

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

LUIS BALQUIEDRA

The ecclesial and liturgical life in Filipino Franciscan pueblos became spirited not only on Sundays, holy days of three crosses, feast days of patron saints, but also —and in a special way— during the Easter cycle beginning Ash Wednesday, notably during the Holy Week up to Easter Sunday. In this period the baroque elements in the liturgy were truly prominent in the dramatized rites commemorating the different phases of Christ's saving act. Side by side with official ceremonies were the additional religious practices not found in the Roman Missal which the missionaries also introduced in their pueblos and which were adaptations of similar practices performed in far away Spain. The elements of the cult of saints also entered inasmuch as the saints who were witnesses of Christ's passion, death and resurrection were portrayed in their life-size sculptured images.

In the following pages we shall see how these principal days of the Church's calendar in Franciscan pueblos of the Spanish Philippines were observed, and how non-liturgical religious folk practices contributed to the meaningful participation of the people in celebrating the Paschal Mystery, the center of the Church's liturgy.

* See Balquiedra's three previous studies "The Liturgical Principles Used by the Missionaries and the Missionary Background to the Christianization of the Philippines," in *Philippiniana Sacra*, XXX, 88 (1995), 5-79; "The New Order of Worship of the Native Filipinos," in *Philippiniana Sacra*, XXX, 89 (1995), 185-250; and "The Participation of Native Filipinos in the Liturgical Celebration of Sundays and Holy Days in Franciscan Pueblos," in *Philippiniana Sacra*, XXXI, 91 (1996), 5-25.

I. THE PECULIARLY PENITENTIAL CHARACTER OF LENT AND HOLY WEEK IN FILIPINO FRANCISCAN PUEBLOS

In the seventh century the Church of Rome took from the East the idea of observing a forty-day period of fasting as preparation for Easter.¹ The atmosphere of these days was certainly influenced by the preparation of the catechumens for their reception of baptism on Holy Saturday Easter Vigil as well as by the public reconciliation of penitents.² In solidarity with the catechumens and the public penitents, the entire Christian communities were led to join them through acts of penance for their personal sins, especially by means of fasting. The season of Lent became a penitential period in the Church's calendar.

During the period of the Spanish occupation of the Philippines the Church's discipline required the Spanish Catholics, even those who were in the *Indias Occidentales* (which included the Spanish Philippines), to fast all days of Lent, except Sundays which were days of abstinence from meat only. As privileged Christian neophytes, however, the Filipino *Indios* —by virtue of the Bull *Altitudo Divini consilii*— were obliged to fast on Fridays and on Holy Saturday only, while their obligation of abstinence was in vigor during the whole season of Lent.³ The spirit of the season even in the Spanish Philippines was clear to everybody: Lent was a period for doing penance.

The Franciscan missionaries prepared the minds and hearts of the Filipino *Indios* to consider this period of the Church calendar as penitential. They emphasized in their preaching the necessity of doing penance not only for one's own sins but also for those of the people. The missionaries made it clear to their spiritual children that only one thing really mattered on this world: to work for the salvation of souls, for the attainment of which penance played an important role. The main pre-

¹ From the early years of the history of the Church the celebration of Easter had been preceded by a period of fasting as a preparation. But it only lasted for one or two days as was the case in Rome, or still in some places for only forty hours. Cf. *The New Catholic Encyclopedia* [NCE], 1967 ed., s.v. "Lent," "Holy Week."

² LTK, 1957 ed., s.v. "Fastenzeit."

³ Cf. *Archivo Franciscano Ibero-Oriental*, Madrid [AFIO] 40/1, *Tabla general de todas las fiestas y vigilias deste Obispado de Nueva Caceres fha y mandada publicar por el Yllustrissimo Señor Doctor Don Phelipe de Molina del Consejo de su Magestad Obispo de dho. Obispado Año de 1743*.

occupation of the missionaries after having baptized the *Indios* was to teach them how to approach the sacrament of penance. And according to the Franciscan pastoral, Lent was the most appropriate time for the Filipino *Indios* to approach the sacrament of penance so that Lent came to be known in ecclesiastical circle as *tiempo de cosecha espiritual* (time for spiritual harvest). The Franciscan *Constituciones* exhorted:

During Lent which is the time of spiritual harvest of the *Ministros* a greater care must be taken of their flock by teaching them how to confess, disposing them and even obliging them to go to confession. For this purpose [*Ministro*] shall preach to them often particularly on Sundays and feast days...⁴

Lent consequently was the busiest period of the year both for the *Ministros de Indios* and for the Filipino *Indios* themselves in Franciscan pueblos.

Although the Filipino *Indios* had the privilege of fulfilling the Church's precept of going to confession once a year from *Septuagesima* Sunday to Pentecost, it was the policy among the Franciscans to finish hearing the confessions of all the faithful in their pueblos before the Holy Week proper commenced.⁵ During Lent then a great deal of time was spent in organizing the *fiscales* and other men and women of the principalia class who had to help the *Ministro* in preparing the faithful for confession.

The *Ministro* chose several respectable old men and women, knowledgeable in Christian doctrine, and declared them to the community to be the official *examinadores* (examiners) of all those who had to go to confession. Women presented themselves for examination to women examiners; men to men-examiners. No *Indio* was ready to make actual confession until he had been examined in the basic tenets of Christian doctrine and the principal Christian prayers, and until he had been issued by the examiner a piece of paper stamped with the

⁴ AFIO 344/2, *Constituciones desta Provincia de S. Gregorio* 1663, fol. 72v: "En la Quaresma ques el tiempo de cosecha espiritual de los Ministros ha de poner mayor cuydado en sus ovejas, enseñándoles a confesar, disponiéndoles, y aun obligándoles a que confiesen; para lo qual les predicará frequentemente, particularmente los Domingos y fiestas..."

⁵ *Báculo*, cap.20, par.7: "...compelerlos a que cumplan con esta obligación quanto antes para estar desocupado la Semana Santa."

sello (seal) provided for by the *Ministro* for that specific purpose. This *sello* had to be presented to the confessor when the *Indio* presented himself for confession. After confession the *Ministro* gave the penitent another seal called *cedula de confesión* which authorized him to receive Holy Communion the following day. Those who failed in the presacramental examination, or who were found deficient by the priest during actual confession, were sent back to the *fiscales* for remedial instruction. It was also within the competence of the *fiscales* to teach the *gente moza* (youth) how to approach the sacrament of penance for the first time.⁶

The *Báculo de Ministros* reminded that the presacramental catechesis or moral instruction was more important than the explanation of the profound passages of the Holy Scriptures. It was primarily the *Ministro's* duty, not the *fiscales'* nor the *examinadores'*, to prepare the people for confession by explaining to them how a man could sin in thought, word, and deed, which acts are sinful and which are not sinful.⁷ They were only to give a helping hand to the *Ministro*.

Actually the 'spiritual harvest' consisted not only in managing the annual confession and communion of the people but also in increasing their devotion to, and their union with, the sufferings and death of Christ the Lord.⁸ They intensified their teaching on the efficacy of

⁶ AFIO 344/2, fol. 72v-73: "El modo que ha de tener el Ministro para disponer sus feligreses a la confession y para confessar, ha de ser escogiendo dos Indios principales y ancianos, a los quales examinará el Ministro, y hallándoles capaces, a estos dará orden, acudan todos los hombres, y les dará un sellito en papel, para que a los que estuvieren aptos para poderse confessar, se les den. Y assi mismo escoger dos mugeres principales y ancianas, que examinen las mugeres; porque en pueblos grandes no puede el Ministro acudir a todos, fuera de que muchos con el miedo y respecto que tienen al Ministro, se turban. Y si en el discurso de la confesión hallare el Ministro que alguno no sabe lo que tiene obligación, envíelo al Fiscal o Zelador, que lo enseñe." This provision is repeated almost word for word in other documents up to the definitive *Estatutos* 1730 in vigor until 1870.

⁷ *Báculo*, cap. 22, par. 6: "...enseñarles cómo se han de confessar, cómo se peca por pensamiento, palabras y obra, quales son pecados quales no, y en esto deve poner más cuidado que en explicarles lugares profundos de la Sagrada Escritura."

⁸ AFIO 244/1, *Constituciones* 1655, fol. 46: "Animen mucho los Ministros a los naturales y exortenlos en aquel tiempo para todo lo que es devoción y penitencia y sentimiento de la muerte de Christo Señor nuestro haciendo cada uno en su doctrina lo que pudiere como buen Pastor que entonces es la cosecha de todo el año."

penance by proposing to the faithful the examples of the saints, which turned out to be pleasing to the Filipino *Indios*. In fact, the chronicler reported:

...ordinarily they ask the *Ministros* to narrate and relate to them the lives of the saints. And they particularly like to hear the life and miracles of the Virgin Our Lady and of the saints who were penitents.⁹

Their preaching became more effective because of the abundant, powerful examples of many mortified *frailes* besides the fact that the general austere, Franciscan lifestyle moved and edified the native inhabitants.¹⁰ Their preaching and examples could not but bear fruitful results. The Filipino *Indios* simply emulated their *padres espirituales*.

Again the chronicler wrote:

They are very heedful of their fasts. Although for the meantime His Holiness does not oblige them to fast during the whole period of Lent but only on its Fridays on two vigiliass of the year, they still fast on their own accord: some three days of the week; others, throughout Lent; still others do not want to eat rice which is their ordinary bread. They live through the Holy Week only on cooked tubers.¹¹

Moreover, the Franciscans taught the Filipino *Indios* other ways of doing penance during the time of Lent; that is through the use of what they called *disciplina* — a whip for inflicting corporal punishment

⁹ Ribadeneyra, *Historia*, p.47: "...piden de ordinario a los ministros que les quenten y refieran las vidas de los santos, y particularmente gustan mucho de oyr la vida y milagros de la Virgen nuestra Señora, y de las santas que fueron penitentes."

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.32-33: "Y aunque su entendimiento era grosero, reparavan mucho en la vida aspera que hazian los frayles, y en la abstinencia que guardavan, y en que siendo misericordiosos para con ellos, eran rigurosos para si. Y sobre todo notavan mucho, que no querían sus haziendas, ni su oro, y admirándose mucho de que huviese hombres que menospreciasen el oro, y las riquezas temporales, muchas vezes lo tratavan entre si, juzgándolos, por eseo, por grandes sanctos."

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.48: "En sus ayunos son muy observates. Porque aunque no les obliga su Santidad, por agora, al ayuno toda la Quaresma, sino solo al de los viernes della, y a dos vigiliass del año, con todo esso, ellos de su voluntad ayunan, muchos los tres días de la semana, y otros toda la quaresma, y algunos ay que no quieren comer arroz que es su pan ordinario: la Semana Santa la passan con raizes cozidas."

as a means of mortification.¹² The Franciscans like other religious seeking evangelical perfection practiced flagellation using discipline which was a very popular instrument of penance in Middle Ages. It is understandable, if the Filipino *Indios* also took up the practice of flagellation in Franciscan pueblos under the direction of the missionaries. Again the season of Lent was the most appropriate time for carrying out with zest this penitential practice. "When the time of Lent comes, few are the days in which there are no disciplines and much blood; they carry heavy crosses and perform other mortifications," wrote the Franciscan chronicler.¹³

During the season of Lent, and intensely in Holy Week, the Franciscan pueblos were veritable theaters of public penitential activities interspersed with the liturgical ceremonies and other religious practices of medieval origin set in a baroque background of Filipino indigenous version. The following observation —still applicable to many present-day townships especially outside the metropolitan Manila— portrays the peculiarity penitential atmosphere of the Lenten season in Franciscan pueblos:

To conclude in short, it would appear to anyone who gets into the pueblos of these Christians [Filipino *Indios*] in the time of Lent, and particularly during the entire Holy Week, that he is entering a convent of very penitent religious rather than pueblos or common dwelling places of lay persons.¹⁴

¹² The "discipline" came to be used in monastic communities first as instrument of punishment. Around the twelfth century it began to be used as instrument of mortification. Cf. NCE, s.v. "The Discipline," by P. F. Mulhern.

¹³ Ribadeneyra, *Historia*, p. 49: "En llegando el tiempo de quaresma, pocos son los días en que no aya disciplinas y muchas de sangre, y llevan cruces pesadas, y hazen mortificaciones."

¹⁴ Ribadeneyra, *Historia*, p.50: "Y por conclyr en una palabra, quien entrare en los pueblos de estos fieles, en tiempo de quaresma, y más en particular en toda la Seman Santa, más le aparecería que entra en un algun convento de religiosos muy penitentes, que en pueblos o casas de vivienda ordinaria de seglares."

