

Unveiling Sacred Women

Musical Representations of the Changing Construct of Femininity in the Mass Settings of the *Manual-Cantoral para el uso de las Religiosas de Santa Clara de la Ciudad de Manila (1871-1874)*

Maria Alexandra Iñigo Chua

University of Santo Tomas, Conservatory of Music

Abstract

In the field of Philippine music discourse, there has been an apparent marginalization of women throughout the country's history. While, in general, this problem may be attributed to the dearth of historical accounts, in particular, it is due to the lack of source materials in music that could merit investigation from this perspective. Thus, the reemergence of the *Manual-Cantoral para el uso de las Religiosas de Santa Clara de la Ciudad de Manila*, a five-volume sacred music anthology published in Manila (1871-1874), is vital in a discussion of women in music and culture, especially the changing construction of religiosity, femininity, and identity in the context of the country's Spanish colonial experience (1521-1898). This crucial moment in Philippine history was a crossroad for encounters that marked significant alterations in the ideological orientation of Filipino women. Hispanization of the archipelago, viewed as the metaphoric blending of the East and West, altered explicitly the cultural construct of women. It is from this perspective that the paper seeks to locate social meanings that emanate from the music of the monjas (contemplative nuns) of the Monasterio de Santa Clara and paradigmatically explores the

interconnectedness of this music among issues of gender, sexuality and identity with the aim of providing representations of Filipino femininity through a conceptual approach that is historically oriented, socially grounded and musically substantiated.

Keywords

women music, femininity, religiosity, musical representations, music in Hispanic Manila, Monasterio de Santa Clara

Introduction

In the field of Philippine music discourse, there has been an apparent marginalization of women throughout the country's history. While, in general, this problem may be attributed to the dearth of historical accounts, in particular, it is due to the lack of source materials in music that could merit investigation from this perspective. Thus, the reemergence of the *Manual-Cantoral para el uso de las Religiosas de Santa Clara de la Ciudad de Manila*,¹ a five-volume sacred music anthology published in Manila (1871-1874), is vital in a discussion of women in music and culture, especially the changing construction of religiosity, femininity, and identity in the context of the country's Spanish colonial experience (1521-1898). The paper will attempt to demonstrate that there exists a dynamic correlation of the aesthetic and structural abstraction of music productions of the period in relation to music's social history that critically examines music, gender and identity brought about by colonialism in Philippine society.

Spanish colonialism, a crucial moment in Philippine history, was a crossroad for encounters that marked significant alterations in the ideological orientation of Filipino women. Hispanization of the archipelago, viewed as the metaphoric blending of the East and West, altered explicitly the cultural construct of women and the Filipino identity at large. It is from this perspective that this paper seeks to locate social meanings that emanate from the music of the *monjas* (contemplative nuns) of the *Real Monasterio de Santa Clara* and to paradigmatically explore the interconnectedness of this music to issues of religiosity, gender, and identity with the aim of providing represen-

1 *The Manual-Cantoral de las Religiosas de Santa Clara de la Ciudad de Manila* is a five-volume anthology of sacred music printed by *Litografía Oppel* in 1871-1874 in Escolta, Manila. At present it is the earliest extant music source printed in the country. The Series 2 was unearthed by the author at the Ecclesiastical Museum of the Church of Baclayon, the Series 1a and 1b at the Lopez Museum, Series 4 at the Franciscan Archives in San Francisco del Monte, Quezon City and the Series 3 was located at the Archdiocese Archives of San Fernando, Pampanga.

tations of hybridity and Filipino femininity² through a conceptual approach that is historically oriented, socially grounded and musically substantiated.

Intramuros or the *Ciudad Murada* (Walled City) was the bastion of Hispanism in this part of the globe. This cultural space was the focal point in the spread of Christianity and Western ideologies to the peripheral regions of the Philippine archipelago, which eventually paved the way for the burgeoning of a distinct Christianized western-derived cultural tradition in the country. Hispanization in the context of Philippine colonial experience was a defining factor that transformed Philippine society and culture.

Within the walls of Intramuros was the *Real Monasterio de Santa Clara*,³ the only female religious establishment in the citadel where one could hear women singing in church services. Nick Joaquin provides a textual imagery of this musical reality when he writes about womenfolk's excitement in hearing mass at the *monasterio*, which was open to the public only on solemn occasions. To quote Joaquin, "mass there had a special awesomeness: from behind the lattices came the voices of the women the world never saw, singing within the royal monastery the taboo of whose cloisters had been violated once: by the British, in 1762. (17)"

In another account, Henry T. Ellis, a traveler from Hong Kong, witnessed a rare occasion while visiting Manila in 1858: That of the admission of a candidate to the nunnery, which according to him, was the only time the citizens of Old Manila saw the *monjas* of Santa Clara. Here, Ellis expressed

2 Here I used Webster's definition of femininity, referring to qualities and behaviors judged by a particular culture to be ideally associated with or especially appropriate to women and girls. Distinct from femaleness, which is a biological and physiological classification concerned with the reproductive system, femininity principally refers to socially-acquired traits and secondary sex characteristics.

3 The *Real Monasterio de Santa Clara* was the first women religious group to establish a monastery in Manila. Sor Jeronima de la Asuncion, a professed Poor Clare nun from Toledo, at the age of 66 came to Manila together with nine other religious women in 1621 to establish the monastery for Spanish and *criollo* (Spaniards born in the Philippines) women who want to live a cloistered life dedicated to prayer and sacrifice.

his awe and wonder regarding the music that emanated from the *monjas* of the Monasterio:

In a lofty-vaulted entrance-chamber, to which—save that from the door leading to the cloister—no ray of external light was admitted, were fifteen figures, completely covered from head to foot in black garments. Their veils, apparently of thick, black crepe, if not of something more impervious still to light, descending to the waist. Each figure bore a tall, lighted taper, just sufficient to make darkness more grimly visible and, as they glided to and fro, chanted one of the most dolorous strains I ever remember hearing; the muffling of the thick veils, of course, increasing the melancholy nature of its sound (257).

The notion of disembodied voices in these vocal performances that is the singing of these religious women within the hidden lattices and thick veils has certainly evoked an enigma about those seemingly mysterious and shadowy women of society that musicologists need to unveil for meaning and signification.

