

Alcina's Historia de las Islas e Indios de Bisayas: 1668. The Pre-Hispanic Bisayans of Central Philippines: Their Origin, Nature and Characteristics (II)

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PROSIGUE LA MISMA MATERIA DEL PASADO Y TRATA DE SUS ADORNOS, DE SUS CASAS, ALHAJAS Y DESNUDEZ

Además del adorno dicho de las orejas (para que dejemos dicho de una vez todo lo que a él toca) suelen traer las indias mucho oro en el cuello, en las muñecas de los brazos, y anillos en los dedos, con gargantillas que usan ya al modo español y al de su antigüedad, con cuentas de oro interpuestas o granates de varios colores y tamaños, unos finos que compraban antiguamente a los chinos, otros de vidrio que a los mismos y a los españoles compran ahora.

También usaban en su antigüedad de unas cornerinas que ellos llaman *bair*, de color rojado o colorado claro, aunque muy lustrosas, que parece se las traían antes de Borneo o de otras partes de la India, que con ellos comerciaban en su antigüedad; que ahora sólo les quedan algunas que han podido escapar de las garras de los españoles que, compradas o trocadas o quitadas por fuerza (que de todo hay), les han dejado bien pocas; como también el oro es ya respectivamente muy poco el que tienen hoy al que en su antigüedad tenían, aunque me acuerdo que, casando yo una vez a una principal bisaya, traía tanto oro encima que la agobiaba (y a mi parecer llegaría a una arroba o cerca, que para una niña de doce años era mucho peso); y entonces oí decir que un abuelo de dicha niña tenía una vasija llena de oro, que pesaría el oro solo cinco o

CHAPTER THREE

CONTINUATION OF MATERIAL FROM THE PREVIOUS [chapter] AND CONCERNING THEIR FINERY, JEWELRY, ILL-CLOTHEDNESS AND THEIR HOUSES

Aside from the adornment worn on their ears, as mentioned already — to say once and for all everything about it —, the *Indio* women are accustomed to wear a lot of gold about their necks, on their wrists and rings on their fingers. They also wear necklaces in the fashion of the Spaniards and in the style of antiquity, where beads of gold were interspersed with garnets of different colors and sizes. Some are very fine ones which they purchased from the Chinese in olden times, others are of glass which they now buy from the Chinese and from the Spaniards.

In times past, they also wore something like carnelians which they called *bair*,¹ reddish in color and very lustrous. These, it seems, were brought to them from Borneo or from other parts of India with whom they traded in ancient times. Now there are very few of these left which have survived the clutches of the Spaniards who bought, bartered or took them by force (as it is with everything) and thus left them with very few of these. The same happened with all their gold; they have relatively very little left compared to what they actually had in the olden times. However, I do remember that once when I was solemnizing a marriage of a Bisayan *principal*a, she was so weighed-down with jewelry that it caused her to stoop — to me, it seemed that it was close to an *arroba*² or so, which is a lot of weight for a girl of twelve. Then again, I also heard it said that her grandfather had a jar full of gold which alone weighed five or six *arrobas*. Even this

seis arrobas, que aun es poco para lo que solían tener antiguamente, según dicen.

Del mismo oro usaban unos como cordones rollizos o bruñidos que llaman *camagi*, de que hombres y mujeres usan, como de otros cordones cuadrados que hacen de hilo de oro macizo que llaman *pinarocmoc* (de uno y otro, que es hechura propia y de mucha arte de estos indios, trataremos cuando tratemos de las artes y ciencias que sabían). Estos eran tan largos que, dada la vuelta al cuello, les solían arrastrar a los hombres hasta el suelo (que los traían sencillos, aunque echando sus lazadas); pero las mujeres daban muchas vueltas con ellos desde el cuello hasta los pechos.

Usan también de cadenas de oro a nuestro modo y otros dijes en los brazos. Usaban antes ajorcas de oro, así hombres como mujeres, como úsanlas éstas aún ahora con otras ajorcas de marfil que suelen ser de casi dos dedos de ancho, y suelen traer dos o tres en un brazo y en el otro una o ninguna. Los hombres las usaban antiguamente también en la garganta del pie, de varios abalorios. Hacen también, mezcladas con cuentecillas de oro, sartas muy grandes de que se dan muchas vueltas a las muñecas, y otras usan de uno como coral negro, lustroso como azabache, que sacan del mar y doblan como ajorcas y, además de ser gala, dicen que es medicina (en particular para achaques mujeriles de sus meses). Esto es cuanto al adorno de sus cuerpos, dejando otros de muchas vueltas de cordeles negros que solían envolverse los hombres debajo de la rodilla hasta la pantorrilla, que dicen era señal de valentía; que ésta lo usaban pocos y no en todas partes, y ya raro es el que lo usa.

Vamos al vestido; que en los hombres era el más galán el que traía pintado en su cuerpo, de que trataremos en el Capítulo siguiente. Fuera de esto, lo primero que se vestían era una que llaman *bajag*, el cual era una pieza de dos o más brazas, o de *abaca*, que es su común vestido, o manta, como en nosotros el lienzo, o de lienzo (aunque de ésto pocos lo usaban), o de seda los muy principales. Comúnmente eran blancos o cenicientos, que éste es el

much is little in comparison to what they actually had in ancient times, as they say.

They also wore a certain kind of a round burnished chain made of gold which they call *camagi*,³ it is worn by both, men and women. Similarly, they also make another type of square-like chain of solid gold threads called *pinarogmoc*⁴ (about the one and the other, both of which are their own artistic creations, we will treat later when we speak about the arts and sciences they knew). These [chains] are so long that placed over the neck they hang over the shoulders and reach the ground. The men wear them in a simple manner, but they knot them; the women twist them about many times from the neck to the breasts.

They also wear golden chains in our fashion and other trinkets on their arms. In ancient times both, men and women, wore *ajorcas de oro*.⁵ Even today [i.e. 1668], they wear them with others made of ivory and about two fingers in width; that is, they wear two or three on one arm and on the other, one or none at all. In days gone by, the men also wore several glass beads on the instep. Likewise, they also string up some large beads mixed with little gold one at intervals and wear them as bracelets wound many times around, since they are rather lengthy. Still, others wear a kind of black coral⁶, a glittering mineral, which they recover from the sea; these they also wear in a bracelet-like fashion. Aside from serving as jewelry, they say that these also have some medicinal properties; that is, against women's menstrual difficulties. This, perhaps, may suffice concerning their costume jewelry⁷. We omit some others like the black cord⁸ which the men were accustomed to wind from below the knee to the calf of the leg, for this was said to be a sign of valour. This practice was followed by only a few and was not so widespread; at present, almost no one is doing this anymore.

Let us now turn to their mode of dressing. Among the men, he who had his body tattooed was customarily considered the most gallant; we shall treat this matter in the next chapter.

Aside from the above-mentioned, their first article of clothing was something they call a *bahag*.⁹ This was a piece of cloth about two or more brazas in length and either made of *abaca*,¹⁰ which is the most common, or a *manta*¹¹ which resembles our linen or even of linen itself (although very few wear this); finally, it is made of silk which only the *datus* wear. Ordinarily, these *bahags*

color de la *abaca*; colorado se lo ponían los valientes, o de *pina-jusan* (que es otra manta que ellas pintan y tienen, colorada, como veremos en su lugar); pero era muy burlado y reído el que, sin haber hecho actos positivos de valentía (que habían de ser alguno o algunos enemigos muertos), se lo ponía colorado. Esta manta, desplegándola desde el estómago el un cabo hasta cerca de las rodillas (los principales las llegaban al suelo o cerca de él), encajan el otro cabo entre las piernas, tapando lo que la natural vergüenza esconde a los ajenos ojos, y subiéndolo por detrás hasta la cintura deban una vuelta hasta enlazarlo otra vez con el que subía de abajo; y, así enlazado, lo revuelven al estómago dando una, dos o más vueltas a él hasta que quedaba parejo el cabo que cae detrás al que está delante, tapándose con ambos cabos delante y detrás todo el cuerpo desde la cintura abajo. Sólo al andar se descubren por los lados los muslos cuando no son muchos los *bajagues*; pero es advertencia entre ellos que las puntas que llaman *ampis* no han de caer como los delantales de España, sino la una mucho más larga que la otra, así de la parte de adelante como de la de atrás. En esto está su gala, y se ríen del que trae las dos puntas parejas, o delante o detrás.

Poníanse los hombres, a más de esto, uno que ellos llaman *baro* que es al modo de sayo de España, las mangas muy justas, el cuello escotado a la redonda, lo ancho poco, llegando a las rodillas por lo largo; algunos abiertos por delante, los más cerrados, y que no tenían más arte que doblar la manta y hacerle un agujero en medio por donde ponían la cabeza, y cosidos por los lados, dejando a la parte inferior como un palmo poco más o menos abiertos; de estos *sayos* o *baros* rara vez usaban; lo común para andar y trabajar era el *bahag*, solo, excepto los viejos que se solían cubrir con dichos *baros* por el frío o por el calor demasiado, por las moscas o mosquitos que les picaban.

En la cabeza no traían sombreros, sino de paja o palma (aunque de otra forma chata, sin copa, cuando llovía o hacía mucho sol). Lo ordinario era un paño, como turbante, que ellos llaman *pudung*. Estos eran varios, lo más común en la gente pobre de la

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are white or ash-colored, for this is the color of *abaca* itself. The valiant or the brave men wear it in red or of *pinayusan*¹², which is a kind of *manta* dyed red, as we shall see in its proper place. Anyone who would dare to wear a red one without having performed any act of valour, like having killed a few or even several enemies, became an object of ridicule and laughter. Now, they unfold this *manta* or *pinayusan* and drop one end from the waist to the knees (the *principales* drop it almost to the ground) and the other end between the legs, covering what natural shame hides from the eyes of others and pull it up from behind to the waist again and give a turn about the body and then tie it again with that which was brought up from below. Thus fastened, they bring it about the waist again giving it one, two or more turns until the end which falls in back over the entire body from the waist down, is more or less about the same length as the front. And thus, with both ends they covered the body, front and back, from the waist down. Only while walking can the thighs be seen from the side when the *bahags* are not wide enough. They make sure, however, that the flaps, which they call *empis*,¹³ must not fall like the Spanish aprons, but rather one must be much longer than the other, whether the front or the back, for in this lies the beauty. They think it very comical if someone wears both ends, front and back, evenly.

Aside from the above-mentioned, the men wear what they call a *bado*¹⁴ which resembles the small frock worn in Spain. Its sleeves are very tight, the neck is cut very low and round; in length, it reaches down to the knees. Some of these were closed at the front, while most of them were left open. They have no more skill than to double the *manta* and make a hole in the center through which they insert the head. It is then sewn on the sides and left open in its lower part for about a *palmo*. These *sayos* or *bados* are seldom worn; the *bahag* is most commonly used for walking and working. Only the elderly men wore this *bado* to protect themselves from excessive heat or coolness, or even as a protection from the pesty flies and mosquitoes.

They do not wear any hats except to protect themselves from the sun or the rain; these, then, are made of straw or palm leaves and somewhat different in form — that is, flat and without a crown. Their ordinary head-dress is a piece of cloth used as a turban and called a *pudung*⁰⁵. These are of a great variety;

misma *abaca*, con que se suelen dar dos vueltas a la cabeza, dejando la parte superior descubierta; los principales de lienzo labrado con seda totalmente, dándose muchas más vueltas.

Los valientes, y que tenían algunos muertos, se lo ponían y ponen hoy colorados, o de *pinajusan*, dejándose caer por las espaldas al desgair la una punta y poniéndose unos y otros su gala, en que sea delgado el dicho *pudung*, que algunos usan también de varios colores y muy largo, que da muchas vueltas a la cabeza, y éste era el traje común de los hombres antiguamente.

El de las mujeres, además de lo dicho, era de unas sayuelas cortas, o poco más o menos de la rodilla las principales, que las esclavas más arriba de ellas; en la gente común de la dicha *abaca*. Las *datas*, o principales, las usaban de lienzo de algodón, labrada a su modo con seda o algodón de colores, pero las labores muy distintas de los nuestros (que yo alcancé muchas aún de esta manera) y con tan poco ruedo que apenas servían más que de cubrirles las carnes. El pecho tapaban con unos sayuelos o *baros* tan cortos que apenas llegaban a la cintura, de modo que al levantar los brazos en alto mostraban hasta los pechos, y, a cualquiera movimiento, toda la cintura, y más arriba desnudos (traje verdaderamente poco decente y nada honesto). En las cabezas algunas usaban de paños cortos que apenas las tapaban. Las principales los usaban más grandes, dejándolos caer por las espaldas.

Camisas ni enaguas nunca las usaban en su antigüedad (como ni las usan los chinos, japones, cambojas y otras muchas naciones políticas circunvecinas a estas Islas). Usan ya ahora los hombres de camisas y las mujeres de enaguas blancas, las que tienen posibles para ellos; y además sayas hasta los pies como en su lugar veremos cuando tratemos de su modo de vivir después que son cristianos y lo que han crecido en policía y trato humano.

Añado ahora, para que se vea su cortedad antigua y poca policía que, para dormir, nunca usaron ni supieron en su antigüedad qué cosa eran sábana ni colchones, ni tenían las mujeres ni hombres para dormir otra sábana ni otra cama más que el suelo de sus casas; raro, alguna esterilla de palmas que llaman

the more common ones among the poor are made of *abaca* and are wound twice around the head, leaving the center of the head exposed. The *principales* have them made of linen and completely embroidered with silk and twisted about the head many more times.

The men of valour or those who have killed some enemies wore, and still wear, the red ones or of *pinayusan*, permitting one end of it to hang from the head toward the back of one shoulder with affected carelessness. They take great pride in wearing this *pudung* thin; however, some wear them in several colors and extremely long, winding them about the head many times. This was the most ordinary head-dress and worn by the men in antiquity.

Concerning the women, aside from what has been mentioned, we may say that the *principalas* wore short skirts reaching to the knees more or less; while the slaves wore them even much shorter. The common people had them made from *abaca*, while the *datas* or *principalas* had them made of linen or cotton embroidered with silk of various colors. Its design was very different from ours—I have seen many of these—and it had so little bottom to it that it hardly covered anything. Their blouses or *bados* were so short, that they only covered the breasts and hardly reached the waist; so much so, that when they raised their arms high they exposed their breasts. In fact, any little movement revealed their entire waistline and at times even more; it was really an attire hardly modest or even decent¹⁶. As head covering, some wore a small piece of cloth which hardly covered anything; the *principalas* wore larger ones and permitted them to fall to their shoulders.

In their antiquity, these [Bisayans] never wore shirts or skirts (neither were these worn by the Chinese, Japanese, Cambodians and by many other civilized neighbors in these islands). Presently, the men are now wearing shirts and the women skirts [or petticoats], if they can afford them; also skirts reaching to the feet. All this we shall see in its proper place when we treat about their way of life after having become Christians and how they have matured in their politeness and social relations.¹⁷

I wish to add this now, so as to show some lack of refinement and good-breeding in ancient times by pointing out that they neither had or knew anything about bed-sheets or mattresses; neither the men or women had any sheets nor any other bed than the very floor of their houses. On rare occasions they did have

petates u otra de *bejuco* (que, como después veremos, son ciertas palmas pequeñas y de troncos muy largos, de los cuales, hechos pedazos de a braza poco más o menos y hendidos o partidos en varias partes, hacían otro género de estera, encartándolos unos troncos con otros con un cordelillo, y tupiéndolos bien, que llaman *taguic*, que era el más curioso; que otros hacían a modo de cañizo de pedazos de cañas algo delgadas, que llaman *rangcapan*, y es lo más común por ser más facil de hacer y saberlo hacer todos.

En este se tendían sin más aderezo ni almohada (sino algún pedazo de palo o zoquete que hallaban acaso a mano). Las más principales, aunque tenían algo más, eran pocas; pues, a lo más que se alargaban en su antigüedad era a tener una manta que cosían como saco, dejándola abierta por arriba y por abajo y se envainaban en ella, haciéndola más ancha para los casados, y más estrecha para los que no lo son, y este uso conservan hoy casi todos; teniendo para dormir los más una manta *ábaca* del modo dicho, y las mujeres pobres con la misma que se visten de día se acuestan de noche; sólo que de día la doblan, sacando lo de adentro para fuera sin emparejar los dos cabos (que siempre el uno ha de ser más largo, que cae inmediatamente a las carnes). Esta manta, así doblada, se la amarran en la cintura con lo primero que se les viene a las manos, o la anudan a un lado, y, haciendo (por ser ancha como saco) sus pliegues delante, encima de la barriga, detrás ninguno, le sirve de día de saya y de noche de sábana, y con este uso se han quedado hasta hoy. Los más pobres, y que alcanzan menos, pidiendo el hombre (en particular los solteros) a su madre, hermana o parienta, si tienen dos mantas, que le preste la una para dormir, que a la mañana se la vuelve, o, si no, busca quien le haga alguna para el efecto; si bien ahora ya los principales y los más hacendados y ladinos, duermen ya a lo español, usando de *catres*; que acá llaman así a las camas que se hacen de bejuco labrado, con sus marcos de madera, con mucha curiosidad y limpieza; de colchones, de sábanas y aun no pocas labradas con seda, con almohadas, cobertores y otros adherentes, debiendo a los españoles (además de la fe cristiana, que es sin precio) mucha policía en el trato de sus personas, como en su lugar veremos.

a small mat of palms which they called *petates*¹⁸ of some others made of *bejuco*¹⁹ — which, as we shall see later, are certain small palms with very tall stalks. The latter, they cut into pieces of about one fathom in length and having split them into various pieces, they bind these one to another with a little cord, packing them tightly into another kind of a mat which they call *taguic*; it is one of the most curious. Then too, they also make other types in the fashion of a silkworm frame from pieces of rather slender reeds which they call *rangcapan*.²⁰ This latter one seems to be the most common since it is the easiest to make and everyone knows how to do it.

And so, they sleep on these without any other cushion or thing, except perhaps some piece of wood or a stump which they might find near at hand [for a pillow]. Even the *principales* who would have more than this, were very few. The only thing that they had in olden times was a *manta* sewed like a sack but open at the top and at the bottom in which they wrapped themselves. They had wider ones for those who were married and narrower ones for those who were single. This practice endures even to this day. Most of them have such a *manta* for sleeping made of *abaca*, as just described. The poor women use this same *manta* for sleeping at night and also use it as a dress during the day, except that during the day they double it a little, leaving the ends uneven — for somehow one always has to be longer than the other, and this is in close contact with the flesh. They tie this *manta* to their waists with anything they have on hand or they simply knot it on one side with the fold draped at the front and not at the back. And so, during the day it serves them as a dress and at night as a bedsheet; this practice continues to this day. Those who are very poor and have little resources, especially the single men, ask the mother, the sister or some relative that if they have two *mantas*, to lend them one for sleeping with a promise to return it the following morning. Otherwise, they search for someone to make one for them. Today, however, the *principales*, the wealthy and the more knowledgeable ones sleep like the Spaniards, using the *catre*²¹, thus do they call the beds which are made of worked rattan, set in wooden frames, all very artistically and neatly. Now, they also use mattresses and bedsheets;—not a few of these are embroidered with silk—with covered pillows and other bedding articles as a result of Spanish influence — not to mention the Christian Faith which is most priceless! In addition,

Y, ya que tratamos de su vestido, añadamos aquí lo de su habitación particular y sus casas (que del modo que antes tenían de vivir, trataramos abajo). Cada indio casado (aun ahora mejor, que tienen paz entre sí) hace su casilla para sí y su mujer e hijos, si los tienen.

Alguna vez se juntan dos o tres casados (y más si son parientes) y habitan juntos, haciendo de mancomún su casa; que la hacen de seis u ocho palos rollizos y enteros, a cuatro o más por banda; que son como las columnas o pilares en que estriba todo el techo, y ellos llaman *harigues*, y, medio del diámetro, ponen dos o tres que son más largos, y llaman *palohosan*, que sirve para tener el caballete del techo, que hacen de hojas de palmas, o de zacate o paja, o cañas partidas; sirviéndoles las cañas de made-
raje para arriba, siendo enteras, y de escaleras y partidas de suelo, y aun de tabiques, que ellos llaman *bunbung*, y en algunas partes aun los que llaman *harigues*, son de los pies de las cañas más gruesas, que por ser muy ñudosos duran muchos años.

En el monte hallan bejuco con lo que hacen todo y lo atan (labrándolo como las mimbres de España, pero mucho más largos y fuertes). Tendrán estas casillas, en que vive un casado, de tres a cuatro brazas de largo y dos de ancho, y otro tanto de alto, poco más o menos. Un sobrado en medio, que es donde viven siempre en alto, y en que suelen hacer una división pequeña, comúnmente algo más alta, como aposentillo para dormir. En lo demás tienen su fogón, en que hacen fuego y guisan sus comidillas (en otra parte diremos cuáles son). Allí viven el gato y el perro, que raro están sin ellos (y aun de perros suelen criar cuatro o seis, de que usan para cazar); sus gallinejas, que bajan y suben, y en la parte de abajo, en el suelo, a un lado un puerquecillo o dos, que comen las mondaduras o pellejuelos de las raíces que ellos comen y las cañadulces, y les sirve de limpieza, pues no tienen secretas o necesarias, sino a un rincón o ángulo acuden a lo forzoso de la naturaleza. De las casas mayores, y de otras que hacen encima de los árboles y llaman *hele*, trataremos en otro lugar.

they cultivate extraordinary personal cleanliness, as we shall see in its proper place.

Now that we have discussed their manner of dress²², let us add here something about their private rooms and houses. Shortly thereafter, we shall describe how they were accustomed to live.

