

# La Tradición Popular



CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS  
FOLKLÓRICOS

Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala



## Considerations for an analysis of religiosity in Guatemala

Anibal Chajón Flores

Year: 2013 No. 212

# Considerations for an analysis of traditional religiosity in Guatemala

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The phenomena of traditional religiosity in Guatemala are object of numerous descriptions. However, the positivist and materialist view still remains to understand them. In this article, Ken Wilber's global development model is proposed to understand it and it concludes with a survey based on the model.

Only a few collective manifestations attract so much the attention of the Guatemalan capital society like the expressions of traditional Catholic religiosity, and although the amount of people that belong to non-Catholic Christian designations has considerably increased in the city, the attendance is numerous in each of the manifestations of popular Catholicism. This fact is easily provable in the processions related to Lent and Holy Week in which thousands of people go to the streets to appreciate the passage of the processional entourages and live, in those special days, a tradition inherited of their ancestors.

It has been seen how people from different ages, academic training, and social origins get involved with enthusiasm and complete dedication to these devotional practices. This leads to wonder why people make the decision of giving a great part of their time, whether free or from their productive activities, to participate in the expressions of popular religiosity. Is it due to superstition? Are they people with few occupations apart from their productive activities? Do they obtain any type of social recognition? To respond these questions, two aspects are presented in this article: the religious phenomenon as a human being's product, individually and collectively, and some of the manifestations of traditional religiosity that are produced in Guatemala in the middle of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

## Origin, nature, and basic constituent elements of religiosity

In the development of the sociological studies, no one calls into question that religiosity and irreligiosity are present, formed, and determined by the social environment and that the socio-religious phenomena have validity in every existing culture, subculture, and counterculture.

Since the beginning of the sociological research, the specialists discovered the great importance of the religious phenomenon in people's behavior both in personal life and social activities. Auguste Comte, the sociology and positivism founder had categorized every religious behavior as a primitive stage of human beings, which lacking in scientific information would respond the world's questions with myths. In Comte's interpretation, the mythical responses did not satisfy the human curiosity, so they would develop a philosophical stage with metaphysics solutions to solve the issues. In an evolutionary sense, the metaphysics stage was followed by a scientific interpretation of the reality with positive responses, a product of the research of the laws that regulate nature. Shortly after Comte, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels categorized religion as part of the socioeconomic superstructure, the most conceivable but the one that has been used to dominate the "exploited", calling it "the opium of the people." However, the religious phenomenon would keep prevailing, even in people who received scientific education. The psychologist Sigmund Freud saw religion as a form of neurosis. Freud affirmed that religion is a non-scientific explanation of the phenomenon that for their nature and correspondence, are inexplicable to reasoning. The religion's objective would be to facilitate a theory of the world of any social group's members<sup>1</sup>.

Emile Durkheim also affirmed that the scientific thought is superior to religious thought, and for his conclusions, he based on the ethnologic studies that other professionals carried out on human groups that lived in Australia<sup>2</sup>. In his analysis of the religious life, Durkheim concluded that the most important is what the community inspires to its members. According to the sociologist, that determines the individual's conscience. Also, he identified the negative and positive values of the religious practice, which lead the individual to feel part of something different, sacred, which was not allowed before his/her initiation. The most important aspect Durkheim discovered was that religion helps people live. The rites that the researchers consider only as an "external translation" of the religious ideas are for the faithful a reality that allows to overcome



difficulties of existence, which makes individuals to feel able to solve problems and face moral questioning. "Anyone who has really practiced a religion knows perfectly that cult is what causes those expressions of joy, inner peace, serenity, or enthusiasm that are the experimental proof of the faithful's beliefs."<sup>3</sup>

Durkheim believed that religion is an overview of the social life, which allows the creation of a collective conscience, superior to the individual one, a conscience of consciences. On the other hand, Durkheim defined the distinctive traits of religious practice: the distinction between sacred and profane, and the difference between both scopes. However, this is not applicable to every religious phenomenon. Late in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it could be proved that in many non-occidental societies, this is not valid, mostly in the case of Mesoamerican groups. For example, in the Mayan religiosity, which can include over five million people living in Guatemala, there is no significant difference between the sacred and the profane<sup>4</sup>.

The German sociologist Max Weber included new interpretations. Weber already conceded the religious phenomenon a "relatively logical" nature. In his opinion, the religious fact is determined by certain figures, either charismatic or prophetic, who motivate the congregation to follow their lessons. But not all of the members participate in the same way in the religious fact, so according to Weber, it becomes necessary to produce an occasional ecstasy either with music, rituals, or narcotic through which the person experiments something different to what is ordinary. Furthermore, to Weber, the religious experience depends on the status the person holds in social group, in this way the poor always look for a change or redemption; the rich see religion with skepticism and indifference, and the bureaucrat make use of it<sup>5</sup>. In summary, these stances considered religiosity as the result of a particular social context. In turn, every religious phenomenon understood its origin as the intervention of a divine being. However, the aforesaid stances do not satisfy the current needs of the religious fact understanding, mainly faced with the development of the information media that bring humans from all over the world into contact with each other. Therefore, it is necessary to analyze the religious fact on the basis of a universal anthropological character. According to Josep Prades, the starting point must be the human nature<sup>6</sup>.

In this sense, the contributions of scholars like Rudolf Otto and Mircea Eliade were important.

According to the German theologian Rudolf Otto, the religious conception surpasses the scientific conception. With the help of the philosophical movement of Neo-Kantianism, he gave value to the religious type of knowledge. According to Otto's interpretation "it is not needed to demonstrate the necessary ideas because they come from mere reasoning, a source of knowledge independent from experience." As an example, he proposed the ideas of God, soul, and the experience of freedom. From this point of view, the human being discovers an eternal and free Being to whom God calls, like a prior discovery. This gave logical foundation to intuitions, the basis of religious thoughts. In his interpretation, Otto considered mysticism as the most perfect shape of religion. Also, he included a new term for religiosity understanding, the numinous, as the point in which the human being experiments the ineffable and indescribable of the sacred, the experience of the "completely other." Despite those discovers, Otto allocated those religious progresses only to some individuals, the religious man, in contrast to those who apparently do not have that need in their lives, or natural man. Otto thought that all religious phenomenon is a product of the "human's religious instinct." The numinous emerges from the hidden spring in the depths of the human's soul. Instead of Durkheimian postulate of the collective conscience, Otto proposes the postulate of an inner revelation. In the collective aspect, from that contact with the numinous comes the respect to other human beings, the moral and ethical value<sup>7</sup>.