The *monjas* and the *beatas* in Philippine society were born out of the colonial hegemony of Spain. Music was a most intriguing part of their cloistered lives. Varied questions, both general and specific, arise that problematize such a musico-cultural phenomenon. Firstly, how did the coming of a dominant patriarchal order affect / effect⁴ spirituality, gender and identity constructions of women in the early colonial period Secondly, is it possible to locate articulations of the social and cultural identities of these women in music productions of that period? Lastly, how are social meanings generated in the interplay of colonial spirituality, femininity, identity, and music? To attempt to provide answers to such interrogations, I draw attention to the

4 Affect used in this context means “to influence” while effect means “to bring about”. The coming of the colonial order didn’t just influence aspects of the native’s society and culture but brought about new constructs as a result of the imposition of Western colonial system. The *monjas* and the *beatas* were clear representations of colonial constructions in Philippine society brought about by Spanish colonialism.

need to formulate a methodological framework with which to ground this investigation.

A most common problem in the field of music studies is the bridging dichotomies between theoretical ideas, i.e. internal vs. external, objective vs. subjective, humanistic vs. scientific, conceptual vs. empirical, structural vs. postmodern, and so on. Theodor Adorno was one of the first thinkers to propose a possible mediation of dualities in musical scholarship. He advocates the abandonment of the separation of method from the subject matter. Adorno argues:

Method is not something to be applied to an object in a fixed and unvarying manner. Instead, method should adapt itself to its object and legitimate itself by the light it sheds on it. The individual fields of research should be treated not as neatly coordinated with or subordinated to, each other, but in terms of their dynamic relationships (2).

Thus, Adorno proposes a methodological tool that emanates from the cultural object itself, critically assessing the relation of these objects to the particular society in which it was a product.

He further states that:

A sociology of music has a dual relationship to its object: an internal and an external dimension. It can only transcend the disastrously superficial reduction of products of the intellect to social circumstances if it locates the social dimension in their autonomous form and perceives it as an aesthetic content. Sociological concepts that are imposed on music from the outside, without being able to demonstrate their credentials in strictly musical terms, remain devoid of force (2).

For Adorno, music is a social product. A study of music then has to go beyond the structural abstraction of its intrinsic elements and should attempt to locate meaning in its social dimension. Interesting is his proposition of bridging these two together to validate the approach.

On the other hand, Ruth Solie, a noted musicologist and feminist, has proposed a theoretical framework that takes into consideration the nature

of musical representations, which according to her is usually ignored due to music's nonrepresentational status. She emphasizes the importance of "analysis of the particularity of musical constructions of alterity, of the techniques of musical imaginary and how these musical signs come to bear meaning" (2). Her interpretative analytical model to provide musical significations through representations is a seemingly convincing methodological tool. Thus, the application of a holistic interdisciplinary approach, which draws attention to the intrinsic aspect of music study (i.e. the structural analysis of the music compositions) mediated with its extrinsic elements (i.e. the socio-cultural historical orientation of the object of study) and further subjected to an interpretative hermeneutical inquiry of musical representations, will be utilized in this particular study

To attempt to address the questions posed as regards to the music of the *monjas* from the anthology *Manual-Cantoral de Santa Clara*, this paper endeavors to apply this methodological approach in order to bring out new findings and meanings in musical scholarship. Series 2 of the Santa Clara anthology contains *misas classicas, procesiones y bendiciones* (classical masses, processions and benediction music). Three of the mass compositions are intriguing since descriptive titles are attached to them, namely, *Misa Hispano-Filipina*, *Misa Devota* and *Misa Caprichosa*.⁵ Since these compositions were music productions of the eighteenth century and representative of music composed in Manila during that period, I propose to subject the three mass cycles to close scrutiny and critically examine these in the context of representations of colonial spirituality, gender and identity construction of religious women in the history of Hispanic Philippines.

5 There were no identified composers of the music from this anthology. However, it is possible that a certain Fray Lorenzo Castello, an Augustinian from Valencia was assigned in the Philippines could have composed this music.

The Establishment of the *Real Monasterio de Santa Clara* and Women Religiosity in Early Colonial Manila

In the year 1598, Sor Jeronima de la Asuncion, a professed Poor Clare Nun from Toledo, received information that the city of Manila had plans of establishing a foundation for a monastery of nuns. However, this was realized only 22 years later. Accounts have it that the “procurator wielded a considerable influence in convincing the Royal Council of the Indies to rush the commission naming Sor Jeronima, Abbess and Foundress of the Monastery in Manila and as such was empowered to go to the Philippines with other religious of the Order.”⁶ She was then 66 years old.

On April 28, 1620, Sor Jeronima sailed with nine other religious women to start the foundation in Manila. However, a companion died during the voyage. Sor Jeronima together with the other eight religious women arrived at the port of Bolinao in Zambales on July 24, 1621 and made their way to Manila by land on the 5th of August of the same year. Their arrival in Intramuros, Manila was widely celebrated. Felix Huerta⁷ writes:

Imponderable es, ciertamente, el júbilo y recocijo manifestado por los manilenses al ver entrar por sus puertas los nueve coros angélicos, personificados cada uno en una religiosa (36).

[Certainly, it is unimaginable the joy and happiness shown by the people of Manila on seeing coming through their gates the nine choirs of angels in the person of the nine religious women.]

6 See *400 Years 1578-1978 Franciscans in the Philippines*, Regal Printing Company, 1978. (If I remember it right, there was no identified author for this book as it was printed as a souvenir publication for the quadricentennial of the coming of the Franciscans)

7 Fr. Felix Huerta, OFM was *Ministro* of the *Real Monasterio de Santa Clara de Manila* in the year 1875 (*Manual del Viajero en Filipinas*, Tipografico de Santo Tomas, 1875)



Plate 1 Sor Jeronima de la Asuncion

They were received by the distinguished people of Manila headed by the Governor and Capitan General, Don Alfonso Fajardo, with much jubilation and fanfare. Huerta continues:

... entre repetidas salvas de artillería y universales aplausos de un concurso inmenso, fueron conducidas á una espaciosa casa de Doña Ana de Vera, situada en el pueblo de Sampaloc, estramuros de la Ciudad (36).

[... amidst repeated salvos of artillery and clapping of hands of an immense gathering of people they were conducted to a spacious house of Doña Ana de Vera situated in the town of Sampaloc outside of the Walled City.]

Doña Ana de Vera ceded to the nuns a portion of her land in Sampaloc for the foundation of their monastery. In the following year, 1622, the church was built under the direction of a lay brother, Fray Diego de la Torre. However, the church was damaged in the great earthquake of 1658. They then built their convent inside the Walled City where they stayed until 1945. The *Real Monasterio de Santa Clara*⁸ was under the protection of the King of Spain. The community was supported by two thousand pesos from the royal estate, five hundred pesos from the Legazpi commission (encomienda), and smaller alms from the faithful.

