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As a journal of theology and pastoral life, *Quaerens* is committed to the noble mission of deepening the modern-day Christian’s understanding and praxis of the faith, of fostering an atmosphere of dialogue with cultures and religions throughout the world in general and throughout Asia in particular, and of promoting a scholarly theological discourse that addresses the specific pastoral needs and questions of our time.

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The Church's Response to Ecological Crisis

Fray Jovy Gallego, OAR

Abstract

One of the major problems the world faces today is ecological crisis. This research attempts to present humanity's abuses, deemed as ruler of the created realities, resulting to ecological problems. Then the author offers some possible solutions to the issues according to the teachings of the Church on man's rightful autonomy over the environment. Finally, the pastoral implications of these ecological problems are evaluated in relation to the plight of the poor being the persons most affected.

The Ecological Crises

This study deals mainly with the different issues concerning the rightful autonomy of man over natural resources including the different problems that the world is suffering today. In the light of the moral teachings of Church on the environment, the work attempts to trace the causes of these problems which help to understand the reasons

why man is able to do such things that degrade the environment of which he is tasked to preserve, conserve and sustain.

Of the various documents and pronouncements that the Church issued concerning the topic, the Vatican II document Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World *Gaudium et Spes* will be used as the main source of the study. Although it does not explicitly specify in one section the main reasons for the deterioration of the natural resources, the document however tries to imply that something is wrong with the way man treats the created realities. Among them are the imbalanced economic development, technological advancements that increase man's power to abuse natural resources, unregulated multiplication of cities and man's misconception of his power to dominate nature, justifying his right to master it free from responsibilities before God. Developments of these reasons are elaborated as the study progresses.

Imbalanced Economic Development and Its Environmental Impacts

The present economy of the world reflects man's dominion over nature that has economic value. In the era where development is seen as a competence of economy for global commerce and industry, it is easy to conclude that the degradation of natural resources is caused by insatiable desire of man. He becomes an economically minded person who thinks only of the benefits that he can get from using nature. Since it does him good, he becomes too abusive and forgets that natural resources are living creatures that get extinct and diminished if abused. Unfortunately, some members of the biosphere are non-renewable that when they are consumed, their existence ends which in turn would create a negative effect in the system of the natural environment. Today, man has indeed mastered the art of exploring the material world and placing them under his authority creating disruption between his neighbours, nature and ultimately, to God. It is for this reason that Pope Francis declares that "there are other weak and defenseless beings who are frequently at the mercy of economic interests or indiscriminate exploitation."¹ Therefore, other

¹ Pope Francis, Apostolic Exhortation on the Proclamation of the Gospel in Today's World, *Evangelii Gaudium*, (Pasay City: Paulines Publishing House, 2015), 215.

created realities aside from man cannot be safeguarded simply by economic means.

Economic advancements tremendously affected the whole world for, in many instances, they are unregulated. It is so massive and the means are so drastic that many of these natural areas are gravely devastated. Pope Paul VI laments that “due to an ill-considered exploitation of nature, humanity runs the risk of destroying it and becoming in turn a victim of this degradation.”² Since the only chance for man to survive is highly dependent on the environment, then “the deterioration of nature is closely connected to the culture which shapes human coexistence”³ for whatever is harmful to nature is at the same time harmful to humanity.

The irony is that despite these great abundance in wealth, resources and economic power, a “huge proportion of the world’s citizens are still tormented by hunger and poverty, while countless numbers suffers from total illiteracy.”⁴ It implies that these present imbalances go deeper to the very source of the problem which is the insatiable desire of man.

Authentic economic development is not confined to the increase in the amount of goods and services produced in a given time. It is not simply the growth of capital stock, advancement in technology and the improvement in the quality level of literacy which is believed to be the main contributors for the progress of economy. It must be holistic and should benefit the whole human family without compromising nature. “Every economic activity that makes use of natural resources must also be concerned with

² Paul VI, Apostolic Letter on the Occasion of the Eightieth Anniversary of the Encyclical “*Rerum Novarum*,” *Octogesima Adveniens*, (Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1971), accessed on March 16, 2017, http://w2.vatican.va/content/paul-vi/en/apost_letters/documents/hf_p-vi_apl_19710514_octogesima-adveniens.html, 21.

³ Benedict XVI, Encyclical Letter in the Integral Human Development in Charity and Truth, *Caritas in Veritate*, (Pasay City, Philippines: Paulines Publishing House, 2009), 51.

⁴ Vatican II, Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, *Gaudium et Spes*, ed. Austin Flannery, O.P. (Pasay, Metro Manila, Philippines: Daughters of St. Paul, 1975), 4.

safeguarding the environment and should foresee the costs involved”⁵ and not to simply focus on the multiplication of profits for financial stocks alone do not guarantee protection and preservation of the environment. “The traditional catalogue of the aims of economy, ‘full employment, monetary stability, foreign trade balance, congruous economic growth and just income distribution’ must be enlarged by the aim ‘preservation of natural environment.’”⁶ The modern world is in need of a “humanism capable of bringing together different fields of knowledge, including economics, in the service of a more integral and integrating vision”⁷ and the “solutions to the ecological problem require that economic activity respect the environment to a greater degree, reconciling the needs of economic development with those of environmental protection.”⁸ Economic activities must be governed by moral laws considering human dignity, the welfare of society and the proper utilization of the available resources.

Unregulated Technological Advancement and the Natural Resources

Man lives in an era where most of his daily activities are determined and assisted by technology. It has become an essential part of his life that it is almost impossible today to imagine the life of the human family without them. It has brought him marvellous advancement and comfortable way of living that if not regulated, will cause him remarkable negative effect especially when “it loses its function as an instrument in the service of humankind and creation and becomes a self-serving end for reasons of prestige, ostentation, profit and power.”⁹ It is so prevalent that it has become the trend of the 21st century and the determining lifestyle and trademark of industrialized nations.

⁵ Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church*, (Intramuros, Manila: Catholic Bishops’ Conference of the Philippines, 2004), 34.

⁶ Karl H. Peschke, *Christian Ethics: Moral Theology in the Light of Vatican II* (England: C. Goodliffe Neale, 1977), 810.

⁷ Pope Francis, Encyclical Letter on Care for our Common Home *Laudato Si*, (24 May 2015), 141: AAS 107 (2015), 904.

⁸ *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church*, no. 470.

⁹ Peschke, *Christian Ethics*, 808.

Technology becomes man's tool of exploring the whole of nature and continuously doing so by advancing even to the outer space. It is indeed a phenomenon that man has greatly excelled to the point that it becomes the criteria of determining the wealth of nations and not its natural resources. Man should be careful enough and be "aware that it is his responsibility to guide rightly the forces which he has unleashed in order not to be enslaved by them."¹⁰

Together with these technological advancements arise consequential problems that need careful analysis and synthesis. Man has the "right to rejoice in these advances and to be excited by immense possibilities which they continue to open up before us"¹¹ for "science and technology are wonderful products of the God-given human creativity"¹² however he should be aware that most of the present ecological imbalances are results of undisciplined use of technology.

One of the ecological problems caused by technology is the pollution of the air which is a serious threat to human health and to the survival of both plants and animals. The deterioration of quality of air, water and soil is caused by "transport, industrial fumes, substances which contributes to the acidification of soil and water, fertilizers, insecticides, fungicides, herbicides and agrottoxins."¹³ The air is polluted because of the great amount of the exhaust produced by industrial facilities and motor vehicles.

Another problem is the contamination of the environment with chemicals which are produced by industrial wastes of man that deprive the soil of the necessary nutrients to feed other living organisms that depend on it. These industrial and chemical wastes of man produced mainly by technology would definitely end up in different bodies of water which ultimately would cause water pollution. Another concern today is the depleting supply of fresh drinking water particularly in "Africa where large sectors of the population have no access to safe

¹⁰ Vatican II, *Gaudium et Spes*, no. 9.

¹¹ Pope Francis, *Laudato Si*, no. 102

¹² Pope John Paul II, Address to Scientists and Representatives of the United Nations University, (Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1981), accessed on January 27, 2017, http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/speeches/1981/february/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19810225_giappone-hiroshima-scienziati-univ.html, 3.

¹³ Pope Francis, *Laudato Si*, no. 20.

drinking water or experience droughts which impede agricultural production.”¹⁴ Statistics show that only 2.5% of all the water in the world is fresh, 1% is inaccessible because it is trapped in glaciers and snow fields and man have real access to 0.0007% of the planets’ water to feed and fuel over 6.8 billion people.¹⁵

Crisis comes in when there is not enough supply to meet the demand which is already happening in many different ways. In some cases, water resources are not properly distributed that others have abundance while others endure drastic scarcity. Underground water sources are threatened by pollution generated through certain mining, farming and industrial activities, especially in countries that are lacking adequate regulations or controls.”¹⁶ The situation is worsened by the privatization of basic commodities subjecting them according to their economic value despite their limited supply.

Because of man’s abuse of technology, ecological problems multiply in an unprecedented manner. He is facing today one of the main ecological problems – the climate change. It happens “due to the rise in global warming phenomenon due to the increase in temperature of atmosphere contributed by burning of fossil fuels and the release of harmful gases by industries.”¹⁷ This leads to series of negative effects such as climate change, stronger typhoons and foods, melting of the polar ice, new forms of diseases and many more. This becomes more complicated for its implications go beyond the environment that they affect even the political, economic and social aspects of society. Although natural reactions such as volcanic activity, variations in the earth’s orbit and axis, the solar cycle have their contribution in this phenomenon, researches affirm that “most global warming in recent decades is due to the great concentration of greenhouse gases (carbon dioxide, methane, nitrogen oxides and others) released mainly as a

¹⁴ Ibid., 28.

¹⁵ Rinkesh, “Causes, Effects and Solutions to Critical Problem of Water Crisis,” *Conserve-Energy-Future*, accessed on October 13, 2016, <http://www.conserve-energy-future.com/causes-effects-solutions-to-critical-problem-of-water-crisis.php>.

¹⁶ Pope Francis, *Laudato Si*, no. 29.

¹⁷ Rinkesh, “15 Current Environmental Problems That Our World is Facing - Conserve Energy Future,” *Conserve-Energy-Future*, accessed October 13, 2016, <http://www.conserve-energy-future.com/15-current-environmental-problems.php>.

result of human activity.”¹⁸ “The gradual depletion of the ozone layer and the related “greenhouse effect” has now reached crisis proportions as a consequence of industrial growth, massive urban concentrations and vastly increased energy needs.”¹⁹ The abuse on the use of soil like the unregulated massive cutting and burning of trees for agricultural reasons contributes also to this ecological crisis.

As a consequence of these misuses of man regarding the use of technology, the resources of the earth such as plants, animals, microorganisms and the enormous diversity of genes in these species, the different ecosystems on the planet, such as deserts, rainforests and coral reefs are facing the dangers of extinction because man limits their value to simply commercial and economical. It is alarming because “human activity is changing biodiversity and causing massive extinctions”²⁰ of these species. Human activities such as rapid growth of urban development and expansion of agri-business caused 90% of this annihilation, while only one to ten percent can be attributed to natural causes.²¹

However, one cannot regard technology as intrinsically evil because humanity owes to it the great advancement in life that he enjoys now especially in the field of medical research, production of goods, greater comfort, and the financial technology which are provided mainly by technological system. It enables man to “exercise dominion over matter, to reduce risks, to save labor, to improve our condition of life.”²² He is the main beneficiary of great developments in the fields of “steam engines, railways, the telegraph, electricity, automobiles, chemical industries, modern medicine, information technology and, more recently, the digital revolution, robotics, biotechnologies and nanotechnologies.”²³ It is the result of man’s creativity of developing the available resources which “expresses the inner tension that impels man gradually to overcome material limitations.”²⁴ These are man’s

¹⁸ Pope Francis, *Laudato Si*, no. 23.

¹⁹ John Paul II, *World day of Peace*, 1990.

²⁰ Dr. MD. Zulfequar Ahmad Khan, “Global Environmental Issues and its Remedies,” *International Journal of Sustainable Energy and Environment* Vol. 1, No. 8, September 2013, P: 122

²¹ Khan, *Global Environmental Issues*, 122.

²² Pope Benedict XVI, *Caritas en Veritate*, no. 69.

²³ Pope Francis, *Laudato Si*, no. 102.

²⁴ Pope Benedict XVI, *Caritas en Veritate*, no. 69.

innovations that “when well directed, can produce important means of improving the quality of human life, from useful domestic appliances to great transportation systems, bridges, buildings and public spaces.”²⁵ However, the same inventions pose an extreme danger on him that if not guided with great care, it would create a devastating effect on him particularly the nuclear weapon that can destroy the human race itself.

Technology gives man so much power that he “often exalts himself as the absolute measure of all things.”²⁶ Pope Francis said that it is “because our immense technological development has not been accompanied by a development in human responsibility, values and conscience.”²⁷ The Church teaches that man must inculcate into his mind that “the greater man’s power becomes, the farther his individual and community extend”²⁸ and his commitment to promote authentic technological development is all the time necessary for the preservation of humanity and of the common good.

The Church is not in conflict with man’s desire for technological progress because she teaches that “the results of science and technology are, in themselves, positive”²⁹ and are signs of God’s grace and the flowering of His own mysterious design.”³⁰ She has been constant in her stand that in promoting technological progress, the objective must not simply “the mere increase of products nor profit or control but rather the service of man, and indeed of the whole man with regard to the full range of his material needs and demands of his intellectual, moral, spiritual, and religious life.”³¹ Just as God intended everything that He created for the use of man, every technology is designed to serve man thus making him able to exercise charity towards his neighbour and at the same time practicing his vocation as co-creator of God. In all circumstances, earthly realities creatively developed by man should not be possessed simply as his own but be held as “common in the sense that they should be able to benefit not only him but also others”³² because being co-creator of God, all his

²⁵ Pope Francis, *Laudato Si*, no. 102.

²⁶ Vatican II, *Gaudium et Spes*, no. 12.

²⁷ Pope Francis, *Laudato Si*, no. 105.

²⁸ Vatican II, *Gaudium et Spes*, no. 33.

²⁹ Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church, no. 457.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Vatican II, *Gaudium et Spes*, no. 65.

³² Ibid., 69.

works should lead to serving God and his neighbour. Every time man uses technology in developing the natural resources for the good of his brethren, he is simply being faithful to his calling from the moment of creation when God commanded him to subdue the earth and to master it and when Christ asks him to serve his brothers and sisters in the name of charity.

Uncontrolled Migration and its Effect to Environment

Since development is often associated with the developed urban cities, this causes an effect in the lifestyles of modern man. In many instances, industrialized nations radically transformed an already established culture for centuries by introducing new ones mainly based on nation's economy. One of the many major changes that this phenomenon causes is migration. Even though migration is already a common practice since the time immemorial but today "it is noteworthy how many are being induced to migrate on various counts, and are thereby changing their manner of life."³³ Many would migrate from rural to urban cities to seek benefits from civilization like the easy access to education, health assistances and job opportunities—an action that supplies the basic necessities of man. As a consequence, one cannot underestimate the setbacks of migration for they pose serious threats to the natural resources of the host city.

Another possible reason for this occurrence are the conflicts caused either by natural disasters and calamities, culture differences, misunderstanding over religious matters or the devastating effect of war. They migrate because it is "whether they live in those lands subject to erosion and desertification, are involved in armed conflicts or subject to forced migration, or because they do not have the economic and technological means to protect themselves from other calamities."³⁴ In any of these cases, people migrate in order to seek asylum and refuge, find peace and have a better life into another area away from their native places. In the year 2015, for example, more than a million migrants and refugees travelled to Europe in order to seek asylum which resulted to crisis for various reasons especially over European nations on how to deal with the great number of refugees

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church, no. 482.

arriving.³⁵ It is difficult to establish facts on how many people from rural areas migrate to the cities everyday but it has become a trend that is accepted and given attention by many nations today. Migration creates great changes in the lifestyle of the world today but the main concern of this study is its direct effect to the natural environment.

Migration has both short and long term effect to the society in general and to the environment in particular. If this influx of people from rural areas to the urban cities will not be monitored by the proper authorities, this will create problem in society and will have a direct effect to the environment. In a study conducted in China, it is said that the air quality and other environmental problems are affected due to migration in the span of only thirty years. The research concludes that what happens in China is common to many developing countries specially its effect to the natural resources of the world.³⁶

By logic, rural to urban migration first affects rural areas because their inhabitants transfer to industrialized cities. As a result, countries who are mainly dependent on agriculture are affected because their workers often migrate to cities leaving the fields with few labourers. As a further consequence of uncontrolled migration, urban population increases which has a direct negative effect to the natural system. Together with it is the increase of demands for basic necessity such as food, water, land and energy. If not guided properly, this will lead to the pollution of the environment that normally, in many instances, has ruined the health and life quality of the community.

Today, “the risk of being affected by environmental hazards is related to how vulnerable individuals and population groups are.”³⁷

³⁵ “Migrant Crisis: Migration to Europe Explained in Seven Charts,” *BBC News*, accessed on November 30, 2016, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34131911>.

³⁶ “Rural-to-urban migration associated with negative environmental effects in Chinese cities: Policymakers should encourage migration to less-dense urban areas,” *ScienceDaily*, Accessed on November 29, 2016, www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2015/11/151103140116.htm.

³⁷ Susana B. Adamo and Alexander D. Sherbinin, “The Impact of Climate Change on the Spatial Distribution of Populations and Migration,” in *Population Distribution, Urbanization, Internal Migration and Development: an International Perspective* (United Nations: United Nations Publications, 2011), 170.

Situation becomes problematic when the demands is so high that the natural resources cannot supply all the needs of the populace. Though urban migration has a good number of progressive contributions to society, it also has a lot of negative consequences especially to the biosphere which suffers the most. When man learns to use nature without abusing it, nature by its essence will provide him all his basic needs.

Unregulated Urbanization and the Destruction of the Environment

Though highly related to economic development, another factor that this study considers as alarming and detrimental to the environment is the unregulated urbanization. It is a development that goes with the industrial advancement manifested in many congested and overly populated urban cities worldwide. These developments of man are affected by “the disproportionate and unruly growth of many cities, which become unhealthy to live in, not only because of pollution caused by toxic emissions but also as a result of urban chaos, poor transportation, and visual pollution and noise. Many cities have huge, inefficient structures and excessively wasteful energy and water. Neighborhoods, even those recently built, are congested, chaotic and lacking in sufficient green space.”³⁸ Even though man was greatly successful in his effort to “secure a sure food supply, cures for diseases, and steady employment... yet a larger number of them live amid conditions which frustrates”³⁹ him in the end. Development indeed helps man improve his living conditions and aids him advance in education, health and communication however, still many are dying of hunger, uneducated and living in an inhumane condition. If it is not regulated properly, this will undermine the purpose of development, will worsen the social evil and will challenge the true human values.

Overpopulation and Depopulation and the Depletion of Natural Resources

Another major social problem that the world faces today is the issue of overpopulation in developing countries and the depopulation

³⁸ Pope Francis, *Laudato Si*, no. 44.

³⁹ Pope Paul VI, Encyclical Letter on the Development of Peoples *Populorum Progressio*, (Pasay City, Philippines: Daughters of St. Paul, 1995), 6.

of developed nations. They pose questions and challenges on how far does man go in his capacity to dominate the created realities and what are the consequences of his actions that affect directly the natural reserves.

Today, the present population of the world is “7.3 billion and is expected to reach 8.5 billion by 2030, 9.7 billion in 2050 and 11.2 billion in 2100.”⁴⁰ Statistical researches were conducted and concluded that “the world’s population is doubling, the world’s urban population is tripling”⁴¹ and scientists projected that “within the next few years, more than half the world’s population will be living in urban areas.”⁴² “There is no denying that the accelerated rate of population growth brings many added difficulties to the problems of development where the size of population grows more rapidly than the quantity of available resources to such degree that things seem to have reached an impasse.”⁴³ It is called overpopulation because the number of inhabitants is not equal to the capacity of the environment to sustain life. It is often caused by series of reasons which are highly related to development or to migration. Some of them are the lack of family planning and the better advancements in medical technology which improves the fertility treatment and resulted to the decline in mortality rate as well as immigration. There are more problems that overpopulation contributes such as the conflicts of war, rise of unemployment and high cost of living.

Overpopulation results to the depletion of natural resources because inhabitants of an overly populated area consume more than what the environment can provide. In general, the earth has no inexhaustible supply of natural resources but can only produce resources like food and water as long as it can. The growing population of people for the last five decades has resulted in deforestation, hunting wildlife beyond their needs, causing environmental pollutions and creating

⁴⁰ “Overpopulation: Causes, Effects and Solutions,” *Conserve Energy Future*, accessed November 30, 2016, <http://www.conserve-energy-future.com/causes-effects-solutions-of-overpopulation.php>.

⁴¹ Barbara Torrey, “Urbanization: An Environmental Force to Be Reckoned With,” *Population Reference Bureau*, accessed November 11, 2016, <http://www.prb.org/Publications/Articles/2004/UrbanizationAnEnvironmentalForceToBeReckonedWith.aspx>.

⁴² Torrey, “*Urbanization: An Environmental Force*.”

⁴³ Pope Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio*, no. 37.

more problems. "It is precisely in the tropics that expanding human population are contributing heavily to the accelerating destruction of the forests, although much of that destruction can be traced to overconsumption and overpopulation in rich nations. And the massive cutting and burning of tropical forests is itself a major source of the carbon dioxide being added to the atmosphere."⁴⁴ As a consequence of this depletion, the natural environment of the place is degraded too. Because of the high demands for transportation and industrial services, there is an overuse of coal, oil and natural gas especially in industrial machineries and transportation vehicles which deteriorate air quality. Researches and studies prove that "industrialized countries bear major responsibility for injecting excess carbon dioxide, the leading contributor to global warming into the atmosphere."⁴⁵ Great amount of burned fossil fuels is produced normally by developed countries through their daily use of automobiles for transportation and operations of power plants for factories. Because of the growth in the population of urban cities that demands the use of transportation and other necessities that require burning of coals, their effect to the environment also increases. If this practice continues without proper precaution, this will lead to global warming because of the increase in the amount of carbon dioxide emitted by vehicles. Aside from carbon dioxide that warms the planet's temperature, the effect of methane is also on the rise and its rising rate is faster than that of carbon dioxide. Its connection to the problem of overpopulation is that methane gas usually comes from rice paddies and the digestive tracks of cattle. Both are intimately tied in the feeding of the increasing number of population.

As a further consequence, overpopulation most often results to "malnutrition, lack of housing, unemployment, deficient school facilities, want of medical care, and unhygienic conditions."⁴⁶ It is alarming today that many "poor people live in polluted suburbs of large cities, in make-shift residences or in huge complexes of crumbling

⁴⁴ Paul R. Ehrlich and Anne H. Ehrlich, "Population Control: Necessary but Insufficient," in *Mother Earth Handbook: What You Need to Know and Do--at Home, in Your Community, and Through Your Church--to Help Heal Our Planet Now*, ed. Judith S. Scherff (New York: The Continuum Publishing Company, 1991), 18.

⁴⁵ Ibid. 19.

⁴⁶ Peschke, *Christian Ethics*, 533.

unsafe houses.”⁴⁷ The Church appeals to the cooperation of all humanity especially those who belong to the wealthy nations to help these peoples who “besides facing so many other difficulties, likewise undergo pressures due to rapid increase of population.”⁴⁸ Together with this increase of population is a threat to environment because it would mean an expansion of living space for man that sometimes at the expense of plants and animal resources.

Developing countries, however, experience the opposite of overpopulation because they have “drop in the birth-rates, with repercussions on the aging of the population, unable even to renew itself biologically.”⁴⁹ In Japan, for example, “the population has begun to decline and the proportion of people of working age continues to decrease. The birth-rate is well below replacement level. Japanese people are aging fast while life expectancy continues to increase.”⁵⁰ “The number of Japanese living in the country fell for a seventh straight year, down by 271, 834 to 125.9 million people as of January 1, 2016.”⁵¹ According to the declaration of the Pontifical Council for the Family on 27 February 1998, birth rate has sunk below the threshold of the generation replacement in 51 countries already. Among them are Estonia, Latvia, Germany, Belarus, Bulgaria, Hungary, Russia, Spain and Italy.⁵² However, almost all of the developing nations have great increase in their population number that the total world population is still on the rise.

This study does not simply treat overpopulation as one of the social problems that needs to be resolved but rather how it is related to

⁴⁷ Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church, no. 482.

⁴⁸ Vatican II, *Gaudium et Spes*, no. 87.

⁴⁹ Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church, no. 483.

⁵⁰ Hugh Cortazzi, “Japan’s Population Problem,” *The Japan Times*, accessed December 1, 2016, <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2015/11/19/commentary/japan-commentary/japans-population-problem/#.WEA4hNV97IU>.

⁵¹ Andy Sharp, “Japan’s Population Falls by Most Since Records Began in 1968,” *Bloomberg.com*, last modified July 13, 2016, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-07-14/japan-s-population-falls-by-most-since-records-began-in-1968>.

⁵² Pontifical Council for the Family, “Declaration on Decrease of Fertility in the World (Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1998), accessed on December 1, 2016, http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/family/documents/rc_pc_family_doc_29041998_fecondita_en.html.

the degradation of the natural resources. To some extents, the impact that it has on the environment is so tremendous that it exhausts non-renewable resources in some areas and continues to deplete other resources in feeding the ever increasing number of population.

It is in the original plan of God for man to have “everything necessary for leading a life truly human, such as food, clothing, and shelter.”⁵³ However, the increase in the number of the members of his family beyond the natural environment can provide would mean an abuse of man on the part of non-human beings. With more than 7 billion peoples in the world, humanity is able to survive by “destroying and dispersing a one-time inheritance of “capital”—resources such as fossil fuels and other minerals, deep fertile soils for agriculture, ice-age groundwater, and a rich storehouse of other species and plants, animals and microorganism.”⁵⁴ It is an abuse done to the environment to use resources “as if they were inexhaustible, with absolute dominion, seriously endangers their availability not only for the present generations but above all for generations to come.”⁵⁵

Humanity today suffers from ecological problems and this can be attributed to the increase of his family at a rate faster than the environment can provide for his needs. The “Overpopulation and rapid population growth are intimately connected with most aspects of the current human predicament, including rapid depletion of non-renewable resources, deterioration of the environment (including rapid climate change) and increasing international tensions.”⁵⁶

Rightful Autonomy of Created Things in *Gaudium Et Spes*: Church's Response to Ecological Crises

Gaudium et Spes 36 provides the legitimate autonomy of earthly realities by establishing laws that govern society and created

⁵³ Vatican II, *Gaudium et Spes*, no. 26.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁵⁵ John Paul II, *Encyclical Letter for the Twentieth Anniversary of Populorum Progressio (Sollicitudo Rei Socialis)*, Pasay City, Philippines: Daughters of St. Paul, 1996, 34.

⁵⁶ Paul R. Ehrlich and Anne H. Ehrlich, “Population Control: Necessary but Insufficient,” 27.

realities. The theological anthropology in the story of Creation supports the claim of this study and gives clarification concerning the concern of this particular section. Looking deeper into the situation, the researcher offers reflections and solutions for man to properly align his right to govern created realities especially on problems that are deeply rooted in man's improper application of his right to dominate created realities such as imbalanced economic development, unregulated technological advancement, uncontrolled migration, unregulated urbanization, and overpopulation.

Man takes his place as the highest in rank in all of creation for in the Book of Genesis, he alone was endowed with the power to subdue and master the environment. The same story reveals how man abused his freedom and committed his first sin by disobeying God's commandment. This fall of man has a tremendous effect on his person aside from being sent away from the Garden of Eden. It provides answers to his defective judgment regarding his attitude towards his responsibility of shepherding creation according to the original plan of God.

In relation to this study, God indeed commanded man to subdue and master nature and is endowed with freedom whether to obey or not, just as Adam and Eve is given the free choice whether to eat or not to eat the prohibited fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil in the Garden of Eden (Gen. 2:15-18). In the subduing and mastering of creation, man once again abused his freedom by destroying nature to satisfy his wants and desires at the expense of the welfare of the environment and of his fellowmen. The result is the imbalances in nature which is presently manifested in the deterioration of natural resources. These are moral issues that are in need of attention and solution, for these are issues that are not simply ecological in nature but deeply related to moral problems on the part of man in the light of his calling of safeguarding the welfare of every member of the ecosystem.

Authentic Economic Development

The world today is caught up between enjoying the fruits of his labour and suffering the consequences of his actions for *Gaudium et Spes* states that "never has the human race enjoyed such an abundance of wealth, resources and economic power, and yet a huge proportion

of the worlds' citizens are still tormented by hunger and poverty, while countless numbers suffer from total illiteracy."⁵⁷ More than the previous generations, today's man had never such an access to such abundant wealth, resources and economic power. However, these great achievements of man are prone to abuses which happened and still happening in many instances today. Despite the fast development of the human socio-economic and political conditions, many are still deprived of the many privileges that these developments offer. It only means that economic activities fail at some point in uplifting the quality of life of humanity. The various fields of development are treated from purely scientific and historical point of view that concern simply nature, laws or the evolution of particular sciences. They are also seen from the Marxist perspective whose main objective is simply for profit and good economy rather than the welfare of humanity.

This study delves deeply into the special moral concerns that the economic developments have contributed to the life of man.

Purpose of Economic Development

Since this becomes a moral concern and creates social problems, the Church considers economic progress and other related modern trends a social concern because they affect the whole of humanity and the environment. In her effort to promote justice and peace to the world, the Church, through her social teachings, sets guidelines and parameters regarding the proper application of economic activities in order ensure that they are morally applied and in accord with the will of God.

For the Church, economy must be at "the service of man, and indeed of the whole man with regard for the full range of his material needs and the demands of his intellectual, moral, spiritual, and religious life; this applies to every man whatsoever and to every group of men, of every race and of every part of the world."⁵⁸ Economic development is not simply focused on the production of goods and increase of profits while at the same time neglecting the welfare of man. Development must always be oriented towards social justice, ecological compatibility, and human welfare. It must "remain under man's determination and must not be left to the judgment of a few

⁵⁷ Vatican II, *Gaudium et Spes*, no. 4.

⁵⁸ Vatican II, *Gaudium et Spes*, no. 64.

men of groups possessing too much economic power or of political community alone or of certain more powerful nations.”⁵⁹ It must not be limited to a particular race or state but an obligation given and common to all. In the careful analysis of this definition of *Gaudium et Spes*, the objective of economy therefore, like any other sciences, is for the service of man. It should always provide “the satisfaction of people in the material realm: provision of food, clothing, housing, transportation, tools, machines, etc., and this on a stable and lasting basis,”⁶⁰ respecting the resources of which his needs are taken from. Certainly, economic development “will be lasting only to the extent that it takes place within a clear and define normative context and within a broad plan for the moral, civil and cultural growth of the entire human family.”⁶¹ Through it, man must utilize all the necessary elements to serve its very purpose which is the good of his own family. When humanity lives a humane and dignified way of life, only then can man say that his economic activities are serving its purpose and are faithful to its objective.

However, in spite of long history of economic activities and programs that seek to improve the quality of man’s life, still the world is in great pain of suffering attributed to imbalanced economic development. The problems of “political, social, economic, racial, and ideological disputes still continue bitterly, and with them the peril of a war which would reduce everything to ashes.”⁶² Development now becomes the determining factor of progress regardless of how devastated nature is. It is alarming because it comes “so rapidly and often in a disorderly fashion, combined with keener awareness itself of the inequalities in the world beget or intensify contradictions and imbalances.”⁶³ “Connected to this problem is the degradation of the natural world caused by improper economic activities that man applies in his desire to provide a comfortable life for himself. It is in this sphere of economy that morality comes in and therefore needs a careful analysis and evaluation.

⁵⁹ Ibid.,65.

⁶⁰ Peschke, *Christian Ethics*, 766.

⁶¹ Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church, no. 372.

⁶² Vatican II, *Gaudium et Spes*, no. 4.

⁶³ Ibid., 8.

Economic Development and the Environment

For economic development to be authentic, it must take into great consideration the respect for nature. Before applying certain method, man must reflect on the “limits of available resources and of the need to respect the integrity and the cycles of nature and to take them into account when planning for development.”⁶⁴ Despite the great effort of the Church through Her social teaching of informing all the people of goodwill, the degradation of the natural world continues which today creates a more serious problem. Man must be reminded always that not all members of the biosphere are renewable. “Using them as if they were inexhaustible, with absolute dominion, seriously endangers their availability not only for the present generation but above all for generations to come.”⁶⁵ The Church suggests that “solutions to the ecological problem require that economic activity respect the environment to a greater degree, reconciling the needs of economic development with those of environmental protection. Every economic activity making use of natural resources must also be concerned with safeguarding the environment and should foresee the costs it involved.”⁶⁶

Vulnerability of Nature in the Economic World

Nature is vulnerable to economic development due to its market value despite little assurance of its safety and renewability. Therefore, “it is the task of the state to provide for the defense and preservation of common goods such as the natural environments, which cannot be safeguarded simply by market forces.”⁶⁷ Therefore, “every country, in particular developed countries, must be aware of the urgent obligation to reconsider the way that natural goods are being used. Seeking innovative ways to reduce the environmental

⁶⁴ Pope John Paul II, Encyclical Letter for the Twentieth Anniversary of Populorum Progressio, *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, no. 26.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁶⁶ Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church, no. 470.

⁶⁷ Paul VI, Apostolic Letter On the Occasion of the Eightieth Anniversary of the Encyclical “Rerum Novarum” *Octogesima Adveniens*, (Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1971) accessed on, http://w2.vatican.va/content/paul-vi/en/apost_letters/documents/hf_p-vi_apl_19710514_octogesima-adveniens.html, 40.

impact of production and consumption of goods should be effectively encouraged.”⁶⁸

The Church is ever mindful that “an economy respectful of the environment will not have the maximization of profits as its only objective, because environmental protection cannot be assured solely on the basis of financial calculations of costs and benefits.”⁶⁹ An economy which simply thinks of profits and gains has a direct negative effect to the environment and worst can destroy various cultures which is the common wealth of all humanity. Ethical and moral criticism are necessary therefore in this particular field of science for “in the economic and social realms, too, the dignity and complete vocation of the human person and the welfare of society as a whole are to be respected and promoted. Man is the source, the center, and the purpose of all economic and social life.”⁷⁰ It must “reduce inequities, eliminate discrimination, free men from the bonds of servitude, and thus give them the capacity, in the sphere of temporal realities, to improve their lot, to further their moral growth and to develop their spiritual endowments.”⁷¹

Genuine Technological Advancement

The great advancement of the modern world in the field of technology reflects human creativity and his participation of being co-creator with God. For the Church; “the results of science and technology are in themselves, positive.”⁷² However, in recent times, there is a tremendous degradation of natural habitat that can be attributed to the improper application of technology. Technology maximizes the production of natural products more than the usual and natural cycle that sometimes lead to the deterioration of the quality of the natural resources and limits their capability of renewing themselves. It also aggravates the situation because it gives man the super power to dominate the environment and dispose them at his own likes and wants. It is necessary therefore that “the development of

⁶⁸ Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church, no. 470.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Vatican II, *Gaudium et Spes*, no. 63.

⁷¹ Pope Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio*, no. 34.

⁷² Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church, no. 457.

technology and the development of contemporary civilization, which is marked by the ascendancy of technology, demand a proportional development of morals and ethics.”⁷³

Technology is simply an instrument which is designed to enhance the life of man. Man owes to it the advancement in health research, labour condition, comfortable life, financial security and communication which were never experienced by the generations before him. Like economic development, it is geared to serve the needs of man in order for him to live a life that is conducive and comfortable. Its end should always be looked at in serving man and not the other way around.

Today, however, it seems that man “is to be under threat from what he produces, that is to say from the result of the work of his hands and, even more so, of the work of his intellect and the tendencies of his will.”⁷⁴ It is because man distorts the very purpose of which technology is created that is, to serve him. Man, whose nature is to long for what is good and perfect realizes already these setbacks of his creation. He rejoices and at the same time laments the grave negative consequences of technology especially the damage that it has inflicted to the natural environment. He is able to reflect that there is a great need for moral awareness and analysis of technology for the good of him and his environment. It is an achievement of man to marvel at the many innovations of technology with the desire that “progress be directed towards the true good of the humanity, both of today and tomorrow.”⁷⁵ To utilize nature with the aid of technology without posing threat of extinction or annihilation to its existence and renewal is a response of man to the call of God to being His co-creator.

Understanding Migration and its Impact on the Environment

Another social challenge that affects modern humanity is the influx of people to urban areas which poses problems in ecology. It is a social problem of today which is a little bit complicated for it

⁷³ Pope John Paul II, Encyclical Letter at the Beginning of his Papal Ministry, *Redemptor Hominis*, (Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1979), accessed on February 5, 2017, http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_jp-ii_enc_04031979_redemptor-hominis.html, 15.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church, no. 6.

touches issues of unstable economy, technological malfunctions, and overpopulation which are related to the destruction of the non-human realities. Many migrate to different areas because their places of origin could no longer provide them basic needs due to the degradation of the environment. Unstable economy is also one of the reasons because the populace could no longer afford the cost of living.