¹⁵ C. Callewaert, *Sacris Erudiri*, (Steenbrugis, Abbatia S. Petri, 1940), pp. 449-506, DACL, s.v. "Caput jejunii," and "Mercredi de Cendres"; Righetti, *Manuale di storia liturgica*, 2:153-54.

II. THE LENTEN LITURGY AND PENITENTIAL PRACTICES IN FILIPINO FRANCISCAN PUEBLOS

The season of Lent as a period of penance was also kept in the Franciscan pueblos as in other parts of the Christian world. But it was not only the liturgy but also extraliturgical religious practices that drove home to the people the penitential spirit of the season. In fact, official liturgical services alone would have been unable to imbue the faithful in Filipino pueblos with such deeply penitential sentiments as still visible up to the present day. The Lenten period is another occasion that shows the interaction of liturgical and extraliturgical rites in the formation of ecclesial communities and liturgical assemblies.

A. The Lenten Liturgy in Franciscan Pueblos

Lent officially began in Franciscan pueblos just as in the rest of the Catholic world on Ash Wednesday, which was called in the early Middle Ages *Caput jejunii*, that is, the beginning of fasting period.¹⁵ On this day the public penance began. According to the *Sacramentarium Gelasianum Vetus*, the bishop prayed on this day over the penitents gathered in the cathedral and assigned to each one the appropriate penance in accordance to the gravity of the sins being atoned for. They donned the *cilicium* —there was no mention of ashes; then, they were dismissed from the church till Holy Thursday when they received absolution in public.¹⁶

A special blessing of the ashes began to be performed sometime in the tenth century. And in 1091 the Synod of Benevento enjoined the whole Christian community to take part in the ceremony of the imposition or sprinkling with ashes to mark the beginning of annual fast in preparation for Easter.¹⁷ The *Missal* of Pius V —the liturgical book used in Franciscan pueblos— had the rite of blessing and imposition of

¹⁶ Cf. *Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae Ordinis Anni Circuli* (ed. K. Mohlberg, OSB; Roma: Casa Editrice Herder, 1960), n. 83, XVI: "Ordo agentibus publicam paenitentiam. Suscipis eum IIII feria mane in capite quadragesimae et cooperis eum cilicio, oras pro eo et inclaudis usque ad Caenam Domini. Qui eodem die in gremio presentatur ecclesiae, et prostrato eo omni corpore in terram, dat orationem pontifex super eum ad reconciliandum in quinta feria Caenae Domini, sicuti ibi continetur."

¹⁷ NCE, s.v. "Ash Wednesday."

ashes on the forehead or head of the faithful as the principal act that ushered the Church into the period of penance.¹⁸

There were two liturgical services, therefore, that characterized the beginning of Lent: the blessing and imposition of ashes, and the Holy Mass. In Franciscan pueblos of the Filipino *Indios* they were punctiliously observed. The *Ceremonial Romano Reformado* had to remind the *Ministros de Indios* to pay attention to some details in the rites. First, the ashes from the palms of the previous Palm Sunday must remain dry and no water must be mixed with them, save perhaps the little holy water that was used during the blessing; it must not come in sticky, muddy form, not in *meum luti*.¹⁹ Secondly, the ashes must be imposed *inmediatamente a la persona* (directly on the person); that is, with the thumb and forefinger in the form of a cross on the foreheads of both men and women. The *Báculo de Ministros* said it must be done in this way because to the *Indios* it was as good as not having received the ashes if no mark on the forehead was visible. This was then an adaptation to the mentality of the Filipino *Indios*.²⁰ Thirdly, the ashes must be received on knees after due reverence to the altar and the celebrant. If the *Ministro* had to impose the ashes upon himself alone, he must do so also kneeling down, "as though he was receiving them from Jesus Christ himself."²¹

We might consider this reminder as a bit casuistic. But all faithful ministers of the Church at that time had the same preoccupations. As a matter of fact, the Franciscan *Ceremonial* boasted regarding this matter:

Anybody may do it the way that pleases him. Let one do (mixing ashes with water) whatever pleases him, but let nobody ever do that in the Order of Saint Francis which does her best in the compliance of ecclesiastical ceremonies for whose observance she has enriched the world (particularly the Discalzed territories) with sound Ceremonials.²²

¹⁸ Cf. *Missale Romanum juxta decreta Conc. Tridentini*, Feria IV Cinerum.

¹⁹ CRR-Tor, *Tratado* IV, pp.9-10.

²⁰ *Báculo*, cap. 22, par. 1.

²¹ Gavanto, *Thesaurus Rituum*, 1:216: "Convenit ut genibus flexis coram Altari sibi ipsi eo casu imponat, quasi a Christo illos accipiat."

²² CRR-Tor, *Trat.* IV, p. 10: "Hágalo [i.e., mezclar las cenizas con agua] quien

Even the Sacred Congregation of Rites did not consider such things as trivial.²³

The imposition of ashes had become the unique signal of the Lenten penitential season so that even in the *visita* it was not to be left out. Even the rite of the blessing of ashes must not be omitted in the *barrios*, unless real necessity forced the *Ministros* to bring with them the blessed ashes from the pueblo to *visitas* or *barrios*. "No matter how uncouth (*rudos*) the faithful might be" —the official Ceremonial insisted—, "they would surely marvel at the omission of such ceremony which signalled out that day in a special way."²⁴

On such an important day the missionaries surely managed to have the whole community of the pueblo attend this liturgical service. From their remarks on the sensitivity of the Filipino *Indios* regarding the mark on the forehead and the omission of the rite of the ashes in *barrios*, it becomes apparent to us that the native inhabitants attended this liturgical function well.

The *Báculo de Ministros* emphasized that there must be a *plática* to explain the liturgical ceremonies of the day.²⁵ In fact preaching during the season of Lent played an important role in the Lenten formation of the Filipino *Indios* in the Franciscan pueblos. At every religious function in this season, either liturgical or merely devotional, the *Ministro* had to give his *plática* to the *Indios*. But it was particularly needed on Ash Wednesday, the start of the penitential season requiring general and unrelieved mortification. The richness of the symbolisms and meaning of the rites and the texts would have been useless for the native Filipinos unless explained in a simple and clear manner. In all likelihood only the actual distribution of ashes would arouse the interest of the *Indios*, the prayers being recited or sung in Latin. But the whole ceremony was a rich source for the *Ministro's* preaching.

quisiere; pero no se haga en la Orden de San Francisco, que tanto se esmera en el cumplimiento de las Ceremonias Ecclesiásticas, y que para su observancia ha enriquecido a el mundo (en particular la de Descalzos) con santos Ceremoniales."

²³ *Decree of the Sacra Rituum Congregatio of 23 May 1603*, in *Thesaurus*, 1:216.

²⁴ CRR-Tor, IV, p.13: "...por muy rudos que sean los Feligreses, estrañarán la omisión de una ceremonia que tanto singulariza este día."

²⁵ *Báculo*, cap. 22, par.1: "...no se canta la Misa, mas se predica a la silla, y explica esta sagrada ceremonia."

The ceremony of the ashes began with the singing of Psalm 68, *Exaudi nos Domine*, which expressed the supplication of penitent sinners. Then four prayers were added: the first, *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, parce poenitentibus*, acknowledges the sinfulness of man before divine majesty; the second, *Deus qui non mortem sed poenitentiam*, asks forgiveness of sinners who do penance and are aware through the symbolism of the ashes of that they are turning to dust; the third, *Deus qui humiliatione flecteris*, asks God to fill those who are making satisfaction for their sins with blessing and spirit of compunction; and the fourth, *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus qui Ninivitis*, asks for the grace to imitate the Ninivites who made penance in ashes and sackclothes in order to receive the grace of forgiveness.²⁶ All four mentioned the ashes as symbol of repentance and penance — symbol of death and pledge of glory inasmuch as they came from the blessed palms used to signify Christ's triumph.²⁷ The ashes were imposed on the foreheads of the faithful while the priest said each time, *Memento homo quia pulvis es, et in pulverem reverteris*. This is a formula charged with meaning, recalling the expulsion of man from paradise. During the distribution of the ashes the antiphons expressed the feeling of the penitents: *Immuntemus in cinere et cilicio; jejunemus et ploremus ante Dominum*.

The texts of the Mass ask for mercy and instruct the people about the Lenten fast. The reading from the prophet Joel (2:12-19) speaks of penance and conversion and divine succour. The gradual (*Miserere mei Deus*) and the tract (*Domine non secundum peccata nostra*) repeats the petition of the Introit for mercy. The Gospel Reading (Mt. 6:12-21) is quite blunt and direct: "When you fast, you are not to look glum as the hypocrites do... In that way no one can see you are fasting but your Father who is hidden will repay you... Make it your practice instead to store up heavenly treasure, which neither moths nor rust corrode nor thieves break in and steal." The Mass ended with a special prayer over the people for special blessing. Undoubtedly all this was truly a rich source for the *Ministro's plática*, a good start for the Lenten penance.

²⁶ Cf. *Missale Romanum juxta decreta Conc. Tridentini*, Feria IV Cinerum.

²⁷ *Thesaurus*, 1:216: "*Factis de ramis olivarum, Ut sicut cineres ad humiliationem distribuuntur ita et per humilitatem spem habeamus futurae gloriae, quem designavit processio palmarum. Cineres itaque sunt reliquae Christi, & quasi semen gloriae nostrae...*"

The other liturgical services after Ash Wednesday until the First Passion Sunday of Lent were confined to the celebration of the Sunday Mass, in Filipino pueblos the *Misa Mayor*. The First Sunday of Lent — the real *Caput Quadragesimae*, according to Barth Gavanto —²⁸ was a repetition of the theme of Ash Wednesday in tone and orientation, although they were not directly concerned with fasting. They were rather preoccupied with redemption and identification of the Christians with Christ who conquered the temptations of the Evil One (Mt. 4:1-11). The Introit antiphon opened the liturgy confidently, *Invocabit me, et ego exaudiam eum*. The Collect implored God that the Christian family would be able to show in good works the purifying effects of penance. Good moral conduct would be the sign of a Christian who was able to overcome his evil way was in union with Christ: for, he fasted and was able to reject sin. The readings showed that Christian life is a continuous spiritual welfare in which the Christians would emerge victorious through self-denial and complete trust in God. Again the theme of this Mass would be a valuable material for the spiritual exhortation of the *Ministro de Indios*.

The rest of the Lenten Sundays continued the theme of man's sinfulness and God's goodness and mercy (Second and Third Sundays) and that of contrition and tension in Christian Life (Fourth Sunday). The name of the Fourth Sunday — *Laetare Sunday* — betrayed the original for which the Lenten structure of liturgical texts were originally construed. Before Lent became a mere season of unrelenting fasting with Ash Wednesday as *caput jejunii*, the liturgical celebration of the Sundays of Lent were geared toward the catechumens who were preparing to be baptized on Easter and who were subjected to a series of scrutinies within the five-week period before Holy Week.²⁹ The Fourth Sunday was meant to be a respite for the baptismal candidates from the rigors of preparations and scrutinies.³⁰

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie* [DACL], s.v. "Catechumenat," by Pierre de Puniet.

³⁰ The Mass expressed the joy of the Church because of the progress of the elect. But when catechumenate fell into desuetude, *Laetare Sunday* became a respite from unrelenting penance so that the people may not break down under the severe strain of penitential activities.

During the Spanish occupation of the Philippines the catechumenate had been all but forgotten. There were no liturgical services for them in Filipino pueblos. Liturgical activities were confined to the Sunday *Misa Mayor*. The *Misa Mayor* alone could have not been able to convey to the Filipino *Indios* the spirit of the lenten season effectively without the help of other devotional practices. The weekly penitential devotions helped to create a pervasive penitential atmosphere.

B. The Penitential Practices

Fridays of Lent were days of public penitential exercises in Franciscan pueblos. Two of these communitarian practices in which the Filipino *Indios* participated enthusiastically were the *Estación general* (public procession of the *Via Crucis*), and the *disciplina* (communitarian flagellation). In the *Estación* the whole community of the pueblo was involved because it took the form of public procession through the streets of the pueblo, beginning from and ending in the church where flagellation took place in continuation. Besides the whole community was to give a hand in the preparation of the procession.

The Franciscans took upon themselves the special mission to promote the devotion to the Passion of Christ since their assumption of the custody of the holy places in Palestine in 1342. In the Spanish Philippines they fostered this devotion through the Way of the Cross. This devotion centered on some chosen representations of the sufferings of Christ on his way to Calvary. At each representation called 'stop' or 'station' the pious soul was moved to sorrowful contemplation. In 1731 Clement XII issued the *monita* through which he limited the number of stations to fourteen.³¹ Before that date we do not know how many stations were erected in Franciscan pueblos and made ready for the *Estación general* in different parts of the pueblo where the procession halted.