The Royal Monastery of Santa Clara with its 30-foot windowless walls was situated in a quiet nook in the northeastern part of the citadel in Intramuros. According to Jesuit priest Rene Javellana, S.J., “the nunnery was dubbed ‘living death’ because women who entered were never seen again by outsiders. The only sign of their existence were the chants that would waft through the monastery chapel during mass and common prayers” (89).

The monastery was initially only for the Spanish women, who were said to have *limpieza de sangre* (clean blood).⁹ It was only in 1880 when native

8 The Poor Clares were the first women to officially establish a mission in the Philippines, although they were not the first women missionaries to arrive in the country. Accounts say that Julia Naito, a Japanese nun, together with other members of a religious order for women under the guidance of the Jesuit missionaries, came to the Philippines in the year 1614. Referred to as the Beatas of Miyako, they arrived with the group of two Japanese Lords, Justo Ukondono and Juan Naito-dono, who were exiled from Japan because of their refusal to renounce their Catholic faith (De La Costa, *Jesuits in the Philippines*, 363).

9 There were, however, few instances that a native woman was allowed in the monastery. Irving notes “many native women petitioned the *Monasterio de Santa Clara* asking for entry to its cloisters. In 1628, Dona Maria Uray (“uray” signifying “lady rajah”) wrote, asking to take up the veil or even to become a “slave” in the monastery but was twice rejected. In 1631 or 1632, the first Filipino nun, a Kapampangan woman named Sor Martha de San Bernardo (c.1605-1650),

women were officially accepted into the cloisters. Because the natives were generally denied entrance to the monastery, an alternative institution was created: the *beaterios*, which were founded by native women, many of whom had been refused entrance to the *Monasterio de Santa Clara*. According to Jaime Veneracion, they were allowed to live as *beatas* in a religious community. However, they were not formally or officially recognized by the Catholic Church (35).

The formation of the *beaterios*, houses where nuns lived as a community, was established as early as 1593 with the foundation of the *Real-Colegio Monasterio de Santa Potenciana*. However, this was short lived and was closed ca. 1628. Other *beaterios* were established, and by the end of the eighteenth century, there were five *beaterios* in Manila that were under the administrative direction of the major religious congregations. The *Beaterio de la Compañía* (1686), the first religious organization for Filipino women, was under the spiritual guidance of the Jesuits. This eventually became the order of the *Religious of the Virgin Mary* (RVM) founded in 1747 by Ignacia del Espiritu Santo. There were also the *Beaterio de Santa Catalina* (1696) and the *Beaterio de Santa Rosa* (1750) both under the Dominican order. Under the administration of the Recollects were the *Beaterio de San Sebastian de Calumpang* (1736) and *Beaterio de Santa Rita* (1740) (Gatbonton 14).

Hence, the coming of colonialism greatly affected the women in the islands. It introduced the practice of *monjas* and the *beatas* where women were allowed to live a life as a community or in seclusion dedicated to prayer and supplication. With the establishment of these religious institutions and

was allowed to enter the monastery and take the veil. Two more Kapampangan women, Sor Madalena de la Concepcion (1610-1685) and Sor Juana de Sancti Antonio (1600-1671) were admitted in 1630. But they were probably classed as *monjas legas* or lay nuns, who were required to carry out menial tasks, and they were exceptions, for no other indigenous women were allowed to enter Santa Clara until the 1880s (176-177). See also Luciano Santiago's *To Love and to Suffer: The Development of the Religious Congregations for Women in the Spanish Philippines, 1565-1898*, 63-76.



Plate 2 Beata y Pupila

corresponding assimilation of the Christian doctrines, the newfound faith took deep roots in the religiosity of women in the colony.

Manila's written and oral history has always raved about the pomp and pageantry of Catholic festivities and fiestas. Women were at the forefront of all the religious undertakings of the city, sponsoring, implementing and attending various religious activities. Fr. Fidel Villarroel, O.P., talking about the celebration of religious festivities in Intramuros has this to say:

The yearly guide book published in Manila entitled *Guias de Forasteros* or *Guia de Filipinas*, a forerunner of our modern guide books for tourists, always opened with the Calendar that throws some light on the religious

life of the city. The calendar looks as if it were published for the benefit of the pious Catholics especially the womenfolk, eager not to miss a single liturgical or devotional service in every church (49).

The devotion shown by women in attending religious rites of the church was affirmed by Nick Joaquin in his article, “The Ceremonies of Intramuros”:

The old time Manilaña seem to have been early risers. Even before four a.m. when one arrived at the still-closed door of, say, Santo Domingo, one already found a bunch of women in the courtyard, waiting to be let in. These were the *beatas*, and they come from Binondo and Sta. Cruz and Sampaloc and Pandacan. After mass at Sto. Domingo, they would go to San Francisco, if it was a Tuesday, or to the Recoletos, if it was a Friday, or to Lourdes, if it was a Saturday, pausing on the way for extra prayers at San Ignacio or San Agustin, making the rounds of the Intramuros churches every day of their lives. On Sundays and holidays, these *beatas* garbed in black or in *habitos* shared the first mass of the day with more stylish folk: men in tuxedos, women in gowns and jewels, who had been dancing all night at the clubs and had dropped in at the Intramuros church to hear mass before going home to sleep (17).

Such has been the cultural state of mind of the womenfolk of the era. Their fervent religiosity has pervaded the traditions, practices and way of life of the period.

As regards the cloistered women of the *Monasterio de Santa Clara*, music was an essential part of the *monjas'* monastic lives as affirmed by Henry Ellis' account of 1859. In the *Regla Primera y Constitucion* (First Rule and Constitution) of the monastery, published in 1835, there was a provision for the *Vicario del Coro* to take care of the music training of the *monjas*. An entry in the *Anuario Filipino* of 1877 identified M. Sor Clara de Purificacion as the *Maestra de Corista* of the convent. Her role was necessary for music was a form of prayer, done intermittently during the day and night. Thus, there was a need for a huge repertory that was diligently collected within a wide span of years.

