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Syncretism in Philippine Catholicism: Its Historical Causes

JOHN N. SCHUMACHER, S.J.

The existence of syncretism in Philippine folk Catholicism – that is to say, an admixture of elements of pre-Hispanic animistic practices and beliefs with Catholic ritual elements, so as to form what is essentially a different religion from orthodox Catholicism – has been widely affirmed by anthropologists as well as less scientific observers, both Filipino and foreign.¹ As used in this article, syncretistic Catholicism is to be differentiated from legitimate folk Catholicism, in which certain folk elements, either encouraged or at least tolerated by the Church, are integrated into what is fundamentally a Catholic belief and value system.² Without wishing to deal with theological considerations here, the focus of this article will be on syncretism as defined above, though much of what is said as to its causes will be equally applicable to manifestations of folk Catholicism which are recognized as legitimate Catholicism.

1. Among scientific treatments, see for instance F. Landa Jocano, "Conversion and the Patterning of Christian Experience in Malitbog, Central Panay, Philippines," in *Acculturation in the Philippines*, ed. Peter G. Gowing and William Henry Scott (Quezon City: New Day Press, 1971), pp. 43-72; and Alfred McCoy, "Baylan: Animist Religion and Philippine Peasant Ideology," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 10 (1982): 141-94.

2. Frank Lynch, S.J., "Folk Catholicism in the Philippines," in *Society, Culture and the Filipino*, ed. Mary Racelis Hollnsteiner (Quezon City: Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University, 1979), pp. 123-25, presents a graphical theoretical explanation of the suggested continuum of concrete religious behavior. In speaking here of syncretism, we refer to that which Lynch would include under "Nonofficial," subdivided into the categories "Disapproved" and "Condemned." What we term "legitimate folk Catholicism" would correspond to his category "Nonofficial: Tolerated." We prescind here from the extensive discussion in Latin America and Europe, and to some extent in the Philippines, of the role and theological value of "popular religion," a theological discussion which often is marred by the failure to make such clear distinctions as Lynch. In any case, it deserves a separate treatment from the social scientific discussion here.

THOROUGHNESS OF EARLY EVANGELIZATION

In my history of the Catholic Church in the Philippines, *Readings in Philippine Church History*, I conclude the section on sixteenth- and seventeenth- century evangelization with the assertion that no whole people, at least prior to the late nineteenth century, had ever in the history of the Church been so thoroughly evangelized as were the Filipinos.³ One reviewer remarked that this was evidently untrue, as could be seen from the state of Catholicism in the Philippines today. Others have said that the Filipinos received only "a veneer of Christianity" in the early centuries of evangelization, and similar statements have been made by others.⁴ All have generally relied either on the relatively widespread existence of superstition and animistic beliefs today among those who call themselves Catholic, or have written with Latin American experiences in mind, as when early missionaries baptized thousands in one day in Mexico.⁵ Other historians who have examined the sources more deeply have shown the depth to which Christianity took root in the early centuries and the systematic character of evangelization, but have not, perhaps due to the scope of their books,⁶ ventured to explain how such a thorough evangelization failed to produce a fully matured Catholicism even to the twentieth century. This failure is indicated most glaringly by the large proportion of foreign missionaries among the Philippine clergy, at least till a decade ago, and the general lack of sufficient priests,

3. John N. Schumacher, S.J., review of Nicholas P. Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines* (Quezon City: Institute of Philippine Culture, 1971), in *Philippine Sociological Review* 21 (1973): 89; idem, *Readings in Philippine Church History* (Manila: Loyola School of Theology, Ateneo de Manila University, 1979), p. 193; idem, "Introduction," in Horacio de la Costa, S.J., and John N. Schumacher, S.J., *The Filipino Clergy: Historical Studies and Future Perspectives* (Manila: Loyola School of Theology, Ateneo de Manila University, 1979), p. 1.

4. Vicente R. Pilapil, review of my *Readings in Philippine Church History*, in *Catholic Historical Review* 49 (1983): 461; also John Leddy Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1959), pp. 78-81; Nicholas P. Cushner, *Spain in the Philippines: From Conquest to Revolution* (Quezon City: Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University, 1971), p. 93; Jaime Bulatao, S.J., "A Social-Psychological View of the Philippine Church," *Contemporary Studies* 2 (1965): 5-6.

5. Phelan, *Hispanization*, p. 55; C.H. Haring, *The Spanish Empire in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), pp. 186-87.

6. Phelan, *Hispanization*, passim; H. de la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961). Both limit themselves to the period of the sixteenth to eighteenth century.

one of the worst ratios in the Catholic Church.⁷ Still others have resorted to the facile cliché that Christianity was imposed on the Philippines by the sword and not by the Cross.

Examining the early record, however, one finds that, barring a few exceptions in the very first years of the conquest, the missionaries laid down stringent requirements for any Filipino asking for baptism. Not only were neophytes required to memorize the entire *Doctrina Cristiana*, a compendium of common Catholic prayers and religious practices together with the fundamental doctrinal principles, but they were likewise questioned on what they had memorized, to see if they understood its real meaning. More important, they were required to conform to the demands of Catholic morality — concretely, renunciation of polygamy, ritual drinking, usury. With regard to the latter, restitution had to be made for unjust taking of interest, and those made slaves for debt or other unjustified causes had to be set free.⁸

Though undoubtedly the conversion of a datu contributed powerfully to persuade his people to follow him, there were no mass baptisms, such as happened when the conversion of barbarian kings was followed by mass baptisms of their people as in sixth-century France or ninth- and tenth-century eastern Europe.⁹ Each subject of a converted datu was required to submit to all the requirements outlined above. Indeed the strategy of first attempting to convert the datu had its serious difficulties. It was these who were likely to be polygamous or to be large slaveholders, and the economic sacrifices involved in returning the dowry of the repudiated wives or in freeing slaves was often a deterrent to otherwise interested datu. Nonetheless, the require-

7. The latest *Catholic Directory of the Philippines* (Manila: Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines, 1983) gives a ratio of one priest to every 8,706 Catholics and one priest to every 10,391 Filipinos. In 1978 my estimate was one priest to every 7,897 Catholics. Both my own estimate and that of the *Catholic Directory* understate the problem, the latter more than my own, since I tried to eliminate from the calculations all those priests known to me to be permanently living abroad, while the *Directory* includes all those listed by the individual bishops and religious superiors, even though they are resident in the U.S. or their residence is unknown, or they have no intention of returning to the Philippines.

