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Sources of Filipino Moral Consciousness

VITALIANO R. GOROSPE

This paper is concerned with three sources of the evolving Filipino moral consciousness of *justice* from pre-Spanish times to the Filipino revolutionary era. Although justice today is most often understood as social justice,¹ especially in the context of the Third World, in this paper, justice is taken in its most radical and broadest meaning as the minimum "yes" we owe to another simply as a human being, whether that other be one's kin, one's family, nonrelative, or nation.² Accordingly, we shall investigate the development of the Filipino concept of justice, first, in Filipino *natural law* (tribal); second, in the Filipino *family* of the mid-nineteenth century; and finally, beyond the family toward Filipino *nationhood* during the revolutionary struggle for independence. The three indigenous sources selected, which reflect three historical stages of our evolving Filipino concept of justice are: (1) for natural law justice, the unwritten customary law, or *adat*, of our national minorities; (2) for justice in the family, the Tagalog literary classic, *Urbana at Feliza*; and (3) for justice in the nation, the most

1. The theme of the 1976 "Alay Kapwa" Lenten Lectures was "Faith and Justice and the Filipino Christian." That the promotion of justice is an essential constituent of evangelization was clearly stated by the 1971 Synod of Catholic Bishops in Rome. "Action in behalf of justice and participation in the transformation of the world fully appear to us as a constitutive dimension of the preaching of the Gospel, or, in other words, of the Church's mission for the redemption of the human race and its liberation from every oppressive situation." (Synod of Bishops, *Justice in the World* [Pasay City: St. Paul Publications, 1972], p. 8.) In the words of Pope Paul VI, "evangelization is the proclamation, above all, of salvation from sin; the liberation from everything oppressive to man; the development of man in all his dimensions, personal and communitarian; and, ultimately the renewal of society and man's concrete total life." (*Evangelii Nuntiandi*, n. 9, 29 in *Evangelization in the Modern World* [Pasay City: St. Paul Publications, 1976]). Cf. Alay Kapwa Lectures 1976: *Faith and Justice and the Filipino Christian* (Manila: NASSA-Loyola School of Theology-Philippine Association of College Theology Teachers, 1976).

2. This phenomenological and existential meaning of justice comprehends all forms of justice including social justice. See William A. Luijpen, *Phenomenology of Natural Law* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1967), pp. 144-98.

popular Filipino book since the eighteenth century, the *pasyon*.

It is the main intent of this paper to discover common moral concerns and elements found both in past sources of Filipino moral consciousness and today's Filipino Christian morality. Filipino tribal law or *adat* can be a valuable moral source in so far as it reflects the "core" of the natural moral law and contains Christian elements, but the *adat* has also taken un-Christian forms which must be either rejected or purified. Regarding the Tagalog family of *Urbana at Feliza*, we are not proposing that all the moral ideals of the Filipino family of the past should be the same moral standards for the modern Filipino family today. Many of our cherished Filipino family values remain, but contemporary changes force us to rethink these values in a new context. As far as the *pasyon's* influence on the "big" and "little" Filipino revolutions, it is not difficult to establish that the same religious themes and elements behind the Revolution are found in the *pasyon*. Perhaps by means of a critical evaluation of our past and an understanding of the new dimensions of the present, we can better determine for ourselves what our moral ideals should be in the future. This is what the philosopher Heidegger meant by history as *Geschichte*, that is, to see in the "said" of the past, the "unsaid" of the future.

Second, we shall try to focus on the *Filipino* dimension, or the specifically and distinctively Filipino contribution to Christian morality. For example, it was the native creative imagination and artistry of the barrio folk that transformed the four gospels of the Passion of Jesus Christ into something truly and distinctively Filipino. Hence, today the *pasyon* is used in four ways, Filipino style: (1) the *pabasa*, with the Filipino addition of *pagkain* and *inuman*; (2) the *kalbaryuhan* in Marinduque, (3) the *sinakulo* in Bulacan, Pampanga, and Laguna; and (4) the *tapatan* in Bikol or *pananawagan* in the form of *bugtungan*. That is why Filipino "popular religion" or "folk Catholicism," in the view of a noted anthropologist, can make better Filipinos and better Christians.³

NATURAL LAW JUSTICE IN THE FILIPINO ADAT

The *adat* is the unwritten customary law of our national minorities. For Tiruray morality, *adat* is customary respectful behavior

3. Frank Lynch, "Folk Catholicism in the Philippines," in *Society, Culture, and the Filipino*, ed. Mary Hollnsteiner et al. (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University,

which prescribes for the tribe what is right, or *fiyo*, and forbids what is wrong, or *tete*; for the T'boli, it is "the T'boli way of doing things"; for the Ifugao and Kalinga, it is "what our ancestors have always told us." The adat is not only a rich source for research and study of Filipino ethico-religious thought and values but also a reflection of the primary precepts of the natural moral law before the advent of Islam or Christianity.⁴ In the study of the adat, we are not resurrecting the theory of the "noble savage" nor denying the presence of original concupiscence nor are we advocating a return to tribal law with all its non-Christian elements or a back-to-nature movement. We cannot turn back the clock of modernization. If particular moral values have been selected, it is because they best exemplify the roots of natural justice and are the Filipino values stressed today.

THE GENTLE TASADAY

From the viewpoint of Filipino morality and natural law justice, the momentous discovery of the Tasaday cave dwellers and food-gatherers in South Cotabato in June 1971 was deeply significant.⁵ What is the moral significance of the fact that the Tasaday are not hunters but merely food-gatherers? We have Filipinos who today come closest to stone-age man, who come closest to nature. The extraordinary harmony between the Tasaday and their rain forest environment and among themselves shatters Hobbes's philosophical theory that primitive man is by nature aggressive, that the life of man is solitary, poor, "nasty, brutish, and short." With no other law than their adat, the Tasaday have been found to be a very moral people. They are naturally just, respectful, hospitable, kind, warm and loving, a peaceful and happy people. No wonder John Nance entitled his book *The Gentle Tasaday*.⁶ They practice

1975), pp. 227-38. On "Popular Religion," see *Pro Mundi Vita Bulletin* 61 (July 1976): 1-31.

4. For more references to the *adat*, see V. R. Gorospe, "Towards a Philosophy and Theology of Filipino Values," *Dialogue for Development*, ed. Francisco R. Demetrio (Cagayan de Oro City: Xavier University, 1975), especially pp. 728-35.