Each station of the *Via Crucis* was enshrined in a make-shift chapel made of bamboos and palms. The representation itself was called *paso*; the chapel, *cobol*. The *paso* consisted of a picture or tableau representing a stage in the Passion of Our Lord and a wooden cross which was essential for the attainment of indulgences attached to the devo-

³¹ NCE, s.v. "Way of the Cross."

tion.³² According to the *Báculo de Ministros* the stations were *cuadros*, but we know from the relics of Spanish-time Filipino iconography that there were *pasos* consisting of sculptured wooden images.³³

The construction of *cobol* where the *paso* was to be housed was given to the charge of the *principales* or to the *cabezas de barangay* year after year. This arrangement created the situation in which no *cofradías* or *hermandades* ever developed in Franciscan pueblos for the express purpose of honoring publicly the 'mysteries' of the Passion in contrast to the situation in Spain.³⁴ Some *pasos* came to be the property of certain families of the same family tree. However, the actual preparation of the *coboles* was a communitarian act because the work was shared by the people of the neighborhood in which the station was being erected. This activity was similar to the community work of decorating the church and its *patio* for the celebration of the feast of the pueblo's patron saint.

The *Estación general* was performed in the afternoon of Fridays.³⁵ Its start was carefully timed so that by nightfall the procession should be back in the church. At the head of the procession were a violet *pendón* and two *ciriales* with violet sleeves. Then came the cantors. An image of Our Lord was carried in the procession; customarily it was that of Jesus Christ tied to the column. Or it could be a big cross with white linen hanging on its arms. Behind the image went the sacristans. Then the *preste* followed, with the usual accompaniment of the *Capitán actual* and *Fiscal mayor*. All the rest walked in front in two lines.

³² Ibid.

³³ There exist in some Filipino townships very old images of the *pasos* still being used for the Holy Week processions which according to popular tradition go back to Spanish times. There are no scientific studies of these works of art; Kelemen, in his *Baroque and Rococo in Latin America* (New York 1951) commented on the general lack of information in regard to Philippine colonial art. However, see F. Perales, "Retablos de la Pasión en Filipinas," *Hispanidad* 2-16 (April, 1941): 13-23.

³⁴ For celebration of Holy Week in Spain, cf. Angel Rodríguez, *Semana Santa española* (Madrid: Imp. Maribel, 1960); Antonio Burgos, *Folklore de las Confradías de Sevilla. Acercamiento a una tradición* (Sevilla: Universidad, 1973); C. Robles Piquer, *Semana Santa en Madrid* (Madrid: Publicaciones Españolas, 1967); J. Maria Jimeno Jurio, *Folklore de Semana Santa* (Pamplona: Diputación Foral de Navarra, 1973).

³⁵ Description of these services in *Báculo*, cap.22, par.5.

At every *cobol* the procession halted and the people fell on their knees. After a short meditation on the mystery depicted in that *paso*, they recited a prayer in the vernacular, followed by *Pater* and *Ave* and the Latin prayer, *Respice quaesumus Domine*. Upon reaching the church, the cantors sang the *Miserere*. The candles of the main altar were lighted. The verse, *Tibi soli peccavi*, was sung thrice. When the priest reached the lowest step of the main altar he knelt on it. At the end of the psalm the priest recited *Respice quaesumus Domine* and went to the sacristy to take off the rochet. But he came back to the center of the church to give his *plática*. This was a very important occasion for the *fraile* to deepen the significance of the Passion and death of Our Lord and man's obligation to do penance and be converted continuously to the Lord.

The *plática* of the *Ministro de Indios* actually served as the transition from the Way of the Cross to still another important spiritual, penitential practice, the *disciplina*. This flagellation was reserved only to men. Women were conducted out of the church after the *plática*. The discipline lasted for the duration of the chanting of the *Miserere* and *De profundis* by the cantors. Early documents said that the psalms should be sung *in tono medio* while the later ones said in *canto de órgano*. At the end of the chant the last prayer was pronounced. The bells of the belfry sounded the *Ave Marias*, and after this Marian prayer the people were dismissed and went home silently. In this manner ended the hectic penitential day in Franciscan pueblos. The Constitutions of 1730 outlined the afternoon and evening services:

On Fridays of Lent let the custom of making the procession of the *Via Crucis* continue; it shall be done after the *Benedicta*. In the procession the *preces* of the Passions in the Latin shall be sung. [...] Coming at the altars or *pasos* where the courses are, the *Ministro* shall read and pray whatever the custom has established to read and pray. The booklets printed for this purpose shall be made ready at hand. Returning to the church, the *Ministro* shall give a short *plática* to the *Indios*, or shall read a little from the *Passio duorum* or other book about the Passion something that inspires towards devotion. Afterwards, the *disciplina* shall be performed as usual for the duration of the *Miserere* which the cantors shall sing. It shall be concluded with the prayer, *Respice quaesumus* and other prayers usually said on similar occasions. We are reminding again that caution must be taken not to permit women to stay inside the church during this act.³⁶

The Franciscan manuals and rules of life emphasized the utmost importance of *pláticas* during this season. Concrete examples of penitential piety and exercises should be adduced to make penance practicable. Examples from the lives of the saints inspired the Filipino *Indios* to take up penitential exercises. The continuous preaching and the *frailes'* own witnessing to a life of poverty and penance helped to bring home to the native inhabitants the spirit of the Lenten liturgy.

In the event that the *Ministro* was unable to preach, he had to see to it that pious books were read instead. The Franciscan Constitutions of 1655 mentioned for the first time the book *Passio duorum*, which gave origin to another Lenten Practice in the later period of Spanish occupation of the Philippines. According to the Franciscan archivist Lorenzo Pérez, this book was composed by a Franciscan friar in the sixteenth century with the title: *Tratado de devotissimas y muy lastimosas contemplaciones de la passion del Hijo de Dios y de la Compasión de la Virgen Sancta María su madre, por esta razón llamado Passio duorum*.³⁷ All the Constitutions up to 1753 made reference to this book. Fray Huerta said that Fray Diego de la Asunción translated the book in Tagalog and it is presumed that there was also a Bicol translation.³⁸ From this book — no copy of it is unfortunately extant — the Lenten practice of reading the entire Passion Narrative was born. Lorenzo Pérez explained:

Still in the present day, in distant barrios or parishes, during Lent and particularly in Holy Week, in the Tagalog as well as Bicol regions, the Filipinos are accustomed to whip themselves or take up the discipline, and while they are doing so, they recite

³⁶ *Estatutos 1730*, p.136: "Los Viernes de la Quaresma se contiuará la costumbre de hazer la Proceßion del Via-Crucis; la qual se hará después de la *Benedicta*, y en ella irán cantando las Preces de la Passión, que están en lengua Latina, y en el Pueblo que no las huviere las buscará el Ministro, y hará que se trasladen. En llegando a los Altares, o Passos, en que están las Cruces, se leerá y rezará lo que se acostumbra leer y rezar, y traen comunmente los libritos, que para este intento están impresos. En volviendo a la Iglesia, se les hará a los Indios vna breve plática, o leerá vn poco en el *Passio duorum* o en otro libro de la Passión, algun punto devoto: despues de lo qual se hará la Disciplina, como es costumbre, por espacio de vn *Miserere*, que cantarán los Cantores, y se concluyrá con la Oración, *Respice quaesumus*, y las demás, que se acostumbra en semejante acto."

³⁷ Book described in Perez Pastos, *La Imprenta de Medina de Campo*, no. 214.

³⁸ Huerta, *Estado*, p. 517.

the Passion in verses in two choirs. This is undoubtedly the reminiscence of the old practices of the Franciscans, and surely the verse they recite are from the *Passio duorum*.³⁹

Later because the verses lent themselves almost naturally to community singing, they were not merely read but chanted. It was not long before the singing of the Passion, set in vernacular verses, was done not only as accompaniment of the discipline of Fridays but as a separate pious exercise by itself. It became a popular devotion among the Filipino *Indios* to sing the Passion in common during the season of Lent, usually in the evening. The *cobol* in Franciscan pueblos became a most suitable place for the community singing of the Passion in the evening.⁴⁰

Other missionaries, not only the Franciscans, began to set the Passion Narrative in verses. In 1846 the book of the Passion written by the Jesuit Tomas de Villacastin was translated into Tagalog by Gaspar Aquino de Belen also in verses, entitled: *Pasiong Mahal ni Jesucristong Panginoon natin*.⁴¹ This book contained the Passion Narrative only. There is a much-used *Pasyong Mahal* today which is actually an abridged Bible in vernacular verses, beginning from creation and including apocryphal stories like that of the Roman soldier, Longinus.⁴²

³⁹ Lorenzo Pérez, "Constituciones de la Apostólica Provincia de San Gregorio," AIA 31 (1929): 360: "Aun en el día de hoy, en los barrios alejados de las parroquias, durante la cuaresma, y particularmente en la Semana Santa, tanto en el Tagalog como en el Bicol, acostumbra los filipinos azotarse o darse disciplina, y mientras lo practican están recitando la Pasión en verso a dos coros; lo que indudablemente son reminiscencias de las antiguas prácticas de los Franciscanos, y seguramente que los versos que recitan son del *Passio duorum*."

⁴⁰ This is still being done today in some pueblos like Lucban (Quezon Province) where the *Estación general* is performed on Palm Sunday afternoon (not every Friday anymore) and in the evening the *coboles* become centers of *Pabasa*.

⁴¹ Tomas de Villacastin, SJ, *Pasiong Mahal ni Jesucristong Panginoon. Isinalin sa wikang Tagalog ni Gaspar Aquino de Belen*. (Manila: Impr. Amigos del País, a cargo de D. Feliciano Calvo, 1846).

⁴² The apocryphal story of the Roman soldier Longinus is the basis of a religious play, *Moriones*, of Marinduque Island, a version of which is called *Centurion* in Southern Quezon. The play begins within the Mass of Easter Vigil early morning when Longinus proclaims his faith in Jesus the Risen Lord and Son of God. He is chased by fellow soldiers on account of his newly-found faith in the Lord, the whole day, until he is caught and decapitated at the seashore in the afternoon.

Before good translations were made available, most present-day Filipinos in barrios got their whole knowledge of the Biblical message from this book. In some places we still meet old men and women who can sing the entire *Pasyong Mahal* from memory. The *Pabasa* —as the Lenten practice of reading and singing the *Pasyon* came to be known— became another source of Filipino Lenten spirituality, especially when priests become remiss in their duty of preaching. What the liturgical celebration during Lent and liturgical texts were not able to do (being in Latin) in order to prepare the Filipino *Indios* for the celebration of Easter through penance, the devotional practices —like the *Estación general*, *disciplina*, and *Pabasa*— did help to achieve.

III. THE HOLY WEEK IN FILIPINO FRANCISCAN PUEBLOS

The Holy Week liturgical ceremonies in Filipino Franciscan pueblos were sustained by extraliturgical rites, which can be classified as religious drama. Even the liturgy itself, however, possessed dramatic elements which attracted the Filipino *Indios*.

The dramatic elements of the Lenten liturgy was brought to the attention of the people through the lingering allegorical interpretations of the Mass which began in the early Middle Ages, being the most celebrated allegorist Bishop Amalar of Metz.⁴³ According to the allegorists' explanation the Mass as well as the entire succession of liturgical seasons could be considered as drama.

The peculiarly dramatic elements of the Easter cycle, even after the liturgical reform of the Council of Trent, still charmed the Filipino *Indios* in Franciscan pueblos.

A. The Dramatic Elements of the Easter Cycle Liturgy

There are many elements in the celebration of the Mass which lend themselves to dramatization. As a matter of fact, we know from historians of Medieval drama that religious drama originated at the

⁴³ Cf. J.A. Jungman, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development (Missarum Solemnia)*, tr. F.A. Brunner (New York: 1951-55), 1: 86-91 (5th German ed., pp. 114-20).

altar during liturgical celebration.⁴⁴ At the celebration of great feasts liturgical drama became a common feature. The earliest known liturgical dramatical piece was the trope, *Quem quaeritis in sepulchro*, containing the dialog the angel and the holy men had at Jesus' tomb. The text was easily dramatized. And the clerics, choir boys, and acolytes took the roles. Here is the oldest extant example of an Easter trope from the monastery of Saint-Martial de Limoges. The text is of course in Latin:⁴⁵

Psallite regi magno, devicto mortis imperio!
Quem quaeritis in sepulchro, o Christicole?

Responsorio

Ihesum Nazarenum crucifixum, o celicole.