8. Schumacher, *Readings*, pp. 39-44, 56-60, 62-65; Phelan, *Hispanization*, pp. 54-64.

9. The Frankish king Clovis was baptized in 496, followed by his people. In the following century the Irish monk Columban and his companions reevangelized the Frankish kingdom, but it was only in the eighth century that the Anglo-Saxon monks under Wynfrith Boniface were able to establish the Frankish church firmly and on an organized basis.

ments remained inflexible.¹⁰

Much less could it be said that Filipinos were converted by the sword, like the eighth-century Saxons who were offered the choice of baptism or death by Charlemagne.¹¹ Some missionaries, especially the Dominicans, rejected altogether the presence of armed men in their missionary expeditions, even for security purposes.¹² In other cases, however, coercion was used, not indeed to compel Christianization, but to bring mountain peoples to *reducción* — to settle in a fixed place under civil jurisdiction instead of being scattered through the mountains. This, of course, facilitated the work of Christianization, but living in a village by no means necessarily involved becoming a Christian. And though the policy of *reducción* was early adopted, experience taught most missionaries that even this measure could not and should not be rigorously demanded.¹³

Once baptism had been accepted, however, stringent measures could be taken to stamp out clandestine paganism in a village, destroying pagan images (*larawan* or *likha*) and other ritual paraphernalia, and even using corporal punishment on the guilty parties. But most missionaries preferred to use persuasion or moral authority rather than such means.¹⁴ Indeed as time went on, missionaries learned to distinguish between superstitious practices, more cultural than religious, still preserved in rural areas even among committed Christians through the force of tradition, and truly pagan beliefs.¹⁵

The most important feature of the early evangelization, however, was the insistence on continued postbaptismal instruction. If such postbaptismal instruction was not assured in some way, generally the missionaries refused to baptize even those who earnestly begged for it.¹⁶ Though a variety of methods were used, the following became the normal structure in all Philippine parishes. The

10. Schumacher, *Readings*, pp. 58-59, 62-65.

11. August Franzen, *A History of the Church*, rev. and ed. John P. Dolan, trans. Peter Becker (Montreal: Palm Publishers, 1968), pp. 144-45.

12. "Actas del Primer Sinodo de Manila (1582-1586)," *Philippiniana Sacra* 4 (1969): 429-30, and especially pp. 474-75, where the actual argumentation of the Manila Synod of 1582 is summarized.

13. Schumacher, *Readings*, pp. 39-40, 183-85, and a critique of even limited coercion by Archbishop Miguel Garcia Serrano in 1621, pp. 61-62.

14. Schumacher, *Readings*, pp. 73-74; 185-87.

15. See the views of Frs. Juan J. Delgado, S.J., and Pedro Murillo Velarde, S.J., men of very different experience and background, *ibid.*, pp. 168 and 175.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43, 45-47; and for the eighteenth century, pp. 188-89.

children up to the age of fourteen recited the entire *Doctrina* and were instructed in it daily in the schools. The *bagontaos* and *dalagas*, from fourteen to eighteen years of age, were required to come to the church each Saturday for Mass and for similar instruction and recitation of the *Doctrina*. On Sundays, either before the Mass or in the afternoon, the entire Christian community was assembled to recite the *Doctrina*, either in unison or alternating, and later were questioned by the priests.¹⁷ In those barrios where there was no resident priest, a *fiscal* was appointed who led the respective groups in a similar recitation of the *Doctrina* and other prayers on those occasions when the priest was not present.¹⁸ Generally speaking, strict attention was given to attendance, by calling the roll each Sunday. Moreover, a whole series of religious practices, from the recitation of the Angelus three times a day at the tolling of the bells, to the *Animas*, prayers for the dead at the sound of the bell each night, framed the day. Similarly, as settlements became more stable, family devotions took place at small altars erected in the houses, and a series of weekly, monthly, and yearly observances permeated every part of the ordinary Filipino Christian's life. So deeply were they inculcated that they became part of the social fabric, and were performed, as far as possible, with or without the presence of the priest.¹⁹

Elsewhere I have given various incidents and anecdotes to show the depth of Christian values which were inculcated, even from the early generations. The most important evidence of the success of this Christianization of values was the adoption of practices, values, and norms which were counter-cultural, having no precedent in, or even contrary to, the norms of pre-Hispanic society. Such were the norms of Christian sexual morality, the abolition of chattel-slavery and usury, the demand for restitution on the part of those who had previously been guilty of usurious practices, etc. The early missionary chroniclers delight in recounting incidents where new converts remained faithful, even at the risk of their lives, and contrasted their constancy with the often scandalous lives of Spanish old Christians, both in the Philippines and in the mother-country.²⁰

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-48.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 42, 52-54.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45, 169-72.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 87-92.

EMERGENCE OF A MATURE CATHOLICISM

Most historians have at least tacitly accepted John Leddy Phelan's statement that practically all lowland Filipinos outside of Mindanao and Sulu had been baptized after two generations of missionary work — by 1620 in Luzon and by mid-seventeenth century in the Visayas.²¹ The deepening of that Christianity and its penetration into the culture took longer of course, but, allowing for variations between Manila and the provinces, Luzon and the Visayas, *cabeceras* and *visitas*, one could say that lowland Philippines was permanently Christian. By the end of the seventeenth century, substantial progress had been made in Christianizing the mountain peoples of northern Luzon, limited only by the lack of sufficient missionaries, and similar, if less spectacular achievements had been made in the northern coast of Mindanao.²² Filipino priests finally began to be ordained at the beginning of the eighteenth century and by mid-century there was a growing number of well-trained Filipino priests, which gave hope of solving the problem of personnel. Indigenous congregations of women had come into being in Manila and begun the work of teaching.²³ Though animistic beliefs and superstitions still existed among the new converts from the mountain peoples, an Augustinian missionary could state flatly in the 1760s that “. . . among the Christian peoples one scarcely finds any trace of these superstitions any longer, so diligently have the religious worked to extirpate them. For they have been able to banish them so completely in so short a time, even though in our Europe and even in our own Spain, after so many centuries, one can still find traces of paganism. . . .”²⁴

21. Phelan, *Hispanization*, p. 56.

22. Schumacher, *Readings*, pp. 183-90; de la Costa, *Jesuits*, pp. 451-54, 541-42, and passim; Miguel A. Bernad, *History Against the Landscape*, (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1968), pp. 121-65; Francisco Combes, S.J., *Historia de Mindanao y Jolo*, ed. W.E. Retana and Pablo Pastells, S.J. (Madrid, 1897), passim.

