5-1-1971

Some Theological Aspects of Roman Catholic Responses to Lowland Filipino Spirit-World Beliefs

David John Schneider

SOME THEOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF ROMAN CATHOLIC RESPONSES TO LOWLAND FILIPINO SPIRIT-WORLD BELIEFS

A Thesis Presented to the Faculty
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,
Department of Systematic Theology
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Sacred Theology

---

by

David John Schneider

May 1971

Approved by: _____
Advisor

_____
Reader

Short Title:

PHILIPPINE LOWLAND SPIRIT-WORLD

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Purpose and Importance of the Study

The purpose of this study is to discover the nature of lowland Filipinos' spirit-world beliefs, from the pre-Spanish era to the present, and to discover theological aspects in the responses of Roman Catholic churchmen to the spirit-world beliefs.

In serving as a Christian pastor to the lowland Filipinos from 1961 to 1970, the writer observed that some people felt spirit beings to be quite active in their lives. He also felt a lack of Christian resources, either Philippine or American, with which to minister to such people. This study was undertaken to determine what resources, if any, the Christian Church has developed for dealing with spirit-world beliefs in the Philippines. I hope that it will also help to encourage Filipino Christian theologians to develop the materials which are needed.

Definition of Terms

In using the designation of "lowland Filipinos," this paper follows the example of recognized social scientists, such as Robert Fox[1] and John Carroll.[2] The term refers to the eight major lowland ethno-linguistic

---

[1]Quoted in John Carroll, Changing Patterns of Social Structure in the Philippines: 1896. 1963 (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1968, p. 6.

[2]John Carroll and others, Philippine Institutions (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1970), p. v.

groups which are: Visayan, Tagalog, Ilocano, Bicol, Pangasinan, Pampangan, Waray-Waray, and Ilongo. Together they comprise nearly ninety percent of the population of the Philippines. They are characterized as having been

> Christianized and to varying degrees westernized because of more than three and a half centuries of Spanish and American rule.[3]

The largest groups of Filipino people not included in the designation "lowland Filipinos" are the mountain, tribal peoples of nothern Luzon and the Muslims of southern Mindanao.

Following the example of Harris and Parrinder, the term "spirit-world beliefs" will be used, "in umbrella fashion," to cover what sociologists might call animism, animatism, polytheism, spiritism, and dynamism.[4] In more concrete terms, spirit-world beliefs are those in a supreme God, in lesser gods, in personal spirits, in the continuing power and importance of the dead, in spirits animating the forces of the physical world (sickness, thunder, lightning and others), in the power of healers and sorcerers, in the reality of potential energy which may become active in talismans and amulets, and in other forces related to these. The term "spirit-world beliefs" will not be used to describe Christian ideas, even if they are mixed with animistic ideas in a particular belief or practice.

---

[3]Frederic H. Chaffee and others, Area Handbook for the Philippines (Washington, D. C.: n.p., 1969), p. 47.

[4]W. T. Harris and E. G. Parrinder, The Christian Approach to the Animist (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1960), pp. 13-47.

The concept of "responses" to spirit-world beliefs will include not only verbal replies, such as sermons or writings, but also actions, such as giving assistance or calling for the militia.

Trying to distil the "theological aspects" of Roman Catholic responses to Filipino spirit-world beliefs will mean taking note of implicit as well as of explicit theological factors involved in Roman Catholic thought and action. The writer will attempt to choose only the most important themes for discussion.

Method and Sources

There are two logical sections of thought in the subject matter of the study. The first is the body of spirit-world beliefs among lowland Filipinos at various times in history. The second is the subject of Roman Catholic responses and their theological aspects. For two reasons the study will give emphasis to the actual content of lowland Filipino beliefs.

The first reason is the conviction that a Christian response to non-Christian beliefs should proceed from a thorough and particular understanding of the beliefs. The author of this study agrees with Harris and Parrinder when they state: "The major step in the Christian approach must be to enter imaginatively into the thought world that is found in animism."[5]

The second reason for including lengthy and detailed accounts of beliefs is to demonstrate their real existence and the depth to which

---

[5]Ibid., p. 55.

they are still held. Many facets of Philippine life, particularly in the Manila area, give the appearance of a western society, based on scientific thought patterns. George Farwell has aptly called the western appearance of the Philippines a "mask" behind which many ancient Malayan ways still exist.[6] To demonstrate the definite existence and nature of traditional beliefs, this study will attempt to go behind the "mask" in search of detailed evidence.

Historically, the study spans two major periods. The first is the era of Spanish influence, from 1521 to 1898. The second covers the twentieth century, including the period of American rule, from 1898 to 1946, and the era of the Republic of the Philippines, from 1946 to 1970.

The goal of the researcher was to examine all important English-language sources in the two sections of subject matter. Although he did not succeed, he does feel that the major ideas in each area have been discovered and dealt with and that most of the important sources were examined.

For beliefs and responses of the Spanish era, the major source has been the fifty-five volume collection of English translations of Spanish primary source materials on the Philippines, edited by Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson.

Source materials for the American period have not been as readily available, but there are abundant materials produced during the era of the Republic of the Philippines.

---

[6]George Farwell, Mask of Asia: The Philippines Today (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966), passim.

The Blair and Robertson materials are largely the works of Spanish missionaries and are frankly written from the missionary viewpoint. Many of the writings of the American period are popular magazine articles which are interesting but lack the precision and scholarly depth of the works produced by social scientists during the 1950's and 1960's.

A special word is in order regarding several recently published manuscripts which bear allegedly very early dates. Several of the documents were published by the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago. They were all brought to the attention of the scholarly world by a Mr. Jose E. Marco, now deceased, and formerly of Negros Occidental, Philippines. A list of the manuscripts follows: the Povedano manuscripts of 1572, 1577, 1578, 1579; and the Pavon manuscripts of 1838-1839. Although the writings contain much pertinent material on the topic of the lowland spirit-world in the Philippines and the author of this study had, in fact, taken many notes from them, he has decided not to use any of their evidence, as a result of the arguments presented by Dr. William Henry Scott. After extensive research, Scott's conclusion was that

> The responsible historian will wish to reconsider carefully any claim to authenticity on behalf of even part of the Marco manuscripts.[7]

Scott's evaluation of the documents is that probably "each and all of the Jose E. Marco manuscripts, in their present form, are deliberate

---

[7]William Henry Scott, "A Critical Study of the Prehispanic Source Materials for the Study of Philippine History," Unitas, XLI (September 1968), 415-416.

and definite frauds."[8] Further research may show that Scott is too harsh in judgment or that some of the documents did have legitimate beginnings but were later misused. However, in the absence of such evidence now, this author regretfully dismisses the copious references of the Pavon manuscripts to the lowland Filipino spirit-world.

A double danger faces a Lutheran who tries to write about theology and culture in the Roman Catholic Philippines. First, some foreigners have written about the country in a manner which seems cruelly critical of the Filipino people. Second, some Lutherans have written unnecessarily uncharitable works against Roman Catholics. While the author will try to speak clearly, it is not part of his goal to make any person or group look either "good" or "bad." His commitment to Jesus Christ has been developed by the Holy Scriptures and the Lutheran Confessions, but he hopes to produce a study which will be helpful to Christians of all denominations at work in love among the Filipino people.

---

[8]Ibid., XLI, 417.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF SPIRIT-WORLD BELIEFS AMONG THE LOWLAND PEOPLE OF THE PHILIPPINES 1521 to 1970

The Period from 1521 to 1700

Spain was probably the most powerful nation in the world at the time she colonized Mexico and the Philippines. The marriage, in 1469, of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile had united the country. In the same year, 1492, that the Spanish ended their long struggle against the Moors with victory at Granada, Columbus was opening undreamed-of vistas of colonial and missionary possibilities in the new world.

> The 1500's were Spain's "Golden Century."
>
> Who was better fitted to rule the world than the Spaniard? There was no answer. God had been especially gracious to Spain, and Spain and the Spaniards meant to prove that confidence well placed.[1]

In 1519, the Spanish King Charles I became also the Holy Roman Emperor (as Charles V), and in the same year Magellan set sail under the Spanish flag on a journey which was to take a fleet around the world for the first time in history. In search of spices in the East, he found the islands which were later to be called the Philippines, in honor of Philip II, son of Charles, of Spain.

---

[1] S. Harrison Thomson, Europe in Renaissance and Reformation (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1963), p. 136.

As Magellan sailed westward, Cortes was conquering the Indians of Mexico and Spanish priests were beginning the work of Christianizing that country. Lessons learned from four decades of missionary work in Mexico were later of great value to the Spanish friars who sailed from Acapulco to Christianize the Philippines.

Magellan was killed in the Philippines in 1521, and it was not until 1565 that another Spanish fleet succeeded in reaching the islands, this time under the able leadership of statesman Don Miguel Lopez de Legaspi and churchman Fray Andres de Urdaneta of the Order of Saint Augustine.

What were the Spanish interests in the Philippines?

> Three objectives encouraged the Spaniards to colonize the Philippines. One was to secure a share in the lucrative spice trade . . . another was to establish direct contacts with China and Japan, which might pave the way for their conversion to Christianity. And the third goal was to Christianize the inhabitants of the archipelago. Of the three objectives only the third proved realizable.[2]

The missionary efforts of Magellan's group in 1521 had been brief but sensational. In little more than one month's time, they had baptized more than eight hundred of the "Indios." In contrast, the work begun by Urdaneta and his Augustinians in 1565, profiting from Mexican experience, was much more deliberate and thorough.

Other orders of regular clergy (thus called because they lived under special "regulations"), followed the Augustinians to the

---

[2]John Leddy Phelan, The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses, 1565-1700 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959), p. 7.

Philippines from Mexico. The Discalced (literally, "shoeless") Franciscans arrived in 1577, the Jesuits in 1581, the Dominicans in 1587, and the Augustinian Recollects in 1606.[3]

Spanish missionaries, as well as government officials, who came to the Philippines during those years always came from Mexico on the "Manila Galleon." The galleons made annual sailings between Manila and Acapulco for two-hundred and fifty years, beginning in 1565. Besides providing transportation for missionaries and government personnel, the ships were one of the chief factors in the economic life of the colony, as they carried Chinese silks to Acapulco and brought back Mexican silver to Manila.

From a Christian and from a colonial point of view, the arrival of the Spaniards was just in time. When Legaspi's party arrived in 1565, Islam was beginning to spread in the islands. Left unchecked for a few decades more the Filipinos might all have become Muslims and rejected both Spain and Christianity completely.[4]

The work of Christianizing and Hispanizing the Filipinos was done jointly by the Spanish church and state. Mutual assistance, rather than separation, was their ideal. The Spanish crown, by special arrangement with the Pope, was given authority over the church's work, responsibility to finance it, and the right to collect church fees for the maintenance of its program. The missionaries, on the other hand, helped

---

[3]Peter G. Gowing, Islands Under the Cross: The Story of the Church in the Philippines (Manila: National Council of Churches in the Philippines, 1967), pp. 31-32.

[4]Phelan, p. 8.

the state gather the nomadic Filipino tribes into towns and assisted the Spanish colonists in organizing them for work and taxation, as well as for religious instruction. Each local colonial unit was called an encomienda.

There are three sub-periods recognized in the historical progress of the Spanish mission work between 1565 and 1700.

The years from 1565 to 1578 were preparatory and exploratory, as only the Augustinian priests who had sailed with Legaspi and Urdaneta were at work.

The span from 1578 to about 1605 was the mission's "Golden Age." New and enthusiastic missionaries kept arriving, and the assignment of each order to a definite geographical area kept them from inefficient overlapping of effort. The Filipinos were so responsive that by the end of the period, most of the lowland population had been brought under the sign of the cross.

The period from about 1609 to the end of the century was basically one of decline and discouragement, despite some encouraging events, such as the opening of the University of Santo Tomas in 1611. The task of continuing Christian education was huge, and the resources were short--and made even shorter by the continual harrassment of the galleons by the Dutch navy until the treaty of 1648. A dispute arose and continued over the question of whether the geographical bishops would have the right to supervise the work of the missionary orders who wanted to keep supervisory power in the hands of their own appointed superiors. No effective steps were taken to train Filipinos for the short-handed clerical ranks.

Spain herself was in decline during the period, so that

> By the last decade of that century . . . her colonial empire apart, Spain was no longer a great power, either politically or culturally; as for her religious example, it now inspired repulsion.[5]

The Period from 1700 to 1898

The decline of Spain was experienced also in her colonies. Much of the news from the Philippines during most of the eighteenth century was bad.

Although church and state were supposed to work together to achieve common goals, there was frequent friction between them. The conflict reached its nadir with the government's imprisonment of Archbishop Cuesta and the retaliatory mob-killing of Governor Bustamente in 1719.[6]

For about eighteen months, from 1762 to 1764, Manila was under the flag of England as a result of the defeat of the Spanish fleet.

Important but discouraging events occurred during the episcopate of Archbishop Basilio Sancho de Santa Justa Y Rufina (1767-1789). In 1768, the Jesuits were expelled from the Philippines, as from all the Spanish realm, by order of King Charles III. The archbishop saw in the expulsion an opportunity to install priests who were secular clergy, belonged to no religious order, and would not dispute his right of supervision. At almost the same time, Archbishop Sancho also decided to remove from

---

[5]A. G. Dickens, The Counter Reformation (n.p.: Harcourt, Brace, & World, Inc., 1969), p. 192.

[6]Gowing, p. 71.

their parishes many members of the other missionary orders and replace them also with secular priests.

The archbishop did not have sufficient numbers of Spanish or Filipino secular clergymen to fill the vacancies, so he set up a hasty program of training and ordination.

> The quip became current in Manila that there were no oarsmen to be found for the coastal vessels because the archbishop had ordained them all.[7]

The results of Sancho's attempt were disastrous, as the poorly-trained Filipino clerics failed to perform even passably well. Deluged by complaints, the archbishop had to admit defeat by requesting the regular clergy to return to their former parishes, under the supervision of their own orders' superiors. The power of the archdiocesan bishop and the hope for a Filipino clergy had both received serious reversals.

During the last third of the 1700's, the Philippine economy began to make new progress. New ventures in agriculture began to generate funds, and commerce advanced as a result of the opening of the country to general European trade for the first time in its history.

Although the last of the galleons sailed in 1815, the Philippines continued to experience economic growth. In 1829 a decree allowed foreign merchants to do business in Manila on an equal footing with Spaniards. In 1835, Manila was declared an open port. In 1869, the opening of the Suez Canal made trade with Europe easier and more profitable.

---

[7]Horacio de la Costa, "The Development of the Native Clergy in the Philippines," in Studies in Philippine Church History, edited by Gerald H. Anderson (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), p. 95.

Perhaps the influence of the clergy had always been stronger than that of the government in the Spanish program of ruling the Philippines, but the nineteenth century saw even less power in the hands of government men and even more in the hands of the friars. In Philippine matters, it was not the governor's but the friars' word which "was the law in Madrid,"[8] In Philippine province and town, the friars' influence became so great that it was said,

> There is scarcely any branch of the municipal government in which the reverend parochial priest does not play an important part.[9]

The novels of Dr. Jose Rizal show that some Filipinos deeply resented the friars and their use of power. By the end of the nineteenth century resentment led to revolution.

The economic opening of the Philippines to European trade also meant that Filipinos gained access to the liberal and often anti-clerical ideas of Europe. Liberalization of Filipino thought contributed to the growing Filipino dissatisfaction with Spanish rule.

The Masonic Lodge was one of the first vehicles of liberal thought in the Philippines, the first lodge having been established for Spaniards in 1856. The Filipino priests of the Roman Catholic Church, who were now becoming more numerous, also had nationalistic convictions which called Spanish rule into question.

---

[8]Ferdinand Blumentritt, The Philippines, translated by David J. Doherty (Chicago: Donohue Brothers, 1900), p. 41.

[9]Report of the Philippine Commission . . . 1900, I, 57, quoted in John J. Carroll, Changing Patterns of Social Structure in the Philippines: 1896. 1963 (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1968), p. 38.

In 1872, the execution by the Spaniards of three Filipino secular priests, Fathers Burgos, Gomez, and Zamora, who were suspected of aiding an insurrection, moved nationalistic Filipinos closer to revolt.

The powerful novels of the brilliant Filipino intellectual, Dr. Jose Rizal, as well as his support of Filipino Free-masonry, gave further impetus to revolutionary fervor which finally broke out with significant force in 1896.

The United States, represented by Commodore George Dewey, became involved in the Filipino-Spanish struggle as a result of the outbreak of the Spanish-American War in 1898. The Filipino troops, under General Emilio Aguinaldo, cooperated with American forces and even allowed the American troops to receive the Spanish surrender at Manila. Aguinaldo, as president of his people, declared the existence of a new Philippine Republic, independent of Spain, on June 12, 1898. The Filipinos confidently expected the United States to recognize Philippine independence and to help the new nation on its way in the world.

Instead, the United States negotiated with Spain for the purchase of the Philippines, in the 1898 Treaty of Paris. The Filipinos felt they had been betrayed, and it was not long before war broke out between Aguinaldo's forces and American troops. The war lasted until Aguinaldo himself was captured in 1902.[10]

---

[10]Leon Wolff, Little Brown Brother (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1961), passim.

The Period from 1898 to 1970

The Filipinos had fought for independence, but they had only gained a new colonial master. The avowed aim of the United States in assuming control in the Philippines was to rule only until the Filipino people were prepared to rule themselves. But that goal was subject to different interpretations, and it was not until 1935 that a definite date for independence was set--for 1945. World War II was cruelly destructive in the Philippines, so that the nation which bravely asserted her independent status on July 4, 1946--only one year behind schedule--was badly weakened in every way.

The era of the Republic of the Philippines has been a struggle for economic, social, and political stability. The year 1971 finds her wrestling with the cries of her university students: "Ibagsak ang Imperialismo, ang Feudalismo, ang Fascismo!" ("Down with Imperialism, Feudalism and Fascism!"). The students' cry dramatizes the challenges faced by their nation to find a satisfying political and economic relationship with the United States and with her neighbors in Southeast Asia and the other nations of the world. There is also the need to narrow the tremendous gap between rich and poor, including the necessity to make it possible for tenant farmers to become landowners. Maintaining peace and order without repressing dissent has proved to be a difficult challenge for the nation's government.

As it faces the challenges proclaimed by its youth, the country's rapid population growth makes it imperative that agriculture and industry develop, in order to provide the necessities of life for a growing number of people.

The transition from Spanish to American rule forced the Roman Catholic Church to develop new approaches to her work. The American ideal of separation between church and state was implemented in the Philippines by the United States, and the early years of the twentieth century are called the time of "disentanglement of church and state."[11]

The Philippine Roman Catholic Church found herself simultaneously cut off from all government support and confronted by an unsympathetic public school system, by rather large numbers of Protestant missionaries, and by the newly-formed Philippine Independent Chruch. About one-fourth of the Roman Catholic population actually left their former church to join the "Independientes" or one of the protestant groups, so that the first ten years of the century were characterized by defensive action by the Roman Catholic Church. However, by the early 1930's, the majority church had regained her balance and regained many of her members, due to her own policy of renewal as well as to a decision of the United States Supreme Court which returned to her the church property that had been taken over by parishes who had left to join the Philippine Independent Church.

The old problems of relation to the government and the right of episcopal supervision have disappeared for Roman Catholics, with the passing of the Spanish era. A strong system of private Catholic schools

---

[11]Peter G. Gowing, "The Disentanglement of Church and State Early in the American Regime in the Philippines," in Studies in Philippine Church History, edited by Gerald H. Anderson (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), p. 221.

has been developed, and a Filipino clergy of quality has been trained, even though most parishes are still very seriously understaffed.

Protestant membership gains were rapid in the early years of the century but have now leveled off among the churches which arrived at that time. A new wave of Protestant missions has arrived since World War II and is growing at a more rapid pace than the older bodies.

Protestant efforts have from the beginning been expended not only in a ministry of proclamation but also in helping to improve conditions in the areas of education, economy, and community health. Most of the older and larger Protestant denominations are members of the National Council of Churches in the Philippines, although there is a very great number of small groups at work throughout the nation who are not affiliated.

CHAPTER III

SPIRIT-WORLD BELIEFS AMONG THE LOWLAND PEOPLE OF THE PHILIPPINES FROM 1521 TO 1898

The Period from 1521 to 1700

Father Jesus Merino, O.P. (Dominican Order), warns against over-simplification in analyzing the spirit-world beliefs of the Filipino people:

> The religion of the early Filipinos is systematically ill-understood. Notwithstanding the tribal and religious individualities of the different ethnical groups existing in the Philippines at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards, and today as well, every writer on the native religion keeps to the method, which was good for the scant notices transmitted by a first discoverer, but which is monstrous in any scholarly research. Every religious idea or practice observed in the Philippines now is thrown into a melting pot called "The Religion of the Early Filipinos," which no Filipino ever had.[1]

Accordingly, the approach employed here will be to examine the testimony of each chronicler separately and even to make geographical and ethnic distinctions in the materials of a single writer when he speaks of more than one group's beliefs. There will be no attempt to harmonize divergent elements or to systematize them. This descriptive material is included only for the purpose of showing the nature of the Filipino spirit-world beliefs to which Roman Catholics have responded.

---

[1]Jesus Merino, "Eastern Culture in the Philippines," Unitas, XXXVI (September 1963), 335.

Antonio Pigafetta

Pigafetta, an Italian, was the chronicler for Magellan's historic "first voyage around the world." Writing of events and conditions in 1521, he observed that the people of Cebu had many idols, which he pictured thus:

> Those idols are made of wood, and are hollow and lack back parts. Their arms are open and their feet turned up under them with the legs open. They have a large face with four huge tusks like those of the wild boar; and are painted all over.[2]

Later authors offered more analysis of spirit-world beliefs than did Pigafetta, but he did include a running account of a sacrificial ritual:

> In order that your most illustrious Lordship may know the ceremonies that those people use in consecrating the swine, they first sound those large gongs. Then three large dishes are brought in; two with roses and with cakes of rice and millet, baked and wrapped in leaves, and roast fish; the other with cloth of Cambaia and two standards made of palmtree cloth. One bit of cloth of Cambaia is spread on the ground. Then two very old women come, each of whom has a bamboo trumpet in her hand. When they have stepped upon the cloth they make obeisance to the sun. Then they wrap the cloths about themselves. One of them puts a kerchief with two horns on her forehead, and takes another kerchief in her hands, and dancing and blowing upon her trumpet, she thereby calls out to the sun. The other takes one of the standards and dances and blows on her trumpet. They dance and call out thus for a little space, saying many things between themselves to the sun. She with the kerchief takes the other standard, and lets the kerchief drop, and both blowing on their trumpets for a long time, dance about the bound hog. She with the horns always speaks covertly to the sun, and the other answers her. A cup of wine is presented to her of the horns, and she dancing and repeating certain words, while the other answers her, and making pretense four or five times of drinking the wine, sprinkles it upon the heart of the hog. Then she immediately begins

---

[2]Antonio Pigafetta, "First Voyage Around the World," The Philippine Islands 1493-1898, edited by Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906), XXXIII, 167. (Hereafter this work will be cited as B-R).

> to dance again. A lance is given to the same woman. She shaking it and repeating certain words, while both of them continue to dance, and making motions four or five times of thrusting the lance through the heart of the hog, with a sudden and quick stroke, thrusts it through from one side to the other. The wound is quickly stopped with grass. The one who has killed the hog, taking in her mouth a lighted torch, which has been lighted throughout that ceremony, extinguishes it. The other one dipping the end of her trumpet in the blood of the hog, goes around marking with blood with her finger first the foreheads of their husbands and then the others; but they never came to us. Then they divest themselves and go to eat the contents of those dishes, and they invite only women to eat with them. The hair is removed from the hog by means of fire. Thus no one but old women consecrate the flesh of the hog, and they do not eat it unless it is killed in this way.[3]

Miguel de Loarca

All the information below is taken from Loarca's "Relation of the Philippine Islands."[4] Only actual quotes will be footnoted.

Loarca was a Spanish soldier who turned colonist in the Philippines. His "Relation" gives a general description of the Filipino people and their way of life. He described the spirit-world beliefs of both the Visayans and the Tagalog people of the Manila area of Luzon.

In speaking of the religious beliefs of the Visayans, Loarca related a bewildering variety of gods and practices.

The coastal Yliguenes people believed in two gods, Captan and Maguayen. Their creation legend presented the first man and woman, their marriage, and the beginnings of fishing, death, concubinage, and theft.

---

[3]Ibid., XXXIII, 167, 171.

[4]Miguel de Loarca, "Relation of the Philippine Islands," B-R, V, 34-187.

The Visayans had many beliefs about death and the dead. Those who died glorious deaths--by stabbing, crocodiles, or arrows--went to heaven by way of the rainbow and became gods. A dead man who was drowned might be invoked to heal a sick relative, as his relatives went out to sea in a barangay (boat) with a baylana (priestess) and dumped into the sea a chest full of clothing and other items as a sacrifice to the deceased. When young people died, the Visayans said that the mangalos, who were goblins, had eaten their intestines to cause death. When the aged people of Arayas died, it was believed that the wind had come to carry their souls to Mt. Mayas on the island of Panay. It was on Mt. Mayas that Sidapa, the god of the Arayas, had a tall tree where he made a mark to measure the life-span of each newborn baby. When a person's age reached the mark, he died. The souls of dead Ylegueynes went to a high mountain on the Island of Burney to be with their god Sisiburanen.

Family riches were a real advantage to one who died, since one's relatives could redeem him, after his death, from Simuran and Siguinaruga, the gods of the infernal regions. Redemption was made by sacrifices and offerings presented to the god Pandaque within sight of Mt. Mayas. A poor man, whose family could not offer the sacrifices, remained forever in prison. Perhaps that is why the dead were buried with gold, cloth, and other valuable objects--so that they would be well received in the other world.

There was no set time or place for the offering of prayers and sacrifices. Offerings were made when there was a need--such as sickness, death, planting of crops, or war. The sacrifices, as well as the

priests (male or female) who performed them, were called baylanes. Loarca gave a colorful portrayal of a sacrificial ritual:

> The priestesses dress very gaily, with garlands on their heads, and are resplendent with gold. They bring to the place of sacrifice some pitarrillas (a kind of earthen jar) full of rice-wine, besides a live hog and a quantity of prepared food. Then the priestess chants her songs and invokes the demon, who appears to her all glistening in gold. Then he enters her body and hurls her to the ground, foaming at the mouth as one possessed. In this state she declares whether the sick person is to recover or not. In regard to other matters, she fortells the future. All this takes place to the sound of bells and kettle-drums. Then she rises and taking a spear, she pierces the heart of the hog. They dress it and prepare a dish for the demons. Upon an altar erected there, they place the dressed hog, rice, bananas, wine, and all the other articles of food that they have brought.[5]

Another god, Macaptan, was said to dwell highest in the sky. He was considered a bad god, sending disease and death, for he was too far away and had "not eaten anything of this world or drunk any pitarrillas."[6]

On the island of Negros, a goddess Lalahon lived in a volcano and sometimes hurled down fire. The people invoked her for good harvests, but she sometimes sent locusts instead, to destroy the crops.

A man going to war would trun back if he saw the bad omen of someone sneezing. No one would sail in a boat with a goat or a monkey, for fear of destruction. "They have a thousand other omens of this sort."[7]

---

[5]Ibid., V, 133.

[6]Ibid., V, 135.

[7]Ibid., V. 163.