The Production and Repertory of the *Manual-Cantoral para el uso de las Religiosas de Santa Clara de la Ciudad de Manila (1871-1874)*

The sacred music anthology, *Manual-Cantoral de Santa Clara*, was printed by the Litografia de Opiel. This German company introduced lithography¹⁰ in the colony in 1858.¹¹ Contained in the *Manual-Cantoral* are some of the earliest representations of music productions from urban colonial Manila. This collection is the only known *cantoral* to have been printed in the colony in the nineteenth century. The distinguished Spanish book collector of the period, Pedro Vindel, referred to it as “un ejemplar de esta rarísima obra” (an example of a most rare work) done by the natives of the colony.¹²

The publication of the *Manual-Cantoral* collection was a brainchild of the Franciscan priest, Fray Pedro Parra, O.F.M. whose name appears in the article by Raymundo Bañas and Ma. Concepcion Echevarria Carril.¹³ Available records show that Fr. Parra was born in Madrid on January 31, 1816. He came to Manila and was appointed Guardian of San Francisco de Manila in 1864. In 1867, he was appointed *Definidor* and *Vicario de Santa Clara* (Gomez Platero 730). Bañas writes about Fr. Parra being in a Manila

-
- 10 Lithography is a planographic (done on flat surface) printing done initially on stone that employs chemical in the printing process. This invention by a German printer, Alois Senefelder c. 1798, made production of prints faster and cheaper. Considered a major breakthrough in the period, it propelled the burgeoning business of printing, publishing, and selling music sheets and anthologies.
 - 11 German brothers Gustav and Jorge Opiel introduced the new technology of lithographic printing that afforded a rise in newspaper, prints and music printing. The brothers stayed in the islands and established the Litografia de Opiel in Escolta, Manila in 1858. This secular printing press was responsible for the printing of the five-volume sacred music anthology.
 - 12 Collection listing from “Los Franciscanos y el Nuevo Mundo, Monasterio de Santa Maria de la Rabida (Abril-Mayo 1992). Cited from Marin Morales, Fr. V.O.P. *Ensayo de una síntesis de los trabajos realizados por las Corporaciones Religiosas Españolas de Filipinas*, Manila, 1901. Pedro Vindel, *Biblioteca Filipina*, n. 1425.
 - 13 See Ma. Concepcion Echevarria Carril, “Musica La Franciscano en Filipinas,” 197-210.



Plate 3 Cover page: Manual-Cantoral

convent in 1864-1867. Bañas also cited that he composed two manuals, one of them for the religious women in the *Monasterio de Santa Clara* and the other a collection of *cantorales* that was published in Manila in 1874 (29).

Unfortunately, Bañas did not acknowledge where he got this information, so one does not have a concrete evidence of why this opus was attributed to him. No accounts are available that would inform us about the musical abilities of this Franciscan priest. He could have just ordered or facilitated the compilation of the music sung by the *monjas* (cloistered nuns) of the convent when he was *Vicario of the Monasterio* in 1867. As the diversity of the contents of the work would show, it is doubtful if Fr. Parra was the one who composed all the music in the collection. However, Parra's vision of putting the music repertory of the convent in print was laudatory and for this he has earned significance in the music history of *Las Islas Filipinas*.

Fray Parra contracted the German Oppel brothers to print the collection. The remarkable lithographs and the music notation in the anthology, produced in the course of four years (one volume per year) was auspicious as it preserved the music repertory of Intramuros, Manila. Despite the large corpus of music that survived, it is unfortunate that not a single composer of any of the musical works was identified. It is evident that the music contained in the collection was written specifically for use in churches and monasteries in colonial Manila.

One of the mass compositions contained in *Series 2^aB* of the collection was entitled "Misa Hispano-Filipina." The work is notated in an archaic form of music notation that employs square and diamond note heads representative of eighteenth-century sacred music composition in the colony. The notation of the "Misa Hispano-Filipina" resembles the music contained in the large format manuscript choirbooks that survived in the ecclesiastical museum of the church of Baclayon in the province of Bohol and in San Agustin Church, Intramuros.¹⁴

14 See Chua's *Kirial de Baclayon año 1826: Hispanic Sacred Music in Nineteenth Century Baclayon, Bohol* for a detailed discussion of large format choirbooks, called *cantorales* from the Ecclesiastical Museum of the Church of Baclayon.

A close examination of the music repertory shows that the compositions were made over different time frames. The differing musical characteristics of the compositions as well as their notational properties are proof that they were composed in different stages of musical development. The “Misa Hispano Filipina” from *Serie 2^a-B* is in *canto llano figurado* (measured plainsong), which was the predominant style of church music during the second half of the eighteenth century. On the other hand, the “Salve Regina” from *Serie 4^a* is representative of the nineteenth-century choral singing that employed dramatic dissonances coupled with flowing aria-like melodic passages. This particular composition and the rest of the repertory in *Serie 4^a* were written in modern day music notation.

The repertory of the anthology is noteworthy. *Serie 1^o Officio Difuntos* contains music and prayers for the dead, while *Serie 2^aA* and *2^aB Misas classicas, bendiciones y procesiones* contain mass cycles such as “Misa Hispano Filipina” (a coro y duo de tiples), “Misa Devota” (a duo y coro), and “Misa Caprichosa” (para coro de tenores o’ tiples y en el 2o caso se acompaña por). *Serie 3^a Visperas y Maytines Clasicos* contains music for the Divine Office such as Matins and vespers. *Serie 4^a Miscellanea*, which is in modern notation, is a remarkable set of devotional paraliturgical music sung in various religious celebrations of the Catholic Church, such as *gozos*, *villancicos*, *motets*, *Salve Regina*, *Miserere* and others. A majority of the repertory in the collection is in honor of the Virgin such as the “Gozos Inmaculada Concepcion,” “Misa Mariana,” and “Salve Regina.” There are also *motetes* (motets),¹⁵ the “O admirable Sacramento,” “Ay Dueño de mi vida” and “Sepulto.” Included as well is a set of *villancicos* for Christmas (in Spanish), and a set of *villancicos* for the *altares*, which is in Latin, and another *villancico* for the feast of the *Santissimo Domino* sung during Holy Thursday.

The published music anthology is remarkable for it preserves a significant body of sacred music crucial to the development of *Hispano Filipina*

15 Motets refer to a common musical/poetic form of Spanish Renaissance music. It is a musical composition with a biblical, patristic or liturgically-related text in Latin from four to eight voice parts.

music in the eighteenth century that continued to be sung until the next century. The publication of this music book not only made its preservation possible but also brings to fore pertinent issues particularly the changing construct of femininity and identity as a result to the Hispano-Filipino encounter.

The Mass is the primary liturgical service of the Roman Catholic Church. In music, the mass as a composition refers usually to the setting of the Ordinary of the Mass,¹⁶ which consists of the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei. Three in the sets of masses used intriguing descriptive titles, namely, “Misa Hispano-Filipina,” “Misa Devota,” and “Misa Caprichosa.”¹⁷ In the following section, I examine these three mass cycles and interpret their meanings contextually by pointing out the representational aspect of the works as demonstrative of a syncretic or hybrid process and as articulative of ideas about Filipino social and feminine identity.

