

Popular Religiosity: Experiencing Quiapo and Turumba

Jabin J. Deguma*¹, Melona S. Case¹, Jemima N. Tandag¹

^{*1} Cebu Technological University, Philippines

Correspondence Author: Jabin J. Deguma

ABSTRACT:- This paper inquired the vivid picture of Philippines as a bastion of Christianity in the Southeast Asian region being concretized through its people's rich religiosity being affected by the connubial of western and eastern cultures. Typified by devotions and worships akin to its long picturesque antiquity while passing the praxis generation through generation. A marked of an active interlocutor of people's culture and faith, the experienced of Quiapo and Turumba in the Northern Region of the Philippines served as quintessence of popular religiosity of the brown-skinned men and women of the Pearl of the Orient seas.

Keywords:- Filipino Culture, Inculturation, Dynamic Equivalence, *Poong Nazareno, Turumba*

I. INTRODUCTION

Popular Religiosity has undeniably played an important role in the life and worship of the Catholic Church. From the first centuries to the present, popular religiosity has enriched and deepened our Christian faith. This manifests that our faith is not something static or stagnant, but dynamic and creative as it dialogue with the culture of the people. The *2001 Directory on Popular Piety and the Liturgy* (DPPL) affirms this historical significance: "The history of the Western Church is marked by the flowering among the Christian people of multiple and varied expressions of simple and fervent faith in God, of love for Christ the Redeemer, of invocations of the Holy Spirit, of devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary, of the veneration of the Saints of commitment to conversion and of fraternal charity. These expressions have grown up alongside the Liturgy. Treatment of this vast and complex material which is sometimes referred to as "popular religiosity" or "popular piety"..."ⁱ

Fr. Anscar Chupungco (2004) in his talk "Liturgy and Popular Religiosity" observes a revival of interest in popular religiosity. He purported that spiritual life is not limited solely to participation in the liturgy. Popular devotions, for example, are integral parts of Christian spirituality. However, the propensity to worship God through popular devotions brought disconcerting feeling as local believers felt helplessly cold and distant towards reformed liturgy (Chupungco 2004).

DPPL (2001) distinguishes the term from the following namely *Pious Exercises*, Christian piety such as the rosary and Stations of the Cross, which are mandated by the Holy See or by the Bishops, *Devotions*, External observances attached to particular times, places, and objects such as medals and sacred images, *Popular Piety*, Private or public actions derived from national values such as humility, generosity, sacrifice, and trust in God. Examples of this are the acts of hospitality toward the poor and strangers as embodied in the Christmas *Panunuluyan*. While *Popular Religiosity*, the term mostly preferred by cultural anthropology, encompasses pious exercises, devotions, and popular piety. In such case, *Popular Religiosity* is a more general term. Some anthropologists equate popular religiosity with *folk Catholicism*. But the latter has an element of superstition and traditions religion that the Catholic Church is cautious of. The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium* of the Second Vatican Council however admonishes: Popular devotions of the Christian people are to be highly commended, provided they accord with the laws and norms of the Church, above all when they are ordered by the Apostolic See. Devotions proper to individual Churches also have a special dignity if they are undertaken by mandate of the bishops according to customs or books lawfully approved. But these devotions should be so drawn up that they harmonize with the liturgical seasons, accord with the sacred liturgy, are in some fashion derived from it, and lead the people to it, since, in fact, the liturgy by its very nature far surpasses any of them."ⁱⁱ

Furthermore, in *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, the Church mentions the importance of popular religiosity among clergy in celebrating the sacred mysteries, as well as popular devotions which are imbued with the spirit

of liturgy (SSC 1993). Albeit a growing tension that exists between the official liturgy of the Church and the popular religiosity of a culture, DPPL recognizes the following causes of the tension in the history of the Church. A weakened awareness of the Paschal mystery as the very core of salvation history. A weakening of a sense of the universal priesthood in virtue of which the faithful offer "spiritual sacrifices pleasing to God, through Jesus Christ" (1 Pt 2, 5; Rm 12, 1), and, according to their condition, participate fully in the Church's worship. And, lack of knowledge of the language proper to the Liturgy - as well as its signs, symbols and symbolic gestures - causing the meaning of the celebration to escape the greater understanding of the faithful (DPPL 2001).

Popular religiosity is a primary exemplar of *inculturation* as a process since it shows the concretization of the harmony between the culture and faith. When culture and faith meets, it serves as a cradle of popular religiosity. DPPL affirms the nature of popular religiosity as a product of *inculturation*: Popular piety is the first and most fundamental form of the faith's "*inculturation*", and should be continually guided and oriented by the Liturgy, which, in its turn, nourishes the faith through the heart. The encounter between the innovative dynamism of the Gospel message, and the various elements of a given culture, is affirmed in popular piety.ⁱⁱⁱ

Fr. Chupungco argues for *dynamic equivalence* as a method of *inculturating* popular religiosity. *Dynamic equivalence*... consists of replacing the language or rite of the Roman liturgy with an element or trait of popular religiosity which has an equal meaning or value that can transmit the message intended by the Roman liturgy. In this way the Roman liturgy will shed its classical image and put on a popular form without losing its doctrinal and spiritual content.^{iv}

DPPL (2001) reminds that *inculturation* should not present special difficulties at the level of language, musical and artistic forms, or even of adopting certain gestures, while pious exercises do not concentrate on the essential elements of the sacramental life. It has to be remembered, they are in many cases popular in origin and come directly from the people, and have been formulated in the language of the people, within the framework of the Catholic faith."

Popular religiosity is described by Cultural Anthropology as festive, felt, spontaneous, expressive, immediate, human, communitarian, collective, joyful, symbolic, traditional, and alive. Fr. Chupungco (2004) further adds the linguistic and ritual traits.^v More so, DPPL (2001) propounds popular religiosity with components such as *Gestures, Texts and Formulae, Song and Music, Sacred Images, Sacred Places, Sacred Times*.

Fr. Chupungco (2004) explains popular devotions are often performed during processions, altars or shrines, and religious dance may accompany processions; and drama may be an expression of personal and community devotion. While, dynamic equivalence is not a question of introducing popular religious drama, dances, and processions into the liturgical celebration... It is rather a question of integrating those traits of popular religiosity that can suitably re-express the meaning of the liturgical rite. Without necessarily indulging in drama, the liturgy could be more dramatic and mimetic. This is particularly desirable for those parts of the liturgy that have the character of a narration (Chupungco 2004).

