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EDITOR'S PREFACE

The articles for this issue deal with various issues and draw from different areas and disciplines. Albert C.A. Flores presents the historical background and a critical analysis of Fr. Pedro Peláez' last written work about the rights of Filipino secular priests under Spanish colonial rule. In the mid-19th century, Fr. Peláez emerged as a de facto leader among the educated native clergy, and his advocacy for these rights contributed to the growing nationalist movement that culminated in the Philippine Revolution against Spain. The essay by Joseph L. Roche, S.J. comments on some new approaches to Catholic spirituality from the perspective of religious education. Consistently aware of the importance of catechesis and deeply committed to "authentic Filipino Catholic believing in Christ," Roche demonstrates how the theological discipline of practical theology is helpful in bridging the gap between theory and practice in religious education. John J. Pilch draws from cultural anthropology and cognitive neuroscience to understand texts about "journeying to the sky" found in ancient literature as well as in contemporary reports by those in alternate states of consciousness. He offers a cross-cultural model for analyzing and interpreting these texts.

A short piece of documentation related to the Loyola School of Theology is included here: the commencement address delivered on March 15, 2006 by Fr. C.G. Arévalo, S.J., the first LST President.

Landas completed twenty years of continuous publication in 2006 and offers in this issue a comprehensive index compiled by Vernon Totanes and Ferdinand Alipis. It is hoped that this will facilitate access for all those doing research. Mr. Totanes is currently pursuing a PhD at the University of Toronto's Faculty of Information, while Mr. Alipis is the present Director of Ralph Gehring Library, Loyola School of Theology.

Miguel B. Lambino, S.J.
Editor

PEDRO PELÁEZ' "BREBES APUNTES SOBRE LA CUESTION DE CURATOS DE FILIPINAS:" A TRANSCRIPTION

Albert C.A Flores

The question over the rights of the Filipino secular priests to the parishes was one of the issues which confronted the Philippine Church in the nineteenth century. Known as the "secularization controversy" in as much as it dealt with the question of transferring the administration of the parishes to the secular clergy, this conflict involving the Spanish regular clergy and the Filipino secular priests saw the emergence of Pedro Pablo Peláez as the leader of the Filipino clergy. Peláez championed the cause of the Filipino secular priests and he fought for their rights to the parishes. Asserting that these rights were solidly based on Church law, he wrote several works in favor of the Filipino clergy. "Brebes apuntes sobre la cuestion de curatos de Filipinas" was his last written work on the matter and it presented the main points of his position regarding this whole issue of the administration of parishes.

In the present article, the full transcription of Pedro Peláez' "Brebes apuntes" is given. The transcription is preceded by a brief historical background and a summary of this last important work of Peláez.

Historical background

Biographical sketch

Pedro Pablo Peláez was born in 1812.[1] in Pagsanjan, which was then the capital of the province of Laguna. The available evidence suggests that he was a full-blooded Spaniard, or more precisely, a creole.[2] His father, José Peláez Rubio, a peninsular, had been the *alcalde mayor* or provincial governor of Laguna, while his mother, Josefa Sebastian Gomez Lozada, was a creole of Spanish parents.[3] His only other sibling was Maria Francisca, who was likewise his heiress.[4] Although Peláez was

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[1] There is no agreement on the exact date of Peláez' birth. Some put it on 12 June 1812 (see Manuel Artigas y Cuerva, *The Events of 1872: A Historico-Bibliographical Account*, trans. and notes by Onofre D. Corpuz [Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1996], 43; Carlos Quirino, *Who's Who in Philippine History* [Makati, Metro Manila: Tahanan Books, 1995]), while others assert that Peláez was born on 29 June 1812 (see Marcelino Foronda, *Manila* [Madrid: Editorial MAPFRE, 1992], 150; *Filipinos in History*, 5 vols. [Manila: National Historical Institute, 1989-1992], 2: 92).

[2] According to Onofre D. Corpuz, during the early 1800s, the *criollos*, or Philippine-born Spaniards, were re-assessing their place in Philippine society. "An important development that affected their status in Filipinas was the tide of separation in the American colonies during the 1820s. Many of the leaders in the revolutions had been creoles in the government, military and secular clergy. In Manila, during the early 1840s, the creoles were again identified with the separatist sentiments. Life became more difficult for them. As the nineteenth century wore on, even the peninsulars in the colonial posts in Manila had to give way to the new functionaries sent from Madrid after every change of political party. And so, more and more creoles followed the Spanish *mestizos*, who had followed the Chinese *mestizos*, who had made their decisions long ago, for a life in their native land. The Creole position became pragmatic." [O. Corpuz, *The Roots of the Filipino Nation* (Quezon City: Aklahi Foundation, 1989), 50-51].

[3] Some have identified Peláez' mother as a Filipina [see M. Foronda, *Manila*, 150; *Filipinos in History*, 2: 91], but it must be remembered that during the nineteenth century, the term "Filipino" was used to refer to Philippine-born Spaniards or the *criollos* [see Domingo Abella, *From Indio to Filipino and Some Historical Works* ([Manila?]: M. Romualdez Abella, [1978?]), 19].

[4] Luciano P.R. Santiago, "The Filipino Priest-Doctors in the Nineteenth Century (1801-1871)," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 13 (1985): 44. L. Santiago has found a document in the Philippine National Archives [PNA], "Doña Maria Peláez sobre Abintestado y declaración de heredera de Don Pedro Peláez (1868)," *Bienes de Difuntos*, legajo no. 63, which contains his baptismal certificate and that of his sister.

of Spanish blood, he fully allied himself with the Filipino secular priests and thus, his championing the cause of the native clergy is shown to be founded on a deep-seated conviction rather than drawn from racial lines.

With the death of his parents when he was still a young boy,[5] Peláez had to work hard to complete his lower schooling, which he finished in his hometown.[6] Being an orphan of a Spanish functionary, he was able to stay with the Dominicans in one of the latter's convents in Manila, and in exchange for his services there, he was able to study in the Colegio de San Juan de Letran and later, in the University of Santo Tomas.[7] From this last institution, Peláez graduated with a degree in philosophy on 20 February 1829 as well as a bachelor's degree in theology on 21 January 1833.[8] On 5 December 1836, he earned his licentiate degree in theology, and some years later, he was conferred the doctorate theology.[9] Ordained to the priesthood sometime in the mid-1830s, he was subsequently assigned to the *cabildo ecclesiastico* of the Manila cathedral. His rise in the archdiocese was steady and in the succeeding years, he was to hold

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[5]John N. Schumacher, "The Man who Refused to Live a Lie" in *Filipino Heritage: The Making of a Nation*, ed. Alfredo Roces, 10 vols. (Manila: Lahing Pilipino Publishing Inc., 1978) 6: 1574.

[6]Zoilo M. Galang, *Encyclopedia of the Philippines*, 20 vols. (Manila: Exequiel Floro, 1950-1958) 3: 397.

[7]M. Foronda, *Manila*, 150.

[8]M. Artigas y Cuerva, *The Events of 1872*, 43.

[9]M. Artigas y Cuerva does not give a precise date when Peláez received his doctorate, although he says that it was shortly after he received the license. [M. Artigas y Cuerva, *The Events of 1872*, 43.] Others, however, put it in 1844 [see L. Santiago, "Filipino Priest-Doctors," 44; M. Foronda, *Manila*, 150; *Filipinos in History*, 91]. In the *Guia de Forasteros en las Islas Filipinas para el año de 1843* (Manila: Amigos del Pais, 1843), p. 102, the title "licendiado" appears before his name, but in the *Guia* for 1848, Peláez appears with the title of "doctor" [*Guia de Forasteros ... para el año de 1848*, p. 85]. In the records of the Archdiocesan Archives of Manila [hereinafter cited as AAM], the title "doctor" appears in his signatures starting in 1846 [Carlos Quirino, "A Checklist of Documents on Gomburza from the Archdiocesan Archives of Manila," *Philippine Studies* 21 (1973): 24]. He must have earned that degree in theology sometime between 1844 and 1845.

important positions in the cathedral chapter. In the *Guia de Forasteros* for 1843, he was listed as *canónigo magistral* and one of the six *consiliarios* of the Congregacion de San Pedro Apostol.[10] In 1845, Governor General Narciso Clavería designated him acting *medio racionero*, a position receiving a benefice from the government, which was duly confirmed by the queen the following year.[11]

In 1846, the Recoleto José Aranguren[12] became the archbishop of Manila, and he appointed Peláez as secretary of the chapter and administration.[13] The following year, upon the archbishop's recommendation, Governor Clavería named Peláez *racionero* of the archdiocese,"[14] and in 1848, the members of the *cabildo* elected him once more as *canónigo magistral*."[15] In 1855, Peláez was named *canónigo penitenciario*"[16] and was likewise elected *secretario capitular*."[17] By 1858, he was listed in the annual report of the cathedral as "canónigo penitenciario,

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[10] *Guia de Forasteros ... para el año de 1843*, pp. 163, 259.

[11] Peláez was named to the post on 20 December 1845 since Joaquin Arlegui had been promoted. The appointment was ratified by the queen on 31 August 1846. AAM, 12.E.14, *Titulos, Reales y Titulos* (1843-1914), folder 5-7, "Titulos (Reales) (1844-1914)."

[12] For a study of Archbishop Aranguren's tenure, see Pedro Carmelo Digal Balili, Jr., *Mons. Jose Aranguren: His Times, Life and Pastoral Actions. Archbishop of Manila, 1846-1861* (Ph.D. diss., University of Navarre [Spain], 1992).

[13] Archbishop Aranguren announced the appointment of Peláez and several others in his circular dated 20 March 1846. AAM, 7.A.2, *Asuntos del Cabildo Eclesiastico* (1849-1879), folder 2, "Asuntos del Cabildo Eclesiastico (1845-1949)."

[14] Governor Clavería appointed Peláez to the position on 25 February 1847. AAM, 12.E.14, *Titulos, Reales y Titulos* (1843-1914), folder 5-7, "Titulos (Reales) (1844-1914)."

[15] On 5 August 1848, the members of the cathedral chapter reported to Archbishop Aranguren that they had chosen Peláez for the position since no one else applied within the specified period. Ibid.

[16] On 9 January 1855, Governor General Manuel Crespo informed the archbishop that the queen had named Peláez as *conónigo penitenciario* since Sebastian Moron had refused the position. AAM, 7.A.2, *Asuntos del Cabildo Eclesiastico (1849-1879)*, folder 2, "Asuntos del Cabildo Eclesiastico (1845-1949)."

[17] On 15 August 1855, the members of the *cabildo* elected Peláez to the position of *secretario capitular* in order to replace Manuel Peralta, who renounced the office. [Ibid.]

examinador sinodal, juez comisario apostolico, subdelegado de la cruzadas, y exactor de mesadas eclesiasticas." [18]

When Archbishop Aranguren died on 18 April 1861, the government of the archdiocese passed to the cathedral chapter, which elected Peláez on 23 April to the office of *vicario capitular.* In effect, Peláez was elected as acting archbishop of Manila and was to govern the archdiocese until the arrival of the new archbishop, Gregorio Melitón Martínez."[19] According to the Dominican Francisco Gainza, who became the bishop of Nueva Cáceres from 1862 to 1879, Pelaez' election as vicar capitular was generally well-accepted since he was the most capable, prudent and virtuous member of the secular clergy.[20] Nevertheless, in relaying the Holy See's confirmation of the election,[21] Lorenzo Barili,"[22] then the nuncio in Madrid, expressed the apprehension that the colonial

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[18] AAM, 37.A.1, *Catalogo del Eclesiastico Personal (1760-1892, 1958, 1960-1961, 1965, 1967-1968),* folder 5-6, "Documentos Personales - Catalog del Personal Eccl., (I762-1859)."

[19] Letter of P. Peláez to Nuncio Barili, 24 April 1861 in Archivio Segreto Vaticano [hereinafter cited as ASV], Archivio della Nunziatura di Madrid, 447.

[20] Letter of F. Gainza to Nuncio Barili, 5 May 1861 in ASV, Arch. Nunz. Madrid, 447. http:// mymovies.it / dizionario / recensione.asp?=16428&ut=2

[21] David Sterritt, <article title,> in *Christian Science Monitor* (July 11, 2005), also at http// www.csmonitor.com/2005/0304/p14s01-almo.html (accessed August 17, 2005).

[22] "Lorenzo Barili was born in Ancona, Italy on 1 December 1801. Ordained in September 1827, he taught for a while philosophy at the seminary in Ancona. Then he entered the Vatican diplomatic service, starting as *auditor* at the Nunciatures of Naples and Lisbon. He was named Internuncio in Brazil in 1848, later transferred to Colombia in 1851. He subsequently represented the Holy See in Ecuador, Venezuela, Bolivia and Peru. In 1857, he was named Apostolic Nuncio of Spain. Created Cardinal in March 1868, he was recalled to Rome where he worked at various Roman congregations. He died in the Eternal City on 8 March 1875. The letters of Nuncio Barili, covering a 12-year sojourn in Madrid, are kept in 109 boxes at the Vatican Archives." [Antonio V. Uy, *The State of the Church in the Philippines, 1850-1875: The Correspondences between the Bishops in the Philippines and the Nuncio in Madrid* (St. Augustin: Steyler Verlag, 1984), 203] See also Vicente Carcel Ortí, "El archivio del Nuncio Barili, 1857-1868,"

government in Manila might pose some difficulties regarding Peláez' selection.[23] But those fears were unfounded. In fact, some months later, Gainza reported to Nuncio Barili that Peláez was governing the archdiocese quite capably, with no problems with the civil authorities and the religious corporations, and thus, Archbishop Martínez could take his time in finishing his business in Spain and he did not have to hurry in coming to Manila.[24] As ecclesiastical governor of the archdiocese, Peláez addressed various issues which demanded his attention. He was "profoundly concerned for religious matters, [and] anxious to bring about reforms in the Church.[25] For instance, he protested against the colonial government's inaction regarding the proliferation of periodicals like *El Español de ambos mundos*, which contained heretical and anti-Catholic material.[26] He visited the religious community of San Juan de Dios, and tried to help them resolve their problem.[27] He also sent a thousand mass stipends for the priests in Italy, whose lives were made difficult by the

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[23] Letter of Nuncio Barili to P. Peláez, 22 June 1861 in ASV, Arch. Nunz. Madrid, 447. Nuncio Barili feared that the colonial government would not accept Peláez as an ecclesiastical judge since it might consider him unqualified for the office for not possessing the normal requirements. The nuncio was most probably alluding to the fact that Peláez did not have a doctorate in canon law.

[24] Letter of F. Gainza to Nuncio Barili, 25 October 1861 in ASV, Arch. Nunz. Madrid, 447.

[25] John N. Schumacher, *Revolutionary Clergy: The Filipino Clergy and the Nationalist Movement, 1850-1903* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1981), 7.

[26] Letters of P. Peláez to Nuncio Barili, 25 October 1861 and 24 November 1861 in ASV, Arch. Nunz. Madrid, 447.

[27] Letter of P. Peláez to Nuncio Barili, 25 December 1861 in ASV Arch. Nunz. Madrid, 447. Peláez had to deal with the problem of regularizing the election of the new provincial superior of the Fathers-Hospitallers of San Juan de Dios. "The Order of St. John of God had originally been brought to the Philippines to administer the hospital which came to be known as San Juan de Dios ... With the suppression of the religious orders in Spain in 1836, they likewise ceased to exist in the Philippines during the course of the nineteenth century." [John N. Schumacher, *Father José Burgos, A Documentary History: With Spanish Documents and their Translation* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1999), 206-207, footnote 11].

risorgimento movement.[28] His one-year interim administration of the archdiocese was basically satisfactory, and this judgement was clearly shared by Archbishop Martínez, who wrote to Peláez shortly after his arrival in Manila in 1862:

Somewhat freer now and having recovered from the fatigues of my long voyage, whose burdens allowed me to make demands on your kindness to continue in the government of this diocese, I believe the moment has come for me to be able to relieve you of your administration, as in effect I am doing. The confidence your reverence has inspired in me, in harmony with the way you have reciprocated, obliges me to manifest my satisfaction – which explains the choice of the Most Illustrious and Venerable cathedral chapter of this Holy Metropolitan church in electing you as Vicar Capitular during its vacancy. But in assuming from today the episcopal direction of the archbishopric, I do not renounce the cooperation your reverence could lend me for the greater success in the dispatch of ecclesiastical matters. Please accept all my gratitude as a tribute to your signal services, and my apostolic benediction as a token of my affection in Jesus Christ towards your reverence"[29]

The following year, Peláez was appointed treasurer of the metropolitan church of Manila. He was installed into this office during the solemn rites held at the cathedral on 13 April 1863.[30] A few weeks later, on 3 June, a devastating earthquake struck the city. Peláez and several others were celebrating the rites of Corpus Christi at the cathedral, when the earthquake destroyed the roof of the edifice and buried them under the debris, which took three days to clear.[31] Peláez' corpse was later found in

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[28] Letter of P. Peláez to Nuncio Barili, 5 October 1861 in ASV, Arch. Nunz. Madrid, 447.

[29] C. Quirino, "Documents on Gomburza," 25.

[30] On 5 January 1863, the queen appointed Peláez acting treasurer of the cathedral after Juan José Zulueta died. Two months later, or, 3 March 1863, his appointment became permanent. AAM, 7.A.2, *Asuntos del Cabildo Eclesiastico (1849-1879)*, folder 2, "Asuntos del Cabildo Eclesiastico (1845-1949)."

[31] C. Quirino, "Documents on Gomburza," 26.

a kneeling position, beside his friend, Ignacio Ponce de Leon, underneath the ruins of the Manila cathedral.[32] Aside from his involvement in ecclesiastical administration, Pedro Peláez also devoted part of his time to teaching. He taught philosophy at the Jesuit Colegio de San José, and lectured in philosophy and theology at the University of Santo Tomás.[33] As a teacher, he inspired young students like José Burgos,[34] and he urged many of them to excel, to pursue advance degrees and to have a high standard of priestly life.[35] His contribution to education was acknowledged by Governor Antonio Urbiztondo, who designated him as a member of the committee which studied and planned educational reforms in the country. The recommendations of this committee were later made the basis for the 1863 decree on education.[36] As the most distinguished priest of the archdiocese, Peláez enjoyed a considerable

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[32] *Filipinos in History*, 92.

[33] Ibid.

[34] José Burgos has traditionally been regarded as the protégé and disciple of Peláez, as well as the precursor of Jose Rizal. Like Peláez, he fought for the rights of the Filipino clergy and played an important role in the development of national consciousness. His execution in 1872, together with Frs. Mariano Gomez and Jacinto Zamora, marked "a turning point in the history of Filipino nationalism, a catalyst which brought together the liberal reformist elements in Philippine society with the growing self-awareness of a people into a movement that before long would be directed at independent nationhood." [J. Schumacher, *Burgos*, 1] See also John N. Schumacher and Nicholas Cushner, "Documents Relating to Father José Burgos and the Cavite Mutiny of 1872," *Philippine Studies* 17 (1969): 457-529; Fidel Villaroel, *Father José Burgos, University Student* (Manila: University of Santo Tomás Press, 1971); and Sol H. Gwekoh, *Burgos, Gomez, Zamora: Secular Martyrs of Filipinism* (Manila: National Bookstore Inc., 1974).

[35] Cristina Sabado, *Philippine Church History* (Makati, Metro Manila: Salesiana Publishers, 1990), 80.

[36] *Filipinos in History*, 92.

influence over the Spanish and Filipino clergy, particularly over the members of the *cabildo.*[37] He was known to have been more diligent than most in his studies and he was recognized for his intelligence and clear insight.[38] He won renown as a preacher and among his more famous sermons was the one he delivered on 30 November 1855, the feast of St. Andrew and the commemoration of the 1574 victory of the Spanish army over the attempted invasion of the Chinese pirate Limahong.[39] Through the initiatives of his friends who wanted them preserved, his sermons were compiled and posthumously published. The *Colección de sermones predicados por el Doctor D. Pedro Pablo Peláez*[40] included some of the more memorable sermons he delivered, like the sermon on Nuestra Señora de Guia, delivered on 18 December 1838 at the Manila cathedral, before the *cabildos* and the royal *audiencia*,[41] and the sermon on St. Thomas Aquinas, which was delivered on 7 March 1863 before the faculty of

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[37] In his letter to Ultramar, Archbishop Martínez reported that when he arrived in Manila, he found that both Spanish and Filipino members of the cathedral chapter were under the influence of Peláez. He observed that "Dr. Don Pedro Peláez, a priest of austere habits and of solid learning ... attracted to himself friends and enemies. For the native clergy, he was an oracle without whose advice they did nothing, and a solicitous agent who with efficient zeal took on himself and directed their affairs both in the ecclesiastical and civil sphere, both in Manila and in the Overseas office [Ultramar]." [Letter of Archbishop Martínez to Ultramar, 22 June 1863, Archivo Histórico Nacional [AHN], Ultramar, leg. 2255, exp. 9, cited in A. Uy, *State of the Church in the Philippines*, 236].