In this respect, the Romanian-American historian of religious, Mircea Eliade, resumed all the studies carried out since Durkheim to Otto. Eliade used another term to interpret the religion's principal, **the homo religiosus**, who has necessity for the sacred. In his words, "every manifestation of the sacred is important. Every rite, every myth, every belief or divine figure reflects the experience of the sacred... The consciousness of a real and significant world is closely linked to the discovery of the sacred." In addition, he used the term hierophany to designate the manifestation of the sacred. In Eliade's interpretation, the sacred has as function to be a mediator between the transcendental reality and the homo religiosus, which allow mankind to come into contact with the transcendental reality. He concluded that every human being's religious behavior revolves around **the sacred**, defining the sacred not as a stage of that conscience's history, , that is, a moment, but as an element of the conscience's structure, in other words, a fundamental part of the individual. Eliade identified the homo religiosus to the same level than homo

economicus and homo politicus have been identified, among other dimensions that the humanity has. In a few words, the homo religiosus is who creates and shapes religiosity from what he makes sacred. Therefore, Eliade affirmed that the science of religions does not research revelations but inquire about the homo religiosus "the sacred lived", that is to say his own experience of the sacred, what he makes sacred<sup>8</sup>.

### Origins: The "homo religiosus"

Therefore, from a general approach based on a universal anthropological opinion, the origin of the religious fact is the human nature, it is the human being **who creates the religious fact** and makes it from what he makes **sacred**, that is what he transforms into his absolute, in such a way that religion as a social fact, has its foundation in human nature itself. Then, it is about a characteristic of all human beings, considered as individuals and collective. This explains the multiple religious manifestations in all cultures and throughout history. In summary, the religious fact can only be explained from the human being itself, of what he has sacralized, that is to say transformed into sacred. In turn, the sacred must be considered as an anthropological category, and religiously must be understood as the experience and expression of the sacred lived by people, individual and collectively.

### The sacred

Once the origin of the religious fact has been clarified, another aspect is considered: the very nature of the religious fact, which is called the sacred. For that, it is necessary to remember that it is the human being who sacralizes, in his different socio-historical environments and depending on his level of personal and social development.

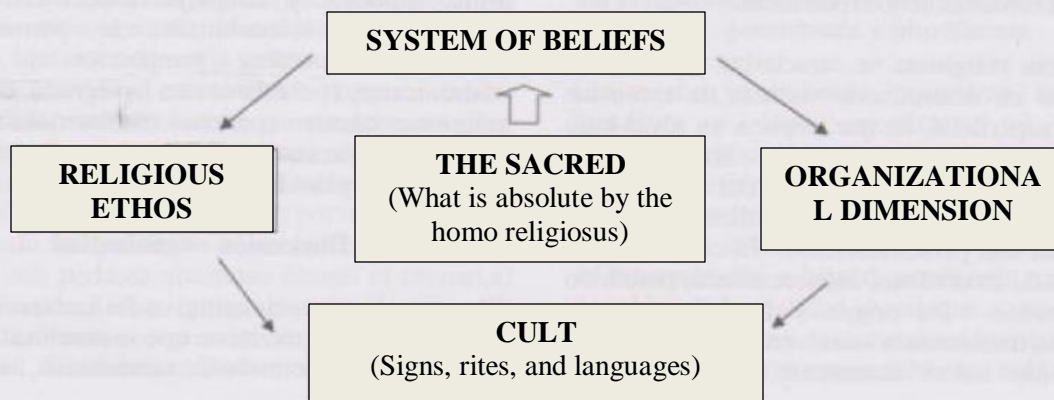
The sacralization process has an evident consequence in all religious facts: what is absolute is conceived as mysterious or mystery<sup>9</sup>, and it is from then on that something has become sacred, one has an experience of the sacred." Simultaneously, when something has become sacred, everything else is relativized and becomes non-sacred, profane. This dualism is persistent in the first stages of the religious development, like analyzed by Durkheim, and it is overcome in higher stages of development that are distinguished by a totaling view.

The second consequence of the sacred experience is to show respect to the sacred. In general, it is considered that the sacred is holy, unless certain preventive measures are taken and this generates the socio-religious taboos. The examples of this manifestations are abundant in all cultures.

From the concept of respect to the sacred generates a series of socializing processes that are expressed in attitudes and behaviors, since the holy can be beneficial or detrimental, and from these attitudes and behaviors originates a system of beliefs, a religious ethos (moral behavior), the cultural activities, and an organizational dimension responsible for relating to the sacred. Each of the constituent elements of the religious fact is interdependent to the others, and considered as a group, socially form a religious or religiosity. Only by consider these elements can be understood the nature of the religious fact.

In order to express this interdependence and interrelation better, Fernando Fernández prepared the following graphic<sup>10</sup>.

Dynamic of the "homo religiosus", origin and nature of religiosity



So, the nature of the religious fact has its starting point in the "homo religiosus", but it is constituted from a system of beliefs, a moral behavior, cultural aspects, and an organizational dimension, and all of them are essential and interconnected elements without which there can be no religious fact.

### Elements of religiosity from "the sacred"

Each one of the elements of religiosity forms a whole, and for its understanding and study, they are divided into system of beliefs, religious ethos, cult, and organizational dimension<sup>11</sup>.

#### System of beliefs

The religious belief is a product of the experience of the sacred, and it belongs to the cognitional scope, to the intellect. The system of beliefs is the cognitional link that connects the faithful person to what he considers sacred. Since wide range experiences of the sacred exist, several systems of beliefs and consequently religions have been developed throughout history.

The advance in knowledge of the sacred, speculation, is generally progressive, so the system of beliefs increases as time goes by and with it, the diffusion of a particular religiosity. However, this advance is not linear as it can also be regressive, diverted, or even stagnant. This progress facilitates or impedes a better knowledge of the faithful to what they consider sacred.

Not all of the faithful conceive and perceive the set of beliefs the same way, therefore, they do not take on the same level of socio-religious commitment to what they consider sacred. The American writer, Ken Wilber<sup>12</sup>, has identified three ascending levels in religious knowledge and their consequent socio-religious commitment, and he calls them: belief, faith, and experience.

**The religious belief:** It is characterized by being an adhesion to a certain system of beliefs in a superficial way, which implies a low level of socio-religious commitment. In this level exist adhesion and acceptance of the kind of institutionalized system of beliefs, without a personalization producing. The knowledge of the sacred is confusing, undifferentiated, perceived with the senses. It gives rise and basis to the religiosity called sacral, in which the sacred is perceived as immanent, localized, without transcendence.

**The religious faith:** In this level, the belief is surpassed. The faithful person intuites the presence of the divine as the ultimate content of the sacred, with which transcends external manifestations such as signs, rites, or any other type of human mediation (related to cult). In this level, the individual clings to the sacred, like to a friendship, and it implies mutual confidence, communion, and commitment, so the individual starts a new relationship with the sacred and discovers on it the ultimate meaning of every thing and questions about his own existence<sup>13</sup>.