The Visayans believed that a fatal oil could be produced by the invocation of the demons Naguined, Arapayan, and Macbarubac upon coconut oil and a crocodile's tooth. If the oil was to be sold to another, there was another invocation which had to be used at the time of transfer. With the oil, one could cause a person to die, unless he was saved by a second concoction which would work against the first.

Marriage was begun with prayer to the gods and ancestors for its success.

Loarca wrote also of the gods and beliefs of the Tagalogs of Luzon, near Manila. He called them "Moros," but his outline of their beliefs showed little similarity to Islam:

> They said that they adored this Batala because he was the Lord of all, and had created human beings and villages. They said that this Batala had many agents under him, whom he sent to this world to produce, in behalf of men, what is yielded there. These beings were called anitos, and each anito had a special office. Some of them were for the fields, and some for those who journey by sea; some for those who went to war, and some for diseases. Each anito was therefore named for his office; there was, for instance, the anito of the fields and the anito of the rain. To these anitos the people offered sacrifices, when they desired anything--to each one according to his office.[8]

In some places, when someone died, the survivors would make a representation of him, a small wooden idol which they also called anito.

> For they say that when people die, they go to serve the Batala. Therefore they make sacrifices to these anitos, offering them food, wine, and gold ornaments; and request them to be intercessors for them before the Batala, whom they regard as God.[9]

---

[8] Ibid., V, 171, 173.

[9] Ibid., V, 175.

Loarca tried to discover the people's conception of the relationship between Bathala and the anitos:

> When the natives were asked why the sacrifices were offered to the anito, and not to the Batala, they answered that the Batala was a great lord, and no one could speak to him. He lived in the sky; but the anito, who was of such a nature that he came down here to talk with men was to the Batala as a minister, and interceded for them.[10]

Juan de Plasencia

Friar Juan had entered the Franciscan Order in his early youth and was one of the first of his order to come to the Philippines, arriving in 1577. He was known to have skill in gathering Filipino converts into villages, in establishing schools, and in using the Tagalog language, but later ages are chiefly indebted to him for his ethnographical work. Phelan acknowledges that

> The overwhelming bulk of our knowledge about the character of preconquest Tagalog society comes from a study of Tagalog customs composed by a Franciscan friar, Juan de Plasencia.[11]

Phelan also lauds the quality of the friar's work:

> His study of Tagalog customs is a short account remarkable for its factual and objective description . . . Succeeding chroniclers such as Chirino, Ribadeneyra, Colin, Santa Ines, Morga, San Antonio, and Delgado added little factual information to Plasencia's account but merely indulged in value judgments of a moralistic and ethnocentric character.[12]

Juan de Plasencia died in Lilio, Laguna, in 1590.

---

[10] Ibid., V, 173.

[11] John Leddy Phelan, The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses, 1565-1700 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959), p. 178.

[12] Ibid., p. 179.

All of the information below comes from Plasencia's "Customs of the Tagalogs,"[13] written in 1589. Only quotations which the researcher feels have theological interest will be footnoted.

Friar Juan identified Badhala as the god "whom they especially worshiped, the title meaning 'all powerful' or 'maker of all things.'"[14] He reported that some of them also worshiped the sun, the moon, the stars, and at times a dead man who had been brave in war.

They had many idols, called lic-ha. The idol Dian masalanta was their patron of lovers and fertility, while the idols Lacapati and Idianale were the patrons of agriculture.

They even paid reverence to crocodiles, offering these animals part of what they carried in their boats, as a sacrifice to avoid being harmed by them.

Tagalog ghosts were called vibit and phantoms tigbalaang.

The Tagalogs believed in a place of rest for the dead, which they called maca. Casanaan was believed to be the place of punishment for evil people after death. Some Tagalogs believed that there were demons called sitan in casanaan. They maintained that no one could go to the heaven, where only Badhala dwelt.

The Tagalogs had no temples for the performance of sacrifices or the adoration of their idols. Although they did have the word simbahan,

---

[13]Juan de Plasencia, "Customs of the Tagalogs," B-R, VII, 173-196.

[14]Ibid., VII, 186.

which means temple, they used it to refer to the house of their chief only during the times that the people would gather there for a special feast of worship, called nagaanitos.

The offering of sacrifice was called for in various circumstances: for the recovery of a sick person, for the prosperous voyage of those embarking on the sea, for a good harvest, for a successful outcome of war, for successful delivery in childbirth, and for a happy married life.

When a sacrifical feast was proclaimed, the food would be offered in front of the idol, which had been perfumed and sometimes covered with a cloth. Praise was offered in poetic songs sung by the catalonan, who was the priest, either male or female. The participants responded to the priest's song, asking the idol for the needed blessings. The food to be offered might be a goat, birds, or pigs, and rice. Considerable drinking of alcoholic beverages took place, often making everybody drunk. Among the rich, a feast might last for as long as thirty days.

Friar Juan reported that sometimes the devil would enter the body of a catolonan, making the hair stand on end and flames shoot from the eyes. Occasionally a priest would have to be tied to a tree by his companions to prevent his self-destruction.

Plasencia felt he was able to identify twelve different classes of "priests" in whom the Tagalogs believed:

1. The Catolonan--a priest of high rank.
2. The Mangagauay--witches who deceived by pretending to heal the sick and could also inflict harm by the use of special charms.

3. The Manyisalat--had the power of applying such powerful remedies to men that they would abandon and despise even their own wives.

4. The Mancocolam--emitted fire at night and could make people sick.

5. The Hocloban--another kind of witch found especially in Catanduanes and said to be capable of killing by means of charms.

6. The Silagan--killed people by tearing out and eating their liver and was also known especially in Catanduanes.

7. The Magtatangal--could separate his head from the rest of his body at night and join them again in the morning.

8. The Osuang--could fly and after killing a person ate the victim's flesh.

9. The Mangagayoma--said to be able to make charms from herbs, stones, and wood which would infuse even the unwilling heart with love.

10. The Sonat--helped people die and was considered a type of preacher who could predict the fate of a dying soul.

11. The Pangatahojan--a soothsayer believed capable of predicting the future.

12. The Bayoguin--a man whose nature inclined toward that of a woman.[15]

Tagalog girls underwent a four-day puberty rite intended to help them find good husbands and bear children.

Bad omens were important to the Tagalogs. If at the beginning of a journey, a person would see a snake, a rat, a bird called Tigmamanuguin, or a person who sneezed, it was a sign to return home, for the trip would surely have an evil outcome.

---

[15]Ibid., VII, 194.

Divination was practiced, to see whether weapons, such as daggers, would be useful and lucky for their owners.

Friar Juan was convinced that the coming of Christianity had meant the absolute end of Filipino spirit-world beliefs, for he concluded emphatically,

> May the honor and glory be God our Lord's that among all the Tagalogs not a trace of this is left; and that those who are now marrying do not even know what it is, thanks to the preaching of the holy gospel, which has banished it.[16]

Antonio de Morga

Dr. Morga, a layman, lived for eight years in the Philippines, and worked as a lieutenant to the governor and as a justice in the colony's supreme court. His general study of Asia, from which all of the information below has been taken, was called The Philippine Islands, Moluccas, Siam, Cambodia, Japan, and China, at the Close of the Sixteenth Century.[17]

Morga reported that before the Spaniards came, the lowland Filipinos had no knowledge of the true God and no desire to find Him. Instead, they worshiped the Devil in various forms by making figures (anitos) of animals and offering perfumes and food to the idols. There were no official temples, but each man kept his own anitos in his house or in a cave.

---

[16]Ibid., VII, 196.

[17]Antonio de Morga, The Philippine Islands, Moluccas, Siam, Cambodia, Japan, and China, at the Close of the Sixteenth Century, translated by Henry Stanley (New York: Bert Franklin, originally published by the Hakluyt Society, n.d.).

Some of the people worshiped the sun and moon, making feasts and getting drunk. Others adored a yellow bird called batala. There was even a type of crocodile worship, the natives going to their knees when they saw a specimen, because of the serious injuries caused by crocodiles. To curse another, a Filipino might invoke the crocodile, saying "May the Buhayan eat you if you do not speak the truth."[18]

There were no priests or monks, in the Spanish sense of those offices--only some catolonas, who were old sorcerers and witches, either male or female. The catolonas led the prayers and ceremonies offered to the idols on behalf of the sick.

The people did believe in another life, with rewards for the valiant and punishments for the evil, but they did not know how or where these things would take place.

Pedro Chirino, S. J. (Society of Jesus)

Father Chirino arrived in the Philippines in 1590 and served for forty-five years among the Tagalogs and the Visayans, until his death in 1635. An important leader in many respects, he did especially significant work in the village of Taitai, among the Tagalogs.

Although Chirino's relation of Roman Catholic responses is more extensive than his treatment of spirit-world beliefs, what he did say

---

[18]Ibid., p. 306.

about the beliefs is included here. All the material below comes from his "Relation"[19] and only the more important items will be footnoted.

Among the Tagalogs, the chief god was called Bathala Mei Capal, which means God the creator. The Visayans called the supreme god Laon, which denotes antiquity. Chirino reported that the Filipinos sang songs about Bathala or Laon while sailing, farming, feasting or mourning. The songs related the creation of the world and man, the flood, paradise, punishment, and other spiritual matters.

Considered lesser deities were birds, the sun, the moon, the rainbow, a blue bird called Bathala, crocodiles, trees, stones, and some dangerous reefs and cliffs.

The people lived in fear of hostile demons, who could cause many evils, but their spirit-world also included their ancestors. The dead who had been outstandingly valiant, cruel, or obscene were adored and deified. In fact,

> It was a general practice for anyone who could successfully do so to attribute divinity to his old father when the latter died.[20]

According to the people's belief, a woman had to have a lover in order to enter glory when she died, for the lover

> hastened to offer the woman his hand at the passage of a very perilous stream which had no other bridge than a very narrow beam, which must be traversed to reach the repose that they call Calualhatian.[21]

---

[19]Pedro Chirino, "Relation of the Filipinas Islands and of What has There Been Accomplished by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus," B-R, XII, 169-322, and XIII, 27-220.

[20]Ibid., XII, 264.

[21]Ibid., XII, 251.

In memory of the deceased, the Filipinos kept small idols made of stone, wood, bone, ivory, crocodile teeth, or even of gold. They called the idols Larauan, which means "image" and offered sacrifices to them in times of need.

The priests for sacrifices were called Catolonan by the Tagalogs and Babailan by the Visayans. In times of sickness, the people were especially diligent in offering sacrifices to their anitos or diuatas. A person could offer a sacrifice simply by putting some food on an empty plate on the table beside him at a feast being offered in time of illness, death, or mourning.

Chirino's experiences convinced him that the Filipino lowlanders spirit-world beliefs were deeply held. He stated that, in contrast to the Negrillos of the mountains, the lowland people

> abandon more regretfully their idols, ceremonies, priests, sacrifices, and superstitions; and although they renounce them in holy baptism and are converted (vanquished by the light of Catholic truth), the vestiges of the evil which they have sucked from their mothers' breasts are not so easily forgotten as to unburden us, their teachers, of many cares.[22]

But his writings were basically optimistic, and he even claimed for a certain community on the island of Bohol that

> there was no scent or trace of vice or idolatry, or witchcraft, or of other evil customs practiced by them while they were pagans; and if, in confession or elsewhere, mention were made to them of these things, they became deeply offended, saying: "Since we are now Christians, how could we do such things again?"[23]

---

[22]Ibid., XII, 262.

[23]Ibid., XIII, 47.

Spirit-world beliefs as a factor in rebellions in 1621

The coming of Christianity did not simply obliterate lowland beliefs. Two Filipino revolts in the year 1621 show that some Filipinos were unwilling to exchange their prehispanic spirit-world beliefs for Christianity.

A Filipino babaylan (pagan priest) named Tamblot urged the inhabitants of the island of Bohol to return to their ancient practices. He assured them that they could win their freedom because their ancestors and diuatas would help them. The fact that two thousand Boholanos joined Tamblot shows the appeal which his arguments had for them. The revolutionaries were defeated by troops from Cebu.

In the same year, on the island of Leyte, the aged chief Bankaw turned away from Christianity to return to the religion of his fathers. Working with his son and a pagan priest he sought to recruit followers throughout the island of Leyte, "until the whole island was plunged into a chaos of armed resistance."[24] The rebels told their followers that they could

> change the Spaniards into stones as soon as they saw them by repeating the word bato, which signifies "stone."[25]

The Leyte revolt was also quelled by forces from Cebu.

The materials above give an essentially complete picture of the spirit-world beliefs of lowland Filipinos at the time of the Spanish

---

[24]Gregorio F. Zaide, Philippine Political and Cultural History: The Philippines Since pre-Spanish Times (Manila: R. P. Garcia, 1949), I, 348.

[25]Murillo Velerde, "History of the Philippines," B-R, XXXVIII, 92.

arrival. The remainder of this chapter will show that the indigenous beliefs were not eliminated by Christianity but tended to persist and in some cases to become mixed with Christian ideas and practices.

The Period from 1700 to 1898

Tomas Ortiz, O.S.A. (Augustinian Order)

Ortiz, an Augustinian, arrived in the Philippines in about 1695. The selection on Philippine superstitions and beliefs from which all the information below was taken[26] was originally part of his book Practice del Ministerio, written for priests at work in Philippine parishes. Ortiz wrote realistically about the people's beliefs so that other priests could deal effectively with them, especially in the confessional. His information applies to the Tagalog region of the lowland Philippines, sometime around the year 1731.

As the first of the many beliefs held by the Tagalogs, Ortiz spoke of the idolatry of the nonos. The nonos were ancestral and other spirits who had interest in the lives of people still physically on earth. Filipinos would ask permission of the nonos before taking fruit, crossing a river or field, or going past a tree where the nonos were thought to dwell. If a person had to cut down such a tree, he would first tell the nonos that the priest was forcing him to do the cutting, so that he himself would not be blamed by the nonos. People also asked the nonos

---

[26]Tomas Ortiz, "Superstitions and Beliefs of the Filipinos," B-R, XLIII, 103-112.

for help in time of sickness, a practice which Ortiz judged to be deeply rooted and of long standing.

The Tagalog custom was to hold a feast at the home of a deceased person on the third day after his death. The custom was based on the belief that

> The souls of the dead return to their houses the third day after their death, in order to visit the people of it, or to be present at the banquet, and consequently, to be present at the ceremony of the tibao. They conceal and hide that by saying that they are assembling in the house of the deceased in order to recite the rosary for him. If they are told to do their praying in the church, they refuse to comply because that is not what they wish to do.[27]

Ortiz did not describe the details of the tibao ceremony, but he did relate the practice of spreading ashes in the house of the deceased to determine by his tracks whether the departed had indeed returned to visit his family.

The Tigbalag was believed to be a ghost or goblin who appeared in the form of a black man. The Tagalogs were said to surrender their rosaries to him, in order to get from the tigbalag talismans and amulets (anting-anting).

Several eighteenth-century beliefs had to do with birth and childhood. A being called patianac was believed to hinder the process of birth. The husband felt he had to fight off the patianac or else move his wife to another place, so that she could deliver her child in safety.

The patianac might also kill children, as the usang was believed to do. The usang reportedly sat on the roof of a house, extended his

---

[27]Ibid., XLIII, 106.

long thread-like tongue into the anus of a child in the house, and sucked out the child's entrails.

The ganay, or sorcerer, was believed to have power to cause the growth of bongsol (obstructions) in someone's stomach or side. The state of enchantment of the person who had the obstructions, also called bongsol, could be removed only by another sorcerer.

Sometimes Christian elements were used in the practice of spirit-world beliefs. A warrior could measure his spear while reciting the "Our Father," and

> If the conclusion of the measuring is reached at the same time or when they come to the word "forgive us," they say that they cannot be punished, but that they may kill people, etc.[28]

It was believed among Tagalogs that a thief could be discovered by the ceremony of the bilao, which was a round, shallow market basket made of woven reeds. A scissors, opened to form the shape of a St. Andrew cross, with a rosary hung between its two points, was placed in the bilao. The names of the suspects would be mentioned, one by one. The name at which the bilao began to shake was the thief.

Joaquin Martinez de Zuniga, O.S.A.

Fray Zuniga, an Augustinian, worked in the Tagalog area of the Philippines from 1786 to 1818. His book on Philippine history was published in 1803.

---

[28] Ibid., XLIII, 111.

Zuniga first described the beliefs of the prehispanic Filipinos in nonos, patianac, tigbalang, and sacrifices performed by the babailanes or catalonas. Concerning the beliefs of Tagalogs of his own times he said,

> These and other superstitions, which they held in former times, they still observe at times, when the charlatans who are maintained at the cost of simpletons persuade them that they will get better from some dangerous illness or will find the jewel that they have lost, if they will practice them. And so powerful is self-interest or the love of life that although they believe that it is evil to observe those superstitions and do not give entire assent to those deceits, they carry them out, for they say that perhaps it will be so.[29]

Sinibaldo de Mas

Mas was a Spanish diplomat on mission in the Orient. His comments on the lowland Filipino spirit-world were included in the Blair and Robertson documents on the Philippines in the form of extended footnotes to a letter by Fray Gaspar de San Agustin.[30]

Mas obviously tried to be more than a casual observer. He felt that many Spaniards, especially the clergy, held the mistaken notion that the lowland Filipino people were relatively free from the ancient spirit-world beliefs. The clergy, he believed, were led to such a mistaken assessment because,

> In the presence of such the Filipinos do not dare tell the truth, not even in the confessional, because of their fear of the reprimand that surely awaits them. I have talked to many about these

---

[29]Ibid., XLIII, 126.

[30]Gaspar de San Agustin, "Letter on the Filipinos: 1720," B-R, XL, 183-295.

> things, some of whom at the beginning began to laugh, and to joke about the poor fools who put faith in such nonsense. But when they saw that I was treating the matter seriously, and with the spirit of inquiry as a real thing, they changed their tone, and made no difficulty in assuring me of the existence of the fabulous beings described above . . .[31]

Mas was convinced that not just some but most lowland Filipinos still held many of the old beliefs. He remarked,

> There is scarce a Filipino, even the most enlightened, who does not tell marvelous things which have happened to him--wondrous visions, mute and speechless; ghosts, goblins, strange figures; dead people; dogs, and fabulous and never imagined animals; castles, and balls of fire that have appeared to him; frightful noises of all sorts that have scared him.[32]

Because of his interviews, Mas felt sure that the people were fully persuaded that they had actually experienced the events and had not just seen them in dreams.

Perhaps the Spanish diplomat had his tongue in cheek when he told about the belief of some that annually, on Good Friday, in the hot springs of Los Baños, the Holy Child Jesus appeared and hopped about in the water; and that he who could catch the figure in the water obtained a special anting-anting.[33]

Sir John Bowring

Not all the friars were of the opinion that the lowland spirit-world beliefs were dead. Sir John Bowring, Great Britain's governor

---

[31] Ibid., XL, 223.

[32] Ibid., XL, 224.

[33] Ibid.; cf. supra, p. 34.

of Hong Kong, made a visit to the Philippines in 1859 and reported some conversation which he had with Roman Catholic priests:

> Many of the padres complain that, notwithstanding all the religious instruction given, the taint of idolatry still exists among the converted Indians. There is a sort of worship of ancestors which is seen in many forms. They attach to the word nono (forefather) the same meaning which the Chinese give to Kwei. These nonos are often addressed in prayer, in order to bring down blessings or to avert calamities. If an Indian gather a flower or fruit, he silently asks leave of the nono. Certain spots, woods, and rivers he never passes without an invocation to these departed genii. Pardon is asked for short-comings or actions of doubtful character. There is a disease called pamoao which is attributed to the influence of the nonos, to whom petitions and sacrifices are offered to obtain relief. These idolatries, says one of the friars, are so deeply rooted and so widely spread as to demand the utmost vigilance for their extirpation.[34]

Dr. Feodor Jagor

Jagor was a German scientist who, in the years 1859-1860 traveled to many parts of the Philippines to make observations, collect plants, climb mountains, and learn about the Filipino people.

His judgment about spirit-world beliefs in Samar and Leyte was that superstition was widespread. He noted that many people wore, in addition to religious medals, pagan amulets. He pictured one which "consisted of a small ounce flask, stuffed full of vegetable root fibres, which appeared to have been fried in oil."[35] The purpose of the amulet was to make its owner strong and courageous.

---

[34]John Bowring, A Visit to the Philippine Islands (London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1859), p. 156.

[35]Feodor Jagor, "Feodor Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," The Former Philippines thru Foreign Eyes, edited by Austin Craig (Manila: Philippine Education Co., 1916), p. 283.

In further reference to Samar and Leyte, he noted that almost every large village had at least one Asuang family, which was feared and avoided by the other villagers. Such families were believed to be cannibalistic by many, but the belief seemed to be weakening:

> Intelligent old natives when questioned by me on the subject, answered that they certainly did not believe that the Asuangs ate men at the present time, but that their forefathers had assuredly done so.[36]

Jagor was particularly impressed by the Catbalogan bean, which was worn by many around the neck as an amulet. The charm was

> especially efficacious . . . against a poison communicated by breathing upon one, for not only does it protect the wearer, but it kills the individual who wishes to poison him.[37]

Among the beautiful cliffs of the straits between Leyte and Samar, Jagor discovered burial caves used by the ancient Filipinos. Even in 1859, the people who went past the caves did so only after performing certain pagan religious ceremonies prescribed by prehispanic native religion. A Roman Catholic response to beliefs about the cliffs is contained in Chapter V below.

Pedro Rosell, S.J.

Rosell, a member of the Society of Jesus, worked in the Philippines from 1880 to 1888. In 1885 he wrote a letter to his superior in which he reported his contacts with the Mandaya people of Mindanao, who were just at that time being converted to Christianity.

---

[36] Ibid., p. 284.

[37] Ibid., p. 255.

In Rosell's picture of the sacrifices being offered by the *bailanes* to the gods *Mansilatan* and *Badla*, the song of the *bailana* was especially interesting to him:

> Miminsad, miminsad si Mansilatan
> Opod si Badla nga magadayao nang dunia.
> Bailan, managunsayao,
> Bailan, managunliguit.

Rosell translated the song as follows:

> Mansilatan has come down, has come down.
> Later will come Badla, who will preserve the earth.
> Bailanas, dance,
> Bailanas, turn ye round about.[38]

The equally interesting response of Rosell will be presented below, under the topic of Roman Catholic responses to beliefs.

---

[38]Pedro Rosell, "Letter from Father Pedro Rosell to the Father Superior of the Mission," *B-R*, XLIII, 219.

CHAPTER IV

SPIRIT-WORLD BELIEFS AMONG THE LOWLAND PEOPLE OF THE PHILIPPINES FROM 1898 to 1970

The Period from 1898 to 1946

The chief source used for this period was the Philippine Magazine, beginning in the year 1929. Sources available for the period from 1898 to 1929 were examined, but some of the extant materials could not be obtained.

Jose Nunez

In an article written in 1905, Jose Nunez discussed the belief in mangkukulam among Tagalog people.[1] The mangkukulam was believed to be a male or female witch who could, by sticking pins into a doll, cause sickness in another person, in the body part corresponding to the pin-pricked part of the doll. Branches of the anona tree could provide relief.

Doctors could not relieve sicknesses caused by kulam, in the people's belief:

> Physicians and medicines are powerless to cure those evils which are produced by those witches of Filipinas, for the simple reason that the physicians do not believe in the existence of the mangkukulam or in their witchcraft.[2]

---

[1]Jose Nunez, "Present Beliefs and Superstitions in Luzon," The Philippines 1493-1898, edited by Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1906), XLIII, 310-319.

[2]Ibid., XLIII, 312.

Paula Malay

Miss Malay wrote in 1957, but her study was of the folkways practiced in Obando, Bulacan during the first ten years of the twentieth century. She investigated beliefs regarding birth, marriage, and death.[3]

A child in the womb was believed to absorb characteristics of the mother's fancy during the time of conception. The pregnant woman ought not go out alone at night, lest she be harmed by the aswang or the kantanod.

In times of sickness, the native "doctor" of Obando would diagnose the case. If he decided it was caused by kulam, he would refer the case to a witch doctor. Illnesses caused by hangin (bad wind) or pasma (exposure to wind and moisture after exercise) he would handle himself.

At the moment of a death, all the windows of the house would be opened, to allow the spirit to leave. Many precautions were taken to make sure there would be no more deaths in the family soon. At the cemetery,

> If the dead is survived by young children, they are asked to step across the grave; a baby is carried across the grave by an elder. This is done in the belief that it would prevent the dead from coming back and taking the children with him or her.[4]

The family of a deceased person would be somewhat uneasy on the third day after the death, for they believed that the ghost would return to its former home on that night.

---

[3]Paula Malay, "Some Tagalog Folkways," University of Manila Journal of East Asiatic Studies, VI (January 1957), 69-88.

[4]Ibid., VI, 87.

James Le Roy

The American government official James Le Roy included a few observations on the spirit-world in his book Philippine Life in Town and Country,[5] but his significant statements were generally based on the first-hand evidence of others, especially Sinibaldo de Mas.

D. S. Fansler

In 1921, Fansler published Filipino Popular Tales, which presented many stories, myths, and legends of the lowland Filipino people, with Fansler's scholarly notes on the origins of the items.[6] However, he did not attempt to analyze the stories from the standpoint of what people actually believed.

A. L. Kroeber

Kroeber's chief concern was to examine the life of the tribal peoples in the mountainous, non-Christian areas of the Philippines. He judged that among the lowland Tagalogs and Bisayans, "The old cults, except for a few survivals, have long since died out before Christianity."[7] He wrote in 1928.

---

[5]James Le Roy, Philippine Life in Town and Country (First published 19??; re-published Manila: Limited Editions, 1968), pp. 66-96.

[6]D. S. Fansler, Filipino Popular Tales (New York: The American Folk-lore Society, 1921), passim.

[7]A. L. Kroeber, Peoples of the Philippines (2nd and revised edition; New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1928), p. 198.

Kroeber's generalization should be tested rather than immediately accepted. A closer examination would show which elements of the old cults did persist and how widely they were practiced. It is possible that there were more than "a few survivals" alive in the 1920's, if one is allowed to make an observation based on the evidence of the 1930's, which follows.

Articles printed in the Philippine Magazine

In a 1929 article, Frank Minton described the beliefs some people held in the asuang. According to such beliefs, the asuang was a being which sucked people's blood and ate out their intestines. Minton felt that most people who believed in the asuang were of the lower and rural classes, but indicated that some educated people, including his research assistant, also believed.

> This superstition is not exclusively confined to the lower classes, as is indicated by the following quotation from the report of the young lady who secured the narratives from which this article is made up. She says in part: "The asuang in some parts of the Philippines really exist and possess supernatural power . . . This may be a fairy tale also, to those who have not seen and heard an asuang; but the asuang really kills children and eats them." Even those who deny that they believe in the asuang, it is said, secretly wear charms to protect them against the goulish attacks of this eery spectre.[8]

Minton explained why a foreigner living in the Philippines might not know about people's beliefs in the asuang:

> This is due partly to the foreigner's lack of interest in the superstitions of the country, and greatly to the Filipino's

---

[8]Frank L. Minton, "The Asuang," Philippine Magazine, XXVI (June 1929), 39. (Hereafter Philippine Magazine will be cited as PM.