II. METHODOLOGY AND LIMITATION

In this paper, we will present two samples of Filipino Popular Religiosity: that of Quiapo and that of Turumba. The Filipino Popular Religiosity of Quiapo centers on Jesus Christ, the Suffering Messiah as the Black Nazarene, one of the three popular images of Christ in the Philippines; while the Filipino Popular Religiosity of the Turumba in Pakil, Laguna is Marian. Narrative description of the two Filipino Popular Religiosities will be employed in examining the veracity of the practice and their relevance. It is good to note that the two correspond to the religious personality of the Filipino Catholic, as the Catechism for Filipino Catholics (1997) provides: "We are a people who have experienced in one way or another that our Filipino *identity, meaning, suffering, commitment and world-view* are all *tied to Jesus Christ*... The typically "Filipino" approach to Christ is *with and through Mary*."^{vi} It is necessary to point out that this work limits on the existing literature available on the said topic. Hence, this paper will serve as an opener to widen the perspective and understanding of the vast culture and tradition of Filipino religiosity.

III. THE PHILIPPINES: A BASTION AND HOME OF POPULAR RELIGIOSITY

The Philippines as the first Christian nation in Asia is truly a bastion and home of religiosity. From the crowded streets of Quiapo to the busy streets of Makati, from the poor rural country folks to the extravagant urban dwellers, from Luzon to Visayas to Mindanao, one can find a rich variety of popular religiosity. Fr. Chupungco beautifully expresses this reality in words: Filipino Catholicism is deeply rooted in popular religiosity. It is not an exaggeration to say that the Catholic faith in the Philippines has survived the changes and chances of time chiefly because of the people's attachment to their religious devotions.^{vii}

All of these are products of more than four hundred years of Catholicism brought by our Spanish missionaries. Fr. Pablo Fernandez (1988) in his book *History of the Catholic Church in the Philippines* devotes

a full chapter on the contributions of Spanish colonization of the Philippines with regards to “third orders, pious works, confraternities, associations, devotions and sanctuaries, many of which still exist today.” Fr. Lucio Gutierrez, O.P., a historian of the Philippine Church, beautifully enunciates: When we read the chroniclers of the early period of evangelization, we see how deeply the Christian way of life had become an everyday fact of life... The missionaries planted into the hearts and minds of the Filipinos the liberating power of the Gospel of Christ. They did it without destroying the culture of the people. This native culture was fundamentally kept, enriched and truly liberated.^{viii}

Moreover, the Second Plenary Council of the Philippines in 1991 praises the Filipino popular religiosity as rich in values: They manifest a thirst for God and enable people to be generous and self-sacrificing in witnessing to their faith. They show a deep awareness of God’s attributes: fatherhood, providence, loving and constant presence. They engender attitudes of patience, the sense of the Cross in daily life, openness to others and devotion.^{ix}

However, the practice of popular religiosity is not without harsh criticisms and negative replies in the history of Philippine Christianity. It is accused of promoting a “split-level” Christianity among the Filipinos – a bifurcated separation of their Christian practices with their traditional customs. As a response to the critical evaluation of Filipino Catholicism as downright “split level,” Fernando Nakpil Zialcita (2005) characterize Filipino Christianity as “syncretic,” rather than “split level”. However, Fr. Gutierrez (2000) opines that popular religiosity, so strong still today, and so vilified in some Christian and theological quarters, grew mightily.

IV. THE QUIAPO EXPERIENCE

Quiapo as Center of Popular Religiosity: History

In 1578 Manila was made into the seat of government by Legazpi. The surrounding area influenced by the Christianity, among which a small barrio (later to be called Quiapo) was included, was placed under the administration of a *gobernadorcillo*. Its religious supervision was entrusted to the Franciscan friars of Sta. Ana de Sapa, a district south of the Pasig River. Formerly a *visita* of Sta. Ana de Sapa, Quiapo became an independent district by the royal decree of August 29, 1586 signed by the first Archbishop of Manila, Ignacio Santebanez, OFM (Gianan 2005). Two years later, in 1588, Quiapo was erected as a parish under the leadership of the Martyr St. Peter Baptist (Gianan 2005). This small town soon laid the foundations for the construction of a church and a convent dedicated to the Most Holy Name of Jesus. Since the town was surrounded by water, it was entrusted to the patronage of St. John the Baptist. The cornerstone of the first Quiapo Church was laid in 1592 during the administration of Governor General Gaspar de Azalo (Catalan, 1994). Except for the first parish priest, Rev. Fr. Antonio de Nombella, a Franciscan friar, Quiapo was always under the care of diocesan clergy. The original Church was destroyed because of the Chinese revolution of 1603. It was in this century that Quiapo began to be associated with the Black Nazarene. Tradition attributes the dark figure of Christ to a Mexican artist. It was believed to have been brought over to the Philippines from Mexico by the Augustinian Recollect Fathers in 1609. In the eighteenth century, the image was solemnly blessed by Archbishop Basilio Sanchez as endorsed and affirmed by Pope Pius VII. This same Pope attached numerous indulgences to the devotion to the Nazarene gaining for it a sure following and inevitable popularity. Documents found in the archives of the Archdiocese of Manila attest even to the existence of a *Confradia de Jesus Nazareno* in Quiapo as early as March 16, 1742. Hence, from the above official sanctions given by the church to this devotion to the Nazarene it may be deduced that it started as an official cult. Subsequently, however, practices and Popular Religiosity began to be observed within this sanctioned cult (Catalan, 1994).

In 1863, the church was again destroyed because of a strong earthquake. From then on until 1869 Fr. Eusebio de Leon and Fr. Manuel Roxas built a bigger and stronger church. But by 1929, during the time of Fr. Magdaleno Castillo, the church was raised to the ground by a fire. A year after, 1930, Fr. Castillo had another church built at the same spot by the architect Juan Nakpil, with two new parts and two belfries (Catalan, 1994). On February 1, 1988 this parish church was raised to the status of a Minor Basilica of the Black Nazarene by the Holy Father (Pope John Paul II) through the efforts of his eminence Cardinal Sin and of the then Papal Nuncio Bruno Torpigliani (Catalan, 1994). Today, the Minor Basilica honors the Black Nazarene under the *baldochino* at the main altar of the church. The velvet vestments of deep purple embroidered with gold thread and brocade is supervised by the family and heirs of the late Rosario Ocampo de Alejandro.