Misa Hispano-Filipina: Changing Feminine Construct in Early Colonial Period

As colonialism effected considerable modifications in the identity construction of women in the archipelago, alterations in these changing constructs proved to be some of the most significant and meaningful phenomena for the female populace. How then are these changes brought about and articulated in the music of the period? The *Misa Hispano-Filipina*, a mass composition from the *Manual-Cantoral*, probably written in the mid-eighteenth century or early nineteenth century, is an early attempt to represent and

16 The Ordinary of the Mass is a part of the celebration of the Eucharist wherein the text is invariable. The five main parts of the mass ordinary are the *Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei*. These parts are the ones that are usually set to music in a mass setting or composition.

17 Other titles of the mass compositions in the *Serie 2^a of the Manual-Cantoral para el uso de las Religiosas de Santa Clara de la ciudad de Manila* dated 1872 are *Misa Ysidora, Misa del Santissimo, Misa de Resurreccion* and *Misa Froylana*. There were no identified composers of the music from this anthology. As discussed previously, based on historical inference the Augustinian Lorenzo Castello might have composed some of the compositions in the anthology.

assert the identity of the Filipino people during the Spanish colonial period. Hence, this discussion will present aspects of the changing construct of femininity in this era of conversion and transformation, as seen from the prism of music.

According to Luciano Santiago, a majority of spiritual ministers in pre-colonial Philippines were priestesses. They were called *babaylan* (probably from the term *babai lang* or women only) in Visayan and *catolonan* (from *katulungan* or helper) in Tagalog (6). These *babaylans* are spirit mediums that acted out rituals called *pag-anito* (séances) to establish communication with the spirit world. According to William Henry Scott, the *paganito* are solemn ritual ceremonies conducted as supplication for fertility of crops, for the newlyweds, for rain and fair weather, victory in war, the healing of the sick, control of epidemics, and the placing of souls of the deceased (84). Moreover, *babaylans* can also be male or male transvestite (*asog*), but are commonly female. To be a *babaylan* is a calling. They believe that a woman is being called if she suffers attacks of illness or insanity and that this can only be cured by accepting the calling, after which they become *alabay* or apprentices to some older *babaylan* (84). These women ministers were allowed to marry and have children.

Seemingly intriguing is an account gathered from sixteenth-century accounts of the “*sonat*,” a high priestess considered to be the most experienced and effective healer in the locality. Her rank was equivalent to that of a bishop (Santiago 7). Santiago discusses the occurrence of a particular ritual of circumcision of native girls performed by the high priestess or *sonat*. The term itself could have come from the Tagalog and Malay term “*sunat*” which means “circumcision”. This could have been done, according to Santiago, to inhibit and dampen “physical sensations to promote female chastity and fidelity” (8). Historical documents pertaining to this practice were mentioned in several accounts dating from the early part of the seventeenth century.¹⁸

18 Santiago provides a listing of these accounts such as San Buenaventura 1613, 617, 696; San Antonio 1624: *Vocabulario Tagalo*, 245, Wilkinson 1959; Jimenez-David 1997 (8).

Santiago conjectures that “missionaries’ greatest contribution to the welfare of Filipino women was the abolition for what is now known as “female genital mutilation” (8). Another widespread belief of the period was that a woman would not be saved if she remains a virgin. This was considered a misfortune and humiliation in the society. Jesuit priest Pedro Chirino in his 1604 account stated that:

One of the best results is the modesty and virtue of the women, which we esteem in those regions, because it is but little practiced or valued among their heathen peoples. In many—I even believe, in all—of those islands there existed a doctrine, sowed by the devil, that a woman, whether married or single, could not be saved, who did not have some lover. They said that this man, in the other world, 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*.

Consequently virginity was not recognized or esteemed among them; rather they considered it as a misfortune and humiliation. Married women, moreover, were not constrained by honor to remain faithful to their husbands, although the latter would resent the adultery, and hold it as a just cause for repudiating the wife.¹⁹

Hence, pre-colonial Philippines asserts the seductive and sexually appealing woman. This leads us to a possible answer to why *babaylans* are usually females. There is a belief that if spirit mediums are women they are more appealing and enticing toward the gods and evil spirits who are mostly male. Through the *babaylans*’ graceful dancing in the *paganito* ritual the spirits will be enticed and tempted to give in to their supplication (Santiago 6). Scott presents an interesting account of a *paganito* in Cebu in the sixteenth century:

The site was adorned with green branches, palm-leaf cloths and colorful blankets: and the offering—red blossoms, roasted fish, rice and millet cakes wrapped in leaves, and a piece of imported Cambay cloth—were set out on

19 Emma Blair and James A. Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Volume 12, 251.

large plates. A live large hog, raised and fattened for this end, lay bound on a grass mat and **cacophonous music was provided by gongs, drums and resonant porcelain plates.** The *babaylan* was an old woman wearing a headdress topped by a pair of horns and accompanied by a second medium, both of them carrying bamboo trumpets which they either played or spoke through. They both proceeded to dance around the hog with scarfs in their hand, acting out a dialogue between spirits possessing them, drinking wine on their behalf, and sprinkling some of it on the hog (Scott 85).

Music and dancing proved to be an essential part of the *paganito* ritual as performed and conducted by the *babaylan*. Since music in this period thrived in oral tradition, we can only surmise that music played by the gongs and drums was characteristic of the nonlinear melodic and rhythmic patterns common to the music of the East. The stylistic considerations and aesthetic constructs of music will eventually change as notions of identity and femininity was transformed with the subsequent Hispanization of the archipelago, which brings us to the discussion of the *Misa Hispano Filipina*.

The title *Hispano Filipina* was a perfect imagery for the blending of the East and the West in the formation of the Filipino culture. Hence, it provides a clear affirmation of a society born from the marriage of the two opposing regions of the world. The *Hispano Filipina* signifying the motherland of the Filipinos has always been conceived as a woman repressed and dominated by the male Spanish colonizers.

“Misa Hispano Filipina” is a mass cycle composition notated in an obsolete form of mensural notation utilizing square and diamond note-heads. The music is in triple meter, in a major mode with F as the tonic. The Kyrie commences with a very irregular phraseology (11 measures). This contrasts with regular phrases in succeeding sections.

MISA HISPANO FILIPINA.

a' coro y duo de tiples.

And^{te}

Coro

I ri e

duo 3

e ley son, Ki ri e

e ley son, Ki ri e e ley son,

Coro *duo* *

Chris te e ley son, Chris te e

Coro

ley son, Chris te e ley son, Ki ri e

duo

e ley son. Ki ri e e ley son, Ki ri

e e ley son.

Plate 4 Misa Hispano Filipina

Music example 1: Musical contrasts in the of Kyrie from Misa Hispano Filipina)

1a. Irregular phrase characterized by monophony, mm. 1-11.