Responsorio

Non est hic, surrexit sicut ipse dixit; ite
nunciate quia surrexit. Alleluia, resurrexit
Dominus, hodie resurrexit leo fortis, Cristus,
filius Dei; Deo gratias, dicite eia!

We find this trope already dramatized in a Spanish breviary after the third responsory of Matins. The codex is of about the year 1450:⁴⁶

Responsorium, Dum transisset sabbatum.

*Hic tres pueri in similitudine mulierum induti vestimentis
candidis peragant de choro usque ad altare unus post unum blande
cantantes hanc antiphonam:*

Ubi est Christus meus, Dominus, et Filius excelsi?
Eamus videre sepulcrum.

⁴⁴ For liturgical and religious dramas, see: E.K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage* (Oxford: 1903); Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (2 vols.; Oxford: Univer. Press, 1933); H. Craig, *English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages* (London: 1960); Maria Sofia de Vito, *L'origine del dramma liturgico* (Milano: Ed. Dante Alighieri, 1938); Richard Donovan, CSB, *The Liturgical Drama in Medieval Spain* (Toronto: Pont. Institute of Medieval Studies, 1958); Osborne Bennett Hardison, Jr., *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages*. Essays in the origin and early history of Modern Drama (Baltimore: Hopkins, 1965).

⁴⁵ B.N. Paris, MS Lat. 1240 Trop. Sancti Martialis Lemovicensis saec. X, fagl. 30v. As printed by K. Young, *The Drama*, 1:210.

⁴⁶ *Breviarium ad ritum et consuetudinem almae Compostellanae ecclesiae* (Vlixbonae [Lisbon]: Nicolaus de Saxonia, 1497), fagl. 63v. As quoted by Donovan, *Liturgical Drama in Medieval Spain*, p. 54.

*Alius puer stans retro altare in similitudine angeli indutus
vestimentis candidis: dicat hanc antiphonam:*

Quem quaeritis in sepulchro, o Christicole?

Et mulieres rendeant blande antiphonam:

Jhesum Nazarenum crucifixum, o celicole.

Et angelus antiphonam:

Surrexit, non est hic sicut predixerat.

Ite Nunciate quia surrexit.

*Et mulieres eodem modo quo ante venerunt, dictant alta
voce cantantes redeundo antiphonam:*

Alleluia, ad sepulcrum residens angelus nunciat
resurrexisse Christum. Te Deum laudamus.

From this simple dramatized liturgical trope a more elaborate *Ufficium sepulchri* developed. When the word *sepulchro* was changed into *praesepe*, the *Ufficium pastorum* was born for the Christmas festivity.⁴⁷ In time the scenes and characters multiplied and comic elements entered the play. It was at this time that the bishops banished drama from the sanctuary out into the church yard or piazza. Once it was outside the church, the vernacular substituted the Latin text because it was no longer part of the liturgical service.

Liturgical drama was a common feature of the important liturgical celebrations from the ninth century on throughout the Middle Ages in France, England, Germany, Italy, and in northeastern Spain (Catalonia).⁴⁸ Although some places in Catalonia, like the monastery of Ripoll, were active promoters of liturgical drama, it was only sparingly performed west of Catalonia. One of the principal reasons why it

⁴⁷ De Vito, *L'origine del dramma liturgico*, pp. 14-19.

⁴⁸ In Catalonia the Roman Rite supplanted the Hispanic Rite following the conquests by Charlemagne approximately from the year 800. Early in the ninth century Narbonne was the Metropolitan See of the newly-restored Catalan dioceses: Elne, Gerona, Barcelona, Vich, Urgel. Tenth-century manuscripts of liturgical books still extant found in Catalonia contained entirely Roman chants. The Benedictine abbey of Ripoll, in Catalonia, was the center of cultural and liturgical activities in close relationship with those French monasteries which were involved in the development of liturgical plays. Roman Rite was officially introduced in the Central and Western Spain two centuries later around the year 1080 at the Council of Burgos during the reign of Alfonso VI of Castilla. Cf. Donovan, *Liturgical Drama*, pp.20-29.

was so is that the vernacular drama had already developed when religious plays began to penetrate Central and Western Spain as a general practice. That means that drama — with impersonating characters and staged scenes — had been dissociated from liturgy and had been performed outside liturgical rites even if sometimes it could have been still performed inside the church.⁴⁹ Liturgical drama had been turned into simple religious play.

In Spain, therefore, liturgical drama hardly found a nurturing ground. On the other hand, religious plays in the vernacular flourished as *entremeses*, *coloquios*, *comedias* and *autos*. Dramatical religious presentations in Spain became popular and supplementary to, and sustained, the liturgical services. In the baroque period the official liturgical services and the extraliturgical religious plays became complementary to one another. There were no *fiestas* without religious plays. Some of these religious plays came down to the present day, having acquired wide acclaim so that now they are considered *monumentos artísticos nacionales*, like the *Misterio del Eche*.⁵⁰ Many medieval religious plays were enhanced by the exuberance of the baroque spirit. The famous *autos sacramentales* were the religious plays that distinguished the religious festivities in Spain around the mystery of the Holy Eucharist.

When the missionaries transplanted the Christian order of worship in the Philippines, liturgical ceremonies were also accompanied by religious dramas as in Spain. Religious plays, in form either of *comedias*, *coloquios* or *entremeses*, became an inseparable element of the celebration of *fiestas* in Filipino pueblos. But the Easter cycle liturgy, especially the Holy Week ceremonies, were enthusiastically dramatized with the participation of the native Filipinos. A particular dramatization of the events of the Paschal Mystery was performed in Franciscan pueblos through the use of the wooden images of Our Lord and the saints, about which we shall say more below.

The origin of the liturgical drama which developed into religious vernacular religious plays can be traced back to the allegorical

⁴⁹ Donovan, *Liturgical Drama*, p.73.

⁵⁰ Martin Brugarola, "La venida de la Virgen en Elche," *Revista de Dialectología y tradiciones populares* [RDTP] 39 (1967), 200-204; "El misterio de Elche," *RDTP* 39 (1967), 205-211.

interpretations of the Mass that began in the early Middle Ages. Bishop Agobard of Lyons criticized Bishop Amalar of Metz for encouraging theatrical mannerisms and stage musical at Mass through his allegorical interpretations.⁵¹ And Aelred, Abbot of Rievaulx, in *Speculum charitatis* complained of the singing suggestive of feminine voices, sighs, sudden dramatic silences, vocal imitation of the agonies of the dying and suffering, and contortions of the whole body with histrionic gestures during the celebration of the Mass — all encouraged by the allegorical interpretations.⁵² Indeed, the clergy frequently translated Mass allegory into histrionic action. O. B. Hardison observed:

The elevation of the sacred host and its extravagant adoration during the high Middle Ages is a striking instance of the compulsion felt by all participants, including the clergy, to express invisible mysteries in visible dramatic form.⁵³

The Amalarian interpretations presented the Mass as an elaborate drama with definite roles assigned to the participants. The Mass could be interpreted as having comic structure with descending action, a crisis, a reversal recognition, and a joyful resolution. This is emotionally represented with a movement from *tristitia* to *gaudium*. The plot is nothing less than the whole plan of redemption through allegorical presentation of the central events of salvation history — the crucifixion, entombment and resurrection.⁵⁴

Moreover, not only the Mass but also the cycle itself of liturgical seasons was seen from the dramatical point of view, because it possessed the same comic structure, the same emotional movement and the plot of redemption especially the Easter cycle. We can outline the Easter drama, thus: descending action — Lent, point of crisis— Good

⁵¹ "De correctione antiphonarii," in PL, 104:334c.

⁵² PL, 185:571: "...quid illa vocis contractio et infractio? ...aliquando virili vigore deposito, in femineae vocis fragilitates acuitur... Videas aliquando hominem aperto ore quasi intercluso halitu exspirare, non cantare, ac ridiculosa quadam vocis interceptione quasi minitari silentium; nunc agones morientium, vel extasim patientium imitari. Interim histrionicis quibusdam gestibus totum corpus agitur... Stans interea vulgus...attonitusque miratur...eos non ad oratorium, sed ad theatrum, nec ad orandum, sed ad spectandum aestimes convenisse."

⁵³ Haridison, *Christian Rite and Drama*, p.79.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.83.

Friday and Holy Saturday; reversal-recognition — Easter morning through the *Octava in albis* when Christians, the newly-baptized in particular, shared in the life of the Heavenly Jerusalem.⁵⁵

Modern historians of liturgical drama explain why the liturgical ceremonies of the Holy Week lend themselves to dramatization almost naturally. In the Mass the past (Christ's saving act on the cross) is made present through the rites because it relates itself to the original sacrifice. But it is not only explained in term of absolute time but also in term of cyclical time. The Mass is repeated in a round that completes a cycle every 365 days, so that the past saving action of Christ on the cross is eternally present. Each Mass has a convergence of two kinds of dramatic meanings insofar as it denotes the original sacrifice and at the same time connotes the saving effects through the changing seasons, days, and even hours.⁵⁶

But most ceremonies of the Holy Week, although performed within the framework of the liturgical cycle, cannot be explained in terms of absolute or cyclical time but of linear time. When events in the annual cycle coincide with the events in the linear time —like the rites commemorating the crucifixion on Good Friday (the historical day of crucifixion according to common tradition)—, the dramatic principle of coincidence is operative. To commemorate or celebrate the events of this type the liturgical ceremonies tended to become 'representational'.

Representational ceremonies are re-enactments which are actually a compromise for a literal identification. O. B. Hardison explains on this regard:

Because [representational ceremonies] are concerned with events that cannot be recovered in the present, they use the devices of verisimilitude, in the exact sense of the word. The event is what is "true"; the representation can only be "similar" to truth. It is made similar in two ways, by copying the historical source and by illusion. Under the first heading come such common features of representational ceremonies as the use of dialogue taken from the Bible, pantomime, multiple actors for multiple roles, imitative voice inflection, costume elements, and props or arrangements of setting to suggest an historical locale. Under the sec-

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p.84.

ond heading, illusion, come audience-stimulation devices, including responses and gestures that give the congregation a choral function; lyric stimuli, both poetic and musical...⁵⁷

It was in this kind of ceremonies where liturgical drama was born. The *Quem quaeritis* play was actually a simple representational ceremony.

Even after the liturgical reform of the Council of Trent and the elimination of liturgical drama as such from liturgy, there remained still many representational ceremonies within the liturgy of the Easter cycle. When the missionaries brought the liturgical ceremonies in the Spanish Philippines the representational ceremonies were carefully carried out in Franciscan pueblos. And in imitation of the baroque celebration in far away Spain dramatical devices were used to enhance the approximation to the historical truth.

These were the elements that attracted the Filipino *Indios* to the Holy Week liturgy.

B. The Drama of the Holy Week in Liturgical and Extraliturgical Religious Services

Representational liturgical ceremonies characterized the celebration of the Holy Week according to the Roman Missal of Pius V which was strictly followed in the Franciscan pueblos of the Spanish Philippines. Often enough liturgical ceremonies were "embellished" by some little adaptations which served to emphasize certain aspects of the ceremonies. The official Franciscan Ceremonial was sustained by other extraliturgical ceremonies. The official Franciscan Ceremonial tried to explain the rites as faithfully as possible with citations of authorities in the rubrics of the Roman Missal and breviary. But the "unofficial manuals," like the *Báculo de Ministros*, often betrayed the desire of the missionaries to add local colors to the ceremonies that attracted the Filipino *Indios*. The dramatical principle of coincidence in many ceremonies of the Holy Week was brought about through the action of copying and illusive symbolizing.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

1. THE PALM SUNDAY CEREMONIES

Holy Week was the busiest period of the year for the sacristans in Franciscan pueblos. They had to prepare the necessary habiliments and utensils and furniture for the ceremonies. As early as the Saturday preceding the Passion Sunday the sacristans had to cover all the altars, images, crosses, and retablos with violet veils after the Mass that symbolized grief and mourning.⁵⁸ The Franciscan Ceremonial made it clear that no lining or decor of any other whatsoever, not even of gold, should be added to the veils, because they were meant "to clothe the altars in morning."⁵⁹ Even the *Gloria Patri* of the antiphons and psalms was also left off. This was to signal that the drama of the Easter cycle was coming to its point of crisis.

At the Palm Sunday ceremonies the grief and mourning of the Passion period was temporarily broken by songs of *Hosannas* during the procession but fell back immediately to the reminders of the trials to come. Here the dramatic agony of the Easter Cycle was strikingly vivid. The triumph of the *Rex gloriae* was being challenged by his adversary. This conflict was reflected in the procession and the reading or singing of the Passion Narrative. The procession and the Mass, therefore, constituted one representational unit.

