OF LANGUAGE AND RELIGION: THE COEFFICIENT OF WEIRDNESS IN FUNERAL PRAYERS

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Abstract

Religion and language are distinctive marks of civilization and of human evolution. Almost every human society is marked by the universal presence of language and religion. While language aids in the propagation of religion, religion perpetuates language in return as manifested in bigger and older religions. Language serves as the avenue of religion towards the psyche of the society. This paper traces the religious development of the Philippine society which made the whole archipelago a member of the Catholic world. In the Philippines, the Catholic faith is the dominant religion introduced by the Spaniards in 1521. Its expansion in the archipelago is made possible by the missionaries from Spain and the converted members of major ethnicities from the other parts of the archipelago. In terms of indigenization, Catholicism in the Philippines is way ahead of the Second Vatican Council with the bestowment of the local vernacular the prestige reserved only for Latin, thus, the prayers and the liturgies are conducted in the local languages. It is in this account that this paper deals with the indigenization of Catholic prayers, in particular, to analyze the use of Latin and Cebuano prayers in the funeral wakes. Funeral wakes in the Catholic community include the recitation of the Novena for the Dead, a ritual which runs for nine days starting on the first night of the death of the Catholic faithful. This paper also attempts to present an analysis and discussion on the relationship between funeral prayers in particular the public prayers in relation to the coefficient of weirdness of BronislawMalinowski. The participants of this study include the three mananabtan' prayer leaders' and 30 mananabat' responsorial faithful', who are chosen at random. All of the participants of this study are residents of the *poblacion'locale'* of the Second District of Samal, Davao, Philippines.

Keywords: coefficient of weirdness, religion, language, Latin, Cebuano

Sixteenth Century Spanish Philippines: Patronato Real en las Islas Filipinas

One of the oldest religious organizations is that of the Catholic Church with the stability of its hierarchy and evolving liturgies, rituals, and ceremonies. Centered in Rome, its influence is reaching far and wide even the islands of the Philippines. This influence is made possible by means of the colonial enterprise of the Kingdom of Spain in the 16th century. The most prominent indelible vestige of this colonial enterprise is that of the Catholic faith which is now the largest religion in the archipelago.

The sixteenth century is a very significant period in Spanish history. Called Siglo de Oro or Golden Age, this century saw the celebrated joint rule of the Catholic monarchs Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castille and Leon (Boruchoff, 2003). This particular phase of Spain's history had its reverberating effects felt as far as Asia through colonization. The authority for Spain to venture out of Europe was embodied in the papal bull Inter Caetera issued on 4 May 1493 by Pope Alexander VI of the Catholic Church which demarcated the world for the two Iberian kingdoms - Spain and Portugal. The Iberian conquest had two main objectives, namely, economic and political, while that of religious, although it had the most intangible long lasting effect, is only an addendum by nature. By virtue of the papal bull Inter Caetera, the colonialists had to uphold the mandate which explicitly said that "the Catholic faith and the Christian religion be exalted and be everywhere increased and spread, that the health of souls be cared for and that barbarous nations be overthrown and brought to the faith itself." Part of the provision of the papal bull was that of religious instruction to be carried out by "God-fearing, learned, skilled, and experienced men, in order to instruct the aforesaid inhabitants and residents in the Catholic faith and train them in good morals." The teaching of the Catholic doctrines for the catechumens1 and the new faithful was enshrined in the systematized compendium of questions and answers called catechism. Aside from learning the doctrines, the rituals and the accompanying prayers were also inculcated to make the catechumens and the new faithful fully integrated into the ecclesial community.