**The religious experience:** It is a higher level even than faith; it is considered to be an encounter with the divine and is the most complete form of religious knowledge. Therefore, the system of beliefs give rise to a series of attitudes and commitments in the faithful, which can be classified in the following three broad levels: religious belief, religious faith, and religious experience.

#### Religious ethos

The second constituent element of religiosity is morality or religious ethos. It is coherent with the system of beliefs. The religious ethos is expressed in behaviors, attitudes, and motivations that regulate conduct. Every expression is proper to the religiosity from which it originates. The religious moral, morality, or religious ethos is based on and directly correlated with the beliefs that give it meaning and value.

#### Cult

Another of the elements that constitute the nature of the religious fact is cult or cultic dimension, and since it is of external character, it is the most observable of them. Cult become relevant in the religious belief level when individuals cling to their system of beliefs, which is why they need to come into contact with the sacred and holy through socio-cultural mediations: rites, signs, and specific languages. These socio-cultural mediations allow them to contact and communicate with the sacred in corporal, temporary, and active terms. All of the religions have these cultic mediations, and its socio-religious appraisal depends on the system of beliefs and the religious ethos.

#### Organizational dimension

The fourth constituent element of the religious fact is the organizational dimension, which appears in every more or less institutionalized religion, even if it is of a minimal character. It is the group of



individuals who dedicate primarily or exclusively to the religious phenomenon (usually clergy). This is because the religious fact does not have only individual but also collective and social characteristics, therefore, the organizational dimension tends to shape and organize following socio-cultural models, so they depend, have influence, and interact with the social context in which the religious fact arises and develop.

### **Persistence and transformation of “the sacred in the “homo religiosus”**

It is an evident reality that since mankind exists, a form of religiosity also exists, just like the Neanderthal Man's remnants with an antiquity of a hundred thousand years demonstrate it. So the experience of the sacred is a historical constant that is socio-cultural observable. Throughout history, the respect forms, what is made absolute, the identification of what is sacred, and its perception have varied, but the sacred has always been present and permanent as well as changing and has undergone numerous transformations. This is because the human being is dynamic and always in development process.

Several authors have established a temporary sequence of the transformation of the perception of the sacred. The research José Prades<sup>14</sup> has distinguished three eras in the mankind's history, which are described below:

**a) Archaic:** It concerns the period in which humans dedicated to hunt and fishing, which lasted a little more than a million years. In this socio-historical period, the human being perceived the sacred as the cosmic, that is, the environment he lived in. The human being identified with the world since he was in the first level of development. It corresponds to the called archaic man, who finds his plenitude in the collective subject (ethnic group, tribe, nation) and to the cosmologic religions and animisms.

**b) Agricultural:** With an approximate duration of ten thousand years, it corresponds to the socio-historical period of agricultural sedentarization, development of urbanology, law, literature, philosophy, and other cultural manifestations. It characterized by being structured in succession by patriarchal social models, first empires and absolute monarchies and then, all of them of theocratic character since authority was qualified by religiosity. The sacred was perceived as the divine, that is, the god with absolute power (like the monarch) and his intermediaries (generally identified with the organizational dimension.) The historical religions,

like Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam that arose in this period followed theocratic and patriarchal models. In this conception of the sacred, human beings were subordinated to the divine.

**c) Early modernity:** It corresponds to the socio-historical process of industrialization, which caused changes in politics institutions, abandoning the absolute monarchy model to substitute it with democracy, and the sacred was perceived in human itself. There was a progressive transition from the cosmic to the divine and from there to the human. This sacralization of the human had its epitome in the French Revolution's slogan: liberty, equality, and fraternity.

To this Prades' theorizing must be added the changes occurred late in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, such as genetics research, the space exploration, and other technical advances that surpass the socio-historical models even in democracy, but they preserve the sacralization of the human with reductionism trends. Therefore, it is necessary to overcome the stage of the early modernity to a next one in which the total human being is sacralized. This new humanism should be solidary and globalized and serve to a new socio-historical form that allows the real and full development of human beings, without exceptions and without being comforted thinking of a future world. The prefiguration of this new humanism was bestowed in a meeting held in Kyoto, Japan, in 1970, in favor of peace. In that meeting, it was emphasized the human as the root of the absolute, so that any religion is considered “good” to the extent that it serves humanity to favor each and every human being's improvement.

In summary, it is the homo religiosus who gives rise to the religious fact and therefore, with his own metamorphosis defines the transformation of the perception of the sacred. They are related and do not exist without each other, and they are as persistent as volatile.

### **Religiosity as interdependent, persistent, and diversified element**

The theories described before (positivist, materialist, Freudian, and others) explained the religious fact as a pre-rational behavior and changed it into an element that is dependent on the social context. However, religiosity study must be understood and considered from its **interrelation** and **interdependence** to the other elements of social reality, which is so complex, dynamic, and volatile like the human being. In other words, it is not that an element is more important than

the others; all of them are components of social reality and all of them depend on each other to shape human experience in collectivity. The human being is not only economic or political, although those variables are easily perceptible and objectified, but he is also religious.

In light of that situation, it is necessary to use a model that allows at the same time to have a complete and partial view of the reality to explain the persistence of the religious phenomenon, and at the same time, its diversity. The model has to include the two dimensions in which human activity is carried out: the socio-historical context and the development level achieved by individuals and communities in order to properly analyze and interpret religiosity in a general and at the same time individual way, mostly in the perception of the sacred that exists in a group, since in all religious institutions, the members share a system of beliefs, but at the same time differ from each other in age, culture, and many other factors. This is the global anthropological model developed by Ken Wilber as it provides that complete and partial view that is necessary for the understanding of religiosity as an interdependent, persistent, and diversified element of the social reality that has its origins in human nature, the *homo religiosus*.

#### **Integral development of the “homo religiosus”**

Ken Wilber<sup>15</sup>'s analysis model is inspired by several authors and is applicable to individual and collective human being<sup>16</sup>. The model differentiates three broad structures in human and social development: the first is called Pre-conscious, Subconscious, and Pre-rational; the second is called Conscious, Self-conscious, or Rational, and the third is called Trans-conscious, Transrational, or Super-conscious. This model corresponds to the concept of development as the human being's full attainment and his possibilities at both personal and social levels. It is ascending and spiral, from the lower to the greater, from the particular to the general, from the simple to the complex, and from the individual to the social since human plenitude is not achieved in solitude. So, the Pre-conscious is followed by Conscious and if it reaches a full development, the Super-conscious. Using the other categories: Pre-rational, Rational, and Transrational.

Although the model appears with individual categories, it has plenary social applications since to each one of these stages corresponds a type of individual: world man, mind man, and spirit man, respectively (understanding man by human race), whereas it corresponds to three types of society:

the primitive and traditional society, the modern society, and a new model of society that could be developing. The three structures can be summed up in this chart.

The first structure corresponds to the Prades' Archaic and Agricultural eras, and the second to the early modernity.

