

PHILIPPINIANA RECORDS

Religious Beliefs and Practices of the Igorots of Northern Pangasinan in 1895

BY MARIANO RODRIGUEZ, O.P.

INTRODUCTION

Fr. Mariano Rodríguez, the author of the following report on the Igorots who inhabited the slopes of the Cordillera facing Pangasinan in 1895, was born in Villaherreros, a town of the province of Palencia, in Spain, on August 15, 1863, and sixteen years later, in 1879, donned the Dominican habit in the Convent of Santo Domingo de Ocaña, province of Toledo. A year later, he emitted his profession of simple temporary vows in the same Convent. On September 14th of 1883, he solemnly bound himself to live the Dominican way of life until death.

Having finished his Philosophical and Theological studies, he left Spain, bound for the Philippines, on whose shores he set foot on August 3, 1887. He received the order of priesthood on 24 September of the same year. Assigned to Pangasinan in 1888, he ministered in Bayambang for two years, and, transferred to Pozorrubio by the Provincial Chapter of 1890, there he continued caring for souls as its Vicar and Pastor until the advent of the Philippine Revolution in 1898.

In this town, he laid the foundations of its church and raised the walls to a considerable height; however, he could not finish it for the aforesaid reason.¹ Forced to emigrate to Hong Kong with many of the Dominican priests then ministering in Pangasinan, he returned to the Philippines when peace dawned on its soil.

His next assignment was the Convento of Santo Domingo, where he acted as sacristan and syndic until 1909. But Pangasinan was the land of his choice and he must have felt very happy when the Superiors destined him there, more specifically to Manaoag, the only town that the Dominican order had retained after the Revolution for the double reason that it was a celebrated Sanctuary of Our Blessed Lady of the Rosary and that the property of the lot, church, and convent was theirs. Here he discharged the office of Vicar and Superior until 1929.

In October of 1931, the community of Santo Domingo elected him its Prior, and there he stayed until the end of his term, that is, for three years. When his priorship was about to expire, he had to act as Vicar Provincial due to the untimely death of the Provincial, Father Ricardo Vaquero, on July of 1933.

Already well-advanced in age, he went back to Manaoag, but did not stay there long, because after a few years, he began to feel that his health was declining. Thus, he decided to return to Manila in search of a much-needed rest and better medical attention. Finally, confined to San Juan de Dios Hospital, he spent there the remaining days of his life and there also he breathed his last on 5 January, 1942.²

The author of these lines had the good luck of visiting him once, finding him seated on a chair, with his white beard unshaven and his spirit full of calmness and conformity with the will of God. It is said that in his last days, when a visitor told him that the Japanese had occupied Manila, he simply answered in a somewhat rough but firm voice: "If so,

¹José María González, O.P. *Labor evangélica y civilizadora de los religiosos dominicos en Pangasinán (1587-1898)*. (Manila: U.S.T. Press, 1946), p. 115

²*Acta Capituli Provincialis Provinciae Sanctissimi Rosarii Philippinarum, Ordinis Praedicatorum, Manilae celebrati* (1947) (Manilae: Typis Pontificiae Universitatis Sancti Thomae, MDCCCXXXVII), pp. 62-63.

let them be driven out."³ Out they were certainly driven but not without three years of privations and sufferings, crowned in February of 1945 by the horrors of the American bombings, bitter street fightings, and, above all, by the atrocities committed by the angered Japanese soldiery.

Father Mariano bequeathed to us several books which, for the most part, are an outpouring of his great love for Our Lady of the Rosary of Manaoag and Santo Domingo. Here is the list of his works:

1. "Igorrotes y salvajes de la Cordillera nordeste de Pangasinán" in *Correo Sino-anamita*, Vol. XXIII (1894), págs. 262-312.

2. "Etnografía filipina. Apuntes por el P. Mariano Rodríguez, cura párroco de Pozorrubio" en *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV (1895), págs. 314-379.

3. *Coronación de Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, Manila, 1908, págs. 183 x XXVIII.

4. *Reseña histórica de la milagrosa imagen de la Virgen del Rosario que se venera en el templo de Santo Domingo de Manila*, Manila, Tipografía de Sto. Tomás, 1907, págs. 320.

5. *Historia de Ntra. Sra. del Rosario de Manaóag*, Manila, Tip. del colegio de Sto. Tomás, 1913, págs. 381.

6. *Historia y Nuestra Señora de Manaóag*, guinaoay R.P. Fr. Mariano Rodríguez, Dominico, Manila, Tipografía de Sto. Tomás, 1913, 428 págs.

7. *Traducción de los Santos Evangelios al Pangasinán*, imp., págs. 223.⁴

8. Translation of the Missal into the same language, which was left unfinished in manuscript form.⁵

9. Many articles in the periodical *Libertas*.⁶

³The textual words in Spanish are: "Padre, los japoneses han entrado en Manila." - To which he replied: "Pues que los echen."

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 27. We have not seen as yet a copy of this work.

⁵*Ibid.*, According to the testimony of an old priest, Father Mariano worked very hard in producing a faithful translation of the Missal into Pangasinan, but could not finish it due, perhaps, to sickness or old age.

⁶*Ibid.*

10. Some articles on Philippine Ethnography in *La Política de España en Filipinas*.⁷

11. Many articles in the Manaoag weekly *Lioaoa*.⁸

Here we are interested only in the first two, which, put together and thus completing each other, although at the cost of some repetitions, make, due to the wealth of details, the most finished study written during the Spanish times on the unsubdued Igorots of the Mountain Province.

It is with great pleasure that we present to our readers the Opening letter, addressed to Father Provincial, as it is found in the *Correo Sino-anamita*, Volume XXIII (1894), p. 261. It is as follows:

Pozorrubio, September 1884

Very Reverend Father Provincial:

Acceding to the generous and patriotic wishes of Your Reverence, manifested in Your letter of last July 8th, enclosed I send you a brief account on the life, customs and superstitious practices which are worthy of note of the pagan and uncivilized races who, still steeped in the grossest ignorance and victims of absurd superstitions, live and vegetate at the very gates of Christian towns specially in the town of Pozorrubio, at the foot of the northeastern ranges of the mountains of this beautiful province.

I beg Your Reverence to please pray for these Christian communities, and also remember in Your prayers this unworthy and least of Your subjects, who kisses Your hand.

Fr. Mariano Rodríguez, O.P.

