The Liturgical Principles Used by the Missionaries and the Missionary Background to the Christianization of the Philippines

LUIS BALQUIEDRA*

The purpose of this study is to highlight the principles which guided the missionaries in their liturgical, pastoral actions in the Philippines within the historical context of Spain's missionary involvement in the Western Hemisphere of our globe, commonly called the Western Indies or *Indias Occidentales*. The liturgical activities of the Spanish missionaries did not happen in a vacuum. They were influenced by the religious and economic and political situations of the Age of Western Expansionism and by the post-Tridentine Church reality. In the discussion we shall see how the liturgical principles adopted by the missionaries —by the Franciscans in particular— gave shape to the liturgical life in their *pueblos*.

We single out the main principles: (1) the *reducción* or resettlement of the native Filipinos, (2) the principles of *orthodoxy* and *uniformity*, and (3) those of *substitution* and *adaptation*. These principles gave the direction to the development of the ecclesial and liturgical life in the Filipino Franciscan pueblos in a special way. Moreover, to better situate the ecclesial and liturgical development in the Philippines we shall also discuss the reasons that motivated the Spanish Crown to Christianize the Philippines as well as the general attitude and spiritual disposition of the missionaries in relation to their

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* Mons. Luis Balchiedra holds a doctorate in Liturgy by the Anselmianum in Rome. He is at present the Rector of St. Alphonsus Liguori Seminary in Lucena, and concurrently a member of the Commission on Liturgy in the Philippines.

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missionary task —two factors which also contributed to the shaping of the ecclesial and liturgical life in the Spanish Philippines, particularly in the Franciscan pueblos.

I. The *Reducción* of Native Filipinos in Pueblos

By *'reducción'* we mean 'the resettlement of the Filipino Indios or native Filipinos in pueblos.'[1] This undertaking was one of the most important preoccupations of the conquistadores and missionaries in the history of Spanish colonization of the New World and the Philippines. This was not only a method of colonization but also a basic principle of liturgical pastoral action of missionaries who were imbued with medieval as well as modern views of man.[2]

The medieval idea of the unity of God, the unity of mankind and of society, the concept of order and hierarchy, the vision of things *sub specie aeternitatis*, and the humanitarian preoccupation of the incipient Modern Age, all these inspired the Spanish missionaries in the Philippines to dispel the darkness of error among the indigenous inhabitants, so that they too could be part of the one Catholic Church and subjects of their Catholic sovereigns of Spain. According to the mentality of the Age, new people who were to be accepted into the fold of the one Church must also conform to the new lifestyle and new mode of thinking. The missionaries then spoke of teaching the native Filipinos the ways of "civilized living" (which they called *policía*), so that the Christian faith could be planted, could thrive and prosper. This explains why the missionaries and conquistadores considered their task as a spiritual as well as a temporal conquest. Both the missionaries and the conquistadores were zealous in promoting the glory of *ambas majestades*, that is, the glory of God and the king.[3] To attain these spiritual and temporal

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[1] *Reducción* was the technical term used in Spanish laws concerning the Indies referring to the congregating of native inhabitants in *pueblos*. Cf. *Leyes de Indias*, tit.30, lib.60,1a.

[2] The spirit of the Middle Ages never deserted the minds and hearts of the Spanish colonizers —conquistadores as well as missionaries— during the whole missionary involvement of Spain in the Western Hemisphere. Cf. A. Escalona Ramos, *El espíritu de la Edad Media y América* (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1959).

[3] De la Costa, *Readings in Philippine History* (RPH-Cos), Manila, p.65: "It is a recurrent, almost a ritual phrase in the official documents: *el servicio de ambas Majestades*. This is what claimed the entire allegiance of Spanish subjects every-

objectives, the native Filipinos would have to be resettled in *pueblos* or villages where they could live as children of the Church and vassals of the Catholic kings.

From the liturgical point of view this colonizing or rather Christianizing approach was not really far from the prerequisite of the Vatican Council II for an active participation of the faithful in liturgical celebration.[4] There can be no liturgical celebration unless there is a community that celebrates it. Of course, the missionaries considered liturgy not so much as celebration but as administration of the sacraments, for which a political administration was a prerequisite. And for all this, the re-settlement of the native inhabitants was necessary. Unwittingly or wittingly, however, they were in fact creating communities of believers that could worship together as liturgical assemblies. For this reason we consider this missionary approach of resettling the Filipino Indios in compact villages as the first principle of liturgical pastoral action in the development of the ecclesial and liturgical life in the Spanish Philippines.

The need for the re-settlement of the native Filipinos in villages became evident and urgent as soon as the Franciscans began the task of evangelization.[5] The missionaries could not run forever after the

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where, from the highest to the lowest, from Manila to Madrid: in the temporal order, the majesty of the King, and in the spiritual order, the majesty of God. The Church was primarily concerned, of course, with the service of God. The State with the service of the King; but it would be a great mistake to imagine that this meant a division of labor or powers. In the constitution of Spain and the Spanish empire each served both Majesties, God and the King. Church and State might be distinct, but they were not divided. They were integral parts of one massive structure, which might be viewed either as a civilizing Church or a missionary State."

[4] Cf. Second Vatican Council Documents: SC, n.14; n.10; also *Instructio de musica sacra in Sacra Liturgia* (SRC, 5 March 1967), n.42; *Instructio generalis de Liturgia Horarum* (SCCD, 2 February 1971), n.33; C. Floristan (ed.), *Comentarios a la Constitución sobre la sagrada liturgia* (Madrid: BAC, 1965), pp.142, 225-56,239-40,557; L. della Torre, *La "Nuova Messa"*, 2 vols. (Brescia: Quiriniana, 1965), 1:121-151, II:250-58.

[5] The Augustinians who came with the Legazpi expedition (1565) primarily served as chaplains to the Spanish soldiers. They only baptized native Filipinos who came in close contact with them for their survival. But there was no wide-scale, systematic plan of conversion. The monks were also unsure whether the king would ask them to stay on these islands. Fray Diego de Herrera wrote to the king in 1570: "We have not seriously attempted any conversion among the natives until the will of

native inhabitants in mountains and fields in order to preach the Christian faith and administer the sacraments to them. They had some experience in resettling the Indios in South America,[6] but in the Philippines re-settlement was even more necessary because demographical isolation prevented large scale unification. (The Philippine Archipelago consists of more than 7,000 big and small islands!) Moreover, the Filipinos neither arrived at a political centralization nor developed ideas of perfect state inspite of their contact with the subjects of the great kingdoms of China and Japan.[7]

Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneyra, in the first-published chronicle of the Franciscan missions in the Philippines, had this observation:

> As regards the form of government they were living like barbarians because they acknowledged neither king nor head, so that the more powerful acted as tyrant... and in every region there was one who acted as such Lord, giving orders tyrannically and whom they obeyed out of fear.[8]

This comment, of course, is a simplification of facts and calls for a short description of the pre-Hispanic Filipino society, in order to better understand the missionaries' insistence on "reducing," "congre-

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the king is made clear. Close to Cebu are spacious and rich lands which belong to you (Philip II), China, Lequios (Ryukyu Islands), Java, Japan. We thought we would be ordered to go there and leave these islands which although possessing many gold mines and rivers with gold, are worth little compared with these other places" (Letter to Philip II, as quoted and translated in N. Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University, 1971), p.76.

[6] C. Gibson, *Spain in America.* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966; Harper Torchbooks, 1967), pp.82, 196-98.

[7] J. L. Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses, 1565-1700.* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1967), pp. 26-27.

[8] Marcelo de Ribadeneira, *Historia de las islas del Archipielago Filipino y reinos de la Gran China, Tartaria, Cochinchina, Malaca, Siam, Cambodge y Japon, y lo sucedido en ellos a los religiosos descalços de la Orden del seraphico padre San Francisco de la Provincia de San Gregorio de las Philippinas.* (Barcelona: 1601), cap.8: "En lo que toca a su govierno, vivían como bárbaros, porque no reconocían alguno por Rey, y cabeça. Y ansi vivían los que eran más poderosos como tyranos, y avía en cada lugar uno destos, que como Señor, tyránicamente les madaba, y a quien ellos por temor obedecían."

gating" or resettling the Filipino Indios[9] in definite, compact villages with clear boundaries.

The lowland, native Filipinos —technically called *Indios* by the Spaniards in opposition to *Infieles* (infidels) or *Montaraces* (mountain people) and *Cimarrones* (savages)— recognized a basic form of society called *barangay*. A 'barangay' was a cluster of houses, generally from thirty to hundred, that formed a small village. The bond of this so-called tribal society was not totem nor necessarily a common parentage. They grouped together for the simple reason that they acknowledged the same leader or chief. Sometimes along the coastal lines and plains several barangays settled quite near to each other for mutual aid, especially in times of emergency, such as natural calamities and attacks from enemies. But it appeared from the writings of missionaries that the majority of houses were dispersed in woods isolated from neighbors.

This situation obviously made the work of evangelization difficult, requiring many more priests than the religious orders in Spain and New Spain could send. The native inhabitants could not even be assured of spiritual assistance that was necessary for growth in faith after baptism. The celebration *fiestas* —an important part of the Spanish version of Christianity— in the standard of the medieval mind, coupled with the post-Tridentine baroque enthusiasm, was simply impossible in this condition.

After two years of roaming around the area between the Manila Bay region through the Tagalog region of Laguna de Baí and Tayabas up to the Bicol region, "chasing souls" in mountains and fields, the Franciscans realized the stark futility of their approach. In their provincial Chapter of July 1580 they decided to ask the king for backing and funding of the formal resettlement of the native Filipinos. Fray Juan de Plasencia took the task seriously, presented a plan of *reducciones* to the Junta of Manila and sought from the king *cedulas reales* to effect

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[9] The technical name 'Filipino Indios' referred to native inhabitants of the Philippine Archipelago who accepted Christianity and the sovereignty of the Spanish king. As we shall see below, they were the only subjects of the Spanish king from whom tributes were collected. In the eyes of the Spanish law the Filipino Indios were on a par with the Indios in the New World. The Filipino Indio who returned to his pagan ways in the mountains was called *Remontado.*

the desired re-settlement.[10] The main idea was to have the native inhabitants within an area in which the missionaries could reside and take care of their spiritual and temporal needs. The term after a time came to be known as *'reducción bajo la campana'*, that is, re-settlement within the hearing of the church bells that served as "criers" to tell the people when and what to pray, when to go to church for religious instruction and liturgical services, and when to go home in the evening.[11] The Franciscan initiative was unanimously followed by the missionaries of all the other religious orders.[12]

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[10] The Franciscans began the movement for "reducción" with the help of the civil authorities in 1580. In 1585, we have an order of Governor Santiago de Vera to Juan de Bustamante, the Alcalde mayor of Camarines Province (in Schumacher, *Readings in Philippine Church History*. (Manila, 1979) [Sigla: RPCH-Schu], pp.39-40): "Fray Juan de Plasencia, Father Custodian of the Order of Saint Francis, informs me that in that province many of the natives live in scattered settlements far from each other, and that the sacraments cannot be administered to them unless they come together in larger communities to build towns for themselves; also, that none of the towns in the royal and private *encomiendas* of that territory have any churches or church furnishings; and he petitions that suitable provision be made. This having been duly considered, you are hereby ordered... to call into consultation Fray Juan de Garrovillas, the Father Guardian of that city, and jointly with him decide what towns are to be formed and what shall be the size and plan of the churches to be built. After examining and discussing the matter, you shall put it into execution by gathering the natives together to build their respective towns and churches and you shall not allow them to be employed by anyone in anything else, unless it be in some business touching the service of his Majesty."

[11] The re-settlement place was called differently in diverse circumstances: *misión, conversión, reducción, doctrina.* But practically they all had the same meaning. J. Specker commented: "Es ist darunter von allem die erste Einführung in die christliche Geisteswelt zu verstehen. Dieses Stadium hatte jedes Dorf, jede Gegend und Siedlung, wo Indianer von den missionaren nicht nur die erste Einführung in die christliche Lehre, sondern auch in die zivilisation und Kultur. So bezeichnen diese Begriffe den ersten Anfang der Missionsarbeit, wobei sehr oft die Missionare selbst nied in den Waldern und Bergen lebenden Indianer zu sameln hatten, um sie dann um ein armes Kirchlein herum anzusiedeln, zu einem sozialen, gesellschaftlichen Leben zu erziehen und in den Anfangsgründen der christlichen Religion zu unterweisen," in *Die Missionsmethode in Spanisch Amerika im 16. Jahrhundert mit besonderer Besichtigung der Konzilien und Synoden* [Schoeneck/Beckenried, *Neue Zeitschrift fur Missionswissenschaft* (NZM), 1953], p.22.

In the Philippines the term *reducción bajo la campana* became popular among the missionaries in the eighteenth century (cf. J.L.Phelan, *The Hispanization*, p.49).

[12] Valentín Morales Marín, *Ensayo de los trabajos realizados por las corporaciones Religiosas en Filipinas.* (Manila: 1901; 2 vols.), I:577.

This is how the Franciscan historian, Fray Juan Francisco de San Antonio, described the feeling of the missionaries about the urgency of resettlement:

> They realized the great dispersion in which these natives were living, who, not content with living in the corners of the mountains, had their houses far apart from each other. The religious were neither able to serve them nor take care of their instruction and conversion without encountering many grave difficulties and dangers in mountains, rivers, abysses, crypts, and most especially the perils from brutes, venomous animals, as well as from the Negritos and Cimarrones, who are more bloodthirsty than the wild animals. For this reason the religious unanimously held that it would be convenient [...] to build some permanent churches where all the Indios could be gathered to hear the Christian doctrine, and partake of the spiritual food, and where the religious could teach, instruct, and administer the holy baptism and other sacraments, when they were ready.[13]

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[13] *Chronicas de la Provincia de S.Gregorio de religiosos de S.Francisco,* por Fr. Juan Francisco de San Antonio, OFM. 3 vols., Sampaloc: 1903-09. [Sigla: *Chronicas S. Greg*], I:371: "Sentían la gran dispersión, con que vivían estos Naturales, que no contentos con habitar en los rincones de los Montes, estaban las Casas unas de otras tan distantes, que ni podían unos a otros favorecerse, ni los Religiosos cuydar de su enseñanza y Conversiones, sin gravísimas dificultades de quiebras de los Montes, de Ríos, Pantanos, y lodazales, sobre otros muchos peligros de Fieras, y ponzoñosos Animales, y de los Negritos, y Cimarrones, que son, más que las Fieras, sangrientos Carybes. Por lo qual todos los Religiosos unánimes tenían por conveniente (y assí se lo propusieron aora a su Custodio vigilante) el que se erigiessen algunas Iglesias permanentes, donde pudiessen todos los Indios juntarse a oir la Doctrina, y gustar los pastos Espirituales, y los Religiosos pudiessen enseñar, instruir, y catechequizar en los mysterios de nuestra Santa Fe a todos igualmente y administrarles el Santo Bautismo, y demas Sacramentos, quando estuviessen capaces; pues de otro modo se hacian impossibles las Conversiones, siendo tan impracticable el andar los Religiosos de casa en casa para estos Ministerios Espirituales segun las situaciones de sus Habitaciones."

Also, Fray Bautista de Puga in his unpublished *Crónica* preserved at the Archivo Franciscano Ibero-Oriental, Madrid, [Sigla: AFIO] *Sección Códices* wrote of the same situation (I, cap.xiii, pp.111-12): "Todo esto, parece que era en contra del dictamen, que antes avian hecho, de no formar doctrinas, ni encargarse dellas con título de curas. Sino, que precissamente por la caridad, anduviessen de una parte a otra, acudiendo a la mayor necessidad; y remediada esta, passasen a otra; sin hazer assiento en pueblo; a la manera de los Apostoles. Mas, la experiencia les desengañó, y les hizo mudar de dictamen; mediante lo qual, edificaron Iglessias, fundaron Doctrinas, y se les señaló partido a cada uno de los Ministros; en el qual residiesse, y asistiesse; tomando a su cargo, a manera de Cura, o Párrocho, aquellas almas, que le entregaron; porque, aunque el se encargasse dellas por caridad, la experiencia le

The beginning of the resettlement —as Fray San Antonio recounted— was signalled by the erection of a church[14] in the center of the site. Then an open atrium or *patio* was laid out in front of it, around which houses in rectangular street block were built. The physical layout of these villages or pueblos was "ecclesio-centric," that is, the church in the center, so that the houses were metaphorically located *bajo la campana.*[15]

Initially the resettlement site was *reducción.* But when a missionary came to reside permanently, the place was called *doctrina*, that is,

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dezía, que estava obligado, a no desampararlos, ni dexarlos en manifiesto peligro de perder la Fe. Y assi se verá, que por pequeña que fuesse la ausencia (que no la hazían, sino es, por sacar a los Indios Gentiles, que vivían en el monte), era en grande detrimento de los recién convertidos. Con que, si libremente se podían salir, despues de dezar ya Christianos, y bastante instruydos en los mysterios de la Fe a los moradores de vn partido, o Provincia, y, yrse a otra (como lo hazían los Apóstoles, y como no deven hazerlo los curas) antes de mucho, vendrían a tal estado los dexados, que se viese el Ministro obligado, a volver, y, acudirles de justicia; pues, en semejantes casos se reputa la tal necessidad por extremo, y en caso de no poder acudir a todos, se ha de acudir primero a los que ya son del Rebaño de Christo.

Con la experiencia, pues, de esto fundaron Iglesias, congregaciones, y Doctrinas, donde doctrinavan, predicavan, y bautizavan, con mucho provecho de las almas, y aumento de esta Christianidad. Y assi, aun antes de partirse a China el Custodio Fray Pedro de Alfaro, era ya muy grande el número de Christianos, y Iglessias, que tenían a su cargo, repartidos por las principales islas de este Archipielago."

[14] The church was the most important building in the doctrina or pueblo. In fact, building churches was the first need the Franciscan missionaries saw in their first two years of apostolic wandering in the Philippines. Again Fray de Puga in his Cronica (I, cap.xiii, p.110) wrote: "El [Custodio Fray Pedro de Alfaro] después de averlo visto, examinado y experimentado por si mismo,... convino en lo que los Religiosos proponían, y era que se levantassen Iglessias; para que los Indios se juntassen en ellas a oyr la Doctrina, y los pudiessen Catechizar, instruyr y enseñar los mysterios de nuestra Santa Fe, respecto de que si no se hazía esto, por el mal uso que tenían, de vivir esparcidos y derramados por los montes, era menester un Ministro para cada Indio; y si avían de hazer algun fruto, avía de ser exponiéndose a peligros, y a padecer varias incomodidades: por lo qual se venía hazer muy dificultosa; y aun casi imposible, esta conversión."

[15] This was the 'gridiron pattern' with a central plaza and rectangular street blocks; but in the Philippines the church —especially after the construction in stones and mortars of many churches— was the prominent center of the grid. For origin of adoption of this pattern of pueblos in the Spanish Indies, see George Kubler, *Mexican Architecture in the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948; 2 vols.). For Philippine situation, see Alicia M. L. Coseteng, *Spanish Churches in the Philippines* (Quezon City: New Mercury Printing Press, 1972).

a place where Christian doctrine was being taught.[16] The missionary, therefore, served as the *doctrinero* or the teacher of christian doctrine or the preacher and evangelizer.

The wholesale uprooting of the native Filipinos from their homes was not easy. In fact, many resisted going to the re-settlement sites. As a consequence, still smaller circumscriptions were made and considered as the smallest units of rural organization, called *rancherías*, dependent upon a *doctrina* for spiritual as well as civil administration. Because these *rancherías* were only visited from time to time by the missionary from the doctrina, they were called *visitas* with a chapel but no resident *doctrinero*.

Up to the seventeenth century the doctrina from which a number of visitas were administered was called *cabecera*.[17] But in the eighteenth century the name "*cabecera*" was applied to the capital township of the province, where the *Alcalde mayor* (provincial governor) had his residence.[18] The doctrinas were then simply called *pueblos*; the *visitas* were designated as *barrios*, while the term "*visita*" was used to refer to the chapel of the barrio.

In Spanish colonial territories the resettlements of the autochthonous inhabitants acquired the status of *parroquias* as soon as missionaries who had been appointed by the ecclesiastical and civil authorities came to reside there.[19] Then the *doctrinero* acquired the title of *Ministro de Indios*.

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[16] A *doctrina* in the full sense of the word had at least three important features, plus the requirement that a resident priest be in charge of it: (1) a definite territory within a diocese which was also under the jurisdiction of the bishop; (2) a church where the native could be congregated for religious instruction and liturgical services; and (3) the majority of inhabitants were natives (in America there were pueblos where more Spaniards than natives lived). Cf. Specker, *Missionsmethode*, p.23.

[17] Phelan, *Hispanization*, pp.47-48.

[18] This is the sense of the word as found in the *Báculo de Parrochos y Ministros de Doctrina en la Provincia de S. Gregorio. Año 1686.* Manual in ms. form, in 2 vols. (chap.1-middle 19 in vol.1; chap.19-27 in vol.2), no paging. [Sigla: *Báculo*]

[19] Officially Spanish America and Spanish Philippines were not considered as "mission lands" but as integral parts of the Spanish Empire. Once a *doctrina* fulfilled the requirements of definite territory, a sufficient number of "reduced" inhabitants, a site for the church, and a duly approved *doctrinero* with congruous support for living decently, it became civilly a pueblo and ecclesiastically received the status of a 'parish'

The Franciscans under the able leadership of Fray Juan de Plasencia organized successful re-settlements in the Laguna de Bai, Tayabas, Camarines and Bicol region in addition to many compact pueblos around the Manila Intramuros area. The project was even more successful in the provinces of the central plains of Luzon. But other provinces in the farthest North and the Bisayan provinces in the South could not boast of the same result.[20] The decrees of the abortive Provincial Council of Manila 1771 were still lamenting the inadequacy of re-settlement of the native Filipinos.[21] Nevertheless, the pre-Hispanic decentralization was largely reduced and the native Filipinos of the doctrinas were brought into contact with the Spanish Christian influences, especially those in the vicinity of the Manila Intramuros.

The missionaries and the civil authorities worked hand in hand in this undertaking. In fact the *Leyes de Indias* enjoined:

> ...The natives, for their own advantages and comfort should live together in the pueblos, and not scattered around the hills and mountains, and of the natural intercourse that there must be, by law of nature, among men.[22]

This law contained a *clausula* penned by Philip II himself, saying that in the Philippines resettlement was "very necessary to observe,

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after the concept of Tridentine Council. The young Filipino Church was patterned after the Church in Spain. Specker described this situation briefly (*Missionsmethode*, p.10): Obwohl es sich um Missionslander handelte, hatte man bei deren Aufbau die spanische Hierarchie vor Augen. So wurde den neuerrichteten Bistumern auch der ganze schwerfallige Apparat von Kanonikanten, Pfunden und Kirchenamtern mit oder ohne Seelsorge beigegeben, wie sie den ur-alten Domkirchen und Pfarreien auf der Spanischen Halbsinsel eigneten, ein Beweis dafur, dass Spanisch-Amerika letzlich nicht als Missionsland, sondern als integrierender Teil der Monarchie betrachtet wurde."

