

Scriptural Echoes and Allusions in the 1726 Constitutions and Rules of the Beatas de la Compañía de Jesus

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Abstract: The 1726 Constitutions and Rules of the *Beatas de la Compañía de Jesus*, contain some words and turns of phrases that echo or allude to the Scriptures, particularly the New Testament. This does not mean that the *beatas* had a copy of the Scriptures. Considering that the *beatas* had no direct access to the Bible, the presence of the biblical allusions in the 1726 Constitutions attest to the appropriation of Scriptures through other means such as the liturgy and the homilies of the priests, the prayers, the sacraments and devotions and in particular the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius. The Scriptural allusions also attest that their way of life had been based and influenced by the Scriptures. This paper will present the Scriptural echoes and allusions in the 1726 Constitutions and Rules, showing that the *beatas* were not deprived of the Word of God, even if they did not have direct access to the Bible. It will also illustrate examples of the use of intertextual method in the comparison of the Rules and the scriptures.

Keywords: Religious of the Virgin Mary • Beatas de la Compañía de Jesus • Mother Ignacia del Espiritu Santo • Scriptural Echoes and Allusions • Indirect Access to Scripture • Consecrated Life for Women

Introduction

The Religious of the Virgin Mary (RVM) is an apostolic institute of pontifical right founded in 1684 by Mother Ignacia del Espiritu Santo (1663-1748), a Chinese-yndia (native) mestiza from Binondo, Manila.¹

¹ The definitive approbation of the Constitutions of the Religious of the Virgin Mary was given on January 12, 1948. It was only at the end of the Spanish colonial rule that the *Beaterio* founded by Mother Ignacia was able to undertake the process of recognition by the Holy See as a congregation, beginning with the canonical and diocesan

The constitutions and rules which Mother Ignacia submitted to the Archdiocese of Manila came to be known as the 1726 Constitutions and Rules.² This was provisionally approved on July 3, 1732.³ The 1726 Constitutions and Rules is the earliest extant document of the Religious of the Virgin Mary.⁴ It bears witness to the existence of the *Beaterio de la Compañía de Jesús* and the vision of Mother Ignacia and her companion *beatas* to dedicate their whole life to the service of God as religious women. These rules define the nature and way of life of Mother Ignacia and her foundational community.

The year 2026 will mark the 300 years of the writing of the 1726 Rules. This is a milestone in the development of the Religious of the Virgin Mary. The spiritual legacy of Mother Ignacia's 1726 Rules remains a guiding force

erection on July 31, 1906, followed by the Decree of Praise on March 17, 1907 and the Decree of Approbation on March 24, 1931.

² *Constituciones y Reglas de las Beatas Yndias Doncellas que sirven a Dios Nuestro Señor en este Beaterio de Manila debajo de la Direccion Espiritual de los Reverendos Padres de la Compañía de Jesus*, 1726; *Rules and Constitutions of 1726*, English translation printed in 1974; *1726 Constitutions of the Beaterio de la Compañía de Jesus*, Spanish-English diglot edition, with revised English translation, 2019. In this paper, the 1726 Spanish text will be referred to as *1726 Constituciones* and the English translation as *1726 Rules*.

³ *Decreto: aprobacion de la Constituciones sumitidas por M. Ignacia del Espiritu Santo al Venerable Dean de la Cathedral, sede vacante*, Don Manuel Antonio de Ocio y Ocampo, 3 de Julio, 1732. The temporary approbation was given by the dean of the Cathedral Chapter because it was *sede vacante*. There was no archbishop from July 25, 1721 (when Archbishop Francisco de la Cuesta ended his term) until the arrival and installation of the next archbishop, Carlos Bermudez de Castro (1678-1729) on August 15, 1728. He had a short term for he died on November 13, 1729. The next archbishop, Juan Angel Rodriguez (1687-1742), arrived in Manila on January 26, 1737 although he was appointed in 1731.

⁴ In 1964 the RVM congregation was able to acquire copies of the 1726 Constitutions from the *Archivo General de Indias* in Seville and the *Biblioteca Razon y Fe* of the Jesuits in Madrid.

in the understanding of the charism and spirituality of the RVM congregation.

The *1726 Rules* is significant not only because it contains the vision of Mother Ignacia for the community of native women she founded. It is also a witness to the life of women and their spirituality in the 17th to 18th centuries. In the words of Kathryn Santner, “The constitutions give us a window into the lives of Manila’s women and girls of all ethnic backgrounds, revealing the conditions of their lived existences, religious preoccupations, and education.”⁵ The *1726 Rules* serve as a primary source for the spiritual life of native consecrated women in the 17th to 18th centuries in the Philippines.

It also leads us to understand the use of Scripture during the time of Mother Ignacia. Although Mother Ignacia and her community, like any lay person during her time, did not possess or had no direct access to the written Bible, the *1726 Rules* contains formulations that echo and allude to Scripture texts. These Scriptural echoes and allusions can be explained as a result of their exposure to the Word of God through other means, such as sermons during the Mass, catechetical instruction in the parish, the spiritual direction of the Jesuit Fathers during their retreats, prayers and devotions, and other church celebrations.⁶ These Rules present a clear testimony to the evangelizing efforts of the missionaries, especially the Jesuits, to preach the Gospel.

⁵ K. Santner, “12. Constitutions and Rules of the Beatas Indias (1726),” in *The Spanish Pacific, 1521-1815: A Reader of Primary Sources*, edited by C. Lee and R. Padrón (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020), 189-204, p. 190.

⁶ The sermons of Fr. Francisco Blancas de San Jose, OP are examples of sermons that conveyed the content of Scripture texts to the congregation. See Jose Mario C. Francisco, SJ, ed., *Sermones of Francisco Blancas de San Jose OP (1614)* (Pulong: Sources for Philippine Studies, Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University, 1994).

The first part of this paper, which deals with the historical context of the *1726 Rules*, provides a brief account of the beginning of Christianity in the Philippines, the use of Scripture by the missionaries, and the emergence and growth of the *Beaterio de la Compañía de Jesus*. The discussion covers the historical period from the 16th to the 19th century of Spanish colonial rule in the Philippines. The second part offers a brief analysis of the provisions of the *1726 Rules* that refer to Scripture texts which might have influenced the formulation of the said provisions. The methodology used in this paper is a text-oriented intertextual analysis. This will be explained in the pertinent section. The conclusion of this paper will give a synthesis of the insights that can be drawn from the analysis of Scriptural echoes and allusions in the *1726 Rules*.

The Historical Context of the *1726 Rules*

The Beginning of Christianity in the Philippines

The first European attempt to colonize the Philippines happened in 1521 with the arrival of the Portuguese explorer, Ferdinand Magellan, who met an early death in the hands of native warriors in Mactan. Colonization and Christianization of the Philippines is said to have formally begun with the coming of Miguel Lopez de Legazpi in 1565. The Augustinian missionaries came with Legazpi. The Franciscans arrived in 1578, followed by the Jesuits in 1581, the Dominicans in 1587 and the Augustinian Recollects in 1606.⁷

In the propagation of the faith, the missionaries who belonged to different orders had their way of

⁷ John Schumacher, *Readings in Philippine Church History* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila, 1979), 17-18.

evangelizing. However, some common patterns of evangelization could be observed. They engaged themselves in giving catechism (pre-baptismal and post-baptismal), preaching, and administering the sacraments. Also part of their evangelizing work was the building of churches.⁸

The content of the *Doctrina Christiana*⁹ may indicate the first instructions given to the natives by the evangelizers. These were the prayers, particularly the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria*, the *Credo*, and the *Salve Regina*, which the people were encouraged and instructed to memorize. The people were also taught the fourteen articles of faith, the ten commandments, the five commandments of the church, and the seven sacraments. The evangelizers further instructed them to avoid sin, especially the seven capital sins, and to do good by performing the fourteen works of mercy (seven corporal and seven spiritual works of mercy). The evangelizers used a catechism method of instruction with question and answer on what it means to be a Christian.¹⁰

The missionaries also introduced liturgical practices, processions, and fiestas where dances, theatres, plays and Moro-moro shows were featured. They found these helpful in gathering the natives together into towns for more effective preaching and catechism. By 1580s this

⁸ Schumacher, *Readings*, 39-54; Quintin M. Garcia, "By the Sword or ... by the Cross," *Boletin Eclesiastico de Filipinas* 39, no. 435 (January-February 1965):18-32, esp. 25-30; Pablo Fernandez, OP, "Dominican Apostolate in the Philippines," *Boletin Eclesiastico de Filipinas* 39, no. 435 (January-February 1965):147-185.

⁹ *Doctrina Christiana en lengua española ytagala corregida por los Religiosos de los ordines*. Impresa con licencia en S. Gabriel de la orden de S. Domingo en Manila 1593.

¹⁰ The question and answer portion in the *Doctrina Christiana* comes after the penitential prayer "I Confess" or *Confiteor*.

process of *reducción* was seriously implemented.¹¹ Some manifestations of the faith of the converted nations were putting up little altars in their homes and having crosses in their homes and in strategic places, in the fields and along the roads. These were of course encouraged by the missionaries. Among the devotions propagated by the missionaries and which became popular among the natives were the praying of the rosary, the reading of the Passion of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the *Misa de Aguinaldo* before Christmas. The first passion stories used by the missionaries were literal translations from the Spanish *Pasiones*. Later, there would be passion stories written in local languages incorporated with indigenous elements.

