30 AM) with special intentions (particularly for the dead and the intentions of specific communities). The number of Masses to be celebrated for the deceased religious was determined by the number of years from their investiture or novitiate (LG 1: 32). There were also specific intentions for the convents of Manila, Cebu, and Guadalupe (LG 2: 73).

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<sup>24</sup> “Rezando todos en común y a su tiempo las oras canónicas, hasta nona luego de mañana, y las vísperas y completas a la tarde, y los matines después de medianoche, si no hubiere causa legítima para rezar a prima noche; y que diga a su tiempo la antifona, y se tenga su rato de oración como es costumbre” (LG 1: 1).

<sup>25</sup> “que se tenga media hora de oración mental a prima noche en todos los conv.os y otra mañana qdo rezaren, y qdo, se reze siempre en el choro.”

<sup>26</sup> “...y en todos los conventos se diga la antifona todos los días.”

<sup>27</sup> “...en cada convento donde no hubiere choro haya un oratorio donde se rece el oficio divino y se junten los religiosos a orar.”

<sup>28</sup> “El convº de Manila todas las noches, a media noche, se digan maytines, habiendo suficientes religiosos, cantados, y sínodo poco el número, rezados. Infaliblemente, de manera que cantado o rezado se digan siempre a media noche. Y las casas de ministerio, no estado legítamente ocupados los religiosos, recen en el coro o dentro de la iglesia el oficio divino, ... y en todos los conventos se diga la antifona todos los días.”

<sup>29</sup> “Se concede puedan tener arpa en los oficios divinos y en los conventos y hazerse danzas en las procesiones del Ssmo. sacramento y otras procesiones y quitan absolutam.te las guitarras.”

<sup>30</sup> “...y la disciplina 3 días en la semana...”

<sup>31</sup> “Que las disciplinas que ordena nuestra orden de los viernes se guarden inviolablemente fuera de Manila.”

<sup>32</sup> “Todos los sábados que no haya fiesta doble o semidoble, se pueda rezar de la Concepción de Ntra. Señora, con la propia misa...”

While it was a daily practice to celebrate the Mass, especially for priests with the rest of the religious in the convent, the rest of the people were only to attend on Sundays and specific feasts. The Filipino *indios* were not even obliged to hear the Mass except during specific feasts (LG 1: 96).<sup>33</sup>

Two specific devotions were widespread in the Province of Castile – namely, the devotions to the *Smo. Sacramento del Altar* and to the *Santa Cruz* (Grijalva, 163). In the Philippines, they adopted the devotions to the Blessed Sacrament which they observed every month, and to St. William the Hermit, then considered as protector of the Order (Lg 1: 7).<sup>34</sup> Among all the celebrations, it was the feast of the Blessed Sacrament that was celebrated solemnly and with joyful festivities and dances. This allowed for expenditure to the limits of their capacity and which could stretch to last for a month (LG 2: 247).<sup>35</sup> Some other feasts, however, had to be celebrated prudently since they caused chaos among the population including the natives. Thus, the friars were allowed to invite only two of their nearest neighbors (LG 2: 113).<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, the celebrations of the titular feast of the Province, which was the Most Holy Name of Jesus, was celebrated in the manner similar to that of convents in Mexico (San Agustín, 339).

Fr. Gaspar would summarize the attitude of the missionaries during their early years of mission in the Philippines in this way: “they were so assiduous in their prayers that they spent it (time) in the seclusion of their convent, in the company of their brothers. They participated in the choir (prayer) and other acts and duties of the community, even if they were totally exhausted from a long journey, thus not neglecting their religious occupations while still attending to that which was necessary for the business of the Philippines” (San Agustín, 369).

## Candidates' Formation and Studies

Most of the Augustinian missionaries who came to the Philippines prior to the creation of the Philippine Province in 1572 had their education or their seminary formation in Spain. To augment the number of friars working in the islands, a

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<sup>33</sup> “Que no obliguen a los indios a oyr missa exceptas las fiestas precisas.”

<sup>34</sup> In the new Augustinian liturgical calendar, Saint Joseph is considered as the protector of the Order.