23. Schumacher, *Readings*, pp. 165-69; Maria Rita C. Ferraris, R.V.M., “The Beaterios for Native Women: Historical Development and Implication for Women's Participation in Social, Cultural and Economic Development Today,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Santo Tomas, 1983, passim.

24. Antonio Mozo, O.S.A., *Noticia historico-natural de los gloriosos triunfos y felices adelantamientos conseguidos en el presente siglo por los religiosos del orden de N.P.S. Agustín en las misiones que tienen a su cargo en las Islas Philipinas* (Madrid, 1763), pp. 117-19.

DECLINE OF THE PHILIPPINE CHURCH

Not a decade after Fr. Mozo wrote the above passage the events which would send the Philippine church into a precipitous decline were already underway. The period of this decline can be roughly set from 1770 to 1830, although in some places it lasted even longer. Its causes were multiple, both internal to the Church and external. Its combined effects would be decisive for the future of the Philippine Church.

SPANISH REGALISM

Though the Spanish Crown and its representatives in the Indies had always exercised great influence over the Church through the Patronato Real, under the Hapsburgs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the influence was mutual, for the kings took seriously their role as promoters of the Catholic faith throughout their dominions. Under the enlightened despotism of the eighteenth century, dominant in all the Catholic Bourbon courts of Europe, the king, advised by "enlightened" but often unbelieving ministers, saw the Church primarily as an instrument of the Crown to preserve its subjects in their loyalty and direct their activities in accord with royal purposes.²⁵ This situation brought about under Charles III a series of moves intended to reduce the Church to the role of State servant which were to have especially disastrous consequences in the Philippines. These measures were: (1) the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spanish dominions; (2) the subjection of the friar orders to royal and episcopal control; and, as inevitable corollary to these decisions, (3) the rapid multiplication of an untrained Filipino clergy. No part of the Philippine Church would be left untouched by these measures, whose principal instruments in the Philippines were Archbishop Basilio Sancho de Sta. Justa y Rufina and Governor Simón de Anda.

The first step was the expulsion of the Jesuits, decreed in Madrid in 1767, but whose effect was only felt in the Philippines in 1768-69, due to the distance travelled by the decree. Already in Manila to welcome the decree was Archbishop Sancho, a creature of the

25. Juan Manuel Herrero, "The Spanish Liberals and the Clergy," *The Bourbon Reformers and Spanish Civilization*, ed. Troy S. Floyd (Boston: D.C. Heath, 1966) pp. 76-84.

enlightened ministers of Charles III, who had been rewarded with the archbishopric for his services in relieving the king's conscience of any scruples about expelling the order from Spanish domains without the consent of the Pope. Without warning, the islands of Samar, Leyte, Bohol, Marinduque, Negros, parts of Cebu and Panay, and half the northern coast of Mindanao were left without priests. Filipino secular priests from Manila were readily found for the provinces of Cavite and Manila, and the friar orders were compelled to take over at least the more important posts in the Visayas and Mindanao, but both personnel and will to do so were lacking for many places.²⁶

The second step was for the archbishop to end the age-old "visitation controversy" by forcing the friar orders to submit to his jurisdiction, aided by the government. When some refused to do so, and even when others, like the Dominicans, submitted, he took away large numbers of parishes to be turned over to the Filipino secular clergy.²⁷ With the arrival of Governor Anda in 1770 the archbishop's blow against the independence of the orders was supplemented by Anda's demand that all friars submit to the requirements of the Patronato Real. The resisting Augustinians were marched as prisoners under military guard from Pampanga to Manila.²⁸ Suddenly, there were many times more parishes in need of priests than the relatively small Filipino secular clergy could possibly fill.

Undaunted, the violent archbishop opened a seminary in the old Jesuit University of San Ignacio, and as he proudly announced to the king, in the space of one year he had trained sufficient priests to take over all the vacant parishes. Indeed he had given a substantial quantitative boost to the Filipino clergy through his crash-program, but the quality of his seminary's products left much to be desired, not only academically, but also morally. The quip which went around Manila that there were no more oarsmen for the boats on the Pasig because the archbishop had ordained them all, was confirmed shortly after by the lurid letters of the archbishop himself to his new priests lamenting and castigating their disgraceful conduct. It was not long before even the

26. Schumacher, *Readings*, pp. 200-208; de la Costa, *Jesuits*, pp. 582-95; Pablo Fernandez, O.P., *Dominicos donde nace el sol* (Barcelona, 1958), pp. 284-86.

27. Fernandez, *Dominicos*, pp. 285-86.

28. Schumacher, *Readings*, pp. 203-4.

archregalist Governor Anda suspended the transfer of parishes to the Filipino clergy and urged the king to send more friars.²⁹

But the fatal step had been taken, and over the next half-century not only would untrained Filipino priests hold on to the parishes which had been taken from the religious orders, but more and more other parishes would be handed over to them, ready or unready, worthy or unworthy. For the Spanish friars depended for personnel on the recruitment of volunteers from the Peninsula, admitting very few Spaniards in the Philippines. When word reached the peninsular friars of the new conditions to which they would be subjected in the Philippines, not only did recruitment fall off drastically, but not a few of those already in the Philippines returned to the Peninsula.³⁰

Other factors further reduced the number of friars in the Philippines drastically, beginning with the French Revolution. Spain was alternately at war with France or with England during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic periods, and so Spanish ships were often unable to sail to the Philippines with new missionaries. During the French occupation of Spain, revolutionary troops pillaged monasteries and killed friars in large numbers. Other friars took an active part in defending their country, even in arms, and in general, religious life was destroyed in much of the country. Under these circumstances, there was little thought of sending missionaries to the Philippines. A Recoleta chronicle records the following typical statistics: "From 1796 in which 18 religious embarked for the Philippines, no others left Spain until 1804, when seven others went. After this there were no more expeditions until 1815, but between the latter year and 1822 only 12 arrived in the Philippines."³¹ Similar or worse statistics could be compiled for the other orders.³² Given the key role of the priest in Filipino society at this time, not only religion but culture suffered. The missions to the non-Christian mountain peoples were abandoned for lack

29. De la Costa, "The Development of the Native Clergy in the Philippines," and Schumacher, "A Footnote to de la Costa," in de la Costa and Schumacher, *The Filipino Clergy*, pp. 48-51, 70-77.