Scriptures in the Evangelization of the Philippines

In the accounts of the history of the evangelization of the Philippines by Catholic missionaries, much is said about the instruction in Christian doctrine and the use of catechism but very little is said about the use of Scriptures in preaching and teaching.¹² This does not

¹¹ Schumacher, *Readings*, 39. *Reducción* is the process of gathering together the scattered settlements of Indios into villages or towns to make possible lasting evangelization. Ibid., 409.

¹² See for example, Schumacher, *Readings*, 12-192; Susan Russell, "Christianity in the Philippines." *Department of Anthropology*, University of Illinois, USA, available on <http://www.seasite.niu.edu/crossroads/russell/christianity.htm> (1999), does not include the use of the Scriptures among the reasons for the successful conversion of the natives by the Spanish missionaries; Nicholas P. Cushner, "Early Jesuit missionary methods in the Philippines" *The Americas* 15, no. 4 (1959):361-379, which mentions preaching as a missionary method and its content but has no reference to the gospel or the Bible. See also Garcia, "By the Sword or ... by the Cross," 18-30; Horacio de la Costa, "The Jesuits in the Philippines (1581-1900)," *Boletín Eclesiástico de Filipinas* 39, no. 435

mean that the missionaries did not use the Bible in their missionary activities. Among the rare books in the UST archives are the polyglot Bible published by Plantin (1569-1573), the Bible in Latin, edited by F. Ioannes Hentenius (1587), and the New Testament in Greek and Latin (1599) and commentaries on the Bible.¹³ John Schumacher acknowledged that the Spanish missionaries failed “to provide the vernacular Bible,” but “the *pasyon* did bring the Scriptures to the masses of

(January-February 1965):115-135; Fides A. del Castillo, "Christianization of the Philippines: Revisiting the Contributions of Baroque Churches and Religious Art," *Mission Studies* 32, no. 1 (2015): 47-65; Felipe Salvosa II, "The Philippines: Arsenal of Faith, Deposit of Christianity in the East," <https://500yoc.com/history/>, accessed October 14, 2021.

¹³ *Biblia Sacra*, ed. Benedict Arias Montano. Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1569-1573 (8 vols.); *Biblia sacra*, ed. F. Ioannes Hentenius, Venice : Hieronymus Polus, 1587; *Novum Testamentum Graece, cum Vulgata Interpretatione Latina*. Heidelberg: *Ex Officina Commeliniana*, 1599. *Biblia Sacra*, printed by Plantin, is a polyglot Bible in five languages. The first four volumes contain the Old Testament. The left page has two columns with the Hebrew original and the Latin translation, the right page has same text in Greek with its own Latin translation. Underneath these columns there is an Aramaic version on the left-hand page and a Latin translation of this on the right-hand side. The last volume is the New Testament in Greek and Syriac each with a Latin translation, and a translation of the Syriac into Hebrew. Volume 6 is the complete Bible in Hebrew and Greek as well as an interlinear version that has the Latin translation printed between the lines. The last two volumes contain dictionaries (Hebrew-Latin, Greek-Latin, Syriac-Aramaic, grammar rules, list of names, etc.).

Among the commentaries found in the UST archives are Carthusianus Dionysius, *Commentaria in Sacris Scripturis*, 1532-1585 (5 vols.); *In Quatuor Evangelistas Enarrationes*, 1532; *Enarrationes in Quatuor Prophetas Maiores*, 1567; Aquinas, Thomas, Sanctus, *In Epistolas Sancti Pauli Commentaria*, 1541; Aurelius Agustinus, *Expositio in Epistolas divi Pauli ex Operibus Sancti*, 1534; Guillaud, Claudius, *In sacrosanctum Iesu Christi Evangelium Secundum Joannem Enarrationes*, 1556.

Filipinos, even illiterates, in a substantive way.”¹⁴ He is referring to the Tagalog *Pasyon* written by Gaspar Aquino de Belen that was first published in 1704.

Schumacher also pointed out the contribution of the missionaries to the human and sociocultural development of the Filipinos, particularly in the field of written literature in the vernacular. The missionaries “produced not only the first religious books, but also the dictionaries, grammars, and other aids to learning the vernaculars.”¹⁵ Schumacher does not mention the Tagalog translation of the Bible although the reading he cited included the names of Fray Miguel de Talavera who is said to have “translated a large part of the Sacred Scripture and books of the holy Fathers” and Fray Diego de la Asuncion who “translated the Bible into Tagalog and composed a grammar, a dictionary, and a collection of sermons.”¹⁶ According to Fr. Pastrana, OFM, the books translated and published by Fray Diego de la Asuncion in the 17th century were the book of Genesis and the four Gospels.¹⁷

The Spanish conquest, colonization and Christianization of the Philippines happened during the period of the Protestant Reformation(1517-1521)¹⁸ and Catholic reform, represented by the Council of Trent (1545-1563).¹⁹ Recent scholarship has challenged the

¹⁴ Schumacher, *Readings*, 179.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 177.

¹⁶ *Los Religiosos Españoles de Filipinas* (Apostolado de la Prensa, no. 82, Madrid, October 1898), 47-50, cited in Schumacher, *Readings*, 177 and 392.

¹⁷ Apolinar Pastrana, “The Franciscans and the Evangelization of the Philippines.” *Boletin Ecclesiastico de Filipinas* 39, n. 435 (January-February 1965):100.

¹⁸ Reformation was the schism in Western Christianity initiated by Martin Luther (1483–1546), John Calvin (1509-1564), Huldrych Zwingli (1484-1531), and other early Protestant Reformers.

¹⁹ The Council of Trent was held in three distinct periods: 1545-1547, 1551-1552, 1562-1563. It was a “Catholic solution to the

view that the Council of Trent promulgated a ban against Bible reading in the vernacular. In the late medieval and early modern Church in Europe, the positions on Bible reading in the vernacular were regionally diversified. Measures against vernacular Bible editions were implemented in Spain. The strict prohibition of vernacular Bibles was probably issued by the Inquisition of 1492 with the consent of Ferdinand and Isabella.²⁰

A distinction has to be made between what the Council of Trent decrees and the developments after Trent. The Council did not prohibit Bible reading in the vernacular but left the decision regarding vernacular Bibles to the local authorities according to their own local

challenges raised by the necessities of its own time.” Wim François-Violet Soen, “450 Years Later. Louvain’s Contribution to the Ongoing Historiography on the Council of Trent,” in *The Council of Trent: Reform and Controversy in Europe and Beyond (1545–1700)*, Vol. 1. Between Trent, Rome and Wittenberg, edited by Wim François and Violet Soen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlage, 2018), 8.

²⁰ As the Bible was used by the Albigensians and Waldensians in their disputes with the Church, the response of the hierarchy in the Synod of Toulouse (1229) was to forbid the laity to have in their possessions any of the books of the Bible except the Psalter and such other portions as are contained in the Breviary or the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The Synod of Tarragona (1234) ordered all vernacular versions to be brought to the bishop to be burned. The Synod of Tarragona in 1317 under Archbishop Ximenes prohibited the possession of theological books in the vernacular by the Beghards, Beguines, and tertiaries of the Franciscans. The Catholic monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella (1474-1516) prohibited the translation of the Bible into the vernacular or the possession of such translations. The Inquisitor-General de Valdes published in 1551 the index of Louvain of 1550, which prohibits Bibles (New and Old Testaments) in the Spanish or other vernacular. The restrictive Bible policy was continued during the reign of Emperor Charles V (king of Spain 1516-1556; Holy Roman Emperor and Archduke of Austria 1519-1556). This prohibition was abolished in 1778. See Els Agten and Wim François, “The Council of Trent and Vernacular Bible Reading: What Happened in the Build-Up to and during the Fourth Session?” In *The Council of Trent*, edited by François and Soen (2018), 101-130.

traditions.²¹ However, in 1564 the *Tridentine Index of Forbidden Books* was published by Pope Pius IV (1559-1565). This catalogue, prepared by a committee of prelates at the Council, contained rules of book censorship. The Fourth Rule opposed the free reading and interpretation of the Bible but allowed the laity to read the vernacular Bibles provided that they were deemed capable and had obtained written permission from the local bishop or inquisitor, and that the translation was made by a Catholic author.²² According to John O'Malley, the view that "the Council forbade the printing, selling and reading of the Bible in the vernacular" was among the "myths that no amount of scholarship has up to this point been able fully to dispel."²³ It is also far from true that the Catholic Church maintained a general ban on the reading of the vernacular Bible by the illiterate laity. But this idea has

²¹ Agten and François, "The Council of Trent and Vernacular Bible Reading," 126.

²² Ibid. Pope Leo XIII, Apostolic Constitution *Officiorem ac Munerum* (25 January 1897) reorganized the legislation on the censorship and prohibition of books and reformed the Index. What concerns Sacred Scripture is found in the third classes of books mentioned in this Bull. The limit of prohibition on all editions and versions of Scripture is the approval by competent ecclesiastical authorities. Paragraphs 5, 6 and 8 allow to those occupied with theological or Biblical studies the use of versions and editions published by non-Catholics provided they do not attack Catholic dogmas either in the preface or the annotations. Paragraph 7 prohibit all vernacular versions, even those prepared by Catholic authors, if they are not approved by the Apostolic See or not supplied with annotations taken from the works of the Holy Fathers and learned Catholic writers and accompanied by an episcopal approbation. The punishment of excommunication inflicted upon printers and authors not submitting their works for ecclesiastical censorship was abolished by Pope Pius IX in the Bull *Apostolicae Sedes* (12 October 1899).