Every married *Indio* (even more so now that there is peace among them) constructs a house for himself, his wife and children, if he has any. Sometimes, two or three couples, if they are relatives, join hands, build the house and live together. It is made of six or eight strong and round posts, with four others called *harigues*²³ and are like the columns or pillars on which the roof rests. At the center, they put up two or three longer ones which they call *palohosan* and which are made to hold up the ridge of the roof. The latter is made of palm leaves, cogon grass, straw or split bamboo. The bamboo, when it is whole, is used for the framework; when split it is used for the flooring, stairs and even wall partitions, which they call *bongbong*.²⁴ In some place, what they call *harigues*, are actually the lower portions of bamboo. Since these are rather thick and have many nodes, they last for a number of years.

In the forests, they find rattan out of which they make everything and use it for tying it all together — they split it like wicker in Spain, but it is much longer and stronger here. These houses, in which the married live, are about three or four *brazas* in length, two *brazas* wide and about as much in height, more or less. They always live on the elevated upper floor which is situated in the very center of house. In this, they usually make a small division, somewhat higher as a little room for sleeping. In the other place, they have the hearth in which they make a fire and cook their meager meals (in another place we shall say what these are). It is here also that the cat and dog live, and without which they can never do; in fact, they raise as many as four or six dogs which they utilize for hunting. Likewise, they also have chickens there which keep coming up and down. On the ground floor, to one side of the house, they also have one or two little pigs which feed on the peelings and leftovers from the roots and sweet canes. These pigs are also useful in keeping the surroundings clean, for they have no privies or toilets except one corner of the house where they go to attend to the requirements of nature. About the larger houses and some others which they build in the tops of trees and which they call *hele*²⁵, we shall treat in another place.

Es para alabar a Dios las pocas alhajas que tienen, y de ver lo poco con que se contentan y viven, buenos y sanos y gustosos, mucho más sin comparación que en nuestra España, con tanto menaje de casa, tan costoso y tan superfluo. Tienen en su casilla estos pobres dos o tres ollejas, uno o dos *ongotes* en que beben, que son los cascós de los cocos abiertos por arriba; otras dos o tres *paya*, que son medios cocos que les sirven de platos, y son más difíciles de quebrar y también más fáciles de rehacer cuando se quiebran. Tienen platos de barro bastos, que ellos mismos hacen, y aunque tienen platos de China, medianos y grandes y muy gruesos, muy labrados y de mucha estima, usan poco de ellos, como veremos en otro lugar. Sillas ni bancos para sentarse no los usan ni los han menester, porque su modo de sentarse es en cuclillas. Menos necesitan de aparadores ni arcas, que en un cesto viejo o un zarzo (que ponen encima del fogón) guardan todo su ajuar de casa. No tienen puertas en sus casas, o no tenían antes, porque nadie les hacía mal ni hurtaba sus trastesillos. Si tienen algún ahorrillo, lo guardan las mujeres en unos que llaman *capepi*, que hacen como cajuelas de hojas de palmas y nunca lo apartan de sí. Si los hombres tienen algún realejo o tostón (que pocos tienen más) lo guardan en unos que llaman *taggun*, que son como cingulos, en que le dan un millón de nudos, en que se verifica que tienen poco y bien guardado.

En sus casas viven casi en cueros por los calores y por estar a sus solas, pues los varones tienen solos los *bahagues* cuando trabajan, o bajan a sus sementeras a cultivarlas, que si no, se están arrebujados con la manta con que duermen tendidos en el suelo, como si estuvieran sobre colchones de plumas; y es cierto que duermen más y mejor ellos sobre sus cañas que el Rey sobre sus colchones estofados. Las mujeres están con sus mantillas anudadas a la cintura, sin sayo, o *baro* alguno; porque con los calores que comúnmente hacen, no pueden sufrir más ropa, si bien las que son más honestas, suelen hacerse para su casa unos sayos que llaman *lambong*, hasta los pies, que, amarrando por la cintura, cuando sube alguno, les sirve de sayo y de saya sin otra ropa alguna.

There is good reason for praising God to see how few furnishings they have and the little with which they are contented. They live rather well, are healthy, happy and even more than the people in Spain who have so many expensive and superfluous furnishings. These poor people have in their dwellings two or three little pots, two or three *ongotes*²⁶ for drinking which are coconut shells with an opening at the top and another two or three *paya*, which are half-coconut shells and serve them as plates; these are not easily breakable and readily available. They also have crude earthenware plates which they themselves make. Although they have some medium size and large thick plates that come from China, quite elaborate and well esteemed, they rarely use them as we shall see later. Chairs and benches are not part of their furniture, since their manner of sitting is the squatting position. There is even a lesser need for cupboards and cabinets, for they keep all their household items in an old hand basket which they keep near the cooking place. They do not have doors in their houses or at least they did not have them in the past, for there was no one to harm them or steal their few belongings. If they have some small savings, the women keep them in what they call a *capipi*²⁷, which is like a little box made of palm leaves and which they always carry along. If the men have a small *real*²⁸ or a *tostón*²⁹ (very few have more), they keep it in what they term a *tagoan*³⁰, something which looks like a girdle which they tie into a million knots. So it can be seen from this that they have very little, but guard it well.

In their houses they go about almost stark naked as a result of the heat and because they are alone. While working or going to the fields, the men wear their *bahags*. At other times, they rest on the floor, all wrapped up in their *mantas* which they use for sleeping, as if they were on feather beds. It is certain that they sleep better on their bamboos than the king on his stuffed mattress. The women go about the house only in their *mantillas* which are knotted at the waist without any blouse or skirt. As a result of the intense heat, they cannot bear to wear any other clothing; however, those who are more modest make for themselves a kind of a house-coat which they call *lambong*³¹. This reaches to the feet and is tied at the waist quickly when someone enters their house; this serves as a smock or a skirt without any other clothing whatsoever.

Los muchachos y muchachas, hasta diez o doce años, andan en sus casas comúnmente en cueros cuando están a sus solas y no hay gente de afuera; que si llega, suelen cubrirse las muchachas, cuando son grandecillas, con natural vergüenza; aunque los muchachos no, hasta que de esa edad comienzan a ponerse *ba-hague*, y ahora calzones a nuestro uso; pero cuando vienen al pueblo, y mucho más a la iglesia, vienen todos y todas compuestos y vestidos con decencia y honestidad; de que trataremos cuando de su estado político y cristiano.

CAPITULO CUARTO

DE LA COSTUMBRE DE PINTARSE; QUIENES, CUANDO Y POR- QUE SE PINTABAN

No es sola de los bisayas la costumbre de pintarse, que les dio nombre de Pintados, pues sabemos de las historias antiguas que los romanos en sus conquistas hallaron varias naciones “pintados” o que se pintaban los cuerpos, como en Europa los britanos; en Asia, los seitas y tártaros orientales y otros; en las Indias orientales; en el Brasil y en la Florida, y aun en estas partes de la India *extra Gangem*, como alguna nación Macasar; los de la isla que dijimos de la Magdalena, y otros muchos que se hallarán en los escritores.

El origen de pintarse en los bisayas tan difícil es el saberse, como el de su descendencia y principio; si vinieron acá a estas Islas algunos pintados de otras partes y comenzaron acá a imitarlos, o si los primeros fundadores de ellas fueron pintados. Yo me inclino a que se les pegó de algún advenedizo, o que alguno de sus valentones introdujo el pintarse para mayor fiereza, o de su propio motivo instigado a ello de alguna de sus antiguas sacerdotisas; y éstas del demonio (que, según he oído a algunas que aprendieron este oficio antes que acá llegase la fe, el demonio se les aparecía “pintado”); y a esta imitación pudieron comenzar

Boys and girls, until the age of ten or twelve, ordinarily go about their houses naked when they are alone or there are no outsiders present. When somebody does enter the house, the girls, if they have grown up quite a bit already, cover themselves with natural modesty, but not so with the boys until they begin to wear the *bahag*, or now the knee-breeches like we wear. But when they come to the town, and especially to the church, they all dress up appropriately and modestly. About this, we shall write when we discuss Christian and social conditions.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCERNING THEIR CUSTOM OF TATTOOING: WHO, WHEN AND WHY THEY WERE WONT TO DO SO

The custom of tattooing is not peculiar to the Bisayans (that is why they are called *Pintados*¹), for we learn from ancient history that the Romans, in their conquests, found several countries of 'painted' peoples or those who tattooed their bodies as the Britons of Europe, for example. In Asia, the Scythians² and the Oriental Tartars³ and others; in the East Indies⁴, in Brasil, in Florida and even in these parts of India *extra Gangem*,⁵ like some people of Makassar, the people from the Island of Magdalena, as already mentioned, and many others as we learn from the different writers.

The origin of tattooing⁶ among the Bisayans is just as difficult to ascertain as their descent and their origin. Whether some came here to these islands already tattooed, and these people here began imitating them, or whether the original settlers of these islands were practicing this custom themselves, [I cannot say]. I am inclined to think that they acquired this practice from the outsiders or, perhaps, some of their bravest men began to tattoo themselves so as to appear more fierce. Or again, perhaps, this originated on their own initiative or even instigated by some of their ancient priestesses, and these in turn by the devil himself. I have heard from some, who had learned this art prior to the arrival of the Faith, that the devil appeared to them as if 'painted'. And thus, they might have started tattooing themselves in imitation of

a pintarse, como comenzarían otro infame uso de que trataremos después como remate de este Capítulo, y es solo de los Indios bisayas que sepamos hasta ahora, y sin duda fue invención diabólica.

Tuviese, pues, el principio o de los hombres o del enemigo común de ellos, que por sus intentos (o ninguno bueno) se lo pudo enseñar, lo cierto es que se pintaban todos los hombres bisayas, comúnmente, sino eran los que llamaban *asog* (que después diremos quiénes eran cuando tratemos de sus sacrificulos y sacerdotisas); pero no todos igualmente ni de una vez.

La edad para comenzar a pintarse era de los veinte años para arriba, si bien algunos por miedo lo dejaban hasta que, vencidos de la vergüenza, cuando mayores se alentaban a dejarse pintar; que, además del dolor que les causaba, hinchándoseles a veces todo el cuerpo y muriendo de ello, pagaban bien al artífice que tenía este oficio; y entre ellos era tenido por cobarde el que no se pintaba, porque decían que mal podría sufrir las lanzas enemigas, el que no tenía ánimo para sufrir puntas de alfileres amigos.

Por esta causa, los más valientes añadían más pinturas fuera de lo común; que era desde la garganta del pie o tobillo hasta las ingles (que en ellas pasaba la pintura por delante) pintando también la barriga, aunque menos, y el pecho, a modo de unos petos que remataban en la cintura, o estómago, con mucha proporción y método, hasta el cuello, y por detrás iban siguiendo la pintura desde el tobillo de ambos pies hasta la cintura, y de allí para arriba era otra hasta el cuello; que era lo que usaban comúnmente todos. El cuello, mejillas, ojos y frente era sólo de los más valientes y animosos, pintando hasta los párpados con sus rayas, las mejillas con rasgos proporcionados hasta la nariz, labios y barba o mentón, que, dando sus vueltas por las sienes y frente, les paraban los rostros fieros (y más teniendo los dientes negros como dijimos).

Yo alcancé en mis principios muchos, y confieso que me causaban horror el mirarlos y un género de miedo o susto natural, hasta

him. Then too, they have started another shameful practice about which we shall speak later and at the conclusion of this chapter. It is only a practice of the Bisayan *Indios* as far as I know, even until now; this, without doubt, is of a diabolical origin.

And so, whether it originated with the people themselves or from their common enemy, who by his designs (none of them ever good) could have taught it to them. One thing is certain: all the Bisayan men usually tattooed themselves, except those who were called *Asog*⁷; we will say who these were later, when we speak about their sacrifices and priestesses. Not all, however, practiced it in the same way nor did they execute it all at one time.

They began tattooing themselves at about the age of twenty years and up; although some, overcome by fear, deferred it until they were filled with shame when those older than they agreed to allow themselves to be tattooed. Aside from the pain they had to endure, the entire body oftentimes became inflamed and some even died, as a result. The practitioner of this art was well paid for his services. Among them it was a sign of cowardice not to tattoo oneself; for they said that if such an individual lacked the courage to suffer the pricking of friendly needles, how could he ever bear the pain of the spears of the enemy?

For this reason, the bravest among them would add more tattoos aside from the customary ones. These usually began with the instep or ankle and up to the groin where the front only was tattooed. They also tattooed the abdomen although less frequently. The chest was also tattooed but in the form of breast plates; it began with the waistline or abdomen and reached as far as the neck — all, however, in fine proportion and form. At the back, the tattoo extended from the ankles of both feet to the waist; then from thereon to the neck. This was the ordinary type of tattooing used by all of them: the neck, the cheeks, the eyes and the forehead were tattooed only among the more courageous and the most daring individuals. They tattooed stripes up to the eyelids and the cheeks with lines running toward the nose, the lips and beard or to the point of the chin. These streaks or lines curved up over the temples and forehead and rendered the countenance savage and even more so with the teeth blackened, as we have stated previously.

I have had such an opportunity to see many such [tattooed individuals] in the beginning [of my ministry] here, and I confess that seeing them caused me horror and a kind of a natural

que me hice a verlos. Ya hoy nadie se pinta ni se da lugar a ello por los padres ministros del Evangelio, borrando con las aguas del santo bautismo tan feo tinte y uso tan poco necesario y tan fiero.

El modo de las pinturas era: desde la garganta del pie hasta los lugares dichos echaban con su regla y compás muy ajustado unos como listones, de más de un dedo de ancho o casi dos; el uno derecho de arriba abajo, el otro culebreado, o con puntas, con ángulos rectos.

Todas estas labores las dibujaban primero con primor, y luego con unas puntillas, o peinecillos, que tenían de lo ancho de las rayas, hechos de puntas de alfileres de azófar (no de cañuelas como dice alguno), unas más anchas, otras menos. Les iban punzando de modo que sacaban todo el pellejo contenido en lo pintado, y luego les polvoreaban con unos polvos negros hechos del humo de una brea olorosa que llaman *salung*, y al palo que la echa *lawaan*; y hecho este sacrificio (que así se puede llamar) para el demonio, se estaban recogidos por lo menos nueve o diez días, de modo que no les diese el viento porque se soñan pasmar, y llevárselos más pronto el diablo; que eso debió pretender con estas pinturas, y es cierto que con ellas se le parecían no poco.

La pintura de las espaldas era conforme a la otra de listas comúnmente; otras variaban; pero, por delante, eran siempre otras. En las barrigas echaban unas rayas más delgadas o estrechas, como el canto del dedo, partiendo desde lo más bajo de ella; unas veces a modo de ramos, otras redondas como círculos, aunque no eran muchas ni tantas como las del pecho, adonde mostraba el primor de su arte el oficial, haciéndoles vistosos coseletes y muy labrados.

Los brazos pintaban como las piernas, y, cuando lo hacían con más primor, dejaban en medio de los listones (que vienen a quedar de color azul) sus labores blancos del mismo pellejo que no rasgaban, con las puntas dichas, y algunos cierto primorosos y que mostraban la prolijidad y artificio del pintor.

Las mujeres no se pintaban en el cuerpo sino sólo en las manos; pero con labores muy menudos, y con más curiosidad, pintaban todo el envés de la mano hasta la muñeca, y todos los dedos, por encima, no por la parte de abajo, aunque se acercaban mucho los labores, de modo que parecía todo el dedo pintado; al-

fear and aversion, until I grew accustomed to them. Today, no one tattoos himself any longer nor is it permitted anymore by the Father ministers of the Gospel, who washed away with the Baptismal waters such ugly stains — a custom so useless and so horror-provoking!

The manner of tattooing began, as we have already mentioned, with the instep of the foot. With the help of a rule and a finely adjusted compass, they traced out something like ribbon-like lines of more than one finger wide or even almost two. One line ran straight from top to bottom, while the other was wavey and with dots forming right angles.

All this work was first traced out with great precision and then with some sharp instruments or with little combs made of brass which were the width of the stripes, some were wide, others narrow — they were not made of bamboo, as some say. And so, with these, they pricked the flesh in such a manner that all of the skin was removed in the tattooed area. This pierced portion, they then dusted with a black powder made from the ashes of a fragrant pitch which they called *salong*⁸, the tree from which this is produced is known as *lawaan*⁹. And thus, having made this sacrifice (for it can be called such) to the devil, they secluded themselves for at least nine or ten days so that the winds might not affect them. They also did this, because oftentimes they suffered from fainting spells and thus satan carried them away more quickly. Perhaps, this is what he intended to accomplish with this tattooing anyway; for certainly, when tattooed, they resembled him not a little.

The tattooing of the upper back was done in stripes similar to the others, while the remaining varied. However, at the front of the body they were always different. Upon the abdomen, they traced out very thin and narrow lines, comparable to the edge of a finger and beginning with the lowest portion. Sometimes these appeared like branches, other times round like circles, although just a few. Nor were there as many as those on the breast where the artisan demonstrated the excellence of his art by working out eye-catching and elaborate sketches.¹⁰

The women did not tattoo their bodies, but only the hands and this with a very fine design. The back of the hand as far as the wrist was rendered with great skill; that is all the fingers and the back-side only, never the inner portion. The designs came so close together, however, that it seemed as if the entire finger

gunas pintaban en la una por la mitad de la muñeca, prosiguiendo el mismo labor en la mano, que los más eran flores y lazos muy bien hechos, al modo de las labores de un damasco de China, que los tienen muy primorosos; y, como comúnmente son más blancas, parecían menos mal en ellas las labores de las manos, y con el negro salían más el oro de las ajorcas y sortijas; pero, gracias a Dios, ya esto se acabó, y lo que más les ha quedado a las mujeres es hacerse unos lunarillos postizos en ellas y en el brazo; que en las más políticas un lunar causa hermosura, y, por tenerlo por tal, lo imitan algunas españolas.

También usaban las mujeres, ya que no pintarse, hacerse las cejas; y hay algunas que tienen este oficio, y pelarles parte de los párpados, y componer el pelo, de que tienen más cuidado que otras naciones. Son, y fueron, en parte demasiadamente dados a la limpieza de su cuerpo; y así, además de otras diligencias particulares, usan todos los hombres y mujeres bañarse dos o tres veces al día, porque el baño es como mudarse ropa limpia; y así, en estando sudados, se van a él a todas horas, y, cuando están en su casa, por no estar ociosos los hombres también tienen por entretenimiento el estarse arrancando no solo las barbas (que apenas les apuntaba el pelo cuando lo arrancaban con unas almejuelas que le sirven de pinzas; o unas rajuelas de una caña que llaman *bacacay*), sino el vello de todo el cuerpo; si bien ya hoy dejan crecer la barba y crían bigotes, tan poblados algunos y crecidos como del más barbado español; con que ya los hombres lo parecen; y hay algunos de pelo en pecho, aunque pocos.

Resta apuntar una costumbre particular que tenían los bisayas, y ya está quitada casi del todo (que, aunque soez y diabólica, la historia no debe encubrir nada; y más cuando era uso común de esta nación), y era ésta que los hombres por valentía, también como el pintarse todos, usaban el atravesarse las partes obscenas, agujereándolas por medio en lo más sólido de parte a parte (con el dolor que se deja entender), y en dicho lugar atravesaban un tarugo, o como clavo, sin cabeza, cuadrado, que llamaban *sacra*

roundabout was tattooed. Some tattooed one hand only beginning mid-way with the wrist and thus carrying the same design onto the hand. This consisted mostly of floral and knotty designs, executed extremely well and in the fashion of Chinese damask, some of which they duplicate here very elegantly. Since the women here are more white in complexion ordinarily, this art appears less unattractive among them. However, their gold bracelets and rings stand out more attractively against a darker complexion. But today, thank God, all this is over! The only practice that has still remained among the women are the *lunarcillos postizos*¹¹ they trace out on themselves and on their arms. Among the sophisticated, a mole adds a touch of beauty in their way of thinking; some of the Spanish ladies tend to imitate this practice.

Although the women refrained from tattooing themselves, they did trim their eye-lashes. In fact, there are some individuals whose occupation it is to thin out the eyelashes and to arrange the hair. This is something they cultivate more than the people in any other nation. They were, and still are, too preoccupied with their bodily cleanliness. And thus, aside from other personal undertakings, both the men and women bathe two or three times daily. For it seems that bathing is like changing to clean clothing. Thus, when they are perspiring, they resort to bathing at all hours. When they are at home and in order not to be idle, the men preoccupy themselves with pulling out not only the hairs on the chin (the hair barely shows itself when they pull it out with tiny clam-shells, which serve them as tweezers or with tiny piece of bamboo which they call *bacacay*¹²) but also the hair which appears all over the body. Now, however, they let the beard grow them as thick and long as some of the most bearded Spaniards. This goes to such an extent, at times, that the men seem to look like Spaniards; what more, some of them even grow hair on their chest.

What remains now is to mention a certain practice which the Bisayans cultivated and which now has almost disappeared completely. No matter how vile and diabolical something may be, history must not hide anything, especially since it was a common practice in this nation. Namely, the men, in order to demonstrate their courage, just like they did in tattooing, used to pierce the male organ, making a hole from one side to the other in the firmer portion. This was accompanied by the most excruciating pain conceivable. Through the piercing, they would pass a wooden

(palabra entre nosotros santa, aunque entre ellos muy soez), que de un lado y de otro le sobresalía como medio dedo, y debajo de dicho tarugo (que para esto le ponían) encajaban unos anillos o argollas del mismo plomo (o de oro, o ambas cosas, en los más principales) para mayor cebo de la lujuria; no tanto de parte de los hombres como cuanto de las mujeres, que en su antigüedad hacían burla de los que estaban sin ello; exponiéndose ellos por un deleite tan soez a tan grandes dolores, que como se deja entender, les costaba lo dicho, de que morían algunos por entrarles cáncer, y pagaban no pocas veces ellas; pues, cuando enfadado el amigo o el marido de la poca fidelidad de la mujer, o por otro disgusto, se quería vengar, ponían el dicho tarugo de hierro con las puntas afiladas con que las herían y mataban a muchas. Justo castigo de Dios para que hallasen su muerte por el camino que procuraban más deleite.