6

coro

Ki - ri - e

e - ley - son

1b. Regular phrase structure of 4 measures in two-voiced polyphony moving in parallel thirds, mm. 12-15.

duo

3

3

Ki - ri - e e - ley - son

The first phrases of the three-part Kyrie are set monophonically, but this then goes into a two-voiced homorhythmic polyphonic style characterized by thirds. It seems to me that these contrasts—irregular /regular and monophonic/polyphonic—create the idea of opposition and difference and therefore *as if* depicting the dialogue of two diverse and existing cultures that are locked in a mutual relationship.

Singing in homorhythmic thirds (Music example 1b), a prevalent style of sacred music of the period, evokes the native voice vis-à-vis the colonial power, which does not simply command but invites a dialogic compromise. This particular musical characteristic of singing in parallel thirds had been deeply appropriated by the colonial subjects especially in native folksongs and harmonic singing. The form of the music is through-composed, in which the piece is devoid of melodic phrase repeats. Due to this, the compo-

sition projects symbolic order in the play of oppositions. Thus, an overarching unity in opposition is achieved. One appreciates this in the a-b-b pattern, “a” being in monophonic texture while “b” is polyphonic. Dialogical tensions and conflicts abound in the structural elements of the composition. But the harmonic singing in thirds and textural form (i.e. monophonic and polyphonic) of the music signify an agreement or marriage between the two “confronting” cultures. I argue that this musical dialogue represents hybridity, which is dialogism characteristic of Filipino colonial identity.

Misa Devota: Respectability and Order in the Construction of the Feminine Ideal

From the *babaylan* women of pre-colonial Philippines, I would like to direct the discussion to the birth of a new female construct resulting from the *Hispano Filipina* negotiation—that of the *beatas* and *monjas*.

Santiago in his book, *To Love and to Suffer*, writes a detailed account of the history of religious congregations of women in Spanish Philippines. In the publication, the earliest mention of the conversion of *babaylan* women to becoming the devout *beata* (nun) was in Chirino’s 1603 account (2005:15). *Catalonans* and *babaylans*, based on accounts, after being pressured by the missionaries, embraced the faith and led Christian and exemplary lives. Santiago, however, presents variegated accounts of these priestesses that although transformed to the Christian faith, continued to practice their priestly duties, which was castigated and penalized by the missionaries for doing the work of the devil.

However, the author conjectures that this was an exception rather than something that was normative. Santiago theorized that there were more sincere and benevolent priestesses, who after embracing the faith, aspired to dedicate their lives to spiritual devotion, and being a *beata* was the highest form of expression available to them at that time. Pious and devout, these nuns lived a life of prayer and sacrifice, which earned them respectability among the populace and were viewed by the women folk as the feminine ideal. In 1650, Fray Domingo Navarete wrote:

...The Indian women are very devout and modest and frequent the sacraments with great zeal. There is no holy day, great or small, but abundance go to confession and received the Blessed Sacrament. I used to say that the fervor of the ancient people of Castile was gone over to the Indian men and women of Manila (qtd. in Santiago 32).

The newfound faith had been engrained in the womanhood of the islands with the formation of the *beaterios* and the *Monasterio de Santa Clara*. The virtuous and ideal life of respectability and order that the Christian faith has brought in were enshrined in the lives of the *monjas* and *beatas*. As the holy women embodied the beliefs attendant to their vocation, a new concept of female ideal arose. The *monjas* followed the strict rules of monastery life as encoded in the *Regla* and *Constituciones*, in which music training was a major component of the *monjas*' religious life.

The singing of the *monjas* caught the curiosity and interest of the Manila womenfolk who made it a point to attend Masses and other ceremonies at the monastery just to be able to listen to the voices of the choir hidden from public view. In 1742, the Dominican historian Vicente Salazar, wrote of the musical traditions of the *Beaterio de Santa Catalina*, which according to him, probably imitated those of Santa Clara to some degree. He states that the *beatas* of Santa Catalina “know plainchant and music very well and certainly appear to be a choir of angels, celebrating all these offices with great devotion. This leads us to the examination of the Kyrie of the *Misa Devota*, a fitting representation of the devout and pious life of the Filipina *monjas* and *beatas*.

“*Misa Devota*” is a musical representation of the devout and pious life introduced by the Spanish friars in the quest for spreading the Catholic religion. The mass composition is in the D minor mode, which is reminiscent of the *Protus Plagalus* or the *Hypodorian* mode of the Gregorian chant, except for some use of the leading tone C-sharp. The composition evokes the mysterious and solemn aura of a life in seclusion.

The Kyrie is in 3/4 and its musical structure is aaa bcd eee. The musical texture is ABA with A part being monophonic, the B part polyphonic,

MISA DEVOTA

*a duo y coro propia para festividades de Nuestra Señora,
de 2ª clase.*

Mod^{to} *Coro*

I ri e

e ley son. Chris te e-

ley son. Chris te e ley son Chris-

te. e ley son e ley-

son. *Inter-medio* *Coro* Ki ri e

e ley son

And^{te} *Coro*

T in ter ra pax ho mi ni bus bo nae

vo lun tá tis. Laudámus te: Be ne di -

Plate 5 Misa Devota

characterized by a two-voiced counterpoint moving predominantly in thirds, and few sixths and octaves.

Music example 2: Monophonic and polyphonic parts, Kyrie, Misa Devota

2a: Monophonic “A” part, mm. 1-7.

Coro

Ki - ri - e

2b: Polyphonic “B” part, mm. 12-15.

duo

Chris - te e ley - son

The third section of the Kyrie returns to the monophony. Overall, “Misa Devota” depicts subservience, which is manifest in the adherence to form of the musical texture. This obedience contrasts with the dialogical textural form of the *Hispano Filipina*. Deference to rules is seen in the passing modulations that occur in the middle section. The flow is normative and one expects what is expected and usual, i.e. modulation to A major (dominant) in measure 15 and F major (relative major) in measure 19. Rhythmic patterns are clearly regular and this speaks to discipline that is symbolic of a life devoted to prayer. The B part seldom employs rhythmic changes, except for a slight deviation of a rhythmic motive. Parallelisms of the musical construction of the piece to the construction of femininity of these *beatas* and *monjas* are apparent. The noticeable predictability of the movement of the form, rhythmic time and key modulations signify the regularity, predictability, and

the normative devotional life that brought, according to Catholic statutes, order to the lives of women.

“Misa Caprichosa”: Deviation and Disorder in the Filipina Feminine Construct

On the other hand, sexual fantasies and desires of women in the East were never suppressed and were in fact encouraged. As previously discussed in pre-colonial Philippines, it was considered a sin to remain a virgin since it was a belief that women were in need of the opposite sex (a lover) to assist them in their next life. Furthermore, *babaylan* priestesses were women that bring allure to charm and entice the gods and spirits for favor and preference. The change in the feminine construct during the onset of the Spanish colonial period brought about oppositions and contestations, as women encountered the realities of suppression and oppression of their sexual yearnings.