²³ John O'Malley, "What Happened and Did Not Happen at the Council of Trent," in *The Council of Trent*, edited by François and Soen (2018), 49-68.

proliferated in both popular and scholarly circles for centuries.

The developments, nonetheless, after the Council of Trent that led to stricter measures in terms of vernacular Bible reading in Spain and its dominions affected the Philippine scene. The post-Tridentine Church emphasis on the veneration of saints, Marian devotions and Eucharistic adorations and the resurgence of art, piety and theology that characterized the Baroque age in Europe (1550-1750) also influenced the early Catholic missionaries' method of evangelization.²⁴ Spanish and Italian theologians like Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621), Domingo de Soto (1494-1560), Francisco Suarez (1548-1617), Melchior Cano (1509?-1560) and others contributed to further systematization of theology. The evangelization methods of the early Catholic missionaries to the Philippines focused on the preaching of the Christian message but did not include the circulation of the Bible among the Filipino Catholics.²⁵

²⁴ Horacio de la Costa, SJ, "The Priest in Philippine Life and Society: A Historical View," *The Filipino Clergy: Historical Studies and Future Perspectives*. Loyola Papers 12. August 1979, 4-10.

²⁵ The criticism against the evangelizing methods of the Catholic missionaries in the Philippines was apparently based on what was considered the principle of Protestant missions. "The first principle of Protestant missions has been that Christians should have the Bible in their hands in their own language at the earliest possible date." Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (Baltimore: Pelican, 1964), 209. Recent scholarship has now inquired into the notion of "Bible" in the late Middle Ages and early Modern era. A broader understanding of "Bible" during that period would include separate books (e.g. the Gospels), collections containing Epistle and Gospel reading for the Mass, Psalters, History Bibles containing merely narrative material of the Bible, supplemented with extra-biblical or apocryphal material, Bible-based material like Gospel Harmonies, Lives of Jesus, which contain texts close to the canonical Scriptures but are a re-telling of the stories in the canonical texts or explanations of the canonical texts. Wim François, "Vernacular Bible Reading in

However, the preaching of the priests, doctrinal teaching, participation in the sacraments, the music and the drama of the *Pasyon*, and religious images enabled the people to learn the Christian message and hear stories from the Bible particularly the story of Jesus Christ.²⁶

Writing about the Jesuits in the Philippines, Robert Green mentioned the tools of their evangelization as “the Bible, catechisms and priestly vestments.”²⁷ So far, this is the only account which mentions the Bible in relation to the evangelizing work of Catholic missionaries. When they arrived in 1581, the Jesuits ministered to indigenous Tagalogs and Cebuanos under the authority of the friars. They also ministered to Chinese, Japanese and enslaved African converts of Spanish civil authorities in and around Manila.²⁸ The Jesuits were known to engage the Bible in their formation and training. Although the Jesuits in the Spanish Pacific might not have written biblical commentaries, they must have regularly appealed to the Bible, citing it or alluding to it.²⁹

The work of evangelization had begun before Domingo de Salazar, OP arrived in the Philippines and became the first Manila bishop in 1581. Bishop Salazar summoned the first Manila Synod of 1582 to address the need for coordination and unity in the methods of

Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe: The “Catholic” Position Revisited,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 104, no. 1 (2018):26.

²⁶ See fn. 10 above; also Del Castillo, “Christianization,” 13-14, citing Glenn Martinez, “Paete Holy Week Procession” (Retrieved from <http://traveleronfoot.wordpress.com/2009/04/11/paete-holy-week-procession/>). See also Francisco, *Sermones*.

²⁷ Robert L. Green, *Masters of Idolatry: Catholic Colonialism, Jesuit Conversionary Thought, and Indigenous Religious Traditions in the Spanish Pacific World, 1568—1672* (Santa Barbara: University of California, 2011), 113. As the title of his book suggests, the author was not necessarily pro-Jesuit.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 99.

evangelization. One of the significant decisions of this Synod was that the Filipinos should be evangelized in their own languages.³⁰ This was at variance with royal decrees throughout the Spanish regimes.

In the 19th century, copies of the Bible and the New Testament circulated in the Philippines.³¹ During this period also, Manrique Alonzo Lallave's translation of the Gospel of Luke in Pangasinan was brought to the Filipinos in 1887. This work came to be recognized as the first Scripture in the vernacular in the Philippines.³² Apparently, the Gospel of Luke in Pangasinan was the first book of the Bible that was freely circulated among the Filipinos when the Spanish colonial rule in the Philippines ended in 1898 and the Americans took over. Emilio Jacinto ((1875-1899), who wrote "*Maling Pananampalataya*" was said to have based his thoughts on his reading of works on French revolution, anti-catholic materials and the Bible.³³ Through the

³⁰ John N. Schumacher, SJ, "The Manila Synodal Tradition: A Brief History," *Philippine Studies* 27, no. 3 (Third Quarter 1979):308.

³¹ According to Valentino Sityo, in 1838 and 1853 the British and Foreign Society (BFBS) sent two shipments of 1,050 Spanish Bibles and 100 New Testaments to Manila. See T. Valentino Sityo, *Several Streams, One Spring. United Church of Christ in the Philippines*. Vol. 1. *Heritage and Origins* (1898-1948) (Quezon City: United Church of Christ, 1992), 10.

³² Manrique Alonzo Lallave was a former Catholic priest. He was removed from his position because of his preaching. He returned to Spain and became a Protestant by joining the Spanish Christian Church in 1872. With Felipe P. Castells, a young Protestant pastor, he came back to the Philippines in 1889. Schumacher and Pastrana mentioned the Tagalog translation work of Fray Diego de la Asuncion, which would be earlier than the Lallave's translation; see p. 4 above, fn.12 and 13. Besides noting that it was a translation of the book of Genesis and the Gospels in the 17th century, Pastrana did not include other details related to their publication and circulation.

³³ John N. Schumacher, "The Civil and Religious Ethic of Emilio Jacinto," *Landas* 9 (1995) 39-52 adds details of Jacinto's use of the Bible on p. 50, footnote 28: "All quotations are from the Gospel of Luke.

Aglipayans the Bible was widely distributed in the Philippines.³⁴

Only in the wake of Vatican II were the laity allowed and encouraged to read the Bible. Fifty years after Vatican II we can say that the lay faithful have shown interest in the Bible. Biblical studies are not anymore restricted to priests and seminarians or candidates for the priesthood. Formation programs for sisters and lay include biblical studies.

What is clear from this section is that in the early Catholic evangelization of the Philippines, direct Bible reading was not promoted—largely due to the missionaries' chosen methods, which emphasized catechism, sacramental life, and devotional practices, as well as colonial and ecclesial restrictions. Nevertheless, the biblical message reached the people through the *Pasyon*, liturgy, and religious instruction. Missionaries also fostered vernacular literacy, and some translated parts of the Bible. Vernacular Scriptures began

Since no translation of the Bible into Tagalog during the Spanish regime is known, and the translations are somewhat free, it is to be supposed that Jacinto himself translated into Tagalog from a Spanish Bible (or just possibly Latin, since he may well have studied Latin at the Colegio de San Juan de Letran and or in the University of Santo Tomas. In fact, according to the list furnished by Pio Valenzuela, in the little library shared by himself, Bonifacio and Jacinto, there was a Bible, though he does not specify its language.”

³⁴ James A. Robertson, “The Aglipay Schism in the Philippine Islands,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 4/3 (Oct. 1918): 315-344, esp. 328. Gregorio Aglipay (1860-1940), a former Catholic priest became the head of the *Iglesia Filipina Independiente*. It was Isabelo de los Reyes who worked towards the formation of the first national church in 1902 and offered to Aglipay to be its bishop. Excommunicated in 1899, Aglipay severed his ties with the Catholic Church and accepted Reyes' offer. In 1903 he was appointed the supreme bishop of the Philippine Independent Church by the bishops of the dioceses of Manila, Cavite, Nueva Ecija, Isabela province, Cagayan, Pangasinan, and Abra province. Followers of Aglipay through the church were known as Aglipayans.

circulating more widely in the late 19th century, especially after Spanish rule, with Protestant missionaries playing a key role in making the Bible more accessible. Few historical accounts mention Catholic missionaries' direct use of Scripture in their evangelizing efforts. Following Vatican II, the Church actively encouraged lay access to the Bible and promoted deeper scriptural formation among clergy, religious, and laity.

The Beginnings and Growth of the *Beaterio de la Compañía de Jesús*

The story of the *beaterio* founded by Mother Ignacia del Espiritu Santo was included in the account of Pedro Murillo Velarde, SJ in connection with the work of Fr. Paul Klein, a Bohemian, whose hispanized name was Pablo Clain.³⁵ Ignacia, the daughter of Jusepe Iuco, a Chinese from Amoy, and Maria Jeronima, a native (*yndia*), was baptized on March 4, 1663 in the Holy Kings of Parian Church.³⁶ In 1684 when she was 21 years old, her parents wanted her to marry but she was contemplating to join the group of Dominican tertiaries gathered in the house of Antonia Esguerra, a Spanish widow. To prepare herself with a general confession, she went to Fr. Pablo Clain who advised her to make the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius. After the retreat she made her decision to “remain in the service of the Divine

³⁵ Pedro Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas de la Compañía de Jesús*, segunda parte (Manila: Imprenta de la Compañía de Jesús, por Don Nicolas de la Cruz Bagay, 1749), Libro IV, Cap. XVII, 809-810.