[38] M. Artigas y Cuerva, *The Events of 1872*, 43.

[39] P. Peláez, *Discurso que en la solemne festividad con que anualmente celebra la ... ciudad de Manila la Victoria alcanzada por las armas españolas el dia de San Andres de 1574 contra el pirate Limaong ... el dia 30 de Noviembre de 1855.* (Manila, 1855). A copy of this is 15-page homily is found in the Newberry Library, Chicago. [D. V. Welsh, *A Catalogue of Printed Materials relating to the Philippine Islands, 1519-1900, in the Newberry Library* (Chicago: Newberry Library, 1959) 36].

[40] Pedro Peláez, *Colección de sermones predicados por el Doctor D. Pedro Pablo Peláez* (Manila: T. Portanet, 1869). A microfilm copy of this is found in the microfilm section of the Rizal Library, Ateneo de Manila University (Quezon City, Philippines). [*Printed Materials in Microform* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University, 1994), 65].

[41] P. Peláez, *Colección de sermones*, 40-48.

the University of Santo Tomás.[42] Pedro Peláez likewise made a notable contribution to Philippine journalism. Together with some Dominican religious, with whom he was closely associated, Peláez founded the first religious newspaper in the country, *El Catolico Filipino*, which was started in the summer of 1861.[43]

According to Gainza, Peláez was the one who conceived the idea of a Catholic newspaper as well as the one who ended up being its chief editor.[44] Towards the end of the year, however, *El Catolico Filipino* encountered some problems and clashed with the *Diario de Manila*,[45] which had "declared war against it."[46] Gainza pointed to the *peninsulares* as the enemies of *El Catolico Filipino* and he castigated the government for its inaction on the matter. But in his book *El Periodismo Filipino*, Wenceslao Retana[47]remarked that what contributed decisively to its disappearance

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[42] Ibid., 14-22.

[43] F. Gainza reported to Nuncio Barili that the newspaper was started in the summer of 1861. [Letter of F. Gainza to Nuncio Barili, 25 October 1861 in ASV, Arch. Nunz. Madrid, 447] Wenceslao E. Retana erroneously asserts that the newspaper was begun in 1862: "I should mention that Sr. Diaz Puertas [that is, in his *Ligeros Apuntes sobre la Imprenta en Filipinas*] gives the year of the founding of the newspaper as 1861. I have a copy of the number 54 of the Hora Diaria de El Catolico Filipino corresponding to April 5, 1862. The headline reads: Year I; there is no doubt, therefore, that this newspaper was born in 1862, unless "Year I" refers only to the Hoja, which is not probable." [Wenceslao E. Retana, *El Periodismo Filipino (Journalism in the Philippines, 1811-1894)*, trans. Rodolfo L. Nazareno and Maria Elena Peña (Manila: Philippine Press Institute, 1991), 34.

[44] Letter of F. Gainza to Nuncio Barili, 6 October 1861 in ASV, Arch. Nunz. Madrid, 447. The four Dominicans in the staff of *El Catolico Filipino* were PP. Ama, Corominas, Fonseca and Gainza.

[45] For a brief history of *Diario de Manila*, see W. E. Retana, *El Periodismo Filipino*, 20-26.

[46] A. Uy, *State of the Church in the Philippines*, 233.

[47] The works of W. E. Retana, especially his bibliographies, have been a valuable source for historians because aside from providing much factual information on persons and events, they contain numerous documents, many of which are no longer available to researchers. See John N. Schumacher, "W.E. Retana: An Historiographical Survey," *Philippine Studies* 10 (1962): 550-576.

from the field of journalism was an article written by P. Fray Agapito Aparicio, a notable Augustinian, since it is a fact that two days after that article was published in *Diario de Manila*, attacking *El Catolico Filipino*, the latter stopped publishing. It seemed that in the shadow of religious ideas, the *El Catolico* used to expose its political leanings: what I mean is that not all its ideas were in consonance with the criterion that is genuinely Spanish.[48]

Actually, *El Catolico Filipino* did not quite "disappear" but merged with another periodical to form the *Oceania Catolica.* But Gainza himself hinted at the assertion made by Retana when he reported to Nuncio Barili that *El Catolico Filipino* was combined to another newspaper because of the tendentious articles of the indigenous clergy.[49]

The most important undertaking of Peláez, however, was his work on behalf of the Filipino secular priests. He was an ardent defender of their rights and their well-being, and he firmly believed that they were as capable as the Spanish regular clergy. When the question over the administration of the parishes emerged anew in the late 1840s, Peláez led the Filipino clergy in their first collective action to assert their rights.

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[48] W. E. Retana, *El Periodismo Filipino*, 34-35.

[49] Letter of Bishop Gainza to Nuncio Barili, 8 January 1863 in ASV, Arch. Nunz. Madrid, 447. Peláez, on the other hand, wrote to the nuncio and explained that the real cause was the lack of unity and interest on the part of the clergy. [Letter of P. Peláez to Nuncio Barili, 8 February 1863 in ASV, Arch. Nunz. Madrid, 447].

Case of Cavite, 1849-1851

In the late 1840s, some religious orders requested that parishes be turned over to their administration. Among them were the Franciscans, who, basing their claim on the royal decree of 1826,[50] petitioned Governor General Narciso Clavería in 1848 to transfer to them the parish of Quiapo. But Archbishop José Aranguren protested and pointed out that Quiapo was not a parish that was previously under their charge and thus, it was not covered by the provisions of the 1826 decree. As a consequence, the governor turned down the request of the Franciscans "for the present."[51]

This, however, was not the case with the parishes in Cavite. That same year, the Recoleto procurator in Madrid, Guillermo Agudo, requested that his order be given four parishes in Cavite.[52] He based his petition

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[50] In 1826, Ferdinand VII issued a royal decree which made permanent the suspension of the *cedula* of 9 November 1774. The 1774 *cedula* ordered that all religious parish priests, even those who had submitted to episcopal visitation and the regime of the *patronato*, were to be replaced by secular priests. On the other hand, the 1826 decree ended all projects of secularization in the Philippines and completely reversed the colonial government's policy of gradual secularization of parishes. It ordered that all parishes which were transferred to the secular clergy in the time of Archbishop Sancho de Santa Justa be returned to the religious orders as soon as they became vacant because of the death or the transfer of the incumbent secular parish priest. Furthermore, it prohibited any future secularization without the express consent of the king.

[51] J. Schumacher, *Revolutionary Clergy*, 5.

[52] According to "Quejas y exposiciones del clero secular de Cavite contra la Real Orden de 9 Marzo de 1849, que disponía pasasen al clero regular (Recoletos y Dominicos) la administración espiritual de siete parroquias que el clero indígena poseia en aquella provincia, 1849-1851," which is found in the Archives of the Philippine Province of the Society of Jesus [APPSJ] [a microfilm copy is also found in the microfilm section of the Rizal Library, Ateneo de Manila University (Quezon City, Philippines); see *Philippine Materials in Microform*, 135], the Recoletos had first asked for *all* the parishes of Cavite.

on two grounds: first, because they needed to place the *definidores*[53] of their order somewhere near Manila so that they could work more closely with their provincial, who was in the capital, and second, because their congregation possessed haciendas in that province.[54] These reasons, however, were actually without any merit. There was no need to set aside parishes in Cavite for the Recoleto *definidores* because their order already possessed other parishes in Manila for this purpose.

The necessity of assigning four parishes of Cavite for their *definidores* was a false necessity because they already held the towns of Caloocan and Las Piñas in the very province of Manila, that of Imus in Cavite, a beautiful church and magnificent *convento* in San Sebastian, a suburb of Manila, and another large church and spacious *convento* in the port of Cavite.[55]

Furthermore, the Recoletos had just been given additional parishes in the island of Negros.[56] They were not exactly in excess of members, and thus they were in no position to attend to all these curacies.[57]

When the request reached Archbishop Aranguren, he did not make any objection, but he did, however, declare that he found no acceptable reason to remove the native clergy from the parishes they administered

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[53] In the friar orders, the *definidores* were the ones who were "the advisors of the provincial and with whose consent certain matters could be decided outside the chapters. [They were] collectively referred to as *definitorio*." [John N. Schumacher, *Readings in Philippine Church History* (Quezon City: Loyola School of University, Ateneo de Manila University, 1979), 407].

[54] J. Schumacher, *Revolutionary Clergy*, 5.

[55] "Unsigned Letter of the Secular Clergy of Manila to the Regent of Spain Francisco Serrano" in J. Schumacher, *Burgos*, 225. J. Schumacher dates the letter between 1869 and 1871. [Ibid., 36].

[56] See Angel Martinez Cuesta, *History of Negros*, trans. Alfonso Felix, Jr. and Sor Caritas Sevilla (Manila Historical Conservation Society, 1980), 171-172. According to A. Martinez Cuesta, the scarcity of [secular] priests in the diocese of Cebu and the belief that the regular clergy could help stimulate the development of the island occasioned the turnover of the spiritual administration of Negros to the Recoletos.

[57] J. Schumacher, *Revolutionary Clergy*, 5.

for more than eighty years. Archbishop Aranguren further remarked that the reasons of the Recoleto procurator not only applied to the Recoletos but also to the Dominicans, who likewise possessed areas in Cavite. Unfortunately, this remark, which was probably intended to express a mild disapproval of the reasons cited by Agudo, was used by the colonial government against the Filipino secular priests. On 9 March 1849, the government promulgated a decree which not only awarded three parishes of the secular clergy to the Recoletos but also gave four parishes to the Dominicans, who had not even asked for them.[58]

The real motive behind the Recoleto procurator's petition remains rather unclear since the reasons he brought forward had existed long before the request was made. Moreover, the fact that no *definidores* were placed in the parishes until 1862 strongly suggests that this was not exactly the primary consideration. But the political motive behind the displacement of the Filipino clergy from the Cavite parishes appears to be rather obvious. The colonial government viewed the Filipino secular priests with suspicion and mistrust, and it was ready to remove them from any position of influence. Bishop Gainza pointed this out when he wrote to Nuncio Barili that it was basically a matter of government policy to exclude Filipinos from being parish priests because they were considered to be politically dangerous.[59]

Even before this incident, a "reverse secularization" had already been taking place, especially with the enforcement of the decree of 1826. But this transfer of parishes from the Filipino secular clergy to the Spanish regulars, carried out before 1849, was, to a certain extent, justified and

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[58] Pablo Fernandez, *Dominicos donde nace el sol: Historia de la Provincia del Santisimo Rosario de Filipinas de la Orden de Predicadores* (Barcelona: n.p., 1958), 383. The parishes of Bacoor, Cavite el Viejo and Silang were given to the Recoletos, while the parishes of Santa Cruz, San Francisco de Malabon, Naic and Indang went to the Dominicans. [Letter of Archbishop Martínez to the Regent of Spain Francisco Serrano, 31 December 1879 in J. Schumacher, *Burgos*, 195].

[59] Letter of F. Gainza to Nuncio Barili, 21 February 1862 in ASV, Arch. Nunz. Madrid. Gainza admitted that the initiative came from the Recoletos, but he told the nuncio that the colonial government used that incident to take away more parishes from the Filipino clergy. Gainza also said that at that time, he opposed the acceptance of the parishes from the government.

readily explained. First, it had a semblance of justice because it was viewed as a restoration of the parishes which were previously administered by the friars and which originally belonged to them in accordance with the regime of the *patronato real* – although it must be kept in mind that "on a higher level, of course, the permanent possession by religious of regularly organized parishes was against the policy of the church as enunciated by the Council of Trent and repeated by various popes."[60] Second, there was a widespread failure of the ill-trained Filipino secular priests to properly administer the parishes and hence the preference for religious parish priests was somehow understandable. Finally, the regular clergy "were primarily motivated by the fact that ... they had built and nurtured these parishes in the first place ... [and] naturally, they felt a certain sense of pride in their corporate accomplishments, and a desire to see the work they had begun further developed."[61]

The decree of 1849, however, was none other than a clear deprivation of the Filipino clergy in Cavite. The Cavite parishes which were handed over to the regular clergy had never belonged to them, but either had been founded by the secular clergy or had been entrusted to them when the Jesuits had been expelled from the Philippines.[62] In addition, the transfer occurred at a time when the quality of the Filipino secular priests had begun to improve through conscious efforts to raise their intellectual

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[60] J. Schumacher, *Burgos*, 10.

[61] J. Schumacher, *Revolutionary Clergy*, 4.

[62] "Letter of Secular Clergy" in J. Schumacher, *Burgos*, 227. In the letter, it was pointed out that there were only twelve parishes in Cavite in 1849. Four of these (Maragondon, Indang, Silang and Cavite el Viejo) were listed in the *Catalogus Christianorum quos Societas colit in Philippinis*, published in 1757, as among the ministries of the Jesuits. Three were founded after the Jesuit expulsion (Imus in 1797, Naic in 1797, Rosario (a) Salinas in 1845). On the other hand, the other five curacies (the port of Cavite, San Roque, Bacoor, San Francisco de Malabon, and Santa Cruz) had been parishes under the care of the secular clergy from the very beginning. Cavite thus became the principal area of the secular clergy in the archdiocese of Manila after the Jesuit parishes were handed over to them because of the Jesuit expulsion. The fact that a province close to the capital would be totally under the secular clergy was probably a cause of concern for the colonial government, and it may have been a factor in its decision to deprive the secular clergy of parishes.

and moral level. As a consequence, the decree provoked resentment among the native clergy in the archdiocese and it provoked them, for the first time, into collective action, under the leadership of Fr. Mariano Gomes,[63] the parish priest of Bacoor and vicar forane of Cavite, and Fr. Pedro Peláez, the secretary to the archbishop of Manila.

A representation to the queen was drafted, in which it was petitioned that either the 9 March 1849 decree be repealed or the Filipino clergy be compensated elsewhere for the parishes they were losing. Peláez supplied the final redactor of the *exposición*, most probably Gomes, with a number of suggestions and cautions. He reminded the latter that the issue of Filipino loyalty to Spain must be addressed since this was the colonial government's primary concern,[64] and that it was better to first show the *exposición* to Archbishop Aranguren (who was a Recoleto!) since it would come back to him for comments anyhow and since it was better

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[63] "Belonging to the generation before Peláez and without the academic preparation of the latter, [Mariano Gomes] appears nonetheless to have excelled his own contemporaries and to have achieved a position of leadership in Cavite. Relatively little is known with certainty of his life from contemporary sources, but it is clear that his involvement in the defense of the rights of the Filipino clergy dated at least from a period when [José] Burgos and [Jacinto] Zamora were still boys." [Ibid., 13] There are more than two hundred letters to and from Mariano Gomes in the AAM, covering a period of twenty-eight years. These give a picture of a parish priest who was zealous in carrying out his duties. [C. Quirino, "Documents on Gomburza," 22] For a biographical sketch of Mariano Gomes, see E. Arsenio Manuel, *Dictionary of Philippine Biography*, 2 vols. (Quezon City: Filipiniana Publications, 1955) 1: 195-199. See also Luciano P.R. Santiago, "The Capellania of P. Mariano Gomes, 1822-1872," *Philippine Studies* 32 (1984): 325-334 and idem, "Before Bacoor: The Initial Career of P. Mariano Gomes (1822-1824)," *Philippine Studies* 33 (1985): 87-92.

[64] Peláez was correct in this assessment. Even before the document could be drafted, there were rumors about pulpit protests and meetings of the Cavite priests, and even about a conspiracy, that reached Archbishop Aranguren. "Emphasizing that he himself had tried to defend the rights of the Filipino clergy, the archbishop insisted in his letter to Fr. Gomez on the need for absolute obedience to the dispositions of the government." [J. Schumacher, *Revolutionary Clergy*, 6].

to get his approval on the matter.[65] It is not known with certainty if the exposition had been presented at all to the queen,[66] but the native clergy did, however, publish its substance anonymously in the 8 March 1850 issue of the Madrid newspaper, *El Clamor Público*.[67] This article in *El Clamor Público* refuted the reasons brought forward by the Recoleto procurator Agudo for the transfer of the parishes, and it answered as well the questions on the competence and loyalty of the Filipino secular priests.[68]

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[65] J. Schumacher, *Burgos*, 12.

[66] In his *Revolutionary Clergy*, J. Schumacher asserts that the exposition was not presented to the government (p. 6), although in his book *Burgos*, he says, "It would seem that this document was actually sent to the queen." (p. 12, footnote 15).

[67] The article of the native clergy was reprinted in Pedro Peláez, *Documentos importantes para la cuestion pendiente sobre la provision de curatos en Filipinas* (Madrid: El Clamor Público, 1863), 78-85.

[68] The Recoleto procurator Agudo responded to the native clergy's article by arguing that since the parishes had been founded by the regular clergy (that is, the Jesuits), they should be returned to the regular clergy: "Es otro error suponer que los Eclesiasticos Regulares no tienen alli aptitud por derecho para ser Curas; pero no es nuestro objeto enumerar todas las equivocaciones que ha padecido el comunicante, porque seria una tarea larga y penosa, y para nuestro propósito basta observar que todas las reflexiones que se hacen en el articulo a que contestamos, carecen de fundamento en la parte doctrinal, y de exactidud en cuanto a los hechos, pues la provincia de Cavite era fundacion de los Padres Jesuitas, y el Clero Secular la administraba con el carácter de interinidad, como no podia menos de suceder, habiendo sido la conquista espiritual de dicha provincia, obra esclusiva del cello evangélico de los Regulares." [Ibid., 85]. Peláez answered Agudo's article with two letters, which assembled an impressive array of arguments from history and canon law. [The text of these two letters is also in P. Peláez, *Documentos importantes*, 86-102].

But Peláez and Gomes realized that the newspaper campaign was not enough. In May 1851, they solicited contributions from the native priests in order to raise funds for an agent in Madrid, who would work for the revocation of the 1849 decree and the restoration of the Cavite parishes which the secular clergy lost. A letter[69] which circulated among the native clergy explained the project:

The bulk of the money gathered will be reserved to reward the person in Madrid who brings this affair to a successful completion. He will receive one-half when the royal order is issued revoking the previous order. The other half will be given him when the order is executed here in the Philippines, because it will be part of his task to obtain from influential persons in Madrid urgent recommendations for the governor of these islands, his assessor and secretary, and for the fiscal of Her Majesty, that they carry out immediately the above-mentioned sovereign disposition.[70]

A list of the contributors to the project has survived and it shows that nearly all the native priests in Cavite supported the plan. In addition, there was a considerable number of priest-contributors from Manila and the nearby provinces of Batangas and Laguna. Unfortunately, however, the campaign was not successful. It did not achieve its goal. The royal order was not revoked and the Cavite parishes were taken away from the Filipino clergy. Neither did it change the policy of the government toward the Filipino clergy. Nevertheless, this failed initiative was important because as it has been previously pointed out, it marked the first collective action of the Filipino clergy to defend their rights.

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[69] The complete text of this confidential letter to the secular clergy of the Philippines, which was dated May 1851, can be found in J. Schumacher, *Burgos*, 47-49.

[70] Ibid., 49.

The Decree of 10 September 1861

In 1859, the Jesuits, who were officially restored in the Philippines by the royal decree of 19 October 1852,[71] set foot on the islands for the first time since they were expelled in 1768. That year, the royal *cedula* dated 30 July was issued and it decreed in article 13 that the newly-restored Jesuits were to take over the spiritual care of the island of Mindanao and were to occupy the existing parishes there. The decree stipulated that in order to ensure a unified effort in Christianizing Mindanao, where little progress had been made towards the evangelization of the Muslims and the mountain peoples,[72] the Jesuits were to take charge not only of the new mission territories, but also of the parishes along the coast, which could serve as the base from which the missions into the interior of the island would work.[73] The Recoletos, who possessed these parishes

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[71] This decree actually provided for a reorganization of the Church in the Philippines, especially the missions in Mindanao. The principal provisions of this decree can be found in Pablo Pastells, *Misión de la Compañia de Jesus en el siglo XIX*, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Editorial Barcelonesa, 1916-1917), 1: 6-11 and in A. Uy, *State of the Church in the Philippines*, 75-78.

[72] "For two centuries or more, Spain's control of the southern islands had been little more than nominal, except for a certain number of coastal towns, mostly in the north of Mindanao, which had been evangelized by the Jesuits and Recoletos. When the former had been expelled in 1768, their parishes and missions had passed on to the Recoletos, but due to the grave shortage of personnel ... little progress had been made towards the evangelization of the mountain peoples, to say nothing of the Muslims. Spanish concern had been aroused by the increasing British, French and German attention to the southern islands, and the necessity of making Spanish occupation an effective reality had turned Spanish government thinking to the revival of the missions." [J. Schumacher, *Burgos*, 14].