5. Carlos Fernandez II and Frank Lynch, in "The Tasaday: Cave-Dwelling Food Gatherers of South Cotabato, Mindanao" (*Philippine Sociological Review* 20 [October 1972]: 279-313), state the anthropological significance of the Tasaday thus: "Their discovery offers us a rare and perhaps our last chance to study man living at the extreme end of the spectrum of cultural development."

6. John Nance, *The Gentle Tasaday* (New York: Harcourt Brace, Jovanovich, 1975).

monogamy, share stone tools and food, live a real brotherhood, and form one natural community. The Tasaday philosophy is that all mankind is "One Man and One Woman." Here we find a Filipino community today where natural justice prevails, where injustice, individual or structural, appears to be absent. In the gentle Tasaday, we discover a Filipino dimension of what the Greek philosophers called *dikē*, or natural law justice.

T'BOLI HONESTY OR JUSTICE

Although the T'boli of South Cotabato do not possess the Christian sense of sin, they have a natural law sense of moral right or wrong. Although T'boli adat might not reward a good man's life with the Christian notion of heaven nor banish anyone into hell for evil deeds committed, T'boli customary law prescribes a strict system of retributive justice. It does not come as a surprise to us that T'boli society possesses to a remarkable degree natural honesty or justice, natural helpfulness, and hospitality. After all, honesty and hospitality are common Filipino practice and quite natural in a barrio or rural setting. T'boli houses, for instance, are never locked (barrio folk have no padlocks); valuables and personal belongings are respected even when left unguarded. Greetings are shouted by the traveler as he passes some house and he in turn is invited to come into the house and rest, is offered a drink and asked to stay overnight, even when this stranger is little known or not at all; and nothing is ever denied a guest.⁷ We are not suggesting that we try out this T'boli hospitality in Metro Manila, even on our relatives. Our point is that natural justice is partly due to the environment and that injustice is not merely individual, but institutional or structural; injustice is one of the indirect consequences of urbanization and modernization. By no means is the necessity and value of modernization and institutions being denied but rather that our modern institutions must always be subject to constant criticism and reform. The natural honesty or justice of the T'boli is a forceful reminder of this fact — that individuals can become dishonest or can become victims of injustice because of the system. Hence, the need for institutional criticism in behalf of justice.

7. Gabriel Casal, "The T'bolis of South Cotabato: A Socio-Cultural Analysis of their Art" (M.A. thesis, University of the Philippines, 1970).

TIRURAY JUSTICE

The Tiruray of South Cotabato attach a threefold meaning to *adat*, namely, customary law, respect, and the essential element of an interior moral "ought." The Tiruray concept of justice is based on the common sense world-view which believes in the violent propensities of human nature, the security that prevails among kinsmen, and the perils of social intercourse outside one's family. The Tiruray understand human nature as likely to burst into a fit of violence and bloodshed, when provoked. A person who is unjustly treated, for instance, in case of theft, insult and false accusation, rape, elopement, polygynous marriage, divorce, and brideprice restitution, who is naturally hurt (*demawet*) and made angry (*mekerit*) will have a perfectly natural sense of intense moral outrage. If this hurt is caused by a nonrelative, the Tiruray will not be able to control his anger (bad *fedew*) and will seek blood revenge. To prevent tribal feuding and killing, the Tiruray resort to non-violent and peaceful settlement by recourse to an impartial legal and moral authority (the *kefedewan*) who sits in judgment together with a fraternity of elders (*tiyawan*). This is the phenomenon of the "hot tiyawan."⁸

What is morally significant for natural law morality and justice is that the Tiruray *adat* considers every man potentially violent and dangerous. Perhaps those of us with a background of Thomistic philosophy might jump to the conclusion that for the Tiruray, universal human nature is intrinsically and morally bad. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The common sense view of the Tiruray is that the universal man is by nature very sensitive and therefore should be treated carefully and with great respect. Hence, Tiruray *adat* means customary respectful behavior. In the phenomenon of the "hot tiyawan," we find the roots of the Filipino value of *paggalang* because of every person's innate *pagkatao*, ("humanity") and *amor propio* ("self-esteem"). The Filipino value of *hiyâ* is based on the Filipino's natural sensitivity to personal hurt. He who is *walang hiyâ* has no sensitivity to the privacy and delicate feelings of others.

8. Stuart A. Schlegel, *Tiruray Justice, Traditional Tiruray Law and Morality* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), especially chapter 6 on "The Hot Tiyawan," pp. 119-51.

IFUGAO AND KALINGA COLLECTIVE JUSTICE

Ifugao and Kalinga adat is all-embracing: it governs not only the household, kinship, tribal, and extra-tribal group but also all aspects of Ifugao or Kalinga life, morality, and religion. What is of interest to us is their notion of *collective* justice which regulates, for instance, marriage and brideprice arrangements, ownership of water, go-betweens and pachtolders, punishments, torts, crimes, policy for the region or for outsiders. The world famous Ifugao rice terraces would not have been possible without an elaborate legal system of justice determined by the adat, strictly regulating ownership and distribution of water. The violation of water rights could cause the loss of one's head, or in default, the substitute-head of any member of the offending family or tribe. Legal procedure in Ifugao society is conducted by and between families, and never by individuals, or between families and the individual. Thus the Ifugao adat is characterized by collective responsibility and collective justice.⁹ Those whose penal responsibility is greatest are punished collectively. Similarly in the Kalinga adat, moral responsibility is attributed to "group" personality. An individual could represent his family or group and be made responsible and liable for whatever credit or debt is owed to his group or kinsmen.¹⁰

JUSTICE IN BARANGAY SOCIETY

The Filipino concept of justice in pre-Spanish barangay society may be seen in Father Horacio de la Costa's significant study on the Asian and Filipino concept of justice.¹¹

First, unlike the Western concept of justice based on equality, the early Filipino concept contained inequality. There was a recognition of rights, but of unequal rights, defined by the adat and judged by the elders of the community as a court of law. These rights belonged unequally to the higher chiefly class (*datu*, *mahar-*

9. Roy Franklin Barton, *Ifugao Law* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1970). See also Francis Lambrecht's articles in *Acculturation in the Philippines*, ed. Peter G. Gowing and William Henry Scott (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1971), pp. 83-89, 90-111.

10. Roy Franklin Barton, *The Kalingas: Their Institutions and Custom Law* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949).

11. Horacio de la Costa, "The Asian Concept of Justice," *Teaching All Nations* 13 (1976): 221-31.

lika) and the lower classes who were less-than-free, the household dependents (*alipin namamahay*), the equivalent of the tenant farmer today, and the household slaves (*alipin sagigilid*) who could be bought or sold. The important thing to note is that the rights or privileges of the chiefly class demanded corresponding responsibilities.