> reluctance to discuss such subjects with strangers who may be unsympathetic, or who may actually scoff at anything pertaining to the supernatural . . . .[9]

In poetic form, Rachel Mack tried to present the feelings of a father who feared that his son had offended some of the spirits of the forest: Here follows "Bewitched":

> Where are you going, neighbor
> So early in the day?
> Why do you carry a bowl of rice
> Along the dusty way?
>
> I go to give the elfmen food--
> For they are angry now.
> My little son lies sick abed
> With fever on his brow.
>
> Last week I walked the forest way
> With shadows all about;
> My little son would point and call
> As birds flew in and out.
>
> I hushed his call; I held his hand;
> I kept him at my side.
> He asked me, "Where are little men?
> Why do elfmen hide?
>
> I think he pointed to an elf--
> He is too young to know.
> O neighbor, say a prayer for me,
> As to the woods I go.[10]

Emeterio C. Cruz, in an article published in 1933, wrote what he considered to be a summary of the state of Tagalog spirit-world beliefs in his time:

> Now, as of old, there are supposed to exist in the Philippines, many supernatural beings who continue to terrify the simpler folk. Especially in the remoter parts of the islands, belief in these

---

[9] Ibid., XXVI, 23.

[10] Rachel Mack, "Bewitched," PM, XXIX (January 1933), 350.

> strange creatures still exerts a great deal of influence over the lives of the people. The tao believes that they may be angered or propitiated, and takes particular care to keep them friendly, for he believes that if the hostility of such spirits is incurred, misfortune, sickness, and even death may follow. The most common of those beings are the asuang, the muno, the duende, the tianak, the tikbalang, and the matanda sa punso.[11]

Isagani V. D'Bayan contributed a report concerning the use of charms among Tagalog-speaking people. His 1934 article stated that,

> A belief in various types of mutya--talismans, amulets, and charms--still survives in many parts of the Philippines--love charms (ligawan), charms that bestow luck in gambling (sugalan), charms which give one skill in conducting business enterprises (pangangalakal) and charms which instill courage and strength in those who carry them (palakasan at labanan).[12]

In a number of articles written between 1934 and 1938, Maximo Ramos presented various spirit-world "secrets" of Filipino farmers, fishermen, funerals, and housewives.

The farmer must give the plants a good example to follow, as he sows the seed. While planting a coconut, he must squat and keep his eyes down, so that the tree will stay close to the ground and make it easy to gather its nuts. The farmer plants camote (a type of sweet potato) on days when the sky is full of heaps of rounded clouds, to produce large, round tubers at harvest time. Before planting sugar cane, a straight stake is driven into the ground in the middle of the field, to make the cane grow straight and tall. Tomatoes, eggplant, ampalaya, and peppers are to be planted only on days which have been

---

[11]Emeterio C. Cruz, "Philippine Ogres and Fairies," PM, XXIX (January 1933), 349.

[12]Isagani V. D'Bayan, "Philippine Magic Charms," PM, XXXI (March 1934), 114.

preceded by clear nights with plenty of stars visible, to multiply fruit. In order that the ampalaya may not become bitter, or the pepper become too hot, the farmer does not smoke while planting, but keeps a lump of sugar in his mouth. To get watermelons with good red meat, the farmer wears red pants while sowing the seeds.[13]

For fishermen, Ramos reported that Sunday is the best day of the week for work:

> It is then that the sprites that inhabit the fishing holes are temporarily deprived of their evil power by the mass performed on that day.[14]

Other Christian ideas were also related by the fisherman to the dynamics of the traditional spirit-world. In order to try to make his equipment lucky,

> Early in the morning of Good Friday or Easter, the fisherman cuts down the bamboo he wishes to use for constructing his traps and also procures the twine for his nets, and his hooks and lines. These he then buries in the street along which the religious procession will pass that evening, or under one of the arches leading toward the booth where the scene of the Resurrection will be enacted. After the procession or the performance, he digs up the material and starts to work.[15]

Times of death and funerals were times to be careful, according to Ramos. The coffin and the body had to be arranged precisely, in order to avoid the early death of any surviving family members. He stated,

> Great care is taken in measuring the body before making the coffin, which should fit exactly, for if it is too long, too wide, or too

---

[13]Maximo Ramos, "Secrets of the Barrio Farmer," PM, XXXI (January 1934), 25, 35.

[14]Maximo Ramos, "Secrets of the Barrio Fisherman," PM, XXII (August 1935), 383.

[15]Ibid.

> deep, the belief is that another member of the household is sure to die soon in order to occupy the vacant space.[16]

In addition to that precaution,

> another thing. The feet of the dead should point upward; otherwise they will cause someone in the same family to follow to the grave soon after.[17]

In the rural barrios (villages), Ramos explained, the houses were believed to be surrounded by invisible spirits. Therefore the barrio housewife was always careful to be neighborly to them:

> When a pig, deer, or goat has been butchered, before anyone tastes the meat, she throws out of the window portions of some of the choicest parts for the spirits to eat, saying, "Come on now, come on now," to them . . . If one neglects to give the spirits their due share and just goes ahead and eats, one would be sure to incur a stomach disorder or even acquire a hare-lip.[18]

For similar reasons,

> the barrio housewife is careful not to throw water out of the window without first saying, "Go 'way, go 'way!" as she is likely to wet an evil spirit, who would be quick to punish her by giving her a wry mouth. She is even more careful if the water is hot, because she might get a fever, go blind, or die, depending on the extent of harm the hot water inflicts on the spirit.[19]

Primitivo C. Milan, in 1938, reported on the beliefs held by some Ilocanos regarding "oracles." He stated:

> Despite modern science and education, many persons in the Philippines, not excluding members of the younger generations, still believe in

---

[16]Maximo Ramos, "Secrets in the Barrio Funeral," PM, XXIV (November 1937), 498.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Maximo Ramos, "Secrets of the Barrio Housewife," PM, XXXV (September 1938), 426.

[19]Ibid.

> oracles and prophecies as well as in amulets, love charms, etc. Among the better known oracles, especially in the Ilocos region, are those of the finger ring, the "Passion," the chicken eggs, the so-so, and the "Adam-and-Eve" formula.[20]

Milan's outline of the "Adam-and-Eve" formula is enough to provide an idea of Ilocano beliefs in oracles in 1938:

> The Adam-and-Eve oracle, sometimes called the oracle of husbands and wives, is supposed to forecast which one of two lovers or married people will die first. It consists of simply writing out their first names on a slip of paper and counting the letters. Take Geronimo and Paula: the total number of letters is thirteen. Letter 1 is for Adam, letter 2 for Eve, letter 3 for Adam, letter 4 for Eve, and so on; letter 13 is, therefore for Adam, which means that Adam, representing Geronimo, will live longer than Paula, represented by Eve . . . This "oracle," though nothing more than a game, is often taken seriously, and ways of life may be adjusted in accordance with its outcome.[21]

Venancio S. Duque, who wrote in 1935, used the term "santorum" to denote a ceremony of diagnosis and cure used by native medicos in central and northern Luzon. The diagnosis procedure observed by Daque involved placing a raw egg into a glass of water and watching its movements to determine that a sick man had insulted some spirits. A feast, involving much food and many people, was held, at which the medico danced and offered food to the spirits, much in the manner of the early prehispanic religious rituals.[22]

Benjamin M. Pascual wrote in 1938 about Ilocano beliefs in the power of the stars. He related that,

---

[20]Primitivo C. Milan, "Philippine Oracles," PM, XXXV (June 1938) 291.

[21]Ibid., XXXV, 293.

[22]Venancio S. Dugue, "Santorum," PM, XXXII (February 1935), 75, 91, 92, 94.

> Although the people of the Ilocos region, as Christians, know the heavenly bodies are creations of God, as they are themselves, they nevertheless accord the various celestial bodies certain divine qualities, and never speak about them except in reverential tones. They refer to the sun and moon as Apo Init and Apo Bulan, respectively, apo in this case meaning lord or master.[23]

Beliefs about the lordship of the sun led to strongly fearful emotions during an eclipse. Eascual related,

> A solar eclipse causes considerable fright to the simple-minded folk, who, when such a phenomenon occurs, believe that the world is rushing to an end. The disappearance of the sun is thought to be the prelude to everlasting darkness.[24]

The power of the moon also commanded respect, in the beliefs of the people. When the moon was either full or new, a sick person was said to grow worse. If he remained sick for a full lunar month and the moon again became full or new, the case was considered hopeless. Moonless nights, called lenned, were considered unlucky. No marriage, business venture, or journey would be started during such days, for they would surely fail.[25]

The appearance of a comet was believed to bring pestilence, floods, fires, and war. In 1911, when Halley's Comet appeared in the heavens, there broke out, simultaneously, a smallpox epidemic in Laoag, Ilocos Norte. The epidemic was followed by a famine, but what the people considered the real result of the comet was World War I.[26] In order to restrain comets from appearing,

---

[23]Benjamin Pascual, "Ilocano Beliefs about the Heavenly Bodies," PM, XXXV (June 1938), 292.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Ibid.

> The more superstitious make offerings of rice and hardboiled eggs placed in empty coconut shells, and live black fowls, secured on tiny rafts, set adrift on the river. They believe these offerings will appease the wrath of the supernatural beings who dwell in the air and bring about the appearance of a comet.[27]

World War II stopped all literary activity in the Philippines, so that the next evidence to be presented on lowland Filipino spirit-world beliefs was written in the 1950's.

The Period from 1946 to 1970

The writings on lowland Filipino spirit-world beliefs during the era of the Republic produce at least two outstanding impressions on the reader. The first impression is that a great many materials seem to have been written, although the fact may be that modern materials are only more readily obtainable than those of earlier times. The second impression is that the writings produced in the era of the Republic are much more scholarly and professional than earlier works. Clearly evident is a much greater interest in identifying sources of data, establishing limits for the validity of the evidence, an emphasis on statistics, and the use of carefully devised testing procedures.

Because there is much material of seemingly excellent quality, this treatment will be limited to an examination of four studies carried out in four specific localities of the lowland Philippines. The first region is the Eastern Visayas, studied by Richard Arens, S.V.D. (Society of the Divine Word). The second location is in the Western Visayas,

---

[27] Ibid.

studied by F. Landa Jocano. The third area lies outside but close to Manila, in the Tagalog-speaking portion of Luzon. The study was done by George Guthrie and Pepita Jimenez Jacobs. The fourth locality is in the Ilocano area of Luzon and was studied by William and Corinne Nydegger. The four localities, considered together, represent adequately the rural, lowland Philippine situation.

The treatment of the four areas will be rather extensive, in order to provide proper perspective for the theological responses to be discussed in Chapter VI.

The Eastern Visayas

The writings of Arens which are examined here appeared during 1956 and 1959. He based them on field work done, not in one particular village, but in many different barrios on the islands of Samar and Leyte. This paper treats his findings as applicable to Samar and Leyte in general, as he himself treated them.[28]

In connection with agriculture, Arens takes up rice, corn, and camote rituals. Basic to all the agricultural rituals is the idea that the ancestral spirits of the dead are still the guardians of the fields. Therefore one must come to terms with them as he uses the land. Another set of beings to be reckoned with are the encantados, white-complexioned

---

[28]Richard Arens, "Religious Rituals and Their Implications for Economic Development," Philippine Sociological Review, VII (January-April 1959), 34. (Hereafter the Philippine Sociological Review will be cited as PSR.

fairies who live in the fields and can help protect the crops. If the encantados are offended, however,

> They may do harm until they are pacified by sacrifices which consist of a brown hen, a pig, or a goat.[29]

The farmer performs rituals to the ancestors and the encantados before planting, to promote growth during the season, to cure any sick rice, to protect the rice, and in preparation for harvest. The rituals include both Christian and animistic elements.[30]

Corn, the second most important crop in Leyte and Samar, has its own rituals, which are less elaborate and contain more Christian elements than the rice rituals.[31]

The camote (sweet potato) ritual has some special features which might be called elements of imitative magic. Planting during the days of the full moon, when there are big, billowy clouds in the sky, and at low tide when many big stones are visible helps to produce large, smooth camotes, according to local belief. The woman who plants the camotes should have with her some fast-growing children, a large stone, a human hair, and perhaps some sugar and money--all for the camote to imitate. At the beginning of the camote harvest, ashes, sugar, and coconuts are used to encourage the first camotes unearthed to be sweet and productive

---

[29]Ibid., VII, 36.

[30]Richard Arens, "Animism in the Rice Ritual of Leyte and Samar," PSR, IV (January 1956), 2-6.

[31]Richard Arens, "The Corn Ritual in Leyte and Samar," PSR, IV (April-July 1956), 29-31.

and to serve as a good example to the rest of the crop. After the harvest, prayers of thanksgiving are spoken to God and to St. Isidro, the patron saint of farmers.[32]

In present-day Leyte, big land-owners themselves no longer practice animistic agricultural rituals, but they still permit their tenants to perform the rituals. The owners explain, "otherwise they feel insecure, unhappy, and their efficiency in work decreases."[33] A land-owner once told Arens the following story:

> Once I asked a tenant to cut down a big tree at the corner of a field. For a long time my command was not followed, even after repeated orders. When I finally got angry over this laziness, the tenant told me: "There are encantados in the tree, they would get angry at me and my family, they would harm us." I said, "Foolishness, cut that tree." But the tenant was not willing. When he saw that I was angry, he asked: "May I tell the spirits that it is your command to cut the tree?" I said, "Go ahead, and tell the spirits what you want, but cut that tree." So the tenant went, and in a loud voice he warned the encantados to move out, that he had to cut the tree--their habitat--on orders of the landlord. He asked them not to get angry at him and his family, because he was following orders, they should settle their grudge with me (the landlord). Thereafter he cut the tree.[34]

In an article on fishing rituals in the Eastern Visayas,[35] Arens explains the basic world view which makes ritual sacrifices necessary for successful fishing, in the opinion of the fishermen. The basic belief is that the seas are the home of the spirits who own the fish

---

[32]Richard Arens, "Notes on Camote Rituals in Leyte and Samar Islands, Philippines," Philippine Journal of Science, LXXXV (September 1956), 343-346.

[33]Arens, "Rituals and Economic Development," PSR, VII, 37.

[34]Ibid., VII, 38.

[35]Richard Arens, "Animistic Fishing Ritual in Leyte and Samar," PSR, IV (October 1956), 24-28.

and govern their movements. Therefore, the wise fisherman makes the spirits his friends and enjoys good catches.

A buhat (fishing ritual) may be held in a fish corral at its inauguration, when fishing has been good as a thanksgiving, or when fishing has been bad as a supplication. The ritual consists in the preparation of a large banquet, which is escorted out to sea by the tambalan or parabuhat (native priests) who then offers it to the "people of the sea." Where nets are used, instead of corrals, a similar ritual is practiced. As the luxurious food drifts out to sea, an elder officiant calls out, "People of the sea, if this offering is worthy, please let us know."[36] Arens states the practice of fishing rituals is "on the way out."[37]

Arens' article on witches[38] illustrates the belief that certain people are able to harness the powers of the spirit-world. Arens states:

> Even many intellectuals have this belief, and the fear of witches and witchcraft is common.[39]

Aswang is the term used for a witch in the Waray-waray dialect of Samar and Eastern Leyte, although aswang may refer to a whole group of ghostlike beings in the Cebuano language used in Hilongos, Leyte. There are believed to be two kinds of witches--those that fly and those that

---

[36]Ibid., IV, 25.

[37]Ibid., IV, 28.

[38]Richard Arens, "Witches and Witchcraft in Leyte and Samar Islands, Philippines," Philippine Journal of Science, LXXXV (December 1956),

[39]Ibid., LXXV, 451.

just walk. Witches look like people and may be either male or female. They crave the blood of animals or humans and are known to feast on the flesh and blood of the sick, the unborn or newly-born, and on the corpses of the newly-buried in the cemetery. Some witches have power to fly, and all have the power to harm others, often through the use of a power called barang. Barang can be used to cure sickness and is so used by a special witch doctor called the Barangan. However, witches use barang to cause deformities or even to kill people.

People in the Eastern Visayas try to take precautions against witchcraft before it occurs. Before throwing garbage out of the window late at night, one calls out to the witches who may be down below, "Stay away from there, as I am blind."[40] One mustn't hit a witch with the garbage. If a person is sick or a woman is about to give birth, the house must be guarded against witches. Bolos may be hung, points down, between the slats of the bamboo flooring so that a witch who tries to crawl under the house will cut her back or wings. Witches are believed to have very sensitive olfactory senses, so that burning rubber or salt ground with garlic and ginger will offer an odor pungent enough to drive them off.

A person suspected of being a witch may be tested by looking him/her straight in the eye. A real witch will not be able to return the gaze. If one find a person under the house after hearing a sound like wak-wak ki-kik, the person is a witch.

---

[40]Ibid., LXXXV, 460.

It is believed to be difficult to kill a witch, but it can be done if the witch's position is changed while it is asleep. A witch can also be killed if one stabs it with a bamboo knife and then quickly plants the knife in the ground, using prayers all the while. Arens reports that, "In distant barrios where strict enforcement of the law is not possible, witch killing still goes on."[41]

Witches may use spirit-world power for evil purposes, but the tambalan harnesses the invisible forces for good. In a 1957 article,[42] Arens pictures the tambalan (herb-doctor) and his work of diagnosing illness and of devising cures for sicknesses which have been caused by the spirits. The tambalan is a respected person in modern east Visayan society. Arens reports that,

> In cities and towns with modern hospitals, the tambalan is still called by the upper-class Filipino in cases where modern medical practices seemingly fail. Among the lower-class people, particularly those found in barrios, the tambalan is more trusted than the district health inspector who regularly visits their places.[43]

In the thinking of the barrio people, a sickness which has been caused by spirits cannot be cured by modern medicine, but only by the tambalan. The tambalan is sometimes called "Doctor Laway" (saliva), because his cure for a boil or a swollen body part might be to rub his saliva on it.

---

[41] Ibid., LXXXV, 463.

[42] Richard Arens, "The Tambalan and His Medical Practices in Leyte and Samar Islands, Philippines," The Philippine Journal of Science, LXXXVI (March 1957), 121-130.

[43] Ibid., LXXXVI, 121.

The tambalan often uses an egg to help him in diagnosis. If the egg stands on end, the sickness has been caused by spirits. The egg may also be used in treatment, by being rolled back and forth over the place of injury. Another example of medication used is the mixture of herbs, leaves, roots, bark, and grass. After the tambalan has prayed over the mixture, the patient is to drink it.

If the tambalan determines that a sickness has been caused by ancestral spirits, he may tell the family to perform a novena in church, in honor of their dead ancestors. On the last day of the novena, they are to prepare a feast and to invite the ancestral spirits to share it with them.

If the tambalan's diagnosis calls for an offering to the spirits, it frequently will consist of a large black or white chicken (cooked without salt), cooked rice, rice cakes, some drinks, cigars, and cigarettes. The offering may be taken to the supposed place of the spirits and left there, or it may be simply offered there and then brought back home for a family feast.

The tambalan sometimes performs a "fumigation ritual,"[44] to release from fear a person who has had a horrifying experience, such as meeting a ferocious dog, a snake, a fairy, or some wild animal. Preparations for the ritual are made by gathering the following ingredients: a hair of the frightened person, some fibers from the clothing he wore when frightened, a piece of palm leaf blessed in church

---

[44]Richard Arens, "The Lo-on or Fumigation Ceremony in Leyte and Samar," PSR, V (July-October 1957), 69-72.

on Palm Sunday, some incense, and a part or symbol of the being which caused the fear. All the objects are placed into a half coconut shell which contains burning charcoal. The person who was frightened kneels over the shell to absorb the rising smoke, as the tambalan speaks words of blessing or a prayer to God concerning the problem.

It is not easy to become a tambalan. On Biliran Island, it involves undergoing nine Fridays in the forest with the wild animals, nine Fridays in the sea, nine Fridays in the Church; and nine Fridays in the cemetery.

Christian elements are often included in the practice of the tambalan. He gathers his herbs on Good Friday, in the caves of mountainous regions, where he also prepares his magical oils on the same day. At midnight of Good Friday, he makes a visit to the church and then to the cemetery. Arens notes that "most of the tambalans . . . regard themselves as good Catholics."[45]

Only certain special people can become tambalans, but anyone can try to manipulate the spirit-world by means of an anting-anting. In his article regarding economic development,[46] Arens discusses the phenomenon of anting-anting, distinguishing between those that are defensive and those that are offensive. He classifies as amulets those charms which protect from evil. He calls talismans those which bring good luck or transmit new qualities.[47]

---

[45]Arens, "Tambalan," Philippine Journal of Science, LXXXVI, 128.

[46]Arens, "Rituals and Economic Development," PSR, VII, 38-40.

[47]Ibid., VII, 38.

Talismans are more abundant than amulets, in the judgment of Arens, for "all human desires, hopes, and expectations have a realization in an appropriate talisman."[48] The gambler considers a two-tailed lizard to be a good anting-anting. The person who wants to have power to be invisible strives to bring together a black cat's bone with a human knee-cap which has been taken from a cemetery at the stroke of midnight. A man who found both a cast-off snake skin and a cast-off shrimp skin tied them together to a tooth and used this talisman to help pregnant women achieve easy deliveries, just as the snake and shrimp had been "delivered" of their skins.[49]

Belief in the anting-anting is sometimes combined with Christian elements. Arens relates how Latin prayers have been copied secretly in church and then used with an amulet or talisman. In one barrio, the priest had to hide the altar stone after every mass, to keep people from chipping pieces from it to use in their anting-antings.[50]

Malitbog--a Barrio in the Western Visayas

Jocano carried out his research in the barrio of Malitbog (not the barrio's real name), Panay, from 1955 to 1960 and again in 1964. His findings appeared in print between 1965 and 1970.

Malitbog has three different religious systems among its people: the traditional animistic religion, Roman Catholicism, and

---

[48]Ibid., VII, 39.

[49]Ibid.

[50]Ibid., VII, 40.

Protestantism. However, in terms of actual belief, it is the traditional animism which is still strongest today. Jocano says,

> The introduction of Christianity appears not to have led to any significant shift in the emphasis placed on folk belief, attributes, and practices. The traditional system of ethics in the barrio, particularly within the sphere of human-superhuman relationships, remains deeply embedded in the local culture.[51]

Religion and life are not separated in Malitbog. In fact, Jocano says,

> Religion is so interwoven with Malitbog lifeways that it is difficult to distinguish what is social and what is religious in the people's daily activities. Every activity that an individual undertakes, be it in agriculture, fishing, hunting, or otherwise, is always in consultation with the environmental spirits and deified souls of departed ancestors.[52]

The spirit-world, in the conceptions of the people of Malitbog, is densely populated by

> a limitless number of powerful and fearsome inhabitants--saints, engkantu . . . ancestors, culture heroes, patron saints, guardian spirits.[53]

According to the traditional Malitbog view of the reality of the universe, it has three structural parts.

The first and highest part of the universe is called Udtohan. It is the place of God and his favorite angels. It is so remote that those who live there "are seldom conceived as actively participating

---

[51]F. Landa Jocano, Growing Up in a Philippine Bario (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969), p. 13.

[52]F. Landa Jocano, "Conversion and the Patterning of Christian Experience in Malitbog, Central Panay, Philippines," PSR, XIII (April 1965), 99.

[53]Ibid., XIII, 104.

in the affairs of men."[54] They are just waiting for the final judgment. A sub-section of Udtohan is Langitnen, populated by gentle spirits who also have little contact with men. Still another sub-section of Udtohan is Awan-awan, whose spirits control the wind, the rain, lightning, storms, and typhoons. "Saints live in this part of the universe. That is why they can hear the prayers of men."[55]

The second structural layer of the universe is called Katunganan. It is inhabited by the spirits who were expelled by God from Udtuhan, with Lusiper, for rebellion. Those who fell into the groves of trees are called tumawo (fairies); those who fell into the deep forest became the talunanen; those who fell into the ocean became the tabuknen.[56]

The third and lowest level of the Malitbogian universe is called Idadalman. It is a hollow sphere located in the middle of the earth, with a stone outer "skin" to keep the surrounding earth from crushing it. Within that sphere live the maligno--the evil spirits who cause all kinds of bad luck and misfortune.[57]

There are various ways in which people might meet spirits, according to belief in Malitbog, and almost every meeting causes sickness. Contact can take place through travel on sacred grounds, through

---

[54]Jocano, Growing Up, p. 104.

[55]Ibid., p. 105.

[56]Ibid.

[57]Ibid.

attendance at special seances performed by a medium, or through ordinary encounters. Most contacts take place on sacred grounds,

> Which include parts of cliffs, boulders, caves, springs, thickets, solitary bamboo groves, deep pools, underground tunnels, and headwaters of streams and rivers. Thus, lingering near or roaming around these places is considered dangerous. The spirits do not want intruders into their home grounds.[58]

When meeting people, the spirits sometimes appear as animals, sometimes as fire, sometimes as giant hairy men with cigars, sometimes as small dwarf-like men; but the most feared human/supernatural beings are the aswangs, who are capable of changing themselves into any form they desire. About the aswang, Jocano says,

> I have recorded more than two hundred cases narrated by people who claimed to have seen and have been attacked by the aswang.[59]

According to Malitbog beliefs, the spirits may contact humans by touching them, by talking to them (in sounds of weeping, rattling, scratching, chirping, or some other kind of "voice"), or by letting them smell the odors of their cooking or bathing activity. The spirits, however, are believed unwilling to reveal themselves to strangers, as is shown by the following dialogue of Jocano with a native of Malitbog:

> "They must be preparing lunch."
> "Who are?" I asked.
> "The dwellers of the trees," he said as we continued walking.
> "How did you know?"
> "Did you not smell fried onions?" he said. I answered I smelled nothing. Shrugging his shoulders, he said, "Well, wait until they know you--then you will see them; they will reveal themselves."[60]

---

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid., p. 109.

[60] Ibid., p. 106.

Even though the people of Malitbog fear contact with the spirits, they also believe it is possible to enlist the spirits in one's aid, for the supernatural beings

> are not beyond the power of human blandishment. If rituals are performed and masses are said to appease and glorify them, they willingly attend to the needs of the worshipers.[61]

Such rituals of blandishment can be performed by the baylan (priest of traditional animistic religion) or by the Roman Catholic priest. The baylan helps people gain favor from the traditional spirits. The rituals performed by the Roman Catholic priest help people gain power over the Christian saints and spirits. Thus, in cases of illness, the baylan is approached first. If he cannot perform the cure, the patient is taken to the Roman Catholic priest in church. If he cannot help, the people take the patient to a doctor of modern medicine.[62]

As can be seen above, the people of Malitbog have not rejected the idea of Christian spirits but have integrated angels and saints into their total world, but with a different understanding from that of official Roman Catholic theology. Jocano further reports,

> Roman Catholic saints are often revered not because the Church has canonized them for their sacrifices and virtuous living, but because they possess powers similar to those of the ingkantu and can be manipulated for personal ends.[63]

Dealing with spirits is not just a religious appendage to real life in Malitbog. Since spirits are seen to be part of the actual structure

---

[61]Jocano, "Conversion," PSR, XIII, 104.

[62]Ibid.

[63]Jocano, Growing Up, p. 13.

of the universe and help to run it, all areas of life must be carried on in conformity with the traditional structure and in consultation with the spirits. In the materials below, that understanding will be seen at work in farming, in matters of marriage and family life, and through death into an existence beyond.

