

CAPITULO 5*

DEL SITIO, CALIDADES Y TEMPLE DE ESTAS ISLAS DE BISAYAS

Dicho lo que sabemos del origen, talle y nombre de los bisayas, antes de pasar a tratar de sus costumbres en general y en particular, y de la policía, artes o ciencias que sabían, de que en los libros 3 y 4 (escribí) largamente, quiero tratar primero del sitio, temple y fertilidad de estas Islas, pues tanto influyen, como nos muestra la experiencia, en las calidades, inclinaciones y afectos del ánimo, cuanto en las fuerzas, salud, enfermedades y achaques del cuerpo, en influjo de los astros, el temperamento o calidades de los vientos, y el sitio, asiento y disposición de los suelos; que de todo esto dependemos todos, así para la producción como para la conservación y disposiciones del cuerpo y ánimo.

Y, aunque de cada isla de por sí trataremos en particular en la Segunda Parte, poniendo su situación, grados del norte, latitud y longitud, con su mapa y lo demás que tuviere propio y singular; hablando primero en general digo que estas islas de Bisayas, las mayores son seis: la de Ibabao y Samar, que es la primera hacia el Oriente, y como tal es la primera tierra que comúnmente se descubre de los que vienen de la Nueva España en busca del célebre cabo del Espíritu Santo que está en esta isla, y se llama así por los primeros descubridores de él (que fué en el día de Pascua de Espíritu Santo, cuando le reconocieron), que en la lengua de los indios se llama *Magsasanga*, que quiere decir "que hecha ramas,"

* Alcina, *Historia*, Part I, Book 1.

CHAPTER FIVE
CONCERNING THE [GEOGRAPHICAL] LOCATION,
THE QUALITY AND THE CLIMATE
OF THESE BISAYAN ISLANDS

Now, that we have said all that we know about the origin, the physical characteristics and the name of the Bisayans, and before we proceed to write about their customs in general and in particular, — that is, about their social life, the arts and sciences they knew and which I will treat extensively in Books Three and Four — I wish to treat here first the geographical, the climatic conditions and the luxuriance of these islands. For these, as experience shows us, influence very greatly the temperament, inclinations and passions of the soul, as well as the strength, the health, the illnesses and ailments of the body. These also influence the stars, the temper or character of the winds, the location, the stability and quality of the soil. All depend upon these things for the growth, the preservation and dispositions of body and soul.

Although we shall speak about each island separately in Part Two, pointing out its location, the degrees to the North, the latitude and longitude, the geography and all the rest that may pertain to each individually. Speaking first in a general way, I must state that among these Bisayan Islands there are six large ones. Ibabao or Samar is the first one, situated on the eastern side and as such, it is the first one sighted when sailing from *Nueva España* in quest of the famous *Cabo del Espiritu Santo*. It was named thus by the early explorers, since it was discovered on the Feast of the Holy Spirit. In the language of these *Indios*, it is called *magsasanga* and means 'split into branches'; that is, a high moun-

porque un alto monte que está en dicho cabo hace dos como ramas, por dividirse de medio por arriba en dos picachos, o cerrillos, casi iguales.

Corre lo más largo de esta isla hacia el Sur, aunque no línea recta; y en la parte austral está la punta de Guiuan, que tiene un pueblo de los mayores de ella; y la dicha punta hace embocadero con la isla de Mindanao (que es por donde embocaron los primeros descubridores cuando vino *Magallanes* en busca de la isla de Ternate). Por la otra punta o cabo boreal, que confina con la isla de Manila, está embocadero ordinario en doce grados, por donde comúnmente embocan las naos que vienen de Acapulco, y se llama el embocadero de San Bernardino; por haber puesto este nombre los primeros descubridores a un islote pequeño que está casi en medio de dicho embocadero. Llámánle los indios *tagbalaran*.

Síguese detrás de esta isla de Ibabao la que llaman de Leyte. Pusiéronle este nombre los primeros descubridores, porque toparon con unos indios de un río que sale a la mar cerca de una punta llamada *Pogot*, el cual río se llamaba y se llama *Yraete*, y de aquí, corrompido el nombre, la llamaron Leyte, aunque no es este ni fue su propio nombre (como veremos cuando tratemos en especial de esta isla), la cual hace por la parte que mira al Oriente un estrecho, que lo es y no poco, y le llaman los españoles de San Juanillo; nombre que le dejó un pequeño galeoncete que por allí coló viniendo de Nueva España (y fué el primero que se sabe pasase por allí), que entre los naturales se llama *Sangpuetan*, porque había allí un pueblo antiguamente llamado así.

Esta dos Islas son las mayores de las Bisayas, que, con la de Bohol que se sigue inmediatamente entre estas de Leyte y Cebu, han sido y son asiento de los Padres de la Compañía, a cuyo cuidado ha estado siempre su institución en la fe y buenas costumbres, sin haber tenido otros ministros del Evangelio.

A la isla de Leyte se sigue la de Zibú o Sugbú (que es su propio nombre), que casi corren parejas por la parte del Poniente, y están careándose ambas islas desde la punta de Pogot de dicha isla, y la punta de *Bululaque* (que así llaman los españoles a la más oriental de dicha isla, corrompido el nombre bisaya en que se llamaba *Bulilacu* (nombre muy torpe en su lengua). Hacen

tain which stands close to the said cape fans out or divides itself into two branches or low peaks, both of about the same height.