Coming from a very different sexual point of view, adherence to the new prescribed ideal feminine construct of living a chaste, innocent and morally uncorrupt life according to the strict Catholic concept of sexuality was, Santiago writes, difficult. Even the early *beatas* were not exempt from this dilemma. Santiago explains that one of the main reasons women in the period entered a nunnery, was their repentance in living a sinful, sexual and promiscuous life. An early account states that a certain Clara Caliman, a “*ramera*” (Spanish for prostitute), entered the cloistered life (42). Missionaries promoted the veneration of the image of Mary Magdalene, a woman saint that was a repentant sinner. This easily found favor among the native women, and as proof Santiago points that “the second Filipino nun was Sor Madalena de la Concepcion (1637), the first book published by a woman in the Philippines was a novena to Santa Maria Magdalena (c. 1838) and one of the *beatarios* founded by a Filipina was called “La Magdalena” (1887) (42). Camagay in her study on nineteenth-century working women tells of the “*mujeres publicas*” (women prostitutes) as a valid profession of women, but was looked down on by society.

A striking opposition, then, to the devout and ideal *beatas* were women who lived a wayward and deviant life. This disordered life was untoward and

considered sinful and aberrant. Hence, it can be surmised that the transition process from *babaylan* to *beata* was not completely smooth. The ideal was not always followed. Santiago states that “as early as 1601 certain *beatas* [it was not specified if they were Spanish or Filipina] were denounced by the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Manila together with Fray Nadres de Cordoba and Fray Francisco de Santa Maria. It was alleged that the two friars solicited sexual favors from them (in the confessional) to which they gave in.” Another case reported in 1665, involved a Tagalog *beata*, Luisa de los Reyes, who was accused of having an illicit sexual affair with the two Jesuit priests. She was prosecuted whereas the Jesuits were later expelled in the islands in 1769 due to their illicit activities (43-44).

Non-conformity to the Christian ideal brought remorse and guilt to the Filipina women, and when repentant, found solace in a life of seclusion within the imposing walls of the *monasterio*. This has been depicted in many accounts and literary writings of the period. Jose Rizal’s *Noli me Tangere*, offers an appropriate imagery to this reality. Maria Clara, the heroine of the novel, turns out to be a daughter of Padre Damaso. Her forlorn love for Ibarra brings her to the confines of the nunnery and nothing is heard of her again. In another episode in the novel, Rizal presents an account of the “mad nun” that portrays depictions of sexual scandals inside the *monasterio*. Although some would consider it a propaganda, it has striking references to real historical accounts.²⁰

Women’s devotion to Santa Clara de Asis has found its way to the Filipino folklore as childless women participate in fertility rites in Obando to ask favor from the woman saint to bless them with children. Nick Joaquin offers an interesting account stating that “since the 18th century up to the present, childless couples dance and sing for two days in May around the

20 A research of this account was undertaken by historian Jose Victor Torres for his master thesis at the University of Santo Tomas. See Torres, “The Source of the Mad Nun episode in Jose Rizal’s *Noli me Tangere*,” *Philippine Studies*, Manila, 1993, 41:1, 102-115.

images of the two Virgin saints (Santa Clara de Asis and San Pascual Baylon) and the Blessed Virgin Mary to the tune of the folksong “*Santa Clarang Pinong-pino*” (Saint Clare, Most Refined). In the hope that God will bless them with children, they perform the ritual, reminiscent of the ceremonies of ancient priestesses” (qtd. Santiago 85). Santiago states that “some women in the church called *babaylan* or *catolonan*, offer to assist the childless wife by praying over her while touching her womb and prophesying the birth of a healthy child. As soon as she is spotted, the modern day priestess is shooed away by the parish priest or his protégés” (85).

Seemingly interesting is the text and music of this well-loved folksong:


Santa Clarang pinong-pino	Most refined, St. Clare
Kami po ay bigyan n’yo	We beg you to provide us with
Ng asawang labing-tatlo	13 husbands
Sa gulpe’y walang reklamo	If we beat, will not complain

In the text, women were praying to St. Clare for thirteen husbands (How can you be more promiscuous than that?) whom she can dominate as her partner in life. Levi Celerio, a noted composer and lyricist of the twentieth century, wrote of folksongs with titles “Alembong,” “Galawgaw” and surprisingly “Caprichosa.” Hence, the eccentric, untoward, capricious and wayward women, living a worldly life were in stark opposition to the ideal construct of Christian femininity. These women are metaphorically depicted in music of the period.

Very much in contrast to the “*Misa Devota*” is the “*Misa Caprichosa*.” The Kyrie of this cycle depicts the deviant and sinful life lived by those who do not conform to the teachings of the church. The piece is in 2/4 time, a meter that was imperfect compared to the 3/4 meter. The beginning melodic motive demonstrates a wayward movement having a very wide range, which is atypical of the melodic movement in religious songs of the period.

MISA CAPRICHOSA

para Coro y duo de Tenores ó Tiples, y en el 2.º caso se acompaña por si b.

Despacio.  *Coro*

I ri e e ley son. Ki ri e

e ley son. Ki ri e e ley son.

duo

Chris te e ley son. Chris te e ley son.

Chris te e ley son e ley son.

Coro

Ki ri e e ley son. Ki ri e

duo

e ley son. Ki ri e e ley

son e ley son e

ley son e ley son.



Plate 6 Misa Caprichosa

Music example 3: Range of melodic motive, Kyrie, “Misa Caprichosa,” mm. 1-5.



The first part of the *Kyrie* is monophonic (abc), with the third section modulating to C major (dominant) in m. 17.

Music example 4: Third phrase of the monophonic *Kyrie* modulating to C mm. 13-17.



The *Christe* part is set polyphonically but does not move in the usual homorhythmic thirds, but rather predominantly in sixths, fifths, and octaves (d-e-f). This section starts in A minor (relative minor of the dominant), then goes to G minor (parallel minor of the dominant) in measure 26, F major in measure 30, and ends in A major (parallel major of the relative minor) in measure 33.

The piece is short, yet, exhibits unruly traits such as passing modulations and eccentric harmonic movement. The last section is monophonically in A major, but the second *Kyrie* in this section begins in G minor and ends in D major (mm. 40-45). The third *Kyrie* again offers a rather eccentric and complicated two-voiced polyphony moving in parallel thirds that start in F minor but ends in A major (mm. 43-49). A drastic change to a rhythmic pattern in triplet in strict parallel sixths occurs at the end.