Art and Architecture

The Quiapo Church is a typical Baroque Church in the Philippines. As heritage scholars say: “The Baroque Churches of the Philippines represent a fusion of European church design (baroque) and local construction techniques and decorations.”^x Like the structure of most Spanish churches in the Philippines, it resembles an elongated warehouse, with invariably straight rooflines, enhanced by a dome and a belltower lording it over the landscape (Regalado 1992). Along the sides of the church’s exterior, one can find the statues of the twelve apostles of Christ. Inside the Quiapo Church, one can see the main altar with a modern rendition

of the main altar and side altars, the four evangelists on the four corners, a Eucharistic adoration chapel and confessional rooms, teeming with people.

Some Minor Samples of Popular Religiosity

The divinity of the manifestation of popular religiosity in the unofficial cult of the Nazarene goes beyond “*panata*”. According to Wilfredis B. Jacob: The motivations for making the *panata* (devotional pledge or a promise to do something after having received the graces and blessings or after the prayers and petitions have been heard) are always associated with petitions for health, for success, for happiness, etc...^{xi}

a.) “*Padasal*” (Prayers for Hire). Miracles are the reasons why thousands flock everyday to Quiapo Church. Here in the very heart of seedy and teeming old Manila, the faithful pray to the Black Nazarene, a 400 year old, darkened image of Christ, clad in a maroon colored robe and semi-kneeling from carrying a large wooden cross which is said to have special powers to grant favors and miracles to its devotees (Lerner 2005). One doesn’t normally associate giving money in exchange for a miracle. Good old fashioned prayer is supposed to get the job done. At the Quiapo Church, there is another, more practical and straightforward method of getting that miracle, hiring a “prayer lady,” to say prayers for one’s behalf. (Lerner 2005). These Filipino moniker, “*mandarasal*” or “prayer warriors”, are semi-official group of middle aged and elderly women, sometimes as few as a handful during slow days, and more than a dozen on the busy days of Friday and Sunday, who wait innocuously in the back of the church, sitting on a small plastic stools, until a “costumer” comes by and asks one of them to say prayer on their behalf. (Lerner 2005).

While the *mandarasals* don’t like to say they get paid for saying other people’s prayers, compensation, monetary or otherwise, is always part of the package. It’s just that it’s always unspoken. Instead of money some people donate a bag of rice, bananas or native foods (Lerner 2005). The prayer ladies say that some people are too busy to pray regularly, so they feel better hiring these ladies, who are at the church almost everyday, to do it for them. Some who do pray like having that “extra pus” to ensure that their wish will come true (Lerner 2005). A common reason people visit the *mandarasal* is because they simply don’t know how to pray and they want to be taught. The request from clients are varied but usually fit within a regular pattern. Some want to pray for additional capital for their business. Some pray for a sick family member, or they’re having family trouble, or for a death anniversary, ladies say. Another common request comes from people about to go on a trip asking for personal safety (Lerner 2005).

Church administrators do not allow the ladies to sit in the regular pews and they are only allowed to work in the back of Church. The *mandarasals* are not permitted to solicit customers, although it didn’t seem like anyone has trouble finding them. On a typical Sunday afternoon, one would observe that there was never a moment when at least one of the ladies didn’t have a client (Lerner 2005). Each of the ladies carries a small tattered notebook where they keep track of all the requests of each of their clients. Although some people ask for a quick prayer, many have the ladies say weekly prayers for them. Clearly, though they wouldn’t give specific numbers, none of the prayer ladies are getting rich saying prayers for other people. And they say that in doing this work is fulfillment enough (Lerner 2005).

b.) “*Punas-punas*” (Touching of Images). Majority of the devotees regard the wiping and touching of images with one’s handkerchief and or towel and then applying this on an ailing part of the body as a sign of faith and an honest supplication for relief and physical cure. Others saw this act as providing a more “relief within the self” as they construe the act as “*nakakaghinawa sa kalooban.*” “*Punas-punas*” is believed by the devotees that things touched with the Holy become sacred. It is like the handkerchief with which you touch something holy becomes holy too (Mercado 2000).

Still other devotees consider the act as a means to relay a prayer or petition to the “Poon.” These convictions from the devotees themselves negate the allegations of animism among devotees. But the touching of images is not only limited to touching or wiping of handkerchief or a towel. Some devotees used sampaguita flowers to offer it and to rub it on the image of the Nazarene. Devotees regard their offering of strings of sampaguita flowers at the foot of the image of the black Christ as a proof of their faith, love and as an act of giving thanks to Jesus. Some devotees consider the rubbing of these flowers on the image of the Nazarene as a sign of their love and respect for Him as they try to “anoint” Him in thanks. For curious observers, this act maybe regarded as fanatical or downright nonsensical while others see this practice as an honest and desperate supplication for a petition asked in faith and as a way by which to cure illnesses through these flowers that have touched the Nazarene. Part of this religious phenomenon of *punas-punas* is the practice of *pahalik*, popular every feast day of the Black Nazarene. As one can observed: On the days the processions are held, devotees would line up as early as 4 am for the *pahalik*. Many families – with both the elderly members and the young toddlers in tow – bear long hours in the queue just so they could kiss the foot of the *Nazareno* behind the church’s main altar. The *pahalik* lasts the whole day on January 9 and ends at 2:00 p.m. on Good Friday.^{xii}

c.) “*Paglakad na Paluhod*” (Walking in a Knelt Position). Walking in a knelt position is one of “*papakasakit*” or the concept of sacrifice which the devotees believe. The walking in a knelt position is done inside the Quiapo

Church from the main door to the altar through the center isle of the church. Sacrifice has several meanings and it can be taken into many aspects like a sacrifice in the context of study, sacrifice in the context faith, sacrifice and many other forms of sacrifices. But this topic will deal only on the sacrifice in the context of faith. For Filipinos the words “*sakripisyo*” (sacrifice) and *pagpapakamartir* (to be martyr) are not clear as to what they are supposed to mean. In other words there is a little cognitive content. They accept suffering in the sense of a lived experience.