Malitbog farmers have rituals connected with rice planting, protection, harvesting, and threshing. These rituals, as well as a camote ritual, are similar to those described above by Arens for the Eastern Visayas. For the Malitbog farmer, such ritual

> is a way of dealing with the spirits and of coping with events. They are aware that Nature has her own laws which govern the destiny of man. These laws are executed by a myriad of supernatural beings who prescribe the rigid performance of rites and the observance of natural phenomena through which they make manifest their desires. To act in conformity, therefore, is better than to remain inert or to court disaster by not observing these norms.[64]

The far-reaching extent of the spirit-world in the minds of the people of Malitbog is seen by a farmer's explanation of why he takes home some immature rice to dry it out in the house, ahead of the rice in the fields:

> The rice has "spirits" too, and when you dry some of the stalks, their "spirits" would appeal to the rest for sympathy and this hastens the ripening of the entire crop.[65]

Jocano's relation of a harvest ritual is instructive. The farmer knots some talahib (long, tough grass) into a bundle, and on top of

---

[64]F. Landa Jocano, "Agricultural Rituals in a Philippine Barrio," PSR, XV (January-April 1967), 50.

[65]Ibid, XV, 51.

that knot he ties a piece of red cloth which contains seven slices of ginger and seven slices of kalawag (an herb). Then he faces the east and shouts:

> Haw! I am placing this marker here as a sign that if anyone trespasses this taboo and dies, I have no responsibility.[66]

Then he leaves the marker in the field and goes home. Later he returns to the field, cuts seven stalks of rice, bites his knife, and then ties the rice stalks into a bundle. As he ties,

> He prays "Our Father" in the reverse order, that is, from the end to the beginning of the prayer. This places magic over the entire crop and prevents evil spirits from stealing the rice grain. As soon as the ritual basket is full the farmer leaves the field. It is now safe to begin harvesting the crop.[67]

The effect of Malitbog spirit-world beliefs on marriage can be seen in the fact that people of Malitbog try to choose a mate who is from their barrio, perhaps even a distant cousin. The reason is that a girl from another barrio is not really known and might turn out to be an aswang.

Young unmarried girls wear a charm of huya-huya leaves to keep boys from sexual experimentation. But the boys wear counter-charms (lumay, tiw-tiw) or use hiwit (sorcery), so that "she will go crazy for you; she is yours for the asking."[68]

The ability of a married couple to have children is important, for it is a

---

[66]F. Landa Jocano, "Filipino Catholicism: A Case Study in Religious Change," Asian Studies, V (April 1967), 47.

[67]Ibid.

[68]Jocano, Growing Up, p. 68.

> public testimony that the parents have led clean, obedient, pious lives during their prenuptial and through their child-bearing days.[69]

Such beliefs encourage large families and discourage programs of birth control, for

> Parents who do not welcome the arrival of a child or who deprive it of the necessary adult attention and care are punished--they either suffer from a lingering illness or from a hard economic life.[70]

During the mother's conception, whatever she eats influences the developing fetus's physical and emotional life. If the woman feels intense admiration for another person or an object, it may influence the physical appearance of the child.

Pregnancy is a dangerous time, since evil spirits always wish ill to conceiving mothers, causing morning sickness and perhaps even miscarriage. A luyahan (ginger) ritual can be performed for the woman, during which the healer will press some ginger on the woman's head and say, "I call on you departed kin of this woman--please protect her from the evil spirits. Haw!"[71]

At the time of birth, all windows and doors of the house are closed, in order to keep the evil spirits with their usug (harmful breath) from coming in to bring sickness.

---

[69] Ibid., p. 15.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Ibid., p. 22.

Immediately after the birth it is believed that

> A supernatural being named Patangdo comes around to determine the baby's life-span and the manner of its death.[72]

Therefore, if a newborn baby frets and cries, it means he is talking to Patangdo.

If the child continues to fret, it means continuing visitation by evil spirits; and the father will build a large bonfire under the house and have the mother and child sit in the smoke, as it rises through the slats of the house's bamboo floor. The process is called tuub, and it is believed to form a shield for the house, to repel evil spirits.[73]

A child sleeps with one of his parents until approximately age seven, so that the parent can guard the child from evil spirits who roam around and can snatch or harm sleeping children.

It is important to raise obedient children in Malitbog, for the supernatural beings all around cause sickness or give rewards according to the way in which humans either observe or fail to observe the traditional structure and patterns of life.

Children are brought into contact with the spirit-world very early in life. When a child to be weaned cries and begs for its mother's breast, it is told: "Hala! The aswang will come and get you if you do not stop crying."[74]

---

[72] Ibid., p. 26.

[73] Ibid., p. 30.

[74] Ibid., p. 39.

As a child grows older, adults often get him to obey by threatening him with spirit-beings--the tiktik, wakwak, sigbin, and kapri, but especially the aswang. "What is it? Did you hear that? Now you'd better behave or I will leave you alone."[75]

Spirits are not just make-believe instruments of discipline, for adults continue to believe in them too. They tell many stories, which the older children absorb, about experiences with spirits--citing places and names. Everyone is concerned about spirits, especially in times of illness or death in the village.[76]

Death in Malitbog is understood as having three possible causes: old age, accidents or murder, and the workings of supernatural beings. Even accidents are often linked to spirits' interventions. According to Malitbog understanding, death does not sever ties between family members. As an old grandmother explained to her grandchildren:

> Death is a point in time when man departs from the land of the living to the region of the dead . . . It is not an end; it is a passage from one existence to another. The relationship between the living people and the spirits of the dead continue. That is why it is necessary that we pray and perform the rituals in honor of the spirits of our ancestors. If we do not do so, they will be angry and will harm the spirit of your father.[77]

When a person is about to die, the family calls for an older woman who knows Christian prayers, to perform the pahisus, which means that

---

[75] Ibid., p. 42.

[76] Ibid., p. 110.

[77] Ibid., p. 111.

she helps the sick person cross himself and kiss the crucifix, along with the prayers.

> The people, who are mostly Roman Catholic and Protestants, believe that Christian prayers are more powerful than indigenous prayers in helping an individual die peacefully and in insuring his "entrance to heaven." Moreover, the prayers can drive away the evil spirits from the house.[78]

Immediately after the pahisus, the men may perform a ritual of slashing through the air around the house with their bolos, to kill the spirits who are causing the death of the person inside.

Some Tagalog Towns on Luzon

The information below comes from a study of child rearing practices, produced by George Guthrie and Pepita Jimenez Jacobs.[79] They gathered the data for their book from mothers located in Tagalog-speaking towns, all within fifty miles of Manila.

Childless couples may attempt to remedy their barrenness by recourse either to spiritual or to medical resources--or both, Guthrie and Jacobs report:

> Couples who cannot have children are advised to dance in front of the church in the town of Obando, an activity of possible pre-Christian origin, and make pilgrimages to the Virgin of Antipolo.[80]

---

[78] Ibid., p. 113.

[79] George M. Guthrie and Pepita Jimenez Jacobs, Child Rearing and Personality Development in the Philippines (University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1966), passim.

[80] Ibid., p. 58.

The fact that the same couple might also consult a modern medical doctor is accepted, for "there seems to be no dichotomy between recourse to prayer and seeking help from a physician."[81]

"A pregnant woman is a sort of supernatural lightning rod,"[82] drawing the attention of many evil spirits, especially the aswang. Therefore she must observe many special precautions. According to Tagalog beliefs, the things a pregnant mother craves or pays attention to will affect the child.

After a mother gives birth, much attention is paid to the disposal of the placenta. Other factors which are believed to affect the personality of the child are the godparents chosen and the mother's disposition during the nursing period.[83]

Obedience to parents is important in the families studied. "It is taken for granted that God punishes those who do not heed their parents,"[84] and other spiritual beings also support the rules of the elders. In order to keep children home for their naps, bring them home early for bedtime, and keep them from straying or playing in dangerous places, they are often told:

> The little old man with a long beard who lives in the earth mound by the river (nuno sa punso) or the little man (tiyanak) in the bamboo clump will take you to his home or make you lose your way, and you will never find your way back home. Or at night that big dark giant (kapre) in the big rain tree by the old school house will

---

[81] Ibid.

[82] Ibid., p. 66.

[83] Ibid., p. 64.

[84] Ibid., p. 101.

> grab you and play with you, and you will just die of fright . . . . There are always the spirits of dead relatives or neighbors who will visit you and show themselves to you if you are not good; they have skull faces, cold hands, and no bodies.[85]

About one-fourth of the mothers interviewed said that they used such threats to get their children to obey.[86]

As Tagalog children covered by the study grew older, their fears of animals decreased, but their fears of spirits increased.[87] Guthrie and Jacobs feel that the increase may be partly due to the practice of parents and grandparents, who still believe in the spirit-beings, telling many stories to the children at wakes and vigils for the dead.[88]

Sickness is believed to be frequently caused by the action of spirits. In the view of the Tagalog people, then, treatment must also deal with the spirits, in order to be complete. Therefore,

> Since modern medicine does nothing to placate the spirits, the people turn to those who do. If we look at the world as they do for a moment, it becomes quite clear that those who use both hilot and physician are simply playing it safe, or in modern phrasing, "Treating the whole child."[89]

The traditional healers, hilot and herbolario, have two kinds of treatment. The first uses herbs, medicines, and massages and has no particular supernatural overtones. The other treatment involves

---

[85] Ibid., pp. 169-170.

[86] Ibid., p. 109.

[87] Ibid., p. 167.

[88] Ibid., p. 172.

[89] Ibid., pp. 131-132.

special rituals designed to turn away sorcery or evil spirits who are believed to have caused a particular sickness.[90]

Pre-Christian spirit beliefs continue to exist among Tagalogs, side by side with those of the Roman Catholic Church, and, in some cases, mixed together with more orthodox Christian doctrines.

Nor do the spirit-world fears of childhood disappear in the adults of the Tagalog region, according to the conclusion of Guthrie and Jacobs:

> We can find evidence that some are retained throughout life . . . It could be that many of these fears assert themselves again when the individual is ill or is in grief or danger . . . It is reasonably certain that childhood fears are not often completely overcome.[91]

Tarong--a Barrio in the Ilocos Region

The study of Tarong (not the barrio's real name) by William and Corrine Nydegger[92] reported their exploration of the practices of child-rearing in the context of an Ilocano barrio. All of the information below is from their book.

Generally, the Nydeggers picture Tarong as a rural barrio which is very resistant to change in its traditional belief and value systems,

---

[90] Ibid., p. 131.

[91] Ibid., p. 175.

[92] William and Corinne Nydegger, Tarong: An Ilocos Barrio in the Philippines (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966), passim.

despite efforts by the government or the church. An examination of spirit-world beliefs in Tarong begins with the spiritual beings believed to be present there.

The kibaan is believed to be a small, mischievous human-like creature who lives in wooded places. He might eat a person's rice, or cause minor children's diseases, but he is not greatly feared.[93]

The "Black Ones" are dangerous. They live in large, isolated trees and can change size and shape at will. They can fall on a person who walks beneath their tree and might crush him to death.[94]

The most powerful and malicious supernatural beings are the saero, who also live in large trees or in dark wooded places. They can take any form they wish and may be visible to some and invisible to other people who are in the same group. When one learns of their presence by the loud crack of their rapid flight, he must turn away immediately, "For if he looks on them they may 'take his vital organs' and he will quickly die."[95] The household shrine is strong enough to keep the saero out of the house, but if one is outside when he meets them, only a crucifix will be strong enough to enable him to fight them off. "Among more church-conscious Tarongans, the saero are equated with the Christian devil."[96]

---

[93] Ibid., pp. 71-72.

[94] Ibid., p. 72.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Ibid.

The broadest term for supernatural beings in Tarong is the not-human category. The not-humans may include also the saero, and the term surely refers to those spirits who are attracted to fresh blood and entrails. Fear of them is particularly strong when someone has been cut or wounded and when a woman is giving birth. "By far the greatest number of illnesses, accidents, and deaths are attributed to the not-humans,"[97] including falls, miscarriages, heart-attacks, strokes, and smallpox. If one must go near a spot where they are believed to dwell, he must call out to them first-especially if he plans to drop a bundle or cut a tree.

The general feeling of the people of Tarong is that it is better to be at home than to be outside among the spirits:

> On dark nights especially, evil spirits draw closer about the house, and a Tarongan feels safer behind closed shutters with his family, discussing the day's events or reading aloud from Bannawag.[98]

The fellowship of the home includes not only the living members of the family but also the spirits of dead ancestors. The authors denote the household shrine as the place where the dead meet the living in a house in Tarong:

> There is a shrine, usually in the bedroom but always at one end of the house and at right angles to the ridgepole. It may simply consist of a candle and a colored lithograph of a favorite saint or the crucifixion, or it may be quite elaborate--one or more wood or plaster Virgins and saints arranged on a table with two or three lithographs hanging above them. The shrine pictures and statues

---

[97] Ibid., p. 73.

[98] Ibid., p. 20.

> serve as talismans but take on added significance during funerals, weddings, and other special occasions when plates of food are placed here for the ancestor-spirits who reside about the ridgepole.[99]

Fortunately, the malevolent spirit creatures usually stay out of the house, leaving only the Tarongans' ancestral spirits to be encountered there. One can tell that the ancestors are around, "By the rocking of a favorite chair, footsteps along a porch, the creaking of a once-used loom."[100]

Although the spirits of the ancestors have friendly intentions, "if they touch a human, he is chilled and develops fever, headache, and often vomiting."[101]

Ancestral spirits visit most often after a death has occurred, but they are dutifully honored by their descendants during many special events:

> Ancestral spirits are remembered on all important occasions, and food is set out for them at the household shrine at all special events, such as feasts or candy making. Some Tarongans say to neglect this custom will result in stomach-aches, but most feel it is merely a friendly gesture to include them within the family's activities. The food set out for the spirits is later eaten and brings good luck.[102]

After the fields are planted, sweetmeats are offered by a family to its ancestors, to encourage the ancestors to protect the crops.[103]

---

[99] Ibid., pp. 19-20.

[100] Ibid., p. 70.

[101] Ibid., p. 71

[102] Ibid.

[103] Ibid., p. 24.

The ancestral spirits are included in the celebration of a wedding, as the bride and groom

> sit on either side of the family shrine where offerings to the ancestor spirits (plates of coconut-milk rice and bowls of wine) and two candles have been placed. On the floor in front of the shrine is laid a mat on which are placed two new white baskets heaped with well-polished white rice for the new household.[104]

The ceremony occurs after a Catholic ceremony, thought of as a formality, has taken place in the church.[105]

In addition to belief in spirit beings, the people of Tarong also have important beliefs in some spiritual forces. Magic in Tarong is practiced with faith in two basic principles: First, "similar events are believed to produce similar affects."[106] Thus, "To dream of catching fish foretells good luck in money matters."[107] The second principle is that "certain objects and certain rituals are believed to ward off undesired events or to bring about desired ones."[108]

The Nydeggers do not develop the "similarity principle" as fully as Arens does for the Eastern Visayas but concentrate instead on the second principle, the basis for the use of talismans. There are two types of talisman. Those of the first type, called anib, "are our shield" and protect generally against misfortunes of all kinds. Those of the second type, called talibagot, bring good luck.

---

[104] Ibid., p. 47.

[105] Ibid.

[106] Ibid., p. 75.

[107] Ibid., p. 76.

[108] Ibid.

Anibs are thought to be effective against illness, the not-humans, witchcraft, lightening, robbers, and witches. Some common anibs are salt, garlic, ginger, hot pepper, wine, anglem (mixture of various kinds of smoke), and the Christian cross; but there are many others. The special anib for protection against witches is called somang. Anibs are obviously very important in Tarong:

> There is probably no Tarongan who does not carry a somang, if not habitually, at least when leaving the barrio, and whose house is not protected by another somang and two or more anibs. Even animals are provided with anibs.[109]

Any cross is a good anib, but some are better:

> One fashioned out of palm leaves which have been blessed in church on Palm Sunday is particularly strong. It is believed to be effective against sickness and thunder and lightning if it is hung in the window of the house.[110]

Even a medical injection is thought of in Tarong as "a sort of internal anib" which protects against disease in general. Attempts by health authorities to give more than one injection for different kinds of disease are misunderstood, since "one anib should be enough."

> One family, by analogy with anibs, assumed that the inoculation of one member sufficed to protect all household members.[111]

The talibagot, talisman of good luck, is hung in one's house or carried on the person. "Most Tarongans have one," which may consist of

---

[109] Ibid., p. 78.

[110] Ibid., p. 77.

[111] Ibid., p. 83.

a stone, a tooth of a child born with teeth, or even a physical peculiarity in another person.[112]

A force of the spirit-world, believed to be even stronger than the talisman is the factor of luck. The Nydeggers have this to say about luck as the ultimate arbiter in Tarong:

> The final determination of events in this world rests not in the "real" antecedent immediate causes themselves, but in one's luck. In contrast to the usual interpretation of "fate," this luck is neither personified, pre-determined, controllable, nor consistent through time. It is only chance, as in throwing a die, which decides whether a given event will be lucky or unlucky; and any event, as with the die, has equal probabilities for the occurrence of good or bad.[113]

Luck over-rides the power of talismans and of one's personal decisions, in deciding the outcome of events. Even God's intervention in events is under the principle of luck, rather than over it. "Luck, then, is the tangible symbol of an unpredictability inherent in the real world."[114]

An important exception to the total lordship of luck is "the fact that one's social relations are not considered as indeterminate and luck-controlled as events in the physical world."[115]

Certain people in Tarong are believed to be able, at least to a certain extent, to direct and use the powers of the spirit-world. Witches are believed to have power to make people ill, and a certain Maria in

---

[112] Ibid., p. 78.

[113] Ibid., p. 57.

[114] Ibid., p. 58.

[115] Ibid.

Tarong is ostracized because she is held to be a witch. Her family, living in the nearby town of Daya, are widely believed to be witches, and Maria is supposed to have inherited the power from her parents. The people of Tarong are always careful when going to Daya:

> Tarongans going to the mountain barrios to buy their excellent native tobacco never forget their talismans, and few are so foolhardy as to accept a drink of water in Daya. Even at parties and dances attended out of obligation, many do not touch the proffered food, for Daya is believed to be the home of witches who poison by means of strange powers and mysterious substances.[116]

Capable of wielding even more influence in the spiritual realm than a witch is the sirkano. He is one of the few people who are believed to have been chosen by the not-humans to become their intimates. The sirkano, sometimes a woman but more often a man, functions as a medicine man in the barrio. His special knowledge and diagnostic skills have been gained from the not-humans, and he is believed to be able to effect cures by negotiation with them, in cases of supernaturally caused illness.[117]

Not all ailments are supernaturally caused, and the sirkano prescribes simple home remedies for things like colds and stomach aches. However, cure of ancestor-caused sicknesses calls for smoking the patient with a mixture of ragbits, charcoal, and brown sugar, followed by a slight whipping of the body with leafy twigs.[118]

---

[116] Ibid., p. 57.

[117] Ibid., p. 74.

[118] Ibid., p. 84.

"Soul loss" is a serious sickness, caused by sudden shock or fright, in which part or all of a person's soul is detached from him. The symptoms are tremors, tics, dizziness, delirium, or coma; and children, whose souls are attached as yet only weakly to their bodies, are particularly susceptible to it. The remedy for soul loss is to wave a piece of clothing usually worn by the child from the porch or ladder of the house while calling the name of the child. Then the clothing is placed over the child like a blanket.[119]

To treat a case of soul loss in a woman, the Tarong sirkano carried out the following procedure:

> He tied the diagnostic rice grains into a pleat of Damiana's clothing under her arm and had her drink a little of the coconut water used during diagnosis, dropping a small number of small silver coins into the rest. He then applied a mash of oil and special small roots, found in a cave in the mountain of Bantali, to her temple and waist.[120]

Following that treatment, an offering of food and other items was made to the spirits. Later the food which had been offered was eaten by the neighbors who had gathered in the sick woman's home.

The composition of offerings for people who have been made sick by contacts with spirits provides an example of sacrificial offerings in general. They are

> composed of pieces of chicken or eggs, rice, wine, often betel or tobacco, and, very occasionally, coins of small value will be included. They are placed at a spirit-designated spot, or at the one where the contact had occurred, and are left on their distinctive stakes until the wind, rain, or daring schoolboys remove them. There

---

[119] Ibid., p. 83.

[120] Ibid., p. 87.

> is no concern with their fate, since the spirits have made their meal of the essence of the food by then. These offerings, being requested by the spirits, suffice to appease their anger and to insure their leaving the patient in peace to recover.[121]

Besides the sirkano, medical help in the barrio could come from the ilot, the midwife, or from a doctor of modern medicine who lives in the town some distance away. The work of the midwife and most of the tasks of the ilot are considered skills to be learned, without supernatural dimensions.

The doctor of modern medicine is usually called only when the sirkano gives up. In fact, to call him means "to admit defeat and prepare for immediate death."[122] The doctor who does come often finds out later that his medicines were misused, or not used at all, his diet instructions ignored, and his fee only slightly higher than the amount given to the sirkano. On pages 88 to 97 of their book, the Nydeggers offer an extended case study of a male adult's sickness, his treatment by both the western doctor and the sirkano, his death, and the burial. The account contains a vivid picture of spirit-world beliefs in actual practice.

After a patient has recovered from a sickness, he and the members of his household may participate in a hair washing ritual as a symbolic act of cleansing and restoration. Other hair-washing rituals may be performed for curative purposes.[123]

---

[121] Ibid.

[122] Ibid., p. 88.

[123] Ibid.

When a patient does not recover but dies, spirit-world beliefs play an important part in the behavior of the people of the family and the community. While the coffin is being taken down from the house, a rooster is killed to show the spirits that a male has died.

At the grave, a corpse's western shoes are removed and placed beside him in the coffin, for "the returning spirit walks noisily if buried in western shoes."[124]

As the people returned from the cemetery to the house of the deceased, in an example related by the Nydeggers,

> A small rice-straw fire was lit near the foot of the house ladder, over which each arrival stepped before entering, in case some evil ghost had clung to him.[125]

The Roman Catholic custom of nine nights of prayer is observed, after the funeral.

The beginning of life is as full of spiritual significance as its ending. If a couple is unable to produce a child, the woman usually approaches the sirkano to obtain roots, bark, and leaves to be boiled and drunk as cleansing agents, to enable her to conceive.[126]

Women who are conceiving have problems of their own. The major danger to them is the jealousy of the not-humans, who can cause a miscarriage, or even death. If she can, the pregnant woman stays in the house at night. If she must go out, it is necessary that she carry an anib. Aside from being concerned with danger, she may pester her husband

---

[124] Ibid., p. 96.

[125] Ibid.

[126] Ibid., p. 107.

with persistent requests for strange foods. By looking steadily at certain objects or people, the pregnant woman may cause permanent effects in the child in her womb.[127]

When a woman is in the process of giving birth, all the windows of the house are closed, to keep out the not-humans. After the child is born, incense is burned to keep the not-humans from smelling blood and coming for the child.

At the time he is weaned, the Tarong child will experience "the frightening techniques" for the first time. When he wants to suck, he will be told, "La! Those who are not-human will come and take your heart!" or "Christ will cut out your tongue!"[128]

The most common threat to children in any situation involves the wawak, who is said to take, kill, or eat bad children. The wawak idea is particularly interesting because, according to the Nydeggers, he is the only spirit-world creature mentioned in Tarong in whom the adults themselves do not believe. He is just a "bogey-man," whom they think of as only for the children's consumption.[129]

Sometimes the people of Tarong try to trick the spirits. If a visitor in a house becomes ill because of the attentions of an ancestral spirit of the home,

> The soiled clothing of a household member may also be placed over the patient, presumably superimposing that person's personality

---

[127] Ibid., pp. 107-109.

[128] Ibid., p. 130.

[129] Ibid., p. 136.

> on the patient. This second personality, being familiar to the spirit, is of no great interest and the spirit will soon leave.[130]

Another trick is to change the name of a child who has some kind of deformity, so that the spirits will refrain from further foolishness. In a more serious vein,

> If two consecutive children have died during their infancies . . . it is probably due to the jealousy of not-humans. The next child, therefore, is baptized while still very young, and, in the church, it is decided who will perform the "throwing away." For the child is then left at the side of the road on the way home by the chosen person, as if thrown away. One of the followers casually picks it up and brings it along, slipping the child surreptitiously into the house. This practice is said to deceive the not-humans into thinking that the child is unwanted so that they also will not take it.[131]

Except for three families which belong to the Philippine Independent Church, households in Tarong all hold membership in the Roman Catholic Church. But religious affiliation means little in Tarong. Most of the people never attend mass, and the only contacts which the majority have with the church are at baptism, weddings, and some funerals. The differences between the doctrines of the Philippine Independent Church and the Roman Catholic Church do not trouble the people, for "the basic spirit-belief system, of far greater importance for daily living, is the same to all."[132]

The Roman Catholic Church has not been able to change the beliefs of the people of Tarong. It is true that

---

[130] Ibid., p. 84.

[131] Ibid.

[132] Ibid., p. 69.

> artifacts of Roman Catholicism are widespread, but their functions have assimilated to and most often fused with those of the indigenous belief system . . . The Tarongan belief system has been enlarged rather than modified through its contact with the Catholic Church.[133]

The Nydeggers tell of some of the unorthodox theology found in Tarong:

> Jesus, Maria, Apo Dios (God) have become the Tarongan trinity (the Holy Ghost is at best a confused concept), recognized as omnipotent and supreme, but in practical effect powerless and remote, for there is no contact with them--except perhaps in the dim and awful Poblacion church.[134]

Not only is the church's teaching about God misunderstood, He is considered irrelevant, as evidenced in the quotation above and in the one which follows:

> Creation is generally attributed to God, but this is a matter of no concern to the Tarongans; other Biblical matter (including Crucifixion implications) is either unknown or hazily misunderstood by a few.[135]

The Nydeggers report that the practice of prayer is virtually unknown in Tarong, except at the novenas which follow a death:

> Since supplication of spirits is useless, praying to God for help or guidance is unknown. Only at the novenas after a death does praying occur, the text chanted aloud by a leader, the refrains by the predominantly female group.[136]

The people of Tarong have been influenced by Christian ideas in their beliefs about the afterlife, but even the souls of the dead, in their view, seem more interested in the affairs of earth than in those of heaven.

---

[133] Ibid., p. 67.

[134] Ibid.

[135] Ibid., p. 68.

[136] Ibid., pp. 67-68.

> The Christian afterlife has been modified: after death the spirit goes to purgatory, known primarily because the term occurs with frequency in the novena texts, where it resides a brief time to accustom itself to its new condition. Then it moves on to heaven where it may reside permanently, leaving at will to observe, from the ridgepole, the household it left at death. The latter abode, being of far greater interest to the spirit, as well as more sociable, is generally frequented in preference to heaven. There is no Hell, although some spirits, especially those of evil-doers, wander an earthbound limbo as ghosts, malevolently seeking revenge.[137]

The status of spirit-world beliefs in the urban setting

The spirit-world beliefs of lowland Filipinos had their beginnings in rural situations, close to nature, and the sources so far examined in this study have portrayed the beliefs of rural people. In the times of the Spanish missionaries, almost the whole Philippines was rural. The researches of Arens, Jocano, and the Nydeggers were carried out in barrio settings; and even that of Guthrie and Jacobs reached only the edges of the Manila urban area.

The question must be asked to what extent the spirit-world beliefs described above are held by people who live in the modern setting of urban life.

There is evidence that reduction of spirit-world beliefs take place in the city, due to various causes.