In the first structure, the world man attains his socio-religious development going through an identification with his group, the collectivity he belongs to and integrates. The cult gains great importance on it, and the religious ethos depends to a large extent on the organizational dimension.

In the second structure, the mind man reaches abstract conceptions, proved and provable with which comes the scientific, hypothetical, deductive thought. On the other hand, a necessity of self-identification arises, without a dependence on the group and with the resulting search of independence and complete personalization. These two conditions, the scientific thought and personalization give rise to a demystification and desacralization, and the ethos becomes autonomous, critical, personalized, and independent from the group, so it transforms the relationships of the institutionalized practices. This structure corresponds to the modernity of the industrialized society.

Consequently, religiosity goes through the demystification and desacralization process, likewise the overcoming of institutionalized forms (like the cult), so the ways of perceiving and expressing the sacred increase greatly<sup>17</sup>. This type of religiosity comes up against the determined opposition of the institutionalized religiosity (organizational dimension) of the first structure. The most visible process of this structure is secularization, that is, the separation of the organizational dimension in everyday life (which will be broached later.)

The third structure is only found at the individual level. It is the so-called spirit man (considering man as the human being.) The barriers of space and time are transcended, and the total man is made sacred, allowing religiosity to favor each person's development, unable to attack or force the other's rights, It is humanistic and humanizing.

According to the model, each structure is higher and inclusive of the preceding one, so the society of the third structure should surpass, understand, and encompass the previous ones, which can be graphically represented as follows:

## STRUCTURES OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Structures of human development	Type of individuals	Type of society
Pre-conscious Subconscious, or Pre-rational	World man	Traditional
Conscious Self-conscious, or Rational	Mind man	Modern
Trans-conscious Transrational, or Super-conscious	Spirit man	(In progression)

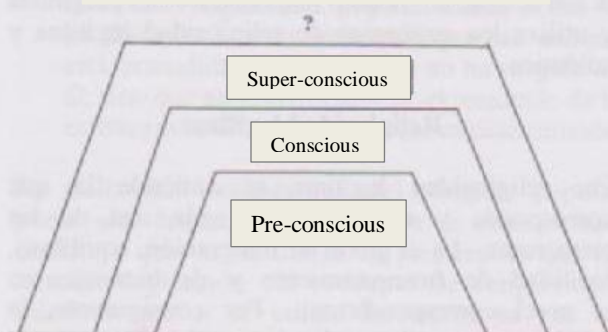
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encompass the previous ones, which can be graphically represented as follows:

Understanding of the structures of development



In this respect, it is recommended to remember that the Spanish sociologist, Fernández Fernández established a comparison with the Christian religiosity: the deity appears to the human being as Father, in the Pre-conscious structure; as Son-Brother in the Conscious structure, and as Spirit in the Super-conscious structure.

### Socio-religious development

Wilber's global anthropological model is extremely useful for the analysis of religiosity, in addition to what has already been described because of its capacity of total and partial interpretation. This frame of reference is the holographic paradigm, whose term derives from holon, which means whole, a view from totality. The term was coined by the Hungarian philosopher, Arthur Koestler, to refer to that which, being a totality in a context, is integrated by parts but is at the same time, part of another totality. In summary, seen from below is a totality and seen from above it is part of another totality. For example, a letter is complete and it is part of a complete word, which is also part of a complete phrase that in turn, is part of a complete sentence, and so on.

With this concept, Wilber's model considers that every low level of development is a totality, that in turn, is part of another higher totality. In order to describe this covering understanding of totalities, the term holarchy or hierarchical order of holons (in ascending order) is used. In this sense, the most holistic structures appear in a subsequent stage of development because they have to wait for the "fulfillment" of the low stages, that is to say, for the low levels to be fully developed.

Therefore, this holistic concept is suitable to understand the current society with its diversity and continuous transformation, in which the wholes are part of other wholes, and it is essential to keep them



in mind to understand the religious phenomenon. Having said that, how does a totality go from one to another? When is a stage of the structure “fulfilled”? The model responds to these questions and uses the concepts of legitimate and authentic religiosity.

### **Legitimate religiosity**

Legitimate religiosity is understood as that which corresponds to and is proper to each of the structures. It is the scale of integration, balance, functioning easiness, and welfare in the corresponding level. As a result, the religiosity human develops in this level is his own and cannot have the higher one not should he continue with the previous one. For example, in a person's childhood, his legitimate religiosity is what contributes to his entirely development as a child, while when he is an adolescent, his legitimate religiosity is what allows him to develop as such. It would be unhealthy for him to continue with his children's religiosity and impossible for him to have the religiosity of adulthood. So, the legitimacy of a religiosity is the characteristic that allows an individual to fully develop in the level of development he is in. At a social level, the model is applied in the same way. Legitimate Pre-conscious religiosity is what allows groups at that level to develop within that level.

However, by a process of the human being and consequently of the society, the child will pass to adolescence and his children's religiosity will not be sufficient to satisfy his need of sacralization. In the social field occurs the same, a primitive community will necessarily demand a higher level of religiosity when the collective reaches a higher level of development (one more holon.) Therefore, legitimacy will not be sufficient to allow development, and both the individual and society come into another process that allows them to progress in their own development to the higher totality.

### **Authentic religiosity**

When legitimate religiosity falls into crisis because it is no longer sufficient, a transformation is produced both in the individual and in society. This ability of moving to the next level is what is known as authentic religiosity. This process is ascending and passes from one structure to another. The more authentic a religiosity is, the easier it is for individuals and society to develop. Both the concept of legitimate religiosity and that of authentic religiosity are essential to discern when and why a certain type or form of religiosity can be considered humanizing or dehumanizing. This agrees with other

ponderers' opinions, for example, Hans Küng<sup>18</sup>: the religious forms are positive if they favor the human, what is truly human, in the personal and social levels.

### **Issues in the socio-religious development**

When a religiosity is not authentic, distortions and regressions are produced instead of development and evolution. There are two representative forms of these regressions in the first structure: magic and superstition. According to Durkheim<sup>19</sup>, magic consists of manipulating tangible elements to obtain tangible results. It occurs when a person does not overcome a level of symbolic explanations and turns to cult forms as guarantee to obtain results, in a commercial transaction (“I give you for you to give me”). Superstition is a variant that implies to perform actions to avoid or obtain tangible results. Those are distorted forms of the first structure, as they limit development and sometimes, they imply damage, which goes against personal and socio-religious development. Limitations have also been identified, and they are caused by the organizational dimension in the personal growth of individuals when they pass from the first to the second structure, that is to say, when they pass from community beliefs and collective ethos to personal beliefs and individual ethos<sup>20</sup>. Generally, this causes two reactions: one of them is negative, the integration of a sect, and the other is positive, secularization, that is, the responsible and voluntary rupture of the individual with the organizational dimension. Secularization is generally found in urban and modern societies.

