Pentecostal Spirituality and Traditional Religious Practices in the Philippines¹

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Pentecostalism has demonstrated unabated growth and diversity in the Philippines for the last several decades, but the reasons for this growth have only recently begun to be explored by scholars. This essay will contribute to that exploration using Allan Anderson's definition of Pentecostalism as "all churches and movements globally that emphasize the working of the gifts of the Spirit, both on phenomenological and theological grounds— although not without qualification." While this definition is not without difficulty or controversy, it is the most fitting definition for this study.

Regarding pentecostal diversity, I will follow Walter Hollenweger's³ standard division of Pentecostalism into three groups, major (or classical) Pentecostals, Charismatics (or neo-Pentecostals), and the pentecostal or pentecostal-like—also known as the Third Wave—churches, with its various permutations.⁴ For simplicity, I will use the term Pentecostal-Charismatic (PC) throughout this essay to refer to all three forms. Here, through literary and field research, I will argue that PC spirituality, with its focus on the miraculous power of the Holy Spirit, deeply resonates with core elements of the Filipinos' traditional religious worldview.

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²Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), Kindle loc., 229.

³Walter Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism: Its Origins and Development Worldwide* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997), 1.

⁴Allan Anderson, *To The Ends of The Earth: Pentecostalism and the Transformation of World Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 4.

A Brief Sketch of Filipino Religious History

For the traditional Filipino worldview to be understood, especially in relationship to PC spirituality, Filipino religious history must be briefly outlined. This can be divided into three time periods: (1) the pre-Hispanic period from the beginning of the inhabitation of the Philippines through 1565, the Hispanic period and dominance of the Catholic Church (1565-1898), and the arrival of the Protestants, Evangelicals, and Pentecostals from 1899 onwards.

Pre-Hispanic Filipino Religiosity (-1565)

Pre-Hispanic Filipino religiosity was a blend of animism and polytheism. The Boxer Codex is a series of observations on life in Asia and the Pacific Islands written by an unknown Spanish explorer in the sixteenth century, probably before Roman Catholicism took significant hold. While the author is decidedly ethnocentric, he sheds light on the pre-Hispanic Filipinos' religious practices. For example, he noted that the early Tagalogs, who occupied central Luzon,

. . . build altars with candles and adorn these with the best mantles and golden ornaments they have. They offer everything to the anito which is what they call the soul when they invoke it. They smear certain parts of their bodies with the blood of animals they slaughtered for food, . . . believing that this will give them health and long life. All of this is administered by a male priest in female garb. They call him bayog or bayogin. If a woman is needed for the same office she is named catalanan.⁵

There were no temples, although there were shrines at the entrance to villages.⁶ Priests and priestesses were responsible for conducting all manner of rites, rituals, and omens for all the important affairs of life.7 The Codex also mentions various forms of divination, such as the calls of birds and dreams and interpretation, as well as the presence of

⁵Boxer Codex: A Modern Spanish Transcription and English Translation of Sixteenth- Century Exploration Accounts of East and Southeast Asia and the Pacific, 2nd ed., ed. Isaac Donoso, trans. and annotated Ma. Luisa Garcia, Carlos Quirino, and Mauro Garcia (Quezon City, Philippines: Vibal Foundations, Inc., 2022), 81, 131.

⁶William Henry Scott, Barangay: Sixteenth Century Philippine Culture and Society (Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila Press, 1994), 84.

⁷Codex, 81-82.

"a thousand and one" amulets and other such things. These activities indicate the seriousness with which they regarded supernatural power.

The same holds true for the Visayans in the central Philippines.⁹ The ancient Visayan worldview included a myriad of deities, ancestors, and archetypal humans, reflecting their strong supernatural orientation.¹⁰ Many were related to nature.¹¹ As with the Tagalogs, life among the Visayas centered around sacrifices, rites, and rituals, often involving various forms of divination.¹² While the practices differed, the core issue of gaining, using, and maintaining supernatural power for anthropocentric purposes remained the same.