[73] P. Pastells, *Misión de la Compañia de Jesus*, 1: 22-23.

along the coast, were surprised and taken aback by the order to abandon the spiritual administration of the island and to transfer everything to the Jesuits.[74] Naturally, they protested because they founded some of these parishes while the others, which were transferred to them when the Jesuits had been expelled, had already been administered by them

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[74] "But then, suddenly when nobody had an inkling, our Superiors were confronted with a Royal Decree ordering them to abandon forever the spiritual administration of Mindanao and turn it over to the priests of the Society of Jesus." [Licinio Ruiz de Santa Eulalia, *Sinopsis histórica de la Provincia de S. Nicolas de Tolentino de las Islas Filipinas de la Orden de Agustinos Recoletos* (Manila, 1925), 2: 254, quoted in P. Schreurs, "The Troubles They Have Seen: Caraga and the Recoletos in the Nineteenth Century," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 15 (1987): 212]. Licinio Ruiz says that "the principal reason motivating the Royal decision was a report of the Bishop of Cebu dated 26 November 1857 wherein the prelate asked that once the Society of Jesus had been re-established in all Spanish dominions, this Society should be given the spiritual administration of the part of Mindanao comprising the Districts of Bislig, Davao, the province of Zamboanga, the island of Basilan and other places located east and south of the island. The reason was that the large size of Mindanao with its one and a half million inhabitants consisting of Christians, pagans and Muslims, made it very difficult for the Recoletos to attend to all the villages and new mission-stations." [L. Ruiz de Santa Eulalia, *Sinopsis histórica*, 2: 255, quoted in P. Schreurs, "Caraga and the Recoletos," 213]. According to L. Ruiz de Santa Eulalia, the Recoletos were not aware of the reasons why Bishop Jimeno made such a request, but it was clear from the 26 November 1857 letter that the bishop was convinced that "efforts and the resources of the Recoletos alone were insufficient to play the role expected from them in contemporary government plans for Mindanao" [P. Schreurs, "Caraga and the Recoletos," 213]. Here is an excerpt of the bishop's letter: "The complete conquest of Mindanao, until now not feasible, becomes now possible with the help of the re-established Jesuits ... the Bishops proposes that the administration of the established pueblos in the District of Bislig, and others, shall be ceded to the Jesuits, so that initially the new missionaries will have a foothold where they can start their ministry; afterwards they can penetrate in various directions to the mountains in the interior and to other places inhabited by pagans or Muslim yet to be converted." [Letter of Bishop Jimeno to the Queen, 26 November 1857 in the Archivo Provincial de los Agustinos Recoletos, Marcilla, Navarra, España (APAR), leg. 62-1, quoted in P. Schreurs, "Caraga and the Recoletos," 213].

for nearly a hundred years.[75] But the objections of the Recoletos did not convince the government to reconsider its decision. On 10 September 1861, another decree was issued.[76] It repeated the previous instruction that the Jesuits were to take over the Recoleto parishes in Mindanao as soon as they would become vacant through the death or transfer of the incumbent parish priest. In addition, it stipulated that as recompense for the parishes they were turning over to the Jesuits, the Recoletos were to be given parishes in Cavite or elsewhere, which were administered by the native clergy, as soon as these would become vacant, in the same way indicated for the Recoleto parishes in Mindanao.[77] Eventually, the Recoletos yielded and submitted to the demands of the 1861 decree. Writing to Bishop Romualdo Jimeno of Cebu, the Recoleto provincial Juan Félix de la Encarnación[78] informed the latter that due to the death of its parish priest, the parish of Mainit was vacant and that he was turning it over in compliance with the royal decree.[79] A few months later,

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[75] See, for instance, the letter of Fr. Antonio Ubeda to Governor José Lemery, 4 March 1861 in Guillermo Agudo and Celestino Mayordomo, *Complemento de los Documentos del folleto de 14 Noviembre de este año de 1863 sobre cuestion de curatos* (Madrid: El Clamor Público, 1863), 12-15. Fr. Ubeda writes that the decree of 30 July 1859 would result in great damages ("los grandes daños morales y materials") for the Recoletos, who had labored in Mindanao for more than two hundred years. He suggests that the government retain the Recoletos in the island since they can be of service both to the Church and the state.

[76] The text of the decree was reprinted in P. Peláez, *Documentos importantes*, 104-105. An English translation can be found in J. Schumacher, *Burgos*, 215-217.

[77] P. Pastells, *Misión de la Campañia de Jesus*, 1: 23; L. Ruiz de Santa Eulalia, *Sinopsis histórica*, 2: 264, quoted in P. Schreurs, "Caraga and the Recoletos," 215.

[78] P. Juan Felix de la Encarnación had been the superior of the Provincia de S. Nicolas de Tolentino de Filipinas for two terms: 1849-1852 and 1861-1864.

[79] Letter of the Recoleto provincial to Bishop Jimeno, 10 February 1862 in APAR, Leg. 49 "Oficios," p. 252, quoted in P. Schreurs, "Caraga and the Recoletos," 215-216.

on 14 August 1862, the same provincial wrote to the governor general that he was handing over the curacies of Lubungan and Bislig, and the missions of Davao, Pollok and Isabel.[80]

The 1861 decree, which failed to provide "compensation" for the native clergy's losses, as it had done for those of the Recoletos, was clearly detrimental to the Filipino secular priests. Naturally, the latter raised objections and protested the royal order. Pedro Peláez, who, as vicar capitular, was then governing the archdiocese *sede vacante*, sent an *informe* dated 18 September 1861 to Governor General José Lemery, in which he presented the "convenience, not to mention the necessity," of temporarily suspending the execution of the royal decree, at least until the archdiocesan see was no longer vacant and Archbishop Martínez arrived.[81] This suggestion, however, was completely ignored.[82] The following year, Peláez protested anew. On 10 March 1862, he sent a

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[80] The letter of the provincial can be found in Guillermo Agudo and Celestino Mayordomo, *Importantisima cuestion que puede afectar gravamente a la existencia de las islas Filipinas* (Madrid: El Clamor Público, 1863), 22-23. But even with these early turn-over gestures, "it appears that the Recoletos did not abandon Mainit and Bislig immediately. The last Recoleto left Mainit and Bislig only in 1871, Surigao also in 1871, Gigaquit in 1872, Butuan and Bunawan in 1875, Numancia in 1882 and Tandag in 1884." [P. Schreurs, "Caraga and the Recoletos," 216].

[81] The report of Peláez to Governor Lemery can be found in Isacio Rodriguez and Jesús Alvarez, "Inquietud en la Iglesia de Filipinas: amovilidad e inamovilidad del Clero regular," *Archivo Agustiniano* 82 (1998): 237-241. F. Gainza wrote to Nuncio Barili that he toned down Peláez' draft since he considered it much wiser to present the suspension as a temporary measure so as not to have a conflict of a political nature with the colonial government. [Letter of Fr. Gainza to Nuncio Barili, 25 December 1862 in ASV, Arch. Nunz. Madrid, 447].

[82] F. Gainza explained that with what happened in Latin America, the colonial government in Manila was fixed on its position and wanted that it would be obeyed. [Letter of Fr. Gainza to Nuncio Barili, 21 February 1862 in ASV, Arch. Nunz. Madrid, 447].

letter to Governor Lemery, and petitioned the latter to repeal the 1861 decree.[83] Asserting that the decree was harmful to the secular clergy, Peláez pointed out that the Filipino secular priests were very numerous and yet they only possessed very few parishes. He argued that to take away from them the very few parishes that they had was to further sink them into abjection and misery since it would mean that they would have very little hope of advancing in their career and that they would most likely remain as coadjutors to the religious parish priests. In other words, there was no incentive for the secular priests, whose being native did not hinder them from rendering good service to the Church. According to Peláez, this was not very good because both the Church and the state were bound to suffer in having a secular clergy *sin estímulos, aspiraciones ni educación.* In addition, the vicar capitular of Manila argued that no harm would result, not even to the Recoletos, if the decree were not implemented. He reminded Governor Lemery of the Cavite parish transfers in the early 1850s, when the Recoletos had received parishes without handing over any ministry to the Jesuits or any other religious order. This, he asserted, was the reason why it was not urgent to give them more. Moreover, he pointed out that the Recoletos were lacking members and in fact, were not able to assign anyone to their parishes in Cebu, Manila and Cardona, and thus, they need not be given any more curacies. Twelve days letter, the cathedral chapter, which was without any doubt led by Peláez, also sent an *exposición* to the queen, and presented their case.[84] They protested against the 1861 decree, and asked that it be repealed, but nothing came out of this.

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[83] The text of this letter can be found in P. Peláez, *Documentos importantes*, 105-111 as well as in I. Rodriguez and J. Álvarez, "Inquietud en la Iglesia de Filipinas," 242-258. I. Rodriguez makes valuable comments on the points raised by Peláez, and provides a rather balanced perspective from the side of the regulars.

[84] The text of their *exposición* can be found in P. Peláez, *Documentos importantes*, 112-114 as well as in I. Rodriguez and J. Álvarez, "Inquietud en la Iglesia de Filipinas," 258-362.

On 20 June 1862, a royal decree was issued in response to Governor Lemery's inquiry regarding the 1861 *cedula.*[85] This royal order clarified the procedure for transferring parishes and it further specified that the parishes to be used to compensate the Recoletos were parishes of the archdiocese of Manila administered by the native clergy.[86] The Filipino clergy once more protested because such an arrangement would practically reduce many of them to being permanent coadjutors[87]to the religious parish priests since there would only be about a dozen parishes in the whole archdiocese for some four hundred secular priests. As Archbishop Martínez was to point out later:

If we deduct from those pertaining to the secular clergy those which had to be restored by virtue of the royal cedula of 1826, those which the royal order of 1849 disposed should be handed over to the Recoletos and the Dominicans, and the twenty-seven which, according to the cedula of 10 September 1861, are to be used to compensate the parishes and missions which the Recoletos are to hand over to the Jesuits in Mindanao, there will remain only twelve to reward deserving coadjutors. The priests of this latter class ... are very numerous.[88]

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[85] Text of this decree in P. Peláez, *Documentos importantes*, 114.

[86] "Con el objeto de resolver las dudas ocurridas respecto á la inteligencia de dicha Real órden, ha tenido á bien declarar S. M. que, si al vacar los referidos Curatos en los terminus que la misma Real órden previene, no existiesen Jesuitas que se encarguen de ellos, contínuen proveyéndose como hasta aqui en Religiosos Agustinos Recoletos; y que solamente llegado el caso de la vacante y de la entrega á la Compañia de Jesus, sea cuando se indemnizase á la provincia de San Nicolas de Tolentino con otro de los Curatos de la de Cavite ó de la Diócesis de Manila, que estuviese servido por el Clero indigena y vacara de la manera dispuesta en la mencionada Real órden." [Ibid., 114].

[87] "For all the racial, personal, vocational shortcomings of the native clergy, it was the general opinion that they were necessary. And this was, again, the source of a problem. The regulars, and to some extent Bishops Gainza, Jimeno, and Aragonés, were of the opinion they were not fit and safe as parish priests; but they would make useful coadjutors." [A. Uy, *State of the Church in the Philippines*, 69].

[88] Letter of Archbishop Martínez to the Regent of Spain Francisco Serrano, 31 December 1879 in J. Schumacher, *Burgos*, 201-203.

Moreover, the displacement was precisely in Manila where the Filipino secular priests were better formed and better educated, many of them, in fact, having advanced degrees in canon law and theology.[89] It was clear, therefore, that the displacement of the Filipino clergy from the parishes was not due to their incompetence and incapacity. Rather, it was because of political and discriminatory reasons.

Around this time, the parish of Antipolo,[90] one of the wealthiest parishes in the country, became vacant, and Peláez quickly appointed Francisco Campmas, a Filipino secular priest, as interim parish priest. The Recoletos contested the vacancy under the 1861 decree. Their provincial, Fr. Encarnación, submitted a *terna* to Governor General Rafael Echague, from which the latter, as vice-royal patron, might designate one to the parish of Antipolo. The governor subsequently chose and presented the Recoleto Francisco Villas de San Lorenzo to Archbishop Martínez, who had just arrived to take possession of his see.[91] The archbishop of

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[89] J. Schumacher, *Revolutionary Clergy*, 9.

[90] "One of the quaintest and best known pueblos of eighteenth century Filipinas was Antipolo. The town was situated in the hills twenty kilometers east of Manila ... [it] had been a mission and then a parish of the Jesuits since the late sixteenth century. It became famous as the home of the Virgin ... For having protected the galleons and crossed the ocean so many times as well as having staunchly delivered her devotees from the enemy, she was named Nuestra Señora de la Paz y Buen Viaje ... The pueblo of Antipolo flourished both from its shrine [of the Virgin] and its location near Manila during the decades of development of trade and agriculture and growth of population ... The curacy has become very rich since the 1740s. It was a worthy prize; it was known as the 'pearl of the curacies.'" [O. D. Corpuz, *Roots of the Nation*, 465-467]. After the Jesuits were expelled in 1768, the parish of Antipolo was turned over to the secular clergy since there were no Spanish seculars, and thus, it became a Filipino curacy. That would be changed by the 1861 decree.

[91] See G. Agudo and C. Mayordomo, *Importantisima cuestion*, 20-22.

Manila gave Villas canonical installation, but he did so under protest because he considered the Recoleto claim to be outside the scope of the 1861 decree.[92] Expectedly, the Antipolo incident elicited complaints from the Filipino clergy. But their earlier protests against the 1861 decree was already answered by the royal order of 31 July 1862, which demanded that the previous royal decrees be immediately carried out, *sin escusa ni tergiversación alguna*,[93] and thus, it was rather unlikely that the colonial government would side with them in the Antipolo case.

Was the Recoleto claim to Antipolo valid? It appears that Archbishop Martínez was justified in opposing the transfer "on the grounds that Antipolo was no longer vacant at the time that the royal decree became legally effective."[94] Peláez appointed Campmas on 13 January 1862. This was before Mainit became vacant due to the death of its Recoleto parish priest on 10 February 1862, and before the 20 June 1862 decree designating the parishes in Manila administered by the native clergy as the "source" for recompensing the Recoletos. Moreover, when Fr.

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[92] In his letter to the regent of Spain, Archbishop Martínez wrote that "his position was not very far from wrong, since the council of state, meeting in a plenary session, adhered to his opinion, as may be seen from the royal order of 19 May 1864, which makes use of the formula: the council of state having been heard." [Letter of Archbishop Martínez to the Regent of Spain, 31 December 1870 in J. Schumacher, *Burgos*, 197-199]. Note, however, that this royal order confirmed the turnover of the parishes to the Recoletos, despite the opinion of the council of state, and despite the protests of the secular clergy.

[93] The text of the decree can be found in G. Agudo and C. Mayordomo, *Importantisima cuestion*, 31.

[94] J. Schumacher, *Revolutionary Clergy*, 9.

Encarnación presented the *terna* to the governor and asked for the parish of Antipolo, the Jesuits had not yet taken over any parish in Mindanao,[95] and the Filipino secular priests were still in active possession of the Cavite parishes and of Antipolo. While it is true that in compliance with the 1861 decree, the Recoletos "vacated" the parishes of Lubungan, Bislig, Davao, Pollok and Isabela, as their provincial declared in his 14 August 1862 letter to Governor Echangue,[96] it must be pointed out that they actually continued to administer these parishes for quite some time[97]– with the exception of the Isabela mission in Basilan which was handed over to the Jesuit Francisco Ceballos in September 1862 – since the Jesuits did not have the personnel to take over these curacies.[98] In other words, the Recoletos were asking for Antipolo when they had not

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[95] The group of Jesuits led by Fr. José Fernandez Cuevas, and composed of six priests and four brothers, left Cadiz on 4 February 1859 and arrived in Manila on 14 April of that year. They first stayed in Manila and worked in schools, and in 1862, a group composed of one priest and two brothers reached Mindanao. See Horacio de la Costa, "The Society of Jesus in the Philippines, 1581-1959," *Philippine Studies* 7 (1959): 83-85. Nuncio Barili wrote to F. Gainza that he was informed by the Jesuit provincial in Spain that from what the provincial knew of the Philippines, no Jesuit has taken over any parish yet. [Letter of Nuncio Barili to F. Gainza, 21 October 1862 in ASV, Arch. Nunz. Madrid, 447]. See also the letter of Governor Rafael Echague to the Recoleto provincial Juan Felix de la Encarnación, dated 30 September 1862, in which Governor Echague approves the nomination of the Jesuit Francisco Ceballos to the parish of Isabela (in Basilan). Up until that time, therefore, only one Jesuit had taken over a Recoleto parish in Mindanao. The letter of Governor Echague can be found in G. Agudo and C. Mayordomo, *Complemento de los Documentos*, 23.

[96] The text of the letter can be found in G. Agudo and C. Mayordomo, *Complemento de los Documentos*, 22.

[97] See footnote 80 above.

[98] "La compañia de Jesus no cuenta hoy con personal disponibile para servir aquellos ministerios, á escepcion de la mision de la Isabela para la que propone el Superior de la órden al Padre Ceballos." [G. Agudo and C. Mayordomo, *Complemento de los Documentos*, 23].

yet handed over any parish to the Jesuits. This was clearly an incorrect and perhaps, even a twisted, interpretation of the 1861 decree. Before they could have an "indemnification" in Antipolo or elsewhere in the archdiocese of Manila, it was necessary that the Jesuits take over one or more of their parishes in Mindanao.[99]

Reform attempts and polemics

All these developments related to the 1861 decree, particularly the Antipolo affair, further divided the Filipino secular clergy and the Spanish religious orders. The conflict between the two over the parishes became more aggravated and complicated when an attempt to carry out reforms in the Church was made. In 1863, the three bishops, Archbishop Gregorio Melitón Martínez of Manila, Bishop Romualdo Jimeno of

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[99] This is actually the point made by Nuncio Barili when he remarked that the Antipolo transfer was unjust. For Nuncio Barili, it was necessary that the Recoletos leave first the parishes in Mindanao, before they can receive any in Cavite. [Letter of Nuncio Barth to F. Gainza, 21 October 1862 in ASV, Arch. Nunz. Madrid, 447]. He was reacting therefore to the fact that the Recoletos were already asking for Antipolo when they had not yet left any parish in Mindanao. On the other hand, Francisco Campmas, the interim parish priest of Antipolo at this time, declared that it was not enough that there was a vacancy in Mindanao. "No basta que se verifique la vacante de uno o mas Curatos de Mindanao, sino que ha de verificarse además indispensablemente la entrega real y efectiva a los Misioneros Jesuitas; y de consiguiente, la fecha de la entrega de un Curato a estos es la que debe tenerse en cuenta pare determinar el Curato que corresponda dar en indemnizacion a los Recoletos; y es claro y evidente que debe ser el Curato de esta Diócesis que haya vacado ó vacare despues de la entrega del de Mindanao." [Letter of Francisco Campmas, 8 January 1863 in P. Peláez, *Documentos importantes*, 116]. He was saying, in other words, that the Jesuit must first take over the vacant parish in Mindanao before any indemnification to the Recoletos can be made. One can see in Campmas' line of reasoning the premise that the Recoletos would be willing to vacate their "difficult" parishes in Mindanao just so that they can get the "richer" parishes in Manila. Now, it is interesting to note that the Recoleto provincial Juan Felix de la Encarnación wrote to Bishop Jimeno of Cebu, on 18 May 1863, less than a year after the Recoletos received the parish of Antipolo, that "the parishes of Cavite, and more so Antipolo, are going to be ill-fated, and that ill fate will involve upheavals of incalculable dimensions." [L. Ruiz de Santa Eulalia, *Sinopsis histórica*, 2; 278, quoted in P Schruers, "Caraga and the Recoletos," 216]. But why then did they insist on taking the parishes in Manila?

Cebu and Bishop Francisco Gainza of Nueva Cáceres, met with the provincials of the different religious orders in the Philippines, namely, Juan Felix de la Encarnación, OAR, Benito Quintana, OFM, Rafael de Castro, OP, Felipe Fernandez, OSA, and Jose Cuevas, SJ.[100] The meeting was held in order to discuss the problems and the challenges facing the Church in the Philippines, and to undertake the appropriate measures of reform. The result was a series of documents, or *exposiciones*, drafted primarily by Bishop Gainza, which were then presented by the bishops to the government.[101] Two of these reform measures antagonized some members of the regular clergy and led to bitter polemic. The first was the *Exposición sobre la amovilidad*, which proposed that religious parish priests be *amovibles ad nutum*. This meant that they could be removed from the parishes both by the diocesan prelate and the regular [superior] *aequo jure*, and without the obligation of one manifesting to the other the reasons of the removal; consequently, without the process, sentence or the judicial procedure.[102]

The proposal actually called for the restoration of a general law of the Church, which had been earlier abrogated by the royal *cedula* of 1795. Issued by Carlos IV, this royal decree stipulated that religious parish priests could not be removed from their parishes without a formal ecclesiastical trial. In their exposition, the bishops asked for the revocation of the 1795 *cedula*, which they considered to be the cause of the weakening of religious observance and discipline. The other reform measure dealt

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[100] Bishop Jimeno came to Manila in early 1863 to assist Archbishop Martinez at the consecration of F. Gainza as bishop of Nueva Cáceres. On that occasion, these reform-minded bishops decided to meet with the provincials of the religious orders in order to resolve the problems afflicting the Church in the Philippines.