The greatest extension of this island is toward the south, but not in a direct line. On the southern end is situated the promontory of Giwan, on which stands one of the largest towns of the island. This promontory forms a strait with the Island of Mindanao, through which the early explorers passed when Magellan arrived in search of the Island of Terrenate. At the northern tip of the island, which faces the Island of Manila, there is the commonly used channel situated at twelve degrees, which the ships from Acapulco take and which is called the San Bernardino Straits. This name was given by the first explorers to a small, barren islet located in the middle of this said strait. This is called *tagbaloran* by the *Indios*.

Near this Island of Ibabao [i.e. Samar], there is another called Leyte. The first explorers called it by this name because they met some natives at a river which empties into the sea near a point called *Pogot*. This river was, and still is, called *Yraete*, but they corrupted the name and called it *Leyte*. This, however, is not nor was its real name, as we shall see when we take up this island in greater detail. Its eastern side forms a strait, rather narrow, called by the Spaniards San Juanillo. It received this name from a small *galeoncete* which passed through on its way from *Nueva España* (this, as far as it is known, was the very first one to pass through it) and called *Sangpuetan* by the natives, because in ancient times there was there a town by that name.

These two islands are the largest among those in the Bisayas and which, together with that of Bohol — it is situated between Leyte and Cebu — have been and still are the missionary areas of the Fathers of the Society [of Jesus]. It is they who are responsible for the Faith and the promotion of good morals, since these [islands] have never had any other ministers of the Gospel.

Not far from the Island of Leyte, is situated the Island of Cebu or Sugbu (which is its proper name) running almost parallel on its western side. Both islands face each other from the Pogot Point of the said island and that of Bululaque Point (for this is how the Spaniards called the easternmost part of the said island and thus corrupting the Bisayan term *Bulilacu* — a very vile word

canal ambas Islas, de dos leguas o tres de ancho, aunque tienen en medio otras islas menores e inhabitadas, excepto la isla de *Poró* que cae en frente de la isla de Leyte y una punta que llaman *Quiunt*. Esta palabra *Poró* quiere decir "isla" en lengua bisaya, y, aunque es nombre general, lo es particular de dicha isla, que tiene otras dos casi pegadas y se llaman la una *Posong* y la otra *Danao*. Es doctrina también de los Padres de la Compañía.

La isla de Bohol cae entre la de Leyte y la de Cebu, casi al Sur entre las puntas de Talisay, que está en la Isla de Cebu y *Manhilo* en la de Leyte, con casi igual distancia de una que de otra; que será como de dos leguas a tres, aunque en la parte que mira a ésta tiene cuatro o cinco islotes pequeños y despoblados, y a la de Cebu uno mayor que se llama *Panglao* que tiene gente, iglesia y pueblo aparte, aunque tan cerca de la isla de Bohol por la parte de Baclayon, que en bajamar grande se puede pasar a pie por quedar casi seco el paso, y en este paraje, arrimado a la Isla dicha de *Panglao* estuvo el pueblo mayor que en su antigüedad tuvieron los boholanos fundado en la mar; que lo destruyeron los terrenates, sus enemigos antiguos, como en su lugar diremos.

Síguese a la isla de Cebu la que llaman los españoles de Negros (por haberlos, y muchos, en lo mediterráneo de aquella isla, tan atezados como los de Angola, aunque son mejor faccionados). Lo marítimo de esta isla, que llaman los indios *Siparay*, está poblado o fundado por los indios bisayas, que son los advenedizos en ella. Hacen estas dos islas de Cebu y de Negros un estrecho que llaman *Tanay*, muy peligroso por las grandes corrientes que, por serlo tanto, corren con violencia peligrosa. De los pueblos que doctrina la Compañía en esta isla trataremos en su lugar, y de lo demás tocante a ella.

Más hacia el Norte cae la isla de *Panay*, que es casi triangular; y se llama así la parte que mira al Norte; de *Oton*, la que mira hacia la oriental; y de *Antique*, la austral. Fué lo de Panay primera habitación de los españoles que de la isla de Cebu se pasaron los más a ella, por ser más fértil y abundante de arroz en especial (que es otra Sicilia en el trigo). Está lo más de ella, en lo espiritual, doctrinado por los Padres de San Agustín, que,

in that language. There is a strait between the islands two or three leagues in width, with some small islands strewn about it and none of them inhabited except the Island of Poro, which faces the Island of Leyte at a promontory called *Quinut*. This word *poro* means 'an islet' in the Bisayan tongue; although it is a general term, it is a particular name of this islet. Near it, there are also two other islands: one is called *Posong* and the other *Danao*. This is also a *doctrina* of the Fathers of the Society.

The Island of Bohol lies between Leyte and Cebu, almost to the south between the Points of *Talisay*, which is on the Island of Cebu and *Manhilo* which is found on Leyte and lies an almost equal distance between the two, approximately two or three leagues. On the side that faces Leyte, there are four or five small uninhabited islets; on that facing Cebu, there is a larger one which is called *Panglao* and is inhabited having its own church and town. It is, however, so close to the Island of Bohol on the side of *Bac-layon* that when the tide is very low, one can walk across on foot, for the entire area almost becomes dry. In this place, close to the said Island of *Panglao* once stood the largest town which the Boholanos had in ancient times, founded on the sea. It was destroyed by their enemies of old, the Terrenates, as we shall speak about in its proper place.