In a sense this would be a symbol as to how they would proceed, how they would attain future successes and joys by suffering now (Inside Quiapo, 2005). We can site examples of those who walk in knelt position in Quiapo Church. Many do this sacrifice because of many beliefs. Many devotees believe that when they make this sacrifice they will spend shorter time in purgatory. Some others believe that “*penitensya*” will lessen their “*kasalanan*” or sins (Inside Quiapo, 2005). Still some others consider this as “*pagbabayad ng utang sa Poon*” or paying the debt of gratitude to God.

d.) “Pagbabasbas” (Sprinkling of Holy Water). For devotees, the sprinkling of holy water or “pagbabasbas” is a concrete manifestation of the coming of blessings and favors from God. Through the symbolism of the holy water, the penitent is cleansed from his or her sins; the destitute is hopeful for his or her daily bread; and the owner of an image or any other sacramental is assured of protection from the evil one. This is usually done after the celebration of the mass. The blessing of objects of devotion and material things are also included in the practice of *pagbabasbas*. Fr. Anscar Chupungco, O.S.B. in his book *Liturgical Renewal in the Philippines* explains its theology: God blesses man, therefore, by communicating his love to him. And he blesses material things by blessing man who uses them. If we keep this in mind, there will be little room for blessings of exorcistic or apotropaic kind.^{xiii}

e.) “Kandilang Banal” (Prayer Candles). For devotees, lighted candles in front of the Nazarene’s image signify pleading for enlightenment, for themselves and others. Others see it as a means of offering one’s petitions, such as the deliverance of the faithful departed, a cure, faith, guidance and show love, and as a means of giving thanks. The phenomenon of lighting candles of red wax in the shape of human person, or of a part thereof, is regarded by many of the devotees as signifying a prayer of petition for healing of an ailing member or a request for the maintenance of one’s good health or of others. Others consider it as an offering with good intentions of their loved ones and their dead, as a means to give thanks to God for the grace of gift of healing they have received. Hence, the devotees’ penchant for the concrete is occasioned when particulars are accommodated in his expression of religiosity.

As Fr. Benigno P. Beltran, (1987) observes that outside, in the churchyard and adjacent sidewalks, candles shaped as parts of the body are sold. These are lighted to petition for the cure of the ailing limb or organ they represent.

The table below shows the meaning of colored candles as sold in Quiapo and in other churches as well.^{xiv}

Color	Intention
White	Wish, birthday
Red	Family, health, Nazareno (love life, love offering for families)
Blue	Peace of mind
Green	Financial, money (marriage, business)
Yellow	Good spirit (soul)
Pink	Love, health
Orange	Brightness (career)
Brown	Good fortune (travel)
Peach	Studies
Violet	Material wealth
Black	Conscience
Rainbow	Wishing candle

Figure 1.

The candle sold for 20 pesos per set of three. But the mother of all candles, a combination of all the different colored candles twisted together called the “wishing candle” costs 50 pesos.

The Black Nazarene: The Center of Popular Devotion

The Christology of the Black Nazarene is visible in the Novena, Holy Mass and Images of the Black Nazarene are sources from which the devotees come to know who Jesus Christ is and express their belief in a typical manner that is assumed as popular religiosity (Catalan, 1994).

a.) Christology of the Novena Editions. Novena is noted as one of the major sources of knowledge of Christ for many of his devotees. There is, in the five editions of the novena from 1894 until now, a pedagogical development in the understanding of Christ. Culturally, the undertones of the emphases of these varied

portrayals of Christ, although religious in nature, may reveal the actual social-political conditions of the times in which they were used. In the present edition, Christ is viewed in more holistic manner. He is depicted as a true God and true Man, creator and conqueror, God and Father, Lord, Suffering Savior and the Risen One. Although some confusion lies between the above foregoing predicated, it nevertheless lends generally to a more comprehensive presentation of the life-mission of Christ. This is given a parallelism in the life-mission of every Christian and every devotee who must mirror Christ as their model to the world they live in. This novena is emphasized on the biblical themes and aspects of Christ ranging from the institution of the Holy Eucharist into the Resurrection event.

b.) *Christology of the Feast Day Mass.* The Holy Mass was cited in Beltran's study as another major source of knowledge of Christ and of the Christian doctrine and morals. The feast day mass of the Nazarene gives due regard to the aspect of Christ's resurrection. In doing so, the previous mass emphasis on lonely his sufferings and death is stabilized by complementing the picture of Christ not only as suffering savior but as Lord as well. This set up of the feast day mass of the Nazarene approximated the definition of the Eucharist as the memorial of Jesus' last Supper with his disciples and of his death and resurrection anticipated in this meal. This makes present again and applies the unique sacrifice of Christ and nourishes and strengthens the faithful in the spirit. It foreshadows and actively prepares for the eternal banquet in heaven.

c.) *Christology of the Nazarene Images.* The cult of the Quiapo Nazarene revolves around not one but four images of Jesus, depicting the passion scenes in varying degrees of pain and agony, and his glorious resurrection. When asked to identify who the Nazarene is for them, majority of the devotees experience him as the miracle-working Lord who helps them in all their needs. On the other hand, the others acknowledge him as the Son of God who suffered for us and must therefore be loved in return. The crucified Jesus is the paradigmatic sufferer that people can identify with, in and through whom they could interpret the apparently insurmountable mystery of their suffering. More than that, devotion to the suffering Christ enables them to take life's demands seriously and appreciated the cost of what it is to live.

History and Art of the Images^{xv}

There is no definite account as to the origin of the statue. It was reportedly the work of an unidentified Mexican artist who chose to render the image in dark brownish-*mulatto* color, similar to his own skin tone. Eventually, it was referred to as the Black Nazarene because when it arrived in the Philippines the color turned darker. But this endeared it all the more to the Filipinos who seemed to have shown affinity to images they could relate with. The statue, entrusted to an unknown Recollect priest, was brought across the Pacific Ocean and arrived in Manila at an undetermined date. As the first group of Recollect Friars came in the year 1606, it has been assumed that the statue also arrived on that year or a few years later. The statue of the Nazarene remained for some time in the hands of the Recollect Fathers. Later on, the image was given to the church of Quiapo according to the wish of the Archbishop of Manila, as said church was already under the charge of the native clergy. This image was blessed by Archbishop Basilio Sancho in the 18th Century and by Pope Pius VII in the 19th century. In the year 1988, Quiapo parish church was raised to the status of a Minor Basilica of the Black Nazarene. The Nazarene has since then towered above the altar of the Quiapo church.