Second, the Filipino concept of justice emphasized the duties and responsibilities of each class rather than individual rights. The moral responsibility to be fair and just to the less privileged was the only *raison d'être* of privilege. An unjust or irresponsible datu or rajah need not be obeyed and could lose his privilege of ruling. That is why Si Lapulapu of Mactan no longer owed allegiance to Rajah Humabon of Cebu who demanded that his vassal pay tribute to the Spaniards.

Third, justice was predicated not so much of the individual as of the community. The community, not the individual, was the primary subject, object, and dispenser of justice. Marriage was an alliance not so much between two individuals as between two families. In case of divorce, the groom's family was held responsible for the return of the bridal dowry to the bride's family. If a member of one barangay killed a member of another, the blood price was demanded of the killer's barangay and in default of the killer, any member of the barangay could be made to pay it. The sacredness of contracts was premised on a blood relationship, at least ritual or symbolic, between the contracting parties. That is why the blood compact was important. Promises made by men who had drunk each other's blood were sacred because they were promises made to brothers. The early Filipinos kept their word to their kin and thus too to those who had been made their kin in the blood compact.¹² It seems that the Filipino contribution to the notion of justice is that justice is not individual but *collective*.¹³

Fourth, although the strength of the Filipino concept of justice was in its emphasis on collective responsibility, its weakness lay in its very faint notion of the personal dignity or worth of the individual simply as a human being.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 224.

13. This notion of communitarian justice is rooted in what Father Mercado calls the *sakop* mentality or group-orientation of the Filipino: the *tayo* ("we") prevails over the *ako* ("I"). See Leonardo N. Mercado, *Elements of Filipino Philosophy* (Tacloban City: Divine Word University Publications, 1974), pp. 100-3.

JUSTICE IN THE FILIPINO FAMILY

Shifting to the mid-nineteenth century Spanish era, the Filipino classic, *Urbana at Feliza*, written by Modesto de Castro around 1865 is a rich source for the study of the Filipino concept of justice in marriage and in the family.¹⁴ The frequent use of *katungkulan* and *kautangan* in this book clearly indicate obligations in justice. The popularity of *Urbana at Feliza* was mainly due to its moral teachings. The book set down one's obligations in justice to God, to oneself, to one's neighbor, and to one's family:

Pagdating ko rini, ang una-unang ipinakilala sa akin, ay ang katungkulan nating kumilala, mamintuho, maglingkod at umibig sa Diyos; ang ikalaway'y ang kautangan natin sa ganang ating sarili; at ang ikatlo'y ang pakikipag-kapwa-tao.¹⁵

Upon my arrival here, the first thing that I was taught was the duty to acknowledge, worship, serve, and love God; second, our duty to ourselves; and third, love of neighbor.

It is quite understandable that the author, a Catholic priest, used *Urbana at Feliza* to Christianize Tagalog values in marriage and in the family.

CHRISTIAN ETIQUETTE

Although *Urbana at Feliza* is addressed to the Filipino young men and women of the 1860s, perhaps it may still have something to say to the young generation of today about the respectful bearing, manner, and speech (*kilos, asal, at pangungusap*) which is due to each person. There is a Tagalog saying concerning the minimum respect we owe to one another; "Hindi bale kung hindi mo ako mahalín, huwag mo lang ako hiyain." (It does not matter if you don't love me, as long as you don't put me to shame.)

De Castro attempts to give a Christian meaning not only to the duties and responsibilities of the Tagalog mother, father, and children, but also to etiquette and proper behavior. The use of *chinelas* and *cubiertos*, proper dress and proper decorum become

14. The text used in this article is P. Modesto de Castro, *Urbana at Feliza (Aklat na Katutuhan ng mga Gintong Aral)*, ed. Juliana Martinez (Manila: Aklatang J. Martinez, 1900). This author is greatly indebted to Paul A. Dumol's unpublished paper "Urbana at Feliza and Mid-Nineteenth Century Tagalog Society" (Ateneo de Manila University, 1972).

15. De Castro, p. 11. The English translations here and subsequent translations are the author's.

part of the imitation of the humble and meek Christ. Yet he presents *urbanidad*, which ought to govern the behavior of the new Tagalog upper class in an urban-Hispanized culture, as *pakikipagkapwa-tao*, not only as a Tagalog virtue but as a sacred Christian duty. To prevent etiquette from degenerating into elitism, he stresses the roots of etiquette in "love of one's fellowmen" (*pakikipagkapwa-tao*) which is based on "love of God" (*pag-ibig ng Diyos*).

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

What *Urbana at Feliza* has to say about one's obligations in justice (*katungkulan*, *kautangan*) with regard to marriage and the responsibilities of wife, husband, parents, and children perhaps may or may not strike a strong resonance in the Filipino family of today. Yet like Feliza, every girl contemplating marriage is faced with a dilemma: on one hand, she feels she needs a husband to take care of her once her parents die; on the other hand, she is fearful of marrying someone incompatible with her or her family:

Kung dumating ang kapanahunan, at tayo'y maulila kay ama't kay ina, at ako'y dalaga pa, di ako sa mundo'y ulilang-ulila. Ulilang-ulila at mapapag-isa sa gitna ng mundong puno ng panganib. (p. 98)

When the time comes and we are left orphans by father and mother, and I am still a maiden, I will not completely be an orphan in the world. I will not be an orphan altogether and all alone in the midst of a world full of dangers.

The family in *Urbana at Feliza* is presented as a source of security for the individual, a defense against a hostile world. Feliza considers marriage as a substitute source of security upon the death of her parents. But taking a husband means bringing an outsider into her family. This is why Feliza is afraid of incompatibility with a husband.

Kung pagdili-dilihin ko naman, na ang matrimonio'y mabigat-pasanin, lalo't ang tatamaan ay di ko makakasundo . . . ang dalawang puso ay di matatalian ng isang pag-ibig, ay sapilitang malayo sa amin ang pagkakasundo. (p. 99)

When I reflect that marriage is a heavy burden, especially if my future spouse is incompatible . . . two hearts will not be bound by one love, perforce agreement will be very remote from us.

The secret of a successful marriage is *pagkakasundo*. If the

Filipina is interested in emotional security, she will not have this should her husband turn out to be "iba ang asal, iba ang wani, salat sa kabaitan at walang kabanalan, iba ang loob." Differences, *kaibhan*, must be minimized and the ideal husband should not deviate too far from the family's own values. It takes time though to learn more about the family of one's future spouse and husband.