In Asia, Christianization of the islands of the Philippines started with the arrival of the Spaniards in 1521 by virtue of the mandate from the majesties of Spain.² The Kingdom of Spain in this period was granted the *patronato real* by Pope Julius II which placed all ecclesiastical affairs of the Philippine colony under the royal patronage of the Spanish monarch (Aguilos, 1999, p. 207). *Patronato real* or royal patronage is the "affiliation of the civil and religious authorities" (Mecham, 1928, p. 5). The granting of *patronato real* had its precedence in Latin America where the representatives of the Spanish Crown were authorized to build churches, chapels, convents, among others, with financial support from the Crown and the

colony. The same state of affairs brought forth the peculiar epoch in the political history of the Philippines often called as *frailocracia* – rule of the friars.³

The spread of Catholic Christianity was made more expansive through the arrival of the religious friars and missionaries in the Philippines. The friars of various congregations and orders flocked to the Philippines in contesting modes to win the souls in accordance to the papal bull and religious constitutions of the orders and congregations. The first among the orders and congregations of friars present in the Philippines was the Augustinians (Robertson, 1918, p. 375). Owing to the fact that the Philippines was ruled by Spain through the Viceroyalty of Mexico, it was just logical that the Mexican Augustinians had the authority of releasing the mandate of sending Augustinian⁴ friars to the Philippines under the leadership of Fray Andres de Urdaneta⁵ who served as the head of the missions and the captain of the fleet (Kurlansky, 1999). Before the turn of the century, there were only 140 missionaries in charge of the secular and religious affairs of the entire archipelago (Means, 2009, p. 34).

Starting in the year 1606, various religious orders and congregations arrived to supplement the work carried out by the Augustinians. Among these religious orders and congregations were those of the Dominicans, the Franciscans, and the Jesuits. As provided by the *patronato real*, it was the concept of the common good that must be the guiding principle of the colonial enterprise. The religious men labored as the government officials and the Church administrators, thus, exerting overwhelming influence over the natives. Where there were secular government officials, the friars were considered as more powerful than the *alcalde mayor* 'provincial governor-magistrate' and *gobernadorcillo* town mayor'. These friars levied, imposed and collected taxes for both secular and religious purposes. They eventually owned lands by virtue of ecclesiastical privileges, legal procurement, and outright usurpation (Maurer &Iyer, 2008, p. 5).

Aside from the political and economic ventures of the friars, these religious men were the only source of secular and religious education of the native population. Strategically, the friars lived with the *naturales*⁶ and built churches, cathedrals, convents, hospitals, orphanages, roads, and schools. They also introduced irrigation and other agricultural technology as well as urban engineering. To advance the learning of the residing colonialists⁷ and the *mestizos*⁸, the Dominicans established the University of Santo Tomas on 28 April 1611. In the parochial level, the friars functioned also as the teacher of both secular and religious matters (Cleland, 2008, pp. 39-40).

One of the main instruments the friars used in teaching is that of the *cartilla*'small cards' which was typical mode in teaching in this particular period. Cards were used either for writing the alphabet or as flashcards for rote learning. The same method is applied in teaching the catechism to the natives wherein the focus is that of memorizing the questions and answers. This way of teaching led to

the first publication of the first instructional catechetical book *Doctrina Cristiana* in 1593. This book was translated to Tagalog and Cebuano from Spanish. The missionaries also produced dictionaries and grammar books – proofs of the language learning endeavor of the Spanish missionaries for the purpose of reaching out among the natives. Although the Spaniards made use of Spanish language as the lingua franca in the archipelago, the success of the evangelization of the Filipino natives was essentially caused by the use of their own mother tongue in teaching them the Gospels and other Church matters.