When the individual integrates a sect, faced with the concern that produces the crisis of the system of beliefs proper to the passage from the first to the second structure, he suppresses his will (which has generated a “hesitation” about the system of beliefs) and gives it to a leader (the “savior”). These are the cases of religious fanaticisms, many times forceful, which are produced by the interruption in the socio-religious development of individuals. The use of force is justified to avoid “hesitation”, primarily one's hesitation.

The other reaction is secularization, whereby the organizational dimension in the individual's decision making is suppressed, which is why the organizational dimension tries to avoid it. As a result of secularization can be produced three phenomena: the religious indifference, which is a regression because there is no responsible decision made before oneself nor the rest of the community;

determined atheism, which is a voluntary and reasoned decision to suppress the relationships with the sacred (although the sacred is usually replaced with a human product: success, science, power, or others); or with the level of faith, secularized, independent, responsible, and individual.

As a result of atheism, atheistic religions have been identified, that is, governmental politics that suppress the sacred but impose ideologies instead. Despite their atheism, they include all the elements of the religious phenomenon: the ideology is made sacred (usually in a fanatic way), a system of beliefs (like books) is generated, a religious ethos (for example, the behavior to the "party" and the physical and violent fight against the "reactionary"), organizational dimension (the senior dignitaries of the "party"), and a cult (reverences, symbols like flags, emblems, and others.)

That was everything about the understanding model of the religious phenomenon of Wilber. Now, the popular religiosity and its characteristics in Guatemala are described below.

### Popular and popularized religiosity

Although it has been presented by several authors like Luis Maldonado<sup>21</sup> and Dionisio Borobio<sup>22</sup>, for the purpose of the study of popular religiosity, the explanation of the sociologist Fernando Fernández Fernández has been taken as a starting point, who proposes two basic considerations: first, nature, and second, the basic elements of popular religiosity<sup>23</sup>. However, as the analysis' starting point, it is essential to explain what it is understood by **popular**, specifically when referring to popular religiosity. According to his proposals, the description of popular is highly significant, since the limits of popular religiosity will be the limits of what is popular itself, specifically because the subject of this type of religiosity is the people. The term has three meanings:

- According to the theory of historical materialism, it has the sense of the working class, which means subordinate class in dialectal opposition to the dominant class, and its application to religiosity would be religiosity of proletarians in opposition to the religiosity of the dominant groups.
- As a synonym of traditional, what is inherited from the former generations, the folkloric. In this matter, popular religiosity is understood as the traditional manifestations.
- It is also employed as characteristic of average persons in a society, who have not received specialized education nor practice special responsibilities in society or the community, that is,

the "common" persons. In this meaning, the popular disagree with the so-called institutional system, like the high ecclesiastic hierarchy, but which is affected by the aforesaid institutional system. This definition of popular has another term: **popularized religiosity**, as Martín Velasco<sup>24</sup> has named it, because although it is widespread among the people, it has not come from it but is frequently the result of the diffusion strategy of a certain period.

As it is known, the unspecific use of the term popular can give rise to confusions, since if the first one is used, it leads to an ideologization of the concept of religiosity, whereas if the third one is used, it leads to socio-cultural and socio-religious particularities of average persons that, on the other hand, has its own term: popularized religiosity. So, for operational purposes of this article, when referring to popular religiosity, the second concept is used, that of **religiosity inherited from the ancestors or traditional religiosity**.

**a) Nature:** When analyzing traditional religiosity, its great complexity can be seen, a result of the varied forms of social expression: rites, ceremonies, dramaturgies, songs, dances, miming, pilgrimages and celebrations, among others related to objects, times, and places considered as sacred. According to Fernández, "in brief, it is an eminently symbolic religiosity."

**b) Basic elements:** Sociologically, traditional religiosity has the same fundamental elements as any other religious fact. However, it has one more element to consider: the subject who lives it, that is, the people.

**b.1) The subject:** As noted above, the subject of traditional religiosity is collective, therefore, the individuals are not personalized. In addition, it belongs to a space of symbolic discourse in which the transmission of the system of beliefs is through oral narration, understood as accounts of the origin and structure of reality, the world, and the belonging people itself. Individuals need to feel part of that collective and become part of it through a pre-established socialization process firmly required by the group itself through a rite of passage, by which the individual becomes part of the group and the group recognizes him as a member. This kind of individual is proper to the traditional societies. In addition to being found in traditional societies, traditional religiosity is found in modern societies. The sociological reason for this phenomenon is that in these societies, there are people and groups that have not reached the level of development corresponding to modern society. According to Fernández, "one can live in a modern society without being a modern man, and one can be modern without living in a modern society."

**b.2) The system of beliefs:** This constituent element of religiosity has already been described. On the other hand, the historical religions, Hinduism, Judaism, Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam, have appeared in this level of development with their consequent institutionalizations, which has given rise to the fact that the people are not the only subject of religiosity but the one that represents it, because the leading system actively intervenes, so it can turn into **popularized** religiosity.

**b.3) Religious ethos:** In popular religiosity, attitudes of submission and complete dependence on divinity prevail; everything is made to depend on it, and therefore everything that happens is attributed to it. Man asks and expects, thanks or corrects, and that is the motivation for his actions. He looks for security.

**b.4) Cult:** Closely linked to the set of beliefs and morality, the cultic aspect in traditional religiosity is widely varied and complex, and it is characterized by the fact that people do not participate in cult as individuals but as members of the people, that is to say, the ritual is carried out in a **collective** form, so it is **supportive**. On the other hand, the imaginative, **emotional**, and symbolic stand out in all the cultic manifestations of the group. It is also distinguished by expressing the **collective feelings**: dissatisfactions, hopes, and nostalgia. Lastly, the core of traditional religiosity is a **dependence feeling** on what is made sacred and the need of relationship with it. There is no personalized faith but a collective involvement.

**b.5) Organizational dimension:** In traditional religiosity, institutionalization is relative. However, in the historical religions originated in this type of religiosity, the organizational dimension keeps a strong presence and, unfortunately, in several occasions it has caused obstacles in the development of individuals and society to higher levels of development.

#### Traditional Catholicism in Guatemala

In Guatemala, as in most of Ibero-American countries, the Catholic religion was imposed on the native population after the Conquest process, which took place in the territory between 1524 and 1530, although the North region (*Petén*) was not conquered until late in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. After a stage of warlike subjugation, the conquistadors introduced a different way of interpreting the sacred, considering other religious variants as incorrect and inappropriate, suppressing them with violence. After 1530, the Catholic clergy dedicated to evangelizing the large numbers of native people of the region. They were mainly missionaries of mendicant orders, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Mercedarians. The procedures these missionaries followed were limited by the small number of friars, who were really too few for the number inhabitants.