³⁶ *Libro de bautizos de los Santos reyes de Parian, Siglo XVII (1626-1700)*, tomo 20, folio 239. This document belongs at present to the Dominican Archives, Philippine Province (DAPP), San Juan Metro Manila. When S. Maria Rita Ferraris, RVM first saw the book in 1959, it was still in the possession of the Dominicans at Sto. Domingo, Manila.

Majesty” and to earn her living “by the sweat of her brow,” even though her parents could support her. After asking permission from her parents, she left her house bringing only a needle and a pair of scissors. She probably stayed in the house where she had her retreat and spent her time in prayer, penance and good works. Shortly afterwards, other women desired to join her. They grew in number from three, to nine to thirty-three, to fifty. There was a time when Mother Ignacia had to temporarily stop admitting more people because the house was small. Later, when a larger house was built, the admission was resumed.

Because these women were living at the back of the Jesuit College of Manila, frequenting the Church of St. Ignatius to attend Mass, receive communion and go to confession, and had the Jesuit Fathers as their spiritual guides and directors, Ignacia and her companion became known as the *Beatas de la Compañía de Jesús*.

Mother Ignacia endured the difficulties and trials of beginning a religious community. It was clear to Mother Ignacia that she wanted to form a community of religious women dedicated to the service of God. When they started growing in number, they felt the need to formulate rules to govern their community life. With the help of their spiritual fathers, they drafted the rules that defined the goal and way of life of their community. In 1726 Mother Ignacia submitted the community’s Constitutions and Rules to the Archdiocese of Manila. This legacy of Mother Ignacia and her foundational community became known as the *1726 Constituciones y Reglas* or the *1726 Rules*.

When the 1726 Rules were written, the community of Mother Ignacia had been living together for forty-two (42) years. It would be difficult to imagine that the rules were formulated only after such a long time. Most probably at the beginning of their life together when they were few in

number, they were like a charismatic community, finding their way led by Mother Ignacia and according to the guidance of the Spirit. Gradually, they formed simple rules to guide them in their community life and apostolate. These rules evolved through the years as Mother Ignacia and her companion *beatas* lived them. The 1726 Rules is the earliest document of the *Beaterio de la Compañía de Jesús*. This is the legacy of Mother Ignacia and her foundational community to succeeding generations of *beatas*, should it be God's will that this *beaterio* continue to exist. It took another twenty-two years for the significance of the 1726 Rules to be manifest. On September 10, 1748, Mother Ignacia died and finally attained what 1726 Rules stated as their goal - "a good death and the glory of heaven" (1.1).

When Mother Ignacia died, she had lived eleven years as an ordinary *beata* although she was still recognized as the foundress of the community. Madre Dominga del Rosario was the Rectora who succeeded her when she resigned in 1737. Murillo Velarde saw this act of Mother Ignacia as a sign of great humility. She did not allow herself "to be overcome by that desire to command which like a cancer...corrupts everything from the cedar to the hyssop."³⁷ Mother Ignacia must have discerned "that God wanted her to give up her position as Superior so that a new leadership could emerge and take shape. By hindsight, it could be considered as a wise, prudent and practical decision."³⁸ She was about seventy-four years old when she asked to be relieved of her responsibility as Rectora. Although some would say she was still strong, she did not want to continue as Superior until her death. She wanted to die as she began her life in the *beaterio*, a hidden and humble *beata*. By not letting her community

³⁷ Schumacher, *Readings*, 168.

³⁸ M. Anicia Co, *A Lamp to our Path* (Quezon City: Mother Ignacia Center for Spirituality, 1998), 22.

wait for her death before electing a new superior, she was able to guide the community in a fairly smooth transition to a new leadership. Her death did not disturb the affairs of the community. The spirit of Mother Ignacia and her vision of the *beaterio* community enshrined in the 1726 Rules would guide the beatas in the following years.

Mother Ignacia died hoping that something good would come from the process initiated by Archbishop Pedro de la Santissima Trinidad Martinez de Arizala who petitioned the King for civil protection on behalf of their *beaterio*. If this would be approved by King Ferdinand IV, the *beaterio* could receive a royal grant that would help them maintain the *beaterio*. It took seven years before the Archbishop received the king's answer. The royal decree of November 25, 1755 granted royal protection to the *beaterio* on condition that it would not become a convent or a foundation, "but only a house of retreat exempt from cloister ... said women and other persons living with them in the house of retreat are not to be molested in the practice of their pious exercises."³⁹ When the Archbishop died, the King found an opportune time to follow up the implementation of his order. In 1756 the King directed the Governor-General in Manila, Don Pedro Manuel de Arandía to submit a report on the statutes of the *Beaterio*. Upon examination of the 1726 Rules approved in 1732, the King ordered the deletion of the provisions that characterize the *beaterio* as a religious community. He specified that the *beaterio* follow the conditions defined by the decree of Royal Protection of 1755 and that it should be placed directly under the governor-general and exempt from the intervention of the Archbishop.

Thus, the King's order posed a challenge to the identity of the *Beaterio*. The Decree of Royal Protection assured the existence and safety of the *beaterio* but at the

³⁹ M. Selga, *Protección Civil a favor de Beaterio de la Compañía* 1748 (Manila: San Juan Press, 1948), 13-14.

same time it questioned the very nature of the *beaterio* as a community of religious women. The response of the *beatas* was to mark with asterisks the numbers in the 1726 Rules that were objected to by the King but they did not delete them. They continued to live according to the 1726 Rules. To satisfy the King, they submitted a copy of the Constitutions and Rules in 1795 with the title page bearing the note “*expurgado segun el edicto de 1747*” (expunged according to the edict of 1747) although the 1795 Rules were exactly the same as the 1726 Rules except for the provisions with asterisks.

The next challenge faced by the *beatas* was the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1768. The *beatas* lost their spiritual guides but somehow they received help and support from the Archbishop of Manila, some churchmen and other benefactors. They contributed to the support of the *beaterio* and its retreat works. The *beatas* were able to survive the dark years.

The return of the Jesuits in 1850 and the establishment of their Mindanao mission paved the way for the coming of the *beatas* to Mindanao. Upon the request of the Jesuits, three *beatas* from the *Beaterio de la Compañía* became the first *beaterio* missionaries to Mindanao in 1875. They were sent to take care of the girls in Tamontaka.

The revolution against Spain in 1896 would bring the *beatas* from Mindanao to Manila. When the revolutionaries came to Mindanao, the Jesuits in Butuan suffered ill-treatment and were imprisoned. The *beatas* also suffered with them. They were searched and put into house arrest. The Superior of the Jesuit mission in Mindanao evacuated Tamontaca with the *Beatas*, the children from the orphanage and other families. When they reached Zamboanga, they distributed the children to Christian families. The *beatas* joined the Zamboanga

community of *beatas* and together with the Jesuits they sailed to Manila on April 20, 1899.

When they came to Manila, upon the request of the Superior of the Jesuit mission, the Archbishop gave the *beatas* permission to occupy the *beaterio* in Intramuros. The *beaterio* in Intramuros was turned into a hospital when the Manila *beatas* evacuated to Bulacan. When they returned to Intramuros, they were surprised to find the *beatas* from Mindanao. This reunion would finally lead to the re-organization of the *Beaterio* and the transition to becoming a congregation.

The *Beaterio* survived two hundred eighteen years from the foundation in 1684 to the convocation of the first general chapter in 1902. The *1726 Rules* would be crucial in the process of becoming a congregation.

Scriptural Echoes and Allusions in the *1726 Rules*

This section examines the text of the *1726 Rules* of the *Beatas de la Compañía*, particularly Chapters 1 and 2, to bring to light their scriptural bases and inspiration.

The *1726 Rules* contains six Chapters. I. Concerning the Spiritual Formation of the Beatas Which All Should Follow. II. Spiritual Advices that should be observed by those who strive for perfection and are engaged in the Service of God. III. On the Distribution of Time. Chapter IV. On the Form of Government This House Should Have. Chapter V. On the Method of Electing the Rectora and other Officers. VI. On the Method of Admitting “Beatas” and Girls “Recogidas.”⁴⁰ Only the first two chapters that

⁴⁰ The *1726 Rules* has a total of 139 provisions (Chapter 1 – 49; Chapter II – 26; Chapter III – 17; Chapter IV – 17; Chapter V – 14; Chapter VI – 16). It also contains the *escrito* or signed declaration of Mother Ignacia, giving information about the beginning and growth of the *beaterio* and asking for the continuance of the spiritual direction of the Jesuit Fathers.

deal with the spiritual and communal life of the *beatas* will be the focus of our analysis.