Algo de esto, aunque de otra manera usan los cambojas; invención de una reina de ellos, para apartarles del pecado nefando que cundía mucho, y algunos malayos y bengalas también a su modo: todos enseñados, sin duda, del demonio, que otro que él no pudiera ser maestro de cosas tan soeces, aunque el intento de la reina de Camboja fué menos malo.

peg or something like a square nail without a head and which they called *sacra*¹³ (a word so holy among us, but extremely obscene among them). The ends of this peg protruded on both sides to about a half-finger length; under this wooden peg (and this is the reason why they inserted it) they fitted rings made of lead (or of gold or of both among the *principales*). This promoted greater incitement to carnal pleasure not only on the part of the men but especially the women. In ancient times, they mocked those without it. The men exposed themselves to such great agony for so base a pleasure! Some of them died of a virulent ulcer, as a cause. Many women paid for this very dearly when the paramour or a husband resenting the woman's lack of fidelity, or for some other disappointment which they wished to avenge, they placed the said peg not of wood but of iron with its ends sharpened. Thus, they either wounded or killed many a woman — a just punishment of God so that they might find death there where they sought more intense pleasure.

Something of this nature, although in a different form, was used among the Cambodians; it was the invention of one of their queens to dissuade them from an unnatural sin so widespread among many. The Malaysians and the Bengalese also had something like this of their own. All these were taught such things, without doubt, by Satan himself. No other than He could have been the teacher of such vile things, although the intention of the queen of Cambodia was less wicked.

Footnotes to Chapter Three

¹ This is an extremely difficult word or term to trace or even its possible existence in as far as it pertains to precious stones. However, both Mateo Sanchez's *Vocabulario* (Cf. *Philippiniana Sacra*, Cantius J. Kobak and Pablo Fernandez "Piratical Raids and Uprisings in the 17th Century Samar and Leyte," Vol. XIV, No. 41, May-August, pp. 406-407, note #5) and Antonio Sanchez de la Rosa and Antonio Valeriano Alcazar's *Diccionario Español-Bisaya, Bisaya-Español* (Manila: Imp. y Lit. De Santos y Bernal, 1914) have this particular word in their entry but with a completely different meaning. Therein, "baid" or "bair" carry the meaning "to whet, to sharpen, to grind, or sharpen an edged tool by attrition." Perhaps, the *amanuensis* of Alcina had misspelled the word or jumbled it, as is often the case through the manuscript.

On the other hand, there is a kind of a shell-fish or oyster which yields a fine pearl called *BALIAR* (baliad) and which is mentioned by Alcina in Chapter 19, Book 2, Part I. The above-mentioned Sanchez (*Vocabulario* 1711) does make an entry of this shell-fish under *BALIAR* ("cierto marisco como el Tipay"). Obviously, however, this is not a reference to the precious stones Alcina is writing about in this chapter, since he is making references to a reddish or carnelian-like color.

² This is an ancient Spanish unit of weight: 11.2 kg. or 25 pounds in measure, or 2/11 picul.

³ In one of his other chapters, Alcina gives a fine description of this ancient and exquisite piece of jewelry and gold-smithing of the Bisayans. "The *camagis*, as they are wont to call it, is a kind of a chain composed of circular beads and which comes down from antiquity and is theirs in origin. Today [1668], rare is a person who knows how to fashion this chain; for producing one of these is a very curious and demanding task. Ordinarily they possess them and had them as heirlooms; these I have seen myself. These are two or more *brazas* [i.e. a fathom or a measure of six feet] in length even when doubled; whether standing or walking, these drag on the ground. It was their custom to twist one of these around the neck many times in former times, but not any longer.

"This chain or *camagi* was fashioned from individual circular beads; each bead was hollowed and made into a *coronita* (tooth-like projections on both ends). In thickness, these beads are like fibers of thread; some are wider than others. The most ordinary ones are like a twisted braid of thread [in thickness], larger than a grain of pepper while the larger ones are similar to the large lentils or even bigger. When brought together and strung, each bead fits into the other so snugly as if it were of one piece. Only from close view does one realize that the chain is made-up of minutely small beads which make up this so-called *camagi*. Since it is so smooth and shiny, especially when it is made of high gold content, it has a very attractive appearance.

"In ancient times, they fashioned many of these *camagi* of gold which they call *tunga*, and which means 'half gold and half *tumbaga*'; the latter is a certain kind of a very red copper. It [i.e. the *tumbaga*] is valued as highly as gold, not for its preciousness as for its medicinal properties. It is due to this alloy, they say, that they are protected from ill winds which cause spasms and malignancies. It is for these reasons that these rings, bracelets and armlets, which even the Spanish men and women now wear, are so highly valued as preventatives against such maladies. And so, that is the reason they had these *camagi* in antiquity. Since these [beads] are oval-shaped

(or oblong) and of such delicate workmanship, they cannot be fashioned except from very fine gold or from that mixture because it is more flexible and less breakable; this could not be possible with other alloys." Alcina, *Historia...1668*, Part I, Book 3, Chapter 7.

The classic Samar-Leyte Bisayan lexicon of Mateo Sanchez (1711) describes the entry under *CAMAGUI* thus: "Collar de oro hecho de encajes menudos y tan juntos que parece todo continuado. *QUINAMAGUI*, obra que se parece a los encajes del camagui." *Op. cit.*, fol. 124. The dictionary of de la Rosa and Alcazar (1914) gives an identical entry about this 'cadena de oro'; however, a 1921 supplement to this *Diccionario Bisaya-Español* seems to give an added entry under this term: "*CAMAGNIC*: Collar de oro". See *Op. cit.*, p. 9. Is this latter entry meant to be a reference to the above-mentioned piece of jewelry, or is it another type remains a question.

The Bicolanos, whom this writer (Cantius Kobak) considers the closest cousins of the Bisayans historically, linguistically and culturally, also wore this *camagi* in ancient times, not as a necklace but as a belt or a sash. "*CAMAGUE*: Es una cadena de oro, que traen en la cintura las mugeres." Cf. Marcos de Lisboa, O.F.M., *Vocabulario de la lengua Bicol* (Manila: Tipografía del Colegio de Santo Tomas, 1865), p. 90.

Ramon N. Villegas in his recent and excellent scholarly work on Philippine jewelry tradition, presents some fine photographs of this ancient *kamagi*. He describes this *camagi* as "an intact gold interlocking dentate bead necklace (approximately 50 cm. long and around 120 grams in weight)." Cf. *Kayamanan: The Philippine Jewelry Tradition* (Manila: Kyodo Printing Company, Inc., 1983), p. 64, (210 pp.). Then again, on page 104, the author shows "three meters of this gold *kamagi* strung end-to-end in gold wire. The find showed that the funnel-shed objects were conceived as necklaces finials." *Ibid.* Again, in another photo, the author records a pair of finials (ends which top the stringing of beads) and calls them *pipas*. *Ibid.*, p. 80. Surprisingly and happily, this writer was able to locate two Bicolano terms for what Villages called finials or 'pipas': 1. BASONG: "Los remates de sus cadenas de oro antiguas. Nagbasong, hacerles o ponerles estos remates. *Binasognan*: cadeña con remates. 2. BOGOL: Unos piramidillos de oro, que ponen por remates en las taronas, y palbares. Nagbogol, poner o hacer los tales piramidillos o remates." *Op. cit.*, de Lisboa, pp. 60 and 91. The above-mentioned *Tarona* is described thus: "Orejas de oro de varones, y no se usan," and "*Palbad*: Unas orejetas de oro o unas hojas de buri enrolladas, u otra cosa así, ponen las mugeres en los agujeros de las orejas." *Ibid.*, pu. 386 & 275.

⁴ In another portion of his *Historia*, Alcina discusses this *PINAROG-MOC* in greater detail. He writes:

"There is another type of necklace in braided or twisted gold, extremely intricate which is also theirs from ancient times called *pinarogmoc*. This one is fashioned from gold threads as thin as any ordinary thread. They braid it so tightly that each [thread] calls for separate attention. Interwoven, one with the others, they form a single chain. There is a great number of these threads and so well twisted, braided that even if the cord or chain should be cut, which sometimes happens through some necessity, it does not unravel or even fray.

"These *pinarogmoc* are no longer made; but rather, what they fashion now is something they accommodate to the demands of the style of chains used by us and known as *bejuquillos*. All in all, I have also seen the former which were made in olden days. This type was fashioned in the manner of a *cadenilla*; it was rather heavy and appeared round or rectangular. It had oval-like links and for this reason it was called "bejuquillo" in resemblance to the rattans which are very small here. Nonetheless, the *camagi*, as we have already said, appeared larger." Alcina, *op. cit.*, Chapter 7.

The Bicolanos, in the ancient past, also wore this *pinarogmoc* for we find it mentioned, at least, in the classic lexicon of the Franciscan, Marcos de

Lisboa. They entry under *PINAROGMOC*, reads thus: "Una cadena de oro de hilo tirado menor, que la que llaman *hinuyot*." *Op. cit.*, p. 285. The *HINUYOT*, in turn, is described as "Una cadena de oro hecha de hilo de oro tirado. *Pinaghinoyot*, ser puesta o traída al cuello." *Ibid.*, p. 181.

Alcina's reference to the "bejuquillo" is interesting and needs a brief comment. "Bejuquillo" comes from the Spanish term *bejuco* (rattan) and is a thin, pliable reed which grows in the Philippines and called in Waray-Waray Bisayan: *uay*, *parasan*, *calapi*, *talorora* and the very fine ones, *nito* and *buan*. In the ancient past, the Bisayans fashioned necklaces, bracelets, armlets and anklets out of these rattans, known in Bicolano as *TOGOT* and described as: "Una como cadenilla de bejucos muy delgadillos, que usan las mugeres del monte por brazaletes." *Ibid.*, p. 401. Now, in imitation of these, chains of gold were later fashioned and called "bejuquillos". An unabridged Spanish dictionary, which went through some seventeen editions, describes *bejuquillo* in this manner: "Cadenita de oro fabricada en la China y con que se adornan el cuello las mugeres". *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* (Real Academia Española (Madrid): 1947), p. 170.

Ramon N. Villegas, in exploring ancient Philippine jewelry, presented a very sharp photograph of this "bejuquillo" or 'spun gold' collar as he termed it. It was recovered in Butuan and dates back to circa 1000-1300 A.D. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 64. In describing such a technique, Villegas writes: "Gold was 'woven' to create the *bejuquillo* (from *bejuco* or rattan, still woven into chokers). Morga describes the *bejuquillo* as seda hilada (spun silk). The dealer colloquialism for these necklaces is *kerel* from the Spanish word for a thick pocket watch chain.

"They were however, actually not woven from continuous gold thread or wire. Cut into certain lengths, wire was formed into ellipses and pressed at the waist in the form of an '8'. Pressing at the middle, both ends were bent to form a 'U'. They were then looped into each other, so the process is called the 'loop-in-loop technique' (see fig. 23). The looping may be one on one, as well as one over one — resulting in the *kwatro kantos* (four cornered) chain. When the units are positioned cross-wise and successively looped, the round *inahas* (snake) chain with a herringbone pattern is achieved." *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁵ The term "axorca" is derived from the Arabic and has reference to the rings worn by Moorish women; made of gold, silver or other metal. These adornments meant for the wrists, arms and ankles. Cf. *Op. cit. Diccionario de la Lengua Española*, p. 45. One such 'ajorca' was known in Bisayan as *Lankis* and described by Sanchez (1711) as "Manilla o ajorca de los brazos." *Op. cit.* fol. 199. The Bicolanos had one called *Bantolang* and described: "Un modo de ajorcas de cierta hechura, que ponían los varones en los brazos, eran de oro algunas veces, y otras de bejucos, o de otra cosa, como aquella hechura..." *Op. cit.*, de Lisboa, p. 76. Another type is called "*Cara*: La concha de la tortuga o las ajorcas, o brazaletes, que de ellas se hacen." *Ibid.*, p. 113. And finally, one known as "Ladas: Ajorca a los brazos de las mugeres, o muchachos." *Ibid.*, p. 208.

⁶ This is known among the Samar-Leyte Bisayans as *Banawog* and is jet-black. "It is usually found in the deeper places of the sea and not far from the shores; it is never found in the shallows. There are two types of these coral: one is completely smooth, while the other has sort of granules all over. Both are given a beautiful shine by rubbing or polishing. The one with the granules is somewhat more beautiful, since it is provided with a kind of special touch or grain. Many believe that both of these are very medicinal. A good number of these Bisayans, men and women alike, fashion these into rings, bracelets and armlets and wear them. Some also decorate these with gold which goes well with the black; hence, it is both, a piece of jewelry and has medicinal use. Its healing value lies in the fact that it prevents the growth of stones in one's body which is so widespread here. The Bisayans also say that it wards off rheumatic pains and that it stops or

gets rid of them. Then too, it is believed that it is remedy against poisons, both from animals and other sources." Alcina, *op. cit.* Part I, Book 2, Chapter 20.

The above-mentioned observations of Alcina about the Bisayans' belief about medicinal powers of these bracelets seem to have been, and still is in many places, an ancient universal belief. "Ancient peoples like the Egyptians valued certain stones 'for the mystic property or manna residing in them'. Jewels were, thus, 'not desired as mere ornaments, but as practical means to the attainment of success, wealth, long life and offspring. From this standpoint, they were not luxuries (Gordon-Childe 1951:93).

"Gems, in the form of beads and setting stones, were believed to be endowed with magico-religious and medicinal properties. Certain shapes and forms have been associated with the prophylactic and therapeutic qualities men have attributed to stones. Among most ancient cultures, stones that sparkled defeated every kind of witchcraft and those marked either by nature or art with bands of different colors, circles and so forth were highly esteemed. Water-worn stones, and stones with holes or cavities in them functioned as effective amulets. Circular, semi-circular and triangular stones are universally chosen as protection against negative forces.

"Generally, associations of stones were based on their colors. Green stones were connected with growth and rain, fertility, virility and strength. Yellow stones assisted men suffering from diseases of the liver; and brown ward off sickness in general. Red stones were believed to stop bleeding and as protection against fire and lightning. Black as well as white stones protect one against the 'Evil eye' (Budge 1930:326)." *Op. cit.* Villegas, p. 22.

⁷ It is regrettable, in a way, that Alcina here did not offer us more information on the very interesting and captivating subject; we remain somewhat all the poorer for that. However, the omission is not irreparable, since the missionaries in these Philippine Islands did enrich our fund of knowledge in this matter in the written records, chronicles and *Vocabularios*. The present writer made a thorough and a systematic survey of every entry made in three classic lexicons: two Bisayan (Sanchez 1711 and de la Rosa y Alcazar 1914) and one Bicolano dictionary compiled by Marcos de Lisboa in 1619. From the given entries was selected every item pertaining to the gold necklaces, collars, bracelets, armlets, anklets, rings, earrings, clasps, sashes, belts, pendants, brooches, hooks, buttons and precious stones, gems and pearls. The discovery and yield has been incredibly, satisfyingly and surprisingly rich indeed!

1. BACLAO NGA TUMBAGA: Manilla, pulsera (de la Rosa-Alcazar, 1914).
BACLAO NGA HIYAS: Pulsera. Baclao nga hiyas sa gapusan sa camut. Sambud nga isinasambud sa pulso cun dao sa pag tambal. (de la Rosa-Alcazar, 1914).
2. BACLAO: Bracelete o manillas que traen en las muñecas (Sanchez, 1711).
BACLAO: Sortija ó anillo de cortina ú otra cosa. — Collar, manilla ó aro de bejuco que ponen en el cuello á los animales. (de la Rosa y Alcazar, 1914).
3. BINUCAO: No entry in Sanchez 1711.
BINUCAO: Enredadera así llamada. Brazaletes de oro y plata (de la Rosa y Alcazar, 1914).
4. BALIUG: No entry in 1711.
BALIUG: Gargantulia, adorno para el cuello. Collar, cordel para amarrar por el pescuezo á los animales (1914).
5. BANCOTONG: El anillo. Baga piquit, cun bahing sa bancao, dayupac, etc. Pagbancorong, enroscar, como cuando los mecates, bejuco, etc. los hacen una rosca, un embolterio (1711).

- BANCARONG: Brazaletes, manilla. — Gargantilla. — Anillo ó rodaja de bejuco, carey ú otra cosa (1914).
6. BITAY BITAY: No entry for 1711.
BITAY BITAY: Colgajos; perendengues, zarcillos, arillos (1914).
7. BURIT: Filigrana o granitos de oro, que ponen en las *panicas* o botones de oro. Also *Busit* (1711).
BURIT: Filigrana o granitos de oro que ponen en los adornos (1914).
8. CAIT: Prendedero, corchete, o hebilleta. Y todo lo que ase y prende, y agarra se dira CAIT. CAITAN llaman a un prendedero que hacen en los collares, o de concha de tortuga, o de bantolinao (1711).
CAIT: Morder, descortezar con los dientes. Corchete, hebilla
CAITAN, corchete, hebilla (1914).
9. CALIAN: Se dice de las minas — de oro donde sacan el metal; CALIAN y DULANGAN llaman a la mina; pero el DULANGAN es por lavar allí el oro en unas bateas. Vid. DULANGAN, CALIAN es porque secaba y seca como los demas metales (1711).
CALIAN: Mina de oro (1914).
10. CALOMATA: Brocha de oro y plata que ponen en las toquillas o collera del lambong. CALOMATAHAN, lo que tiene estas brochas o corchetes (1711).
CALOMATA: Broche de oro ó plata que ponian en las mantillas (1914).
11. CALOPI: Sarta de frutillas que se echan el cuello como cadena de oro (1711).
CALOPI: No entry in 1914.
12. CARAMCAM: Brazaletes, manilla, *dalac*, *batlao*, *binucao* (1711).
CARAMCAM: No entry in 1914.
13. CANSING: Brochas, corchetes de oro o plata, que ponen en el cuello de las chininas, jubones, lambones (1711).
CANSING: Broche, corchete de oro o plata que ponen en las chinelas, jubones, mantos, sobrereros, etc. (1914).
14. CASICAS: Brazaletes, manilla, gargantilla, bancorong (1711).
CASICAS: Yerba así llamada. Brazaletes, manilla. Gargantilla. Anillo ó rodaja de bejuco, carey, ú otra cosa (1914).
15. CAUAD: No entry for 1711
CAUD: Enlazar las cosas con otras como los rosarios de alambre ó cosa semejante. Alambre. — CADENA DE ORO Ú OTRA COSA. (Una cadena de oro que tiene pendiente una llave) (1914).
16. CAWID: Garabato, garfio, prendedero, corchete, hebilleta, o prender con esto alguna cosa. Also CAWIT, escarpia, garabato o gancho de que algo se cuelga o ase. Cawitcawit, corchete, brocha, hebilla (1711).
CAUIT: Escarpia, garabato, gancho del cual se cuelga algo, o con el cual se recoge alguna cosa (1914).
17. CUPANG: Pesa de Oro, la mitad de un malabato en el peso de labin-siyam. Vale un real la cupang, el malabato dos y el amas cuatro tomines (1711).
CUPANG: No entry in 1914.
18. DAHIG: Abalorio o gargantilla y lunar (1711).
DAHUG: Gargantilla, cuenta de abalorio o azabache (1914).
19. DALAC: Manilla o brazelete (1711).
DALAC: Manilla o bracelete (1914).
20. DALINDALIN: Cierta arco o adorno de las orejas (1711).
DALINDALIN: Adorno de las orejas (1914).
21. DULANG: Lavadero donde se lava el oro. *Lulangan*, es un plato grande de la hechura del dulang, algunos de estos valen un tae de oro, otros, dos y más segun es la grandeza de ellos y lo fino (1711).
DULANG: Bateo redonda de madera para varios usos (1914).

22. DUNSOL: Instrumento de los pandayes de oro sobre que labran *panicas* (1711).
DONSOL: Instrumento de platero (1914).
23. GANSING: Brochas o botones de oro que ponen en el cuello o en cintillos de sombrero, etc. (1711).
GANSING: Especie de botones de oro que se ponían en el cuello, sombrero, etc. (1914).
24. GINAQUIT: Unas sartillas de oro, en figura de Gaquit, que es tres o cuatro canutillos pegados (1711).
GINAQUIT: Gargantilla o sarta de oro (1914).
25. GALIS: Brazelete de tiposo (Waray-Waray for ivory) (1711).
GALIS: Brazelete de marfil (1914).
26. HULUN: Cinto de las mujeres con que aprietan la manta.
Bulawan iton iya hulun (1711).
HULUN: Cinta o cordón que usan las mujeres en la saya (1914).
27. INADLAY: No entry in 1711.
INADLAY: Cuentas de metal ú otra materia de la figura de fruto del arbusto llamado adlay.
28. LAOG: Mezcla del oro y por extensión cualquier champurro.
Also LAHUC (1711).
LAOG: No entry in 1914.
29. LASCOG: El oro descolorido blanquisco, de pocos quilates (1711).
LASCOG: No entry in 1914.
30. LUBID: Cordel de dos o tres hilos o ramales que le llaman LUBAG.
LUBIRAN, se llama el bahag o paño que a los extremos tiene cordoncillos como rapacejos que cuelgan. INUBIRAN an *panica*.
LUBID: Torcer hilo, abaca u otra cosa sobre la pierna Bramante o cuerda de abaca, etc., torcida sobre pierna (1914).
31. LUPSAC: Oro de ruin color (1711).
LUPSAC: No entry in 1914.
32. PALIDPALID: Argentería. Also, *Cayoncayon* (1711).
PALIDPALID: Traer y llevar el viento alguna cosa. Cristal que tiene algunos aderezos en el centro (1914).
33. LANKIS: Manilla o ajorca de los brazos (1711).
LANKIS: No entry in 1914.
34. PAQUISAP: Cuentas o gargantillas así llamadas (1914).
PAQUISAP: No entry for 1711.
35. MANAS: Sarta o taclay. TACLAY: Sartas de Sangleyes.
TARLIP, DAHUG (1711).
MANAS: No entry in 1914.
36. PIRAC: Plata. *Piniracan*, plateado o sobredorado.
PIRAC: O PILAC: En Cebu y más por Otong, la plata labrada o por labrar; acá para todo usan de salapi, en todas partes dicen, PIRAC y PINIRACAN. Lo plateado y dorado (1711).
PIRAC: No entry in 1914.
37. PUYOS: Atadijo, como cuando en el bahag o en el podung, atan un poquito de oro o deparin, etc. También es el botón de la flor porque sale así plegadito. Pero porque así abocaditos ataditos labran las mantas las llaman. PINUYUSAN, PUPUYUSAN, las que han de labrar así (1711).
PUYOS: Envolver, cubrir un objeto parcial o totalmente, ciñéndole en torno de tela, papel u otra cosa análoga (1914).
38. PIYIS: Adorno pequeño de tela (1914).
PIYIS: Ardijo pequenito como quien ata un poquito de oro en la orilla

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del *lambung*. Piyus es mayor, y es de cuando labran el pinuyusan (1711).