Kung makikilala ko na ang kanyang pag-ibig ay di paimbabaw, asal niya't asal ko nagkaka-isa, ang magulang niya't mga kapatid ay makakasundo ko, ay asahan mo, ina, na ako ay kaniya, nguni't kung sa kanyang angkan ay may ipipintas ang tao sa bayan, at ang kapintasang ito ay ikasisira ng ating puri, ay ipahintulot mo, ina, na di ipayag sa kanya ang aking puso. (p. 102) When I already know that his love is not shallow, that his character and mine are compatible, his parents and brothers and sisters are compatible, I hope, mother, that I will be his. However, if people find something to criticize in his family and this criticism will ruin our honor, permit me not, mother, to offer my heart to him.

Father de Castro makes it clear that the decision to marry is not made by the Filipino in isolation.

Sa ganitong balita, Urbana, ng isa kong kaibigang tapat na loob; sa mga pahayag ni ama, ni ina at iba pang kamag-anak natin, ay sinabi ko kay ina, na pumapayag na ako, na si Amadeo, ang aking maging kaisang-palad. (p. 136) In answer to this kind of report, Urbana, coming from a most loyal friend; in answer to the declaration of father, mother, and other relatives, I have told mother that I am willing to take Amadeo as the one who will share my life.

A noted anthropologist has defined marriage in a Philippine context as the union of two extended families symbolized by the marriage of two individuals. Nothing could be closer to the truth. In Filipino culture, when you marry someone, you marry his family. First, an individual belongs to a definite group, specifically his family, close relatives, and friends who share the same values; secondly, to enter this group means the outsider must profess the values of the group; and thirdly, acceptance of a newcomer into the group, as for instance, through marriage, means the approval of most if not all group members.

The exclusively family-centered moral consciousness in *Urbana at Feliza* could be an obstacle to our growing national or nation-oriented consciousness. Family stability and solidarity is an enduring Filipino value we must by all means preserve, but we must now educate the Filipino family to become more and more socially conscious.

CHILD-REARING VALUES

Father de Castro stresses shared values as a source of family unity. These values should be inculcated in the children, not for their function of binding the family but for their intrinsic value. Who else should be responsible for these child-rearing values but the mother:

Kayong mga ina naman, na may katungkulang magturo sa anak ng mga dakilang katotohanang pahayag ng Santo Evangelio, dapat ang kayo'y magsakit tumupad nitong mabigat na katungkulan na ipagsusulit sa Diyos. (pp. 2-3)

And you, mothers, who have the duty to teach your children the great truths proclaimed by the Holy Gospel, should strive to follow the grave duty for which God will hold you responsible.

The education of children in the Tagalog family has in the hands of Father de Castro, become a Christian duty from God and the Christian Gospel. It is through the mother's teachings that her daughters will preserve their purity and become good wives and mothers; through her efforts, her son will not only be God-fearing and obedient but will also know how to deal with his neighbor, give respect to elders, be patient with his peers, know how to get along with people in the world, in order that when the time comes for him to become husband and father, you will witness in him the virtue of rearing children:

. . . marunong makipagkapwa-tao, magalang sa matatanda, mapagtiis sa kapwa-binata, maalam bumagay sa tao sa mundo; at pagdating ng panahon na sila'y maging *esposo* at ama, ay makitaan ninyo ng bait at pakikisama sa kanilang *esposa*, ng dunong sa pagtuturo sa anak . . . (pp. 3-4)

ROLE EXPECTATIONS IN THE FAMILY

Studies on the Filipino family by Philippine social scientists show that the role expectations of mother and father and children have not changed much since the days of *Urbana at Feliza*. The role of the wife is that of "housekeeper and manager of the family's income."¹⁶ The wife has also the Christian duty of *pakikibagay*, or

16. Father de Castro describes the wife's role similarly: "Ikaw naman, Feliza, ay may katungkulang mag-impok nang makikita ni Amadeo, at mag-alaga sa pamamahay" (p. 141).

maintenance of an harmonious relationship with her husband.¹⁷

The importance of pakikibagay is its ability to preserve the family as a haven of security. He counsels the wife who has had the misfortune of marrying an impetuous rascal ("mapusok na loob at tampalasang lalaki") not to aggravate matters by fighting back but rather "learn how to endure, show kindness to him and above all increase her prayers to Almighty God and the Virgin Mary" (pag-aralang tiisin, pagpakitaan ng loob, daragdagan ng pagtawag sa Diyos at sa Birheng Maria; p. 145). A Christian meaning is given to the traditional view of the Filipina wife as patient, silent, long-suffering martyr.

The man is the head of the family and the family's breadwinner.¹⁸ The husband is counseled to be patient with his wife, not to constantly assert his authority. He has as much responsibility as the wife in pakikibagay, since the latter depends on reciprocity. Finally, the father is as much a teacher of values to his children as his wife, mainly through his example.

The role of children in *Urbana at Feliza* is clear; they should strive hard to absorb the values taught to them by their mother. The view of *Urbana at Feliza* on the role and attitude of children and its stress on obedience and respect due to one's parents is best summed up by a well-known Filipino proverb: "Ang hindi lumingon sa pinanggalingan, hindi makararating sa paroroonan." (He who does not acknowledge his past will never reach his destiny.)

We today might say, so what? There is nothing new that we do not already know. Moreover, times have changed and we have come of age. The modern urban Filipina has outgrown the stereotype image of the martyr-wife. Lest we lose our present and future perspective in the light of our past, perhaps some comments and questions are called for.

First, Fr. Modesto de Castro used *Urbana at Feliza* to Christianize more fully the Filipino family in order that its attitudes and values be in conformity with the Gospel. That is why he writes in his preface (p. 1): "Ang dunong na nagtuturo sa tao ng pagharap sa kanyang kapwa, ay bunga ng pag-ibig sa kapwa-tao, ang bunga ng

17. The *sacerdote* in *Urbana at Feliza* describes how the Christian duty of marital harmony (*pagkakasundo*) may be maintained: "Ikaw naman, Feliza, ay magpilit na huwag magbigay-galit sa iyong esposo, palibhasa'y ikaw ay nasusukuban ng kaniyang kapangyarihan" (p. 141).