Guthrie feels that exposure of people to the new ideas of the city blurs their traditional spirit-world view, but he is not sure to what extent. He says,

> In urban centers particularly, the original picture may even be completely blurred by movies, television, and comic books. Here

---

[137] Ibid., p. 68.

> also people with access to scientific information scoff at the old beliefs, but we do not know how much reversal we would get and how immediate this reversal would be if they were faced with situations that defy available explanations.[138]

Arens feels that the Roman Catholic Church is able to exert a stronger influence in urban areas, so that

> In Catholic strongholds like Tacloban and Palo the "anito" worship is practically no longer in existence.[139]

In their study of child rearing within a 50-mile radius of Manila, Guthrie and Jacobs discovered an apparent reduction in a traditional belief. They state,

> Not one in our group of mothers mentioned that her child had been namatanda (afflicted by little old men of the earth) or that a fever had been induced by extreme fright. These beliefs about fevers still persist in the rural areas.[140]

Guthrie feels that the force of traditional spirit-world beliefs decreases as one moves geographically closer to urban centers. According to his interpretation, the animism is most nearly pure in remote areas, and,

> as one moves from this isolation towards cities one finds a decreasing observance of pagan rituals and an increasing practice of Christian rituals. The number of spirits is a good index of this gradation, so that in Manila about the only spirit one hears of is the vampire or aswang, while in Ifugao there are hundreds of spirits. The Visayas, particularly Leyte and Samar, contend with more spirits than Central Luzon. The Bicol region recognizes more spirits than Batangas. This is almost wholly a function of isolation.[141]

---

[138]Guthrie and Jacobs, p. 174.

[139]Arens, "Rice Ritual," PSR, IV, 2.

[140]Guthrie and Jacobs, p. 130.

[141]George M. Guthrie, The Filipino Child and Philippine Society (Manila: Philippine Normal College Press, 1961), p. 48.

Guthrie's generalization, though plausible, is an over-simplification of the urban situation, as will be seen in the evidence which follows.

Bettie Carroll Elwood reports that when forty upperclassmen at Silliman University (certainly a modern, progressive institution) were asked to write on "The Spirit World as I experience it Today," only two students reported not having had any such experience within the previous five years.[142]

Guthrie himself reports the following experience among a group of urban school teachers:

> By and large, the more urbanized Filipinos would like to act as though these beliefs did not exist. They are a little embarrassing in a modern world. But beliefs in spirits and magic are very widespread. A group of teachers to whom the author talked at first denied direct knowledge of medical practices but with increased rapport they began to relate numerous events in which they had been involved. It is probably safe to say that well over half of them had made use of an herbolario or would certainly do so if they or a member of the family became ill.[143]

A Protestant pastor of the Manila area reported to the writer of this thesis that the people of his congregation refused to chop down a balete tree located on church land until the pastor agreed to let them place the blame on him for cutting the tree of the spirits.

Another pastor encountered a ritual for bathing in chicken blood, practiced by an Ilocano family living in greater Manila. After the burial of a family member, the survivors burned some rice stalks and placed the ashes in an empty half-shell of a coconut, holding a finger

---

[142]Bettie Carroll Elwood, "College Students and the Spirit World," Church and Community, X (March-April 1970), 3.

[143]Guthrie, p. 49.

over the small hole in the bottom of the hemispheric shell. Then they killed two chickens, first a male, then a female, and put the blood in the half-shell with the ashes. After pouring in lukewarm water, each family member in turn held the shell above his head and let the mixture of blood, water, and ashes drip on his head. The final step for each was to pour a bucket of cold water over his body. The purpose of the ritual was "so that no one will have headache or any body ailment . . . punishment inflicted by the dead person."[144] The whole ritual was described as "a sort of cleansing of sin done to the dead while alive--up to his burial."[145]

Other examples of traditional beliefs encountered by the author in the Manila area include the following practices: the exact measurement of both corpse and casket to avoid future deaths, the attempt to save a person's life by sacrificing a dog, refusal to sweep the room where a dead body lay in state, and reports of extensive activity by encantos and other spirit-world creatures in a modern apartment complex.

Frank Lynch points to a "bridge" by which many spirit-world beliefs come from rural areas into even the most modern urban households. He says the

> Rural-urban difference is often leveled, however, by an urban institution which is deserving of more than casual study: the placing of early child care almost completely in the hands of poorly educated maids reared in, or recently arrived from, the provinces. Beliefs in witches, ghosts, and the like may persist

---

[144]Gregorio Carino, Jr., "Chicken Blood Bath: People's Beliefs and a Pastor's Response," unpublished letter of January 26, 1971, to the author.

[145]Ibid.

> in the most externally sophisticated households, if each new arrival is indoctrinated by relatively ignorant and credulous household help.[146]

Jocano suggests that even the externally Christian religious practices of the urban area have retained the basically animistic element of magic as a dynamic principle. He argues,

> If we consider the ritual-content of the rural folk's practices as magic, and call those of the urban folks "faith"--we still have not changed the basic principles underlying the ritual-drama. The touch of magic which is the recurrent theme of provincial rites has not been replaced in the urban area; except its name.[147]

One must conclude that a definitive description of the status of spirit-world beliefs in the urban areas of the lowland Philippines is impossible at this time. Probably the most helpful description is that of Guthrie and Jacobs who suggest:

> People fall along a belief-unbelief continuum in this regard. In the rural areas people mass more toward the traditional belief end of the continuum and in the urban areas the massing is more toward unbelief or rational rejection. But even urban children have heard the stories.[148]

John Carroll uses the criteria of education and social status to show that, within the city itself, people can be found on both ends of such a continuum, as well as at various intermediate stages. He asserts,

> Much of what Wolff and others have said of peasant religion applies in the Philippines to the religion of the urban lower class as well, and diminishes gradually in applicability as one ascends the educational and social ladders. And one of the striking features of religion in the Philippines is precisely the wide range or spread

---

[146]Frank Lynch, "Social Acceptance," Four Readings on Philippine Values, compiled by Frank Lynch (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1963), p. 7.

[147]Jocano, "Filipino Catholicism," Asian Studies, V, 60.

[148]Guthrie and Jacobs, p. 174.

> of the phenomena encountered as one ascends those ladders: within a limited geographical area one may find forms of religious affiliation which in Europe represent thousands of years of development, ranging from pre-Christian animists to post-Christian secular humanists.[149]

In summary, one may say that although there is some reduction of traditional lowland spirit-world beliefs among the people of Philippine urban areas, such beliefs are still held by many urban Filipinos, especially among the people of lower educational attainment.

A description of devotional practices carried on in the Manila Roman Catholic parishes of Quiapo, Baclaran, and at the church of St. Jude will be included in Chapter VI. Although some people consider the practices to be expressions of animistic beliefs, others view them as within the permissible boundaries of genuine Roman Catholic piety. The question will be discussed under the topic of theological aspects of twentieth-century Roman Catholic responses to the spirit-world.

The next two chapters will attempt to show how Roman Catholics have responded to the lowland spirit-world beliefs outlined above and to discuss the more important theological aspects of their responses.

---

[149]John Carroll, "Magic and Religion," Philippine Institutions (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1970), p. 60.

CHAPTER V

SOME THEOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF ROMAN CATHOLIC RESPONSES TO LOWLAND FILIPINO SPIRIT-WORLD BELIEFS IN THE PERIOD FROM 1521 TO 1898

The general approach to this chapter will be to categorize Roman Catholic responses to lowland Filipino spirit-world beliefs as either positive or negative. A positive response will be characterized as one in which the friars showed a willingness to accept or adapt an animistic belief or practice for use in Christian teaching or practice. A negative response will be identified as one in which the missionaries rejected an indigenous belief or practice.

In actual circumstances, of course, there were often both positive and negative elements in a specific Roman Catholic response. This treatment will attempt to note the factors which tended to modify a positive or negative Roman Catholic response. That means that recognition will be given to the friars' attempts to provide Christian substitutes for pagan beliefs and practices which they felt it necessary to reject. Similarly, the limitations of positive responses will be sought.

Theological aspects will be discussed in connection with the specific responses.

The Basic Response

The general response of the Spanish clergy to Filipino lowland spirit-world beliefs was overwhelmingly negative. And the friars' assessment of the condition of the Filipinos was definitely theological. They

pictured the "Indios" (as they called them), as slaves of the devil in the kingdom of evil. Aduarte's estimation of the condition of the people of Nueva Segovia in about 1595 can be considered typical of the general Roman Catholic estimation of the spiritual condition of all the lowland Filipinos:

> They were a people abandoned by the hand of God and governed by the devil in accordance with his laws--without judgment, or reason, or sense, because their minds had been wholly taken away by him who had governed them.[1]

The other chroniclers' assessments agreed with Aduarte's, but none of them offered a response as visceral as Chirino's:

> Upon entering into the dark abyss of such blind idolatry I find a disorderly confusion of the vilest and most abominable things worthy of its inventor, although in examining the walls within this infernal cave, I discover an infinitude of loathesome creatures, foul and obscene, truly damnable, it is my task, aided by the light of truth, to reduce them to order--so that we who upon opening our eyes find ourselves within the light of truth may offer praise to Almighty God, and have compassion for those who, blinded by their ignorance, love and prize these things of darkness, and cannot open their eyes to any light beyond.[2]

In the theological view of the friars, as surely as the Filipinos were under the dominion of darkness, so surely were the Spaniards the people chosen by God to bring them into His kingdom of light. Spain

---

[1]Diego Aduarte, "History of the Dominican Province of the Holy Rosary," The Philippine Islands 1493-1898, edited by Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1905), XXX, 296. (Hereafter volumes of this set will be cited as B-R.)

[2]Pedro Chirino, "Relation of the Filippinas Islands and of What Has There Been Accomplished by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus," B-R, XII, 262-263.

was aglow for God in the sixteenth century, and "the Church in the Philippines . . . flowed right out of the heart of Spain, burning with the love of God . . . "[3]

The fire began with the Spanish king. Philip II is reported to have equated Spain and the Christian faith so fully that he was convinced that his own commission from God had priority over any other--even that of the Pope himself.[4]

It was not only the king of Spain who burned with zeal for God's mission, but

> Spaniards of all classes during the sixteenth century were inspired by an almost limitless faith in their nation's power and prestige. The Spanish race appeared to them as God's new Chosen People, destined to execute the plans of Providence.[5]

The Old Testament studies which flourished in sixteenth-century Spain were capable of providing a theological basis for the Christian state. God's people, like Israel of old, under God's king, would go out to do battle in His name and win His victory.

The mission of God which the Spaniards felt called to accomplish

> was to forge the spiritual unity of all mankind by crushing the Protestants in the Old World, defending Christendom against the

---

[3]Jose Vicente Braganza, The Encounter: the Epic Story of the Christianization of the Philippines (Manila: Catholic Trade School, 1965), p. 188.

[4]S. Harrison Thomson, Europe in Renaissance and Reformation (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1963), p. 750.

[5]John Leddy Phelan, The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses, 1565-1700 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959), p. 4.

> onslaughts of the Turks, and spreading the gospel among the infidels of America and Asia.[6]

The Christianization of the Philippines was, thus, only a part of the larger goal. The friars planned to use the islands as a base from which to reach out into Japan, China, and the rest of Asia.

The vision of a world-wide victory for Christ was dazzling. Its fulfillment had to mean the end of the world. Of course, the church had always claimed the whole world in God's name; but now, following the discoveries of the Portuguese and Spanish explorers,

> Christianity for the first time could implement its universal claims on a world-wide basis . . . To those of mystical temperament this possibility appeared as a vision which was so blinding and radiant that its fulfillment must inevitably foreshadow the rapidly approaching end of the world.[7]

The most outstanding theological aspect of early Roman Catholic responses to lowland Filipino spirit-world beliefs was, thus, the conviction of the Spanish friars concerning their identity as the people of God on His mission to conquer evil and bring the world to His feet for the impending final judgment. Of course,

> Not all the Spanish were apocalyptical mystics. Most of them, however, were inspired by a truculent faith in themselves, and this exuberant self-confidence helps to explain how the Spaniards were able, during the course of the sixteenth century, to spread their culture half-way around the globe.[8]

---

[6] Ibid.

[7] John Leddy Phelan, The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1956), p. 18.

[8] Phelan, Hispanization, p. 5.

The Response to the Devil

Many people who live in the twentieth century doubt the real existence of a personal devil, but the Spanish friars who landed in the Philippines had no such questions in their minds.

Although they called many of the Filipinos' beliefs in ghosts and goblins mere superstitions, the Spaniards themselves were willing to grant the real existence of even some of those beings. The writings of Juan de Plasencia furnish examples of both attitudes.

Regarding the magtatangal, who was believed to show himself at night without his head and then re-attach it in the morning, Juan said,

> This seems to me to be a fable, although the natives affirm that they have seen it, because the devil probably caused them so to believe.[9]

However, Juan did not consider as a fable the belief in a being called silagan, who was reported to tear out and eat the liver of anyone he saw clothed in white. He cautioned,

> Let no one, moreover, consider this a fable; because in Calavan, they tore out in this way through the anus all the intestines of a Spanish notary, who was buried in Calilaya by Father Fray Juan de Merida.[10]

Juan was not the only Spaniard to accept the real existence of some of the beings of the lowland spirit-world. Luis de Jesus, writing of the activities of an alleged witch on Calamianes Island in about 1624, reported:

---

[9]Juan de Plasencia, "Customs of the Tagalogs," B-R, VII, 193.

[10]Ibid.

> The sorcerers began their deceits, and one night they seized the soldier on guard and bore him through the air to the top of a hill more than a legua away.[11]

The spirit-world beliefs of the Spaniards themselves are thus seen to be a factor in their Roman Catholic response to the beliefs of lowland Filipinos. Actually, the two peoples are similar in their willingness to accept the reality of some of the spirits. The difference between them is the theological evaluation which each group made of the beings and their activities.

The Filipinos' theology accepted the claims made on behalf of the beings and respected, or even worshiped the spirits. The Spaniards, although they were willing to grant the real existence of some of the spirits, evaluated them, theologically, as servants of the devil. Therefore, they not only declined to worship the spirits, they did whatever they could to destroy the honor and worship which the Filipinos offered.

The Response to the Pagan Priesthood

Consistent with their general theological assessment of the Filipinos' spirit-world beliefs, the friars considered the pagan priests to be ministers of the devil, in whom he sometimes became incarnate and through whom he exercised his tyranny over the general population. Plasencia dramatized the response when he related that sometimes the devil entered the body of the catalonan, assuming her human shape and appearance, making her hair stand on end and flames shoot from her

---

[11]Andres de San Nicolas, Luis de Jesus, and Juan de la Concepcion, "Early Recollect Missions in the Philippines," B-R, XXI, 230.

eyes.[12] He wrote of twelve types of animistic ministers and described them all as "priests of the devil."[13]

The majority of Roman Catholics agreed with Juan's evaluation, but the Jesuit Rosell offered a different response to some of the elements in a ceremony led by a pagan priestess of the Mandaya tribe in Mindanao in the 1880's. In a letter to his superior, Rosell pictured the ceremony and wrote the words of a song chanted by the priestess.[14] His largely positive response to the song states:

> The Catholic apologist will not fail to comprehend the most important teachings which he could utilize as a confirmation of the most transcendental questions of our true religion . . . Is there not some glimpse in that song, "miminsad, miminsad si Mansilatan," etc., although an imperfect one, of the dogmas of the plurality of persons in God, and of the creation and redemption of the world? Indeed, it is so, and more if one keep in mind the signification in which the Mandayas understand it.[15]

Rosell went on to explain what the song meant to some old men of the Mandayas. Mansilatan was the principal god who created the world. Badla was Mansilatan's son, who

> Came down also to preserve and protect the world--that is men and things--against the power and trickery of the evil spirits, Pudaugnon and Malimbung . . . who are trying by continual artifices to harm and injure them.[16]

Rosell saw a rough representation of the Holy Trinity in the Mandayas' beliefs. He continued,

---

[12]Plasencia, VII, 191.

[13]Ibid., VII, 194.

[14]Supra, p. 40.

[15]Pedro Rosell, "Letter From Father Pedro Rosell to the Father Superior of the Mission," B-R, XLIII, 219.

[16]Ibid., XLIII, 220.

> Also there is not wanting among the beliefs of the Mandayas one which gives, although in a confused and corrupted manner, the idea of the Holy Spirit, thereby completing the mystery of the Holy Trinity. For they say that, from Mansilatan, the father of Badla his only son, also proceeds the god Busao, who is nothing else than the omnipotent virtue of the former. This last is communicated to some men . . . so that it makes them strong and valiant above other men.[17]

Rosell's response must be seen as an exception to the general Roman Catholic response, which judged that only the devil's ideas could be found in the mouths of pagan ministers.

The limited nature of Rosell's response can be seen in the fact that the pagan priestesses, when coming for Christian Baptism, were required to renounce all the beliefs of the Mandayas, as will be seen below.

The Demand of Total Commitment

The issues were clear-cut in the minds of the missionaries. A "yes" to the true God had to be accompanied by a clear "no" to the devil, his idols, and his ministers. Magellan had stated the matter emphatically already in Cebu in 1521, when he,

> solemnly reminded the crowd that if they persevered in their desire to become Christians, they must repudiate, destroy, and burn their idols and set up a cross in place of the idols.[18]

The Dominicans working in Zambales in about 1685 were shocked that some of the Zambals

---

[17] Ibid.

[18] Braganza, p. 81.

> Desired to embrace the matters of the faith in such a manner that they should not become separated from the ancient worship which they attributed to the demon in their false gods.[19]

When some pagan priestesses were baptized in Rosell's presence in Mindanao sometime in the 1880's, he reported that they were first asked, "Do you renounce the beliefs of the Mandayas, and all their lies and works of iniquity?" They were to reply, "Yes, I renounce." After having thus denied the good as well as the bad elements in their own culture, the women then were asked, "Do you give your heart wholly and without reserve to God, the Creator of heaven and earth, and to Jesus Christ His only Son, the Redeemer of the world?" Their reply was to be, "Yes, in truth, I do give it entirely."[20]

The friars did not specify their theological reasons for demanding total allegiance, but they can probably be traced back to the strain of New Testament thought which Jesus began when he said, "No one can be a slave to two masters" and "Give first place to His Kingdom and to what he requires."[21]

The Responses of Teaching and Preaching

Pre-baptismal instruction given to the Filipinos was designed to emphasize the differences between the Christian way and the animistic

---

[19]Vicente de Salazar, "Dominican Missions, 1670-1700," B-R, XLIII, 52.

[20]Rosell, XLIII, 223.

[21]Matt. 6:24, 33.

way and so to lead the Filipinos to "embrace what was good and throw away the other as wicked and evil," in the words of Medina, Augustinian historian.[22]

The works of Miguel de Loarca, Juan de Plasencia, Antonio de Morga, and Pedro de Chirino (presented in Chapter III above), show that the Spaniards made a serious attempt to understand the spirit-world beliefs of the people of the Philippines. However, the catechisms which the friars used contained no material which specifically related Christian teaching to the particular beliefs of the Filipinos, as one might possibly expect under the topics of creation, redemption, worship, and the sacraments.

The subjects treated in the Tagalog catechism of 1593 were the following: the "Our Father," the "Hail Mary," the Creed, the "Hail Queen," the Articles of Faith, a paraphrase of the ten commandments, the Commandments of the Holy Church, the Sacraments of the Holy Church, the Seven Mortal sins, the Fourteen Works of Charity, a Form for Confession, and questions and answers for review.[23] Phelan indicates that other catechisms, many based on Ballarmine's Doctrina Cristiana Breve, contained essentially the same materials.[24]

---

[22]Juan de Medina, "History of the Augustinian Order in the Filipinas Islands," B-R, XXIII, 203.

[23]Doctrina Christiana: The First Book Printed in the Philippines, Manila, 1593, a Facsimile of the Copy in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., with an introductory essay by Edwin Wolf (Washingron, D. C.: the Library of Congress, 1947), passim.

[24]John Leddy Phelan, "Philippine Linguistics and Spanish Missionaries, 1565-1700," Mid-America, XXXVII (July 1955), 158.

In keeping with the policy of rejection of the indigenous beliefs, the missionaries kept many key religious terms in Spanish, rather than take the risk that the new converts might "Filipinize" Christian doctrine. In the Tagalog catechism of 1593, the following terms were retained in Spanish: grace, God, trinity, Holy Spirit, Virgin Mary, cross, hell, Catholic Church, saints, Sunday, Apostles, pope, host (sacramental), mass, amen, and the names of all the sacraments.[25]

It must be noted, however, that some important theological terms were rendered in Tagalog, such as the following: incarnation, mercy, soul, holy (in some instances), sin, and forgiveness.[26] The retention of the Spanish language for some theological terms may have resulted partly from the linguistic difficulty of expressing abstract theological concepts in the concrete thought forms of the Tagalog language.

Descriptions of some sermons give clues regarding the message which was preached by the Roman Catholic missionaries. The evidence examined showed an emphasis on eschatological topics: the "immortality of the soul, the reward or punishment of the other life";[27] the "things of heaven";[28] "a well-painted picture of hell";[29] "fear, judgment, and condemnation."[30] A different approach was used by a friar who came to

---

[25]Doctrina Christiana, passim.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Vicente de Salazar, XLIII, 49.

[28]Chirino, "Relation," B-R, XIII, 173.

[29]Chirino, "Relation," B-R, XII, 264.

[30]Ibid., XII, 230.

Negros to teach the people. He began with "the remedy of confession, explaining its purpose, and arousing their affection for it."[31]

Vicente de Salazar reported that the teaching of the Dominicans in Zambales was concerned with

> The holy fear of God, the frequency of the holy sacraments, the devotion of the queen of the Angels, and the exercise of the holy rosary.[32]

Perhaps an emphasis on eschatology was deliberate, for several Roman Catholics felt that the indigenous beliefs were especially deficient at that point. Zuniga, an Augustinian stated his dissatisfaction thus:

> They believed in neither reward nor recompense for the good, nor punishment for the wicked. For although they knew of the immortality of the soul and believed that they could do wrong, that belief was so filled with errors that they thought that the souls had need of sustenance, and all the other things that we mortals need.[33]

Sinibaldo de Mas, writing in the middle of the nineteenth century, made the criticism that the Filipinos were indifferent regarding the future life and the "punishments of the other world."[34]

---

[31]Chirino, "Relation," B-R, XIII, 151.

[32]Vicente de Salazar, XLIII, 55.

[33]Joaquin Martinez de Zuniga, "The People of the Philippines," B-R, XLIII, 126.

[34]Sinibaldo de Mas, Informe de las Islas Filipinas en 1842, portions printed with Gaspar de San Agustin's "Letter on the Filipinos," B-R, XL, 234.

The Response of Force

Although historians generally agree with Lynch[35] that the Spanish acquisition of the Philippines was relatively bloodless, it is an undisputable fact that force was one aspect of the Roman Catholic response to lowland Filipino spirit-world beliefs and practices.

Magellan, in 1521, was more tolerant than some who followed later. He told the people of Cebu

> that they should not become Christians for fear or to please us, but of their own free wills; and that he would not cause any displeasure to those who wished to live according to their own law, but that the Christians would be better regarded and treated than the others.[36]

Perhaps the principle was not clear even in Magellan's mind, for Pigafetta later reported, "We burned one hamlet which was located in a neighboring island, because it refused to obey the king or us."[37]

When the expedition of Legaspi and Urdaneta arrived in 1565, Legaspi immediately made it clear that, although he did not wish to hurt the people, Spain's sword was to be the companion of the cross. Medina, Augustinian historian, reported that as Legaspi sailed up to the town of Cebu, the Filipinos'

> Babaylans, who were their priestesses, made every effort so that the Spaniards might not set foot on land; for the devil, with

---

[35]Frank Lynch, "Organized Religion," Area Handbook on the Philippines, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1956), II, 476.

[36]Antonio Pigafetta, "First Voyage Around the World," B-R, XXXIII, 145.

[37]Ibid., XXXIII, 161.

> whom they were in accord, seeing that his reign was about to end, acted with more than usual vigor through his infernal ministers.[38]

Legaspi saw the natives massing, with their weapons, on the shore and tried to make peace once more, through Fray Urdaneta, but without success. Therefore,

> He ordered his artillery to be discharged, somewhat high, so that he might frighten and startle them,without doing them any harm. This succeeded as he expected, for those people, little accustomed to similar reports, immediately abandoned the shore and sea, fleeing more quickly than they had gathered.[39]

The task of "making peace" with the natives was largely carried out by Juan de Salcedo, grandson of Legaspi, with a remarkably small group of soldiers. Antonio Molina describes Salcedo's work on Luzon: Salcedo left Manila in May, 1572, with forty-five soldiers. Proceeding to Zambales, he found the people "readily accepted his offers of amity and alliance, placing themselves under the rule of Spain."[40] At Cape Bolinao, he rescued from some Chinese a group of Filipinos who had been taken captive. "They were so well-impressed that without hesitation they agreed to become vassals of the King of Spain."[41] He was well received in Vigan and left soldiers to build a fort there, as he returned to Manila.

---

[38]Medina, XXIII, 166.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Antonio Molina, The Philippines Through the Centuries ([Manila]: University of Sto. Tomas, [1961]), p. 67.

[41]Ibid.

Setting out again from Manila, he went this time to the Cagayan valley. On the way, "he met opposition in Tarlac, but managed to overcome it, pacifying the people, who accepted Spanish rule."[42] In all parts of Cagayan where he travelled, "despite his meager troops, he was successful in his endeavor to befriend the Filipinos and make them agree to become vassals of the Spanish king."[43]

> From Cagayan, Salcedo traveled down all the eastern coast of Luzon and in Cainta engaged some hostile Filipinos in stiff skirmishes, coming out victorious in the end.[44]

Finally he returned to Manila, after going through Laguna and the Camarines region.

One must conclude from the above that although Salcedo did not use much force, it was a definite factor in subduing the lowland people of the Philippines, in preparation for their evangelization.

As mentioned in Chapter III, some of the Filipino revolts against the Spanish were motivated at least partly by a desire of people to return to their traditional religion. Because the friars felt that the loss of part of Bohol to Tamblot would be a victory for the devil, they called for military forces from Cebu. The rebellion was put down and the victory ascribed to the power of the Santo Nino of Cebu.[45]

---

[42] Ibid., pp. 67-68.

[43] Ibid., p. 68.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Medina, "History," B-R, XXIV, 117.

Although force was used to prepare the Filipinos for evangelization and later to defend the territories occupied, there were strong Spanish voices raised against its use. To some extent the Augustinians, but especially the Dominicans were vocal critics of the use of soldiers to accompany the preaching of the Gospel. No less than Domingo de Salazar, the first bishop of the Philippines, stated emphatically

> It is without doubt a shameful thing, and unworthy of one who professes such a law as ours, that we should not trust in God, for sometimes the preachers would do more alone, unaccompanied by arquebuses and pikes.[46]

Others, especially Fray Meguel de Venavides, O. P. (Dominican Order), were just as emphatic. Venavides accompanied Bishop Domingo de Salazar to Madrid in 1592, to present the case against force, before the king himself. He argued, on the basis of the New Testament commands of Christ and the history of the church, that

> The gospel received much more opposition at the beginning than it does at the present time; and if it was not necessary at that time to subject kingdoms by war, in order to preach the gospel to them, much less will it be so now. Hence grave scandal would arise in the church if, when the Lord commands that gentle sheep shall be the ones to introduce His gospel, the introduction of it should be entrusted now to blood-thirsty wolves.[47]

The arguments of Salazar and Venavides were so successful that the king and his council decided that no longer would soldiers be sent in advance of, or as escorts to the friars, for that would be "changing into a gospel of war that gospel which Christ our Lord delivered to us--

---

[46]Domingo de Salazar, "Affairs in the Philippine Islands," B-R, V, 235.