In Chapters 1 and 2 of the *1726 Rules*, there are expressions and turns of phrases that remind the reader of some Scripture texts. These may be called echoes of Scripture texts or allusions. This study will use the definition of allusion and echo by Christopher Beetham. Allusion is “a literary device intentionally employed by an author to point a reader back to a single identifiable source, of which one or more components must be remembered and brought forward into the new context in order for the alluding text to be understood fully.”⁴¹ An allusion differs from a quotation in that a quotation is more explicit. An echo is less explicit than an allusion. An echo is “a subtle, literary mode of reference that is not intended for public recognition yet derives from a specific predecessor. An author’s wording may echo the precursor consciously or unconsciously and/or contextually or non-contextually.”⁴²

The study of allusions and echoes calls to mind the idea of intertextuality. The term “intertextuality,” used in literary criticism and biblical studies, focuses on the relationships of texts, the manifold linkages among texts or the connections of texts to phrases or expressions from the cultural systems in which the texts exist.⁴³ Julia Kristeva was the first to use the term intertextuality to refer to “the systemic relationship and processes that govern the dynamic affiliation of texts with one

⁴¹ Christopher Beetham, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letter of Paul to the Colossians* (Biblical Interpretation Series, 96. Leiden: Brill, 2008), 20.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 24.

⁴³ B.D. Sommer, “Exegesis, Allusion and Intertextuality in the Hebrew Bible: A Response to Lyle Eslinger,” *Vetus Testamentum* 46, no. Fasc. 4 (1996): 486.

another.”⁴⁴ Intertextuality has to do with the act of cultural production and reproduction. The intertextual procedure would consider the text within the text of society and history which includes the procedure’s own place and the place of the reader in history.⁴⁵ Doosuk Kim picks up the idea of Jesús Martínez A. María, on the fundamental notion of intertextuality as two-fold: “a text can’t exist as a self-sufficient whole, and it does not function as a closed system.”⁴⁶ “A text is not merely a cluster of language but a configuration of multiple factors such as culture, society, community, and other texts. A text itself contains the world around the text.”⁴⁷ S. Moyise recognizes the value of the term as “a covering term for all the possible relations that can be established between texts.”⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Julia Kristeva, *Σημειωτική* (Paris: Seuil, 1969). Adolphe Haberer, “Intertextuality in Theory and Practice,” *Literatūra* 49, no. 5 (2007): 56-57, clarifies that Julia Kristeva coined the term intertextuality in her introduction to the work of Mikhail Bakhtin in France. She was the first to use the term in print. Doosuk Kim, “Intertextuality and New Testament Studies,” *Currents in Biblical Research* 20, no. 3 (2022): 239, attributes the coinage of the term to Julia Kristeva and “her colleagues of the *Tel Quel* group in Paris, including Jacques Derrida, Philippe Sollers, and Roland Barthes.” See also Nöelle McAfee, *Julia Kristeva* (Routledge Critical Thinkers; New York, NY: Routledge, 2004).

⁴⁵ G. Aichele-G. Philips, “Introduction: Exegesis, Eisegesis, Intergesis,” *Semeia* 69/70 (1995):11. It is to be noted that intertextuality originated within literary and narrative criticism before it entered into biblical studies. Cf. D. Kim, “Intertextuality and New Testament Studies,” 238.

⁴⁶ Jesús Martínez A. María, “Intertextuality: Origins and Development of the Concept,” *Atlantis* 18: 268; cited by D. Kim, “Intertextuality and New Testament Studies,” 239.

⁴⁷ D. Kim, “Intertextuality and New Testament Studies,” 239; María, “Intertextuality,” 272.

⁴⁸ S. Moyise, “Intertextuality and the Study of the Old Testament in the New Testament,” in S. Moyise (ed.), *The Old Testament in the New Testament. Essays in Honour of J.L. North* (JSNTSup, 189; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 15. For Moyise, the term

Intertextual investigation may be source-oriented, text-oriented or receptor-oriented.⁴⁹ Robert Miola offers seven types of intertextuality grouped in three categories: 1. Direct textual interactions, 2. Literary traditions, 3. Reader-driven intertextuality.⁵⁰

Direct textual interactions include revision, translation, quotation and sources. In revision, a later text modifies an earlier one, either by the same author or another, through conscious changes. Translation carries a text into another language, often adapting cultural and linguistic elements. Quotation is a direct reproduction of an earlier text, either explicitly marked or woven into the new work. Sources refer to a text borrowing plot, characters, ideas, or style from an earlier work.

Under the category of literary traditions are conventions and configurations and genres. Conventions and configurations refer to the influence of established literary conventions, such as stock characters or dramatic structures, on new works; genres refer to a text's interaction with broader literary genres that shape its themes and styles. Paralogues, which belong to the reader-driven intertextuality, are texts that illuminate meanings in other works, often through cultural or ideological connections rather than direct textual borrowing.

The intertextual study of the 1726 Rules in this paper is source- and text-oriented. The intertextual

covers traditional source criticism, Jewish midrash, typology and 'inner biblical exegesis'.

⁴⁹ J. Voelz, "Elements of Intertextuality," *Semeia* 69/70 (1995):162. For a discussion of the three types of intertextuality, see M.A. Co, "Reading the Isaiah Quotation in Luke 4:18-19 Intertextually," in *Announcing A Year of Favor of the Lord*. Proceedings of the First Annual Convention. CBAP. Tagaytay City, July 28-30, 2000, 33-45.

⁵⁰ R.S. Miola, *Seven Types of Intertextuality* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).

relationship of the 1726 Rules and Scriptures may be close to category 1 of Miola's categories but it really does not belong to that category. Their intertextual relationship is more indirect than direct. Thus, even if Miola's types of intertextuality seem comprehensive, there are other types of intertextuality that are not accounted for. We can also mention the reader- or hearer-oriented intertextuality.⁵¹

The influence of Scripture on the essay of Emilio Jacinto, as noted above, is quite evident and may be cited as an example.⁵² Reading his *Ang Maling Pagsasam-palataya*⁵³ one can readily recognize the Scripture references, although the content is Jacinto's exposé of Christians and the church of his day. He refers to the teachings and words of Jesus to stress the failure of Christ's followers to live up to his teachings. The following words and expressions appear in his writing: "alagad ni Kristo" (disciple or follower of Christ), "daan ng katotohanan" (the way or path of truth). He quotes the words of Jesus: "Kayo'y magmahalan" (love one another), "Ang nagpapakalaki ay hahamakin at pupurihin ang nagpapakaliit" (literally, "The one who makes themselves great will be despised, and the one who makes themselves small will be praised"). Jacinto does not mention the Scripture references but one familiar with the Bible will recall that the first quotation comes from the Gospel of John (13:34) and the second from Mt 23:12 "Whoever exalts himself will be humbled; but whoever humbles himself will be exalted" with parallels

⁵¹ Haberer, "Intertextuality in Theory and Practice," 66, refers to the need to distinguish the intertextual effect "from the type of scholarly research which aims at elucidating all sources, tracing all allusions, finding all references."

⁵² See p. 8 above and fn. 33.

⁵³ Emilio Jacinto, "Liwanag at Dilim," in *Almario, Panitikan ng Rebolusyon* (1896).

in Lk 14:11; 18:14. There are other parts in Jacinto's essay that show the intentional use of Scripture to lay bare the deep contradictions between the teachings of Christ and the lived reality of the church. By invoking the very words of Jesus, Jacinto strengthens the force of his exposé, confronting believers with the stark gap between faith and practice.

Quotation, allusion and echoes are “approximate markers on the spectrum of intertextual linkage, moving from the most to the least explicit form of reference.”⁵⁴ If there are really echoes or allusions to the Scriptures, how did they get incorporated in the *1726 Rules*? There were books in the *Beaterio* but there was no Bible.⁵⁵ The Rules were written without the Bible on hand. If ever they had access to portions of the Bible, say a book or a Scripture passage, there is no way for us to determine. Neither do we have any information on which version of the Bible was being used by the Jesuits, other priests and missionaries during the time of Mother Ignacia.

Spanish was the original language of the *1726 Rules*. There were several drafts of the English translation but the first English translation that was printed for the whole membership of the RVM Congregation was that of 1974.⁵⁶ The first step in this analysis is to consider the *1726 Rules* in English and determine if there are any linguistic or thematic links with any Scripture texts using the NABRE or NRSV. The second step is to consider the Spanish text and compare it with a 17th –

⁵⁴ R. B. Hays, *Echoes of Scriptures in the Gospels* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2016).

⁵⁵ The inventory of books in the *Beaterio* in the visitation report of 1748 and 1753 showed the titles of 29 books in Spanish and 8 books in Tagalog. No Bible was included in the list.

⁵⁶ The first English translation of the *1726 Constituciones y Reglas* was the revised constitutions approved by the first general congregation in 1902 which was written in English and expanded to include provisions that would respond to their present situation.

18th c. Spanish version of the Bible. For this study, the Reina-Valera Antigua version⁵⁷ will be used. For the survey of allusions in the *1726 Rules* the English text is used because it is easier to detect the allusion to Scriptures using the English Bible with which we are familiar.

Provisions in the 1726 Rules that Suggest the influence of Scripture

A total of thirty-two (32) provisions of the *1726 Rules* (22 from Chapter 1 and 10 from Chapter 2) contain scriptural echoes or allusions. The chart below gives the list of these thirty-two provisions. Only the words or expression that somehow echo or allude to the Scriptures are presented. For easy reference, this study will use the number of the provision as listed below. A particular provision may have two or more expressions that evoke biblical thought or language, for example, no. 4, 5, 6, 9, 12, 16, 19, 22, 24, 30. Sometimes an expression may point to more than one Scripture text.