⁷Hilario María Ocio, O.P., *Compendio de la Reseña biográfica de los religiosos de la provincia del Santísimo Rosario de Filipinas, desde su fundación hasta nuestros días*, Manila, Establecimiento tipográfico del colegio de Sto. Tomás, 1895, p. 1170. On page 314 of the *Correo Sino-anamita* (1895), Father Mariano Rodríguez comments on the ethnographic article published the year before in the same review, thus: "... we have deemed it fit to amplify the brief ethnographical study published the preceding year in the *Correspondencia* of our Missions (i.e., *The Correo Sino-anamita*) and later reproduced in a magazine of the Court of Spain whose purpose is to defend the interests of Spain in this remote corner of the Far East." He undoubtedly refers to the *Política de España en Filipinas*, edited by Wenceslao E. Retana in Madrid. (Cfr. *La Política de España en Filipinas* (1895), Imprenta de la viuda de Minuesa de los Ríos, Miguel Servet, 13, Madrid, Nos. 106-107, 109-113.

⁸González, *loc. cit.*

Since the first article is not indexed, as the second is, we have supplied an *Index* of our own. Regarding the second, we have limited ourselves to translating the brief index made either by Father Mariano himself or by the editor of *Correo Sino-Anamita*, adding, on our initiative, the corresponding pages. Here is the *Index* of the article published in *Correo-Sino-anamita* in 1894:

1. Founding of the town of Maliongiong, formerly San Bartolome de Agno, and now San Manuel (p. 263).

2. Brief description of the excursion undertaken by Father Jose Torres, parish priest of Mangaldan, to the mountains north of Pangasinan (p. 265).

3. Origin of the Igorots and number of their ranches. Their racial stock (p. 267).

4. Their abodes (p. 267).

5. A kind of Igorots, known by the name of *bagos*, that is, baptized Igorots, who continue being as Igorots as they were before being baptized, without paying taxes and without having a share in the communal services (p. 269).

6. The frontier towns of Alava, San Manuel and San Nicolas, founded in part for the civilization and conversion of the Igorots who lived in their vicinity (pp. 270-271).

7. Description of the Igorots. Their origin, language, and bodily constitution (pp. 270-271).

8. Skin diseases, malaria and small pox (pp. 275-276).

9. Herbal medicines and quack-doctors (pp. 275-277).

10. Their way of dressing and custom of going about barefooted.

11. The European coat and the Igorot G-string.

12. The women's attire and their adornment (p. 280).

13. Hair-dressing (p. 280).

14. Tattooing (pp. 280-281).

15. Smoking (pp. 281-282)
16. Burning and denudation of their forests or, in other words, the slash-and-burn practice called *kaingin* in some Filipino dialects (pp. 282-283).
17. Way of starting and producing fire (pp. 283-284).
18. Their extreme reserve and shyness, not to say "fear", when they find themselves in the presence of a European (pp. 284-285).
19. How they build their huts and watch after the security of the same (p.285).
20. Court-house (tribunal) and jail, and special room set aside for the storing of the palay destined to feed their visitors (p. 286).
21. A more detailed description of the way in which they construct their huts (pp. 286-287).
22. Their simple and poor furnishings (p. 287).
23. System of government and elections, and nominal subjection to Spain (pp. 287-288).
24. Sanctions meted out to delinquents (p. 289).
25. Drunkenness, and their favorite beverage called *Binoburan* (p. 289).
26. Farming and products of the land (pp. 289-290).
27. System of irrigation (p. 291).
28. Domestic industries (pp. 292-294).
29. Their belief in a Supreme Being, called *Cabunian*, and in intermediary spirits, known among them by the name *anitos* (p. 296).
30. Immortality of the soul and future life (*Ibid.*)
31. Interesting tradition of a universal flood and of the only two survivors, a brother and a sister, from whom all Igorots descend (pp. 296-297).
32. Their three main feasts and how they solemnize them (pp. 297-299).

33. On how they get married (pp. 300-301).

34. Care for the dying or for the sick (pp. 301-302).

35. Measures to be taken in order to reduce them definitively to the social and Christian way of life (pp. 302-312).

General Index of the ethnographical article published in *Correo-Sino-anamita* in 1895:

1. Boundaries and extension of the area where the Igorots we are going to write about live. Its orography and hydrography. Climatology (pp. 315-329).

2. The infidels of Luzon. Origin, language, and physico-moral traits of the inhabitants of this Cordillera (pp. 329-335).

3. Deliveries and births. Imposition of the name, education and instruction of the children. Circumcision. Occupations of the youth (pp. 335-342).

4. Politico-social relations. Monogamy, divorce: their causes, ceremonies and consequences. Second nuptials. The Igorot family. The *ugalies*. Usuries and slavery. Manner of counting (pp. 342-352).

5. Politico-social relations. The singing of the *calao*.

Igorot days, months, and years. Traditions and popular songs. *Aniterías* and prejudices. The iguana and the large lizard (*chacón*). The glow-worms. The gold placers (pp. 352-368).

6. Amusements. *Banquillas* and *calit* games. Dancing. Musical instruments. Fishing of the eel. Hunting of the deer, wild boar and wild cock. Bees, honey, and wax (pp. 368-374).

7. Love of independence and freedom. Its causes, and remedy. The tribute, personal services and family census. Conclusion (pp. 374-379).

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Herein we are only concerned about the excerpts regarding the religious beliefs and practices of the Igorots who inhabit the mountains facing Pangasinan. They are as follows:

Creencias y prácticas religiosas de los igorotes del norte de Pangasinán en 1895

POR EL PADRE MARIANO RODRIGUEZ, O.P.

No es nuestro ánimo, ni los estrechos límites a que hemos de ceñirnos permiten un examen y descripción minuciosa de todas y cada una de las muchas ranherías de salvajes que pueblan tan dilatadas comarcas; más humildes son nuestras aspiraciones, concretándose a la zona montañosa comprendida entre los desfiladeros por donde corren los ríos *Buer* y *Agno*, o sea, desde la ranhería de *Agat*, en Alava, hasta el caserío de *Talangaput*, no muy lejos del *Agno* y del pueblo de San Nicolás (pág. 315).

Su única pasión, la que los arrastra con fuerza irresistible, es la bebida. Baco impera y domina por su cuenta allí donde el igorrote clava su tienda. La embriaguez es el vicio capital y dominante de estas gentes, que por saborear un trago de aguardiente o una copa de ginebra darán cuanto tienen, así sepan que el alcohol ha de abrasarles las entrañas y dar con ellos en tierra (págs. 331-332).

Son también muy aficionados a tomar lo ajeno contra la voluntad de su dueño, sobre todo las reses de ganado mayor que los cristianos de los pueblos y barrios vecinos sueltan al pasto en las sementeras y bosques inmediatos a las ranherías. Estos robos, antes muy frecuentes, casi diarios, han disminuido considerablemente desde el estableci-

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It is neither our intention nor are we allowed enough space to make a detailed research on, or a description of, all of the many ranches of uncivilized people who inhabit such extensive lands. Our aspirations are humbler, being restricted to the mountainous area situated between the gorges along which the *Buer* and the *Agno* river flow, let us say so, between the ranch of *Agat*, in Alava (today Sison), and the cluster of huts named *Talangaput*, not far from the *Agno* and the town of San Nicolas (p. 315).