On the other side of the Island of Cebu, there is one which the Spaniards call *Negros*, because many of the inhabitants of the interior of that island are as black as those of Angola, although better looking. The coastal regions of the island, which the *Indios* call *Siparay*, are inhabited or settled by the Bisayans who immigrated there. These two islands of Cebu and Negros form a strait called *Tanay*, which is very perilous due to the strong currents which course with dangerous violence. About the towns which the Society administers, the *doctrinas* it has and all the rest concerning it, we will treat in its own place.

Further on towards the north, is located the Island of *Panay* which is almost triangular in shape. *Oton* is the name of the eastern side, while the southern portion bears the name of *Antique*. Panay Island was the first landing place of the Spaniards, who crossed over from the Island of Cebu, because it is more fertile and has a greater abundance of rice (it is like another Sicily with all its wheat). The greater part of the island is under the

como los primeros ministros evangélicos de estas Islas, lo han sido siempre en todo, teniendo grandes lenguas, fervorosos ministros y muy santos religiosos. Lo que en ella tiene la Compañía veremos en su lugar, que tratemos de ella en lo de *Oton*. Es esta isla la tercera en magnitud de las que son habitadas de los bisayas, y en su fertilidad la primera, como veremos.

De la parte de la isla de Mindanao, donde tenemos la residencia de *Dapitan* y estuvo antes lo de *Iligan* y lo de *Zamboangan*, que se retiró poco ha, (no sé con qué acierto), y está lo de *Butuan*, doctrina antes de la Compañía de Jesús (que hoy lo es de los Padres Agustinos descalzos con todo lo de *Caraga*, en que han trabajado y padecido mucho, con el espíritu y celo que tan santos religiosos profesan y usan, y es todo de lengua bisaya), trataremos en especial después en lo que se ofreciere en particular, como también de la parte de la isla de Manila y la Oriental de ella que confina con lo de Ibabao y se llama de Camarines que también son bisayas y hablan lengua bisaya, aunque muy alterado con la tagala, y tanto que parece tercera lengua, que ni es tagala ni bisaya (excepto lo más cercano a Ibabao que es lo de *Bulusan* hacia Albay por un lado y hacia lo de Sorsogon por otro), que hablan más puro bisaya y más conforme a los demás.

Entre la isla de Manila y la de Ibabao y Samar está la de *Capul*, casi en medio de la canal de ambas islas, que llaman embocadero, y tendrá sus cuatro leguas de ancho bien hechas. Esta isla de *Capul* o *Abac*, que estos dos nombres tiene, y su gente aunque es hoy bisaya y trata y vive con los demás de esta nación y habla la lengua bisaya, tiene otra lengua muy distinta, que la conservan entre sí, y tan diferente que ningún bisaya de los de otras partes (ni los demás que sabemos la lengua bisaya) los entendemos palabra, pues son todas distintas en el ser y en la pronunciación; de que se saca con evidencia tener diferente origen, aunque dicen se entienden con los camucones (nación bárbara, desdichada, vilísima, de que trataremos cuando de los enemigos

spiritual jurisdiction of the Fathers of Saint Augustine. They have been the first ministers of the Gospel in these Islands; in fact, they have taken the lead in everything: they have outstanding linguists, dedicated ministers and very holy religious. We will learn what the Society [of Jesus] has on this island when we speak about it in connection with Oton. This island is the third largest among those inhabited by the Bisayans and the first in fertility, as we shall see.

We shall treat afterwards in a more detailed manner, after having discussed the pertinent matters, about that portion of the *Island of Mindanao* (where we have the residence of *Dapitan*, and prior to this that of *Iligan* and *Zamboanga*, which was relinquished a short time ago — whether reasonably or not, I do not know). There is also *Butuan*, formerly a mission of the Society of Jesus, and today it belongs to the Discalced Fathers of Saint Augustine, with the entire region of *Caraga*. There they have laboured and suffered much and with a spirit and a zeal with which only such holy religious can manifest and demonstrate. All employ the Bisayan language here. We shall also treat the *Island of Manila* and its southern portion, close to Ibabao and which is called *Camarines*, since they are also Bisayans and speak the Bisayan language, although greatly mixed with Tagalog. And this to such an extent, that it seems like another language, which is neither Tagalog nor Bisayan (except the area closer to Ibabao, called *Bulusan*, towards *Albay* at one extreme and *Sorsogon* on the other. Here, they speak a purer Bisayan and one much closer to it).

Between the Islands of Manila and Ibabao or Samar is found the Islet of *Capul*, lying almost in the middle of the strait between these islands. They call it an *embocadero* and it is about four leagues in width and well formed. This Islet of Capul or *Abac* (it is known by these two names), whose population is now Bisayan and who deal and live with the rest of this ethnic group and speak the Bisayan language, also speak another language very different which they use among themselves. It is so different that no Bisayan, from another region (nor the rest of us who know the Bisayan language) can understand a word of it, for it is so different in structure and pronunciation. We may conclude from this that these people have a different origin. Some of these people say that they can understand the *Camucones* (a barbarous nation, a wretched and most despicable people about whom we will

que infestan estas islas), y sería mucho ser oriundos de aquéllos éstos de Capul, por lo dicho de la lengua y parecérselos mucho en el color y facciones del cuerpo y ser de menor estatura comúnmente que el resto de los bisayas, que son más blancos y más corpulentos.