18. "Ikaw Amadeo, ay huwag makalilimot, na katungkulan mo ang maghanap-buhay, palibhasa'y ulo ka, na may kautangang pagpakain sa esposa at sa magiging anak" (p. 141).

pag-ibig sa kapwa-tao ay bunga ng pag-ibig sa Diyos.” (The wisdom which teaches man to face his fellowmen is the fruit of love of neighbor, and the fruit of love of neighbor is the fruit of love of God.)¹⁹

Secondly, though *Urbana at Feliza* stresses respect for woman but is silent on the equality of women, it always views woman as “kasama at di alipin” (p. 141) because of the “sakramento ng matrimonio.” This indeed is the Christian view. Respect for womanhood is so much a part of Filipino tradition that Emilio Jacinto wrote in the *Kartilya* of the Katipunan: “Look not upon woman as a plaything merely, but as one who shares with you the hardships of this life. Be mindful of her frailty; remember the mother who bore you and gave you suck.” And on the role of the husband and father, he wrote: “On the thorny path of life, it is the man who leads his wife and children; if he who leads goes after evil, so will those who follow him.” And Jacinto’s Filipino version of the Golden Rule: “What you will not have others do to your wife, daughter or sister, do not do to the wife, daughter or sister of another.”²⁰

Thirdly, we hope that coming of age does not mean that we have outgrown such “old fashioned” Filipino values as *paggalang sa magulang at matanda*, *pagkakasundo*, *pakikibagay*, which is rooted in *pakikipagkapwa-tao* and based on *pag-ibig sa Diyos*.²¹

Have the attitudes and values, the duties and responsibilities of the rural lowland Filipino family today really changed that much from the Tagalog family of *Urbana at Feliza*? Philippine social

19. The *sacerdote* reminds husband and wife that Christian marriage is a sacrament: “Alalahanin ninyong mag-asawa, na ang Diyos ay *santo*, si Hesukristo ay *santo*, ang *matrimonyo* ay *santo*, kaya dapat ninyong pagpilitan na ang pagsasama ninyo’t boong kasalan ay maturang *santo* at kabanal-banalan” (p. 142).

20. The passages in the text are translated from the Tagalog original quoted from “Mga Aral ng Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan” in Jose P. Santos, *Buhay at mga sinulat ni Emilio Jacinto* (Maynila, 1935), p. 62.

“Ang babai ay huag mong tignang isang bagay na libangan lamang, kundi isang katuang at karamay sa mga kahirapan nitong kabuhayan; gamitin mo ng buong pagpipitagan ang kaniyang kahinaan, at alalahanin ang inang pinagbuhata’t nagiw sa iyong kasangulan.”

“Sa daang matinik ng kabuhayan, lalaki ay siyang patnugot ng asawa’t mga anak; kung ang umaakay ay tungo sa sama, ang patutunguhan ng inaakay ay kasamaan din.”

“Ang di mo ibig na gawin sa asawa mo, anak at kapatid, ay huag mong gagawin sa asawa, anak at kapatid ng iba.”

21. During the “Golden Age” of the Tagalog novel, the novelists, acting as moral guides to their readers, drew their inspiration on the theme of love, fidelity, and service *before* and *in* marriage from Christian-inspired early works like *Urbana at Feliza*. The later novels of the forties to the present which deal with the aberrations of love and

scientists and psychologists do not think so.²² Is there justice in the urban Filipino family today? Is not infidelity a very serious sin of injustice? Is there justice for the household servants? If *Urbana at Feliza* is so family-centered, is the Filipino family of today more nation-centered? Without justice in the family, can there be justice in the nation?

JUSTICE TOWARD FILIPINO NATIONHOOD

One of the most popular Christian sources of the evolving Filipino moral consciousness of justice which goes beyond the family toward Filipino nationhood and was a significant Christian inspiration behind the Philippine Revolution is the best known Filipino book — the *pasyon*. The *Pasyon Henesis* was edited by a Filipino secular priest, Mariano Pilapil, and first published in 1814.²³ *Pasyon Pilapil*, as it is often called, was the most popular and in fact, among most rural folk, the only known *pasyon*. Many of the religious ideas behind the Revolution are also found in *Pasyon Pilapil*.

LOOB

Reynaldo C. Ileto's "*Pasión* and the Interpretation of Change in Tagalog Society, circa 1840–1912" contends that the *pasyon* was the only idiom for expressing ideas of change, purification, and transition at that time. The modes of expressing ideas of change in the Tagalog language were quite identical to those in the *pasyon* because the latter so permeated daily life. Rather than creating a new Filipino consciousness, the *pasyon* was built into the people's consciousness at that time. To us today who are trying to understand the past, the *pasyon* may appear to have been a powerful ideology that transformed Filipino consciousness. In Ileto's view,

explicit sex, I surmise, were influenced not by indigenous but by Western secular sources (cf. Soledad S. Reyes, "Traditions and Themes in the Tagalog Novel," *Philippine Studies* 23 [1975]: 243–92).

22. Mary Racelis Hollnsteiner, "The Filipino Family Confronts the Modern World," in *Responsible Parenthood in the Philippines*, ed. V. R. Gorospe (Quezon City: Ateneo Publications, 1970), pp. 19–44; Jaime Bulatao, "The Manileño's Mainsprings," in *Four Readings on Philippine Values*, Institute of Philippine Culture Papers, no. 2 (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1973), pp. 93–118.

23. The edition used is *Kasaysayan ng Pasiong Mahal ni Hesukristong Panginoon Natin Sukat Ipag-alab ng Puso ng Sinomang Babasa (Pasiong Heneis)* (Manila: Aklatang

the value of the *pasyon* in analyzing the revolution is in discovering that the basic units of Filipino moral consciousness did *not* change during periods of unrest; rather because of the usual abundance of sources for such periods, the less obvious or defined aspects of Filipino moral consciousness are revealed to us today. In this sense the *pasyon* gave a "new" world-view which rationalized and spiritualized the armed struggle of the masses against both the Spaniards and the Americans.²⁴

What is of interest to us is the *moral* meaning of *loob* from the *pasyon* as the subject and dispenser of justice. Ileta interprets *loob* as the inner self of the individual or the masses which when illumined and controlled in imitation of the suffering and death of Christ was the hidden spiritual power enabling the people to achieve what hitherto they thought was impossible. According to Ileta, though it is principally during Lent that the masses see in the *pasyon* a picture of their everyday life of hardship and suffering, in our history there have been individuals and groups who came to see in the colonial situation of oppression and injustice a permanent *pasyon* condition of Philippine society which they either left or strove to change by reform or, if need be, by revolution.