<sup>35</sup> “En la fiesta del Smo. Sacramento se haga con toda solemnidad, no perdonando a gastos algunos, teniendo si fuere posible, autos y danzas y otras muestras de devoción y alegría, procurando hacerla dentro de la Octava, y a lo más largo de un mes, y en la procesión de este día, y en la del jueves y viernes santo, se ha de asistir con hábitos negros.”

<sup>36</sup> “Porque de las juntas de los religiosos para fiestas resulta grande inquietud de los naturales y nota de los seglares españoles, ...que no conviden para las fiestas de sus pueblos sino fuere a dos de los más vecinos para que puedan hacer la fiesta con más comodidad y menos nota.”

commissary was assigned to do the recruitment in the different Augustinian convents in Spain. From convent to convent, they asked for volunteers particularly for the Philippine mission. Recruitment was also done in New Spain. When the number of volunteers who still lacked the necessary formation increased, the convent of Manila was established as a seminary for further formation aimed not solely for the improvement of their academic training in Theology and Morals, but also for the necessary linguistic training. Later, other convents were also opened for the studies of Arts, Grammar, and Latin (LG 1: 83-84).<sup>37</sup>

In 1578, they started to accept candidates from Manila (LG 1: 5).<sup>38</sup> In the same year, a circular issued by the Prior Provincial, Fr. Agustín de Alburquerque, ordered that all the friars, especially those who were dedicated to the spiritual nourishment of the natives, should spend two hours a day in the study of the local language. The recommended materials were “Los vocabularios y artes y confesionarios de las lenguas de Tagalo y Pampango” by Fray Juan de Quiñones and Fray Diego de Ochoa (LG 1: 7).<sup>39</sup> Aside from learning the local languages, studying Latin was indispensable. Serious punishment was inflicted on those who neglected it (LG 1: 47, 54). A candidate could not even be admitted to the novitiate without mastering Latin (LG 1: 109).<sup>40</sup>

The number of vocations further increased with the permission to receive novices from the convents of Cebu, Tondo, and Bantai. This occasioned the opening of an art and grammar school in Cebu for the candidates in the Visayas (LG 1: 53). The students were also given all the opportunities to focus on their studies and to avoid any activities incompatible with learning (LG 1: 66). It was also the intention of the 1607 Provincial Chapter to establish an institute of studies at par with the other

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<sup>37</sup> “Aya estudio de Artes en esta casa de Manila. Yten se determinó viesse estudio de Artes y Theologia en este nro con.to de Manila... [...] Se pone estudio de Gramática en nro conv.to del Ssmo. M.e de Jhs (Cebu).”

<sup>38</sup> “No reciban novicios en el convento de Manila sin el boto de los Padres Piores de Tondo y Pasig, decimos podrán resebir por los botos de los padres conventuales y del padre prior que es o fuere del dicho convento.”

<sup>39</sup> “Lo otro y muy principal es, pues la tierra está ya más asentada, que todos los que no saben lenguas se esfuerce en aprenderlas según las provincias/ pueblos donde están, y hágase con tanto cuidado que no se entienda en otra cosa ni se ocupe en leer entre día y noche sino quando más una o dos horas, salvo los padres predicadores de españoles, y esto quando hubieren de predicar y como mejor les paresciere; quando ubieren de predicar o aceptaren algún sermon para Manila o donde ubieren de concurrir españoles y todo el demás tiempo como es dicho se gaste en la lengua y administración de los sacramentos y provecho spiritual de los naturales; particularmente encomiendo la doctrina, que la enmienden, y los vocabularios y artes y confesionarios de las lenguas de tagalo y pampango a los Pp. Juan de Quiñones y Fr. Diego Ochoa, que pongan todo en perfection con la mayor presteza que pudieren.”

<sup>40</sup> “No reciban novicios sin q. sepan muy bien latín, y esto sin dispensación, y se concede solamente q.sea...”

centers of the Order. Thus, it was ordered that in the convent of Manila, subjects like Morals and Theology must be taught for two years, with at least six students per course. Without such training, nobody could receive the title of a preacher (LG 2: 44).<sup>41</sup> Still to give further emphasis to studies, all the students who were enrolled in the program were only allowed to leave the convent once a month (LG 1: 109). Negligence of studies had tremendous consequences as reflected in the assignment or even in the type of punishment given them (LG 1: 44).