Cerca de Capul hacia el Poniente están las Islas de Ticao, Burias y Masbate, Tagapolan, Camandag, Limbanawayan, Talaheb, Libocan, Maripipi y otras también de Bisayas. Estuvieron un tiempo (como también parte de la costa de la isla de Manila, llamada *Bondoc*, que son bisayas) sujetos a los Padres de la Compañía. Dejéronse ya por falta de obreros, ya por la distancia y peligrosas corrientes, que son muy grandes, ya por haberse acabado en algunas los indios por invasiones continuas de los enemigos, y agregados los pocos que quedaban a los pueblos de las mayores Islas; que están casi todas las dichas islas, o con muy poca gente o con ninguna algunas. En la de Masbate, que es la mayor de las ya aquí referidas, hay un pueblecito mediano, con una visita pequeña, como lo es lo de Burias, también de dicho Masbate; dudo que lleguen los indios que acuden a la iglesia a doscientos tributos por todos en ambas islas (dicen hay muchos más alzados en los montes), y a ciento, poco más o menos los de la isla de Maripipi; que unos y otros están a cargo de sacerdotes seculares, y no es poca dicha hallar quien se quiera encargar de ellos, por estar tan expuestos a las correrías que hacen por allí ordinariamente los enemigos, que ya algunos de los curas han dado en sus manos y sido cautivos y otros muertos.

Hacia el Oriente, muy cerca de la misma isla de Capul, está la isla de *Biri*, adyacente al ministerio de *Catarman* y *Bobon*, a cargo de los Padres de la Compañía. Es esta isla la centinela de las naos de Castilla, por estar en el paso forzoso para el embocadero. Tiene ya muy poca gente, que el enemigo camucon se los ha ido llevando poco a poco; y, aunque son bisayas y hablan la lengua bisaya, tienen otra lengua distinta que hablan entre sí, y distinta también de la de Capul, con estar muy cerca una de otra; con que se comprueba más la diferencia y sus principios.

speak when we will treat the enemies who harass these islands). It is very probable that the people of Capul may trace their origin to them. The reason is due to the similarity of language, color, physiognomy and because they are similar in stature than the rest of the Bisayans are; the latter are fairer in complexion and more corpulent.

Nearer the Island of Capul and toward the west are found the Islands of *Ticao*, *Burias*, *Masbate*, *Tagapolan*, *Camandag*, *Limbancawayan*, *Talaheb*, *Libucan*, *Maripipi* and others in the Bisayan group. At one time (as part of the coast of the Island of Manila, called *Bondoc*, which are Bisayans) they were administered by the Fathers of the Society. But they were given-up due to the lack of personnel and also because of the distance and the dangerous currents; also because on some islands no more natives were found due to the continuous assaults of the enemies. The few people that were left on these, moved into the towns of the larger islands. As a result, almost all the said islands have very few people left and some of them with none at all. On the Island of *Masbate* which is one of the largest islands among those mentioned, there is an average town with a small *visita* similar to that of *Burias Island*, also belonging to *Masbate*. I doubt if the *Indio* population attending church on both islands reaches the number of two hundred tributes all together (it is said that many of these have fled to the mountains), and about one hundred from the Island of *Maripipi*. The former and the latter are under the jurisdiction of the secular priests; it is no small fortune to find someone willing to take care of them, since they are so exposed to the raids which the enemies make there so frequently. Already some priests have fallen into their hands and were made captives, while others have been killed.

Likewise, toward the east and very near the Island of Capul, is found the *Island of Biri*, adjoined to the ministry of *Catarman* and *Bobon* and under the jurisdiction of the Fathers of the Society. This island is like a sentry point for the galleons of Castile, because they must pass it when entering the strait. It has few people because the *Camucon* enemy has been carrying them off little by little. Even though they are Bisayans and speak the Bisayan language, they also have a different language that they speak among themselves and one which is also very different from that of Capul — notwithstanding the fact that they are so near to each other. Again, this is an indication of still another type or origin.

No lejos de Biri, hacia el Norte, está la isla pequeña que llaman San Bernardino los Españoles, y los bisayas *Tagbaloran*, a que hacen salva con pieza de artillería al entrar y salir las naos por el embocadero, como dijimos.

Después de ella están la isla o islas de *Catanduanes*, escollos fatales para muchas naos que vienen de Nueva España, que en ellas dejan sus huesos y sus haciendas los pasajeros, y lo que más es las vidas miserablemente; que en eso tarde que temprano paran los que nunca arrepentidos, siempre sí obstinados, se fían de mar y sus reveses; que con el menor hace astillas el mayor galeón que de él confía y en su inconstancia fía.

Otras muchas islas pequeñas hay en este con medio y entre la isla de Mindanao y sus fronteras. Desde la punta de Guiuan o Solohan está *Camiguin*, que es una de ellas, de que se dirá algo, si tuvieren cosa digna de particular advertencia o noticia; que los islotes y peñas que están en medio de las canales de las islas mayores, ya cerca ya lejos más o menos unos de otros, son sin número y cosa prolija el contarlos; sin los que se ven solamente en las bajamares, quedando encubiertos en las crecientes de ellas que hacen notablemente peligrosas las navegaciones, idas y venidas entre ellos, y mucho más cuanto los navíos son mayores; y a la causa ha habido y hay muy frecuentes naufragios y pérdidas, aun de los menores y que cada día los cursan, y que cada día se pierden en los bajos y arrecifes, por ser tantos.