In 1841 Hermano Pule (Apolinario de la Cruz), exhorted the *hermanos* of the Cofradía de San José to control *loob* at the cost of *dusa* and to share in the suffering of Christ (*damay*) in order to reach *liwanag* ("light") and *kalayaan* ("freedom") in Paradise. It was this control of *loob* that enabled the *hermanos* to face death with equanimity. It was control of *loob* that Ileta sees behind the success of the Katipunan revolution of 1896, the continuing revolts of Macario Sakay and others. The key to the Santa Iglesia movement led by Felipe Salvador (1899–1912) was *loob*, *damay*, and *awa*, or compassionate oneness with Christ and suffering fellowmen.

Loob has other meanings and nuances. One's *loob* (the individual's or the people's) can be in darkness or in the light, on the straight and right path or on the crooked or wrong path, can be

Lunas, 1976). The "control" edition used is Gaspar Aquino de Belen, "Ang Mahal na Passion ni Iesu Christong P. Natin sa Tola" in Thomas de Villacastin's *Manga panalanging pagtatagobilin sa caloloua nang tavong naghihingalo*, trans. Gaspar Aquino de Belen (Manila: Imprenta de la Compañía de Jesús, 1760). The first impression was 1704.

24. Reynaldo Clemeña Ileta, "Passion and the Interpretation of Change in Tagalog Society (ca. 1840–1912)," (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1975).

mabuting loob or *masamang loob*, *mahinang loob* or *lakas ng loob*. For instance, in the latter part of the Philippine revolution a distinction can be made between the inauthentic loob of the *revolucionistas* who fought with guns and therefore were conquered by the enemy and the authentic loob of the *katipuneros* like Macario Sakay who had control of loob to withstand hardships and turn away from the lure of money and comfort toward liwanag. The Filipino symbol of oppression and injustice is *dilim*, the darkness of prison and despair. Control of loob is the way (*landas*) to liwanag, the symbol of hope, salvation, and Paradise which, of course, is interpreted in terms of *kalayaan* and independence from Spain. A turning from darkness to light, the Philippine revolution drew its Christian inspiration from the exemplary loob of Christ in the Pasyon.

KATUWIRAN

In the struggle for justice and freedom, our Filipino nationalist leaders — Rizal, Bonifacio, Jacinto, and Mabini — took for their moral guide right reason (*katuwiran*). The thinkers of the Philippine revolution never separated morality from politics.²⁵ They were firmly convinced that in order to achieve the goals of freedom and independence only moral means must be used. Whether the means be propaganda for reform or revolution, they must be in accordance with *katuwiran*. They viewed man as a moral being endowed with freedom and moral responsibility. Common to their concept of freedom is the norm of *katuwiran*. In the Katipunan *Kartilya*, Emilio Jacinto defined freedom as equality brought about by the development of *katuwiran*. Apolinario Mabini in the *True Decalogue* conceived of freedom as the right to all means to life but always in accordance with *katuwiran*.

Katuwiran comes from the Tagalog “tuwid,” meaning “straight” or “right.” In Spanish the word *derecho* means “straight”; it is also the term for “law” (the law of reason). In Latin *recta ratio* as the norm of morality means reason that is “straight” or “right.” Thus the *landas* from *dilim* to *liwanag* is straight, if it is in

25. Cesar A. Majul, *The Political and Constitutional Ideas of the Philippine Revolution*, rev. ed. (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1967). The references to Jacinto, Bonifacio, and Mabini in the text are on pp. 30f. and 34f.

accordance with right reason or loob.²⁶ One cannot live morally straight who does not follow katuwiran nor can one find his landas in darkness without the liwanag of reason. Here the meaning of light, which, for the masses was understood as the liwanag of Paradise in the pasyon, changes; for the ilustrados, liwanag means the light of reason. That is why Jose Rizal in his letter to the women of Malolos used the symbol of a lantern for his concept of katuwiran or the light of right reason.²⁷

The connection between katuwiran and loob on the one hand and landas and liwanag on the other is best expressed by Andres Bonifacio in the Katipunan's underground newspaper *Kalayaan*, where Bonifacio clearly states that right reason dictates no other alternative but revolution:

What should be done, then? The sun of reason that shines in the East clearly shows, to our eyes long blind, the way (*landas*) that must be taken; its light (*liwanag*) enables us to see the claws of those of inhuman character who brought us death. Reason (*katuwiran*) shows that we cannot expect anything but more and more hardships, more and more treachery, more and more contempt, more and more enslavement . . . Reason tells us that we must rely upon ourselves alone and never entrust our right to life to anybody. Reason tells us to be one in *loob*, one in thought, so that we may have the strength in finding that evil reigning in our land.²⁸

The Filipino concept of freedom as equality is a gradual development from Western influences in the direction of egalitarianism, such as found in the French and American revolutions and European Liberalism. That is why there was a time when Emilio Jacinto, a law student at the University of Santo Tomas, could write:

26. Leonardo N. Mercado's *Elements of Filipino Philosophy* (pp. 53-71), has shown that the Filipino concept of moral reason, moral conscience, or *recta ratio* as the norm of morality is *buot* (Visayan), *loob* (Tagalog), and *nakem* (Ilokano). According to Mercado, the Filipino concept of loob stands for the whole person who thinks, wills, feels; who is conscious of his freedom and dignity and is sensitive to the violation of his *pagkatao* ("humanity").

27. "God, fountain of wisdom, does not expect man, created in his image, to allow himself to be fooled and blinded. The gift of reason with which we are endowed must be brightened and utilized. An example is the father who gave each of his sons a lamp to light his way in the darkness. Let them intensify its flame, take care of it, not extinguish it to depend on the light of others, but to help one another, seek each other's counsel in the search for the way. He is exceedingly stupid and he can be blamed if he stumbles in following somebody else's light, and the father could say to him: "What for did I give you a lamp of your own?" But one who stumbles by following his own light cannot be greatly blamed because perhaps his light is dim or else the road is very bad." (Jose Rizal, *Political and Historical Writings*, [Manila: National Heroes Commission, 1964], p. 57).

28. Ileta, "Pasion and the Interpretation of Change," p. 108.

All men are equal, whether the color of their skin be white or black. One may surpass another in wisdom, wealth, or beauty; but not in that which makes him a man . . .

A man's worth does not consist in being a king, or in having a sharp nose and a white skin, or in assuming as a priest the office of being God's representative. It does not consist in being one of the great ones of the earth. What though a man be born and raised in the wilderness, and speak no language but his own? If his ways are gentle, if his word is true, if he cherishes his good name, if he neither suffers nor commits injustice, if he knows how to love the land that gave him birth and to come to her assistance, that man is really and truly great.

Maitim man at maputi ang kulay ng balat, lahat ng tao'y magkakapantay; mangyayaring ang isa'y higtan sa dunong, sa yaman, sa ganda . . . nguni't di mahihigtan sa pagkatao.