The devotion to the Black Nazarene of Quiapo revolves around not one but four images of Christ. Each is depicting a phase or station of his suffering, and his glorious resurrection, which completes Christ's Paschal Mystery (Catalan, 1994).

a.) *Nuestro Padre Jesus Nazareno (Our Father Jesus the Nazarene).* This image of Christ clad in a maroon robe, crowned with thorns and carrying a big wooden cross, is in a semi-kneeling position indicating His struggle to recover form a heavy fall. His face expresses the writhing pain He suffers, while His eyes portray that longing for someone to help Him carry His load. At present, there are two images of the Nazarene with this pose. A replica was made, the one in the main altar, and it is what is used during the processions. The original is kept in a glass enclosure to the right side of the main entrance of the Church. This image is not borne out anymore in order to preserve it from destruction.

b.) *Santo Sepulcro (Jesus Christ in the Tomb).* This is located in another glass sarcophagus to the right of the main entrance. This depicts Christ interred "in the tomb". This image is formerly used in the "Calvario" scene done on Good Fridays in the Church. With movable arms and head, it was made to hang on the cross and likewise bow its head in death at the strike of 3:00 p.m. Now it is laid for public reveration where only its feet are exposed for the devotees to kiss.

c.) *Santo Kristo or Krusipiko (The Crucified Christ).* Made of dark hardwood this Crucified Christ hangs on a cross to the left side of the main entrance of the church. It is clothed with a velvet and brocade loincloth.

d.) *Jesus Resurreccion (The Resurrected Christ).* Arelatively new image, the Resurrected Christ is the completion of the Paschal Mystery (passion, death and resurrection). This reminds the Filipinos to be continually hopeful despite of their sufferings, since Christ already triumphed and won us over sin and death.

Rites and Customs in the Devotion and Fiesta Celebration^{xvi}

Official cult revolves around the regular Friday novena and mass; and the Feast day novena, mass and procession. On ordinary Friday, Mass is offered fifteen times at Quiapo, starts from 4:30 a.m to 8:00 p.m. A conservative approximation reaches up to 2000 for every mass. Previous there was Novena prayers and the Exposition and Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. Later however, they were omitted and novena was said right after the Holy Mass. The communal recitation of the Novena is said in only three of the fifteen masses. The Feast of Quiapo Nazarene falls on January 9 because this is the last day of the novena to the most Holy Name of Jesus which starts on January 1st. On both these occasions (January 1st and 9th) and on Good Friday there is procession. The Nazarene is borne on the shoulders of barefoot men through the streets in the vicinity of Quiapo. As observed, the *mamamasan* – or the men who volunteer to pull the rope or steer the carroza – have made it their commitment to join the procession barefoot, unmindful of the grimy street made scorchingly hot by the sun, nor of the distance the five-hour-long procession usually takes (Inside Quiapo, 2005).

The Popular Religious manifestations surrounding the official activities of the Quiapo Nazarene revolve mainly around the “*panata*.” It varies in forms, occupying a singular importance. It can be subdivided into two parts during procession and when inside the sanctuary of the Nazarene. On one hand, during procession, the following practices are enjoined: Wearing the “habit” of the Nazarene. This includes wearing a maroon colored dress with a cord of the same color, complete with a wreath for a crown, worn during processions for women and a plain dark-red shirt with the suffering face of Christ, “*Ecce Homo*,” printed on it for men. Touching the image of the Nazarene. Doing self-inflicted suffering during holy days such as Holy Week or feast days of Nazarene. Bearing makeshift crosses on their shoulders during Holy Week. The most common “*panata*” is the pledge among the men folk devotees of the “*Poon*” to bear Him up on their shoulders during procession. On the other hand, when devotees are inside the sanctuary, the following practices inevitably done: Walking on ones’ knees from the church door up to the altar of the Nazarene. Touching/wiping their handkerchief or towel in the image of the Nazarene and apply these on their body. Offering the strings of sampagiuta flowers. Kissing the feet of the image of the Nazarene. Lighting vigil candles in front of the image of the Cross-bearing Christ. Contributing money for the Church. And paying to order prayers. All these describe in gist the gamut of the unofficial cult to the Nazarene of Quiapo.

Majority of the devotee perceive the “*panata*” as a solemn promise from a debt of gratitude that must be fulfilled for life. Whether their petitions are attained or not what is important for them is for their promise to be fulfilled as a lifetime commitment. Others acknowledge it in asking for forgiveness, a sincere supplication to one’s please of repentance. Some regard it as praise and thanks for petitions granted or as an exclusively prayer of petition.

***The Devotees of the Black Nazarene: A Profile*^{xvii}**

To understand the popular religiosity practiced in Quiapo is to know the numbers and composition of the devotees who frequent the Nazarene’s sanctuary every Friday. There are fifteen masses every Friday, accommodating around 2000 for each mass. It can totally accommodate around 30,000 devotees attending masses every Friday. There are more men than women. They are typically over thirty years old or middle aged. The rest appears of all ages. Majority of the devotees are married. Others are unmarried and widowed.

The biggest percentage of the devotees pertains to the employees and mostly belongs to the low-income group. But a round fifteen percent of them belong to the upper bracket. Others are unemployed or self-employed. They are elderly men and women, housewives, students, vendors, teachers, retirees. Others are janitors, drivers, dressmakers, lawyers, doctors, farmers, among others. The devotees of the Black Nazarene in Quiapo reflect the varied personalities and cut across different occupations.

Nazarene devotees who flock into the sanctuary every Friday come not only from nearby Manila suburbs but also from the provinces. More of them come from Manila and Quezon City. Only small number is residents of Quiapo proper. The rest come from Las Pinas, Bulacan, Pasig, Makati, Paranaque, Caloocan, Marikina, Cavite, Muntinlupa, Novaliches, Mandaluyong, Rizal, Malabon and even as far as Laguna. Majority of the devotee have been devotees for 1 to 10 years. Others have this devotion for 10 to 20 years. The rest are 20 to 30 years and more. This shows that the cult is observed not only from the affective level but also from the cognitive level as well.

V. THE TURUMBA EXPERIENCE

History of “Turumba” in Pakil, Laguna

Every year during the months of April and May, the people of Pakil, in the province of Laguna celebrates the Turumba Festival. It commemorates the seven sorrows of the Blessed Virgin Mary. It is held seven times each year between the months of April and May. The first is held on the Friday before Palm Sunday and the last falls on Pentecost Sunday. Each day commemorates one of the seven sorrows of the Virgin Mary (Dacanay 2004).