30. Schumacher, "The Filipino Clergy: Yesterday and Tomorrow," in de la Costa and Schumacher, *The Filipino Clergy*, pp. 90-91.

31. Schumacher, *Readings*, p. 208.

32. For example, the Dominicans: 1771 --19, 1786--19, 1789--29, 1790--15, 1793--8, 1797--4, 1805--45, 1813--4, 1815--2, 1817--3, 1818--3, 1820--10, 1822--3, 1823--3, 1825--14, 1826--12, 1827--6, 1828--18, 1830--4. In 1830 the old system of recruitment became gradually obsolete, and

of personnel, and first-generation Christianity almost inevitably lapsed into animism or syncretism. The schools which the Church had maintained in the towns from the beginning of evangelization had been gradually extended to the barrios as well by mid-eighteenth century, all at the expense of and under the supervision of the parish priests.³³ Now that parishes were occupied for the most part either by friars advanced in years, or by largely ill trained and ill motivated Filipino priests, not only did the school system collapse, but most barrios and even some towns were left unattended even religiously.³⁴

With regard to the friars, Tomas de Comyn records only about three hundred surviving in 1810, a number which included not only those who were so feeble that they could do little more than attend to the essential needs of the *poblacion*, but lay brothers (who may well have comprised a fourth of that number) and an undetermined number of sick and old priests retired to the monasteries of Manila.³⁵ The situation did not begin to improve, indeed must inevitably have become worse as the old died, and replacements failed to come. Only around the 1820s in some orders like the Augustinians, or even the 1850s for the Franciscans, did there begin to be adequate personnel.

At the same time, the quality of the Filipino clergy continued to decay from the time of Archbishop Sancho de Sta. Justa's irresponsible ordinations. As seminaries were gradually opened not only in Manila but in the provinces, the professors had to be chiefly the ill-trained graduates of Sancho's crash-program, and the few but well-trained Filipino priests of the previous half-century were swallowed up in the unfit or even scandalous mass. Nor did the situation begin to change, at least in the provinces, until the coming

steady numbers came yearly from the college of Ocaña. (Fernandez, *Dominicos*, p. 334). The Franciscans did not open their college in Aranjuez (transferred to Pastrana a few years later) until 1853, and hence suffered a great scarcity of men until the second half of the century. For figures see Bruce Cruikshank, "An Essay on the Franciscans on Samar Island," *España en Extremo Oriente: Filipinas, China, Japon, 1578-1978*, ed. Victor Sanchez and Cayetano S. Fuertes (Madrid: Editorial Cisneros, 1979), pp. 262-63, which indicate an even more desperate situation than that of the Dominicans and Recoletos. I do not have data for the Augustinians, but since they had already opened a college in Spain, in Valladolid, in mid-eighteenth century, presumably they did not have the same difficulties.

33. Schumacher, *Readings*, pp. 151-52.

34. See the desperate letter of Bishop Santos Gomez Marañon of Cebu, quoted in part in Schumacher, *Readings*, pp. 209-210.

35. Tomas de Comyn, *Estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1810* (Manila, 1820), pp. 162-63.

of professionally-trained Spanish Vincentians to take over the seminaries in the decade after 1862.³⁶

This lack of properly trained clergy, Spanish or Filipino, though it did often lead to the loss of Catholicism among the new converts, did not have the same effect among old Christians, though undoubtedly religious practice and especially knowledge of doctrine decreased.³⁷ But the Spanish missionaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had built the faith deeply into the Filipino family and into the life of the community, even, and perhaps especially, in the rural areas.

THE SLAVE RAIDS

Slave raiding from Magindanao and Sulu had gone on in the Visayas even in pre-Spanish times, and had developed into the Moro Wars from the time of the unsuccessful Spanish attempts to conquer Sulu and Magindanao in the late sixteenth century. But, as James Warren has recently shown, at no time did the raids take such a toll on central and even northern Philippines as in the period from 1768 to 1800, when the politico-religious aspect was overshadowed by the economic.³⁸ The Iranun raiders established a series of permanent settlements on the less populated islands south of Luzon stretching from Mamburao and other satellite settlements in Mindoro on the west through Buriás, Capul, Masbate, to Catanduanes on the far east. Whole villages in southern Luzon and in the Bicol region disappeared as the inhabitants were carried off in hundreds by the raiders, or fled inland. At times they came back to resettle on the original site, but many fled to the mountains to become *remontados* or *cimarrones*. Here, far from Christian towns or contact with priests, they might retain some elements of Christianity, but for practical purposes were syncretists after a generation or two.³⁹ Given the shortage of clergy, it was impossible to seek out these scattered groups, and it would only be toward the mid-

36. Schumacher, "The Filipino Clergy, Yesterday and Tomorrow," in de la Costa and Schumacher, *The Filipino Clergy*, pp. 91, 96-97.

37. See the dismal pictures painted by the newly-returned Jesuits in 1859, as well as those of friars, in Schumacher, *Readings*, pp. 235-39.

38. James Warren, *The Sulu Zone, 1768-1898. The Dynamics of External Trade, Slavery, and Ethnicity in the Transformation of a Southeast Asian Maritime State* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1981), especially pp. 149-81.