Ang kamahalan ng tao'y wala sa pagkahari, wala sa tangus ng ilong at puti ng mukha, wala sa pagkaping kahalili ng Dios, wala sa mataas na kalagayan sa balat ng lupa; wagas at tunay na mahal na tao, kahit laking gubat at walang nababatid kundi ang sariling wika, yaong may magandang asal, may isang pangungusap, may dangal at puri, yaong di naaapi't di nakikiapi, yaong marunong magdamdam at marunong lumingap sa bayang tinubuan.²⁹

"To love the land that gave him birth" is a broadening of the Filipino concept of justice from inequality to equality, from the narrow limits of one kinsmen in the adat, from those of the family in *Urbana at Feliza*, to the borders of the nation. No wonder that membership in the Katipunan was sealed by a blood compact, a compact that established kinship, brotherhood, among all Filipinos determined to be themselves, to be a nation.

FILIPINIZATION

Until the nineteenth century the Spanish face of Christianity still remained foreign to the *indios*. In order to make Christianity and the life of Christ acceptable and real to Filipino experience, it had to be indigenized. Thus, in Gaspar Aquino de Belen's pasyon, Peter, Mary, Judas, Pilate, Caiphas become *tipong Pilipino* ("Filipino types") one meets every day around the *kanto*. Christ calls

29. The original Tagalog version is from Jose P. Santos, *Buhay*. The English translation is from the "Teaching of the Society of the Sons of the People," in Horacio de la Costa, *Readings in Philippine History* (Manila: Bookmark, 1965), pp. 233-34.

his disciples by Filipino kinship terms such as “catoto,” “casalo,” “casangbahay,” and “casiping.”

Judas's betrayal of Christ is not portrayed as an abstract mortal sin but as a crime committed against cherished Filipino values — *utang na loob* and *galang sa ina*, values of reciprocity and respect for one's mother. Judas is harshly rebuked for turning his back on so many favors done by Christ to him:

Dili ca casipingsiping	Have you not shared his bed,
casalosalong comain	Have you not shared his table?
ano mang caniyang gao-in	Whatever he did openly
cativala cang magaling	and in secret
sa hayag man, at sa lihim.	He confided in you.

[Aquino de Belen, p. 22]

Judas is chided for being *walang hiyâ* for not respecting the concern shown for him by the Virgin Mary.

Di cayo,y, nagsasangbahay	Did you not share one roof,
Iysa ang inyong dulang?	did you not eat from one table?
cung icao ay longmiligao,	Whenever you were travelling
may laan sa iyong bahao,	she would have cold or hot rice
canin at anoano man.	or whatever food there was, for you.

[p. 23]

Judas sinned gravely against humanity — a friend and a mother who have shown him much love and concern. He is lacking in *pagkatao*. Cherished Filipino values — resignation to God's will (Gethsemane), *utang na loob*, respect for mother, *pagkatao* (betrayal of Judas), patience in suffering, humility, obedience (Last Supper, appearance before Annas, Caiphas, Pilate, and Herod) — are taught and kept alive in the pasyon.

CHRISTIANIZATION AND COLONIZATION

Due to the union of Church and State at that time, symbolized today by the statues of Legazpi and Urdaneta in Intramuros, Christianization and colonization went hand in hand. Using the pasyon, Christ was presented as the model of the new Filipino Christian who, like the meek, humble, and obedient Christ, should obey God, his parents, the Church, and the Spanish colonial government. Fortunately or unfortunately, depending on one's point of view, the pasyon became instrumental in forming both the good Christian and the good colonial.

The movement toward hispanization and colonization was buttressed by the cardinal Christian virtues taught by the *pasyon* — humility, obedience, resignation, and perseverance (what a modern Nietzsche might call the virtues of “colonial ethics”).

The most important Christian virtue is made to be meekness, docility, humility — the submission of oneself to God’s will in imitation of Christ’s humility. At the Last Supper after Christ had washed the feet of the Apostles, he exhorted them to be humble as a sign of obedience to God’s will.

Gaua co,y, inyong tularan
magotos at pagotosan
magpono at pagponoan.
.

Soco rin, at sonod aco,
tongmotopad co sa iyo
aco,y, valan ano ano
calinga co ring totoo
ang balang ypaco mo.

Follow my example
If you are commanded, obey
If you are asked to serve, serve.
. [Aquino de Belen, p. 6]

I surrender, I follow
I obey you
I have no other desire
but to do
whatever you wish.

[Aquino de Belen, p. 11]

Concomitant with humility is perfect obedience. After the narration of St. Ann and the birth of Mary, *Pasyong Henesis* tells husbands and wives to obey each other and stay away from quarrels:

Dapat nganing magsunuran
ang mag-asawang sinoman,
si Hosep siyang tularan,
at si Mariang matimtiman
pagkakalinga sa bahay.

All husbands and wives
should obey each other
Be like St. Joseph
and the virtuous Mary
in running your household.

[Pilapil, p. 15]

In the lesson following the narration of the *Sagrada Familia*, children are told that submission to God means submission to one’s parents; Christ is presented as a model of obedience:

O, anak na mapagsuway
sa ama’t inang magulang,
dito ay iyong pagmasdan
mga gawang kababaan
nitong Diyos na maalam.

O child who disobeys
your father and mother
look here
at the humble deeds
Of this wise God.

Saka ikaw na suwail,
walang munti mang pagtingin
sa ama’t inang nag-angkin
kung utusan ka marahil,
dumadabog, umaangil.

And you disobedient child
You have not the least care
for your father and mother
perhaps when you are commanded
you show resentment, and complain.

[p. 35]

Then *Pasyon Henesis* exhorts the Christians to be obedient to the Church:

Huwag ka ring tumalikod
sa madlang aral nang Diyos
at sa Santa Iglesiang utos
nang magkamit ka sa Diyos
nang awa't tawad na puspos.

Do not turn your back
to any of God's teachings
and the commandment of Holy Church
so that you may gain God's mercy
and full forgiveness.

[p. 174]

Together with humility and obedience, the good Christian must cultivate resignation to God's will and patient perseverance in times of hardship because it was God who made the rich and poor in this world. *Pasyon Henesis* reasons that suffering is to be accepted because all things of this world will go up in smoke and suffering is God's will.

Ang ano mang kahirapan,
sakit na iyong karatnan,
pawa mong pasalamatan
at yaon ay kalooban
ng Diyos sa kalangitan.

Whatever sickness or sufferings
you undergo
thank Almighty God for them all
because they are the will
of God who is in heaven.