But today, particularly in the Middle East region, political and religious persecutions are inflicting terror among people that lead them to flight and seek asylum to nearby countries. There are many other factors that can be considered in the issue of migration. But this part of the study would simply treat this social concern in relation to the degradation of the environment and how the Church responds to it in the light of man's rightful autonomy over creation.

It is necessary for man to understand the many reasons behind the migration of people from one place to another. When the receiving place of the migrants can accommodate only a certain number of population, it would mean that to cater people beyond its capacity has a direct impact on its natural reserves. The effect would be the deterioration of the natural resources and the decline of man's quality of living. However, Christian teachings urge its adherents to welcome the strangers just as what Jesus did to whom he identified Himself as a poor when he said that "I was a stranger and you welcome me (Mt. 25:35)," giving them dignity like that of human being.

In the text of the New Testament, migration comes from the Greek verb "*sunagein*." A biblical scholar commented that this does not necessarily mean to welcome but to gather together in assembly for worship in order to discuss and to decide for an important issue. This would imply that to welcome a stranger would mean receiving him and making him part of the community as a full-fledged member.⁷⁶

Going back to the time of the Church Fathers, the Church has been known as good at welcoming strangers. However, there was a shift in its perception during the pontificate of Pope Leo XIII (1878-1903). At this period, the issue of migration became the concern of the Church due to massive increase of population, troubled economy, and political and religious persecution particularly in the developed

⁷⁶ Ezio Marchetta, c.s. *The Catholic Church and the Phenomenon of Migration: An Overview*, (New York : Center for Migration Studies, 1989), 2

countries of Europe. From then on, all of his successors expressed their deep concern on this particular social issue.

This issue was also discussed and elaborated in the Second Vatican Council. In this ecumenical gathering, the Church gives her stand regarding the relationship between social justice and migration. The Council said that:

When workers come from another country or district and contribute to the economic advancement of a nation or region by their labor, all discrimination as regard wages and working conditions must be carefully avoided. All the people, moreover, above all the public authorities, must treat them not as a mere tool of production, but as persons, and must help them to bring their families to live with them and to provide themselves with a decent dwelling; they must also see to it that these workers are incorporated into the social life of the country or region that receives them. Employment opportunities, should be created in their own areas as far as possible.⁷⁷

Gaudium et Spes assures that the dignity of migrants are secured and well-guarded and that their basic needs for living a humane life would be provided. They have the rights equal to that of the inhabitants of the receiving country, especially in their access to resources necessary for their survival. It is elaborated by the Church's teaching that "God intended the earth with everything contained in it for the use of all human beings and peoples. Thus under the leadership of justice and in the company of charity, created goods should be in abundance for all in the like manner."⁷⁸ The host country cannot deprive the migrants of their needs for they too have all the rights to share in the goods that God created for all humanity. The Church's social teaching is vigilant on these and she stresses that all created realities must always be at the service of man as its universal destination. In utilizing them, man must always take into considerations his own welfare as well as the wellbeing of his brethren.

This act of welcoming migrants and allowing them to share in the available resources of the place is a basic task of man. It is but man's participation in the unfolding of God's divine plan of providing humanity their basic needs. It is not an option for man whether to welcome or refuse a stranger who is in need of basic assistance but

⁷⁷ Vatican II, *Gaudium et Spes*, no. 66.

⁷⁸ Vatican II, *Gaudium et Spes*, no. 69.

rather must “everyone consider it his sacred obligation to esteem and observe social necessities as belonging to the primary duties of modern man.”⁷⁹

If by migration, it would mean the destruction of natural reserves, then man, with all his efforts, would exhaust all the necessary means in order not to neglect or endanger his life. Man’s life should be the first one to be considered at all cost for in the divine plan of God, the “love for God and neighbor is the first and the greatest commandment.”⁸⁰ It is the prerogative of the State therefore to check and monitor the influx of people of the receiving area so as not to compromise the supply of nature and the demands of the people. People should at all cost respect the limitations of natural resources especially those that are non-renewable.

Regulating Urbanization for Preservation of Nature

In his opening statement, Paul VI writes that “the progressive development of peoples is an object of deep interest and concern to the Church.”⁸¹ He further elaborated it when he says that:

Today we see men trying to secure a sure food supply, cures for diseases, and steady employment. We see them trying to eliminate every ill, to remove every obstacle which offends man’s dignity. They are continually striving to exercise greater personal responsibility; to do more, learn more, and have more so that they might increase their personal worth. And yet, at the same time, a large number of them live amid conditions which frustrate these legitimate desires.⁸²

Despite the great achievements of man in many fields of science and technology, still the deterioration of the environment continuously happening at a fast rate that if not to be addressed would immediately create more complicated problems and concerns than the present phenomenon. Many cities are not conducive to living anymore because of pollution and overcrowding of the inhabitants. In effect, cities like these would consume and waste large amount of energy, water, and other resources.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 30.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 24.

⁸¹ Pope Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio*, no. 1.

⁸² Ibid., 6.

Human development is inseparable in taking care of the natural world. In making cities of which man excelled a lot, he should take into consideration the welfare of the environment and of his family as well as the incoming generations. It is wise for him to learn from the mistakes of the past who failed in building cities that are not congested and chaotic. The quality of life in these cities declines because of various factors like disordered urban planning, poor transportation, and visual and noise pollution. Furthering the consequences would be the “social exclusion, an inequitable distribution and consumption of energy and other services, social breakdown, increased of violence and a rise in new forms of social aggression, drug trafficking, growing drug use by young people, and the loss of identity.”⁸³

It is fundamental for human beings to develop the world and transform it into something conducive for living. However, man should take into considerations the necessary factors in urbanizing certain areas. Therefore, “earthly progress must be carefully distinguished from the growth of Christ’s kingdom, to the extent that the former can contribute to the better ordering of the human society.”⁸⁴ Man should be reflective in creating cities and to come in mind that “hasty industrialization can undermine vital institutions and produce social evils, causing a setback to true human values.”⁸⁵

In the light of the Church’s moral teaching regarding the creation of cities, man must go beyond considering solely his own benefits. He has to nurture the “values of human dignity, brotherhood and freedom, and indeed all the good fruits of our nature and enterprise.”⁸⁶ He needs to foster a community that does not only “consolidate its control over creation, but even more, that it develops on humanity to establish a political, social and economic order which will growingly serve man and help individuals as well as groups to affirm and develop the dignity proper to them.”⁸⁷ If the quality of man is substandard, then it is difficult for him to “arrive at the needed sense of responsibility, unless his living conditions allow him to become conscious of his dignity, and to rise to his destiny by spending himself

⁸³ Pope Francis, *Laudato Si*, no. 46.

⁸⁴ Vatican II, *Gaudium et Spes*, no. 39.

⁸⁵ Pope Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio*, no. 29.

⁸⁶ Vatican II, *Gaudium et Spes*, no. 39.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 9.

for God and for others.”⁸⁸ All the necessary means must be exhausted in order for man to be educated about the proper disposal of today’s resources for the good of the human race.

Authentic development of the earth will occur with the guidance of Christian anthropology and creation. When this happens, man is not doing something extraordinary but rather cooperates in the divine command of God to till the land, keep it, and subdue it with responsibility.

Overpopulation and the Conservation of the Environment

Overpopulation is a social issue that has been in the debate between anti-life and pro-life institutions including the Church. There are claims supported by studies and researches that the world’s population is indeed booming at a rate faster than the environment can renew itself to provide for the populace. There is an assumption that time will come that there will be no enough supply of nature to feed the humanity and therefore a need to impose population control in order to save the environment, numerous animals on the verge of extinction, and ultimately the planet. This part of the study would not go deeper into the issue of overpopulation and what necessary birth controls are to be applied but rather it focuses on the concern of the increase of population that is causing the depletion of natural resources.

The Church on Overpopulation and the Care for the Earth

The Church, through her social teachings issued by her Popes addresses population as “an asset, not a factor that contributes to poverty.”⁸⁹ It is contrary to the claim of many scholars that many countries are poor because of the great number of population than the available resources can provide for their basic needs. The Church takes as its foundation the dignity of human life which is from the very beginning is a gift from God, a pinnacle of creation, the splendor of the cosmos, and a special revelation to God’s glory. Rather than seeing people as “mouths to feed,” “pollution contributors,” or

⁸⁸ Ibid., 31.

⁸⁹ Benedict XVI, *Message for the World Day of Peace*, (Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2009), http://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/messages/peace/documents/hf_ben-xvi_mes_20081208_xlii-world-day-peace.html, 3.

“carbon footprints makers,” the Church sees each and every person as unique and unrepeatable gift from God who is made in His image and likeness, who is filled with the greatest dignity and transcendence as son or daughter of God, and who is ultimately called to eternal beatitude in the Kingdom of God.⁹⁰

Since the Church views man as the highest in rank among creation, his welfare should be considered first in the issue of controlling the number of population. In order to combat the problem of overpopulation, the Church insists on the Christian parenthood and exhorts that “married Christians glorify the Creator and strive toward fulfilment in Christ when with a generous sense of human and Christian sense of responsibility they acquit themselves of the duty to procreate.”⁹¹

The Church observes that it is not the size of population itself which is the main reason for the environmental problems but rather how the populace use and interact with the environment. The best thing that the Church can do therefore is to teach her faithful regarding the proper utilization of the natural resources according to the divine plan. It is not in the nature of the Church to participate in reducing the population size in order to lessen the deterioration of nature but rather by catechizing her believers of the present status of the earth and their role in preserving it in the light of God’s command of tilling the earth and keeping it. Natural family planning is what the Church introduces in reducing the number of children. Through it, man does not violate the command of God to uphold human life and to help humanity in preserving the environment by complying with the demand of the increasing number of consumers.

Rather than addressing the problem of overpopulation in an inhumane and degrading ways, leaders must promote an authentic development which upholds the responsible approach of overpopulation by acknowledging the setbacks of the profit-centred economy rather than single outing the third world nations as the ones to cut their population and their carbon emissions.

⁹⁰ Pete Baklinski, “What the Catholic Church really teaches about population control,” last modified December 28, 2015, <https://www.lifesitenews.com/news/what-the-catholic-church-really-teaches-about-population-control>.

⁹¹ Vatican II, *Gaudium et Spes*, no. 50.

On the part of the Church authorities, they should catechize the faithful that “respect for nature ought to encourage policies that promote natural family planning and true responsible parenthood rather than coercive population control programs or incentives for birth control that violate cultural and religious norms and Catholic teaching.”⁹² It is a primary duty of man to care for creation especially those that are vulnerable and “the care of the earth will not be advanced by the destruction of human life at any stage of development.”⁹³ Pope John Paul II declares that “protecting the environment is first of all the right to live and the protection of life.”⁹⁴

Overpopulation and the Rightful Autonomy of Man

In relation to man’s rightful autonomy of created things which is deeply rooted in the biblical account of creation, man is indeed given the privilege to subdue the earth but God indicates that humans have the responsibility of caring for the natural resources of the world. It is an integral ecology where humans are inseparable from the common good but rather are part of it and therefore should be respected and safeguarded together with the rest of creation. It is necessary to consider therefore the common good, that is, “the sum total of those conditions of social life which allows social groups and their individual members to have a relatively thorough and ready access to their own fulfilment.”⁹⁵

There is indeed a problem regarding overpopulation. Authorities have to consider also that the growth of population is not a universal phenomenon because facts affirmed that in developed countries, the situation is opposite as supported in the previous chapter of this study. However, in the case of controlling over population, the dignity of man is to be considered as the most important more than the economic progress and sustainable use of the environment. “Although it is true that an uneven distribution of the population and of available

⁹² United State Conference of Catholic Bishops, *Global Climate Change a Plea for Dialogue Prudence and the Common Good*, 15 June 2001,

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ John Paul II, *Homily at Quiaba, Mato Grosso, Brazil*, (Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1991), http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/it/homilies/1991/documents/hf_jp-ii_hom_19911016_cuiaba.html, 4.

⁹⁵ Vatican II, *Gaudium et Spes*, no. 26.

resources creates obstacles to the development and a sustainable use of the environment, it must nonetheless be recognized that demographic growth is fully compatible with an integral and shared development.”⁹⁶ Population should be seen as an asset and a resources that need to be enhanced and nurtured with proper education regarding their rightful behavior towards nature. They are to be catechized and evangelized in their being one with nature and how they participate in the divine plan of God especially in fulfilling their duties towards the environment. If man would act in the light of Church’s social teaching on the environment, the researcher believes that nature will provide all the basic elements of man rather than posing a threat of destruction. As Pope John Paul II would affirm it that “indeed, besides the earth, man’s principal resource is man himself. His intelligence enables him to discover the earth’s productive potential and the many different ways in which human needs can be satisfied.”⁹⁷

The Need for Ecological Conversion

Deep within the root cause of these ecological crises is the defective behavior of the human person towards the environment and is in need of conversion in order to correct his autocratic attitude towards nature. Today, the phenomenon of people consuming what the earth can provide and sustain is so widespread mainly because of the presence of sin in man resulting to selfishness and greediness leading to overconsumption of the natural reserves and the degradation of the ecosystem. If these crises will not be addressed, logic would tell that the reserves will run out, the ecosystem will be paralyzed and ultimately, man will be at the losing end and in danger of extinguishing his family in the face of the earth.

Nature is vulnerable against modern man’s consumerist attitude manifested in his inclination to possess and consume more than what he needs at the expense of the biosphere. Since these ecological problems are anthropological in nature, there is a need for man to change his attitude in dealing with the environment. Pope Benedict XVI lamented that today, “the external deserts in the world

⁹⁶ John Paul II, Encyclical Letter on the Hundredth Anniversary of Rerum Novarum, *Centesimus Annus*, (Pasay City, Philippines: Daughters of St. Paul, 1991), 483.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 32.

are growing, because the internal deserts have become so vast.”⁹⁸ The “use of mineral, vegetable and animal resources of the universe cannot be divorced from respect for moral imperatives.”⁹⁹

For Christians, the teaching of the Church and the close encounter with Jesus should lead them to relate with the environment with great respect and prudence the way Jesus did during his historical life a couple of thousands of years ago. Pope Francis clarified it that man’s behaviour of dominating nature with esteem “is essential to a life of virtue; it is not an optional or a secondary aspect of our Christian experience.”¹⁰⁰ Since the damages have been gravely done, the need for reconciliation is absolutely necessary in order to recover the breached relationship between man and nature. Man must realize that “a healthy relationship with creation is one dimension of overall personal conversion, which entails the recognition of our errors, sins, faults and failures, and leads to heartfelt repentance and desire to change.”¹⁰¹ It simply means that ecological conversion requires a conversion of heart which imply a change of oppressive attitude towards nature. “The virtues of prudence, humility and temperance are indispensable elements of a new environmental ethics. Recognition of the reality of sin and failure as well as the opportunity for forgiveness and reconciliation can help us face up to our environmental responsibilities.”¹⁰²

A concrete manifestation of this conversion is to refrain from doing to nature what pleases man for his personal gain but to look at it as gift of God to be utilized for the benefit of the whole society. He

⁹⁸ Benedict XVI, Homily for the Solemn Inauguration of the Petrine Ministry, (Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2005), accessed on March 20, 2017, https://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/homilies/2005/documents/hf_ben-xvi_hom_20050424_inizio-pontificato.html

⁹⁹ Episcopal Commission on Catechesis and Catholic Education of the Catholic Bishops’ Conference of the Philippines, *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (Intramuros, Manila: ECCCE, 1994), 2415.

¹⁰⁰ Pope Francis, *Laudato Si*, no. 217.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 218.

¹⁰² United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, *Renewing the Earth: An Invitation to Reflection and Action on Environment in Light of Catholic Social Teaching*, 14 November 1991, <http://www.usccb.org/issues-and-action/human-life-and-dignity/environment/renewing-the-earth.cfm> (accessed 26 February 2017).

must act like the earth is given for him to be subdued and mastered with great care and with an attitude like that of a steward. In doing this, he takes into consideration not only the welfare of the present humanity but the goodness of the incoming generations as well as the well-being of the poor and vulnerable members of society, being oftentimes the most affected by ecological crises.

The Vocation to Care for Creation

Gaudium et Spes gives a criterion that by the very reason of their creation “all things are endowed with their own stability, truth, goodness, proper laws and order.”¹⁰³ With this standard, man’s power to govern nature finds its full meaning only when creation is not simply seen as subjects to be exploited but to be treated in the light of shepherding and stewarding the natural environment and is based on the primacy of human life as the most valuable of all creation. The creation of man in the image and likeness of God is not simply about exalting the dignity of man into that of God’s chosen creature. It is rather closely related to his command to have dominion over all other creatures delegated as representative to rule in behalf of God. However, the danger for man to hold his authority as absolute is very much influenced by God’s command to him to rule over creation. It is but misunderstanding the phrase for “this text cannot be held responsible for legitimating any wide-ranging mandate for human exploitation of the earth, nor for its contemporary manifestations in scientific and technological mastery of nature.”¹⁰⁴ It is important that man should see himself as one of the creatures though highest in rank but has the vocation to rule responsibly over the rest of the members of creation.

Man should always remember that God willed to have an intimate relationship with him. It would not mean that man is above all creations to the point of despoiling and exploiting them at his own disposal and wants. Rather, it is a relationship initiated by God with the command to govern the world according to His will. The story of creation tells man that he is made up of earth because “his body is made up of her elements. He breathes her air and receives life

¹⁰³ Vatican II, *Gaudium et Spes*, no. 36.

¹⁰⁴ David G. Horrell, *The Bible and the Environment: Towards a Critical Ecological Biblical Theology* (Oakville: Equinox publishing, 2010), 27.

and refreshment from her waters.”¹⁰⁵ Like other creatures, man too is dependent and in constant relation with nature. He differs only in terms of having been given with reason, abilities, knowledge, power and will but these do not separate him from being member of creation but rather signify a very important value that man needs to inculcate in his attitude towards creation. This implies that he is “commissioned to rule nature as a benevolent king, acting as God’s representative over them and hence treating them in the same way as God who created them.”¹⁰⁶ Man is commanded to utilize the environment to his own advantage while at the same time preserving it. The earth given to man is good in itself and since it is a gift freely given, man should do his part by governing them according to the plan and mind of God.

The rightful autonomy of man over created realities provides a vocation peculiar to him while at the same time giving the whole of creation the dignity that needs to be respected and preserved. It emphasizes the love and concern of God which is not limited to humanity but also to non-human realities. It is a call of God to man that to worship and honor Him demands respect and taking care of other creatures the way He cares for him.

Christ: Goal of All Creation

The Lord Jesus uses nature in His salvific plan because “the definitive salvation that God offers to all humanity through his own Son does not come about outside of this world.”¹⁰⁷ It is further supported by Jesus using the natural phenomenon through images and parables in preaching to His listeners, thus giving man an example of how to dominate the created realities. In his earthly ministries, Jesus uses non-human realities in his plan of redeeming man. It is part of Christian teaching to place Jesus as the goal of all created realities including man because only in Him can they find the meaning and fulfilment of their existence. In the utilization of nature, man must look at Jesus as its source and at the same time its goal. Only in this way can man be responsible in his attitude and duties towards God in dominating created realities for “our faith tells us that Christ is the

¹⁰⁵ Pope Francis, *Laudato Si*, no. 2.

¹⁰⁶ Arnold T. Monera, “The Integrity of all Creation: Christian Perspective” (Bangkok, Thailand: Suvanmabhumi Campus, Bang Na, 2008), 5.

¹⁰⁷ Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church, no. 453.

center point of human history and creation. All the rich unfolding for the universe and the emergence and flowering of life on Earth are centered on Him.”¹⁰⁸ In his rational giftedness and drawn by the fullness of Christ, man has the vocation to lead back all creatures to God as their Creator.

The fact that Jesus became man in the mystery of the incarnation and therefore assumed everything that He needs to live such as breathing the air, eating the fruits of the earth, drinking water from the ground and walking on the earth in his entire historical existence, it is therefore logical to conclude that He is indeed intimately united with nature. The whole of creation reveals God but only through and in Jesus that God fully revealed his love and presence manifested in His care and concerned for man and the common good. In his public ministry, “Jesus shows an intimacy and familiarity with a variety of God’s creatures and the various processes of the environment. He is not driven by an urge to dominate and control the world of nature. Rather he displays an appreciative, reverential and contemplative attitude towards creation which is rooted in the Father’s love for all that he has created.”¹⁰⁹ Rooted in this conviction, Christians as well as the rest of humanity are bound to preserve and protect the delicate planet earth in which the survival of their race depends.

Pope Francis summarizes this interrelationship between man and created realities with these words:

The human family has received from the Creator a common gift: nature. The Christian view of creation includes a positive judgment about the legitimacy of interventions on nature if these are meant to be beneficial and are performed responsibly, that is to say, by acknowledging the “grammar” inscribed in nature and by wisely using resources for the benefit of all, with respect for the beauty, finality and usefulness of every living being and its place in the ecosystem. Nature, in a word, is at our disposition and we are called to exercise a responsible stewardship over it.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ The Catholic Bishops’ Conference of the Philippines, “What is happening to Our Beautiful Land? A Pastoral Letter on Ecology,” in *CBCP Monitor* 9, no.1 (Jan-Feb 1988): 19.

¹⁰⁹ S. Ignacimuthu SJ, *Environmental Spirituality* (Bangalore: St. Paul Press Training School, 2010), 59.

¹¹⁰ Francis, *Message for the World Day of Peace* (Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2014), accessed on March 2, 2017, <http://w2.vatican.va/content/>

In God's plan of salvation, it is destined that all things of this world must be led to Him for He is the "Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the end" (Rv. 22:12-13) and because "the earth is the Lord's, and everything in it, the world, and all who live in it (Psalm 24:1)." It is absolutely necessary therefore for man to glorify God by respecting the environment for "You are worthy, our Lord and God, to receive glory and honour and power, for you created all things, and by your will they were created and have their being (Rev. 4:11)." Creation finds only its meaning and goal in Jesus Christ for "all things were created through Him and for Him. He is before all things, and in Him all things hold together (Col. 1:16-17)."

Today, with man maligning his duty to protect and conserve nature, "all creation is groaning as it waits for the final removal of chaos and the restoration to wholeness and integrity. We believers are also awaiting the final and definitive redemption of our whole selves in confident hope and with patient endurance."¹¹¹ This groaning is represented by the many ecological crises that occur today in nature which this study seeks to explain and elaborate from the Church's moral perspective on the environment.

The Pastoral Implication of Man's Rightful Autonomy Over Created Realities

This final section deals with the pastoral implications of the present phenomenon experienced by the people as the consequences of man's rightful autonomy over created realities particularly the poor, marginalized and the indigenous people. It seeks to explain the most greatly affected by these ecological problems as a result of man's improper application of his right to dominate over non-human realities.

With the manifestation of environmental degradation at an alarming phase, the Church cannot simply limit her concern to the spiritual nourishment of her faithful. It would be a contradiction

francesco/en/messages/peace/documents/papa-francesco_20131208_messaggio-xxvii-giornata-mondiale-pace-2014.html, 9.

¹¹¹John J. Pilch, *Galatians and Romans: Collegeville Bible Commentary* (Mumbai: St. Paul Press Training School, 2001) 50.

on her part of being a pastor of God's flock not to participate in the call of protecting the environment. It is now inseparable from her responsibility to care for the earth because to do it is to do service to the poor and vulnerable who are the first ones and greatly affected by the present environmental crises. Pope Francis verifies this when he says that "both everyday experience and scientific research show that the gravest effects of all attacks on the environment are suffered by the poorest."¹¹² The Church is an institution who is a devoted advocate of ensuring humane life for everybody regardless of whatever religious affiliation. She hopes that this would result to man's realization to take good care of the environment in view of his responsibility towards his neighbours especially those who are poor, marginalized, and the natives.

Special Attention to the Poor in the Light of Taking Care of the Common Good

The preferential option for the poor has become the theme of modern Church's social teachings which are intimately related to the universal destination of goods. It belongs to her pastoral obligation to let the "multitudes of the hungry, the needy, the homeless, those without medical care and, above all, those without hope of a better future"¹¹³ to have "everything necessary for leading a life truly human, such as food, clothing, shelter; the right to choose a state of life freely and to found family, the right to education, to employment, to a good reputation, to respect, to appropriate information, to activity in accord with the upright norm of one's own conscience, to protection to privacy and rightful freedom even in matters of religious."¹¹⁴ It has been part of the Church teaching and tradition to take good care of the poor to the point that they have a special place in Her apostolate because "the joys and the hopes, the grieves and the anxieties of the men of this age, especially those who are poor or in any way afflicted, these are the joys and hopes, the grieves and anxieties of the followers of Christ."¹¹⁵

The domination of man over created realities has come to a point that it is no longer tolerable but rather requires modern man to respond to it with urgency due to the fact that it has already gravely

¹¹² Pope Francis, *Laudato Si*, no. 48.

¹¹³ Pope John Paul II, *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, no. 42.

¹¹⁴ Vatican II, *Gaudium et Spes*, no. 26.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.

affected the poor ones who are in a vulnerable state because the source of their living and sustenance have been destroyed and maltreated by his brothers and sisters. Pope Francis lamented over this because “many of the poor live in areas particularly affected by phenomena related to warming, and their means of subsistence are largely dependent on natural reserves and ecosystemic services such as agriculture, fishing and forestry.”¹¹⁶ Unfortunately, poor inhabitants of developing countries are the ones who suffer more of these consequences when in fact they are the least contributor for the deterioration of nature. Added to their problem is that “they have no other financial activities or resources which can enable them to adapt to climate change or to face natural disasters, and their access to social services and protection is very limited.”¹¹⁷

Man therefore has the duty to protect the nature in view of loving and caring for his poor brothers and sisters because “the environment is God’s gift to everyone and in our use of it we have a responsibility towards the poor, towards future generations and towards humanity as a whole.”¹¹⁸ The taking care of people is inseparable from taking care of the environment and as a Christian, one must see the presence of God in every created reality. Man must be reminded of God’s presence in every human being as taught by Jesus especially with the poor and marginalized when He says that “whatever you do to the least of my brothers, you do it for me (Mt. 25:40).” To respect therefore the environment is a sign of solidarity with the rest of humanity having a especial unity with the poor members of society.

In the consumption of natural reserves, the welfare of the poor is to be considered in order for it to be an authentic and integral form of development. Unfortunately, today exists “an immense number of people still lack the absolute necessities of life...majority are deprived of almost all possibility of acting on their own initiative and responsibility, and often subsist in living and working conditions unworthy of the human person.”¹¹⁹ Despite of the great advancement of man in different field of sciences, many are still deprived of access to basic needs for living making the issue of preferential option for the poor relevant in the light of the exhaustion of the common goods.

¹¹⁶ Pope Francis, *Laudato Si*, 25.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 25.

¹¹⁸ Benedict XVI, *Caritas en Veritate*, no. 48.

¹¹⁹ Vatican II, *Gaudium et Spes*, no. 63.

Modern man has finally realized that “by an ill-considered exploitation of nature he risks destroying it and becoming in his turn the victim of this degradation. Not only is the material environment becoming a permanent menace-pollution and refuse, new illnesses and absolute destructive capacity-but the human framework is no longer under man’s control, thus creating an environment for tomorrow which may well be intolerable.”¹²⁰

The calling of man to take care of the poor through the proper utilization of the environment is rooted in his dignity created in the image of God and must remain as the most important factor than any environmental considerations. If man should preserve the environment, it should always be directed for the good of his brethren especially the poor and the generations to come and not simply for the sake of preserving it. The Church does include in her social teaching the preservation of nature from man’s oppressive dominion as one of her primary concern because of her love for the poor in the light of man’s dignity and not simply an ecological issues. The Church teaches that the “protection of the natural environment is required if we are truly to respect the human dignity of those who will be harmed by environmental degradation. Thus, working toward authentically humane conditions for the poorest of the world will ultimately enhance our ability to treat the environment with proper respect.”¹²¹ The Conference of American Catholic Bishops beautifully summarized it when they categorically pronounced that “The web of life is one. Our mistreatment of the natural world diminishes our own dignity and sacredness, not only because we are destroying resources that future generations of humans need, but because we are engaging in actions that contradict what it means to be human. Our tradition calls us to protect the life and dignity of the human person, and it is increasingly clear that this task cannot be separated from the care and defense of all of creation.”¹²²

¹²⁰ Paul VI, *Octogesima Adveniens*, no. 21.

¹²¹ Lucia A. Silecchia, “The “Preferential Option for the Poor”: An Opportunity and a Challenge for Environmental Decision-Making,” *University of St. Thomas Law Journal* 5, no. 1 (Winter 2008): 116, <http://ir.stthomas.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1138&context=ustlj>.

¹²² United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, *Renewing the Earth: An Invitation to Reflection and Action on Environment in Light of Catholic Social Teaching*

In the name of charity towards his neighbor which is one of the main messages of Christianity, the poor gives his brethren the opportunity to exercise this virtue with them. The love for the poor members of society is deeply rooted in Jesus' historical life as inscribed in the Gospel of how He took care and treated the poor, marginalized and the outcast members of society in His time. Since man has already discovered whether through the instructions of the Church or through some other means that poor people are the ones who are gravely affected by environmental degradation, he is obliged therefore to protect, preserve and to use them with the mentality that of a steward and to exert all his efforts in preserving the natural environment. Man's rightful autonomy over creation would mean using and at the same time preserving the ecosystem in the name of serving the poor people in the light of their dignity as human and the universal destination of goods.

The Abuse of Nature and its Impact on Indigenous People

The indigenous people suffered a great decline of their cultural identity mainly due to intentional discrimination of the mainstream society and the destruction of their environment where their sources of living are highly dependent. According to the United Nations Development Programme,

There are more than 370 million indigenous peoples living in some 90 countries. It is estimated that they constitute 15 percent of the world's poor, and one third of the 900 million people living in extreme poverty in rural areas. In vast numbers, indigenous peoples live in some of the world's most resource rich areas, but their own forms of conservation and resource management have been historically undervalued. Too often development projects and programs undertaken near to and within their lands result in degradations to the environments upon which their physical and cultural survival depends, violate their human rights, and exclude them from equitable benefits.¹²³

¹²³ "Indigenous Peoples," UNDP, accessed February 16, 2017, http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/ourwork/democratic-governance-and-peacebuilding/rule-of-law--justice-and-security/human-rights/empowering_indigenous_peoples.html.

These people “all over the world are confronted with enormous legal and socio-economic barriers.”¹²⁴ This phenomenon is pictured in the case of the natives of Brazil because they “are dying out, their forests decimated, their waters polluted. In their struggle for survival they are left almost alone, except for some missionaries who decided to go with them till the end of the road. The tribes which lost their territories now want them back, they want to see the forests and its animals live again.”¹²⁵ The same experiences is suffered by the Lumads, the largest indigent group of Mindanao, where they “have for decades been disproportionately affected by the conflict and have long been exploited for political use by all parties to the conflict.”¹²⁶

The Church's social teachings after Vatican II Council regarding the identity of aboriginal peoples become “supportive of the aspirations of indigenous peoples and their attempts at cultural revitalization.”¹²⁷ With the declaration of the United Nation, society now adapts the fundamental principle that aborigines are “equal in dignity and rights with the rest of humankind... to respect their unique identity and culture as a people.”¹²⁸ The Philippine local Church actively supports and promote the rights of these people and faithfully defended “their side so that their ancestral domains, their cultures, rights and the integrity of their environment be defended, preserved, and promoted.”¹²⁹ The CBCP once said that “we are made aware,

¹²⁴ Sheryl O. Sajonia, “Indigenous Peoples Rights Act of 1997 (IPRA): Its Responsiveness to Socio-Economic Needs in Region 1,” *St. Louis University Research Journal* 37, no.2 (December 2006): 233.

¹²⁵ Joseph Bragotti, “A Struggle for Survival,” *World Mission*, June 1993, 17. (Vol. V. no. 5)

¹²⁶ Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, *Conflict, Peace and the Human Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, (Columbia University, New York, 2016), <http://unsr.vtaulicorpuz.org/site/index.php/statements/134-conflict-peace-indigenous-rights>, (accessed march 18, 2017).

¹²⁷ Michael Stogre, “Cultural Restoration/Revitalization of Oppressed Indigenous Peoples: The Role of the Churches,” *Toronto Journal of Theology* 21, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 113.

¹²⁸ Roberto M. Benedito, “The Emerging International Standard on Indigenous Peoples' Rights: Issues and Implications for Mission Work in Third World Countries,” *Missiology: an International Review* XXIV, no. 2 (April 1996):239.

¹²⁹ Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines, *Acts and Decrees of the Second Plenary Council of the Philippines*, (Manila, Philippines:

among other things, of the deprivation of the lands suffered by the indigenous people which comprises 10% of our population”¹³⁰ and responded to it by ensuring their rights and privileges especially with regards to their ancestral domain.

The right to use natural environment therefore of the indigenous people is grounded on the Church teachings on the environment as a common good stipulated in the *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church* which says that “the goods of the earth were created by God to be used wisely by all. They must be shared equitably, in accordance with justice and charity.”¹³¹ The *Compendium* demands that aborigines have the right to enjoy the natural resources in a way that is more human. This right should be protected, preserved and be given of primary importance above all. In order to attain this, serious ecological problems that directly threaten the life of indigenous people should be resolved immediately so that the common goods and their sustainability will be protected, maintained and enhanced. It is a necessary action because “the rush to exploit resources which we are witnessing in any places not only puts the natural habitat under stress, there is sometimes little evidence of any good in political, social or economic terms in favor of the peoples where such resources are found. Given the universal destination of the world’s goods, it is hardly surprising when people react to the departure of resources from their lands while they see little coming back to those lands in return.”¹³²

However, today, “dominion has been badly, even perversely expressed in the destruction and degradation of those over whom it is exercised.”¹³³ The exploitation of ecosystems especially those that the natives depend their survival is against the teaching of the Church concerning the common goods which is “the sum of those conditions of social life which allow social groups and their individual member

CBCP), 379.

¹³⁰ Catholic Bishops’ Conference of the Philippines (CBCP), “Indigenous Peoples and the Church Journeying towards the Great Jubilee” *Boletín Eclesiástico de Filipinas* LXXV, no. 812 (May-June 1999): 333.

¹³¹ *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church*, no. 481.

¹³² Abp. Celestino Migliore, “The Rights of Indigenous Peoples,” *Origins* 37, 3 (May 2007): 45.

¹³³ John B Cobb, *Sustainability: Economics, Ecology, and Justice* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1995), 112.

relatively thorough and ready access to their own fulfilment.”¹³⁴ Man's rightful autonomy over nature could only be held proper and responsible when it considers the universal destination of goods and dignity of every human person especially the indigenous people in the light of the virtues of justice and charity. Man must realized that “the Earth is finite, and cannot sustain continuous depletion of resources and the irreversible destruction of ecosystem”¹³⁵ and “nature will truly enjoy its second spring only when humanity has compassion for its own weakest members”¹³⁶ represented by the indigenous people.

Conclusion

The implications of man's improper way of exercising his right to dominate that affected gravely the poor members of society are ethical issues that are very important in the Church's teaching moral teaching on human dignity, common good and universal destination of created realities. The poor people are the ones who suffered most in this degradation of natural resources and are in need therefore of pastoral considerations of the Church in order to secure and promote their the rights and privileges as weak members of society. The teaching of the Church on this issue does not simply cover the negative effects that ecological imbalances are causing the poor members of society but it goes deeper into their dignity as humans who, like the rest of creation possess the dignity of the one created in the image and likeness of God and therefore deserve respect and moral consideration.

Since most of the problems are caused ultimately by man's greedy orientation because of his inclination of having more than what is needed, then it is the moral obligation of the Church to teach all human beings of the danger of this misbehaviour according to her moral teachings. *Gaudium et Spes* goes deeper into the root cause of the problems by identifying the flaws in man's behaviour in subduing

¹³⁴ Vatican II, *Gaudium et Spes*, no. 26.

¹³⁵ Fr. Sean McDonagh, SSC, “Sustainable Development and the Limits of Growth,” *World Mission*, XXIII, 247 (August 2011): 11.

¹³⁶ United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, *Renewing the Earth: An Invitation to Reflection and Action on Environment in Light of Catholic Social Teaching*.

and mastering creation and the ultimate destination of all goods. The Church made her position clear and distinct in recognizing the truth, goodness and order that each creature possesses of which man is obliged to respect. It is an exhortation of the Church that verifies the role of faith and religion in the era of ecological issues. It justifies the interrelationship between ecological science and religion. It unites the confusing ideas about the truth of faith regarding the independence of science which is mainly influenced by the progress of the natural science and technology.