During the late 18th century (around 1788), some fishermen of Pakil saw a picture of the Blessed Virgin Mary caught in their net while fishing in Laguna de Bay (Rarela 1993). The fishermen then decided to bring the image to the nearest church they could find. When they reached the seashore, all efforts to bring it to the church was futile because the image became so heavy. The following morning a lot of people gathered around the image because of the news that it was immovable. When the priest arrived, he and the people vowed that they would make an annual pilgrimage to the image. In doing so, they succeeded in bringing it to the church. On the way to the church some of the people started dancing and singing in praise of the Blessed Virgin Mary. This singing and dancing is what we call Turumba and many devotees today sing a song that was written especially for the said event. The framed picture caught by the fishermen measures 9" x 11". The icon was enshrined in the Church of San Pedro de Alcantara on September 15, 1788.^{xviii}

A French naval surgeon, Paul Gironiere wrote the earliest description of the Turumba Festival. He lived in the town of Jala-Jala in the neighboring province of Rizal during the 1830's - 1840's. His book entitled "Twenty Years in the Philippines," written in the 19th century, contained an account of the Turumba. This is what Gironiere wrote about the Turumba: Some religious festivals especially those in the countryside, are influenced by beliefs. For instance, there is a procession celebrated yearly in the town of Pakil where all the sick and invalid take part in by dancing... they believe, that they will get cured of their sufferings. Coming from places as far as 20 miles, the lame and sick who still have a little bit of strength plod themselves along to Pakil to participate in the fiesta. During the entire duration of the procession these unhappy ones dance assisted by helpers and shout "Toromba la Virgen, la Virgen toromba." It is a strange spectacle to see all these poor devils make superhuman efforts and incredible contortions until the Blessed Virgin is returned to the church. These unfortunate ones at the end of their strength throw themselves to the ground gasping and rest motionless for hours. Those who are seriously ill often die of exhaustion, while others regain their health or get worse.^{xix} The word "turumba" might have come from two words; One is "turo", which means to point, the other one being "umbay," which is the dirge sung by the invalids or sick. But this is just a theory of Alejandro Roces. Since then sets of nine-day novenas called "lupi" have been said on Viernes Dolores until September. After every "lupi" is the dancing of the "turumba" (Duyan ng Magiting 1989). People from far away come to Pakil in fulfillment of a "panata" or to ask a favor.

"Turumba" as a Religious Dance

Carla de Sola (1993) describes religious (or liturgical dance), which takes its roots from the Scriptures as a living, moving, breathing epiphany of God and creation. As the paced movement of a liturgy unfolds and the dancers emerge, we find ourselves feeling and seeing an embodiment of the "word". As a communal form of worship, liturgical dance offers a renewed awareness of who these people are as a community. When bodies sway in unison, and arms lift in prayer, the congregation can become conscious, in an experiential way through the workings of the spirit, that they are a living, breathing family of God. Gabrielle Roth, on the other hand, vividly explains the dynamics of religious dance as it is to sweat to pray and to make an offering of your innermost self (Roth 1997). Fr. Chupungco describes the nature of religious dance in the Filipino popular religiosity: Filipino religious culture displays baroque traits in its religious drama and dances. These are held in accordance with the liturgical season and town fiestas... Among the traditional religious dances the more popular are those performed during processions with the image of the patron saint. There are also a fair number of dances, some of them for fertility, in front of images inside the church...^{xx}

The Turumba of Pakil, Laguna can be considered as a religious dance, which is accompanied by chanting of song. Like the other traditional dances, it is performed during processions with the image of the patron saint, the Our Lady of Sorrows. In some regions of the country, other religious dances also are being practiced. "Subli" of Bauan, Batangas is performed during holy week in honor of the crucified Christ, alongside the reading of the *Pasyon*. "Caracol" is unique to the people of Cavite during feasts of patron saints just like that of the "Kuraldal" of Pampanga. "Ati-atihan" is a popular festival in the Western Visayas to worship the Child Jesus, the Santo Nino. The fertility dance of Obando, Bulacan is performed to venerate the Virgin of Salambao and Santa Clara. There are also other examples of religious dances that we can find all over the country in honor of their respective patron or patroness.

Rituals and Customs in "Turumba"

a.) "*Pistang Lupi*". Since the framed image of the Blessed Virgin Mother of Sorrows, that was found, was too small to bring for the procession, an archbishop from Spain researched for the real image of the Blessed Mother which was known to be as "*Nuestra Senora de las Antiguas*." A replica was made from which is now being used since then for the celebration and was named "*Nuestra Senora de los Dolores de Turumba*."^{xxi} The *Turumba* festivities, popularly known as "*Pistang Lupi*", become one of the main tourist attraction in the town. The fiesta for the Blessed Mother of *Turumba* consists of seven novenas corresponding to the seven sorrows of the Blessed Mother. A *Turumba* procession follows right after each novena. This religious celebration is known as the largest and longest of its kind in the country.

During "*Pistang Lupi*" season, tens of thousands devotees from nearby town and provinces (particularly from the province of Quezon) join altogether to participate in the festivity. The Mother of *Turumba* was placed in this antique pedestal during the procession. This pedestal or "*andas*" was carried by the people through three wooden studs underneath. All the flowers and decorations around the pedestal were distributed to the devotees at the end of the procession. The Church of Pakil, which was built in 1732 and was finished in 1767 by the Franciscans, whose patron saint is San Pedro de Alcantara, houses the image of the Virgin of *Turumba*. The centermost section of the altar is where Our Lady of Sorrows of *Turumba* located at. The images of the Saints are all antiques. The altar is also antique and was carefully wood carved by the ancestors from Pakil (Vigo 1993). Holy Masses during "*Pistang Lupi*" season was attended by thousands of devotees. Alvin Dacanay observes: Recent restoration efforts have permitted the San Pedro de Alcantara Church to recapture most, if not all, of its original splendor, and all that hard work has turned this house of God into one of the most beautiful churches... Its façade is remarkable, and so are its interiors – the alternating, almost perfect rows of brick and stone; the quietly compelling *Judicium Finale* (Final Judgment) hanging at one side of the church, towering over the congregation; the ceiling expertly painted with Biblical scenes; the polished white-and-gold retablos.^{xxii}

b.) "*Edible Virgins*"^{xxiii}. In earlier times cookies were used to commemorate the feast of the saints. It was an important medium of mass communication back then. They were used to project the image of the saints. In Pakil, edible virgins survive like the "*Pan de San Nicolas*" of Pampanga. Cookies representing the Virgin of *Turumba* are available during her feasts. They are not shaped with molds or cookie cutters. Instead a cardboard outline of the Virgin is placed on top of the dough, then the figure is cut with a tracer and the details added with a series of punchers. Pakil's virgin cookies may be the last not only of the edible images but of an edible mass medium. No collection of Philippine religious imagery is complete without these esculent images.