[p. 81]

Ano pa't pawang lisya,
ang mundo ay balintuna,
mali ang lahat na gawa;
kayamanan man at tuwa'y
parang asong nawawala.

Oh, but all is evil,
the world is false,
all works are wrong,
all riches and joys
will go up like smoke.

[p. 70]

If all the evils in the world are merely transient and suffering is God's will, then the acceptance of suffering and perseverance in trials become Christian virtues which will be rewarded in the true kingdom of happiness in the next life. No wonder Marx considered any religion which promised "pie in the sky by and by when you die" the opium of the people.

Thus, humility, obedience, and resignation in imitation of Christ in the *pasyon* lent themselves not only to making a good Christian but also a good subject of Spain. That the *pasyon* was used as an instrument of Christianization and colonization is clearly pointed out in Pilapil's introduction asserting the necessity and timeliness of such a *pasyon* in order that the indios may become "buenos cristianos y verdaderos ciudadanos, según la nueva Constitución de la Monarquía." In the opinion of Father de la Costa, it is not surprising then that Christianity as the religion of the colonizing

power emphasized in the social dimension of its teaching submission to established authority, acceptance of the status quo, contentment and resignation with one's lot in life, and the general attitude of resistance to social change.

REVOLUTION

However, like the word of God in Scripture, the *pasyon* is a double-edged sword: while it was used by the Spaniards to Christianize and colonize the indios, the integration of the religious themes into Filipino moral consciousness at that time made it possible for the Filipinos to revolt against their colonizers and oppressors. In spite of and beyond their sociopolitical convictions, the Spanish evangelizers had to be faithful to the Christian message. But the Gospel message in its *pasyon* form — the sacrificial death of Christ as the way to salvation — brought home to the masses a new dimension of Christianity: that which demanded social reform. It is remarkable that the various revolts against colonial oppression during the Spanish period were motivated not by any Marxist consciousness of class conflict and struggle, but by the Christian consciousness that the Gospel is good news for the poor and powerless, and demands, by way of suffering and sacrifice, the liberation of captives.³⁰

It is not surprising at all that a colonial people should see in the *pasyon* an image of Christ as the model of man, as an example of humility, obedience to authority, and resignation to the status quo. What is most surprising is that Hermano Pule, Macario Sakay, Felipe Salvador, and other followers saw in it a new image of Christ as the Messiah and in the colonial situation of suffering and oppression the permanent *pasyon* condition. Like Christ who suffered and died and in the end triumphed over death and His enemies and thus entered into His glory, these religiopolitical groups envisioned the masses suffering and dying but they knew that victory would be assured and that in the end, they would overthrow their oppressors and win freedom and independence.

Just as there are several images of Christ in Philippine literature, so are there in the *pasyon*. There is the obedient Christ at Gethsemane whose loob did not weaken in His hour of trial. There is the humble, meek, forgiving Christ in the betrayal of Judas, the non-

30. De la Costa, "Asian Concept of Justice," pp. 227-28.

violent Christ before His captors and official judges. But others, in an unjust and oppressive situation, see also in Christ the rebel and revolutionary, standing up to Annas, Caiphas, Pilate, and Herod, protesting the injustice of His trial and condemnation. Today this revolutionary potential of the *pasyon* is seen by other men and women in the sacrificial death of Christ as the price of salvation from sin and liberation from all forms of oppression and injustice. They see in Christ's resurrection the possibility of renewing man and building a new society of truth, freedom, and justice. As long as in our history there are those who see *Si Kristo ay Rebelde* and in every historical situation of injustice the *Pasyon at Kamatayan ng Ating Kalayaan*,³¹ the Christian gospel will remain good news to the poor, oppressed, and powerless.

WHITHER FILIPINO CONSCIOUSNESS OF JUSTICE?

Does the Christian gospel have anything to say to us in our day?

Although the Filipino *adat* is one source of natural law justice, this tribal law of justice cannot be taken without qualification. The primary precepts of the natural law found therein present no moral difficulty. But the *adat* sometimes takes un-Christian forms, for instance, headhunting. In this respect, two things can be said: first, that the Christian gospel "condemns" (in the biblical sense of "judges") every culture,³² second, according to the 1974 Roman Synod of bishops, although much of popular religiosity is genuinely Christian, it must be purified from elements of superstition, syncretism, fatalism, a false sense of resignation, and any dehumanizing factors.³³ Most important of all today, justice demands that we defend the natural rights and the authentic human development of our national minorities.

New moral problems confront the modern Filipino family, far removed from those of the Tagalog family of *Urbana at Feliza*. To mention only a few — the generation gap, the climate of pansex-

31. Francisco "Soc" Rodrigo, *Si Kristo ay Rebelde: Tulang Pangrelihiyon at Panglipunan* (Quezon City, 24 December 1976), and *Pasyon at Kamatayan ng Ating Kalayaan* (Quezon City, 30 September 1975).

32. See H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York: Harper, 1956).

33. See *Evangelization in Asia Today: Part Two, on the Bishop's Synod, 1974*, ed. C. G. Arevalo (Quezon City: Cardinal Bea Institute, Loyola School of Theology, 1974), pp. 170-71.

ualism, drug abuse, divorce, abortion, the means for population control and family planning, achievement of true equality, and the recognition of the new role of the Filipina. Yet the problem of justice in the Filipino family remains. The problems of family life — infidelity and the wife-martyr, the wages and working conditions of household help, the freedom of parents to determine family size, the contraceptive exploitation of women, the right of the unborn child to life, the innocence of children jeopardized under the guise of sex education — these are all problems of justice. And even if we should boast that family life in the Philippines is strong and unshakable, has Filipino family-consciousness gone beyond the family to the nation and to the Filipino people of God?

In the Philippines today, the struggle for truth, freedom, and justice continues. Christ in the pasyon has been transformed into a new Juan de la Cruz who may suffer at the hands of landlords, corrupt men, foreigners, but who, we hope, has enough *lakas ng loob* like Christ to withstand exploitation, persecution, imprisonment, even death itself, so that he and his children can live in peace, freedom, and justice. The pasyon can still unmask the Judases, Caiphases, Pilates, Herods, and the Roman soldiers of our times. But unlike the pasyon consciousness of the past, today's Filipino consciousness of justice must not be *utopian* in its quest for freedom and justice *in the next life*. We cannot afford to postpone hunger today for rice tomorrow. Rather, today's pasyon consciousness must unite and involve us all in the attainment of truth, freedom as equality and participation, and justice *here and now*.