The Igorots' only passion -which drags them with an irresistible force- is drinking. *Baco* rules and lords over every place where the Igorot pitches his tent. Drunkenness is the capital and dominant vice of these people, who, in order to relish a drink of brandy or a cup of *ginębra*, are ready to sell all they have, even though they know that the alcohol will burn their stomachs and bring them to the ground.

They also have a marked tendency to grab what belongs to another against its owner's will, most especially the cattle which the Christians of the neighboring towns and barrios let loose so that they may graze in the cultivated fields and forests near their ranches. This cattle rustling, that was so frequent before, occurring almost daily, has considerably decreased since the establishment of the Civil Guard in this town

miento en este pueblo de la Guardia Civil que a menudo visita y ronda aquellos contornos.

El carabao, vaca o caballo que por casualidad tropieza con las manos del igorroto, no vuelve más a poder de su legítimo dueño por muchos desvelos y pesquisas que haga para recuperarlo, porque el igorroto se cuidará de ponerlo a buen recaudo, introduciéndolo en la espesura por veredas de él solo conocidas, hasta dar con otras rancharías, en donde lo venderá por una bicoca. El que allí lo compra, procura alejarlo más todavía, hasta que, por fin, la res llega a Benguet, verdadero pozo airón de cuantos animales desaparecen de estos pueblos (pág. 332).

Tienen estos infieles la buena cualidad de ser hospitalarios y muy obsequiosos con los que los visitan y con los forasteros que se ven precisados a pararse en ellos. Con el fin de que nunca falte arroz con qué obsequiar a los huéspedes y transeúntes, depósitos todos en el tribunal en tiempo de la recolección un manojo de *palay*, para dar de comer a los visitantes, y no tengan que mendigar comida ni hospitalidad. El *palay* así reunido lo conservan en un departamento del tribunal bajo la vigilancia de los cuadrilleros y ministriles de la rancharía, aunque bien seguro está allí, porque nadie osará tocarlo; aquel *palay* es para ellos cosa sagrada (pág. 332).

Conocidas son de todos la indolencia y apatía que, salvo honrosísimas y raras excepciones, caracterizan al indígena filipino, porque, merced a la prodigiosa fecundidad de este suelo, con poquísimo trabajo encuentra con qué satisfacer sus escasas necesidades. Pues bien, esta apatía y pereza suben de punto en el salvaje de las montañas, puesto que sus necesidades son muchísimo menores que las del cristiano, y en sus bosques abundan los tubérculos y raíces comestibles con qué llenar el estómago (pág. 333).

Horrores y atrocidades se han cometido, y siguen aún cometiéndose entre la gente ruda y sementerera, con las mujeres próximas al parto.

Contado será el pueblo de Filipinas que no tenga entre sus vecinos uno o más *mediquillos* y comadrones que por sus muchos embustes,

(Pozorrubio), who quite often visits and makes the rounds in those nearby places.⁹

The carabao, or cow, or horse that chances to fall into the hands of an Igorot never returns to its rightful owner, no matter how much trouble the latter takes or diligence he exerts in getting it back, since the Igorot will take care to put it out of his reach by leading it into the thickets along trails only known to him until it reaches others' ranches where he will sell it for a trifle. He who purchases it will take it still farther, until the animal finally arrives in Benguet which is a veritable bottomless pit of the many heads of cattle from these towns (p. 332).

These infidels are gifted with the good quality of being hospitable and obsequious to those who pay them a visit and to the strangers who, pressed by the circumstances, find themselves in need of stopping over in their midst. And so that they may not lack rice with which to treat their guests and passers-by, they deposit every year in the court-house at harvest time a bundle of *palay* in order to feed their visitors and also to spare them the trouble of begging for food and hospitality. They keep the *palay* thus collected in a room of the court-house under the custody of the "cuadrilleros" (rural guards) and the "ministriles" (petty constables) of the ranch, even though it will be safe there, since nobody will dare to lay hands on what is looked upon by them as a sacred thing (p. 332).

Known to everybody are the indolence and apathy which, save for some honorable and rare exceptions, characterize the native Filipino. These inborn qualities are due to prodigious fertility of this soil, because, with little effort, he finds all that is needed to satisfy his scanty necessities. Yet, these apathy and sloth are more apparent in the uncivilized man of the mountains, inasmuch as his needs are fewer by far than those of the Christian, and in his forests abound edible tubers and roots with which to appease his stomach (p. 333).

Horrors and atrocities have been perpetrated, and are still being perpetrated, among the rustic people and those living in the farms, and on the women who are about to give birth.

Rare is the town in the Philippines which does not always count among its inhabitants one or more quackdoctors or accouchers who, on

supersticiones, brujerías y atrevida ignorancia no se hayan abierto paso y adquirido ascendiente y fama de sabiondos entre sus paisanos.

Estos *galenos* de nuevo cuño nunca se apartan de la casa del enfermo, pero principalmente prestan sus servicios en las casas de las parturientas, a quienes verdaderamente martirizan con sus sobos y apretones en el vientre para calmar, dicen ellos, los dolores y acelerar la salida del feto.

Excusado es apuntar que muchas veces, después del martirio de la madre (con otras cosas que frecuentemente hacen que no son para dichas aquí, porque se sobreentienden), matan al infante en fuerza de sus bárbaros procedimientos.

De estas prácticas tan inhumanas está libre la mujer igorrota, quien por la gran facilidad en los partos no necesita de médicos ni comadrones que la estrujen y martiricen. Al sentir los primeros dolores, síntomas de que es llegada la hora de contar un hombre más en el mundo, se dirige animosa y resuelta al río o arroyo más cercano a su cabaña, llevando consigo los trapos en los que, a guisa de pañales, ha de envolver el fruto de su vientre, el ceñidor y una caña lisa y bien pulida, la que, como veremos, ha de hacer todos los oficios de partero, aunque sin las barbaridades de este.

Sola, a la vera del agua, se inclina hacia delante, apoya su dolorido vientre sobre la caña, amarrada fuertemente ya de antemano a dos árboles o estacas, permaneciendo así hasta que la naturaleza obra por sí misma, verificándose aquí aquello que se lee en el libro de Job: *Incurbantur ad faetum et pariunt, et rugitus emittunt*.¹

Nacido el nuevo hombre al mundo, la misma madre corta con sus dientes la placenta, la anuda, lava a su hijo en las aguas de las corrientes y ciñese con una larga tira de corteza machacada, del *balete*.² Báñase y torna a su casa con la carga del nuevo hijo tan fresca como si no hubiera sucedido nada.