39. PIYOS: La flor que no ha abierto, que esta en botón como un atadito de oro (1711).

PIYOS: No entry in 1914.

40. PUSAD: Diente de oro, es nombre general. Hay cuatro especies: BANSIL (vel Pansil), BINACBA, INARONG, DINUCNAY. MAMUMUSAD, el panday que los hace y pone (1711).

PUSAD: Diente de oro. Clavito de oro, plata u otra metal, que usa el Bisaya para tachonar y adornar la punta del asta de lanza, donde entra el hierro, y empuñaduras de otras armas blancas. v. Poner o colocar dichos clavitos (1914).

41. SAB-ONG (SA PANGLAYAN): Brazaletes. *Baclao*, *Casicas* (1914).

SAB-ONG: No entry in 1711.

SAB-ONG: Llevar rosario, escapulario, etc. Colgados al cuello (1914).

42. SALAPI: Plata, moneda (1711).

SALAPI: Plata, metal blanco, sonoro y dúctil, el más precioso después del oro y del platino. Dinero, moneda corriente. Usa ca salapi, Moneda de cuatro reales fuertes) (1914).

43. SANGUD: Piedra preciosa (1711).

SANGUD: Carbunclo, rubí o piedra preciosa, que, dicen los Bisayas, se cria en la cabeza de algunas culebras y otros animales. Fortuna, suerte, dicha (1914).

44. SIBIT: Especie de cadenilla de oro (1914).

SIBIT: No entry for 1711.

45. SINAMPALOC: Especie de cuentas o gargantilla, que de adorno traen la mujeres al cuello (1914).

SINAMPALOC: No entry for 1711.

46. TACLAY: Sartas de Sangleyes. *Tarlip*, *manas*, *dahug* (1711).

TACLAY: Ensartar, pasar por un hilo, cuerda, alambre, etc. varias cosas, como cuentas, etc. Sartas, serie de cosas metidas por orden en un hilo, cuerda, etc. (1914).

47. TALICARA: Cadena (1711).

TALICARA: Cadena de hierro o acero, conjunto de muchos eslabones enlazados entre sí por los extremos (1914).

48. TOCHOL: Aderezar orejeras. Tocbolon an panica cun papag hiolion nga nacupi cun da nalopac anay (1711).

TOCHOL: No entry in 1914.

49. TUIBO: Género de orejeras (1711).

TUIBO: No entry in 1914.

50. TURAY: Especie de cuentas llevadas puestas al cuello (1914).

TURAY: No entry for 1711.

51. TUMBAGA: Cobre, azófar o metal (1711).

TUMBAGA: Cobre, metal de color rojo pardo, brillante, maleable, dúctil, el más tenaz, después del hierro; más duro que el oro y la plata, a los cuales comunica consistencia en el almoneda y otras aleaciones (1914).

Note: TUMBAGA: "*Tumbaga* refers to a low (8-10 karat) quality gold, producing a red gold color due to the copper alloy. This does not refer to the reddish patina from an oxidation process, which results

in the *kalawanging ginto*. Although usually thought to be a South American term, *tumbaga* is also recovered from pre-colonial sites in the Philippines, as well as Indonesia and Malaysia, where it is also known as *tumbaga* and *suasa* ... Another related term is *del país* (of the countryside), which refers to the lowest peasant jewelry, usually 6 karat gold of silver mix and therefore whitish." Villegas, *op. cit.*, p. 195. According to the Spanish lexicon, TUMBAGA is described thus: "del malayo, tombaga, cobre). Liga metálica muy quebradiza, compuesta de oro y de igual o menor cantidad de cobre, que se emplea en joyería. 2. Sortija hecha de esta liga. 3. Anillo. TUMBAGON: brazaletes de tumbaga." *Diccionario de la Lengua Española, op. cit.*, p. 1258.

52. TUBIG BULAUAN: No entry in 1711.
TUBIG BULAUAN: Oro falso (1914).
53. TUNAO: Barra o plancha de plata u oro o de otro metal (1711).
TUNAO: Anillo de latón u otra cosa, que se pone en la lanza (1914).
54. VAGAS: Oro puro, fino (1711).
UAGAS: Oro puro en polvo (1914).

Now, it would be well to add a list of entries found in the Bicolano *Vocabulario* describing their ancient adornment and jewelry and all that pertains to it. The reference contained herein are more rich, more extensive (well over a hundred entries) and more minutely described than in the two previously cited lexicons. What more, a great number of terminology found among the Bicolanos complements those of the Bisayans.

1. AGOBAY: Unas como faldillas, que ponen a las gargantillas las muge-res. *Naagobay*, poner estas faldillas a la gargantilla, o un ribete, o pasamano junto a otro (1865).
2. AMAS: Un maez de oro, que vale diez y seis bagnates y diez y seis caamas, hacen sangbasing (1865).
3. ANGGOGORING: Unos escarbajos verdes, y dorados, que suelen poner en las cadenas de oro, y en otras cosas por gala menores que los que que llaman LANIBAN, GUGURING (1865).
4. APIS: Apartar el oro de la arena (1865).
5. BACLAO: Unas cintas como de sangrar, que se ataban antiguamente por galanía muy justa a los brazos, o unas rodejuelas de bejucos tegidas, chiquitas, y muy curiosas, que sirven de atar. — hacer los tales anillos o rodejuelas, o ponerlas en alguna cosa (1865).
6. BADRAYA: Perlas o aljófar (1865).
7. BANCASO: Una como arca donde guardan el oro, plata, y joyas que se cierra con cierto palo en lugar de llave (1865).
8. BANTOLANG: Un modo de ajorcas de cierta hechura, que se ponían los varones en los brazos, eran de oro algunas veces, y otras de bejucos, o de otra cosa, como aquella hechura, como... PINGAGBATOLANG: los bejucos de que se hacen, o ser traídos en los brazos de oro, etc. (1865).
9. BASING: Peso de un tael. Sanbasing na bulauan, un tael de oro (1865).
10. BANHOG: Desensartar, ó deshacer la cadena de oro. PINAGBANHOG, los garires, que quitan de la cadena. PINAG, el lugar, ó el remanente, ó el cordel de la cadena (1865).

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11. BASONG: Los remates de sus cadenas de oro antiguas. *Nag-basong*, hacerles, o ponerles estos remates (1865).
12. BATO: Pesa, con que pesan oro (1865).
13. BATO BALANI: Piedra imán (1865).
14. BINATAC: Una cadena de oro así llamado (1865).
15. BISIG: Oro no muy fino, que tiene mucha mezcla (1865).
16. BITAS: Garizes de camaqui, o de *hinapon*, que tienen los dientecillos descompasados, que no encajan bien (1865).
17. *BOBOTCAN: La muñeca del brazo (1865).
18. BOGOL: Unos piramidillos de oro, que ponen por remates en las *taronas*, y *palbares*. *Nagbogol*, poner o hacer los tales piramidillos, o remates.
19. BOTOC: Unas manillas de oro, que solían traer las mugeres en los brazos (1865).
20. CALACALA: Vid. PALIDPALID (1865).
21. CALAMBOGAS: Brazaletes de oro, que usaban los hombres (1865).
22. CAMAGUE: Es una cadena de oro, que traen en la cintura las mugeres (1865).
23. CASING: Unas como flores de oro, o planchitas labradas, que solían coser, y sembrar por el vestido (1865).
24. CARA: La concha de la tortuga o las azorcas, o brazaletes, que de ellas se hacen (1865).
25. CARASCAS: Un collar de bejuco, que se ponían en la garganta o en la muñeca de la mano en señal de tristeza, cuando moría alguno (1865).
26. *CATE: Un peso así llamado, que pesa la décima parte de una chinanta. *Sangcate*, un cate, etc. (1865).
27. CAUAD: Unas cadenas de alambre, que tienen las mugeres en las cintas; lo mismo es, WUINACAUAD (1865).
28. CODAT: Oro bajo de quilates casi como el de SINOBONG (1865).
29. COGUING: Una cadenilla de hasta de cinco o seis eslabones que ponen en el mango del cuchillo para que suene, y los hallen, cuando se pierden.
30. COLAG: Un palillo, con que mezcean el oro, cuando lo derriten (1865).
31. CONDING: La mitad de un cuartillo, ú octava parte de un real (1865).
32. DALAC: Unos brazaletes, que traían antiguamente hechos de chonchas de la mar (1865).
33. DALAM: Unas moneadas de cobre con un agujero en medio, que dicen ser moneda de China, y estos echaban suertes con ellas (1865).
34. DALISAY: Oro muy fino de quilates (1865).
35. DALOY: El oro fino, que cubre el oro bajo haciendo tejuelos de falso por dentro. Oro falso cubierto de bueno (1865).
36. DANDAN: Unas ajorcas de *calongcaqui*, o de tortuga, que traían los varones en los pies por cima de los tobillos (*CALONGCAQUI: Azófar, anillo de metal) (1865).
37. DINOGSO: Unas cuentecillas de oro pequeñitas (1865).
38. DINUMAGAT: Gargantilla de mugeres de oro, y cornelinas, ú otras como cuentas; lo mismo es, CARUPE (1865).
39. GADING: Marfil en común, o unas manillas, que ponen en el brazo hasta el codo las principales (1865).

40. GALAGAL: Brea aderezada con que labran los *gadines* [gading and seemingly from the Malayan word GADIA or Elephant] o brazaletes de marfil, y otros menesteres (1865).
41. GAMAY: Una cadena de oro o más chica, que el HINAPON (1865).
42. GAREP: una planchita de oro donde pegan los plateros la feligrana, que llaman RAUARAUA (1865).
43. GASAC: Oro bajo, y quebradizo (1865).
44. GOONG: Cadena de oro que se trae apretada al cuello o brazaletes, que vienen apretados al brazo, o anillos a los dedos (1865).
45. GOTANG: Grieta del oro, cuando lo labran (1865).
46. HAROM: Oro oscuro, o bajo de quilates (1865).
47. HINAPON: Cadena de oro modo de indio ensartada en cordel (1865).
48. HINOYOT: Una cadena de oro hecha de hilo de oro tirado.
49. HINOLOG: Oro que tiene muchas mezclas (1865).
50. HIRAPO: Oro finísimo en quilates. Hirapong bulauan, oro finísimo (1865).
51. HOLON: Una sarta de cuentezuellas o cornelinas, que se ciñen las mugeres (1865).
52. HOPAO: Merma del oro, u otra metal cuando se purifica en crisol, o labra (1865).
53. YMBOT: Una cadena de oro ancha, que solian traer las mugeres por cinta (1865).
54. LADAS: Azorcas a los brazos de las mugeres, o muchachos (1865).
55. LAYON: Un género de cadenas de oro, que ellos usan a su modo (1865).
56. LAOG: El platero que anda trabajando por otros pueblos lejos del suyo (1865).
57. LIGPIT: Guarnición de tortuga o de oro, o de azófar, que ponen en los lados de brazaletes de marfil, o de otra cosa semejante guarnecida así (1865).
58. LOBOC: Oro, o dinero, que alguno lleva consigo ceñidos al cuerpo en algún bolsico (1865).
59. MADAG: Unas como cuentecillas, amarillas (1865).
60. MATAMBOCAO: Unas bolillas de oro esquinadas, de que usaban antiguamente por gala (1865).
61. ONTON: Un cierto paño que se ciñen, donde traen el puñal, y una bolsica, donde suelen guardar dinero (1865).
62. ORAY: Oro casi *panica* (1865).
63. PADAGNAN: Brazaletes de marfil (1865).
64. PALBAD: Unas orejetas de oro o unas hojas de buri enrolladas, u otra cosa así, que ponen las mugeres en los agujeros de las orejas (1865).
65. PALIDPALID: Argentería (1865).
66. PANICA: Oro fino en quilates (1865).
67. PANICA: Orejeras de oro grandes y redondas, como platos, que usaban las mugeres (1865).
68. PASAC: Labor de granitos de oro calongcaqui, u otro metal embutido en alguna cosa como en el puñal del balarao, u otra cosa así (1865).
69. PASAC: Oro clavado o envuelto en los dientes, como usaban antiguamente. Napasac, Nagpasac, clavar estos clavitos de oro en los dientes (1865).
70. PASURA: El primero de los brazaletes de marfil, que traen las mugeres junto a la muñeca. Napasura, poner este brazaletes en la brazo a la muger (1865).

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71. PATANAO: Unos zarcillos de oro que traían las mugeres, como paletillas (1865).
72. PATATARO: Oro panica muy fino (1865). Cf. Villegas, *op. cit.*, p. 88 where a photo shows a pair of earrings with a palette-like facing on the hoop. May this be the name for these?
73. PIDAL: Una mezcla de metales, con que sueldan oro, o azófar, u otros metales así (1865).
74. PINANGDAN: Una como corona, o cinta de oro, que usaban antiguamente (1865).
75. PINAROGMOC: Una cadena de oro de hilo tirado menor, que la que llaman *hinuyot* (1865).
76. PIRAC: Plata. Nagpirac mezclar con oro, o con otra cosa (1865).
77. QUICHE: Uno como pincelillo de cerdas con que dan color al oro con el sulpo o con que se limpian los dientes tambien. Nagquiche: brunir así el oro con este pincelillo o limpiar los dientes can él (1865).
78. QUINAUAD: Unas cadenas de alambre, que traen las mugeres a la cintura: lo mismo, es, CAUAD, en sus cantares (1865).
79. QUINILITAN: Un género de plato, que tenían antiguamente grueso, que tienen por de fuera unos canales (1865).
80. RAMOC: El oro, que es en pedacito no fundido, ni labrado (1865).
81. RAOS: Unas cintas que traen las mugeres de los pueblos de arriba de ensartos, o cuentezuelas entreveradas con oro (1865).
82. RAUARAU: Labor de filigrana, que hace en piezas de oro (1865).
83. RITE: El oro que se ponen en los dientes (1865).
84. SABUAG: Oro en polvo que aún no será fundido (1865).
85. SAGNAG: Oro purificado en el crisol. Nagsagnag: acarisolar así el oro (1865).
86. SALAPE: Tostón o real de a cuatro (1865).
87. SANGCAYABA: Una piedra negra como la palma de la mano de ancho, sobre que echaban las suertes antiguamente (1865).
88. SAPAHA: Peso de oro, que pesa cuatro maezes (1865).
89. SAPARO: Una como bucatilla, o hostiario, donde se guardan algunas joyas (1865).
90. SINAGUITLO: Ore bajo, que merma las dos partes; lo mismo es TINLO (1865).
91. SINAMPAGA: Una como corona de florecitas de oro, que suelen traer las mugeres. [SAMPAGA: violeta sampaquita: planta cuya flor se parece al jazmín, y es muy olorosa y medicinal]
92. SINOBONG: Oro de muy bajos quilates (1865).
93. SOLOT: Unas como cuentecillas, de que suelen hacer gargantillas (1865).
94. TAYAMOTAM: Oro, o plata hecha en pedacitos (1865).
95. TALICALA: Cadena de hierro, o de oro, o de otra cosa. TINATALICALA, ser traída la cadena de oro al cuello. Nagtatalicala, traer al cuello cadena de oro, o echar cadena de hierro a otro por largo tiempo (1865).
96. TALSI: Un metal más bajo que *tumbaga* (1865).
97. TAMBORE: Unas como manecillas de azófar, que mezclan con las de tortuga en los brazos (1865).
98. TAMPOC: La piedra del anillo. Natampoc or nag... poner piedra en el anillo. Ypinagtampoc, la piedra preciosa, que se pone en el anillo (1865).
99. TANDAS: Unos como pasamanos de cuentecillas o ensartas, que ponían a los tapis antiguamente... poner esos frajones... (1865).
100. TARIPAN: Un modo de carbón con que labran los plateros el oro, la obra que llaman RAUARAU (1865).

101. TARONA: Orejeras de oro de varones, y no se usan (1865).
102. TATAC: Diñero o plata partida en pedacitos, u otra metal, u otra cosa, partiéndola con cuchillo, dando con algo en el cuchillo para que entre (1865).
103. TINABOG: Unas como cuentas, que tienen los layones, o *camagues* por remates o atrechos (1865).
104. TINGGAL: Una como brea blanca con que sueldan los pandayes de oro (1865).
TOBAO: Una como cadenilla de bejucos muy delgadillos, que usan las mugeres del monte por brazaletes (1865).
105. TOGOT: Una como cadenilla de bejucos muy delgadillos, que usan las mugeres del monte por brazaletes (1865).
106. TOBAO: Una como tabilla de oro, que las balianas se ponían en la frente, antiguamente cuando hacían sus maganitos (1865).
107. TOLBOC: Unas planchitas, o estrellitas de oro batido, que pegaban en los mantos, o vestidos (1868).
108. TOLTOG: La piedra, como de mármol, con que muelen el metal de las minas sobre esta piedra grande, que llama TOLTOGAN (1865).
109. TOPITOP: Argentería, en que se pone... (1865).
110. TUBIS: Hilo delgado de oro o de otro metal (1865).
111. TUMBAGA: Un metal más fino que azofar, entre éste, y el oro, dicen que puede sacar oro refinándolo mucho (1865).
112. TUTUBISAN: Un hierro de muchos agujeros por donde tiran el oro, o el azófar para hacer como hilo de alambre. Vide TUBIS (1865).
113. UAGAY: El oro desensartado del *camague*, o del *hinapon* Naguagay, desensartar algunos garices del camague (1865).
114. UAGAS: El oro en polvo aun no fundido (1865).

⁸ This is a kind of a *bejuco* or fern called *nito* which grows in the Philippine forests. "It grows to a height of some six feet and has a trunk which is black and white in color. Its hard bark is utilized in making fine hats, cases for keeping cigars or fine-cut tobacco, etc. Its roots are black and pliable and make excellent tooth-picks. The mountain-folk use this *nito* to fashion bracelets and as a remedy against poisonous attacks. Its ground or mashed roots are an effective remedy in cases of insect or animal bites, even though it produces a strong, burning effect when applied" de la Rosa y Alcazar, *op. cit.*, p. 411 in supplement as "Nombres de Algunos Árboles y Plantas." Perhaps, it would be well to mention here that this third edition of the *DICCIONARIO* also has the following features as a supplement: 1. "Refranes, Adagios y Acertijos," 8 pp.; 2) Síncopas de Algunos Nombres y Verbos," pp. 4; 3) "Nombres de Algunos Peces," 6 pp.; 4) "Pueblos y Visitas de Samar y Leyte," 12 pp.; a bound-in "Suplemento al Diccionario Bisaya-Español" por Antonio V. Alcazar (Manila: Imprenta de Santos y Bernal, 1921), 31 pp.; and of course, the above-mentioned "Nombres de Algunos Árboles y Plantas."

⁹ This was a breech-clout worn by the early Bisayans as well as by all the male inhabitants of the Philippine Archipelago. Sanchez, as early as 1620, described this piece of garment thus: "Paño que usan en lugar de calzones. La cintura por donde los atan y ciñen; tómase también por las partes vergonzosas de los varones. Para las mujeres, *pagtapisan*, *paghalongan* y *pahablan*." *Op. cit.*, fol. 45. The Franciscan Lisboa, gives this entry under *bahag*: "Un pedazo de lienzo o manta que estos naturales se ciñen y les sirve de calzones." *Op. cit.*, p. 46. It may be of some interest to know that the front and back flaps of the *bahag* did have a name in olden times; namely, "*vayauay*: Las faldas del bahaqui, lo que cuelga o por detrás o por delante; Y un bejuco largo para atar balso o navio." Sanchez, *op. cit.*, fol. 539. Among the ancient Bicolanos, this same term *vayauay* carried this meaning:

"Bullir como algún paño, ó cosa semejante, como ojeando moscas, ó haciendo señas, ó tremolar la bandera." Lisboa, *op. cit.*, p. 414.