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 169, 177-81.

dle of the nineteenth century that the descendants of the remontados would be reached again and become Christians, though under very different circumstances, as we shall see, from the original Christianization.⁴⁰

Thus for a generation or more, not only was much of Luzon, including Manila bay, under the fear of the slave-raiders, but worse, the Christian communities of the Visayas and Mindanao were for practical purposes cut off from Manila. In spite of efforts to fortify the towns, or to build fortress-like churches, the Visayas continued to suffer even more intensive raiding from the Balangingi until about 1850. People were scattered into the hills, missionaries were carried off for ransom or even killed, and substantial towns were left for long periods without priests. The surprising thing is that the faith survived at all, not that it became contaminated with superstitions or pagan elements in a kind of syncretism.⁴¹

NON-EVANGELIZATION OF THE UPLAND PHILIPPINES

As mentioned earlier, since John Leddy Phelan's book, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*, it has been commonplace to say that the evangelization of lowland Philippines was basically complete by about 1620, two generations after its beginning; I myself have used that approximate date. But there are at least two unspoken and deceptive presuppositions hidden in that statement. First of all, the starting point is taken from the beginning of the evangelization by the Augustinians who came with Legazpi or followed soon after. These, however, did not in fact begin baptizing, except in rare cases, until about 1570, when they were sure that Spain would remain in the Philippines. However, apart from Cebu City and a few parishes in Panay, the work of the Augustinians was in Ilocos, Pampanga and the Tagalog provinces around Manila bay. In the Bicol region and around Laguna de Bay the Franciscans were active by the late 1570s, and the Dominicans in Pangasinan, Bataan, and Cagayan Valley in the late 1580s or 1590s. Hence even in Luzon, the date of two generations of

40. Ibid., p. 181; Francisco Mallari, S.J., "The Remontados of Isarog," *Kinaadman* 5 (1983): 103-17 (though he does not consider the role of the Iranun-Balangingi raids in creating the *remontados*).

41. Warren, *Sulu Zone*, pp. 143-97.

Christianization should be pushed back to 1630 or 1640. In the Visayas, where the Jesuits were the sole missionaries except for the early Augustinian outposts, systematic work did not begin till almost 1600.⁴² Moreover it proceeded much more slowly, as the people were far more scattered and travel more difficult. In addition, from the very beginning the Visayan missions were continually attacked by the Sulus, Magindanaos, and the pagan Camucones or Orang Tedong. Missions were repeatedly burned to the ground and the people and priests killed, captured, or scattered to the mountains again. At best it should be estimated that lowland Visayas was substantially evangelized only after 1650.⁴³

The second factor frequently ignored is the inability of the missionaries to do extensive work in the mountains even after the lowlands were thoroughly Christian. Serious evangelization began in Zambales at the end of the seventeenth century; in the Cordillera Central only in the eighteenth.⁴⁴ And just when success seemed at hand in the latter part of the eighteenth century, came the great dearth of missionaries due to the events under Archbishop Sancho de Sta. Justa spoken of earlier. Destitute of personnel, the missionaries used whatever men they had to staff the old lowland parishes, and were unable to do this with even minimum adequacy. Naturally, the mountain missions, where the problems contacting the scattered people were so acute and where missionary mortality was so high either from headhunters or from disease, were the first to be abandoned, however reluctantly.⁴⁵ For lack of priests, the Christians who remained in their ancestral mountain homes likewise eventually relapsed into paganism or at best a syncretic folk Catholicism. The mountain missions of northern Luzon would be revived again in mid-nineteenth century when the number of missionaries began to be adequate again, trails

42. Phelan, *Hispanization*, p. 56; Fernandez, *Dominicos*, pp. 32-36; Marcelo de Ribadeneira, *Historia de las islas del Archipiélago Filipino y reinos de la Gran China, Tartaria, Cochinchina, Malaca, Siam, Cambodge y Japon*, ed. Juan R. de Legisima, O.F. M. (Madrid: La Editorial Católica, 1947), pp. 56-59; de la Costa, *Jesuits*, pp. 146-86.

43. De la Costa, *Jesuits*, pp. 444-45.

44. Schumacher, *Readings*, pp. 182-90.

45. For a graphic picture of the missionary mortality and of the necessity of beginning again in former missions in those places which had had to be abandoned, see Guillermo Tejon, O.P., *Juan Villaverde O.P.: Missionary and Road-Builder, 1841-1897. A History of the Dominican Missions in Ifugao* (Manila: University of Santo Tomas, 1982), passim, but especially pp. 54-65, 74-78.

through the mountains were opened up, and military protection provided against hostile groups of uplanders. But the effort would once more be just on the verge of widespread conversions when the Revolution drove out all the missionaries, so that it would be decades before the work could be renewed on the same scale.⁴⁶

These problems of the mountainous areas of northern Luzon are well-known enough. Somewhat less known are those of Mindanao, where with Spanish supremacy established over the Muslim sultanates to at least a limited degree, the first attempts were made to penetrate into the interior by the Jesuits who were permitted by the government to return to the Philippines in 1859. In the years since the Jesuit expulsion in 1768, the Recoletos had not even been fully able to staff the old Christian towns on the north coast, much less give attention to the evangelization of the animist peoples even short distances away from the coast. Here again the pattern of northern Luzon was repeated, when just as the missions were beginning to flourish, especially in Surigao, Agusan, and Davao Oriental, and even a small number of converts to Catholicism had been made from among the Magindanao and Yakan, the Revolution brought disaster to what had only been one generation of evangelization.⁴⁷ Without priests, many of the newly converted neophytes reverted to animism or syncretism.⁴⁸ Though the Jesuits did not return to Spain en masse, as did the friar orders for the most part, their numbers were diminished considerably. They did return to Mindanao after a few years, but were able to staff only a small fraction of their former missions, and were forced to confine themselves to the old Christian towns, even

46. Fernandez, *Dominicos*, pp. 539-40. Though the Dutch and Belgian C.I.C.M. missionaries arrived in 1907 to take over both the old Augustinian and Dominican missions, it was many years before they were able to provide priests even for the old towns. Where the records of the year 1897 to 1898 showed 9,892 Christians, there were only 500 or less when the C.I.C.M. Fathers took over, in a total population of some 230,000. (Carlos Desmet, C.I.C.M., "The Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (C.I.C.M.) in the Philippines," *Boletín Eclesiástico* 39 (1965): 318-23.

47. In fact, most of the active work among the non-Muslim population only began in the 1870s, as the Jesuits could not supply sufficient personnel to take over the districts that the Recoletos wished to leave. The last transfer, that of the district of Tagoloan (Misamis Oriental and part of Bukidnon) took place in 1877, the Recoletos retaining Misamis Occidental till the Revolution. See Miguel Saderra Maso, S.J., *Philippine Jesuits, 1581-1768 & 1859-1924*, trans. and ed. Leo A. Cullum, S.J. (Manila, 1974), pp. 69-100, especially pp. 71 and 96.