Many other examples could be given. Inanimate objects such as crops or amulets could also become animated.¹³ Scott notes that significant attention was paid to funerary rites, helping the newly dead transition to the realm of the ancestors.¹⁴ This was done not only out of respect for the departed, but also because of fear of the ancestors' retribution if not properly treated. All of life was seen through a religious lens. Maintaining or restoring equilibrium between the spirit and natural realms was seen as critical and was normally accomplished through rites and rituals, usually overseen by various religious specialists.¹⁵ For the pre-Hispanic Filipinos, life was centered on gaining, properly using, and maintaining supernatural power.

The Hispanic Period and the Dominance of Roman Catholicism (1565-1898)

When Ferdinand Magellan arrived in the Philippines in 1521, he introduced Catholicism, and the queen of Cebu was baptized. Magellan also presented her with an image of the Santo Niño (the child Jesus), who is the patron saint of Cebu to this day. However, the Spanish did not govern the country until a Spanish expedition under Miguel Lopez de Legazpi arrived in 1565. They brought Catholic priests and friars with them to evangelize the country. In time, most of the country was indoctrinated into Catholicism. Christianity and colonization went hand in hand. Most Filipinos, from the Spanish point of view, did not

⁸Codex, 81-82.

⁹Codex, 27-61.

¹⁰Codex, 31.

¹¹Scott, Barangay, 77-78.

¹² Codex, 37, 61.

¹³F. Landa Jocano, *Filipino Worldview: Ethnography of Local Knowledge* (Quezon City, Philippines: Punlad Research House, 2001), 24-25.

¹⁴Scott, Barangay, 24-32.

¹⁵Jocano, Filipino Worldview, 25-28.

understand the faith they were accepting, and the Filipinos' predilection to the supernatural was left largely unchanged, 16 although the Virgin Mary and the Catholic saints gradually assumed the roles of the deities of the past. Filipinos "adapted but did not convert." Another reason for the lack of challenge to the indigenous worldview was that the Spanish simply did not understand it. While the friars were aware of the traditional practices and incorporated what they perceived as not conflicting with Catholic doctrine into the life of faith, they were altogether unsuccessful in rooting out those that did conflict.¹⁸ Maggay argues that, to this day, Filipino religion is "primarily a transaction of the [supernatural] powers." In time, she contends, a synthesis developed between the two religious systems, but it was not accompanied by a "shift in religious paradigm."20 For Benigno Beltran, this synthesis is an integral part of the Filipinos' identity.²¹ He goes on to explain that part of the appeal of folk Catholicism is that truth cannot be completely understood with propositional statements or declarative sentences and that Filipinos "are more at home with what lies just beyond those boundaries."22

This failure to shift paradigms led to what Jesuit psychologist Jaime Bulatao famously described as "split-level" Christianity.²³ He describes this as:

the coexistence within the same person of two or more thoughtand-behavior systems which are inconsistent with each other. At one level he professes allegiance to ideas, attitudes, and ways of behaving which are mainly borrowed from the Christian West; at another level he holds convictions which are more properly his "own" ways of living and believing which were handed down from his ancestors, which do not always find their way

¹⁶Vicente Rafael, Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1tt3), 87.

 ¹⁷Melba Maggay, Gospel and Culture Issues in the Philippine Context: Some
 Process and Methodological Concerns, www.infemit.org, (accessed May 23, 2023), n.p.
 ¹⁸Rafael, Contracting Colonialism, 10z.

¹⁹Melba Maggay, "Towards Sensitive Engagement with Filipino Indigenous Consciousness," *International Review of Missions* 87, no. 346 (1999): 361-371, 364.

²⁰Maggay, Gospel and Culture, n.p.

²¹Benigno Beltran, *A Christology of the Inarticulate: An Inquiry into the Filipino Understanding of Jesus Christ* (Manila: Divine Word Publications, 1987), 5.

²²Beltran, A Christology of the Inarticulate, 206.

²³Jaime Bulatao, *Phenomena and Their Interpretation: Landmark Essays 1957-1989* (Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1992), 22.

into an explicit philosophical system but nevertheless now and then flow into action.²⁴

He goes on to explain the characteristics of this split level.²⁵ One, both are believed to be true and appropriate. Second, the inconsistencies of the two systems are not a concern to the average person and are either forgotten or pushed to the edge of one's consciousness and are not considered hypocritical.²⁶ In truth, Filipinos do not recognize their traditional practices as separate from their Catholicism, and Filipinos practice them side by side with little or no guilt.²⁷

The official Catholic catechism also reflects this split level when it mentions that Filipinos have a deep-seated belief "in all kinds of spirits." They do not approve of the spirits in general but freely include the Virgin Mary in the group. They also freely endorse the various grottos to her throughout the country, including the apparitions of her ascribed to these places. In contrast, they also claim that Christ's Spirit purifies Catholics from their traditional practices, apparently not recognizing the incongruity of these statements. ²⁹ By the time the Protestants arrived, folk Catholicism was deeply entrenched in the Filipino psyche.