¹⁰ Known in English as Manila hemp (*musa textilis*). The term *abaca* somehow has reference to both, the plant and the fiber extracted from it. There is a great variety of this *abaca* in Samar and Leyte and some of the more common varieties are: *balunan*, *lavisid*, *layahon*, *busag*, *alman*, *libutanay*, *linauan*, *inosa*. Also, wild and uncultivated varieties abound in the forests of Samar, especially in the mountains of Oras, Palapag and Catubig. Cf. Sanchez, *op. cit.*, p. 389 about its medicinal value. Alcina, in his *HISTORIA*, Part I, Book I, Chapter 10 has a very detailed description of this particular plant. Some of the more popular varieties among the Bicolanos are: 1) *Agotay* and *Amunquid*: *abaca brava*, ó *basta*, ó *silvestre*; 2) Binago: *abaca teñida de colorado*; 3) BINANGCAL *abaca teñida de amarillo*; 4) Gapas, *abaca ruin*, y *desigual*; 5) Gomon, *abaca que queda enredada después de haber escogido los hilos para la tela*; 6) Hinonhonan: *abacá muy corta, y desecha*; 7) Tinagac: *abacá enroscada para hurdir ya la tela*; 8) Topoc: *abacá que está ya quebradiza por estar podrida, y lo mismo hilo, bejuco, etc.* Lisboa, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

"The *abacá* plant is a close relative of the banana, both belonging to the genus *Musa*. *Abaca*, however, is more delicate than its cousin which produces edible fruits and is more demanding in terms of natural conditions. *Musa textilis*, which gives us Manila hemp, is a tree-like herb growing to heights of five to ten meters, or a little less than normal size for the mature banana plant. The single root stock will produce anywhere from twelve to thirty stalks in a hill. The stalks may vary from 2.5 to a maximum of about six meters in length, and in color, show a variety ranging from dark purple to green. The stalk is composed mainly of over-lapping leaf sheaths and it is from these that the fiber is derived.

"The *abaca* plant, in addition to being smaller than the banana plant has a more slender stem and is thus more vulnerable to wind damage than its more hardy relative. The leaf is slightly darker in color and somewhat more narrow and tapered. If all else fails, the *abaca* plant may be distinguished from the banana by the occurrence of a dark thread-like line running lengthwise on the right hand side of the under surface of the leaf.

"In the Philippines, where the *abaca* is indigenous, there are more than twenty-four known varieties. However, only three are of major importance nationwide: *bongolanon*, *tangongon* and *maguindanao* varieties.

"*Abaca musa textilis*, grows best in areas where annual rainfall totals are high and where there is no pronounced dry season. In the Bicol region, *abaca* is produced in the area having between 110 inches and 130 inches of rainfall per year. In the Leyte-Samar production areas, precipitation ranges from 90 inches to 130 inches. High humidity and no truly dry season is most favourable. Where a dry season exists or even where humidity readings are low, the growth of the plant is temporarily checked and yields correspondingly reduced. If drought is prolonged, the plant will die.

"Ideal soil for *abaca* must be rich as the plant is quite demanding of certain nutrients. The soil should be of a loam texture as either too fine a texture, as in clay, or too coarse a texture, as in sandy soil, is poor.

"*Abaca* is even more delicate than banana and must be protected from wind. High winds associated with typhoons are particularly to be avoided in locating plantations as they can destroy vast plantings in a very short time. Even moderate winds are harmful as they cause the broad leaves to tear and torn leaves are not as functional as while leaves and cause the plant growth to be somewhat retarded.

"*Abaca* fiber, known as 'Manila hemp' is really not a hemp at all; in fact, it is a leaf fiber while hemp is a bast fiber. *Abaca* is a hard fiber which absorbs very little moisture and is hardly affected by submersion in in water, even by submersion in salt water.

"In addition, the fiber is long, averaging from two to four meters, and can be manufactured into excellent rope. The strength, resistance to salt water, and ability to float makes abaca rope the 'queen of marine cordage.' It was for this use that abaca first made its fame, but subsequently, mainly through Philippine government and private corporation research, it has found a wide variety of uses which have stimulated demand and helped in a small way to even out wild price fluctuations. Cottage industries and some larger corporations are using abaca as the raw material for the production of rugs, slippers, placemats, handbags, and other common items of trade. Less prosaic uses are the production of lens cleaning tissue, cigarette paper, special papers for the printing of currency, sausage wrappers, tea bags, and acoustical padding. Abaca is so versatile that an unconfirmed story has it that Queen Victoria specified that Manila rope be used for all executions by hanging." Robert E. Huke, *Shadows on the Land: An Economic Geography of the Philippines* (Manila: Bookmark, 1963), pp. 331 ff.

¹¹ This is a Spanish or Mexican term and means cloth in general and a 'woolen blanket' in some parts of the Americas; domestic cotton shirting. Ordinary cloth of cotton which is made and used in Mexico. Through the passing of time and usage, the Bisayans absorbed this term 'manta' and applied it to the 'taplak' or blanket mainly. Cf. *Diccionario de la Lengua Española*, *op. cit.*, p. 814.

Again, Father Marcos Lisboa, who died in the year 1628 after over 40 some years in the Philippines, gives us an index to the varieties of these so-called 'mantas': 1) Bagabay: manta de algodón con que se cubren; 2) Binaybay: manta de abaca, que les sirve de sobrecama; 3) Cayo: manta blanca de sangleys; 4) Dagotdot (dotdot): manta tejida muy tupida; 5) Gagnan: manta azul de China, las más basta; 6) Malinanglinag: manta, o ropa bruñida; 7) Linumpot: manta de algodón, que sirve de cubrecama; 8) Rosog (solot): manta cerrada como costal; 9) Samary: manta tejida de abaca, 10) Tamong: manta, que llaman: Tape, Tinape; 11) Calasumba: mantas coloradas que tenían antiguamente; 12) Bintoc: mantas de algodón labradas de colores; 13) Lambong (lalong): mantas de algodón muy anchas; 14) Ysing: mantas negras de China. Lisboa, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

¹² In Book 4 of this Part I, Alcina himself gives us a thorough description of this *pinayusan*. "We shall complete this chapter with what these *Indios* here call *pinayusan*. This was apparently the regal dress of the most distinguished and the most valiant. No one except those who had performed some proven deed of killing [an enemy] had the privilege and right to wear this red apparel. More and more *brazas* were added to the length and to the turns of the *Pudong* and the *bahag* as the number of killings increased. I have already discussed what these were and how they wore them and still wear them today. These *Pinayusan* were and are today an article so peculiar to the Bisayans that no one else in these islands makes them except the Bisayan women. The material from which these *mantas* are made, as we have stated previously, was the abaca plant. It is from the fibers of this abaca plant that they weave the ordinary *mantas* for themselves. After weaving and drying them — those which are whitest turn out the best — they do the pieces together, as we have already pointed out, with some little strings of this same abaca fiber, quite well concealed. For this process, they have some small boards with many holes in it where they place below them some pegs about a *palm* in length, more or less. All this serves as a guide for distancing the rose or decoration, one from another as they continue filling the entire piece of *manta* with these roses, dots and lines in line with their desires. It is a very slow and tedious task; however, the women who are skilled make them with seeming facility and ease. The entire pie is so tied together so that it seems as if it were plaited. A *manta* of four *brazas* hardly comes to be in bulk, a little more than a *palm*. Then, they proceed to dye it, as we have mentioned, with *palo nino*. This [dye] is so suitable for this species of abaca that no other *manta*, either of cotton or any other material, takes the color so vividly or brilliantly as this particular kind. The

result is a scarlet-like look which never loses its brightness. After dying them, they untie them, stretch and pull them apart in order to take out the wrinkles; in fact, they even knead them with a piece of wood made for this purpose. Next, they burnish them so that they become very bright and shiny. This was the festive attire of the valiant and only they had the honor to wear them; that is, [their *pudongs*] around their heads and the *bahags*. Today, these also serve other purposes particularly in making curtains for beds. It is for this reason and purpose that the Spaniards, Chinese and others purchase them." *Historia... 1668, op. cit., chapter 10.*

The term *pinayusan* is derived from the word *puyos* as a description of it given in Sanchez' *Vocabulario*: "PUYOS: Atadijo, como cuando en el bahag o en el podung, atan un poquito de oro o deparina etc. Poyoson mo dida sa ima pudong. Pero porque así abocaditos, ataditos labran las mantas las llaman. PINUYUSAN, *pupuyusan*, las que han de labrar así. *Namumuyos*, Labrar la pinayusa. *Op. cit., fol. 429.*

And finally, since Alcina had mentioned the *nino*, as a source of excellent dye, it would be well to furnish some pertinent data in this regard.

"Although this *sibucao* tree (Brazil wood) is very good for dyeing things red, it does not compare with another kind of tree called here *nino*. It is a tree of very luxuriant foliage of a pretty green each leaf as large as a hand and almost fist size with the fingers held together. The useful portion of this tree is the root and the bark. Pared off and mixed with a little lime of a very fine fragrance which never ceases nor changes, it is used to dye mantas which they call here *pinayusan*. They soak these mantas either in the sun or through a little boiling in this dye; of course, the sun does a better job than boiling. The mantas made from abaca take in the dye of the *nino* much more readily than that of the *sibucao*. When dyed with the *sibucao* alone it results in a somewhat violet color; with the other [i.e. *nino*] the mantas take on the finest red and as good as those which they call in Gran China, *lacha*. *Ibid., Chapter 24.*

¹³ This term is also spelled in this manner, *ampos*, and has reference to the front fold of the *bahag* according to Sanchez (1711). The 1914 lexicon of de la Rosa and Alcazar defines it thus: "Ampis: Cubrir las partes vergonzosas y la parte trasera con pañuelo o cosa equivalente. s. Falda o delantera." And the Bicolano dictionary states: "Ampis: unos como faldones de cuerpo de bufano, que usaban para defensa, cuando peleaban antiguamente."

¹⁴ Strangely enough, but Mateo Sanchez does not have any entry for *bado* or *baro*, terms very common among the Bisayans. However, the above-mentioned does give three other terms for dress or vesture of the Bisayans: *Panapton, Dugnit and Dasuras*. 1. "DASURAS: Vestido cotidiano y viejo, que ya no se repara aunque se ensucie o gaste. Con may habul, lambong, etc. *Op. cit., fol. 175*; 2. DUBAS: (or Dubis): Estragado, gastado como vestido que se trae siempre y con que se trabaja; dubas na inin panapton nga dugnit... *Ibid., fol. 183*; TIMASA: Ropa que solo usan en casa. De la Rosa y Alcazar, *op. cit., p. 355*. And finally, "*panapton*: ropa, vestido. v. Vestir, adornar el cuerpo con el vestido." *Ibid., p. 235*. There is also the word *dugnit*, which means any piece of clothing or dress in general; (Vestido ó ropa ya usada, — adj. Ropa sucia, rota ó desechada).

We may add here also, that the terminology among the Bisayans for dressing up or adorning oneself in whatsoever way, is quite numerous. 1. ALIOS: Arillo de oro que usan las bisayas. *Panica*. Also Dayandayan, Sara. *Ibid., p. 60*; 2. BINHOR: Entumecerse o adornecerse algún miembro. *Banhur*, los mismo. Sanchez, *op. cit., fol. 77.*; 3. DAYAN: adornar, adorno, bizzarria, gallardia; de la Rosa y Alcazar, *op. cit., p. 110*; 4. DAYAN: Bizzarria, gala. *Camadayan, Dayandayan*, gala, atavio, aderezo. Sanchez, *op. cit., fol. 164*; 5. DINGDING: arreo, lozania, bizzarria. ¡Qué galán! qué hermoso, *Ibid., fol. 179*; 6. GAYADO: persona bien vestida. de la Rosa y Alcazar, *op. cit., p. 124.*; 7. HIAS (or HIYAS): gala, arreo, ornato. Also Dayandayan, sara. Sanchez, *op. cit., fol. 232*; 8. HIMULAUAN: (de bulauan) rico, que

tiene mucho oro. De la Rosa y Alcazar, *op. cit.*, p. 150; 9. HOGAR: el agujero de la oreja. Sanchez, *op. cit.*, fol. 243; 10. LINGIG: instrumento de hierro que usan para enderezar los dientes de la sierra. Liqui: Dientes desproporcionados. de la Rosa y Alcazar, *op. cit.*, p. 19 Supl.; 11. PIYIS: adorno pequeño de tela. *Ibid.*, p. 250; 12. PUNI: adornar, hermosear con adornos. *Ibid.*, p. 257; 13. *Rayandayan*: adorno, alhaja, lo que sirve para la hermosura o mejor parecer de alguna persona o cosa. v. adornar, hermosear con adornos; alhajar, adornar con alhajas. Vid. *Hiyas, Sob-ong. Ibid.* p. 269; 14. RUBA: adorno que los bisayas usaban antiguamente en cabeza. *Ibid.*, p. 270. Also, RUBARUBA.; 15. RUBA: arreo, adorno. Vid. Rubaruba. Sanchez, *op. cit.*, fol. 183; SAGALA: vestir, cubrir o adornar el cuerpo con un vestido. De la Rosa y Alcazar, *op. cit.*, p. 275.; 17. SAGULAY: Luto, signo exterior de pena y duelo en ropas, adornos y otros objetos, por la muerte de una persona. *Ibid.* p. 278; 18. SARA: En el común es lo mismo que *hiyas, dayandayan*; gala, arreo. Also: camagi, etc. Es como jaeces. Hombre bien compuesto, galán. Sanchez, *op. cit.*, fol. 453. 19. SOCLOB: vestir, cubrir, adornar el cuerpo con el vestido. de la Rosa y Alcazar, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

¹⁵ It is referred to as *potong* among the Tagalogs and by most of the early chroniclers. Sanchez describes it this way: "PODONG: El paño o tela que revuelven en la cabeza, como los moros el turbante. PINUDNGAN, el que tiene pudong. Podongan, vel, podngan." Sanchez, *op. cit.*, fol. 422.

¹⁶ There are a few other terms for the women's type of dress in the olden days. For example: "TAPIS: Especie de faja ancha que usan algunas filipinas, ajustándola de manera que cruce por detrás y marque las formas del cuerpo." de la Rosa y Alcazar, *op. cit.*, p. 345. Sanchez gives some variations of the *tapis* as *halong, habul, hulun*. "Halong: La manta de madreñaque, lacdug, habol (tejer)"; HALONG: Pieza de abaca tejida de cinco brazas de larga." *Ibid.*, p. 136. "HULON: Cinta o cordón que usan las mujeres en la saya." *Ibid.*, p. 160. Lisboa describes the *tapis* "El patadyong, que sirve de saya á la muger." *Op. cit.*, p. 385. Finally, a classic Spanish dictionary gives us this fine description: "Tapis: Filip. Faja ancha, de color obscuro, por lo común negro, que usan las indígenas, ciñéndosela encima de la saya desde la cintura hasta más abajo de la rodilla." *Diccionario de la Lengua Española, op. cit.*, p. 1199. HABUL: according to Sanchez (1711) is "manta sea de lanote o de otra cosa, aunque de ordinario se toma por la de lanote, es tambien HABUL la manta en que duermen y la como saya de la mujer, sea de lo que fuere." *Op. cit.*, fol. 214. "HULUN: Cinto de las mujeres con que aprietan la manta. (Bulawan ito iya hulun). La cintura de la mujer como quinhahagan. La del hombre, vel, por donde se ciñe la manta y la misma mujer es así ceñida, quinhulan. También se toma por las vergüenzas de la mujer, por vocábulo honesto, con atubanga, vel, lo cubierto con la manta." *Ibid.*, fol. 255

¹⁷ Our author, Alcina, is here making a reference to Part II of his *HISTORIA*. Books four and five, which were destroyed and are no longer extant. Cf. *Philippiniana Sacra*, "Ignacio Francisco Alcina: The Great Samar-Leyte Bisayan Missionary of the 17th Century," Cantius J. Kobak, Vol. XII, Number 39, September-December, 1978, pp. 401-429.

¹⁸ This *petate* is a fine, sort of mat made of palm; it is used for a sleeping-mat by the natives of the Philippines and South America. *Petate* is a Spanish term for which the Bisayan is *BANIG*. The 1914 Español-Bisaya lexicon describes the *petate* with these several terms: *banig, bario, baclag, pasarangga, petate de caña, siplat. Bario*: Planta así llamada: de sus hojas se hacen *petates* bastos. *Petate* hecho de las hojas de dicha plant. *Op. cit.*, p. 39 Supl. Sanchez, again, states that the *petate* o *alfombra* is made of *biliran, tiqul, ticug, buri, pangdan, and bariw*. "BARIW: una mata de cuyas hojas le tejen *petates*. Mamarriu, coger estas hojas." *Op. cit.*, fol. 68. Or again, "BARYU: Una alfombra de lanote de diversos colores, que teje la mujer, para enterrar al difunto para quien se hacía. Ya no se usa, ni el modo de ponerla, y así la dejo. La 'y' es consonante." *Ibid.* fol. 69. De la Rosa and Alcazar present or define *BARIOU* thus: "Planta de hoja estrecha

y larga como de unas cinco varas, con dientes ó puntas "Planta de hoja estrecha, dentada, y larga como de unas cinco varas, con espinas en la vena del centro. Se usa para hacer petates." *Op. cit.*, p. 393. And finally, the BURI is described this way: A palm of high economic value in the Philippines. The fibrovascular bundles of the petioles furnish the buntal fiber for the manufacture of the famous lukban or buntal hats and for other fancy paricles. The leaves of the plant are woven into gags or mats. They also furnish the raffia from the epidermis of the leaves which is woven into bags, hats, mats, and other articles. Sugar is extracted from the sap and, when fermented, vinegar and buri wine are produced. Buri is tapped by actually killing the plants slowly and gathering the sap that comes out of the bud or growing part of the tree. The young fruit is used in preparation of sweet meats and starch is extracted from the pith. It is an interesting palm in that it only flowers once, producing the largest inflorescence of any plant known in the Philippines." Huke, *op. cit.*, p. 427.

¹⁹ Bejuco is a Spanish term and its English equivalent is 'rattan'; some of the varieties of this rattan in Waray-Waray Bisayan are the following: Uay, parasan, calapi, talarora, nito and buan; the latter two are very fine. It is said that the term rattan comes from the Malayan 'rotan' and is a climbing palm (esp. of the genera *calamus* and *daemonorops*) with very long, tough stems used in wickerwork.

"Among the palms, rattan is the most important in commerce, owing to the place it occupies in the furniture industry. Rattans are found in all forests of the Philippine Islands, ranging in size from four millimeters to five centimeters in diameter. *Sika* (*calamus spinifolius*) rattan abounds on Palawan Island. Other species, like *parasan*, are abundant especially in Samar and Leyte and widely distributed. Rattan is indispensable in the economic life of the Filipinos. It enters in the manufacture of tables, lampshades, chairs, baskets, walking sticks, ropes, grocery baskets, cradles, sewing baskets and other important household articles. It takes the place of nails in farmhouse construction. The bud of some species of rattan is edible and makes delicious vegetable salad. Huke, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81.

The *parasan*, another rattan variety, is very thick and extremely large. When cut, it yields distilled, fresh, clear water which is good for drinking. After some two or three hours the water turns sticky. Young leaves, with thorns removed make a fine salad when boiled, although it is somewhat bitter in taste. (de la Rosa y Alcazar, *op. cit.*, p. 413).

The *calapi* is another variety of the rattan family and extremely large in size; it grows to about 30 or 50 brazas. "Bejuco muy grande, Este bejuco, muy común y conocido, se extiende hasta treinta o cincuenta brazas, y su grosor, sin contar el pié, es de más de dos pulgadas, y a veces como la muñeca. Cortándole, arroja agua potable en abundancia; la cual se tiene por medicinal. El cogollo, desnudo de sus espinas, asado al fuego, y cocido después, se come en sabroso, aunque un poco amargo. También se come el fruto crudo, que es arracimado y no desagradable. Flora. Su fruta es muy astringente, agria, cordial y refrigerante, y medicina contra el cólera (P. Clarin)." *Ibid.*, p. 396.

And finally, the "*talalora*: Bejuco fino y bueno, que se cría cerca de las playas. Su fruto, poco mayor que un guisante, se come. Cortado dicho bejuco destila un licor que es muy bueno para curar las aftas de los niños." *Ibid.*, p. 419.

²⁰ A cane or a reed. "Rangcapan: Cañizo, especie de tejido de cañas y bejuco, que sirve para camas, asiento y piso en el camarote de las embarcaciones menores" *Ibid.*, p. 268. Or according to the Bicolano *Vocabulario*, "Rangcapan: El asiento de cañas que llevan en los navios para sentarse", Lisboa, *op. cit.* p. 305.

²¹ This *catre* is, again, a Spanish word and means 'a small bedstead. The Bisayan or Waray-Waray is "*Higdaan*: Cama, sitio o lugar donde uno se acuesta." de la Rosa, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

²² At this particular point, it would be well and profitable to cite some of the early descriptions of the various chroniclers and historians and how they described the dress, adornment and jewelry of the Bisayans of old. Some of these early historians and writers were extremely perceptive in their observations and significantly objective in their presentations and recollections. There are a few, of course, who merely repeated, almost word for word, what others have written previously and before them. All in all, this material will re-inforce what has already been cited here in Alcina's text and the above-mentioned notes.