[20] Phelan, *Hispanization*, p. 46.

[21] P. Bantigue, *The Provincial Council of Manila, 1771*. Washington, DC:1957. [Sigla: PCM-Text], p.90 "...Provincialis Manilana Synodus auditis plurimorum Parochorum quaerelis ob nondum civili vita sociatam Indorum gentem et populorum informitatem, rogat Illmum. Gubernatorem ut omnibus impedimentis aggrediatur."

[22] *Leyes de Indias*, lib.60, tit.30, la, as translated and quoted in Eladio Neira, *Conversion Methodology in the Philippines* (1565-1665) (Manila: University of Santo Tomas Press, 1966), p.34.

since the natives are thinly scattered and are settled amid rivers and marshes where they are found with much difficulty."[23] The *encomenderos* were also commanded to help in this task.

For the preservation of the re-settlements the intervention of civil authorities was sometimes very crucial. An example of this can be seen from a decree issued by the Audencia of Manila in 1678 to the Alcalde mayor of the Laguna province for the preservation of Majayjay, a *reducción*, which had become a full-grown township. The Franciscans of the place discovered that many of the inhabitants stayed away from the cabecera and remained in the field in order to escape from the *polos* (citizen's labor services on public works) required from the residents of each town. Spiritual harm ensued therefrom, because they missed their Sunday Mass and ceased to go to confession. Many died without the last sacraments.[24]

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[23] Ibid.

[24] This problem is described by J. Palazon in his *Majayjay (Cómo se creaba un pueblo)*. (Manila: Historical Conservation Society, 1964), p.138: "Otro documento de 1678 nos revela la extensión que esa practica había adquirido por entonces y la importancia que le atribuía las autoridades. Se trata de un decreto, esta vez de la Audencia, expedido a consecuencia de una consulta del Superior de los Franciscanos que se quejaba de 'que en unos parages y llanura muy grande que hay en la Provincia de Bay, que comúnmente llaman el Paran se comprende dentro de los términos y circunvalación de los pueblos de Majayjay, Lilio, Nagcarlan, San Pablo, Los Baños, Bay, Pila, Santa Cruz, Lumbang y Cavinti viven muchísimos indios así Bagamundos, como tributantes de dichos Pueblos y de otros, interpolados los unos con los otros, por razón de no tener dichos pueblos aclarados ni reparados en forma sus términos, de lo cual la flojedad y veleydades de los indios ha tomado motivo para invertir medios como faltar al servicio de Dios Nuestro Señor y del Rey y vivir a sus anchuras y por la ves ocasiones, se desvanecían de su pueblo, y forman su asiento en otro y contese que muchos son tributantes en un pueblo y tienen la sementera junto a otro y para oir misa y acudir a poloy y servicios personales se empadronan en otros, sin mudar de ranchería, de donde resulta que no acuden a Casa ninguna, pues si el Ministro de Doctrina les pregunta si han oydo Misa, responden la oyen en donde tienen sus sementeras, y al de éste, que en donde están empadronados, y que algunos años a esta parte han dejado las Casas que tenían en los pueblos, viviendo de las cuatro partes de los indios, las tres fuera de ellos repartidos por dicho Paran, y los mas en parajes ocultos donde ni los Ministros de Dios Nuestro Señor ni del Rey pueden dar con ellos, de que se originan gravísimos inconvenientes para sus Almas como son el no oir Misa la mayor parte de dichos indios, el morirse muchos sin confesión, estar amancebados con título de casarse sin haber quien pueda remediarlo por vivir fuera de poblado con libertad de asentar su domicilio cada uno donde quiere."

The decree ordered—[25]

- that the boundaries of every pueblo must be made clear and definite;

- that the Filipino Indios must have in one and the same pueblo the following: (a) domicile, (b) *repartimiento de polos y servicios personales*, (c) houses, and (d) means of living;

- that they ought to have their houses in the pueblo proper or

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[25] Palazon, *Majayjay*, pp.139-140: "... deseando se contiene este mando de dicho Alcalde mayor por los grandes bienes que se siguieren de vivir los indios en los pueblos con los cristianos políticos, y que se evitarán ofensas graves a Dios Nuestro Señor no dejándoles vivir en su libertad que es quasi gentílica que por la obligación de su oficio y está a su cargo la mayor parte de los indios de dicha jurisdicción de Bay para su remedio nos propuso los puntos siguientes:

Primer punto: Que ordenamos al General Don Antonio Nieto, Alcalde mayor de la Provincia de la Laguna, haga que los pueblos de su jurisdicción reconozcan sus términos, dándole autoridad bastante, mediante lo cual pueda determinar de Justicia y servicio del Rey nuestro Señor. Segundo punto: Que ningún indio pueda vivir de asiento en su pueblo y tener su domicilio en otro, sino en el pueblo en cuyo término tiene su repartimiento de polos y servicios personales, abstenga su Casa y vivienda y deuda y oir Misa y confesarse de suerte que estas tres cosas anden siempre juntas. Tercer punto: Que compela a todos los indios vivan y tengan sus casas en los pueblos, sin permitirles vivir en las sementeras más que el tiempo que durare la cosecha solamente, y que para dicho efecto no se les permita hacer casa en forma, sino una casilla o choza que les sirva de albergue el dicho tiempo y, concluída la cosecha, les quiten a dichas casas los tabique o dindines, dejando los jarigues y cubierta solamente para que con eso el año siguiente con facilidad puedan, con algunas cañas u hojas, componerlas. Quarto punto: Que si por alguna causa indispensable (como es por ser algún indio ascendero), se hubiere de permitir a algunos tener casa en la sementera, sea con dos modificaciones, la primera que tenga casa principal en el pueblo y habite en ella, y así la del campo sea para alguno de sus criados que le guarden; y la segunda es que la dicha casa se ponga junto al camino real para que con eso sirva de albergue a los pasajeros, y los Ministros de justicia puedan hallarlos y llamarlos con mandamiento cuando se ofreciere algunos despachos.

Consultado el Alcalde mayor de la provincia informó diciendo que 'será muy de servicio de ambas Majestades y de alivio de los naturales de esta Provincia el reducirlos a forma política que según ese memorial se representa, pues con eso se evitarán muchísimos pecados... corren plazas de Bagamundos en los servicios personales; y bandalas, que es lo más pesado, cae sobre pocos por lo referido pudiendo compartirse en muchos.' Y despues de agregar que 'es cierto que en los parajes referidos hay grandes latrocinios y otras maldades,' e insistir en que 'muchos se mueren sin confesión...y a veces lo echan en los campos por no tomar trabajo de traerlos a entrar en el Poblado' acaba recomendando se ponga 'en execución lo que en dicho memorial se expresó."

población and no one must build a house on the fields, except perhaps a temporary hut during harvest season;

• that in case there would be a real need to build houses on the farm, they should be inhabited only by the servants and lay along the *road at the disposal of travelling government officials, while the* principal house should remain in the *pueblo* proper.

The resettlement of the native Filipinos in compact villages or pueblos was considered by the missionaries as the only means by which Christian living could mot properly be nourished and worthy Christian worship becomingly fostered. This persuasion Fray Eusebio Polo illustrated in his paper written as a contribution to the preparations of the 1771 Manila Synod. He explained to the archbishop the spiritual benefits obtainable from having consolidated *reducciones* in the following vein:

> Let us consider two pueblos, for instance: the one reduced, the other not reduced (that is, dispersed like most places in the provinces), and we shall see a complete difference. In the former, there is attendance in the church not only on feastdays but also on working days; in the latter, lack of it. In the former there is an attendance of boys at the school...; in the latter, nothing, even if the priest killed himself [in order to have of it]. In the first pueblo there is to hope for the fruit of preaching of the Ministros; but in the second, nothing to hope for, because there is hardly anyone who goes to Mass if they come at all. They only think of going home because they come from afar and have to make great effort to walk. In the former we see many frequenting the sacrament on solemn days; in the latter, thank God, if there is an old woman. In the first pueblo, there can be preaching, teaching, and they can instruct one another. This is impossible in the second pueblo. In the former they see each other, they look at each other, they take notice of each other, they observe one another, and if they do not abstain from offending God for God's sake, they do so for fear of what people will say, since they are seen. It is evident that there is no place for this in the latter. In the first situation, because he or she can observe that So-and-so goes to Mass. This cannot happen in the second instance. In the former the very bell preaches, but not in the latter, because it is not heard. In short, in the first case there are many incentives to good, and every lack of it in the second.[26]

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[26] "Carta de Fr. Eusebio Polo al Señor Arzobispo D. Basilio Sancho de Santa Justa y Rufina," in Angel Pérez, *Relaciones Agustinianas de las razas del norte de*

The re-settlement of the Filipino Indios in pueblos was the beginning of their new life with *policía*. It was also the beginning of their Church-liturgical life. The native Filipino Christians now began to go to church for Sunday and feastday worship and for regular instruction on Christian doctrine. The missionaries could follow their spiritual growth with less dangers to their health or life. The celebration of feast which was an important feature of the ecclesial and liturgical life of the Spanish version of Catholicism transplanted in the Philippines could now be well organized through the cooperation of the whole community of the pueblos. These reducciones (now turned into pueblos) became the scenes of all ecclesial and liturgical activities of the Filipino Indios.

II. Orthodoxy and Uniformity in Liturgical Practices of the Spanish Missionaries in the Philippines

The fullness of the time came as decreed in the inscrutable mind of the Most High, when he took pity on many nations such as those who live in the darkness of death, like those in the vast islands of the hidden South Seas, and principally on these Philippine Islands. They were living in the blindness under the tyrannical rule of satan whom they adored, coward and ignorant and deprived of... the abundant fruits of

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Luzon (Manila: 1904), p.266: "Para que no parezca que hablo de memoria, hablaré prácticamente. Póngase la consideración en dos Pueblos, Vg. uno que está reducido, y otro (como están los más de está Provincia, dispersos) y se encontrará una total diferencia. En el primero que asistencia a la Iglesia no sólo en los días festivos, sino también en los de labor. En el segundo que falta: En el primero que asistencia la de los muchachos a la escuela (menos en los cabeceras porque parece que temen al S. Alcalde). En el segundo nada, por más que el Ministro se mate. En el primero se puede esperar fruto de la predicación de el Ministro, pero en el segundo, no, porque no hay apenas quien vaya a Misa; y de los que van, como vienen de lejos, y les cuesta trabajo el andar, solo estan pensando en cuando se vuelven. En el primero se ve mucho frecuencia de sacramentos en los días solemnes. En el segundo, gracias a Dios si hay alguna vieja. En el primero, se predican, se enseñan, se instruyen unos a otros. En el segundo, no puede ser esto. En el primero se ven, se miran, se reparan, y observan unos a otros, y cuando no se abstengan de ofender a Dios, por Dios, se abstienen por el qué dirán, porque les estan viendo. En el segundo, ya se ve que no hay lugar a esto. En el primero, porque uno o una ve que Fulano va a Misa. En el segundo, no puede suceder esto. En el primero hasta la campana predica; pero no en el segundo, que no la oyen. En una palabra, en el primero hay muchos alicientes, para lo bueno, y todo falta en el segundo. [...] El primero mejor y principalísimo medio es el que vivan reducidos debajo de Campana, sin admitirles excusas de animales."

the universal and copious Redemption of Mankind, which those from Europe and America are now enjoying....[27]

Thus sounds the opening words of the chronicle of Fray Gaspar de San Agustín, *Conquista de las Islas Filipinas*, imitating the language of the revelation of the Pauline Mystery.

Fray San Agustín saw this great event in the annals of the people of Asia come about in the dramatic setting in the history of the Universal Church. For, "in the very time when in the North the tempestuous winds of heresies we lament today gushed forth violently, [the Church] sent her ministers to the remotest parts of the West Indies to give her new members."[28]

The Council of Trent dealt with these heresies fittingly by formulating clear-cut doctrine on the sacraments, especially on the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and the norms for the right way of performing them. New liturgical books had to be published under the authority of the Tridentine Council. And to assure that the liturgical provisions of the Council were faithfully kept, Pope Sixtus V created the Sacred Congregation of Rites in 1588.

The main intention of the Tridentine liturgical reform was to stop the abuses that had accumulated around the celebration of the sacraments, especially the Mass, so that two main ideas characterized the reform: orthodoxy and uniformity.[29] These Tridentine principles of

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[27] Juan de Concepción, *Historia general de Philipinas. Conquista espiritual y temporal de estos españoles dominios, establicimientos, progressos y decadencias* (Manila: 1788-1792; 14 vols.), I:1: "Llegó la plenitud de el tiempo decretado en la inescrutable mente de el Altísimo, para apiadarse de tantas naciones, como en las dilatadas Islas de el escondido Mar del Sur, y principalmente en estas Philipinas, habitaban en las tinieblas de la muerte; viviendo ciegos debaxo del tyránico imperio de Satanás, a quien cobardes, y ignorantes rendían vasallaje, y daban adoración, sin participar (por los inmensos juizios de Dios) de los abundantes frutos de la universal, y copiosa Redempción de el género humano, como las goçaban las otras Regiones de la Europa, y América, donde, mediante la predicación de el Evangelio, lucía la antorcha de la verdad, que alumbra a los Fieles y Cathólicos Christianos, desde la atalaya de la Universal Iglesia Romana."

[28] Ibid., I:2

[29] The principal result of the Tridentine liturgical reform was *"el obtenerse la uniformidad para todo el mundo católico,"* orthodoxy of sacramental doctrine being preserved (Mateo del Alamo, *Trento y la liturgia en Concilio de Trento* [Madrid:1945], pp.294-965).

liturgical reform had their effects even in the remotest parts of Spain's West Indies, even in *'Las Islas del Poniente'*—the Islands of the Setting Sun— as the Spanish Philippines was called at that time.

Spain had tradition of being orthodox and faithful to the Church of Rome.[30] The decrees of the Council of Trent were duly respected, even in the Indies. In 1565 the Second Provincial Council of Mexico was convoked in order to adopt the provisions of the Council of Trent in the New World.[31] It was in that same year that expedition to tie the Philippines permanently to the Spanish Crown set sail from the ports Mexico. The friars of the expedition bore the same spirit as that which animated the fathers of the Second Provincial Council of Mexico. Among other things the Augustinian superior told the friars of the expedition was the following:

> ...We exhort your charity, urged by our obligation to the Lord, to announce the Holy Gospel of Christ to all people, baptizing those who would believe in the name of the Father and of the Son and the Holy Spirit. You will receive them in the Holy Catholic Church in the manner the Holy Roman Church receives them, trying to avoid every novelty in doctrine of the sacred ecumenical councils and doctors accepted by the Church.[32]

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[30] The orthodoxy and the faithfulness of Spain to the Church of Rome can be seen from the active role Charles V and the Spanish theologiáns played in the preparations and celebration of the Council of Trent (cf. Ricardo García-Villoslada, *Historia de la Iglesia en España*, III-1o: *La Iglesia en la España de los siglos XV y XVI* [Madrid: BAC, 1980], pp.385-503). The acceptance of the dogmatic decrees and disciplinary measures of the council from the part of Spain was without reservation as expressed by Philip II in his famous *cédula real* of 12 July 1564, in this manner: "Sabed que cierta y notoria es la obligación que los reyes y príncipes cristianos tienen a obedecer, guardar y cumplir, y que sus reynos, Estados y señoríos obedezcan, guarden y cumplan los decretos y mandamientos de la santa madre Iglesia, y asistir, y ayudar, y favorecer al efecto la execució de los concilios universales que legítima y canónicamente, con la autoridad de las Santa Sede Apostólica de Roma, han sido convocados y celebrados" (p.495).

[31] The main purpose of the Second Provincial Council of Mexico was "praecipuus ad generalis concilii Tridentini decreta observandum et exsequendum, ad fidei catholicae propagationem ac divini cultus augmentum, ad cleri et populi reformationem, ad comunem denique Mexicanae provinciae nuper in evangelio genitae ac Christo domino recens natae, in spiritualibus et temporalibus utilitatem..." (Mansi, 34:1021).

[32] "Letras Patentes dadas en Culhuacan a 9 de Febrero de 1564, y destinación de los religiosos para Filipinas," in *The Christianization of the Philippines* (Manila:

This exhortation was actually only an explicitation of the general guideline followed by the Spanish missionaries throughout their involvement in the Western Indies. It also found expression in relation to liturgical practices in the *Advertencias generales* of the official Franciscan ritual.

> In order that with due diligence and religious devotion the rules given in this book concerning the rites and ceremonies of the sacraments may be observed, being in conformity with the old statutes of the Catholic Church and the decrees of the Sacred Canons and the Supreme Pontiffs, it behooves to know and observe before anything else what the Sacred Council of Trent decreed about these rites in these words: "If anyone says that the rites —received and approved by the Catholic Church and used in the accustomed manner in the solemn administration of the sacraments— may be changed into new ones by any pastor of the Church, he is anathema (Sess.7, Can.13)."[33]

As regards the uniformity of liturgical practices, the First Provincial Council of Mexico had done its part even before the decrees of the Council of Trent were promulgated. It emphasized that the Indios

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Historical Conservation Society, 1965), p.5: "Además exhortamos a vuestras caridades, con todo apremio en el Señor, que anunciéis el Santo Evangelio de Cristo a todas las gentes, bautizando a los que creyeren, en el nombre del Padre y del Hijo y del Espíritu Santo. Los admitireis en la Santa Iglesia Católica a la manera en que los admite la Santa Madre Romana, *procurando evitar toda novedad en la doctrina*, la que queremos sea conforme con la de los santos ecuménicos concilios y Doctores recibidos por la Iglesia. Les enseñaréis ante todo la obediencia que deben todos los cristianos al Sumo Pontífice y a la Santa Iglesia Romana que es en verdad Príncipe, Cabeza y Maestra de todas las Iglesias del orbe." (Italicing is mine).

[33] *Ritual para la recta administración de los Santos Sacramentos*, por diferentes Religiosos de la Santa Provincia de S. Gregorio. Sampaloc: 1576. [Sigla: *Ritual S. Greg*], p.1: "Para que con la debida diligencia y religión se guarden, y en todas partes fielmente se observen las Reglas, que en este Libro se proponen acerca de los Ritos, y Ceremonias de los Sacramentos, conforme a los antiguos estatutos de la Iglesia Catholica, y a los Decretos de los Sagrados Cánones, y Summos Pontífices, ante todas cosas conviene saber, y observar, lo que el Sacro Santo Concilio Tridentino decretó acerca de estos Ritos por estas palabras: *'Si quis dicerit, receptos, & approbatos Ecclesiae Catholicae Ritus in solemni Sacramentorum administratione adhiberi consuetos, aut contemni, aut sine peccato a Ministris pro libito omitti, aut in novos alios per quemcumque Ecclesiarum Pastorem mutari posse, anathema sit.'* " (Sess. 7. Can.13).

should not be confused by the diversity of liturgical practices.[34] Even the *Codice Franciscano* said that as much as possible the missionaries should keep to the ceremonial approved by the bishops in the administration of the sacraments.[35] To assure the uniformity the First Mexican Council commissioned competent persons to prepare a common book of rites which came out of the press in 1560 with the title, *Manuale Sacramentorum secundum usum ecclesie Mexicane*.[36] All this preoccupation of the First Mexican Provincial Council for liturgical uniformity was re-enforced by the promulgation of the decrees of the Council of Trent by the Second Provincial Mexican Council.

With reference to liturgical practices Manila and all its later Philippine suffragans followed those of Mexico. We can securely make this affirmation from the fact that the evangelization of the Philippines was a Mexican endeavor. The Philippines had always been dependent on Mexico on the following grounds:

- The expedition with express intention to Christianize the Philippines was planned in Mexico;
- The first conquistadores and missionaries came mostly from Mexico;
- The ailing economy of the Philippines was saved by the silver that came from Mexico;
- When the diocese of Manila was erected, it was a suffragan of Mexico;
- Throughout the Spanish hegemony in the Philippines, the Philippine Church was governed according to the decrees of the Third

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[34] A. Lorenzana, *Concilios provinciales primero y segundo celebrados en la... ciudad de México, presidiendo el Illmo. y Rmo. D. Fr. Alonso de Montúfar, en los años de 1555 y 1565* (Mexico: 1769), p.20: Que en rezar de los Divinos Oficios, y Ceremonias de la Misa se conformen en toda la Provincia con la Iglesia Metropolitana."

[35] "Códice Franciscano," (Siglo XVI), in *Nueva Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (México: 1941), p.54.

[36] *Manuale Sacramentorum secundum usum ecclesiae Mexicanae. Noviter impressum, cum quibusdam additionibus utilissimis: que omnia in sequenti pagella reperies* (México:1560). This manual is the subject of a study of Jakob Baumgartner, *Mission und Liturgie in Mexiko*. Zweiter Band: Die Ersten Liturgischen Buecher in der Neuen Welt (Schoeneck/Beckenried: NZM, 1972).

Provincial Council of Mexico even after Manila became archdiocese in 1595.[36b]

The evangelization of the Philippines, however, was not only Mexican affair but also a post-Tridentine reality. The work of converting the native Filipinos on a large scale did not begin seriously until the

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[36b] As late as 1892 a book appeared in Manila which contained the decrees of the Third Mexican Provincial Council for use in the Philippines: *Concilium Mexicanum Provinciale III, celebratum Mexici anno MDLXXXV, praeside P.P.Petro Moya Contreras, Archiepiscopo ejusdem Urbis confirmatum Romae die XXVII Octobris anno MDLXXXIX postea jussu Regio editum Mexici anno MDCXXII. Sumptibus P.P. Joannis Perez de la Serna Archiepiscopi et nunc jussu Excmi. ac Illmi. Dr. D. Fra. Regio editum Mexici anno MDCXXII. Sumptibus P.P. Joannis Perez de la Serna Archiepiscopi et nunc jussu Excmi. ac. Illmi. Dr. D. Fra. Bernardini Nozaleda Archiepiscopi hujus Diocesis, iterum recuditur in Ephemeride Diocesana.* Manilae Typis Collegii Sancti Thomae, 1892.

The purpose of this publication was obviously to remind the Filipinos that this was still the council that ought to be followed on the Islands. The introduction reads in part:

"Episcopis in provincialibus vel dioecesanis, conciliis congregatis incumbit hoc jus locale statuere. Pastores enim animarum sunt, et istas pascere debent salutaribus monitis et religiosis legibus, omni studio curando, ne aliquis curae ipsorum commissus sua negligentia pereat. Invigilare enim debent quasi rationem pro animabus subditorum reddituri, semper parati instar optimi et maximi Pastoris J.C.D.N., ad animam ponendam pro ovibus suis.