The convent of Manila also maintained a library. Duplicate copies of books were made before they could be brought to other convents (LG 2: 185).<sup>42</sup> Moreover, during the Provincial Chapters, the capitular Fathers were reminded to return all the borrowed books to the library of San Agustin, many of which were borrowed without permission (LG 2: 160, 185).<sup>43</sup>

### Meals and Food Sources

Following the *Rule of St. Augustine*, the religious were to eat together within the given mealtime and nobody was allowed to take any food outside mealtimes unless he was ill.<sup>44</sup> In all convents, it was customary to have a reading in the refectory during lunch and dinner (LG 1: 107).<sup>45</sup> They ate together in the refectory with the Prior always taking his seat at the *cabecera* (LG 1: 33; LG 2: 111).<sup>46</sup> Nobody was allowed to sit in his place even during his absence. Guests coming from other communities, except for the Prior Provincial and the *visitador*, had to be given another seat and never the chair of the House Prior (LG 1: 33).<sup>47</sup> Nobody among

<sup>41</sup> "Porque la ignorancia es raíz de muchos irremediables daños, ordenamos que siempre que sea posible, haya en este convento de Manila curso de Artes y Theología, y sean por lo menos dos años de theologia, y a ningún religioso se dé título de predicador sino ha oído dos años de Theologia; y totalmente prohibimos que fuera de manila o donde se leyere el curso, que será a lo menos de seis estudiantes, no se lean Artes ni Theologia, y si alguno estudiase fuera del curso, por ningún caso se le cuente aquel tiempo por de estudio para darle título de predicador sino cursarse con los demás estudiantes..."

<sup>42</sup> "Que los libros que estuvieren duplicados en la dicha librería se vendan o truquen por otros por la dicha librería de los que en ella no hay y parecieren más convenientes."

<sup>43</sup> "Que todos los libros que pertenecen a la librería de Manila se vuelven a ella real y efectivamente, lo cual se manda en virtud de santa obediencia... Que todos los libros del convº de la librería de Manila que, con licencia o sin ella, tuvieron los religiosos, aunque estén por memoria sacados de ella, los vuelvan dentro de un mes efectivamente..."

<sup>44</sup> *Rule of St. Augustine*, III, 14.

<sup>45</sup> "En todos los conv.s de esta nra prov.a se lea al tiempo de comer y cenar, y q. se coma en refectorio..."

<sup>46</sup> The same observation came out in 1617: "se guarde inviolablemente el comer en refitorio y que a nadie se dé la cabecera."

<sup>47</sup> "Ningún prior pueda en su casa dar la cabecera en la mesa a ningún religioso de cualquier suerte o calidad que sea sino fuere difinidor en acto o que aya sido provincial o visitador en acto, todo lo qual se a de entender con los frayles de las otras ordenes no osando desteismo rigor sino tuvieren las calidades dichas."

the religious including the Prior was allowed to have somebody to join them in meals without the written permission from the Prior Provincial. Such practice was enforced particularly in the presence of the *indios* in the convent and of Spanish people who were acquaintances of the friars.

As to the primary source of the convents' food supply, provisions came from the donation of the people and the contributions of the different *haciendas* and smaller farms they owned (LG 2: 80).<sup>48</sup> Smaller parishes and convents were contracted for certain quotas to be remitted to larger convents like San Agustín in Intramuros, the Sto. Niño in Cebu, and the Guadalupe in Makati. According to reports, rice, chickens, and money were the common contributions (LG 2: 210).<sup>49</sup> Other goods included pigs, goats, spices (LG 1: 53), cows, and milk (LG 2: 182) from the *haciendas* and *encomiendas* (LG 2: 114).

The convent of San Agustín received a ration of the wine and oil subsidized by the Crown. Then from there, they were distributed to different smaller convents in the archipelago (LG 2: 291).<sup>50</sup> This reflects the centralized system in the procurement at that time when it comes to contributions and dispensation of materials goods (LG 1: 53).<sup>51</sup>

During this period, the people in Manila had their merchandize stocked and displayed at the seaport. The natives would come to the port to sell goats, chickens, and pigs (San Agustín, 391). As the religious campaigned against the abuses committed against the natives, it was prohibited among the religious to take the animals of the *indios* without just compensation (LG 2: 184).