48. For examples of the desperate state the new Christian settlements had fallen into by 1900, see Schumacher, *Readings*, pp. 292-93.

these often being left without priests for years at a time well into the 1930s.⁴⁹

UNEVANGELIZED MOUNTAIN AREAS IN CHRISTIAN VISAYAS

Though it is recognized that there are significant animist populations in the mountains of northern Luzon, Mindoro, and Mindanao even today, less attention has been given to the Visayas. At the time of the 1903 census, 688 so-called "wild people" were listed for Samar; 5,629 for Capiz; 6,383 for Iloilo; 2,921 for Antique; 4,612 for Negros Occidental; and 16,605 for Negros Oriental. Several Luzon provinces normally thought of as Christian had minorities of non-Christians in the mountain areas, such as Albay, Ambos Camarines, Bataan, Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, Pampanga, Rizal, Sorsogon, Zambales.⁵⁰ None of these numbers were greatly significant in the total population of the province, and most of those in the Luzon provinces were Aetas or Dumagats who up to the present have not been integrated into the wider Filipino society. What is significant about the Visayan provinces named, however, is not the number of pagans still existing, but the fact that several of these places had experienced large-scale successful campaigns for conversion during the last half of the nineteenth century. What is concealed under the figures for the Catholic majorities is that there were very significant numbers of first and second generation Christians. This has been clearly documented by Cruikshank for Samar where the best estimates of those indistinguishably termed *infielles*, *remontados*, *cimarrones*, *monteses*, ranged from between twenty and thirty thousand in the early part of the century to ten and fifteen thousand in the 1880s, to the census figure of 688 in 1903.⁵¹ Though most were

49. About one-third of the Spanish Jesuits had left the Philippines by 1900, and despite the addition of Misamis Occidental and increased educational work in Luzon, the number of priests never came to equal that of 1898, despite the addition of some non-Spaniards and the admission of Filipinos to the order, at least up to 1921, when American Jesuits began to replace the Spaniards. Even then, Mindanao remained bereft of clergy for the most part, even in old Christian towns. When the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (O.M.I.) came to take over what was then the province of Cotabato (now four provinces) in 1939, there were only two Jesuit priests in the entire territory. See Schumacher, *Readings*, pp. 311, 382-83.

50. *Census of the Philippine Islands, 1903* (Washington: United States Bureau of the Census, 1905), 2:123.

51. Robert Bruce Cruikshank, "A History of Samar Island, the Philippines, 1768-1898" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1975), p. 124.

never completely isolated from the Christians in the towns, and some had even been baptized and then returned to the mountains, they were, in the minds of the Franciscans, pagans in fact. Though zealous Franciscans did try to bring them together into villages, baptize them and marry them in the Church, it is clear from the evidence of Cruikshank that not only was the evangelization quite superficial in comparison with the conversions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but the fact that they continued to live in the mountains prevented them from having any real participation in Christian life.⁵²

Negros presents an even more graphic picture of very late and very incomplete Christianization, even in the formal sense of having been baptized. There were in 1898 even larger numbers of first and second generation Christians. The fact that they lived in many cases side by side with those still formally pagan, and easily fled to the mountains and separated themselves again from Christian society indicates that the statistics for real Christians have even less meaning than in Samar.⁵³ Though the Jesuits had been in Negros from the early seventeenth century, they still had only three mission stations, each with one priest, in 1768. They were succeeded by three Dominicans, all of whom died within a few years, and the island was turned over to the secular clergy, such as they were, in 1774. Given the drastic shortage of secular clergy in the Visayas, only a few more parishes were founded before 1848, when at the proposal of the bishop of Cebu himself, the whole island was turned over to the Recoletos.⁵⁴ Only then did the real evangelization of the island begin, but given the enormous growth of the population as a result of the new sugar industry and the immigration it brought, the Recoletos hardly penetrated beyond the new towns that were continually founded, mostly on the coast, during the nineteenth century. Contacts were made with the mountain people, whether pagan or remontados, and con-

52. *Ibid.*, pp. 116-25.

53. Angel Martinez Cuesta, O.A.R., *History of Negros*, trans. Alfonso Felix, Jr. and Sor Caritas Sevilla (Manila: Historical Conservation Society and The Recollect Fathers, 1980), p. 245. The table of proposed missions from the Christian towns shows an almost equal total of Christians and pagans (77,158 Christians; 71,200 pagans), and many individual municipalities were predominantly pagan. Martinez Cuesta, however, considers that some of the figures are exaggerated. The point, however, remains.

54. *Ibid.*, pp. 136-39.

siderable numbers became at least nominal Christians.⁵⁵ But outside the towns the judgment of the Recoleta historian of Negros, Fr. Angel Martinez Cuesta, seems best to express the result:

As long as these barrios were not organized into parishes, their religious life was feeble. Lacking sufficient basic instruction and sacramental piety their religion degenerated into vague ritual practices mixed up with their ancient superstitions. All they had was a mixture of Christian ideas and pagan survivals. From the outside, people might believe that it was Christian ideas that constituted the core of the system whereas the pagan survivals were merely folklore. Actually the opposite was true.⁵⁶

A Recoleta report proposing to the government new missions in 1894, though probably somewhat exaggerated, estimated the number of pagans at 71,200. Even if we reduce that figure to 50,000 considered more probable by Martfnez Cuesta, it is evident that there were large numbers of first generation Christians, some of only a few years, as well as numerous pagans when the Revolution broke out.⁵⁷ It is impossible that there could have been any thorough evangelization such as was done in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Baptismal records from the Camarines town of Tigaon, founded in the seventeenth century, show significant numbers of infiles, pagans or children of pagans, being baptized in the nineteenth century, together with remontados from Mt. Isarog.⁵⁸ Probably the same was true of other Christian towns of Luzon where the increase of priests after 1850 allowed missionaries to go to pockets of pagans or remontados which still existed because of the difficulties of communications or the previous lack of sufficient clergy.