[101] There were five *expociones* that were produced: (1) the exposition for the revocation of the royal *cedula* of 1795, (2) one on the rank and position of the archbishop and bishops in the Consejo de Administración, (3) another on the endowment of officials of the episcopal curia, (4) one on the *privilegium fori* of parish priests, and (5) an exposition requesting the Vincentians to take over the conciliar seminaries of Cebu and Nueva Segovia. [A. Uy, *State of the Church in the Philippines*, 142, footnote 13].

[102] Ibid., 141.

with the question of *clausura.* The bishops called for the reestablishment of the law of cloister in the parish *conventos.* This was the currènt practice among the Dominicans and the Jesuits, but it was not being observed in the other orders during the nineteenth century.

The bishops had hoped that they could get the support of the provincials of the religious orders regarding these reform measures.[103] But that did not happen. Although some religious agreed on the need for reforms,[104] others interpreted these proposals as an unjust attack on the regular clergy, especially since these measures were to be applied only to them, and not to the secular clergy, who, in their opinion, were much more in need of reform.[105] Moreover, there were those who considered the *amovilidad* exposition as providing an excuse to deprive the regulars of parishes, so that the seculars could step in and take over. According to the Dominican provincial Domingo Treserra, this was the reason why prominent Filipino priests, like Pedro Peláez, supported the bishops' *amovilidad* proposal. Finally, there were others who also asserted that the *amovilidad* issue was contributing to an atmosphere of political instability

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[103] The different religious orders had opposed the 1795 *cedula* when it was introduced and the bishops were counting on them to support their proposal to revoke this royal *cedula.*

[104] For instance, Domingo Treserra, the provincial of the Dominicans, asserted that his opposition to the bishops' proposal was not because of fear of reforms. In fact, he agreed with it, "in its substance, object and end." However, he considered the matter anti-Spanish and anti-religious, and thus, he exerted efforts – and he would be successful in this – to have the bishops withdraw the proposal. [Ibid., 143-148].

[105] This was the criticism of G. Agudo and C. Mayordomo, because in fact, the bishops' *exposicion* did not utter one word on the secular clergy. [See G. Agudo and C. Mayordomo, *Importantisima cuestion*, 12]. Archbishop Martínez would recognize this shortcoming in the bishops' proposal. "In a later document of 1871 the archbishop was to acknowledge his mistake, and to ask (unsuccessfully) that the measure be applied equally to regular and secular clergy, averring that he had always intended it to be so, but that he had thought it better to ask it for the religious, since this was merely an application of the general law of the Church." [J. Schumacher, *Burgos*, 16].

since it was provoking ideas of "revolution" and "independence." This was closely related to the notion that undermining the religious orders was putting at risk the Spanish control over the islands. In the end, the reform measures became enmeshed with the whole issue of the parishes and the growing conflict between the Filipino secular clergy and the Spanish religious orders.[106] It was during this period that Pedro Peláez published anonymously his *Documentos importantes para la cuestion pendiente de curatos en Filipinas*,[107] which was a collection of documents favoring, as can be expected, the Filipino secular clergy. In this collection, he reprinted three works of Archbishop Basilio Sancho de Santa Justa y Rufina, namely, the 15 November 1768 exposition to Pope Clement XIII, the representation to Carlos III dated 10 May 1768, and the 1 October 1768 memorial to Carlos III, which brought back all the old polemics against the regular clergy.[108] Peláez likewise included a series of documents and letters directed to the periodical *El Clamor Público*, which supported and lauded the aspirations of the Filipino clergy in the matter of the parishes. With this publication, he took the offensive against the Spanish friars and argued against the recent deprivations of the Filipino secular priests, namely, the transfer of their parishes to the Recoletos.

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[106] P. Treserra was successful in convincing the two other Dominican bishops Jimeno and Gainza to withdraw their support. Archbishop Martínez was thus left alone in advocating the amovilidad of the religious parish priests. Because of the erroneous interpretation given to the bishops' proposal, Archbishop Martínez asked the governor general on 3 September 1863 to suspend the course of the exposition. [A. Uy, *State of the Church in the Philippines*, 148].

[107] For Peláez' authorship of *Documentos importantes*, see Wenceslao E. Retana, *Aparato bibliográfico de la historia general de Filipinas*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Minuesa de los Ríos, 1906), 2, no. 1030. Retana wrote that "en esta importante colección trátase de probar, con documentos fehacientes, que los frailes no podían desempeñar legítimamente en propriedad parroquias." This compilation of Peláez is also cited [and praised] by Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, *Biblioteca filipina* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1903), nos. 873-877.

[108] "It was particularly the documents of Sancho de Santa Justa which were resented by the friars. From Peláez these documents were to pass into the writings of Burgos, and later to reappear frequently in the antifriar articles of Marcelo de Filar in *La Solidaridad*." [J. Schumacher, *Burgos*, 17, footnote 28].

The publication of Peláez' pamphlet provoked great resentment among the regular clergy. A few months after it came out, the Augustinian and Recoleto procurators in Madrid, Celestino Mayordomo, OSA and Guillermo Agudo, OAR, began to attack the Filipino clergy and Archbishop Martínez – whom they accused of being anti-religious and siding with the native clergy – with their articles in the Madrid newspapers, *La Regeneración*, *La Esperanza*, and *La Verdad*.[109] As a counter-reply to Peláez' compilation, the two procurators published *Importantisima cuestion que puede afectar gravamente a la existencia de las Islas Filipinas*, a collection of fifteen documents, which carried an introductory essay written by the two religious.[110] In this publication, as a response to the writings of Archbishop Sancho which were resurrected by Peláez, the two religious procurators reprinted documents – nearly all of which were written in the first half of the nineteenth century – which came from a number of governors general and other colonial officials. These documents not only criticized the inadequacy and the abuses of the native priests, but they also hurled suspicions and accusations against the loyalty of the Filipino clergy to Spain. That same year, the two procurators published another pamphlet, *Complemento de los Documentos del folleto de 14 Noviembre de este año de 1863 sobre cuestion de curatos*, which included more than twenty documents, including articles on the *inamovilidad* of the regular clergy

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[109] Two of these newspapers, namely *La Regeneración* and *La Esperanza*, were run by the religious orders. [A. Uy, *State of the Church in the Philippines*, 152]. The attacks continued for quite some time, and Archbishop Martínez was tempted to fight back and subsidize a newspaper himself. Nuncio Barili, however, dissuaded him from carrying out his plan. [Ibid., 149; J. Schumacher, *Burgos*, 17].

[110] Some of the documents compiled by Agudo and Mayordomo in *Importantísima cuestión* had been published in 1826 by the Augustinian procurator, Francisco Villacorta, in *Papeles interesantes a los regulares que en las Islas Filipinas administran la cura de almas* in Madrid. Villacorta's work was later reprinted in 1838 in Valladolid. [The Valladolid edition was the one used in this study for comparing the contents of *Papeles interesantes* with those of *Importantísima cuestión*.] In 1897, G. Agudo reprinted anew most of the documents in *Importantísima cuestión* in Documentos interesantes acerca de la secularisación y amovilidad de los curas regulares de Filipinas (Madrid: Minresa de los Rios, 1897). The documents in all these compilations were derogatory of the Filipino clergy, questioning their ability and their loyalty to Spain.

like "Inamovilidad de los curas por derecho divino," "Inamovilidad de los curas por derecho ecclesiástico," and "Aplicación del Derecho canónico divino de la inamovilidad a los Religiosos curas, especialmente de Filipinas."

The friars' position in this question of *amovilidad* was strongly influenced by their view of the reform proposal as an attack against themselves and as a ploy to remove them from the parishes in favor of the secular clergy. The strategy they used in defending themselves and their rights to the parishes consisted in downgrading the abilities of the Filipino secular clergy and in questioning their loyalty to Spain. They raised the specter of political instability, and even revolution, in order to stress their claim that the reform measure was disastrous both for the Church and the state. This was rather unfortunate because it only intensified the suspicions against the Filipino secular priests and exacerbated the negative opinion about them.

The position of Peláez

In May 1863, Peláez wrote to Nuncio Barili in Madrid regarding a matter which he claimed the nuncio had some idea, namely, the transfer to the Recoletos of almost all of the secular clergy's parishes in Manila, which he asserted was carried out simply because the Recoletos were Spaniards and most of the secular clergy were natives.[111] To this letter dated 22 May 1863, Peláez attached a copy of an essay entitled "Brebes apuntes sobre la cuestion de curatos de Filipinas," which he had sent to the new minister or director of Ultramar.[112] This work of Peláez, which

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[111] Letter of Peláez to Nuncio Barili, 22 May 1863 in ASV, Arch. Nunz. Madrid, 447.

[112] The recent changes in the Ultramar Ministry and the suggestion of someone in the Ministry who was sympathetic to the Filipino clergy convinced Peláez to send these "brief notes" to Ultramar. He also sent a copy to Nuncio Barili so that the latter could help in influencing the director of Ultramar.

has never been published,[113] was to be his last defense of the rights of the Filipino clergy. Divided into four sections, "Brebes apuntes" presents the essential points of his position on the whole issue of the parishes and the secular clergy.

"Brebes apuntes" reflects a Peláez who was very much concerned about the rights of the Filipino clergy and who saw the importance of carrying out reforms in the Church in the Philippines. Unfortunately, the cause he was fighting for as viewed by some as disastrous both for the Church and for Spain. Shortly after his death in the earthquake of June 1863, an article appeared in the newspaper *La Verdad*, which declared that the earthquake had providentially prevented the uprising under his leadership.

There were people disposed to attempt rebellion. Hence, it may be inferred how certain it is that all those who directly or indirectly try to downgrade, to kill, or to take away the prestige and moral force which our Spanish missionaries have there, and which it is so necessary to preserve in those islands, necessary help (even without adverting to it) those of bad intention in their efforts at emancipation. Take care, take care, our enemies are clever and astute. And if they find someone to hide them with his shadow, they will be daring and venturesome.[114]

This was actually the rumor that spread in Manila after Peláez's death: that there was a separatist movement under his leadership that was set to massacre the Spaniards and the friars during the Corpus Christi procession. The Dominican provincial Treserra appeared to have believed this. In his letter to Nuncio Barili, he said that we would

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[113] A summary of "Brebes apuntes" is given in A. Uy, *State of the Church in the Philippines*, 241-245. The summary of Uy, however, is not quite organized and it does not follow the division of Peláez' work. Moreover, he attributed the recommendations found in the last part of "Brebes apuntes" to the letter which accompanied the notes.

[114] J. Schumacher, *Burgos*, 101.

have been victims of the revolution on the day of Corpus Christi – friars and Spaniards in the procession – leading one to suspect that Peláez and [Ignacio] Ponce [another Filipino member of the cathedral chapter] were the ringleaders of such wickedness.[115]

Although he did not give any names, Archbishop Martínez also reported the rumor:

With the terror which that terrible event left in the minds coincided rumors that there was a conspiracy against the regulars which would have broken out at the conclusion of the Corpus (Christi) procession; that threatening anonymous letters against them were circulating; and that two of the prebendaries who died in the ruins of the cathedral had concocted this infamous plots.[116]

This was not the first time that this accusation was hurled against Peláez. Even before his death, there were already rumors that circulated among the Spaniards of Manila, which accused him of being disloyal to Spain and of being involved in a plot to overthrow the Spanish colonial government. According to Gainza, "the rumors against Peláez was clearly a calumny and that it was known to be such by its authors."[117] In other words, the accusation against Peláez was false. This was clearly proven by his student and successor, José Burgos, when the latter published his *Manifesto que a la noble nación española dirigen los leales Filipinos.*[118] All the evidence points to Peláez as a man concerned with reforms in the Church and with the rights of the secular clergy.

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[115] A. Uy, *State of the Church in the Philippines*, 144.

[116] Letter of Archbishop Martínez to Ultramar, 22 April 1864 in AHN, Ultramar, leg. 2006, exp. 41, quoted in A. Uy, *State of the Church in the Philippines*, 144.

[117] J. Schumacher, *Revolutionary Clergy*, 11.

[118] Text in J. Schumacher, *Burgos*, 57-105.

[His] demand is moderate – that Filipinos be recognized on their merits, even if they are not peninsular Spaniards. That such a basically moderate position could be met with the accusation of rebellion makes clear how unlikely Peláez was to meet success in his aspirations for equality. He had, however, set a precedent of resistance and militancy which set the stage for further developments.[119]

Summary of "Brebes apuntes"

"Brebes apuntes sobre la cuestion de curatos de Filipinas" has four main sections. In the first part of "Brebes apuntes," Peláez describes the developments leading to the parish transfers in favor of the Recoletos in the early 1860s, with references to the decrees of 1826, 1849 and 1861, which were all detrimental to the Filipino secular priests. Regarding the native clergy's recent deprivation of parishes in the archdiocese of Manila, Peláez asserts that there was no obligation to indemnify the Recoletos for the parishes they turned over to the Jesuits in Mindanao. Insinuating that the Recoletos asked for the Manila parishes because the Mindanao missions were, for them, "more of a burden than a benefice," he explains that in 1849, the Recoletos already received parishes in Manila and in Negros, for no reason whatsoever, and thus, there was no need to further transfer any parish to them. If, despite this fact, it was still insisted that they be indemnified, he suggests that they be given newly-created parishes or parishes in the diocese of Cebu to which Mindanao belonged. This second option, according to Peláez, is a better alternative for three reasons. First, there were very few secular priests in Cebu. Second, the Cebuano priests were not as prepared and educated as their Manila counterparts because they did not have educational facilities similar to those in Manila, and thus, the presence of the religious would be beneficial. Third, if the aim was to assert political control, it was better to assign the Spanish religious in Cebu, where, unlike in Manila, there were fewer Spaniards residing, who could report on the activities of the natives.

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[119] J. Schumacher, *Revolutionary Clergy*, 12.

Peláez begins the next section of his work by showing that the laws of the Church are transgressed when parishes are transferred to the regular clergy when there are secular priests around. Relying mainly on Benedict XIV's *Cum nuper* of 8 November 1751,[120] Peláez raises some canonical points. First, the ancient canons of the Church have, in certain cases, allowed monks and members of the regular clergy to administer parishes. But the prevailing canonical norms prohibit regulars from exercising the office of caring for souls without apostolic dispensation. This dispensation, however, is granted by the pope only upon the request of the bishop, who sees such a dispensation to be of necessity and of use to the Church. Pius V, in his *Exponi nobis* of 23 March 1567,[121] allowed the religious, who were engaged in evangelization work in the Indies, to administer parishes and to perform other functions, because there were no – or very few – secular priests. But once there are enough secular priests to administer parishes, the regulars will cease to enjoy these privileges. In other words, the regular clergy can exercise the office of parish priest only when there is a lack of secular priests. If this, then, is the discipline of the Church, how is it possible, Peláez asks, that the secular priests are deprived of parishes in Manila? Peláez says that it is rather shameful that the Recoleto procurator in Madrid and the provincial in the Philippines ignored the Church practice. The Recoleto fathers accuse the secular clergy of being immoral, ignorant and disloyal to Spain, but these, according to Peláez, are unjust and unfounded. In spite of having few parishes in the archdiocese, there are several secular priests against whom "even the most insolent calumny finds nothing to say." The only "proof of lack of aptitude for parishes" that the Recoletos can cite against them is that they are natives. Asserting that other religious disapproved of and condemned the parish transfers, Peláez takes the offensive against the Recoletos. He says that the government cannot be blamed for not knowing the Church practice, but the Recoleto procurator should have informed the government that it was going against certain Church provisions. He says further that when the royal order of 10 September 1861 came out, the Recoleto provincial denied any knowledge about why it was passed, and he even suggested

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[120] Peláez gave the year for *Cum nuper* as 1754.

[121] Peláez dated this 24 March 1562.

that its implementation be suspended until competitive examinations for the parishes are held. It is therefore odd, according to Peláez, that he changed his mind and was now asking that the royal order be enforced immediately.

In the third part of his "Brebes apuntes," Peláez shows that the transfer of parishes to the regular clergy violates two other laws. The first has to do with the "nomination" of religious parish priests. Peláez explains that one of the reasons for granting those privileges to the religious in the Indies was because it was believed that they knew the languages of the mission areas. But he claims that on the contrary, many of the religious parish priests during his time do not know the native language. This was not known before they were placed in parishes because the prescribed examination before the bishop had become a formality among the religious. Normally, the governor general forwards the *terna* submitted by the provincial to the bishop, who will then convoke a body that will administer examinations to the candidates. The results of these examinations are reported to the governor general, who then chooses, naturally on the basis of these results, the one most qualified to be presented to the bishop for canonical collation. Unfortunately, this procedure for appointing religious parish priests is simply not observed. The second violation has to do with the "permanence" of the religious parish priests. Peláez clearly supports the bishops' call for the *amovilidad* of the regular clergy. After citing Benedict XIV's *Cum nuper*, which teaches that the religious cannot administer parishes without this character of *amovilidad*, he says that this *amovilidad* character of religious parish priests was also demanded by the laws of the Indies, or more precisely, the *ley de la Concordia*, but it was revoked by the royal *cedula* of 1 August 1795. He points out, however, that when this 1795 *cedula* was enacted, the religious reacted against it and wanted it repealed. This suggests that they themselves held the *amovilidad* of religious parish priests, and thus, it is rather strange that now that the bishops are proposing the return to the general law of the Church, which was revoked by the 1795 decree, they are fighting against it.

According to Peláez, there are three things that the religious orders can do in the Philippines: (1) to extend the missions and to convert those who are not yet Christians; (2) to inspire those who are already

Christian to deepen their faith, showing them the beauty of worship and contributing to their leading moral lives; and (3) to serve as inspiration as well to the secular clergy, carrying out their ecclesiastical duties in an exemplary way and helping these seculars in their ministry to the faithful. Unfortunately, the possession of parishes and the desire to have more parishes prevent the religious from accomplishing these three tasks. But not only that. Peláez says that their having parishes is actually not in harmony with their religious, and thus, it leads to a weakening of their vows and their religious life so much so that they cannot even lead a moral life that is expected of any Christian. Peláez also makes mention of Fernando VI's royal *cedula* of 23 June 1753 which urged the religious to leave the parishes. This decree, however, allowed the regulars to keep one or two of the richer parishes in each province, which can serve as the base for those who are working in the missions. According to Peláez, this is the plan that should be adopted and followed in the Philippines.

In the concluding part of his work, Peláez makes several proposals. First, the government should examine and reconsider its position on the matter of the parishes, not in any way being influenced by the exaggerated reports of the religious procurators in Madrid. Second, the royal order of 10 September 1861, 20 June 1861 and 31 July 1862 should be suspended, and things should be brought back to the way they were, that is, before the implementation of these decrees. If the Recoletos still have to be indemnified, they should be given newly-created parishes in the diocese of Cebu. Third, the whole question of the parishes should he studied carefully. The plan of Fernando VI can be adopted or a new distribution of parishes in the islands can be made among the regular and secular clergy. Fourth, the appointment of religious parish priests should be carried out according to the prevailing canonical norms and other laws. Fifth, the number of seminaries should be increased and the training and formation in the seminaries should be improved so that there will be a greater number of secular priests qualified to become parish priests. Sixth, the missionary enterprise in the islands should be further studied, with attention equally given to the missions in Mindanao, in Luzon, in Mindoro and in the other islands. Finally, the possibility of other religious orders coming to the country should be considered because that will be truly beneficial for the Church in the Philippines.

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PRACTICAL THEOLOGY'S NEW APPROACHES TO CATHOLIC SPIRITUALITY

Joseph L. Roche, SJ

I. Introduction

Into the fifth year of the new millennium with a new Pope succeeding the long reign of John Paul II, the Church throughout the world, and the Catholic Church in the Philippines in particular, are constantly being called to face major new challenges, initiatives, developments and trends that were rarely foreseen even a few years ago. These are new dimensions of the traditional, world-wide problems of peace and order, poverty, social justice, public health, sexual morality, education, and the like. In this 40th anniversary of Vatican II, one only has to compare the extraordinary optimism at the close of the Council, hailed as the new Pentecost, with today's more somber mind-set to realize how different the Philippine context has become from that of Vatican II.