En ratio qua primi hujus Archidioecesis Episcopi, cum propter speciales localitatis circumstancias concilia Provincialia hic congregari no valerent, studiose curarunt, ut in Philippinis regeret tertium Mexicanum Concilium, inter omnes provinciales his regionibus aptissimum, utpote celebratum a tunc metropolitano hujus doecesis, assistentibus, sex suffraganeis, et representantibus Illmum. Dom. Salazar primum Manilae Episcopum, duobus Canonicis Mexicanae Cathedralis ad hoc munus a se designatis.

Ut praedictum tertium Mexicanum Concilium in his Insulis jus constitueret, Dominus Joannes de Cevicos, Thesaurarium hujus Archidiocesis admissionem a Praelato de Manila accepit ad petendam Urbem ut *Breve* a Summo Pontifice impetraret, in quo obligatoria in his Insulis decerneretur hujus tertii Mexicani Concilii observatio. Quod et obtinuit, anno 1626, Urbano VIII assentiente Archiepiscopi supplicationibus, et Consilio Regali approbante simulque edente Apostolicas Litteras Urbani, quibus petita confirmavit.

Ex hujusmodi testimoniis, ex P. Paz et aliis proximi saeculi elapsi scriptoribus, certo nobis constat hunc Concilium tunc hic viguisse: et quamvis Manilana Synodus anno 1771 celebrata decreverit, amplius non vigere, 'ne legum multitudo confusionem pariat' tamen Manilano Concilio non approbato, *praestare non debet impedimentum quod de jure non sortitur effectum*, ut constat ex Reg.52 in 6°; et per consequens Mexicani Concilii statuta, jus non revocatum constituunt." (pp.3-5).

arrival of the Franciscans in 1578, when the effects of the Tridentine liturgical reform was already being felt in the Indies. By that time the two important liturgical books published under the authority of the Council of Trent were already in use, namely, (1) the *Breviarium Romanum*, published in 1568 with the Bull of Pius V *Quod a nobis*, and (2) the *Missale Romanum*, in 1570 with the Bull of the same Pius V *Quo primum tempore*. In the meantime the Mexican *Manuale Sacramentorum* had been reprinted *'cum decretis sancti concilii Tridentini et Bullis a summis Pontificibus istis neophitis concessis,'* while waiting for the official ritual of Trent.

When the first bishop of Manila, Fray Domingo de Salazar, a Dominican, came in 1581, he must have brought the Tridentine liturgical books from Sevilla with him except the *Rituale Romanum* which was not published until 1614 with the Apostolic Constitution of Paul V, *Apostolicae Sedi*.

The missionaries in the Spanish Philippines did not stay idle, because in 1630 a Philippine Ritual was published in Manila with the title, *Ritual para administrar los santos sacramentos, sacado casi todo del Ritual Romano, y lo demas del Ritual Indico*.[37] The title indicated that before this Ritual was published they had been using the Manual *secundum usum ecclesiae mexicanae* —the *Ritual Indico*.

The first Philippine Ritual was prepared by Fray Alonso Mentrida, an Augustinian. Although it was originally meant to be used by the Augustinian missionaries, the Franciscans used it also —and presumably all the other Philippine missionaries until they produced their own. After this first Philippine Ritual the following were also published:

• In 1669, the Dominican Ritual: *Ritual para la recta administración de los santos sacramentos y demás funciones sagradas pertenecientes a los párrocos*;

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[37] Alonso de Mentrida, *Ritual para administrar los santos sacramentos, sacado casi todo del Ritual Romano, y lo demás del Ritual Indico.* Con algunas advertencias necessarias para la administración de los sanctos sacramentos. Con una declaración sumaria de lo que los Religiosos Mendicantes pueden en las Indias por Privilegios Apostólicos, los quales se traen a la letra. Recopilado por Fr. Alonso de Mentrida, de la Orden de S. Agustín, para servicio y uso de los Ministros de su Orden en estas Islas Philippinas (Manila: 1630).

• In 1692 the Jesuit Ritual: *Ritual para administrar los santos sacramentos, sacado del Romano y de otros Indicos, para el uso de los Padres Ministros de las Doctrinas de la Compañía de Jesús de Philipinas*;

• In 1756 the Franciscan Ritual: *Ritual para la recta administración de los santos sacramentos, y demás funciones parochiales: arreglado a el Ritual Romano, Apéndice Toledano, y Decretos de la Sagrada Congregación de Ritos* (already approved by the Franciscan Chapters of 1723, 1729, 1741 and 1753).[38]

The multiplication of Rituals did not mean to undermine the orthodoxy and uniformity of liturgical practices promoted by the Council of Trent. On the contrary, the phenomenon only shows the fact that the missionaries were trying hard to follow the line of reform initiated by the Council. The Rituals of the different religious orders were attempt at seeking the best ways and means to perform the rites prescribed by the new Tridentine liturgical books, with the help of their acclaimed learned men, with due respect to their religious family traditions and customs and the privileges of the Indies. This phenomenon also illustrates the fact that liturgy was understood during that time as "administration of the sacraments," which was part of moral theology and Canon Law, and as exact performance of rubrics during the sacramental administration. Learned men were called upon by religious families to give their members the best interpretation of rubrics. These Rituals were needed in order to impose uniformity of liturgical practices among the members of a religious family by virtue of their vow of obedience.

The principles of orthodoxy and uniformity were even more zealously kept with regard to the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. The Franciscans published their *Ceremonial Romano Reformado* concerning the rubics of the Mass and other Eucharistic functions ahead of their Ritual, in 1728.[39]

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[38] See complete bibliographical data of these rituals. They had been in circulation for use of the *Ministros* in manuscript form for quite some time before they were finally printed.

[39] Jose Torrubia, *Ceremonial Romano Reformado según el misal nuevo, arreglado a las declaraciones de la S.C. de R., a los Decretos y Bullas Apostólicas, según las rúbricas de N. Seraphica Religión.* Por el qual uniformemente se han de regular las ceremonias de los sacerdotes de esta Santa Provincia de San Gregorio de Philippinas,

Fray Jose Torrubia in the prologue of this *Ceremonial* wrote:

> This province is composed of religious coming from five descalzed [provinces] of our Spain. The religious does here what he had learned in Spain, [but] everyone was not taught the same thing. A practice cannot be uniform when founded on the diversity of ceremonials and institutions. The time had come that we adopt uniformity.[40]

Before the official Ritual of Trent came off the press, the religious families working in the pueblos of the Spanish Philippines had prepared manuals of pastoral action, sorts of vademecum, in addition to their *Estatutos* and *Constituciones* in order to have unified approach to their missionary work. These manuals gave many and varied practical instructions to the *Ministros de Indios* (especially the young ones or new-arrivals). They helped to a great extent to assure the continuity of missionary approach and the orthodoxy and uniformity of liturgical (as well as devotional) practices, perhaps even more than the Rituals themselves. Fray San Jose in the prologue of the Franciscans *Báculo de Ministros* wrote:

> The sacred religions are called orders pre-eminently and by special title because they keep good order and arrangement in everything. This is the foundation of the greatest perfection and essence of an order. [...] No minister ought to follow what seems in his opinion to be more palatable to the particular member but what seems more convenient to the body of the mysterious sphere of his obligation, so that he himself as well as the Indios of his administration arrive through the straight line of this Ceremonial with greater perception to the center which is God. This is the purpose of this very hard task.[41]

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assi en la celebración de la Missa, como en otras funciones ecclesiásticas. Compuesto por mandato y orden de dicha Provincia por Fr. Joseph Torrubia, predicador y comissario visitador de la Tercera Orden de esta ciudad. Manila, en el convento de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles por el Herm. Pedro de la Concepción. Año MDCCXXVIII. [Sigla: CRR-Tor].

[40] CRR-Tor, *Prólogo y Dedicatoria*: Compónese esta Provincia de los Religiosos que vienen de las cinco Descalças de nuestra Europa. El Religioso aquí executa lo que aprendió en España: No a todos se enseñó lo mismo: por esso no puede ser uniforme una práctica fundada en diversidad de ceremonias e instrucciones."

[41] *Báculo*, Prólogo: "Las sagradas religiones se llaman Ordenes por especial título y excelencias por el gran concierto y orden que guardan en todo en que se funda

This manual not only contained hints to facilitate the performance of the rubrics of the Missal, Breviaries, and Rituals in the new Philippine situation, but also useful instructions concerning the management of the doctrinas in general; instructions such as: which carpenter should accompany the *Ministro de Indios* in checking the condition of the trusses of the church roof, how many *azotes* (lashes) must be given to those who ate meat on Fridays, when to make the annual *Padrón de confesiones* (confession roster, an important instrument in verifying the attendance of his *feligreses* or parishioners at religious functions), how many times the bells of the *campanario* (belfry) must be sounded during the day and in what manner, and so forth.

And this is what Fray Sebastian Moreno said about their own Augustinian *Práctica del Ministerio*:

> In my province there is a uniformity among the ministros concerning the administration of the sacraments. The reason is that in our Religion we have an *Instrucción* or *Práctica del Ministerio* in which the parish priest is instructed about the current administration of the holy sacraments, taken from the best authors of Moral Theology, arranged according to the most sound doctrine, the Holy Fathers, Bulls and sacred canons, especially the holy Council of Trent.[42]

He further elaborated that pointers in this manual were as binding as their Constitutions. All were obliged to study this *Práctica*, especially the young ones, so that when the time came for them to be

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la mayor perfección, y ser essencial de las Ordenes. [...] No deve ningún Ministro seguir lo que a miembro particular de su dictamen pareciere más sabroso, sin que a todo el Cuerpo de la mysteriosa esphera de su obligación fuere más conveniente para que tanto él como los Indios de su administración por las líneas rectas de este Ceremonial lleguen al centro que es Dios con más perfección. Este [es] el fin del trabajo tan pesado."

[42] "Informe escrito por el P. Sebastián Moreno," in A. Pérez, *Relaciones Agustinianas de las razas del norte de Luzon* (Manila: 1904), p. 268: "...en mi Provincia acerca de la administración de los sacramentos, es una uniformidad en los Ministros: la razón de esto es, porque en mi sagrada Religión tenemos una Instrucción o Práctica de Ministerio en la que se instruye a un Párroco en la recta administración de los santos sacramentos, sacada de los mejores autores morales, arreglada a la más sana doctrina, santos Padres, Bulas y Sagrados cánones; especialmente al santo concilio de Trento."

Ministros de Indios, they could pass the examination on the content of this manual and not only on matters of moral theology.[43]

Orthodoxy and uniformity regarding liturgical practices were kept fairly well with the help of these Rituals and manuals composed by each religious family engaged in the conversion of the Filipino Indios. Because liturgy was considered by missionaries as administration of the sacraments, their main preoccupation was the correct way of performing them. All things involved in the administration of the sacraments ought to conform to the norms given by the competent ecclesiastical authority. These Rituals and manuals offered them the opinions of the best authorities in sacred canons, moral theology and rubrics. They were bent on avoiding whatever might render the sacraments illicit, invalid, or null and void. Their Rituals and manuals guided them securely in the difficult pathways of *must*'s, *don't*'s, *should*'s and *may*'s.

Discussing the liturgical principles of orthodoxy and uniformity, we cannot but note that differences in religious or devotional practices did exist which could confuse the people. Particular differences of spiritualities and religious family traditions and customs among the Religious Orders brought about situation wherein one Religious Order emphasized one devotional practice and the other another: for instance, the rosary by the Dominicans, devotion to the Immaculate Conception and penance by the Franciscans. Every religious family wittingly or unwittingly imposed their own spirituality on the native populace which was manifested in the kind of religious practices they offered to the people.

Although these practices did not affect liturgy directly, the uniformity of the liturgical practices could have been marred just the same because of the close interaction between liturgical and non-liturgical religious practices in the Spanish Philippines. But king Philip II —without intending it— prevented the possible confusion in

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[43] Ibid.: "Esta dicha Práctica de Ministerio, se manda estudiar a la juventud, para que cuando llegue el tiempo de que puedan administrar los santos sacramentos a los Indios sepa ya el cómo se administra. Está esto en tanta observancia en mi sagrada Provincia, que cuando se examina a alguno para confesor o Párroco de Indios, los examinadores nuestros, así como le pregunta, por las materias morales, para ver si está, o no capaz en ellas para dicho Ministerio, y sino está capaz en ella, es lo mismo, que sino lo estuviere en las materias morales, y así no se le aprueba."

religious practices by issuing a *cédula real* in the early stage of the evangelization of the Philippines. This decree reads in part:

> Now I learned that better results will be obtained by each Order having a district of its own. For they will try to excel one another without the work of one hindering or overlapping that of the others, as might happen if they were assigned together without division. I therefore command you [my Governor], together with the bishop of those islands, so to divide the provinces among the religious of the orders for the purpose of conversion and instruction, that where Augustinians are there shall be no Franciscans, nor religious of the Society where there would be Dominicans. Thus you will proceed, assigning its province to each other....[44]

It is to be remembered that the first missionaries to come to the Islands were the Augustinians with the Legaspi expedition in 1565. The Franciscans arrived in 1578, the Jesuits in 1581, the Dominicans in 1587 and finally the Recollects in 1606. By the year 1598, the larger part of the country had been divided up among the orders and they remained in their areas practically during the whole Spanish hegonomy in the Philippines. The late-arrivals, the Recollects, were assigned the outlying areas belonging to later conquests of Spain.

This purely administrative policy of King Philip II served the cause of liturgy by preventing confusion among the natives which might have ensued because of varied traditions and customs of different Religious Orders.

III. The Liturgical Principles of Substitution and Adaptation in the Spanish Philippine Church

The principles of substitution and adaptation in liturgical matters had always been used by the Church throughout the history of the Church. The Roman Church, for instance, substituted Christian feasts for pagan observances, like the feast of Nativity of Christ for the pagan

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[44] Cédula de 27 de abril de 1574, in Francisco de Santa Ines, *Crónicas de la Provincia de San Gregorio Magno de religiosos descalzos de n.s. P. San Francisco en las Islas Filipinas, China, Japón... escrita en 1675* (Manila: 1892; 2 vols.), II:607. English translation of the *cédula* quoted here in RPCH-Shu, p.17.

Natalis invicti and many others.[45] Greek liturgical prayers were first adapted to the genius of the Latin language by the African bishops.[46] Later on the liturgical expressions in prayers, art and architecture in Rome and on the Italian peninsula, in the Frankish-German territories and Mozarabic Spain were adapted to the mentality and temperaments of the people.[47] These principles were also used by the missionaries in the Indies, even if with limited freedom because of the Tridentine liturgical reform.

In Japan the Jesuits decided quite early as a rule to adapt Christian liturgy to the rites of the bonzes in order to show the people that Christian worship was not alien to the Japanese form of worship.[48] They had to be cautious, if they did not want to alienate the Japanese populace from Christian worship and prevent further conversion. There, the creative imagination of the Jesuits —which was not shared by the missionaries of the other Religious Orders— were challenged to adapt the liturgical rites to the religious culture of the people.

The Application of the Principle of Substitution in the Spanish-Philippine Church

The Philippine situation was a totally different picture from that of the Japanese. The Jesuits could not ignore nor bypass the "profound sense of rituals" of the Japanese bonzes and the high degree of

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[45] R. Berger, "Ostern und Weihnachten. Zum Grundgefuege des Kirchenjahres," *Archiv fur Liturgiewissenschaft* [*ALw*] 8/1 (1963): 1-2; *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 2nd ed. [LTK], s.v. "Weihnachten," 10:984-988.

[46] Th. Klauser, "Der Uebergang der roemischen Kirche von der griechischen zur lateinischen Liturgiesprache," in *Miscellanea Mercati*, Studi e Testi 121 (Roma:1946), pp.467-482; Chr. Morhmann, *Etudes sur le latin des chretiens* (Roma: 1961-65; 3 vols.).

[47] Th. Klauser, "Die liturgischen Austauschbeziehungen zwischen der roemischen und der frankisch-deutschen Kirche vom 8. bis zum 11. Jahrhundert, "*Historisches Jahrbuch* 53 (1933):169-189; G. Ellard, Master Alcuin Liturgist (Chicago:1956); L. Schreyer, *Die Botschaft der Buchmalerei. Aus dem ersten Jahrtausend christlicher Kunst* (Hamburg: F. Wittig, 1959); J. Perez de Urbel, "La Misa en España al final de la Edad Media," *Revista Eclesiástica* 60 (1928): 190-05; R.B. Donovan, *The Liturgical Drama in Medieval Spain* (Toronto:1958).

[48] Cf. Jesús López Gay, *La liturgia en la Misión del Japón del Siglo XVI* (Roma: Libreria dell'Università Gregoriana, 1970), esp. p.22.

Japanese civilization which the missionaries admired as superior to European in many respects. But the missionaries found the Philippines to be inhabited by many and varied ethnic groups who were deprived of a civilized way of living. The Filipino indigenous social customs and traditions certainly did not measure up very well to the missionaries' humanitarian and Christian standards.[49] The general Spanish missionary approach was to adopt and adapt the customs and usages of the people accepting Christianity for the first time; all those

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[49] Fray Diego de Herrera suggested to abandon the Philippines for the richer neighboring islands and kingdoms. Here is another assessment of the Filipino degree of culture (in "Los indios de Camarines en el siglo XVI," *Missionalia Hispanica*, Madrid [*MHisp*] 20 [1952]: 398): "...esta gente no haya tenido reyes ni gobierno, se sigue las muchas tiranías que ha habido en estas Islas Filipinas al tiempo de su infidelidad, porque no ha habido gobierno, ni rey, ni roque. El que se hallaba con más oro o más gente procuraba sujetar al que menos tenía y podía, y de aquí venían a ser muchos de éstos esclavos. Pero la esclavonía de estos y la sujección es la menos penosa de cuantas se saben, porque los tratan como a hijos; y ansi, este vicio de la tiranía es el que en esta tierra tenía más fuerza contra ellos, como he dicho, mejor que en otras naciones. De aquí se sigue que, como no había ciudades ni pueblos formados, ni gobiernos de justicia, sino que cada uno vivía donde y como más se le antoja, ha sido muy trabajoso a las justicias, y mucho más a los ministros, el ordenar los pueblos y traerlos y ponerlos en concierto; mas, gloria a Nuestro Señor, que van entrando muy de veras por el orden y concierto que les enseñamos. Porque como no tenían la lumbre natural tan perturbada con tantos pecados como otras naciones bárbaras, fácilmente se les descubre y se dejan llevar de la equidad y justicia, la cual siguen y abrazan."

However, before the Spaniards came the Chinese themselves did not think well of the Philippines. Here is a part of the letter of the visitor from Chinchow in China written to Pedro Acuña, Governor of the Philippines: "Last year...so many Chinese had been put to death in Luzon, many of us mandarins assembled together with the object of memorializing the Emperor urging him to take revenge for so many deaths and we said *that the land of Luzon was a wretched place, of slight importance, formerly only the dwelling place of devils and snakes.* [Italicing is mine].

"However, for many years past, a great number of Sangleyes have been going there to trade with the Castillians, so that the place has been much improved, for the Sangleyes have worked hard there, building walls, making houses, gardens, and other things of considerable profit to the Castilians." (Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, trans. & ed. by J.S. Cummins [Cambridge: University Press, 1972], p.229).

The comment of Vicente Barrantes shows the low regard of the Spaniards concerning the culture of the pre-Hispanic Filipinos in these words *(El teatro tagalo)* [Madrid: Manuel G. Fernández, 1889], p.37): "...ni en el suelo, ni en la habitación, ni en el idioma, ni en las prácticas religiosas hay un solo indicio que revela la existencia de esa pretendida antigua civilización propia de los pueblos filipinos."

elements that did not contradict Christian faith. However, when they came vis-a-vis the Filipino indigenous religion, the unanimous reaction of the missionaries in general was all-out condemnation. It must be substituted by Christian form of worship entirely! In view of this unworthiness of the Filipino indigenous religion, the liturgical principle of the substitution in the Philippines coincided with the all-embracing Spanish missionary axiom: *Prius evellant, deinde plantent* (Pluck out first, then plant).

The pre-Hispanic religion of the Filipino Indios had to be wiped out thoroughly and Christian worship introduced in its stead, because they found no positive point in it. The extensive discussion on the Filipino indigenous religion being relegated to Chapter Four of our present dissertation, the following points are sufficient to bring our point.

First, the pre-Christian Filipinos did not have temples. When the native Filipinos had to gather for the ritualistic offering of a pig, they built a makeshift shed called in the Tagalog language, *simbahan*.[50] These *simbahan* were made of logs, bamboos and palms which remain as the principal materials of Filipino dwellings themselves in rural areas up to the present. Unlike the American Indios, the Filipino Indios never learned to build in stones before the Spaniards came. Now, after the sacrificial rite which the missionaries did not consider as sacrifice at all, the shed lost its purpose and was no longer considered as *simbahan*. Temples or buildings reserved for religious functions which became indispensable to the Greek and Roman religions, to the pre-Columbian religions in America, to the Islam and Judaism, and in the course of time also to Christian religion, were nowhere to be found on the Islands.[51] The Jesuit historian Pedro Cuirino remembered seeing

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[50] The word *simbahan* was applied later on by the missionaries to the Christian church building and is used with the meaning until now. After Vatican Council II *simbahan* is being used also now to mean the 'people of God'. It is akin to *Sembahjang* or *sembajang* of the Javanese language derived from *sembah* which means 'respectful salute'. The Bataks of Sumatra have *sombaon*, meaning 'spirit of ancestor protector of the fields'. Cf. Ferd. Blumentritt, *Diccionario mitológico de Filipinas* (Madrid: 1895), p.108.

[51] Fray Juan de Plasencia, "Relation of the Worship of the Tagalogs, their Gods, and their Burials and Superstitions," BRPI 7: 185: "In all the villages, or in other parts of the Filipinas islands, there are no temples consecrated to the performing of

only once during his long stay in the Philippines a sort of permanent *simbahan*, but he admitted it was more of a way-side marker of ancestors' grave than a real temple.[52]

Secondly, the pre-Hispanic Filipinos had neither holy scriptures nor calendars of feasts. From the early reports and *relaciones* of missionaries and conquistadores we learn that writing did not fulfill a real need in the agricultural life of the early Filipinos. Antonio Pigafetta in his diary entry for 29 March 1521 wrote:

> Before supper came, I explained to the king many things I brought with me for the occasion and at the same time asked for the names of objects in his language. They were surprised to see me write them down.[53]

This indicates that the Filipinos in Cebu were not familiar with writing. In fact, Miguel de Loarca, one of the first encomenderos, later noted in his *Relación* that the Cebuanos evidently did not use any

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sacrifices, the adoration of their idols, or the general practice of idolatry. It is true that they have the name *simbahan*, which means a temple or place of adoration; but because formerly, when they wished to celebrate a festival, which they called *pandot*, or 'worship', they celebrated it in a large house of a chief. There they constructed, for the purpose of sheltering the assembled people, a temporary shed on each side of the house, with a roof, called *sibi*, to protect the people from the west when it rained. [...] During this time the whole barangay, or family, united and joined in the worship which they call *magaanitos*. The house, for the above-mentioned period of time, was called a temple.