The example of Panay. But it is Panay which provides the most striking example of the existence side by side of some of the oldest Christian communities in the Philippines, firmly rooted on orthodox Catholicism, with purely animist groups, untouched even by Catholic ritual, as well as an intermediate syncretism such

55. *Ibid.*, pp. 171-83. From the arrival of the Recoletos to 1898 the population had increased from about 90,000 to about 450,000 (*ibid.*, p. 252).

56. *Ibid.*, p. 193.

57. *Ibid.*, pp. 245-46.

58. Personal communication from Norman G. Owen, November 1983, based on his ongoing research into the parish records of Tigaon. See also the article of Mallari cited in note 40.

as has been described above.⁵⁹ The well-known article of F. Landa Jocano, "Conversion and the Patterning of Christian Experience in Malitbog, Central Panay,"⁶⁰ though at times not sufficiently attentive to historical data and often interpreted by superficial readers as picturing *typical* Filipino folk Catholicism, provides an excellent paradigm of the vast difference between the evangelization up to mid-eighteenth century, and that which took place in the nineteenth, especially in the Visayas. Describing the historical origins of Christianity in Malitbog, Jocano notes that Catholicism first came to Panay in the late sixteenth century, but its impact was not felt in the central area where Malitbog is situated until the founding of the town of Calinog in 1763. Even then, Calinog was only a *visita*, and from what we have said earlier about the shortage of clergy after 1770, its contact with the priest must have been minimal. Nonetheless, a church was built there in 1810 and Calinog became an independent parish. Allegedly because of the cruelty of Spanish administrators and friars, some people moved out of Calinog to the frontier area which is now Malitbog, or to put it in the terms we have been using, became *remontados*, with no contact with a priest (Malitbog did not even have a *visita* chapel such as Catholic barrios would have at least for the annual fiesta until 1964).⁶¹ In 1844 (as the number of Augustinian missionaries began to normalize again) the town of Tapaz was founded, and the Catholics of Malitbog, if any, could go to Mass in Calinog or Tapaz — though it is not clear from the article that any went to either. In the early twentieth century the American administrators constructed the national road between Iloilo City and Capiz, so that more Catholics came into the vicinity of Malitbog.

59. Christianity was brought to Panay after Cebu in the late 1560s and quickly took root in the lowlands of the east. Two examples of pagan groups still existing today are the Sulod, studied by F. Landa Jocano in his *The Sulod Society*, and the Babaylan group of Mt. Balabago described by McCoy, "Babaylan," especially pp. 159-64, in which he (correctly, it seems to me) sees not folk Catholicism, but an example of "the continued vitality of the complete [animist] religion as a coherent whole [which] is somewhat exceptional among the main lowland Filipino ethnolinguistic groups" (p. 164). The third type, syncretic folk Catholicism, would be exemplified by such groups as that described by Landa Jocano in his article on Malitbog, cited in note 1 above. McCoy, however, seems to over-generalize the second type.

60. See note 1 above.

61. *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48. It seems clear that the statement that "the structure of Roman Catholicism in Malitbog today is similar to that in any barrio in the Philippines . . ." is certainly incorrect from the rest of the description in the article. It can no doubt be paralleled, but is not typical.

From this narrative it may be seen that never was there any effort to evangelize Malitbog directly before 1964. As Jocano puts it, Catholicism "filtered into Malitbog" through contacts with the lowlanders. He adds that "the pageantry of the rituals associated with the Mass and the annual fiesta celebration drew the people to Roman Catholicism," a plausible assumption, but one which makes it quite clear that Malitbog was never Catholicized in any true sense of the word.⁶² Rather, as Jocano shows, the people kept their own traditional religion, that is, animism, first under the trappings of Catholicism, then of Protestantism, and later most returned to Catholicism, whether through a true conversion or merely a socio-cultural convenience.⁶³

The operative word here, I believe, is "filtered." That is to say, the people of Malitbog, once in contact with the lowlanders and modern civilization, did not want to appear as "uncivilized" or "pagans," inferior to the Catholic lowlanders. Without denying the absolute possibility of *individual* sincere and enlightened conversions to Christianity, Malitbog as a whole experienced no real conversion at all, much less evangelization, and merely integrated congruent ritual and perhaps some ill-understood belief elements from Catholicism into their own traditional animism. This, of course, is the conclusion of Martinez Cuesta concerning the religion of the remote barrio people of Negros in the same period.⁶⁴ What should be emphasized is that all of this took place within the approximate period we have set as that in which syncretic folk Catholicism emerged in various parts of the Philippines.

Aram Yengoyan has noted a similar phenomenon among many Mandaya Christians in Davao, who conscious of how they are regarded by the lowland Bisayans as inferior and backward, seek baptism at least partly as the means of acceptance by the lowlanders on equal terms as a Bisayan, a member of the superior culture.⁶⁵ If this is true of persons who are being evangelized by priests, much more could it be expected of those to whom Christianity had been merely filtered indirectly by contacts with lowland Christians.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

64. See text to note 56.

65. A. A. Yengoyan, "Baptism and 'Bisayanization' among the Mandaya of Eastern Mindanao, Philippines," *Asian Studies* 4 (1966): 324-27.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY MISSIONARY ATTITUDES

This nineteenth-century climate of thought in which Catholicism appeared as normative for entering the dominant and superior culture had its converse in the changed attitudes of nineteenth-century missionaries. Where the missionaries of the early centuries had strong convictions on the diabolical character of pre-Hispanic animism, and correspondingly rigorous demands for concrete renunciation of all that was incompatible with Christian life before they would grant baptism, in the nineteenth century the outlook was greatly different.⁶⁶ No longer was the missionary in his own mind a warrior for Christ in the midst of a people enslaved by the power of Satan. Rather he was a minister of God's work in Catholic Philippines, entrusted with bringing these strayed sheep like the *remontados* and small pockets of pagans back into the true fold with their brother Filipinos. Or to put it more prosaically, he was a functionary in a Christian society whose duty it was to eradicate the blemishes still remaining by welcoming those still outside, confident that once they had accepted baptism they would be, as it were, carried along by the natural rhythms of sociocultural Catholicism.⁶⁷

Possibly if the Spanish regime had continued, those cultural Catholics would have been more thoroughly instructed and their children, being taught their religion in the public schools, would have grown up into mature Christians as religious instruction improved with the coming of more and more friars from Spain to care for those isolated barrios where animism or syncretism still reigned.⁶⁸ But in fact, from approximately two thousand priests in 1898, there were probably not more than eight hundred to nine hundred including about six hundred Filipinos in 1903.⁶⁹ At least a hundred of these priests were primarily or exclusively devoted to education.⁷⁰ Moreover, not only has the number of clergy not

66. For the sixteenth-century convictions on the diabolical character of pre-Hispanic religion, see any of the early chroniclers, e.g., as cited in Schumacher, *Readings*, pp. 13-16, 70-74.