The Cebuano People and Language

Prior to the arrival of the Spanish missionaries, the Filipinos possessed their worldview almost similar to those fellow Austronesians in the insular Southeast Asia. The cosmology of the naturaleswas filled with deities and spirits, called diwata, which were either benevolent or malevolent and therefore may influence their daily living. Like the rest of the Filipinos, the same can be said of the Cebuanos, the people who inhabited what is now called Cebu, the first center of Spanish rule in the Philippines and in Asia. Currently, the natives of Cebu call their place Sugbu and the people Sugbuhanun. By the time the Spaniards arrived in Cebu, the place was already politically stable ruled by Rajah Humabon and Hara Amihan. After their conversion to Catholicism, they were given Spanish names Juan and Juana, respectively. As a token of this conversion, Magellan allegedly planted the cross on the shore of Cebu and gave Queen Juana the image of the Holy Infant Jesus. Although they were Christianized, the animistic practices persisted to the point that the statue of the Holy Infant Jesus, popularly known as Santo Niño de Cebu, was conveniently placed in the altar of other gods and goddesses or 'anitos' which the royalty and the people venerated. The testimony to this state of affair is the present-day annual celebration of Sinulog, the provincewide celebration of dances and rituals in honor of the Santo Niño de Cebu, which has its roots dating back to even before the Christianization of Juan and Juana of Cebu⁹.

In terms of language, the Cebuano language is an Austronesian language currently spoken by around 16 million people (Lewis, 2009) as their mother tongue. This language is used in the Visayas, the central region of the Philippines, and also in Mindanao in southern Philippines where it is used as either the mother tongue or the lingua franca among non-Cebuanos (Paz, 1995). Typologically, Cebuano is a verb-initial ergative-absolutive language. Lexically, Cebuano language has lexical items common to other Philippine languages but with greater volume of Spanish and English loanwords. However, between English and Spanish source languages, it is Spanish which has done more lexification in terms of days, numbers, non-native implements, and religion due to the almost 400 years of language contact.¹⁰

English loanwords are associated with modern technology and popular culture. Currently in the daily Cebuano living, English is also used in print and broadcast media, business, schools, and scheduled Catholic masses. It is in the Catholic liturgy¹¹ that Cebuano language has its properties captured and preserved by the force of religion.

In the Cebuano society, the congregation of the faithful recites the prayers with the prayer leader leading the group in a responsorial system. This prayer leader is in most cases an elderly woman of very good standing in the society. She assumes the official title of the **angmananabtan**'the prayer leader'. The ancient practice of having a **mananabtan** can be deduced as a reflex of the **baylan**'priestess', a pre-colonial religious functionary accorded with reverence due to her perceived power. The **baylan**'priestess' occupied the higher stratum in the pre-colonial social organization of the indigenous Filipinos (Jocano, 2000). The group recitation of prayers is done normally when someone died in the community. The news of the death of the faithful departed circulates like the only business of the day and the community starts to do the cooperative work to help the family of the faithful departed. This is a reflex of the **bayanihan** which refers to the cooperative motion of the whole **bayan**'community'.

Of Catholic Liturgies and Rituals: The Prayers

The Catholic faithful is required, as part of the Catholic life, to partake in the necessitated rituals, ceremonies, and prayers and to participate in the festivities and other special religious obligations mandated by the Church. Of prayers, Wynne (1911) in the Catholic Encyclopedia defines prayer as follows:

"...An <u>act</u> of the <u>virtue of religion</u> which consists in asking proper <u>gifts</u> or <u>graces</u> from <u>God</u>. In a more general sense it is the application of the <u>mind</u> to Divine things, not merely to acquire <u>knowledge</u> of them but to make use of such <u>knowledge</u> as a means of union with <u>God</u>. This may be done by acts of praise and thanksgiving, but petition is the principal <u>act</u> of prayer."

Prayers in the Roman Catholic Church can be either public or private of which the former refers to the prayers in the liturgy and Divine Office, while the latter refers to the personal prayers uttered in private generally. The Church introduces various types of public prayers such as the rosary, novena, devotional prayer to the saints, among others. The most common public prayers are those of the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria*, and *Gloria Patri* which are all in Latin. These three prayers are the ones also used in the Novena for the Dead. As regular and customary in the Church, the titles of the prayers are taken from the first words of

the prayer. Latin, as the official language of the Roman Catholic Church, became the basis of translation of prayers into Spanish and consequently Spanish became the input for translation to Cebuano. The full texts of these prayers in Latin with the English versions are as follows¹²:

PaterNoster

Pater noster qui es in caelis: sanctificeturNomenTuum; adveniat Regnum Tuum; fiatvoluntasTua, sicut in caelo, et in terra.