## Health and Sickness

The only moment that the *Libro de Gobierno* mentions the presence of a doctor visiting the convent of Manila was during the Provincial Chapter of 1624. The Prior Provincial was recommended to take some leave and rest. His illness was taking toll on him. The way they took care of the sick, however, is mentioned several times.

<sup>48</sup> "Procurar haber una guerta y casa suficiente para que puedan estar en ella los religiosos que vienen de España."

<sup>49</sup> "Las colectas de gallinas, arroz y dineros que se dan a este convento de Manila..."

<sup>50</sup> "Como se definió, que de todo el aceite que da S.Maj.a a todos dlos conventos de ministeris haya y reciba este convento la tercera parte del aceite, y así mismo haya y reciba la cuarta parte del vino, así de lo que da S.Maj.d como de lo que dan los encomenderos, y para que esto llegue a debida execucion ordanemos al P. Procurador Gr.l. Que, sacadas las libranzas de vino y aceite, las entregue al Prior de este dicho nro. convento de S. Pablo de Manila, para que, tasando lo que toca a este convento, remita lo demás a los conventos a quien pertenece fiando la legalidad del dicho P. Prior."

<sup>51</sup> "Que cualquier cosa de encomienda q. hallare ser de algún religioso en dinero o en especie lo tome y lo traiga a con. De Manila adonde desde luego se da por aplicado."

The *Constitutions* of the Order at that time already provided for a serious treatment of religious who fell ill and were suffering. They were exempted from fasting and they were allowed to wear even the most comfortable clothing (LG 2: 248).<sup>52</sup> Another thing that the new Province introduced was the giving of gifts to those who were sick until such time that they recovered fully. In 1642, the gift given to the ill religious amounted to fifty pesos (LG 2: 268). For the residents of the convent of San Agustín in Manila, the expenses incurred during the treatment was not an issue. But for those outside of Manila, the Provinciate only covered ten percent of the total medical expenses.<sup>53</sup> They also kept a book to record the expenses in relation to health expenditures.

## Habit

The Augustinian Order started as an aggregation of some Tuscan hermits in Italy and its members subscribed to the wearing of a habit composed of a black tunic, a capuche, and a black cincture. A black cape was also worn during winter. There were certain circumscriptions in Europe that added the scapular and a white habit to be worn by the novices. The Augustinian Province of Castille adopted this prescription with the addition of the white habit of the same specifications as an alternative to the black habit (LG 1: 25). It was from this prescription that the option of wearing the black and the white habit of the Augustinians in the Philippines came from. Only towards the 20<sup>th</sup> century that the wearing of the scapular was completely removed, even among the novices.<sup>54</sup>

In the *Libro de Gobierno* 1, the Chapter of 1572 narrated these specifications:

In as much as the ancient and laudable institution of our Order says that the religious should walk about inside the house with a habit, scapular and small white cap, that said institution has been maintained, complying with it as much as possible, since the first foundation in this Province. It is preferred that one use such a laudable, ancient and proper custom pertinent to our religion henceforth, that it may not be lost through negligence by the superiors. We therefore order and mandate that, without exception

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<sup>52</sup> *Rule of St. Augustine*, V, 37.

<sup>53</sup> “Temenos obligación de acudir a nuestro hermanos con lo necesario para su cura en las enfermedades, y en la muerte con los sufragios... haya mucho cuidado en acudir a lo uno a lo otro, no excusando gastos para su regalo, y en las honras que se acostumbraban hacer la cera necesaria a la decencia del acto... para la cura de los religiosos, que no son súbditos del conv<sup>o</sup> de Manila, es el diez por ciento que se da en dinero; y así se ha de gastar en el regalo de los enfermos, haciendo libro aparte para este efecto, en el cual se escriba el gasto y recibo con distinción, para que si no bastare la dicha cantidad...”

<sup>54</sup> This is according to the testimony by Fr. Policarpo Hernández, OSA, who came to the Philippines in 1972. The interview was carried out in Real Colegio de PP. Agustinos, Valladolid, Spain. (July 5, 2020).



whatsoever, all the religious of this Province, both prelates and subjects, walk about and use the said habit in conformance with that of Castille. We declare that in the towns of the natives, both in the headquarters as in the parishes, they may use the white habit outside the house so long as they dress in black when they go out to the street from one place to another (LG 1: 25; San Agustín, 947).