67. For conditions and attitudes in the nineteenth century, see Schumacher, *Readings*, pp. 236-42.

68. Even apart from the Jesuits, who arrived in 1859, and the Vincentians (1862), the less than 300 friars of 1810 were more than 1,000 in 1898 (Schumacher, *Readings*, pp. 209, 311).

69. Schumacher, *Readings* pp. 309-11 (the Franciscan figure is much too small); idem, "The Filipino Clergy," pp. 103-4.

70. Almost all the Dominicans, more than half the Jesuits, all the Vincentians and Benedictines, and some Augustinians.

increased proportionately to the population in the twentieth century, but it has probably decreased in spite of the large-scale coming of non-Spanish European and American missionaries up to a decade ago.⁷¹ Furthermore, a considerably lesser proportion of priests are devoted to parish work today than at the beginning of the century.⁷² The result has been an increasing proportion of Filipinos, particularly among the poorer and less educated, who though retaining much of Catholic ritual, have little or no contact with the priest, with the possible exception of baptism, funeral, and to a lesser extent, marriage.

MODERN MOBILITY

A final complication comes from the ever-increasing mobility of the population, beginning even from the middle of the last century. Especially in the past fifty years, massive migration to an only partially Christianized Mindanao on the one hand, and an increasingly secularized Metro Manila and other urban centers on the other, had brought millions of Filipinos into new religious circumstances. Previously their folk Catholicism was mostly confined to the barrios, where if it did not deserve the name of real evangelization, it preserved the sparks of Catholicism which would be instructed and vitalized given the presence of sufficient qualified priests. In the new environment, for lack of priests, either vestigial animism and ritual Catholicism are likely to disappear together in the urban setting, or traditional animism may become even more dominant and ritual Catholicism diminish in proportion in frontier areas.

CONCLUSION

To conclude this survey of the causes of the wide prevalence of religious ignorance and syncretic Catholicism, in spite of the most notable evangelization in the history of Christianity, one final observation is in order. The various studies of Filipino syncretistic Catholicism on a relatively large scale, — Jocano, the Harts,⁷³

71. See appendix in de la Costa and Schumacher, *Filipino Clergy*, pp. 120-21, and the data showing a continuing decline after the peak of 1965, in note 7 above.

72. Figures are not easily available, but the decline may be safely assumed from the great growth of the Catholic educational system, until very recently involving increasing numbers of priests. Other nonparish ministries continue to increase, e.g., social action, the retreat movements, etc.

73. Donn V. Hart, "Buhawi of the Bisayas: the Revitalization Movement and Legend-

Martinez Cuesta, Cullen,⁷⁴ Lieban,⁷⁵ Arens⁷⁶ — have all dealt with the Visayas and Mindanao. The reason, of course, is not any religious peculiarity of the Bisayans. Rather it is the fact that it was primarily, if not exclusively, in the Visayas and Mindanao that all the factors dealt with in the article existed.⁷⁷ This is not to say that no syncretism existed in Luzon — the study of the Nydeggers on an Ilocos town⁷⁸ and the various studies on the so-called *colorum* sects existing on Mount Banahaw come to mind (though by no means all the latter are heterodox).⁷⁹ But it may be noted that both Laguna and Ilocos were originally strongholds of Aglipayanism,⁸⁰ and the problems of the Philippine Independent Church have duplicated, and to a greater degree, those of the Roman Catholic Church, at least up to the revitalization of the past two decades as a result of the full communion entered into with the Philippine Episcopal Church, especially through financial aid and the education of future priests.⁸¹

Making in the Philippines," in *Studies in Philippine Anthropology*, ed. Mario D. Zamora (Quezon City: Alemars, 1967), pp. 366-96; Donn V. & Harriett E. Hart, "The Images of the Catholic Priest in Bisayan Filipino Folklore," *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 40 (1976): 307-41; and others on Negros and Samar.

74. Vincent G. Cullen, "Bukidnon Animism and Christianity," in *Bukidnon Politics and Religion*, ed. Alfonso de Guzman II and Esther M. Pacheco (Quezon City: Institute of Philippine Culture, 1973) pp. 1-13.

75. Richard W. Lieban, *Cebuano Sorcery: Malign Magic in the Philippines* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).

76. Richard Arens wrote numerous articles on the religious rituals associated with rice, corn, camote, fishing, witchcraft, etc., in *Philippine Sociological Review*, *Philippine Journal of Sciences* and other journals in the 1950s, all on Leyte and Samar.

77. Even the factor of lack of trained clergy affected the Visayas specially, since the facilities for training priests there came much later than Manila and were far more inadequate.

78. William F. Nydegger and Corrine Nydegger, *Tarong: Ilocos Barrio in the Philippines* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966).

79. Prospero R. Covar, "The *Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi*: A Sociological Study of a Social Movement" (M.A. thesis, University of the Philippines, 1961); Marcelino Foronda, *Cults Honoring Rizal* (Manila: R.P. Garcia, 1961), etc. All these Mt. Banahaw cults and groups and their offshoots in other provinces seem to have their origin in the nineteenth-century *Cofradia de San Jose de Apolinario de la Cruz*. Some consider themselves Catholic; most do not, at least by now.

80. See Daniel F. Doeppers, "The Philippine Revolution and the Geography of Schism," *The Geographical Review* 66 (1978): 158-77; and his "Changing Patterns of Aglipayan Adherence, 1918-1970," *Philippine Studies* 25 (1977): 265-77. Though the Laguna case more likely is to be attributed to the movement stemming from Apolinario, the other movements studied by David Sturtevant in his *Popular Uprisings in the Philippines, 1840-1940* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976) outside the Visayas all have strong Aglipayan roots, including Sakdalism which Sturtevant classifies as secular. See for example pp. 190, 276, 291.

81. Doeppers, "Changing Patterns," especially pp. 275-77.