Within the area of catechesis / religious education, the past 40 years have witnessed an extraordinary activity and development manifested in the official documents of the Church, both universal and local. On the universal Church level, we have the General Catechetical Directory ((1971) followed by the Synod of Bishops on Catechesis in Our Time (1977), whose "Message to the People of God" was later elaborated in John Paul II's Apostolic Exhortation Catechesi Tradendae (1979), the Catechism of the Catholic Church (1992-94) and the revised General Directory for Catechesis (1997), with additional documents from the Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education. Locally among other

relevant documents by the CBCP and ECCCE, we've had our own National Catechetical Directory for the Philippines (1985), the Second Plenary Council of the Philippines (1991), our national catechism, Catechism for Filipino Catholics, and the final draft of the Revised National Catechetical Directory for the Philippines (2004).[1]

Given this wealth of official documentation and the untiring local efforts to actually make catechesis or integral Faith formation the first pastoral priority of the Catholic Church in the Philippines,[2] many traditional challenges remain, some with new "faces." There's a palpable urge to reclaim "religious nerve" in participating in the on-going national dialogue and pursuit of justice, peace, improved education and health services for all.[3] This thrust is raising anew the perennial problems of catechesis/religious education: how to contribute to the general education of all, while focusing especially on the prism of **authentic Filipino Catholic believing in Christ**, and the complex role of family, parish, retreat house, and school in nourishing this belief.

II. General Catechetical Background for Today's Agenda

In our new ever-changing catechetical context, three elements have been the object of increased study and reflection: 1) the very purpose of Christian education in today's consumerist, technological, postmodern world; 2) the Church as its setting; and 3) the best method or methods that can communicate and inspire this faith within today's multi-media and concrete Filipino cultural context.

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[1] One fruitful commentary of the Vatican's catechetical documentation is Anne Marie Mongoven, The Prophetic Spirit of Catechesis: How We Share the Fire in our Hearts (Paulist 2000) 64-86.

[2] Cf. "Message of the National Pastoral Consultation on Church Renewal," Bol.Ecl. 77 #823 (Mar-Apr 2001): 167-68, no.7 A.

[3] Jack Seymour, "The Clue to Christian Religious Education: Uniting Theology and Education 1950-Present," Religious Education 99 (2004): 272-86.

First, the goal of Christian education is conceived today primarily in terms of formation and transformation -- beyond "head knowledge's factual information," toward a heightened awareness of the active role of God in our personal and communitarian lives. This breaks with the traditional "schooling-instructional paradigm" whose "banking method" has been widely criticized as often reducing the Good News to objective informational tidbits, directed toward individualistic learning that ignores all intrinsic community ties and even one's own personal life's story. The Gospel becomes trivialized -- just another book of pious stories for children, or worse, the object of unending technical historical studies that fail to recognize the Gospels as God's living Word of revelation for us today. The current interplay between education as a modern secular discipline and Christian theology as "Faith seeking understanding" brings out how education needs theology to discover the presence of God's grace, while theology needs educational processes to communicate the revelatory meaning and value of Scripture as the living Word of God and of Catholic tradition.[4]

This contemporary vision of the ideal goal of Christian education is being forged in the process of responding to the challenges of postmodern culture, and the specific weaknesses that have become too visible and apparent to ignore. For example, many point out the present growing loss of the communal, corporate Christian "memory" that was characteristic of the Christian Filipino society in the past. They also add that for many young Filipinos with today's scientific, technological-mind set, there's a growing "irrelevance" of the Bible and the way it is taught, despite the popularity of Bible Study among groups of older Filipino Christians. More damaging, perhaps, is the unintended but frequent subversion of ideal Christian goals to psychological, emotional and therapeutic needs of the moment. The common "marketing mechanisms" for selling religious textbooks, with their "cafeteria approach" to truths of the Faith, and their promotion of Faith values like some new product in a shopping mall, offer a concrete example of such subversion.

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[4] Brett Webb-Mitchell, Christly Gestures: Learning to be Members of the Body of Christ (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003) 1-25.

Secondly, the **ecclesial** dimension of catechesis, with the Church as the indispensable setting for Catholic education, has been strengthened by the pastoral success of the BECs throughout the Philippines. The BECs have become one of the more effective means for fostering maturity in the Faith in Catholic Filipinos. The grace of God mentioned above "is felt almost tangibly in the kind of worship the BECs habitually conduct.[5] New appreciation for the Church as "School of Christ and Christian Discipleship" leads to conceiving the purpose of education in the Church in terms of worship, prayer, and healing service. It means "to perform" the Good News," that is, to follow, imitate, share in "Jesus-life." The "mystery" of the Christian community, the Body of Christ, is grounded on the fact that we don't create it – the Spirit does! (1 Co 12:13) We can't even say "Jesus is Lord" except by the Holy Spirit." (1 Co 12:3) More than ever, recognition of this indispensable role of the Church is needed today to combat the radical individualistic tendencies – individualism with its self-centered priorities --so often highlighted in the current secular context.

Thirdly, methods of catechesis / Christian education have proven much more difficult to assess. One function of Christian education is undoubtedly fostering "critical reflection on one's religious experience" to help ground one's Christian identity. Yet the "handing down of the Sacred Scriptures and Catholic tradition," forming one scared deposit of Faith, remains a distinct function of equal importance. The processes of instruction and discernment in both functions involve "interpreting the signs of the times," a key phrase inherited from the Vatican II era, but which now has gained new, more complex uses and applications. Often it means recovering historical symbols of the Faith, and traditional paradigms of Faith's initiation, deepening, guidance and formation, but now re-interpreted or re-imaged to make them more intelligible and fruitful in our present Philippine context.

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[5] Cf. Francisco F. Claver, "The Liturgy of the World: Ecumenical and Inter-Religious Dialogue and Its Challenges for Christian Worship in the Postmodern Age," in Liturgy in a Postmodern Age (New York: Continuum, 2003) 148-63, at 156.

On the other hand, this "interpreting the signs of the times" has also resulted in the opposite effect of radical pluralism. The "turn to the subject," the new stress on imagination and on the different human intelligences, as well as the general "experiential thrust," while emphasizing the immediate relevance and practical applicability of the Christian message, unfortunately have also unwittingly helped to produce our present situation of "ignorant Catholics." Various surveys conducted here and abroad have shown how many "Catholic-school-educated students" lack even a rudimentary knowledge of their Christian Faith.[6] Moreover, hastily formed catechetical efforts to rectify this startling deficiency have often failed for lack of adequate research into the actual causes of this ignorance, or from responding with ill-advised corrective measures. For example, the "back to the basics" slogan frequently results in a narrow focusing on memorization of much factual information about the Faith, communicated mainly through abstract formulas. It therefore fails to foster an interiorized faith that "takes root" and can become a vital operational source for daily personal Christian living.

The Challenge of Postmodern Culture

Before moving on to the two key source factors proposed in this paper on a current approach to spirituality, the serious impact of our "**postmodern age**" must be addressed, even briefly.[7] No one today can possibly ignore the tremendous influence of the so-called postmodern culture in Christian communities the world over. Within perhaps the majority of Christian communities today there is a re-thinking and re-imagining of the whole dynamics of educating toward maturity in the Faith -- of developing a deep sense of Christian identity. The traditional catechetical images of "nurturing" and of "metanoia" (conversion) are undergoing substantial modification by a host of postmodern

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[6] Cf.. John C. Cavadini, "Ignorant Catholics," Commonweal (April 9, 2004) 12-14.

[7] Cf. R. Pazmino "Surviving or Thriving in the 3rd Millennium," in Forging a Better Religious Education in the 3rd Millennium, ed. James M. Lee (Birmingham: Religious Education Press, 2000).

factors which stress "constructed Christian identity," through focusing on the historicity and bodily situatedness of all human development. The transhistorical and universal structures of meaning and value are relativized to become historical examples, raw materials from which to construct one's present faith identity.

This postmodern thrust represents a certain shift **from** the traditional catechetical focusing on specific religious beliefs of a particular religious group, **to** a relatively newly constructed individualistic view which emphasizes spiritual experiences, religious practices, and the desire to connect spiritually one's "inner self" with God, others, and the world.[8] The growing world-wide pluralism and multi-culturalism, together with the ever increasing rapid changes, have led to less emphasis on a general unified Christian worldview, and much more on drawing on various religious traditions, being able to handle group differences, connecting one's spirituality with others, despite diversity of beliefs, etc. This usually entails a certain re-thinking of the role of all authority, especially religious authority.

The response to this postmodern cultural challenge is, as one would expect, multiple. Some Christian educational leaders stress a Faith formation that is **counter postmodern culture**, that stands over and against this contemporary loss of traditional meaning and values. They firmly reject postmodernist fragmentation, its tendency toward violence, and the destructive dimensions of an individualistic, consumerist postindustrial society which already has a significant impact on our Philippine context. These Christian leaders seem to overlook, however, the postmodern spiritual yearning which is the call for reconstructing our world in life-giving projects.

Other Christian scholars try **adapting modern religious efforts so they can be carried into the postmodern era** and foster Christian personal and social identity in this new age. Helpful are their efforts in exploring and re-imaging deep Christian Faith symbols, especially "hope," versus the common current fragmentation and the trivializing of

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[8] Harold Horell, "Fostering Hope: Christian Religious Education in a Postmodern Age," Religious Education 99 (Winter 2004): 5-21. Cf. also Joanmarie Smith, A Context for Christianity in the 21st Century (Thomas More, 1995).

meaning and values. But again, these efforts tend to become marginalized, weakened by the sheer number and diversity of postmodern spiritual seekers who continue to lack a firm foundation for faith formation.

Finally, some Christian experts are more optimistic in focusing on some new possibilities which postmodernity itself offers, for example, discerning the presence of God in society today, and re-envisioning and re-embodying Christian Faith in ways that respond effectively to the new cultural realities. These experts "connect" with today's wider dialogue with secular and other religious traditions, a dialogue often marked by a new openness and discernment, especially when focused on social issues like our consumer culture and market economy. But there are two ever-present dangers in this approach: 1) its tendency toward being **overly eclectic**, which sometimes results in internal inconsistency or incoherence, and 2) an **inherent instability** which can swing from idealistic optimism to deep pessimism.

Each of these responses have both values and limitations from which we can profit in plotting the future agenda for Philippine religious education. What perhaps is more fundamental are the real possibilities for new hope that postmodernity claims to offer: hope in the Church itself and God's guiding presence among Christians gathered in his name as his People. This hope is strongly manifested in the counter-cultural group, yet always with the humility to be open to God's presence beyond the Church. Hope in the deep strength and continued viability of traditional Christian symbols and practices of Christian faith. We can use the deconstructions of the recent past to begin creating new meanings in the present, moving beyond simply recovering the deep Faith symbols of the Christian past to construct and reconstruct, change and transform them into practices of life that respond authentically to common Filipino life experience today. Hope most of all in the youth being educated, who have grown up in postmodern culture, and are open to discerning God's guiding presence today.[9]

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[9] One insightful positive approach is offered by David E. Nantais, "'Whatever!' Is Not Ignatian Indifference: Jesuit and the Ministry to Young Adults," Studies in Ignatian Spirituality 36/3 (Fall 2004): 1-24.

III. Two Source Factors in the New Working Catechetical Agenda

Anyone seriously proposing a new working catechetical/ practical theology agenda soon becomes painfully aware of the totally unexpected complexity of the whole enterprise. There is no adequate comprehensive plan for complete catechetical/religious educational renewal capable of solving all our ongoing problems -- as our post PCP II pastoral efforts have made abundantly clear. The only practical way to proceed is to be modest enough to accept that even very successful renewal efforts will always be partial, never completely comprehensive, and ever open to diminishing returns and need for further renewal.

This section develops two basic sources of catechetical/ theological renewal that can ground the specific, limited, partial working proposal of this study. Both sources are simply renewed ways of using traditional basic catechetical/religious educational sources: a more holistic study and use of **Sacred Scripture**, and the new theological discipline called **Practical Theology**. The renewed use of two traditional catechetical sources (Scripture and Theology) will be applied to one basic area of catechesis/religious education, namely, Catholic spirituality, developed briefly in Catholic liturgy.

Moreover, it is significant that catechesis/religious education have constituted the guiding perspective and motivating force behind the proposed renewal. For it was precisely the inadequacy, from a religious educational point of view, of serious, critical "professional work" by the experts in Scripture and in systematic, moral and liturgical theology, that has inspired this serious research into the study and use of both Scripture and theology as sources for Catholic renewal in the Philippines.

A More Holistic Approach to the Study and Use of Scripture

Sacred Scripture is the basic primary source for all catechesis/ Christian religious education, and theology itself. Vatican II pithily described the uniqueness of Scripture

Holy Mother Church, relying on the faith of the apostolic age, accepts as sacred and canonical the books of the Old and the New Testaments, whole and entire ... [as] written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, have God as their author, and have been handed down as such to the Church herself. To compose the sacred books, God chose certain man who . . . made full use of their powers and faculties so that, though he acted in them and by them, it was as true authors that they consigned to writing whatever he wanted written and no more. Since all that the inspired authors affirm should be regarded as affirmed by the Holy Spirit, we must acknowledge that the books of Scripture, firmly, faithfully, and without error, teach the truth which God, for the sake of our salvation, wished to see confided to the sacred Scriptures. (DV 11)

While this description of the nature of sacred Scripture is in theory widely accepted, what has been becoming more problematic is the actual study and use of Scripture, particularly in catechesis and theology. More often than not, Bible study has become primarily a study of the history of the times when the text was originally composed, according to the historical critical method [HCM] which has come to dominate biblical study for the past four decades or more. It must be clearly affirmed here, at the outset, that the HCM is **indispensable** for critical Bible study.[10] The issue raised is simply: **is the HCM alone sufficient**, or is there also the need for other studies focusing on the spiritual senses, to gain the full meaning and value of the inspired Scriptural Word of God?[11]

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[10] Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger "100 Years: the Magisterium and Exegesis," Theology Digest 51 (Spring 2004).

[11] Markus E. Locker, Ma. Lucia C. Natividad, and Joseph L. Roche,. "The Use of Scripture in Theology and Religious Education," Loyola Schools Review 3 (2003): 3-32. Cf. also Paul Ballard, "The Bible and Christian Spirituality Today," The Expository Times 114 (Aug. 2003): 363-66

The position proposed here claims the need for these additional methods because HCM studies alone focus more on informational facts than on the formational/ trans-formational Scriptural elements. In practice, HCM studies lean toward overly technical, abstract, impersonal expositions which seem divorced from the living faith of both the Scriptural figures and today's believers. As such, they have limited effectivity in communicating Scripture as inspiring, saving, uplifting "Good News" in schools and parishes The basic reason is HCM's emphasis on studying the Scriptural text according to the canons of contemporary secular historical-literary methodology, over its specifically religious content. HCM thus alone fails to adequately fulfill by itself two principal functions of Scripture: as critical -- distinguishing truth from idolatry and superstition – and as formative – fostering the life of the Spirit within the present readers.

These inadequacies come out most sharply in the actual work of catechizing and educating Filipinos in the Faith. In response, as supplementing (not substituting for) the HCM, a more holistic approach to the study and use of Scripture is proposed, drawing on the long Catholic tradition of Scripture study going back to the Fathers of the Church and the medieval monastic and scholastic traditions. This newer approach works from the nature of Scripture itself (what?), to its fundamental goal or purpose (why? wither?), and finally, to the proposed method of study, reading, proclamation, praying (how?).

The **nature of Scripture** as the "inspired living Word of God" can legitimately be viewed as "sacramental," with an "inherent religious power" that constitutes it as "the rule of Faith," bringing readers into God's presence. The Bible is ecclesial -- the book by, of, and for the Church, the people of God. There is a fundamental unity to all the canonical books and the biblical narrative. In short, Sacred Scripture should be studied also as a "work of art," not merely as a collection of historical documents of the past, within the purview of current historical science. Regarding **Scripture's goal**, St. Paul wrote: all scripture is inspired by God and is useful for teaching, for refutation, for correction, and for training in righteousness, so that one who belongs to God may be competent, equipped for every good work. (2 Tm 3:16; cf.Col.1:28; 3:16).

Scripture clearly aims at informing, forming and transforming disciples of Christ into active, productive members of his Body, the Church, in all three essential dimensions of the Faith -- doctrine, morals and worship.[12]

It follows, therefore, that an **accurate method** of studying, proclaiming, teaching, and praying with Scripture must flow from this nature and purpose of Scripture. Hence to the "literal" sense of Scripture (newly defined) must be added the **spiritual senses.** Particular new dimensions of current hermeneutics such as "**performance,**" or "**reader response,**" must be incorporated. Moreover, Scripture's literal sense – often erroneously taken today to mean the dictionary meanings of the text's individual terms -- must be re-defined to include both the meaning of the text at its origin and its meaning today, since Scripture was never created only for the people of its historical time, but for peoples of all time.

This "holistic" approach to Scripture, incorporating but going beyond the HCM alone has major repercussions in catechesis and religious education, especially regarding the adequate professional formation of the trained catechist / religion teacher. A certain number of specific "theses statements" about interpreting Scripture could be helpful in sketching this new holistic approach.[13] For example,

-the **truth of Scripture** is affirmed relative to:

1) the narrative of God's action in creating, judging, redeeming the world;

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[12] Michael Leary, Christ and the Catechist (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1987)75-95. For an inspiring exposition of Scripture as a source of prayer, cf. Lawrence Cunningham, "The Bible's Prayerful Reading," Origins 35 (July 7, 2005): 122-26.

[13] "Nine Theses on the Interpretation of Scripture: The Scripture Project," in The Art of Reading Scripture, ed. Ellen Davis & Richard Hays (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans,2003) 1-5. One example of recovering traditional Catholic understanding of Scripture is the revised notion of Scripture's "literal sense" as reflecting the intention not just of the human author but of God, and hence with a plenitude of meaning. Cf. Christopher Kaczor, "Thomas Aquinas on the Development of Doctrine," Theol. Stds. 62 (2001): 283-302, at 298 and 301.

2) the Gospel narratives of Jesus life, passion, death and resurrection.

-the **interpretation which stresses that Scripture:**

1) is understood as a coherent dramatic narrative, as the Church's rule of Faith;

2) requires an engagement with the whole narrative, both OT and NT;

3) sees beyond the intent of the original human author to the multiple complex Scriptural senses given by God, the author of the whole drama;.

4) calls for the participation by the community, the Church, brought to life by God's covenant call;

5) is guided by the "performance" of the saints of the Church,

6) and by dialogue with diverse others outside the Church;

7) within the eschatological tension between the "already" and the "not yet" of the kingdom of God, in which Scripture is calling the Church to ongoing discernment and fresh re-readings of texts in the light of the Holy Spirit's help.

In conclusion, a more holistic, more Catholic and "spiritual" exegesis, beyond the historical critical method alone, is needed for fruitful catechesis and religious education in the Philippines today. This conviction itself was inspired by the primary problem of all ministry of the Word, namely, how to integrate Christ and his saving message with Filipinos' daily life in today's complex context.[14] This had been the starting point of the original NCDP (1985), the Catechism for Filipino Catholics (CFC), and the CBCP approved final draft of the Revised NCDP. But now we have entered a whole new context for Philippine religious education, a new world of mass media, marked by a religious pluralism and inter-religious dialogue previously unknown.

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[14] Thomas Groome puts this bluntly: "I'm more convinced than ever that the dynamics of religious education should enable people to 'bring their lives to faith, and faith to their lives.'" Cf. his "Remembering and Imagining," Religious Education 98 (Fall 2003): 511-119, at 519.

This means that current Philippine catechesis is challenged as never before to ground Filipinos in the Catholic tradition, giving them a "sense of belonging," yet at the same time opening them up to appreciate other spiritual traditions and peoples of other faiths. What can produce a more effective and fruitful catechesis for Filipinos of today's complex context, complete with its plethora of current social science data and its mass communications media?[15]

The Emergence of New Theological Discipline: Practical Theology

It is precisely this complex context that calls for a catechesis / religious education that is solidly grounded on **"Practical"** or **"Practicing Theology"** which radically revises traditional understanding of the very nature of the theological enterprise itself.[16] Flowing from the Christian faith vision, and inspired by many of the new approaches to the Biblical narrative, "Practical Theology" insists that **all theological disciplines** must aim at active engagement and transformative action.[17] It thus

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[15] Groome writes: "Truthfully, I'm worried about faith education that simply socializes people into religious identity, without any kind of critical education and consciousness... At a minimum, all religious education should enable people to 'learn from' the great spiritual traditions of humankind for their lives, more than 'learn about' them for their heads." Ibid. 518. D. Murphy states that many accounts of self-knowledge, consciousness, moral development, stages of faith, etc are indebted to modern social science accounts which are highly questionable within a thoroughgoing Christian narration of identity and selfhood. Cf. "Worship as Catechesis: Knowledge, Desire & Christian Formation," Theology Today 58 (2001): 321ff.

[16] L. Gregory Jones, "Beliefs, Desires, Practices, and the Ends of Theological Education," in Practicing Theology, ed. M. Volf (Eerdmans, 2000) 185-205. Cf. also Robert Schreiter, "Practical Theology," Proceedings of the Catholic Theological Society of America 58 (2003) 145.