[52] P. Chirino, "Relation of the Filipinas Islands and what has been accomplished by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus," in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands 1494-1898. 55 vols.* Cleveland: 1903-09 [BRPI] 12:271: "In regard to the first point, they had no places set aside for worship, or public days for general festivities. Not until we went to Taitai did I learn that in many of the houses there was another one, but smaller, made of cane, as it were a little home, fashioned somewhat curiously to which they passed from the main house by a short bridge, also made of cane. In these they kept their needlework and other sorts of handicraft by means of which they concealed the mystery of the little house. From information that I received from some of the faithful, it was in reality dedicated to the anito, although they offered no sacrifice in it, nor did it serve for other use than as it was dedicated to him..."

[53] A. Pigafetta, "*Primo viaggio intorno al mondo*," in BRPI 33:119: "Inanzi q venisse lor de cenare donay molte cose al re q haveva portati scrisse assai cose come le chiamano. Quanto lo re et li alti me vistenno scrivere et li diceva qolle sue parole tutti restarono atoniti."

writing system.[54] In Luzon, especially in the Manila Bay region, the autochthonous inhabitants used a syllabary, but solely for promulgation of laws of conduct.[55] A late sixteenth-century Manila manuscript, now called the *Boxer Codex*, shows that those inhabitants of Luzon used the syllabary for letter writing, but mostly for business records.[56] Early historians were in agreement that nothing written about the religion of the native Filipinos had been found and that their religious beliefs and practices were transmitted from parents to children orally.[57]

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[54] Miguel de Loarca, "*Relación de Islas de Filipinas*," BRPI 5:120: "...y ansi tienen dos opiniones, en lo del principio del mundo y por carecer de letras guardan estos naturales sus antigüedades en los cantares..."

[55] Ibid., p.174: "...y así el principal hacía las leyes que le parecía ser necesarias porque estos moros tienen letras de las quales carecen todos los demás naturales de las yslas." Loarca called the inhabitants of Luzon along the coasts and river banks as *moros* (that is, followers of Islam).

[56] "The Manners, Customs and Beliefs of the Philippine Inhabitant of long ago, Being a chapter of a late 16th Century Manila Manuscript," in F. Landa Jocano, (ed.), the *Philippines at the Spanish Contact* (Manila: 1975), p.196: "They have neither books nor histories and they do not write at length except missive and notes to one another." The Spanish original says: "...solamente cartas y recaudos unos a otros." *Recaudos* are notes denoting some business transactions such as receipts.

[57] Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, *Giro nel mondo*, vol. 5: Filippine (Napoli: 1699),p. 136: "Non si è trovata fin' ora alcuna cosa in iscritto, ni della Religione di queste nazione, ne del loro antico Governo politico, ne delle Istorie: ma le notizie, acquistate per le tradizioni, passate de padre in figlio, e conservate in alcune canzoni, della Genealogia, e fatti eroici de' loro Dei."

Also, P. Chirino, *Relation*, in BRPI 12:263; *Chronicas S. Greg*, I:149; Loarca, *Relación*, in BRPI 5:121.

Until now no significant pre-Hispanic Filipino writings had been found. Genuine Filipino handwriting in old alphabets described by many reports of the missionaries that are extant come only in signatures in contractual documents (cf. William Henry Scott, "A Critical Study of the Prespanic Source Materials for the Study of Philippine History," *Unitas* 41/3 [1968], p.344). Cf. AFIO 94/18, for Filipino script in a document.

A certain Diego Lope Povedano was supposed to have written in 1572 this work: *La Isla de Negros y las costumbres de los Visayos y Negritos*, which, besides containing 17 pages of legends about the origin of the world and local place-names, offered 14 pages of marriage customs, religion and calendars —this is the only known document that mentions a Filipino religious calendar!—, and ten-page description of the Bisayan alphabet. The original was lost in the razing of the Philippine Library in the 1945 fires, but photographs of every page of it exist in the Robertson Collection of

Thirdly, the only form of sacrifice they performed was —according to the Spanish missionaries' assessment— not sacrifice at all, because they said it was *sin altar y sin Dios a quien ofrecerlo* (without an altar and not offered to any God). It was officiated in a bizarre way by sham priests or priestesses, who sometimes did not have honorable private lives.[58] Privately, they also brought food-offerings to the *Nonos* (popular name for ancestors' spirits) in the presence of ugly images called *larawan* or *lik-ha*, animals, birds, and before old trees and imposing rocks. They had to count on and court the help of the spirits of their ancestors, who were after all, the cause of sickness, misfortunes, and also the helpers in times of need.[59] It was because their concept of the Supreme Being— *Poon, Laon, Bathala Maykapal*— limped; for he was a *Dios sin providencia* (improvident God), inaccessible, high up in the heavens.[60]

Fourthly, because the *Nonos* were ubiquitous, the pre-Christian Filipinos consulted auguries (in general, natural phenomenon such as the presence of snake along their path, the formation of the flights of birds) in order to avoid misfortunes and escape the trappings of

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Filipiniana in Duke University. W. H. Scott cogently proved all this to be inauthentic and a 19th century fabrication ("A Critical Study," pp.401,408).

[58] *Chronicas S. Greg*, I:151-52: "...y aquí se acababa lo grande de este Sacrificio, sin Dios, sin Altar, a quien ofrecerlo. [...] y la Catalonan cargaba con todos los dones, que todos avían ofrecido (conforme lo usaban ellos) y se volvía a su Casa, con más riqueza, pero no con más crédito, porque tenían entre los indios los de este Oficio por araganes, y que vivían del trabajo ageno."

[59] *Chronicas S. Greg*, I:154: "Ya piden licencia a los Nonos para qualquier exercicio..." According to Ferd. Blumentritt ancestors' cult seems to be present in all ethnic groups in the Philippines; in a graphic way he spoke of the Tagalogs: "Noch heute existiert die heilige Scheu vor den Seelen der Verschiedenen, den Nonos,.... In vielen dorfern besteht noch der Brauch 'Pasingtabi sa Nono', d.h. die Tagalen bitten die Seelen inhre verschiedenen Ahnen, sie mogen die Arbeit oder das Werk, womit sie sich gerade beschaftigen wollen, zu einem guten Ende fuhren. Grosse stattliche Baume, charakteristisch geformte Berge gelten ihnen als Wohnsitze der Nonos oder Anitos, niemand geht vorbei, ohne zu rufen: 'mit Deiner Erlaubniss', sonst wurde ihnen der Nono schweres Unheil oder Krankheit senden" (*Versuch einer Ethnographie der Philippinen* [Gotha:1882], p.13).

[60] Concepción, *Historia general*, I:13-14: "...dicen que tenían conocimiento de un Dios solo, respecto de que adoraban a un Dios principal, y mayor que todos a quien llaman Laon los Bisayas, y Bathala Meycapal los Tagalos, quiere decir Dios fabricador de todo: pero sería un conocimiento mui confuso, no reconociendo en él la providencia." Also, *Chronicas S. Greg*, I:154-57.

neglected or offended (turned evil) ancestors' spirits.[61] As a degeneration of the conceptualization of these evil spirits, the pre-Christian Filipino world became also populated by witches, sorcerers and charmers.[62]

Having been accustomed to the religion of the indios in the New World, the Spanish missionaries could not but be puzzled by the kind of religion of the early Filipinos. After two years in the Philippines, one reported to Pope Gregory XIII, in 1580, that "...what is more amazing is the fact that these people [the native Filipinos] did not have any vestiges of religion, knew no temples nor manifested any sacrifices at all."[63]

The Spanish missionaries generally dismissed these Filipino religious convictions and rites as nothing but unadulterated superstitions. Fray Juan de Concepción described the religion of the Filipinos —"if religion it could be called"— as simply "superstitious and false," "ridiculous and abominable."[64] In a chapter entitled "*Los indios de Camarines en el siglo XVI*," from the writings of Franciscan Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora, the Filipino Indios were, if compared with the Indios of Mexico, *tamquam tabula rasa* (like a clean sheet) in matter of

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[61] *Chronicas S. Greg*, I:154-55: "Ya hacen mil aprehensiones si canta la Lechuza, que ellos llaman Covago, si hallan alguna Culebra en la Casa nueva, o en un viage empezado; si oyen algun estornudo; si chilla algun Rantozuelo; si cantó la lagartija, o ahulló el Perro, y otros a este modo. En Casa del Cazador no se avía de hablar de Pescados; ni en la del Pescador de Caza, ni Perros; ni en una ni en otra se avía de tratar de Instumentos nuevos del Oficio, sino de los ya experimentados; ni los Navegantes avían de nombrar cosa de la Tierra ni los Caminantes de Tierra cosa del Mar; porque todo esto era Agüero."

[62] Here are some of the *ministros del demonio* enumerated by the *Cronicas S. Greg*: Sonat, Catalonan, Mangagavay, Manyisalat, Mancocolam, Hocloban, Silagan, Magtatangal, Osuang, Mangagayoma, Pangatahoan, Bayoguin (pp.156-157).

[63] "Carta de Fray Pablo de Jesus a Gregorio XIII, en que da cuenta de la llegada de los Franciscanos a Manila, de las idolatrías y costumbres de los filipinos y chinos y del fruto que empezaban a cosechar, Manila y Junio de 1580," *Archivo Ibero-Americano* [*AIA*] 31 (1929): 255: "Quod eo mirabilius est, quod hoc hominum genus, immane prorsus et efferum, nullum umquam religionis vestigium habuerat, nulla templa noverat, nulla sacrificia exhibebat."

[64] Concepción, *Historia General*, I:13: "...en quanto a Religion, si havía alguna, toda era supersticiosa y falsa; algo de ella consta por sus tradiciones, y cantares antiguos; todo ridículo y abominable."

worship, because "...what these Indios had were superstitions, auguries and deceits which the devil works in them." He added that the missionaries in the Philippines had to teach the natives what worship is and how to worship, whereas in Mexico they simply had to change the object of their worship.[65] Fray Valentín Marín wrote that the religion of the Filipinos did not merit that name, because it was only "a disorganized ensemble of superstitions and of the most infantile beliefs."[66] The missionaries therefore began to wipe away the religious culture of the Filipinos on the simple ground that it was false and silly.

The missionaries' fight against the Filipino indigenous religion was quite fast in producing results, because they did not hesitate to make use of another missionary axiom: *Compelle eos intrare* ("Force them to enter the fold"). And they appealed to civil authorities for help when needed.[67]

During the peaceful conquest of the Islands the missionaries were supported by the soldiers' swords and muskets in their preaching. The package of pacification consisted not only in persuading the inhabitants with less possible use of arms to accept the king of Spain as their sovereign but also the acceptance of Christian religion. And when the native Filipinos decided to receive baptism, they had to renounce their *larawan* and *lik-ha*, which symbolized their pagan errors.[68]

The missionaries were most severe in fighting against the professional sacrificers to the spirits called *Katalonan* (in Tagalog) or *Babaylan*

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[65] "Los indios de Camarines," p.378: "...porque no fue en la Nueva España Necesario mas de mudarles el fin: que si antes adoraban a dioses falsos, adorasen al Dios verdadero. Pero en estas Islas ha sido necesario enseñarles la adoración, y el objecto verdadero de ella." And again: "Lo que estos indios tenían han sido supersticiones, agüeros y engaños que el demonio obra en ellos."

[66] Marín y Morales, *Ensayo*, p.68: "...que su religión no merecía tal nombre, sino que, como ya se ha dicho, era solo un informe conjunto de supersticiones y creencias las mas infantiles."

[67] Concerning the use of force in evangelization, Solorzano is quoted by the *Báculo* (cap.10,par.1): "Quando se conoce, que algunos hombres por falta de entera capazidad no saben estimar ni abraçar lo que se les propone para bien suyo, lícito le es al que los tiene a su cargo, y más siendo primeramente dirigirlos, y hazer que entren por camino aunque lo rehussen."

[68] This was the procedure followed universally even by the proto-missionary Captain Ferd. Magellan (cf. Pigafetta, *Primo viaggio*, in BRPI 33:156).

(in Cebuano) and other diviners and witches. They chastised them with the help of civil authorities from Manila.[69] They also attacked the practice of food-offering to the *Nono*, called *Pag-aanito*, and demonstrated the stupidity of the practice of *Pasing-tabi sa Nono*, a rite which consisted in asking permission or excuse from the spirits before cutting down a tree, before crossing a river, before excavating the foundations of a new house, before spilling water in the backyard after washing the dishes, and so forth. Convinced that all this silliness came from the ignorance of natural philosophy,[70] they undertook heroic and dangerous feats to prove to the native inhabitants that *Nonos* did not exist. A German traveler at the middle of the XIX century gave this archival information:

> According to the Franciscan records a couple of monks attempted the ascent in 1592 in order to cure the natives of their superstitious beliefs about the mountain [Mayon Volcano]. One of them never returned; but the other, although he did not reach the summit, being stopped by three deep abysses, made a hundred converts to Christianity by mere relation of his adventure.[71]

This is more or less the way the missionaries preached to the people against Filipino pre-Christian religion.[72] It is a grave error to believe that the spirits or souls of ancestors still inhabit the big trees, the creeks, thick forests, earth mounds (caused by termites or ants). From this erroneous belief follow other diabolical practices such as attributing sickness to the ire of these spirits, whom they had offended and whom they tried to placate afterwards with food offerings. They must not be fooled by the *Katalonan* and *Babaylan* who go around the

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[69] A case of direct intervention of the civil authority from Manila was reported in "Relación sobre la extirpación de la idolatría en la Provincia Tagala en Filipinas por Diego del Villa," *AIA* 8-32 (1948): 534-35.

[70] Joaquín Martínez de Zúñiga, *Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas* (Madrid: 1893; 2 vols.), I:87: "La ignorancia de filosofía natural es causa de que los indios finjen en su fantasía, no sólo erupciones imaginarias, sino mil especies de visiones, voces, aullidos y otros prodigios que dicen se ven en él [i.e., volcán Taal]."

[71] Fedor Jagor, *Travels in the Philippines in 1859-1860*, p.88.

[72] A representative exposition of the errors of the pre-Hispanic religious beliefs and practices, which we summarized here, can be seen from Archbishop Basilio Sancho de Santa Justa y Rufina, *Carta Pastoral que enseña las obligaciones del Christiano* (Manila: Imp. de Universidad de Santo Tomas, 1775).

villages persuading people to make peace offering to the *Nono*. They are agents of Satan. For the truth is, and this is what our Faith teaches, the souls of the dead are no longer inhabiting this world but the other world.

The missionaries were quite blunt in telling the Filipino Indios that those who die as Christians go to heaven, but non-Christians go to hell as well as those Christians who die in mortal sin. Consequently, when they pass by a big tree or enter a thicket or come across an earth mound heaped by termites, there is no reason to fear. They should rather praise God for the wonders of his creation which reflect his omnipotence and wisdom.

In order to counteract their fear, the Filipino Indios were advised to make an act of faith, recite the *Credo* if possible, or pronounce with devotion the sweet name of Jesus. They were also told to have recourse to the Blessed Virgin Mary and other saints and their guardian angels. They must believe only what the Holy Mother the Church teaches, because she cannot err being the *columna de la verdad* (the pillar of truth) and guided by the Holy Spirit.

Upon reception of baptism the native Filipinos assumed a set of new obligations towards the Church, among which figured in a special way the obligation to go to Mass on Sundays and holy days, receive the sacraments at definite times of the year and prescribed manner, under pain of losing one's soul in the eternal hell fires.[73] The missionaries used their lashes to goad the neophytes to the fulfillment of their Christian obligations.

The church building to which the *convento* or the Ministro's residence was always adjoined was the landmark of the presence of Christian liturgy that had superseded pre-Christians religious prac-

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[73] Christian life was presented to the native Filipinos as a way to salvation, which could be achieved through the persevering efforts in observing the obligations of receiving the sacraments, going to Mass on prescribed days, practicing the Christian virtues. Non-observance of the Sunday obligation, the Easter duty and non-reception of the Sacraments at the hour of death were dangers to eternal salvation. This mentality can be seen from the words of the bishop of Nueva Caceres, when he was persuading the Franciscans to go back to a *pueblo* which they had abandoned. He pleaded: "...y también pongan en la consideración de los Padres la lástima tan grande de los enfermos que se estavan muriendo sin sacramentos, que condénanse por falta de administrarles."

tices in Filipino pueblos.[74] There, the native inhabitants of the pueblo gathered to assist at Mass on Sundays and days of obligation; the neophytes were baptized; Easter obligation of confession and Holy Communion was carried out; marriages were solemnized; sick persons were anointed with holy oils; funerals rites for the dead were performed; processions were organized.

Adapting the Spanish-shaped Liturgy to the Philippine Situation

Upon entering the fold of the Catholic Church, the Filipino Indios must go to church for the liturgical ceremonies to fulfil their obligations and to share in the spiritual benefits and aids needed for salvation. Even if these liturgical functions were principally the work of the missionaries —they confected the sacraments!—, more than physical presence was required of the faithful in attendance. They had to have interior dispositions for the fruitful reception of the sacraments. For this purpose the missionaries had to bear heavy burden of *continuas pláticas* (on-going exhortations) to the native inhabitants. *Opportune et importune!* In their instructions and sermons the missionaries played up before the imagination of the native Filipinos the great mysteries that were being wrought during the liturgical services, and made continuous reminder to cease pagan practices altogether. This main preoccupation of the missionaries to prepare the neophytes for a fruitful reception of the sacraments led them to make adaptations in the celebration of liturgy.

The general approach was to make adaptations in the rites of the sacraments only if the principles of orthodoxy and uniformity were duly upheld. In fact the *Ministros de Indios* had to administer the sacraments *rite ac recte* (lawfully and correctly). The Constitutions of the Franciscans cautioned they had to perform the sacred ceremonies *'sin quitar ni añadir cosa alguna'* (without subtracting from or adding

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[74] The *Ministro's* residence adjacent to the church building was called *convento* because the missionaries belonged to religious Orders. The mission complex of church-convento-patio was of monastic layout. In fact and as symbol this complex became the nucleus of the community around which the social and religious life of the people of the pueblo revolved. We will go back to this matter later on. See, *Illustrations*, Fig. 2 & 3.

anything to) the official rite as given in the Roman Missal, Breviary, and Ritual.[75]

This legalistic and moralistic approach to sacramental liturgy drove the ministers not only to take care of their own actions during the administration of the sacraments but also to look after the disposition of the faithful. This was particularly true with the sacraments of baptism, penance, and marriage. The crucial problem was the language.[76] The Mass could be celebrated entirely in the language unknown to the faithful but this was not the case with other sacraments. The missionaries were forced to translate to the Filipino languages the parts of the rites which, by the nature itself of the rites, required an interaction beween the minister and the faithful.

The Franciscan Ritual distinguished two categories of rites of a sacrament: first, those absolutely necessary which are of divine law —the *materia*, *forma*, and *ministro*; secondly, those pertaining to the solemnity and decency of the administration of the sacraments —the *sagrados ritos y ceremonias*. The former affect the validity; the latter, the lawfulness, and should not be omitted "because they were received and approved by the Holy Church in virtue of the apostolic and most ancient tradition."[77]

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[75] *Constituciones de los franciscanos de Filipinas de 1635* in AFIO 48/1, cap.2, par.1: "Recítesse el oficio según el ordinario Romano y guárdense las ceremonias y rúbricas del breviario y missal más reformado, sin quitar, ni añadir cosa alguna; y en lo que toca a las ceremonias del choro y lo demás se guarde el orden de la doctrina y ceremonial que usa la Provincia."

[76] In the New World Spanish became the *lingua franca* of many Hispanic colonies. But in the Philippines the native Filipinos never spoke Spanish as a people except a limited number of *Ilustrados*. In opposition to the decrees of the king the missionaries in the Philippines spared the Filipinos of the burden of learning a foreign tongue. The missionaries prefered to study the many languages of the different islands and regions of the Archipelago in order to preach the Gospel in the language of the people. They wrote the grammars of the different languages after the model of the Latin grammar. Generally they introduced Spanish words into the native languages either because they referred to things and realities non-existent in the Filipino pre-Hispanic world or because the indigenous words did not express adequately the ideas represented by the Spanish words. Language study was one of the principal activities of the Franciscans who excelled other missionaries in various ways. The *Báculo* said: "Deve aprovechar el tiempo, que es precioso, gastándole en el estudio, principalmente de la Theología moral, y Idioma de los naturales..." (c.1, p.3).

[77] *Ritual S. Greg*, p.7-8: "Empero, como para la recta administración de este Sacramento unas cosas sean de Derecho Divino absolutamente necessarias, como

There was some hesitation or feeling of insecurity on the part of the missionaries to translate the *forma* or formula of the sacraments out of fear that the native languages did not express adequately the exact meaning of the Latin and Greek originals. Thus, for example, even the formula for emergency baptism to be taught to well-prepared native Filipinos should be in Latin or at least in Spanish, because the missionaries found no appropriate indigenous term to translate accurately the word *baptizo*.[78] The giving of consent in marriage had, of course, to be solicited through questions in the language of the Filipinos.

The sacramental matter was guarded against any adulteration as required by the Council of Trent. The treasury of the king had to provide each religious priest a supply of grape wine and wheat flour from Europe for the Eucharistic *materia*.[79]

Materia, Forma y Ministro con atención; y otras pertenezcan a la solemnidad, y decencia, es a saber: los sagrados Ritos, y Ceremonias, las quales no es lícito omitir (salvo en caso de necesidad) como que están recividas, y aprovadas en la Santa Iglesia por Apostólica, y antiquísima tradición. Por tanto son necesarias algunas advertencias acerca de las cosas sobre dichas; para que tan sagrado ministerio se exercite perfecta, y santamente."

[78] Ibid., pp.12-13: "Por tanto debe cuydar el Ministro, que en los Barrios de su feligresía haya algunas personas bien instruídas en el modo, y forma de baptizar; y especialmente examinará e instruirá a las que tuvieren el oficio de parteras, haciéndolas que aprendan la forma de este Sacramento en el Idioma Castellano, o Latino; porque en los Idiomas de estas Islas está prohibido, por razón de la palabra *Biñyag*, y las que a esta corresponden en los demas Idiomas, las quales no están tenidas por suficiente para explicar, y significar lo que es propia, y rigurosamente baptizar. Por tanto la Iglesia Catholica usa en su forma Latina de la palabra *baptizo* tomada de el Griego."