The Palm Sunday procession as a liturgical rite was already practiced in Jerusalem itself toward the end of the 4th century. We know it from the Roman lady Etheria's travel memoirs, *Peregrinatio*.⁶⁰ According to this observer, the Christian community of Jerusalem, headed by

⁵⁸ *Ceremonial Romano Reformado según las rubricas de N. [RR-Tor]*, Trat. IV, p.14: "Advierta el Sachristán, que luego, que se concluya la Missa Conventual de el Sábado antes de la Dominica de Passión, debe con los Velos morados, que para esto ay dispuestos, cubrir todos los Altares, Imágenes, Cruces, y Retablos, según dize vn Decreto: *Non solum cruces, imagines Salvatoris sed etiam Icones Altarium, et omnes aliae Imagines Sanctorum tegendae sunt in primis Vesperis Dominicae Passionis.*"

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*: "Esto es vestirse de luto los Altares, y assi guárdese el Sachristán de poner en ellos adorno especial, avnque occura Fiesta por solemne que sea. No deben tampoco en los Velos con que los Altares se cubren ponerse Cruces con tiras blancas, ni de otro color, porque es abuso."

⁶⁰ Cf. Agustín Arce, OFM, *Itinerario de la Virgen Egeria* (Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos 416; Madrid: 1980). This is a critical edition of the Latin text and variations annotated translation to Spanish, auxilliary documents, an ample introduction, maps and notes. It also carries a thematic bibliography on Egeria and her itinerary.

the bishop, proceeded to the Mount of Olives at about the seventh hour. They waited there, singing hymns and antiphons, until the eleventh hour, when the Gospel according to Matthew (21:1-11), relating Jesus' entry to Jerusalem, was read. Bearing olive branches or palm fronds, the bishop and his flock then processed to Jerusalem.⁶¹

In Franciscan pueblos of the Spanish Philippines the Holy Week celebration was characterized — as usual — by the preoccupation with the strict observance of the rubrics. The *Ceremonial* made a fuss, for example, about the exact times the manipule should be used.⁶² For the blessing of the palms, the word *olivarum* in the prayers must not be changed to *palmarum*, even though there were no olive trees in the Philippines. It was no falsity, it insisted.⁶³

The first part of the Palm Sunday ceremonies consisted in the reading of the Word of God, the blessing of the palms, the distribution of the palms and procession. The service began with the antiphon *Hosanna filio David*, a cry of praise to the messianic King of Israel, followed by the opening prayer, *Deus quem diligere et amare justitia est*.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Ibid., pp.129-30, 282-85.

⁶² CRR-Tor, Trat. IV, p.18: "El prete lo reze (i.e., the Responsory *In monte Olivete* which the choir is singing), y acabado, sin apartarse de el lado de la Epístola, pone incienso con la bendición común, para los qual se vuelve azia el medio de el Altar. Aora dize Cebreros que se ponga el Manípulo; todos dizen, que se ponga después de el *Asperges*, Gavanto, Bauldri, Olalla, Santano, Montalvo, en los lugares, que los cito, y otros, que en dichos AA se hallan, hágase como previne, y póngase a el principio. Olalla dize: "Si el Celebrante hiziere esta bendición sin Diáconos, va con Capa, y avnque no la lleve ha de vasar de Manípulo: se lo pone después de hecho el *Asperges*, le ha de tener puesto para leer la lección, y cantar el Evangelio." Bauldri *ibidem*: "Celebrans, Pluviali, vel Alba cum Estola paratur, etc. cum Manipulo, quia lectionem, & Evangelium est dicturus." Lo mismo dizen Santano, y Gavanto."

⁶³ The author referred to Gavanto who said (*Thesaurus*, 1:221): "In Oracionibus nihil est detrahendum, neque mutandum lice benedicantur rami arborum, non palmae, nec olivarum rami: quia ii rami arborum succedunt palmarum oco, & a populo eo die vocantur palmae. Neque Romae (ubi saltem olivae benedicuntur, non aliae inferiores arbores) tacentur ea verba in quarta Oratione, caeterarumque arborum: neque est mendacium, sicuti non est mendacium dicere in Parasceve, *Ecce lignum Crucis*, adhibita tunc cruce argenteae a celebrante."

⁶⁴ Texts of the Blessing and Procession of Palms and of the Mass in *Missale Romanum juxta decr. Conc. Trid.*, Dominica II Passionis seu Palmis; also, Herman Schmidt, *Hebdomada Sancta*, 1: *Contemporanei Textus Liturgici, documenta plana et Bibliographia* (Romae: Herder, 1961), pp. 35-56.

The first reading was the text from Exodus 15:27; 16:1-7 ("in the morning you will see the glory of the Lord"). The Gradual (Jn 11:47-49.50.53) was the prophecy about the death of the Messiah for the sake of many. The alternative text was Mt 6:39.41, anticipating the trial of Jesus at the garden of the Mount of Olives. The Gospel reading was the narrative recalling the event of Jesus' triumphant entry to the city of Jerusalem and the first conflict with the public authority (Mt 21:1-9).

The blessing formulary consisted of five prayers for blessing. The first, *Auge fidem in te sperantium Deus*, which became a hymn of thanksgiving in the manner of the Mass' preface with the singing of *Sanctus* at the end; it was a thanksgiving for the great name of God's only-begotten Son, extolled before all the kings and the powerful ones of this world. The second prayer, *Petimus Domine sancte*, mentioned the olive branches brought by the dove returning to the ark of Noah, and asked God that these branches be a sign of God's blessings to those who would receive them. *Deus qui dispersa congregas* the third prayer implored God that these branches would be a sign of God's protection against evil in places where they would be kept. This was immediately followed by the long prayer, *Deus qui miro dispositionis ordine*, referred to the olive branches and palm fronds as symbols of the spiritual anointing (alluding to the anointing of Christ as Savior) and the triumph of the Redeemer from the prince of death, respectively; but this was not a prayer for blessing. The fourth prayer for blessing, *Deus qui per olivae ramum*, was a simple petition for the blessing of the branches. The fifth prayer, *Benedic quaesumus Domine*, asked for victory over the spiritual adversary and for love. After the aspersion and incensation of the palms a last prayer, *Deus qui Filium tuum*, concluded the series of prayers.

In all these prayers as well as in the readings that preceded them the agony between Christ and his adversary was recalled. Through the symbolism of the branches and palms the Church prayed that the faithful followers of Christ might share in his triumph inasmuch as they participate in the Passion. The distribution of palms followed.

These ceremonies were taking place at the regular time for the *Misa Mayor* in Franciscan pueblos. The entire community of the pueblos was present, occupying their accustomed seats. Twelve *golpes* from the *campanario* had announced the service. During the distribution of the palms the *oficiales de la iglesia* received their own share of the palms in order according to dignity. But the rest of the assembly stayed

in their places with palms in their hands from the beginning of the ceremonies. This was to avoid confusion. If the palm fronds were all to be gathered on a table, as the rubrics said, the big number would create disorder during the distribution and would make the ceremony unduly long. It would be impractical to hand a branch of the palms to every single person. The *Báculo de Ministros* consequently suggested that every one held in his hand the palms he brought. At the time of distribution, the *preste*

...goes down to the center aisle of the church, and there he touches with his hand the palms while the bearers knelt on their knees; this is the same thing as distributing them.⁶⁵

Here, of course, the *fiscales* were busy making way for the *preste* and guarding the palms from hurting the face of the priest.⁶⁶ Then the assembly got ready for the procession. And the priest, turning his face from the altar to the people, announced: *Procedamus in pace*.

For the procession of the Missal of Pius V provided only for the singing of the antiphons while the procession was in progress. In Franciscan pueblos an embellishing rite was introduced. Again the *Báculo de Ministros* gave this direction:

In this procession the women shall spread their veils [on the ground] from the altar step and throughout the entire path where the procession shall pass so that the priest may not touch the bare ground from the moment he descends to the aisle of the church until he returns.⁶⁷

This representational rite was surely meant to copy what the Gospel of the day (Mt 21:8) said, "The huge crowd spread their cloaks on the road, while some began to cut branches from the trees and lay them along his path." The manual also reminded the *preste* to "walk with much seriousness and slowness while meditating on such high

⁶⁵ *Báculo*, c.22, pr.10: "...se baxa al medio de la capilla, y alli va tocando con la mano los ramos, que es lo mesmo distribuirles, estando los que los traen de rrodillas."

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*: "...haviendo prevenido antes dos oficiales para que no se atropellen, y lastimen en la cara el Ministro."

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*: "En esta processión tienden las mugeres sus mantos, desde la grada hasta todo lo que tiene que andar la Processión sin que el sacerdote pise en tierra desnuda desde que baxa a la Capilla hasta que vuelva."

and profound mystery.”⁶⁸ This representational rite surely helped the faithful to enter into the spirit of the mystery of Christ being recalled.

The procession left the church through the side door (*porta traviesa*) went into the open atrium in front of the church, passing by and stopping at each *posa* in the four corners of the *patio*. This time each *posa* was decorated with many trees, where some *tiples*, dressed in white, sang *Hosannas* and showered fresh flowers and sweet-smelling herbs upon the *preste* who tarried a little.⁶⁹ The procession returned to the church and entered the main or front door (*puerta principal*). But the door was shut when the head of the procession reached it. A couple of cantors were behind the door inside the church, who, with their faces turned toward the outside, sang the responsory, *Gloria laus*, alternately with those outside. Then the bearer of the processional cross struck thrice the lower part of the door with the base of the shaft. As the door opened and the procession entered the church, the responsory, *Ingrediente Domino*, was sung. Everybody carried fronds of palms in the procession in order to be reminded of the triumphal entry of Jesus in Jerusalem. The procession ended with singing of the responsory without *Gloria Patri*. And all went to their assigned seats, while the *preste* and the acolytes went to the sacristy to prepare for the Mass.

The main ceremony that distinguished this Mass from any other *Misa Mayor* was the reading of the Passion Narrative (Mt 26 and 27). In pueblos where there were more than two *frailes* in the *convento*, the Passion was sung in three different tones: one for the *Cronista* (narrator), the other for the *Sinagoga* (synagogue or crowd) and the third for *Cristo* (Christ). Here we have the case of a dramatized reading of the Gospel. But in the pueblos where there was only one priest the *Ceremonial* advised the priest not to sing the whole narrative — too tiring for one man — but to read it until the words *sedentes contra sepulchrum*. At this point he recited the *Munda cor meum*, incensed the book and sang the remaining part of the Gospel. All other customary preparatory rites were left out for emphatic effect. Somber atmosphere overshadowed the reading and singing of the Passion. However, the fact that the *preste* together with the whole assembly held their fronds of

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*: “...al llegar a los ángulos de él, adonde ay árboles puestos y Tiples vestidos de blanco que le echan flores al pasar, párase un poco.”

palms during this act, the triumph of Christ over his death was being proclaimed. Gavanto added this symbolic note:

The branches are held [during the reading and singing of the Passion] so that while the ignominy of the cross is being narrated, its victory is likewise made manifest through the branches.⁷⁰

These Palm Sunday liturgical services embellished with some representational rites already summarized in anticipation all the great events that were to be commemorated on the following days of Holy Week.⁷¹ The dramatic contrast between joy and pain, between struggle and victory had been outlined in the liturgy of this day: the triumphal procession with *Hosannas* and the apparent defeat of Christ narrated in the Passion. The procession together with the Mass formed one ritual unity so that the rubrics did not allow the blessing of the palms without being followed by the Mass in which the reading of the Passion had a prominent place. Both of them carried forward the dramatic agon of the Easter cycle.

2. HOLY TUESDAY AND HOLY WEDNESDAY SERVICES

After the dramatic Palm Sunday procession and the reading and singing of the Passion Narrative, the Filipino Indios in Franciscan pueblos entered into a deeper involvement in the penitential practices and liturgical ceremonies during the Holy Week. There was a respite of religious services on the morrow of Palm Sunday. But the following days up to the morning of Easter Sunday the Franciscan pueblos were transformed into scenes of public penance and dramatic liturgical and extraliturgical services.

The penitential practices of the Fridays of Lent were divided and apportioned during the Holy Week between Holy Tuesday and Holy Wednesday. On Holy Tuesday the procession of the *Via Crucis* was performed as on the Fridays of Lent. But the procession of this day took a more colorful shape because there were more banners which

⁷⁰ *Thesaurus*, 1:223: "Ad totam Missam tenebantur rami in Ordine Rom. sed ad Passionem omnino, ut dum ignominia Crucis narratur, ejusdem victoria per ramos ostendatur."