These Church's moral teachings also hold true in dealing with the indigenous people's rights, privileges and culture especially when their ancestral domain is threatened because of man's intrusion to their habitat. It is the prerogative of the Church to preserve their rights in the name of justice, human dignity, and common good. The position of the Church regarding the goods of the earth created for the use of everybody should be held true and logical particularly in this issue. Man should act accordingly in the name of justice and charity in protecting, enhancing and maintaining the source of living of his indigent brethren. The exploitation of natural resources especially those that the natives depend for their survival is against the teaching of the Church. Man's rightful autonomy of nature can only be held true and responsible when he respects the universal destination of goods and the dignity of human being especially the least and weak members of society such as the poor and the indigenous.

It is proper and necessary relevant, therefore, to go back and review the moral stand of the Church as stipulated in *Gaudium et Spes*. In this pastoral constitution, it ushers the Church to modern world and leads her to contemplate of her role in these contemporary ecological concerns and of how man should exercise his autonomy rightfully in the utilization of created realities.

Archaeology of *Reducción* and (Re-)Settlement Narratives Among Recollect Missions in Upper Pampanga, 1712-1898

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Abstract

This paper is an attempt for the grounding of Archaeology of Reducción in Philippine colonial scholarship, whilst it is also presumed to be redeemable and can be reconstituted, as a case, among leftover accounts of the Recollects in their former missions in the Upper Pampanga region (1712-1898). In particular, it hopes to contribute to the concerns of settlement archeology, or the analysis of the ways in which archaeological sites or human settlements are distributed across the ancient landscape (Orser and Fagan, 1995: 118), by itself a fledgling field in Philippine Studies. Reducción (reduction) or the early effort of Spanish colonial agents, mainly missionaries, to encourage Filipinos to settle in nucleated communities (Doeppers and Xenos, 1999:381), and primarily for conversion and evangelization activities (Schumacher, 1987; Gerona, 2005), typifies such concern;

having been responsible for the creation of most towns (then known as pueblos) and similar settlements in the Philippines during this particular period of colonization.

A number of seemingly diversified disciplines in Philippine Studies have already taken hold or grasped reducción, though rather glib and loose, in their respective discourses, as in history, particularly Church History, geography, historical demography, cultural studies and postcolonial studies. Archaeology of Reducción (AR) is an opportunity to examine the materiality of this embryonic settlement pattern in colonial Philippines as well as to provide a firmer interdisciplinary round-table and a more systematic knowledge in the analysis and appreciation of this important but rather disregarded stage and process. It also intends to involve a heritage advocacy and consciousness on what have lingered of that experience.

A centerpiece of the current enterprise is the provision of what is being labeled as '(Re-)Settlement Narratives', or accounts related to the reducción of the area under investigation drawn - after a careful process of transcription, translation, and annotation - from various documentary sources of the Recollects. Teasing out their feasibility for multiple levels of discourse after engaging them in such procedure, the paper would also be arguing substantially about their built-in capability for intensified archaeological activities and purposes, especially on Settlement Archaeology, and other related disciplines.

“It cannot be denied that the people would be better instructed and lead more civilized lives if these little villages were merged with the *cabecera*, so that each parish would consist of one to two large communities. But they take it so ill to leave the little huts, in which they were born and brought up, and their fields, and other conveniences that it would be difficult to achieve, and little would be gained by it. Experience has taught us this in the *congregaciones* of New Spain and in some similar attempts were made here.

(From a Letter of Archbishop Miguel Garcia Serrano to the
King of Spain, 1620s.)¹

¹ In Schumacher (1987:62), where the whole letter is provided. The same portion was also quoted by Phelan (1959: 45) and the translation is very different.

Let him who wishes to go down to settle do so and be welcome, but as for me, I am going to live with my people where I choose.

(*Quiravat*, a *Zambal* of Paynaoven [Iba], early 1700s.)²

PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

Through Historical Archaeology or Documentary Archaeology and related archaeological perspectives, which are superb avenues for interdisciplinary approaches and methodologies, latent and tacit concerns from the sources, traditionally taken for granted and suspected due to their obvious and intended theological and hagiographical positions, are being brought out. Recollect materials about their evangelization and maintenance in their Upper Pampanga missions from 1712 until 1898, with their withdrawal due to the Philippine Revolution, are deemed prototypes of these concerns.

In this regard, the utilization of the '(Re-)Settlement Narratives' label is a guarantee for a multiple level of discourse, as prompted by the necessity of a postmodern standpoint or at least a conscious marker of its existence, since *reducción* deals with the "space"[colonial frontier] molded by a colonial experience (Burke, 2004:116-121), or what Mary Louise Pratt terms as "contact zone"(Pratt, 1982). It is a way of balancing the inherent biases drawn by this enterprise, being by-products, of the European gaze or the "Imperial Eyes", again a Pratt-ish jargon. The need for an alternative approach, evocative of Vargas Arenas' plea for 'Social Archaeology' in the light of Latin America and Venezuela's seething and searing bout with colonialism (Vargas Arenas, 1995) and Patterson's appeal for *indigenismo* (Patterson, 1995) in the case of Peru and Mexico, is a means of reconnoitering the limitations of culture area and folkloric studies and traditional archaeology, aside from the clutches of official histories and orthodox disciplines. On the other hand, an overbearing, ethnocentric 'indigenous archaeology', where the total colonial encounter is anathema, as that cautioned by Hodder (1995:167168) is also taken into consideration.

The format of the resuscitated narratives is in a way patterned

² Also in Schumacher (1987:183) and taken from Salazar (1742).

after that of De La Costa (1965) and Schumacher (1987: vi), with ‘selections from primary historical sources accompanied by a running commentary weaving the whole into a continuous narrative,’ to “give the reader ... something of the flavor of the original sources while at the same time enabling him to synthesize pieces into some kind of a pattern development.” The difference – or the developmental pattern - of the present study lies in the confinement and limitation of the situs or the setting, but where there are actually changes occurring or taking place, not far from the assumed appropriateness of spatial and temporal scales of *Annaliste* approaches in an archaeological pursuit (Bintliff, 1991: 1-26). It is this variegation in the historical terrain that the paper’s heart is set, advancing a seriation to gather a potpourri of materials about the misty study area. The arrangement of these narratives is evocative of a “serial approach” or “serial history” (Burke, 2004:21-22), or the analysis of a chronological series of documents, as well as a recognition of an “intensive, often prosographic detail in carefully framed case studies” of the New Archaeology (Beaudry et al., 1996: 273) The (Re-)Settlement Narratives are therefore channels for rereading activities and for integrating historical and archaeological data, to bring out the elements of time and space, the two ‘central’ and of critical importance to archaeologists among the bevy of social science practitioners, especially on how they are taken in context (Orser and Fagan, 1995: 95-96, 108-111).

The Area of Investigation



Map 1. The Physical Geography of Central Luzon (After McLennan, 1982). Enclosed in a box is the area of investigation.

The setting of this paper is what was once known as *Alta Pampanga* or Upper Pampanga, which, by the early 17th century until the end of the Spanish colonial period, could be presently located on the towns bordering Tarlac, Pampanga, and Zambales provinces in Central Luzon, Philippines. It is particularized on the former *Recoleta* (OAR, or Order of the Augustinian Recollects) missions in the area, namely: Capas, Bamban, O'Donnell and Moriones, which are now part of Tarlac Province; and Mabalacat, which presently belongs to Pampanga. Other pioneer Recollect missions in the vicinity, e.g., Talimarin and Dinalupihan, were included in what presently became the province of Bataan. Two other missions, Alupay and Aliuat, could not be really located at present because of conflicting accounts; though, as could be gleaned in the succeeding pages, much have been done to resolve them.



Map 2. Recollect Missions in what used to be Upper Pampanga (After de Blas). Enclosed in a box is the area of investigation.

Most of the areas have again caught attention anent the continuous concerns of settlement and resettlement processes with the

eruption of Mt. Pinatubo in 1990, causing the displacement of localities in the vicinity that included the ancestral domains of cultural minorities of the Aetas or Negritos.



Map 3. Mission Villages, 1700-1760 (After Doeppers, 1968). Enclosed in a box is the area of investigation.

Prehistoric Archaeology in Upper Pampanga

The situs conjoined by the provinces of Tarlac, Pampanga, and Zambales, a whole, is not of interest to archaeologists who worked earlier around the Philippines. In his 1947 survey of “Outline Review of Philippine Archaeology by Island and Province,” for example, H. Otley Beyer had this dire inclusion of Tarlac Province, which makes up the bulk of the former Recollect missions in the area:

No stone-Age or other prehistoric sites have yet been reliably reported from this province. Porcelain-Age finds – A few scattered ceramic pieces and some jars of Yuan, Ming, or later dates have been reported as accidental finds or as inherited heirlooms; but no actual site has been recorded or explored (Beyer, 1947: 223).

Ironically, only a few kilometers away southward is the former Augustinian mission of Porac that has been since Beyer's time (Beyer, 1947: 226-228), followed by Fox (1960a, 1960b), the National Museum (De La Torre, 1999; Dizon et al, 1999; Dizon, 2002, De Los Angeles, 2002), and until recently a subject vigorous archaeological activity (Paz, 2004). It is thus permeating that other archaeological approaches should be entertained due to the proximity of the areas. An earlier attempt by Spoehr (1973) regarding Zamboanga and Sulu brought out the prospect, bright that is, of intensified archaeological perspectives in appreciating local area studies, especially in the presence of ethnic diversity as in Upper Pampanga. Dealing with a much later period therefore should not bereft a hinterland like Upper Pampanga into archaeological discourse as Skownorek (1998) has shown in his illuminating piece about Spanish Philippines and Colonial Economics and Society.

Politico-Historical Considerations.

Prior to the creation of Tarlac Province in 1873, the said Recollect missions were all under the political jurisdiction of the massive region of La Pampanga; since the pioneering colonial year of 1571. But there was once a political matrix that bonded them exclusively with each other. This was the *Comandancia-Militar de Tarlac*, erected in 1860,³ that included the towns of Concepcion, Victoria, and Tarlac (in Tarlac province) and Magalang, Porac, and Floridablanca⁴ (in Pampanga).

There were accounts that the Comandancia was already operational since 1858⁵ or even earlier. This Comandancia was disbanded with the creation of the province of Tarlac. A year earlier, in 1873, Mabalacat, together with Porac, Magalang, and Floridablanca, was returned to Pampanga.

At one time or another, these missions had all attained their *pueblo* or township status and interestingly a couple of them during the spiritual administration of the Recollects: Bamban (1710),

³ *Census of the Philippine Islands*, (1918, Vol. I., 231) in Henson (1963:102). See also Fernandez. (1958: 385), Cortes (1990: 2).

⁴ Floridablanca became a town only in 1879. Henson (1963) ⁵ Royal Decree of April 30, 1858, as cited by Ocio (u.d.).

⁵ Royal Decree of April 30, 1858, as cited by Ocio (u.d.).

Mabalacat (1712), Capas (1712), O'Donnell (1861) and Moriones (1879). Like most of our local historical accounts, the years of the foundations of these towns were culled from sources that were utterly incongruent and conflicting and therefore not conclusive and still subject to the corrections of further researches in the area.

A gloss on the Years of Foundations of the areas under study from existing materials can point out the confusing effects of the problems of chronology:

- Recollect Account of 1879.
- Recollect Account of 1892. Also Fr. Fidel de Blas' *Labor Evangelica*
- *Catholic Directory of the Philippines*. Various Years.
- Fr. Marcelino's works and Tarlac Province Centennial Book (TPCB)
 - ◊ Cavada, as cited by Mariano Henson.
 - ◊ Census of 1918 g. *supra*, in this present work.
 - ◊ TPCB
 - ◊ Henson (1963)
 - ◊ Census of 1918
 - ◊ TPCB

Mision	I	II	III	IV	Yr. of Foundation of the pueblo
Mabalacat	1836		1880		1712a
Capas	1836	1712	1776	1776	1712b/1710c
Bamban		1879	1880	1800	1712d/1710c/1810f
O'Donnell	1857	1857	1772	1772	1861g
Moriones	1866	1875	1702		1879

Fig. 1: Years of Foundations of the Former Recollect Missions of Upper Pampanga. From Various Sources

During the initial years of the American colonial period, O'Donnell and Moriones were reverted to their barrio status.⁶ Bamban regained its township immediately. O'Donnell became and still is a barrio of Capas. Moriones was for some time under the municipal jurisdiction of Tarlac, Tarlac until 1989 when the town of San Jose

⁶ Upon the recommendation of the Philippine Commission of 1902. Took effect beginning 1903. See Vance (1980: 566-567).

was created⁷ and the former ceded to it. Moriones is no longer the *poblacion*, a position it used to hold during the Spanish times; it is now the barrio of Villa Aglipay.

***Reducción* In Philippine Scholarship**

Studies about *reducción* in Philippine Studies by themselves are not wanting. A number of disciplines, as already stated, including history, particularly Church History (Schumacher, 1987), geography and historical geography (Phelan, 1959 and McLennan, 1979, 1980, 1982), historical demography (Doeppers, 1966 and Doeppers and Xenos, 1999), cultural studies (Sánchez Gómez, 1998) and postcolonial studies (Rafael, 1988; Gerona, 2005), to cite some, and activities (“*Reduccion: Pag-angkop at Pagtutol ng Bayan, Dantaon 18-19*”, Ika-13 Kumperensya ng ADHIKA ng Pilipinas, 2002), have already treated it more perspicaciously.

Schumacher (1987)’s incorporation of primary document (letters, accounts and reports from missionaries in the area) provides the importance of such materials in the understanding of the process of *reducción*, a perspective missing in the general treatment proscribed by certain materials.

Phelan (1959)’s opus actually gave the groundwork of looking intently on the effects of the Hispanization of the Philippines, especially the religious aspect. Such perspective, as he was to investigate, brought out differentiated strains of the Philippine setting though the Spaniards copied the process from Mexican and Latin American platforms, a common flaw in some materials who did superficial comparative studies. It was from this work that appreciation of such concepts as *bajo de la campana* (resettling the *indios* within hearing of the church bells, p.49), the geoethnic distribution of missionary foundations, and the gridiron pattern of the physical lay-out of the *cabecera*, the *cabecera-visita* complex, and other political administrative terms (p.48) emanated. Sánchez Gómez’ 1998 work is actually a reconsideration of the political and administrative terminologies of settlements that resulted during the Spanish Period in the Philippines.

⁷ Republic Act 6842, 1989.

Pre-Conquest	Early Spanish	Late Spanish	Contemporary English
1) (no term)	Rancheria	Sitio	Sitio (Hamlet)
2) Barangay	Visita Barangay	Barrio Barangay	Barrio (Village)
3)	<i>Cabecera</i>	Población	Población (town)
4)	Pueblo	<i>Municipio</i>	Municipality (township)
5)	<i>Cuidad(sic)</i>	<i>Cuidad(sic)</i>	City
6)	<i>A l c a l d i a m a y o r Corregimiento</i>	<i>Provincia</i>	Province

Fig.2. The Evolution of Philippine Settlement Patterns (Phelan:124)⁸

Phelan was also assuming his initial employment of “Ethnohistory”, or the combination of historical materials and practices with some anthropological techniques (viii-ix) in Philippine studies. There was also a tincture of Marxist orientation, which he called Hegelian formula, in it: e.g. “the thesis is royal legislation dispatched to the Philippines based largely on Mexican models. The antithesis is local conditions in the islands often at variance with the government’s instructions.... The synthesis was what actually happened in the Philippines.” (pp. 153-154.) He was also among the first to reconsider the case of the (Z)ambals as a rare occurrence of “military coercion [overcoming] resistance to resettlement” (p.46), and which somehow contributed to the late reducción of the present area under study.

The work of Doeppers (1966: 15) is an investigation of the effects of Spanish imperialism on the pre-existing patterns of population distribution, settlement, circulation and economic activity on the Central Plain of Luzon. A major facet of the study was on the spreading patterns of missions and religious-directed activity, as realized through the network of missionaries that by and large

⁸ See also Sánchez Gómez (193), especially for the Spanish Period. He classified them as Pre-Hispanic

Term, Old Spanish Term (16th-17th Centuries), and Modern Spanish Term (18th – 19th centuries)

represented effective local Spanish control. As a work of geography, there was also a focus on the alteration and development of significant spatial patterns, more particularly the dynamic pattern of population distribution, the spread of missionary activity (being the chief variable in the evolving pattern of settlement, ecologic and culture change) and finally the pattern of transportation and the domestication of the interior.

Vicente Rafael's *Contracting Colonialism* (1988:90-91) is among the first to bring *reducción* into the arena of discourse, engaging it in semiotics and postcolonial studies. For him, "the relocation of native bodies—or at least the designation of their areas of residence as parts of a larger administrative grid—permitted them to be identified in Spanish political and religious terms. Resettlement and evangelization were consistently denoted by the same term used for translation: *reducir*. To reduce a thing to its former state, to convert, to contract, to divide into small parts, to contain, to comprehend, to bring back into obedience: the multilayered definitions of *reducir* allow for its application in a variety of contexts." For him, confronting the natives among the Spanish colonizers was "reducing" them.

Dante Gerona's 2005 dissertation, "The Hermeneutics of Power: Colonial Discourses in the Christian Conversion of Kabikolan," provides a potent resonance on the understanding of *reducción* as performed by the Franciscans in the Bicol Region, from 1600s to 1850. With the aim of examining the history of the establishment and the development of the said Catholic missions, basing intently from the system of *reducción* (or how the Franciscan missionaries referred to their method of conversion), and that "required not only the acceptance of the Catholic faith but a comprehensive transformation of the native culture," and thus advancing that "Christianization was thus intimately bound with Hispanization."

Grounding an Archaeology of *Reducción*

Reducción, though, is integrated and simplified in most instances with the study of settlements during the Spanish colonial period, resulting in its being equated with the said process, usually in the realm of political administration and bureaucracy, and often made synonymous or, at worst, even interchangeable with such terms

as *encomienda*, *cabecera*, and *pueblo*. It should not be. A definition of Schumacher (1987:409) of *reducción*, or the process of gathering together the scattered settlements of *Indios* into villages or towns to make possible lasting evangelization, highlights the theological intention, a criteria missing in some simplifications.

Another problem with the use of *reducción* is its confinement to the Spanish period in the Philippines without examining its variations. By considering the dimension of time and space, especially in their contexts, an Archaeology of *Reducción* is being taken into consideration. The anticipated archaeological implications, which shall form the concourse of the succeeding discussion, are enumerated thus: (a) Setting and drawing of an interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary perspective, (b) Suitability of interpretive and other post-processual approaches, (c) Provision of concern – and eventually a discourse or a systematic knowledge - on the importance of material culture to this vital feature of the Spanish colonial period in the Philippines that gave birth to most towns and villages; (d) Historical supplementation, (e) Heritage consciousness and advocacy.

Approaches, Trends and Perspectives

Archaeology of *Reducción*, as being conceived, would be dependent on the experiences related to evangelization and conversion. In the case of Upper Pampanga and in almost all the early missions in the Philippines, the evidential forms to such experience could be mainly retrieved from the sources of the friar order or congregation responsible for the process. These are mainly documents, suggesting, by its nature, the appropriateness of Historical Archaeology or text-aided Archaeology for the purpose. (Orser and Fagan, 1996:16)

But these documents cannot stand by themselves. They should be supported by other materials that tell something about the period being covered; e.g., diaries, letters, maps, government records, and even site plans, soil profiles, and artifacts (e.g., church remains, bells, construction materials). The setting and the scope of the study should thus be presented to its totality, to be able to encompass their materiality. The process of *reducción*, by application, should be examined from many angles: the geography of the site, the ethnicity of the converts, methods of conversion, demography of catechumens, morality, the sustenance and viability of newfound settlements. In this

regard, the monopoly of one discipline cannot provide this necessity. By using ethnohistory in fulfilling his archaeological objectives of putting time-depth to ethnic diversity in Zamboanga and Jolo, a similar setting in the case of Upper Pampanga, especially on ongoing problems anent ancestral lands and related issues involving re-settlers, Negritos, and other people, Spoehr demonstrated that it could be achieved (Spoehr: 30-31).

In this regard, there should be a useful method of examining the past, with the facility of combining nonarchaeological and archaeological sources of information. We see in here the suitability of interpretive and other post-processual approaches (e.g. use of material culture [historical documents, remains of *reducción*, settlement patterns, gridiron of streets, the *cabeceras*, the *visitas*, *sementeras* or agricultural fields] for social discourses, for balancing and supporting purposes.

An anticipated outcome would be the provision of concern—and eventually a discourse or a systematic knowledge—on the importance of material culture to this vital feature of the Spanish colonial period in the Philippines that gave birth to most towns and villages. (e.g., avoidance of simplistic terms / neo-antiquarian swamp, with substitution of more exhaustive and ‘realistic’ (Hodder, 1996) categories as derived from ReSettlement Narratives: e.g. *Reducción* sites as differentiated from usual categories of domestic, economic, religious, and other sites earlier classified in Settlement Archaeology.

There is also Historical Supplementation, or a more enriching presentation of history. Since *reduccion* is treated primarily as a historical occurrence, many details of its nature, origin, and particularities are left out. AR, through Historical Archaeology is in a position to improve the treatment. “Supplementing history,” says Little, “by filling in gaps calls attention to those gaps and to an appreciation of their importance. Historical archaeology is in a position to create analytic links among written, oral, and material forms of expression as it continues intertwining history and anthropology. The function of supplementation, then, is more usefully thought of as a historical challenge. History thus supplemented is history reconceptualized (Little, 1996: 44. See also Deagan 1996: 23-25).” A perplexing problem affecting the local history of the former Recollect missions in Upper Pampanga was the original site of their settlements. Using the

resettlement narratives as guides and coupled them with archaeological data, more definitive answers are certainly in the offing.

Archaeology of *Reducción* can also help in the inculcation of Heritage Consciousness and Advocacy, especially among the population and the settlements that are the carry-overs of the early communities that grew out from this process. On the one hand are the remains and the artifacts of *reducción* that need to be salvaged, recorded, or preserved; on the other hand is the apposite knowledge pertaining to problems related to resettlement, ancestral lands, and ethnic and ecological issues, especially for indigenous cultural communities that are greatly affected by them.

Sources from *Reducción*: Historico- Archaeological Materials for Discourse

A number of Recollect accounts about Upper Pampanga mentions on the poverty of their mission-fields and in their maintenance and frequent movements (See Narrative # 3 in the proceeding pages), calling them aggregately as the ‘escoria de humano genero’ or the ‘refuse of the human kind.’ Thus, it could be pointed at this juncture that Site Archaeology or of similar concerns is not that appropriate in establishing the materiality of the said region. With the dominance of cultural communities and migrants in the terrain for many centuries and the frequent movements of settlements as documented, stone and more formidable materials (e.g. *mamposteria*⁹) in the building of churches and other religious houses, households, and even government structures related to the period are not adequate.

The historical proto-type of Upper Pampanga and Tarlac can, more or less, relate its utter dependence on religious historiographical sources, particularly those from the Augustinians and the Augustinian Recollects. These sources include *crónicas*, *relaciones y relatos* (periodic reports), *catálogos*, *actas y Ynstrucciones* (General Rules [*Actas y Determinaciones*] and Special Rules of the Congregation for missionaries in specific areas, *libros*, *cartas*, *artes de la lengua*, *catecismos*, *estadísticas* (statistics as those taken from *estado-generales*), *planes de almas* (censuses), and *croquis*(maps/sketches) .

⁹ Rubblework masonry, originally used especially in fortifications. (Jose, 1991: 203)

Crónicas and other reports are also supplied with maps, usually very detailed in presentation, showing the site of early missions and mission-centers and other data. In this regard, the maps of Upper Pampanga included by Fr. Manuel Blanco in 1832 and that of the Recollect, Fr. Fidel de Blas, in the 1880s can serve the purpose. These old maps can assist archaeologists and social scientists in identifying settlement patterns and other geographical phenomena.

The *Ynstrucciones* of the Recollects as that of 1722 (see Narrative #2 in the proceeding pages) for the Zambales missions tells something about the creation of reductions. For example, there were prescriptions for Housing and settlements: “The capital towns usually had a convent, a church, an infirmary— sometimes-and a school. Likewise, located within the area were the houses of the civil authorities and the more or less numerous housing of the Filipino leaders (Saenz: 50). An old edict found in the Archives of Marcilla admonishes that “(t)he minister should watch that the houses of the faithful would be built with order, and forming straight roads through which the procession can pass; that between one another there be some space which may hinder the rapid spread of fires; and that each may have a small garden (p.50).

A number of books (*libros*) used by Recollects in the maintenance and development of their missions are also very helpful in Settlement Archaeology. These are the parish registers or canonical books (*libros de asientos* [accounting], *libros de cargo y data* [income and expenses], *libros de bautismos* [baptism], *casamientos* [marriages], and *difuntos* [deaths]). At the surface, the problem related to the *libros* would be their availability. Otherwise, a great number of recommended approaches in the social sciences find them very promising, especially in Historical Demography.

A great number of these canonical books are still available; a big percentage has been microfilmed, courtesy of the Church of Jesus of the Latter-Day Saints. A recent book, *Western Pangasinan: Earliest Beginnings 1572-1898 as told by Primary Sources* by Edilberto Santos (2004) even transcribed and translated a series of *libros de cargo y data* in former Recollect missions of the area.

This is an example of an entry of *Cargo* (Income) y *Data* (Expenses) of a Recollect friar assigned in Anda, Pangasinan in the 1860s, showing the high cost of maintaining the services and

his needs as a Spaniard (Santander brandy, etc.). This is reflective of Skownorek’s impression about the Spanish *peninsulares* in the Philippines in contrast to the largely Filipino population.

Marzo y Abril, 1862
(Fray Modesto Sesma, OAR. Anda, Pangasinan) 17

CARGO (Income)

<i>Pesos</i>	<i>Reales</i>	<i>Cuartos</i>		
721	2	0	existencia anterior	(previous balance)
3	0	0	de sepulturas	(from funerals)
[]	3	15	de octavas de entierros	(from octaves of funerals)
[]	2	0	de octavas de casamientos	(from octaves of weddings)
[]	0	0	de campanas	(bell fees)
-----	-----	-----		
7[4]5	7	15		

DATA (Expenses)

		<i>Pesos</i>	<i>Reales</i>	<i>Cuartos</i>
escribiente y lavandera	(copyist and laundrywoman)	5	0	0
vino de misas	(mass wine)	1	2	0
por 1 arroba de candelas	(one arroba of candles)	11	4	0
Por 1 lampara de bronce para el Santisimo	(one bronzy sanctuary lamp)	32	0	0

cuatro piezas de coquillo encarnado para sotanas de monecillos, etc.	(four pieces of red cotton cloth for the cassocks of the altar boys, etc.)	14	0	0
por 2 id. de mosolina	(for 2 [?] of Santander brandy)	15	0	0
por 1 sello parroquial de plata	(one silver parish seal)	12	2	0
por derechos de visita del padre Vicario	(visitation fee of Father Vicar)	11	4	0
por 1 palio de persiana blanca con flecos de seda	(for one white Persian canopy with silken tassels)	38	4	0
por el flete de todo	(for the freight of all that)	14	4	0
por mis derechos de semana santa	(for my stole fees for Holy Week)	30	4	0
por los cantores y sacristanes	(for the wages of the singers and the sacristans)	8	4	0
por pintar el nuevo monumento	(for the painting of the new monument)	3	0	0
carpinteros y canteros	(carpenters and masons)	49	5	9
	Suma (<i>sum</i>)	216	5	9
	<i>Should be</i>	246	5	9

Fig. 3. An example of a folio from *Libros de cargos y data* (Santos, 2004: 89)

Among the drawbacks of historical demography in Philippine Studies (the former Augustinian missions in Upper Pampanga

include)—even the geography of religions—is the amount and quality of data available in the period under study, and it is an expected outcome that the basic elements of a typical substantive demographic study normally required to be teased out is quite hard to achieve. Thus, these canonical books were deemed indispensable for the purpose. Recent studies on this breadth and perspective include Michael Cullinane’s “Accounting for Souls: Ecclesiastical Sources for the Study of Philippine Demographic History,” (Doeppers and Xenos: 281-346.) and Daniel F. Doeppers’ “Civil Records as Sources for Philippine Historical Demography” (Doeppers and Xenos:347-363). Among the techniques suggested by both articles, which is most promising, is family reconstitution. Examples of a microdemographic process, which could be a combination of local history, microhistory, and historical demography are to e seen in Peter Xenos and Shui-Meng Ng’s “Nagcarlan, Laguna: A Nineteenth-Century Parish Demography” (Doeppers and Xenos: 183-223) and Norman G. Owen’s “Life, Death, and the Sacraments in a Nineteenth-Century Bikol Parish” (Doeppers and Xenos: 225-252).

(RE-)SETTLEMENT NARRATIVES AMONG RECOLLECT MISSIONS IN UPPER PAMPANGA

From a variety of sources drawn from the experiences of *reducción* of the Recollects in Upper Pampanga, a great number display what can be generated as (Re-)Settlement Narratives. Narratives, normally, are considered customary in political and life histories, thus questioned, but now being resuscitated and actual significance debated (Burke; 2004:121-125), even by archaeologists (Snodgrass:57). For Snodgrass, for example, “(i)t seems to follow that the existence of some kind of historical narrative is a necessity for a well-rounded history: it provides the foreground, while our research—whether as historians or as archaeologists—is directed mainly at the greater forces which lurk behind it.” Changes in spatial scale (from the breadth of a region, a set of settlements, a barrio and a *visita*) and time-depth (ranging from the initial decade until the termination of Recollects’ presence in the

area), indicative of their feasibility for seriation, suggest, as already proffered, their suitability for archaeological discourses. The first, dated 1714, is a report (*relatos*) of the first missionary assigned in the area, Fr. Andres de San Fulgencio. The second, circa 1722, is an *Ynstruccion*, or a set of rules perforated for missionaries in the region, and which seemed to have been based from the experiences of Fr. Andres. The third related to a set of documents, dated 1800, about a problem on the maintenance of these missions, especially about the *pueblo* (or *Mision*) of Capas and the *visita* of Patling. The fourth and the fifth, both dated around mid-19th century, are about the efforts of Fr. Juan Perez de Sta. Lucia for the segregation of the Aetas from the general *pueblos*, taken from the missionary's own plan and an account of José Felipe Del-Pan about his *viaje en el interior* (domestic travel) to the said priest and some Aeta communities. The last is about a late *reducción* on the twilight of Spanish presence in the Philippines, around 1880s.



Map 4. 17th Century Routes & Headhunters' Incursions (After Doeppers, 1968). Enclosed in a box is the area of investigation.

Narrative #1: The First Harvest (Mabalacat, 1718)

Report of Fr. Andres de San Fulgencio, O.A.R. to his Father Provincial, Fr. Jose de San Nicolas de Tolentino, OAR.

[In “Expediente sobre Misiones de Zambales”, Archivo General de Indias, Indice 31, Doc. 94. Taken from Ruiz (1925: 37-39)]

Our Father, Fr. Jose de San Nicolás, present Provincial of the Discalced of Our Father Saint Augustine. ---- For myself imbued with obligation and charge of the Minister-Missionary in the mission for the mountain tribes, on the *reduccion*¹⁰ and conversion of these idolatrous native infidels for our Holy Faith and in obedience to our Catholic Monarch, King Philip V, God guard him...: it is necessary and required of me to make a report to our Province, so that the status of the said Mission, including the fundamental means in the realization of the Labor for the greater glory of God, our Lord, Service to our King, the Common Good to these Islands, and the Credit of our Sacred Religion, may continue and increase and attain the aims it aspired for and solicited, as well as the zeal of Your Reverence and those of the religious with their immense works, who are much occupied in this sacred employment and exercise.

And as for the condition of the said mission, Your Reverence has by now enough reports and notices, [I am] only to add what is the latest to be offered, [i.e.] its being already ‘reduced’ and conquered, and with signs and aspirations of providing the fruit that we all desire for the Glory of God, our Lord, and that this may judiciously continue in the said mission as well as its adjacent mountainous vicinity where there are also yearnings that in time and with the sacred zeal of the missionaries these may come bringing the gentle

¹⁰ By that time, known as ‘reductions’, these were, as strictly understood, “those centers where there are actual conversions of the heathen, or those which are also called active missions [misiones vivas]”. Arbea,(1823) in Fernandez (1979: 37)

Bond of our Religion and Obedience to our Catholic Monarch.

Glory be to God, our Lord, and the Common Good of these Islands; most especially for the security, the route from Pampanga to Pangasinan being essential and public; since in the area are the natives of Zambales who thrive in the mountains that run from Mount Batán until Pangasinán, people so savage and barbarous whose innate inclination is the bow and arrow and the taking of lives, of cutting heads, having idols (*Magnatos*) and feasts, drinking in skulls, and other things I am omitting since these are horrible; as of this moment, they are now confined to townships and the Yoke of our Holy Faith, more subdued and domesticated, very much ‘reduced’ and attenuated from their barbarous inclinations; this is a proven fact, something to see, as I have witnessed and experienced, especially among the surrounding routes to the Mission where previously no one inhabited nor took without putting his life in great danger at an hour like this, they can pass now with total safety in such degree that even women can go to the fields alone and without suspicion, and the people from the various missions in the vicinity can now freely move about their houses, without great dangers and risks.

There is much activity in ‘reducing’, in catechizing, and in preparing them to receive the water of Sacred Baptism. --- The Mission extends from the mountains called Abulen¹¹ until Mabalacat: In Abulen, they are doing the beginnings of a township, with much intentions they beseech the Father Minister that he will teach and instruct them.--- The township of Alupay or Pesolin and the township of Culianan or Pangipoan already started much earlier.---The town of Mabalacat, that began in the year 1717, is currently showing auspicious beginnings, not only in spiritual terms but also temporal, with the fields and houses that were already made, with many requests for baptism

and of making the township an excellent foothold towards the mountains, where, as I already indicated, it is more convenient and proportionate to the ends that are being attempted.

I have dwelt this year among them in these mountains of Mabalacat; having reduced the natives of the elevated vicinity, making them go down and settle in this place that I believe at this moment is very convenient for such purpose. I estimated that it has more than a thousand souls who are expected, in time and with the perseverance and the zeal of the Minister-Missionary, to be given catechism, instruction, and baptism. I have tried to 'reduce' first the *Principales* of these mountains of Mabalacat since they are the heads and leaders who are being obeyed by the rest. They are now making their houses and fields in this place so determined; in this case, coming to around thirty, with ten baptisms at the latest; the main reason why not much baptism nor catechism were given recently to more infidels is their failure to hang on; they preferred not to settle in that place where the township was to be situated; for them it was necessary to go back to the mountain for their livelihood and maintenance. They are going and a great number of them are coming and being instructed in our Holy Faith, and little by little, they would be making their fields leading to being given their instruction, catechism, and baptism.

This is the evaluation I have made, Father, pertaining the state of the Mission and what I have seen and experienced about the aspirations they have shown in being converted to our Holy Faith and in obedience to our Catholic Monarch, that with the zeal of the Ministers and the encouragement for the said natives, the fruit will turn out well in their souls for the Glory of God, our Lord; for this reason, it is essential and necessary that a Minister-Missionary be assigned in the said station of Mabalacat to whom a stipend of rice and silver be given, coming from the

Catholic King with the accustomed zeal, since, as our Province knows, for this year I have subsisted and stayed in the said Mission for this sacred task without our King' assistance, expenses were shouldered solely by the Province.

This is in essence, Father, what I believe should be worthy to be reported to Your Reverence in order that with his accustomed zeal, he may attend to the progress and augmentation of this sacred task – Our Lord keep you many years, Your Reverence.

Mabalacat, 3rd of September, 1717.

Being Your Reverence's most affectionate and humble son, Fr. Andres de San Fulgencio.

INDICACIONES DE LOS AUTORES	INDICACIONES DE LOS EDITORES	INDICACIONES DE LOS EDITORES	INDICACIONES DE LOS EDITORES	INDICACIONES DE LOS EDITORES	INDICACIONES DE LOS EDITORES	INDICACIONES DE LOS EDITORES	INDICACIONES DE LOS EDITORES	INDICACIONES DE LOS EDITORES	INDICACIONES DE LOS EDITORES
PAMPANGA. A. 1712									
1834	508 ¹¹	2257	87	29	71	P. Fr. José Varela.			
1838	571	2743	83	0	43	El mismo.			
1843	923	4026	101	24	99	> Cipriano Angós.			
1847	1016 ¹¹	4362	131	55	88	El mismo.			
1861	1626 ¹¹	7252	280	71	140	El mismo.			
1866	1818 ¹¹	7827	391	84	216	El mismo.			
1871	1995 ¹¹	8424	423	102	278	> Gregorio Omeñaca.			
1877	2627	11183	561	98	334	> Gregorio Bueno.			
1882	1949	9050	434	122	308	El mismo.			
1887	1175	8872	515	91	280	El mismo.			
1891	3555	8070	336	81	541	El mismo.			
1894	3386	8486	455	114	425	El mismo.			
1897	3765	9705	605	105	322	El mismo.			
TARLAC. BAMBANG. F. 1879									
1882	587	2555	165	47	135	P. Fr. Roque Liza.			
1887	693	2771	190	26	77	> Mariano Morales.			

catechism¹ must be taught (and let them try also to explain it to them satisfying the doubts they might present) so that in the absence of (Z)ambals versed in the Christian Doctrine, they may act as guides in the church when all the people gather in it to pray, on Sundays and feastdays ; and in which all the natives might (be induced to) pray, the minister must take much care in trying to show himself very zealous of the glory of God. ..