c.) "*Awit ng Turumba*". This song is said to be the one sung by the fishermen years ago and which all devotees sing whenever they join the ceremony or procession every year. "*Turumba*" devotees came up with a song that to this day is sung by every devotee in the yearly ceremony. The old folks say and the young ones witness in awe every time they join the procession that is done either on a portion of the town or around it depending on plans or on the weather. The old song speaks of the story of the discovery of the image and its enthronement in the Church. The procession every *Turumba* Festival is preceded by the dramatization of the event. J. Rarela explains: "Little did you know perhaps that among the first spectators to the difficulty of the fishermen to carry the Blessed Virgin to the local church was a fat woman named "Mariangga." She tried and tried to lift the virgin when others failed but she also failed so someone had to go to the priest who ordered a ringing of the bells, and many people came by to carry the image in a procession, joined by the old and the young alike."^{xxiv}

d.) The "*Panghulo*". Many devotees take a bath at the Virgin's swimming pool called the "*Panghulo*" after the procession and a number of times during their stay in Pakil. They go home to their respective towns with water from the spring which they share with their town mates upon arrival. It is said to be miraculous which could heal sickness. A. Dacanay narrates: The town swimming pool, the *Panghulo*, also teemed with people. For a relatively small fee, one can bathe in one of two pools (one for adults, the other for children) filled with cool and clean spring water gushing from a large metal pipe connected to a nearby mountain. It's quite easy to see why people flock to the *Panghulo*, and it's not just because of the stinging heat. Many believe the spring water has curative value. The faithful who lined up towards a running faucet just outside the *Panghulo* to fill their plastic containers with it attest to this belief.^{xxv}

Devotees of "Turumba": A Profile

Devotees are evenly mixed – from men to women, old and young, coming also from other towns and provinces. They usually ask for favors for healing of certain sickness. They pledge *panata* to the Virgin of *Turumba*. As one book affirms: "The sick and the dying also take part in the *turumba* procession. They believe that by joining the procession, they will be cured. Hence, the *turumba* is a special feast among the infirm (Duyang Magiting 1989).

VI. CONCLUSION

The contributions of the Filipino Popular Religiosity to the growth of the Philippine Catholicism is undeniable. But this constantly needs renewal which involves the critical and fervent use of popular religious practices. As the Second Plenary Council of the Philippines (1992) admonishes that the faithful need to foster these popular religious practices in such a way that they do not become distortions of religion or remain superficial forms of worship, but become rather true expressions of faith.

Let us end by quoting heavily from the *Pastoral Exhortation on Philippine Culture* of the Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines on the historical contributions of our Catholic faith in its encounter with our Filipino culture as concretely manifested by our popular religiosity: We have been a Christian people, by and large, for the past four hundred years. And that bare historical fact has had a lot to do with the kind of people – and Church – we now are. So, when we look at the Church as it has developed in the Philippines over all those

years, we cannot but come to the conclusion that it is much, much more a “local Church” (in the sense the term has developed since Vatican II) than we think. There is *a truly Filipino Church*. There has been a real wedding of faith and culture as we have been defining here and their integration is quite substantial. Thus, when we consider our people’s deep religiosity and its manifestations in popular devotions, rituals and celebrations, we see that enough integration of our faith and our culture has taken place. And this only means the work of inculturation is quite advanced.^{xxvi}

REFERENCES

- [1]. Aguinaldo, M.M. (2002). *A Study on Filipino Culture: The Devotion to the Black Nazarene*. Quezon City: MMA Publications.
- [2]. “Baroque Churches of the Philippines,” www.worldheritagesite.org.
- [3]. Beltran, Benigno P., S.V.D. (1987). *The Christology of the Inarticulate*. Manila: Divine Word Publications.
- [4]. Catalan, Arnold. (1994). *Appreciative Awareness of the Dynamics of Popular religiosity in the Cult of the Quiapo Nazarene*. Unpublished Thesis. Manila: University of Santo Tomas.
- [5]. Catholic Bishops’ Conference of the Philippines. (1992). *Acts and Decrees of the Second Plenary Council of the Philippines*, 20 January – 17 February 1991. Pasay City: Paulines Publishing House.
- [6]. Catholic Bishops’ Conference of the Philippines. (1997). *Catechism for Filipino Catholics*. Manila: ECCCE and Word and Life Publications.
- [7]. Catholic Bishops’ Conference of the Philippines. (1999). *CBCP: On the Threshold of the Next Millennium*. Manila: Catholic Bishops’ Conference of the Philippines.
- [8]. Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments. (2001). *Directory on Popular Piety and the Liturgy: Principles and Guidelines*.
- [9]. Chupungco, Anscar J., O.S.B. (1980). *Liturgical Renewal in the Philippines*. Quezon City: Maryhill School of Theology.
- [10]. _____ (2004). *Liturgy for the Filipino Church: A Collection of Talks of Anscar J. Chupungco, OSB*. Manila: San Beda College Graduate School of Liturgy.
- [11]. Dacanay, Alvin I. (2004). “The 2004 Turumba Festival: Dancing for the Dolorosa.” *Philippine Graphic*, Vol. 15, No. 7, pp. 52-55.
- [12]. *Dance as Religious Studies*. (1993). New York: Crossroad.
- [13]. *Duyan ng Magiting*. (1989). Vol. 3: *the Folk Culture of the Southern Tagalog Region*. Philippines: Department of Education, Culture and Sports.
- [14]. Fernandez, Pablo, O.P. (1988). *History of the Church in the Philippines (1521-1898)*. Manila: Life Today Publications.
- [15]. Gutierrez, Lucio, O.P. (2000). *The Archdiocese of Manila: A Pilgrimage in Time (1565-1999)*. Manila: The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Manila.
- [16]. *Filipino Popular Devotions: The Interior Dialogue between Traditional Religion and Christianity*. Ed. Leonardo N. Mercado. (2000). Manila: Logos Publications, Inc.
- [17]. *Inside Quiapo*. (2005). Manila: Minor Basilica of the Black Nazarene, 2005.
- [18]. Jacob, Wilfredis B. (1977). “Religious Experience in the Quiapo Black Nazarene” in *Filipino Religious Psychology*. Ed. Leonardo N. Mercado, S.V.D. Tacloban City: Divine Word University Publications.
- [19]. Jose, Regalado Trota. (1992). *Simbahan: Church Art in Colonial Philippines 1565-1898*. Makati: Ayala Museum.
- [20]. Navarro, Josefina R. (1967). *Quiapo: Home of the Black Nazarene: A Historical and Cultural Perspectives*. Manila: University of Santo Tomas.
- [21]. Quintos, Victor Emmanuel C. (2005). “Trip to Quiapo: A Journey through faith, Folk and Pageantry in Filipino Religiosity.” *Inter Nos*, Vol. 19, no. 2.
- [22]. Roth, Gabrielle. (1997). *Sweat Your Prayers: Movement as Spiritual Practice*. New York: Penguin Putnam.
- [23]. Second Vatican Council. (1993). *Sacrosanctum Concilium: Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy*. December 4, 1963. Pasay City: Daughters of St. Paul.
- [24]. Some Brochures about “Turumba” in Pakil, Laguna.
- [25]. “The Turumba Festival,” www.laguna.gov.ph.
- [26]. Vigo, Isigo. (1993). *Ang Mga Santo sa Mahal na Araw sa Pakil, Laguna*.
- [27]. Zialcita, Fernando Nakpil. (2005). *Authentic Though Not Exotic: Essays on Filipino Identity*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University.