Para purgarse perfectamente y expeler toda la sangre corrupta, toma con frecuencia el cocimiento de ciertas yerbas de solo el igorroto

¹Cap 39, v. 3.

²*Ficus inaic*, B1.

account of their many trickeries, superstitions, witchcrafts, and reckless ignorance, improve their social standing, gaining ascendancy over, and making a name for themselves among their countrymen, by pretending to be well-versed on the matter.

These recently self-made physicians render their services chiefly in the homes of the women who are about to give birth, whom they subject to a true martyrdom with the massaging and pressing of their bellies, to alleviate, so they say, their labor pains and facilitate the exit of the fetus.

It goes without saying that many a time, after inflicting much martyrdom on the mother (besides many other things which they often do and are not to be told here because they are easily presupposed), they kill the baby by dint of their inhuman methods.

The Igorot woman is free from these inhuman practices due to her facility of giving birth, and because she does not need doctors or midwives to squeeze and torment her. On being assailed by the first labor pains, a symptom that the hour of the arrival of one more man into the world has come, she courageously and resolutely walks towards the river or creek nearest her hut, carrying along the rags with which, in the manner of swaddling clothes, she will wrap the fruit of her womb, a waist band, and a well-polished bamboo cane which is going to do the job of the accoucher, although without going to the extremes that this one does.

Alone, by the side of the water, she bends herself forward, leans her painful belly on the bamboo cane that has been beforehand strongly tied to two trees or two stakes, retaining this position until nature itself does the rest. Thus it is fulfilled here what we read in the book of Job: "They couch down and bear their young, while groaning painfully."¹⁰

After the new man has been born, the mother herself cuts the umbilical cord with her teeth, knots it, washes her offspring in the running water, girds herself with a long band of pounded fiber of the *Balete* tree, takes a bath, and returns home with the burden of her new child as unconcerned as if nothing had happened.

To perfectly purify herself and in order to expel all putrid blood, she takes, every now and then, a concoction of a kind of an herb known only

conocidas, y, para confortar el estómago, mezcla con la comida por espacio de dos meses ajenjibre (*Amomium zingiber*, L.).

Con tan pocos cuidados y precauciones da a luz la mujer igorrota, sin serle preciso acostarse ni tener que sufrir las torturas del sobador y sucio mediquillo (págs. 335-336).

Viene después la imposición del nombre al recién nacido, y por lo regular su fecha al segundo o tercer día del nacimiento. El más anciano de la familia es el que allí ejerce las funciones *sacerdotales*, sin que para nada intervengan los padres.

Reunidos los parientes y deudos, el viejo toma al niño en sus brazos, recita en voz baja una oración, y, levantando la voz con acento grave y solemne, pronuncia el nombre que ha de llevar aquel nuevo vástago de su sangre. Estos nombres son siempre alguno de los que en vida llevaron sus abuelos y ascendientes, y así van perpetuando en generación los nombres y memoria de sus progenitores.

No parece que estos nombres tengan sentido o significación determinada en el dialecto peculiar de ellos, excepción hecha de aquellos cuyo origen cristiano es manifiesto, si bien corrompidos y adulterados, como es consiguiente, al trasladarlos a su lengua bárbara y salvaje, y al ningún cuidado que ponen en pronunciar clara y distintamente todas las letras y sílabas.

Con algunos tragos de vino de arroz, si la familia es pobre, o una pequeña función en la que se devora algún cerdo o venado, si es acomodada y pudiente, termina la ceremonia, retirándose los comensales un tanto alegres y bulliciosos, merced a los vapores del embriagador *binoburan* que ya comienza a producir sus naturales y acostumbrados efectos (págs. 336-337).

Todas las mujeres igorrotas crían a sus hijos, no dándoles nunca leche extraña, si no es en caso de muerte de la madre o de alguna grave enfermedad.

Muchos niños igorrotos mueren antes de los tres años, víctimas de la viruela, pues esta terrible enfermedad se ciernen aterradora con harta

to the Igorots, and to comfort her stomach, she mixes *ginger* with her food for two months (*amomium zingiber*, L.).

With so few attentions and preparations does the Igorot woman give birth, without lying down in bed and without undergoing the tortures inflicted by the unclean masseurs or quackdoctors (pp. 335-336).

Next to this, there comes the giving of a name to the newly born, and, as a rule, this is done after the second or third day of its birth. The eldest in the family is the one who exercises the priestly functions, without the slightest intervention of the parents.

The relatives and related people having gathered together, the old man takes the baby in his arms, recites a prayer in a low voice and, speaking in a grave and solemn manner, pronounces the name the new member of the family is going to bear. This name is always selected from among those borne by the grandparents and forebears of the baby, and in this way, the names of their ancestors are passed from generation to generation.

Such names do not seem to have any meaning in this locality with exception of those whose Christian origin is apparent, although they have been corrupted and adulterated, as it is logical, when incorporated into their undeveloped and uncultivated language, and owing also to the little effort that they exert in pronouncing clearly and distinctly all their letters and syllables.

With a few big gulps of wine if the family is poor, or with a little celebration if affluent or influential, in which they devour a pig or a deer, they close the ceremony, while those who partook of it leave a little bit "happy" and boisterous due to the vapors of the intoxicating *binoburan*, which is already beginning to produce its natural and customary effects (pp. 336-337).

All the Igorot women lactate their children, never feeding them with milk not their own, except in the case of the death of the mother or of some serious sickness.

Many Igorot children die before they complete their third year, victims of small pox, since this terrible disease quite often hovers

frecuencia sobre aquellas pobres cabañas, sembrando por doquier la desolación y muerte; resultado en gran parte de la poca higiene, mucha suciedad de sus moradores y absoluto desconocimiento de la vacuna (pág. 338).

Tiénese como cosa cierta y corriente que los moros malayos, que invadieron las Islas poco antes de la venida de los españoles, fueron los primeros que introdujeron en el Archipiélago la práctica de circuncidar a los muchachos cuando llegan a los ocho o nueve años.

Esta ceremonia, aunque hoy es casi general entre los indios, no creo sea hija de su lujuria y liviandad, como escribía en el siglo pasado el P. Ortiz en su famosa obra *Práctica del Ministerio*. Su objeto en el día parece ser la limpieza, y no negaremos que en ello haya algo, pues procuran que no llegue a conocimiento y noticia de los Padres, y el perpetuar una costumbre que así viene practicándose de padres a hijos, sin que sepan dar otra razón que la de ser costumbre suya y haberlo leído en la *Pasión*.

Esta práctica, tan extendida entre los indios cristianos, no está en uso hoy día entre los igorotes, pero sí dicen que lo estuvo en tiempos antiguos, según he oído referir a sus mayores. Como siempre han carecido de cronología, ignoran por completo la época en que abandonaron aquella costumbre (págs. 340-341).