"Their seignior [datu] was an elderly man who was painted [tattooed]. He wore two gold earrings in his ears, and the others many gold armlets on their arms and kerchiefs [pudung] about their heads... There are people living near that Island [i.e. Homonhon] who have earrings in their ears so large that they can pass their hand through them. Those people are caphris, that is to say, heathen. They go naked, with a cloth woven from the bark of a tree about their privies, except some of the chiefs who wear cotton cloth embroidered with silk at the ends by means of a needle. They are dark, fat, and painted. They anoint themselves with coconut and with beneseed oil, as a protection against the sun and wind. They have very black hair that falls to the waist, and use daggers, knives, and spears ornamented with gold; large shields, fascines [darts], javelins and fishing nets that resemble rizali [rizzagio or a fine thickly woven net used for fishing near the shore]; their vessels are similar to ours. "Antonio Pigafetta, *First Voyage Around the World* (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1969), p. 25. "Pieces of gold, of the size of walnuts and eggs, are found by sifting the earth in the island of that king whom I led to our ships. All the dishes of that king are of gold and also some portion of his house, as we were told by that king himself. According to their customs he was very grandly decked out, and the finest looking man that we saw among those people. His hair was exceedingly black, and hung to his shoulders. He had a covering of silk on his head, and wore two large golden earrings fastened in his ears. He wore a cotton cloth all embroidered with silk, which covered him from the waist to the knees. And at his side hung a dagger, the haft of which was somewhat long and all gold, and its scabbard of carved wood. He had three spots of gold on every tooth, and his teeth appeared as if bound with gold. He was perfumed with storax and benzoin. He was tawny and painted (tattooed) all over. That island of his was called Butuan and Caraga." *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

"When we reached the city we found the king in his palace surrounded by many people. He was seated on a palm mat on the ground with only cotton cloth before his privies and a headband embroidered with the needle about his head; a necklace of great value hanging from his neck, and two large gold earrings fastened in his ears set around with precious gems. He was heavy and short, and tattooed with fire in various designs. "...Those girls were very beautiful and almost as white as our girls and as large. They were naked except for a tree cloth hanging from the waist and reaching to the knees. Some were quite naked and had large holes in their ears with a small round piece of wood in the hole, which keeps the hole round and large. They have long black hair, and wear short cloth about the head, and are always barefoot..." *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37. "...The king responded that he would do that willingly for love of him, and he told the captain that he was making a jewel to offer him; namely, two large earrings of gold to fasten in his ears, two armlets to put on his arms, above the elbows, and two other rings for the feet above the ankles, aside from precious gems to adorn the ears. Those are the most beautiful adornments which the kings of those districts can wear. They always go about barefoot, and wear a cloth garment that hangs from the waist to the knees." *Ibid.*, p. 41.

One of the earliest Jesuit chroniclers, Chirino, gives us a fine glimpse of the ancient Bisayan dress, adornment at the end of the 16th century. He wrote: "For all this, they do not go naked; they wear a kind of a robe, very well made, without a neck and long enough to reach almost to the instep

of the foot, of striped colored cotton, and white when in mourning. They disrobe themselves in their houses and in places that do not call for clothing. Yet, always and in all places they are very circumspect and careful to cover themselves with extreme prudence and modesty, in which they surpass all the other nations thereabouts and especially the Chinese." Pedro Chirino, *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas*, trans. Ramon Echevarria (Makati: MDB Printing, 1969), Chapter 8, p. 269.

"The Filipinos in their actions are not as ceremonious as the Chinese and Japanese, but they have their civilities and good manners, and especially the Tagalogs, who in words and in deed are very courteous and polite. They uncover their heads when they meet one another, as we do, although they do not wear hats, caps and or bonnets but a piece of cloth like a towel three or four palms in length which they wrap around their heads, exactly like the crowns and diadems of old. This they would doff as today they doff their hat, which is what they fashion, discarding the *potong*, which is what they called the turban or crown that they used to wear..." *Ibid.*, p. 278.

There are portions of Chirino's observations that were not included in his published *Relación*. Pastells included some of the unpublished material in the manuscript in his annotation of Colin's *Labor evangélica*. One such such portion is cited here below.

"El traxe principal de los Zebuanos y de todos los Bisayas es la pintura de que ya tratamos con la cual un hombre en cueros parece armado de unas muy hermosas armas graudades de muy curiosas labores, traxe tan preciado dellos, que lo tienen por su mayor gala, cubriendo sus personas ni más ni menos que un Christo crucificado, por manera que aunque para cassos graues tienen las marlotas que diximos, su traje de casa y barrio es su pintura y bahag, que assi llaman al paño que se zihen y es a la trasa del que se ponían por honestidad los Representantes en Roma, y los luchadores antiguos.

"En la cabeza traygan o no la marlota, usan un cendal delgado largo de más de tres varas y ancho como palmo y medio que penan de mil figuras, ya como turbante de turco sin bonete, ya como mitra como los de Pegu, ya Retorcido y rebuelto como corona de espinas sin ellas sobre el cauello cogido en lazada como las mugeres que ellas y ellos le crían, peinan y untan con azeites confecionados y olorosos como los tagalas y lo cogen en la coronilla con una galan lazada como los sueuos.

"El traje de las mugeres es como el de las tagalas saluo que la sabana, con que se cubren en lugar de saya es cosida por los extremos del largo y aquella orilla del ancho, que aplican á la cintura las cogen en unos pliegues que prenden como lazada debajo del brazo derecho; sobre el cabello cogido en lazada como las Tagalas usan unos mantos blancos ni mas ni menos que moriscas y sobre ellos unos cesticos de palma muy curiosos: guarnecidos de abalorio en forma de bordadura, que les sirve de cobrero sin el qual por ningun caso salen de casa aunque sea sin manot y hasta la casa frontera que deven ser las umbrellas que dize Strabon tratando del traje de los indios

"Hombres y mugeres usan orejeras muy curiosas de varias suertes y en las muñecas y casi hasta el codo braceletes de marfil blanquissimo, liman y tiñen los dientes, y guarnecenlos con oro tan sutilmente que no ay temor que se les cayga, aunque esto no lo hacen todos, es man uso de mugeres... Ms. Orig., Lib. III, Cap. IV." in Francisco, Colín, *Labor evangélica*, Pablo Pastells, ed. (Barcelona: Viuda de M. Minuesa, 1897), Tom. I, Introducción, p. 220, footnote (1).

Dr. Antonio Morga, in his *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, also offers us a brief, but clear, description of the Bisayans mode of dress and adornment.

"They wear large earrings of gold and ivory, also bracelets of the same material on their arms, a kerchief around their head making a hollow in the manner of a turban, interwoven with golden strips with graceful knots,

vanquero shirts, with tight sleeves without collar, falling down to the middle of the thighs, closed in front and made of colored hemp or silk fabric. They do not use under-shirts or drawers but long G-strings with many folds, with which they cover the middle parts when they remove their garments. The women are good-looking, neat and they walk gracefully. They have long black hair wound around the head, wear multi-colored *mantas* or saeets around the waist falling down their legs, and dresses of the same material, without any collar. The men and women go out without any outer garments and barefooted, but well-adorned with gold-chains and engraved earrings and bracelets." (Manila: Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission, 1962), p. 269.

Then, again, Miguel Loarca in the year 1582 penned a "Relación de las Yslas Filipinas," where he describes the Bisayan manner of dress writing: "The Pintados are a courageous and warlike race; they have continually waged war on both land and sea. They bore their ears in two places and wore beautiful ornaments, not only in their ears, but also around their necks and arms.

"Their dress is neat and modest, made generally of cotton, medriñaque, or silk (which they get from China and other places). They are greatly addicted to the use of a kind of wine which they make from rice and from the palm-tree, and which is good. Very rarely do they become angry when drunk, for their drunkenness passes off in jests or in sleep...

"The women are beautiful, but unchaste. They do not hesitate to commit adultery, because they receive no punishment for it. They are well and modestly dressed, in that they cover all the private parts; they are very clean and are very fond of perfumes. It is considered a disgrace among them to have many children; for they say that when the property is to be divided among all the children, they will all be poor, and that it is better to have one child, and leave him wealthy. The *Pintados* are very strict as to whom they marry; for no one marries below his station. Therefore the *datus* will never marry any but women of rank. All the men are accustomed to have as many wives as they can buy and support. The women are extremely lewd, and they even encourage their own daughters to a life of unchastity; so that there is nothing so vile for the latter that they cannot do it before their mothers, since they incur no punishment. The men, however, are not so vile as the Moros. The *Pintados* love their wives so dearly, that, in case of a quarrel they take sides with their wives' relatives, even against their own fathers and brothers. The men are so fond of their wives, that it is they who give the dowry at marriage. And even if their wives commit adultery, action is never taken against the women, but against the adulterer..." in Helen E. Blair and James A. Robertson. *The Philippine Islands*, (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1903-1909). Vol. 5, p. 117.

Diego de Bobadilla, a Jesuit missionary who laboured in the Bisayas and mainly in Samar recorded this brief observation: "As for their persons, those people are well built, have handsome features, and are light-complexioned. They are clad in a garment that falls to the ankles, which is made of striped cotton of various colors. When in mourning, they wear white; however, that mode of dress is not so general. Those called *Pintados*, and those of the island of Mindanao, wear short white, yellow, or red tunics, which hang to the knees, bound in by a girdle one *vara* wide and two and one-half *brazas* long; this is, as a general rule, white or red, and always falls to the knees. They wear neither stockings nor shoes; and instead of a hat they use a bit of cloth, which they wind twice or thrice around the head. Their whole adornment consists in having very rich and beautiful necklaces, earrings, and gold rings and bracelets. They wear those bracelets above the ankle; some wear these of ivory, and others of brass. They also have little round plates three fingers in diameter, which they pass through a hole that they make in the ear..." "A Relation about the Philippine Islands," in Blair-Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 29, pp. 286-287.

ing of those men was a small garment or short loose jacket of fine linen which barely reached the waist. It has no collar and was fitted formerly with short sleeves. Among the chiefs those jackets were of a scarlet color, and were made of fine Indian muslin. For breeches they wore a richly colored cloth, which was generally edged with gold, about the waist and brought up between the legs, so that the legs were decently covered to the middle of the thigh; from there down, the feet and legs were bare. The primary adornments consisted of adornments and jewels of gold and precious stones. They had various kinds of necklaces, and chains; braceletes or wristlets, also of gold and ivory, on the arms as high as the elbow; while some had strings of carnelians, agates, and other stones which are highly esteemed among them. On the legs, instead of garters, they wear some strings of the same stones, and certain cords of many strands, dyed black. The fingers of the hand are covered with many rings of gold and precious stones. The final complement of the gala attire was like our sash, a fine bit of colored cloth crossed over the shoulder, the ends joined under the arm, which they affected greatly. Instead of that the Bisayans wore a robe (*marlota*) or jacket (*baquero*) made without a collar and reaching quite down to the feet, and embroidered in colors. The entire dress, in fine, was in the Moorish style, and was truly rich and gay; and even today they affect it." Colin in Blair-Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 40, pp. 62, (or in Colin-Pastells, Tom. I, Lib. I, Cap. XIV, pp. 60-61).

"The dress of the women, besides the small shirt with sleeves already mentioned, which was shorter for them, for their gala dress had little modesty, was a skirt as wide at top as at bottom, which they gathered into folds at the waist, allowing the folds all to drop to one side. This was long enough to cover them even to their feet, and was generally white. When they went outside the house they wore for a cloak certain colored short cloaks, those of the principal women being of crimson silk, or other cloths, embroidered with gold and adorned with rich fringes. But their principal gala attire consisted in jewels and ornaments of gold and stones which they wore in their ears, and on the neck, the fingers of the hand and wrists of the arms. But now they have begun to wear the Spanish clothing and ornaments, namely, chains, necklaces, skirts, shoes, and mantillas, or black veils. The men wear hats, short jackets, breeches, and shoes. Consequently, the present dress of the *Indios* in these regions is now almost Spanish..." *Ibid.*, p. 63.

"The ordinary stature of these *Indios* is medium, but they are well built and good-looking, both men and women. Their complexion is yellowish brown, like a boiled quince, and the beard is slight. The Tagalogs wear the hair hanging to the shoulders; ... the Bisayans wear their hair shorter than the Cagayans, for they cut it round in the manner of the oldtime quest of España ... The complexion of the women in all the islands differs little from that of the men, except among the Bisayans where some of the women are light-complexioned. Both men and women, universally, consider it essential that the hair should be very black and well cared for. For that purpose they use lotions made of certain tree-barks and oils, prepared with musk and other perfumes. Their greatest anxiety and care was the mouth, and from infancy, they polished and filed the teeth so that they might be even and pretty. They covered them with a coating of black ink or varnish which aided in preserving them. Among the influential people, especially the women, it was the custom to set some of the teeth most skillfully with gold which could not fall out, and gave a beautiful appearance. The men did not glory in their mustaches or beards, but quite the contrary; and consequently they pulled them out on purpose. And just as it is an amusement or custom of some of us to gnaw our finger-nails, they obtain amusement in pulling out the hairs of the beard with certain little bits of cleft bamboo [*cañuelas hendidas*] or with little shells in the form of pincers (tweezers). All the women, and in some places the men, adorn the ears with large rings or circlets of gold for that purpose piercing them at an early age. Among

the women the more the ears were stretched and opened, so much greater was the beauty. Some had two holes in each ear for two kinds of earrings, some being larger than others.

"The men adorned the head with only cendal [light thin stuff made of silk or thread; crape] or long and narrow thick cloth, with which they bound the forehead and temples, and which they call *potong*. It was put on in different modes, now in the Moorish manner like a turban without a bonnet, and now twisted and wrapped about the head like the crown of a hat. Those who were esteemed as valiant let the elaborately worked ends of the cloth fall down upon their shoulders, and these were so long that they reached the legs. By the color of the cloth they displayed their rank, and it was the badge of their deeds and exploits; and it was not allowed to anyone to use the red *potong* until he had at least killed one person. In order to wear it embroidered with certain borders, which were like a crown, they must have had killed at least seven [of their enemies]. *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

Fray Francisco de Santa Inés, in his *Crónica* of 1676, has this to say in reference to the dress and adornments of the Bisayans: "El traje de la persona en los hombres era una ropilla ó chamarreta de lienzo ó algodón que tasadamente llegaba á la cintura sin cuello, cerrada por delante, con mangas cortas. En lugar de calzones usaban de bahaque, que no cubría más que las partes secretas, y lo demás, piernas y muslos, al aire. El traje de las mujeres, además, de la camisilla ó chamarreta con mangas (ya dicha, que en ellas era más corta, porque hacían gala del poco recato), una saya que es como manta, igualmente ancha de arriba como de abajo, que revuelven á la cintura, y cubre hasta los pies. Hoy han entrado ya por los trajes y adornos españoles así hombres como mujeres, con que el traje de los indios en estas partes ya es casi español.

El traje que usaban era á lo morisco, como de á donde tenían su origen. La cabeza adornaban los hombres con solo un cendal ó paño delgado, angosto y largo con que apretaban la frente y sienes, que llaman *potong*. Ceñíanle de diferentes maneras, ya como turbante sin bonete, ya torcido y revuelto á modo de taquilla de sombrero. Los que se preciaban de valientes, dejaban caer sobre las espaldas los cabos del paño, que eran muy labrados y tan cumplidos, que llegaban hasta las corvas; y en los colores del paño hacían ostentación de su principado y divisa de sus empresas y hazañas, no siendo lícito a nadie usar del *potong* colorado hasta haber muerto, por lo menos, uno y para traerle listado de ciertas listas que eran como corona, habían de haber muerto á siete.

"En el cabello no guardaban todos uniformidad: los tagalos le usaban crecido hasta los hombros; los cagayanes más largo y tendido sobre las espaldas; los ilocos menos; y los bisayas aun menos, porque le redondeaban al modo de las coletas antiguas de España. La nación de los zambales trae rapada la cabeza del medio para adelante, y al carebro una gran güedeja de cabellos sueltos. Las mugeres le traen todas largo y atado atrás sobre la coronilla con una lazada de buena gracia. Y universalmente, así los hombres como las mugeres tienen por gala que el cabello este muy negro y curado, para lo cual usan de lavatorios de ciertas cáscaras de árboles y otros aceites de la tierra, olorosas y medicinales." Fray Francisco de Santa Inés, *Crónica de la Provincia de San Gregorio Magno...* 1676, (Manila: Tipo Litografía de Chofre y Comp., 1892), Tom. I, cap. VI, pp. 43-44.

Fray Juan Francisco de San Antonio, in the year 1738, had this to say about the dress and adornment of the Bisayans: "The women (and the men in many places and more so among the mountain dwellers) pierced big holes through their ears to insert their ear pendants and golden earrings, and the bigger and wider the holes, the better. Some women had two holes on each ear for two sets of earrings. This is still done among the cimarrones and Negritos but the more cultured people are already more adapted to the Castilian usage.

"In the past, the men covered their heads or surrounded them with a sarsenet or narrow linen band, and those who were reputed to be brave allowed the ends to hang over their back. This was called 'potong'. Others used color to show their rank. Red could not be used except by one who had killed at least one person and it could not be striped unless he had killed seven. They now wear curious white and black hats woven of various materials available from the forests. *Crónicas de la Provincia de San Gregorio Magno*, trans. by D. Pedro Picornell (Manila: Historical Conservation Society, 1977), Chapter XLII, nos. 427-428, p. 147.

And finally, let us cite here Delgado's point of view on this matter of dress and adornment among the Bisayans.

"Los indios, de quienes ahora tratamos, se diferencian mucho entre sí, según provincia en que nacieron. Los cagayanes, pangasinanes ó ilocanos son más blancos y bien formados; membrudos, altos, corpulentos y de grandes fuerzas, por estar más al Norte. Los tagalos son más prietos y oscuros de rostro, aunque no del todo negros. Los Bisayas son por lo común más blancos; pero en todas estas naciones, si la crianza fuera diversa, apenas se distinguirán en el color de los labradores de Andalucía y de la gente del condado de Niebla. Pero el vivir desde niños siempre expuestos al sol y al agua y á las inclemencias, en unas casillas de palmas, llenas continuamente, sufriendo el sol, los serenos y aguaceros, sin defensa alguna, sobre sus mismos pellejos: porque todo lo que les tapa les causa molestia. En las mujeres, que no andan tanto al sol y al agua, ni navegan mucho, se conocen mejor el color natural de ellos, que es propiamente el que llamamos trigueño, aunque en algunos tira más á blanco, con una tez muy agravada como la que se ve en algunas imágenes antiguas que están algo morenitas con el discurso del tiempo. El pelo, por lo común, es lacio y a castaño obscuro, aunque por bisayas hay muchos hombres y mujeres que tienen el pelo algo crespo naturalmente, el cual lo curan con aceite oloroso y llaman en bisayas *paghiso* al uso de ellos, y paglana en tagalog, y lo dejan crecer muy largo; tanto, que á veces pasa de la cintura; en tagalos lo dejan crecer hasta los hombros. Las mujeres añaden á su pelo varias trenzas para que abulte más y no usan amarrarlo con lazos ó cintas; sino que hombres y mugeres clavan en medio una como aguja gruesa de oro ó plata, cuya cabeza tiene alguna perla, piedra ó diamante. Los hombres si no llevan el pelo suelto, lo rodean con un pañuelo de color que llaman *purung*, como corona, y lo amarran en la frente. Los ojos comunemente son grandes, hermosos y negros; la boca proporcionada, y la nariz, no tan baja como los de Nueva España. Por lo común son los indios bastante altos y corpulentos, no muy gruesos, sino cenceños; su ordinario vestido es calzón ancho de seda ú otro género de algodón y camisa, que cuelga por de fuera. Para andar en público, ir á la iglesia usan de ropas talares negras, especie de tejido de algodón, llamado *sarampuli*, que les llega hasta cerca de los pies con sus mangas estrechas y ajustadas al brazo, que es un vestido muy decente. En Tagalos lo usan de más vuelo y entero, á modo de hábito, que se lo meten por la cabeza, y llaman *lambong*; y éste es su vestido ordinario aunque los tagalos que sirven en Manila á los españoles, ó las contadurías y secretarías visten chupa, casaca y zapatos; pero medias es raro. Para salir de casa las mujeres usan de un manto largo y cómodo á modo de cubija, que les cubre muy decentemente hasta los pies, de seda, ó de *sarampuli*, o de otros géneros negro siempre, porque este color es el que, así á los hombres como á las mujeres, más les agrada. Antiguamente se adornaban con muchas alhajas de oro, como cadenillas, aunque ahora ya no hay tanto de esto, pero rara es la india que no tenga bastante oro para adornarse. Usan también *lambong* debajo del manot y algunos de *tapiz*, que es una mantaja labrada y de color honesto sobre la saya; pero éste se usa más en Panay y en tagalos que en bisayas

"He visto algunas calaveras de mujeres antiguas principales, con los dientes claveteados de oro por adorno y gala, y aun tengo conmigo algunos para mostrarlos por cosa especial: no les costará poco dolor el barrenar los dientes para clavetearlos con este metal. Las principales suelen usar para

salir de casa unas chinelas muy curiosas, y en la cabeza se ponían un género de sombrerillo tejido y sin copa, que llaman los bisayas *saroc*. Pero en sus casas andan descalzas, y lo mismo sucede á los hombres por lo general, que parece que se avergüenzan de usar zapatos. Tienen los indios muy poca barba y no son muy vellodos, aunque también suelen arrancarse de raíz la barba y el vello aun de los sobacos. Antiguamente usaban todos grandes agujeros en las orejas, y en ellos colgaban o oro y flores ó yerbas aromáticas. Los palaos, como se ve aquí en este pueblo de Giwan [Samar] donde tengo muchos de los que se desgitaron el año de 1747, tienen todos las orejas agujereadas con grandes agujeros, y algunos están pintados, como antiguamente los bisayas. Es cosa difícil de averiguar de dónde haya venido esta costumbre de pintarse los isleños de estos archipiélagos, sin haber tenido unos con otros comunicación, por las grandes distancias y trabajosos mares, que en raros tiempos se pueden navegar y sólo en embarcaciones grandes y con pilotos muy experimentados. Juan Delgado, *Historia general sacroprofana, política y natural de las islas del poniente llamadas Filipinas* (Manila: Eco de Filipinas, 1892), Tom. I, cap. X, pp. 327-329.