[17] Cf. description of Raymond Webb's paper on "Catholic Practical Theology: Challenge and Opportunity," given by Kathleen A. Callahan, in Proceedings of the Catholic Theological Society of America 58 (2003): 146.

proposes a model of religious reflection that draws both teachers/catechists and learners/catechized alike, into attentive listening, dialogue, and active participation in religious education and the whole of life.[18]

Perhaps the key to "Practical theology's" potential to provide a solid theoretical ground for a more holistic, effective and fruitful catechesis is its focus on "**Christian practices.**" By this phrase we simply mean "things Christian people do together, overtime, to address fundamental human needs in the light of, and in response to, God's active presence for the life of the world in Jesus Christ.[19] These practices actually constitute the basis of "Practical Theology" which can be defined as a "theoretical understanding that builds on a practical basis of religious praxis."

Advantages Offered by Practical Theology

There are **many advantages** for adopting "Practical Theology " as a theoretical basis for developing the insights drawn from the research into a more holistic approach to Scripture, particularly because of practical theology's focus on Christian practices. The **first** is that there is no longer any possible "gap" between theory and practice. Practices are meaningful clusters of human activity, combining both thinking and acting. They are **social**, belonging to people across generations, rooted in the past but constantly adopting to changing cultural contexts. They express the **wisdom of daily life** and activity, not that of academic theologians. When presenting a theological truth, no one can ask: "but what does this have to do with real life?" The Christian practices are

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[18] Barbara Fleischer, "Practical Theology and Transformative Learning: Partnership for Christian Religious Education," in Forging a Better Religious Education in the Third Millennium, ed. James M. Lee (Birmingham: RE Press 2000) 203-25, at 205.

[19] See Dorothy Bass, "On the Bearing of a Living tradition," Religious Education 98 (Fall 2003): 503-10, at 506. She adds: "My conviction [is] that participation in Christian practices requires steady resistance to the larger culture ... The context of my commitment to Christian practices is one of cultural disestablishment." Ibid. 509. See also "Introduction: A Catholic and Evangelical Theology?" in Knowing the Triune God: The Work of the Spirit in the Practices of the Church, ed. James Buckley, S.J. & David Yeago, S.J. (Eerdmans, 2001) 4.

"real life." This clearly agrees perfectly with the more holistic study of Scripture already described.[20]

A **second advantage** is that by focusing on **Christian practices**, two common "reductions" are avoided. First, by focusing on "**practices**" there is no chance of reducing theology or catechesis to an abstract, theoretical study, unrelated to daily life. Second, as "**Christian,**" the practices avoid the reductionism of reducing what is specifically Christian to simply the general human secular level of social science.[21]

This raises the question of the crucial but complex relationship between **beliefs**, as expressing Faith doctrines, and **practices,** or more generally, between **systematic theology** (as a critical reflection on revelation-grounded beliefs) and **a way of life** (as the sum of Christian practices).[22]

Beliefs Shaping Practices

It is clear that basic Christian beliefs shape Christian practices, both in setting Christ as our norm and within the larger Biblical narratives of God's creating the world, the divine covenant with Israel, and the human race's final destiny.[23] Beliefs about God and God's relation to the world form the heart of Christian Faith, and therefore of all theology and catechesis. Such beliefs ground the fundamental Christian insight into the identity and goal of every human person. What is said of God does not have to be "applied" later to us – what is said of God is already addressed to us![24]

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[20] Dorothy Bass, "A Theological Understanding of Christian Practices," in Practicing Theology, ed. Miroslav Volf and D. Bass (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002) 1-9, at 6-7. http://mymovies.it/dizionario/recensione.asp?Id=16428&ut=2

[21] Cf. Craig Dykstra, Growing in the Life of Faith: Education and Christian Practices (Louisville: Geneva Press, 1999).

[22] Miroslav Volf, "Theology for a Way of Life," in Practicing Theology, 247.

[23] Ibid., 251.

[24] Ibid., 253, quoting Gerhard Ebeling.

Moreover, these basic Christian beliefs *as beliefs* **entail practical commitments** inherent in the beliefs themselves. For beliefs are statements **not** about **simple facts** of what was, is, and will be, but rather about what **should** be, and what humans **should** do. Thus the intrinsic flow from beliefs as normative to our Christian practices. But most important is how Christian beliefs inspire us to break out of our "natural" self-centered-ness and come to realize that ultimately Christian Faith is **not** primarily about what we do, **but** about **what God has done,** is doing and will do. It's about human **receiving.**[25]

Practices Exercise Beliefs

But in the process of growing up as Christians, we also know that Christian practices often come first, and the beliefs entailed in these practices are explicitated only later.[26] Engagement in Christian practices often opens our eyes to how we are to understand core Christian beliefs, or at times to even reformulate them in the ever changing context in which we live out our faith. Thus we can say: Christian beliefs normatively shape Christian practices; and, Christian practices can lead to a deeper insight into and understanding of the beliefs.

But which grounds which? Do beliefs ground practices, or do practices ground beliefs? Many today prefer to subordinate beliefs to practices—functionalizing beliefs. Or they distinguish between **chronological priority** of practices as a way of life, and **logical primacy** of the set of beliefs. But Christian beliefs are not just talk about God, but refer to God's very Self. As such, Christian beliefs about God's very self cannot be ultimately grounded in a way of our life. Rather the Christian way of life must be based on adequate beliefs about God. We engage in Christian practices for the sake of our belief in God; we don't make up a picture of God to justify our practices.[27]

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[25] Ibid. 253-54. Cf. also Serene Jones, "Graced Practices: Excellence and Freedom in Christian Life," in Practicing Theology, 51-77.

[26] Volf, "Theology as a Way of Life," 256.

[27] Ibid. 258-60. Cf. also Craig Dykstra and Dorothy Bass, "A Theological Understanding of Christian Practices," in Practicing Theology, 13-32.

But if Christian beliefs ultimately ground Christian practices, with God own Self the focus of beliefs, the question of the TRUTH claims about God arises immediately – precisely for the sake of the way of life. The truth claims must be defended by showing how beliefs in God and his relation to the world **fit together.** For example, the belief in the Eucharist has to fit with the account of Christ's death, and with the belief in the Trinity, and the reality of Grace within us. All these beliefs must fit with the way we understand our human predicament, and exercise this understanding in daily practices.[28]

A third and final advantage of practical theology's focus on Christian practices is their **community-situated nature** – family, parish school – all bringing out the essential **ecclesial** dimensions of the practices. This represents another major development of the insights gained in the more holistic study and use of Scripture for catechesis because it constitutes a specifically Christian insight into human experience.

IV. New Approach to Christian Spirituality

In this section we wish to "apply" to the study of the spirituality indicative of Christian Faith, the insights and typical ways of operating from our "holistic" approach to Scripture and from Practical Theology's way of theologizing – of making sense of, and celebrating, Christ's "Good News" in today's postmodern culture. We focus on spirituality because catechetical and religious education leaders have long recognized that its intrinsic elements --prayer, devotions and religious celebrations -- seem to be the most natural avenues for catechizing Filipinos in the Faith. Moreover PCP II called for a serious renewal of worship, and the "Message of the National Pastoral Consultation on Church Renewal," ten years later, described its first pastoral priority as "integral faith formation," "rooted in prayer and the Eucharist." In view, then, of proposing a certain partial agenda for our future catechetical efforts in our present context, we limit our focus to one of the most relevant topics, Christian spirituality and its liturgical dimension.

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[28] Volf, "Theology as a Way of Life," 261.

A. Spirituality

"Spirituality" has become one of the "in" things within most cultures today, enjoying a surprising new found popularity. Most recognize a general "spiritual hunger" as characteristic of our age. What is not equally clear is what precisely is meant by this newly discovered reality of "spirituality," and how it relates to Christian Faith and the Bible.[29]

In general terms, spirituality is used to cover many notions: a capacity for self-transcendence, an inner dimension of the person in which ultimate reality is experienced; or what gives meaning and coherence to life today. An integrated description would be: "the experience of conscious involvement in the project of life-integration through self-transcendence toward the ultimate value one perceives.[30] Thus "spirituality" today is **experiential** – not some abstract idea or ideology – but a personally lived reality with both active and passive elements. It's a conscious **involvement in a project** of life-integration of ongoing growth and development, **consciously pursued**, embracing all our human capacities of body and spirit, both individual and social. Finally, it is pursued positively toward what is perceived as ultimate value or reality Thus two common strands stand out: 1) an awareness of levels of reality not immediately apparent -- there is "more than meets the eye"; and 2) a quest for personal integration over the fragmentation and depersonalization widely experienced in today's society.[31]

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[29] For a critical overview of the history of "spirituality" through the Christian eras, cf. Declan Marmion, A Spirituality of Everyday Faith: A Theological Investigation of the Notion of Spirituality in Karl Rahner (Louvain, Peters Press, 1998) 1-40.

[30] Sandra Schneiders, "Religion vs. Spirituality: A Contemporary Conundrum," Spiritus 3 (Fall 2003): 163-85, at 166.

[31] Patrick Hannon, "More Than Meets the Eye: Morality and Spirituality," The Furrow 55 (2004): 661-73.

But specifically **Christian** spirituality refers to the life of faith, hope and love lived within the Christian community, the Church, with the desired life-integration consisting in personal transformation in Christ through "putting on the mind of Christ" and celebrating sacramentally his Paschal Mystery, before the ultimate value of the Triune God revealed by Jesus Christ as the source and destiny of all.[32] In a more sharply focused manner, Christian Spirituality has been described at length simply by concentrating on the Triune God: first on Jesus – the God-man, the healer, with his unique relation with nature, his power and vulnerability (powerlessness), his option for justice, liberation and the poor; second on 'Abba', the Father's Providence; and lastly on their divine Holy Spirit of love, guidance, and discernment.[33]

Filipino Christian spirituality has been studied and described in many ways, from many points of view. But the most available relevant source is the CBCP's "Pastoral Letter on Filipino Spirituality," originally published in Tagalog, but now translated into English as the "Filipino Way to Holiness."[34] Most significant for our limited study is the fact that its excellent overview of Filipino spirituality is dominated by its focus on Filipino Christian Practices, exemplifying to an extraordinary degree Practical Theology's stress on Christian practices as described above.

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[32] Schneiders, "Religion vs. Spirituality," 167-68. Cf. also Judith A. Merkle, "Spirituality for the World," chap. 3 of From the Heart of the Church: Catholic Social Tradition (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2004) 41-59.

[33] Donald Dorr, Time for a Change: A Fresh Look at Spirituality (Columba Press, 2004), "Christian Spirituality," 14-35; "'Worldly Ingredients' of Spirituality," 36-56, and "Spirituality and Religion," 57-77.

[34] Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines [CBCP] Filipino Way to Holiness (Filipino Spirituality), trans Mario Dominic C. Sanchez (Word & Life Publication, n.d.) 64pp. This exhortation could profitably be read together with its parallel, the CBCP's "Pastoral Exhortation on Philippine Culture," published in Landas 13 (1999): 7-36, with an introduction by Bishop Francisco Claver, and two commentaries.

We now turn to three important topics facing any current study in spirituality – dimensions of the topic which were hardly recognized or discerned in their present contours even at the time of Vatican II. We start with the common separation between "spirituality" as widely understood today and denominational religion, then move on to the newly recognized need to integrate Christian spirituality and Christian morality. A third new trend taken up is the relatively new emphasis on "creation spirituality," a world-wide phenomenon arising from multiple current concerns in ecology and interreligious dialogue.

1. Contemporary Tensions Between Spirituality and Religion

It has become commonplace in recent years to recognize the separation of "spirituality" from "religion," variously described in terms of the "Divorce Between Spirituality and Theology," "Worldly Spirituality vs. Religious Spirituality," "Spirituality related to the Holy Spirit or uniquely to the human spirit," or simply "the Conflict between Spirituality and Religion."[35] Many sources or causes are proposed, but two are constantly emphasized: 1) postmodernity, and 2) the ideological criticism of institutionalized religion. **Postmodernity** taken critically emphasizes rejection of any master universal narrative or unitary worldview, rejects all claims to ultimacy or normative principles, proposes total relativism complete with its fragmentation of thought and experience, while focusing on immediate satisfaction or the present moment ("what works for me") over any historical continuity, social consensus or shared hope for a common future. Such a thumb-nail sketch does not pretend to offer an adequate view of postmodernity, but simply concentrates on some general aspects that run counter to all institutionalized religions.

The **major religions, as institutionalized**, on the contrary, are based on some basic worldwide master narrative, claiming universal validity and promising eschatological reward for those who delay personal

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[35] Cf. Dorr, Time for a Change, 36-77; also Marmion, Spirituality of Daily Faith, 18-40; and Schneiders, "Religion vs. Spirituality," 172-176.

gratification for obedient moral and social commitment. But **non-religious spirituality** is perfectly compatible with postmodernity with its privatized, personally satisfying stance against all doctrinal claims or moral authoritarian impositions, thus escaping all social responsibilities while being ever open to being changed or completely abandoned "when it no longer works for the individual."

This postmodernity critique of religion is strengthened by current ideological criticisms of institutional religion as historically exclusive both doctrinally and culturally, and ideological in imposing a particular set of beliefs, obligatory practices and prohibitions. These result in narrow-minded dogmatism and guilt-inducing morality rather than the idealized spiritual breadth, personal autonomy of conscience and psychological maturity sought today. Often characterized by clericalism as well as arbitrary repudiations of other religious sects, "denominational belonging" generally rejects the **eclecticism**, **syncretism** and **relativism** that the postmodern mind accepts as normal in most areas such as art, business, education, and the like. Note that we are not proposing these three "isms" as valid approaches to reality, but rather as representing very common positions of many academicians in our postmodern culture.

Nevertheless, **critical reflection** does reveal the natural "**partnership**" of spirituality with religion. The great religious traditions supply a far more adequate ground and matrix for spiritual development than any personally constructed combination of beliefs and moral practices. Because they lack the roots of historically tested wisdom and community criticism, "private spiritualities" are usually quite naïve about how humans function, often falling into the same mistakes of the past—extremism, fanaticism or the opposite, lethargy. Personal spiritualities lack the consistency of a critically reflective systematic theology that can supply the needed support for "faith and morals." One great weakness of these new "secular spiritualities" is their common source: **disaffiliation** with the organic tradition of the past, developed over centuries in wrestling with innumerable challenges and developments. Without such a past, these private spiritualities have no contribution to offer for future generations, whereas the faithful committed to a religious tradition can profit from, and freely criticize, all that has gone before. "The quest

for God is too complex and too important to be reduced to a private enterprise."[36]

Our holistic approach to Scripture puts its study & use in catechesis squarely within this basic thrust for meaning & coherence in life today, drawing on the vast riches of tradition. The details of this holistic approach to Scripture as described in terms of narrative, symbols, imaginative quality, performance hermeneutic -- are all ways of pursuing "spirituality" as specifically "Christian." Our thrust toward integrating HCM with spiritual-sense methods, stressing the existential, experiential reality of the "Good News" and its Tradition with daily life, constitutes a strong support (source) for integrating any "adequate spirituality" with religion today. So the "natural pursuit" of spirituality for Christians is solidly grounded in our holistic approach to Scripture.

Equally relevant to this partnership between spirituality and religion is Practical Theology with its insistence on Christian practices as offering direct, time-tested links between God's presence and our daily pursuit of meaning and happiness..

2. Christian Spirituality and Christian Morality

One way in which this more holistic biblical approach to Christian spirituality has been carried on catechetically is through the new insistence on the integration of morality and spirituality. The two are distinct areas of study – Christian morality cannot simply be identified with Christian spirituality -- but they are closely interrelated. Unfortunately they drifted apart during the past recent centuries to a definite clear separation, especially in the academic study of both. This separation is now widely

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[36] Schneiders, "Religion vs. Spirituality," 176-81, at 177. Marmion describes spirituality as "An Immature Discipline," Ibid. 37-39.

recognized as disastrous for an adequate appreciation of both Christian morality and Christian spirituality.[37] Nevertheless, from a catechetical / religious educational point of view, the academic studies in the two disciplines are still commonly carried out with little effort to bring out the mutual inter-relations and implications of both disciplines.

An example of this separation was the common position held by many professional moralists in recent years that there is no such thing as a specifically "Christian morality." This position may have some basis in a purely academic theory of the essence of human morality, but from a Christian religious educator's point of view it makes no sense to hold that Jesus Christ, our Lord and Savior, has no significant impact on the moral life of his disciples including ourselves. This religious educational judgment, grounded in a Christian "Practical Theology" and a holistic interpretation of Scripture, uncovers the "reductionism" that had taken place among some professional moralists whose efforts to clarify the essentials of human morality led them apparently to ignoring or eliminating the constitutive inner motivational reality inherent in all human moral behavior.[38]

3. Creation Spirituality

A third topic of current interest is "**creation spirituality**" which draws not only on traditional Christian sources, but also on new interest in Asian religions and inter-religious dialogue in general, and the ecological crisis. The modus operandi of both a holistic approach to

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[37] Cf. Spirituality and Morality: Integrating Prayer and Action, ed. Dennis J. Billy and Donna Lynn Orsuto (New York: Paulist Press, 1995). Cf. also Michael Duffy, "Called to Be Holy: the Convergence of Christian Morality and Spirituality," Spirituality Today 38 (Spring 1986): 349-59; and Understanding Christian Spirituality (Paulist, 1977); Richard Gula, The Good Life: Where Morality and Spirituality Converge (Paulist, 1999).

[38] Cf. William Spohn, "The Need for Roots and Wings: Spirituality and Christian Ethics," Theology Digest 47 (Winter 2000): 327-40. Cf. also Richard M. Gula, "Let the Mind of Christ be in You: Moral Formation and the Imagination." Theology Digest 51 (Winter 2004): 315-26.

Scripture as well as Practical Theology is clearly supportive of the major thrusts in the new emphasis on "creation spirituality." The special value of this new emphasis lies in creation spirituality's potential to deepen the understanding and appreciation of numerous current interests and trends. By illuminating new insights into creation itself, the thrust for social justice is significantly strengthened, cosmic story-tellers gain a new hearing, renewed reverence for the earth is fostered, and even traditional Christian spiritualities gain new inspirational power.[39]

On a deeper level, creation spirituality has made a significant impact on the traditional theological understanding of God's Self revelation, and on renewed emphasis in catechesis/ religious education as dimensions of the ministry of the Word. The ecological crisis and globalization have inspired new insights into the created cosmos. A natural process in recent studies is discernible, moving from ecological studies, to new insights in cosmology and the science-religion relationship, to repercussions in sacramental and liturgical theologies – all the while building on sound theological foundations drawn from periti such as Rahner, Schillebeeckx and John Paul II.[40]

But these deeper studies in no way imply that creation spirituality is primarily a speculative research relevant only to the experts. On the contrary, what is proposed is uniquely evangelical Fundamentally, creation spirituality is a reaction against the tendency in Christian tradition that overemphasized the power of sin and the need for redemption, without an equal emphasis on the Christian mysteries of creation,

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[39] These topics are the subjects of individual articles and "Theological Trends" in "Creation-Centered Spirituality," The Way 29 (January 1989): 4-80.

[40] Cf. Dorothy C. McDougall, The Cosmos as the Primary Sacrament: The Horizon for an Ecological Sacramental Theology (Peter Lang, 2003). The book concludes with a 15 page bibliography. Locally, this thrust has been clearly set forth by Georg Ziselsberger, "Waking Up to the Importance of Creation," Docete 25, #114 (July-Aug. 2003): 10-18, and Victoria D. Corral, "The New Cosmology and Creation-Centered Spirituality: Its Exponents and Practitioners" Docete 25 #113 (Apr-June 2003): 17-24.

the Incarnation, and the Spirit's indwelling. A recent study, entitled "Preaching from the Book of Nature" first sets forth Old Testament and Jesus' own preaching as grounds for viewing nature as "Revelation of the Word of God," then goes on to treat of "The Cries of the Poor and the Groaning of the Earth," and concludes with "Formation of the Sacramental Imagination: Scripture, Liturgy, and the Christian Story." The very last paragraphs, drawing on a short homily from Rahner entitled "Easter: A Faith that Loves the Earth," sketches how Christ's Resurrection demonstrates that the tomb of the dead – the body and the earth – has been radically changed into the glorious house of the living God. The Risen Christ possesses definitively this transfigured glorified body, a piece of the earth, now part of the earth's reality and destiny.[41]

These three current trends and new theological initiatives offer further insight into how a more holistic approach to Scripture and a Practical Theology method can have a significant impact on communicating the spirituality dimension of the Faith, perhaps even implying a certain re-ordering of priorities in our present sacramental catechesis. The immediate area of "application" here, of course, is the **liturgy**. The following final section takes up some of the more important manifestations of this impact in the post-Vatican II **liturgical renewal**, with two particular emphases proper to our Philippine catechetical scene: liturgical **inculturation**, and the inherent **"service" dimension** of the **Eucharist**. A brief summary of a number of specific catechetical / religious education suggestions for future action concludes the study.