When they go from one convent to another, regardless of the distance, they ought to always wear the black habit (LG 2: 182).<sup>55</sup>

There were discrepancies when it comes to the kind of materials to be used in making their habits. These became explicit after a report was made on the rise of expenses due to expensive materials like silk or *jerga de Mexico* in comparison to cheap thick Chinese flannel cloths. Thus, it was decreed in 1607 that there should be consistency in the observance of poverty without compromising cleanliness (Castro, 39).<sup>56</sup> In other words, less expensive materials were to be used in the fabrication of the religious habit.

A religious was given a white habit every year and a black habit every two years (LG 1: 40).<sup>57</sup> In 1617, they were forbidden to wear a habit made out of *habito de paño* or *chaqueta* or anything that was prestigious or expensive. Acceptable materials for clothing were cheesecloth or *muslin*, *jerga* fabric or flannel cloth (LG 2: 88).<sup>58</sup> A religious was only allowed to wear silk when he was ill and with the permission of the local superior (LG 1: 3). They could also be dispensed from wearing a black habit when praying the *Office of the Readings* during the liturgical season of Christmas, on the Resurrection Sunday, and the Holy Week (LG 1: 37).

## Personnel and Servers

There are a few positions or offices explicitly mentioned in the *Libros de Gobierno*. The regular *oficios* or positions being occupied by the friars were those of the Prior Provincial, the *definidores* (LG 1: 2) (councilors), the *visitadores* (LG 1: 34), the *ministro de indios*, the Provincial Procurator (LG 1: 3), the *examenadores de predicadores* (LG 2: 38), the *examenadores de la lengua de los naturales* (LG 2:

<sup>55</sup> “Y que, de un convento a otro, aunque sea cerca, se vaya siempre de negro.”

<sup>56</sup> Clothes were washed every week.

<sup>57</sup> “No pase en cuenta el gasto que en esto se hiciere si no fuere hecho en ropa de china, y no consienta que haya diferencia en estos hábitos, pues desdice de nuestra religiosa pobreza; para que los religiosos anden con limpieza, mandamos que cada año se les dé a cada religioso un habito blanco y de dos años el negro.”

<sup>58</sup> According to Possidius, in his *Vita Augustini*, Saint Augustine himself refused to accept expensive and luxurious fabrics from donors and exhorted the members of his community to wear clothes made of simple materials.

89), the *maestro de novicios* (LG 1: 3), the *lectores de teología* (LG 2: 36), and the *chronista* (LG 2: 206). Other local positions were those of the house prior (LG 1: 3), the sub-prior (LG 1: 20), the confessor for the *españoles* (LG 1: 6), the preacher (*predicadores*) –one for the *españoles* and one for the *indios* (but later on, one could be both depending on his qualifications) (LG 1: 7), and the sacristan (LG 2: 36). The rest were the professed brothers, the *coristas*, and the lay brothers (Lg 2: 264).<sup>59</sup> A friar could have several offices depending on his capacity.

There were necessary criteria in order for one to be nominated to such positions. For example, to be a prior, he must be at least 34 years old and 12 years as a professed. Moreover, he must be knowledgeable of Latin and the language of the natives. He must be a man of knowledge, virtue, and prudence (LG 1: 58). To be a definitor, one must know Latin. Once elected, both the Provincial and the definitors were not allowed to leave the Philippines during their term or tenure (Lg 1: 59).<sup>60</sup> To be a preacher and confessor of the *españoles*, one must have studied Theology and Morals. Finally, in order to be ordained, one must also be competently knowledgeable of Latin, apart from completing the courses on Arts, Morals, and Theology (LG 1: 59).

Aside from the friars, the convents also housed certain numbers of *indio* male servers who helped in the kitchen (LG 2: 216),<sup>61</sup> at the infirmary, in the library, and as companions during friars' travel (LG 2: 42). Except for bigger convents like San Agustín in Manila and Sto. Niño in Cebu, the rest were allowed to have, at most, two servers (LG 2: 183).<sup>62</sup> It is worth mentioning that as early as 1575, the Chapter decided to free all the slaves, including those who were bought onwards (LG 1: 2).<sup>63</sup> Although they took some of them as servers, they were nevertheless compensated (LG 1: 110).