Protestants and Evangelicals (1899-Present)

The Americans assumed control of the archipelago in 1898 at the conclusion of the Spanish-American War and introduced the concept of freedom of religion. Protestant³⁰ missionaries from the West, mostly from the United States, came in droves, starting as early as 1899. With the missionaries came the focus of translating the Bible into the various Filipino languages, something the Catholic Church had not even attempted in the Hispanic era. The results of these efforts have had an

²⁴Bulatao, *Phenomena and Their Interpretation*.

²⁵Ibid., 25

²⁶There is a third characteristic that deals with authority figures, but this is beyond the scope of this essay.

²⁷Bulatao, *Phenomena and Their Interpretation*, 25.

²⁸Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines, *Catechism for Filipino Catholics* 1997 (Manila: ECCCE Word & Life Publications, 1997), 15, 17.

²⁹Catechism for Filipino Catholics 1997, 19.

³⁰For our purposes here, no distinction is made between Protestant and Evangelical because they came with similar worldviews.

incalculable benefit to Filipino Christians of all traditions, including Catholics.

Protestant missionaries placed great emphasis on such issues as salvation, but, like the Catholic friars, did not effectively deal with spirit world issues due to differences in their worldview.

Maggay explains:

the Christian religion increasingly became the means by which guilt could be relieved, a sort of huge 'laundering venture,' as Camus put it. While such an outlook is not entirely irrelevant for a Filipino, it is somewhat unimportant and off the track. For what counts most in our religious consciousness is not the relief of guilt, but access to the centre of power that rules life in the universe. Filipino religious activity focuses on opening oneself to the strength and curative potency of beneficial powers, whether found in nature or in the spirit world. Owing to this, prayers, devotions, sacrifices and ascetic practices have as their fundamental aim the increase of this potency.³¹

Not much research appears to have been done on the probability of folk Protestantism. Kim alludes to it but gives no details.³² In my own doctoral research, I discovered that a small percentage of Assemblies of God members and adherents still followed traditional practices.³³

The Pentecostal/Charismatic Movements (1920s-)

Classical pentecostal missionaries came as early as 1918 and a number of others arrived over the next twenty years, although the PC movement did not begin its rise to prominence until the latter part of the century.³⁴ The charismatic movement began to boom in the 1960s-80s as an outgrowth of the Classical Pentecostals, and third wave Pentecostalism began in earnest in the 1990s as an outgrowth of both the

³¹Maggay, "Towards Sensitive Engagement": 363.

³²Jong Fil (Elijah) Kim, "Filipino Pentecostalism in a Global Context," Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies 8, no. 2 (July), 235-254, 254.

³³Dave Johnson, Theology in Context: A Case Study in the Philippines (Baguio City, Philippines: APTS Press, 2013), 88, t3, 141, 151.

³⁴Doreen Alcoran, "A History of the Church of God in Northern Luzon, Philippines, from 1947-1985: Its Origin and Development" (Th.M. thesis, Asia Pacific Theological Seminary, 2003), 52; Johnny King, "Spirit and Schism: A History of Oneness Pentecostalism in the Philippines" (Ph.D. diss., University of Birmingham, 2016), 104; and Dave Johnson, Led by the Spirit: The History of the American Assemblies of God Missionaries in the Philippines (Pasig City, Philippines: ICI Ministries, Inc., 2009), 8.

Classical Pentecostals and the Charismatics.³⁵ While the PC movement has no lack of excesses, splits, and schisms and can potentially lapse into unhealthy syncretism, these are beyond the scope of this essay.