Cuentan las antiguas crónicas que en los tiempos de la conquista la poligamia estaba en todo su auge, pudiendo los indios casarse con una o con muchas mujeres, según su voluntad y capricho, y también volverse a descasar, si así les venía en talante. Esta práctica, que tanto costó a los misioneros el desarraigar, fue, sin duda, consecuencia y resultado de las doctrinas del Corán que los mahometanos, llegados poco antes que los españoles, comenzaron a introducir en las Islas.

Por eso vemos hoy que, exceptuadas pequeñas tribus, no existe ya poligamia entre los infieles de Luzón, guardándose, por punto general, completa fidelidad ambos consortes, hasta que la muerte de uno de los dos los separa; teniendo también las solteras en gran precio y estima la

frightfully over those poor huts, sowing everywhere desolation and death. This is, to a great extent, the result of the poor hygiene and unclean habits of its inhabitants and of the absolute lack of knowledge of vaccination (p. 338).

It is admitted as a doubtless and well-known fact that the Malayan Muslims who invaded the Islands shortly before the arrival of the Spaniards were the ones who first introduced in the Archipelago the practice of circumcising the boys when they reach the age of eight or nine years.

This ceremony, which at present is so widespread among the natives, in my opinion does not originate from their lust or lasciviousness and sexual proclivity, as Father Ortiz wrote in the past century in his famous work, *Práctica del Ministerio*. Its purpose today seems to be cleanliness of the body. We shall not deny, however, that in practicing it, there may be something (of the aforesaid), inasmuch as they take care to hide it from the knowledge of the Fathers, thus perpetuating a custom that is handed from father to son, without giving any other explanation that such is their custom and having read about it in the singing of the *Passion*.¹¹

This practice, so widespread among the Christian natives, is not in vogue today among the Igorots. Yet, as they affirm, it used to be so in times past, as they have heard it being said by their elders. And, as they have always been wanting in chronology, they are not aware of the time when it was given up (pp. 340-341).

It is recounted in the old chronicles that, at the time of the conquest, polygamy was very much in fashion, the natives being able to marry one or many women according to their will or caprice, and also of divorcing them, if they so chose. Such practice, uprooted by the missionaries with great difficulty, was, without doubt, a consequence and a result of the teaching of the *Kuran*, which the Mohammedans, having arrived before the Spaniards, began to propagate in these Islands.

And this is the reason why today, except for a few insignificant tribes, polygamy does not exist among the infidels of Luzon. Rather, as a rule, both consorts observe complete fidelity to each other until the death of one of them sets them apart, while the unmarried women highly prize and hold in great esteem the jewel of their honor and

joya de su honor e integridad. Tanto han variado las costumbres desde aquellos tiempos en que era afrenta para una doncella no marchitar antes de la edad núbil la flor más preciada de la mujer (págs. 343-345).

Decíamos arriba que la fidelidad conyugal era nota característica entre los igorrotes; así es efectivamente por regla general; pero como el hombre en todas partes es de frágil barro, llevando dentro de sí mismo aquella ley que le inclina y arrastra a hacer lo malo que no quisiera, hay también aquí, aunque no con frecuencia, sus deslices y deficiencias entre los casados.

Cuando una mujer ha faltado, se la castiga y avergüenza ante el Consejo de ancianos, y se la ordena pida perdón a su marido, prometiéndole no volver más a faltarle. Aconsejan también a la parte inocente que perdone y reciba a su mujer que, en un momento de enfado o extravío, o tal vez engañada por un tunante, se atrevió a infringir la promesa dada el día de sus desposorios; pero si el marido, a pesar de los castigos, consejos y exhortaciones del *sanhedrín* igorrotal, no quiere volver a su consorte, persistiendo en separarse de la infiel, acceden a su petición, porque de lo contrario se perturbaría la tranquilidad de la tribu y la paz de las familias.

Entonces tiene lugar el divorcio, que sola y únicamente en este caso se practica entre estos igorrotes, no permitiendo nunca, ni por ninguna otra causa, que vivan separados los consortes. Los viejos se congregan en el Tribunal, y, después de haber deliberado sobre la conveniencia de separar aquel matrimonio, en previsión de mayores males, llaman a las partes, y, ante los padres y parientes de ambos, el ofendido presenta su demanda ante la faz de la tribu, allí representada en las personas de sus viejos y ancianos, pidiendo le permitan apartarse de su mujer infiel y adúltera y volver a la casa de sus padres.

El Consejo manifiesta a los padres de la culpable la falta de esta, por la que, no queriendo el marido cohabitar ya por más tiempo con ella, se la entrega a ellos para que la custodien y mantengan con la mitad de los bienes que ha parecido bien al Consejo entregarla para su sustento y el de los hijos que le toquen en suerte (págs. 345-346).

integrity. So much have customs changed since those times when it was an affront for a young girl not to have given up her physical chastity before her marriage (pp. 343-345).

We have stated above that conjugal fidelity was a characteristic trait among the Igorots, and so it is in fact as a general rule. However, as man is everywhere made of fragile clay, carrying within himself the tendency which inclines and drags him to do the evil that he otherwise disapproves, there are here also, although not too often, some lapses and infidelities among the married.

When a woman has been unfaithful, she is punished and put to shame before the Council of the Elders, and ordered to beg pardon from her husband, while promising him not to be unfaithful again. They also advise the innocent party to forgive and take back his wife, who, in a moment of ill temper or misconduct, or perhaps misled by a rascal, dared to break the promise given on the day of her espousal. But, in spite of the punishment, advice, and exhortation of the Igorotic Sanhedrin, he refuses to go back to his consort, persisting in separating from the unfaithful wife, they accede to his request, in order not to disturb otherwise the tranquility of the tribe and the peace of its families.

Then divorce takes place, which only in this case is allowed, never permitting the consorts to live apart for any other reason whatsoever. The elders gather together in the court-house, and, after having deliberated about the convenience of setting apart that marriage in order to avoid greater evils, they summon the parties and in the presence of the parents and relatives of both, the innocent party presents his complaint to the whole tribe, represented there in the persons of its elders and old men, begging to be allowed to live apart from his unfaithful and adulterous wife and to return to the house of his parents.

The Council then discloses to the parents or related persons of the guilty one her misdemeanor and, as a result, her husband, not willing to cohabit any longer with her, hands her over to them, so that they may keep her in custody and support her with half of the goods which, according to the decision of the Council, have been deemed convenient to be turned over to her for her support and for the support of the children who have been allotted to her.

Repartidos por partes iguales hijos y bienes, permítenles que cada cual torne a la casa paterna, no sin antes advertirles que, cuando con el tiempo se olvide la ofensa, vuelvan a la vida maridable, porque deben saber los dos que aquella separación no les autoriza para tomar otro consorte, mientras la muerte no venga con su guadaña a cortar el vínculo de su matrimonio.