"... Es gente [i.e. PINTADOS] que vive sana porque la constelacion de la tierra es buena: porque casi no se halla ningún hombre contrahecho, ni manco de naturaleza, ni mudo, ni sordo, ni ningún endemoniado, ni loco: así viven sanos hasta muy viejos. Es gente briosa y martista. Andaban siempre en guerra por mar y por tierra; pónense muy galanas joyas en las orejas, que las tienen horadadas por dos partes y en la garganta y en los brazos; el vestido es galano y honesto, su vestir es algodón ó medriñaque, y también usan seda traída de la China y de otras partes. Es gente muy dada al vino, que le hacen de arroz y de palmas, y es bueno. Raras veces están furiosos estando borrachos; porque con dormir se les pasa la borrachera, ó en gracias. Quieren mucho á sus mujeres, porque ellos pagan el dote cuando se casan, y así aunque les cometan adulterio, nunca proceden contra ellas, sino contra los adúlteros. Ni reparan, cuando se casan, en si la mujer está doncella á no.

"Las mujeres son hermosas, aunque deshonestas; no se les da nada comer adulterio, porque ellos no las castigan por ello. Andan muy bien aderezadas y honestamente, porque traen todas las carnes cubiertas. Son muy limpias y muy amigas de olores en grande extremo. Afréntanse de tener muchos hijos, porque dicen que, habiéndose de repartir la hacienda entre todos, que quedarán todos pobres, que más vale que haya uno y ese rico. Tienen grande punto en sus casamientos; porque no se casará nadie sino es con su semejante, y así jamás se casan principales, sino con mujeres principales. Solían tener cada uno las mujeres que podían comprar y substar. Son ellas grandísimas alcahuetas, y de sus propias hijas, y así ninguna cosa se les da de ser ruines delante de las madres, porque por esto no se les da ningún castigo, aunque lo varones no son tan alcahuetas como los moros. Quieren los hombres tanto á sus mujeres que, si tienen guerras unos con otros, el marido se acuesta y ayuda á la parentela de la mujer, aunque sea contra su propio padre y hermano." *Ibid.*, Apendice I, Capitulo VI, p. 372.

²³ The *harigui* according to Sanchez (1711) is a column, a post or a pillar and either made of stone, wood or bamboo. *Op. cit.*, fol. 229. A more modern description runs thus: "Harigui: Madero regularmente redondo, que sirve de pilar en los edificios; columna, poste, pilar." de la Rosa y Alcazar, *op. cit.*, p. 143. In Bisaya it is also known as *sibul* or *palahusan*. *Ibid.*, p. 302.

²⁴ This is a thin wall or a partition of board, *nipa* or some other material. *Ibid.*, p. 53. Or "La pared, *dindin*, or *tabique*; that is a wall of brisk, stone or wood. Also *Dingding* in Bisaya. Sanchez, *op. cit.*, fol. 161.

²⁵ Also known as *ILIHAN*. "Ele: Una casa con atalaya hecha de cuatro cañas altas por harigues o sobre algún árbol alto. *Ilihan*: Peñón o como fuerte o retirada en tiempos peligrosos. *Ibid.*, fol. 170. Or again, a description from a later age: "ILIHAN: Fuerte, castillo, peñón o cosa que sirve de resugio en tiempo de guerra." de la Rosa y Alcazar, *op. cit.* p. 167. "Ylihan,: lugar de refugio a donde se acogen." The word is taken from YLI; poner

alguna cosa en salvo, o en lugar seguro, donde no le puedan alcanzar, o tomar, o acogerse el mismo a sagrado, o a lugar seguro." Lisboa, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

²⁶ Perhaps, more properly in Waray-Waray Bisayan as *hongot*: a drinking vessel made from a coconut shell, which serves as a similar utility item. (de la Rosa y Alcazar, *op. cit.*, p. 156). Or again, "Hongot: Medio coco, el casco como escudilla y cuando limpio se llama *paya* y les sirve de plato o escudilla. El de grande de casco, y este sirve para beber." Sanchez, *op. cit.*, fol. 246. A Cebuano dictionary describes the HUNGUT as a bowl made out of three-quarters of a coconut shell. The *paya*, in turn, about which Sanchez spoke above is also a shallow bowl or a scoop made of a third of a coconut shell. PAIA: "Medio coco, bien raspado que sirve de escudilla y a semejanza de esto." Sanchez, *ibid.* Among the Bicolanos, "Paya: un pedazo de la cáscara dura de coco labrada, en que guardan los pandayes cosas de su oficio." Lisboa, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

²⁷ De la Rosa y Alcazar describe this *capepe* in this manner, "Bolsa que suelen llevar amarrada a la cintura." *Op. cit.*, p. 85. Sanchez, however, give a different term: "Caday: Bolsa que se abre fácilmente como en la que ponen las pesas del oro, o como una talega; sopot." *Op. cit.*, fol. 130.

²⁸ This is a Spanish coin containing thirty-four maravedis in a real vellon. According to Owen, a silver coin valued at about 1/8 peso.

²⁹ In Portuguese, testoon. This is a Portuguese silver coin containing 100 reis, and equal to 6.3 & 4 d. sterling. In South America, a real de a cuatro. In Chapter 8 of Book Four, Alcina writes about the trade and commerce of the Bisayans, their kinds of money which they used and in what their wealth consisted. He states: "In some places they call silver *pilac*, in others *salapi* or *real de cuatro* or *toston*, or 'usa ca salapi.' *Historia, op. cit.*, Part I. "Their ordinary way of counting is by *tostones*, not by pesos, a usage they perhaps took from the Chinese who also have it." *Ibid.* And finally, "Toston (de Teston): Moneda portuguesa de plata, que vale cien reis. 2. En Méjico y en Nueva Granada se llamó así el real de a cuatro; en la actualidad, moneda mejicana de plata, de 50 centavos. *Diccionario de la Lengua Española, op. cit.*, p. 1234.

³⁰ Obviously a term taken from the verb in Waray-Waray which is *pag-tago* and means to hide. Hence, a hiding place or something in which one hides or conceals an object for safekeeping. Perhaps, similar to Sanchez' *caday* or *cadayan*. Cf. *op. cit.*, fol. 130 for a further variety of meanings or uses.

³¹ This piece of garment is also known as *socbot* or *bado*. "Sayo o túnica como usan los Pisayas." Sanchez, *op. cit.*, fol. 295. It seems that Sanchez' above-cited *socbot*, should read SOCLOB "*baroti*, vel, *socrob*, vel, *solob*. Armarse o vestirse el barote o lambun justo." *Ibid.*, fol. 469. Then again, SOCLOB means "Manta de color azul obscuro." *Ibid.* Now, the given *Barote* is described "Barote: Es una como cota para defenderse de las armas o enemigos. Es un jubón tejido de mecates muy tupidos y si es bien hecho no le pasa el agua." *Ibid.* In de la Rosa y Alcazar, "Lambong: Manto, mantellina; saya." *op. cit.*, p. 17 supl. And finally in the Bicolano lexicon, "Lambong: Una túnica hasta los pies, y que estos naturales suelen traer. In Quipayo called Yambong. Lisboa, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

Footnotes to Chapter Four

¹ Cf. the previous issue of *Philippiniana Sacra* where the first installment of the *Historia... 1668*, Part I had appeared. The origin of the Bisayans and the reason why they were called *Pintados* had been heavily annotated and well documented.

² Scythia is an ancient name of sections of Europe and Asia now included in U.S.S.R.; the country had undefined boundaries, but the Scythians, a nomadic and savage people, dwelt chiefly in the steppes N and NE of the Black Sea and in the region of Aral Sea. They are mentioned as early as the 7th century B.C. when they were driven out of Media; in the 2nd century B.C. they were conquered by the Sarmatians and a little later practically disappeared. *Websters New Geographical Dictionary* (Springfield: G. & C. Merriam Company, 1980), p. 1089. The *Diccionario de la Lengua Española*, gives this brief description of the Scythians: "Escita: (Del Lat. sytha): Natural de la Escitia, región de Asia antigua." *Op. cit.*, p. 540.

³ "Tártaros orientales: (del turco) Natural de Tartaria y perteneciente a esta región de Asia." *Ibid.*, p. 1201.

This is seemingly a reference to what is known today as Mongolia, "a region E cen. Asia; comprises the Mongolian People's Republic (Outer Mongolia), Inner Mongolia, and Tuva A.S. S.R., U.S.S.R.; formerly considered a part of Outer China.

"History: Region inhabited since early times by nomadic people; lacks historical clarity until 13th century A.D. when Genghis Khan (1167-1227), the leader of one of the tribes, the Mongols secured supremacy and began Mongol expansion; under Genghis and his successors, Mongol Empire, with its capital first at Karakorum and later in Peking, stretched from China to the Danube in eastern Europe; chief successors of Mongol Empire after it broke up were: Khanate of the Golden Horde in Russia, Il-Khans in Persia, Yilan dynasty in China, in the 14th century the descendant of Genghis Khan, Tamerlane, established a short-lived empire in western Asia; its N Border delimited in treaty between Russia and China in 1727; modern Mongolia loosely dependent upon China until Tannu Tuva (see Tuva Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic) became a republic in 1911 and Outer Mongolia (now Mongolian People's Republic) under Russian auspices, declared its independence. (See Mongolian Peoples Republic). Inner Mongolia came under Chinese control, except Jehol (a part of Manchukuo 1933-45), until 1937 when the two eastern provinces, Chahar and Suiyuan, were overrun by the Japanese, who formed them into the Federated Council of the Mongol Border Land, or Meng Chiang, renamed 1939 the Mongolian Federated Autonomous Government; following the World War II, Inner Mongolia made an autonomous region of China (See Mongolia, Inner)." *Webster's New Geographical Dictionary*, *op. cit.*, p. 779.

⁴ Or East India as it was also known. It was a collective name applied, loosely and vaguely to India, Indochina and to the Malay Archipelago. In better usage, politically the Republic of Indonesia, formerly the Netherlands East Indies. Some writers included all the islands of the Malay Archipelago. *Websters New Geographical Dictionary*, *op. cit.*, p. 352.

⁵ This is a Latin phrase and means 'beyond the Ganges' or among contemporary historians as 'Further India.' Colin frequently speaks in terms of *extra Gangem*, as for example: "Por lo dicho no se pretende negar que de otras partes, y Reynos de la India *extra Gangem*, como son Siam, Camboja, Cochinchina, y de la misma China; y aún de Japón, no ayan podido passar algunas gentes a conquistar, y poblar en partes de estas Islas..." Colin-Pastells, *op. cit.*, Tom. I., Lib. 1, Cap. IV, p. 18.

The *Geographical Dictionary* describes Indochina or Further India in this manner: "The SE peninsula of Asia, comprising Burma, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, North Vietnam, South Vietnam, and West Malaysia. Since ancient times culturally subject to Indian (Hindu) and Chinese civilization. *Op. cit.*, p. 538.

Milton Osborne, in his recent title *Southeast Asia: An Introductory History*, gives us an excellent overview on this subject of *extra Gangem* or 'Further India' in terms of Southeast Asia.

"So far in this introductory chapter the term Southeast Asia has been used in a general, undifferentiated fashion. Fifty years ago this would have caused surprise, for only a few persons at that time thought and spoke about 'Southeast Asia'. Some writers used the term 'Further India' to describe sections of Southeast Asia, as if all that was to be found beyond the Bay of Bengal was the Indian subcontinent on a smaller scale. It is only necessary to think of the influence that China has had over the formation of Vietnamese cultural life, or of the extent to which the Philippines has acquired a very special character because of the long-term Spanish influence in those islands, to realize how inappropriate the term 'Further India' is. Another general description that was used before the Second World War was 'Asia of the Monsoons', a term deriving from the monsoon weather pattern that is important in almost all of Southeast Asia. This term, used by geographers most particularly, did not relate merely to the area that modern scholars have termed Southeast Asia, for Ceylon and parts of India, as well as areas of southern China, might equally well be described as monsoon lands.

"For the most part, however, neither the foreigners who worked in Southeast Asia before the Second World War, whether as scholars or otherwise, nor the indigenous inhabitants of the countries of Southeast Asia, thought about the region in general terms. The general tendency to do so came with the Second World War when, as a result of military circumstances, the concept of a Southeast Asian region began to take hold. From a strategic military point of view it was apparent that an area existed that was not India, nor China, nor part of the Pacific. Instead, a sense began to grow that Burma, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia — to use modern names rather than those different ones which, in some cases, were current in the early 1910's — formed some kind of a geographical unit. The omission of the Philippines is deliberate, at this stage, for the question of whether or not the Philippines formed part of Southeast Asia was to remain a matter of scholarly uncertainty as late as the 1960's.

"The sense of Southeast Asia being a geographical and cultural unit did not, of course, depend solely upon strategic thinking. Already, in the 1920's and 1930's, anthropologists and historians had begun to take account of the similarities that could be found between one region of what we now call Southeast Asia and another. Similarities in the rituals used by the various royal courts throughout mainland Southeast Asia were recognized as an indication of a common inheritance or tradition. Basic similarities in family structure were found to exist over a wide area. And for all of these evidence that was accumulating of the importance of foreign ideas, and of foreigners, throughout Southeast Asia's long history, historians had begun assembling the evidence that showed a regional pattern of international relations within Southeast

Asia from its earliest historical periods. Southeast Asia was not, in other words, merely a region that sustained the impact of its greater neighbor, China and India. Empires within the region waxed and waned and at various times links were established between the mainland and the islands of the Indonesian Archipelago involving both politics and trade.

"With the end of the Second World War the tendency to think of Southeast Asia as a whole gained even greater currency as there was a sharp increase in the amount of scholarly attention given to the region. Now, more than ever before, the underlying similarities to be found throughout a wide range of the region were stressed by historians, anthropologists, political scientists, and linguists, to mention only the prominent academic disciplines. To sense why these scholars found their work so exciting, and to emphasize the way in which the picture of Southeast Asia as a unit deserving of study in its own right emerged, it is useful to review briefly some of the features of the region that are now taken for granted but which only gained general recognition in the post-war period.

"Probably most important was the recognition that the countries of Southeast Asia were neither 'little Indias' nor 'little Chinas'. The impact of those two great countries on Southeast Asian region cannot be dismissed, though the degree and character of their influence is still debated, but the essential right of Southeast Asian countries to be considered culturally independent units was generally established. To put the matter in another fashion, if the tendency in the past had been to think of Southeast Asia as an area shaped by external cultural values, most particularly those of India and China, scholars now paid just as much attention to the strength and importance of indigenous cultural tradition. Where Indian or Chinese influence did play a major part in the development of Southeast Asian art, or religion, or political theory, stress began to be placed on the extent to which Burmese, Cambodians, Indonesians, and others adapted these foreign ideas to suit their own needs and values..." Milton Osborne, *Southeast Asia: An Introductory History* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1983), pp. 12-13.

Lastly, it is imperative that we cite this pertinent little detail about the Southeast Asian Region and how it was known in the ancient past.

"Prior to the fifth century, Chinese sources contain few references to the so-called *Nan Yang*, the 'Southern Ocean', which was the general term used to refer to the Southeast Asian region." Barbara Watson Andaya and Leonard Andaya, *A History of Malaysia* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1982), p. 17; see also page 40.

⁶ Again, it would be well to plow through the host of early historians and chroniclers and see they viewed and described the tattoos of our Bisayans. Each different writer recorded some aspect of this ancient practice which others omitted or failed to take note of; as a result a fine composite picture emerges if one is deeply sensitive to what has been presented.

"The natives of the *Pintados* Islands are not very dark. Both men and women are well formed and have regular features. Some of the women are white. Both men and women wear their hair long, and fastened in a knot on the crown of the head, which is very becoming. The men tattoo their entire bodies with very beautiful figures, using therefore small pieces of iron dipped in ink. This ink incorporates itself with the blood, and the marks are indelible." Loarca, *op. cit.*, Chapter V, pp. 115-117.

"The Bisayans are called *Pintados* because they are in fact so, not by nature although they are well-built, well-featured and white, but by painting their entire bodies from head to foot as soon as they are young men with strength and courage enough to endure the torture of painting.

In the old days they painted themselves when they had performed some brave deed. They paint themselves by first drawing blood with pricks from very sharp points, following the design and lines previously marked by the craftsmen in the art, and then over the fresh blood applying a black powder that can never again be erased. They do not paint the whole body at one time, but part by part, so that the painting takes many days to complete. In former times, they had to perform a new feat of bravery for each of the parts that were to be painted. The paintings are very elegant, and well proportioned to the members and parts where they are located. I used to stay there captivated and astonished by the fine appearance of one of these, that if they brought it to Europe a great deal of money could be made by displaying it. Children are not painted. The women paint the whole of one hand and a portion of the other." Chirino, *op. cit.*, p. 252 (Chapter VII).

"To the southern part of these, lie the Bisayan Islands called the lands of the tattooed people, which are many and well-populated and are named Leyte, Ibabao, Samar, Bohol, Island of Negros, Cebu, Panay, Cuyo and the Calamianes. All the natives who inhabit them, both men and women, are good-looking and of good disposition, living in better conditions and having noble manners than those on the Island of Luzon and surrounding ones.

"They differ in the way they wear their hair, as the men wear a queue as was the old custom in Spain, and their bodies are tattooed with many designs, with the exception of the face." Morga, *op. cit.*, pp. 268-269.

"In some of those islands [i.e. Bisayas], the men formerly marked all the body with figures whence comes the Spanish name 'Pintados'. That operation was performed in the flower of their age, and at the period when they had most strength to suffer that torture. They had themselves adorned in that way after they had performed some illustrious deed. The masters of that art first trace on their bodies the design of the picture, which they next follow up with pricks from very sharp points, and throw on the blood which comes out a powder which never fades away. The whole body is not pricked at one time, but bit by bit; and formerly, in order that one might have the right of making it for each part, it was necessary to perform an illustrious deed, and to show new prowess. Those tattoos are pretty, and well proportioned to the portions of the body on which they are made; and, although they are of an ashen color, they are nevertheless agreeable to the sight. The Children are not tattooed at all. The women do not bear the marks of that adornment except on one hand and one some part of the other. In regard to their teeth, they imitate the men in everything. They file them from their earliest childhood; some making them even in this way, others filing them into points, thus giving them the appearance of a saw. They cover the teeth with a black, glossy polish, or one that is flame-colored; and thus their teeth become black, or as red as vermillion. In the upper row, they make a little covering which they fill with gold, which shows off to an advantage on the black or red background of that polish." Diego de Bobadilla, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

"Besides the exterior clothing and dress, some of these nations wore another inside dress, which could not be removed after it was once put on. These are the tattooings of the body so greatly practiced among the Bisayans, whom we call *Pintados* for that reason. For it was a custom among them, and was also a mark of nobility and bravery, to tattoo the whole body from top to the toe when they were of an age and strength sufficient to endure the tortures of the tattooing, which was done (after being carefully designed by the artists, and in accordance with the pro-

portion of the parts of the body and the sex) with instruments like brushes or small twigs, with very fine points of bamboo. The body was pricked and marked with them until blood was drawn. Upon that a black powder or soot made from pitch, which never faded was put on. The whole body was not tattooed at one time, but it was done gradually. In olden times no tattooing was begun until some brave deed had been performed; and after that, for each one of the parts of the body which was tattooed some new deed had to be performed. The men tattooed even their chins and about the eyes so that they appeared to be masked. Children were not tattooed, and the women only on one hand and part of the other. The Ilocans in this island of Manila also tattooed themselves but not to the same extent as the Bisayans." Colin in BR, *op. cit.*, Vol. 40, pp. 63-64.

"The nations of the Bisayans and Pintados, who inhabit the provinces of Camarines in this island of Luzon, and those of Leyte, Samar, Panay, and other neighboring islands, came, I have heard, from the districts of Macassar, where it is said that Indios live who make designs on and tattoo the body, in the manner of the *Pintados*. Pedro Fernández de Quirós, in the relation which he wrote of the discovery of the Solomon Islands in 1595, says that an island called Magdalena was found at ten degrees north latitude, at a distance from Peru of one thousand eight hundred leagues (which is nearly the same latitude and distance as the Filipinas) where *Indios* of good proportion, but taller than the Spaniards, and all naked and bearing designs on their bodies, legs, arms, and hands (and some on their faces), in the manner of our Bisayans, were found. Consequently, it is apparent that there are other nations of *Pintados* to be discovered. We have as yet not enough data, nor even a well founded conjecture, to say whether ours originated from the latter, or on the contrary both from some mainland. We know well that people who tattoo the body have been seen in Brasil and Florida. Then, too, this custom was formerly seen in some nations of Scythians in Asia and Britons in Europe. But we cannot yet determine the legitimate origin of our Bisayan *Pintados*. If some of the natives of Mindanao, Jolo, Bool, and part of Cebu, who are light-complexioned, braver, and of better proportions than the pure Bisayans, are not Borneans, they might be Ternatans — as may be inferred from the neighborhood of the lands and the communication of one with another; and because in what concerns the worship and religion of the cursed Prophet, even today they are governed by Terrenate; and when they find themselves beset by the troops from Filipinas, they make an alliance and help one another..." *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45. Cf. also Colin-Pastells, *op. cit.*, Tom. I, Introducción, p. 217, footnote (1); Tom. I, Lib. 1, cap. XIV, p. 62, #100.

"La nación de los Bicoles y Pintados, que habitan en las provincias de Camarines que es una de las de estas islas de Luzón y en las de Leite. Samar, Panay y otras comarcas, juzgan algunos vinieron de las partes de Macassar, donde dicen hay indios que se labran y pintan el cuerpo al modo de nuestros pintados.

"En la relación que hace Pedro Fernández Quirós del viaje que hizo del descubrimiento de las islas de Salomón, año de mil quinientos noventa y cinco (que pondremos adelante en esta historia), escribe: hallaron en altura de diez grados de esta banda del norte, distante de Perú mil ochocientas leguas (que poco más ó menos es la misma altura y distancia de Filipinas), una isla que llamaron Magdalena de indios bien tallados, más altos que los españoles, todos desnudos y labrados los cuerpos, piernas, brazos y manos, y algunos los rostros al modo de nuestros bisayas. Por lo cual consta que hay otras naciones de pintados por descubrir.