3. Likewise, we ordain and command that in the *pueblo* of Dinalupijan and the *visitas* they might have, the Minister is obliged to administer the natives in that district in the Tagalog language; and in all the rest of the *pueblos* and *Visitas* of the said Zambales mission, the Ministers will be obliged only and should minister in the Zambal language, without excluding the Ministry of Talimarin from this obligation; and even if we are aware that the said Zambal language has some difference with that which the rest of the towns speak, notwithstanding, it seems to us more convenient that the natives of the said district of Talimarin be administered in the above-mentioned Zambal language.

5. Also, we command all the ministers of the said mission that regarding the administration of the Holy Sacrament of Baptism to the adult infidels, they go gradually and with the maturity that is proper (*con la madurez que se debe*), neither the insistence nor the plea of any person, whatever position he may be, including the concerned, cause them to baptize adult infidels until the necessary catechism precede at least, as noted by Fr. Mentrída in his *Ritual*¹³ on the admonitions prior to the Baptismal rite, and that there may be moral certainty that he will remain

¹³ Fr. Alonso de Mentrída, Compiler, *Ritual para administrar los santos sacramentos*. Manila 1630. 14 The presence of this term as early as 1722 somehow repudiates the views of both Phelan and Sánchez Gómez.

living in the *pueblo* (town proper) and not return to the mountains; and to guard these inconveniences it seems convenient to us to order that before administering to them holy Baptism, they detain them in the towns, and try if possible to have them make their house where to reside and till the soil where to sow and be able to sustain themselves; and these steps having preceded, then if the Minister deem it, he can administer to them the holy sacrament of Baptism. To do the contrary, many inconveniences will come out that experience has taught.

8. Likewise, we command that no Minister, under any excuse, can transfer the town or the church from the site (*sitio*)¹⁴ in which it is already established; and in case it is necessary to alter the town, convent, or church, the opinion signed by all the Ministers who in that time are found in the said Mission of Zambales must precede it; and this will be remitted to the superior prelate who, having reflected on and weighted the conveniences and reasons that there are for it, he will ordain with his consent *in scriptis* (in writing) what may appear more convenient for the greater welfare, spiritual and temporal, of the said Mission; and we ordain that otherwise it may not be executed after having acknowledged that by similar changes towns and ministries are disbanded. And in the same manner we ordain that with the opinion of all the ministers comes the petition of all the *principales* of the town that is planned to be changed and in it are expressed the reasons that they have for it.

9. We likewise command that in no way must should *visitas* be founded again, and those that are at present, the Fr. Minister has the obligation of visiting them every fifteen days if time allows (*si el tiempo diese lugar*); and from now on, (concerning) all those who wished to be baptized, it should be imposed on them that they should live in the *cabeceras* (town centers) so that in this way they are better attended

to and administered by the PP.Ministers and, at the same time, the *cabeceras* may go on increasing. And in this, all the PP. Ministers will try to apply total care and effort, being in the knowledge that he, who might oppose this ordinance, will be punished in proportion to his offense.

10. Also, we ordain and command that in no case be it allowed that women, be they of quality they might be, come up to the convent or houses of the *visitas*, observing this most especially with the old Christians, instructing and commanding them that when they go to visit the Father, they take in their company other exemplary women and then the priest will receive them on the stairs or in other public place. Otherwise, it is not our desire that they be received because thus an example is given to all infidel women and the motive for scandal is taken away that in this might be given to all, and because also it is proper to the credit of our holy habit and good honor (*buen olor*) that we should give to everyone on all our actions. We enjoin and command that such visits of women be not frequent nor in these games be mingled or nor conversations that might not be scented of heaven, even if they be on the pretext of recreation and that they (the women) are held and regarded as good.

11. We command that all our Religious and each one in particular refrain, whenever possible, from making travels to the towns of the district of Bataan, even if with the excuse of confessing, and when there might be an urgent need of making similar trips, we only permit that they stay for two days; and when there might be a very urgent reason, we allow them to remain for only three days, and he who might oppose this order will be punished either removing him from the said mission to another place or at the disposition of the Superiors, because thus has experience taught which befit the good example we ought to give to everyone.

12. Likewise , we ordain that all the Father Ministers and each one in particular put special care in building abodes in the towns that are under their charge; and so that it may be evident that they execute and fulfill our ordinance, we command that each of the ministers writes in the book which he must have separately in his convent the houses that in his time he has newly built, and that for this reason they may vouch for each of the Father Ministers so that in the visitations the superiors may see what has progressed in their towns and, with this, pay attention to those who are zealous of the common good and obedient to the statutes and mandates of the superiors; and those remiss may be punished with total rigor. And in the same manner, we command that in the houses that they find in their towns they try to remove those that need it putting special care that in each house may live not more than one married person with the rest of the family that belongs to him; that in this manner many offenses to God will be avoided and the object of increasing the houses in the towns may be achieved.

13. Likewise, we ordain and command, inasmuch as it is necessary to the peace and quietitude of our Ministries and to the good conduct that should be practiced with the natives in order not to do them the least injustice, that when the Father Ministers ask from their parishioners rice, meat, fish or whatever food necessary for their maintenance and decent living, the Fathers should pay them for their fair price, adjusting themselves to the stipends (*aranceles*) that the honorable *alcademayores* (provincial governors) might have in their communities.

Also we command that when they have a need of people to fix their offices (halls), the Father Ministers also have to pay them the just price corresponding to their job; and doing this, the people will have no reason to exempt themselves from the obligations that they have to give to the Father Minister all that is necessary

to sustain themselves and the people they may need for their offices and tasks.

16. In the same manner, we charge the said Father ministers to try to put total effort and concern in taking off, whatever is on their part, all drunkenness prohibiting that wine be sold in their towns; and at the same time directing with prudence that they do not gather to sing the _____;¹⁴ for this (the Father Minister) will take care of teaching them some divine songs, like the *Salve* and the *Ave Maria*, the priest not disdaining in accompanying them in these canticles so that thus they may acquire more affection of what is Godly and lose the fear or shame which for their little faith and much ignorance of the things of God they might have or the enemy could suggest to them.

17. Likewise, we command and ordain that all these instructions word for word (*de verbo ad verbum*) be placed and written at the beginning of the Book of Acts and Determinations of the Province and in witness hereof, we command that each one sign and accomplish them according to and how it is contained in them.

Given in the convent of San Juan de Bagumbayan, this 2nd of October, 1722. So signed with our hands and attested by our Secretary.

Narrative # 3: Fruition and Abandonment (1800s)

The desire of the Governor to convert townships into *reducciones* – The report of the Provincial about these missions – The origin and development of the same.

[Taken from Archivo de Marcilla, Carp. 24, leg 20, nos. 54 y 55. Also:

¹⁴ There is an incomplete word in the original text, copied as el amb _____. Fr. Jose Luis Saenz, OAR suggested it to be *ambas* or *pagan* songs. It could also be *samba*, a term for worship (with animistic inclination) in most Philippine languages.

Ochoa (1929: 56-59)

Governor-General Aguilar, having received complaints from the natives Capas and Patling that their Missions did not prosper due to the frequent changes of Missionaries, desired to remedy the situation; and how in fact the Recollect provincial went over the following decree:

“In view of the continuous diligence of the Superior Government, to the representation of the natives of the Mission of Capas and the *Visita* of Patling, Province of the Pampanga, about the inconvenience its population has suffered by the frequent changes (*variedad*) of its missionaries, and that this situation has remained, as it already did many times: giving consideration to this solicitude is very just. (A)t any rate, the name ‘Mission’¹⁵ as given to these settlements is improper since it neither could have somebody who is more than eighty years old nor who could properly refer to themselves as tribute-payers; for this reason, in arriving at this case, the Missionary has to leave this Mission, delivering it to the Government, and to go ahead in catechizing and ‘reducing’ other natives; I have resolved that from now on that these townships be instead ‘reducciones’, administered by Doctrineros¹⁶, in the same token that they will put under their charge

¹⁵ Prior to the administration of Archbishop Basilio Sancho de Santa Justa y Rufina, pre-1776, centers of ministry founded and maintained by the religious orders were considered as “Missions”, to distinguish them from the parroquias (parishes) of the secular clergy. The controversial Archbishop, who drew support from both the King and governor-generals that included Simon de Anda and, as the document purports, Rafael Ma. Aguilar, decided to convert into parishes even the missions of the religious orders. 17 Known as ‘reductions’, these were, as strictly understood, “those centers where there are actual conversions of the heathen, or those which are called active missions [misiones vivas]”. Arbea, O.P. Memoria sobre el Estado actual de las Corporaciones Religiosas en estas Islas con relacion á los decretos de las Cortes sobraenas de la Nación (1823), as cited by Fernandez (1979: 37)

¹⁶Priest assigned in a ‘doctrina’, or those ‘reducciones’ “which have been under the administration of the religious for ten years and are by law

other settlements that do not have more than five hundred tribute-payers; this is for the information of the minister who continue to hold this Mission as well as his successors, and he must not remove it without just cause and informing this Superior Authority. I am communicating this matter to Your Reverence that he may share his observance and understanding; it is under this supposition that I have deemed it favorable not to permit that governor (*alcalde mayor*) of that province to make changes of public works without the knowledge of this Superior Government. ===God guard His Reverence for many years.===Manila, 2nd of September, 1800.

=== Rafael Maria Aguilar

This communication as answered by the Provincial with the following report:

Most Excellent Sir:

For what Your Excellency so expressed to be informed of, I am making a brief summary of the origin, the development, and the actual condition of the Missions of Pampanga. With all the necessary requisites my Province founded nine missions in the mountains of Pampanga and Zambales, the settlements of the Blacks, apparently, the refuse of humankind. Seeing that the conversions did not correspond with its zeal, these had been reduced to five, then ultimately to three. Yet still sensing very few converts, this was made known to the Superior Government, making formal renunciation of all, so as not to take for free the stipend from His Majesty and employ instead its workers in better terrain. The Ministers of Arayat, Mexico and Bacolor of the Order of St. Augustine (Calced Augustinians), however, opposed this renunciation; since (they) have experienced that when my Province entered the said missions, there was such a barrier that

handed over to the bishops who would entrust them to the secular clergy.” Arbea and Fernandez, op.cit.

contained the blacks, who did not go down anymore to kill treacherously the natives as they sow their fields; if before they were savages, the entrance of missionaries afterwards made them cultured. For the said motives, and for having a civilization for the blacks under the charge of the missionaries, the passage to Zambales was enabled, which proved to be useful, as seen in the last uprising in Pangasinan when, with the guidance of a missionary from my congregation, gunpowder and bullets were successfully transported in that province to quell the rebels. {Again}, for these motives, my Province has ordained to maintain the labors of its missionaries (in the area), notwithstanding the little progress being made.

In 1781, my Province, finding for itself the acute shortage of missionaries, made renunciation before the Governor, Don Jose Basco, and the missions of Pampanga and Zambales with most of the towns of the Archbishopric. But the late Archbishop, D. Basilio, denigrated my Province so much for the pretext of wanting to desist from the principal motive of our congregation, that it was one of our missionaries who allowed the plastering of the work; in spite of the fact that the fiscal of His Majesty, Señor D. Jerónimo Revenga, in his view, considered our reasons very just, and as he himself admitted to us.

Finally in 1784, having formed a cause, with the instruction of the said Archbishop, the vicar forane of Pampanga, Dr. Tubil,¹⁷ and the order of the Señor Vice-Patron¹⁸ to remove and castigate the missionary of Mabalacat;¹⁹ my Province, seeing the injustice and illegality of the process, sought justice before the Superior Government on his behalf, indicating the

¹⁷ Dr. Don Manuel Francisco Tubil, the first Filipino Doctor of Sacred Theology. For an intensive biography, see Santiago (2002: 171-182). Being the cura parroco of Bacolor, then the capital of Pampanga, Fr. Tubil was the Vicar Forane of the province from 1781 until his death in 1805.

¹⁸ Governor-General Jose de Basco y Vargas (1778-1787)

¹⁹ Fr. Damian de la Madre de Dios, OAR

innocence of the said missionary and the infraction of his privileges that, according to pontifical bulls, the Laws of the Indies, and the warrants of His Majesty, he must enjoy in his Mission. Over all, as ventilated by the Supreme Council of the Indies which disapproved the conduct of the aforementioned Archbishop, my Province was honored with benign expressions of zeal and fidelity given by the Monarch, and the missionary, as such, restored to his mission. This is confirmed by a warrant dated March 20, 1789 as sent by His Majesty to the prior of my Province for remittance to the Superior Government, the Royal Audencia, and the Archbishop, presently being Señor D. Juan de Orvigo.

This, Sir, is the state of the missions. I pass to inform Your Excellency the Mission being referred to at present. The Mission which they call Capas had its origin in the year 1763 by a few natives from Pangasinan who shied away from that province when it rebelled,²⁰ while the Englishmen were then occupying Manila. The missionary of Panipoan, with the intention of moving from Bamban to Patling, where he himself had transferred the said mission of Panipoan, did not find in that site any disposition for converting the blacks, and so by the river of Patling itself, he began to catechize those savage Pangasinanes and other people who settled with some blacks, especially the women, with whom they have intermarried. Though it was impossible to reside comfortably in this site of the mission, located between Bamban and Patling, due to wretchedness of the converts and catechumens, with neither the money assisting them for their sustenance nor proper habitation in a place that was mountainous and cold where one could certainly be ill after an extended stay, they chose to settle in this *rancheria*; until, with the increase of the population, a *visita* was formed, officials were chosen, and tributes were paid

²⁰ The revolt of Juan de la Cruz Palaris (real name being Pantaleon Perez), which started in Binalatongan (now San Carlos) Pangasinan on November 2, 1762 and lasted until 1764.

to His Majesty, without perceiving the stipend for the missionary which he may be having from the King === and in 1790, with the help of the missionary, they began to build a church and a convent made of wood. In 1796, with concurrence from the Prelate, and experiencing better management (with) the agreement between the missionary of Patling who was closer [to the said *visita* (to assist?)] and the missionary of Mabalacat caring for Bamban; the site expanded to around sixty houses. And then, the missionary of Patling chose to put his residence in Capas to be able to attend more to the said mission. To reciprocate, the inhabitants always did the dwellings of their missionary, like when they responded to him during the Provincial Visitation.

This is all that could be expressed, Your Excellency, referring, though rather sinisterly, to this report pertaining to the rancheria called Capas, which by now is around 34 years in its founding; and that of Patling, the visita of Capas, which is the real Mission and which could not be more than 50 years.

I have exposed to Your Excellency the status of the Missions, their slow progress, the repugnance about their sustenance without any utility and incurring instead many expenses for the Province; the origin of Capas and its antiquity and that of Patling...If Your Excellency so deems it, nevertheless being the matter already expressed, that the religious serving them are to be deprived of the privileges and titles which His Majesty has honored them for the past eleven years, and that the settlements are to be handed over to the government, my Province will deliver them as soon as possible, if it be the pleasure of Your Excellency, not only to the Superior Government but to the Diocesan Authority as well; since it is no longer pleasantly possible for workers in the same sites as ‘Religious’ but only as “Ministers”, being able to employ them in the Caraga missions or in the island of Bohol, although without utility to the Province, will give it Honor, being “Missionaries.”

Narrative # 4: A Blueprint for the Aetas, 1856

A particular concerning the reducción of the infidels drawn (by) Fr. Juan Perez de Santa Lucia, Missionary of Capas, requesting that the said Negritos be not harmed

[Taken from *Erecciones de Pueblos – Pampanga*, leg. 55, no. 77. Philippine National Archives. April 1, 1856]

Sir Governor

I, Fr. Juan de Sta. Lucia of the Order of the Recollects of St. Augustine, the missionary of Capas and Patling, inform you:

For eleven years that I have been the missionary of Capas and thereon have been continually acquainted (as a duty) with the so-called perfidious nature (*el indole efectos de la infidelidad*) of the Blacks who inhabit these mountains; and since it is not all possible for me to profit (from such), I have not yet carried out a workable plan (*un ejemplar*) to correct the maltreatment that have persistently befallen them.

Until now, in view of the castigation that has been inflicted these infidels with the death of eleven of their members whereupon they have been terribly frightened (*se han quedado talmente aterrados*) and wherein even a heart of stone can become compassionate, as it has always been (*asi mismo ante*). As a missionary and as a servant of those who have been denied with pity and love, we address you, Señor Governor, in the name of the Queen, Doña Isabel II (God guard her...), that she may give due consideration and hear thoroughly their sentiments and reasons as attached in this presentation, which I now expound:

Firstly, a barrio is to be formed, a quarter of an hour away from the town of Capas, to be situated in a site which during the time of the present Archbishop, who had been its missionary, had been the township and which he subsequently transferred in another place.

Herein, the said infidels, it could be stated, would no longer be murdered nor robbed nor prejudiced and can live peacefully with the other barrios of the Christian inhabitants, where they can be protected with the possible charity.

Secondly, half-hour away from Patling, by the Capas public road, is a barrio situated by the Bangubato River. The name of the barrio is Sta. Lucia, and by this date it has a population of two hundred and I will be setting up 40 houses in the said barrio, purposely choosing the place for their subsistence since it can supply at all times their basic necessities, if they know how to take advantage of the said terrain; similarly, (there are) fishes in the said river. Likewise, as I have often stated, here they will no longer be murdered or be engaging in witchcraft of which they are very fond of and they can co-exist(peacefully) with other barrios at all times, as has also been stated. Sir Governor, for them I am giving my word, as has been always repeated, and I am desirous of being their enormous protector even at the extent of giving up my sustenance for the attainment of their spiritual and corporal wellbeing.

Truly above all, I am telling my sentiments and which are hereby presented, and which I gave further details about.

Fr. Juan Perez de Sta. Lucia



Fig. 4. The 1856 *particular* of Fr. Juan Perez de Santa Lucia, OAR

Narrative # 5: Metamorphosis (1859)

A *Visita* to the Land of the Aetas

[Taken from :Pan, Jose Felipe del. “Una visita al P. Juan de Capas y a sus Aetas en 185...” *Revista de Filipinas*. Tomo I (Julio de 1875, á Junio de 1876). Manila: Imp. de Ramirez y Giraudier, 1876. pp. 254, 299 y 338. Also:

Pan, Jose Felipe del. *Viaje al pais de los aetas y visita al P. Juan, Misionero de Capas, en 1859*. Manila: Est. tip. de “la Oceania Española”, 1888]

... After more than an hour on the road, when I knew I was having excessive fatigue, we left the forest and we started to descend a series of small hills, walking through a forest below and seeing the settlement from afar and some cultivated farms. Until then, it was already enclosed and I did not notice the first ten or twelve (bamboo?) houses and there were Aetas around the vicinity, some squatting and others in a couple of tasks in the farm; the men are clad with a breech up to the waist and the women with *saya*.²¹

They approached Fr. Juan in haste and all desiring to kiss his hand at once, touching much his habit and making other similar acts and gestures of joy. Everybody was speaking to the missionary, who was inspecting some terrain adjacent to the farms, making fences for the Aetas, which seemed to me, were for the plantations and the major arrangement of the houses. Since being with them, the others who accompanied us have lingered behind, so timid and obedient²² to Padre Juan who, while we were milled, coursed these words exclusively for me:

“You compare them with the others who were left behind.”

My little exerted view to such comparisons found little difference. The clothing and personal hygiene

²¹ outer skirt

²² esperando ordenes

have called my attention since the initial moments; I recorded afterwards that there were the farm, the housing, and the social life which constituted the superiority of this group over the mountain people who have accompanied us. I observed, though I did not understand, the dialogues and little interactions which took place that were all sustained by Fr. Juan with some of these strangers; in my impression, that these were nothing immense, more for their air of indifference with the other's motive. Happiness was not reigning in that group and without happiness life is an insupportable chart.

The missionary dismissed himself; I followed him, and behind me, at a large distance, came the mountain people. A quarter of an hour afterwards, we arrived in the Mission of Patling; upon its entrance, he signaled me, with a couple of huts being shown. Much ahead, he came to a bigger one, in which he called upon its door; appearing momentarily was a woman and afterwards a man, likewise Aetas, yet their color for me seemed lighter than those we have seen in the morning, and the dress was similar to the natives (Christianized people). He directed various words to the man a couple of times, and he answered back unrestrainedly, and moments afterwards we left that hut, with Fr. Juan fixing my attention on a crucifix and two little portraits displayed on the wall, on a small mirror on the other side and a rattan (*bejuco*) in a form of a hanger in which there were some pieces of clothes. We went later towards the *Casa Tribunal*, where there were three or four individuals who were of mixed races, who would be supplying us, without much delay, horses to go to Capas, whose distance, in spite of the fatigue I felt or the sun, I was able to cross by foot.

The Caterpillar, The Chrysalis, and The Butterfly

... Padre Juan has made me observe the three distinctive phases of civilization: the man of nature, as the wild mountain people; the man who begins to understand the windows of the society and more sedentary customs; and the man who savors the sweetness of Home, enjoying residential lifestyle, with the fruits of his labor, and understanding the guarantees being offered by the government and the laws. Such steps that represent the arduous march during the centuries of generations are the three phases that I have learned to realize in a single generation of Fr. Juan! The social conditions of the first Aetas, that I have known, were representing the Caterpillar of civilization; the second group were the Chrysalis; the third, founding a town, were the Butterfly with wings of most beautiful designs and colors, cognizant of sensible ideas and practices concerning labor, religion, respect for Humanity both present and future, concerning laws and obligations in general.

Narrative # 6: A Late *Reducción* (1880s)

A Report on the formation of a barrio for Negritos Balugas²³ in the Town of Capas, Tarlac District, named San Ildefonso, March 7, 1881.²⁴

²³ Baluga is a popular, often derogatory, term of this ethnic or cultural community in Tarlac; otherwise they are known as Aetas or Negritos. Baluga is actually of Tagalog provenance, meaning “black-mixed one.” See F. Blumentritt (1916:146). The Kapampangans (the dominant ethnolinguistic group in Tarlac) used the word baluga “to denote an inter-mixture of the Negritos or Aetas and the Zambals.” Doeppers, 1968: 31). Also known as kulot, because of their curly hair, they interestingly refer to the lowlanders as unats (stretched hair).

²⁴ “Expediente sobre la formacion de un barrio de negritos de balugas en el pueblo de Capas, distrito de Tarlac, con la denominacion de San Yldefonso,” March 7, 1881. Erecciones de Pueblo-Tarlac (1861-1892), Tomo II, exp.5, fol.89-94.

[Taken from *Erecciones de Pueblos – Pampanga*, Tomo 11, Exp. 5, fol 89-94. Philippine National Archives. March 7, 1881]

(General Directorate for Civil Administration. Governance. *Ereccion de Pueblo*, 1861-1892 (Town of Capas). Volume 11, report no. 5, folio 89-94

**Politico-Military Government of Tarlac
(Letter-Head)**

Giving an account of having formed a barrio for Negritos Balugas in the township of Capas (Tarlac) with the name of San Ildefonso and the immediate formation of another in the vicinity of Bamban.

Most Excellent Sir:

I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that I went to the town of Capas yesterday wherein the priest of the said mission, Fr. Felix Perez, had assembled some fifty families of Negrito Balugas to form a barrio which I had the satisfaction to establish it in the said afternoon, to some two kilometers from the *poblacion* to the side of the same main road at the entrance of the *sitio* called Malutung Gabun; and in said Negritos, who have started to raise their houses, lands have been apportioned to them for cultivation; they are given also some tools for the clearing of the lands which have been verified.

In the same manner, various forms of garments, tobacco and palay were distributed to them, appointing two lieutenants of justice, three constables and six foot-soldiers among them for the security and vigilance of the Barrio, in which all promised to remain faithful and submissive to the Authority after they had been informed particularly of the guarantees which were offered to them and in return their respective obligations to be complied with.

In view of the celebration yesterday of the feast of the Patron Saint of Our August Monarch, the said barrio will be known as San Ildefonso, if it merits the superior approval of Your Excellency.

Several infidels are accounted right now in the townships of O'Donnell and Moriones, and at present, they are gathered in the vicinity of the township of Bamban, forming for them another barrio, which for me, it is possible to inaugurate this coming Sunday, confident that both groups would increase in a short time, considering the zeal and industry in this case demonstrated by the missionary priests to bring to success the laudable and uplifting propositions of Your Excellency.

At the same time, I believe, it is my desire to tell Your Excellency, for the satisfaction of those interested, that the formation of the Barrio in the Capas township, aside from its missionary, Fray Felix Perez, has been also effectively contributed by the immediate and present *gobernadorcillos*, Don Crispin Capis and Don Isabelo Mayuyo with their repeated excursions to these mountain people which they continue verifying.

God Guard Your Excellency many years

Tarlac, 24th of January, 1881

Jose Oyanguren.



Map 5. Capas and Bamban around 1850s
(AGI)

RESETTINGS, or The Contextualized Terrain

To reiterate, the narratives are intended to provide the original flavor of those instances of *reducción* that materialized among these former Recollect Missions in Upper Pampanga, among the conjoint provinces of Tarlac, Pampanga, and Zambales. Nevertheless, in pursuing the archaeological objectives of the study, it is also the intention that by presenting them over time on the selfsame landscape, strains and variations in breadth (space, or spatial scales) and depth (time, temporal scales), so critical in multidisciplinary discourses as Archaeology, are shed off and revealed, giving novel dimensions and interpretations on the issue at hand. A corollary task, in particularizing about Settlement Pattern Archaeology, would be to reread and re-interpret the Re-Settlement Narratives in shedding light on these *reducciones* as Human Settlements.

The Changing Territoriality (The Spatial Scales)

The prosography of (Re-)Settlement Narratives reveals the changing landscape of *reducción*, illuminating in detail the variations in the spatial scales. Fr. Andres' 1718 *relatos*, for example, demarcates the region for preliminary evangelization that occupies the remaining hinterland of Central Luzon (between the then district of Bataan on the south and Pangasinan on the north). Around this time, there was no distinction on such terms as *pueblos* and *reducciones*. There was indeed much ardor in the foundation of missions during the first two years of the Recollects in the Upper Pampanga area. In N2 (or Narrative #2), informing Governor-General Rafael Ma Aguilar in 1800, a Recollect provincial adduced that the missions along the Zambales and Pampanga mountains started out to be nine; and combining various accounts, these could have been Pinatubo, Baiza, and Buquid (founded in 1713), Alupay, Culianan, Panipoan, Dinalupihan, Mabalacat and Talimarin (founded in 1714). It should be noted again that the pioneering missionary, Fr. Andres de San Fulgencio, had alluded to Culianan as also Panipoan.

Another proto-mission mentioned by other accounts was that of Aliuat, which could have also been, at one time or another, related to that of Panipoan or Culianan.

The *Informe* of 1800 also cited that the original nine missions were reduced to five, and subsequently to three. Depending largely on the *Catalogo* of the Recollects, there were indeed only five that seemed to have been filled-up with missionaries; namely, Alupay, Talimarin, Dinalupihan, Mabalacat and Panipoan. Interestingly, these were the convents particularly cited by the *Instrucciones* of 1722. Except for Mabalacat and Panipoan (which would be paving the way for Bamban), most of these proto-missions existed for only a score or even less.

By this time, it could be gleaned that there was by then a diversification of missionary efforts. Even the Recollects themselves are beginning to classify their mission-fields. The same goes with the colonial government which was mainly responsible for the salaries of the missionaries in the area. Also, the area for *reducción* was confined on a case to case basis, rather than the encompassing regional treatment during the time of Fr. Andres and the drafting of the *Ynstrucciones* of 1722 a century earlier.

In the mid-19th century, there were still efforts of *reducción* in the area, though mainly catering to the Negrito communities in forms of *rancherías* and *visitas*, more or less in the size of a present day barrio. This could be seen in the *particular* of Fr Juan Perez and what was subsequently observed by the Spanish journalist, José Felipe DelPan. As late as the 1880s, such settlements were still created to more or less segregate the ethnic minorities who were being driven off by the lowlanders. The *cabeceras* or *poblaciones*, evolving as the politico-economic centers, were already replacing the mission-centers (*reducciones*).

These changes over the landscape on this remaining hinterland of Central Luzon would be persistently showing their impact, even in the present struggle of the Aetas for their ancestral lands.

Terms of *Reducción* (The Temporal Scales)

Aside from the changes in the territoriality of the areas of *reducción*, significant revisions over time would be blurring out as well diversities on the meaning and interpretations of terms pertinent to this evangelizing process, reflective of the *longué duree*, the *conjunctures*, and the *evenements* which were of interest to *Annalistes* like Braudel, Febvre, Ladurie, and others (Bintliff, 1991; Knapp,

1992). As mentioned, there seemed to be no differentiation during the promontory period, or the early decades that the Recollects started their missions. Terms such as *pueblos*, *misiones*, *reducciones*, and *conventos* are more or less interchangeable, at least as felt in Fr. Andres' *relatos* and the *Ynstrucciones* of 1722, a phenomenon not detected in the works of Phelan and Sanchez Gómez. In the *Ynstrucciones* also, the term *sitio* was already in use, and not as observed by both Phelan (p.124) and Sanchez Gómez (p.193), who purported it to be a late Spanish local administrative term applied in the Philippines.

By the 1800s, terms related to *reducción* became more definite, as in that *Informe* of Governor-General Aguilar. Categories begun to be employed over the credentials of such terms as *Misiones* (e.g., on the requirement of the age of the settlement, disqualifying settlements without a member of the population who was not more than 80 years old), *Reducciones* (or *misiones vivas*, active missions, or where conversion was still being performed at that time, suggesting a lower status and thus not entitled to the full benefits of a Mission) and *Doctrinas* (or missions ceded to the secular clergy, usually composed of native presbyters), reflective of emerging problems on the dispute between the secular and the regular clergy, as well as on the relations between the Church and the State. Narrative # 3 ushers the bias being felt by the Recollect missions, at least according to the point of view of the missionaries and which, as far as the State was concerned, it was altogether different on the part of the parishioners themselves.

During the mid-19th century, *reducciones* or *misiones vivas* begin to be particularized on the remaining Aeta settlements in the area and became synonymous with discrimination. For Fr. Juan Perez and other missionaries (Narratives #4-6), there was the necessity to segregate them from other, usually dominant, ethnolinguistic groups coming from the lowlands. The latter was even experimenting in 'civilizing' the Aetas, an attempt considered to be futile by his predecessors. Along these variations in scale, we can also see what 'reducing' means or what were the methods employed, as perceived from various documents at that time.

The Art of Reduction

The creation of the *Comandancia-Militar de Tarlac* in Upper Pampanga during the mid-19th century was, according to some,

“due to lawlessness and depredations perpetrated by *balugas* or *aetas*” (Marcelino 1974a, 1974b; also Doeppers, 1968). These might also be the desisting factors why the missionaries’ initial attempts of *reduccion* in Upper Pampanga were abandoned. Many historians have attributed the mysterious disappearance of missions and settlements in Central Luzon to only two causes: catastrophes and, as already cited, the *balugas*.²⁵

If not for these, the territories of Upper Pampanga would have been a conclave of the missionary efforts of the various religious orders; the Dominicans emanating from the North and the Northwest, the Augustinians from the East and the Southeast (Pampanga and portions of Upper Pampanga) and the Recollects from the West (Zambales) even during the early years of Spanish intrusion into Luzon.

Fr. Andres Fulgencio’s *relatos*, like the other narratives, bespeaks of the process of *reducción* but not exactly about the method or the art of attracting the *indios* into the fold. It is a known fact that the Negritos’ avoidance and resistance to the missionaries precipitated among the latter the integration and invention of evangelical methods that were generally unnecessary with the other and more receptive ethnolinguistic groups, usually those from the lowlands. Fr. Saenz mentioned that “the first move of the missionaries in order to establish contact with the natives was to learn the language, and arduous task for its variegated copiousness” (Saenz: 38-39). Missionaries in Upper Pampanga had to contend with the profusion of various languages and dialects.

Fr. Manuel Carceller wrote on the experiences of earlier Recollects in the area, almost a century earlier than Fr. Andres:

When a religious had been sent to a region in which he was to establish a mission, first of all, he had to make contact with the natives. Often this entailed climbing about the mountains where the natives preferred to dwell or waiting for them in the valleys where they came to plant their grain.

²⁵ See for example the accounts of the settlements of Bunlalacao and Telbang, in Cortes 1974 (119, 121)

Once he had found them, he needed enormous reserves of patience and steadfastness, not to mention eloquence, gentleness and tact in order to win them over. The best course was to convince the chiefs, for having them on his side, it was relatively easy to convince their people. Next he had to make them see the wisdom and convenience of living settled lives in a village. Only after having achieved this could the missionary turn his attention to preaching the Gospel ... Then, to ensure that they would remain in the village, the missionary had to assign houses, one to each family, lands and fields too., enough for their gardens and crops, so that they could maintain themselves properly. And it was the missionary who was to help them in the building of their houses and, where possible, to teach them how to till the soil and cultivate a variety of crops. (Carceller, 1965 in Decena: 23)

The life of Fr Jose de Jesus Maria among the Negritos of Babayan, one of the proto-missions of Upper Pampanga that eventually became an integral part of Botolan, Zambales, in 1734 was a practical case. Incipient attempts of the previous missionaries were dismal failures, due largely to the untamed and wandering nature of the tribes and the vulnerability of the former to tropical heat and diseases. It was only when Fr. Jose sought a place to settle the tribes and gave them sources of livelihood did

Christianization took place, with an initial harvest of 360 souls (Decena: 23-24).

In presenting what was a good method and a bad one to these people, Fr. Vicente Salazar made mention of the Dominicans' evangelical labor in Zambales and related experiences in the initial decade of the 18th century.

The first was employed by the military:

(The military governor) obtained what he wished, namely, the prohibition of trade between the Zambals and the Indios of Pampanga and other provinces, in

order that, being deprived of that recourse, hunger and necessity might compel them to come down from the mountains and live in a settlement, so as to sustain themselves... But that measure having proved insufficient to make the Zambals live in fixed villages, the governor issued an edict ordering all the Zambals to come down from the mountains under severe penalties.(Salazar in Schumacher, 1987:183)

The second was by the missionaries:

The religious accompanied them to the fields of work, heartily praised those who applied themselves and now and then, in order to inspire them by their example, put their hands to the plow. For the religious very well understood that if the Indios did not become farmers, they would not be stable in the lowlands, but would easily return to the mountains under the force of necessity. And thus that diligence was necessary in order to reduce them to a civilized life and good government.(Schumacher, 1987:184-185).

Missionary activities were not, however, that simple. There had been natives like Quiravat of Paynaoven (Iba) who, upon hearing the edict on reduction, retorted his disagreement (see introductory quote no. 2 on p.1). Yet, ‘maintaining’ entailed enormous cost. In fact, these Zambales missions, which were the settings of the thesis of Fr. Salazar, were abandoned in 1712 by the Dominicans who had to fight them bitterly with the Recollects earlier, since these entailed “great loss of money and men, without producing satisfactory results” In the same year, the Zambal missions were returned to the Recollects.

When the Recollects made their initial attempts of evangelization in the area it could be deduced that Christian settlers had already been integrated with the Negritos in Upper Pampanga, though minimally; but it could also be that the missionaries had to contend with tribes that never had contacts with strangers.

Aside from being the haven of the *balugas*, Upper Pampanga was also a reputed *refugium peccatorum*, or the refuge of the *tulisanes*, the cattle-rustlers, and others who had to flee from the law.²⁶

In a scenario like this, Fr. Schumacher had these to offer:

The most difficult of all the uplanders to deal with were the *remontados* - those who had been Christians in the lowlands, and for one reason or another, good or bad, had fled back to the mountains. Normally the result was their abandonment of Christianity, or a syncretism of old and new beliefs. Among such who knew, or thought they knew, what Christianity had to offer, the missionary task was doubly difficult. What was worse, they tended to deter the pagans who had never been evangelized from making contact with the missionaries.

In a sense, the *remontados* and Upper Pampanga being a *refugium peccatorum* typifies what Little refers to as ‘Material Culture in the Negotiation of Ideology’. A closer analysis could actually be a way of perceiving a “group’s resistance to and attempted negotiation of dominant ideology” (Little: 59).