Y así lo observan; si no es que, cediendo a las súplicas y consejos de los parientes o amigos, vuelvan a unirse, ninguno de los dos intenta ligarse con otro segundo vínculo, hasta que se disuelva el primero (págs. 345-346).

Disuelto que haya sido por la muerte el primer vínculo matrimonial, son lícitas a todo igorroto las segundas nupcias; pero ha de tener en cuenta que jamás le será permitido verificarlas con cuñadas (hermanas de la consorte difunta) ni con primas o sobrinas, ya sean afines ya consanguíneas en primero o segundo grado, pudiéndolo hacer con las que lo sean en los grados tercero, cuarto, etc. (pág. 346).

Y, ¿a quién, se pregunta ahora, a quién se debe que igorrotos y salvajes hayan aprendido la unidad e indisolubilidad del matrimonio?

¿A quién ha de agradecer la mujer igorrota que se la tenga en algo y se respete su debilidad, no repudiándola a cada paso según el capricho de un hombre sin corazón y sin amor?

¿Quién, por fin, ha enseñado a que estas tribus miren en la mujer la compañera inseparable del hombre y no su esclava y el juguete de sus pasiones, veleidades y caprichos, como lo es todavía, por desgracia, la mujer de las naciones vecinas? No hay duda que esto se debe al influjo y enseñanzas del misionero que, desde su aparición en estas playas, no ha cesado de inculcar a los indios la santidad del matrimonio y los goces puros que disfrutaban los individuos en el seno del hogar y la familia (pág. 347).

Ya que de costumbres hablamos, debemos hacer mención aquí de una que, arraigada en el corazón de la mayoría de los hombres, no era fácil que el igorroto no practicase, puesto que él es siempre materia apta para seguir con más facilidad lo malo que lo bueno; porque, si todos llevamos dentro de nosotros mismos el germen de esa inclinación perversa que nos inclina al mal desde la niñez, en lenguaje de la

The children and the goods having been divided in equal shares, each one is allowed to go back to his/her father's house, but not without having been admonished that when, with the passing of time, they have forgotten the offense, they ought to resume their marital life, for they should know that by the said separation, they are not authorized to take another consort unless death puts an end to the marriage bond.

And so they do, unless, yielding to the entreaties and advice of their friendly relatives, they start living together again and, in the meantime, neither of the two dares to bind himself with a second bond until the first is dissolved (pp. 345-346).

Once the matrimonial bond has been dissolved by death, it is licit for an Igorot to marry again, but on condition that he bears in mind that he cannot do so with sisters-in-law (sisters of the deceased consort) nor with cousins and nieces to whom he is related in the first or second degree of affinity or consanguinity, being able to do so with those related to him in the third or fourth degree, etc. (p.346)

Let us now ask, from whom did the Igorots and the uncivilized tribes learn the unity and indissolubility of marriage? To whom ought the Igorot woman be thankful for being looked upon as something precious and her weakness given due consideration by not being repudiated according to the whim of a man without a heart and without love?

Who, finally, has taught these tribes to consider the woman as an inseparable partner of the man and not the slave and plaything of his evil inclinations, fickleness, and caprices as unfortunately is the woman of the neighboring nations? This is doubtless due to the influence and teaching of the missionary who, from the moment that he set foot on these shores, has not ceased to inculcate on the natives the sanctity of marriage and the pure joys that the individuals enjoy in the midst of their home and family (p. 347).

Since we are speaking of customs, we ought to mention here one which, being deep-rooted in the hearts of the majority of men, would logically make the Igorot its easy prey, inasmuch as he is prone to follow with a greater facility what is evil rather than what is good. This is because we all carry within ourselves the seed of the perverse tendency that inclines us to evil from childhood, as the Holy Writ says. What evil,

Escritura³; ¿cuál no será la del infeliz igorroto, abandonado a sus propias fuerzas naturales, privado de las luces del cielo y de los auxilios de la gracia?

Por eso la avaricia reina en su corazón; - esa ansia y sed insaciable de riquezas que noche y día tortura al hombre haciéndole saltar no pocas veces por encima de los fueros de la justicia y equidad, ya que en otro tiempo tuvo Dios necesidad de ponerle coto y freno, amenazándole con retirar sus bendiciones en caso de traspasar sus límites -, devora por completo al igorroto (Deut. XXIII, 19-20).

De aquí es que la usura, esa plaga devastadora, lanzada a los cuatro vientos de la tierra por el genio del mal, y que, cual gusano inmundo y roedor gangrena hoy las entrañas de la sociedad, chupando la sangre del pobre y desvalido, es también un principio de justicia conmutativa igorrotoal.

Un caván de arroz prestado, y no devuelto a los dos o tres meses, ha de producir de tres a cuatro cavanos; un manojo de palay, otros tres; un peso o seis reales, dos o tres cavanos de arroz, y así por el estilo; pero siempre en progresión ascendente, si el tiempo pasa y no se salda la deuda.

Mucho de esto se observa también entre los indios, y quizá, quizá estos se lo hayan enseñado a los infieles, cuando en su necesidad se han visto precisados a pedir a los cristianos (pág. 350).

Como consecuencia inmediata de estas vejaciones o injusticias viene la esclavitud más o menos solapada, y que, aunque no se conozca y llame así; pero, en realidad de verdad, es pura esclavonía; porque, no pudiendo los pobres saldar sus cuentas al tiempo convenido, la deuda acrece a medida que el tiempo pasa, y, para cubrirla en algo, se entregan en cuerpo y alma al servicio de sus acreedores, quienes los explotan sin corazón y sin piedad, haciéndoles llevar una vida de bestias, mal mantenidos y peor retribuidos; de suerte que por muchos años que vivan y trabajen, jamás llegarán a amortizar por completo sus deudas (pág. 350).

No se puede negar que la frecuente comunicación de estos salvajes con los pueblos cristianos circunvecinos les va ilustrando, haciéndoles adoptar ciertos usos y costumbres que ellos no conocían en sus bosques. Efecto de este roce y comunicación es el que los igorrotos conozcan ya el numerario y nomenclatura de los cristianos, que ellos jamás supieron lo

³Math., cap. 19, vv. 8-6,9.

therefore, will not happen to the Igorot if he is left to his own natural resources, deprived of the heavenly lights and of the help of grace?

That is why avarice lords over their hearts; that longing and quenchless thirst for richness which tortures man night and day, compelling him to disregard the claims of justice and equity -- in such a way that in bygone times, God felt the need of strictly controlling it by threatening to withdraw his blessings from man in case he dared to go beyond the due limits -- overpowers the Igorot completely (pp. 349-350).¹²

Hence, usury, -- that devastating plague, thrown to the four winds of the earth by the spirit of evil, and which, as an unclean and destructive worm, gangrenes today the entrails of society, sucking the blood of the poor and the helpless -- is also a principle of the Igorotal commutative justice.