Music example 5: Drastic change in rhythmic pattern (triplets in strict parallel sixths,) mm. 52-59.

The musical notation for Music Example 5 is in 2/4 time. It features a melodic line with a bass line. The melody consists of several triplet patterns in parallel sixths. The lyrics are: e - - - ley - son e - - - ley - son.

The rhythmic motives, as well as the melodic motives, are extremely diverse with no repetitions. The irregularity of the phrases is also very noticeable and all this point to the whimsical image of a capricious woman.

What provide unity to the piece are the melodic and rhythmic motives in sequence. The composition is filled with music deviations from the normative. It is a peculiar composition that characterizes the behavior of a “*caprichosa*.” The piece parodies a whimsical person by utilizing motives from the West Visayan Lulay folksong. The folk melody is worldly and profane.

Music example 6: Lulay folksong motive in the “Misa Caprichosa” mm. 23-28

The musical notation for Music Example 6 is in 2/4 time. It features a melodic line with a bass line. The melody consists of several eighth and sixteenth note patterns. The lyrics are: Chris - te e - - - ley - son Chris - te e - - - ley - son.

Conclusion

Navigating through the notions of femininity, identity and music of the period brings us to the apparent tensions and negotiations presented in the sexual differences of women in relation to the musical differences of the compositions. The “Misa Hispano Filipina,” “Misa Devota” and the “Misa Caprichosa” clearly demonstrate that these musical productions were byproducts of the negotiation and dialogic process of cultural forma-

tion in the course of history as correlations in the structural component of the musical compositions with the changing construction of femininity in Philippine society was correspondingly established.

The utilization of the proposed model that mediated the intrinsic and extrinsic aspects of the object of study (e.g. the mass compositions from the Manual-Cantoral de Santa Clara.) which was then subjected to an interpretative inquiry of musical representation has brought us to a more meaningful approach as it attempted to investigate music in the society where it evolved. This hopefully brought forth processes in the understanding of hybrid and syncretic cultures subjected to colonial hegemony particularly as it relates to an attribute in the social construction of Filipino femininity. As the study hopes to illuminate our understanding of women in Philippine society, i.e. the *babaylans*, *beatas* and the *monjas*, the paper pursued to figuratively unveil an aspect of the dynamic change that transpired in the formation of our cultural identity and distinctive Filipino musical culture.

Works Cited

- Adorno, Theodor W. *Sound Figures*. Translated by Rodney Livingstone, Stanford University Press, 1999.
- Blair, Emma, and James A. Robertson, editors. *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Clark, vol. 12, 1903-1909.
- Camagay, Ma. Luisa. *Working Women of Manila in the 19th Century*. U of the Philippine P and the University Center for Women Studies, 1995.
- Chua, Maria Alexandra I. *Kirial de Baclayon ano 1826: Hispanic Sacred Music in 19th century Bohol, Philippines*, Ateneo de Manila UP, 2010.
- Dunn, Leslie C., and Nancy Jones A., editors. *Embodied Voices: Representing Female Vocality in Western Culture*. Cambridge UP, 1994.
- Gatbonton, Esperanza B. *Intramuros: A Historical Guide*. Intramuros Administration Manila, 1980.
- Gomez Platero, Eusebio. *Catálogo biográfico de los religiosos franciscanos de la Provincia de San Gregorio Magno de Filipinas desde 1577 en que llegaron los primeros a Manila hasta los de nuestros dias*. Imprenta del Real Colegio de Santo Tomas, 1880.
- Huerta, Felix. *Estado Geografico, topografico, estadistico Historico –Religioso de la Santa y apostolica Provincia de San Gregorio Magno de las religiosos menores delcalzos de la regular y mas estrecha observancia De N.S.P.S. Francisco, en las Islas Filipinas*, Imprenta de M.Sanchez y ca., 1865.
- Irving, David. R. *Colonial Counterpoint: Music in Early Modern Manila*. Oxford UP, 2010.
- Joaquin, Nick (Quijano de Manila). "The Ceremonies of Intramuros," *Intramuros*. Philippine Daily Inquirer, Inc. 1988.
- Koskoff, Ellen, editor. *Women and Music in Cross-Cultural Perspective*. U of Illinois P, 1989.
- Lozano, José Honorato. *Album: Vistas de las yslas Filipinas y trages desus abitantes*, 1847. Drawings. Source: Biblioteca Nacional de España.
- Manual-Cantoral para el uso de las religiosas de Santa Clara de la Ciudad de Manila, Serie 2ª: Misas clásicas, procesiones y bendiciones*, Litografía de Oppel y Ca., 1872.
- Manual del Viajero en Filipinas*, Tipografico de Santo Tomas, 1875.
- Santiago, Luciano, P.R. *To Love and to Suffer: The Development of the Religious Congregations for Women in the Spanish Philippines, 1565-1898*. Ateneo de Manila P, 2005.
- Scott, William Henry. *Barangay: Sixteenth-Century Philippine Culture and Society*. Ateneo de Manila UP, 1994.

- Solie, Ruth A., editor. *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship*, U of California P, 1993.
- Torres, Jose Victor Z. "The Source of the Mad Nun episode in Jose Rizal's *Noli me Tangere*." *Philippine Studies*, vol. 41, no. 1, 1993, pp. 102-15.
- Veneracion, Jaime. "Mula Babaylan hanggang Beata," *Roots of Filipino Spirituality*, edited by Teresita Obusan, Mamamathala Inc., 1998.
- 400 Years 1578-1978 Franciscans in the Philippines*, Regal Printing Company, 1978

List of Plates

Plate 1: Abbess Jeronima de la Asuncion by Diego Velazquez (1599-1660)
Painting dated 1620 at the Prado Museum in Madrid

Plate 2: Beata y Pupila from José Honorato Lozano's *Album: Vistas de las yslas Filipinas y trages de sus abitantes*, 1847.

Plate 3: Cover Page, *Manual-Cantoral para el uso de las religiosas de Santa Clara de la Ciudad de Manila, Serie 2ª*, 1872

Plate 4: Kyrie, Misa Hispano Filipina, *Manual-Cantoral para el uso de las religiosas de Santa Clara de la Ciudad de Manila, Serie 2ª*, 1872, p. 150.

Plate 5: Kyrie, Misa Devota, *Manual-Cantoral para el uso de las religiosas de Santa Clara de la Ciudad de Manila, Serie 2ª*, 1872, p. 51.

Plate 6: Kyrie, Misa Caprichosa, *Manual-Cantoral para el uso de las religiosas de Santa Clara de la Ciudad de Manila, Serie 2ª*, 1872, p. 106.