Pentecostal Missions and Ministry in the Philippines

While pentecostal missionaries shared many of the cultural biases of their Protestant colleagues, they also brought with them a strong emphasis on the gifts and empowerment of the Holy Spirit, including speaking in tongues, divine healing, and deliverance from demons, unknowingly addressing the Filipinos' deeply felt need for connection with supernatural power.³⁶ Peter Wagner, reflecting on the global pentecostal movement, notes:

A major reason for the success of Pentecostal missions is that their missionaries were also in touch with this [supernatural worldview] important dimension of reality. The phenomena of tongues, prophecies, faith healings, words of knowledge, deliverances, falling under the power, angelic visitations, visions, dreams, and other direct manifestations of the Holy Spirit have been common enough to keep Pentecostals very much aware of varieties of spiritual power.³⁷

Kessler and Rüland add that PC spirituality is focused on "spiritual experience, which results in an individual, vital, emotional, and personal relationship between each believer and God."³⁸ This focus on the experiential also resonates well with the Filipino psyche.

While all variations of the PC movement came with heavy doses of influence from North America,³⁹ a Filipino PC spirituality, as in other parts of the Majority World, has arisen, blending Pentecostalism with the indigenous religious consciousness. Even Maggay agrees, stating

³⁵Lora Timenia, *Third Wave Pentecostalism in the Philippines: Understanding Toronto Blessing Revivalism's Signs and Wonders Theology in the Philippines* (Baguio City, Philippines: APTS Press, 2020), 69-74.

³⁶Timenia, Third Wave, 102-103.

³⁷C. Peter Wagner, "A Church Growth Perspective on Pentecostal Missions," in *Called and Empowered: Global Mission in Pentecostal Perspective*, ed. Murray A. Dempster, Byron D. Klaus, and Douglas Petersen, 265-284 (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991), 271.

³⁸Christl Kessler and Jurgen Rüland, *Give Jesus a Hand! Charismatic Christians: Populist Religion and Politics in the Philippines* (Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2008), 5.

³⁹Johnson, Led by the Spirit, 7-13, 269-27, 343-347; Timenia, Third Wave, 73.

that there is connection between the PC movement and the Filipinos' orientation to supernatural power.⁴⁰ Jeong goes on to contend that "Filipino indigenous spirituality can be [the] source of a pentecostal theological framework through some degree of adjustment, adaptation, selection, rejection, reinterpretation and transformation."41 Singaporean pentecostal scholar Simon Chan states that Pentecostalism

effectively contextualizes the gospel in the primal religious contexts that pervade much of the non-Western world, making Pentecostalism one of the most visible forms of folk Christianity. . . . Even if one has good reason to find fault with it, one must still ask why it has gained such wide acceptance, from the highest level within the Catholic hierarchy to the simple adherents in popular indigenous Christian movements throughout the world.⁴²

Field Research in Pentecostalism

As the Filipino PC movement began to grow and diversify, scholars, both in and out of the movement, began to take a look at it. Only a few representative examples can be given here.

Classical Pentecostals

Classical Pentecostals are those believers who belong to churches and denominations that believe that the baptism in the Holy Spirit, with the evidence of speaking in unknown tongues, is normative for today. Charismatics, by contrast, are individuals that have experienced this baptism but remain in churches that do not formally espouse it.

The Assemblies of God (AG) is one of the largest of the classical pentecostal groups in the Philippines. Statistics are notoriously difficult to come by, but as of 2022, there appear to be approximately 5,600 churches.⁴³ Several doctoral dissertations have been written by Assemblies of God scholars themselves on the religious attitudes of their

⁴⁰Maggay, "Towards Sensitive Engagement": 366.

⁴¹Jae Yong Jeong, "Filipino Pentecostal Spirituality: An Investigation into Filipino Indigenous Spirituality and Pentecostalism in the Philippines" (Ph.D. diss., University of Birmingham, 2001), 204.

⁴²Simon Chan, Grassroots Asian Theology: Thinking the Faith from the Ground Up (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2014), 30-31.

⁴³The AG has been divided into two camps since 2011. This is an aggregate estimate based on anecdotal information. I have been a missionary with this group since 1994.

members and adherents. Due to space limitations, however, only those who focused exclusively on the AG are noted here. Even then, only a brief synopsis of their research can be considered, mainly focused on healing and deliverance from demons, and so forth.