A cavan of rice, lent out and not returned after two or three months, produces an interest of three to four cavans; a bundle of *palay*, three other bundles; a Peso or six *reales*, two or three cavans of rice, and so on in this fashion, but always in ascending progression as time passes and the debt is not paid.

Much of this also happens among the natives, and perhaps, the latter may have been teaching it to the infidels when these were compelled in their needs to borrow from the Christians (p. 350).

The immediate consequence of these vexations and injustices is slavery. This evil may be more or less craftily dissimulated or not recognized by such a name. Nevertheless, it is really and verily a true slavery, inasmuch as the poor people, being unable to pay their debts in due time, find themselves helpless as the debt grows. To pay it, at least in part, they place their bodies and souls at the disposal of their creditors, who heartlessly exploit them without commiseration, making them live a beast-like life. They are badly fed and ill-repaid, so that no matter for how many years they live and work, they shall never be able to pay their debts in full (p. 350).

Frequent communication of those uncivilized people with their neighboring Christian towns encourages them to adopt some usages and customs with which they had not been acquainted in their backwardness. A consequence of these dealings and communication is that the Igorots already know the nomenclature and currency of the Chris-

que eran números, ni las pesas y medidas llegaron a la choza del infiel (pág. 353).

A estas ideas, juntamente con la creencia en varios espíritus invisibles, buenos y malos, forjados por el terror y el miedo a los fenómenos y manifestaciones de la naturaleza, pavorosas aquí e imponentes de verdad en ciertas épocas del año, se reduce toda su religión; lo demas . . . borracheras y comilonas, absurdas supersticiones y vanas observancias con las que creen aplacar la cólera del alto y temible *Cabunian*, poniendo también para ello como medianeros e intercesores a los *anitos*? Serán estos los santos tan dignos de veneración que adoran en las corrientes de las aguas, en el sol y la luna, en un montón de piedras, en el tronco de un árbol frondoso o en la serpiente y reptil que se arrastra en la espesura? (págs. 353-354).

Signos y emblemas religiosos, no los conocen, y la imagen de su divino *Cabunian*, la de sus *anitos* y dioses lares jamás la encontraremos ni en sus casas, ni en sus bosques, ni presidirá, como en las otras naciones paganas, los casamientos y funerales, los regocijos y fiestas de la tribu. Por estos contornos nada encontraremos, ni un vestigio siquiera que nos indique la divinidad que adoran.

Para las ridículas y groseras ceremonias de sus vanas observancias, llamadas aquí *aniterias*, no necesitan templos, altares ni aras; celébranlas al aire libre, bajo la espléndida bóveda del cielo.

Sacerdotes, no conocen otros que los embusteros viejos, sempiternos bebedores y charlatanes, quienes con sus brujerías y diabluras embaucan aquellos infelices que les creen en comunicación directa con *Cabunian* y con el espíritu de sus antepasados. Esos viejos son los que offician y presiden siempre, recitando algunas preces, todas sus reuniones, tristes o alegres, siendo ocioso advertir que todos les escuchan con el más profundo recogimiento (págs. 354-355).

Estos infelices, dominados por el espíritu del engaño y las tinieblas, creen en una porción de tonterías difíciles de desarraigar, dada su

tians, when they never knew anything about numbers, weights, or measurements before (p. 351).

Which ideas and religious beliefs, therefore, influenced the practical lives of the Igorots and other uncivilized people? None other than vague and confused notions about the divinity of a Supreme Being and of the immortality of the soul (p. 353).

Their religion, therefore, consisted first in the beliefs in various invisible spirits, both good and bad, compounded with some frightening and awe-inspiring natural phenomena during some seasons of the year. Second, it was a combination of drinking and gluttonous sprees, absurd superstitions, and vain observances, with which they could placate the wrath of the high and formidable *Cabunian*, using the *anitos* as mediators and intercessors. They worship this *Cabunian* in the streams of water, in the sun and in the moon, in a heap of stones, in the trunk of a luxuriant tree, or in the serpent or reptile that crawls in the thicket.

We found no symbols or religious emblems in their huts or forests, not even the images of their divine *Cabunian*, or their *anitos* or tutelary deities. They did not preside over marriages and funerals or the joyful celebrations and feasts of the tribes as in the other pagan nations. Nothing of this shall we find in these nearby places, not even a vestige that shall point out to us the divinity whom they adore.

For the ridiculous and repulsive ceremonies of their vain observances, that here are known by the name of *aniterias*, they do not need temples, altars, or altar-stones, since they hold them in the open and under the splendid vault of heaven.

They do not have priests other than some sly old men, inveterate drinkers and charlatans who, by means of their witchcraft and devilish ways, deceive those unlucky people, who believe them to be in direct communication with *Cabunian* and with the spirits of their ancestors. Those old men are the ones who always officiate at, and preside over all their gatherings, whether merry or sad, by reciting some prayers. And it goes without saying that everybody listens to them in the midst of the deepest recollection (pp. 353-355).

This unlucky people, dominated by the spirit of deceit and darkness, believe in a number of foolish things, which are difficult to

estupidez e ignorancia, juntamente con el poco roce y trato con personas que los puedan instruir. Asi, por ejemplo, además de la frase sacramental y fatalista tan común en Filipinas de *si esta es mi suerte*, reminiscencia de la primitiva dominación mahometana, tienen por días aciagos para ciertos trabajos los lunes; para viajes y empresas los martes; y por de mal agüero el tropezar en el camino, el encontrarse con una culebra, iguana u otro bicho que cruce donde ellos caminan y de que un cuervo se pose sobre el caballete de la casa.

Conocida es en el país la iguana (*Varanus Bivittatus*, Dumer.) reptil que habita los lugares húmedos y orillas de los ríos, inofensivo, pero de aspecto repugnante, como son todos sus congéneres los saurios. Como este reptil anda a menudo al rededor de las casas, roba las gallinas y sube también arriba en busca de comida, ha sido objeto, tanto aquí como en América, donde también abunda, de muchas preocupaciones.

No son pocos los que al ver una iguana en la casa, la abandonan inmediatamente, despojándola de todo, por creer que si continúan viviendo en ella, han de enfermar y ser víctimas de un número de calamidades; sin que por otra parte se les ocurra dar caza al bicho y matarlo, y eso que dicen les gusta mucho su carne, y, sobre todo, los huevos. (pág. 364)

El chacón (*Plaby dactylus guttatus*, Cuv.), otro reptil parecido á los lagartos de España, no tan largo como el anterior, pero sí tan repugnante a la vista, es muy común en Filipinas, y gusta de vivir en los techos de las casas, en los troncos de los árboles viejos y en los escombros y ruinas. Es también inofensivo, pero hace presa con sus uñas aún sobre una lámina bruñida o de cristal. Su canto monótono y acompasado le ha valido el nombre con que generalmente es conocido en el país: consiste en repetir en el silencio de la noche un número dado de veces estas dos sílabas: *toc-có, toc-có*.