Todas estas islas mayores y menores, que son las habitadas de los indios bisayas y, cuando no, frecuentadas por ellos, por estar cerca de las habitadas; y pescan, cazan, buscan cera, algalia, tal vez ámbar, cuando lo encuentran acaso, y otras muchas cosas. Están en graduación de catorce hasta nueve grados, poco más o menos, Norte-Sur; pues tantos hay desde los montes de Bulusan, que son bien altos y grandes (que, como dijimos, están a la parte oriental de la isla de Manila, y hacen embocadero con la de Ibabao) hasta Calagan, y hasta el cabo de San Agustín, que es el más oriental de la isla de Mindanao, y el que sale más a

Not far from Biri Island, toward the north, there is a small islet called *San Bernardino* by the Spaniards, and *Tagbaloran* by the Bisayans. On this island a salvo is fired whenever the galleons enter or leave the *embocadero*, as we have said.

Beyond all these, we find the island or islands of *Catanduanes*, the vicinity of which has proven to be a fatal trap for many ships coming from Nueva España. It is here that the passengers are made to leave their bones and their fortunes, while others end up living miserable lives. This is the way, sooner or later, that many end up who never learn from experience, choose to remain obstinate in trusting the sea and taking risks. They forget that the smallest risk at sea smashes to pieces the greatest of galleons, if they put trust in it or confide in its inconstancy.

There are many other small islands in this central portion and between the Island of Mindanao and its boundaries. Beyond the promontory of Giwan or *Solohan* is found the Island of *Cami-guin*, which is one of the many islands and about which something will be said, if there is anything worthy of special attention. For the barren islets and rocks which are found in the midst of the channels between the larger islands, whether close or at some distance, are too numerous and it would be an endless matter in trying to count them all. And that excludes those which are visible only at low tide and submerged at high tide. These make navigation very dangerous and especially for the larger ships since they must resort to weaving in and out among these obstacles. As a result of this there have been, and there still are, many shipwrecks and losses of small vessels which are crossing daily and get lost everyday in the numerous shallows and reefs.

All these islands, the larger ones and the smaller ones are inhabited by the Bisayan *Indios*. Those that are not populated, are visited by them since these are so near to the inhabited ones. There they fish, hunt, search for wax, civet, and maybe amber if, perchance, they are able to find it, and many other items. These lie between fourteen and nine degrees, more or less, from north to south; for this is the distance from the mountains of *Bulusan*, which are very high and large, (these, as we have said, are on the eastern part of the Island of Manila and form a mouth of the channel with that of *Ibabao*) and *Calagan* and even still further to the Cape of San Agustín. This is the most easterly part of the Island of Mindanao and the one which juts out farthest into the

encontrarse con los mares que acá llamamos de Castilla (por venirse por ellos desde Acapulco, puerto de la Nueva España); que tal vez reconocen la primera, aunque de lejos, los que de allá vienen, como sucedió el año de 1632, cuando yo vine a estas Islas.

Al dicho cabo de San Agustín ponen algunos siete grados, poco más o menos, de la línea, y otros tantos de Terrenate, por donde ella pasa, sirviendo de zénit a las islas Malucas y del clavo (que tanto ardor como éste era menester para influirles el fuego que en sí contiene dicha droga).

Casi la misma distancia hay, o poco más, desde el Oriente de la isla de Ibabao hasta el Poniente de la de Panay que es la última por este orden, y donde fenecen las que llamamos de Bisayas, o hasta donde hay cristianos de esta nación.

Y, aunque de la dicha altura y grande vecindad de la línea o zona tórrida se colige lo mucho que participarán todas ellas de su calor (y que algunos de los antiguos juzgaron tan insufrible que las tuvieron por inhabitables) con todo la experiencia muestra que lo son, y más templadas, pues (como después veremos más en particular) no es el calor tanto que impida su habitación; antes, en algunas partes es muy templado, y como de una continua primavera; porque es tanta la abundancia de lluvias (además de los muchos ríos y fuentes y lagunas de que abundan en gran cantidad estas islas y las dan la calidad de muy húmedas) que templan mucho el calor; ayudando también la variedad de los vientos que las bañan, y corren comúnmente por ellas; pues, cuando todos faltan, que es rara vez, sóbranla marea o vientos del mar que suelen levantarse poco más tarde que el sol para entibiar el calor, que de otra manera es cierto fuera grande, como lo es cuando no hay viento.

De tanta humedad como tienen estas islas, asistida y fecundada (por no decir empollada) de los rayos del sol, como allá dijo la Sagrada Escritura del divino Espíritu, que *fovebat aquas* o *incubabat* (que de todas estas maneras se lee en dicho lugar) nace la fecundidad grande de estas islas y su verdor continuo; pues, además de estar todos los montes, llanos y vegas siempre verdes como unas albacas, siempre vistosos y viciosos, es cosa de maravillar que aun las peñas que están en medio del mar y los islotes que ellos forman, están en continuo verdor, aun hasta dentro del agua del mar

sea and which we call here *de Castilla* (because by way of it they come from Acapulco, a port of Nueva España). It is also the first one that is sighted, although from a distance, by those who sail from there, as it happened in the year 1632, when I arrived to these Islands.

This Cape of San Agustín is approximately seven degrees from the equator and as many degrees from Terrenate, where the equator passes serving as zenith to the Moluccan and Spice Islands (for this amount of heat was necessary to the infuse in them the fire contained in this drug).

It is almost the same distance, or a bit more, from the eastern part of the Island of Ibabao to the western part of Panay which is the last island to be considered in this group. Herein ends the territory which we call the Bisayas or up to the point where there are Christians of this regional group.