Panem nostrum cotidianum da nobishodie; etdimittenobisdebita nostra, sicut et nosdimittimusdebitoribusnostris.asweforgivethosewhotrespassagainstus, et ne nosinducas in tentationem; sedliberanos a Malo.

Ave Maria

AveMaria; gratia plena, Dominustecum. Benedicta tuin mulieribus; Et benedictusfructusventris tui, Iesus. Jesus.

SanctaMaria, MaterDei, Ora pro nobispeccatoribus, Nunc, et en hora mortis nostrae.

Gloria Patri

Gloria Patri, etFilio, etSpirituiSancto. Sicuterat in principio, Et nunc, et semper Et en saeculasaeculorum.

OurFather

OurFatherwho art in heaven, hallowed be thyname. Thykingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.

Give us this day our daily bread, and forgiveusourtrespasses, and lead usnotintotemptation, but deliver us from evil.

Hail Mary

Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord iswiththee; blessed art thouamongstwomen, andblessedisthefruit of thywomb,

Holy Mary, Mother of God, prayforussinners, now and at thehour of ourdeath.

Glory Be

GlorytotheFather, and tothe Son, andtotheHolySpirit: as itwas in thebeginning, is now, and will be forever.

The preceding prayers are recited repetitiously such as those in the rosary¹³, a prayer instrument composed of more than fifty beads and a crucifix. In Cebuano, the three common public prayers are as follows¹⁴:

AmahanNamo

AmahanNamo, ngaanaasamgalangit, pagdayegonangimongngalan umabutcanamoangImonggingharian matumanangimongpagbuot dinhisayutamaingonsalangit.

Angcalan-on namosamatagadlawihatagcanamocarongadlawa, ugpasayloacamisaamongmga sala ingonnganagapasaylocamisamganacasalacanamo ugdilimocamiitugyansapanulay hinunoaluwasacamisadautan. Amen.

MaghimayacaMaria

MaghimayacaMarianganapunocasa gracia, angGuinooanaacanimo; bulahanicaosamgababayengatanan ugbulahanusabang bunga satianmonga si Jesus.

Santa MariaInahansa Dios ig-ampomocamingamacasasala caronugsa among camataion. Amen.

HimayasaAmahan

HimayasaAmahan, ugsaAnac, ugsa Espiritu Santo. Maingonsasinugdan, caronugsagihapon, ugsacatuiganngatanan. Amen.

The prayer *AmahanNamo*is the Cebuano version of the Latin prayer *PaterNoster'Our Father'*; *Maghimayaca Maria* of *Ave Maria'Hail Mary'*; and *HimayasaAmahan* of *GloriaPatri'Glory Be'*. The reader can notice that the prayers, like the official ecclesiastical documents such as apostolic constitutions and papal bulls mentioned in the earlier sections, make use of the first words as the title of the prayers and of the documents which is characteristic of the traditional Latin writing style. Reading the titles of the three public prayers, the same thing can be seen even in the English and Cebuano versions of prayers. With these prayers apostolically instituted in the medieval period, it can be deduced that the prayers were written and translated according to the prescriptive views of Latin grammarians.

On the Coefficient of Weirdness in Funeral Prayers

Malinowski (1935) argued that the Trobriand natives of Kiriwina Islands, New Guinea distinguished between magical language and ordinary language noting that the language used in magic has the coefficient of weirdness, marked grammatical constructions, and cryptic meanings. These properties of the language of magic separate this particular type of language from ordinary speech. Coining out the term 'coefficient of weirdness', he believed in the magical effect of words which are produced in repetitive manner, which he called creative metaphor of magic, aligning magic with religion and therefore "sacred" and not "profane". Either ordinary speech or magical language, he believed that the pragmatic function of language lies in its efficacy causing the desired effect to exist or to happen for either magical or religious purposes.