[47]Aduarte, "History," B-R, XXXI, 222.

a gospel of peace, love, and grace."[48] The ruling, obviously, was not in time to influence the original methods of evangelization which took place in 1565; but many friars went to unknown tribes without military excorts as a result of the theology of Domingo de Salazar and Venavides.

When the Recollects went to Mariveles in the early seventeenth century, San Nicolas reports that they responded to the pagan darkness of that place with only

> the light of the gospel, and without taking other arms than the cross and the scourge of penance, by which all the wretchedness and misfortunes there were changed into delights and comforts.[49]

The usual method of the Dominicans in Pangasinan and in the Cagayan valley was to work without military escorts.

A thorough discussion of the theological aspects of Spain's use of force as a response to spirit-world beliefs would involve the researcher in consideration of a very wide range of topics. The basic issue was whether Spain had a right to colonize a non-Christian country at all, even if she also evangelized its inhabitants. Spanish theologians debated the issue vehemently. Related issues, whose theological aspects would also have to be analyzed, would be: Spain's understanding of her national mission in history, her struggle against the Moors, her exercise of the Holy Inquisition, and her attitudes toward heresy of any kind.

Such an extensive treatment cannot be undertaken in this study, and the interested reader is referred to the works of the Spanish theologians who were whole-heartedly involved in discussing the issues. A general

---

[48] Ibid., XXXI, 223.

[49] San Nicolas, de Jesus, and Concepcion, XXI, 141.

overview of the problems and the sources for study can be gained from Phelan[50] or from J. Gayo Aragon.[51]

The Clergy and the Response of Force

Rather than soldiers, Bishop Salazar wanted more clergymen to make sure the victory of Christian teaching over indigenous beliefs. He remarked about the new Filipino Christians in a letter to King Philip, in 1588, "It is well known that, as soon as ministers fail them, they return to their rites and idolatries."[52]

Even though the principle of force had been repudiated, some felt that the friars should use forceful pressure to compel obedience to the will of God and stamp out traditional beliefs and practices. They justified such force on the basis of an argument which presented idolatry as such great evil that even homicide could not be compared to it. An excerpt from Aduarte presents the theological basis for the friars' use of force on people or the instruments of idolatry:

> Even if the religious in this province of Nueva Segovia had done no other good than bringing to an end or preventing so many sins of idolatry as these Indians used to commit, every day and every hour, by adoring the devil and offering him supersititious reverence in all the ways which have already been described, a very great service indeed would have been done to the Lord, to whom all such actions as these are directly offensive. In these idolatrous acts His honor is taken from Him, and His divine supremacy is overthrown and given to His greatest enemy. To prevent one of these offenses to God would be of much more merit than to prevent any homicide whatsoever,

---

[50]John Leddy Phelan, "Some Ideological Aspects of the Conquest of the Philippines," The Americas, XIII (January 1957), 221-239.

[51]J. Gayo Aragon, "The Controversy over Justification of Spanish Rule in the Philippines," Studies in Philippine Church History, edited by Gerald Anderson (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), pp. 3-21.

[52]Domingo Salazar, "Letter to Philip II, 1588," B-R, VII, 30.

> for that is a direct offense only against a man; while idolatry is directly against God, and takes from Him His divine honor, which is much more valuable than the life of a man. If this be true, how high is the merit of having prevented the innumerable acts of idolatry which used to be committed daily by those Indians, and having brought to an end the multitude of sins which followed upon this one. . . . [53]

Thus, jealousy for the honor of God was the theological foundation on which the friars built their practice of vigorously seeking out and destroying paganism's sacred objects and their practice of sometimes physically chastizing their parishioners. That motivation and those actions must be judged in their historical context, for they probably differed little from ideas and practices which were common all over Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[54]

A few examples of the use of force on people will suffice. Loarca reported that the friars tried to do away with the use of special coconut oil for witchcraft by "taking away from them the oil and chastising them."[55] About two hundred and fifty years later, Mas concluded that the friars must be permitted to continue to use forceful punishment on those who did not fulfill their spiritual obligations, or else there would be no Filipino Christians left, after a hundred more years.[56]

---

[53]Aduarte, "History," B-R, XXXI, 23-24.

[54]A. G. Dickens, The Counter Reformation (New York: Harcourt, Brace, & World, Inc., 1969), p. 48.

[55]Miguel de Loarca, "Relation of the Philippine Islands," B-R, V, 163.

[56]Mas, Informe, B-R, XL, 234.

Medina felt that it was necessary to make force a part of pastoral practice, in order to insure the victory of Christian teaching over the tenacious spirit-world beliefs of the people:

> And how can we compel those already christianized to fulfill their duties, if the Indian feels that the father can not punish him? For they detest, as a rule, church matters--to such an extent, that they would even pay two tributes to be free from the church. They love their old beliefs and revelries so strongly that they would lose their souls for them. Without any fear, how would they attend to their duties?[57]

It must be noted in this connection that many friars gave to the Filipinos in their villages a peaceful and patient testimony. One of the Filipino chieftains told a Dominican friar in Pangasinan, in about 1598,

> You all of you follow one rule and one road; you strive to obtain neither gold nor silver; you are ill-treated and yet patient; you do all things for our good. Hence I have resolved to believe you, since I am persuaded people who act like you will not deceive.[58]

The Response to Idol Worship

The friars' deeply held conviction that Filipino spirit-world beliefs had to be completely rejected led them to try to destroy, or to arrange for the destruction of, all idols and objects of pagan worship and belief, with or without the consent of their owners.

Magellan, the first Roman Catholic to respond to Filipino spirit-world beliefs, had immediately told the people that when they became Christians, they would have to burn their idols. He had encountered a

---

[57]Medina, "History," B-R, XXIII, 269.

[58]Aduarte, "History," B-R, XXX, 185.

ceremony of prayer and sacrifice to the anitos for the recovery of a sick man in Cebu. Pigafetta reported that Magellan

> told them to burn their idols and to believe in Christ, and that if the sick man were baptized, he would quickly recover.[59]

The man did recover, and he did burn his idols:

> In five days the patient began to walk; he burned in the presence of the rajah a favorite idol which some old women had saved from the general iconoclasm. He demolished some anito shrines along the shore; the people cried, "Castilla! Castilla!" as they cut down and burned their helpless anitos. The babaylan and catalonan shook their heads as the children gleefully whirled around the flames in a dance macabre. The grinning faces of the laraoan, their huge tusks shining luridly in the fire, seemed to screech back in revenge. The priestesses kept muttering that the white man would pay for this, the white man would pay for this.[60]

There are many accounts of the friars' seeking out and destroying sacred articles worshiped and used in the practice of the indigenous beliefs. Three examples will suffice:

1. Fray Rodrigo de San Miguel, serving with the order of Augustinian Recollects around the year 1624, was traveling in Bataan with his Filipino helpers. They passed through a grove of trees which, according to local indigenous belief, was holy, so that it was considered a sacrilege to cut or touch any branch. Certain death was the punishment for trespassing. The friar did not know about the grove's meaning for the people, so he asked one of his helpers to go up and bring down some of the good-looking fruit which he saw in one of the trees. After repeated refusals, the helpers finally admitted that they were afraid to touch the trees for fear of the spirits of the place. Fray Rodrigo took command:

---

[59]Pigafetta, "First Voyage," B-R, XXXIII, 165.

[60]Braganza, pp. 83-84.

> Elevating his voice, he gave them a fervent discourse against the delusion under which they were laboring; and concluded by intimating to them that he himself would get and eat the fruit, as well as cut down the trees, so that they might see that one would not die and so that they might thereby be freed from the error and blindness of their ancestors.[61]

His companions tried to dissuade him, but

> The good religious, arming himself with prayer and with the sign of the cross, and repeating that antiphony, Ecce crucem Domini: fugite partes adversae. Vicit leo de tribu Juda, began to break the branches and to climb the tree, where he gathered a great quantity of the fruit. He ate not a little of it before them all, in detestation of their wicked superstitions and ill-founded fears. The Indians looked at his face, expecting every moment to see him a dead man. But they immediately recognized the truth of what he told them.[62]

Fray Rodrigo ordered the group not to tell anyone what they had seen and then proceeded to gather much more of the fruit, which he took to the next village and gave to the chiefs there, without revealing its origin. Not until after they had finished eating the fruit did he tell them its story. Thereupon,

> All of them, convinced and surprized, not one of them being wanting, followed him, axes in hand, and felled that thicket, casting contempt on the devil; and many infidels ended by submitting to the knowledge of the truth.[63]

2. Fray Perez, of the Dominicans, was able to strike anito worship a telling blow in his parish with the aid of a group of children. The children, in school daily at the church, revealed to the friar the secret circumstances--including the names of people, places, and objects--of pagan ceremonies which were still being carried by the Christian adults

---

[61] San Nicolas, de Jesus, and Concepcion, B-R, XXI, 145.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid., XXI, 145.

of the village. Fray Perez, armed with his new knowledge, called his chiefs, one by one, and confronted them with the evidence (without mentioning the children). In their amazement, they concluded that the priest had the power of divination, and they surrendered all their equipment to him. After collecting the items, the priest called the children and

> ordered them to break up those instruments, and they obeyed immediately. "Now throw them into the privies," said the father, "and let the children perform the necessities of nature on them." They obeyed his order instantly and made a mockery and jest of those instruments. The Zambals were astonished that the father and the children were not killed for the disrespect that they showed to their gods, for they believed that he who touched or profaned such instruments would die.[64]

3. The German scientist Jagor discovered some caverns among the beautiful cliffs of the straits between Leyte and Samar. The caves had been used by the Filipinos for centuries as burial places, and there were many beliefs concerning the spirits of the place. People who wanted to journey through the straits still performed rituals to insure their safe passage. Jagor, writing in 1860, told of the response of a young priest to the people's beliefs about the caves:

> About thirty years ago a zealous young ecclesiastic to whom these heathen practices were an abomination, determined to extirpate them by the roots. With several boats well equipped with crosses, banners, pictures of saints, and all the approved machinery for driving out the Devil, he undertook the expedition against the haunted rocks, which were climbed amid the sounds of music, prayers, and the reports of fireworks. A whole pailful of holy water first having been thrown into the cave for the purpose of confounding the evil spirits, the intrepid priest rushed in with elevated cross, and was followed by his faithful companions, who were fired with his example. A brilliant victory was the reward of the well-contrived and carefully executed plot. The coffins were broken to

---

[64]Vicente de Salazar, "Dominican Missions," B-R, XLIII, 53-54.

> fragments, the vessels dashed to pieces, and the skeletons thrown into the sea; and the remaining caverns were stormed with like results. The objects of superstition have indeed been annihilated, but the superstition itself survives to the present day.[65]

The Substitution of Christian Images

The friars were vigorous in trying to stamp out the worship of the traditional animism, but they also did their best to replace what they destroyed with what they considered to be good Christian substitutes. The researcher did not discover a theological explanation of Christian images in the materials examined. Therefore a simple summary description of their introduction and use follows.

Again it began with Magellan in 1521. When the queen of Cebu was baptized, Magellan noted her fondness for an image of the Santo Niño (child Jesus). After a short while, he gave it to her, "telling her to keep it in place of her idols, for it was in memory of the Son of God."[66]

Forty-four years later, men from Legaspi's expedition were searching for food in Cebu and discovered an image of the child Jesus, which was presumed to be the very one which Magellan had given to the queen. The Santo Niño had been highly revered by the Filipinos during the absence of the Spaniards, and Braganza portrays the image as a bridge between the pagan Filipinos and the Christian Spaniards. Soon after Legaspi's arrival in Cebu, a new church building was constructed, and in the celebration of its consecration,

---

[65]Feodor Jagor, "Feodor Jagor's Travels in the Philippines," The Former Philippines Thru Foreign Eyes, edited by Austin Craig (Manila: Philippine Education Co., 1916), p. 245.

[66]Braganza, p. 82.

> The image of the Infant Jesus was carried in solemn procession from the hut where it was found to the new temporary church . . . We might perhaps say that the Santo Nino procession was the first significant step toward pacification; He had belonged to the people of Cebu for one generation. They asked Him for rain, offered Him flowers and fruits. He was their favorite anito. And He was the God of the Spaniards too![67]

Judging from the missionary accounts, Christian images were almost as important for the Christian Spaniards as the anitos had been for the animistic Filipinos. Chirino reported that the Santo Niño had helped so many women during childbirth that he came to be "both facetiously and piously called El Partero [man-midwife]."[68] The image of St. Ignatius was reported to have helped heal the sick and to have assisted in more than one childbirth.[69] A man harassed by demons was cured as long as he wore a wax lamb, called "agnus Dei," on a cord around his neck.[70] Other important images were "the Christ of Humility and Patience," an image of the Virgin called "Consolation," an image of Nicolas de Tolentino,[71] and an image of "Our Lady of the Rosary."[72] All of them were said to have given great assistance to many in need. None of the sources examined contained an expression of concern regarding possible excesses of veneration which might be given to Christian images.

---

[67] Ibid., p. 169.

[68] Chirino, "Relation," B-R, XII, 181.

[69] Chirino, "Relation," B-R, XIII, 199.

[70] Ibid., XIII, 75.

[71] San Nicolas, de Jesus, and Concepcion, B-R, XXI, 156-158.

[72] Aduarte, "History," B-R, XXXI, 212.

Finely-carved images set in large church buildings which were centers for colorful religious pageantry worked to supply what the Spanish considered a vacuum in the animistic religion of the Filipinos. Morga, in about 1600, had remarked, regarding anito worship,

> In all this there was so little attendance, show, and pomp, or foundation, which God permitted, in order that in these parts the preaching of the holy Gospel should find them in a better disposition, and in order that they should more easily know the truth.[73]

The Substitution of Christian Songs

The friars discovered that the Filipino people loved to sing and that they often sang songs while sailing, farming, feasting, or mourning. According to Chirino, the songs were often about Bathala or Laon and related

> the creation of the world, the origin of the human race, the deluge, paradise, punishment, and other invisible things, relating a thousand absurdities, and varying much the form.[74]

The response of the friars to the songs was, of course, rejection of their content. But the Jesuits saw an opportunity to replace the animistic content with Christian substance. Father Valerio de Ledesma reported from Mindanao, in 1596,

---

[73]Antonio de Morga, The Philippine Islands, Moluccas, Siam, Cambodia, Japan, and China, at the Close of the Sixteenth Century, translated by Henry Stanley (originally published by the Hakluyt Society; New York: Burt Franklin, n.d.), p. 306.

[74]Chirino, "Relation," B-R, XII, 264.

> Thanks to God, all the river is now seeking baptism, and one may hear nothing else but the chanting of the doctrine throughout the village and in the houses, whether the people labor, or row, or walk about.[75]

Responses to Beliefs about Sickness and Death

As seen in the materials of Chapter III above, two of the chief goals of lowland Filipino animistic sacrifices were healing of illness and security in times of death. One gains the impression from the missionaries' reports that the friars had no pre-arranged substitutes for the pagan sacrifices traditionally offered at those times of crisis. Instead, evidently, a variety of Christian substitutes developed, as pastors sought resources for situations which confronted them.

Magellan was the first to present Christian Baptism as a power for healing, and he risked his own life in the process. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, he told the people not to trust in their idols for the healing of a sick man but to have him baptized and he would quickly recover; "and if that did not so happen, they could behead him [the captain] then and there."[76] Pigafetta reported further,

> We made a procession from the square to the house of the sick man with as much pomp as possible. There we found him in such condition that he could neither speak nor move. We baptized him and his two wives and ten girls. Then the captain asked him how he felt. He spoke immediately and said that by the grace of God he felt very well. That was the most manifest miracle [that happened] in our times.[77]

---

[75] Ibid., XII, 317.

[76] Pigafetta, B-R, XXXIII, 165.

[77] Ibid.

Unlike Magellan, the friars did not present Baptism as efficacious for the healing of bodily ills. However, they did report that many of the people looked on the sacrament as a means to attain bodily health. Only one instance was discovered of friars who corrected the notion that Baptism was medicinal. The correction noted was administered by the Dominicans in Pangasinan to a man who wanted to be baptized again because he was sick again.[78]

Chirino cited numerous instances of the healing effects of holy water, seemingly with approval. His report indicates that the water was also used for purposes other than healing:

> They make frequent use of holy water for their houses, at their meals, in their grainfields, and for their sick. Indeed, to drink a swallow of it they consider an efficacious remedy.[79]

Although no theological discussion of holy water was discovered for the Philippines, it appears that the use of holy water in the islands was in agreement with the usage of the medieval Roman Catholic Church. In the ninth century, Hincmar of Reims gave the following directions to the priests of his area:

> Every Sunday, before the celebration of Mass, the priest shall bless water in his church . . . The people, when entering the church, are to be sprinkled with this water, and those who so desire may carry some away in clean vessels so as to sprinkle their houses, fields, vineyards, and cattle, and the provender with which these last are fed, as also to throw over their own food.[80]

---

[78]Aduarte, "History," B-R, XXX, 187.

[79]Chirino, "Relation," B-R, XIII, 149.

[80]H. Leclercq, "Holy Water," The Catholic Encyclopedia (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910), p. 433.

The sacrament of penance, the sacrament of extreme unction, the reading of the gospel, the setting up of a wooden cross, and the holding of a scapular were also reported as instruments of Christian healing.

Since the frequency of pagan sacrifices was greatest during the crisis of sickness and death, it was during those times of crisis that the friars worked hardest to combat the traditional spirit-world beliefs. When death was near, the church's sacrament of extreme unction could possibly have proved to be an effective substitute for pagan rituals. It did not because there were not enough priests to administer the sacrament to those who needed it in many different and often inaccessable places.

To provide some kind of Christian ministry to the sick and dying, the Jesuits established among the lay-Christian Filipinos a confraternity whose members made frequent visits to the ill and dying. It was probably from such visits that the practice of pagpapajesus developed, as the lay Christian would help the dying person call on Jesus, rather than on the anitos.[81]

Ortiz recognized that families usually gathered on the third day after a death, to hold a feast for the return of the soul of the deceased. He instructed his friars,

> Consequently, the minister will prevent the gathering at the house of the deceased after the burial, and will not allow the people to ascend into the house under any considerations, least of all on the third day.[82]

---

[81]Phelan, Hispanization, p. 83.

[82]Tomas Ortiz, "Superstitions and Beliefs of the Filipinos," The Philippine Islands 1493-1898, edited by Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson, (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1906), XLIII, p. 106.

Responses to Beliefs about Nature

Dealing with nature was an important part of life for those native to the islands, and their animistic religion had helped them find some security in the face of her forces. When the Roman Catholic priests rejected animism, they introduced what they felt were worthy Christian substitutes for the traditional sacrifices.

Instead of using a pagan agricultural ritual, some farmers brought their seeds to the church for a Christian blessing, before they began to plant their fields.[83] When locusts threatened to destroy the crops, some Filipino women

> erected in their sowed field a cross containing some relics: and our Lord was pleased to honor the emblem of his death, as well as the faith of these, His new faithful ones, for the locusts passed on without causing them any loss.[84]

Around the year 1630, Taal volcano was flaming, and the wind was blowing the heat into the fields and destroying the crops. To remedy the situation, Father Alburquerque,

> built an altar at the foot of the volcano; a procession was made thither by all the village, and mass celebrated. So successful was this that "as yet no more fire or smoke has been seen and that island, about four leaguas in circuit, has fields and cows, and the inhabitants of Taal sow and reap their harvests in their land."[85]

A ship bearing some friars was on its way to the province of Nueva Segovia in 1604 when a serious typhoon developed. The fathers diagnosed

---

[83]Chirino, "Relation," B-R, XIII, 39.

[84]Ibid., XIII, 36.

[85]Medina, "History," B-R, XXIII, 210.

the cause of the typhoon as the Devil, since he would not want them to arrive and challenge his dominion over the people. They began to recite the church's rite of exorcism, and after repeated and concerted use of the rite, they reported that they were able to stop the storm and arrive safely at their destination.[86]

Sometimes even exorcism was not enough. On the island of Calamianes, in about 1624, the devil was grieved that the fathers were taking away so many of his people. He therefore made use of a witch and her son to carry away some of the Spanish soldiers and give them all the symptoms of madness. Exorcism by Fray Benito de Santa Monica was able to cure one soldier, but when eight more were carried away the following night, the situation was considerably more serious. On that account,

> The most holy sacrament was exposed in the fort. Yielding to its sovereign presence, the demons fled in confusion to their eternal dungeons, with the ruin of their deceits.[87]

Other similar instances of the exposure of the blessed sacrament against Satan show that it was considered a very powerful, if not the most efficacious weapon in the Christian arsenal. No theological reasons are provided as to why its exposure provided power.

A pertinent theological question, to be asked in the next chapter, is how the Spanish Roman Catholics' understanding of the workings of their Christian articles (especially holy water and images), is to be compared to the animists' understanding of the workings of their rituals. Aside from the external differences, how would the internal, dynamic principles be distinguished?

---

[86]Aduarte, "History," B-R, XXXI, 201-202.

[87]San Nicolas, de Jesus, and Concepcion, B-R, XXI, 231.

Response Regarding Filipinos in General

Sinibaldo de Mas, the Spanish diplomat, responded to a more abstract pattern which he felt to be an essential part of the Filipino spirit-world. He complained that the Filipinos, in contrast to the Spaniards, were interested chiefly in material benefits for this life rather than in the blessings of the afterlife.

He maintained that the loyalty of some villages to their Spanish priest was based, not on religious conviction, but on the fact that a good priest could bring many material benefits to the town by his influence in the government.[88] He conceded that many Filipinos, especially among the ladies, did have the true fear of God, "but many others feel a great natural indifference in this matter."[89]

Considering the continuing beliefs of the Filipinos in their traditional spirits, their insincere confessions which hid those beliefs, their concern with material benefits, and their general unconcern for the punishments and rewards of life beyond the grave, Mas concluded that "the Filipino race is inferior, at least in spiritual matters, to our race."[90]

A similar conclusion was reached in a report prepared at the end of the Spanish era. The report stated that the reason Filipinos are still "prone to superstition" is

---

[88]Mas, Informe, B-R, XL, 233.

[89]Ibid., XL, 234.

[90]Ibid., XL, 261.

> on account of the proximity and intercourse with those still infidels and on account of their puerile imagination and their natural love of externals.[91]

The real root of the problem is in the Filipino people, according to the report:

> The Catholic religion, always holy and sanctifying, works in its subjects who embrace it according to the natural or acquired disposition of the same. So the defects of character of the Indians, although they are frequently lessened, thanks to the religion which they profess, hardly disappear wholly, and even influence the private life and religious character of the natives. Therefore because they are more superficial and more impressed with novelties than other races, they perhaps might be less constant in their Catholic practices, sentiments, and convictions.[92]

Both Mas and the report concluded that the reason the traditional lowland spirit-world beliefs have persisted is due to the allegedly inferior nature of the Filipino people. Gaspar de San Agustin, in a letter of the year 1720,[93] used the same argument to oppose the development of a Filipino clergy for the church.

Theologically, the argument goes back to the concept of creation and says that by nature some races are superior and some inferior to others.

A vigorous rebuttal to the views of San Agustin was written by Father Juan Delgado. His clinching point, however, was not based on biblical or dogmatic theology but upon early church practice. He argued:

> This was precisely the practice of the holy apostles, namely, to ordain priests and bishops from among the natives of those regions where they preached, whether they be Indians or Negroes. And it

---

[91]"Catholicism in the Philipines," Encyclopedia of the Philippines, edited by Soilo M. Galang (Manila: Exequiel Floro, 1950), X, 108.

[92]Ibid.

[93]San Agustin, B-R, XL, passim.

> is a historical fact that when Saint Francis Xavier arrived in India, he found many Comorin clerics, who are Negroes, already preaching the Gospel in those newly founded Christian communities.[94]

Summary

Although the Spaniards' belief in the existence of some ghosts and spiritual forces was similar to the spirit-world beliefs of the Filipinos, the Spanish response to lowland Philippine spirit-world beliefs was essentially negative.

Lying behind that response was a theological conviction that Spain was God's nation, chosen to evangelize the infidels and perhaps even establish a millennial kingdom in preparation for the Lord's return. Their basic theological assessment of Philippine culture and beliefs was that these were "of the Devil."

Spanish theologians debated the justification of their nation's colonial and missionary activity and the use of force to advance it, but they did not open the question of whether Filipino spirit-world beliefs could be used in the service of Christ. The answer had been ready in advance. Perhaps any other nation would have followed the same line of approach.

To the Philippine situation they brought what they had--catechisms, colorful masses, holy water, images, rosaries, and exorcisms. Nevertheless, some creative practical responses were noted, especially in ministry to the dying and the adaptation of songs.

---

[94]Juan Delgado, Historia General (Manila, 1892), p. 295, quoted in Horacio de la Costa, "The Development of the Native Clergy in the Philippines," Studies in Philippine Church History, edited by Gerald Anderson (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1969), p. 90.

CHAPTER VI

SOME THEOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF ROMAN CATHOLIC RESPONSES TO LOWLAND FILIPINO SPIRIT-WORLD BELIEFS IN THE PERIOD FROM 1946 TO 1970

The researcher could find no serious Roman Catholic theological responses to the spirit-world during the American period of the history of the Philippines, from 1898 to 1946. Perhaps most Roman Catholic energy within that period was expended in adjusting to the new arrangement of separation between church and state and to related challenges.

The discussion will now continue with an examination of some of the more important responses produced during the era of the Republic of the Philippines.

The Coexistence of Animistic and Roman Catholic Beliefs

In the days of the earliest Roman Catholic missionaries it was obvious who were the animists and who were the Christians. Not long afterward, however, the distinction became more difficult. There is evidence that official Roman Catholic teaching, instead of replacing the traditional spirit-world beliefs, began to coexist, side-by-side, with them in the hearts of many lowland people in the Philippines.

Modern examples of the coexistence have been given above in Chapter IV, in the materials on the Eastern Visayas, "Malitbog," "Tarong," and the Manila area. The phenomenon can be summarized by a description of the devotional practices of Roman Catholic people in churches of the Manila

area--Quiapo, St. Jude, and Baclaran. The responses of Roman Catholics to the coexistence of the two types of belief often focus on those same three churches.

Some modern Roman Catholics respond with alarm, call the coexistence "folk Catholicism," and search for ways to correct it. Other modern Roman Catholics defend the practices as valid expressions of an authentic Philippine Christianity. The goal of this chapter is to discover and present the theological aspects of those two forms of Roman Catholic response.

Devotional Practices in the Churches of Quiapo and St. Jude

Regan estimates that forty to fifty thousand Catholics of the Manila area participate every Friday in devotions to the "Black Nazarene" of Quiapo.[1] (The Black Nazarene is an image of the prostrate Christ, carved from black wood.) Carroll relates some of the beliefs connected with the image:

> Many cures and favors have been attributed to it; stories of "miracles" may have added much to its popularity (especially with people from the lower economic level) . . . Some of the practices involve touching the image, to draw from it goodness and health and benediction.[2]

Jocano observed people's practices in connection with the image. He relates,

---

[1]Joseph W. Regan, The Philippines: Christian Bulwark in Asia (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Maryknoll Publications, 1957), p. 32.