Julie Ma's research was focused on the Kankana-ey tribe in the Cordilleras mountains of north central Luzon. They were not impacted as much as the others by Roman Catholicism, and their traditional religious practices form a part of their core identity. Her purpose was to find out why the AG has been successful in reaching them for Christ. She discovered that one major reason was the similarities in their worldviews. He Both the Kankana-ey and the AG believe that the power to bless and curse is supernatural, as is healing, although the source of supernatural power is different. She further noted that these similarities "have potential in assisting them to adopt their new belief system." She concludes with extensive analysis of the similarities and differences between the Kankana- ey and the Pentecostals that also includes the areas of who God is, divine revelation, and other aspects of the spirit world.

My own research was focused on the Waray people on the islands of Leyte and Samar in the eastern central Philippines. As with Ma, part of my study was to understand the cultural and theological reasons why the AG has been successful in establishing churches among the Waray.⁴⁷ The field research revealed a strong correlation between the AG members and adherents and the general Waray beliefs about the spirit world as it relates to nature, prayer in times of need, specific religious practices incorporated into Catholicism, sickness and healing, evil spirits, and what the Bible says about each of these. 48 In all cases, the connection to the spirit world was strong, although there were substantial differences between to whom prayer should be offered or from whom healing should be sought, and so on. The study also included research on the factors that led the Waray to Christ.⁴⁹ A substantial number of the AG survey respondents, 65.8 percent, said they were healed, 40.4 percent claimed to have been delivered from a demon, and 67.3 percent said they had experienced some other kind of miracle. Both Ma's research and mine

⁴⁴Julie C. Ma, When the Spirit Meets the Spirits: Pentecostal Ministry among the Kankana-ey Tribe in the Philippines (New York: Peter Lang, 2000), 26.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶Ibid., 213-247.

⁴⁷Johnson, *Theology*, 69-83.

⁴⁸Ibid., 87-158.

⁴⁹Ibid., 174.

provide substantial documentation of the similarities between traditional religious spirituality and PC spirituality.

El Shaddai

Since 70 percent of the PC movement in the Philippines is Catholic, my focus among the Charismatics will be here.⁵⁰ There are several Catholic Charismatic groups, but the largest, by far, is the *El Shaddai*, which claimed as many as nine million followers in 2008.⁵¹

Katherine Wiegele, who has conducted extensive research on the *El Shaddai*, said that the founder and primary spokesman, Mike Velarde, condemns the folk practices of self-flagellation and self-crucifixion.⁵² On the other hand, he "does not discourage the magical association between himself and the granting of prayer requests."⁵³ Many also feel that his prayers are more efficacious than others acceding to the indigenous assumption that spiritual leaders are believed to have greater access to supernatural power.⁵⁴

The *El Shaddai* also gives great focus to bringing objects, such as Bibles, to the leaders for blessing.⁵⁵ This is not substantially different from the priest's blessing various images or even amulets, even if the power of amulets is limited and the objects blessed by *El Shaddai* leaders are believed to "become conduits for profound life transformation." While these practices raise concerns about unhealthy syncretism, they also demonstrate the connection between PC spirituality and the traditional religious consciousness.

Velarde also encourages his people to pray directly to God rather than to any other mediator.⁵⁷ Kessler and Rüland note that the Catholic Charismatics show a high degree of interest in Bible reading, the baptism in the Holy Spirit with speaking in unknown tongues, and being slain in the Spirit.⁵⁸The same survey also demonstrated a clear understanding of distinguishing the Holy Spirit from the other spirits. They also noted that divine healing was a favorite topic among their respondents.⁵⁹ They

⁵⁰Kessler and Rüland, Give Jesus a Hand!, 93.

⁵¹ Ibid., 3.

⁵²Katherine Wiegele, *Investing in Miracles: El Shaddai and the Transformation of Popular Catholicism in the Philippines* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 22.

⁵³Ibid., 30.

⁵⁴Ibid., 31.

⁵⁵Ibid., 33.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Ibid., 50.

⁵⁸Kessler and Rüland, Give Jesus a Hand!, 96-98.

⁵⁹Ibid., 126, 59.

recognized, as well, that Catholic Charismatics have many similarities with Protestants, ⁶⁰ especially with Pentecostals.