In this current study where prayer is seen as always formal and sacred, it is found out that the sensibilities of the **mananabat** 'responsorial faithful' are much heightened during the recitation of the prayers for the dead. When the **mananabtan** 'prayer leader' utters the Latin word**Oremus**'Let us pray', the **mananabat** 'responsorial faithful' are brought to silence. The Latin word **Oremus** is perceived as a command for the faithful signaling that they are to cease and desist from their mundane speech in their momentary socialization which normally precedes the one-hour Novena for the Dead. From their comfortable sitting position, all of the the**mananabat** 'responsorial faithful' knell down and do the sign of the cross and follow the**mananabtan** 'prayer leader'. In the prayer, the **mananabtan** 'prayer leader' as the primary supplicant makes use of melismatic techniques in reciting the prayers to the point that such prayers are bordering between an eerie singsong recitation and an agonizing chant. This technique introduces the **mananabat** 'responsorial faithful' to the sacred and spiritual world wherein normal and ordinary speech is non-existent.

The three **mananabtan**'prayer leader'were named Apolonia, Deogracias, and Luisa who are67, 68, and 69 years old, respectively. None of them received formal training in Latin. One of them, Apolonia, has been a **mananabtan** for 20 years. She said that she practiced reading Latin by herself so that she could pronounce it well. She also admitted that she could not understand all the words in the Latin prayers. She assumed that when it comes to funeral prayers, these prayers should be in Latin. However she conceded that "Mas maayounta kung Bisayaaronmasabtanangpag-ampo" it would be better to have the funeral prayers in Cebuano for intelligibility purposes'.

The second **mananabtan**, Deogracias, has been a **mananabtan** for 25 years. She said that she learned Latin prayers from her elders. She claimed to understand

Latin prayers because of constant repetition during prayer times especially for the daily prayers and prayers for the dead. She argued that she preferred Latin to Cebuano because 'lamipaminawnang Latin' 'Latin is nice to hear'.

The third **mananabtan**, Luisa, has been a **mananabtan** for 49 years since she was a single lady at the age of 20 years. She claimed that she learned Latin from using the *libreta'small prayer book'*. Asked whether she could understand Latin, she replied that she could understand it, without explaining further how. She argued that Latin is '*kasagaran pang patay'* 'ordinarily for funeral prayers'. She does not use Cebuano in funeral prayers for she preferred Latin most because it is '*kinaraan'* 'traditional'.

Of the 30 mananabat 'responsorial faithful' interviewed in this study, 23 favored the use of Latin since generally it made them think that something extraordinary is going on. They further replied that the use of Cebuano in the Novena would not contribute anything to the sanctity and solemnity of the event but would only make them feel that they were as if in their kitchen or in the field doing the daily ordinary things. Asked on what they feel while participating in the Novena, some of theanswers of some informants are presented below with translation:

Informant Number 1:

I feel really weird kungsaLatin kaydilijudkokasabotana! PerokungBisaya- muragwalalang, sabat-sabatlangsanangadji. Angakoginapaabotkanangmoingonnaogmaayonggabiikaypanahonna sapainit,kapeogbiskit.

'I feel weird if it is in Latin because I cannot understand it. But if it is in Cebuano, it seems nothing, just repeating and responding to the prayer leader. I am also waiting for the moment when they said "Good evening" because it is the time for snacks – coffee and biscuits.'

Informant Number 2:

The feeling is gloomy in whatever language it is said. When I was still very naive I never really thought what praying was for. I just had to get through it because of the elders.

Informant Number 3:

Solemn and holy: mas feel koang Latin (though I don't understand it) kaysa Cebuano ngayanora man ugpangadyion.

'It seems solemn and holy. I would prefer the prayers in Latin (though I do not understand it) to Cebuano which is just ordinary in praying.'

Informant Number 4:

I prefer man kungLatin anggamitonkaymurag mas audible man siya for me. Not that I have something against Bisayapero uncomfortable ko if that is the case. Dilikoka-concentrate ug contemplate...manawaylangko...imbismalipayangpatayngagipangadjians iyamasukohinuunsaakokaymanlibaklangko.