[79] Here is an example of a correspondence between the religious superiors and king concerning Mass wine. A complaint against Governor Hurtado for giving them money instead of wine: "... no sabemos que nos avemos de hacer para tener el Vino necessario con que decir missa cada día todos los Religiosos de la Provincia especialmente los que viven en el convento de Manila, San Francisco del Monte, Cabite, Cázeres y Terrenate, que por ser conventos de comunidad, no tiene de donde les venga. Si V.M. no se lo da y para traello de España no tenemos abío, y si aquí se compra, válenos al doble de como estamos cierto lo a de tassar Vuestro Governador, y será posible que la necessidad nos obligue a decir Missa los días de fiestas solamente, por falta de Vino, si V.M. no se sirve de mandársenos de estos géneros como siempre se han dado sin reducirlos a dinero" (Carta de Fr. Andres del Sacramento, p[rovinci]al, Fr. Lucas de la Concepción, diffinidor, 22 julio 1640, Manila), in Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla [AGI] Filipinas 81, r.2, no.16.

Concerning the *sagrados ritos y ceremonias* that accompanied the central part of the sacraments (*materia et forma*), the Franciscans were quite creative. They translated the rites into the language of the people. But again, they restricted themselves to what was strictly necessary. The question-and-answer part before baptism proper was generally put in the vernacular (*lengua del país*) in Franciscan pueblos during adult baptism, but the Augustinians considered this practice as an abuse while the Franciscans took it as permissible.[80] In fact, we found a Tagalog Ritual in the Franciscan archive in Spain in manuscript form, which carried translation of the basic dialog parts of the sacramental rites.[81] These vernacular renditions were mostly concerned with the preparatory and final exhortations for the administration of baptism, marriage and extreme unction with confession. These vernacular texts were not included in the Franciscan Ritual published in 1726. The fact that these translations never entered the officially-published Rituals denotes that the missionaries were doing this adaptation not for the sake of indigenization or inculturation but in order to determine the aptitude of the native Filipinos to receive the sacraments validly and fruitfully.

The most crucial case was the sacrament of penance. After baptism, the most important duty of the neophytes was —along with Sunday and holy observance— the annual Easter duty of confession and Holy Communion. Unlike the American Indios the Filipino Indios did not have an indigenous practice of ceremonial confession of fault.[82]

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[80] Fr. S. Moreno, an Augustinian, said: "Abuso es, y este bastante general, el hacer la protestación de la fe, cuando bautizan, en legua [*sic*] del país, y lo mismo cuando dan el Viatico el *Dne. non sum dignus*" ("Informe escrito," op.cit., p.268).

On the other hand, the *Ritual S. Greg* commented: "Adviértase empero, que donde se acostumbra hacer las primeras preguntas: *Quid Petis &c.* las de la Abrenunciación, y la protesta de Fe, en Idioma vulgar, deben responder los Padrinos; en donde se acostumbra hacerlas en latin responden a ellas los Ministros de el Sacerdote, si los Padrinos no saben./ Adviértase también, que el nombre debe expresarse en latín, y en vocativo siempre que se hablare con el que ha de baptizarse, y se denota por la letra N."

[81] Ritual para el servicio de los párrocos de Indios Tagalos de Filipinas, MS, 56 pp., en 40. No date, no author, in AFIO A 5/16.

[82] Confession of sins *coram Deo* or his representative (priest or community) was not an invention of Christianity but an institution of mankind. In Mexico sins against the flesh had to be confessed to the priest of the Goddess Tlacolteotl. There was also

Actually the native Filipinos, like most Asian peoples, had a different concept of sin, which is called *hiyá* in Tagalog.[83] The idea of sin as transgression of law was a vague thing. The act of going to confession was always an ordeal for most Filipino Indios —especially those whom they called *rudos* (uncouth).[84] Hearing their confessions was a most heroic task of the missionaries.

Before confession elderly men and women together with the regular *fiscales* with special mandate from the *Ministro de Indios* examined the penitents on the general tenets of Christianity and the common basic prayers, and had to teach them when found deficient, before they were given the approval to approach the Ministro.[85] But the greatest burden rested on the confessor, who had to extract from the memories of the penitents the *materia* for absolution. In order to understand properly the content of a native Filipino's confession of sins,

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confession ceremonies in the pre-Columbian religion of Peru. Cf. Friedrich Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion* (Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1979), p.320.

[83] The Filipinos have a 'shame culture' wherein a sinner is not troubled as long as his bad behavior does not go out into the world'. Cf. Leonardo N. Mercado, *Elements of Filipino Theology* (Tacloban City: Divine Word University Publication, 1975), pp.77-88; Vitaliano R. Gorospe, *Christian Renewal of Filipino Values* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila University, 1969), esp. pp.54-55.

[84] The *rudos* were usually the poor and ignorant native Filipinos. Hearing their confession gave the missionaries no little difficulty. Cf. Mariano Martínez Cuadrado, *Práctica de confesar indios rudos filipinos* (Manila: Tipo-Litografía de Chofre y Com., 1892).

[85] *Estatutos y Ordenaciones de la Santa Provincia de S. Gregorio*, Manila: 1730; reprint, 1758 [Sigla: *Estatutos 1730*], p.122: "El modo, que ha de observar el Ministro para disponer sus feligreses a la confessión, y confessarlos, ha de ser escogiendo dos, o más Indios principales, y ancianos, a los quales examinará el Ministro, y hallándolos capaces, dará orden, y publicará acudan todos los demás hombres del Pueblo, a dichos Indios escogidos para Examinadores; y a estos dará un sellito, para que a los que estuvieren aptos para poderse confessar se lo den estampado en el papel, o cédula, que han de llevar los que fueren a examinarse, en la qual impresso, o puesto el sellito que se ha entregado a los Examinadores, conocerá el Ministro si están, o no, examinados, y capazes los que se van a confessar; del modo, escogerá dos o más mugeres principales, y ancianas, que examinen a las mugeres todas; porque en Pueblos grandes no puede el Ministro acudir a todo; además de que muchos, o los más, con el temor y repecto que tienen al Ministro, se turban, y dicen no aciertan con cosa alguna. Y si después hallare el Ministro que alguno no sabe lo que tiene obligación, envíelo al Fiscal o Zelador, que lo enseñe."

the confessor not only had to know the language of the people but also had to have an idea of what kind of life the penitents led, decipher the meaning of their silences during the act of confessing the sins, and know when to ask the right questions.[86]

Because hearing confessions figured as one of the most important duties of the missionaries —the season of Lent being the peak season— they worked out an important method of hearing confession. We can consider this as a most significant liturgical adaptation to the condition of the native Filipinos. We can call it the "*Confesionario* Method." It consisted in prompting the penitent to talk to the confessor and tell him his sins by means of canned questions. In this way the confessor was able to determine the *materia* for absolution.

The purpose of the *Confesionario* is illustrated in the following sample questions taken from a Franciscan *Confesionario*.[87]

— *Sabihin mona ang manga casalanan mo.*	— *Now tell me your sins.*
— *At cun baga maguin calooban mo, aco'y mangongona sa iyo, at iraraan co ang pag-oosisa nang mga casalanan mo, sa sangpouong otos nang P. Dios nang houag mey di pagbungcaling casalanan sa loob mo.*	— *And if you please, I shall lead you to examine your conscience through the ten Commandments of God, so that no sin may remain hidden in your conscience.*
— *Ngunit, ang hinihingi co lamang, at ipinag aamoamo sa iyo alang alang sa Dios at*	— *But I ask one thing only and beg you for God's sake and for the good of your soul, so*

[86] Martínez Cuadrado, *Práctica de confesar*, p.12: "La principal ciencia que debe poseer el Sacerdote para administrar con fruto el Santo Sacramento de la Penitencia es el conocimiento del corazón humano, lo cual exigen los oficios de padre, doctor, juez y médico que en el confesionario tiene que forzosamente ejercer, los que no pueden ser bien desempeñados sin suponer este conocimiento."

[87] Sebastián de Totanes, *Arte de la lengua Tagala y Manual de los Santos Sacramentos* (Sampaloc: Imp. del Convento de Nuestra Señora de Loreto, 1745), pp.87-88.

sa cagalingan nang caloloua mo, at nang houag namang masayang itong cauitang pogal, ay houag mong ipaglingir alin mang casalanang malaqui; houag mong colangan, dagdagan ma, y, houag, ang matanto mong bilang nang balang isa't isang bagay. Houag can mahiya, houag matacot sa aquin; at houag ca namang maglicolico sa pagsasabi.

that this act of breaking the chain may not be wasted, not to conceal any serious sins; neither subtract from, nor add to, the number of anything you know. Don't be ashamed, don't be afraid of me; and don't make any disgressions in your talking.

— Para nang naaalaman nang Panginoong Dios, ang sasabihin mo, at, isagot sa balana tanong co sa iyo.

—Anyway the Lord God knows what you have to say and the answers you shall give to all the questions I shall make to you.

Not all the ready-made questions were used with every penitent. It was up to the confessor to adjust to the type of penitent he had before him according to his personal knowledge of the penitent's living condition and conduct. The function of confessor therefore rested on the assiduous fulfillment of his task as pastor.

Liturgy had always been influenced by the culture of the people among whom it was introduced even after the Council Trent. But liturgy influenced the indigenous culture all the more. The adaptations made by the Spanish missionaries in the Philippines were really intended to prepare the native Filipinos for the correct and lawful sacramental administration. The principles of orthodoxy and uniformity prevailed in the process. And this fact was sufficiently illustrated in the case of bringing the last sacraments to the sick.

Because of the emphasis given by the Council of Trent on the dogmas of transubstantiation and of the Real Presence, the greatest care was sought to give the Blessed Sacrament the most decent place of reservation. This emphasis overshadowed the pastoral axiom, *Sacramenta sunt propter homines*, so that the Viaticum and Extreme Unction were not brought to the homes of the poor, especially outside the pueblo proper, for quite a long time. The Spanish missionaries

deemed the homes of the poor "unworthy" of the Lord's Presence. The hapless sick were usually carried by men in *hamaca* to the church where the sacraments were administered to them. As expected, the sickness frequently worsened and many died before long. *Cédulas reales* were needed in order to constrain the missionaries to bring the last sacraments even to the poor homes of the native Filipinos.[88]

This case evinces that in their task of adaptation the Spanish missionaries in the Philippines avoided coming into conflict with liturgical laws. Perhaps the Chinese Rite controversy was at the back of their mind. They would not perform any "unorthodox practices"!

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[88] Here is one of several *cedulas* of the king concerning the matter: "El Rey. Reverendo in Cristo Padre Obispo de la Iglesia Cathedral de la Ciudad del Santo Nombre de Jesús en las Islas Filipinas, de mi Consejo. Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado, mi Governador y Capitán General de esas Yslas y Pressidente de mi Audiencia de ellas, con carta de 2 de Junio del año pasado de 1680 my ymbio testimonio de haverse echo notoria al Arzobispo de Manila la Cedula de 22 de agosto del de 1671 tocante a que en la administración de los sacramentos a los enfermos se observe el Sínodo Mexicano y lo dispuesto por Don Juan de Palafox en su ritual sobre que se los lleven a sus casas, y que respondió me ynformaría los ynconvenientes, que en su execuzión se le ofrezían, diciendo el dicho Governador que según se havía informado los que generalmente se hallavan en todos los ministerios de Doctrina eran el vivir la mayor parte del año muchos naturales separados en sus sementeras, distantes a media legua y algunos una y aun a más de sus pueblos e yglesias, cuyas asperezas, esteros y malos pasos en que los sacerdotes van ariesgados, con nuestro señor lo ymposibilita como también el ser las casas de sacate y escaleras y suelos de caña y de manera que sólo ellos les pueden traginar. Y hánse visto en mi Consejo de la Yndias con lo que me escrivieron la Audiencia de Manila, y los Provinciales de las Religiones [v.de gofl.] de San Francisco y la Compañía de Jhus de esas Islas, y lo que sobre ello pidió mi fiscal. Quanto quiera que asta aora no he visto carta del Arzobispo, ha parezido deciros (como lo hago) a causado grande novedad, que siendo una materia ésta de tanto escrúpulo y contra la piedad christiana, el traer los enfermos moribundos a la Yglesia con riesgo de que en el camino se mueran, es de admirar se execute asi en esas Islas. Pues si es dificultoso que suba a las casillas de sus naturales un sacerdote sano lo será más que un enfermo pueda viajar y que no se ayan descurrido medios para que se cumpla lo dispuesto en la referida zédula, Y assi, con la supossición de que se ha de executar yndispensablemente, lo dejo a vuestra prudencia y celo christiano para que con el governador de esas Yslas dispongais la forma menos yncómoda que podrá haver para la observancia de dicha zédula, con advertencia de que en estos Reynos se lleva muchas vezes el Viático en el pecho, no siendo de reparo que las casas no tengan toda aquella decencia que se requiere, pues no pudiendo la pobre gente componerlas, podrá llevar el Sacerdote consigo el ornato yndispensable; y de lo que se hiciere me dareis quenta que al governador, Arzobispo y demás obispos de esas Yslas escrivo oy en esta conformidad. Fecha en Madrid a 28 de julio de 1681. Yo el Rey. Por mandato del Rey nro. S. or O.r Joseph de Veytia linage señalada del Onss.o." in AGI/Filipinas 76, r.4, no.261.

The Spanish missionaries, however, had known how to make use of the principle of adaptation in the area where no friction with the law or doctrine would ensue, but where it could leave a more lasting effect: not particularly in individual rites but in the whole make-up of the ecclesial and liturgical life in Filipino pueblos. They brought the sacraments to the Filipinos in the festive atmosphere of the Spanish late medieval and baroque festival. They made the celebration of fiestas —adapted to Philippine situation— as the matrix and cradle of sacramental administration!

The universalism of the medieval spirit combined with the wide-embracing enthusiasm of the Spanish baroque in the veins of the missionaries led them to bind together all things into one apparatus of worship of the Almighty.[89] Non-official, devotional practices coming from cult of saints all fell under the same category of acts of religion just like the sacraments. In Spain and its colonial territories liturgical and non-official religious practices interacted very closely.

In Franciscan pueblos, therefore, fiestas —mostly of saints— as matrix of sacramental administration provided a fitting celebrative atmosphere to official liturgy: the decorations of the church interior and church yard, the tolling of bells, the *comedias* or religious plays in the *patio* or sometimes inside the church itself, the fireworks in the evenings, the music of the brass bands, the banners of the Third Order and the Archconfraternity of the Cord, the enameled life-size statues of saints with richly embroidered robes, the solemn processions....[90] But at the center of all these was liturgy itself! There was a perfect liturgical celebrative atmosphere when the *Divinos Oficios* and *Santa Misa* were solemnly sung with the choir, composed of the pueblo's boys, and the accompaniment of different musical instruments being provided for by the native Filipinos themselves.

On fiestas people flocked to the church of the pueble, some of them coming from distant barrios, in order to participate in the festivities, to

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[89] Because of the ever-lingering spirit of the Medieval Ages, combined with the baroque enthusiasm, the missionaries' approach was holistic which embraced temporal as well as spiritual orders. And in the spiritual sphere all things—sacraments and acts of devotion—contributed to the same end: the glory of God and salvation of souls.

[90] See *Infra* for the celebration of fiestas in Filipino Franciscan pueblos.

assist at Solemn Sung Vespers and at the *Misa Mayor*, to hear the panegyrics of the preacher, to pray devoutly in front of their favorite images of saints. The people surely did not understand the words of the official liturgy, but certainly they felt they were part of the whole happening. Had the missionaries only taken pains in administering the sacrament licitly and validly, the official Latin liturgy could have remained an exclusively clerical affair. Now throughout the year fiestas came at regular intervals. Again and again on these days —including of course all Sundays and holy days— the *patio* and the church became lively arteries of the Filipino pueblos where liturgical as well as devotional functions were performed by the community.

IV. Spanish Missionary Aims in the Philippines

Because the development of the ecclesial and liturgical life in the Spanish Philippines did not happen in a vacuum, we have to also discuss the wider context of Spain's missionary involvement in the Indies within which the Spanish occupation and evangelization of the Philippines were accomplished.

After the *reconquista* of their own land from the Moors, the Spanish sovereigns felt the mission of not only restoring Catholic tradition disfigured by the Renaissance in Europe but also of preaching the Gospel of Christ to the farthest ends of the globe, the *Indias Occidentales* which Columbus accidentally discovered in the name of the Spanish Crown. The sterling medieval mentality and spirituality of Spanish kings and the gallantry and chivalrous enthusiasm of Spanish soul made the conversion of the native inhabitants the primary purpose of their coming to the Philippines.

The Pacification and Christianization of the Philippines

The bearers of the Crown of Spain had inherited from Queen Isabel de Castilla, *la Católica*, the missionary spirit and the mission to propagate the Christian Faith in Spain's Western Hemisphere. This mission found expression in the first law of the *Leyes de Indias*. Because it elucidates our point, we do not hesitate to quote it at length:

> God our Lord by his infinite mercy and goodness has deigned himself to give us without our merits such great a part in the

government of this world, that besides joining in our royal person many and great kingdoms which our glorious forebears possessed being each of them powerful king and lord by himself, has extended our Royal Crown to the vast provinces and lands discovered and governed by us, up to those regions of South and West of our kingdoms. And mindful more than any other Prince of the world to work for the service and glory of his holy name and use all the strength and power given me so that he may be known and adored in the whole world as the true God, for truly he is, and creator of all things visible and invisible, and wishing this glory of our God and Lord, we have happily brought to the bosom of the Holy Roman Catholic Church the innumerable peoples and nations who inhabit the Western Indies, the islands and Terra Firme of the Pacific Ocean and other parts subject to our dominion. And so that all may universally enjoy the admirable benefits of Redemption through the Blood of Christ our Lord, we entreat and charge the natives of our Indies who might not have received it, or it is for your conversion and salvation that we commission and send teachers and preachers and to listen benignly and give credit to their doctrine. And we command the natives and Spaniards and other Christians of the different provinces or nations, non-residents or residents of the said kingdoms of ours and possessions, islands and Tierra Firme, who might have received through the Holy Sacrament of Baptism the Holy Faith, to believe firmly and confess with simplicity the mystery of the Holy Faith and everything the Holy Mother the Catholic Roman Church holds, teaches and preaches; and if they err with tenacity and obstinacy and are hardened in not holding and believing what the Holy Mother Church holds and teaches, they should be punished with penalties provided for in the code, according to and in cases contained therein.[91]

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[91] *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de Indias mandadas publicar por la Magestad Católica del Rey Don Carlos II Nuestro Señor.* 3 vols. Madrid: 1791; reimpresión, Madrid: 1943 [Sigla: *Leyes de Indias*], lib.1, tit.1: "De la santa fe católica, Ley 1: Exhortación a la Santa Fe Católica, y cómo la debe creer todo Fiel Christiano":

"Dios nuestro Señor por su infinita Misericordia y Bondad se ha servido de darnos sin merecimientos nuestros tan grande parte en el Señorío de este mundo, que ademas de juntar en nuestra Real persona muchos y grandes Reynos, que nuestros Progenitores tuvieron, siendo cada uno por si poderosos Rey y Señor, ha dilatado nuestra Real Corona en grandes Provincias, y tierras por Nos descubiertas, y señoreadas hacia las partes del Mediodía y Poniente de estos nuestros Reynos. Y teniéndonos por más obligado que otro ningún Príncipe del mundo a procurar su servicio y la gloria de su Santo Nombre, y emplear todas las fuerzas y poder, que nos

Even though Spain's presence in the vast Western Hemisphere had two aspects, the *conquista temporal* and the *conquisa espiritual*, Spanish jurisprudence, deeply theological in its framework, placed the *conquista espiritual* first on the scale of values. Captain General Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, the leader of the 1565 expedition to the *Islas del Poniente*, kept always in mind the royal instruction delivered to him by the Viceroy of Mexico:

> You shall make it the object of your voyage to search for and discover the Islas del Poniente near the Moluccas, but you must not by any means come into the Moluccas Islands themselves in order not to violate the treaty between his Majesty and the most serene King of Portugal. Rather, you must make for the other islands near them, such as the Philippines and others which do not come under the treaty referred to but are within the demarcation of His Majesty and are reported to be also spice-producing. With the advice of the pilots in your company you shall steer a straight course so as to reach those islands and thus fulfil the aims which His Majesty principally has in mind, namely, to make known to the natives of those parts our holy Catholic Faith and to determine the return route from thence to this New Spain, and in order that by trade and intercourse and other lawful means which can in conscience be employed, his patrimony and royal crown to Castille

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ha dado, en trabajar que sea conocido y adorado en todo el mundo por verdadero Dios, como lo es, y Criador de todo lo visible, e invisible; y deseando esta gloria de nuestro Dios y Señor, felizmente hemos conseguido traer al Gremio de la Santa Iglesia Católica Romana las innumerables Gentes y Naciones que habitan las Indias Occidentales, Islas y Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano, y otras partes sujetas a nuestro dominio. Y para que todos universalmente gocen el admirable beneficio de la Redención por la Sangre de Christo nuestro Señor, rogamos y encargamos a los naturales de nuestras Indias que no hubieren recibido la Santa Fe, pues nuestro fin en prevenir y enviarles Maestros y Predicadores, es el provecho de su conversión y salvacion, que los reciban, y oygan benignamente, y den entero crédito a su doctrina. Y mandamos a los naturales y Españoles, y otros qualesquier Christianos de diferentes Provinciales, o Naciones estantes, o habitantes en los dichos nuestros Reynos y Senoríos, Islas y Tierra Firme, que regenerados por el Santo Sacramento del Bautismo hubieren recibido la Santa Fe, que firmemente crean, y simplemente confiesen el Misterio de la Santísima Trinidad, Padre, Hijo y Espíritu Santo, tres Personas distintas y un solo Dios verdadero, los Artículos de la Santa Fe, y todo lo que tiene, enseñe y predica la Santa Madre Iglesia Católica Romana; y si con ánimo pertinaz y obstinado erraren, y fueren endurecidos en no tener y creer lo que la Santa Madre Iglesia tiene y enseña, sean castigados con las penas impuestas por derecho, según y en los casos que en el contienen."

may be enhanced and the spices and other riches there obtainable be brought hither.[92]

In order to "fulfil the aims which His Majesty principally has in mind," Legazpi was to *pacify*, not conquer, the Philippines. He was always mindful of this aim so that he avoided with great tact the unnecessary clash of arms with the native inhabitants. In his reply to Legazpi's letter (which was carried by the command ship *San Pedro* that discovered the return route to Mexico under the command of Fray Andres de Urdaneta, an Augustinian), the king reiterated his policy of peaceful occupation, to "take care not to come in conflict with them or with other persons, except when you would be provoked or in self-defense".[93] It is generally acknowledged,[94] "No such cruelties were perpetrated in Luzon as the Spaniards are charged with having committed in America and its islands. On the contrary the conduct of their chiefs seems to have been politic and humane."[95]

In Mexico the inexperience and unpreparedness of the Spaniards to take up the task of converting and Hispanizing a new people led them to fall into many mistakes, which bishop Bartolomé de las Casas denounced and aggrandized before the imagination of the Europeans and created unwittingly the *Black Legend* to the disgrace of Spain and of the Church he intended to serve. Columbus' discovery of the New

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[92] *Instructions to Legazpi, Mexico, 1 September 1564*, in RPH-Cos, p.18. This expedition tied the Philippines with Spain through Mexico, because Urdaneta was able to discover the route back to Mexico. The Spaniards could not sail through the Indian Ocean because it pertained to Portugal by the Treaty of Tordesillas (7 June 1494) which drew the demarcation line between Spain's and Portugal's respective sphere of influence, trade and conquest 170 leagues west of the Azores.