	1726 Rules	Probable Scriptural Allusions or References
	Chapter 1	
1	I.1 “serve God, our Lord, with all their hearts”	<u>Mk 12:30</u> “love the Lord your God with all your heart” (cf. Dt 6:5) <u>Dt 11:13</u> “to love the Lord your God and to serve Him with all your heart and all your soul Mt 4:10, cf. Dt 6:13

⁵⁷ The Reina-Valera Antigua was translated and published in 1569 by Casiodoro de Reina and later revised and published by Cipriano de Valera in 1602. <https://www.biblegateway.com/versions/Reina-Valera-Antigua-RVA-Biblia/>.

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	1726 Rules	Probable Scriptural Allusions or References
2	I.2 keep your heart pure	Mt 5:8 Blessed are the pure in heart Ps 24:4; 73:1; 1 Tim 1:5; 2 Tim 2:22; 1 Pe 1:22
3	I.3 our Lord Jesus, our Savior	Lk 2:11; Mt 1:21; 2 Tim 1:10; Tit 1:4 Christ Jesus our Savior; 3:6; 2 Pe 2:20 the Lord and Savior Jesus Christ
4	I.5 charity, humility	Col 3:12 humility; 3:14 love; Eph 4:2; 1 Tim 4:12
5	I.6 not to aspire towards empty self-esteem...to fix her eyes upon Jesus Christ, who chose to suffer humiliations and contempt for us	Phil 2:1-8 (2:3-4); Rom 12:16 Heb 12:2 while keeping our eyes fixed on Jesus Rom 15:3 For Christ did not please himself; but, as it is written, "The insults of those who insult you fall upon me. Mk 9:12; Lk 23:11 1 Pe 2:23
6	I.8 mutual love and union of wills... by their love they show they belong to Jesus (<i>mas por la charidad Jesus conoce a las ovejas de surebaño</i> , lit. by charity Jesus recognizes the sheep of his flock)	Phil 2:2 by being of the same mind, with the same love, united in heart, thinking one thing; Jn 10:3-4.14-16.26-27; 13:35; Rom 12:10 love one another with mutual affection; anticipate one another in showing honor. Rom 15:5 to think in harmony[b] with one another, in keeping with Christ Jesus, 6 that with one accord you may with one voice glorify the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.; 1 Thess 3:12; Rom 12:1-2.10; Col 1:10 2 Cor 7:1 perfection of holiness 1 Pe 3:8 Finally, all of you, be of one mind, sympathetic,

	1726 Rules	Probable Scriptural Allusions or References
		loving toward one another, compassionate, humble.
7	I.9 humility (see I.5)	James 3:13-14
8	I.10 bring back an erring sister	1 Jn 5:16; James 5:16.19-20
9	I.13 Jesus carried his cross out of His love for us	Jn 19:16-17; Heb 12:2; 1 Pe 2:24 He himself bore our sins in his body upon the cross, so that, free from sin, we might live for righteousness. By his wounds you have been healed
10	I.14 persevering in the divine service	Rom 2:7 eternal life to those who seek glory, honor, and immortality through perse- verance in good works; Lk 8:15; James 5:11 Indeed we call blessed those who have persevered
11	I.16 faithful in the observance of the divine commandments	Dt 30:16.19-20; Dt 6:17
12	I.22 labor of their hands...place confidence in the providence of the merciful and compassionate God	1 Thess 2:9; 3:11; Mt 6:25-34; Lk 12:22-31; 1 Cor 4:12; 2 Cor 1:3; Eph 2:4-7; Ps 136
13	I.23 no one should have her private property	Acts 4:32-34; 2:44-45
14	I.29 prayer is the food of the soul...to resist the temptations of the devil	Mk 14:38; Mt 26:41; Lk 22:40; 1 Thess 5:16; James 1:12; Ps 54:6; 107:9
15	I.30 true life ... eternal blessedness	Jn 14:6; 3:16; Mt 5:3-12
16	I.37 works to be offered to God...seeking God's glory... wrath of justice	1 Cor 10:31; Col 3:17; Jn 8:50; 2 Pe 2:9; 3:7
17	I.38 loving God...most loving Father	Jn 3:16; 15:9-10
18	I.39 love for Jesus... love poverty	Mk 10:21; Lk 18:22; 2 Cor 4:14; 1 Pe 1:8

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	1726 Rules	Probable Scriptural Allusions or References
19	I.41 purity of heart (see I.2)...idle and unbecoming words to be avoided	Titus 3:2; Col 3:7-9; 4:6
20	I.42 Jesus obeyed His enemies	Mk 14-15; Mt 26-27; Lk 22-23; Mt 5:43-48; Lk 6:27-36
21	I.44 Jesus Christ, being sinless had suffered much ignominy	Heb 4:15; 1 Pe 2:22-24
22	I.49 glory of God (see I.37) salvation of souls	Jn 17:4 1 Pe 1:9, James 1:21
	Chapter II	
23	II.4 light and darkness, flesh and spirit, following Christ and rejecting Him	Jn 1:4-5; 3:6; 13:20; 15:23; Lk 10:16 Jn 6:63; Gal 5:16-24; Rom 8:1-39
24	II.5 bear faults...forgive... charity... child of God	Col 3:12-15; Rom 15:1; Gal 6:2; Rom 8:16; Eph 4:1-3; 5:1-2; 1 Jn 3:2;
25	II.6 peacemakers are called children of God	Mt 5:9; Rom 12:19; Col 3:12-16
26	II.7 peace and concord with all	1 Cor 14:33; 2 Cor 13:11; Rom 14:19
27	II.8 tongue that foment arguments	Eph 4:29; James 3:2-10; Mt 12:36-37; Prov 15:1; Ps 34:13
28	II.9 fruits of worldliness	Gal 5:19-21; James 1:19-20; Eph 4:17-24
29	II.10 sympathize with the failures of others... (see II.5)	Rom 15:1 We who are strong ought to put up with the failings of the weak and not to please ourselves; 2 Cor 1:3-4; Rom 12:15; 1 Pe 3:8; Mt 18:33
30	II.11 charity and perfection	Eph 5:2; 1 Cor 13:4-7; Gal 5:13; Mt 5:48; Lk 6:36
31	II.12 partiality	James 2:1ff; 1 Tim 5:21; Rom 2:11; Acts 10:34-35; 1 Pet 1:17; Dt 1:17; 16:19
32	II.16 do good to others...[not] neglecting self	1 Cor 9:27

From the list given above, nos. 6 and 25 are clear allusions (Rule I.8 to Jn 10; Rule II.6 to Mt 5:9). The linguistic and thematic links are unmistakable. Nos. 5, 9, 21 may be called *global* allusions, considering that they refer to the suffering of the Lord Jesus and not to particular texts of the Bible. The list above also shows the most alluded book of the Bible in the *1726 Rules*, for example, the letters of Paul, the Pastoral Letters and the Catholic letters.

Analysis of Selected Provisions of the *1726 Rules*

Only five cases will be analyzed in this paper, namely, nos. 2, 5, 6, 12, 25. Nos. 2, 6 and 25 will be treated together. The analysis will use the Spanish text of the 1726 Rules, respecting the spelling and phrasing of the original document. This will be compared with the Spanish Bible Reina Valera Antigua edition. The purpose of comparison is only to show the possible extent of similarity and difference.

Nos. 2, 6 and 25

These numbers are chosen because of the presence of expression that alludes to a known Scripture text, particularly no. 6 - Rule I.8 and no. 25 – Rule II.6. No. 2 –Rule I.2 will be treated here in connection with no. 25.

No. 6 – Rule I.8 “In order to please God all should have mutual love and affectionate union of their wills because discord is a great obstacle to attain perfection. Moreover, by charity Jesus recognizes the sheep of his flock. (2019)

Rule I.8 presents the goal which is to please God and the means, “to have mutual love and affectionate union of wills.” The motives are given; the first refers to the negative effect of discord and the second to the value of charity.

*I.8 Para àgradar àDios todas tengan
un àmor mutuo, y Cariñosa union
desus Voluntades; pues ladiscordia
es ungran estorbo para alcanzar
la perfeccion. Mas porla Charidad
Jesus conoce àlas ovejas desu rebaño.*

This Rule contains several expressions that may allude to Scriptures, such as “mutual love,” “union of wills,” “perfection,” and “sheep of his flock.” Among these, the last expression “sheep of his flock” clearly evokes the Shepherd Discourse in the Gospel of John. The statement “By charity Jesus knows the sheep of his flock” is not a citation from Scripture, but the expression “sheep of his flock” *las ovejas de su rebaño* unmistakably refers to Jn 10.

No	1726 <i>Constituciones y Reglas</i>	<i>Biblia Español</i> (RVA)
6	I.8 <i>Para àgradar ... Mas porla Charidad Jesus conoce àlas ovejas desu rebaño.</i>	Juan 10 1-El que no entra por la puerta en el corral de las ovejas 2-4.7-8.12-13 ovejas 11 Yo soy el buen pastor: el buen pastor su vida da por las ovejas. 14 Yo soy el buen pastor; y <u>conozco mis ovejas</u> , y las mías me conocen. 15 Como el Padre me conoce, y yo conozco al Padre; y pongo mi vida por las ovejas.

		16 <i>También tengo otras ovejas que no son de este redil; aquéllas también me conviene traer, y oirán mi voz; y habrá un rebaño, y un pastor.</i> 17 <i>Por eso me ama el Padre, porque yo pongo mi vida, para volverla á tomar.</i>
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The word *ovejas* appears several times in Jn 10. In Jn 10:14 Jesus says “*conozco mis ovejas, y las mías me conocen*,” “I know my sheep and my sheep know me,” and in Jn 10:16 Jesus says, “*y habrá un rebaño, y un pastor*,” “there will be one flock and one shepherd.” In Jn 10:17 Jesus refers to the Father’s love for him and his laying down his life. Rule I.8 combines the idea of Jesus’ knowledge of his sheep with the sheep belonging to his flock and with charity. The combination of these ideas brings a new utterance but is closely related to Jn 10:14.