'I prefer Latin to Cebuano because it is more audible to me. Not that I have something against Cebuano but I am uncomfortable praying in the vernacular. I cannot concentrate and contemplate... I will just be criticizing...instead of the faithful departed being happy with me because I prayed for him, he would be angry with me because I would end up backbiting and gossiping about the others.'

Informant Number 5:

Ngilngigangpangadjisa Latin oi... angbisayangapangadjikay amusing...

'The prayers in Latin are grimly horrifying. The Cebuano prayers are amusing.'

Informant Number 6:

Kung Latin syamanindugjudakobalahibo.

'If the prayer is in Latin, it is hair-raising.'

Informant Number 7:

Lahirakaymuragmakatawako kung Latin kaymuragbinuang lang. 'It is different because I will just laugh since Latin prayers seem simply senseless and silly.'

Informant Number 8:

Maskomportable man gudangubansaBisayaogkaykasabot man sila. Tapos ma nosebleed pod kasaLatin. Medyo lain angpamatisauban o saakoa pod kung Latin anggamitonkaymuraghurim-hurim. Mao biya nay gamitna language bastamgaampo-amposamga exorcist.

'Others are more comfortable in Cebuano because they can understand it. If prayers are in Latin, you will have nosebleed. The others and I myself would feel weird if Latin is used in prayers because they seem to be spells and charms. That is exactly the language used in the prayers of the exorcists.'

Informant Number 9:

Kalinawugtawhayngapagbatipanahonsapangadji, kayginatabangannakoangkalagsaminatayparamapasaylokiniughaps ayiyangpagpanawugparamahilangitkini. Saako, parehalang kung masabtanangmensahesaduhaka language. Perosa degree of reverence, I prefer Latin.

'I feel peace and quiet in times of prayer because I am helping the soul of the faithful departed to be pardoned and to make his departure smooth and to be able to enter heaven. For me, it is the same if the message is understood in both languages. In terms of degree of reverence, I prefer Latin.'

Informant 10:

Parang weird angLatin kaywalakoynasabtan.

'Latin prayers seem weird because I do not understand anything.

As presented in the ten samples of responses, the informants made use of the following words and phrases: ngilngig 'grimly horrifying', manindugangbalahibo 'hairs are rising', lain angpamati'weird feeling', manlimbawt 'goose bumps', muraugsa exorcist'like in the film The Exorcist',naay degree of reverence 'has the degree of reverence'. Other informants said further:kuyawanko'I am scared', and gibalikasangYawa'cursing the Devil', among others. These responses were characteristic of the allusions that the mananabat'responsorial faithful' accorded the Latin languagethe special position among languages used by the people (Tambiah, 1990).

The unintelligibility of Latin and its association of something ecclesiastical, spiritual, sacred, divine and solemn contribute to the "coefficient of weirdness" of the prayers of the dead. With the informants responding generally to the sadness of the event and the idea of losing someone beloved, emotion and perception are also

factors to be considered when the **mananabat**'responsorial faithful' is either a family member, relative, or a close friend to the faithful departed. It is also with the opacity of the semantics of prayers that the perceived weirdness and the unknown are manifest which the mananabtan' prayer leader' manipulates in the perfomative aspect of reciting the prayers. Meilicke (2005, p. 132) stated that "phonetic, rhythmic, metaphorical, and alliterative effects, with its weird cadences and repetitions" separate the scared from the mundane when she referred to the language of magic. Similarly, the change of intonation and volume of voice, the whispering, the rasping which is commensurate with recitation of incantation and spell are all manifested in the performance of the mananabtan' prayer leader' which can be construed as an expression of the "coefficient of weirdness" (Keane, 2004, p. 432). Such repetitions of prayer and the submissive position in praying remove the faithful from his daily mundane activity and make the mananabat'responsorial faithful' enter into the realm of the unknown which the mananabtan' prayer leader' facilitates. This is another aspect of indigenizing the Catholic prayers among the Cebuanos where intangible indigenous elements are used in the performativity of the prayers and the entire ritual.