It forced them to apply accelerated methods, especially memory ones in order to evangelize. However, as the anthropological and ethnologic studies throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century demonstrate it, the people of native origin did not assimilate the religious concepts of the conquistadors but reinterpreted the messages and gave them a new religious value<sup>25</sup>. At present, they constitute the Mayan people that is formed by over 20 linguistic groups, and the Xinca people.

On the other hand, the arrival of large contingents of soldiers and the low number of European origin women in the region caused the conquistadors and colonizing to procreate many children with the native women and African origin slaves who arrived regularly throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Many of these unions were forced for women, and the children who were born from those relationships were victims of social discrimination, since many of them were born out of the religious marriage accepted by the European immigrants. Those generations of mestizos with European, Native American, and African ancestors were that shaped the Spanish-speaking society of the Guatemalan cities, especially in the capital.

Most of the mestizos were taught the Christian religion in a rudimentary way, since they were discriminated because of their illegitimate origin. Throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century, these groups were stabilizing due to their numerical growth and the fact that they were gaining positions in the labor market of that period<sup>26</sup>.

In the city of Guatemala, the native population drastically decreased late in the 16<sup>th</sup> century due to several epidemics; because of this, the mestizos or *ladinos*, as they began to be called because of speaking a Latin or Romance language, occupied the spaces left by the natives in the productive activities. At the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the mestizos were already the majority of the city's population, with regard to five *ladinos* to one European origin person. In this period, they were classified in craftsmen unions and thanks to the structure the friars created in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, also in confraternities that dedicated to charity labors and religious cult. At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the colonial authorities decided to relocate the capital city from one valley to another after a series of earthquakes. By order of the Spanish Crown, all the inhabitants of the city had to move to the new settlement.

Many of the residents of native origin remained in the surroundings of the abandoned city (now called



*La Antigua Guatemala*), and most of the ladinos and people of European origin moved to the new capital. So, the current city of Guatemala was, since the beginning, a predominantly ladino city with its religious customs mainly transmitted through confraternities, which were the origin of the present brotherhoods. This long historical process was what shaped the development of popular Catholicism.

### Characteristic of the traditional Catholicism in Guatemala

Traditional religiosity in Guatemala<sup>27</sup> fits exactly the characteristics identified by Fernández, which were analyzed previously:

a) **Nature:** The nature of traditional religiosity is symbolic. This is exactly in line with the Guatemalan reality, and it can be confirmed in any activity of popular religiosity.

b) **Basic constituent elements**

b.1) **Subject:** Each activity of the popular religiosity in Guatemala has as its principal a group: the family, the neighborhood, the people, in a sincere and spontaneous way. These two adjectives stand out because in each religious expression, one can perceive the enthusiasm that it cause in the community without the need of any particular interest in participation.

b.2) **System of beliefs:** The popular religiosity of the city of Guatemala is the result of half a millennium of the encounter between the religiosity of the natives and that of the Spanish conquistadors, that despite the clergymen's attempt to impose a way of thinking and living religiosity (which had not been successfully imposed in Europe either), took its own course. This process was favored by the anticlerical measures taken by the liberal governments late in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which enabled the relatively autonomous development of popular religiosity. This has allowed that in the manifestations of religiosity, there is no distinction between people from different social groups.

b.3) **Religious ethos:** In this respect, Fernández's identification is completely verifiable in the popular religiosity in Guatemala.

b.4) **Cult:** The manifestations of cult observable in Guatemala revolve around the feasts of the patron saints, pilgrimage to sanctuaries (especially to the *Esquipulas* one), funeral rites, the use of religious symbols, the four sacraments of the Church (baptism, especially by the godfatherhood relationship, communion, confirmation, and marriage), holidays like Corpus Christi, Christmas, and Holy Week, and devotion to religious statues.

b.5) **Organizational dimension:** In Guatemala, popular religiosity has an organizational dimension in confraternities and brotherhoods, whose importance has remained and increased with the passage of time.

### Characteristics of brotherhoods

Brotherhoods constitute a form of expression of traditional religiosity integrated by a collective, and all of them share common characteristics, which were identified by Isidoro Moreno in Spain<sup>28</sup>:

a) **Collective subject:** Since it belongs to traditional religiosity, it is obvious that collective participation stands out among the characteristics of brotherhoods. As the author points out, "it is not the president, nor the one who directs the procession route, nor the artists who have prepared it, nor the attending crowd that participates with their movements, tears, and silence but everyone at the same time, creating a collective personality." This remark makes evident that every person attending becomes the subject of the religious phenomenon.

b) **Functions, objectives, and motivations:** It refers to the specific activities for which a brotherhood is organized. In turn, they are classified in:

b.1) **Evident or explicit:** Those are the ones corresponding directly to goals proposed by the statutes. Generally, in popular Catholicism, they agree with the canonical regulations, that is to say, the rules of institutional organizational dimension, in this case, the diocese and parish.

b.2) **Latent or implicit:** Those are more human motivations, and at a collective level, perhaps more important. In turn, these motivations can be:

- A **deep feeling**, although diffused and complex, which comes from an experience or a family tradition, goes through a esthetic feeling of beauty, and culminates in a certain perception of the sacred.
- Possibility of a **selfless**, free, and personal **sociability** that can favor personalization, in which the individual (member) has an experience of the person and the community.
- **Symbolic identification** of the group through what is understood as sacred, which favors the sense of belonging to the group.

c) **Typology, structuring, and models:** brotherhoods have several characteristics that can be identified as follows:

c.1) **Typology:** depending on the form of registration of its members:

- **Open:** those are the ones that accept any person as a member.
- **Of automatic registration:** those are the ones in which members become part of the brotherhood by family legacy or by belonging to a town or neighborhood.
- **Closed:** those are brotherhoods that demand many requirements to the future members.

c.2) **Structuring:** by the social belonging of its members:

- **Horizontal:** it is when members symbolically deny the social divide in which the members interact.
- **Vertical:** those are in which brotherhood reflects the existing social divide in the social environment.

c.3) **Models:** those are closely related to motivations, functions, and objectives:

- **Conscious model:** it is closely related to the explicit motivations since it is a model of religious group with a cultic purpose.
- **Unconscious model:** it is related to the implicit motivations since it refers to the ability of social skills as mentioned before.

### Brotherhoods in Guatemala

In Guatemala, there are numerous brotherhoods. Practically, every town and city has, at least, an organization of this type, which is in charge of cultic activities, especially during Lent and Holy Week<sup>29</sup>. The best organized are those in the cities, and mainly, in the capital and in *La Antigua Guatemala*. An example of this organization is in the *Hermandad de la Consagrada Imagen de Jesús Nazareno de la Caída de San Bartolomé Becerra o San Bartolo*<sup>30</sup>. Although with a simple or complex organization, all of them are important and relevant to their communities.