## Travel

The religious were governed by certain rules when they travelled to Manila and other convents in the islands. Visits to any convent in Manila without any justifiable reason or a written permission from the Prior Provincial were prohibited

<sup>59</sup> "Que de ninguna manera se les llamme de Reverencia a los Hnos, coristas y legos..."

<sup>60</sup> "Ningun diffinidor ni prior pueda salir para España ni para Nueva España so pena de que uacara luego su off<sup>o</sup> si el fuere de su voluntad..."

<sup>61</sup> "Se compre un esclavo cocinero que cueste 200 ps. o más."

<sup>62</sup> "Ningún religioso pueda tener más que dos criados, contándose entre ellos el esclavo o esclavos que se permiten tener."

<sup>63</sup> "Que todos los esclavos comprados de las casas sean libres, y lo mesmo todos los que se compraren de aquí adelante..."

(LG 1: 8). They were only allowed to travel or go to Manila without such permission when they were gravely ill, summoned by the bishop or invited by the Governor General (LG 1: 32).

They were forbidden to travel through *carruaje*, which was the means of transportation used by bishops at that time. They must rather travel like the rest of the poor population and as religious (LG 1: 8). Those religious and convents that owned horses must secure the written permission of the *Prior* Provincial and the definitors in order to use their horses. Before such permission was given, they must be able to explain and justify well why they possessed them (LG 1: 77). Whenever they sent *indios* or travelled with them or rode *bancas* owned by others, they had to pay (LG 1: 57). As to the distance that is permissible for them to travel without permission, it must not be more than *tres leguas* or almost fifteen kilometers (14.48 km) (LG 2: 155).<sup>64</sup>

## Recreation

There were a few indoor games that friars were allowed to play. What had been emphasized though were the forbidden ones subject to certain punishments, ranging from removal from office to imprisonment. The ruling on games changed several times. At certain periods, the law was relaxed with prescribed limitations, but most of the times the prohibitions were very strict (LG 1: 87).<sup>65</sup> In 1591, for example, the prohibition to play cards and other games that involved money, including those in the pretext of lending, was clearly spelled out (LG 1: 40). The games that were permitted were the *burras*<sup>66</sup> or the *axedres de papel* or the *cordones* in small quantity. The friars playing them were strongly exhorted to maintain decency as religious. In 1596, games using cards and dice were prohibited (LG 1: 48). The games that were allowed were board games, chess, *bolos* (medieval style of bowling), and *argolla*<sup>67</sup> (ring). They were allowed to play games using stuff like *cordones* or paper and other non-valuable materials, betting with *caxeta* (small box), *dos pares de gallinas* (two pairs of hen), and *un poco de colación* (breakfast or meal share) (LG1: 48). From 1591 to 1612, the

<sup>64</sup> “No puedan los religiosos salir de sus conventos más distancia que de tres leguas sin licencia particular de N P Prov.al a cuyo arbitrio queda la justificación.”

<sup>65</sup> “Declaramos q.el juego de las tablas es juego prohibido por n.ra constituciones, así mandamos q.no no se juegen so pena serán castigos según la constitución.”

<sup>66</sup> *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana*, vol. 9 (Barcelona: José Espasa e Hijos, 1930), 1510: “Cierta juego de tablas entre dos, en que según los puntos que señalan los dados, se ponen todas las piezas en las seis caras, y después se van sacando, y el que primero las saca todas, gana el juego.”

<sup>67</sup> *Enciclopedia Universal*, vol. 6, 146: “Juego que consiste en hacer pasar unas bolas de madera, que se impelen con palas cóncavas, por una argolla de hierro clavada en el suelo.”

regulations on recreation changed nine times. In 1602, all games were prohibited. In 1603, board games were allowed provided that no bets like money and silver were involved. Players were to use instead cord and papers or other non-valuable materials that would amount to less than a peso a day (LG 1: 90).<sup>68</sup> In 1607, card and board games were allowed to be played, but any involvement of monetary value was strictly prohibited (LG 1: 107).<sup>69</sup> In 1608, games like *naipes* (cards), *tablas* (boardgame) and *dados* (dice) were again prohibited (LG 2: 41). Such provisions were deemed necessary as some games were becoming a real vice and constituted a violation of the vow of poverty (LG 1: 89).