[2]John Caroll, Changing Patterns of Social Structure in the Philippines: 1896. 1963 (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1968, p. 45.

> Reaching the end of the case where the feet of the image protrude, they cross themselves again, genuflect, and wipe the feet of the Black Nazarene with their handkerchief, hem of the veil, or simply with their hands. As before, they wipe these handkerchiefs, veil or hands against any part of their bodies--the neck, the forehead, the arms and so on.[3]

Jocano also noted that some people seemed to believe that the image had power which could be communicated to people who had not touched it, by those who had. He says,

> One interesting behavior pattern associated with wiping of the image with handkerchief is wiping the same handkerchief on someone else who did not come near the Black Nazarene . . . Apparently, this act is suggestive of an attempt to extend to someone else the power obtained from the touch of that which is so holy.[4]

Besides visits to the image, devotees carry on other practices in the church,

> such as walking down the aisle on one's knees, lighting candles for petitions . . . lighting a wax figurine or a wax representation of a body part such as the head, when something ails the whole person or part of him. The expectation accompanying such practices seems to be one of relief from the physical ailment.[5]

The Quiapo fiesta, held each year in the month of January, further illustrates what kind of beliefs are held and how they are practiced:

> During the annual fiesta, wild scenes are enacted, quite beyond the control of the clergy, as excited men pull the float bearing the statue through a milling mass of humanity, and others struggle to leap onto the float and touch the statue . . . One may also buy medallions which, with the appropriate verbal formulas, are believed to convey specific powers such as protection from bullets and bladed weapons . . . Nearby are also sold medicinal herbs and potions, recalling the close relationship between folk religion

---

[3]F. Landa Jocano, "Filipino Catholicism: A Case Study in Religions Change," Asian Studies, V (April 1967), 58.

[4]Ibid., V, 59.

[5]Carroll, p. 145.

> and folk medicine in the barrio. Inside the church there is great activity around the statues of Christ, kissing them, touching handkerchiefs to them and then to affected parts of the individual's body, or even rubbing parts of the body against a statue.[6]

To be sure, the motives of those who participate in the devotions surrounding the Black Nazarene may be different with each individual involved. Carroll is citing the data of Julian E. Dacanay when he tells about three such participants:[7]

The first is a school teacher who attends Mass and Communion weekly and also goes to Quiapo on Fridays. While in the church, she dabs her handkerchief on certain body parts, with the attitude of "Who knows? Chances are that I may actually get cured there."

The second is a professional with two mistresses who does not attend mass but who comes into the church to give alms and light candles at the saint's feet in the hope that God will "understand" his manner of life.

The third is a jeepney driver who has a common-law wife and several mistresses and who takes part in the annual Quiapo fiesta procession because he would feel lost and unforgiven throughout the year if he did not participate.

A fourth example, encountered by Carroll himself, is that of a taxi driver who says he remains a devoted Catholic because he was able to land a job after performing devotions at the Quiapo church.[8]

Two other important centers for popular weekly devotions are the church of St. Jude and the Redemptorist church in Baclaran. Carroll

---

[6]John Carroll, "Magic and Religion," Philippine Institutions (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1970), p. 51.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid.

characterizes the devotions at these two churches, in comparison with those at Quiapo, as being

> Far less traditional and much more under the control of the clergy. They attract a middle-class group, many of them relatively young; the sermon and services probably play an important role in instructing the people in the doctrines of "official" Catholicism. The writer can only guess that the motivation of many participants includes both a desire to come closer to God and the hope of obtaining needed temporal favors.[9]

The church of St. Jude is well known in Manila for its regular Thursday devotions, which provide thousands the opportunity to carry out personal novenas. St. Jude is known as "the patron saint of the impossible," and Jocano interviewed many devotees to determine their reasons for seeking his help.

Jocano's finding is that, among the participants,

> It is believed that the observance of a vow, normally consisting of nine Thursday pilgrimages to St. Jude's Church, brings about the fulfillment of the wish.[10]

Some of the "wishes" mentioned to Jocan were for employment, regaining a sweet-heart's love, prolonging life, and passing an examination.[11]

"Folk Catholicism"

A number of Roman Catholics use the name "folk Catholicism" to designate the situation of "coexistence" described above.

Some young Filipino Catholics, mostly university students, respond to "folk Catholicism" with such disgust that they turn away from all

---

[9] Ibid., pp. 51-52.

[10] Jocano, V, 56.

[11] Ibid., V, 56-57.

religion. Separated from their families and parish churches, and having come into contact with a more scientific approach to life, they

> experience violent antipathy toward "folk" practices, which become symbolic for them of all they reject as "underdeveloped" and backward in their own culture.[12]

For some who thus reject "folk Catholicism,"

> Nationalism appears to provide a substitute for religion, offering a sense of direction, dedication, belonging, and an outlet for expressive needs.[13]

Although churchmen like Gorospe, Carroll, Doherty also use the term "Folk Catholicism," their response to it is not purely negative. They do, however, feel that some adjustments are needed in the beliefs of many lowland Filipino Roman Catholics, to replace traditional spirit-world beliefs with official church teaching.

The basic framework for the ideas of this section is supplied by the work of Vitaliano Gorospe. Some of the important ideas of John Carroll and John Doherty will be incorporated into it.

Gorospe feels that "folk Catholicism" resulted, historically, from the meeting between the traditional spirit-world beliefs of lowland Filipinos and the teachings and practices of Christianity. He describes the dynamics of the encounter thus:

> Before the coming of Christianity pagan patterns of beliefs and practices existed among the native Filipinos. With the Christianization of the Philippines, what happened to these pre-Christian patterns of Filipino belief and practice? Instead of replacing the pagan religion with the Christian religion and instead of

---

[12]Carroll, Philippine Institutions, p. 54.

[13]Ibid.

> absorbing the essence of Christianity, the Filipinos unwittingly fitted the external practices of Christianity to suit their original pagan patterns of beliefs and practices.[14]

In view of the continuing practice of animistic rituals in Tarong and Malitbog, Carroll is unwilling to call rural Philippine religion "official" Catholicism. He says, rather,

> It seems fairly clear that "official" Catholicism is not firmly established in the rural areas generally, and the people are not well instructed.[15]

The shortcomings of "folk Catholicism," in the views of Gorospe and others, can be identified as the following: egocentricity, "using God," and confidence in the efficacy of merely external ritual. The elements are closely related to each other and can be combined in the general descriptive "religious immaturity."

Carroll defines an egocentric personality as "one which is essentially self-oriented, using even God as a means to its own happiness and consolation."[16]

An egocentric view of life, Doherty asserts, is supported by "the cult of novenas with their emphasis on favors requested and favors received."[17]

---

[14]Vitaliano Gorospe, Christian Renewal of Filipino Values, published with Jaime Bulatao, Split-Level Christianity (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University, 1966), p. 36.

[15]Carroll, Philippine Institutions, p. 44.

[16]Ibid., p. 59.

[17]John F. Doherty, "Sociology and Religion," Philippine Studies, XII (July 1964), 691.

Gorospe tells how "using God" is connected to religious immaturity:

> The immature Filipino Catholic tends to treat God as a compadre from whom he can obtain favors or as a policeman whom he can bribe by means of a novena . . . Many Filipino Catholics make novenas to obtain favors from God. They feel that they have done something for God and expect Him in turn to reciprocate by granting their request. They feel that God is indebted to them and therefore if God does not answer their prayer, they sulk or make tampo [to "make tampo" means to sulk].[18]

Carroll points out that in real life, the egocentric person has determined, on the basis of his egocentricity, that life's primary goals are his own happiness and consolation. Christianity has had no part in determining those goals. Instead, the beliefs and practices of both Christianity and the traditional spirit-world become mere instruments of the individual, used to achieve his egocentric goals.[19]

Gorospe identifies the egocentric approach to life with religious immaturity:

> Some Filipino Catholics use God or religion as a means to their own personal satisfaction or ends, such as to gain social acceptance or prestige, to enhance their business, or their political ambitions. They are religiously immature.[20]

The practice of egocentric religion sometimes incorporates also what Carroll calls "the emphasis on the efficacy of external ritual."[21] He sees that emphasis in some of the religious practices in the rural

---

[18]Gorospe, p. 37.

[19]Carroll, Philippine Institutions, p. 59.

[20]Gorospe, p. 27.

[21]Carroll, Philippine Institutions, p. 53.

areas and in Quiapo, as well as in the attitudes of many students regarding the practice of private confession.[22]

Of course, any church ritual, in urban or rural setting, can be looked on as efficacious merely because of its external performance. Gorospe facetiously points out that "mere externalism in religion is typified by the devotee of San Roque who wipes San Roque's dog."[23] Carroll identifies the error in viewing confession (and presumably any other Christian rite), as efficacious because of its mere external performance as "little concern with God as a Person operating within it."[24]

The writers quoted above hope for a maturing of Philippine lowland religion. Gorospe describes the goal:

> The individual Filipino Catholic is religiously mature when the Catholic Faith has become personally for him a religion of interior faith and love rather than a religion consisting of merely external rituals. . . .[25]

Caroll mentions the cursillo as an instrument which has encouraged the development of religious maturity:

> In many cases it is clear that the adhesion of the member is not merely external; it is related to a genuine deepening of his personal commitment to God and Christ, the Church, and his fellow man.[26]

---

[22] Ibid.

[23] Gorospe, p. 27.

[24] Carroll, Philippine Institutions, p. 53.

[25] Gorospe, p. 27.

[26] Carroll, Philippine Institutions, p. 55.

The writers quoted above are critical of some aspects of "folk Catholicism," but Gorospe does not want to deliver a negative final judgment on it. He admits

> It is quite possible that some of the "folk Catholicism" phenomena could be an authentic cultural expression of a developing Christian faith, a genuine religious experience not subject to empirical observation and analysis.[27]

Building on a theological basis, he is especially concerned to make the point that human values which are naturally Filipino are not necessarily anti-Christian. He believes that they can be used to serve God. (The values which Gorospe hopes can be integrated in human lives which are both Christian and Filipino are as follows: authoritarianism, personalism, small group centeredness, bahala na, utang na loob, pakikisama, and hiya.)[28]

Against the position that Filipino values are inherently anti-Christian, Gorospe holds that they can work either for or against Christianity. He states,

> Natural Filipino values that are authentically human values are not inherently in opposition to Christian values. They can be made to work for or against Christianity. They can be channeled in the right or wrong direction . . . There is no reason why Filipino values cannot be the potential or basis of Christian values provided there is a genuine understanding and integration of both values on the part of the individual and society.[29]

---

[27]Vitaliano Gorospe, "Christian Koinonia and Some Philippine Cultural Forces," The South East Asia Journal of Theology, XI (Spring 1970), p. 28.

[28]Gorospe, Christian Renewal, pp. 43-49.

[29]Ibid., pp. 35-36.

He states a theological basis for the above argument as he asserts

> The view that Filipino values are inherently anti-Christian is theologically unsound. The supernatural is built on the natural; grace does not destroy but perfects nature. The mystery of the Incarnation is precisely the union of God and man in the person of Jesus Christ. Christ did not assume an abstract human nature. He was born of a Jewish mother, spoke a Jewish tongue, ate Jewish food, and lived and died in a Jewish culture. Just as there is a distinctive way of being a Spanish Catholic, an American Catholic, there must needs be a proper and distinctive way of being a Filipino Catholic.[30]

He has employed the theological categories of nature-and-grace and of the Incarnation.

Gorospe feels that if a healthy integration of Christianity and Philippine values is to take place in the future, the theological enterprise of the Philippine church must remain open to the findings and insights of the behavioral sciences.[31]

Carroll also looks to the future and predicts that belief in the forces and beings of the spirit-world will decrease, as a result of the increasing importance of a scientific, "rationalistic" approach to life. In that reduction of animistic belief, he sees possibilities for both the purification and the demise of Christian belief in the Philippines. He says,

> In the long run, with a rising level of education and the elimination by science of many of the areas of change and uncertainty in life, the magical elements in popular religion will decrease in significance. This could mean a great purification of religion and a more personal commitment to it; or it could mean a loss of interest

---

[30] Ibid., p. 35.

[31] Ibid., pp. 29-31.

in all religion, such as is now observed among certain intellectual groups in the Philippines and elsewhere.[32]

In Carroll's view, then, the challenge to Christian theology in the Philippines is two-fold. On the one hand, the message of the church needs to be defined in such a way that devotees of "folk Catholicism" can achieve a faith which is "more personal and yet less self-centered."[33] On the other hand, Christian theology must take up the new role of helping Philippine Christians find Christian goals and guidelines for their coming roles in economic development and the advancement of social justice and human dignity.[34]

Gorospe, Carroll, and Doherty make very few explicit references to traditional theological categories. Beyond those references, the author of this thesis will be supplying some theological names for the ideas under discussion.

In theological terms, the treatment of egocentricity in the above section on "folk Catholicism" would fall under the category of sin. The writers have presented egocentricity as a habitual attitude which makes impossible the proper personal relationship between man and God, in two different ways. Egocentricity which depends on external ritual to achieve its selfish goals ignores God's person entirely and may even try to avoid any personal relationship with Him. Egocentricity which tries to

---

[32]Carroll, Philippine Institutions, p. 61.

[33]Ibid.

[34]Ibid., pp. 61-62.

"use" God denies His lordship and exalts itself to the position of being His equal or even His judge.

Egocentricity, as the authors picture it, has universal application. All men of every nation are tempted to establish and pursue self-centered goals ahead of God and other people.

The isolation of egocentricity as the fault to be remedied in "folk Catholicism" is an important theological step. It limits the defect in "folk Catholicism" to a specific area and makes it possible for Gorospe to avoid labeling God's whole Philippine creation as evil and to retain a positive attitude toward Philippine culture as a whole. Theologically, that "clears the way" for an affirmation of the possibilities of Christian living within the forms of Philippine society.

The theological concept of the relationship between nature and grace is important to the argument of Gorospe. He does not accept the view that Philippine culture is incapable of serving Christian purposes, for he says that grace perfects, but does not have to destroy, nature.

To buttress his argument for the capabilities of Philippine culture, Gorospe appeals to the incarnation of Christ. Jesus took on Jewish culture. Instead of destroying it, He used its elements in the service of redemption. In an implied parallel sense, Gorospe suggests that the Christian who lives in the Philippines will use the forms and ways of Philippine culture to serve Christ.

The specific goals in the maturing process desired by the above writers for "folk" Catholics are theological. In place of faith in external works they call for faith in God. In place of the pursuit of self-centered goals, they call for commitment to God, Christ, the Church

and one's fellow man. The theological roots of those ideas go back through the writings of the universal church to the New Testament itself.

"Split-level Christianity"

Jaime Bulatao is well-known among scholars in the Philippines for his work in the field of psychology and for coining the expression "split-level Christianity." This discussion will select from his writings those parts which have applicability to lowland spirit-world beliefs.

Bulatao describes the phenomenon of the "split-level" as,

> the co-existence within the same person of two or more thought-and-behavior systems which are inconsistent with each other.[35]

This is how it is with the "split-level" Christian:

> At one level he professes allegiance to ideas, attitudes, and ways of behaving which are mainly borrowed from the Christian West. At another level he holds convictions which are more properly his "own" ways of living and believing which were handed down from his ancestors, which do not always find their way into an explicit philosophical system, but nevertheless now and then flow into action.[36]

In the citizens of Malitbog, Bulatao feels that

> We have two theological systems, side by side, the Christian and the pagan, existing within one man.[37]

He points out that the people of Malitbog may not even feel their theological duality. Nonetheless it can be seen in their cosmological

---

[35]Jaime Bulatao, Split-Level Christianity, published with Vitaliano Gorospe, Christian Renewal of Philippine Values (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila, 1966), p. 2.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Ibid., p. 6.

view regarding the real existence of spirit beings who have importance in their lives. He explains that because of a sense of

> the rightness of both systems, the inconsistency, while at times noticed, is not felt keenly. Thus the Christians of Malitbog believe firmly in spirits and enkantus, and in the baylan (witch doctor) who has power with them.[38]

In addition to the area of cosmology, some split-leveling takes place in ethics. Bulatao relates an example:

> A group of alumni, sixteen years after graduating from a Catholic high school, meet together one evening at a private home for a class reunion. Present at their reunion are two priests, their former teachers. The evening passes pleasantly, amid fond recollections of schooldays. At about 10:30 p.m. an offer is made to send the two priests by car back to their school. After the two priests leave, the group transfers to Pasay to a certain nightclub of ill repute. Almost everyone goes along and a number end up with prostitutes.[39]

Does Bulatao feel that the whole phenomenon of "split-level Christianity," in both its cosmological and ethical demensions, is undesirable? He seems to be saying so, but he gives no theological basis for such a value judgment.

Bulatao offers a possible psychological explanation of how "split-level Christianity" resulted from the historical encounter between an authoritarian Christianity and the people of the lowland Philippines:

> The reaction to such evangelization by an authority figure may have been something akin to the psychoanalytic defense of "repression." In the clash of two socio-cultural systems, large parts of the receiving culture were forced by the dominant one to go "underground." The receiving culture had to develop an insulating mechanism to prevent utter destruction of its integrating bonds . . . In the period of strongest repression, under the beneficient

---

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid., p. 2.

> rule of the Pax Hispanica, there was complete ritual and institutional adoption of the new religion. But in the dark, lower regions of the Filipino people, there still ruled the aswang and the pagan gods, the superstitious lore of the grandmother, the value system of the old, familiar barangays. Even certain Christian institutions, such as the cofradias, the compadrazco, the veneration of statues, the wearing of medals were taken over in externals but were endowed with inner meanings which, had they ever been put on paper, would have raised many a Roman theologian's eyebrow.[40]

To remedy the split, some theological work needs to be done. Bulatao calls for a redefinition of the meaning of created things in the life of the Christian.[41]

He hopes that by a process of dialogue which would be conducted without authoritarianism, "we can come up with something new, which will be fully Christian and fully Filipino at the same time."[42]

In order to make such dialogue succeed, the clergy, since they are the authority figures, must take the initiative to close the gap between priests and the laity. The priest must not be afraid to be human, for "Christ was incarnated, took flesh as a man among men. The priest too must not be afraid to be a man among men."[43]

Obviously, the implementation of an active dialogue of effective scope involves a program of religious education, but Bulatao warns:

---

[40]Jaime Bulatao, "A Social-Psychological View of the Philippine Church," appendix to Jose V. Braganza, The Encounter (Manila: Catholic Trade School, 1965), pp. 202-203.

[41]Ibid., p. 211.

[42]Bulatao, Split-Level, p. 14.

[43]Ibid., pp. 15-16.

> It also seems fairly obvious that something more than the old type of authoritarian, stereotyped instruction is badly needed. Increasing the conceptual pressure merely increases resistance in the hearer.[44]

He considers a Filipino clergy, themselves educated in an open-ended atmosphere of freedom, to be essential to an effective healing of "split-level Christianity."[45]

Obviously, Bulatao is more interested in determining how the split came about and what it does to people than in examining it theologically. Nevertheless, some churchmen use the expression "split-level Christianity" to make value judgments, and Christian value judgments should have firm basis in Christian theology.

In the opinion of the writer of this thesis, the most important theological question to be asked concerning Bulatao's description of "split-level Christianity" is the following: "On what basis is the split judged undesirable?"

Two possible bases were observed in the treatment of Bulatao, one in the area of Christian ethics and one relating to cosmology.

Living according to split-level ethics, as described by Bulatao, is characterized by following God's law when under the observation of a human authority figure and following one's own desires when free from the authority figure's control. As an example, Bulatao mentions the

---

[44] Ibid., p. 14.

[45] Jaime Bulatao, "Split-Level Christianity: Comments on Dr. F. Landa Jocano's Paper on 'Conversion and the Patterning of Christian Experience in Malitbog, Central Panay, Philippines,'" Philippine Sociological Review, XIII (April 1956), 121.

alumni group which sent the priests home early from their party, so that they could visit some prostitutes.[46]

Viewed from the standpoint of Christian teaching, God's law is always in effect. Whether a human authority figure is present or absent, men are to follow His will. Therefore, split-level ethics are wrong, from a Christian point of view.

Can the split be judged undesirable or wrong also on the basis of cosmology? Cosmology has to do with people's views of the reality of the universe. Bulatao includes several cosmological views as examples of the split-level phenomenon among lowland Filipinos, such as "the old traditional beliefs in spirits,"[47] and belief in the existence of enkantus.[48]

Of course, belief in such beings may be contrary to scientific thought, but belief in the existence of invisible spirits is not contrary to Christian teaching. Jesus cast out demons. St. Paul believed in the existence of all sorts of "principalities and powers."[49] Christians regularly confess in the Nicene Creed that God is the Creator of things visible and invisible. What is wrong, according to Christian doctrine, is to serve and obey spirits other than God.[50] On the basis of the above line of thought, it is concluded that, from a theological standpoint, and part of the phenomenon of "split-level Christianity"

---

[46]Supra, p. 141.

[47]Bulatao, Split-Level, p. 6.

[48]Supra, p. 141.

[49]Eph. 6:12.

[50]Col. 2:20-21.

which consists in people's beliefs in the existence of invisible spirits cannot be considered wrong belief. This conclusion opens a possible Christian line of approach to spirit-world beliefs which will be discussed more thoroughly in Chapter VII.

The use of the term "split-level Christianity" to describe weaknesses in Philippine religion should be accompanied by careful distinctions in the areas of ethics and cosmology.

"Authentic Philippine Christianity"

Father Jesus Merino, O.P. (Dominican Order), represents a basically positive posture of response to the situation of allegedly coexistent animistic and Christian elements among the Roman Catholic people of the lowland Philippines.

Merino acknowledges that certain characteristics of eastern non-Christian religions are found in the Philippines. He considers them to be:

> The animistic concept of the divinity, which is multiplied by as many varieties as there are wonderful manifestations of the powers of nature or the intricacy and mystery of human physiological or psychic life; the cosmic force believed to link together the earthly and heavenly phenomena or beings; the all-important role of persons possessed by the spirits, that is the "shamanistic" character of the babaylan and priests; the overpowering force of sacrifice as a pure rite; the association of the ancestors to the object of religious veneration and the providence of ordinary mortal life; and, lastly, the unavoidable efficiency attributed to magic actions, positions, objects and words.[51]

---

[51]Jesus Merino, "Eastern Culture in the Philippines," Unitas, XXXVI (September 1963), 336.

It is not clear to what extent Merino would be willing to grant the existence of such characteristics among the Roman Catholic people of the present-day lowland Philippines.

Merino's positive response to the lowland religious situation begins logically in his presentation of four basic types of religiosity (a word by which he denotes man's feelings of dependence on God and his conscious linking of God to the affiars of his life.)[52]

The first type he identifies as intellectual religiosity, which emphasizes the majesty of God and the duty of man to serve Him in an orderly way.

The second type he calls official religion, accenting God as an element out in the universe who leaves man free to order his own life as he wills.

The third type is sentimental religion, and it emphasizes man's feeling for God as a partner in every action and emotion.

The fourth type is colorful religion, and it stresses the beauty of God and the joy of offering impressive, beautiful worship to Him.[53]

Merino feels that the broad scope of Roman Catholicism embraces all four types of religiosity, but he acknowledges that "the particular ethnological character might determine preferences in one or another direction."[54]

---

[52]Jesus Merino, "Religiosity and Nationalism Among the Filipinos," Unitas, XXXVIII (December 1965), 541.

[53]Ibid., XXXVIII, 542-543.

[54]Ibid., XXXVIII, 543.

He considers the unique character of Philippine Catholicism to be a valid development of the Filipino people's preference for a religion which is of the sentimental and colorful types. The validity of preference for color and sentiment extends even to practices which have been criticized by some. Thus,

> Even the excess of pilgrimages on knees, or of flagellants parading along the roads, find an explanation in the urge for colour in the service of God.[55]

In contrast to some other scholars who say that the Catholicism found in some places is so extensively mixed with animism that it cannot be called "official," Merino replies that "actual Filipino religiosity has been built almost completely according to Catholic standards."[56]

Nor will he agree that Philippine Catholicism can be called "immature." On the contrary, he holds that,

> Religion, as derived from the most seasoned Catholic faith of Spain, and seriously cultivated for four long centuries of sincere daily practice is more than mature.[57]

The evidence which convinces him of the maturity and excellence of Philippine Catholicism is

> the presence of a family "altar" in practically every home; hanging from the mirror of the car or jeepney, or in the pocket of most of the Filipinos, and in the hands of waiting persons we find the rosary; religious ceremonies and festivals attract record crowds;

---

[55] Ibid., XXXVIII, 544.

[56] Ibid., XXXVIII, 543.

[57] Ibid., XXXVIII, 545.

> the attendance to the churches, without consideration to the inclemencies of weather or distance, is astonishing; the reception of the sacraments can compare most favorably with that of any other Catholic country. The Filipino people are an eminently religious people.[58]

Merino recognizes the possibility that some pagan rituals may still be practiced in the nation, but he prefers to treat such a possibility in a positive rather than a negative manner. He states,

> If the survival of many pagan rites are to be encountered in the Philippines of today, it is due precisely to the sincere religiosity of the Filipino people, who has retained practices close to their lives, giving them a quasi-Catholic interpretation.[59]

As a logical conclusion to the whole line of thought traced above, Merino refuses to use the term "folk Catholicism" to describe Philippine religion. He even offers a rebuttal to those who do use the expression:

> There have been in recent years a move to purify, so they say, the Filipino life with God from those "half-pagan and superstitious mannerisms." The expression "folk Catholicism" has been coined to discredit or to suppress the traditional spontaneous sentiment and color in the service of God . . . Occasional superstitions apart, that "folk Catholicism" is a truly living Christianity, as pure as that of the Roman, Spanish, Greek, Palestinian, Syrian, South American man. . . . We have to protest the prejudicial inference of the expression, because it is a real calumny to imply that the Filipino Catholic is only a pagan performing Catholic rites.[60]

Merino does not attempt to base his defense of Philippine Catholicism on specific Christian doctrines. Instead, his approach is based on a four-fold typology, which stresses the psychological aspects of religion

---

[58] Ibid., XXXVIII, 543-544.

[59] Ibid., XXXVIII, 543.

[60] Ibid., XXXVIII, 545.

in general and on the right of a people to develop particular types according to their natural inclinations.

If one speculates about possible specific theological foundations for Merino's arguments, it would seem that his defense of a people's right to choose and develop the sentimental and colorful aspects of Christianity would be rooted in a respect for natural inclinations as part of God's creation. His defense of the orthodox character and development of Philippine Catholicism could perhaps be derived from his respect for the universal Roman Catholic Church and his reluctance to allow a negative judgment to be passed on any part of her missionary activity.

Summary

The Roman Catholics of this period have generally been more willing than those of the Spanish era to consider seriously the specific aspects of Filipino spirit-world beliefs and to try to develop new Christian responses to those beliefs.

The writers who are willing to speak of "folk Catholicism" have focused their criticism of it on egocentricity and its results in the religious practices of some Filipino Catholics. Their criticism lies within the theological category of "sin." The goals which they suggest are in the doctrinal areas of "faith" and "sanctification" (commitment).

John Carroll asks important questions about the future Christian response to traditional spirit-world beliefs, as well as about the necessary response to the processes of "rationalization" and national development.

Vitaliano Gorospe uses the theological category of nature and grace to defend Philippine culture from a totally negative judgment. He speaks of the incarnation of Christ to show the possibilities for God's action within the cultural framework of any society, including the Philippines.