⁷¹ G. Ramos, "Domingo de Ramos," *Liturgia* (Silos) 7 (1952): 65-70.

portrayed the symbols of the Passion. Instead of the images of Our Lord tied to the column, the image of the *Nazareno* was carried in the procession with *palio* or portable canopy, which the *oficiales* of the pueblo held over the image throughout the procession. The *Nazareno* was an image of Our Lord carrying the cross, in the position of getting up from a fall, clothed in a purple velvet.

The procession went through the streets of the pueblo and stopped at every *cobol* for the prescribed prayers. It re-entered the church and the *Miserere* was sung by the cantors. There was a special sermon today! It was delivered in an impressive way at the foot of a big cross, positioned in a prominent place in the central part of the church. Today's afternoon service ended with this sermon, after which the *Ave Marias* were recited while the *campanario* was sounding the signal. The *Báculo de Ministros* reminded that there was no disciplina today which was set aside for the following day instead.⁷²

For Holy Wednesday no procession was scheduled. It was time for the sung *Maitines y Laudes*. "In Holy Wednesday afternoon — the Franciscan *Ceremonial* pointed out — the [service of] *Tinieblas* begins."⁷³

In the Middle Ages the service of *Tinieblas* must have evolved from the practice of gradually extinguishing the lights of the church during the celebration of the office of Matins between midnight and dawn.⁷⁴ As practiced in Franciscan pueblos, the service of *Tinieblas* essentially consisted in the gradual extinguishing of fourteen candles on the triangular candlestick (*tenebrario*) with only one (the fifteenth candle) at the top of the triangle remaining lighted, as the psalms were sung.

The service began immediately with the intonation of the first antiphon, *Zelus domus tuae*, followed by the psalm. The antiphon was repeated after the psalm, but the *Gloria Patri* was never sung. The most important chants were the three readings followed by their respective responsories. The three readings (from the Lamentations of Jeremiah, Commentary of Augustine, Epistle of Paul) were sung in a

⁷² *Báculo*, cap.22, par.11.

⁷³ CRR-Tor, Trat.IV, p. 28: "El Miércoles Santo en la tarde comienzan las Tinieblas."

⁷⁴ Cf. NCE (1967 ed.), s.v. "Tenebrae," by D. Stevens.

mournful melody. The chroniclers informed us that Fray Geronymo de Aguilar had composed melodies for the *Lamentations* and *Lessons* of the Holy Week which must have been used during the service of *Tinieblas* in Franciscan pueblos.⁷⁵

The triangular candlestick or *tenebrario* was positioned in the presbytery a little bit toward the Epistle side. In accordance with the custom of Spain, the fourteen candles at both sides of the *tenebrario*, seven at each side, were ordinary yellowish candles, while the candle on top was a blandon, a thick white wax candle, called *La María*.⁷⁶ Together with these fifteen candles, six candles at the main altar were also lighted before the service began.

Wearing a surplice, the acolyte assigned to take care of the *tenebrario* had to follow this procedure of extinguishing:

At the end of the first psalm he puts out the lowest candle of the Gospel side; at the second psalm, that of the Epistle side, and he extinguishes the fourteen candles alternately from one side to the other, so that at the last psalm of Lauds only *La María* remains lighted: this is not to be extinguished.⁷⁷

At the canticle, *Benedictus*, the lamps in the choir were extinguished while the first six verses were being sung, with the exception of one lamp to enlighten those who might not be able to sing without any light. While the remaining six verses of the canticle was being sung, the burning candles on the main altar were also extinguished one by one. When all the candles had been put out except *La María*,

⁷⁵ *Chronicas S. Greg.*, 2:16: "Y aviendo gastado muchos años en la Administración de aquel Pays, justamente se le debe atribuir la enseñanza de la Música, que oy se practica con primor. Dejan poca duda, para creerlo assi, vnas Lamentaciones músicas de exelentissimo punto, que se conservan oy, escritas en Pergaminos de poca curiosidad, pero de muy patente vejez, que de Padres a Hijos van aprendiendo los Niños con tal perfección..."

⁷⁶ CRR-Tor, Trat.IV, p.28: "...le pone catorce velas amarillas siete a cada lado, y en lo superior vn blandón de cera blanca (por costumbre de España) a que llaman *La María*."

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*: "A el fin de el primero Psalm. apaga la más baxa de el lado de el Evangelio, a el 2. la de el lado de la Epístola, y alternado de un lado a otro, apaga las catorce, de suerte que a el último Psalm. de Laudes solo quede encendida *la María*: esta no se apaga..." The service of *Tinieblas* in Franciscan pueblos can be reconstructed from CRR-Tor, Trat.IV, cap. IV.

the acolyte went to the *tenebrario* to retrieve the only burning candle in the church (the lamp in the choir had been hidden from the sight of the assembly in the meantime). Holding the candle in his hand, the acolyte tarried at the Epistle side until the singing of the *Benedictus* and antiphon came to the end. As soon as the versicle *Christus factus est oboediens* was intoned he went out of the presbytery with the lighted candle and closed behind him the door of the adjacent sacristy, or simply hid himself with the candle behind the main altar.

After the singing of the versicle, the *Pater noster* was said *secreto* by the *preste*. Then the cantors intoned and sang the *Miserere*. At the end of the psalm the presiding priest recited the prayer *Respice quaesumus*, until *subire tormentum* with the ending *Qui tecum* in silence. Lastly, the priest gave a knock on the bench; everybody followed making loud noise (*estruendo y ruido*) with the benches or books. The acolyte then appeared from his hiding and raised the light for all to behold, saying *Sea loado Nuestro Señor Jesucristo!* The acolyte replaced the candle on top of the *tenebrario* to remain burning while the assembly prayed the *Ave Marias*, which was announced by the church bells.

The last spiritual exercise of the day was the *disciplina*. The *Báculo de Ministros* instructed on the activities of Holy Wednesday: "There is no procession, but Matins are sung and there is *disciplina* as on Fridays; after the *disciplina* the belfry's bells shall sound the *Ave Marías*."⁷⁸ The women were dismissed from the church and the *disciplina* of men began. In some places the *Ave Marías* were recited after the discipline as the last act of the people before going back home.⁷⁹

From the representational point of view *Tinieblas* was a ceremony whose main theme in death. "It commemorates the extinguishing of the Light of the World —O.B. Hardison noted— and is coincident with the period of the year when the Passion is uppermost in the mind of the Church."⁸⁰ But it also prefigured the illumination ceremonies of the Easter Vigil.

⁷⁸ *Báculo*, cap. 22, par.12: "...no ay Procepción, mas se cantan los Maytines, y ay disciplina como los Viernes, mas no ay plática acabada la disciplina se toca a los *Ave María*."

⁷⁹ CRR-Tor, Trat. IV, p.32.

⁸⁰ Hardison, *Christian Rite and Drama*, p.117

Allegorists had given different meaning to this evening service. The general striking of benches, for example, was occasionally taken to symbolize the scourging of Christ.⁸¹ But the common interpretation that became popular among the people was the following:

The gradual extinguishing of all but the last candle was meant to point to the Apostle's dessertion of Christ, and the last candle was supposed to depict Christ's burial (in its disappearance behind the altar) and resurrection (in its reappearance). The clatter at the end of *Tenebrae* originally had no significance; it was simply the din occasioned by the closing of the chant books.... This came to be interpreted in Holy Week as representing the shaking of the earth at Christ's death.⁸²

This popular interpretation of the service of *Tinieblas* came out almost naturally from the structure of the service. It would not be far-fetched to surmise that in the minds of those present the symbolism of the gradual extinguishing of the candles, the disappearance and reappearance of the only-remaining lighted candle represented the sufferings, death and resurrection of Christ. Although the special name of the unextinguished candle —*La María*— was quite confusing, the last exclamation of the acolyte —*Sea loado Nuestro Señor Jesucristo!*— definitely pointed to the representational symbolism of the paschal drama. The service of *Tinieblas* then was veritable representational rite which led the people, unable though they were to understand the Latin text, to have contact through representational symbolizing with the original paschal event. The *disciplina* that concluded the day's religious activities was a fitting expression of the Christian's desire to partake of Christ's Passion.

3. THE FESTIVE INTERLUDE OF HOLY THURSDAY

Right in the middle of Holy Week the conflict between Christ and his adversary was represented in liturgical and extraliturgical services with more positive mood than in the preceding days. Love and forgiveness were the predominant ideas of the liturgical texts. White color temporarily replaced the violet one. In the early Middle Ages Holy Thursday was the day of reconciliation of public penitents; this rite was the

⁸¹ NCE (1967 ed), s.v. "Tenebrae."

⁸² Ibid.

inversion of the dismissal of penitents from the church on Ash Wednesday.⁸³ It was a day of spiritual rejoicing of the Christian community. But even after the practice of public penance had long fallen into desuetude, Holy Thursday still retained much of the positive mood, because of the festive Mass *In Coena Domini*, the colorful procession of the Blessed Sacrament to the *Monumento* and the afternoon rite of the *Mandatum*.

The Mass *In Coena Domini* was celebrated with all solemnity. In Franciscan pueblos it meant that all the apparatus of solemnity were availed of: *ciriales*, *incienso*, *tiples*, *instrumentos musicales*, and a lot more acolytes than in the ordinary *Misa Mayor*. The violet sleeves of the *ciriales* were changed to white ones; the veil of the crucifix of the altar was also white now. The *Gloria*, which had not been heard during the Lenten period, came back for this Mass and was sung to the accompaniment of the pealings of the bells of the *campanario*; three small hand bells (*campanillas*) were also rung during the *Gloria* from the choir. The festive spirit of the Mass was emphasized by the *Báculo de Ministros* by its insistence that the main altar, the *Monumento*, the sleeves of the *ciriales*, everything that was used in the liturgical celebration of the day must be in white.⁸⁴

The Mass *In Coena Domini* served well as a representational rite of the institution of the Eucharist. The Pauline tradition of the Eucharistic institution was used for the First Reading, while the Gospel according to John (13:1-15) which gave the significance to Christ's giving up of himself for the salvation of the world. The texts of the other parts of the Mass contributed to bring home the great love of Christ that offered reconciliation, salvation, and new life to penitent sinners. The representational quality of the Gospel Reading was so strong that a new separate Office of *Mandatum* was performed in the afternoon during which the Gospel text was repeated. In Franciscan pueblos the representation was anticipated during the morning Mass through an unofficial embellishment.

⁸³ The reconciliation of public penitents was part of the Holy Thursday ceremonies in the Gallican Rite in the seventh century. The Roman Rite —except for sacramentaries of Gelasian tradition— did not have euchological formulas for reconciliation. Cf. *Hebdomada Sancta*, 2: 723-27.

⁸⁴ *Báculo*, cap. 22, par. 13.

Twelve poor men who would personify the twelve apostles at the Office of the *Mandatum* were already present during the Mass *In Coena Domini*. Dressed in special costumes of the apostles, which were provided for by the priest from the *convento*, the twelve poor men of the pueblo sat on two rows of benches in the presbytery. In some pueblos the twelve men received the names of the apostles with which they were called throughout the day, sometimes throughout the week. At the communion rite these twelve men only were allowed to receive Holy Communion in spite of the fact that this occasion would be the most appropriate for Eucharistic reception, since it was the commemoration of the institution of the Eucharist.

The *Báculo de Ministros* said it was for practical reason that only the "twelve apostles" received Holy Communion. It would be an act of imprudence on the part of the *Ministro* to try to distribute Holy Communion to some 200 or 300 people at this time. He had to take into consideration all the things the *Ministro de Indios* had to do the days before and after.⁸⁵ It would be very tiresome indeed and would make the ceremony quite long, while many more services had to be performed for the rest of the day. However, this privilege of the "twelve apostles" brought about the representation of the Supper of the Lord quite impressively. Wittingly or unwittingly, the Franciscans made the Mass *In Coena Domini* in their pueblos rememorative and representational of the institution of the Eucharist.

Because the commemoration of the institution of the sacrament, Holy Thursday was the day of the Holy Eucharist. But at the time when the cult of the Eucharist manifested itself not so much in the sacramental communion as in the external pomposity so characteristic of the Spanish baroque, the attention of the people in Franciscan pueblos was focused on the external cult of the Blessed Sacrament. The main preoccupation of the ceremonials and manual for this day was the procession of the Eucharistic Species and the worthy preparation of the altar of reservation or *Monumento*.⁸⁶ As a matter of fact, as explained in another part, Holy Thursday was one important feast of *Las tres fiestas* because of the *Monumento* for which the Filipino *Indios*

⁸⁵ Ibid., par.14.