The methods of *reducción*, in general, were peaceful, except, citing Phelan again, in the case of the Zambals, to whom most of Upper Pampanga was for some time affiliated. These were still basically the same scenario at least two centuries later. For example, in the 1880s, in a meeting of the Recollect provincialate headed by the prior, Fray Aquilino Bon de San Sebastian OAR, concerning the evangelical labor of *reduccion*, which might have already been late by that time, Fr. Patricio Ruiz of the Upper Pampanga missions was among the ‘experts’ summoned to give opinion and advice for the congregation (Saenz: 4445).²⁷ His answer, as assessed by Recollect historians, stands out among all. “It would be convenient”, he stated, “to make use of armed force, led by good chieftains, religious and knowledgeable people, who, by peaceful means, bring out the pagans from the places

²⁶ (Marcelino 1974a, 1974b). Tarlac was once a praesidio or a fort. See BR IX, p.74. The document is dated 1593. 29 Schumacher, op. cit., p. 189

²⁷ The actual document was taken from the Archives of Marcilla, Lib 83, leg. 49,4

where they dwell, making them go down to the plains, and imposing severe penalties on those who return.” The intrepid *misionero* of the *balugas* firmly believed that these tribes have great fear in firearms that “not very long ago, I founded a barrio out of them.”²⁸

It was also the view of Fr. Patricio that this brawny process could not be attained without bloodshed, as long as the loyal chieftains possess the said qualities and “do not seek promotion through the shed blood of the infidels.” He also favors that no military man, for the purpose, set foot on the mountain, without having sought the advice of the *misionero* who could inform him on the deportment in dealing with these natives.

By that time, of course, Fr. Patricio was talking sensibly, from his extensive experience as the missionary of O'Donnell (Patling), which was by then one of the few remaining sanctuaries of the *balugas* in Central Luzon. A native of Agreda, Soria, Spain, he was assigned in O'Donnell on January 8, 1871, only a year after his ordination to the priesthood. He was to be in this mountainous mission until 1896; upon which he was transferred to be the Prior of the San Sebastian Church in Manila and a year later in Imus, Cavite (Sadaba: 487).

However, for all his firmness and serendipity in his opinion concerning the *balugas*, the life of the priest was capped by his “trabajo con gran celo” in their *reduccion* through his character of “abnegacion y desprendimiento (abnegation and generosity).” It was during his tenure in Patling that the former *pueblo* had experienced progress and development, spiritually and socio-economically. Surviving documents attest the dedicated labor of Fr. Ruiz for the mountain tribes; he had penetrated so many of their long-uncharted ancestral lands and brought the inhabitants to the bosom of the Faith and had expanded and maintained a massive church that catered to their spiritual needs.

Conjonctures: The Reducción Cycle

The temporal scales drawn from the Narratives can also reveal the changing demographic and ethnic patterns. Over the landscape or

²⁸ This particular barrio cited by Ruiz could not be identified. Along this time, however, a certain barrio named San Ildefonso was founded by another Recollect, the missionary of Capas, Fr. Felix Perez, OAR. See Narrative # 6 in the present study.

the site of *reducción*, the said material affords us to intrude on the *conjunctures* of ethnic and demographic cycles. We can detect in the site the superior presence of the colonial agent, as personified by the friar, who oversaw the implementation of the acts of *reducción* (evangelization processes, the administration of sacraments, settlement patterns), the intended re-settlers (at most, the Negritos and the *balugas*), the outgoing *remontados*, and other settlers (the lowlanders who took over the *reducción* sites from the earlier groups).

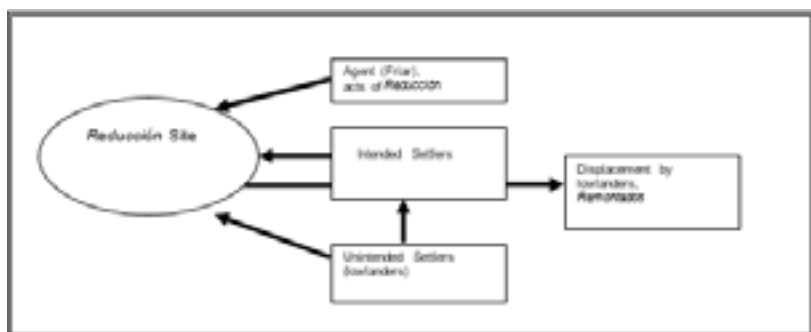


Fig. 6. Schema for ethnographic and demographic cycles in a *reducción* site

UPPER PAMPANGA *REDUCCIONES* AS HUMAN SETTLEMENTS

Though intended points of evangelization, *reducciones* were, first of all, human settlements. The converts and catechumens of a *reducción*, like other humans, needed to subsist or make ends meet in localities where they were resettled. However, as already noted earlier, the same should not be treated equivocally with what usual settlement archaeologists have in mind, assuming “that people with free choice made informed decisions about where they chose to live, and that they lived in specific locales because they sought to satisfy some want or need (Orser and Fagan, 1995:118). *Reducciones* were enforced settlements, altering in the process the usual subsistence and related activities of the resettled communities prior to the process.

The (Re-)Settlement Narratives, as aimed, afford us to examine the settlements that materialized out of the instances of *reducción*. Some of the categories that could be constructed preliminarily include what is being termed as The *Reducción* Site (the whole area/ individual areas of *reducción*, dealing with its political, historical and geographical make-ups), the Domestic Sites, the *Sementeras* (or the farms, as equated with what is called in Settlement Archaeology as Economic Sites), and the Ritual Sites. Special categories are also supplied, involving the ethnic and demographic considerations and features of the *reducciones*. A lingering testament of *Reducción* involves the Ritual Sites. In this regard, to be able to deal with Heritage Consciousness and Advocacy as well, this category involves the concluding part of the paper.

The *Reducción* Site

The Beginnings of the Missions

Fr. Andres de San Fulgencio's 1718 *relatos* (N1) orients us on the foundation years of *reducción* in Upper Pampanga by the Recollects, eventually becoming bustling *pueblos* (town-centers) and communities. In his report, he included the breadth and expanse of the area chosen for his base, or the Mission-Center (that of Mabalacat), and the establishment of a relay of missionary networks in other settlements, or what would be known later with various terminologies as *visitas*, *añejos* (annexes), *rancherías*, and *sitios*..

Other Recollect accounts, like the *Reseña* of Fr. Jose de la Concepcion and the *Estado-General* of 1879, mentioned that actual evangelical work of the congregation in the area took place during the administration of the Count of Lizarraga (1709-1715). He was Governor-General Martin de Ursua who took possession of the office on August 25, 1709, vice Gov. - Gen. Domingo Zabalburu. Some historians, like Jose de Alcazar, referred to him as Martin de Urena.

There were some matters that were not revealed in the *relatos* of Fr. Andres. These were the political and economic imperatives of the Spanish colonial government and the Count of Lizarraga, reputed to be a prudent Governor, was responsible at that period. It was under his tutelage that peace initiatives by the King of Spain were attempted,

through an alliance, with the sultans of Mindanao and Jolo, who had besieged Zamboanga with attacks.

The Count of Lizarraga was also responsible for the wine monopoly in 1712. The distilling of coconut and nipa palms was limited to the provinces surrounding Manila, and Upper Pampanga might have been considered for the purpose. The sale of wine was leased by the government to private individuals for the sum of 50,000 pesos, which was served to augment the income of the depleted treasury of the colonial government.

Yet, the more probable commodity that necessitated the haphazard *reduccion* of Upper Pampanga was that of venison or deer meat. Fr. Martinez de Zuñiga accounted in the early 19th century that deer was so abundant in this area that it was more than enough to provide for the needs of the hunters and their families (p. 345). A large portion of deer meat was dried and salted (called *tapa* or *pindang* in Kapampangan) and exported to China. Together with the deer tendons, *tapa* was a delicacy among the Chinese which they believed was a source of strength for ‘carnal delights’ purposes. For such, this commanded a very high price. In the 1800s, this was already sold at 10 pesos per Spanish *pico* (about 137.5 lbs.).

And as reported by J. Mallat:

Its forest nourish such enormous quantity of wild beasts that in 1819, they say that more than 7,000 heads of stags were killed in the single *pueblo* of Tarlac... (p.129).

During this period, it was only Upper Pampanga that could still abundantly supply this valuable export commodity and it was only the Negritos that had the dexterity of deer-hunting.

Another possibility, which was concurred by Fr. Andres, would have been the precarious geographical position of Upper Pampanga. Throughout the Spanish regime, there were representations by prominent political figures for the necessity of pacifying the *infieles*, as the case of the alcalde-mayor of Pampanga, Don Domingo Sanz y Aranaz, who petitioned for the sending of the missionaries in the area and the drawing of funds from the Royal Treasury (*Real Erario*)

for such. And since the Negrito domain (Upper Pampanga) was in-between Pampanga and the North (most especially the agricultural provinces of Pangasinan and Zambales), vigorous commercial activities were hampered or were not made possible. These might be the underlying reason why missionaries, particularly the Recollects, were hastily instructed by the Spanish government to pacify these *infieles*.

Fr. Martinez de Zuñiga saw something ‘political’ in this:

The trade in dried and salted venison is controlled by the provincial governors. They arrange with the towns of the elevated portion of Pampanga the paying of tribute for the trade on dried and salted venison. With the pretext that the natives do not pay their tribute they prohibit the export of dried venison to other towns.

Patterns of *Reducción*

N1 and N3 tell about the founding of the missions in Upper Pampanga. Critical in the establishment in a *reducción* site was the role of the friar or *misionero* (official missionary) as the *fundador* (founder) of the site of *reducción*.

Serving as the *fundador* of the Upper Pampanga Missions was the said Fr. Andres de San Fulgencio. “The Mission,” as he charted, “extends from the mountains called Abulen until Mabalacat”, which could be presently located from interconnected domains of the present provinces of Tarlac, Pampanga, Zambales, and Bataan. Since it was difficult to convince all the communities scattered in the region to be subjected to *reducción*, the normal approach for purposes of evangelization was, as noted also by Phelan, Saenz, and others, was to create *visitas* or networks from different points. In addressing the shortage of missionaries, the Recollects in the 16th-17th centuries usually assigned two in a *reducción* site, one assigned at the mission-center (or Mabalacat in the case of Upper Pampanga) and another was responsible for the networks. “Almost all the *cabeceras* or *ministerios* had, under their rule and administration,” wrote Saenz, “other nuclei of settlements called *añejos* or *visitas*, their number depended upon the situation and disposition of the islands” (p.49).

By 1718, at that time that the *relatos* was prepared, Fr. Andres wrote that “(i)n Abulen, they are doing the beginnings of a township, with much intentions they beseech the Father Minister that he will teach and instruct them.” There were already three missions existing before it: Alupay or Pesolin, Culianan or Pangipoan, and that of Mabalacat, started out in 1717, which eventually became the mission-center, or where the friar resided. He described both the spiritual and temporal progress of the latter “with the fields and houses that were already made, with many requests for baptism and of making the township an excellent foothold towards the mountains, where, as I already indicated, it is more convenient and proportionate to the ends that are being attempted.”

What was more daunting than the founding of missions would be their maintenance, which presented the more serious and actual problems to the Recollects. Fr. Andres classified himself as the *Ministro-Misionero*; thus, he was responsible not only for evangelization but for the administration of the whole mission-field of Upper Pampanga. The *Instrucciones* (N2) was precisely conceived along these intentions. It aimed to put the missions on the Zambales mountains and the immediate vicinities in working and workable conditions, after these had been included into the fold of the Recollect congregation.

For their proper administration, the then new missions were made autonomous from the more regular and established ministries of Zambales and Bataan; under the charge of a Vicar Provincial (*P. Vicario Provincial*). This could have been done prior to the promulgation of the *Instrucciones* itself, for one of its corresponding rules was already familiar with such organizational set-up - and which was stated, thus: “we ordain that every four months the five missionaries must meet in the town that the Father Vicar Provincial shall have marked for such.”

Aside from the usual administrative functions, the Father Vicar of the missions had also the moral superiority over his confreres. Though serious problems of a particular mission/missionary were to be confronted as a group, the Vicar General had always the final word. Therefore, even in a seemingly severed terrain, a missionary could still be castigated for non-performance or violations of his ministry as if he was in a more established convent or a regular *ministerio*; with the Father Vicar’s authority of bestowing the corresponding punishments

to the guilty party, usually in the suspension of the sacramental privileges as in the holding of Confessions.

Drawing heavily from the *Catalogo* and other accounts, it was Fr. Andres de San Fulgencio who was the first to be appointed as Vicar Provincial of the Upper Pampanga missions; from May to July, 1719.

True to every religious order in the Spanish colonial period, the evangelical labor of the Recollects in the Upper Pampanga area could not be disassociated with more political realities of the colonial government. The missionary was as much a Sower of the Gospel as that of being the conduit of the Spanish king and the colonial government to the people subdued. For the Recollect pioneering missionary in the settlement of newlyconverted tribes, in fact, he was the only conduit or the sole representative.

The *Instrucciones* was very explicit on his synthetic functions.

The *Ministro* was especially ordained to prepare prescribed and reliable records (*Libros de asiento* or canonical books) concerning the development and progress of his mission, e.g., expenses, inventory of properties, sacramental reports and registers, and census of population. These in themselves were not meant solely for the benefit of the mother congregation; in most cases they were also the databases of the colonial government in the charging and the payment of tributes and in implementing its other policies, like the *polo y servicios* or the *prestacion personal*.

The periods surrounding the *Instrucciones* were the heightened attempts for *reduccion* into the remaining hinterlands of Central Luzon. Inversely, these did not serve only the political ends; such processes were beneficial to the missionaries themselves. Says Vicente Rafael:

The resettlement of the natives into centralized administrative units was in an important sense a function of the missionary impulse to create coherent relays for the spread of the Gospel.

Reduccion, or for the converted natives to inhabit the lowlands and eradicate their nomadic ways, was a pre-requisite for Baptism, aside from the usual pre-baptismal instructions and catechism. This was to prevent the proliferation of the so-called *remontados* (mountain-

returnees) who usually forgot that they were already Christians and backslid to their old beliefs and practices; thus making worthless the efforts of the missionaries and the expenses incurred by both the ecclesiastical and state authorities. Purporting the same tenets was the *Manual de Sacerdotes para uso de las parroquias*, during the provincialship of Fr. Jose Aranguren in 1844:

He should not baptize someone who is not willing to go down from the mountains and live in a town, so that there he can be instructed in the principal mysteries of the Holy Faith .

It was therefore most unlikely, indeed, for the *Instrucciones* to be cautious and wary of further *reduccion* and foundations of new missions and *visitass* at such conducive moments for expansion. The Recollect authorities had specifically pinpointed the Bataan district, creating the impression that it had something to do with the inveterate boundary problems they were having with the Dominicans.

The Union of Church and State characterized the foundation and sustenance of missions and their eventual elevation into townships. The salaries of the missionaries and their expenses were to be shouldered by the Royal Treasury. The *Instrucciones* was expectant of this arrangement, as when it instructed missionaries to pay justly the natives for whatever goods and services they have rendered, through the *aranceles* (stipends) the former received from the governors (*alcalde-mayores*). In turn, missionaries should help in the collection of tributes.

Yet, the Recollects were not silent on the fact that the government had not religiously kept up with the bargain, particularly with its obligations concerning the missions of Upper Pampanga. Most of the reports to and from missionaries assigned in the area were actually complaints of this nature. Altercations between the government and the friars have persisted throughout the lengthy presence of the Recollects; there was even an instance in 1752 when the *alcalde-mayor* or Governor of Pampanga moved for the abandonment of these missions since they were useless and of little help and merely a drain to the Royal Treasury. N3 is an evidence of the dispute between the State and the Recollects concerning the administration of Upper Pampanga. As stated earlier, the use of the term “*doctrinas*” in lieu of

misiones were revealing of the secularization issue in the 1800s. For some time, the Recollect missions were actually handed to the secular/native clergy.

This document of 1849, as an additional source, charts the available settlements on the *pueblos* being administered by the Recollects in Upper Pampanga, showing now the differentiation of the areas as political subdivisions and no longer as mere *reducciones*. In most cases, those having no distance (measured in hours and minutes) are usually the *matriz* / the *cabecera*/ the *poblacion*.

Pueblo	Barrio	Tributos	Horas	Minuto
Capas	Patling	79	3	
	Laue	26		30
	Bolso	61	6	
	Micion	195		
Bamban	Bancu	609		
	Balibagu	108		30
Mabalacat	Duquit	483	2	
	Babandapu	63	8	
	Malabni	168	2	
	Paglimbunan	149		

Fig. 5. *Distancia de los barrios en que se hallan divi ____ los individuos que compon__s pueblos de esta provincial con expreci ____ la distancia a que hallan de sus matris* .(*Erecciones de Pueblos – Pampanga, PNA*) (Distance of barrios from the town center).

The Domestic Sites

Aligned with *reduccion* was the encouragement on the building of many houses, so as to spur the socio-economic development of the community as well. “I have tried to ‘reduce’ first the *Principales* of these mountains of Mabalacat,” as Fr. Andres wrote, “since they are the heads and leaders who are being obeyed by the rest. They are now making their houses and fields in this place so determined....”

There had been mandates, as the Instrucciones (N2) on how these were to be built, so as to anticipate the growth of the *poblacion*,

with wide streets demarcating them and the church or the *visita* always at the heart. And the *Instrucciones* was vocal against the practice of extended families, being the cause of many moral problems. The missionary assigned in the area was actually required to make an account on the number of houses being built in his community. He “should watch that the houses of the faithful would be built with order, and forming straight roads through which the procession can pass; that between one another there be some space which may hinder the rapid spread of fires; and that each may have a small garden.” (Saenz:50)

The toponyms of the barrios Paglimbunan (in Mabalacat) and Micion (in Capas) [see Fig. 5] relate to the experiences of *reducción*. “Paglimbunan”, lit. “place where procession is held,” gives a picture that it is within the church vicinity since it is where the said religious activity is being performed and usually where the houses of the *principales* or the town-elites were situated at that time. “Micion,” or Mission reflects that it is the mission-center, eventually becoming the political, economic, and social center as well.

It could be ascertained that with the conversion of the *reducciones* to *poblaciones*, *cabeceras* or *matrizes*, the demographic profile was composed mainly of the lowlanders as the Kapampangans, Pangasinanes, and Ilokanos. It was this reason that new communities for the Aetas and other displaced groups have been built, as in the case of Sta. Lucia (during the time of Fr. Juan Perez) [N4, N5] and that of San Ildefonso [N6].

The Sementeras as Economic Sites

As already stated, Upper Pampanga, synchronous with its initial *reducción*, was for sometime the remaining hinterland of Central Luzon. Its inhabitants, usually Negritos, had in its territory their Extractive Sites, or where they could gather their resources. These include hunting of deer and other wild animals, gathering of forest products as beeswax, rattan, and wild fruits. A great number of them were also engage in swidden practices, or slash-and-burn farming (*kaingin*).

The migration of sedentary groups starting the 1600s would be the introduction of agriculture in the area. Most lands, previously woodlands, were beginning to be converted into fields (*sementeras*).

With the instances of *reducción* into the 1700s, a major setback for the missionaries was how to convince the inhabitants from various settlements to resettle in a strange area which the assigned friar had identified for evangelization purposes. The reality of leaving the mountains and forests (as extractive sites) and the *sementeras* (as economic sites) slowed actually the process, leading to the institution of different methods as already described. It should be noted that a priority in the choosing of a site was for the convenience of the missionary rather than the natives being nucleated.

Almost all the narratives presented had the missionaries reckoning on the subsistence of the faithful who decide to undergo the *reducción* process. Seemingly, the sites were not sufficient for the economic needs of the faithful, contributing to the big number of *remontados* as well as in the transfer of the settlements themselves (as in the case of N3).

By enforcing the development of *sementeras* along the *reducción* site, the missionaries were actually sensing its growth and progress, leading to its transformation as a politico-economic center. However, its failure, again as could be discerned in N3, would mean the death of the mission and had to be abandoned.

In his framework of building exclusive Aeta communities, Fr. Juan Perez (N4 and N5) was also relying on the *sementeras* for their maintenance. Without sustenance, the only recourse was for the converts to go back to the mountains and in the process would be forgetting eventually their baptism as Christians. Until the 1880s, it was still the scenario that it was only in the conversion of Negritos into sedentary farmers that they can be truly encouraged to stay in barrios designed for them [N4].

Ethnic, Class and Demographic Patterns

It was, as could be gleaned from the narratives of Fr. Andres and others [N1, N2, N3] that when the Recollect missionaries had the opportunity to evangelize Upper Pampanga in the initial decades of the 18th century, they had to deal with ‘pagan’ tribes that had singularly resisted previous attempts of intrusion from both the missionaries and the Christianized peoples of the lowlands.

The Narratives also reveal on the ethnic compositions of the early sites for *reducción*. For example, *Instrucciones* [N2] had a lot

of other admonitions, some being trivial matters. One such minutia was about the language to be used in the respective mission. This was very reminiscent of the *reglas* a century earlier wherein a missionary “could not employ himself in this office (i.e., in the administration of the sacraments) until he should be well acquainted in the language of the land.” This instance, however, the Instructions of 1722 was much concerned with the linguistic variations in the Upper Pampanga missions. As resolved, ministers assigned in the town of Dinalupihan and its immediate *visitas* in the then Bataan district should administer the laity in Tagalog; most probably with the insistence of Fr. Diego (Hicod) de San Nicolas who had been appointed in this particular mission by this period and who would very much involve himself later in the development of the Tagalog language. The rest of the missions should be administered in Zambal, indicative that it was then the predominant language of the mountainous *vicariato*. Interestingly, the Recollect provincial was especially emphatic on the case of Talimarin, also in Bataan, of which it was stated:

(A)nd if we are of the opinion that the said Zambal language has some difference with that which is being spoken in the other towns, notwithstanding, it appears to us that it is more convenient that the natives of the said community of Talimarin are being administered in the above-mentioned Zambal language.

Again, this might have been a trimming of the boundary conflicts the congregation was then having with the Dominicans, considering that Talimarin was then in northern Bataan and together with Dinalupihan served as the frontier to the Dominican portions of what would eventually become the province of Bataan.

In many ways, the instances of *reducción* were also responsible for creating social classes in the respective communities. Fr. Andres’ *relatos* was very clear on the use of the *principalia* to aid him in “reducing” the whole area.[N1]. The *Instrucciones* [N2], at a glance, had dealt with matters concerning the propagation of the Faith, through catechism, conversion, the administration of sacraments, and other ministerial activities. But the more temporal efforts of pacification and *reduccion* were also much discernible in the *Instrucciones*. At the outset, this could be particularly felt when it called for the utilization of assistants (*nativos domesticos*) in catechetical works

and important church occasions. Certainly, this was meant to remedy the shortage of missionaries and experts in Zambal on the *Doctrina Cristiana*. The preference for those belonging to the *principalia* for such positions, however, could be seen as a latent campaign for smooth socio-political integration into tribes that by that time had only been recently included into the colonial government's fold.

The migration of the people of the lowlands in Upper Pampanga, like the Kapampangans, must have been a later occurrence, as could be ascertained from the earlier narratives and which somehow question the alluded inherent dominance of the said group in the earlier peopling of Central Luzon. The loss of their territories to other groups instigated some stupendous beliefs on why their influence in the region is diminishing. For one, basing on the assessment of early chroniclers as Fr. Gaspar de San Agustin, Kapampangans are said to be a proud people and in the opinion of the Kapampangan writer, E. Aguilar Cruz:

Spanish favor improved the condition of the Pampangos, but it also made them complacent, too complacent for their own good. Their closeness to the ruling powers tended to concentrate them in those towns where the first *tribunales*, or town halls, were established. Although their bravery was undisputed, yet they had lost their self-reliance, and the love of pioneering was already lost to them when the Ilocanos and the Pangasinanes were pushing down into the Central Plain. (Cruz: 181)

And, also, for the early Kapampangan settlers who opted to try their luck with the mountain people, to be scoffed at by their fellow Kapampangans back home must have been prevalent. It might be that the *basulto* (Kamp. nonsensical folksong) entitled *O Caca, O Caca* was intended as a retort for the latter (Perez:97-98):

:

<i>O Caca, O Caca</i> <i>Cabalat kapaya</i> <i>Sabian mu nang tapat</i> <i>Nung e naka bisa.</i> <i>Keta man kekami</i> <i>Dakal lang baluga.</i> <i>Mangayap la keka</i> <i>Biasa lang mamana.</i>	Oh brother, oh brother With the skin of papaya, You tell me truly If you don't care anymore There in our place There are plenty of Negritos They are better than you They know how to use the bow and arrow.
--	--

Ilokano migration was also predominant in the Upper Pampanga area, but it must have happened much later, between 1850 and 1900, as the studies of Marshall McLennan revealed (McLennan 1973, 1980, 1982). In Martinez de Zuñiga’s *Estadismo*, during the 1800s, the Augustinian stated that in those places (specifically Patling, or O'Donnell) there were “several natives who are descendants of the Pangasinanes” and “the rest of the inhabitants of those parts are Negritos.” During the time of the Recollect chronicler, Fr. Juan de la Concepcion, the statistics for the whole of Pampanga under the charge of Recollects were only 74 tribute-payers. Narrative # 3 also tells of the peopling of the Capas area by Pangasinanes due to the Palaris Revolt in the area in 1763 as a consequence of the British-Spanish War, an *evenement* not generally known among the people of the town.



Map 6. Ilocano Migrations (After McLennan, 1982). Enclosed in a box is the area of investigation.

The later documents were attempts by the Recollects to preserve some areas for the Negrito tribes, as those of Fr. Juan Perez. This rare 1856 document on the state of the Aetas in the whole of Pampanga, on the other hand, could have been the answer of the colonial government to the complaint of Fr. Juan Perez on the plight of the Aetas with the incursions of the lowlanders on their domains.

Pueblos		Casas	Almas
Lubao	Crespo	2	17
	Pambaloc	6	122
	Mabarul (?)	2	59
Capaz	San Felipe	40	200
	Santa Lucia	60	300
	Bolso	8	40
Angeles	Alsip	15	105
Bamban	Bantiti	40	110
Porac	Buliran	40	60
		(173)	(1013)

Fig.8 *Estado demostrativo del numero de Negritos que se hallan ya reunidos en los pueblos nuevamente formados (Erecciones de Pueblos- Pampanga, Book I, 1781-1858, fol. 142. Signed Bacolor y Julio 17 de 1856 by F. de P. Rodriguez (then the Governor of Pampanga)*

The melting pot character of the *pueblo* of Moriones, and that of Tarlac province, was readily observed by Fr. Ulpiano Herrero OP, a friar-prisoner in 1899, the time that the Recollects had to abandon their missions in Upper Pampanga altogether. He said: “*Alli hay pampangos, tagalos, ilocanos, pangasinanes, y creo que hasta visayas y aetas.* (Herrero: 634)” In the said studies of McLennan on Ilokano migrations, the American geographer has cited that Moriones, together with O'Donnell and Capas, was one of the popular destinations, in what might have been brought about by the agricultural boom of the 1800s as well as the tremendous export potentials of deer and other forest products that abound in the place.

THE RITUAL SITES OF *REDUCCIÓN*: SALVAGING A LEGACY

The point of heritage... is “not that the public should learn something but that they should become something.”

As quoted by David Lowenthal (1996:23)

The heart of a *reduccion* site was the Church, or the place of worship. This was where the fruits of the evangelical and conversion processes were performed and demonstrated, through activities anent Baptism, Marriage, and other sacraments. Efforts in its construction and maintenance were therefore the measurement of the total success of the endeavor. The Narratives had always something to tell how a church was constructed, usually done with volunteerism from the faithful [N1,N2,N3,N5,N6].

The same persisted with the transformation of early *reducciones* into *pueblos* and *municipios*. It is also among them, as offered by a number of scholars, that a scholarly endeavor could be pursued and heritage consciousness could be pursued.

As feared by some, a confronting problem with the bulk of history and documentary sources is their authorship, mostly written by non-Filipinos (De La Rosa: 174-176; Jose, 2004: 151). For Jose, though, in a recent paper on the Augustinian Recollect Contribution to Engineering and Architecture (on the legacy of Bohol), he suggests that “we can consider our churches, convents, in fact other buildings as well ... with the important realization that their authors were our own ancestors. If we are sufficiently prepared, we can ‘read’ these structures just as a paleographer pores over manuscripts...(p.151).²⁹ “The number of buildings using *hariges*, *kutas*, and *tabique pampango*,”³⁰ he adds, “shows the successful blending of local and foreign technology. In a

²⁹ For an inventory guide for Philippine Church Heritage purposes, refer to “Appendix III: A Church Documentation Checklist “in Jose (1991:220-229).

³⁰ *Tabique pampango* was a wall system prominent in church structures during the Spanish period which was a rough equivalent of the present-day “reinforced concrete”, since mortar was reinforced with woven stripped bamboo calked with cabo-negro fiber (*Arenga pinnata*). Henson, op.cit., p.41, citing Fr. Marin’s *Ensayo*, vol. I, p.306. *tabique* – Primitive type wall, made of rough stone and mortar mixture or clay; in some regions mud

number of cases, the Recollects commissioned lay persons to design or supervise their construction.” Indeed, “enduring heritage icons accrue multiple resonances,” as Lowenthal aptly puts it. (Lowenthal: 141)

However, in the case of Upper Pampanga, it will not be a simple task re-identifying the Recollect character in the former missions of Tarlac and Pampanga. For one, unlike the sophisticated structures of other congregations as the Augustinians in Pampanga and Ilocos and the Franciscans in Southern Tagalog region, “(i)t would be difficult to give an overall description of Recollect churches as their constructions were adopted to the particular condition or situation of the mission territories,” as one Recollect historian commented (Quilatan: 34).

The state of Church Heritage in the former Recollect missions in Upper Pampanga is another, especially amidst the bulk of material progress and development that have already taken over. It is a sad thing, though understandably practical, for the people of these places not to have concerned themselves in preserving mementoes of their past. Most of the ecclesiastical edifices - churches, convents, and sacristies-have been face-lifted, if not completely renovated, like those of Bamban, Mabalacat, O'Donnell and Capas; making it extremely hard to review their connections to the former times, particularly the Spanish colonial period. The once mighty church of Moriones, whose bells used to reverberate around the forests of Bolso, as an account went, is in ruins; a makeshift chapel stands within its perimeter of tattered boulders to serve the handful of faithful that have remained.

The *Pisamban* (The Church Complex)

In 1906, in his “Nota de los edificios parroquiales (Iglesias y Conventos) de los Ministerios... “ (an appendix in the *Catalogo*), Fr. Sadaba made an inventory of the Recollect church and convent structures at the outset of the Revolution; and, except for Capas and Mabalacat, most of the Upper Pampanga missions were included in his third classification (*de tabla o tabique pampango desde su base* - foundations predominantly of wood/*tabique pampango*), (Sadaba: 860). The Capas church was the only one included in the first category (*de mamposteria* - predominantly stone materials) though its convent

wall reinforced with wooden poles or bamboo slats and left to dry, not unlike the Mexican adobe walls. A support wall for the upper story. (Coseteng:132).

was, like the rest, made of wooden materials; both the church and the convent of Mabalacat were of mixed materials (second class).

There is among the *Patronato* (*pueblo de Tarlac*, 1883-1884, PNA) a file on the petition of a Recollect missionary of the Mission of Bamban (Fray Roque Leza de la Patrocinio de Maria, OAR) to the Superior Government for the renovation of its church and convent. Dated July 4, 1884, the *misionero* was anticipating a population boom with the projected completion of the *ferro-carril* (railroad, which actually materialized eight years later, in 1892). We are not certain if this was realized, though an 1899 picture with a ‘reduced’ Aeta in *saya* provides a view on the church a year after the Recollects abandoned the town. With the request, as acknowledged by the Office of the Director-General of the Civil Administration of the Philippines, was a plan on how the church structures are to be built, an improvement from the single-nave mission churches (Coseteng:160):³¹

The church will be composed of three naves, with a dome and crossbeams, a main altar at the center, and a corresponding sacristy, cabinets, baptistery, and a store room to be indicated by an arch between the outer lines of its socles (*zocales*), measuring 915 sq. meters. This place of worship, certainly, goes perfectly with a town that will be attaining its progress. It is anticipated that this plan will be promptly realized.

The convent will have an area of 704 sq. meters, with a wide, laid-out space and a handsomely decorated exterior, though less accented, a feature that, together with the church, will be appreciated by somebody who has architectural knowledge.

The lobby or the atrium between the church and the convent will be built with a lateral pathway with windows as protection against strong rains and winds; its considerable width of 10 meters is divided into two parts by a main beam that supports completely and securely the whole terrace. This lobby connects directly the big basement of the parochial house (convent) with the lateral nave of the church on the back portion and ends through the terrace between the main rooms

³¹ “The typical colonial mission church,” says Coseteng, “follows the single-nave plan, which is composed of the nave, the apse, and the sacristy.”

connecting the choir-loft; the covered area of the same is 200 sq. meters and will be safe and convenient for the public during the feast days of the town.³²

Only the old cemetery of O'Donnell, called *municipio* (an inkling of the former township of the reverted barrio), has been able to preserve some of its colonial structures of pristine adobe walls and an unknown mausoleum at the center; but both are ready to give in to the whim of the environment any time.



Fig. 9. (L) Bamban Church, 1899. (R) Interior of Mabalacat Church, ca. 1930

1^a *que comprende los de muros ó paredes de mamposteria* (which corresponds to solid walls or brickwalls)

2^a *de mamposteria en su base, y tabla ó tabique pampango*³³ en su parte superior (with bricks on its base and wooden planks or tabique pampango on the upper portion).

³² Translation, with revisions from the present writer, is taken from a file of Tarlac provincial government. Actual document is yet to be secured.

³³ *tabique* – Primitive type wall, made of rough stone and mortar mixture or clay; in some regions mud wall reinforced with wooden poles or bamboo slats and left to dry, not unlike the Mexican adobe walls. A support wall for the upper story.

- 3^a *de tabla ó tabique pampango desde su base*
(with wooden planks or *tabique pampango* on its base)
- 4^a *de caña y nipa* (of bamboo and nipa)

<i>Provincia de la Pampanga</i>	<i>I(glesias)</i>	<i>C(onventos)</i>
Mabalacat	2 ^a	2 ^a
<i>Provincia deTarlac</i>		
Bamban	3 ^a	3 ^a
Capas	1 ^a	3 ^a
O'Donnell	3 ^a	3 ^a
Moriones	3 ^a	3 ^a

Fig. 10. *Edificios parroquiales (Iglesias y Conventos) de los Ministerios Recoletos en 1898*
(Parish edifices of Recollect Ministries in 1898) (from Sadaba)

The Bells of Upper Pampanga

At least three ancient bells could be found in Capas and Bamban; founded in the middle of the 19th century (one Bamban bell is being attributed to the craftsmanship of Macario de los Angeles of Quiapo, dated 1834). A surviving bell in Capas was cast in 1876 and dedicated to the *Nuestra Señora del Carmen*, and was most probably under the direction of Fr.Miguel Garcia del Carmen, the then *misionero* of the *pueblo*. Most of these bells are still intact but no longer functional (some, they say, have become victims of thieves and collectors). In 1975, there was a news piece about the big mission bell of Bolso and its disappearance.³⁴ In spite of its irreplaceable loss as artifact, something could still be retrieved about it that may help in the restructuring of the former Recollect mission. The bell had the following inscriptions: *Purísima Concepcion Mision de Bolso Año 1877*. It was in most cases a dedication, possibly on the installation of the church. The one responsible for it might have still been Fr. Felix Perez, who was in the mission until 1879. Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception was and still is the patroness of the parish.

³⁴ *The Monitor* 20th Anniversary Issue, July 25, 1976. p.59

Bell	<i>Bamban A</i> [Bell no. 30]	<i>Bamban B</i> [Bell no. 31]	<i>Capas C</i> [Bell]	<i>Capas d</i>
Date of Casting	1834	1892	1812	1876
Inscriptions				
Donor	Hizo – Macario de los Angeles en su oficina de Quiapo		San Nicolas Tolentino Año 1812	Nstra. Sra. Del Carmen año de 1876
Parish Priest				
Patron Saint	Sto. Niño de Bamban		San Nicolas Tolentino	Nstra. Sra. Del Carmen
Province/Town	Bamban, Tarlac	Bamban, Tarlac	Capas, Tarlac	Capas, Tarlac
Weight	8 arrobas & 2 lbs	14 arrobas & 20 lbs	Not listed	Not listed
Height	47 cm (18 in.)	56 cm (21 in.)	44 cm./ Body cir. 108 cm and Head Cir 83 cm.	59 cm./ Body cir. 146 cm and Head Cir. 114 cm.
Circumference	153 cm (60 ¼ in.)	204 cm (77 ¼ in.)	160 cm	216 cm.
Diameter	51 cm (20 in.)	66 cm(26 in.)	52 cm	70 cm.
Crown Height	14 cms (5 ½ in.)	36 cm (14 ¼ in)	20 cm	21 cms

Clapper	None	None	None	Ball (iron) with ht of 54 cm. and cir of 23 cm.
Foundry	Macario de los Angeles	Unknown		
Provenance	Quiapo	Unknown		
Art motifs	Crucifix	Crucifix	Crucifix	Crucifix
Condition	Rim is broken	With crack, 47 cm or 18 in.	39 cm crack, 59 cm chip-off	Good

(In Henson’s work (1963), there is no inventory provided in the case of Mabalacat Church).
Fig. 10. Inventory of remaining bells of former Recollect Missions in Upper Pampanga

Social Archaeology and a *Reducción* Past

Consequently, what is left to remember them by-documents, write-ups and other remembrances have been too inadequate for historiographical purposes. So much has indeed been lost, and so many factors to blame: weather conditions, catastrophes, pilferage and human carelessness, and the mere passage of time. The resulting conditions would be very hard to convalesce, even with the enthusiasm of the Recollects, and other historically-conscious individuals, to redeem what is left of their former missions: the vacuum of almost a century is adequate enough to eradicate what was could still be traced of their conjunctures, at one time in our history.