Aunque entre los indios se tiene como signo de buen agüero el canto del chacón, creyendo que nunca caerá rayo sobre la casa en que viva y cante el bicho, para los igorotes es, por el contrario, tenido por mal augurio, porque dicen que el canto del chacón indica que en aquella casa ha de morir alguno, cuando pasen tantos años como haya cantado. (p. 365)

eradicate, because of their backwardness and ignorance, and aggravated, besides, by their little contact and communication with persons who may enlighten them. For instance, in addition to time-honored fatalist expression, so fashionable in the Philippines, *if that is my fate* - reminiscent of the erstwhile Muslim domination - they look on Mondays as *[a day of]* bad omen for the performance of certain works, Tuesday for their trips and undertakings, and augur ill if on their way they come upon a snake, an iguana or any other reptile which may have crossed their path, and if a raven comes to perch on the roof-beam of their abodes.

Now in this country, there is found the iguana (*varanus Bivittatus*, Dumer), a reptile that lives in humid places and on the banks of rivers, harmless, but of a repulsive appearance, as are all of its kind, the "isaurios". As this reptile often crawls around the houses, grabs the hens and goes up also in quest of food, it has been the object of many superstitions here as well as in America where it also abounds.

There are not a few who, on seeing the iguana inside the house, abandon it immediately, removing everything from it in the belief that if they continue living therein, they shall fall sick and become a prey to a number of calamities. They do not at all consider going after the reptile and killing it, although, as they say, they find its meat very tasty, specially its eggs (p. 264).

The giant lizard (*Playby dactylus gutlatus*, Cuv.), another reptile, similar to the lizards of Spain, although not as long as the former, but as equally repulsive in its appearance, is very common in the Philippines. It seems to find itself at ease in the ceilings of the houses, in the trunks of old trees, and in the debris and ruins. It is also harmless, but attaches itself with its nails on well-polished metal objects or on glass. Its monotonous and invariable singing has merited it the name by which it is generally known in the country. It consists in repeating in the silence of the night, for a number of times, these two syllables *toc-co*, *toc-co*.

Although the natives take the singing of this lizard as a good omen, believing that the house where this reptile sings, shall never be struck by a bolt, yet among the Igorots, it is looked upon as a bad omen, for they say that the singing of this kind of lizard is a foreboding that somebody shall die after as many years have passed as the number of times that the reptile has sung (p.365).¹³

⁹Some data are found here about the beginnings of the present town of Pozorrubio, as reported by Father Mariano Rodríguez: "The infidels of Balasbas, who so affectionately had welcomed Father Torres into their rustic huts . . . were at that time (i.e., 1830) an ever-present nightmare to the Christians of the lowlands, whom they vexed in a thousand ways. They were a people without any other law than the lance they held in their hands, and the *talibong* hanging from their waist, giving themselves to pillaging, contraband, and to the stealing of as many animals as were pasturing in the fertile plains of Claris and its vicinity, thus being a constant nuisance to their peaceful inhabitants, as the latter bore witness to, in a respectful and well-reasoned out report which, in 1865, they addressed to the Superior government of the Islands, asking for the raising of their barrio into a town, independent from San Jacinto, its municipality . . .

The town of Claris having been erected in 1869 with its present name of Pozorrubio, and its clusters of huts having been relocated from the low and easily-flooded terrain where it had been located before, to that where it now stands on an elevated and open place . . . the infidels of Balasbas and others who had been roaming either in the sloping ground or near the stream or creek . . . began the withdraw, some towards the interior of the mountains, while others migrated to Benguet, Ilocos, and Lepanto (pp. 266-267).

¹⁰Job, XXXIX, 3.

¹¹The Passion is a book written in free verse, very instructive, in which the whole history of Religion is given, from the Creation until the establishment of the Church. It is translated into most of the Filipino dialects, and the natives take pleasure in singing it lying down, as a rule, on a mat, in a very lugubrious and monotonous tune during the nights of Lent" (p. 341).

¹²Deut., XXIII, 19-20.

¹³Although it does not fall within our scope, we cannot resist the temptation of jotting down here, for the benefit of our readers, some similarities that formerly existed among the pagan tribes of northern Luzon and the aborigines of northern Formosa (Taiwan) - both are supposed to descend from the same racial stock - as found in a *Report*, signed by Father Juan de los Angeles, an erstwhile missionary of Formosa, and addressed to the King of Spain.

"The governance of these Indians is very peculiar, inasmuch as they do not have a common government, for each family head is the "governor" within his house, without anyone being permitted to give orders to him, whether he be a judge or a superior, and in spite of this, they live very peacefully among themselves."

It is a different matter when warring against strangers, for then they gather together and talk matters over; yet about this they rely more on vain observances and superstitions by listening to birds which sing in such and such a manner, and from it they conclude whether they shall go on with the war or not, or whether they will undertake such and such a journey; and if such birds go along with them or follow the opposite direction, and this reason is enough to make them desist from continuing their trip even if they have started their journey."

They have countless superstitions, in some provinces more than in others. In Cabaran (northern Formosa), they barely undertake anything without asking the devil whether it is forbidden to proceed with it or not. The Catholic faith does away with all this.

"They are inimical to stealing and unchaste actions; and among the majority of them, i.e., the people, these are so abominable, even in the midst of their heathenism, that, if they

know that an illegitimate child has been born, they kill him, and rigorously punish the one who has been the cause of such a disorder."

"Another very peculiar thing was found among the said Indians, and it is that they did not have in their heathenism idolatries or any cult but only some vain superstitions (as I have already stated about the birds, and others), and these are followed by all as to imply a real cult but are mixed with a thousand imperfections and performed in some other different way in honor of their "berroas", as these are called by them, or to the devil. This is done in such a manner that whenever they eat or drink of the wine, they pour some drops on the side as they start to open the jar.

The same day do when they start eating some grains of rice, casting a few on the side, and they call this "tumuban" or "mianach."

"The witches are not like those of the natives of these Islands (i.e., the Philippines) which kill, harm, etc., but similar to those of Spain, which fly and go from place to place (Cfr. "Relación breve de lo que pertenece a la provincia del Santo Rosario, etc." by Fr. Juan de los Angeles, MS in the Archives of the University of Santo Tomas - typewritten copy in *Relaciones Dominicanas*, I, pp. 24-49. The original can be seen in the Library of the University of Santo Tomas, Section of Microfilms," Roll 74, Vol. 9, Fols. 220-238).