The reasons that explain the importance of brotherhoods in Guatemala, especially in the capital city, are socio-historical, so in order to understand the phenomenon, it is necessary to describe its socio-historical development.

### Socio-historical development

During the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, several confraternities worked in the city of Santiago de Guatemala. They were vertical, which means that a confraternity was made up of people from the same ethnic and social group and would reproduce the social organization of the environment. The oldest known is of the *Virgen de Dolores del Templo de*

*Santo Domingo*, established in 1595 and formed by people from the colonial elite. Most of the confraternities were related to the labor union activities, so they were made up of craftsmen from the same productive area.

This outlook was changing with the passage of time. In the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, there were confraternities integrated by people from different ethnic and social origins, although they continued to be vertical since the most important positions were held by people who constituted the elite in the society of the time. An example of that was the *Jesús Nazareno de San Jerónimo* confraternity, formed by Spanish, ladinos, and Native Americans, but whose important positions were occupied by Spanish<sup>31</sup>. Even then, the most important confraternities were those integrated exclusively by Spanish.

The transfer of the capital from the settlement in *Valle de Panchoy* (where in the present day is *La Antigua Guatemala*) to *Valle de la Ermita* (current location of the capital) at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century determined the transformation of these organizations. The *Cofradía del Nazareno de los Milagros* gives examples of the importance these organizations gained. The confraternity was in charge of the worship to a Nazarene. With the decisions made by the Crown regarding the transfer of the capital, the *Cruz del Milagro* temple (from which the name of the image was derived) was suppressed, so the Nazarene was taken to the *Beaterio de Indias* church, a temple of Dominican nuns in the new city. For almost 40 years, it was in that place and taken out by the brothers for the Holy Week processions until they had problems with the nuns, so the statue was moved to another temple, the *Beaterio de Santa Rosa*. Seven years later, it was already in another temple, the *Ermita del Carmen*, and then, it was definitely taken to the *San José* temple<sup>32</sup>. Despite so many changes, the brothers continued to maintain the worship related to the Nazarene and took him out in procession during Holy Week. Currently, the statue is carried in procession every Palm Sunday.

However, the confraternities were undergoing a transformation process. Between 1780 and 1820, in the surroundings of the city of *La Antigua Guatemala*, the organizations stopped using the name confraternity, which was closely related to the labor union organization, and they started to call themselves and organize as brotherhoods. This phenomenon spread to the capital where the ladinos confraternities were becoming brotherhoods. This had a special meaning since most of the population of the city was ladino or mestizo.

On the other hand, after the independence from Spain

was declared in 1821, the liberal governments found in the ecclesiastical authority an obstacle to the economic development that the Enlightenment and positivist postulates proposed. Because of this, between 1829 and 1839, anticlerical policies were applied, so many religious leaders were ejected. After those governments came to power the conservatives, but the faithful's customs had disrupted. The cultic activities had relapsed in devout laypersons' hands.

As the process of transformation from confraternities to brotherhoods continued, between 1839 and 1871, law established that the religious associations had to be legally constituted, so the organizations were set by their members as brotherhoods. From then on, the term confraternity has been used almost exclusively by Native American's organizations.

In 1871, anticlerical politicians that came to government ejected religious leaders again. Since then, a large part of the Catholic cult remained in laypersons' hands, mainly in the brotherhoods' hands. At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, other circumstances changed brotherhoods in Guatemala. In December 1917 and January 1918, there were strong earthquakes that almost completely destroyed the city. With the destruction of the temples, many customs disrupted, mainly the worship ceremonies that were carried out in the temples<sup>33</sup>. Some churches were rebuilt and prepared until the 1930s, but most of them were placed at the disposal the faithful until the 1940s and 1950s. By that time, the ones in charge of the former rituals had died, and the new organizers started to give a more evident impulse to the outdoors activities, mostly to the processions. At this moment, several brotherhoods that had appeared at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century had reached a real growth<sup>34</sup>, which allowed them to gain the importance they have at present.

**Characteristics:** The characteristics of brotherhoods in Guatemala are the following:

1) **Origin:** brotherhoods were organized as a variant of confraternities of the Hispanic period, in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Afterwards, more and more brotherhoods were establishing adopting as a model those established in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, more brotherhoods were organized due to the changes in the cultic celebrations derived from the earthquakes in 1917 and 1918, when the outdoors activities increased.

2) **Evolution:** brotherhoods were transforming. At the beginning, they were worship groups that gathered only for particular activities carried out in certain dates of the year. An example of this model of

brotherhood is that of *Santo Domingo*, established in 1852, in which only a small group of members has activities throughout the year while the majority of the members only participate during Good Friday<sup>35</sup>. Other brotherhoods developed until becoming organizations in which all or most of the members constantly gathers and carry out several activities throughout the year.

3) **Organization:** all of the brotherhoods have a leadership, commissions, and members:

- The **leadership** is integrated by a few individuals and, generally, the highest position is the presidency; it invariably includes a secretary and a treasury. At the legal level, this organization is indispensable since all the brotherhoods need an individual who represents them, and this is the president; otherwise, they would never be able to obtain authorization from the Departmental Government to block traffic during the processions, for example, where the legal documents are only recognized if they are signed by the president registered as such. The secretary is also important as it makes a record of everything: minutes, correspondence, and members records, among others. Lastly, the treasury is essential for the functioning of any organization, and it is not missing in brotherhoods. When brotherhoods are numerous, they have more members in their leadership, and sometimes, they have peculiar names. In the majority of the brotherhoods, the leadership is elected by all the members for a given period of time; in others, generally the smallest ones, the leadership remains for many years since its members are the only ones with sufficient time to occupy those positions. It should be pointed out that, except for a few ones, brotherhoods in the city of Guatemala are horizontal, since social origin is not reproduced in the organization.
- The **commissions** are those in charge of planning and carrying out cult activities. They are integrated by a group of members and have a person in charge as the responsible of its functioning. For example, in most of the brotherhoods there is one called commission of decoration of the processional float (*anda*), that is, the piece of furniture upon which the processional statue is carried (in *La Antigua Guatemala*, it is called *andaría*.) It is also common to find an order commission in order to keep a suitable level of order of members and attendees during a procession, and other similar commissions. Every brotherhood has as many commissions as needed, and they have the



names considered convenient; some of them have commissions of electricity, food, transportation, and others.

- The **members** are those who the brotherhood has registered as part of the organization. Every of them keeps a different registration of its members. For example, the brotherhood of *Santo Domingo* registers as members all of those who receive a patent, while other brotherhoods consider as members only the ones who participate in all the activities, although all those who buy a turn to do so, can carry on their shoulders the statues. The record of members is carried out in the secretaries. Brotherhoods in the city of Guatemala are open, which means that anyone who requests it can join, as long as he meets the requirements established in the brotherhood.