The phrase “sheep of his flock” may also allude to Ps 100:3 “the sheep of his pasture” (NRSV), “the flock he shepherds” (NABRE), “*ovejas de su prado*” (RVA). The RVA uses *prado* instead of *rebaño*. Thus, the expression in Rule I.8 would be closer to Jn 10 rather than Ps 100.

The 1974 English translation of Rule I.8 is “Moreover, by their love they show that they belong to Jesus.” This translation does convey an allusion to Jn 10. However, the NIRV rendering of Ps 100:3 has “we are the sheep belonging to his flock.” There is a similarity of thought between the 1726 Rules (1974) and NIRV Ps 100:3. The *1726 Rules* (2019) gives a literal translation to bring out the allusion: “In order to please God all should have mutual love and affectionate union of their wills because discord is a great obstacle to attain perfection. Moreover, by charity Jesus recognizes the sheep of his flock.”

No. 25 - Rule II.6 The peacemakers are called children of God; these are the ones who live united among themselves with genuine charity, mutually bear their faults, and strive to correct with meekness not to avenge their offense but to avoid that of God's.

This Rule contains several expressions that allude to biblical texts: peacemakers, children of God, union of genuine charity, mutually bearing with one another's shortcomings. The first sentence is a clear allusion to the beatitude in Mt 5:9 "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they will be called children of God."

II.6 Hijos deDios son llamados los paci_
ficos; estos son losque viven entre
si Unidos converdadera charidad
sufren mutuamente sus Culpas,
ylas procuran corregir conmance
dumbre, nopara vengar su ofenza
sino para evitarla de Dios.

No	1726 <i>Constituciones y Reglas</i>	<i>Biblia Español</i> (RVA)
25	II.6 <i>Hijos deDios son llamados los pacificos</i>	Mateo 5:9 <i>Bienaventurados los pacificadores: porque ellos serán llamados hijos de Dios.</i> (RVA)

Rule II.6 uses the word "*pacificos*" which means peaceful. RVA has *pacificadores*. The Latin Vulgate has "*Beati pacifici: quoniam filii Dei vocabuntur.*" The Latin singular for *pacifici* is *pacificator*. The word "pacificos" appear in the *Ejercicios Spirituales de San Ignacio*, n. 278. The idea being communicated is the same but there is a different word used in the Rule. The close similarity between the expression of the Rule and the biblical text shows that Rule II.6 is an allusion to Mt 5:9. There is a change in the syntax and form. Mt 5:9 is a "blessed" saying containing a statement or proclamation and the

reason or motive. Rule II.6 is still a saying but does not reproduce the formulation of Mt 5:9. The idea is simply and directly stated.

No. 2 – Rule I.2 In all places and at all times; they should live in the presence of God our Lord; and in order to facilitate the exercise of this actual presence, they should keep their heart pure, separating themselves from all that could hamper it. (1974)

The English text has the expression “keep their heart pure.” One can recall the expression “pure of heart” in the Beatitude in Mt 5:8 “Blessed are the pure in heart, for they will see God” (NRSV).

*I.2 Entodo lugar, y tiempo tengan àDios
Nuestro Señor presentte; y para facili_
tarse el exercicio deesta actual presen
cia, guarden su Interior con mucha_
pureza, àpartandose detodo loque pudie
re estobarla.*

No	1726 <i>Constituciones y Reglas</i>	<i>Biblia Español (RVA)</i>
2	1.2 <i>guarden su Interior con mucha_pureza</i>	Mt 5:8 <i>Bienaventurados los de limpio corazón: porque ellos verán á Dios.</i> James 4:8 <i>purificad los corazones</i> 1 Tim 1:5 <i>Pues el fin del mandamiento es la caridad nacida de corazón limpio, y de buena conciencia, y de fe no fingida</i> 2 Tim 2:22 <i>con los que invocan al Señor de puro corazón</i> 1 Pe 1:22 <i>maos unos á otros</i>

		<i>entrañablemente de corazón puro</i> Ps 24:4 <i>El limpio de manos, y puro de Corazón</i> Ps 73:1 <i>bueno es Dios á Israel, A los limpios de corazón.</i>
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The allusion in the English text of Rule I.2 is clearer because of the expression “pure of heart.” However, the Spanish text uses *interior* instead of *corazon*. Other biblical texts that refer to purity or cleanness of heart are James 4:8, 2 Tim 2:22, 1 Pe 1:22 and Ps 24:4. The Spanish text of this Rule and Mt 5:8 lack linguistic similarity. The relation of purity of heart and seeing God in Mt 5:8 may be compared with the relationship of interior purity with experiencing the presence of God. In Mk 7:19-21 Jesus clarifies that what comes from the outside does not make a person unclean. It is “from within people, from their hearts,” that evil thoughts, unchastity, theft and murder come. This is a text that may be related to Rule I.2. However, the biblical allusion in the Spanish text is not evident.

No. 5 – Rule I.6.

No one should aspire towards empty self-esteem of being prudent, wise and eloquent in speech, so that others may honor and praise her. It would be better for her to fix her eyes on Jesus Christ, who chose humiliations and contempt for us.

*I.6 Ninguna procure la Vana esti-
macion, dePrudente sabia, y eloquen-
te enel hablar, paraque las otras la
honrren, y àlaben; antesbien pongan
los ojos en JesuChristo, que escogió*

las humillaciones, y desprecios pornosotros.

Rule I.6 contains the following expressions that evoke some biblical expressions: “empty self-esteem,” “that others may honor and praise her,” “fix her eyes on Jesus Christ,” and “humiliations and contempt for us.” Not aspiring for empty self-esteem may lead us to think of Philippians 2:1-11.

No	1726 <i>Constituciones y Reglas</i>	<i>Biblia Español (RVA)</i>
5	<i>Ninguna procure la Vana estimacion,</i>	Filipenses 2:3 <i>Nada hagáis por contienda ó por vanagloria</i>
	<i>paraque las otras la honrren, y àlaben</i>	Mateo 6:2 <i>Cuando pues haces limosna, no hagas tocar trompeta delante de ti, como hacen los hipócritas en las sinagogas y en las plazas, para ser estimados de los hombres: de cierto os digo, que ya tienen su recompensa.</i>
	<i>antesbien pongan los ojos en JesuChristo que escogió las humillaciones, y desprecios pornosotros.</i>	Heb 12:2 <i>Puestos los ojos en al autor y consumidor de la fe, en Jesús; el cual, habiéndole sido propuesto gozo, sufrió la cruz, menospreciando la vergüenza, y sentóse á la diestra del trono de Dios.</i> Isa 53:8; Acts 8:33 1 Pe 2:21; 3:18

There is a correspondence in thought and language between Rule 1:6 and Phil 2:3 “Do nothing out of selfishness or out of vainglory.” *Vana estimacion* in Rule I.6 corresponds to *vanagloria* in Fil 2:3. The counsel not to do things for the sake of being honored or praised may be related to what we find in Mt 6:2 where Jesus teaches to give alms but not for show, “*para ser estimados de los hombres*”. In 1 Thess 2:6 Paul tells the Thessalonians

that he did not seek praise from human beings. Jn 5:41.44 contrast praise from human beings and praise from God. What is said in Rom 12:16 is also related to the counsel in this Rule: “do not be wise in your own estimation” “*No sedís sabios en vuestra opinión.*” The last part of Rule I.6 has a clear allusion to Heb 12:2. The mention of Jesus’ humiliation may evoke Isaiah 53:8; Acts 8:33. The idea of Christ suffering for us is found in 1 Pe 2:21; 3:18. Rule I.6 contains many biblical allusions.

No. 12 – Rule I.22

Their ordinary support should come from the labor of their hands and occasionally they shall avail themselves of the services of a prudent and reliable man who will ask alms in their favor in towns for the love of God. They should place their confidence in the providence of the merciful and compassionate God.

*I. 22 Su Ordinario sustento salga
del trabaxo desus manos; mass
dequando enquando seserviran
de algun hombre prudente, y an_
ciano que ensufavor vaia àlos_
Pueblos apedir algunas limos
nas por amor deDios; tengan su_
confianza puesta en Dios, rico en
Misericordias conlos que confian
enSu providencia liberal, y misericordiosa.*

The first and last part of Rule I.22 that refer to the labor of one’s hands and trusting in God’s providence may have been inspired by Scripture texts. The advice to sustain one’s self by the labor of one’s hands may be based on Mother Ignacia’s own decision to support herself. She counseled her sisters to the same ideal of working to

sustain the community. This advice might not necessarily allude to Scripture, however, 1 Cor 4:12 where Paul talks about himself and his companions working with his own hands can be a support to the advice in this rule.