History, however, has a way of compensating itself in spite of the lost grounds and the bygoners. Amidst the physical renovations and the succession of modernization, the spirit of the past can still pervade - in the traditions and the spirituality of the people who have benefited from such historical bond.

Old folks of O’Donnell (Patling), for example, have always regarded “the big Roman Catholic Church, the acacia trees around, and the coconut plants which cannot be found in the other barrios of Capas” as the “token of (the) Spaniards’ stay” in their place.³⁵ Based

³⁵ “Barangay O’Donnell (A Brief)”

on the 1906 inventory though, and considering the former *pueblo*'s topography and geographical location, it was most likely that the massive church structure referred to by the people of O'Donnell was of recent origin, probably during the American period. The presence of what used to be a *capilla posa* in the fronting church grounds, as pointed out by Fr. Pedro Galende, is revealing of the blending of Mexican influence (Galende, 2004:205).

Yet, the age-worn, gigantic acacia trees that queue themselves into an avenue of sort towards the church bespeak of their respectable bout with the centuries. Also the coconut palms on the backdrop. Their multitude may make them a phenomenon in O'Donnell; but these are common sights in Bohol, Palawan, and the Misamis which have also been former Recollect *ministerios*. "Far from being the enemy of progress," to paraphrase Sadaba, "the missionary has actually imbued among the people the value of honest labor"³⁶ - and which can be most visible in such plantations and other forms of agriculture. "I hope you'll send as soon as possible your samples of trees and plant seeds, with their names and other data, so that they can be planted here ...,"³⁷ wrote Fr. Diego Cera, the famous organ builder and former *misionero* of Mabalacat, to a fellow Recollect in 1825: an exhibit of enthusiasm that might not have been rare among the early missionaries of Upper Pampanga.

Spatter of such trees could still be seen sprawled on the fronting plaza of each church. And the church was always the heart of the *poblacion*, asserting what an early Protestant missionary has observed: "(a)lmost without exception one may see the massive white stone church, far and away among the first buildings, and the choicest location in every town in the archipelago..." A huge plaza serving as its facade has been the common arrangement of most of the former Recollect missions in Tarlac and Pampanga. Even to this day, such

³⁶ Fr. Sadaba's *Nota...*, in *Catalogo*, loc.cit.

³⁷ Joaquin, op.cit., p.231. Fr. Cera addressed his missive to Fr. Mariano Gutierrez, then Recollect parish priest of Jagna, Bohol and a famous naturalist. For his contributions on plants, see M.R.P. Simonena, OAR.

La Medicina Aplicada por los PP.Agustinos Recoletos en Filipinas. Barcelona:Escuela Tipografica Salesiana. Apartado 175, 1935. Fr. Simonena also made mention of Fr. Juan Perez de Sta. Lucia's contributions on herbal medicines in the *misionero*'s work among the Aetas of Capas and O'Donnell (Patling) . pp.10-11.

set-up has maintained the tranquility of the simple past; so especially true in the morning when the selfsame tranquility greets the faithful on their way for prayers - to God and to their *patron*.

And such devotion to the *patron* have lingered. The Recollect Proper of Saints is much visible: *Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria* (Mabalacat), *Inmaculada Concepcion* (Moriones), *Madre Dolorosa*, *Patriarca de San Jose* (O'Donnell), *Sta Lucia*, *Sta Monica*, and a host of others.

The seeming participation in the chorus of the predominantly pristine environment of the town has always been included in the repertoire: trees with their wet-season fruits, rice-fields with their first sign of gold, the “keek-keek” chiseling cry of the migratory bird, the brown shrike (*tarat*), announcing the start of its annual visitation in the islands. There was even a Kapampangan folksong of yore attributing the “locust-eating *tarat*” as a blessing from San Nicolas.³⁸

Even now, it is still part of one's childhood among this town that the regular sacraments of Baptism and Confirmation must be supplemented with the “biniag o bendicion San Nicolas (blessing).”³⁹ In the olden times, the recipient of the rite must be given “galang-galang”, a brawny, doughnut shaped bread which have been actually blessed by the ascetic saint himself, as vendors were usually prone to tell the unsuspecting customers. The highlight of each feast day of San Nicolas is the blessing of the bread, as a re-enactment of the healing miracle of the saint through this foodstuff; and which has not posed any problem to the largely rice-eating population. And in Kapampangan homes, an *almuerzo* of *saniculas* (cookies with the imprint of the Saint)⁴⁰ immediately follows.

³⁸ The popular image of St. Nicholas contains a saucer of *panecitos* with birds pecking on it. It was easy for the Filipinos to substitute the Italian species to the more Asiatic “tarat” as a way of adopting the saint as one of their own. Suggested by Fr. Joel Naranja, OAR.

³⁹ See *Ceremonial segun el Romano y el uso de los Religiosos Descalzos de nuestro padre de S. Agustin de la Congregacion de España e Indias*. De nuevo añadido y enmendado Año 1697. Madrid: Imprenta de la Compañía de Impresores y Libreros, Reimpreso en 1861. Chapter XXIII, pp. 398-399.

⁴⁰ Says Henson (1963) of the *saniculas*: “a cooky of arrowroot and coconut milk bearing the molded image of San Nicolas de Tolentino. Before

In spite of its elevation, ironically, Southern Tarlac (including the northern part of Pampanga) is generally looked down since it has remained the largest sanctuary for the aboriginal Aetas. Much of the evangelical labor of the Recollects during their tenure in the area was spent in the protection of the rights of these people against Spanish and Filipino expansionists. One of those who strongly championed for their cause and plight was Fr. Juan Perez de Santa Lucia, the former missionary and founder of the present town of Capas. "Who has," asked Jose Felipe del Pan in 1888, "after Fr. Juan had formed the *pueblo* of Patling for the Aetas, accorded these forsaken people their opportunities for progress?" This century-old question is yet to lose its applicability in the present times.

In these highlands where some of the villages of tribal communities could still be located, it is not unusual to hear of Spanish toponyms or geographical names as *Sta. Monica*, *Flora*, *Bueno*, *Aranguren*, *Socorro*, *Dolores*, and *Sta. Juliana* commingling with *Pilien*, *Maruglo*, *Tambo* and other places of Negrito provenance. This is much reflective of the zeal that had guided the early missionaries in penetrating what used to be the hinterlands.

Even prior to the Pinatubo disaster, the government has already complained of impassable roads and distances of places as barriers to the efficient delivery of services to the Aetas and other poor people in these areas. Its eruption merely augmented the complaints. Recently, a Recollect priest visiting their former missions for the first time was amazed at the utmost dedication of what his colonial brethren had done by making a network of dirt-roads to connect the various missions and settlements they have formed, with the geographical locations and distances their least concern. "It had been a feat already for most of the Recollects to have maintained their missions in the Visayas and other islands then," he said, "yet, since the sea was a convenient means of transport, for the remaining few to have been able to hold on to these missions in the mountainous heartland of Luzon for at least two centuries with only their feet for support is something else." And then, of course, a Recollect missionary in Upper Pampanga had to

eating it a prayer was muttered for St. Nicholas. Nowadays, however despite the persistence of the image it is without prayer desecrated by those who are not toothless." p.202.

contend with the presence of various languages and dialects (Negrito, Zambal, Ilokano, Pangasinense and Kapampangan) and his confrere in the Visayas could have managed with only Hiligaynon or Cebuano.

A legacy of the Recollects in their former missions would have been its people: people with deep, abiding spirituality and who are proud of their Christian heritage. As a testament, Capas and Bamban belong to the towns in the whole Diocese of Tarlac with the highest number of vocations to the priesthood and the religious life⁴¹, most particularly in affiliation to missionary orders.

Yet, on the other side of the landscape, could also be found the victims of *reducción*, the Aetas and other tribal communities, who are in the path of regaining their ancestral lands made complicated by that process.

⁴¹ Figures from *Directory '94*, Diocese of Tarlac, p.27.

References and References Cited

Abbreviations Used

AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain
AM	Archivo Provincial de San Nicolas de Tolentino, Marcilla, Navarra, Spain
ARA	<i>Augustinian Recollects in Asia</i> . Directory of the Vicariate of the Philippines and China. Quezon City: Office of the Vicar Provincial, 1992.
BE	<i>Boletin Ecclesiastico de Filipinas</i> . University of Santo Tomas.
BR	Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson. The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898.55 vols.Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1903-1909.
BSN	<i>Boletin de San Nicolas de Tolentino</i> . Marcilla, Navarra, Spain Catalogo Francisco Sadaba del Carmen, OAR. <i>Catalogo de los religiosos agustinos recoletos de la provincia de San Nicolas de Tolentino de Filipinas desde el año 1606, en que llego la primera mision a Manila, hasta nuestros dias</i> . Madrid: Imprenta del Asilo de Huerfanos del Sagrado Corazon de Jesus, 1906
CTS	Center for Tarlaqueño Studies, Tarlac State University
MAR	Museo-Archivo Recoleta. Quezon City, Philippines
PNA	Philippine National Archives
Reseña	Jose de la Concepcion, OAR “Reseña Historica de Nuestra Provincia de San Nicolas de Tolentino de Filipinas, desde su origen hasta el año 1750”. BSN (serialized) Año VIII, nos. 79-97, January 1917 - July 1918. Widely used was no. 93, pp. 59-64, for the Upper Pampanga missions.

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GOZOS of the Santo Niño: Spirituality and Theology

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Abstract

The Gozos to the Santo Niño is a song. It narrates and describes a part of Philippine History, particularly on the expedition of Legazpi, merging the expedition of Magellan and Legazpi. Gozos to the Santo Niño is historical in nature, a short narration of the significant historical events of the Santo Niño image and the early missionaries, the early liturgical, as well as the early recognition of the natives as a native deity was narrated and exposed through the Gozos.

But not only is the Gozos a song with historical narrations, this song is a devotional song in honor of Santo Niño and it has theological and spiritual dimensions. The theology and spirituality of Gozos engage one's piety from the feeling of obscurity to revelation and transcending one's life situation. The song invites one to look on the inner core of man who is God Himself, the inner teacher who teaches all to see His love and compassion and to feel the providential care of God for each and every devotee of Santo Niño who throws their concern and petition on God's mercy and generosity

This devotion to the Santo Niño, The Gozos, as part and object of the devotional practice, assists in the spread of the devotion through the innate love of the Filipinos to express their faith through songs.

Preliminaries

In a song, a story is told and narrated. It may be sad, happy or any kind emotion which the composer or the lyrists would like to convey. And this experience is something very personal. A song positions a person to an experience of sympathy and self-identification. Saliers in his article would describe music “as ordered sound is intimately related to the narrative quality of human experience.”¹ The fascination of the researcher with the wonders of music has moved him to pursue a study on how the music devotional song can help the devotee in contemplating the meaning behind the lyrics.

Music engages the person into a kind of theology and spirituality to the awakening of a much deeper dimension of reality and of the soul, such as an experience of God. Augustine describes this experience in these words;

When I love you, what do I love? Not the body’s beauty, nor time’s rhythm, nor light’s brightness...nor song’s sweet melodies, nor the fragrance of flowers, lotions and spices, nor manna and honey, nor the feel of flesh embracing flesh – none of these are what I love when I love my God. And yet, it’s something like light, sound, smell, food and touch that I love when I love my God – the light, voice, fragrance, embrace of my inner self, where a light shines for my soul ... That’s what I love when I love my God!²

The interrelatedness and acknowledgment of the available senses (the music) are essential in the experience of God. “To listen to music is to contemplate something beautiful which is a structured truth of a made thing itself and may also (if allied with poetry) contain extra-musical truth either from faith or reason.”³ Cole describes music

¹ Don E. Saliers, “Sound Spirituality on the formative expressive power of music for Christian Spirituality” in *Minding the Spirit the Study of Christian Spirituality* ed. Elizabeth A. Dreyer and Mark S. Burrows, 338.

² Augustine, *The Confession of St. Augustine*, trans. By E.B. Pusey (London: T. Nelson & Sons, 1937) Book X: 6,8.

³ Fr. Basil Cole, O.P., “Music and Spirituality: To the Tune of St. Thomas Aquinas” in *Ignatius Insight*, Available at: http://www.ignatiusinsight.com/features2008/print2008/bcole_musicspirit_oct08.html, (Accessed: February 14, 2014).

as the “language of the soul made audible, conferring upon human speech addressed to the divine its originating silence and mystery, especially as music is the performative mode of the prayer and ritual engagement of a community.”⁴

The Song “Gozos” in honor of Santo Niño, with its religious text and lingering music, is suited to the devotees of Santo Niño. The historical narration and melodious tone interplay through its lyrics and music. The lyrics in *Gozos* depict the journey of the image of *Santo Niño* to the Philippine shores. It illustrates not only the early exploration of the Spaniards in the Islands but also God’s providential guidance as Santo Niño image had boarded in the shores. The narration of the earlier practices of the natives and the first missionaries who further propagated the devotion to the Philippine islands. The miracles and wonders attributed to the image of Santo Niño were conveyed in the lyrics. As well as the providential institution of a Church in honor of the image of Santo Niño and the never failing and unconditional providence of God’s grace which endured through many years and continually sustained and endured up to the present times where the themes in which the lyrics of the *Gozos* were summarized and condensed. The inter-play of history, spirituality and theology within the song represents the spirituality that plays of human relations with different cultures and beliefs bonded in the love and grace of the image of Santo Niño.

Music through songs, especially the one devoted to *Santo Niño*, dispose one to the contemplation of faith, since it mirrors the infinite beauty of God himself. The faithful engaging in contemplation of the Divine in the image of the Child Jesus through singing, coupled by the waving of hands, and the theology and spirituality of devotion especially in the song *batu-balani*, should be taken into a study.

The devotion to *Señor Santo Niño de Cebu* holds a significant place in the hearts of the Filipinos and the Augustinians in the Philippine Church. It is the first devotion that introduced Christianity to the Filipino people. Since its arrival in the Philippines, many Filipinos continue to flock to the image to say, sing and dance their

⁴ Fr. Basil Cole, O.P., “Music and Spirituality: To the Tune of St. Thomas Aquinas” in *Ignatius Insight*, Available at: http://www.ignatiusinsight.com/features2008/print2008/bcole_musicspirit_oct08.html, (Accessed: February 14, 2014).

prayer petitions and thanksgiving for the graces and miracles they received.

This fascination to the devotion has resulted in many published articles, reflections and homilies. However, up to this time the researcher has not discovered a study on the theology and spirituality of the devotional song *Gozos*. The researcher would like to engage in the study for reason of manifesting the innate value of a simple song, exposing such richness, in order for the faithful—especially the devotees—to appreciate the beauty of the song as it directs them to the contemplation of the Divine.

Theological studies such as this may even be considered ambitious, knowing that Filipino theology is still on the initial stage of its articulation. Nevertheless, the Second Vatican Council recognizes the importance of popular devotions in its call for renewal in the Church. In the Constitution on Sacred Liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, it affirms that “Popular devotions of the Christian people are to be highly commended, provided they accord with the laws and norms of the Church, above all when they are ordered by the Apostolic See.”⁵

This study on the devotion to *Señor Santo Niño de Cebu* is a response to such a challenging call of the Church.

The Content and History of the Gozos to the Santo Niño

One concern of the early missionaries was instructing the natives to be part of the Catholic Church. One method they used was to write and translate books in Philippine languages.

⁵ Pope Paul VI, *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, Sacrosanctum Concilium*, Available at: http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19631204_sacrosanctum-concilium_en.html, (Accessed: February 14, 2014). Henceforth *SC*

The church authorities adopted a policy of spreading the Church doctrines by communicating to the native (pejoratively called *Indio*) in his own language. *Doctrina Christiana* (1593), the first book to be printed in the Philippines was a prayer book written in Spanish with an accompanying Tagalog translation. It was, however, for the exclusive use of the missionaries who invariably read them aloud to the unlettered⁶ *Indio* catechumens, who were to rely mainly on their memory. But the task of translating religious instructional materials obliged the Spanish missionaries to take a most practical step, that of employing native speakers as translators. Eventually, the native translator learned to read and write both in Spanish and his native language.⁷

The literacy of the natives flourished and led to the creation of the first written literature in the seventeenth century, mainly devotional piety, which unfortunately was lost. In order to boost and enrich such devotional piety, the Spaniards, with the help of the natives, translated novenas in the vernacular. Santos comments: “The culture that the Spaniards found in the Philippines was unique in that the art of reading and writing was in the hands of everybody.”⁸

During the early Spanish rule here in the Philippines, the publication of such materials was a priority. As Mojares observes, “during the larger part of Spanish rule, the printing press was applied almost exclusively to the production of novenas, meditations, ecclesiastical chronicles and the language handbooks necessary in the

⁶ Unlettered means not that the *Indios* did not have their own system of writings, but the *Indios* did not acquired the knowledge of the letters taught to them by the Spaniards.

⁷ Francis and Priscilla Macansantos, “Philippine Literature in the Spanish Colonial Period” Available at: <http://www.ncca.gov.ph/about-culture-and-arts/articles-on-c-n-a/article.php?igm=1&i=139> (Accessed: September 14, 2014).

⁸ Santos, Hector. “Literacy in Pre-Hispanic Philippines” in *A Philippine Leaf* Available at: <http://www.bibingka.com/dahon/literacy/literacy.htm>. US, October 26, 1996. (Accessed: October 4, 2014).

conduct of missionary work among the various dialect groups of the country.”⁹

The early Visayan publication, i.e., Panayano, Leyte-Samar and Cebuano was done by the Augustinians. “Early publishing in Visayan was mainly in three languages or dialects: Panayano, Leyte-Samar, and Cebuano. The friars who accounted for practically all the books published in these languages were the Augustinians, entrenched in the islands of Panay and Cebu.”¹⁰

The novenas then were translated in the vernacular which enabled the natives to understand and pray them. Novenas enriched Filipino piety especially during the early nineteenth century.

Gozos and Its History

There is no written account on the history of the term *Gozos*, as it is now written in novena books. *Gozos* has taken on a religious meaning as it was used as part of Catholic devotional practice. It means a *Composición poética en loor de la Virgen o de los santos, en la que se repite un mismo estribillo al final de cada copla*¹¹ and usually located in the last part of the novena. But there is roughly an approximation on where and when it started.

In the book *History of Spanish Literature*, a famous figure in Spanish literature, Don Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza (famously known as Marquis de Santillana), used the term *Gozos* in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary: “A kind of hymn which Marquis de Santillana composed under the title of *Los Gozos de nuestra Señora*, (the Joys of our Lady,) has been preserved.”¹²

Gozate, Gozosa, madre,
Gozo de la humanidad,
Temple de la Trinidad,

⁹ Mojares, Resil B., “Bibliography of Cebuano linguistics: with an essay on Vicente Sotto and the development of Cebuano (University of San Carlos, Cebu City, 1977), 40.

¹⁰ Ibid., 42.

¹¹ A poetic composition in praise of the Virgin or the saints, in which the same refrain, is repeated at the end of each son, taken from <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/spanish/gozo>

¹² Bouterwek, Friedrich, *History of Spanish and Portuguese Literature*, Volume 1 (Boosey and Sons, Broad Street London), 87.

Elegida por dios padre,
 Virgin que por el oydo
 Concebiste,
 Gaude, virgin, mater Christi,
 Y nuestro gozo infinito!
 Gozate, luz reverida,
 Segun el Evangelista
 Por la madre del Baptisita
 Anunciado la venida,
 De nuestro gozo Señora
 Que trayas
 vaso de nuestro mexias
 gozate pulchra y decora, &c.¹³

The *Gozos* composed by Marquis de Santillana was not originally intended for the novenas. *Gozos* literally means joys, and the *Los Gozos de nuestra Señora*, though it has no poetic merit, is valued as a hymn about the joys of the Virgin Mary's experience of God's providential care and guidance.

But in Spanish literature, especially in poetry and songs (hymns), there is "no essential distinction between what was called a *cancion* (song) and lyric romance (poems) was established either in theory or practice."¹⁴

Songs and poetry constitutively mixed during that time. The hymn and poetry recognized as religious were done in the vernacular, thus responding to the times. It is because in the Middle Ages (which this concept is part of its duration) popular practices were constituted. "The participation of the faithful was encouraged by the emergence of poetry in the vernacular which was widely used in popular piety."¹⁵ These were often marginal to the rhythm of the liturgical year like the novenas devoted to particular popular devotions. The evolution

¹³ Ibid., 87.

¹⁴ Ibid., 72.

¹⁵ Vatican. "Directory on popular piety and the liturgy. Principles and guidelines." Accessed December 10, 2014. http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/ccdds/documents/rc_con_ccdds_doc_20020513_vers-direttorio_en.html.

of such thought probably influenced the insertion of *Gozos* in the novenas. Novenas and *Gozos* were written in the native language.

A *Gozos* is a poetic composition with its unique tone intended for the *Gozos* itself. The *Gozos* does not have a fixed tone like in the Gregorian chant. It displays the culture and richness of the musicality of an area from which the tone originated.

In Spain, “[p]opular songs of every kind were probably indigenous in the Peninsula. The patriotic Spaniards, like many other ancient nations, were fond of preserving the memory of remarkable events in ballads . . . gave birth to many similar compilations of the history of the country.”¹⁶ The *Gozos* also depicts the history or the story behind the devotion of a particular Saint, Virgin Mary, and Jesus. Like in the ballads, its origin and musicality cannot be traced but is only handed down orally. The integration of the word *Gozos* in the novenas was fitted for its connotation and religious setting.

The word *Gozos* is from the verb *gozar*, which means to enjoy; it is like singing a song of praise. The term was first applied to the Virgin Mary and then included as a praise song for Santo Niño.¹⁷

Gozos to the Santo Niño

The researcher will use three versions to analyze the text of the *Gozos*. First is the Visayan *Gozos* which came from the novena book *Novena ug Pagdayeg sa Santisimo Niño Jesus nga guinnasimba han sa Ciudad sa Zugbu*; Second is the version now used as an offertory song in the novena masses in honor of Santo Niño; and Third is the Spanish version.

The *Gozos* to the Santo Niño in the novena book *Novena ug Pagdayeg sa Santisimo Niño Jesus nga guinnasimba han sa Ciudad sa Zugbu* imprinted in Seminario de San Carlos Manila in 1858 has an immense difference from the *Gozos* that is sung today, but has a great similarity to the Spanish *Gozos*. According to Fr. Policarpio Hernandez, OSA, as to the origin of the *Gozos* to the Santo Niño the lyrics of the Cebuano version of the *Gozos* originated from the

¹⁶ Ibid., 52.

¹⁷ “*Gozo*” in Merriam Webster Dictionary <http://www.spanishcentral.com/translate/gozar> (Accessed November 24, 2014)

Spanish version.¹⁸ But according to the available document, the Spanish *Gozos* is dated 1893 while the Cebuano version is from 1858. Although there is room for probability on which *Gozos* came first, the evidence shows that the Cebuano *Gozos* is thirty-five years older than the Spanish version. But according to some of the novenas gathered by the researcher, the vernacular novenas were translated from the Spanish novenas. This is because the native tongue of the friar was Spanish, which would have been the basis of the translation and not the other way around.

The study will compare the two Cebuano *Gozos*, particularly, their similarities and differences. The second point of study is a stanza-per-stanza analysis of the Spanish *Gozos*. The reason for such a flow of analysis is first, the Cebuano lyrics has its own cultural language captured in the vernacular. The translation might seemingly suffice but the richness and historical circumstances and even figures of speech are involved. The Spanish lyrics also has its rich cultural language and figures of speech. Eventhough the lyrics have one main topic, the Santo Nino, the manner of expression and emphasis differ. The author's prerogative and preference are manifested in the *Gozos*. For example, in the three *Gozos*, the term magnet, which is translated as *iman* in Spanish or *batu balani* in Cebuano, is used. It is also evident that when pleading for God's help and mercy is translated from Spanish to Cebuano, the expression differs but the meaning or the thought still remains. Also the finding of the image is present in the verse.

Comparative Textual Analysis of the Cebuano *Gozos*

The terms "old Cebuano *Gozos*" and "new Cebuano *Gozos*" are used to attribute to the Novena Padayeg sa Santo Niño while the latter to the *Gozos* used today. In the old *Gozos*, there are ten stanzas including the repetition of the first stanzas as its concluding stanza. At the end of every verse, the refrain is repeated. The new *Gozos*, on the other hand, is comprised only of five verses including the first verse, which is also its concluding verse.

¹⁸ An interview of Fr. Ericson Borre, OSA, a Filipino friar studying History at University of Valladolid, Spain, on the historical origin of the term *Gozos*

Old <i>Gozos</i>	New <i>Gozos</i>
Bato balani sa gugma sa daan tauo palangga	Bato balani sa gugma sa daang tawo palangga
canamo malooy ca unta nga canimo nangalaba	kanamo malooy ka unta nga kanimo nanggilaba

One can notice the similarity of the first verses of the old and new *Gozos*. The lyrics “*Bato balani sa gugma sa daan tauo palangga*” is the same in the old and the new versions. This verse is repeated three times to familiarize devotees with the main melody of the verses so that they might sing along with the *Gozos*.¹⁹

The refrain *canamo malooy ca unta nga canimo nangalaba* is repeated twice with same rationale behind the repetition of the same lyrics of the first verse. Though the melody is not the same, having the same lyrics makes the *Gozos* more easily comprehended and understood

Old <i>Gozos</i>	New <i>Gozos</i>
Ang sa sugbong pagcadonggo sa mga cachilang tauo, dinhi hipalgan icao sa usa canilang sosdalo cay nia icao nagpaquita quican lamang imong gugma	Dinhi sa siyudad sa Sugboang matahum mong larawan.
Ang balay nga hinpalgan sa imo nga catahuman nahimo nga catilingban	sa unang mga misyonero,sa usang balay hipalgan.
sa mga tauong daghanan, ang ngatanan naningala cay guionhanan mo man sila.	Kanila ikaw nagpakitagikan da sa imong gugma

In the first verse and refrain of the old *Gozos*, the lyrics used different spellings. In the *Abecedario*,²⁰ the letters K and W were

¹⁹ Monsignor Cristobal Garcia, a former Cebu Diocese Liturgist and founder of Society of Angel of Peace, on the basis of the repetition of the *Gozos*’ first stanza, interview by author, September 22, 2014

²⁰ When most of the Philippine languages were first written in the Latin script, they used the Spanish alphabet. This alphabet was called

virtually unutilized, both of which are used broadly in most Philippine languages today due to the *Abakada* alphabet.²¹ But the meaning of such is the same. This is also applied to the following verses. The difference in the words and phrase de-construction of the new *Gozos* in comparison to the old *Gozos* is evident in the verses. The change in the new version might be because of the inappropriateness of the lyrics of the old *Gozos* in the context and understanding of the times. Like in the second verse of the old *Gozos*, *pagcadonggo* is an old word which means to embark. The new *Gozos* no longer uses the event of the ship's coming to the shores of the Philippines, but instead goes directly to the discovery of the image, presuming that ship's coming happened with the statement *sa unang misyonero, sa usang balay hipalgan. Kanila ikaw nagpakita*.²²

Also the second and third verses of the old *Gozos* are compressed in the second verse of the new *Gozos*. The event of the boarding, finding, and building of the community in the site of the discovery of the image is stated in the old *Gozos*. In the new *Gozos*, it can be observed that the finding of the image in the house and assumption that the image was already there, and the acknowledgement that the image has settled on the expedition of Magellan.

In the old *Gozos*, the one who found the image of the Santo Niño was a soldier named Juan Camuz. The new *Gozos* uses the word *misyonero* as the person who discovered the image. According to a notary prepared by Hernando Riquel which was signed by Legazpi, it was Juan Camuz who discovered the image of the Santo Niño. It was not the missionaries who found the image in the burned house. The use of the term *misyonero* instead of Juan Camuz is because of euphony, an agreeable sound reflected in the phonetic quality of poetic words. The word *misyonero* rhymes with the word *sugbo*. The

the Abecedario, the original alphabet of the Catholicized Filipinos, which variously had either 28, 29, 31, or 32 letters. Until the first half of the 20th century, most Philippine languages were widely written in a variety of ways based on Spanish orthography. Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia. "Filipino orthography." Accessed November 15, 2014. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Filipino_orthography.

²¹ Ebolusyon ng Alpabetong Pilipino Available at: <http://wikapbworks.com/w/page/8021671/Kasaysayan> (Accessed October 7, 2014)

²² The first missionaries, in one house You appeared before them

intention of such revision is not to disregard the importance of Juan Camuz but to give emphasis on the finding of the image. The image of Santo Niño is an icon of Christianity as it represents Jesus, the Second Person of the Trinity. And the Augustinian missionaries represent the Church as Jesus' successors to the proclamation of God's kingdom. The unelaborate lyrics of the new *Gozos* give importance on what the image entails, i.e., Christianity. The revision does not distort the history of the finding of the image of Santo Niño. The missionaries were there but instead the focus of attention is on the discovery rather than on who discovered it.

Old <i>Gozos</i>	New <i>Gozos</i>
guisimba icaog ug guilodhan ni Legaspi nga ponoan.	Giludhan ka ug gisimba niadtong mga kaparian
Cay icaog niya ang hinkita-an sa iyang pahidalagan,	sa tanang mga katawhansa mga ponoan nila:
sa maragaang nga gugma nagamatuod nga Dios cang bata	kay sa pagtan-aw kanimo Kristiyanos sila nahimo.

In the first line of the fourth verse of the old *Gozos* and the third verse of the new *Gozos*, the term “*guilodhan*” or “*giludhan*” and “*guisimba*” and “*gisimba*” are used. There is a difference between the two. It is in the specific person (Legaspi; old *Gozos*) and persons, not pertaining to one person only, (*kaparian*, *katawhan* and *ponoan*; new *Gozos*) who worshiped and kneeled before the image of Santo Niño. The line “sa tanang mga katawhan sa mga *ponoan nila*” in the new *Gozos* implies Legaspi, as he led the expedition in the Islands, as well as the Augustinian missionaries who went for evangelization. The old *Gozos* emphasized what really happened during the event of Juan Camuz's handing over of the image of Santo Niño to Legaspi, i.e., Legaspi's act of kneeling before the image of Santo Niño, the details of which will be discussed later in this chapter. The old *Gozos* narrated what happened after the discovery and the handing over of the image to him. The new *Gozos* emphasizes the missionaries, people with the Spaniards, and Legaspi's conversion and intensification of one's faith.

Old <i>Gozos</i>	New <i>Gozos</i>
cadtong mga tauong daghan ang gugma nila	Ang simbahan gipatindog niadtong mga tawhana
guiasdang sa pagbuhat ug singbahan	aron ang larawan nimodunay usang puluyanan
sa canimo nga hipalgan nga guipanaghalid nila canimo Dios sa higugma	ug didto gihangyo nilanga kaluy-an nimo sila.

The fifth verse of the old and the fourth verse of the new *Gozos* involve the building of the Church. The old and the new refer to the ones who built the church for the Santo Niño as “those people” or *tauong daghan* (old) or *mga tawhana* (new). And “those people” are Legaspi, the Augustinian missionaries, and the converted people. In the old *Gozos*, the location of the church is indicated in the line *pagbuhatug singbahan sa canimo ngahipalgan*. It is the site where the image of Santo Niño was found that the church was built in His honor. In the new *Gozos*, the church is referred to a shelter, it is the shelter or *puluyanan* of the image. The historical location is not indicated but this *puluyanan* gathered devotees in the church for honoring and asking for mercy from the image of Santo Niño whom they love. In the lines of the old *Gozos*, *pagbuhat ug singbahan sa canimo nga hipalgan nga guipanaghalid nila canimo Dios sa higugma*, the building of the church is as an act of offering to God. The honoring to the image is done in a different manner. The old *Gozos* is manual labor which is something tangible. The new *Gozos* is something spiritual as the offering of one’s faith through pleading and asking for God’s mercy. There is a shift from the physical to the spiritual—the building of the church as something which is not only a physical structure but a church as gathering of people, worshipping and asking God’s mercy.

Old <i>Gozos</i>	New <i>Gozos</i>
ang imong mga catahuman sa among calag calipayan,	Nangayo kami kanimonga ang matahum mong larawan
sa among sa saquit ingon tambal, ug sa among cahangul manggad	sasuludsakalagnamomakahimog puluyanan,

sa ngatanan quinahanglan ica ang among dalangpan	kay sa tanang kinahanglanikaw ang among dalangpan
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There is a great similarity in the sixth verse of the old *Gozos* and fifth verse of the new *Gozos*. It is one's soul or *calag/kalag* relying on Christ as His refuge or *dalangpan* especially in times of need manifested in the image of the Santo Niño. The old *Gozos* depicts the image of the Holy Child as its joy and remedy and refuge in one's soul. In the new *Gozos*, there is a plea for the image to dwell in one's soul because it is its refuge. Both are expressed in a different manner but they have the same intention and theme which is one soul's or a devotee's soul's dependence on Christ through the image as its "dalangpan" or refuge in times of need.

Gozos Stanza per Stanza Historical Context

***Imán dulce de mi amor. Dulce dueño enamorado,* (Sweet Magnet of love. Sweet beloved Master)**

Pliny the Elder claims the term "magnet" came from "a shepherd called Magnes, who found his iron-nailed shoes and staff sticking to the ground. It seems more likely that the name came from the Magnesia region, one place where naturally magnetic ore is to be found."²³ Pliny continues, "It received its name "magnes," Nicander informs us, from the person who was the first to discover it, upon Ida. It is found, too, in various other countries, as in Spain, for example. Magnes, it is said, made this discovery, when, upon taking his herds to pasture, he found that the nails of his shoes and the iron ferrel of his staff adhered to the ground."²⁴

The term "magnet" or *Imán* is used in reference to our Lord is a metaphor to depict the magnetizing, influencing and attracting

²³ Fowler, Michael, Historical Beginnings of Theories of Electricity and Magnetism Available at: http://galileoandeinstein.physics.virginia.edu/more_stuff/E&M_Hist.html (Accessed September 15, 2014)

²⁴ The Natural History. Pliny the Elder. John Bostock, M.D., F.R.S. H.T. Riley, Esq., B.A. London. Taylor and Francis, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street. 1855.<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/doc=Perseus:text:1999.02.0137:book=36:chapter=25&highlight=magnes> (Accessed September 15, 2014)

qualities of our Lord. In the expedition of Magellan and Legazpi, so as to the physical composition of the image, the term *Imán* was not used. But instead events that show the “magnetizing” power of the Lord were very evident.

In the time of Magellan’s expedition, the natives were drawn to the image. The person who was particularly attracted to the image was Queen Juana. In the early accounts Queen Juana’s “providential proto-conversion during Magellan’s expedition facilitated the adoption of the Holy Infant among the many pagan Cebuanos; they finally fully accepted the Catholic faith subsequent to Legazpi’s arrival and strongly embraced Catholic devotional practices because of the perceived miraculous cures which followed the conversion.”²⁵

In the event of the finding of the image of the Santo Niño, the soldiers were drawn to the image. The inner impulse of Juan Camuz urged him to go inside the burned house, where he found in a box the image of Santo Niño.

The Christianization in the sixteenth century in the Islands of the Philippines was not accidental. Divine Grace was at work when the people of this region had their first contact with the image of the Santo Niño. It is an important historical fact, rich in theological and spiritual meaning. In his study, Astrid Sala-Boza mentioned the Jungian synchronicities in the Western historical accounts in the Islands of the Philippines, i.e., “the mystical relationships between pivotal events and personalities that supernaturally converged—perceived as the hand of God—to establish the devotion.”²⁶ This mystical movement enables one to experience God’s presence in the image of the Santo Nino. God’s providential guidance is manifested in His love for humankind and has been historically experienced by the first Western conquistadors in the Islands of the Philippines, thus enabling the natives to see the image of God through the Santo Nino.

²⁵ Sala-Boza, Astrid. “A Formal-functional Study of the Sañor Santo Niño De Cebu Ethnohistorical Perspective”. (Dissertation. Cebu City: University of San Carlos, 2005), 515.

²⁶ Sala-Boza, Astrid. “A Formal-functional Study of the Sañor Santo Niño De Cebu Ethnohistorical Perspective”. (Dissertation. Cebu City: University of San Carlos, 2005), 515.

Socorred, Niño agraciado al que implora tu favor.