Conclusion

This paper is written to the use of Latin and Cebuano in Catholic funeral prayers in relation to the coefficient of weirdness (Malinowski, 1935). The preliminary sections show the historicity of the Spanish colonization of the Philippines and the effects it has on the indigenous Cebuano population and their language. The ecclesiastical aspect of Philippine life is indispensable as it holds and controls the psychological and religious fabric of the Filipino society. On the cultural aspect, such prayers are recited by the **mananabtan**'prayer leader' where the "coefficient of weirdness" is manifested in the performative aspect rather than the regular monotony of prayers in the Catholic orthodoxy. Although the indigenous population embraced the Catholic religion, performed the canonical rituals, and recited the prescribed prayers, the retention of indigenous folklore and folk Austronesian religious elements are still practiced side by side with the orthodox Catholic practices (Means, 2009). This is the same cultural substrate which influences the manner of reciting the prayers with eerie fashion instead of the standard monotony.

Endnotes

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¹ The term catechumen is used to name a hopeful applicant to the Christian religion. The period of being a catechumen is marked by preparation in the form of religious instruction which culminates in baptism (Scannell, 1908).

² The arrival of Ferdinand Magellan in the year 1521 was the first contact of the islanders with European colonialists. The Spanish rule in the Philippines started formally only in 1565 after the conquistador Miguel Lopez de Legazpi defeated Rajah Tupas of Cebu, thereafter establishing Cebu with the Spanish nameVilla del SantíssimoNombre de Jesús.

³ The various monastic orders were made the representatives of the Spanish Crown and of the Catholic Church as an extension to the *patronato real*. Both the administrative functions of the government and the Church matters were executed by the friars themselves. This state of affairs led to the rule of the friars which the Philippine historian Agoncillo (1990, p. 79) called *frailocracia* 'friarocracy'.

⁴ The Augustinians are members of the religious order officially known as Order of Saint Augustine which follows the Rule of Saint Augustine of Hippo.

⁵ Among his fellow Augustinians accompanying him were Fray Martin de Rada, Fray Diego de Herrera, Fray Pedro de Gamboa, and Fray Andres de Aguirre.

⁶ This Spanish word literally means 'natives' who were also called *Indios*. The word Filipino was meant only to refer to the Spaniards born in the Philippines.

⁷ Among the colonialists, there was the closely observed distinction between the *penisulares* and the *insulares*. The former were the ones born in the Iberian Peninsula who were regarded as the political elite and the latter in the islands of the Philippines.

⁸ The *mestizos* were the children of the intermarriage between the Spaniards and the natives. Prominent among them were the illegitimate children of the supposed celibate friars.

⁹ Legend has it that when the people of Legazpi pillaged and burned down Cebu, the statue of the Santo Niño de Cebu was found to be intact but blackened due to fire. This legendary blackened statue became the centerpiece of the celebration.

¹⁰The colonial rule of Spain in the Philippines lasted for 333 years starting in 1565 with the arrival of Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, the first Spanish governor-general in the islands.

¹¹ The liturgy is defined as the public official service of the Catholic Church such as the Catholic mass (Forstescue, 1910). The same can include all the prayers, rituals, and ceremonies in a liturgical church as compared to non-liturgical ones.

¹² The texts of the prayers in Latin are available from <u>www.vatican.va</u>.

¹³ In 1569, Pope Pius V, in his papal bull *Consueverunt Romani Pontifices*, standardized the rosary and grouped the prayers into three mysteries: joyful, sorrowful, and glorious. Currently, each mystery is composed of 50 Hail Mary's, five Our Father's, and five Glory Be's.

¹⁴ Note that the spelling convention of the Cebuano prayers shows the influence of Spanish where the phoneme /k/ is represented by the letter 'c' and not by 'k'. The same thing goes on with the sound [aw] which is spelt 'ao' instead of 'aw'.

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