Third-Wave Pentecostalism

Lora Timenia, an emerging classical pentecostal Filipino scholar, defines Filipino third wave Pentecostalism as referring to "various independent, indigenous, and/or post-denominational Christians who believe in the continued supernatural work of the Holy Spirit in their life and community but are not clearly identified as either Pentecostal or Charismatic." This wing of the PC is difficult to quantify as the churches involved tend to be independent, and practices differ regarding the gifts of the Spirit. Timenia and Joel Tejedo, both faculty members at the Asia Pacific Theological Seminary in Baguio City, Philippines, have recently conducted research on the Third Wave.

Tejedo's research focused on the leaders of two megachurches in Metro Manila, Christ Commission Fellowship (CCF) and Victory Christian Fellowship (VCF). Neither of these churches claims to be pentecostal, but both reflect PC spirituality. At CCF, 93.75 percent of Tejedo's respondents indicated that they believe in deliverance from demons and divine healing, but they reject the need for sacred healing objects. At VCF, the score was 100 percent on the same question, but three did say that the Spirit can use sacred objects. They also evidenced a strong belief in modern-day miracles inspired by the Holy Spirit, including the baptism in the Holy Spirit, though not necessarily speaking in tongues. Leader of the same for the same question, but three did say that the Spirit can use sacred objects.

Timenia's research focused on the lead pastors of four sizable churches, all in Metro Manila, that demonstrated PC characteristics, regardless of their label. All showed a strong belief in signs and wonders, which they call manifestations of God.⁶⁵ The interacting themes of the "(1) Manifest Presence of God, (2) Infinite Creativity of God, (3) Literal/ Materialized Heaven, (4) Reified Divine Power and (5) Divine Love," all encompass a theology of the miraculous, which resonates deeply

⁶⁰ Ibid., 125.

⁶¹ Timenia, Third Wave, 21

⁶²Joel Tejedo, The Urban Face of Megachurch Leadership: A Comparison and Quantitative Analyses of Megachurch Leadership in the Context of Urban Centers in the Philippines (unpublished ms., presented at the 31st William W. Menzies Annual Lectureship at the Asia Pacific Theological Seminary, January 30-February 3, 2023), 10-15.

⁶³Ibid., 11-12.

⁶⁴Ibid., 15.

⁶⁵ Timenia, Third Wave, 147-149.

with Filipino religious consciousness. ⁶⁶ She easily makes the connection between Filipino traditional beliefs and third wave PC theology. ⁶⁷

She correctly assesses that, as in indigenous spirituality, in PC spirituality the line between the natural and the supernatural is blurred or obliterated altogether. She goes on to opine that through PC spirituality, "the Filipino's need for deeper psycho-spiritual commitment is met with Christian rituals and symbols. It also addresses the chief issue of divine power, which is an inherent dimension in Filipino spirituality."

Summary

While there are many variations of PC spirituality outlined here, all allow God to move in signs, wonders, and other kinds of miracles, revealing both his power and his desire to meet human needs for his own glory. In doing so, they address Filipinos' deeply felt need for connection to and interaction with the supernatural.

Timenia concludes that PC spirituality provides a potential solution for split-level Christianity, but she adds a warning that this could also negatively result in an unhealthy syncretism. ⁷⁰ While sharing her concern about syncretism, I will go further and state, based on the evidence presented, that this split largely dissolves in PC spirituality.

Conclusion

In this essay, I have argued that PC spirituality, with its focus on the miraculous power of the Holy Spirit, deeply resonates with core elements of the Filipinos' traditional religious worldview. This was demonstrated through an explanation of religion during three periods in Filipino history—the pre-Hispanic era, the folk Catholicism that developed in the Hispanic era, and the arrival of the Protestants and Pentecostals. Furthermore, pentecostal missionaries, with their focus on signs and wonders, unknowingly resonated with the Filipino worldview. The field research demonstrates that a deep connection between biblical Christianity in the power of the Holy Spirit and the Filipino traditional religious consciousness has occurred, resulting in largely dissolving split-level Christianity. Much more research on this subject is in order,

⁶⁶ Ibid., 150-154.

⁶⁷Ibid., 159-161.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 165.

⁶⁹Ibid., 167.

⁷⁰Ibid., 159, 166.

including dealing with the ever- present danger of unhealthy syncretism and other excesses within the PC movement.

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