Despite the latitude and the great proximity of the equator or the torrid zone, it might be inferred that all these islands would share its heat (which some of the ancients believed to be so unbearable as to consider them uninhabitable); nonetheless, all our experience shows that they are suitable for settlement and even temperate. For as we shall see later in detail, the heat is not so intense that it prevents habitation. On the other hand, the climate is very mild, and like a perpetual springtime. There is a great amount of rain (in addition to the many rivers, water-falls, lakes which abound in great numbers in these islands thereby making them greatly humid) which temper the heat to a great extent. Then too, there is the variety of winds which refresh and gently blow over them. And when all these seem to be lacking, which seldom happens, the breeze and the winds which come from the sea after sunrise, greatly contribute to modify the heat. Otherwise, this would be unbearable, as it happens when there are no winds.

The intense humidity of these islands is intensified and stimulated (not to say generated) by the rays of the sun. As the Sacred Scriptures stated concerning the Divine Spirit: *forebat aquas o incubabat o fecundabat* (for in this place, it may be stated in such a way). The luxuriance of these islands is tremendous with its never-ending verdure. Because, aside from the mountains, the plains and the lowlands being always as green as basil, always beautiful and luxuriant, it is even more fascinating to see that even the rocks in the middle of the sea, and the rocky islets that they form, are also verdant. Even on the seashore there are trees

por ser árboles que allí produce la naturaleza que se crían y conservan con el agua salada que a los de otras especies suele matar; y se verán (como yo he visto muchas veces) a orilla del mar, de los ríos donde llega el agua salada, los troncos y raíces (que todos los árboles de esta tierra las tienen muy someras) comidos de broma y taladrados de ella (efecto de lo salobre del agua), y las ramas y hojas arriba tan verdes como si estuvieran en un jardín, y tan cargados de las frutas, que ellos suelen tener, como si estuvieran muy atendidos y cultivados del más cuidadoso hortelano; maravillas todas que mueven a los que tantas veces lo vemos, a que demos continuas alabanzas a Dios, obrador nada escaso de estas y otras muchas que veremos en el discurso de esta *Historia*.

De todo lo dicho se colige cuán cálido y húmedo es este clima, y, por consiguiente, como con dos principios de corrupción, tan esenciales, siendo intensos (como lo son acá) cuán expuesto estará a dolencias, achaques y enfermedades, que no se puede negar ser muchas las que nacen de estos principios, de que trataremos en otro lugar, y de las que acá corren y acaban en breve a muchos de los europeos, y que, dejándose llevar de la fogosidad española, cuidan poco de dar resguardo a sus afectos, siendo estas islas forzosa sepultura de muchos de ellos; y, digo forzosa, porque con sus excesos y poca atención a su conservación, llaman, dan ocasión y casi obligan a los tabardillos, calenturas malignas, cámaras, beriberes, bubas y mal de San Lázaro, y otro ejército de ellos, a que los derriban en las camas y echan a las sepulturas, como de hecho mueren muchísimos, hasta que toman el tiento a la tierra y su temple, que es tan tarde que pocos son los que lo alcanzan; de donde es notada esta tierra como fatal sepultura de los españoles y como red barredera de la muerte; pero, no tiene toda la culpa ella (aunque no está muy libre) sino ellos por su poca providencia y atención; con que vienen a dar en pocos años y aun meses, fin a sus vidas, malogro a sus años y mucho menoscabo a la nación española que tan necesaria es para la conservación y aumento de estas islas en lo temporal y espiritual.

Utinam (séanos lícito exclamar aquí con el Espíritu Santo, aplicando a este intento aquellas palabras) *saperent et intelligerent*, que con esto *et novissima providerent*.

which nature produces and which thrive in salty water and which ordinarily kills other species. One can see, as I have seen many times on the seashore and on river-banks where the salty water reaches the trunks and roots (here in the islands all the trees have very shallow roots) how these are eroded or eaten up by the barnacles which bore holes in them (the effect of salt water). And yet, the branches and leaves on their tops are as green as if they were planted in a garden. They are also so laden with fruits, as if they were well taken care and cultivated by the most expert gardener. All of these marvels impel all of us as often as we see them, to give constant praise to God, Who produces these and many other wonders which we shall see in the development of this history.

And so, from what is being said, one may infer how hot and humid this climate is. As a consequence, with two such sources of corruption so essential as they are here, we can realize how susceptible one may be to diseases, chronic ills and sickness. It cannot be denied that those which have their origins in those two sources are many. About these illnesses, we shall speak elsewhere, as well as those which are endemic here and bring about quick death to many Europeans. For they allow themselves to be carried by their Spanish temper and fail to take some precautions in protecting themselves from their effects. As a result, these islands become the inescapable grave of many of them; I say 'inescapable' because of their excesses and little concern about their physical wellbeing, they pave the way to severe and malignant fevers, dysentery, beriberi, syphilitic tumors, leprosy and numerous other maladies which force them to bed and carry them off to their graves. In fact, many die unless they become accustomed to the land and its climate. All this happens and takes place so slowly that not too many are able to adjust. Due to these circumstances, this country is known as the fatal burial place of Spaniards and a dragnet of death. However, the land is not altogether at fault (yet not always free from all blame), but the Spaniards, through their lack of foresight and cautiousness bring about an end to their lives in a few years or even months. This is really a waste of lives and a loss to the Spanish nation which is so necessary for the preservation and development of these islands, both temporally and spiritually. "Utinam," let us be allowed to exclaim here with the Holy Spirit, applying to this purpose those words, "saperent et intelligerent," so that as a result 'ac novissima providerent."