(Help graceful Child to anyone who implores your favor.)

The chorus of *Gozos* to the Santo Nino reflects the religious sentiments of the historical events surrounding the Spaniard's and native's experience of Santo Niño here in the Philippines. The focus was the religious undertone of the *Gozos* and supplicatory factor of the *Gozos*. Though it has no historical data as to the first and sixth verses, this verse, as it is repeated as it is the chorus of the *Gozos*, aids one in discerning God's providential guidance or help in the many events that happened in the early part of the expedition of Legazpi.

The following verses, the second to the fifth verse of the *Gozos*, recount the events that followed the discovery of the image—the finding of the image of Santo Niño, its procession towards Legazpi, the intense reaction of Legazpi, and the dedication of a temple (church) and an altar in honor of the same place where the image of the Santo Niño was found. The continuing verses, the sixth to the ninth verse, illustrate and narrate the events after the discovery of the image, particularly the miracles attributed to the image of Santo Niño and being the Patron-as-Protector of Cebu which the Augustinians and the faithful solemnly declare as such.

The chorus, just like in every song, sets the theme of the *Gozos*. This serves as the indicator of the focus of the song. The chorus also serves as a tapestry that connects the historical events, enforced by the Lord in the image of Santo Niño.

*Al saquear esta Ciudad en una casa os hallaron, y en vos,
oh Niño encontraron el arca de la piedad. Y pues lo sois
con verdad en toda pena y dolor.*

**(Upon sacking this city they found you in a box, and in
you, Oh Child, they have encountered the ark of piety.
Truly you are in pain and sorrow.)**

*Sucedio', pues, que saqueandolos soldados
las casas de Cebu' que habi'an desamparado sus
moradores y que habi'an quedado libres del incendio,
un marinero de la nao Capitana, nombrado Juan
de Camu's, a quien otros llaman de Borneo por ser
natural de un lugar de este nombre del Senorio de
Vizcaya, acompañado de un artillero de la misma nao,
llamado Pedro de Alorza, emplea'ndose ambos en lo*

que dema's soldados, entro' Juan de Camu's en la casa de un indio principal, y en ella hallo' dos cajas liadas (sin duda para lleva'rselas consigo con la dema's ropa su dueno cuando se huyo' al monte), y abriendo una de ellas, solamente hallo' un diente de javali' y una escudilla, y en la otra no encontro' cosa alguna. Deseoso de saciar su deseo, penetro' en lo interior de la casa, y hallo' otra caja liada con cordel de Castilla y con una cuerda de ca'n'amo, y paracie'ndole que pesaba mucho, rompio' las ligaduras, y abierta, hallo' dentro otra caja de pino (madera que no hay en estas islas) y dentro la hechura de talla de un Nin' o Jesu's.²⁷

It was not long after the failure of the earlier expeditions under Magellan and Villabos in their attempt to Christianize and conquer the Islands of the Philippines that the new expedition of Legazpi commenced. It was twenty-two years in the making with Fray Urdaneta, OSA, that the conquest embarked with four ships that sailed from *Puerto de Navidad* on Tuesday, November 21, 1564 to the Philippine Islands. The first intention was to colonize New Guinea but the instruction of the Audiencia “prescribed definitely the voyage to the Philippines.”²⁸ On Friday, April 27, 1565, Legazpi's flagship San Pedro, the *pataches* San Juan under Captain Juan de la Ysla and San Lucas under Captain Alonso de Arellano docked on the shore of Cebu. San Pablo led by Master of Camp, Mateo del Saz landed the

²⁷ It happened then that when the soldiers sacked the houses in Cebu, abandoned by their owners, and spared by the fire, a sailor from the *Capitana* named Juan de Camus, called Bermeo by others, because he was a native from a place with this name in Vizcaya, accompanied by an artilleryman of the same ship named Pedro de Alorza, were both doing their duty as soldiers when Juan de Camus entered the house of a native leader. He found two boxes tied up (undoubtedly to be brought away together with the owner's clothes when they fled to the mountain). Opening one of them, he found only a wild boar tusk and a large cup or bowl, while the other one contained nothing. Wanting to satisfy his curiosity, he went deeper into the house. There, he found another box made of pine (wood not found in these islands). Inside it, he discovered a carving of the Child Jesus.

Gaspar de San Agustin, Pedro G. Galende, and Luis Mañeru, *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas, 1565-1615* (Manila, Philippines: San Agustin Museum, 1998), 336.

²⁸ Tenazas, Rosa C. *The Santo Niño of Cebu* (Cebu City: University of San Carlos Publications, 1965), 24.

following day. Negotiations were made upon Legazpi's arrival in Cebu primarily to the chieftain of the island. But the chieftain did not agree to the peaceful arrangement with the Spaniards. Instead he (Tupas) sent messengers and a deputy for negotiations and grabbed this opportunity to retreat and bring their belongings and animals for safety. On April 28, 1565, for the last time Legazpi sent a peace offering through Del Saz and Urdaneta but the natives expressed hostility and challenged to fight against the Spaniards. In effect, the Spaniards "under the command of Martin de Goiti and Juan de la Ysla then sailed to the native warriors. At the same time, the cannons of San Pedro and the San Pablo and the patache began firing at the natives."²⁹ "Legazpi dispatched a party of his soldiers to take the islands. The native Cebuanos had fled to the mountains when the Spaniards landed, leaving the village on fire."³⁰

When night fell, some soldiers searched the remaining huts for loot, only to find out a statuette of the Child Jesus of Flanders. San Agustin narrates:

It happened then that when the soldiers sacked the houses in Cebu, abandoned by their owners, and spared by the fire, a sailor from the Capitana named Juan de Camus, called Bermeo by others, because he was a native from a place with this name in Vizcaya, accompanied by an artilleryman of the same ship named Pedro de Alorza, were both doing their duty as soldiers when Juan de Camus entered the house of a native leader. He found two boxes tied up (undoubtedly to be brought away together with owner's clothes when he fled to the mountain). Opening one of them, he found only a wild boar tusk and a large cup or bowl, while the other one contained nothing. Wanting to satisfy his curiosity, he went deeper into the house. There, he found another box made of pine (wood not found in these islands). Inside it, he discovered a carving of the Child Jesus. Ecstatic beyond himself, he ran out screaming about the joy of his discovery saying in his native Vizacayan tongue, since he was poor in

²⁹ Joseph Calbrecht "The Finding and Origin of the Santo Niño of Cebu" *Saint Louis Quarterly* 3, no. 1 (1965): 9

³⁰ Tenazas, 25

the Castilian language: "For the body of God, I have found the son of the Holy Mary."³¹

Juan Camuz's finding of the image of the Holy Child made him *ecstatic beyond himself, he ran out screaming about the joy of his discovery*, thus telling "Estaban Rodriguez, one of the men under Martin de Goiti's command" and exclaiming *for the body of God, I have found the son of the Holy Mary*. Though such account is doubtful and there seems to be a contradiction between the statement of Camuz and that of Rodriguez, the latter states in his testimony that Camuz did not know what kind of statuette he had found. "However, the fact that Camuz asked Rodriguez what kind of statuette it was, does not itself prove that he did not know anything about it. Perhaps, he asked this in order to have his opinion verified."³²

The finding of Juan Camuz of the image of Santo Nino is verified in the notary made by Fernando Riquel and signed by Legazpi;

On the island of Cebu on the Western islands of His Majesty in the Philippines, on the 16th day of May of the year 1565, the most illustrious Miguel Lopez de Lagazpi, Governor and Captain General of the discovery of the islands to the West, before me, Fernando Rique, notary public of said islands. I depose and say: That on the day the Spaniards entered said island, of the village of Cebu, on Saturday, the 28th of April of the present year, after having conquered the natives of this town, who were mercilessly subdued and who fled inland, in one of the poorer houses, moderate, humble and small with few utensils, entered into by Juan de Camus, a native of Bermeo, sailor of the ship of Capitana, he found an image of the Child Jesus within its box of pine, with his cap of flounced red velvet akin to those made in Flanders, and valanced shirt, with two fingers of his right hand raised as in a blessing and on the left, holding a round ball without a cross, with a small metal necklace on a gold chain. This box and the image of the Child Jesus were inside

³¹ San Agustin, 337

³² Ibid.

another box made from wood found in the islands, tied together on the outside with a cord. After finding it, he carried the box in his hands to show the general... the said governor, caused before me the said notary to write an account of witnesses and signed his name. Miguel Lopez. Signed before me, Hernando Riquel, official notary.³³

The image was found in a box, which may symbolize an ark. Like the Ark of the Covenant through which God's presence secured the Hebrew people from their enemies, the image of the Santo Niño for the Spaniards symbolized, aside from the presence of God, His providential guidance during their journey as well as their piety.

The ark of piety was not only for the Spaniards, but also for the natives who had manifested their love to the image. Because of prior negotiations, the natives had secured the image to be brought maybe to the mountains where they fled for fear of the artilleries of the Spaniards. Juan Camuz "found two boxes tied up...there, he found another box made of pine (wood not found in these islands). Inside it, he discovered a carving of the Child Jesus." The box tied up seemingly manifested the immediacy for transportation of the box to the mountains.

The use of the language of pain and sorrow *toda pena y dolor* describes the state of the image and the surroundings as the town was burned and fired by the artilleries of the Spaniards. The depressing scenario of a devastated town made the image of Santo Niño experience pain and sorrow. This emotional manifestation does not literally mean that the image can feel and experience pain and sorrow, but it was Jesus who experienced such. Because Jesus' image was carved in Santo Niño, it seemed that He was the one who experienced pain and sorrow over the said event. And this emotional attribution to the image is a depiction of the backdrop of the historical drama of the discovery of the image of Santo Niño.

***A la casa en que fué hallada, oh Niño vuestra hermosura,
van soldados con tenura en procesión bien formada; allí la
tropa admirada se ve y llena de fervor.***

(In the house where you were found, Oh Child, your

³³ San Agustin, 343.

**beauty, the soldiers guide with tenderness in procession
well formed; there the troops and the crowds are seen
with admiration as full of fervor and devotion.)**

Before the arrival of the Spaniards in the Philippines, the “[a]rchitectural structures of the houses are described as of ethnic houses such as the cave, the lean-to dwelling, and the tree-house.”³⁴ Houses of the natives were usually near the shoreline. It was strategic and practical for survival and daily sustenance. And “our forefathers also constructed some lean-to of light material by the side of their house and called it *simbahan* or *sibi*. The rich kept the images of their gods and *anitos* in a room which served as a place of worship.”³⁵

Our forefathers believed, too, that their departed ancestors were guarding them and that their grandparents could either bring or remove illness. They, therefore, preserved their ancestors’ memory in idols stone, wood, gold, or ivory which they called *likha*, or *larawan* and offered for those ancestors who were believed to have assumed the nature of *anitos* and became Bathala’s servants and their intercessors.³⁶

The materials used for the building of their houses were dry palm and wood. Cement and plastics were not yet introduced to the natives. For this reason pre-Hispanic houses were easily burned by the artilleries of the Spaniards.

When Cebu was infiltrated, a house in the middle of the village caught fire. It was not known whether this was burned by the natives or if it was caused by a shot from the *Almiranta* which could have hit the roof of the hut. “Since the huts were made of dry palm (that the natives commonly call *nipa*) it caught fire easily.”³⁷ The house burned down, together with another hundred, and the entire village would have been burned to cinders if the wind had not changed, giving the Spaniards time to defend what they already considered their lodgings.”³⁸

³⁴ Alarcon, Norma I., “Philippine Architecture During the pre-Spanish and Spanish Period” (Manila/ Santo Tomas University Press 1991), 2

³⁵ Cristina Sabado, *Philippine Church History* (Salesiana Publishers, Inc., Makati, 1990), 12.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ San Agustin, 335.

³⁸ Ibid.

There are two theories about the house where the image was discovered. First, the house enshrined the image as a deity. And second, the house was owned by a slave.

The house had hidden the image as its deity as it was honored with many flowers and “later on it was learned that the natives had made sacrifices to the image and just as they did to their anitos had anointed it with oil.”³⁹ This might be an indicator that indeed this might be a sort of chapel for a deity adorned as someone who has supernatural powers.

According to the venerable Father Esteban de Salazar, “the soldiers sacked the house of one of the leaders.”⁴⁰ The house was believed to be owned by King Humabon and Queen Juana. But in another account, this house was believed to be a house of a slave, because Humabon was stripped of their previous status and his powers had been transferred to Tupas. This house was also believed that were Humabon and Juana spent their retirement. This is one of the theories of the status of the house prior to the discovery of the image. This theory might have a grain of truth of being the house of the discovery.⁴¹

In the account of Gaspar de San Agustin, he only stated this event as *everybody went to the house*. But this scenario was detailed by the venerable Father Esteban de Salazar. This was an event between the gap on the event of the finding and the handing over of the image to Legazpi. Upon the discovery of the image of Santo Niño in the house, “[t]he entire army, with fervent tears, undertook a procession, going to the house, and carried the reward as a gift from God in consolation of their pilgrimage.”⁴² This historical narration on the procession was of great importance for the author of the Gozos for its inclusion.

This verse of Gozos supports the following verse in which the historical accounts were narrated in the historical data gathered by Gaspar de San Agustin in connection to Legazpi’s arrival on the same house where the image was discovered.

³⁹ Regalado Trota Jose, *Simbahan: Church Art in Colonial Philippines, 1565-1898* (Ayala Museum, 1991), 4.

⁴⁰ San Agustin, 337.

⁴¹ Astrid, 124.

⁴² San Agustin, 335.

Entre otros el General al ver tan gran maravilla, fervoroso se arrodilla, para adorar prenda tal; con gozo reverencial os venera por Señor.

(Among others, the General upon seeing such great marvel, with zeal bends his knees to adore such wonder; with reverential song, let us venerate the Lord.)

There are two contrasting accounts on the how Legazpi saw the image. In Gaspar de San Agustin, *everybody went to the house*. This means that the troops together with Legazpi went to the house where the image was discovered and eventually Legazpi saw the image. The other account of Esteban Rodriguez, in the event of the discovery of the image of Santo Nino, Mateo del Saz, the Master of Camp of San Pablo, took the image from Juan Camuz and brought it to General Legazpi and the friars. This means that Legazpi was in a stationary position and not in motion as Gaspar had depicted. These are the two contrasting historical accounts, but the researcher has chosen the account of Gaspar as the reference point of his research.

El General le venero' hincado de rondillas, derramando muchas la'grimas y con singulares afectos de devocio'n, que acompan'aban los religiosos con tiernos sollozos de gusto, y con no menos los de la armada, confesando todos que Dios premiaba la devocio'n que el General habi'a tenido siempre a su Santo Nombre y el ardiente celo con que emprendi'an la conquista temporal, por haber de resultar de ella la espiritual de tanta multitud de almas. El devoto General con los dema's dieron gracias a Dios por este beneficio, reputa'ndole por remuneracio'n cumplida de los muchos trabajos que habi'an padecido en el viaje, y prometiendo de nuevo emplear toda su vida en que por todas aquellas islas fuese conocido y venerado su Santo Nombre⁴³

There was an intense reaction from Legazpi upon receiving the image of Santo Nino,

⁴³ San Agustin, 336.

The general got on his knees, weeping copiously and displaying singular acts of devotion, accompanied by the religious with tender sobs of joys. The entire armada joined in, declaring that God rewarded the devotion that the general had always had for the Holy Name and the ardent zeal with which the temporal conquest was undertaken due to the spirituality of so many souls. The devout general, together with the rest, gave thanks to God for this blessing, considering it sufficient remuneration for the numerous difficulties they suffered on the voyage, and promising anew to dedicate the rest of his life to make the Holy Name known and venerated throughout the islands⁴⁴

The passionate reaction of Legazpi indeed showed his many struggles and his victory over them. The image was a symbol of vindication. His expedition was dedicated to God's greater glory. The reverential song that this verse in *Gozos* stated was the exaltation of thanksgiving and a promise of annual celebration on the finding of the image, propagation of the devotion to the Santo Niño and Confraternity to the Santo Niño has officially started.

The devout general, together with the rest, gave thanks to God for the blessings, considering it sufficient remuneration for the numerous difficulties they suffered on the voyage, and promising anew to dedicate the rest of his life to make the Holy Name known and venerated throughout the islands. Everybody vowed to celebrate the lucky discovery of such a sacred treasure annually on the day the Divine Child was discovered which was on April 28.⁴⁵

And for the veneration attributed to the Holy Child to fully commence, Legazpi also decided to build a church in honor of the Holy Child to be taken care of by the religious, i.e., Augustinians: "It was decided that the first church and convent to be founded on that island had to enjoy the avocation of the Sacred Child and the name of the province to be that of His Most Holy Name. The sovereign title is

⁴⁴ Ibid, 337.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 337-339.

preserved to this day. Thus did the general render such a divine gift to our religious.”⁴⁶

En aquel mismo lugar afectos de amor indican, cuando templo os edifican cuando os erigen altar; monumento singular dedicado al Dios de amor.

(In that same place, affected by love they manifest, when they build you a temple, they provide you an altar; a singular monument dedicated to the God of Love.)

The concept of implanting the seed of Christianity shown by the structures made was the religious worldview during that time. To fulfill this mission, the spiritual conquest of Legazpi's expedition, they built a church in honor of the image of Santo Niño. But the concept of having a place of adoration was imbibed by the natives. This notion was practiced without the teachings of the Spaniards about having a place for worship. The idea of placing a deity in a place is like domesticating gods, making it more accessible and reachable. “The domestication and taming of the divine is a characteristic among animists,” among the natives of the Philippines.

During Magellan's conquests in the islands, there was a great desire of the natives to be baptized into the Catholic faith. But a condition was laid on the natives and that was the burning of their idols and *anitos*. “The Captain told them that if they wished to become Christians as they had declared on the previous days, they must burn their idols and set up a cross in their place.”⁴⁷ But to his dismay, some natives still practiced their pagan and animistic rituals in spite of the baptism of their king and the handing over of the image of Santo Niño to their queen. “One day the captain-general asked the king and the other people why they did not burn their idols as they had promised when they became Christians.”⁴⁸ It was because of the restoration of a sick man to health who happened to be the prince's brother. “They replied that what they were doing was not for themselves, but for a sick man who had not spoken now for four days, so that the idols might

⁴⁶ San Agustin, 339.

⁴⁷ Pigafetta, Antonio, and T. J. Cachey. *The First Voyage Around the World (1519-1522): An Account of Magellan's Expedition*, (New York: Marsilio Publishers, 1995), 37.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

give them health. He was the prince's brother, and the bravest and wisest man in the island."⁴⁹ In order to gain converts for Christianity and make the natives burn their idols and shrines, he swore that if the miracle would not happen particularly to the prince's sick brother then he would behead himself. "The captain told them to burn their idols and to believe in Christ and that if the sick man were baptized, he would quickly recover; and if that did not so happen they could behead him (the captain) then and there."⁵⁰ The miraculous cure happened, and as a consequence of such Divine providential cure, the idol, which an old woman had concealed in her house, was burned. Not only were the domesticated idols burned, but also, the many shrines along the seashore were destroyed by the natives themselves as a response to the captain and their belief in Christ.

At the arrival of Legazpi's expedition in the shores of the Philippines and the Spaniards' takeover and conquest of the natives, some houses were burned to the ground, but in a house spared in the fire, an image was found. And what was found in the house were many flowers and "later on it was learned that the natives had made sacrifices to the image and just as they did to their *anitos* had anointed it with oil."⁵¹ The decorations and sacrifices are a picture of the owner of the house domesticating the "Holy Child or the *anito* (for the natives), believing that it would help in their daily sustenance and existence. This was the concept of place of worship for the natives of the Philippines.

The pagan practices and beliefs were gradually changed by the expedition of Legazpi. The shift from the non-Christian beliefs was formally inaugurated and gradually continued. The fleet of Legazpi took the discovery of the image of Santo Niño as a favorable sign from above that their endeavors were of God's Will. This led Legazpi, as part of his first acts, "to erect a temporary church. He also reserved the ground where the statuette was found as the future site of the Monastery of the Holy Name."⁵²

⁴⁹ Pigafetta, Antonio, and T. J. Cachey. *The First Voyage Around the World (1519-1522): An Account of Magellan's Expedition*, (New York: Marsilio Publishers, 1995), 39.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 41.

⁵¹ Trota Jose, 4.

⁵² Tenazas, 32.

It was decided that the first church and convent to be founded on that island had to enjoy the avocation of the Sacred Child and the name of the province to be that of His Most Holy Name. The sovereign title is preserved to this day. Thus did the general render such a divine gift to our religious. It was brought with great solemnity and displays of joy on a procession to a church that had been set up in a bower of branches, with a covering of hay while things were being put in place, and while the principal church was being constructed wherein which it is today venerated.⁵³

The image was brought to a temporary church and this “first provisionary church, in all probability made of nipa and bamboo.”⁵⁴

The holy image was placed in solemn pomp and procession (and) once situated on the altar, decorated as decently as possible.⁵⁵

The whole fleet took part in it and carried the ornaments that they could. The most Holy Child was carried in this procession to our house, and placed on an altar as decently adorned as was possible in that early period.⁵⁶

After such procession, “the first mass of those islands was celebrated there, with more spirit and devotion than music and splendor.”⁵⁷ And during the sermon given by Fray Diego Herrera, an event happened:

. . . two leaders of Cebu, with more than thirty natives, who had come to speak to the governor about the restitution of the Holy Child and the peace they wanted to establish, having arrived before Mass began and having witnessed the sumptuous cult and reverence that the Spaniards had for the sacred image, were absorbed and struck with awe. More so, when they were allowed to enter the church and found

⁵³ San Agustin, 339.

⁵⁴ Tenazas, 32.

⁵⁵ San Agustin, 339

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 347.

themselves present at Mass and during the sermon, admiring all the new ceremonies made to the same Child Jesus they revered as a prize inherited from their elders for all their remedies.⁵⁸

These remedies granted to the pagans were key motivational factors by which the natives believed in the efficiency of the intercession of the image. They viewed and revered the image as was brought to them by the angels and believed that it had been with them from time immemorial, which means that it was with them even before the expedition of Magellan docked on the shores of Cebu.

The belief thrived and the devotion to the Santo Niño was ignited by the Spaniards. The expedition was not put to waste, and the building of the church in honor for the image of Santo Niño was a celebration of such victory. Aside from its spiritual dimension, the church structure itself would narrate the triumph of an expedition and serve as living proof that it had flourished. And such proof was highlighted by offering an altar dedicated to the icon of such victory, the image of Santo Niño.

This verse serves as the last part of the first set of events on the discovery of the image and the consequences of such discovery.

*Hallan en vuestra beldad las almas dulce atractivo,
los dolores lenitivo, y las miserias piedad, lluvias en la
sequedad les concede vuestro amor.*

(The souls see in your beauty, sweet and attractive, the sorrows will leniency, and the miseries with piety, rains in dry season he grants them with love.)

This verse in *Gozos* has no historical data for it deals with emotional attachment to the image and its beneficial spiritual gifts. Though it does not give any literal historical event, the verse serves as a transition verse, introducing another set of events connected to the Santo Niño. The last line *lluvias en la sequedad les concede vuestro amor* connects the events of miracles attributed to the image.

The first to fifth verses of the *Gozos* are about the discovery of the image and its detailed events. In the seventh to ninth verses, the events were on the miracles, particularly about the asking of rain, or the post-discovery events. The sixth verse sets the tone of transition. The claim that it serves as a transition verse is strengthened by the use of

⁵⁸ San Agustin, 347.

phrases of transition or shift. The words of transition, *dolores lenitivo* (the sorrows with leniency) and *y las miserias piedad*, (miseries with piety), indicate shift and highlight not only the discovery of the image but also the miracles attributed to the image.

But aside from the transition character of the verse, this might serve also as an internal event, though it was not a historical event documented and written. But this internal event fortifies the following events which are the miracle events. The soul's encounter with the image, making one to believe that the image can enforce one's spirit to transcend from a state of destitution to a state of consolation. And through this enforced faith, miracles happen, for through faith one can move mountains, to experience God's love for humanity.

***Siempre que aguas les faltaban, los paganos que os tenían,
á vos oh Niño acudían, y de la caja os sacaban, en público
os colocaban, y os rogaban con fervor.***

**(Always when waters are scarce the pagans who hold
you, to you, Oh Child they cling, and from the box they
remove you, in public they exposed you, and they begged
you with fervor.)**

They would take Him out of His box where they kept Him, and would place Him in a public place, over a tabernacle decorated with branches and sweet-smelling flowers. They would sing praises to Him, and ask Him for rain on bended knees.⁵⁹

This part of Gaspar de San Agustin's historical account is the source of this verse. The early natives of the Philippines practice the sacrificial aspect of appeasement to their anitos.

Offerings made were not meant to be signs of veneration but forms of appeasement...the food supply for the primitive people consisted of animals and plants, and their religious concerns mainly with the search for food. The rituals they performed sought a bountiful nature.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ San Agustin, 339

⁶⁰ Jaime Belita, "The Santo Niño and the Nazareno: the Inculturation of Christ in popular Religion." *East Asian Pastoral Review* 30, no. 1 (1993): 249-251., 250.

In their daily living, especially when it was about their harvest, rituals and offerings were done out of their reverence and trust that their anitos might be compassionate to grant the needs they implore. One basic need that the natives asked for was the supply of water, to nurture and cultivate food for daily sustenance. Water for the natives was a gift from above.

The natives believed in many spirits and from them they actively asked for favors and petitions. Rituals were done through performing processions and public expositions of the image.

In the next verse, it is quite evident the continuity of the ritual and favor needed to be answered, i.e., rain or water supply is continued in reference to the historical account of Gasper de San Agustin: "For the early Filipinos, as for primitive peoples everywhere, hill, field and stream were full of spirits more powerful than men. Some of them were good, some evil, but all needed to be propitiated or appeased by sacrifice."⁶¹

Si acaso no conseguín las aguas por que os rogaban, al mar, oh Niño os llevaban, y en las aguas os metian: y así el agua, que pedían, otorgaba vuestro amor.

(In case water does not come out as they pray to you, to the sea, Oh Child they carry you, and in the waters they immersed you; and thus the water that they asked, manifest them your love.)

They would take him out of his box where they kept Him, and would place Him in a public place, over a tabernacle decorated with branches and sweet-smelling flowers. They would sing praises to Him, and ask Him for rain on bended knees. When He delayed, they felt the Holy Child was displeased. Without losing hope for His help, they continued their supplications. They would then form a procession to the sea, bringing the Child with them, which they would disrobe and immerse in the water, saying they would not take Him

⁶¹ Horacio De la Costa, *Readings in Philippine History* (Bookmark Inc., Makati 1992), 6.

out until it rained. With this act, they always managed to obtain water that they asked Him for their needs.⁶²

The continuation of the verse emphasizes the ritual done by the natives in order to receive rain from the heavens, the fervent and persevering attitude of the natives. This belief that the image will grant them the needs they asked for presupposes the belief or there might be a cult who believes that the miracles were evidences done through the instrumentation of the image of Santo Niño.

The belief in the miracles attributed to the image of the Holy Child, to Jesus, was manifested earlier in Magellan's expedition. The conversion of Humabon's wife, the various pagan idols ascribed with magical powers were to be replaced by the wooden image of the Holy Child, a representation of the Child Jesus, one Supreme Being with miraculous powers, with healing powers. This healing power was manifested in the faith of Magellan in Christ who is the ultimate healer and refuge in the people's needs.

One day the captain-general asked the king and the other people why they did not burn their idols as they has promised when they became Christians; and why they sacrificed so much flesh to them. They replied that what they were doing was not for themselves, but for a sick man who not spoken now for four days, so that the idols might give health. He was the prince's brother, and the bravest and wisest man in island. The captain told them to burn their idols and to believe in Christ, and that if the sick were baptized, he would quickly recover; and if that did not happen they could behead him (the captain) then and there. Thereupon, the king replied that would do it, for he truly believed in Christ...there we (Magellan, Pigafetta and company) found him in such condition that he could speak nor move. We baptized him and his two wives, and 10 girls. Then the captain had him asked how he felt. He spoke immediately and said that by the grace of our Lord he felt very well...Before five days the sick man began to walk.⁶³

⁶² San Agustin, 339.

⁶³ Pigafetta 41-42

Pigafetta further narrates, “Once baptism had been accepted, however, stringent measures could be taken to stamp out clandestine paganism in a village, destroying pagan images (larawan or likha) and other ritual paraphernalia,”⁶⁴

The effectiveness of the healing comes from God who is the definitive healer. Magellan’s faith was not put to waste but instead it was vindicated by the healing of the queen’s brother. This evidence that the image has manifested to the natives intensified their belief in the Holy Child. The natives even claimed that the image of Santo Niño has existed from time immemorial.⁶⁵

True, among Filipino animists the rituals performed by the natives yearn for a bountiful nature; the practice of animism is “centered on the manipulation of the environment”⁶⁶ in order to be responsive to “the immediate social and psychological needs of human groups.”⁶⁷ Religion became a “a sort of supplementary symbolic medium in the people’s struggle for daily subsistence”⁶⁸ and which made them easily believe in the miraculous, particularly on the miracles attributed to the image of Santo Niño. These miracles are the manifestation of God’s love for the natives.⁶⁹

*De milagros tan divinos llevada la devoción, os eligieron
Patrón los devotos Agustinos; han permanecido finos,
dulce Niño, en vuestro amor.*

**(From miracles so divine, devotion was realized, the
devout Augustinians chose you as Patron; they remain as
yours in all fines of the world, in your love.)**

“In the seventeenth century popular devotion, under the guidance of ecclesiastical authority, chose as the patrons of churches those men or women renowned for their miracles, the saintliness of their lives, or their apostolic ministry in converting a nation to the Gospel.”⁷⁰

⁶⁴ Pigafetta, 41.

⁶⁵ San Agustin, 339.

⁶⁶ Belita, 250.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ NEW ADVENT: Home. “CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA: Patron Saints.” Accessed November 4, 2014. <http://www.newadvent.org/>

This was the definition of the word patron for the Church during that time, which may be applicable to the present day. “Patron” comes from Latin *patronus*, meaning “defender, protector, former master (of a freed slave).” And the notion of the sense of protection is being administered by the saint or the Virgin Mary. Can Jesus can be attributed as the Patron of the Cebu?

The early conquerors of the Philippines and the early evangelizers of the Church, who were the Augustinians, attributed the miracles to the image of Santo Niño. The Miracles and wonders which intensified their devotion which led them to choose Santo Nino as their Patron. They felt the great protection of Santo Niño and the term Patron was used as a person or God who always protects them in their time of need and for miracles to be granted. But what does this Patron mean? The Church classified Patronage as a term attributed only to the Saints or to the Virgin Mary and not to Jesus who is God. In the thesis of Astrid Boza-Sala, the distinction between the Patron-as-protector (Jesus, Santo Nino) and Patron-as-Saint (Saint and Virgin Mary) was distinguished and qualified.

As Patron of Cebu, in the sense of being “protector” of Cebu, the Senor Sto. Niño is a representation or symbol of the Child Jesus, the second person of the Blessed Trinity, who is a “patron” or “intercessor” between God and man, and a “protector” of man. As a representation of Jesus, the Sto. Niño therefore represents God who is of a higher status than saints or creatures, and cannot be taken as the “patron-who-is-saint” that is, patron saint of a city. This distinction of types of patron as either “patron-who-is-a-saint” or patron-who-is-a-protector is not merely etymological or sematic; it is primarily theological and liturgical.⁷¹

The Spirituality and Theology of the *Gozos*

The indigenous people in the Philippines integrated music in their day-to-day living. In fact, as Del Valle says, “their activities

cathen/11562a.htm.

⁷¹ Astrid, 156

such as planting, harvesting, hunting and fishing and functions such as peace pacts and victory celebrations are occasions for music making. Lullabies are sung to put babies to sleep, instruments are played to drive away evil spirits and songs and chants accompany the playing of children.”⁷² It may be conjectured that music indeed played an important role in the lives of every Filipino in the early period of our history.

Music, which involved singing of songs and playing of instruments, was naturally learned through participation. One had to involve himself/herself in order to take part in the activities. It became an avenue of not only enhancing one’s talent in music but more so, an opportunity to celebrate life in the community as each member gathered together in building up a community, although the formal ways of learning music varied in many culture groups.⁷³

The Spanish colonizers who arrived in the 1500’s brought with them church musicians and music teachers who composed liturgical music and devotional songs. There were also books dedicated for music. They produced a music that is “connected to and outside the Catholic liturgy and a European-inspired secular music adapted by the Filipinos and reflected in their folk songs and instrumental music.”⁷⁴ Although not all of these were published in books, most of them, however, were transmitted orally. Unfortunately, data of these are unavailable.

An example of an orally transmitted music is the *Gozos* to the Santo Niño. The origin of the current tone of *Gozos* was reintroduced by Monsignor Cristobal Garcia. In his research for a much fitted tone for the *Gozos*, Mons. Garcia came to know that a certain couple created a tone which they inherited from their ancestors. The historical data of the tone is untraceable.⁷⁵ The tone of *Gozos* is until now used and

⁷² Del Valle, Leticia G., “History of Music Education in the Philippines” <http://www.ncca.gov.ph/about-culture-and-arts/articles,153>

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Canave-Dioquino, Corazon, “Philippine Music, A Historical Overview” <http://www.ncca.gov.ph/about-culture-and-arts/articles,154>

⁷⁵ In an interview conducted by the researcher to Mons. Garcia, he said that the couple already died. Even their names are also forgotten. But one remains is the legacy which until now, every devotee of the Sto. Niño de Cebu appreciates.

sung by the many devotees around Cebu and even around the world where devotees are.

Musical Analysis of *Gozos al Santo Niño*

The *Gozos* takes the simple two-part song or the binary form done in five verses. It is in the A minor key and has a triple meter (3/4) reminiscent of a lullaby.



Simple configurations such as the use of quarter and half notes in a moderately slow waltz make up the skeleton of the song. Throughout the piece, the prominent rhythmic pattern follows the formula of a four-measured phrase in which the first two measures comprised of three quarter notes each,



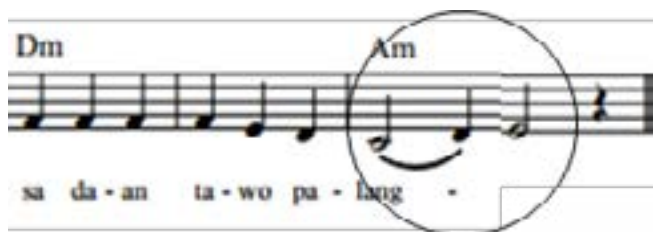
And having a half note and a quarter or two dotted half notes in the third and fourth measures variedly. Slurs are drawn in every third measure of each phrase and are utilized in almost all of the verses which lengthen the word that falls on the notes which the slur connects.



The melody moves mostly in steps, going upscale and drops at the end of each phrase in the first part (A).



The second part (B) the melody is more plainly in the interval of the unison in the first two measures and goes a step down and up at the fourth measure drawing a phrase.



The melody follows the rhythmic pattern in drawing the phrases. Uniformly, the phrases are composed of four measures each. Two phrases create a larger phrase, the first being the antecedent phrase and the second the consequent phrase like a question and an answer or more of a subject and predicate relationship. These larger phrases divide the entire song form into five large phrases or lines.



1st Part – A (which is the same in all other verses)

First Line – measures 1 to 8

Measures 1-4 – Antecedent Phrase, half note quarter with a slur on measure 3 and a dotted half on measure 4. Measures 5-8 – Consequent Phrase, slur on measure 7. Incomplete ending – measure 8.

Second Line – measures 9 to 16

Measures 9-12 – Antecedent Phrase, raised third (do#) on measure 9 indicates the A major chord, the parallel major in the A minor key that leads in line into a consequent phrase in the major key.



Measures 13-16 – Consequent Phrase, shifted to major key with the presence of the raised 3rd (do#) which somehow sounds misleading. The complete ending should occur in measure 16 but because of the poetic structure the consequent phrase in this line acts as a bridge making the third line the last line with the complete ending.

G7 C

sa da - an ta - wo pa lang - ga.

Third Line – measures 17 to 24

Measures 17-20 – Antecedent Phrase, the presence of the raised 6th and 7th degree of the natural minor scale changes it into a melodic minor scale. The antecedent phrase ends on the first quarter note of measure 20.

1 18 1 20

E Am

Ha - to ha - la - ni sa gug - ma sa da -

Measures 21-24 – Consequent Phrase, the last two notes of measure 20 are pick-up notes. The natural minor scale returns on measure 20 (“fa” natural) and is once more raised on measure 24. Complete ending.