"Y si proceden éstos de aquéllos, o alrevés, unos y otros de alguna tierra firme, no tenemos hasta ahora certidumbre ni aun conjetura bien

fundada. Bien sabemos que en el Brasil y la Florida se han visto gentes que se pintan el cuerpo, y que antiguamente fué este uso de algunos naciones de escitas en Asia, y de britanos en Europa; y aun hoy parece que se usa en algunos moros y moras esclavos en la ciudad de Cádiz y en otras partes." Fray Francisco de Santa Inés, *Crónica de la Provincia de San Gregorio Magno...1676* (Manila: Tip. Litografía de Chofre y Comp. 1892), Tom. I, cap. 3, p. 25

"Le gente de las Islas de los Pintados es gente que no es muy morena; es gente bien hecha y bien agestada, así hombres como mujeres, los cuales algunos son blancos. Traen hombres y mujeres el cabello largo revuelto a la coronilla de la cabeza que les agracia mucho, pintanse los varones todo el cuerpo de unas labores muy galanas con unos herruelos pequeños mojados en tinta que incorporados con la sangre, queda la pintura perpetua..." Delgado, *op. cit.*, Apéndice I, cap. VI, p. 371.

"It is argued that the Bisayans and Pintados (who are found in Camarines, Leyte, Samar, Panay, Cebu and other territories nearby) came from the large and very powerful and populous island of Macasar which has its emperor — whom they call Sumbanco — and many chiefs. This argument is based not only on the short distance from the point of Samboangan, but because Macasar (it is said) there are indios who adorn and paint their bodies in the same manner as the Bisayans, this being why they are called *Pintados*. However, we do not know for certain the origin of one or the other. We only have the report made by the Chief Pilot Fernández de Quirós (of the voyage made by Alvaro de Mendaña de Neyra to the Islands of Solomon in the year 1595) to Doctor Antonio de Morga, Lieutenant General for his Majesty in the Philippines, wherein he says that, sailing at a latitude of 10 degrees south, they sighted an island which was named La Magdalena by General Don Alvaro, and that from its port there came to greet him (so he says) 'Over four hundred white *indios* in seventy boats, of a very gentle disposition, big, sturdy, and so well built that they had a great advantage over us, nice teeth, eyes, mouth, hands and very nice feet, loose hair, and some of them very blond; they had among them many boys, all of them naked without any covering whatsoever, and all their bodies, legs and arms, and some of them, their faces, had designs similar to those of these Bisayans.' It is therefore evident that there are painted *Indios* like those we call here the Painted Bisayans, who remain unconquered and who are located at the same latitude of ten to twelve degrees south as these are north. However, it is not easy to determine the origin of these others because although it is known that in Brasil, in Florida, the Scythias of Asia, the Britons of Europe and even the Moors of Africa have this custom of painting and elaborating their cannot be given such a remote origin." Fray San Antonio, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-136.

"The *indios* of Samar are called Bisayans or *Pintados*, they have the custom, even before the coming of the Spaniards, of tattooing their bodies and these were meant to reflect their nobility, achievements or heroic feats. Such a practice was widespread among all the Bisayas forming the Diocese of Cebu and the Provinces of Albay and Camarines which, in turn, make up or compose the Diocese of Nueva Caceres. Some people of Asia, Europe and the Moros of Africa also have had this custom even if they had never communicated with one another. In Florida and Brasil tattooed peoples may also be found who neither communicated with each other. In the large Island of Macassar, some also painted their bodies; their idiom is similar to the idiom of the Bisayans together with the usage and customs so much so that not a few authors have been led to believe that the Bisayans were descendants of a Macassar peoples. But we know from the *Viaje de Quirós*, from that of Cook and other narratives that

in almost all the islands of the South Sea, to Otaiti, Sandwich and Easter Island, the custom of tattooing the body was a common practice. These groups of people speak different languages which are similar to the Bisayan. I know that these peoples are from the same origin, but I do not dare say from where they originated." Joaquín Martínez de Zúñiga, *Estadismo de las islas Filipinas*, W. E. Retana, ed. (Madrid: Viuda de M. Minuesa, 1893), Vol. II, p. 77.

And finally, it may be of interest to note here that in an in-flight magazine of the Niugini Airline, a lead article entitled "A Mark of Respect" described the ancient custom of tattooing together with some excellent photos of the procedure. There is an apparent revival of this ancient art, or as the writer put it: "In Pari village near Port Moresby, as in other Motuan villages along the Papuan coast, tattooing was traditionally regarded as an important part of life for village women. A girl without tattoos would walk with shame in the village street. So it was that traditionally all girls were tattooed. Interest in this traditional art lead to a token revival of it earlier this year." *Paradise*, No. 88, Nov. 1982 — Jan. 1983, pp. 5-8.

That this tattooing tradition among the Bisayans was quite strong and long, is evident from some of the interesting terminology that can be found in the Waray-Waray Bisayan and Bicolano sources. A small and an incomplete list follows:

1. BANGUT: Unas rayas, que a los Indios pintados les suben por la cara hasta los ojos. Es también luto de los viudos o de los que se les ha muerto algún hijo. Este luto es un paño no teñido, con que se cubren la cabeza hasta debajo de la barba, a otros les llega hasta la cinta, a otros hasta a los pies... Lisboa, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
2. BATUC: Batucun, vel, batcun. Pintura de los cuerpos. Babtcan, vel, babatucan; binatcan, vel, binatocan. (Binatcan nga mga tawo an mga Palao). *Himatuc* an salognon. *Mamatuc*, vel, *mamaratuc*. Pintar el pintor. Los nombres de estas pinturas ya no son necesarios pues ya no están en vivo, y así yo les dije [This was said by Mateo Sánchez already in the year 1620 when this dictionary was already in circulation among the early Jesuit missionaries]. Sánchez, *op. cit.*, fol. 72
3. BATUC: Pintarse el brazo u otra parte del cuerpo. Pintura que se hace en el cuerpo. De la Rosa y Alcázar, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
4. BINANOG: Le pintura que tienen en el pecho los que son pintados. Lisboa, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
5. LABID: El listón de la pintura de los Bisayas, tan ancho como un pulgar sube culebreando o haciendo esquinas por la pierna hasta la cintura. Sánchez, *op. cit.*, fol. 283.
6. LABID: La pintura, que hacían en las piernas y muslos. Lisboa, *op. cit.*, p. 206
7. LIPONG: Hombre que tiene todo el cuerpo pintado de pies a cabeza como éstos solían. *Ibid.*, p. 227.
8. PATIC: En algunas partes usan por *batuc*. Las pinturas que los bisayas tienen en sus cuerpos. *Patican*. A quien han de pintar. *Pinatican*. El pintado. *Mamaratic*. El oficial del pintar. Sánchez & 1711), *op. cit.*, fol. 402.

9. PATIC SA LAUAS: Pinturas o figuras hechas en el cuerpo. De la Rosa y Alcázar (1914), *op. cit.*, p. 243.
10. SIBONG: Un rito que el que se pintaba el cuerpo sin haber vencido alguno o algunos en las guerras, enfermaba, o moría. Lisboa, *op. cit.*, p. 343 (1865).
11. TILANG TILANG: El principio de las pinturas que tienen en las piernas junto al tobillo. *Ibid.*, p. 392.
12. TOROB: El pintado en las sentaderas y piernas, o de la cinta abajo. *Ibid.*, p. 407.
13. DUBDUB: La pintura del pecho. Sánchez, *op. cit.*, fol. 184.

⁷ Also ASUG or *bantot*, *bayug*. "ASOG: Es llamarle de afeminado y es *buyayao* afrenta. *Babayenum*." Sánchez, *op. cit.* fol. 35. Lisboa describes the term thus: "Asog. Son los que antiguamente eran como ministros de los demás acerca de los idolos. Estos ASOG, vestían como mugeres, y las imitaban al rito en todos sus actos y palabras, y no se solían casar con mugeres. *Asogasogan*: hombre amugerado, que recibe para Asog. *Caasogasogon* mo doy ¡o qué afeminado eres! *Op. cit.*, p. 54. "ASUG: Hembra estéril, machorra. De la Rosa y Alcázar, *op. cit.*, p. 22). "BANTUT: Afeminado: cobarde. Llamar por afrenta a uno afeminado, cobarde." *Ibid.*, p. 36. "BAYOG: *Bayugon*, Hombre que se trata como mujer y se viste de mujer. ASOG, BANTOT: Hombre afeminado y cobarde." Sánchez, *op. cit.*, fol. 49.

Alcina himself, in one of his chapters give us a fine insight into this matter about the *asog*.

"They had, therefore, their priests or sacrificers which were of two categories and had two names in ancient times. I find that what is generally accepted and least doubtful is that they were commonly women, not men. If there was some man who might have been one, he was called ASOG... Although their priestesses were ordinarily women selected, as we shall speak about later, by the Devil, he also chose some effeminate men whom they called *asog* in ancient times. They commonly said of these *asog* that they were impotent men and incapable of entering marriage. As a result, they never married; instead they fled from women to better hide their shortcoming and they consorted more with men than with women. If, per chance, they were hermaphrodites, they were not able to say whether or not they had evidence of such individuals in antiquity. Presently, they related an instance where there was one in a particular *pueblo* (I have not verified it and do not know anything about the matter with certainty). Such matters are verified with greatest difficulty and they certainly deny them. The fact is that the *Asog* considered themselves more like women than like men in their mode of life, relationships and even occupations. Some of them applied themselves to womanly tasks, like weaving and cultivating, etc. In dress, although they did not wear petticoats (women in olden times did not either), they did wear some *lambong*, as they are called here. This is a kind of a long skirt down to the feet, so that they were recognized even by their manner of dress.

"I shall narrate something which I have personally witnessed in the *pueblo* of Ibabao called Sulat. There was an *Indio* mute there whom they called *Asog*. They believed that if he had lived in ancient times, he would certainly have been a *Daetan* [i.e. bailan]. This fellow was so effeminate that in every way he seemed more like a woman than a man. His dress was even over the legs with a wide *bahague* which resembled the old time petticoats, found under the *lambong*. All the things that the women did, he performed: such as weaving cloth, embroidering, sewing clothes, making pots,

all which are tasks of women. He also danced like the women did, never like a man whose dance is different. In all things he appeared more of a woman than a man. He fled from the women altogether, so much so that he would not even allow one of his relatives to be found near him, especially when he was sleeping. Similarly, in regard to men, he would never allow himself to be touched, nor would he ever bathe in front of others.

"Although he was a mute, he was extremely intelligent. He made himself understood by motions that he had of his own, and on recognizing them he was understood very well and explained himself with remarkable ease. I heard his confession various times with sufficient indications of his signs, but not a trace of matters pertaining to the sixth commandment. If one asked him about the matter beforehand he became silent and seemingly agitated. If as a jest someone told him some joke on the subject or an ugly word, he indicated his anger by signs and covered his eyes with his hands as though ashamed of such matters. Such were the *asog*, they related, in their ancient past. All those who were such, performed their tasks of sacrifice because the *Diwata* chose them for this ministry, they believed..." Alcina, Part I, Book 3, Chapter 13.

⁸ This is a pitch or a resinous substance drawn from certain trees. This pitch is also wrapped up in *anahao* leaves and utilized as a torch. It is also known by another name, namely, *quisalugi* and drawn from the *pili* tree or botanically known as *canario blanco*. De la Rosa y Alcazar, *op. cit.*, p. 84. The terms for resin in Bisaya are: *Taguc* and *calolot*. In Sánchez, we have this entry: "SALONG: Salongon, vel. sasalangon: brea." *Op. cit.* fol. 451. In Bicolano, "SALONG: Brea con que embrean y también el hachón, o candela, con que comúnmente se alumbran." Lisboa, *op. cit.*, p. 554.

⁹ Known the world over as Philippine mahogany. "LAUAN: Árbol grueso y alto; de hoja delgada, bueno para hacer embarcaciones menores, de una pieza. Su resina es blanca y olorosa." De la Rosa y Alcázar, *op. cit.*, p. 406.

"From the commercial standpoint the principal timber species in the Philippines may be grouped into six general classes: (1) the lauans, (2) apitongs, (3) guijos, (4) yakals, (5) other dipterocarps, and (6) legumes.

"The *lauan-ans* or 'Philippine mahogany' are the softer members of the dipeterocarp family and are reclassified into red *lauans* and white *lauans*. The former includes *tanguile* (*Shorea polysperma*), *tiaong* (*Shorea teysmaniana*), and true red *lauan* (*Shorea negrosensis*) which constitute the 'dark red lauans or Philippine mahogany of commerce, while the white lauans include the real white *lauan* (*Pentacme contorta*), *almon* (*Shorea almon*), *bagtikan* (*arashorea plicata*), *manggasinoro* (*Shorea philippinensis*), *kalunti* (*shorea kalunti*), and *mayapis* (*Shorea squamta*) which constitute the 'light red Philippine mahogany'. The red and white lauans are moderately heavy and durable for interior work when used without the sapwood. They are not suitable for heavy structure and exposure to the weather except when the structure is so made that water sheds off, as in the shiplap or in the so-called 'Rizal' or rustic siding. For house construction, the *lauans* are suitable for siding, partition, and ceiling and would give excellent results for light ship planking." Huke, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78.

¹⁰ The pattern of tattooing which Alcina had sketched out for us as employed by the Bisayans of old, is comparable in pattern and meaning to what other civilizations have cultivated in the very ancient past. The Bisayan practice and tradition was not something arbitrary; it has its roots in some external source, seemingly. Very interestingly, the modern *Dictionary of Symbols* points to some similarities in the pattern of tattooing.

"Tattooing and ornamentation may be regarded as falling within one generic symbolic group, for both are expressions of cosmic activity. But since tattoos are applied to the body, other important meanings accrue to it — sacrifice, the mystical and magical. E. Gobert, in *Notes sur les tatouages des indigènes Tunisiens*, suggests that tattooing is connected with the Arabic proverb 'blood has flowed, the danger is passed'. Since sacrifice has the power to store up latent forces which later may be made use of, each sacrifice tends to invert a given situation. A mystic purpose lies at the root of the mark or sign of identification: he who brands himself seeks to display his allegiance to that which is signified by the mark. (Lovers' marks carved on tree-trunks, and initials and heartshapes pricked out on the skin are clear illustrations of this).

"In the last analysis, the attitude of allegiance is reversed: the sign is expected to 'reciprocate' this display of sacrifice and subservience on the part of the individual who has so marked himself; and this is the magic property of the tattoo as a defensive talisman. Apart from these three meanings of the tattoo, ethnologists have noted two others: it may 'serve as a sign designating sex, tribe and social status (cf. Robert Lowie's *Cultural Anthropology*), in which case it is simply a profane version of the mystic symbolism; and, also, as a personal adornment. This latter purpose seems to us over-simplified, but we cannot go into the matter here. In particular, tattooing is a 'rite of entry' or of initiation which alludes to the turning-points in the span of a man's life and in the development of his personality.

"Cola has pointed out that some of the most ancient monuments of pre-history, in particular those of Egypt, suggest that tattooing was practiced in ancient times, for the priestess of the goddess Hathor displayed three lines on her lower belly. He also enumerates the principal techniques of tattooing: incision, stitching, wounding by cutting or burning, and pseudo-tattoos or paintings on the face or body (in which case the motives are the same although the effect is transitory). Among primitive races the principal forms of tattoos are as follows: stripes, dots, combination of both, or numbers expressed through either chains, knots and rosettes, crosses, stars, triangles, rhombs, circles, combinations of any two or more of these, and also, highly stylized anthropomorphic figures either complete or fragmentary (just the limbs), etc. Cola also notes that tattoos of scorpion is credited with the power of warding off the actual scorpion's sting; and the image of a bull is guarantee of numerous progeny." J. E. Cirlot, ed. *Dictionary of Symbols*, trans. from the Spanish by Jack Sage (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1962), pp. 330-331.

¹¹ A *lunecilla* in Spanish means 'a crescent worn by women, and the 'postizo' means 'artificial, not natural'. Again, this writer made an appeal to the *Dictionary of Symbols* and discovered the wealth and depth of meaning in this feminine Bisayan tattoo — a tradition which runs deep into the ancient past

"The crescent moon is, par excellence, the symbol of the Great Mother, the lunar Queen of Heaven, and is the attribute of all principle and is both the Mother and Celestial Virgin. The changing moon depicts change in the phenomenal world. The crescent is represented by cows' or bulls' horns, but it also takes the form of the lunar barque and the receptive cup; it is the ship navigating the night sky, the ship of light on the sea of night'. Crescents backing each other, or placed above and below, are the waxing and waning moon. The solar disk with the lunar crescent, or with the disk placed between cow's horns, together depict unity, the two-in-one, or joint sun and moon deities and the sacred marriage of the divine pairs. A crescent with rays is funerary, an apotheosis of the dead. *Celtic*: the crescent moon and two crescents back to back symbolize immortality. *Christian*: The Vir-

gin Mary, Queen of Heaven. *Egyptian*: Isis, Queen of Heaven, and Hathor as the cow with the solar disk between her horns. *Hindu*: The crescent moon the newborn; quick and eager growth; the cup of the elixir of immortality. In Siva's hair it represents the bull Nandi. *Islamic*: The crescent with the star depicts divinity; sovereignty. *Maori*: Light out of darkness. *Sumerian*: Attribute of the moon god Sin. The emblem of Byzantium, Islam and the Turks. J. C. Cooper, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

¹³ Also cited as *SACLA* and described by Mateo Sánchez (1711) as about eight or more meters and is about an inch and a half in diameter. It is very common and readily available especially in the mountains of Samar. It is pretty in appearance, very straight and clean or neat. It is greatly used by the Bisayans for javelins, looms, *nipas*, nails or pricking and a variety of other uses. Other varieties are the following: *caraye*, *damoluan*, *macaranas*, *guibagaye* and others.

¹³ Also cited as *SACLA* and described by Mateo Sanchez (1711) as "Cierta rodaja de plomo, de que usaban los Bisayas en sus partes naturales. *Sacraan*, el que la tiene." *Op. cit.*, fol. 441.

Long before Alcina recorded this unusual practice, Antonio Pigafetta, back in 1521, made note of it in his account.

"Those people [i.e. the Bisayans] go around naked, wearing but one piece of palm-tree cloth about their privies. The males, large and small, have their penis pierced from one side to the other, near the head with a gold or tin bolt as large as a goose quill. In both ends of the same bolt some have what resembles a spur, with points upon the ends; others are like the head of a cart nail. I very often asked many, both old and young, to see their penis, because I could not credit it. In the middle of the bolt is a hole, through which they may urinate. The bolt and the spurs always hold firm. They say that their women wish it so, and that if they did otherwise, they would not have communication with them. When the men wish to have communication with their women, the latter themselves take the penis not in the regular way and commence very gently to introduce it, with the spur on top first, and then the other part. When it is inside it takes its regular position; and thus the penis always stays inside until it gets soft, for otherwise they could not pull it out. Those people make use of that device because they are of a weak nature." Antonio Pigafetta, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44.

Dr. Antonio Morga, as early as 1609, also took note of the practice among the Bisayans.

"The natives of the Islands of the tattooed people or Bisayas, especially the women-folk, are much given to vicious practices and sensuality, and their instincts have led them to invent sordid ways for men and women to get together intimately. They have acquired a bad habit from youth, the boys making an incision or hole in their private organ, close to its head, and attaching to it a sort of a snake-head of metal or ivory, which is secured to the hole made in the organ, by means of a device of the same substance to keep it in place. With this contrivance on, the youth has intercourse with the woman, and he is only able to take it out much later after the act, both thereby indulging in a protracted frenzied delight, notwithstanding the spilling of considerable blood and suffering and injuries. This contrivance is called *sagra*, but only a few of them exist now, because after the natives became Christians, much care has been taken to stop these practices and vices, with a certain degree of success." *Op. cit.*, pp. 289-290.

Still, another chronicler of old, described it briefly and thus:

"An abominable custom among the men is to bore a hole through the genital organ, placing within this opening a tin tube, to which they fasten

a wheel like that of a spur, a full palm in circumference. These are made of tin, and some of them weigh more than half a pound. They use twenty kinds of these wheels; but modesty forbids us to speak of them. By means of these they have intercourse with their wives." Miguel de Loarca (1582), *op. cit.*, p. 117, in BR. vol. VI.

And finally, we also have a word from a contemporary, Ramon Villegas who writes:

"But the piece of jewelry all Spaniards were fascinated with was a sexual device, so much so that in the early years, soldiers and friars would demand to see the sexual organs of males in newly occupied territory. The device was called a *sagra* (i.e. *sagka*, barrier). The Spaniards subsequently punished with beating those who wore them." *Op. cit.*, pp. 109-119.

"This is technically called a 'tickler', known to the West as a 'Frenzy device'. But the Filipino version (A version in goat's hair is also used in Sarawak, Malaysia) was more sophisticated, as described by Pigafetta, Loarca, Morga and an anonymous writer of the Boxer Codex. (García 1979), who drew a figure of it on the margin of his manuscript. The device is described as a wheel or ring with rounded projections, made of lead, brass and some of gold. The penile prepuce was pierced through which a pin or bolt fastened the wheel, so that the 'ring is placed on the very genital in the same way that a ring is put on a finger.' There were some 20-30 different versions of the device, which gave the women 'intense satisfaction'.

"A goldsmith in his thirties, a goldsmith from Bulacan, recounted to the author [Ramon N. Villegas], that the men in his family had always worn a device which was 'like an earring' — a spiral of gold wire — which the father fashioned for the son. Their organs were pierced at birth. The matter came up in conversation because the man was depressed: his wife's gynecologist had sided with the woman, who considered it bizarre and painful, tradition or no tradition, the irritation could cause cancer." *Ibid.*, footnote #10, p. 199.