4) **Statutes:** All the brotherhoods have an written internal regulations known as statutes, in which the main aspects of the activities of the organization are described. They differ in order, writing, and topics, but basically have the same features: to ensure order in the organization. Those are mandatory in order to be officially recognized by the diocesan curia.

5) **Financing:** In order to defray the costs of their activities, brotherhoods obtain resources in different ways. One of the most common are the donations received from individuals or institutions and extra-religious activities like the sale of food or religious items, participation in sport competitions, and others. But the most continuous one is that which is obtained from the sale of turns for the faithful to carry in their shoulders the piece of furniture that has the sacred statue. Every individual who wants it, buys a turn that allows him to carry the processional float accompanied by other people called *cargadores* (carriers) for one block of the established route. Also, funds can be raised when some form of an annual income is required from the members. In some brotherhoods, the annuity is really low, and in others it is considerable.

6) **Objectives:** All of the brotherhoods have a purely cultic purpose: the celebration of a religious holiday. In Guatemala, brotherhoods are those who dedicate to cult related to Lent and Holy Week, especially the statues of the so-called Passion of Christ: Nazarene, when the effigy represents Christ with the cross on his back; Crucified: when the statue is of Christ nailed to the cross, and Buried or Reclining: the cases in which the sculpture represents Christ dead.

If the statues are of the Virgin Mary, they can be Painful, the ones that represent the Virgin with her hands separated while accompanying Christ to Mount Calvary, or of Solitude, if the statue has its hands with interlaced fingers and represents the Virgin after the death of Jesus. Other organizations dedicated to denominations of the Virgin or representation of Christ are not called brotherhoods but associations.

7) **Gender and founding:** There are two variants of brotherhoods, those of men and those of women. They function exactly the same in all respects, except for their members, and they have been founded around sacred statues. The brotherhoods dedicated to cult of Christ statues are formed by men, and those dedicated to effigies of the Virgin are formed by women.

#### As a conclusion

To conclude this article, it is expected to have answered the questions raised at the beginning. Do cultic manifestations organized in Guatemala stem from superstition? Are they people with few occupations apart from their productive activities? Do they obtain any type of social recognition? The answer to the three of them is negative. The cult manifestations are a result of the socio-religious development that prevail in Guatemala. They correspond to the type of religiosity of Wilber's first structure. They allow those who participate in the activities to reach the socio-religious development proper to that structure. This development does not stop or hinder, so it does not produce the pathologies described at the time. On the contrary, brotherhoods favor development, and according to the author's remark, from a social sciences' perspective, they have a promising future as they respond satisfactorily to the needs of their members.



Procession of the Lady of Fatima, city of Guatemala, 2009 (Anibal Chajón.)



Standard of the *Hermandad del Mercado de San Martín de Porres*, Zona 6, ciudad de Guatemala, 2008. This is one of the brotherhoods with few members (Anibal Chajón.)



Dance of giants during Saint Peter's feast, *San Pedro Las Huertas*, Sacatepéquez, 2009 (Anibal Chajón.)



Stations of the Cross live, Guatemala, 2010 (Anibal Chajón.)



Children's processional float of the Lady of the Rosary, *finca El Rincón*, Villa Canales, Guatemala, 2008 (Anibal Chajón.)



1. An analysis of Freudian theories can be read in DOMINGUEZ, C., 1991: *El psicoanálisis freudiano de la religión*. Ediciones Paulinas, Madrid, pp. 10-96 and 235-293, and of course, Freud's works, especially FREUD, S., 1970: *Moisés y la religión monoteísta*, and other writings about Judaism and antisemitism. Alianza Editorial, Madrid, pp. 42 and 188-189.
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6. PRADES, J., 1994, *La religión y el centro sagrado de la sociedad*. In: *Formas modernas de religión*. Alianza Editorial, Madrid, p. 120.
7. OTTO, R., 1965: *Lo santo, lo racional y lo irracional en la idea de Dios*. Revista de Occidente, Madrid.
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9. Rodolf Otto described the perception of the sacred as a *mysterium tremens et fascinans*: *mysterium* because something that is absolutely other is perceived, something mysterious perceived by the individual; *tremens* because it touches the individual in the deepest part of his being, and *fascinans* because it fascinates and attracts the individual.
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11. See: RIES, J., 1989: *Lo sagrado en la historia de la humanidad*. Encuentro Ediciones, Madrid; BAUM, G.: "La persistencia de lo sagrado". In: *Concilium*, 81 (1973); especially the point of view of the theologian KÜNG, H.: "Debate sobre el término 'religión'". In: *Concilium* 203 (1986), and by the same author 1991: *De la modernidad a la posmodernidad*. En *Proyecto de una ética mundial*. Ed. Trotta, Madrid; FERRAROTI, F., 1994: *El destino de la razón y las paradojas de lo sagrado*. En *Formas modernas de religión*. Alianza Editorial, Madrid.
12. WILBER, K., 1987: *Un Dios sociable*. Editorial Kairós, Barcelona.
13. It is necessary to do an exception, sociology of religion can only study the level of religious belief as it is socially expressed.
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34. According to LUJAN, L., in the cited work, the growing of brotherhoods was favored by the arrival of a pro-Catholic government in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, that of president Carlos Castillo Armas, who personally gave donations to several brotherhoods. However, this point is not found convincing, since throughout that century, brotherhoods were increasing in number of members and activities, so a determining relation between one phenomenon and the other is not found.
35. The information about several brotherhoods was obtained from personal interviews to members of those organizations. The transcription of these interviews is found in: CHAJÓN, A., 2005: *La Hermandad de Jesús Nazareno del Templo de La Recolectión, entre lo sagrado y lo profano*, Centro de Estudios Folklóricos, Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala, anexos. Special gratitude to the historian Manuel Morales for the information and cooperation provided for the direct remark about brotherhoods and associations.





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CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS  
**FOLKLÓRICOS**  
Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala

**Director**

Celso A. Lara Figueroa

**Principal Researchers**

Celso A. Lara Figueroa  
Aracely Esquivel Vásquez  
Anibal Dionisio Chajón Flores  
Deyvid Molina  
Abraham Israel Solórzano Vega  
Fernando García Astorga

**Intern Researchers**

Xochitl Anaité Castro Ramos  
Ericka Anel Sagastume García

**Research auxiliary**

Erick Fernando García Alvarado

**Computer operator**

Mario Rodríguez Esquivel

**Proofreader**

Guillermo A. Vásquez González

**Documentation center**

María Eugenia Valdez Gutiérrez

**Internal layout and  
cover assembly**

Jorge Rosales  
Walter Figueroa

**Photography**

Anibal Chajón

Avenida La Reforma O-09 zona 10  
e-mail [cefolprivado@inteln.net.gt](mailto:cefolprivado@inteln.net.gt)

Tel. numbers: 2331-9171, 2361-9260; fax 2360-3952