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[41] Mary Catherine Hilkert, "Preaching from the Book of Nature," Worship 76 (July 2002) 290-313. See her Naming Grace: Preaching and the Sacramental Imagination (New York: Continuum, 1997). Cf. K. Rahner, "Easter: A Faith that Loves the Earth," in The Great Church Year (New York: Crossroads, 1993) 192-97.

B. Reverberations in Sacramental Liturgy

The liturgical renewal initiated by Vatican II has perhaps had, among all the Council's initiatives, the single greatest impact on the faithful's ordinary exercise of faith in daily life. Substantial research, experimentation, revision, new initiatives have continued in the years following the Council. Summarizing some of the more important changes and initiatives of the past post-Vatican II forty years can bring out the influence on liturgy and sacraments of our holistic approach to Scripture and Practical Theology's modus operandi.[42]

Beyond the physical changes of language and position in celebrating the Eucharist, the key liturgical thrust of Vatican II was "**active participation.**" The unforeseen problem inherent in this thrust is: just what is the liturgy? The real subject of the liturgy often slipped **from** the Risen Christ who through the Spirit worships the Father and sanctifies people in a symbolic act, **to** human persons or the celebrating community. From an exaggerated fidelity to the rubrics, self-will took over, eliminating every sense of mystery; the '**leit-ourgia**,' or work **of** and **for** the people in relating to God, became a purely human social activity. The Eucharist, rather than primarily "God's work on us," and the epiphany of **the** Christian mystery through the service of the Church continuing the mission of Christ -- a divine project in history beyond us-- often came to be reduced to simply a 'religious meal', not the memorial of Christ's Last Supper with his disciples.

The fundamental attitude of "**homo liturgicus**" involves an attitude of faith, of prayer, of grateful receptivity to God, of self-giving and contemplation, rather than the mindset of the "**homo faber**," the worker, engineer. "Active participation" presumes a proper **understanding** the liturgy which, beyond all renewed structuring of common human

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[42] Cf. Godfried Cardinal Danneels, "Liturgy 40 Years After Vatican II: High Point or Recession," in Liturgy in a Post-Modern World, ed Keith Pecklers (New York: Continuum, 2003), pp. 7-25. The following paragraphs draw heavily on this informative study

religiosity, focuses on the epiphany of God in human history. Thus catechesis and initiation become absolutely basic, since the needed understanding cannot be grasped immediately, all at once, like some simple fact of information, but rather as in whatever touches the depths of the human – love, death, joy, solidarity -- only through a lengthy and progressive process involving **repetition** as in rituals. Repetitive ritual enables those celebrating the real possibility for in-depth reflection and gradual interiorization and community-forming.

This gradual learning process means developing an appreciation for the major liturgical symbols, the creative adaptation of themes and variations, and even of practical questions like duration and proper articulation. Much of the present exaggerated 'verbosity' in the liturgy must yield to greater emphasis on gesture, imagination affect and emotions – a "**sensorial pedagogy**" that gives pride of place to the human body and its senses, to "experience" first, and then to analysis, reflection, explanation. The "experience" embraced extends to the cosmic realities of fire, water, food, day and night, times and seasons, as well as to the historical events of salvation. But liturgy not only **symbolizes human life** – what we do throughout the week is concentrated and purified in the Sunday liturgy: we live for God and for others. It **also symbolizes** and makes present the **mysteries of salvation** (Christ's words and deeds) and also our deeds as reflected, purified and redeemed in Christ, and offered through him to the Father. Liturgy finds its field of application in daily life: life in Christ is built on two things: **cultus** and **caritas**.

C. Liturgical Inculturation

The number of studies and publications in inculturation, and liturgical inculturation in particular, is immense – a topic or theme that constitutes a theological and cultural discipline in itself.[43] Hence our treatment here will necessarily be extremely limited,

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[43] Cf. Peter C. Phan, "Liturgical Inculturation: Unity in Diversity in the Postmodern Age," in ibid., pp.56-85, with twelve pages of End Notes (198-211).

focused sharply on the new dimensions of inculturation regarding understanding and communicating Christian Faith and evangelization. One central insight drawn from FABC is that inculturation is not something to be pursued for its own sake, or simply to make worship more palatable to Asians, but rather as part of the more fundamental task of becoming an Asian Church through dialogue with the Asian poor, Asian cultures, and Asian religions. Inculturation is always coupled with liberation and inter-religious dialogue.[44]

In general, it is helpful to distinguish (but not separate) two levels of liturgical inculturation: 1) the more theoretical level investigating the nature and foundations for the reality and process of inculturation; and 2) the more immediately pastoral level of concrete ways and means of creating, implementing, or celebrating an authentically inculturated liturgy.[45] The first level must face the immediate necessity of defining what is the nature, purpose and means of liturgy itself, and liturgical theology. For example there are numerous accepted "models" of liturgy, each with its own insights and limitations: liturgy as institution, as mystery (Word & sacrament), as Sacrament (taken as social symbols), as Proclamation , and as Process (God involved in human life).[46] The second level involves the ever present challenge of the local Christian community to worship God revealed by Jesus Christ. "God is Spirit, and those who worship him must worship in Spirit and truth," (Jn.4:24)

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[44] See "A Renewed Church in Asia: Pastoral Directions for a New Decade: FABC Papers no 95, (2000); cf. also Peter Phan, "Ecclesia in Asia: Challenges for Asian Christianity," East Asian Pastoral Review 37 (2000): 220-26; also Aloysius Pieris, "An Asian Paradigm: Inter-religious Dialogue and Theology of Religions," The Month 254 (1993), and local articles in EAPR vols. 37 and 38 (2000-2001).

[45] Both levels are well represented in the end notes of Phan's articles, and in the following footnotes of this study.

[46] Cf. James L. Empereur, "The Theological Experience: Models of Liturgical Theology," Chicago Studies 16 (1977): 45-62.

A basic way of defining liturgy in the concrete is simply to ask: "What does liturgy do?" In pre and post-Vatican II years, the emphasis was commonly focused on the "saving, healing dimensions" of the liturgy, grounded on the New Covenant of the Jesus Christ, experienced and celebrated in and through faith grace-filled encounter with the Risen Christ in his Paschal Mystery.[47] As such, liturgy is not a thing but a meeting of persons and the celebration of an experiential relationship with God and others in Christ through the Holy Spirit – celebrating not a past event but a present reality, an on-going call and response, a new life called "salvation." Briefly, the true Christian liturgy is simply the life of Christ in us, lived and celebrated both personally and ecclesially, the life that is none other than the Holy Spirit, present in us. "If the Bible is the Word of God in words of men, the liturgy is the saving deeds of God in the actions of those who live in Christ." This more traditional emphasis on the soteriological dimension of the liturgy has now balanced with the new interest in creation spirituality as described above.

Insight into the impact of liturgical inculturation on catechesis/ religious education can be gained by focusing on some of the current accepted principles of "liturgical catechesis."[48] Recognizing that the liturgy, focused on Christ's Paschal Mystery, is both source and privileged place for catechesis, liturgical catechesis is sketched as follows: its premier locus is the parish Sunday Eucharist, its model is the baptismal catechumenate, its framework is the liturgical year, its starting point is the believers' actual experience of, and reflection on, the rituals in relation to daily life. Liturgical catechesis is taken to constitute a privileged means for inculturating the Gospel and presupposes an adapted and inculturated liturgy, while at the same time challenging those celebrating the liturgy to a commitment to the Church's universal mission of evangelizing the world

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[47] Cf. Robert Taft, "What Does Liturgy Do? Toward a Soteriology of the Liturgical Celebration: Some Theses," Worship 66 (May 1992): 194-211.

[48] Cf. Veronica Rosier, Liturgical Catechesis ...(Leuven: Peters, 2001) 81-90; see also Gilbert Ostdiek, "Liturgy as Catechesis for Life," Living Light 37 (2001):45-54.

This built-in thrust of the liturgical catechesis toward mission is developed in critical researched studies of the Eucharist in terms of a twofold "diakonia" (service): from the service of cult to the service of charity. The horizontal diakonia of the community (charity) is discerned as the true criterion for the vertical diakonia (worship) of God.[49] This historical research grounds the current stress, especially in terms of PCP II's portrait of our Church as Church of the poor, on integrating authentic worship with the Catholic social thrust, overcoming the traditional caricature of contrasting pious Church-going devotees vs. socially committed workers for justice and the poor.

Conclusion

This exposition of current trends in spirituality and liturgical inculturation needs to be carried forward into the new approaches in sacramental theology. It also clearly manifested the impact of the two sources – holistic approach to Scripture and Practical Theology.[50] Actually the influence of both is evidenced in the theme of a recent work on theologizing in the manner of St. John's Gospel.[51] But the theme of this essay has sufficiently developed to suggest what further analysis would reveal. The practical operational catechetical steps called for must be relegated to a follow-up study.

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[49] Cesare Giraudo, "The Eucharist as Diakonia: From the Service of Cult to the Service of Charity," Liturgy in a Post-Modern World, ed Keith Pecklers (New York: Continuum, 2003), pp 102-32.

[50] Cf. for example, German Martinez, Signs of Freedom: Theology of the Christian Sacraments (New York: Paulist, 2004).

[51] Robert L. Kinast, If Only You Recognized God's Gift: John's Gospel as an Illustration of Theological Reflection (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993).

Landas 21:1 (2007) 70-84

HOLY MEN AND THEIR SKY JOURNEYS: A CROSS-CULTURAL MODEL

John J. Pilch

The authors of some ancient documents from the circum-Mediterranean world report making trips to the sky (Couliano). While John, the author of Revelation, did that at least once (Rev 4:1-2), Paul likely did it more than once (2 Cor. 12:1, though Smith 1981: 425-429 believes Paul is talking about Jesus and not himself). Enoch is perhaps the most sky-traveled of ancient authors (see 1 and 2 Enoch). In the case of John and Paul, the authors personally made the trip. In the latter case, an author ascribed the trip to an ancient personage around whom such a tradition easily grew (Gen 5:21-24). This seems to be the basis for scholars' divided opinion on the subject of sky journeys. Some believe the reports are fictions especially when written about ancient personages, e.g., the Life of Adam and Eve, the Apocalypse of Abraham, the Testament of Levi, etc. Merkur (1989) and some contributors to the Collins and Fishbane collection (1995) would fall into this category, though they admit that there may be some basis in human experience for constructing the fiction. One reason for believing the reports are fictions is that apocalypses seem to allude literarily to previous apocalypses. Rowland (1982: 226) represents the other perspective: "It seems, therefore, a reasonable hypothesis that these visions in these apocalypses are in fact what they purport to be: the description of visions of visionaries who believed that it was possible for them to pierce the vault of heaven and be shown the most intimate secrets of God and his world."

What human experience would underlie sky journeys? Collins and Fishbane compare these to near death experiences and say "religious

beliefs about flight of the soul have some foothold in human experience, however enigmatic that experience may be" (Collins and Fishbane 1995: x). Actually, the near death experience (about which more below) has been and continues to be researched in the social sciences, but such research is often ignored by biblical scholars (witness Collins and Fishbane). Merkur (1989: 122) insists that "all instances of otherworldly journeys, correspond to message dreams. They portray visual images as real perceptions of ordinarily invisible beings and scenes of the heavens, paradise, hell, and distant locations on earth." He doesn't indicate whence he drew the category "message dreams." But because he thinks these are dreams, he uses Freudian psychoanalysis to interpret reports of visions and sky journeys in the apocalypses and concludes: "It is, I submit, untenable that ancient authors, writing fictions, could have invented a psychological syndrome that anticipated superego theory so very well. The theoretic coherence of their visionary practice is a testament to its reality." Of course, Merkur wrote before Pilch quoting Stannard argued that modern western psychiatry and psychology are inappropriate tools for analyzing ancient Mediterranean documents (Pilch 1997: 112). The proper tool is cross-cultural psychology, a relatively recent development. The International Association of Cross-Cultural Psychology (IACCP) was organized in 1972 formalizing a movement that began in the 1960's.

In this article, I will draw insights from cultural anthropology, a science that compares cultures, and neuroscience which is a discipline that deals with the one thing that all human beings have had in common for millennia: the human body. I will examine the notion of a sky journey, the journey or trip itself, and the destination of the journey.

The Sky Journey

"The shamanic soul flight (or soul journey) can be defined as an alternate state of consciousness (ASC). I now use "alternate" instead of "altered." This implies a static, foundational state though unacceptable to social scientists. In some aspect of the experient – soul, spirit, or

perceptual capacities – is thought to travel to or be projected to another place, generally "a spirit world" (Winkelman 1999: 411). The adjective "shamanic" is critical. Anthropologists recognize that while human beings in general are capable of ASCs, it is the shamans alone who primarily travel to the sky (Walsh 1990: 141). Because I am investigating biblical and related traditions, I have replaced the word "shaman" with "holy man/holy woman" (Pilch 2004d: 16; see also Brown 2000: 154; and Kehoe 20200: 53-54). In this regard, I agree with those anthropologists who believe that the word shaman properly describes this figure among the Siberian Tungus and should be limited to that discussion.

Winkelman's definition also highlights a still unresolved discussion about the nature of the sky journey experience: exactly who or what travels? He claims that it is a dimension or aspect of the human person: soul, spirit, or perceptual capacity. The still unresolved anthropological (ontological?) question is: are these journeys truly exosomatic? Or simply imaginal (that is, mind-created imagery) (see Walsh 1990: 155-156). The majority of biblical interpreters seem to accept them as imaginal. "I am not inclined to read the ascent apocalypses as reflecting the author's experience in any but the most indirect way, as any author's experience is reflected in his writing. My reasons have to do primarily with the highly literary nature of these works and the way in which ascents are integrally related to the narratives of which they form a part" (Himmelfarb 1995: 133). Likewise, Smith (1981: 411) affirmed that "imaginative" [persons] actually believed they experienced the journeys about which they read and wrote.

In contrast, Rowland (1982: 230) represents those scholars who believe these visionaries did indeed on occasion dissolve the boundaries between consensual reality and alternate reality and reach the realm of God, the spirit world (see also Stutley 2003: 29 who uses the phrase "dissolve the boundaries of the mundane world"). His view would fit Winkelman's definition that some element of the human person makes an actual journey. The clearest example occurs in the Ascension of Isaiah (2nd cent BC – 4th cent AD). Though his companions "did not think that the holy Isaiah had been taken up" (6:14), the angel (spirit guide) who took Isaiah on his journey through the sky says "you have to return

into this body" (7:5; see also 8:11). Thus this author-visionary claims his journey was what contemporary anthropological science calls an "out of body experience" (OOBE).

Indeed, anthropologists and psychiatrists note that while shamanic sky journeys are induced and directed, many contemporary (and ancient) personages have had similar but spontaneous and entirely unsought experiences, namely: out of body experiences (OOBE), near death experiences (NDE), and lucid dreaming (see Walsh 1990: 140. Walsh is a psychiatrist and anthropologist at the University of California-Irvine). In his classic cross-cultural study of the out-of-the-body-experience which he identified as the core element of the shamanic soul flight or sky journey, Shiels' (1978) concluded that the experience is nearly universal (see also Winkelman 1999: 411). He had examined beliefs in such experiences in nearly 70 non-Western cultures. The similarities were scientifically notable despite cultural differences. Further research by cognitive neuroscientists (d'Aquili and Newberg 1999) explained that the universality is rooted in an integrated psychophysiological and archetypal structure. The human organism has been capable of (they use the phrase "hardwired for") this experience for millennia.

A follow-up study which was presented at the annual meeting of the American Psychiatric Association in 1980 contributed further insight. Twemlow et al. (1982: 450) defined the OOBE as "an experience where you felt that your mind or awareness was separated from your physical body." What is distinctive about this experience is a "sense of the location of the total sense of self at some place other than in the physical body." The researchers also noted that their results do not support the notion "that religious conditioning, preoccupation with esoteric belief system, or preexisting psychopathology explains the OOBE." This would confirm Smith's claim that the root of the notion of "ascents" is "not in the expectations of the End, i.e., in the apocalyptic tradition, but rather in some immediate experience in the Christian life" (Smith 1981: 416-417). Anthropologists think that it was the spontaneous experiences of ASCs and journey states that inspired holy men/women to learn how to induce them at will.

Studies of near death or clinical death experiences have given anthropologists a clue to the stages of a journey. The first stage of an NDE is a profound sense of peace and well being. This is followed by the shock or surprise of finding oneself outside the body, apparently capable of hearing and seeing everything that is taking place, including the view of one's own body lying unconscious. The next stage is a sense of moving through a tunnel that is often dark. At the end one sees brilliant light or a luminous figure. In NDEs, the dying person merges with this light phenomenon in ecstatic love. The third and final stage is the realization that death would be premature and the dying person must return to consensual reality (Walsh 1990: 150).

The stages Walsh identified are similar to the stages identified for ASC experiences in general (see Pilch 2004d: 71-74; 2002: 695-697). In Stage one, the person sees geometric patterns: dots, zigzags that look like lightning strikes, lines or sticks that may or may not be parallel, crossed, vertical, horizontal, etc. One also sees light and bright colors that flicker, pulsate, or blend. These experiences reflect the neurological events taking place with the person's body especially the brain. In stage two, the visionary seeks to impose meaning on these patterns and light. Visionaries in hunter-gatherer cultures may see animals. Other visionaries impose personal, religious, emotional, or other significance. Bright light (white) in the biblical tradition is associated with God and the realm of God. Yahweh's glory is always described as bright light (Is 60:1; 62:1; Luke 2:9; etc.). Finally, stage three is the deepest part of the trance. Often the visionary travels through a tunnel, a vortex, a narrow passage way, a vagina, or something similar and arrives in a place of light, even subdued light. Sometimes this world seems bizarre (e.g., Dan 7). And it is in this stage that journeys or metamorphoses can occur. When the vision is ended, the visionary gives these usual experiences a "rational" interpretation. Since NDEs are in the realm of ASC experiences, it should not be surprising that their stages are similar. On the other hand, in the NDE a person has little to no control over the event. In contrast, sky journeys are often directed by the visionary.

Finally, the third experience that is similar to sky journeys is dream travel and lucid dreams. Walsh notes that this type of cosmic traveling

is something "we have all experienced" (Walsh 1990: 151). Winkelman identifies ASCs as "perhaps a universal of human societies" (393) and with specific reference to sky journeys, he notes that it is generally available to moderns (Winkelman 1999: 412 referring especially to the research and experience of Harner 1990). Some native cultures and their holy persons regard dream experiences and travels as "no less real or valuable than waking ones" (Walsh 1990: 151). Lucid dreaming is a similar strategy which allows the dreamer to direct the dream much like a holy person directs the sky journey. This technique has been most developed in Tibetan dream yoga.

In conclusion, these three experiences: OOBEs, NDEs, and lucid dreaming seem to have occurred spontaneously through the course of human existence. Walsh (1990: 152) suggests that they may have provided the basis for the belief that elements of the human person might also be able to travel. Eventually, holy people of given cultures developed techniques for sky travel and outfitted them with an explanatory ideology that fit well within the worldview of the culture.

The Trip

Walsh (1990: 142) points out that the sky journey involves three phases: a preparation and purification; the inducement of an ASC; and the actual journey. Purification is especially important when the purpose of the ASC is to visit the spirit world. Human intruders into that world want to make themselves as worthy as possible of entering into that realm and interacting with its inhabitants. Native Americans generally burn sweet grass or something similar in order to smudge (purify) themselves in preparation for the ASC. There is no doubt that that smell also contributes to inducing the alternate state. If Isaiah's call vision took place in the Temple (Is 6:4), the "smoke" that filled that house may have been smoke from burnt offerings and incense, either of which could serve as a physical, neurological trigger for an ASC.

Elements of the preparation for an ASC include isolation or withdrawal from society (see Luke 9:28//), fasting (Matt 4:1//Luke 4:2), prayer (Luke 9:28//), sexual abstinence, sleep deprivation and/or sight

deprivation at night, and the like. Merkur (1989: 126-127) also identified ritual mourning as an induction technique. Lamentation, prayer, fasting, weeping in solitude and wearing sackcloth and ashes seem to have been elements in a full complement of ascetic practices that related to ritual mourning (see e.g., Dan 9:3-4, 20-22; 10:2-5; etc.).

Merkur further hypothesized that the induction technique of mourning actually stimulated some of the experience. Lamentation and weeping induced uncontrollable distress. Fasting, darkness and sleep deprivation provided agitation or arousal of the spirit. Moreover, prayers and lamentations gave a religious character to the ASC (Merkur 1989: 128-129). While this hypothetical interpretation is somewhat plausible, Winkelman (1999: 398-402) offers a better explanation of the physiology of a wide array of ASC induction procedures that helps one to appreciate how the human experience takes place, and why the human experience is so universal throughout time from pre-history to the present. Thus, as one example, fasting or nutritional deficits affect serotonin synthesis in the human body and produce emotional disturbances, hallucinations, alterations in cognitive and emotional functioning, and occasionally symptoms that are often interpreted as possession (e.g., convulsions, see Mark 9:14-29//).