Alcina's Historia de las Islas e Indios de Bisayas: 1668. The Pre-Hispanic Bisayans of Central Philippines: Geographical Description of the Bisayan Islands and their Mode of Life in Towns

LIBRO CUARTO

DE SU MODO DE VIVIR, EN COMUN Y PARTICULAR; SI TUVIERON POBLACIONES Y PUEBLOS, Y CUALES; SI REYES, Y POR QUE NO LOS TUVIERON; DE SUS COSTUMBRES, LEYES O 'USAGES', QUE LLAMAMOS; DE SUS GUERRAS; MODO DE HACER ESCLAVOS Y DE CASTIGAR DELITOS, Y OTRAS COSTUMBRES PARTICULARES SUYAS; SI TUVIERON, O HUBO, EN ESTAS ISLAS GIGANTES, O SI HUBO PIGMEOS Y OTROS MONSTRUOS, etc.

Daremos fin con este Cuarto Libro a esta Primera Parte, y en él a las cosas más notables de nuestros bisayas tocantes a su modo de vivir en común y en particular; de sus poblaciones y casas que, aunque ya hemos dicho algo del modo de su vivir y fabricarlas, pondremos aquí lo que de industria hemos dejado para este lugar.

También trataremos de su gobierno político, y si tuvieron reyes o no, y por qué no los tuvieron; qué autoridad y mano tenían los que los gobernaban; con qué leyes les juzgaban en sus pleitos y diferencias; qué castigos para los que tenían crímenes que se debían castigar; qué enseñanza y dirección para obrar lo bueno y bien; qué uso en sus contratos, compras y ventas, y qué monedas, y especial en sus matrimonios, en que trataremos de paso; si lo eran o no verdaderos en ley de contratos naturales, de que hallo muy diferentes opiniones entre los primitivos ministros, y algo no muy conforme a la verdad en algunas cosas que se dicen de ellos; del modo que tenían de defenderse o invadir

BOOK FOUR

CONCERNING THEIR MODE OF LIFE IN COMMON AND AS INDIVIDUALS; WHETHER THEY HAD TOWNS AND VILLAGES AND WHAT KIND THESE WERE; WHETHER THEY HAD KINGS OR WHY THEY DID NOT HAVE THEM; CONCERNING THEIR CUSTOMS, LAWS, OR PRACTICES AND PROCEDURES, AS WE CALL THEM; CONCERNING THEIR WARS; CONCERNING THEIR MANNER OF MAKING SLAVES, THE PUNISHMENT OF TRANSGRESSIONS, AND OTHER CUSTOMS CHARACTERISTICALLY THEIRS; WHETHER THEY HAD OR WHETHER THERE WERE GIANTS IN THESE ISLANDS AND, WHETHER THERE WERE DWARFS AND OTHER MONSTROSITIES, etc.

We shall bring *Part One* to a close with this *Book Four*. And in it, we shall touch upon some of the more salient features concerning our Bisayans' mode of life in society and independent of it; concerning their towns and houses. Although we have already said something about their way of living and constructing (their houses) — here we shall make note of what we have purposely reserved for this moment. We shall also discuss their political rule and whether they had kings or not and why they did not have them; what authority and what kind of power was wielded by those who ruled over them; with what kind of laws they judged them in their litigations and quarrels; what type of punishments were meted out to those who had committed crimes and which had to be punished; what instruction and guidance was offered them to do good and to do it well; what practices they followed in their commercial dealings, purchases and sales and what kind of currency they had in circulation; most especially concerning their marriages which we shall treat in passing; whether or not they were true natural law contracts, something about which I find many different opinions among the early ministers and something which does not conform very much with the truth in some matters which they say about them (i.e. the Bisayans); concerning the manner in which they had defended themselves

a sus enemigos; cómo se portaban en las guerras; si hubo algunos señalados en valor militar, y qué, en lo que de esto se sabe, o por tradición derivada de unos a otros, o por sus cantos, que, como ya hemos dicho, son las memorias en que conservan lo que de sus antigüedades saben hoy; qué causas tenían para hacer esclavos, y con qué justificación; qué cantidad de ellos, y de otras haciendas o bienes, así raíces como muebles; y, si hubo algunos hombres o mujeres señalados en su antigüedad y en qué cosas.

Si hubo gigantes entre ellos, y si los hay hoy en algunas de estas Islas; lo mismo de los pigmeos y otros monstruos de naturaleza; si comieron o no carne humana, que algunos falsamente les atribuyen; qué modo tenían en sus convites y fiestas; cómo y cuándo los hacían; qué entretenimientos y juegos, así la gente grande como los niños (desahogo necesario para la naturaleza), y de lo demás especial suyo; que si las obras o acciones humanas, en cuanto tales, deben ser dirigidas y enderezadas por el *syndéresis* de la razón, y tanto tiene el hombre de racional cuanto más se ajusta a ella, y de bruto cuanto se aparta.