[93] *Respuesta del rey a Miguel Lopez de Legazpi*, Escorial 16 nov. 1578, in AGI/ Audiencia, Est. 105, caj.2, leg.11: "... en lo que decís de las yslas que se han descubierto y cada día se descubren y la buena orden que habéis tenido en no hacer guerra habeis hecho muy bien y assi os mandamos y encargamos que lo hagáis procurando por todos buenos medios traerlos al servicio de Dios nuestro Señor y mío y al amor y amistad que deben tener con vos y con los españoles que con vos residen, trabajando de no venir en rompimiento con ellos ni con otras personas sino fuere siendo probocados y en vuestra defensa."

[94] Cf. John Crawford, A *Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands & Adjacent Countries...* (London: 1856), p.230.

[95] Ibidem. Also, Albert Kolb, *Die Philippinen* (Leipzig: 1942), p.157: "Es war in ganzen eine *conquista pacífica*."

World was unexpected and caught Spain unprepared for the great task of Christianizing and Hispanizing the Indios. But out of the magnanimity and heroism of the Spanish soul, they could not but answer the call and take up the challenge of bringing the heathens to the Holy Faith, which enabled them to "enjoy the admirable benefit of Redemption through the Blood of Christ our Lord." And now this time in the Philippines they did not want to repeat the mistakes they had made in New Spain.

It was of course far from true to say that Spain had no material interest invested in the Islands. The Philippine Archipelago had great strategic value: first, as a port for spice trade with the Moluccas; secondly, as an outpost for the defense of the American Pacific coastline against the Dutch; and thirdly, as a springboard for an eventual conquest of China and Japan, or simply as a base from which Spain could funnel to her ports the riches of the fabulous East.[96] On the whole, however, spiritual interest held Spain from abandoning the Philippines, when material interest fell short of expectations.

The Preservation of Christianity in the Philippines

The missionary motivations of the Spanish Crown were put to a difficult test when, on account of the unproductivity of the land, the maintenance of the Philippines became a burden to the royal treasury. Already during the Junta of 1582 convened in a manner of synod at the instance of the first bishop of Manila, Fray Domingo de Salazar, OP, the Spaniards saw the difficulty of preserving the Philippines as a colony on account of penury. One of the items to be discussed by Padre Alonso Sánchez, SJ, the spokesman of the Junta before Philip II, was precisely this matter. He arrived at the royal court at the same time the report of the defeat of the Spanish Armada reached the king. But Philip II still graciously received him and annotated marginally in his own hand his decision to retain the Philippines and found funds to meet the most pressing demands.[97]

But after Philip II's death the increasing sums being extracted from the royal treasury revived the issue, so that even the king's

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[96] RPH-Cos, p.37.

[97] RPH-Cos, p.33.

Consejo de las Indias advised him to get rid of the Philippines, or to have the Crown of Portugal exchange them for Brazil. The historian Bartolome Leonardo de Argensola reported how Philip III faced the problem.[98] The king answered that the Filipinos would be conserved in their present condition. To make this possible the Audiencia would be granted sufficient authority so that justice could be more thoroughly administered, the military force strengthened, and the royal income of New Spain and other parts of the empire and "those still to be discovered in the bosom of mines" must be used for the task of evangelization.

Argensola continued:

> [Philip III], conforming to his father's reply, has ever refused to accept counsel so injurious. (...) For what, he asked, would the enemies of the gospel say, if they should see that the Filipinos were deprived of the light and of the ministers who preach it, because they did not produce metals and wealth as did other rich islands in Asia and America? He said that the entire power of the sovereign must minister to this superior end, as sons of the Church and assistants of the apostolic voice, which is being continued in the successes of the first preaching. If he had refused to yield one jot in his severity to his northern vassals [the Dutch], or to grant them liberty for their consciences, why should he relent toward the pagans assigned him, in order to enrich the Church with those so remote children? By this wise he enjoined silence on the discussion, and with this glorious aim the decision has even been made when zeal or human convenience has discussed the abandonment of those states....[99]

During the time of Philip IV there was still a lingering uneasiness, and attempts of civil officials to persuade the king to abandon the Islands were not absent. The missionaries fought for the conservation, however, as we would naturally expect. And there were even influential statesmen who leaned heavily on the religious issues in their arguments in favor of retaining the Philippines. Fernando de los Ríos Coronel in a special *Memorial y relación* dedicated to Philip IV, after exposing the material benefits derivable from the Philippines, clinched his arguments on the religious ground:

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[98] Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, *Conquista de las Islas Malucas* (Madrid: 1609); see, BRPI 16:227.

[99] Ibid.

> ...If your Majesty possess the Church for the purpose of converting souls, and there your reputation and royal conscience are to such an extent engaged, what reason can be so pressing that you should not attempt with great care and energy the preservation of that country, where the obligation of your Majesty have before the Divine Majesty for not aiding it in time, if for this reason so many millions of souls should recant from the faith? Then, too, consider the great multitude who, it is hoped, will come to the knowledge of the true God, in whose hands, as David says: *Domini qui habitant in eo*. Who but He gives kingdoms and monarchies? For who could He be under great obligation if there is any way in which to oblige Him from whom nothing is due than to procure His own greater honor and glory in the salvation of souls, for both here and in heaven, bountifully, and the Holy Scriptures are full of examples to this effect.[100]

What Columbus said of the Spanish sovereigns of his time remained true of their successors: *"Sus altezas desean más la salvación de esta gente que todas las riquezas que de acá puedan salir."*[101]

The Spanish Patronato Real and the Ecclesial and Liturgical Life in the Spanish Philippines

We admire the greatness of the medieval Spanish soul in this decision to maintain the Philippines as a colony in spite of its poverty for the sake of the native inhabitants who should be given the opportunity to see the light of Catholic Faith. The Spanish sovereigns in a way obliged themselves to become *patrons of the Church in the Indies*. This was an obligation and at the same time a privilege. It came to be known as the *Patronato Real*. This special concession was originally granted by Pope Julius II on 28 July 1508 to King Ferdinand and Queen Isabel and to their successors in the throne of Spain, based on the Bull, *Universalis ecclesiae*.[102] With the coming of Miguel López de Legazpi in 1565, this Spanish *Patronato Real* was extended to the Philippines.

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[100] Fernando de los Ríos Coronel, *Memorial y relación para su Magestad* (Madrid: Fernando Correa, 1621); see, BRPI 19: 237.

[101] Hernando Colón, *Vida del Almirante* (Madrid: 1922), I:60, cited in Constantino Bayle, "Ideales misioneros de los reyes católicos," *MHisp* 9-26 (1952): 212.

[102] *Cedulario Indiano*, recopilado por Diego Encinas, reproducción, facsimil de la edición única de 1596 con estudio y índices de Alfonso Gallo. (Madrid: Ed. Cultura

The development of the ecclesial and liturgical life in the Philippines cannot be understood outside this patronage. In essence, this was an extraordinary privilege granted by the Pope to the Spanish Crown to reward their zeal and encourage them to establish the Church and build churches in the newly discovered lands of the Indies, he was only too happy to have such "Catholic Kings" as those of Spain, who relieved him of much of the material burden entailed in the work of conversion. In appreciation of the initiative of the Spanish kings to promote the evangelization of their pagan subjects, the Pope gave them exclusive rights:[103]

1. to erect or to permit the erection of all churches in the Spanish colonies;

2. to present suitable candidates for colonial bishoprics, abbacies, canonries and other ecclesiastical benefices.

Hispánica, 1945), Lib.I, pp.33-34; F. J. Hernáez, *Colección de Bulas, Breves, y Otros Documentos relativos a la Iglesia de América y Filipinas.* (Brussels: 1879), I:24; M. Gómez-Amora, *Regio Patronato Español e Indiano.* (Madrid: 1897), pp.299-301.

Universalis ecclesiae is considered as the 'institutional Bull' of the Spanish Royal Patronage of the Indies, but it had its beginning as early as 4 May 1493 when Alexander VI issued the Bull *Inter caetera* with which the Crown of Spain was impowered to claim dominion over lands discovered and still to be discovered. For various interpretations of the Bull (or *Motu Proprio*?), see J. Hoffner, *La ética colonial española del siglo de oro* (Madrid: Ed. Cultura Hispánica, 1957), pp. 264-69.

[103] *Cedulario Indiano*, Lib.I, pp.33-34: "[Part of *Universalis ecclesiae*] ... quod nullus in praedictis acquisitis et aliis acquirendis Insulis et locis maris hujusmodi, Ecclesiae magnas, alias quam Fernandi Regis et Joannae Reginae ac Regis Castellae et Legionis pro tempore existentis expresso consensu, construi, aedificari et erigi facere possit ac Jus Patronatus et praestandi personas idoneas ad Aguacen. Et Maguen. ac Bayum. praedictas et alias quascumque Metropolitanas ac cathedrales Ecclesias et Monasteria ac Dignitates, in eisdem Cathedralibus etiam Metropolitanis post Pontificales, maiores, et in collegiatis Ecclesiis principales; ac qaecumque alia beneficia ecclesiastica et pia loca in dictis insulis et locis, pro tempore vacantia; videlicet, ad cathedrales etiam Metropolitanas ac etiam Regulares Ecclesias ac Monasteria, de quibus consistorialiter disponi debeat, infra annum a die vacationis, et eorumdem propter longam maris distantiam nobis et successoribus nostris Romanis Pontificibus canonice intrantibus. Ad inferiora vero beneficia hujusmodi eisdem Ordinariis, et si Ordinarii praefati personam praesentiam infra decem dies instituere neglexerint, ex tunc quilibet alius episcopus illarum partium, ad requisitionem Fernandi Regis, seu Joannae Reginae, aut Regis pro tempore existentis, hujusmodi praefatum personam ea vice instituere, libere et licite valeat, auctoritate Apostolica, tenore praesentium, concedimus; non obstantibus praemissis et aliis constitutionibus et ordinationibus Apostolicis, caeterisque contrariis quibuscumque..."

The self-imposed obligation of the king toward the Church in the newly-discovered lands to send missionaries entailed an enormous sum of money. For the royal treasury had to pay for all the expenses of the missionaries from the time they arrived in Sevilla where they embarked until they disembarked in Manila, with several months of stopover in Mexico.[104] Also they determined the erection of monasteries and churches and provided them with ornaments, vestments, chalices, bells;[105] the cathedral dignitaries were also salaried with royal money.[106] The Religious Orders and even the bishops of the Philippines received an annual ration of oil for the light of the Blessed Sacrament and oil to consecrate for sacramental administration, grape wine for the celebra-

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[104] Manuel Merino, "Viáticos a los misioneros españoles en los pasados siglos," *MHisp* 26 (1952): 387-88. In 1698, for example, the House of Trade paid 453,540 maravedís to send 40 Augustinians while 33 Dominicans 836,750 maravedís de vellon. For itimized list see AGI/Filipinas 83, r.7, nos. 183 and 199.

[105] Here is an interesting example of a *cédula real* concerning provisions for the cathedral of Manila, in AGI/Filipinas 74, no.5: "El Rey, Nuestro Governador de las yslas Philipinas por una cédula fecha en trece de mayo de año pasado de setenta y nueve os havemos ynviado a mandar deis horden como se haga la yglesia catedral que en esas yslas se ha de hazer probeyendo que por tercias partes, se pague el edificio a nuestro costa y de los yndios y de los españoles como se contiene en la dicha cédula a que nos referimos. Agora, Fray Domingo de Salazar, obispo de esas yslas, nos ha hecho relación que no dándosele la mesma Horden en la provisión de los Hornamentos, cálizes, cruzes y campanas y las otras cossas necessarias, al servicio del culto divino se padecería grande necessidad dello y no abría conque se pudiessen celebrar los divinos oficios con la decencia que se requiere suplícanos que pues los frutos y tributos que dan los dhos Indios se cobran para nos y los dhos españoles lo mandásemos proveer o como la nuestra majestad fuese. Visto por los de mi consejo de las Indias lo havemos tenido por bien y asi os mandamos que beais lo suso y por la misma orden, que por la dicha cédula de que de uso se haze mención os tenemos mandado que hagais repartir y pagar la costa que se hiziere en el edificio de la dha yglesia catedral repartais lo que fuere necesario para la compra de los hornamentos, cálizes y cruzes y campanas, y las otras cosas, que fuere menester en la dha yglesia para celebrar los divinos oficio y que dello se compren y paguen. Fecha en Guadalupe a veynte y seis de março de mil y quinientos y ochenta años. Yo el Rey. Por mandato de su Magestad, Antonio de Eraso."

[106] Cushner points out *(Spain*, p.77) that the Crown was a poor paymaster and the clergy received salaries very much lower than what civil officials perceived. In seventeenth century, for example, the Archbishop of Manila received a salary of 4,125 pesos (compared to 13,235 for the governor), the Bishop of Cebu, Camarines, and Nueva Segovia received 1,838 each, the dean of the cathedral of the ecclesiastical cabildo received from 200 to 500 pesos yearly. Cf. AGI/Fil 74,r.3, no.85; Fil 302, r.4, no.47, Real Hacienda, 17 jun., 1699.

tion of the Holy Mass and bees wax candles to light during liturgical and religious functions.[107] Of course, prebends and benefices were created for the support of the ecclesiastical ministers and the native inhabitants had to contribute in terms of tributes and certain hours of free labor,[108] while the encomenderos had to make their own contributions.[109]

The Spanish kings and their ministers very zealously defended and appropriated these rights and obligations to themselves so that the disregard of them on the part of ecclesiastical authorities led the Spanish Crown to assert their rights sometimes even to the detriment of the Church's evangelizing activities which they were trying to promote. We cite here a couple of cases. The late development of the Filipino native clergy could be attributed in part to the break up of the *Colegio de San Clemente*, a regional seminary for the East and Southeast Asia which had to be suppressed, because it had been built without the permission of Philip V.[110] At one time in Manila a liturgical function had to be delayed for several hours simply because they had to settle first whether the archbishop of Manila had the right to use a canopy

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[107] Some financial statements in AGI/Fil 10,r.1.

[108] Not only tributes but labor services were exacted as well from the native Filipinos through the system of *repartimiento* and *servicios personales* —that is, a statute labor whereby the native villages or pueblos were obliged to supply a fixed number of laborers to be employed for a fixed period and wage, either in public work or in private estates, mines or factories, or in works for the building and repair of churches. These systems were focused labor only in the sense that the native Filipinos had no choice but to accept employment, but they were paid. Actually these systems were a compromise between slave labor and the standards of Christian justice zealously defended by jurists and theologians which the Crown sought to follow. Cf. H. de la Costa, *Asia and the Philippines*. (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1967), p.15; also Cushner, *Spain*, pp.112-16; still another, *AFIO* 94/5, "El Almirante de Galeones Don Gabriel pide reserva de tributos, polos y servicios personales para fundar iglesia, 21 marzo 1686."

[109] *Leyes de Indias*, Lib.I, tit.II, ley xxiij: "Declaramos que los Encomenderos tienen obligacion de proveer lo necesario al culto divino y a los Ministros, ornamentos, vino y cera, al parecer y disposición del Diocesano, según la distancia y calidad de los Pueblos: y nuestros Oficiales Reales deben proveer lo mismo en los que tributan y están incorporadas en nuestra Real corona."

[110] H. de la Costa, "The Development of the Native Clergy in the Philippines," in Gerard H. Anderson (ed.), *Studies in Philippine Church History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), pp.85-86.

above his chair during liturgical ceremonies or not, when the Governor General and the Audiencia were present.[111]

There were such inconveniences, sometimes injurious to the growth of the Church in the colonies. But in general the Patronato Real served the Catholic Church (and the Spanish Crown) in the Spanish Philippines splendidly.

Very much affecting the growth of the Church in the Philippines and the development of the liturgical life in Filipino pueblos was an instrument of the patronato: the 'Encomienda' System. An *encomienda* was a royal grant of jurisdiction over a definite territory and its native inhabitants, but not of property. By its terms the *encomendero* (the grantee) undertook the following:

- the defense of his encomienda from external attacks of enemies;
- the maintenance of peace and order within it;
- the support of the missionaries who would teach Christian doctrine to the people there.

In consideration of these services the encomendero acquired the right to collect tribute in the amount and form determined by the royal government from the people of the encomienda.[112]

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[111] Relación del escándalo y turbación que tuvo la república de Manila, clero, y pueblo estando en la yglesia cathedral della juntos y congregados a los oficios divinos; el Jueves Santo por la mañana diez y nueve de abril deste año 1612, in AGI/Fil 74, no.129. Also, a letter of the Archbishop to the king about this matter, 7 julio 1612, in AGI/Fil 74, no.139.

[112] The encomienda system in the Spanish Philippines was an imitation of the Spanish custom in the New Spain. The term 'encomienda' came from the verb 'encomendar', to entrust.

Here is an example of a grant of 1598 (in RPH-Cos, pp.23-24): "By these presents, in the name of His Majesty, I grant in encomienda to you, the said Captain Toribio de Miranda and Captain Antonio Freyle, the natives of the towns and *encomiendas* which Juan Gutiérrez del Real, deceased, held on the cost of Caraga, the island of Cibabo, Catubig, Calbiga and the Mapono River with its highlands and hills, for you to hold and enjoy jointly and equally, the one as well as the other, in the same manner and form as they were held and enjoyed by the said Juan Gutiérrez del Real, in accordance with the law of succession regarding Indians ordained by His Majesty, with the obligation of instructing them in our holy Catholic faith to the end that they might attain to a true knowledge of it, and in this matter I charge your conscience and discharge that of His Majesty and mine in his royal name... and most of all I enjoin you to treat the said natives well, preserving them from all vexation and trouble."

The system if managed according to these terms was a good arrangement by which the king's missionary aims could be brought about and his obligations of the *Patronato Real* accomplished. The encomienda of Salcedo, the Villa Fernandina in the Ilocos, was a fair example of what good the system could produce. Before the encomienda in that locality was established people remembered having no peace and order but suffered continuous vexations and injuries from the stronger ones. Now they had peace and contentment, respect for the law and fear of God, the inhabitants now being Christians. This was a disclosure by the inhabitants of the village.[113]

But the system was not invulnerable to abuses. The missionaries denounced to the king many encomenderos who exacted tributes from the inhabitants without providing for the corresponding services of defense, government and religious formation. But worse still, the encomenderos would punish the native Filipinos who on account of poverty could not produce what was asked of them.

Many were the reasons that impelled the encomenderos to commit injustices. Greed and avarice played a big role. But poverty of the new colony shaped the conduct of the encomenderos to a great extent. When the Spaniards came, the demands exceeded the supply so that the newcomers had to provide themselves with the necessities of life at the expense of the natives. Moreover, the royal treasury was a poor paymaster.

A certain encomendero by the name of Diego Aguilar wrote to the king to seek compassion and understanding:

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[113] RPH-Cos, p.25: "He said that from the time a magistrate and friars and clergymen were assigned to these provinces they have prospered as never before, because they no longer received from one another the vexations and injuries they used to, the freemen from the chiefs, the little people from the great. Indeed, they have gone steadily from good to better, and today, because there are religious in all the provinces and the magistrate visits them regularly, no one can complain of being ill treated; rather, they are for the most part at peace and contented and many of the adults, and all the children, Christian. This peace they did not enjoy before the establishment of the missions and the civil government. Then, because there was neither respect for the law nor fear of God, any warrior or chief who had a mind to do so went and rob them. After the coming of so many religious and of a magistrate to these provinces this is no longer done, and people can go safely from one place to another both by land and sea. This is the true state of affairs here [in Villa Fernandina, Ilocos] at present."

> We have rendered service in the conquest and pacification of these islands and their settlement some of us ten years, others twelve, others fifteen, and this with only the grant-in-aid which your Majesty's treasury officials of New Spain gave us for the first and only time in Mexico when we crossed over to these parts. Since this did not last us very long, owing to the many expenses we incurred in pacifying these natives, we felt free to rob them and impose on them in order to support ourselves. This is why our souls are so guilt-ridden, and because we see no way of freeing ourselves from guilt in our present state of utter poverty, we live in great anguish of mind, not knowing which way to turn, realizing that the chief means by which we can assure of our souls' salvation is beyond reach.[114]

By constant denouncement of injustices the missionaries became the defenders of the native inhabitants and solicited decrees from the home government in Madrid for the better treatment of the Filipino Indios, thus "discharging" the royal conscience. When in 1582 Fray Domingo de Salazar as bishop of Manila convoked a Junta, it was to draw up some guidelines in order to correct the injustices done by the Spaniards to the native inhabitants. In that Junta the participants realized that clear guidelines for the regulation of justice in the Philippines could not be had, unless the claim itself of the Spanish Crown on the Islands could be determined with just title. The discussion on the king's right of dominion of the newly-discovered land —a topic hotly discussed during the conquest of Mexico— was revived in the Philippine context.[115]

There were some missionaries of the Las Casas persuasion who maintained that Spain had no right whatsoever to the Philippines and must abandon it. The records of the Junta proceedings ruled that the Spanish Crown did not possess the Philippines by right of inheritance or through just war but solely by the right to preach the Gospel (which did not carry the right to dispossess the native inhabitants of what they had). This right, however, comes with the right to establish political

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[114] RPH-Cos, p.23.

[115] For a thorough discussion on the justification of the claim of Spanish crown on the Philippines, see J. Gayo Aragón, "The Controversy over Justification of Spanish Rule in the Philippines," in Anderson, *Studies*, pp.3-21. Also, John Leddy Phelan, "Some Idological Aspects of the Conquest of the Philippines," *The Americas* 13 (1957): 221-139.

governance only insofar as it is meant to be the defense and promotion of the Catholic Faith. As regards the tributes being exacted by the encomenderos, the conclusion was clear. If the political power of the king over the Philippines had sanction only insofar as he was the delegate of the Pope in promoting the Catholic Faith and to defend those who had accepted it, tribute could be collected from the baptized but in no way whatsoever from the un-baptized.