⁸⁶ The main focus of Holy Thursday services was on the procession. CRR-Tor entitles the chapter concerning the ceremonies of Holy Thursday thus: *De la Procesion y Missa de el Jueves Santo*.

were obliged to give annual contribution. The decoration (flowers, sweet-smelling herbs, drapings, etc.) and great quantity of candles and oil lamps used up on this day for the *Monumento* called for special fund reserve.

The name of the feast suggest deep rootedness of the medieval spirit in the structures of the liturgy of the Church and in the religious practices. *Monumento* implies "burial service" connected to it. Such liturgical "burial service" was indeed practiced in the Middle Ages on Good Friday — a dramatized rite that gave burial connotation to the procession of the Blessed Sacrament of Holy Thursday still apparent in the Missal of Pius V.

The document *Regularis Concordia* (written between 965-875) tells us how in England the commemoration of the burial of Christ was celebrated through the entombment of the crucifix which was wrapped in a linen shroud (a touch of realism!). The tomb was sealed while the antiphons, *Sepulto Domino* and *In pace in idipsum*, were being sung.⁸⁷ This burial service became part of the Holy Week ceremonies not only England but also in German speaking countries, France, Italy and Spain with variations here and there. In some English churches a wooden image of Christ's corpse, instead of the crucifix, was interred together with the Sacred Host on its breast.⁸⁸ The breviary of Zurich of 1260 was against this practice as "contrary to all reasons."⁸⁹ A similar rite in Germany was criticized by Thomas Naogeorgus, a protestant pastor, in his *Regnum papisticum*.⁹⁰ In Aquileia (Italy) the Sacred Host was entombed with the crucifix,⁹¹ alone without the crucifix in Parma⁹² as

⁸⁷ Concerning *Regularis Concordia*, see Young, *The Drama of Medieval Church* (Oxford: 1933), 1:582.

⁸⁸ N.C. Brooks, *The Sepulchre of Christ in Art and Liturgy* (Urbana/Illinois: 1921), p. 38.

⁸⁹ As quoted by Young, *The Drama*, 1:154: "Nam contra omnem rationem est, quod in quibusdam ecclesii eucharistia in hujusmodi arca sepulcrum repraesentante poni consuevit et claudi. Ibi enim eucharistia, quae est verum et vivum corpus Christi, ipsum Christi corpus mortuum repraesentat, quod est indecens penitus et absurdum."

⁹⁰ Thomas Naogeorgus, *Regnum papisticum* (1553), as quoted in Young, *The Drama*, 1:148; see also 2:525-531.

⁹¹ Malherbe, "Le Corpus Domini pendant la Semaine Sainte au moyen-age," *ParLit* 34 (1954): 90-91. See text of the rubrics in Young, *The Drama*, 1:143.

⁹² Parma text (1417) in Young, *The Drama*, 1:125.

well as in Venice.⁹³

In some places we find the entombment ceremony of the Sacred Host (placed on a paten and covered with the pall, then wrapped in a linen corporal) now being performed not on Good Friday but on Holy Thursday.⁹⁴ This transfer from Friday to Thursday must have been linked with the Forty Hour Devotion which followed the ceremony of internment. From at least the century there had been in the Church a practice of honoring the forty hours of Christ's permanence in the tomb not only through fasting but also through vigil and prayers at the *sepulchrum* or *monumentum*.⁹⁵ The sepulchre was lighted and bedecked with flowers and special guards remained by it, praying and singing psalms for forty hours until the "revival rite" early Easter morning in which the liturgical play *Quem quaeritis* had its original place.⁹⁶ But from the seventh century onward there was a tendency to anticipate the celebration of the Easter rites to Holy Saturday so that the entombment had also to be moved backward to Holy Thursday.⁹⁷ In this situation the reservation rite of Holy Thursday became a rite of entombment which replaced the similar rite on Good Friday. We do not know the exact date of this shift, but the *Missale Mixtum Mozarabicum* of the Spanish liturgy carried a reservation rite on Holy Thursday with characteristics of burial rite:

After the priest has taken Communion let him receive a clear chalice. And he should place in the chalice the pall with which it is covered. Let him reverently receive the *Corpus Christi* and place it in the chalice on the pall. Then let him receive another pall to cover the chalice, and place the paten over the chalice and a fair veil over both which should entirely cover the chalice. And

⁹³ Young, *The Drama*, 1:126-29.

⁹⁴ Malherbe, "Le Corpus Domini," p. 91.

⁹⁵ J. A. Jungmann, "Die Andacht der Vierzig Stunden und das heilige Grab," *LJ* 2 (1952): 184-198; O. Casel, "Art und Sinn der altchristlichen Osterfeier," *JL* 14 (1934): 1-78, esp. 11, 16, 31.

⁹⁶ In some places there were special *scholares* who received special stipends for keeping watch and singing psalms by the sepulchre. In Spain there were men on guard in the costumes of the Roman soldiers: cf. Jungmann, "Die Andacht," p. 197; also Hardison, *Christian Rite and Drama*, p. 125.

⁹⁷ Jungmann, "Die Vorverlegung der Ostervigil seit dem christlichen Altertum," *LJ* 1 (1951): 48-54.

should hold it above his shoulders and thus reverently carry the Eucharist to the *Monumentum*. Meanwhile, the whole chorus sing *Hoc Corpus quod nobis traditur...*, walking before the Eucharist and preceded by candles and incense. And let one boy ring a little bell. And let a veil or pall be reverently carried over the *Corpus Domini* by four or six lords from among the more noble citizens. Let one of the ministers of the church stand at the exit of the chorus throwing green branches under the feet of those carrying the *Corpus Domini*, as should happen on the next day on the return of the *Corpus Domini* from the tomb to the altar. And when the tomb is reached, let the bishop or priest ascend vested in the superhumeralis... And when the Eucharist is placed in the tomb the bishop or priest should uncover the chalice and humbly show the consecrated Host to two of the lords. When the chalice is covered as before, it should be placed in the tomb with a cross and missal or Bible, and an unkindled thurible with incense boat and bell. Let the tomb be censed reverently with another thurible and most carefully closed with two keys and double-sealed with red sealing-wax. The lord should keep the keys and seals. And there should be a light always before the tomb [*sepulchro*]. When the Lord has been buried, and the tomb shut, as the priest and ministers return to the altar, verspers is sounded with wooden clappers.⁹⁸

In the Missal of Pius V the burial terminologies had been eliminated, although the Franciscan Ceremonial and manuals still used some of these and interpreted the rite with some lingering ideas of the *Missale mixtum*. The Tridentine missal arranged the rite thus:

Today a fitting place shall be prepared in a chapel or altar of the church. It shall be adorned with candles and torches in as much decent way as possible where the chalice with the host is reserved as above. After the Mass the torches are lit, and the procession takes place *more solito*, while a subdeacon carries the cross. The celebrant is dressed in white cape. Standing before the altar he puts incense into two thuribles without blessing. Kneeling in the middle he incenses the Sacrament with one of the censers, thrice. He receives from the standing deacon the chalice with the Sacrament which he covers with the extremities of the veil that covers his shoulders. He proceeds to the middle under the

⁹⁸ As translated in Hardison, *Christian Rite and Drama*, pp. 125-26. For Latin text, see PL 85: 418-19.

canopy between the deacon at his right and the subdeacon at his left. Two acolytes continuously incense the Sacrament up to the prepared place where it shall be reserved until the following day. In the meantime during the procession the hymn *Pange, lingua, gloriosi Corporis mysterium* is sung. Upon reaching the designated place the deacon, genuflecting, receives from the priest, who remains standing, the chalice with the Sacrament. He places it upon the altar where the priest, kneeling down, incenses it above. Then he puts it in the *capsula*.⁹⁹

The *capsula*, the casket or reservation, was called by the Franciscan Ceremonial and manuals, *Monumento* in Filipino pueblos as being in the form of a cave as though meant to resemble the tomb of Christ hewn from a hill.¹⁰⁰ Even the Congregation of Rites itself, according to J.A. Jungmann, did concede — even if reluctantly — that the place of reservation of Holy Thursday could indeed be called “sepulchre,” although it did not permit the singing of the versicle *Sepulto domino* at this time.¹⁰¹

While maintaining the burial terms in their commentaries, the Franciscans did not mean to insist on its mourning aspect. Very soon the *Monumento* in Filipino pueblos was considered not so much as a *tomb* but as a *throne* before which public adoration of the Blessed Sac-

⁹⁹ *Missale Romanum juxta decr. Conc. Trid., In Coena Domini*: “Hodie paratur locus aptus in aliqua Capella Ecclesiae, vel Altari: et decenter quoad fieri potest, ornatur cum velis et luminibus: ubi Calix cum Hostia, ut supra reservata, reponatur. Finita autem Missa, accenduntur intorticia, et fit Processio more solito, alio tamen Subdiacono parato Crucem ferente. Celebrans indutus Pluviali albo, stans ante Altare, imponit incensum in duobus thuribulis absque benedictione: deinde in medio genuflexus, cum altero incensat ter Sacramentum: et accepto Calice cum Sacramento de manu Diaconi stantis, et cooperto extremitatibus veli, quo ejus humeri teguntur, procedit medius inter eumdem Diaconum a dextris, et Subdiaconum a sinistris sub baldachino, duobus Acolythis Sacramentum continue incensantibus, usque ad locum praeparatum, ubi pro crastino servandum est. Interea dum fit Processio, cantatur hymnus *Pange Lingua gloriosi Corporis mysterium*. Cum autem ventum fuerit ad locum paratum, Diaconus genuflexus a Sacerdote stanti accipit Calicem cum Sacramento, et ponit illum primo super Altare ubi a Sacerdote genuflexo incensatur, ut supra: deinde reponit in capsula.”

¹⁰⁰ *Báculo*, cap.22, par.

¹⁰¹ Jungmann, “Die Andacht,” pp. 196-97. He was referring to the decrees of the Congregation of Rites concerning the matter in the collection published by P. Martinucci in *Manuale decretorum SRC* (3.Aufl.; Regensburg: 1873), n.1019-1023.

rament was conducted night and day until the Mass of the Pre-sanctified the next day. This was undoubtedly the expression of the great devotion of the Spanish people toward the Blessed Sacrament which the missionaries shared with the neo-Christian Filipino *Indios*.

There must be no sign of mourning at the *Monumento*. The *Báculo de Ministros* insisted:

...the Mass vestments being all white and the cross of the altar having been covered with white veil because of such great solemnity, all other things that pertain to the same service must also be in white... There must be no black clothes in the *Monumento*; everything must be festive because Christ Our Lord was buried in a garden of flowers and because he is alive even if he is represented as dead. I find no reason why everything cannot be in white.¹⁰²

During the precession to the place of reservation the native Filipinos, most probably young boys and girls in festive attire, showered with flowers the path along which the priest carrying the Blessed Sacrament threaded¹⁰³ — similar to the practice mentioned in the *Missale mixtum*! The *principales del pueblo* carried the ceremonial portable canopy over the priest holding the Blessed Sacrament.¹⁰⁴ And the thurifer had to kneel down on both knees at intervals during the procession in order to incense the Blessed Sacrament along the way.¹⁰⁵ Thus, the Franciscan missionaries wanted to make this rite a feast of the Blessed Sacrament.

The position of the *Monumento* in Franciscan churches also added to the festive mood of the procession and the subsequent hours of pub-

¹⁰² *Báculo*, cap.22, par.13: "...siendo todo el terno blanco y por la solemnidad tan grande cubierta la Cruz de el altar con velo blanco, lo deven ser las demás que concurran a la misma función como son las dichas... en el Monumento no se pongan paños negros, flores, y porque Christo S. N. fue enterrado en vn huerto de flores, y porque está vivo aunque se representa muerto. No hallo razón para que no sea todo blanco."

¹⁰³ We gathered this practice from the following provision of CRR-Tbr (Trat.IV, p.44): "Los Diáconos van a los lados de el preste, come sustentandole los brazos, levantándole también con decencia las vestiduras, quando sea necessario; en esta tierra lo es, por los petatillos que ponen los naturales, para que passe el Preste con el Santísimo."

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p.42.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p.44.

lic adoration. The makeshift altar of reservation or *Monumento* was constructed above the main altar itself or nearby in the sanctuary. The *Báculo de Ministros* explained that it was so, because “in our ministerios there is no [other] chapel.”¹⁰⁶ The Ceremonial made it clear that it had to be erected en el altar mayor in accordance with the custom of Spain.¹⁰⁷ This arrangement was primarily intended to place the Blessed Sacrament on a most prominent place and to enable to decorate it with all possible embellishments. Accordingly, the *Mayordomo de la iglesia*, after the procession, had the duty of assuring the continuous burning of the candles and lamps and of providing sufficient supply of wax and oil at the *Monumento*, until the *Santísimo* was taken away for the Mass of the Pre-sanctified the next day.¹⁰⁸ In this way the procession became another public manifestation of devotion to the Holy Eucharist as on *Corpus Christi* day, and the *Monumento*, the throne of Christ the King! It is not surprising if the *Monumento* became one of the principal *Tres fiestas* in the Spanish Philippines.