There were also several occasions when Augustinian friars played together with other religious from different Orders (LG 2: 68).<sup>70</sup> However, it was strictly prohibited to play with the secular or the lay people (LG 1: 96).

### Carrying of Guns

The first decree on guns and armaments came out in 1586, which was understood to be in line with the prohibitions contained in the *Constitutions* of the Order. Nevertheless, considering that the archipelago is a *campo* or *tierra de guerra*, the religious were allowed to carry guns (LG 1: 48). In 1601, the Chapter still supported the license given to friars to carry guns but it reminded them not to make it known to the public, not to have many of them, and not to use them even as a friendly warning fire (LG 1: 81).<sup>71</sup> However, due to many abuses as reported in the Chapter of 1608, the carrying of or possession of arms and guns by individual religious was strictly forbidden. However, while friars could still have them in the convent, they must be kept in a common, secure and hidden place (LG 1: 42).<sup>72</sup> The following year, the Province required all guns and arms to be declared.

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<sup>68</sup> “Modificamos el mandato que este puesto acerca del juego de las tablas, concedemos que pueden los religiosos jugarlas, con tal. q. no se juegue dinero ni plata, ni cosa de valor, sino papel y cordones, o cosa semejante que no exeda el valor de un peso y esto por un día.”

<sup>69</sup> “Los juegos de naipes y se añade lo mesmo para el de las tablas; y q a ningún juego se puedan jugar dineros ni otra cosa fuera de cordones, o papel, y esto sin q. aya licencia para ello...”

<sup>70</sup> “En las recreaciones de la orden, en las cuales los religiosos se recrean entreteniend o el tiempo en juegos honestos, si se hallaren algunos religiosos de otras Ordenes, pueden entretenerse con los dichos religiosos en los juegos, no obstante su definición que contradice esto.”

<sup>71</sup> “Aunque concedemos tener a los religiosos armas algunas conforme a la necesidad y a los nuevos peligros q.ay en esta tierra, prohibimos q.en manera alguna sea con publicidad o con demasia ni con alboroto, haciendo salvas o cosas semejantes.”

<sup>72</sup> “Porque en esta provincia ha habido abuso contra nuestra constitución en traer los religiosos armas indifferente, ...que no traigan los religiosos armas, declaremos no poder/tener ningún religioso ofensivas ni defensivas, ni tenerlas en sus celdas; pero en las casas que hubiere riesgo y peligro, podrán estar algunas en comunidad, cerradas y guardadas para el tiempo de la necesidad, y en los caminos llevarán los indios que fueren consigo las armas que fueren menester.”

## Business and Contributions

The only authorized persons to handle secular businesses and transactions were the Prior Provincial and the Provincial Procurator. All their transactions referred to both internal and external matters. The internal matters included all the transfer of properties from one convent to another, the setting of tariffs and contributions of the convents in the provinces to Manila and Cebu, and the securing of all the collectible donations from the parishes, *haciendas* and *encomiendas*. The external transactions, on the other hand, included dealings with the Royal Crown, the Church, the bishops, other religious Orders, and the lay people.

The convent of Manila, which served as the Provincial house, received the majority of the contributions in terms of money, rice, and other goods. As stipulated, the convent received ten pesos for every hundreds of stipend and perpetual rents from all convents remitted annually. In 1617, however, other convents were considered poor and, hence, freed of the obligations (LG 2: 89).<sup>73</sup>

## Offenses and Punishments

Religious who volunteered to work on a mission were fully aware of the difficulties awaiting them once they reached the mission territory. They consoled themselves and drew inspiration from the thought that they would be saving souls by converting them to the Catholic faith. Their life was very much governed by laws and statutes with corresponding sanctions and punishments for every offense. Thus, aside from the 1551 Augustinian *Constitutions* that explicitly cited some prohibitions and punishments for certain offenses, the provincial and local Chapters also decreed to reinforce the imposed punishments on violations of certain provisions and any immoral acts. The following are some examples of what are mentioned in the *Libros de Gobierno* 1 and 2.