ENDNOTES

- i Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments, *Directory on Popular Piety and the Liturgy: Principles and Guidelines*, December 2001, no. 6 (From hereon, *DPPL*).
- ii Second Vatican Council, *Sacrosanctum Concilium: Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy*, December 4, 1963, Pasay City: Daughters of St. Paul, 1993, no. 13 (From hereon, *SSC*).
- iii *DPPL*, no. 91.
- iv A. Chupungco, *Liturgy for the Filipino Church*, p. 146.
- v Ibid., p. 38. Fr. Chupungco speaks of **linguistic traits**: “A closer look at the kind of language and rites used by popular religiosity is enough to lead us to the conclusion that liturgists had nothing to do with them. Their language belongs to a totally different literary genre. While the Roman liturgical language is sober, direct, and linear, the language of these texts is florid, discursive almost to the point of rambling, and vividly picturesque (p. 38).” While regarding **ritual traits**, he says: “Popular religiosity uses a set of devices to encourage active participation. Some of these are: communal recitation, repetitiveness, and litanic petitions. These ritual traits distinguish popular religiosity from the liturgy, which neatly defines the role of each one in the hierarchical assembly, avoids the repetition of prayer formulas, and reduce litanies to the minimum (p. 39).”
- vi Catholic Bishops’ Conference of the Philippines, *Catechism for Filipino Catholics*, Manila: ECCCE and Word and Life Publications, 1997, no. 52 (Hereon, *CFC*).
- vii Ibid., p. 43.
- viii Lucio Gutierrez, O.P., *The Archdiocese of Manila: A Pilgrimage in Time (1565-1999)*, Manila: The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Manila, 2000, p. 139.
- ix Catholic Bishops’ Conference of the Philippines, *Acts and Decrees of the Second Plenary Council of the Philippines*, 20 January – 17 February 1991, Pasay City: Paulines Publishing House, 1992, no. 172 (Hereon, *PCP II*).
- x “Baroque Churches of the Philippines,” www.worldheritagesite.org.
- xi Wilfredis B. Jacob, “Religious Experience in the Quiapo Black Nazarene Devotion,” in *Filipino Religious Psychology*, ed. Leonardo N. Mercado, S.V.D., Tacloban City: Divine Word University Publications, 1977, p. 87.
- xii Ed and Ai Timbungco, “Devotion to the Nazarene: Living... Believing...,” in *Inside Quiapo*, p. 14.
- xiii Anscar J. Chupungco, O.S.B., *Liturgical Renewal in the Philippines*, Quezon City: Maryhill School of Theology, 1980, p. 184
- xiv Victor Emmanuel C. Quintos, “Trip to Quiapo: A Journey through faith, Folk and Pageantry in Filipino Religiosity,” in *Inter Nos*, Vol. 19, no. 2, June 2005, p.36.
- xv Francisco S. Gianan, “Nuestro Padre Jesus Nazareno,” in *Inside Quiapo*, pp. 9-11; M.M. Aguinaldo, *A Study on Filipino Culture: The Devotion to the Black Nazarene*, Quezon City: MMA Publication, 2002, pp. 22-23; Josefina R. Navarro, *Quiapo: Home of the Black Nazarene: A Historical and Cultural Perspectives*, Manila: University of Santo Tomas, 1967, p. 6.
- xvi A. Catalan, *Appreciative Awareness...*, pp. 104-109; M.M. Aguinaldo, *A Study on Filipino Culture...*, pp. 26, 39-42.
- xvii A. Catalan, *Appreciative Awareness ...*pp.49-54; M.M. Aguinaldo, *A Study on Filipino Culture...*, pp. 25-26.
- xviii Brochures of “Our Lady of Sorrows of Turumba,” Pakil, Laguna (Compliments of Victor Emmanuel Quintos).
- xix “The Turumba Festival,” www.laguna.gov.ph.
- xx A. Chupungco, *Liturgy for the Filipino Church*, p. 37.
- xxi “The Turumba Festival,” www.laguna.gov.ph.
- xxii A. Dacanay, “The 2004 Turumba Festival: Dancing for the Dolorosa,” p. 53.
- xxiii “The Turumba Festival,” www.laguna.gov.ph.
- xxiv J. Rarela, “The “Turumba” of Pakil,” p. 88
- xxv A. Dacanay, “The 2004 Turumba Festival: Dancing for the Dolorosa,” p. 54.
- xxvi Catholic Bishops’ Conference of the Philippines, *Pastoral Exhortation on Philippine Culture*, in *CBCP: On the Threshold of the Next Millennium*, January 25, 1999, Manila: Catholic Bishops’ Conference of the Philippines, 1999, no. 70, 3.

Correspondence Author: Jabin J. Deguma
 *J Cebu Technological University, Philippines