Jaime Bulatao's description of "split-level Christianity" is decidedly more psychological than theological. It may be adequate as a description of the empirical situation which prevails in the psyche of many lowland Filipinos, but it does not grapple with the theological question of what is wrong about the split. Such a grappling would surely involve the Christian categories of "ethics" and "cosmology" and might reach into others as well.

Jesus Merino's defense of Philippine Christianity as it now exists does not attempt to lay an explicitly theological foundation for its conclusions, although its author would surely be capable of doing so.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND FURTHER QUESTIONS

Summary and Conclusions

Chapter I stated the purpose of this study:

> To discover the nature of lowland Filipinos' spirit-world beliefs, from the pre-Spanish era to the present, and to discover theological aspects in the responses of Roman Catholic churchmen to the spirit-world beliefs.[1]

Chapter II outlined the historical background against which the spirit-world beliefs, the Roman Catholic responses, and the theological concepts were to be highlighted.

Chapter III and IV presented a brief history of the spirit-world beliefs of lowland Filipinos, from the prehispanic period up to 1970.

The writer's conclusion is that traditional lowland spirit-world beliefs have shown remarkable durability, through the centuries. The Spaniards did not destroy them. They survived the American period, despite the influence of a public school system based on a western, rationalistic approach to life. And they live today, in rural and, to a lesser but still impressive extent, in urban areas. The prevalence of spirit-world beliefs in the city may be underestimated because observers tend to judge people's beliefs by the modern appearance of some sections of the urban areas.

Chapters V and VI gave a brief outline of Roman Catholic responses to lowland spirit-world beliefs, from Magellan (1521) to Carroll (1970)

---

[1] <u>Supra</u>, p. 1.

and attempted to identify the more important theological aspects of the responses.

In regard to the materials of Chapter V, the writer presented two conclusions. The first was that some of the Spaniards' own spirit-world beliefs were similar to those of the lowland Filipinos, but that theological considerations (probably mixed with economic and political motives) caused the Spaniards to reject all of Philippine culture as "of the devil."

The second conclusion regarding the subject of Chapter V was that Spanish theological effort during the period was expended to a far greater extent in the examination of Spain's own identity and role in Christian history than in an examination of Filipino beliefs and the development of specific Christian approaches to them. Generally, Spanish Roman Catholics brought the theology and practices of Spain to the Philippines and, with some notable exceptions, used them in the approach to Filipinos.

In regard to Chapter VI, the writer formed three conclusions. The first was that Roman Catholics of the twentieth century were more willing than those of the Spanish period to consider seriously the specific aspects of Filipino lowland spirit-world beliefs and to try to develop new Christian responses especially designed to meet those beliefs.

The second conclusion was that those who were willing to use the designation "folk Catholicism" to describe the present religious situation have delved more deeply into its theological aspects than those who call it "split-level Christianity" or "authentic Philippine Christianity."

The third conclusion for the era of the Republic was that use of expression "split-level Christianity" as a value judgment on Philippine beliefs is questionable, from a theological point of view. The danger in the use of the term was noted as the possibility that it can be understood to pass a negative theological judgment on some lowland beliefs which are not necessarily wrong. The need for a distinction between ethical and cosmological aspects of the concept "split-level Christianity" was noted.

Further Questions

The development of a comprehensive Christian response to lowland Filipino spirit-world beliefs would involve several steps. First, a thorough description of beliefs and practices, past and present, would be necessary. Second, an analysis of the meaning and importance of the beliefs and rituals in the lives of the people who hold and practice them is needed. A deep probing for root meanings, perhaps universally experienced by all men, would be desirable. Third, a description of the points of contact between spirit-world beliefs and Christian beliefs would be needed. Fourth, Christian theologians would be called upon to choose and develop those themes of Christian theology which would most effectively communicate the power of the gospel of Jesus Christ to the people who hold the traditional spirit-world beliefs of the lowland areas of the Philippines.

This study has emphasized the first step of the process by providing information about spirit-world beliefs and practices.

It has also examined the manner in which Roman Catholics have analyzed the beliefs and have developed responses to them. Only a small percentage of the total number of responses has given serious attention to examining the beliefs in a theological manner.

Further valuable studies could examine the responses of selected non-Roman Christian denominations to lowland spirit-world beliefs. The findings of such studies might be helpful in the steps of analysis and of theological examination and development.

Because of the limited competence of most theologians in the social sciences, examination of past responses to the lowland beliefs probably will fall short of producing a valid picture of the precise meaning of beliefs and rituals for the people who hold and practice them. Therefore it is likely that further studies by scholars competent in the fields of the history of religions, phenomenology of religion, cultural anthropology, and perhaps still other fields would be useful in providing churchmen with a firm basis on which to work theologically.

The theological aspects presented in this study must be considered as only preliminary to the real work which must be done, but even here some questions have arisen which may help with the future task. Included below is a short discussion of cosmology and a rather lengthy list of random questions which may stimulate researchers of the future.

The cosmological question raised above in Chapter VI will be carried a little further here. What is the best Christian response to people's beliefs in the existence of various supernatural beings? Douglas Elwood

asks, "Are spirits a part of the real world?"[2] He answers "No," but Daniel Arichea[3] argues that St. Paul adopted the cosmology of the people to whom he preached and that Christians in the Philippines must use the cosmology of the Filipinos if the message is to reach the roots of the Filipino soul. He calls for a proclamation of Christ as Victor and Lord over all spirits, rather than a denial of the spirit's existence.

The New Testament was written to people who believed in the existence of spirits similar to those of the lowland Filipinos' traditional spirit-world. The letters to the Ephesians, the Colossians, the Romans, and the first letter of Peter contain elements of a rather complete picture of Jesus in relation to the spirit-world. Clinton Morrison[4] summarizes the thinking of a wide range of modern theologians on that topic, and Bo Reiche[5] outlines the relevance of Christian Baptism to the spirits of the New Testament. Should the church in the Philippines clothe the gospel in terms of the cosmology of the New Testament rather than the cosmology of the technological West, in order to relate it to people who still hold traditional spirit-world beliefs but are at the same time advancing in modern technology?

---

[2]Douglas Elwood, "Are Spirits a Part of the Real World?," Church and Community, X (March-April 1970), 15-24.

[3]Daniel Arichea, "Kerygma und Kaltur: Die Apostelgeschichte und die Verkundigung auf den Philippinen," Beiträge zur Biblischen Theologie, edited by Gerhard Rosenkranz (Munchen: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1967), II, 55-69.

[4]Clinton Morrison, The Powers That Be: Earthly Rulers and Demonic Powers in Romans 13:1-7 (Naperville, Ill.: Alex R. Allenson, Inc., 1960), passim.

[5]Bo Reicke, The Disobedient Spirits and Christian Baptism: A Study of I Peter 3:19 and Its Context (Kobenhavn: Ejnar Munsgaard, 1946), passim.

John Carroll suggests that the biblical idea of the "cosmic Christ" (found in Ephesians and Colossians especially), might help integrate the seemingly disconnected spheres of religion and scientific advancement in the Philippines.[6] The cosmic Christ might do even more. As pictured in Ephesians and Colossians, He is indeed the one who will draw together all created things in Himself, but He is also the Creator, Redeemer, and Ruler of all things and beings, visible and invisible. The invisible included all the spiritual beings in whose existence the Ephesians and Colossians (and Paul?) believed. Could the idea of the cosmic Christ serve as a concept broad enough to express the Christian message meaningfully both to Filipino believers in the traditional spirit-world and to those Filipinos who feel a tension between Christian devotion and scientific advancement?

The traditional animistic cosmology is still very important to many lowland farmers and fishermen, as studies by both Richard Arens[7] and F. Landa Jocano[8] have made clear. In an unparallelled manner, Agaton Pal[9] has explained how the lowland farmer's cosmology leads him to perform animistic agricultural rituals. A study comparing the Christian

---

[6]John Carroll, "Magic and Religion," Philippine Institutions (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1970), p. 61.

[7]Supra, pp. 52-60.

[8]F. Landa Jocano, "Filipino Catholicism: A Case Study in Religious Change," Asian Studies, V (April 1967), 49-50.

[9]Agaton Pal, "The People's Conceptions of the World," Social Foundations of Community Development: Readings on the Philippines, edited by Socorro C. Espiritu and Chester L. Hunt (Manila: R. M. Garcia Publishing House, 1964), pp. 390-398.

doctrine of creation and preservation to the farmer's world view as presented by Arens, Jocano, and Pal would seem to be a helpful contribution to a Christian ministry to farmers--and perhaps to fishermen as well.

The following is a list of some of the other seemingly pregnant questions which presented themselves during the course of the study:

Should Christians who are familiar with lowland spirit-world beliefs attempt to write Christian rituals to replace pagan ceremonies, as Pastor Juraine Hornig[10] has done for the Christians of the Philippines' mountain provinces? Would a comparison of the biblical concept of sacrifice to the Philippine lowland concept of sacrifice be helpful? Would the biblical concept of "Shalom" be an adequate theological category for a description of the cure for "split-level Christianity"? Could the biblical concept of the incarnation be used to clarify the personal love of God to an animist who believes God to be far away and unconcerned? Would the Lutheran distinction between law and gospel offer assistance in a discussion of force or coercion as a means to reach spiritual goals?

The challenge which moved the author to write this study has been well expressed by Roberts, del Rosario and Dabuet:

> Just as every generation must re-think and re-write its own theology, so must every country re-think and re-write its own Christian theology in terms of its own culture. This is an urgent and challenging task and indeed an imperative task in the

---

[10]Juraine Hornig, An Igorot Prayer Book (Manila: Lutheran Church in the Philippines, 1963), pp. 1-65.

> Philippines. Not much has been done along these lines. It must be done by Filipino theological scholars who have mastered the best Christian thought of the ages, have studied their own culture with wise descernment and are willing to re-think, re-write, and re-feel the best of Christian thought and life and give it a real home in Philippine culture.[11]

The author will feel well rewarded if his work helps some Filipino theologian to do the task which needs to be done.

---

[11]Walter Roberts, Philip del Rosario, and Jose Dabuet, Survey Report on Theological Education in the Philippines (Quezon City: Philippine Federation of Christian Churches, n.d.), p. 178.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Primary Sources

Aduarte, Diego. "History of the Dominican Province of the Holy Rosary," The Philippine Islands 1493-1898. Edited by Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson. XXX-XXXII. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1905.

Agustin, Demetrio R. "Ceremonies in Connection With the Dead in Malolos, Bulacan," Philippine Sociological Review, IV (April-July 1956), 32-39.

Alcala, Angel C. "Why 'Spirits' May Be Seen at Night," Church and Community, X (March-April 1970), 25-28.

Arens, Richard. "Animism in the Rice Ritual of Leyte and Samar," Philippine Sociological Review, IV (January 1956), 2-6.

-----. "Animistic Fishing Ritual in Leyte and Samar," Philippine Sociological Review, IV (October 1956), 24-28.

-----. "The Corn Ritual in Leyte and Samar," Philippine Sociological Review, IV (April-July 1956), 29-31.

-----. "The Lo-on or Fumigation Ceremony in Leyte and Samar," Philippine Sociological Review, V (July-October 1957), 69-72.

-----. "Notes on Camote Rituals in Leyte and Samar Islands, Philippines," Philippine Journal of Science, LXXXV (September 1956), 343-346.

-----. "Religious Rituals and Their Implications for Economic Development," Philippine Sociological Review, VII (January-April 1959), 34-45.

-----. "The Tambalan and His Medical Practices in Leyte and Samar Islands, Philippines," Philippine Journal of Science, LXXXVI (March 1957), 121-130.

-----. "Witches and Witchcraft in Leyte and Samar Islands, Philippines," Philippine Journal of Science, LXXXV (December 1956), 451-465.

Asian Social Institute Research Department, "Social and Psychological Factors in Development," Pattern for Rural Reform: Development Potentials of Northern and Eastern Mindanao. A report for the Maryknoll Missionaries. Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1969.

Bellarmine, Robert. "Dottrina Cristiana Breve," Roberti Cardinalis Bellarmini Opera Omnia. VI. Neapoli: Josephum Giuliano, 1856. Pp. 143-162.

Blumentritt, Ferdinand. The Philippines: A Summary Account of Their Ethnographical, Historical, and Political Conditions. Translated by David J. Doherty. Chicago: Donohue Brothers, 1900.

Bowring, Sir John. A Visit to the Philippine Islands. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1859.

Bulatao, Jaime C. "The Manileno's Mainsprings," Four Readings on Philippine Values. Compiled by Frank Lynch. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1963. Pp. 50-86.

Carino, Gregorio Jr. Letter to David Schneider dated January 26, 1971. Unpublished.

Chirino, Pedro. "Relation of the Filipinas Islands and of What Has There Been Accomplished by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus," The Philippine Islands 1493-1898. XII, XIII. Edited by Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1904.

Colin, Francisco "Native Races and Their Customs," The Philippine Islands 1493-1898. XL. Edited by Emma Helen Blair and James Robertson. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1906. Pp. 37-98.

Contado, Tito E. "Folk Beliefs and Agricultural Progress," Church and Community, X (March-April 1970), 10-14.

Costa, Horacio De La. Readings in Philippine History. Manila: Bookmark, 1965.

Craig, Austin, editor. The Former Philippines Thru Foreign Eyes. Manila: Philippine Education Co., 1916.

Cruz, Emeterio C. "Philippine Ogres and Fairies," Philippine Magazine, XXIX (January 1933), 349-350,374.

D'Bayan, Isagani Villa. "Philippine Magic Charms," Philippine Magazine, XXXI (March 1934), 114.

Doctrina Christiana: The First Book Printed in the Philippines, Manila, 1593. A Facsimile of the copy in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress, Washington. With an introductory essay by Edwin Wolf II. Washington, D. C.: Library of Congress, 1947.

Duque, Venancio S. "Santorum," Philippine Magazine, XXXII (February 1935), 75, 91, 92, 94.

Elwood, Bettie Carroll. "College Students and the Spirit World," Church and Community, X (March-April 1970), 3-9.

Fansler, D. S. Filipino Popular Tales. New York: The American Folk-lore society, 1921.

Guthrie, George M., and Pepita Jimenez Jacobs. Child rearing and Personality Development in the Philippines. University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1966.

Hart, Donn V. "The Filipino Villager and His Spirits," Solidarity, I (October-December 1966), 65-71.

-----. "Halfway to Uncertainty: A Short Autobiography of a Cebuano Filipino," Journal of East Asiatic Studies, V (July 1956), 255-277.

-----. "Hunting and Food Gathering Activities in a Bisayan Barrio," Journal of East Asiatic Studies, IV (January 1955), 1-14.

Jocano, F. Landa. "Agricultural Rituals in a Philippine Barrio," Philippine Sociological Review. XV (January-April 1967), 48-59.

-----. "Conversion and the Patterning of Christian Experience in Malitbog, Central Panay, Philippines," Philippine Sociological Review, XIII (April 1965), 96-119.

-----. "Filipino Catholicism: A Case Study in Religious Change," Asian Studies, V (April 1967), 42-64.

-----. Growing Up in a Philippine Barrio. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969.

Loarca, Miguel de. "Relation of the Philippine Islands," The Philippine Islands 1493-1898. V. Edited by Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1903. 34-187.

Lopez, Rafael, and Alfonso Felix Jr., translators. The Christianization of the Philippines. Manila: Historical Conservation Society and University of San Agustin, 1965.

Mack, Rachel. "Bewitched," Philippine Magazine, XXIX (January 1933), 350.

Mas, Sinibaldo de. Informe de las Islas Filipinas en 1842, portions printed with Gaspar de San Agustin, "Letter on the Filipinos," The Philippine Islands 1493-1898. XL. Edited by Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1906. Pp. 183-229.

Medina, Juan de. "History of the Augustinian Order in the Filipinas Islands," The Philippine Islands 1493-1898. XXIII. Edited by Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson. Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1905. Pp. 121-237.

Milan, Primitivo C. "Philippine Oracles," Philippine Magazine, XXXV (June 1938), 291, 293.

Minton, Frank Lewis. "The Asuang," Philippine Magazine, XXVI (June 1929), 23, 38-39.

Morga, Antonio de. The Philippine Islands, Moluccas, Siam, Cambodia, Japan, and China, at the Close of the Sixteenth Century. Translated by Henry Stanley. Originally published by the Hakluyt Society. New York: Burt Franklin, n.d.

Nunez, Jose. "Present Beliefs and Superstitions in Luzon," El Renacimiento, Manila, December 9, 1905, in The Philippine Islands 1493-1898. XLIII. Edited by Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1906. Pp. 310-319.

Nurge, Ethel. Life in a Leyte Village. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965.

Nydegger, William F., and Corinne. Tarong: An Ilocos Barrio in the Philippines. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966.

Ortiz, Tomas. "Superstitions and Beliefs of the Filipinos," The Philippine Islands 1493-1898. XLIII. Edited by Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1906. Pp. 103-112.

Pal, Agaton P. "The People's Conceptions of the World," Social Foundations of Community Development: Readings on the Philippines. Edited by Socorro C. Espiritu and Chester L. Hunt. Manila: R. M. Garcia Publishing House, 1964. Pp. 390-398.

Pascual, Benjamin M. "Ilocano Beliefs about the Heavenly Bodies," Philippine Magazine, XXXV (June 1938), 292.

Pigafetta, Antonio. "First Voyage Around the World," The Philippine Islands 1493-1898. XXXIII. Edited by Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1906.

Plasencia, Juan de. "Customs of the Tagalogs," The Philippine Islands 1493-1898. VII. Edited by Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1903. Pp. 173-196.

Polson, Robert A., and Agaton P. Pal. The Status of Rural Life in the Dumaguete City Trade Area, Philippines 1952. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1956.

Ramos, Maximo. "Secrets of the Barrio Farmer," Philippine Magazine, XXXI (January 1934), 25, 34-36.

-----. "Secrets of the Barrio Fisherman," Philippine Magazine, XXXII (August 1935), 383,397.

-----. "Secrets in the Barrio Funeral," Philippine Magazine, XXXIV (November 1937), 498,502.

-----. "Secrets of the Barrio Housewife," Philippine Magazine XXXV (September 1938), 426,430.

Roberts, Walter N., Philip del Rosario, and Jose F. Dabuet, Survey Report on Theological Education in the Philippines. Quezon City: Philippine Federation of Christian Churches, n.d.

Robolos, Zenaida M. "Promisory and Debt Aspects of the Folk Ritual in Misamis Oriental," Philippine Sociological Review, XII (January-April 1964), 95-101.

Rosell, Pedro. "Letter From Father Pedro Rosell to the Father Superior of the Mission," The Philippine Islands 1493-1898. XLIII. Edited by Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1906. Pp. 212-228.

Salazar, Domingo de. "Affair in the Philippine Islands," The Philippine Islands 1493-1898. Edited by Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson. V. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1903. Pp. 210-255.

Salazar, Vicente de. "Dominican Missions, 1670-1700," The Philippine Islands 1493-1898. XLIII. Edited by Emma H. Blair and James A Robertson. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1906. Pp. 27-94.

San Agustin, Gaspar de. "Letter on the Filipinos; 1720," The Philippine Islands 1493-1898. XL. Edited by Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1906. Pp. 183-295.

San Nicolas, Andres de. Luis de Jesus, and Juan de la Concepcion. "Early Recollect Missions in the Philippines," The Philippine Islands 1493-1898. XXI. Edited by Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1905. Pp. 107-319.

Sycip, Felicidad C. "Factors Related to Acceptance or Rejection of Innovations," Social Foundations of Community Development: Readings on the Philippines. Manila: R. M. Garcia Publishing House, 1964. Pp. 399-403.

Zuniga, Joaquin Martinez de. "The People of the Philippines," The Philippine Islands 1493-1898. XLIII. Edited by Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1906. Pp. 113-127.

B. Secondary Sources

Alonso, Isidoro, and Others. The Catholic Church in the Philippines Today. Manila: The Historical Conservation Society, 1968.

Anderson, Gerald H., editor. Studies in Philippine Church History. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969.

Arichea, Daniel. "Kerygma und Kultur: Die Apostelgeschichte und die Verkundigung auf den Philippinen," Beiträge zur Biblischen Theologie. Edited by Gerhard Rosenkranz. II in Theologische Stimmen aus Asien, Afrika und Lateinamerika. Munchen: Kaiser Verlag, 1967. Pp. 55-69.

Braganza, Jose Vicente. The Encounter: The Epic Story of the Christianization of the Philippines. Manila: Catholic Trade School, 1965.

Bulatao, Jaime. "A Social-Psychological View of the Philippine Church," The Encounter. Edited by Jose Braganza. Manila: Catholic Trade School, 1965.

-----. Split-Level Christianity. Published with Vitaliano Gorospe Christian Renewal of Philippine Values. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila, 1966.

-----. "Split-Level Christianity: Comments on Dr. F. Landa Jocano's Paper on 'Conversion and Patterning of Christian Experience in Malitbog, Central Panay, Philippines,'" Philippine Sociological Review, XIII (April 1965), 119-121.

Bultmann, Rudolf. "New Testament and Mythology," Kerygma and Myth: A Theological Debate. I. Edited by Hans Werner Bartsch. London: SPCK, 1953. Pp. 1-44.

Carroll, John J. Changing Patterns of Social Structure in the Philippines: 1896. 1963. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1968.

-----. "Magic and Religion," Philippine Institutions. Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1970. Pp. 40-74.

Chaffee, Frederick H., and Others. Area Handbook for the Philippines. Washington, D. C.: n.p., 1969.

Costa, Horacio de la. "The Development of the Native Clergy in the Philippines," Studies in Philippine Church History. Edited by Gerald H. Anderson. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969. Pp. 65-104.

Dickens, A. G. The Counter Reformation. N.p.: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1969.

Doherty, John F. "Sociology and Religion," Philippine Studies, XII (July 1964), 681-698.

Elwood, Douglas J. "A Theological Approach to Some Traditional Filipino Beliefs About Man," The South East Asia Journal of Theology, XI (Spring 1970), 37-53.

-----. "Are Spirits a Part of the Real World?," Church and Community, X (March-April 1970), 15-24.

-----. Churches and Sects in the Philippines. Dumaguete City, Philippines: Silliman University, 1968.

Espiritu, August Cesar. "McHale on Religion: Further Comment," The Philippine Economic Journal, I (Second Semester), 155-161.

Espiritu, Socorro C. and Chester L. Hunt, editors. Social Foundations of Community Development: Readings on the Philippines. Manila: R. M. Garcia Publishing House, 1964.

Farwell, George. Mask of Asia: The Philippines Today. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966.

Galang, Zoilo M. "Religion," Encyclopedia of the Philippines. X. Manila: Exequiel Floro, 1950.

Gorospe, Vitaliano R. "Christian Koinonia and Some Philippine Cultural Forces," The South East Asia Journal of Theology, XI (Spring 1970), 19-36.

-----. Christian Renewal of Filipino Values. Published with Jaime Bulatao, Split-Level Christianity. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University, 1966.

Gowing, Peter G. Islands Under the Cross: The Story of the Church in the Philippines. Manila: National Council of Churches in the Philippines, 1967.

Guthrie, George M. The Filipino Child and Philippine Society. Manila: Philippine Normal College Press, 1961.

Hackett, William D. "Christian Approach to Animistic Peoples: Tribal Beliefs in the Shan State, Burma and Their Meaning for the Proclamation of the Gospel," The South East Asia Journal of Theology, X (April 1969), 48-83.

Harris, W. T., and E. G. Parrinder. The Christian Approach to the Animist. London: Edinburgh House Press, 1960.

Hollnsteiner, Mary Racelis. "McHale on Religion: Comment," The Philippine Economic Journal, I (Second Semester), 147-154.

Hunt, Chester, and Thomas McHale. "Education, Attitudinal Change and Philippine Economic Development," Philippine Sociological Review, XIII (July 1965), 127-139.

Jocano, F. Landa. "The Philippines at Spanish Contact: An Essay in Ethno-History," Brown Heritage: Essays on Philippine Cultural Tradition and Literature. Edited by Antonio G. Manuud. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1967.

Johnson, James J. "Evangelistic Approaches to the Filipino Lowlander." Unpublished S.T.M. Thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1965.

Kroeber, A. L. Peoples of the Philippines. 2nd and revised edition. New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1928.

Leclercq, H. "Holy Water," The Catholic Encyclopedia. VII. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910. Pp. 432-433.

Le Roy, James A. "Filipino Religion and the Religious Question," Philippine Life in Town and Country. First published 19??. Republished Manila: Limited Editions, 1968. Pp. 66-96.

Llanes, Jose L. "A Study of Some Terms in Philippine Mythology," Journal of East Asiatic Studies, V (April 1957), VII (January, April, July 1958), VIII (January, April 1959).

Lynch, Frank. "Social Acceptance," Four Readings on Philippine Values. Compiled by Frank Lynch. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1963. Pp. 1-21.

-----. "Organized Religion," Area Handbook on the Philippines. II. Chicago: Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, 1956. Pp. 471-686.

Malay, Paula Carolina. "Some Tagalog Folkways," Journal of East Asiatic Studies, VI (January 1957), 69-88.

Manuel, E. Arsenio. Philippine Folklore Bibliography: A Preliminary Survey. Quezon City: Philippine Folklore Society, 1965.

McHale, Thomas R. "Religion, Religious Change and Economic Development in the Philippines," The Philippine Economic Journal, I (Second Semester), 131-146.

Merino, Jesus. "Eastern Culture in the Philippines," Unitas, XXXVI (September 1963), 326-336.

-----. "Religiosity and Nationalism Among the Filipinos," Unitas, XXXVIII (December 1965), 537-545.

Molina, Antonio M. The Philippines Through the Centuries. Manila: University of Santo Tomas, 1961.

Nida, Eugene Albert, and William A. Smalley. Introducing Animism. New York: Friendship Press, 1959.

Pelikan, Jaroslav. The Riddle of Roman Catholicism: Its History, Its Beliefs, Its Future. New York: Abingdon Press, 1959.

Phelan, John Leddy. The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses, 1565-1700. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959.

-----. The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World: A Study of the Writings of Geronimo de Mendieta (1525-1604). Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1956.

-----. "Philippine Linguistics and Spanish Missionaries, 1565-1700," Mid-America, XXXVIII (July 1955), 153-170.

-----. "Pre-Baptismal Instruction and the Administration of Baptism in the Philippines During the Sixteenth Century," The Americas, XII (July 1955), 3-24.

-----. "Some Ideological Aspects of the Conquest of the Philippines," The Americas, XIII (January 1957), 221-239.

Regan, Joseph W. The Philippines: Christian Bulwark in Asia. Maryknoll, New York: Maryknoll Publications, 1957.

Samson, Jose A. "Occultism Among Early Filipinos," Unitas, XXXIII (April-June 1960), 380-393.

Scott, William Henry. "A Critical Study of the Prehispanic Source Materials for the Study of Philippine History," Unitas, XLI (September 1968), 277-440.

Soper, Edmund D. The Philosophy of the Christian World Mission. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1943.

Thomson, S. Harrison. Europe in Renaissance and Reformation. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1963.

Warneck, Johannes Gustav. The Living Christ and Dying Heathenism: Experiences of a Missionary in Animistic Heathendom. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1954.

Wolff, Leon. Little Brown Brother. Garden City: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1961.

Zaide, Gregorio F. Philippine Political and Cultural History: The Philippines Since Pre-Spanish Times. Manila: R. P. Garcia, 1949.