The Mass *In Coena Domini*, the procession and the *Monumento* marked a festive interlude in the Holy Week. The whole day was a continuous alternation of the bright and dark sides of the Easter drama expressed in liturgical as well as extraliturgical but supplementary religious practices in Franciscan pueblos. Immediately after the locking of the *Monumento* and public adoration just about to begin, the *matraca* or wooden clapper announced the beginning of Vespers and the stripping of the altar of its linen and ornaments. Structurally this was a rite of liturgical mourning, a sequel to the supposedly burial service just ended. The priest took off his white vestments and put on the violet stole. All the altars in the church — with the exception of the *Monumento* — were stripped of the linens and ornaments. The antiphon summarized the theme of the rite: *Diviserunt sibi vestimenta mea*:

¹⁰⁶ *Báculo*, cap. 22, par.13: “..en el altar mayor (que en nuestros Ministerios no ay Capilla) adornado lo mejor que se puidiere.”

¹⁰⁷ CRR-Tor, Trat.IV, p.32: “Por costumbre de España el Monumento se haze en el Altar Mayor, y el Santísimo de el Depósito se passa a vn Colateral. En quanto a las luzes, aseo, y adorno, con que se haze, no ay que advertir sino que se continúe la práctica, en que si[e]mpre se ha esmerado esta Provincia.”

¹⁰⁸ *Báculo*, cap. 7, par. 6: “Tócale [al Mayordomo de la Iglesia] asistir el Jueves Sancto en el Monumento, a cuidar de la cera, y de todo lo necessario, hasta concluir las funciones de el Viernes Sancto.”

*et super vestem meam miserunt sortem.*¹⁰⁹

The Church was supposed to be in desolation: altars stripped and only a crucifix covered with violet veil stood alone on it. But the profusedly-lit Monumento stood majestically in the sanctuary. In this ambivalence the morning liturgical services of Holy Thursday ended. Everybody went home to take lunch.

The liturgical services resumed in the afternoon at about three o'clock. But in the *convento*, the center of religious life of the pueblo, the Easter drama continued. To express the spirit of love and reconciliation reigning on this day, all the *oficiales de la iglesia* were invited to stay in the *convento* and eat lunch with the *frailes* — a unique occasion of the year! But the main guests were “the twelve apostles.” The *Báculo de Ministros* ordered that one of the *principales del pueblo* was to serve at table while one of the cantors read a book in the vernacular — presumably the *Pasyon*. The repast was shared *con silencio y gravedad*. Before leaving the table the *Ministro* directed some words of exhortation to the twelve who must show in their conduct that they were indeed worthy to be called “apostles.”¹¹⁰

This meal was a symbolic expression of the message of the *Mandatum* in a non-liturgical setting: the *principalía* serving those twelve men of lower social standing! Moreover, it is interesting to note that the dining of poor men with the *frailes* on this occasion was a very old practice among many monastic communities even in the early Middle Ages.¹¹¹ In the Spanish Philippines, however, this occasion evolved into a representational meal — a dramatized meal — which depicted the Last Supper.¹¹²

The representational meal served as the introduction to the next liturgical function of *Mandatum* or Washing of Feet. A little before

¹⁰⁹ CRR-Tor, Trat.IV, pp.46-49.

¹¹⁰ *Báculo*, cap. 22, par.16.

¹¹¹ Hardison, *Christian Rite and Drama*, p.127; L.A. Molien, *La prière de l'Eglise* (2 vols.; Paris: 1924), 2:382-85.

¹¹² In the Philippine situation this representational meal of Holy Thursday must have been the origin of the Filipino religious drama called *Cenaculo*, originally the dramatization of the Last Supper only, that later developed into the whole Passion play.

three o'clock in the afternoon a couple of sacristans went around the pueblo to announce the afternoon service of the Washing of Feet to the people with the *matraca*, since the bells of the *campanario* had remained silent from the *Gloria* of the morning Mass.

The *Mandatum* was the most directly representational ceremony of the Holy Week. This was performed through the technique of copying. The narrative of the Gospel was copied directly into action to represent to the people the original Last Supper. The main feature of the service of the *Mandatum*, therefore, consisted of three important parts: the reading of the Gospel, the dramatization of the Gospel's narration, and (in Franciscan pueblos) the *plática* that explained the whole rite.

Again the positive mood of the Easter cycle came back at this rite. "The entire place of the lavatory shall be decorated with flowers and sweet-smelling herbs which can be had this season of the year," reminded the Franciscan Ceremonial.¹¹³ Even the floor was strewn with flowers except the area where the washing itself was to take place; this was covered with local straw mats so that vestments of the priest would not be tainted by the fresh flowers and herbs.

When the people were assembled, the procession from the sacristy to the sanctuary commenced with the apparatus of solemnity that was customary in Franciscan pueblos. The thurifer went ahead, followed by the cross (covered with white veil underneath the violet one) and four *ciriales*. Although according to the Roman Missal the vestments were to be violet, in Franciscan pueblos they could be white, even if during the lavatory itself the priest had to change it to violet stole. The penitential aspect of the washing demanded this change: an act of humility on the part of the superior, kneeling down before the subjects in an act of service and in imitation of Jesus, Master and Lord.

The Gospel reading (Jn 13:1-15) was a repetition of the morning's Gospel Reading. The narrative was so vivid that it naturally called for this representational rite in order to copy the original historical event. The "twelve apostles," seated now on two rows of benches in the sanctuary, added to the realism of this rememorative and representational ceremony. After the Gospel reading, ending with the words, *Posuit*

¹¹³ CRR-Tor, Trat.IV, p.54: "Todo el sitio de el Lavatorio estará con el ornato de flores, y yervas olorosas, que diere el tiempo."

vestimenta, the washing of feet began. The *Báculo de Ministros* suggested that in addition to the kissing of the right foot after washing it the priest should also embrace the poor men; this was a most edifying ceremony to the *Indios*, it reminded.¹¹⁴ The cantors sang the theme of the ceremony: *Mandatum novum do vobis: ut diligatis invicem sicut dilexi vos, dicit Dominus. Si ego, Dominus et Magister vester, lavi vobis pedes; quanto magis debetis alter alterius lavare pedes*. The *oficiales* of the church and some of the *principales* joined in the act of humiliation by helping the priest in the washing of the feet of these poor men.¹¹⁵

While the acolytes went back to the sacristy to unvest, the priest remained in the church, seated himself in the *silla* and explained to the people the lesson of the entire ceremony. Although not required by the Missal of Pius V, this *plática* about the great mystery of Christ's love for mankind was a special requirement of the *Báculo de Ministros*.¹¹⁶ In a positive mood, this service came to its end, the spirit of charity, of forgiveness and reconciliation pervading the whole assembly.

After the *plática* the atmosphere was ready for the next liturgical service, that is, the *Tinieblas*. As in the evening of Holy Wednesday this service signified the Easter mystery through the gradual extinguishing of the candles in the *tenebrario*, the disappearance and reappearance of the last unextinguished, big, white candle. The readings came from the same sources as on Holy Wednesday: the Lamentations of Jeremiah, sermons of Augustine and the Epistle of Paul. The texts of the antiphons and psalms spoke of abandonment, the insults hurled by the enemies, the triumph of darkness, all applied at this time to Christ's own apparent defeat of Good Friday. But the Epistle to the Hebrews spoke of Christ as High Priest. The last Nocturn saw Jesus on the cross not as a forlorn criminal but as a King reigning from his throne, so that the reading invited: *Adeamus ergo cum fiducia ad thronum gratiae* (Heb.5).

¹¹⁴ *Báculo*, cap. 22, par.18: "Y aunque no lo manda ningun ceremonial, tengo por edificativa ceremonia para los Indios el abrazarlos a cada uno de por si lavándoles el pie."

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*: "...y avisados algunos principales, que ayuden a la función; todo lo qual ha de estar prevenido antes que el preste salga de la sachristía."

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*: "...pondráse su manto, sentaráse en la silla (los demás se van a desnudar a la sachristía) les hará su plática explicándoles el misterio."

The service of *Tinieblas* today was timed in such a way as to end at dusk. Because of the hectic schedule of the day no *disciplina* was allowed to be performed in the church this evening. As soon as the *Tinieblas* ended, the *matraca* announced the praying of the *Ave Marias*. Then all went home to eat supper.

Holy Thursday was long and hectic. The *Monumento* remained majestically lit throughout the night, inviting everyone to come and keep vigil in prayers and hymns. Moreover, immediately after supper time the pueblo gathered once more in the church and *patio* for the candle-lit procession of the *Via Crucis*.¹¹⁷ There were several wooden images that were to be carried in the procession: that of Jesus carrying the cross (*Nazareno*), the Blessed Virgin, the Veronica and San Juan. The images were dressed in black *saya* (skirt) as sign of mourning and white *toca* (cornet). It was an old custom in the Franciscan pueblos that women of the *principalia* class carried the images of women saints on their *andas* or portable platform. The *Ministro* in this case assigned two or three *oficiales* to go behind each of the women's images to give them a helping hand in case of some false steps.

The acolytes went in black cassock without surplice to emphasize black as color of mourning. The sleeves of the *ciriales* were violet. But six or eight handheld lanterns were posted around the image of the *Nazareno* to illumine it; two lanterns for each of the other images. People who joined the procession held their own candles or torches.

The procession traced the streets that connected the fourteen *coboles* in the pueblo. But his time there was no stopping at every *paso* to recite prayers except for a genuflection when the *Pendón* came in front of it. And the *Pendón* bearer led the participants in saying aloud three times, *Señor, misericordia* (Lord, mercy)! No other prayers were recited nor hymns sung in the course of the procession. The procession progressed in all gravity.

The *penitentes de azotes* (flagellants) were given special space so that they would not spatter other people with blood. The *disciplina* which had remained all Lent inside the church now went public in the procession. Present practice, however, suggest to us that anonymity was preserved through the use of a kind of hood even at that time. The *fiscales* were busy on this occasion, trying to keep order.

¹¹⁷ Directions for this evening procession are recorded in *Báculo*, c. 22, par. 20.

A curious and interesting dramatization took place in this Holy Thursday procession. The main body of the procession went out of the main door with the images of the *Nazareno*, the Blessed Virgin and San Juan. But the image of the Verónica, carried by women, went out of the side door. This small portion of the procession traced a different path and only after the main body of the procession had traversed about one third of the whole designated route that the two portions met at a certain point. Here, the Verónica made three curtsys to the image of the *Nazareno*; then, it joined the main procession and went behind all the foregoing images.¹¹⁸ Surely this was meant to represent the meeting of Jesus with the women who according to legend wiped his face with a towel on his way to Calvary.

Upon return to the church the priest proceeded up to the front of the main altar and sang (*medio tono*) the prayer, *Respice quaesumus Domine super hanc familiam tuam*. The people took their seats and the priest ascended the pulpit to give the *plática*, exhorting the people together with the flagellants to a more intensive works of penance for expiation of sins. The priest held a tall *Santo Cristo* (crucifix) — undoubtedly to charge his words with emotional ardor —, ending his talk with a general act of contrition.

This could have ended the day with a less positive tone with which the day began with the Mass *In Coena Domini*, but it was not so. There was a continuous stream of people coming to and from the church in groups to keep watch before the Blessed Sacrament until the late hours of the night. There was a festive air in the pueblos. People did not only come to their own church but also to those of the neighboring pueblos where the *Monumento* was also magnificently adorned and lighted. This coming and going of people to the churches to pray before the Blessed Sacrament came to be called *Visita iglesias*.¹¹⁹ The rainless and brightly-moonlit night contributed to the enhancing of the festive mood of the people. But it was a subdued kind of festivity. For it was *Semana Santa*!

(To be continued)

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*: "...que la principal procesión sale por la puerta que llaman de los hombres, y la Imágen de la Verónica ha de salir por la puerta de los mugeres, y aguardar la Imagen de Nazareno a un tercio de la Procepción donde le haze tres cortesías, y se incorpora con la Procepción detrás de todos."

¹¹⁹ This practice has remained up to this day. Cf. "Holy Week in the Philippines," *Philippine Quarterly* 1-2 (1961): 43.