The second stage of the sky journey is to induce an ASC if the preparatory elements of the ritual have not yet initiated it. Experiments indicate that those who seek to induce and control an ASC often begin to slip into it during the preparation (relaxation, deep breathing, meditation, repeating a mantra, and the like). Since the continuity of consciousness is an illusion (Rossi 1986: 111 quoting the hypnotherapist, Milton Erickson), scholars recognize that human beings slip in and out of more than thirty four different levels of consciousness throughout the day (Crapanzano 2001: 632). Indeed, even during a sky journey ASC, the traveler might slip out of that experience for a while and then return to continue the journey. In an induced ASC, the visionary is in charge and capable of directing the experience by "checking" to see which of the conditions might be failing. Typical ASC inducing methods include rattling, drumming, singing, chanting, dancing, hunger, thirst, sleep loss, sensory deprivation, and many more (Winkelman 1999: 397). From a

neurological perspective, these are strategies for overstimulating the senses which induces an ASC "from the bottom up," or in technical terms, an ASC that begins in the autonomic nervous system and moves to the brain (see Pilch 2004d: 174-175). Meditation is a technique that induces an ASC "from the top down," that is, it begins in the brain and eventually entrains the entire nervous system. (This is a plausible explanation of the activities of mystics like Joseph of Cupertino [1602-1662] who often traveled seven or eight feet off the ground to kiss the statue of the holy infant on the altar. One day he reportedly carried another friar with him as he floated around the room. Something similar is reported of St. Teresa [1515-1582] who sometimes had nuns sit on her to keep her from floating.). While many sky journeys in ancient literature involve some sort of technique on the part of the visionary, others come at God's initiative (Himmelfarb 1995: 131). Presumably, if God can initiate such an experience, the human person is capable of it.

The third part is the actual journey. There is great diversity in the ethnographic record of reported journeys. Walsh thinks that perhaps this is because "no one can rightly explain how the journey is made" (Walsh 1990: 143). As noted above, some claim that only a part of the holy person travels (soul or spirit), while others say that the holy one makes the journey in person. The journeys take place in a number of ways (Walsh 1990: 148). The visionary may be transformed into a bird and go soaring aloft, or a bird can transport the visionary. In some traditions, the eagle is recognized as the father of the first sky traveler (Stutley 2003: 73), hence it serves all subsequent sky travelers as the vehicle par excellence (see the suggestive references in Exod 19:4; Is 40:31; Obad 4). At times, the instrument used for overstimulating the senses (e.g., the drum) acts as the vehicle by which the visionary makes the journey to the sky (Stutley 2003: 72). At other times, the visionary climbs the world axis that runs through the three worlds: upper, middle, and lower (about which more below). Sometimes the axis is the world tree (not to be confused with the tree in the garden of Eden, see Pilch 2004b). On other occasions, the visionary ascends a mountain (Rev 21:10), or a rainbow, or ladder (see Gen 28:10 and the ladder that sky servants used for visiting the earth and returning to the sky). Sky travelers also use a variety of "roads" to reach their destination (Stutley 2003: 15). This is quite evident on some "maps"

drawn by shamans and published by Joseph Campbell (see Campbell 1983: 158 + 167). Curiously, the maps never agree. Felicitas Goodman published a map of the lower world drawn by one of her workshop participants in Vienna (Goodman and Nauwald 2003: 76). This trained cartographer was excited about his visit to the lower world in an ASC and planned to map all of alternate reality. Unfortunately, he didn't retain contact with Goodman and never returned for subsequent workshops or research sessions. She was disappointed because she believes that "one cannot depict the other reality with only the means of ordinary reality." Still, she was interested in learning what a trained cartographer might discover. Other maps he would have drawn might have made a singular contribution to the ongoing research of her research institute and to the anthropological database on sky journeys.

The Destination

As already indicated, sky travelers journey to the upper, middle, or lower world. This concept of the cosmos seems rooted in the way of thinking of Paleolithic hunters and gatherers (Stutley 2003: 45). Still, these zones or planes of the cosmos are given different interpretations among cultures. The Chukchi (NE Russia) cosmos has five, seven, or nine worlds each one above the other. Among the Ainu (indigenous people of the Japanese archipelago), good spirits live on seventeen levels above the earth, while bad ones inhabit nine or seven levels under the earth (Stutley 2003: 49, 59). Perhaps this helps understand varying number of "heavens" visited by biblical and extra-biblical personalities (see Elliott 2000: 654, esp. note 281). Rather than attempting to map the terrain traversed, it would seem more appropriate and useful to explore what is transpiring in the visit. Is the visionary learning new information of value to fellow human beings? Does the visionary receive gifts (information, healing, a new life direction, etc.) for fellow human beings?

These three worlds are located in the mythical tree of life which stands in the center of the universe (Pilch 2004a: 178). Indeed, it contains the universe. Just as the interpretation of these worlds differs among cultures, so to does their interpretation of the inhabitants of each of these worlds. In general, however, the lower world (roots of the tree) is

the abode of the dead and/or "helping" spirits. The middle world (tree trunk) contains the spirit or essence of all things. It is the "real world" behind the visible world. It is actually a mirror image of the world in which human beings reside during their lifetime. The upper world (branches of the tree) contains everything that exists inside and outside our galaxy. Holy men/women in each culture are especially known for their ability to journey to these worlds in an ASC. Ezekiel (3:14-15) and John (Rev 4:1-2) are two holy men in the biblical tradition who visited one or another of these worlds.

The equivalent of the lower world in the biblical tradition is sheol, the abode of the dead (see Pilch 2004a). It is not the place of punishment which emerged in later Second Temple Judaism (see 1 Enoch 54:1-2; New Testament Gehenna). The opening to this world, according to Talmudic tradition (Erubim 19a) was located in the Valley of Hinnom. It is not a place that a person might want to visit. The equivalent of the upper world in the biblical tradition is the sky (see Pilch 2004b). Unfortunately the word is too often translated as "heaven" which carries with it centuries of evolved theological understanding. Presently, heaven is the human state of bliss or happiness rooted in the vision and enjoyment of God, technically called the "beatific vision." In the biblical world, the sky was simply the abode of God, the realm of the spirits, and the abode of righteous believers. One would certainly want to visit this world to gain information or visit with one's ancestors and most certainly with God and the spirits.

The equivalent of the middle world in the biblical tradition is the earth, "the entirety of material existence" (Janzen 1992: ABD II:245). As I have explained elsewhere, however (Pilch 2004c), anthropologists call this earth "consensual reality." Parallel to it exists alternate reality which is what the middle world on the cosmic tree of life represents. This middle world is the "real world" behind our visible world, our consensual reality. In the biblical tradition, the concept of navel or center of the earth helps us to learn where the middle world is. For the ancients built the earthly residence of their God at the navel above which was an opening to the sky, the abode of God (Pilch 1999: 148). If one knew where the navel was, one could travel to the sky, "break the barrier" as it were, and visit

with the spirit realm. In early Israelite tradition, the center may have been Bethel where Jacob saw the ladder and spirits ascending and descending (Gen 28:17). Another early Israelite tradition saw the center at Babylon (about fifty miles south of Baghdad, Iraq), where the tower allowed God to come to earth through the hole in the sky to visit Babylon. Earlier in the Babylonian tradition, Nippur was the center. It was in this vicinity that Ezekiel experienced God in ASCs. Thus, holy men and women like the Patriarch Jacob and the Prophet Ezekiel could find the tree of life and gain insight from the middle world on that tree, the "real world", that could then be applied to life on earth where human beings lived.

Thus, each journey is different because each of these worlds is different. Entrance to the lower world might be through a cave, a hollow tree stump, a water hole, a tube or tunnel, or something similar (see the Talmudic tradition mentioned above). The novice traveler often must undergo tests or challenges, but the experienced holy person is familiar with the road and the terrain and encounters no such problems. Trips to the upper world, the abode of the spirits including God, are particularly ecstatic. Here teachers and guides can be found, and information and/or gifts of import to human beings are obtained by the sky traveler. The journey to the upper world is often facilitated by the holy person traveling to a raised area like a mountain, tree top, or cliff. From here the holy person can more easily ascend to the sky.

At some point in the journey to the upper or lower world, the traveler must pierce the "membrane" which separates the worlds (Walsh 1990: 147). Others describe the challenge as dissolving the boundaries between the worlds (Stutley 2003: 29, 36-37; see above par. 7). In the biblical tradition, this would be equivalent to knowing where the hole in the sky is located. The neurological explanation for this dimension of the ASC experience is that the induction technique that the holy person is using (some form of sensory over stimulation) expands normal consciousness so that the ego unites with the rest of the cosmos and heightens sensitivity of all the senses. This expanded consciousness is what "dissolves" the boundary between the worlds. Among the associated experiences, especially noteworthy is the slowing down or abolition of the sense of time. Participant researchers in trance experiences invariably report

how the usual fifteen minute period felt: it went quickly; it dragged; the researcher felt as if more time was spent in ordinary consciousness than in the ASC; etc. Most people know this flexible experience of time from dreams in which elements of past and present mingle without distinction. In trance, however, the future is usually inaccessible (see Goodman and Nauwald 2003: 68-69; Stutley 2003: 29). Everything is experienced simultaneously. This is why the visionary seeks to sort out the experience and interpret it in a way that makes sense to self and to others.

Conclusion

The cross-cultural model for analyzing sky journeys (the term includes journeys' destinations other than the sky as well) fleshed out with insights about alternate states of consciousness in general promises to be a useful tool for interpreting such reports in ancient literature. The model was designed inductively from scholars' review of ethnographic literature. Its hermeneutical value can be tested by applying it to the interpretation of journeys reported in biblical and extra-biblical literature.

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1965-2006: LOYOLA SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY AT FORTY

Address given at the LST Commencement Exercises

Catalino G. Arévalo

The year San Lorenzo Ruiz de Manila was canonized, Fr. James Reuter presented a pageant that summed up Christianity's 400-year history in the Philippines, and it was supposed to go for some forty minutes only. My assignment this morning is to sum up forty years of Loyola School of Theology (LST) in about twenty minutes, and so that comes down to two years per minute. In doing so, I will try to do three things.

First, I will go through some names, mainly of the pioneers who have given much to LST, and give a word or two on their labors. Due to time constraints, I can mention only a few, both living and dead, while passing over the present generation with much regret. Second, I will attempt to cite a few events and accomplishments which are like landmarks, milestones in the history of the first thirty years. These are my personal choices, and so my selection will be inadequate. Third, I would like to pay tribute to a person I believe made a contribution of enduring value to all of us gathered here.

Pioneers of LST

Many of you by now know that the school year 1965-66 was our first here at what is now the Loyola School of Theology (LST). Our

students in that first year were the Jesuits, the seminarians from San Jose Major Seminary *(Josefinos)*, and the Oblates of Mary Immaculate. The Oblates have been studying with the *Josefinos* even before the Japanese War years at the seminary in Balintawak. The Jesuits were the newcomers in 1965. We functioned then under government accreditation for San Jose Seminary until 1968, when we became a *sui juris* school federated with the Ateneo de Manila University. We started what is now LST with the formation of priests as our only objective.

For nearly thirty years, there was a short and rather constant list of LST professors. Almost all were Jesuits, and practically everyone was a graduate of the Gregorian or the Biblicum in Rome. There were one or two exceptions until quite recently, when we welcomed young blood and many new faces.

This morning, we can be led by titles of recognition given by other entities to our faculty. Honorary doctorates have been given for their labors as theologians in the service of the Church.

Fr. Pedro de Achutegui received his honorary PhD from the Ateneo de Manila University for his multivolume work on Aglipayanism and Aguinaldo, but above all for his wide-ranging activity for the CBCP, which culminated in the Second Plenary Council of the Philippines in 1991 and the Synod of Manila which preceded it. For many years, his Cardinal Bea Institute was CBCP Secretariat for ecumenism. LST was involved in highly ecumenical activities at that time – dialogues, conferences, national and Asian-wide signing of joint agreements, etc.

Fr. Pedro Sevilla was also involved in these ecumenical activities. He attended meetings here and abroad, for instance, with the World Council of Churches and other Protestant organizations. He served longest as LST administrator – as Dean twice, as President twice, and as delegate to congresses and conferences.

Fr. Joseph Smith is the voluminous author of erudite sets of notes which people have treasured over the years. He has served LST with steady coursework, mentored twenty-one theses including five doctoral dissertations. He works at the library study room where his solid

scholarship progresses unabated up to now.

Fr. Joseph Roche received his honorary doctorate from the Ateneo de Naga University. His authentic magnum opus is the Catechism for Filipino Catholics, and his influence in religious education will resound even when his voice will no longer be heard enough.

Fr. John Schumacher, honored by the Ateneo de Manila University with the *Tanglaw ng Lahi* award as a church historian of really significant achievement, is widely recognized for his lasting scholarly work on early church history.

Fr. Gerry Healy, who combined in his classroom the confessional, the counselling room, the court, and other pastoral fields, gave LST a noted eminence in moral theology, which we trust is being kept up at this time.

Fr. Eduardo Hontiveros received an honorary PhD from Xavier University, the *Tanglaw ng Lahi* award from Ateneo de Manila University, the *Ecclesia et Pontifice* medal from Pope John Paul II, and the *Magnificat* award from the Archdiocese of Manila. Several concerts have been presented in his honor as the Father of Filipino liturgical music. He has composed and/or written the lyrics to more than 450 liturgical songs, and his hymns are literally sung all over the world – from St. Peter's Basilica in Rome to Beijing, from Reykjavik, Iceland to the smallest barrios in our country. In a 2001 nationwide survey ranking the outstanding Filipino Catholic writers of this century, he was voted second only to Fr. Horacio dela Costa.

To be safe, I have only cited some of our elders. The later generation of teachers in LST are still in their full power, glory, and flower. It will be another time when we will sing their praise. However, I would like to mention two from this younger generation who give eminence to the work of LST.

Bishop Luis Antonio Tagle, an LST graduate, is a member of the International Theological Commission and the Inner Council for Bishops' Roman Synods. At the age of forty, he received an honorary PhD from Far Eastern University and was ordained bishop ordinary of Imus, Cavite.

Fr. Daniel Patrick Huang, who happens to be my Provincial, is a man of distinction and he is already looked upon as a luminary in our ecclesiastical firmament.

Milestones in the History of LST

Perhaps beyond the classroom and university campus, LST's service to the hierarchy can be recorded as a special achievement. When Archbishop Giuseppe Pittau of the Congregation for Catholic Education came here to inaugurate LST as a pontifical institute with the right to grant ecclesiastical degrees, he called me aside and told me that it was LST's service to the hierarchy – first to the CBCP for many years, and in some measure to the FABC and to some Roman decasteries – which was the one main ground for ready conferral of LST's accreditation. He encouraged us to be constant in that service. Fr. Pedro Arrupe more than once told us that if St. Ignatius were living, this work would be on the top level of his priorities.

For some of us at LST, that service to the hierarchy has taken up much of our time and energies. What has this service meant in practice?

Above all, there is the schooling of priests. When we started LST, this was the one and only objective. You can read that in the early documents, in our inaugural program. The messages of Cardinal Rufino Santos, Fr. Pedro Arrupe and Fr. Horacio dela Costa speak of one thing: their one wish and prayer was that this school of philosophy and theology (with Fr. Frank Reilly as Dean of Philosophy) might become as good as any school of priestly formation in the entire Catholic world. When Pope Paul VI received me in a brief audience in Rome in 1966, he looked into my eyes and told me to make that the project of my own life. The formation of good and holy priests, he said, was the noblest task anyone could be given in the Church.

As such, the first twenty-five or so years of this school had priestly formation as its primary objective. It was a service to the dioceses, the religious congregations, to the hierarchy, and to the religious men who came here to prepare for ordination.

LST has also been serving the Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines (CBCP). For instance, CBCP has over the years asked us to handle several seminars for the general assemblies of bishops. During the turmoil of the martial law years, we handled seminars on ideologies and the Church's stance toward them. Frs. Romeo Intengan, Jose Blanco and Antonio Lambino took part in such.

Previous to this, LST held a quick run through of theological currents in the years immediately following Vatican II. If I may have a personal note, that was the first and only time I was formally delated to the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith for repeating Bernard Lonergan's view that 19th and 20th century scholasticism has had its day and that we must go beyond it. Now a sentence like that is very conservative.

Not too long ago, the bishops asked us to update them on contemporary Christology. Fr. Huang was already part of that. We were told it was the best attended CBCP seminar up to that time. Today, Fr. Miguel Lambino, who is in charge of the annual Christological workshop for the renewal program of priests, keeps that up.

One friendly bishop publicly said: we look to LST for balance and reliability in doctrine. Others, as critics, use other adjectives and not in quite so friendly a fashion.

LST was closely associated with the first 20 years of FABC conferences. From the organizational meeting in 1970 in Manila under Paul VI, and up to the 20th year celebrations at San Carlos seminary with John Paul II, LST was there. The hands-on FABC workhorse, the Maryknoller Fr. Ed Malone, almost invariably asked LST people into the FABC general assemblies and into many of its sectoral seminars.

Preparations for the first International Congress in Manila in 1979 were done in LST, and the FABC has a desk for LST in practically every bishops' synod in Rome. It was usually Fr. Pedro de Achutegui who was present; today, Fr. Jim Kroeger, a Maryknoll priest who is very much a part of LST, is the person involved in a major way with the FABC.

When Loyola House of Studies (LHS) celebrated its 25th anniversary, one of the salient features emerging from that span of

years was that there was no major event in the life of the Church in our country, at least those events which took place in Metro Manila but, for good or ill, without LHS there. The same can be said of LST. From that afternoon in 1968 when we, in front of the legislative building and in our white cassocks, were with the student crowds which rocked the Marcos limousine as it waited, and up until the 100 hours of EDSA Uno, LST was there in good numbers. But one might say this has nothing to do with theological academic life. True, but LST's theological life has never been isolated from the life of the church and the general life of our people. We have been there too much, perhaps – in fact, that has been the complaint. This has been both a plus factor and a liability, a blessing and a curse. The Chinese have a curse: May you live in interesting times. LST has lived under that curse for its past 30 or 40 years. I do not know if one would want that curse lifted, or if it is better to endure or even enjoy it.

For publications, LST produced the LOGOS volumes, the Cardinal Bea publication series, Fr. Sevilla's pioneering Filipino textbooks now largely forgotten, and the LANDAS journal. Loyola Papers itself had some 20 issues published. Not all numbers were bestsellers, but those which during the Marcos years dealt with the issues of the time – ideologies, Marxism and Maoism in the Philippine context, Church social teaching applied locally – reached reprint numbers of 3000 and more. These were phenomenal numbers during that time. Xerox was not readily available, and so beyond print, much copying and mimeographing went on. Copies were used in classrooms of all sorts – seminaries, Catholic colleges, sisters' communities, and even government workshops.

For not a few pastoral letters and other statements, our bishops made use of LST's theological services, either individually or collectively. Perhaps that time has passed now, but we were happy to be of service then.

Numbers wise and multiplier wise, it is of course the students who make up the school's wider and more productive sector. Students who extend the school's service would make up its longer and wider history. A few years back, Fr. Victor Salanga lined up an impressive list of LST's graduates, indicating tasks undertaken in dioceses and

congregations, and responsibilities assumed. For instance, we have Teodoro Bacani as our first graduate to be named bishop. Later years would see graduates named bishops of Cubao, Parañaque, Imus, San Fernando, and Cagayan de Oro.

Tribute to Fr. Ralph Gehring

If I were asked to nominate the most valuable person LST has had since its first day on this campus until our time, someone whose influence has greatly helped a lot of us academically and otherwise, I would choose Fr. Ralph Gehring, whose name graces the library and who our present students unfortunately never met. I cannot think of any other person whom we can honor as having given all of himself so unselfishly, so competently and so outstandingly to LST. He was there from the conception, birth, and growing years of our library. Dr. Kosuke Koyama, perhaps the best known Asian Protestant theologian of the last century, said, "I never fail to visit the LST library every time I come to Manila. In my judgment it is the best theological library – Protestant, Catholic or ecumenical – in our part of the world."

When Fr. Gehring had to leave this work behind due to severe illness, he left us a legacy which I do not think we have fully appreciated. I hope we will even halfway keep up to the standards he set for himself, standards which he successfully met for some thirty years with constant, unsparing, and top quality professional dedication and labor.

As a last word, none of the good work in service of the church which LST has been able to do for the last 40 years could have been done without the Lord. I think of what the Lord has done for LST, for us, very often in spite of us. I think of the genuine dedication and faithful labor of so many good people involved, and only because they want to keep serving the Lord and his holy Church.

We should end on a note of gratitude to the Lord and to all who have given time, talent, and treasures of mind and heart to Him and to the cause to which LST is perpetually bound. In the work we have been entrusted with, the future is certainly in his hands, and so there is hope that cannot fail in his power and in his love.

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