2 21 2 23 24

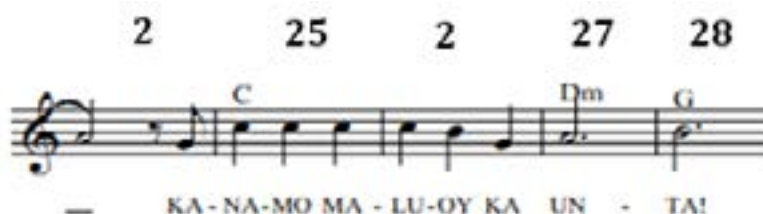
E Am

ma sa da - an ta - wo pa - lang - ga - KA -

2nd Part – B (Refrain)

FirstLine – measures 25 to 32

Measures 25-28 – Antecedent Phrase, it starts with a pick-up from measure 24. The refrain is now in the parallel major (C Major).



Measures 29-32 – Consequent Phrase, incomplete ending. Still in the parallel major.



Second Line – measures 33 to 40

Measures 33-36 – Antecedent Phrase, same as the third line of the A part. It goes back to the melodic minor scale.



Measure 37-40 – Consequent Phrase, same as the third line of the A part. Complete ending.



This musical analysis of the *Gozos* to the Santo Niño music offers us in the musical pattern of how human beings can create through his experience of the world and in their lives. Music may bring human persons to the Spirit that brings them in the many different facets of situation and human events. Music enables one to get in touch with his/her senses through the different keys, pitch, tone and the like which may fit to the circumstance of every person. Saliers comments: “Our lives, like music, have pitch, tempo, tone, release, dissonance, harmonic convergence, as we move through times of grief, delight, hope and anger, and joy. In short, music has this deep affinity and desire to our spiritual temperament and desire.”⁷⁶

Music is composed to influence each individual to transcend from one’s situation whether or not it conforms to the reality he or she is facing. The researcher thinks that the *Gozos* has this meaningful effect. The reason, why perhaps, many of the devotees love this song very much is that it makes them feel God’s loving presence in their lives. The love of God which the song expresses shows how God becomes an inspiration in becoming a manifestation of love with others.

The key signature used in the *Gozos* is in the A minor key. Many psychologists propose that musical key signatures suggest a certain emotion. The minor keys tend to stimulate a negative feeling. According to Kastner and Crowder, “One of the compelling expressive devices in tonal music is the use of modes to suggest emotion: For most Western listeners, the minor mode suggests a negative emotional

⁷⁶ Don E. Saliers, “Sound Spirituality on the formative expressive power of music for Christian Spirituality” in *Minding the Spirit the Study of Christian Spirituality* ed. Elizabeth A. Dreyer and Mark S. Burrows, 338.

tone while the major mode has a more positive connotation, other things being equal.”⁷⁷

The *Gozos* itself depicts the history of the discovery of the image of Santo Niño de Cebu during the expedition of Legazpi and the succeeding events after the discovery. The tone suggests a mysterious obscure feeling. As Helmholtz elaborates, “The element introduced into the minor chord is enough to give a mysterious, obscure effect to the musical character and meaning of these chords, an effect for which the hearer is unable to account minor chords are especially adapted to express mysterious obscurity.”⁷⁸

The finding of the image indeed reveals a kind of mystery of historical proportions for the faith in Christ. This re-discovery of the image indeed re-establishes the faith that was initially planted by the expedition of Magellan, a kind of faith evangelized and instructed by the Augustinian missionaries to the natives in the name of Jesus. Why this re-discovery of the image of Santo Niño has become a symbol of faith and God’s providence?

The shift from the minor key to major key depicts also a shift of something which is unknown to be revealed and disclosed. This truth is something that is to be celebrated a joyous celebration worth remembering. In the subsequent phrases, the tone suggests especially a bridge to the mystery and being exposed to the Truth, who is Christ Himself. In each of the verses, the last phrase of *Gozos* conveys the acknowledgement of Christ being a Refuge, a Love, and other words which can be attributed to Him. Though minor keys suggests a mystery, and God is a mystery, but the key feeling of knowing and finding God does not entail sadness and unknowingness.

The depiction on the music of *Gozos* provides one the sense that we will be free from all obscurity. Paul says: “At present we see indistinctly, as in a mirror, but then face to face. At present one knows partially; then I shall know fully, as I am fully known” (1 Cor 13:12). It seems like the *Gozos* suggests a spirituality that brings about hope

⁷⁷ Heifetz, Milton D., *The Relationship Between Minor Mode Music and Sadness A Theoretical Concept* (Accessed November 5, 2014) <http://www.goldbergstiftung.de/forum/index>, 24

⁷⁸ Helmholtz, Hermann, *On the Sensations of Tone* (New York, Dover Publications Inc., 1954), 216.

to eternity when God will fully reveal Himself, where faith will be received in actual sight, and hope in enjoyment. Our hope attaches in future happiness, and waits for the ultimate desires of every faithful, being with God for eternity.

This innate desire of every human being longs us to persevere of doing what is right.

Although human beings are weak, commit mistakes and falter, but should not hinder to rise from this situation and be committed to God's will. The tone of *Gozos* may be sad to one's hearing, but the text suggests a glimpse of hope for one's earnest pleading.

The Theology and Spirituality of Gozos

In every song, lyrics play a vital role. Lyrics convey a message by which the reader and singer connect and feel and move their imagination to that message the lyrics convey.

Batu Balani sa gugma, sa daan tawo palangga (Lodestone of love, loved by old people)

The magnetic love of God is paralleled to Jesus' mission in the New Testament. In the Greek New Testament, love is ἀγάπη – a term which especially refers to as an attitude of appreciation resulting from a conscious evaluation and choice; used of divine and human. In the Biblical texts, the term ἀγάπη also stands out as a unique manifestation of love. It is a noble word expressing the highest form of the concept.

Jesus Himself is the manifestation of God's love. In fact His life and ministry is love—everything He does, He does it in the name of love. His journey in the different parts of Galilee is God's love at work. The working love gathers people by the preaching of the Good News of the Kingdom for those people who have ears to hear and for those who have a listening heart.

He (Jesus) went around all of Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, proclaiming the gospel of the kingdom, and curing every disease and illness among the people. His fame spread to all Syria, and they brought to him all who were sick with various diseases and racked with pain, those who were possessed, lunatics, and paralytics, and he cured them. And great

crowds from Galilee, the Decapolis, Jerusalem, and Judea, and from beyond the Jordan followed (Matt 4:23- 25).

This passage describes the how the great crowds followed Jesus from different places. It seems to depict the attracting and magnetizing presence of Jesus. The miracles that He did, His teaching, His proclamation, His curing, and His healing are His works that made people draw into Him. Simply put, Jesus portrays a love in action that brings about liberation and hope for a Messiah.

His love has an ultimate manifestation when Jesus reached Jerusalem. His passion and death on the cross brought about a hope for a glorious day when the day comes for the salvation and redemption of humanity. The evangelist says,

For God so love the world that He gave His only Son, so that everyone who believes in Him might not perish but might have eternal life. For God did not send His Son into world to condemn the world, but that the world might be saved through Him (John 3:17).

The concept of God's love for humanity was not formally introduced to the natives, *Sa daang tawo palangga* (the old men who loved). It is through the image of Santo Niño, that it gradually evolves to a much deeper understanding of faith in Jesus. The image seems to catechize the natives about the existence of a Higher Being who is all-love and Love Himself. The faith that is inherent to them was awakened. This awakening of the faith is described in Psalm 139:13: "You formed my inmost being; you knit me in my mother's womb." Through the image of Sto. Niño de Cebu, God's love which is essentially in us has inevitably magnetized the natives to feel in love with God.

In an account presented by Boza-Sola, he said that "Queen Juana's providential proto-conversion during Magellan's expedition facilitated the adoption of the Holy Infant among the many pagan Cebuanos; they finally fully accepted the Catholic faith subsequent to Legazpi's arrival and strongly embraced Catholic devotional practices because of the perceived miraculous cures which followed the conversion."⁷⁹ The physical manifestation of God's healing conversion,

⁷⁹ Astrid, 152

acknowledgment, and experience of God's love immediately enticed the person to a leap of faith. But this movement from a pagan practice to Christian belief was initiated by God Himself. The teaching of the Church sees this as something, as the subjective sense of faith:

Classical popular theology has expressed this understanding of revelation by making distinction between an objective event, revelation, and in a second step, the subjective acceptance of it in faith. What comes first is the objective event: the word spoken and the miracle performed by God to authenticate that word. They are objective events which can be studied by the empirically inclined observer because they are simply there in reality. Faith, however, is required to grasp the deeper meaning of such events and words. Yet this act of faith would not make sense if there is not at the basis an objective reality which somehow already leads or forces people to accept the fact of revelation.⁸⁰

In the context of Philippines history, the faith awakened in the hearts of every Filipino has been materialized by the coming of the first expedition of Magellan. But later on in time, as the initial acceptance of Christianity had commenced, the development of such was impeded by the loss of the first evangelizers of the Word. But the objective reality that God has initiated the faith and used instruments to make sense of the faith. This faith was in the hearts of the natives and had been watered by the blood of the first expedition. The magnet of love is a force which God has been planning in His time. And the time has come for the natives of this island to be aware and to recognize this reality, the reality of God's love for all.

The magnet of love is a force which came to the islands in His time. And the time has come for the natives of this island to be aware and to recognize this mystery, the mystery of God's love for humanity. The historical reality happened under God's providential love through the magnetizing love of Jesus. Indeed, He is the "*batobalani sa gugma*."

⁸⁰ Jose De Mesa, *Doing Theology* (CSP Bookshop, Quezon City, Philippines, 1982), 52

kanamo malooy ka unta nga kanimo nanggilaba
(Have pity on us, we beg you)

This phrase generally talks about the mercy of God. Scholars point out that mercy is the result of God's goodness. Used several times in the Bible, the word applies to God. In fact, it is an attribute of God.

The Old Testament renders it as *ḥesed*. In his study on this Hebrew term, Fray Magin considers it both as an Attribute of God and an attribute of Man.⁸¹

As an attribute of God, the term *ḥesed* may be understood as God's goodness, faithfulness, kindness towards people. It may be grouped in terminology such as fidelity, faithfulness, compassion, justice, righteousness, and goodness.

In the experience of God's *ḥesed* to His people, God shows this important attribute especially in His faithfulness to His people Israel with whom He has forged a covenant even to the sinful nation whom He calls to repentance.⁸²

As an attribute of Persons, *ḥesed* may be considered as kindness, or mercy or piety.⁸³ Magin further divides *Ḥesed* as human attribute into secular or religious.⁸⁴ By its secular meaning, *ḥesed* has to do with relationship between two persons or groups.⁸⁵ It is received by those participating in a mutual relationship of rights and duties. From a secular perspective, *ḥesed* then, follows a particular dynamism. The recipients of it are bound by the rights and duties inherent in a mutual relationship corresponding to mutually obligatory relationship. Between person to person, *ḥesed* corresponds to the concepts of love, friendship, brotherhood, and loyalty. These concepts, as Glueck argues, are inherent to *ḥesed*.⁸⁶

As human conduct, *ḥesed* can have a religious meaning when directed to God. In the covenant relationship, it refers to Israel's piety

⁸¹ Rodol D. Magin, OSA MAT-STL, "Exegesis of Micah 6:8," Unpublished Licentiate Tesina (Quezon City: Loyola School of Theology, 2014), 81ff.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

or devotion or loyalty to God.⁸⁷ Such *hesed* to God carries with it the obligation to render a similar *hesed* to others. Hence, devotion and loyalty to God requires a similar religious and ethical attitude toward other persons.

Moreover, Magin stresses that *Hesed* as human conduct has both subjective and objective senses.⁸⁸ In the subjective sense, *hesed* denotes the person's inner disposition of "kindness, mercy, compassion, piety, etc."⁸⁹ In the objective sense, it refers to the concrete acts of "kindness, mercy, righteousness, justice, etc." performed in accordance with divinely-willed ethical commandments.⁹⁰ The so-called "divinely-willed ethical commandments" reveal God's *hesed* in as much as they put proper order to human beings in a community. Therefore, God's *hesed* towards an individual that brings every individual in a new relationship with his or her neighbor which he or she expressed through his or her daily contacts and associations with fellow individuals.⁹¹

The New Testament renders it as ἐλέους which also has a nuance of mercy, kindness, or goodwill toward the miserable and afflicted. Joined with a desire to relieve them, it evokes the Old Testament tradition of a merciful God. As we noted above, God's merciful actions to the Israelites through their history speaks of God's mercy is for those who fear God from generation to generation.

ἐλέους may also denote compassion, love, pity, and mercy. Just like the Old Testament, the New Testament does not separate God's mercy, God's love, God's grace, or God's faithfulness, for these are like threads woven into the tapestry that is God. New Testament writers recognize Jesus Christ as the embodiment of the mercy of God. They portray him as the definitive revelation of God's mercy, the pledge of that mercy for all believers, and the fountain of mercy expressed in all human relationships.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Rodel D. Magin, OSA MAT-STL, "Exegesis of Micah 6:8," Unpublished Licentiate Tesina (Quezon City: Loyola School of Theology, 2014),.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 69.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid.

The chorus of the *Gozos* to the Santo Niño depicts the devotee's plea for God's mercy. Asking mercy means not only that the devotees should be asking forgiveness for the sins committed. It also entails awareness of God's generosity which the Psalmist expresses in asking God which presupposes the omnipotence of God: "Lord, hear my prayer; in your faithfulness listen to my pleading; answer me in your justice" (Ps 143:1). One's acknowledgment of his/her finity and dependence on God paves the way of one's awareness of the unworthiness of oneself in His presence.

The *Gozos* signifies one's faith in God as a person receives mercy through God's providential guidance especially in the moment of need. This kind of prayer is a plea of a creature for contrition and supplication for the necessary and immediate things for daily sustenance.

The text also suggests the strong request for of God's mercy because of the belief that God will answer prayers. The letter to the Hebrew 4:16 clearly puts it this way: "So let us confidently approach the throne of grace to receive mercy and to find grace for timely help." This text considers Jesus as the High Priest who is able to sympathize with human weaknesses. His mercy is tested in every way. He is the High Priest, God who became man, one with humanity. He is a God who knows man's weaknesses and our needs. In the same way, Jesus, in the image of Santo Niño, is closely connected to His devotees. Prayers and supplications are emotionally attached to incarnate Christ as seen in the image of Santo Niño. Prayers are intimately recognized and felt because of the presence of the image. The physicality of the image makes prayer felt and recognized.

God's seeming presence is experienced through the wiping and also the touching of the image of Santo Niño. Many of those seeking God's generosity experience the mercy of God received through faith. The faith enables each person to believe that God will answer in times of need and pleading.

The experience of God's kindness is among the most blessed and greatly appreciated among the devotees of the Holy Child. It seems like they feel that the promise of God is fulfilled. Just as He was on earth where God's presence is anchored in faith, the image also makes present the God who through His miraculous healings strengthens one's faith in Him.

Experiencing the Lord's healing touch as practiced in the Church is one of the treasures of the Church. The image, commissioned and entrusted to the Augustinians as a means for man's longing for the God's mercy, makes every devotee believe that indeed in the image of Santo Niño can become of God's presence on earth.

*Dinhi sa siyudad sa Sugboang matahum mong larawan.
Sa unang mga misyonero, sa usang balay hipalgan.
Kanila ikaw nagpakitagikan da sa imong gugma*
**(Here in the city of Cebu A glorious image was found in a
house by the first missionaries You appeared before them
Because of your love)**

This line speaks of the discovery of the image in the city of Cebu by the first missionaries. The line vehemently attests that it is through God's love that His presence became possible.

The event of the discovery of the image of Santo Nino may be paralleled with the discovery of the Magi of the Holy Infant during His birth. Under the command of Herod, the Magi eagerly looked to find the new-born King of the Jews. The gospels narrate that it was through the star that guided them to the place of His birth.

This star had predicted and forecasted the location of the new-born king of the Jews. The Magi sought this magnificent star as the indicator to the fulfillment of their quest. On their journey with the star as their guide, they were then to a house where laid on Mary's lap was the child of their longing. They prostrated themselves and did homage to the Holy Infant. The Magi offered their gifts of gold, frankincense, and myrrh.

The discovery of Santo Niño was not the desired quest of the expedition of Legazpi. Originally the intention was to colonize New Guinea. Through the command of the Audiencia, the voyage geared towards the islands of the Philippines. The light that illumines the Spaniards in their landing of the shores of Cebu was like a fire that ignited the artilleries of Legazpi's fleet. Upon the sacking of the houses left by the natives, they came to a house where the image of Santo Niño was found.

The discovery of the Holy Infant by the Magi and the finding of Santo Nino by Juan Camuz were seemingly commanded by a higher authority with the spiritual intention.

Though the intention of Herod was to kill the hindrance to his throne, killing the natives in order to claim their riches was not the primary motivation of the Audiencia and the Spaniards. To evangelize was its goal.

Incidentally, the Matthean account of the Nativity scene and the finding of the image of Santo Niño were both found in a house. Two houses that cradled Jesus—one in the flesh and the other made in His image. In these houses, kneeling and homage were done. The Magi entered the house, saw Jesus, they prostrated themselves in front of the Holy Infant. In the house where the image of Santo Niño was found, the whole fleet entered into it and Legazpi knelt, cried, and did homage to the image.

In these houses, gifts were offered for Jesus. The Magi from the east offered the gifts of gold, frankincense and myrrh. On the other hand, Legazpi's gift of offering in honor of the image was the construction of the Church in honor of the Holy Child given to the Augustinian and the initiation of Confradia del Santo Niño.

These two events seem to illustrate God's manifestation of Himself in the flesh and in the image of Santo Niño. The incarnation of the Second person of the Trinity, Jesus, who has lived among human persons in order to be the greatest gift of God to humanity. Indeed, Jesus was incarnate in the flesh and His incarnation support the religious piety of having images and icons in honor of Him. This religious piety was the acknowledgement of His love rooted to man's desire to see Him. This desire which was initiated by God Himself is a love from and for which man was created and are called. The Lord wants humanity to return and to discover Him and to reciprocate this love.

***Giludhan ka ug gisimba niadtong mga kaparian sa tanang
mga katawhan sa mga ponoan nila kay sa pagtan-aw
kanimo Kristiyanos sila nahimo.***

**(The priests beg you, they all knelt before you and
praised you; All the people and their leaders, because
seeing you They were made into Christians**

This part of the song portrays how the people, priests, and leaders praised you. By their simple act of "kneeling" at the image, as song suggests, they venerated God who is venerated by Christian Catholics. Many commentators believe that "kneeling" is associated

with reverence particularly by Christians as a position for prayer. It is a gesture of one's submission in God's omnipotence. In the King James Version, kneeling as an act of prayer is written 27 times.

Mark 1:40: Then a leper came to Him, imploring Him, *kneeling down* to Him and saying to Him, "If You are willing, You can make me clean."

Mark 10:17: And he going out into the way, one running near, and *kneeling to him*, asked him, "inherently good Teacher, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?"

Luke 22:41: And He was withdrawn from them about a stone's throw, and He *knelt down* and prayed,

Luke 5:8: When Simon Peter saw it, *he fell down at Jesus' knees*, saying, "Depart from me, for I am a sinful man, O Lord!"

Luke 22:41: And He (Jesus) was withdrawn from them about a stone's throw, and He *knelt down* and prayed.

Acts 7:60: Then he *knelt down* and cried out with a loud voice, "Lord, do not charge them with this sin." And when he had said this, he fell asleep.

Acts 9:40: But Peter put them all out, and *knelt down* and prayed.

Acts 20:36: And when he had said these things, *he knelt down* and prayed with them all.

Acts 21:5: When we had come to the end of those days, we departed and went on our way; *and they all accompanied us, with wives and children, till we were out of the city. And we knelt down* on the shore and prayed.

Romans 14:11: For it is written: "As I live, says the Lord, every *knee shall bow* to Me, and every tongue shall confess to God."

Ephesians 3:14: "For this reason I *bow my knees* to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Philippians 2:10,11: That at the name of Jesus *every knee should bow*, of those in heaven, and of those on earth, and of those under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.

I Kings 8:54: And so it was, when Solomon had finished praying all this prayer and supplication to the LORD, that he arose from before the altar of the LORD, from *kneeling on his knees* with his hands spread up to heaven.

I Kings 18:42: So Ahab went up to eat and drink. And Elijah went up to the top of Carmel ; then he bowed down on the ground, and *put his face between his knees*.

2 Chronicles 6:13: for Solomon had made a bronze platform five cubits long, five cubits wide, and three cubits high, and had set it in the midst of the court; and he stood on it, *knelt down on his knees* before all the assembly of Israel, and spread out his hands toward heaven.

2 Chronicles 7:3: And all the children of Israel saw the fire come down and the heavy glory of Jehovah upon the house, and *they bent down on their knees* with their nostrils to the ground upon the pavement, and prostrated themselves, and raised their hands to Jehovah, because of his goodness, because of his eternal mercy.

2 Chronicles 7:14: And if my people which are called by my name *shall bend their knees*, and judge in prayer, and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways, then I will attentively hear from the heavens, and will forgive their sin, and will heal their land.

2 Chronicles 12:6,7: And the princes of Israel and the king *bent their knees*, and they said, Jehovah is righteous. And when Jehovah saw that they bent their knees, the word of Jehovah was to Shemaiah, saying, They have bent their knees; I will not destroy them.

2 Chronicles 12:12: And when *he bent his knees* the nostrils of Jehovah turned back from him, and he did not destroy him completely, and also in Judah words were good.

2 Chronicles 29:29: And when they had made an end of offering, the king and all found with him *bent their knees*, and prostrated themselves.

2 Chronicles 34:27: Because your heart was soft, and you *bent your knees* before the face of God when you attentively heard his words against this place and against its inhabitants, and you bent your knees before my face, and tore your clothes, and wept before my face - even also I have attentively heard you — An oracle of Jehovah.

Ezra 9:5: At the evening sacrifice I arose from my fasting; and having torn my garment and my robe, I *fell on my knees* and spread out my hands to the LORD my God.

Psalms 95:6: Oh come, let us worship and bow down; *let us kneel* before the LORD our Maker.

Isaiah 45:22-23: Look to Me, and be saved, all you ends of the earth! For I am God, and there is no other. I have sworn by Myself; the word has gone out of My mouth in righteousness, and shall not return, that to Me *every knee shall bow*, every tongue shall take an oath.'

Daniel 6:10: Now when Daniel knew that the writing was signed, he went home. And in his upper room, with his windows open toward Jerusalem, *he knelt down on his knees* three times that day, and prayed and gave thanks before his God, as was his custom since early days.'

Daniel 10:10: Suddenly, a hand touched me, which made me tremble *on my knees* and on the palms of my hands.⁹²

⁹² Welcome to The Official Website of Arthur Blessitt. "Welcome to The Official Website of Arthur Blessitt." Accessed October 24, 2014. <http://>

These passages from the Bible suggest that kneeling is a gesture of reverence to God in an act of prayer. In the same manner, kneeling conveys a position of thanksgiving and praise to God. In the lyrics of *Gozos*, kneeling was the position of people who have seen the image of the Holy Child. It seems to suggest a thanksgiving to the image of Santo Niño who vindicated them. It served as the symbol of the love of God manifested and had experienced by the expedition of Legazpi.

The act of kneeling before the image of Santo Niño is not an act of worship or adoration, but instead it was an act of veneration to the image. It may seem that the intense emotion of Legazpi made the gesture an act of veneration to the image, as the image was a physical representation of Jesus, directing his adoration to God who deserves the rightful adoration and thanksgiving. The image serves as the finger through which points out us to God. The veneration of the Holy Child is based on the mystery of the Incarnation of the Word of God. The image of Santo Niño points us to the incarnate Word of God, the very essence of our faith.

Referring to the event of Legazpi's seeing the image and his intense reaction, the lyrics continue with the sight of the image of Santo Niño who made the natives become Christians. "*Sila*" or "they" here refers to the natives who were there to witness such event. This does not mean that through the mere seeing of the image, one becomes a Christian automatically. For Msgr. Garcia, the song explicitly conveys the process by which the natives became Christians and thus venerated the image. One may conjecture that having been baptized with the fundamental sacrament wherein people become a member of the Christian community, the natives were converted into the faith. That was, perhaps, the beginning of the Santo Niño as a representation of God's presence to their lives as taught by Catholic Church.

The image of Santo Niño depicts as an icon of early Christianity. And it is most fitting that the veneration on the image was not only done by the faithful who were members of His Church, as recognition that it is the image of Jesus who is the Second Person of the Trinity, but also by the natives who were the early residents of the islands. This change in the *Gozos* has a theological dimension. As noted, they were not immediately converted.

Although there is no outright written account of the actual baptism, some historians thought that the baptism of the early natives was initially done during the expedition of Magellan. The composer seems not to include such sacrament in order not to overthrow the sacramental deed done by Magellan, if the baptism is included in the *Gozos*. For the baptism of Magellan's expedition to the natives was the highlight of its activity. It was the evangelizing component of the expedition.

The emphasis on the *Gozos* is the discovery and such emphasis does not portray a dimension wherein the gateway for God's graces is necessary for one's salvation. That is why the insertion of the *Kristiyanos* connotes the baptism of the natives done also by the Augustinians, fulfilling Christ mission to his apostles in Matt 28:19: "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you." This was the mission paradigm of the early Augustinians—to evangelize the unconquered territory and to teach and build churches for God's greater glory. Baptism of the natives is a sure way to evangelize and convert them to Christian faith. The Catechism of the Catholic Church speaks:

The Lord himself affirms that Baptism is necessary for salvation. He also commands his disciples to proclaim the Gospel to all nations and to baptize them. Baptism is necessary for salvation for those to whom the Gospel has been proclaimed and who have had the possibility of asking for this sacrament. The Church does not know of any means other than Baptism that assures entry into eternal beatitude; this is why she takes care not to neglect the mission she has received from the Lord to see that all who can be baptized are "reborn of water and the Spirit." God has bound salvation to the sacrament of Baptism, but he himself is not bound by his sacraments.⁹³

The mission of the Augustinians was fulfilled and flourished in those times through God's grace. The early natives were baptized

⁹³ Catechism of the Catholic Church, Manila: Episcopal Commission on Catechesis and Catholic Education of the Catholic Bishop's Conference of the Philippines / Word & Life Publication 1994, 1257

but not immediately like of those of Magellan. The missionaries instead, focused their attention on evangelizing the natives in order that they themselves will voluntarily be joined to the Church which Christ has established.

*Ang simbahan gipatindog niadtong mga tawhana aron ang
larawan nimodunay usang puluyanan ug didto gihangyo
nilanga kaluy-an nimo sila*

**(Who beg you A church was built By those people So that
your image can have shelter And in that shelter they ask
you to have mercy on them)**

One theological theme dominates in this passage and it is the concept of the Church. The song portrays the importance of the church for the natives: first, it was built for those people; second, the church would become a shelter for the image; and third, the church will also become the place where these natives asked God for mercy.

According to the Catechism to the Catholic Church:

The word ‘Church’ means a convocation or an assembly. It designates the assemblies of the people, usually for a religious purpose. *Ekklesia* is used frequently in the Greek Old Testament for the assembly of the Chosen People before God, above all for their assembly on Mount Sinai where Israel received the Law and was established by God as his holy people. By calling itself “Church,” the first community of Christian believers recognized itself as heir to that assembly. In the Church, God is “calling together” his people from all the ends of the earth. The equivalent Greek term *Kyriake*, from which the English word *Church* and the German *Kirche* are derived, means ‘what belongs to the Lord.’⁹⁴

Vatican II teaches that the Church is the people of God. More than a building, it is composed of several people from different cultures, traditions, and ways of life who gather together to proclaim one faith—a faith that is rooted in Jesus Christ whom they proclaim as God, the Saviour of the world. By virtue of the sacrament of baptism, these peoples accept Jesus as one Lord who brought salvation to

⁹⁴ CCC 751

humanity. These peoples also acknowledge Jesus as their head, they being His members contribute to the salvific mission of their head. Thus, they become one body in Christ.

Another common and frequent symbol of the Church is the building of God. "Often, too, the Church is called the *building* of God. The Lord compared himself to the stone which the builders rejected, but which was made into the corner-stone. On this foundation the Church is built by the apostles and from it the Church receives solidity and unity.⁹⁵

This building in which it was built by the apostles is the place of worship where it is the dwelling place of God in the Spirit. It is important to note that just as Christ commanded Peter to be the head of the Church through its rock foundation, each member participates in the life-giving dynamism in the household of God each according to his/her ways.

The household of God in the Spirit; the dwelling-place of God among men; and, especially, the holy *temple*. This temple, symbolized in places of worship built out of stone, is praised by the Fathers and, not without reason, is compared in the liturgy to the Holy City, the New Jerusalem.⁹⁶

The perception of the Church in the *Gozos* is that of a structure. It is a structure which comprises not only of the literal physical structure of the Church, but also the institutional and hierarchical structure as well.

In the Church, institutional structures may conveniently divided into four categories: 1) doctrines, and doctrinal formulations which are normative for all members, such as creeds, dogmas, and canonical writings like Sacred Scriptures, conciliar documents, etc.; 2) forms of public worship and liturgy, such as the sacraments and other approved rituals; 3) structures of government, i.e., offices with powers and duties attached to them as those of the ordained ministers; and 4) laws and customs regulating the behaviour of members. All these institutions are constitutive of

⁹⁵ CCC 756

⁹⁶ CCC 756.

the Church as such and mostly held to be of divine institution.⁹⁷

The Church as an institution is the sacrament of Christ for man's salvation as it "externally signifies the presence and promise of grace that the Church is tasked to represent in the world"⁹⁸

In the context of the Christianization of the Philippines, the initiative of the Spaniards to build a dwelling place for the image of Santo Niño was moved by the motion for the formalization of Christianity in the Islands. It served as a symbol of Christianity in the Philippines. The building of the churches by the apostles which inspired the Spaniards to continue the heritage, legacy, and commissioning of Christ to the apostles, was a continuation of the salvific mission of Christ. Jesus promised that He will be with his apostles until the end of time in as much as they made present Christ present in the Church.

The Santo Niño enforces the faith of the devotees in order to direct themselves toward Christ manifested in the image. The church that shelters the image gives the opportunity for the devotees to have a place in which prayers and petition are directed towards Christ. The Church then as the house of God is a place to ask His mercy and be open to God's kindness through His generosity.

Nangayo kami kanimo nga ang matahum mong larawan sa sulud sa kalag namo makahimog puluyanan kay sa tanang kinahanglanikaw ang among dalangpan.

(We ask you that your glorious image may find shelter in our souls because it is You whom we seek For all our needs)

This verse appears like a prayer of supplication to the Holy Child. One is requesting that the image may find shelter in one's soul. This seems to illustrate an inward dynamism that must have been a fruit of prayer. A person who prays unceasingly recognizes that it is only and through God who can give him/her anything he/she needs in life. Prayer, more than a conversation with God, is a spiritual exercise that makes a person grounded in God's love. The many saints in the Catholic Church may testify how their lives transformed through

⁹⁷ Sabino Vengco, "The Hierarchical and Charismatic Church" *Querens* vol.8 no.1 July 2013, 77

⁹⁸ Ibid.

prayer—which basically makes them saints. The image then becomes instrumental for the devotees' life of prayer.

However, in the early part in the history of Israel, the Israelites were forbidden to make any depictions of God. The book of Deuteronomy 5:18 says: "You shall not make for yourself an idol or a likeness of anything in the heavens above or on the earth below or in the waters beneath the earth." This forbade them to worship idols or images. Also the worship of created things (trees, rocks, animals, astronomical bodies, or another human being) was forbidden. In the book of Deuteronomy, the Israelites were strictly warned not to adapt the pious rituals done by the gentiles around them.

In the New Testament, the new covenant between man to God, God has revealed His Only Begotten Son, Jesus. God showed mankind an image of Himself. Paul would assert this by saying in his letter to the Colossian 1:15: "He (Jesus) is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of all creation." Christ is the visible presence of the infinite God among men. When God made a new Covenant, He revealed Himself through a visible form of Jesus Christ. Jesus did not only represent God but the God for all.

Jesus is in the image of Santo Niño. His devotees ask favours from the image of Santo Niño, imploring His mercy and compassion.

Catholics desire to visually remember and honour Christ by making images which speaks of God.

The Christian veneration of images is not contrary to the first commandment which proscribes idols. Indeed, "the honor rendered to an image passes to its prototype," and "whoever venerates an image venerates the person portrayed in it." The honor paid to sacred images is a "respectful veneration," not the adoration due to God alone: Religious worship is not directed to images in themselves, considered as mere things, but under their distinctive aspect as images leading us on to God incarnate. The movement toward the image does not terminate in it as image, but tends toward that whose image it is.⁹⁹

The image of Santo Niño should deepen the love for, and knowledge of God. Our minds focused, asking and pleading to Jesus

⁹⁹ CCC 2132

to hear our petitions and supplication. This is what this particular verse is telling every devotee. The verse indicates that the *Gozos* is supplicatory in nature. Supplication prayers are prayers that ask and implore God's providential hand to answer the devotee's plead and supplication. In the lyrics of this verse in the *Gozos*, which is asking Jesus through the image to shelter one's soul is quite odd if one is going to take it literally. The different images or statuettes of Santo Niño are made of wood, fiber glass or even metal depending on the discretion of the maker and the demand of the buyer who likes to have an image to be made. But images can be used metaphorically as the depiction of Christ's dwelling in man, the inner teacher by which it teaches man to acknowledge God's presence in one's soul.

The Gospel of Matthew depicts how one's supplication to God may be described: The centurion replied to Jesus after affirming him that Jesus will heal his servant. The centurion said in reply, "Lord, I am not worthy to have you enter under my roof; only say the word and my servant will be healed."¹⁰⁰

But there is different focus on the healing of Jesus and in this instance one is asking the Lord to heal not the servant, but one's soul, the inmost being. Acknowledging that one is about to receive Him under the "roof" of one's mouth and thus to welcome Him into one's physical abode; into one's body, the dwelling place of the soul.

In the request of the centurion, he realized that in the presence of Jesus, he is just a mere servant. The centurion recognized and acknowledged Jesus not just an ordinary man but Jesus is one to whom true authority belongs.

One's submission to the omnipotence of God in order that our needs will be answered and responded, the encounter of the devotee to the image of Santo Niño is a religious experience. Every experience when it involves faith is a religious experience. And one is enriched through the needs provided and petitions answered. But this does not mean that if petitions are not answered, one loses hope and faith, but instead, it helps the devotee strengthen and deepen once faith in God. Such acknowledgement of the delicacy of one's faith in trials and struggles develop one's relationship with God.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Matt 8:8

¹⁰¹ INNER EXPLORATIONS. "St. John quotes." Accessed November 24, 2014. <http://www.innerexplorations.com/chmystext/stquotes.htm>.

Conclusions

The *Gozos* to the Santo Niño indeed is a song which narrates the history of Legazpi's expedition. It also serves as a merger of the expedition of Magellan and Legazpi. Though the *Gozos* does not explicitly indicate the story of Magellan's expedition, it is beautifully implied in the song. This study highlighted the historical background of *Gozos* as expressed in the different versions of the *Gozos*. The probable origin of the *Gozos* to Santo Niño, which is the Spanish version up until the *Gozos* used as devotional song in the novena in honor of the Santo Niño with its peculiar development as part of the liturgical celebration, enables this study to have a glimpse of the early expeditions as well as the ritual practices of the natives. The different versions of the *Gozos* make the song even richer in its cultural and historical dimensions

Thus, *Gozos*' content was historical in nature and enforced the devotees to appreciate the beauty and richness of the short narration of the salient historical events for the Santo Niño image and the early missionaries. The early liturgical as well as the early recognition of the natives as a native deity was narrated and exposed through the *Gozos*. But not only is the *Gozos* a song with historical narrations, this song is a devotional song in honor of Santo Niño and it is also rightfully fitting to look into the theology and spiritual dimensions of the song.

The theology and spirituality of the musical composition of the *Gozos* engages one's piety from the feeling of obscurity to revelation and transcending one's life situation. The song with the lyrics goes hand in hand in order to associate one's piety and devotion to the message of what the song wishes to convey. It becomes a venue for the devotee to surrender one's life in God's perspective. The song invites one to look on the inner core of man who is God Himself, the inner teacher who teaches all to see His love and compassion and to feel the providential care of God for each and every devotee of Santo Nino who throw their concern and petition on God's mercy and generosity, *kanamo malooy ka unta na kanimo nga ilaba*.

This devotion, as a movement of piety, aids the faithful's desire to serve God. It gives the Santo Niño a space in the whole domain of many devotions. The Santo Niño spread to the shores of the

Philippines due to the Augustinian missionaries. The living evidence of such devotion is manifested in different practices done in honor of Santo Niño. The *Gozos*, as part and object of the devotional practice, assists in the spread of the devotion through the innate love of the Filipinos to express their faith through songs. The *Gozos*, as it is being sung in the liturgical celebration, intensifies the devotion to the Santo Niño and further moves the devotees to wave their hands in the air for supplication.

Thus, this study concludes that the *Gozos* is not only an ordinary song which a devotee sing, but the song conveys dimensions through which it narrates, teaches, and increase one's devotion to Santo Niño.

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