In spite of the injuctions of the Junta and the Twenty Five Conclusions which Bishop Salazar ordered read from the pulpits in 1591, unjust exaction of tributes still persisted.[116] Governor Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas had a bitter dispute with Bishop Salazar on this matter. In his opinion those who received religious instruction and were under Spanish civil administration should pay the entire amount of the tribute, whether they were believers or not. In *encomiendas* where justice was administered and no religious instruction was given, the entire amount was still to be collected but one-fourth of the amount was to be placed in the *caja real* (royal safe) either to be used to support hospitals for the natives or to be invested in the *obras pías* for the ultimate benefit of the contributors. On the contrary, Bishop Salazar's opinion was that no tribute could be collected from non-believers and those who did not receive religious instruction.[117] The bishop left the Philippines in 1591 to present his case to the king. He was received by Philip II and the Council of Indies in Madrid. As a result of these meetings new legislation was enacted. Salazar died in Madrid in December of 1594.

When Fray Miguel de Benavides, OP, came to the Philippines to become the first bishop of Nueva Segovia, he was carrying with him the *cédula real* —sought by Bishop Salazar— issued by Philip II on 8 February 1597.[118] This decree ordered the Governor General of the Philippines to call together the authorities of the Archipelago to determine ways and means to restore tributes unjustly collected from the pagan native inhabitants, over whom the king had no legal power,

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[116] BRPI, 8:27-32.

[117] Cushner, *Spain*, p.106.

[118] For a copy of this *cédula real*, see *Unitas* 21-1 (1948): 157-59, and 22-3 (1949): 608-609.

and similarly to obtain without coercion the ratification the official policy of the king and the missionaries acquired a clear vision of their obligation to condemn the abuses of the encomenderos and to defend the natural rights of the native Filipinos.[119]

The Spanish *Patronato Real* produced many advantages in the planting and the growth of the ecclesial and liturgical life in the Spanish Philippines. During the Spanish rule in the Archipelago the Church could not have taken root and remained firm on its ground had not the Spanish kings provided it with material support. Equally zealous for the spread of the Catholic Faith as they were for the extension of their sovereignty, they could —with the rights and obligations of the *Patronato Real* supported by the *encomienda* system— distribute and co-ordinate their activities and material resources without duplication in the Christianization-Hispanization of the Philippines. Because of the *Patronato Real* "Sword and Cross" went hand in hand in the colonizing and missionary efforts of Spain. Both missionaries and conquistadores were zealous in promoting the glory of *ambas majestades*, the glory of God and of the King!

V. *Excursus*: The Spiritual Disposition of the Missionaries in the Philippines

The Spanish civil functionaries shied away from the *punto filipino* of the Spanish empire —even after the decision of the kings to maintain the Spanish hegemony in the Philippines—, because the Philippine colony was the farthest and an exiled government post in the Indies

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[119] As late as 1881 this procedure was followed by the Spanish government in the Philippines. The Governor General Primo de Rivera was rebuked by Madrid government for sending a punitive expedition against the Filipino Igorots who refused to accept the Spanish rule. He had to stop such expeditions and it was left to the missionaries to achieve the purposes of the government through persuasion.

Jesús Gayo Aragón (in "The Controversy over Justification," pp.20-21) concludes the discussion, thus: "... it is therefore truly amazing that a king, on whose empire the sun never set, should have evinced such an unswerving determination to seek the free acceptance of his dominion over a people whom he had ruled as subjects for more than thirty years. This, in large measure, was no doubt due to the alert and lively passion for justice and fairness of those early missionaries —men for whom the rights of God and of God's children were more deeply embedded in their hearts and minds than the awe-inspiring majesty of crown and throne."

where there was but little gold and no silver.[120] But the missionaries came to the Islands just the same. It must have been for spiritual motivation. What then made the Philippines attractive to the missionaries and worth spending their lives for? It is important to discuss this matter in order to have a fuller grasp of our topic. For, had the missionaries refused to come to the Philippines the Christian ecclesial and liturgical life there could not have been able to develop.

The Spanish missionaries were also made of spirit and flesh just like any other human being. Sometimes the flesh puts heavy weight on the spirit and renders it unable to rise above material considerations. It was the case with many Philippine missionaries in the early years of Spain's involvement in the Islands of the Far West. The poverty of the Philippines was so depressing that discouragement did not spare even the missionaries. This is true espcially of the *criollos*, the Spaniards born in Mexico. That is why Ronquillo says that the missionaries, the *frailes*, should come directly from Spain.

The governor and Captain General Don Ronquillo de Peñalosa explaimed to the king in 1582 why many Augustinians wanted to leave the Philippines. His report reads in part as follows:

> It is important that the frailes that would come over to these islands should come directly from Spain. They should not be those who have been for some time in Nueva España [Mexico]. For that land is so rich and so productive and the things and the doctrinas of the Indios are so well established that they become afflicted in this land and consequently try to return [to Nueva España] or go somewhere else.[120b]

Sixteen years afterwards, in 1598, an old Augustinian, Fray Alonso de Vico, took the pen in his trembling hand and recounted to the

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[120] According to Prof. Dr. Leandro Tormo —a government researcher at the *Archivo Nacional de Madrid*— the term 'punto filipino' really had this historical meaning in the beginning. But in Spain today it means in ordinary parlance "a wise, shrewd, intelligent person."

[120b] Don Ronquillo al rey; Manila, 18 junio 1582, in AGI/Fil 6, r.2, no.56: "Los frailes que vinieren a estas yslas importa mucho vengan derechamente de España y no sean de los que an estado algun tiempo en la nueva España porque como aquella tierra es tan gruessa y de tanto regalo y las cossas della y doctrinas de los indios están en tanto asiento állanse en esta tierra desconsolados y assi procuran absolver y yrse a otras partes."

king the story behind the desire of his fellow Augustinians to go back to Mexico. Most of them were *creoles* (Spaniards born and educated in Mexico), sons of conquistadores in search of wealth in the New World. Being the first missionaries they retained the more lucrative benefices (beneficios pingües), but the hardships and miseries of the Philippine mission magnified the affluence of their land which they longed for. Bishop Miguel de Benavides enclosed this letter, upon the request of Fray de Vico himself, in his report to the king, in which he also asked for reform among the Augustinians.[121]

The following year Bishop Pedro de Agurto, an Augustinian himself, then bishop of Cebu, also made a report to the king and commended the Franciscans, Dominicans and the Jesuits, because "they have behaved and still do with more discipline than those of my Father Saint Agustine."[122]

This Augustinian restlessness was temporary and did not represent the spiritual disposition of the greater number of the missionaries in the Philippines. There was indeed a general restlessness among the missionaries in the Philippines but for a noble motive.

The Philippines —in the Spanish ambition of the world-wide spiritual conquest— was too insignificant to satiate the almost unboundless zeal of the missionaries who wanted to go to the kingdoms beyond the China Sea. They saw that the native Filipinos had a very low degree of civilization and from them no great gain could be had. On the contrary, the many-fabled and ancient city of Cathay made China extremely attractive to Europeans. Even the early missionaries in Mexico like Bishop Zumarraga had a longing to go to China.[123] Because

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[121] *Carta del Obispo Miguel de Benavides al rey, 26 junio 1598*, in AGI/Fil 76, r.1, no.5, cat.5330; Carta de Fr. Alonso de Bico [1598], in AGI/Fil 75, r.1, no.9, cat.5420. It seems that Bishop Benavides purposely sent the letter of Fr. Alonso de Bico unpolished in a not too attractive handwriting to behold, apparently in order to touch the heart of the king so that prompt reform could be made.

[122] *Fray Pedro de Agurto, Obispo de Cebu al rey. Ciudad del Nombre de Jesús, 12 julio 1599*, in AGI/Fil 76, r.1, no.16, cat.5554: "...las tres órdenes de Sancto Domingo y St. Francisco descalços y de la Compañía van con aprovación y hán procedido y proceden con más observancia que de mi padre Sact. Agustín..."

[123] J. Beckman, *China im Blickfeld der mexikanischen Bettelorden im 16. Jahrhundert* (Schoeneck/Beckenried: 1964), p.58.

of the ardent desire to go to China the missionaries defied even the order of the Governor of Manila and endangered the peaceful co-existence of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in the Orient. No prohibition stopped the missionaries from crossing the China Sea to the mainland.

The first daring group or missionaries literally made an escape from the Philippines in order to go to China. They were the Franciscans, headed by their Custodian Fray Pedro de Alfaro. They did not have any clear, planned course of action except that of preaching the Gospel to all men. They did not have any idea of what awaited them in that new, strange land. Not knowing the language, they were defenseless when the interpreter distorted their message before the imperial court. But expelled from China they found time to found several convents while in exile in Cambodia, Cochinchina and in other places, even without the assurance of their continuance.[124]

Not only the civil officials in Manila considered the Franciscans' adventure in China inadvisable and imprudent but also the bishop. Bishop Salazar wrote a report to the king on the condition of the Philippine Church[125] in 1583 which contained among others the Franciscan adventure. The Chinese, he said, suspicious that the Franciscans were spies, began to have some apprehensions and adverse reactions toward the Portuguese in Macao. Because of the tension that ensued, some Europeans left Macao and took refuge in Malacca for fear of hostilities. But what preoccupied Bishop Salazar most was the harm being wrought to the newly converted and baptized Filipino Indios who, left without pastors, tended to go back to their idolatrous practices. The bishop could not fill their vacated positions for the obvious lack of secular priests. He praised them for the good they were doing by preaching and by their example of selfless lives. They would do much more, he continued, "if only the devil, the enemy of all good, would not disrupt the good they are producing here, by placing in their heads the idea of going to China or Cochin China."[126] The harm

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[124] Lorenzo Pérez, "Origen de las misiones franciscanas en el Extremo Oriente," *AIA* 1 (1914): 100-20,301-32; 2 (1914):39-67, 202-28; 3 (1915):20-43, 378-415; 4 (1915): 63-82, 225-50; 5 (1916): 79-100, 387-412; 6 (1916): 401-20.

[125] Obispo Salazar al rey sobre el estado de la iglesia, Manila 18 junio 1583, in AGI/Fil 74, no.27.

[126] Ibid.: "Los religiosos descalzos de san Francisco an hecho mucho fruto entre los naturales en quatro años que están en esta tierra y hizieren mucho más en lo

did not end here. For, "some for having left, and others for desiring to leave, all become impatient and cease to produce much fruit they would otherwise do, if they but remained still on their feet."[127] In 1603 Bishop Benavides was still complaining that the Franciscans and Dominicans, while very zealous for the conversion of souls, had no constancy and left their doctrines to go to other kingdoms.[128]

The Philippines was too unexciting to satiate the missionary enthusiasm. The missionaries were all ready to suffer in their search for "the souls lost in the darkness of error and in the shackles of the Evil one," *ad majorem Dei gloriam* —as the Jesuits would say— to the point of giving up one's life. After Fray Pedro Bautista and his fellow Franciscan companions were martyred in Japan, the thought of giving greater service and glory to God (and the king) and of attaining the crown of martyrdom electrified the religious in Spain. Hardly a religious could be spared from this "martyrial fever." Even the Jesuit General Acquaviva had to intervene and discourage the Jesuits in the Philippines from passing over to China.[129]

In reality, however, the missionaries's desire to go to China was a blessing in disguise for the missionary work in the Philippines. The Philippine mission in itself lacked any sort of attraction. But in spite of its apparent barrenness as a colony (for lack of silver and gold) and as missionary field (for lack of challenge), Spanish presence in the Philippines must be maintained in view of the Spanish dream of grand spiritual and temporal conquest of the kingdoms on the other side of the China Sea. Without this ambition the Philippines could have been abandoned right from the beginning. When the missionaries spoke against abandoning the Philippines on account of its poverty, they must have had in their mind not only the native Filipinos but also the neophytes and potential converts in the kingdoms beyond the China Sea.

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adelante si el demonio enemigo de todo bien no procurara estorvarles el bien que aca hazían poniéndoles en caveza que se fuese a la China o Cochinchina..."

[127] Ibid.: "...los que acá quedan quedan inquietos y con deseo de irse ellos, de manera que unos por averse ido y otros por desear irse todos andan desasosegados y dexan de hazer muy gran fruto que hizieren si asentaran el pie."

[128] *Carta de Miguel de Benavides, 6 julio 1603*; in AGI/Fil 74, no.84.

[129] H. de la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines 1581-1768*, (Cambridge: University Press, 1961), p.117.

In their joint letter to the king in the year 1599 —when Bishop Agurto was urging reform among the Augustinians— the Franciscan superiors observed:

> ...We understand that great service will be rendered to God our Lord, when the religious who would come to be sent to Japan, China, Cambodia and other kingdoms would make their journey via these Philippine Islands. For besides being much more convenient for those who come to these regions [...] for the conversion of souls are carried by their zeal for Japan and China, and since the greater part remain and have remained here, they help preserve what has been planted on these Islands. Otherwise it could not be preserved, because only some or no one will ever come on behalf of the Philippines.[130]

In this way the vision of one of the first missionaries with Captain General Legazpi, the Augustinian Fray Martín de Rada, was coming to reality: the whole Asia becoming one vast mission field with the

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[130] *Carta de los superiores franciscanos de Filipinas al rey*, AGI/Fil 79, r.4, cat. 5530: "Señor. Con las felices nuevas del próspero Reynado de V.M. avemos recibido sumo contento y consuelo por las esperanças que se nos prometen dever con el reyno heredado juntamente en V. Magd. el celo grande de el augmento y exaltación de la sancta fe Cathólica que tanto resplandecieron en padre y agüelos de V.M. y assi nos da esto confiança para suplicarle de favor y aliento a las cosas que tocan a esta nueva conversión la qual tiene gran necessidad de que sea proveyda de Ministros que conserven lo que hasta aora esta edificado y vaya denuevo edificando en esta nueva yglesia. Y assi, entendemos se hará gran servicio a Dios Nuestro Señor en que por la via de estas yslas Philippinas hagan viaje los Religiosos que veniere a despachar a Japón, China, Camboxa y otros Reynos estranos sera también de gran utilidad para esta conversion de Philipinas, porque casi todos los Religiosos que passan a estas partes a la conversión de las almas son traydos con el celo de Japon y China, y puestos aqui se quedan y quedaran gran parte de ellos que ayudan a sustentar lo que ya está plantado en estas yslas, y de otra manera no se podría conservar, porque pocos o ninguno vendrán a título de Philippinas antes muchos movidos y llevados con el deseo de Japón y China pro solo entender que los pueden aqui detener, se retraen de poner en execución sus intentos y deseos. Por lo qual forçosamente yrá esto siempre en diminución yendo poco a poca consumiendose los religiossos que aora son vivos no aviendo otros que les puedan suceder en este ministerio. Nuestro Señor guarde a V. Magd. largos años con augmento de su yglesia y bien de todos sus Reynos. De este convento de san Francisco de Manila y de julio 3 de 1599. Fr. Di. o Bermeo-Min.o, Prov.al; Fr. Ayapo Val. de Sancta Ana, diffinidor; Fr. Pablo de Jhs, diffinidor; Fr. Alonso Muñoz, diffinidor; Fr. Joan de Barrovila, diffinidor; Fr. Ant.o Nombela, diffinidor; Fr. Fran.co de la Cruz, diff."

Philippines as the center.[131] It was not long before the king's desk was flooded with letters asking for more and more missionaries for the apostolic work in both the Philippines and the neighboring kingdoms.

The whole Far East (or Far West of the Spanish Hemisphere) was one mission field. And the Philippines was the home base! This was the way the Franciscans actually felt about their mission field in the Orient. The Custodian Fray Pablo de Jesus made a report to Pope Gregory XIII of their mission in the Philippines and China as one missionary field. Letters to Europe for the purpose of recruiting volunteers to come over to the Philippines invariably carried news items from China and neighboring kingdoms. In the Constitutions of the *Sancta Provincia de S. Gregorio de Religiosos Descalzos de la más estrecha observancia de N.P.S. Francisco en estas islas Philipinas*, published in 1696, we found one section as integral part entitled, *Constituciones que se hizieron para la missión de Gran China.*[132]

To the Franciscans consequently it did not really matter whether they worked in China, Japan or the Philippines. At least that was what their *Báculo de Ministros* was trying to inculcate in the minds of the newcomers. And their death anywhere in this Asian mission field would be always as good as a martyr's death.

The *Báculo de Ministros* exhorted:

> Every religious of our Seraphic Religion must consider it a singular favor of the most prestigious liberality of God our Lord to be selected as one of the apostolic and evangelical ministers in the fruitful plantation of the militant Church which is the Holy Province of Saint Gregory of the Philippine Islands. It has been favored by divine providence, assisted and protected by its saints, although not exempt from the attacks of the common enemy. This is however a clear sign of the definite defeat which the lugubrious empire suffers from the apostolic works of the sons of this Holy Province. Greatly indebted has God our Lord made the religious

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[131] *Fray Martín de Rada al rey. Cebu 8 julio 1569.* AGI/Fil 79.

[132] Even the chronicles of the Franciscans concerning the Philippine missions always included the neighboring countries, such as the works of Marcelo de Ribadeneirya (published 1601), Juan Francisco de San Antonio (*Chronicas S. Greg*, published 1738-1744) and Francisco de Santa Inés (1675).

> by having him enlisted as a soldier in so holy an army as this. His co-operation must be commensurate and he must renew every day the holy intentions he had when he left Spain. For if he remains in his determination, new grace is conferred on him, especially if obedience would let him pass over to Japan. And if he died [in this Holy Province], our Lord would give him the crown of martyrdom, as though he really gave up his life for the defense of our Holy Faith.[133]

Settled in the Philippines with uncertain chance to go to China or Japan, the Franciscans were all ready just the same to suffer in their search for lost souls to convert to the one Catholic Faith. As home base of the Asian mission field, the Philippines acquired a significance which it did not possess by itself. What mattered to the missionaries was to convert the people of the different kingdoms of Asia, while many of the missionaries harbored in their hearts an unexpressed desire to end with a martyr's death.

It did not mean that the missionaries worked less in the Philippines than in other Asian kingdoms. In fact, the achievements of the missionaries in the Philippines, both on the humanitarian and on the spiritual levels, were quite impressive. The Franciscans at least used their internal freedom (coming from the strict observance of the vow of poverty) to make the course of their evangelizing activities flexible to the Philippine conditions. The Franciscans in the Philippines looked for new methods of Christianizing the native Filipinos —although always careful not to give occasion to doctrinal controversy— that were very sensitive to the human aspect of life. Someone has appropriately

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[133] *Báculo*, cap.1, par.1: "A singular beneficio de la liberalíssima bondad de Dios nuestro Señor, deve tener qualquier Religioso de nuestra Seráphica Religión haverle escogido para ser uno de los Ministros Apostólicos, y Evangélicos en el florido plantel de la Militante Iglessia la Sancta Provincia de San Gregorio de estas Islas Philipinas tan favorecida de la divina providencia, como asistida, y patrocinada de sus sanctos, y no menos combatida en el común enemigo, testimonio evidente de el indeciblem.te menoscabo, que el lúgubre imperio padece a diligencias Apostólicas de los hijos de esta Sancta Provincia: grande es la deuda en que Dios nuestro Señor pone al Religioso, que en tan Sancta milicia alista por soldado, y no menos deve ser la correspondencia de renovar los propósitos sanctos con que salió de España, cada día, pues siempre que el religioso estuviere firme en ellos, especialmente en el de passar al Japón, si la obediencia le enviare, se constituye en nueva gracia, y si muriere, le concederá nuestro Señor la Laureola de el Martyrio, como si realmente huviere dado la vida por defensa de nuestra Sancta Fe."

described the Franciscan missionary as *el prototipo del misionero revolucionario*.[134]

The Franciscans were the first to pursue a systematic and wide-scale *reducción* of the autochthonous Filipinos and to produce a catechism in the vernacular [in Tagalog] with a very ingenious title and method called *Tocsohan* (literally, 'teasing game'). They made use of the talents —musical, above all— of the native Filipinos fully in liturgical functions. They built the first —and, for a very long time, the only— hospital in various parts of Luzon. They reconstructed methodically the pre-Hispanic societal and legal structures of the native Filipinos with whom they lived to become more effective in their evangelical task. Their myriad Hispanizing or civilizing activities were characterized by ingenuity and audacity and respect to human sensibilities. All other missionaries of different Orders and the Society had their own impressive achievements for which the native Filipinos shall ever be indebted.

As envisioned by the Franciscan superiors, a greater part of the missionaries who came for the vast Asian mission stayed in the Philippines. And they worked very hard, stricken by that "martyrial fever." The Philippines then —more than any other mission posts in the East— benefited from the missionaries' evangelizing and civilizing task. And the effects of their efforts speak for themselves. Only in the Philippines did the Christianizing and Hispanizing activities of the missionaries produce a Christian people as a nation. In fact the Philippines today remains as the only Christian (and Catholic) country in the immense Asian continent.

VI. Conclusion

To conclude this discussion on the liturgical principles used by the Spanish missionaries during the Christianization of the Philippines and the necessary missionary background, we can draw the general line of the ecclesial and liturgical life in the Filipino pueblos. Liturgy was only a part of the Spanish socio-political and Christian order which the missionaries and the conquistadores —laboring for the glory of

[134] Pedro Borges, *Los conquistadores espirituales de América* (Sevilla: 1961), p.219.

ambas majestades— endeavored to transplant on the Philippine soil. The vision of the Spanish monarchs of a unified mankind, shared by the religious and lay subjects, made the native Filipinos —along with the Spaniards themselves— children of one Mother the Catholic Church and subjects of the one vast, global Spanish empire.

The Philippines was never considered as mission territory in the sense of those lands dependent on the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith —or *for the Evangelization of Peoples*, in our own days. Physically, the Filipino pueblos were patterned after the European grid-plan of township. Ecclesiastically, these were *parroquias* in accordance with the ideas adopted by the Council of Trent, an ecumenical council which the Spanish kings (as patrons of the Church in the Western Indies) wanted strictly observed even in the remotest corners of their kingdoms. The whole archipelago was a diocese with the bishop's seat in Manila as early as 1579 and an independent ecclesiastical province in 1595, Manila becoming an archbishopric with three suffragan dioceses: Cebu, Nueva Segovia and Nueva Caceres.

Liturgy was understood mainly as administration of the sacraments and celebration of the Holy Mass. In simple terms, to become Christian meant to receive the sacraments and assist at the Mass. In order to bring the sacraments to the people the missionaries —fired with "martyrial zeal"— carried on a program of "congregating" or "reducing" the native inhabitants in compact villages or pueblos. The administration of the sacraments as well as the celebration of the Mass and the Divine Praises in the Spanish Philippines, being a post-Tridentine period, was characterized by every solicitude to avoid novelty and every care to maintain uniformity. This logically led the missionaries to wipe away the indigenous Filipino religion which they simply dismissed as "superstitions," "errors," "childishness." The principles of re-settlement or *reducción*, orthodoxy, uniformity and substitution —all contributed to the transplantation of the liturgy or the Christian order of worship as intact in the Philippines as it was in Spain and Europe.

The missionaries in the Philippines overtly did not share the evangelization approach in Japan, where a new breed of Jesuits tried to introduce a novel style of Christianity. The Philippine missionaries, especially the Franciscans, would not omit any parts of the ceremonies which the Jesuits considered inexpedient, being incomprehensible or alien to the customs of the Orientals.