1. Bringing women to the convent – either on the part of the superior or of other members, entailed the loss of active voice for three years (LG 1: 19).
2. Allowing women to enter the convent entailed heavy punishment for a week (LG 1: 40); for the *Constitutions* of 1551 it meant imprisonment in the convent with only bread and water as ration.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>73</sup> “Por cuanto los conventos están muy necesiatdos, quitamos todas las colectas que acostumbraban a dar al de S. Pablo de Manila y a otros en dinero, dejandolos libres de ellas...”

<sup>74</sup> *Constitutions* 1551 – Cap. IX, 7. “Poenam Carceris per (tres menses) subeat, ieiunetq; singulis sextis ferys, in pane et aqua...” (time differed depending on the severity of the offense.)

3. Allowing somebody to sleep in the convent entailed the removal from office of priors and vicars, while the subordinates would be punished with heavy penalty within four months (LG 1: 87).<sup>75</sup>
4. Sending any material to Mexico without the written permission of the Prior Provincial (Rodríguez, 1990: 179) and engaging oneself into business with the *encomiendas* in Mexico were both punishable by *latae sententiae* excommunication (LG 1: 40).
5. Playing cards (*naipes*) and engaging in other forms of gambling entailed for an elected superior (vicar or prior) the loss of any voice in the next Provincial Chapter. If he were a subordinate, he would suffer the consequence for two months (LG 1: 40). The same penalty also applied to all who simply assisted in the said prohibited acts even by simply watching or listening.
6. Giving false testimony was subject to punishment depending on the gravity of the consequence of the offense. It varied from physical mortification and fasting to imprisonment or expulsion from the Philippines (LG 1: 55).
7. Those religious who would be asking for alms from their superior and others without good justification and written permission from the Prior Provincial would be subject to suspension from office for at least a month (LG 1: 48).
8. Those who revealed the offenses of the friars to the lay people and wrote a libelous letter against the Province were subject to *latae sententiae* excommunication (LG 2: 44).
9. Those who failed in the required studies would not be recommended to proceed to priesthood, according to the *Constitutions* of 1623 (cf. Part 5, Chapter 9) (LG 2: 44).<sup>76</sup>

## Conclusion

The early Augustinians were engaged on 125 missions in the span of 333 years, including the 1543 Villalobos expedition (Grijalva, 125).<sup>77</sup> The total number of missionaries sent to the Philippines was 2,830 (Fernández, 21) excluding the friars who later left or were dismissed from the Order or from the ministry.

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<sup>75</sup> Imprisonment with only bread and water as a ration for a day.

<sup>76</sup> See Crusenio, 1623.

<sup>77</sup> They were not able to land for they were simply being shooed away by the natives in the Sarangani Bay area.

The daily life that the early missionaries lived in the Philippines was a combination of both ordinary and extraordinary feats, like praying the Divine Office eight times a day and carrying fire-arms due to the eminent dangers they were in. Their life generally revolved around the *Rule* of St. Augustine and the Order's *Constitutions*. They also spent much time giving catechism and building churches and convents. No one could say that the life of the early missionaries was easy especially when they went to towns and were left alone to establish themselves and survive under the mercy of the natives. They were equipped with learnings of the arts, Latin language, morality, and theology. They also studied the respective languages of the natives as a prerequisite before they could be assigned to the provinces. They also worked hard to earn a living instead of simply depending on donations. It was not a life of do-what-ever-you-want, because every little mistake had some serious consequences (like removal from office, imprisonment inside the convent, expulsion from the Order, and even deportation back to Mexico or Spain). They also had moments of recreation, but these were limited to playing chess using paper and cords. Playing cards was strictly forbidden while other games were inconsistently prohibited. They lived their life religiously and with discipline, yet they also knew how to break the monotony. Many were saintly, while there were some who lost their way.

The Augustinian missionaries, being the first missionaries to evangelize the Philippine archipelago, played a significant role in the history of the Filipino people. Thus, a reconstruction of the life of these early religious through archival sources gives the present generation a glimpse and a deeper understanding not only of the context of their daily life but also of their visions and struggles. As they lived with and immersed themselves among the natives, they also commenced to introduce to them their religious and Spanish culture and traditions - from siesta to fiesta and other day-to-day practices - which many Filipinos undeniably imbibe until today.<sup>PS</sup>

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