No	1726 <i>Constituciones y Reglas</i>	<i>Biblia Español (RVA)</i>
12	<i>Su Ordinario sustento salga del trabaxo desus manos;</i>	1 Corintios 4:12 Y trabajamos, obrando con nuestras manos:
	<i>tengan su confianza puesta en Dios, <u>rico en Misericordias</u> conlos que confían enSu providencia liberal, y misericordiosa.</i>	Efesios 2:5 Empero Dios, que es rico en misericordia, por su mucho amor con que nos amó Nehemias 9:17 Tú empero, eres Dios de perdones, clemente y piadoso, tardo para la ira, y de mucha misericordia, que no los dejaste. Ps 78:7 A fin de que pongan en Dios su confianza, Y no se olviden de las obras de Dios

The great mercy of God is presented in a lot of texts and in different ways in the Bible. The mercy of God is often associated with God's faithfulness and love (Dt 7:9.12; Ex 34:6). The expression "*rico en misericordia*" in Rule 1:22 is found in Eph 2:5. This is a clear instance of allusion. Putting one's trust in the God is also a biblical idea (Ps 40:4; 78:7; Isa 30:15; Jer 17:7). Jesus' teaching on confident dependence on God who knows our needs is found in Mt 6:25-34 and Lk 12:22-34. "*Su providencia liberal y misericordiosa*" captures the sense of these texts. There are certainly biblical allusions in Rule 1.22.

What is interesting about this Rule is that it brings us back to the original inspiration of Mother Ignacia when she made her decision after her retreat. She resolved to "remain at the service of the Divine Majesty"

and to earn her living “by the sweat of her brow.” The first sentence of Rule 1.22 expresses this decision. The *beatas* in the community would have to support their community by the labor of their hands. The last sentence of this Rule talks about the generous and merciful providence of God. This expresses Mother Ignacia’s confidence from the very start of her adventure in forming a religious community of native women that she had nothing to fear for God in his mercy would lead, guide and provide for her. Her trust in God’s providence is shown by her action of leaving the safety, security and comfort of her home. She left her home and her parents bringing with her only “a needle and a pair of scissors” as Murillo Velarde beautifully described. Rule I.22 counsels the *beatas* to be open to the help and support of others but also to be prudent in this regard. Thus, Mother Ignacia exemplifies in her community the Filipino saying “*Nasa Dios ang awa, nasa tao ang gawa*” (In God is mercy, work is for humans). For Mother Ignacia, the counsel to her companions is “*Tayo ay gumawa at ipaubaya ang lahat sa Diyos ng awa*” (“Let us work and leave the rest to God’s mercy”).

The analysis shows the influence of biblical thought and expressions in the *1726 Rules*, particularly in the sections that deal with the spiritual and communal life of the *beaterio*. The rules were written not with the Bible at hand but based on what Mother Ignacia and her companions remembered from the teachings drawn from the Bible, particularly the Gospels and the letters. The provisions analyzed and presented in this essay are limited to five (I.2, 1.6, 1.8, 1.22, II.6) of the thirty-five identified texts that contain biblical allusions and echoes. Below is a summary of the Scripture allusions in these Rules and the corresponding themes.

1726 RULES	SCRIPTURE TEXTS	THEME
I.2 In all places and at all times; they should live in the presence of God our Lord; and in order to facilitate the exercise of this actual presence, they should keep their heart pure, separating themselves from all that could hamper it.	Mt 5:8 – “Blessed are the pure in heart...” Ps 24:4; 73:1 – Purity as a condition for seeing/ knowing God 1 Tim 1:5 – Love from a pure heart 2 Tim 2:22 – Pursue righteousness, faith, love, peace with a pure heart	Purity of heart and intentions Being always in God’s presence
I.6 No one should aspire towards empty self-esteem of being prudent, wise and eloquent in speech, so that others may honor and praise her. It would be better for her to fix her eyes on Jesus Christ, who chose humiliations and contempt for us.	Phil 2:1–8 – Christ’s humility and self-emptying Heb 12:2 – Jesus as the pioneer and perfecter of faith Rom 15:3 – Christ did not please Himself Mk 9:12; Lk 23:11 – Christ’s suffering and humiliation	Humility, self-emptying, focus on Jesus Christ and imitation of him
I.8 In order to please God all should have mutual love and affectionate union of their wills because discord is a great obstacle to attain perfection. Moreover, by charity Jesus recognizes the sheep of his flock. (2019)	Phil 2:2 – Be of one mind and heart Jn 10:3–4.14–16.26–27; 13:35 – Jesus as the shepherd; disciples known by their love Rom 15:5 – Unity and harmony 1 Thess 3:9 – Joy in mutual love 1 Pt 3:8 – Sympathy, love, compassion	Unity, sisterly love and shared identity in Christ.
I.22 Their ordinary support should come from the labor of their hands and	1 Thess 2:9; 3:11 – Labor and concern for the community	Providence, trust, and grateful

1726 RULES	SCRIPTURE TEXTS	THEME
occasionally they shall avail themselves of the services of a prudent and reliable man who will ask alms in their favor in towns for the love of God. They should place their confidence in the providence of the merciful and compassionate God.	Mt 6:25–34; Lk 12:22–31 – Trust in divine providence 2 Cor 1:3 – God of all consolation Eph 2:4–7 – God’s mercy and grace Ps 136 – God’s steadfast love	confidence in God
II.6 The peacemakers are called children of God; these are the ones who live united among themselves with genuine charity, mutually bear their faults, and strive to correct with meekness not to avenge their offense but to avoid that of God’s.	Mt 5:9 – “Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called children of God.”	Peacemaking as the characteristic identity of the Children of God

The emphases of each Rule are indicated in the chart below:

1726 Rules	Focus/Emphasis
I.2	Interior purity, not just external behavior, as foundational to love, faith, and communion with God and others; moral integrity, right intention, and a single-hearted desire for God.
I.6	Imitation of Jesus Christ’s humility and kenosis (self-emptying); following the spiritual path of union with Christ, sharing in His sufferings, and renouncing self-centeredness.
I.8	Communion and community, built on Christ-centered relationships; mutual understanding.

	compassionate listening and unity rooted in the shared love for Christ.
I.22	Deep trust in God's care, dispelling anxiety over material needs; confidence in divine mercy, spirit of thanksgiving for God's enduring love
II.6	Active role of peacemakers in community and in the world; peace-building linked with and founded on one's spiritual identity as God's children, affirming peace as a Christian vocation

In summary, the provisions of the 1726 Rules studied and analyzed here reflect a strong relational spirituality. Inner disposition, outward action, and community life are integrated in imitation of Christ. The emphases, interior transformation (purity of heart), Christ-like humility and service, communal unity and fraternal love, trust in God's providence and care, peacemaking as a Christian vocation, are relevant today for living our Christian faith as missionary disciples of Jesus Christ.

Synthesis and Conclusion

Mother Ignacia's knowledge of the Bible was mediated through Fr. Paul Klein, other Jesuit spiritual directors and the priests who celebrated the Mass during their time. This would be true also for her companions. Without having a Bible, they incorporated in the Rules words and expressions coming from Scriptures which they had learned and lived through the years. These came to them through listening to the conferences given in the retreats and the preaching during the Mass, as well as through reflection, prayer, and meditations during their retreat, especially the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius. The scriptural allusions in the 1726 Rules might also have come from other sources, like the spiritual books in the *Beaterio* that were explanations or reflections on the Scriptures.

This study shows that although the *beatas* did not have direct access to the Bible, they were not deprived of the Word of God and its influence on their lives. As this can be said of the *Beatas de la Compañía de Jesús* of Mother Ignacia del Espíritu Santo, this could also be said of her contemporary Filipino Catholics who were earnest about knowing and living their faith. They too benefited from the Word of God presented to them by the missionaries through teaching, preaching, the liturgy and the sacraments and other means by which the faith is nourished, sustained and challenged to grow.

This study therefore provides evidence for the use of Scripture by the missionaries in their evangelizing efforts. They were able to do so through various means even if the lay faithful were not given access to direct reading of the Bible. Despite certain colonial and ecclesiastical restrictions, the missionaries succeeded in promoting the Word of God through various means. This reality should not be overlooked in the history of mission undertaken by Catholic missionaries in the Philippines.

The 1726 Rules, as noted above, represent a primary source for the study of the spiritual and religious life of women in the 17th century. This study complements K. Santner's brief study on the 1726 Rules which is included in the book *The Spanish Pacific 1521-1815*. This work is relevant to the discussion on the shaping of the Spanish Pacific and may be compared with similar literature in the 18th century.

The methodology in this study may be used by other religious congregations to uncover the Scriptural inspiration and underpinnings in the works of their founders or foundresses. The intertextual investigation of this study can be a pedagogical tool for critical thinking. The study provides an intertextual resource that can stimulate critical observations. It is an example of a process of moving from observation of apparent

intertextuality to making conceptual connections, recognizing historical echoes and parallels in contemporary realities. Intertextual study can also be used in Bible studies to see the connections of the Hebrew Scripture and the New Testament and the connections between the Scriptures and contemporary situations and realities.

“Establishing textual relations is an integral part of human communication as evidenced by a variety of social practices and discursive” and can be a potent pedagogical tool.⁵⁸ Intertextuality is an act of remembering. It is a process that makes us conscious of something that we know but perhaps cannot fully remember; but when we do remember, we experience the delight of the memory of literature, hidden in texts, revealed in intertexts and in their particular world and culture that addresses us today in our own particular contexts and cultures.

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⁵⁸ Ranamukalage Chandrasoma and Lalith Ananda, “Intertextualizing Interactive Texts for Critical Thinking: A South Korean EFL Experience,” *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies* 15, no. 2 (2018): 115-140.

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