But whether they like it or not, some adaptations had to be made. The Franciscans, although most assiduous in maintaining orthodoxy, were also creative in putting little native touches in the parts of the liturgical ceremonies which did not affect the validity of the sacraments. Moreover, they devised ways of helping the people receive the sacraments worthily and fruitfully. It was here that the baroque expressions of celebration made their way into the ecclesial and liturgical life of the Christian Filipino in their pueblos.

Fiesta became the matrix of liturgical celebration or sacramental administration. The baroque cloak in which the Roman liturgy and Christian way of life were arrayed upon reaching the Philippines attracted the Filipinos. The many religious baroque expressions did not require keen understanding and appealed to human sentiments.

Right from the very beginning of Christianity in the Philippines two levels in the Christian order of worship were readily identifiable: the one, official; the other, non-official or popular. The official order —which we call "essential-sacramental" because it concerned the essential part of the sacramental rites— was "untouchable." The non-official and popular, peripheral to the essential-sacramental part of worship was not only subjected by the missionaries to adaptations, but also by the native inhabitants themselves to Filipinization.

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Pueblos Administered by the Franciscans in the Tagalog and Bicol Regions according to the *Estado S. Greg.**

PROVINCE OF MANILA

1. Santa María de Sapa (founded 1579)
2. Dilao (1580)
3 Sampaloc (1643)
4. Pandacan (1698)
5. San Miguel (1603-1777)
6. San Felipe [Mandaluyong] (1783)

PROVINCE OF BULACAN

7. Meycauyan (1579)
8. Bocaue (1606)
9. Polo (1623)
10. San Jose (1751)
11. Obando (1753)
12. Santa María de Pandi (1792)
13. Marilao (1796)

* Félix de Huerta, OFM, *Estado de la Provincia de S. Gregorio de Filipinas.* Manila: 1855.

PROVINCE OF NUEVA ECIJA

14. Umingan (1843)
15. Rosales (1843)
16. San Quintín (1863)

MORONG DISTRICT

17. Morong (1579)
18. Pililla (1583)
19. Baras (1595)
20. Tanay (1606)
21. Binangonan (1621)

PROVINCE OF LAGUNA

22. Pila (1579)
23. Lumbang (1579)
24. Majayjay (1579)
25. Nagcarlan (1579)
26. Pangil (1580)
27. Siniloan (1583)
28. Paete (1602)
29. Caboan [S.Miguel](1602)
30. Santa Cruz (1602)
31. Lilio (1605)
32. Mabitac (1618)
33. Cavinti (1619)
34. Los Baños (1640)
35. Longos (1669)
36. Paquil (1676)
37. Pagsanjan (1668)
38. San Antonio (1736)
39. Bay (1737)
40. Magdalena (1821)
41. Luisiana (1848)

PROVINCE OF BATANGAS

42. San Pablo (1794)

PROVINCE OF CAMARINES SUR

43. Naga (1579)
44. Nabua (1579)
45. Bula (1579)
46. Quipayo (1579)
47. Minalabag (1580-1583)
48. Iriga (1579)
49. Milaor (1585)
50. Ligmanan (1586)
51. Canaman (1599)
52. Buhi (1605)
53. Lupi (1726)
54. Goa (1729)
55. Calabanga (1749)
56. Magarao (1750)
57. Bato (1753)
58. Baao (1793)
59. Camaligan (1795)
60. Sipocot (1801)
61. Bombon (1749-1804)

PROVINCE OF TAYABAS

62. Tayabas (1579)
63. Lucban (1579-1595)
64. Saryaya (1582)
65. Gumaca (1582)
66. Mauban (1583)
67. Atimonan (1637)
68. Pagbilao (1685-1688)
69. Tiaong (1600)
70. Dolores (1840)
71. Lopez (1857)

PROVINCE OF ALBAY

72. Libon (1579)
73. Camalig (1569-1580)
74. Polangui (1584)
75. Oas (1584)
76. Cagsaua (1587)
77. Ligao (1665)
78. Guinobatan (1688)
79. Pilar (1861)

DISTRICT OF PRINCIPE

80. Baler (1609)
81. Casiguran (1609)

DISTRICT OF INFANTA

82. Binangonan de Lampon (1579-1609)
83. Polillo (1635)

* * *

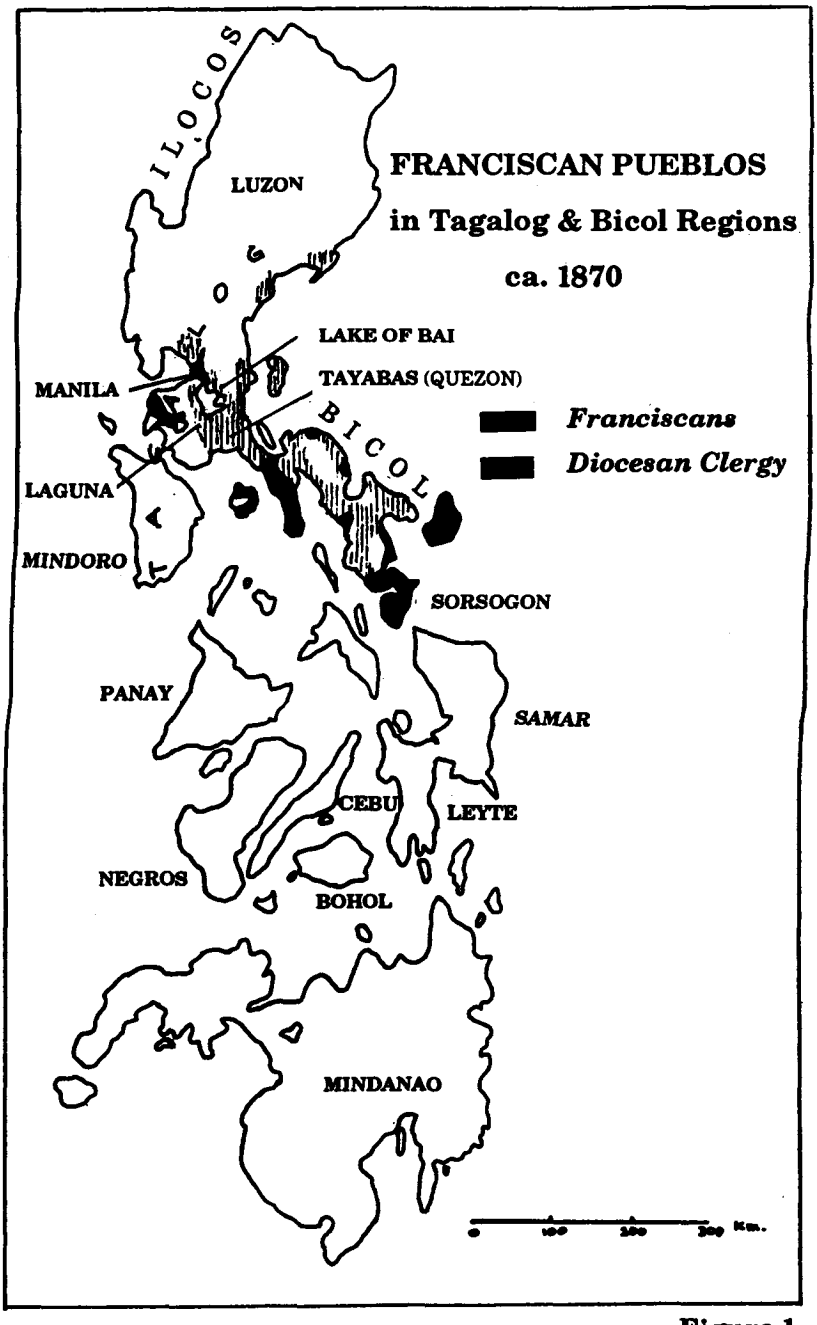
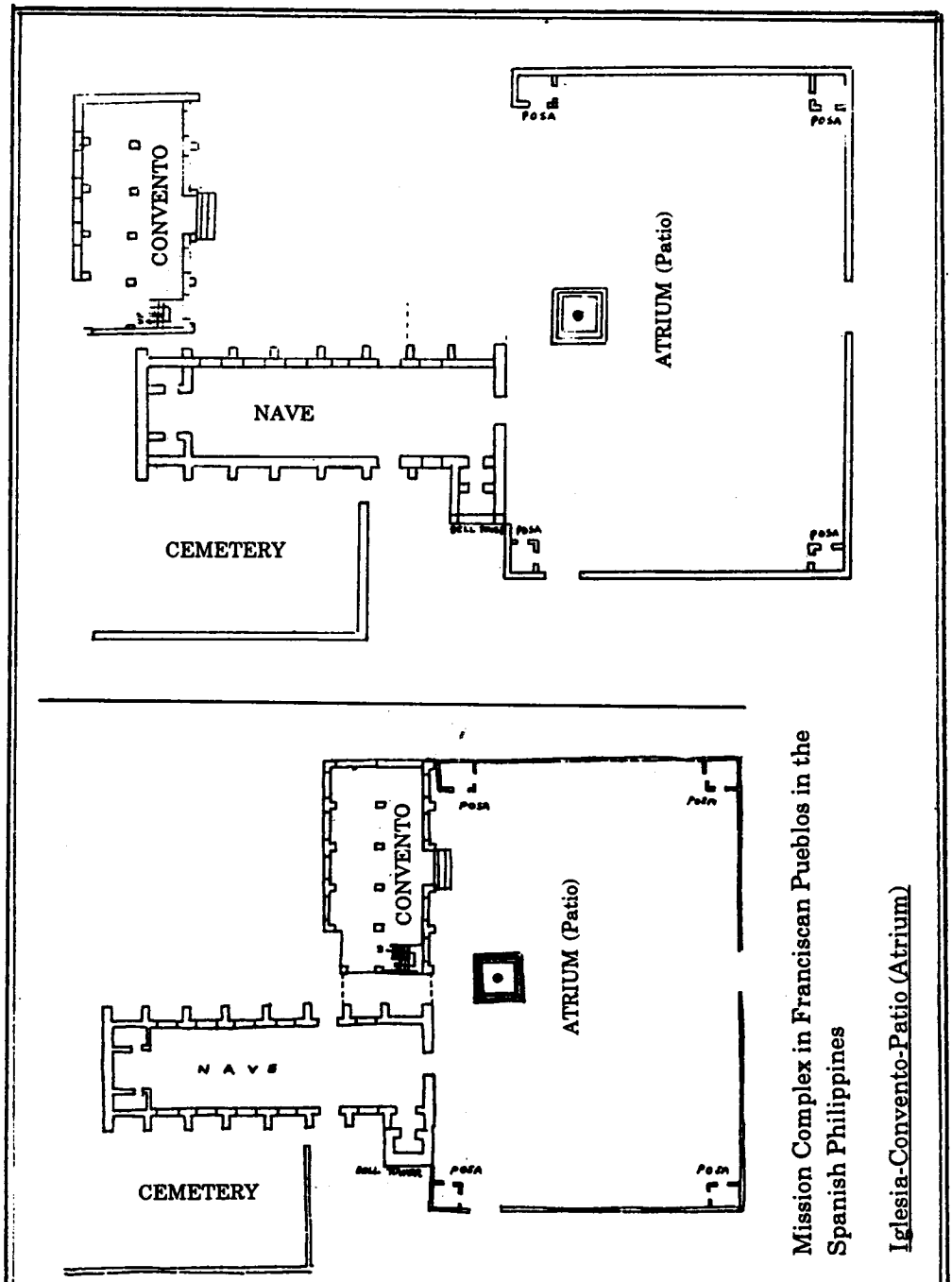

ILOCOS
LUZON
FRANCISCAN PUEBLOS
in Tagalog & Bicol Regions
ca. 1870
LAKE OF BAI
TAYABAS (QUEZON)
MANILA
BICOL
Franciscans
Diocesan Clergy
LAGUNA
MINDORO
SORSOGON
PANAY
SAMAR
CEBU
LEYTE
NEGROS
BOHOL
MINDANAO
Km.

Figure 1



Mission Complex in Franciscan Pueblos in the Spanish Philippines

Iglesia-Convento-Patio (Atrium)

Source: A.M.L. Cosetenz. *Spanish Churches in the Philippines*. (Quezon City: 1972)

Figure 2

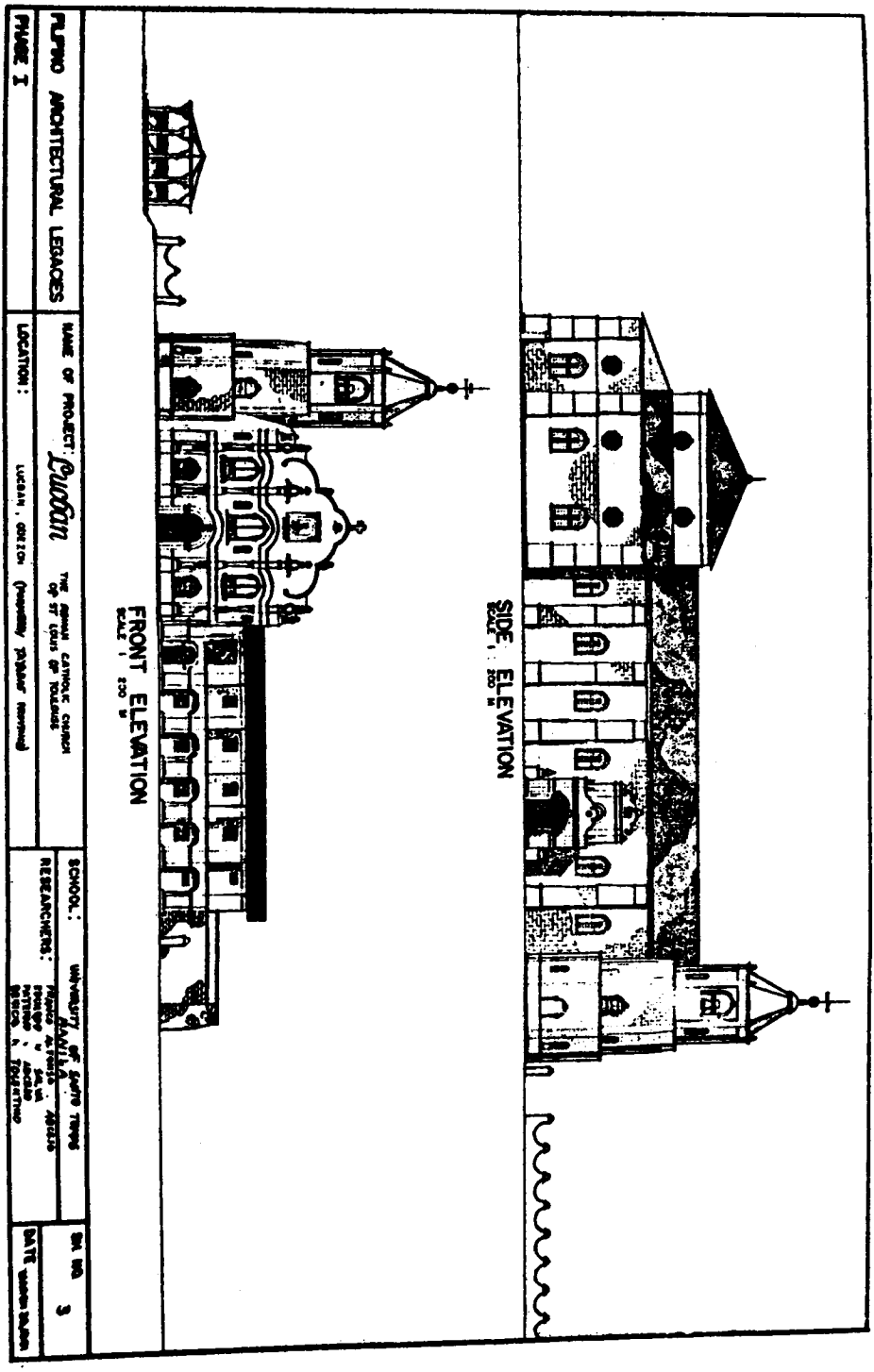
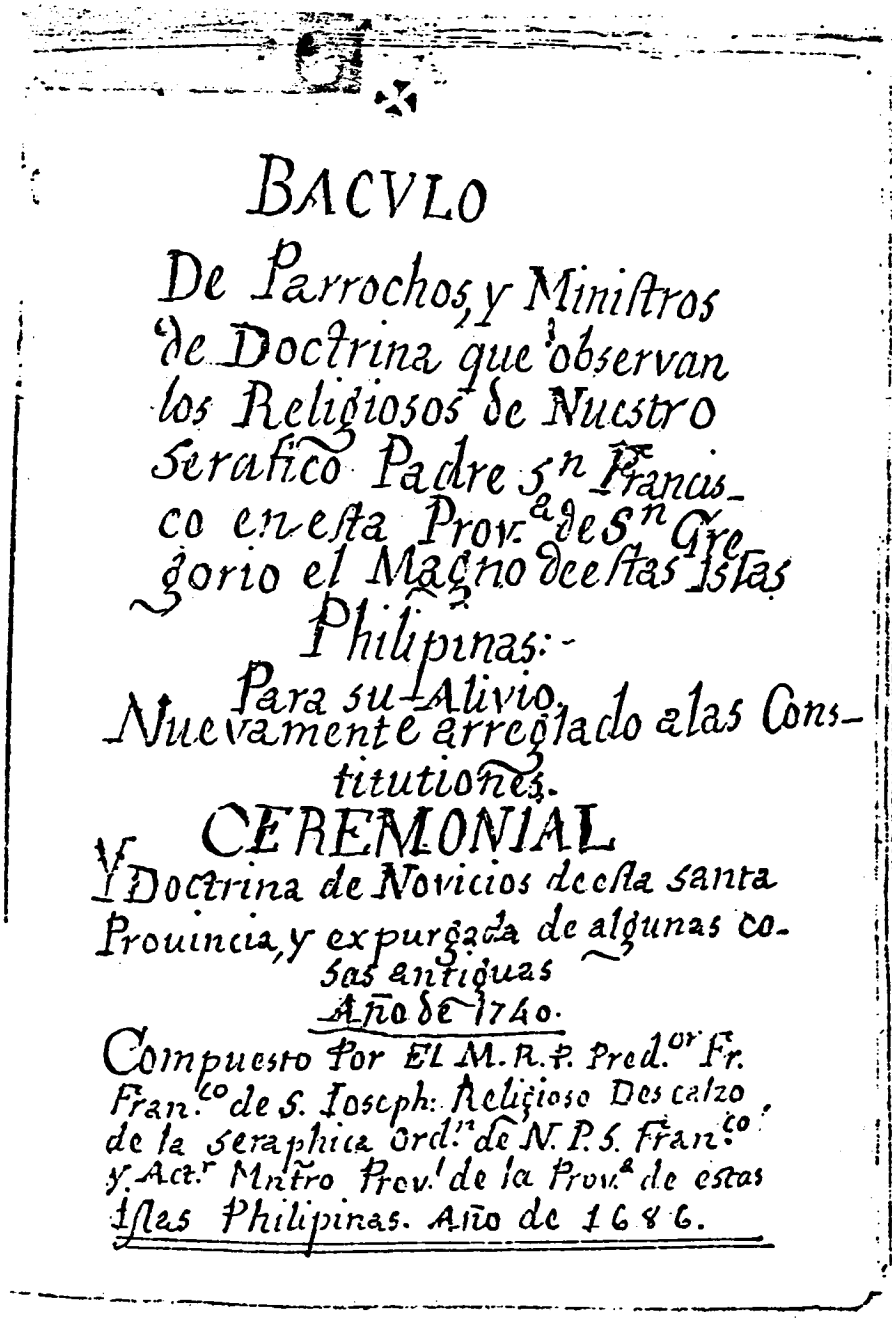


Figure 3 Front and Side Elevations of the Lucban Church (showing baroque facade)



BACVLO
De Parrochos, y Ministros
de Doctrina que observan
los Religiosos de Nuestro
Serafico Padre S.n Francis-
co en esta Prov.a de S.n Gre
gorio el Magno de estas Islas
Philipinas:-
Para su Alivio
Nuevamente arreglado alas Cons-
titutiones.
CEREMONIAL
Y Doctrina de Novicios de esta santa
Prouincia, y expurgada de algunas co-
sas antiguas
Año de 1740.
Compuesto Por El M.R.P. Pred.or Fr.
Fran.co de S. Ioseph: Religioso Descalzo
de la seraphica ord.n de N.P.S. Fran.co
y Act.r Mtro Prov.l de la Prov.a de estas
Islas Philipinas. Año de 1686.

Figure 4: Title Page of the Ms. *Báculo de Ministros*

Content of the Franciscan *Báculo de Ministros*

VOLUME I

Prólogo

Capítulo

1. Avisos al Religioso recién llegado.
2. Tocante al interior del Convento.
3. Del modo de governarse en el interior del Convento.
4. Del Mayordomo de la Comunidad y cómo se ha haver el Ministro con él.
5. De los Syndicos, y cómo se ha de haver el Ministro con ellos.
6. De los Fiscales o Zeladores, y cómo se ha haver el Ministro con ellos.
7. Del Mayordomo de la Iglesia, y cómo se ha de haver con él el Ministro.
8. De cómo se ha de portar el Ministro con el Governadorcillo, Cabezas de Barangay, y demás Principales.
9. Cómo se ha de portar el Ministro con los Indios de su Pueblo.
10. Cómo se ha de haver el Ministro en los pleitos de los Indios y su corrección
11. Cómo se ha de portar el Ministro con sus Colaterales.
12. Cómo se ha de portar el Ministro con el Alcalde mayor.
13. Breve resumen de Instrucción u Ordenanzas reales que llevan los Alcaldes mayores a sus oficios.
14. De la tasación, y modo de cobrar los tributos fecha por Don Pedro de Acuña, Governador que fue de estas Islas.
15. De algunas advertencias al Ministro tocantes a las reservas y estipendios que le toca y certificaciones que ha de dar
16. De algunas advertencias tocantes a la paga de tributo de los Indios.
17. Del modo cómo se ha de recibir al obispo en nuestras Iglesias, al Ministro Provincial, Comissario Visitador, y Guardián del Convento la primera vez que viene a él.
18. De cómo celebrar las Fiestas de los Santos Patronos.
19. De las Fiestas que son de guardar para los Indios y días que les son de Ayuno.

VOLUME II

Capítulo

20. De las fiestas, que son de gaurdar para los Indios y días que les son de Ayuno.
21. De los Domingos.
22. De las honras generales que los Pueblos hazen.
23. De algunas funciones de lo restanto del Año.
24. De algunas advertencias en orden a la administración de los Santos Sacramentos.
25. De como se ha de recibir al Señor Governador la primera vez que llega a nuestros Ministros.
26. De algunas Zedulas Reales sacadas de los quatro Tomos de las Impressas.
27. Del Oficio y Entierro de los Religiosos.