De lo que en este Libro diremos, se podrá calificar cuán lejos o cuán cerca vivían de la policía, que es la que califica el trato humano; y de lo que en la Segunda Parte diremos se verá cuánto se ha aventajado en ella por medio de la fe y enseñanza católica, que ha sido lo que a todo el mundo ha perfeccionado, perfecciona y perfeccionará siempre en los quilates de la razón y justicia humana: y el medio para alcanzar sin duda la Divina, y el fin para que Dios crió a los hombres a su imagen y semejanza, de que dará largas noticias la Segunda Parte, como *Eclesiástica*, *Católica* y *Sobrenatural* en su objeto.

or how they had attacked their enemy; how they had conducted themselves in battle; whether there were some who distinguished themselves in military valour, and in what this courage had consisted as far as this is known either by tradition handed from one to another, or through their songs which, as we have already said, are the 'fund of memories' wherein they have preserved whatever they know today about their antiquity. What reasons they had for enslaving individuals and whether there was any justification in it; how many of them they had; concerning the excuses they had for taking others' properties or goods, immovable as well as movable; and whether there were some men or women who had distinguished themselves in their ancient times and in what matters.

Whether there were giants among them and if there are such today in some of these islands; the same about dwarfs and other monstrosities of nature. Whether or not they ate human flesh, something falsely attributed to them by some; what was the nature of their banquets and celebrations; how and when did they hold these; what amusements and games were cultivated among the adults as well as among the children (for certainly, it is a most necessary outlet for nature), and about other things peculiar to them — since human deeds and actions, as such, must be guided and directed by the discretion of reason and as much as man is a rational being, all the more he must be guided by it; for the more one remains a brute, the more one departs from it (i.e. reason).

And thus, from what we shall state in this particular *Book Four*, one may be able to conclude how far or near they (i.e. the Bisayans) lived out their polity, which is a sign of human intercourse; and from what we shall say in *Part Two*, it will be seen how much these (Bisayans) have progressed in the Faith and in the Catholic teaching — for it has been just that which has perfected, perfects and will always perfect the whole world even in the smallest details of human reason and justice; and the means for obtaining, without doubt, the Divine (Justice), and the end for which God had created men in His image and likeness, and about which greater attention will be given in the *Second Part*, for it will be Ecclesiastical, Catholic and Supernatural in its purpose.

CAPITULO 1

SI TUVIERON O NO POBLACIONES EN QUE VIVIAN EN COMUN: CUALES Y CON QUE DISPOSICION; Y SU MODO DE VIVIR EN ELLAS

Es tan connatural al hombre la comunicación y tan necesario el trato y correspondencia para la vida política que con razón se puede dudar si son verdaderos hombres los que viven como salvajes o fieras en las selvas a sus solas, y, como nos muestra la experiencia en todo lo descubierto, tanto más hay de político, de entendido y aun de poderoso y rico cuanto hay de comunicativo, y no se hallará en el universo ciudad ni población que haya llegado a ser grande si no es con el comercio recíproco, con las dependencias y correspondencias de los tratos y contratos que les dan, y han dado, el ser populoso y poderoso a que ha llegado.

No alego pruebas, pues de ello están llenos los autores antiguos y modernos; ni ejemplares, que abundan de ellos las historias; pues ni los romanos en su primer crecimiento y lustre, ni los griegos antes de ellos, tuvieron otro camino para crecer tanto como crecieron y llenar el mundo de su nombre sino ésta; y,

CHAPTER ONE

CONCERNING WHETHER OR NOT THE (BISAYANS) HAD TOWNS IN WHICH THEY LIVED TOGETHER; WHAT THESE WERE, HOW THEY WERE ORGANIZED AND HOW THEY LIVED IN THEM

Since mutual interaction is so natural among people (everywhere) and communication with one another so necessary for life in society, one may reasonably doubt whether those who live apart from others in the forests, lacking all civility, are truly human. As experience shows us, the greater the social intercourse among people, the more readily these become imbued with urbanity, and hence, the more powerful and more prosperous they become. One shall be able to find neither city nor a people that has attained the height of greatness, except through reciprocal trade, with its negotiations, corresponding undertakings and contracts which it promotes. It is this human interaction that gives and has given the ability to grow as a people and to achieve such strength.

There is no effort on my part to marshall any proof (for the above-mentioned) since the ancient and modern writers speak about the matter quite extensively. Neither shall I bring forward any examples, simply because history books are filled with them. Again, neither the Romans in their first attempts at expansion and glory, nor the Greeks prior to them, followed any other procedure in order to prosper as they did and thereby established a name for themselves in history as a result of this

por su falta en los primitivos españoles, a quienes hallamos notados de bárbaros en las historias antiguas, merecieron esta censura, de que después con tantas ventajas se han purgado, llegando a ser absolutos señores de casi todo lo descubierto, no por otro medio que éste, ni por otro modo que del trato y comercio con todo él, como ya lo vemos, debiendo hoy lo más de lo descubierto a los españoles, su policía y aumentos, como lo debieron ellos a los antiguos romanos, que les sacaron de las cavernas en que vivían retirados, y de las selvas y montes que habitaban envilecidos; y, aunque (como después veremos en la Segunda Parte), deben estos bisayas y todas estas islas, y ambas Indias y otras muchas regiones, a los españoles lo más de la fe y divino, con todo no les hallaron (hablo de estos bisayas) tan silvestres que no tuvieron algo de policía, ni tan salvajinos que los faltase la comunicación humana, aunque no tanta como ahora, como luego veremos.

Dos nombres tienen en esta lengua, según en varias partes, las poblaciones: en unas las llaman *lonsor*, en otras *bongto*; que una y otra palabra significa "población", que es señal cierta de que las tuvieron, y, aunque no con la grandeza de edificios y casas que otras poblaciones de Europa, por la cortedad natural de estos indios, no inferiores en lo numeroso. Algunas de ellas, aunque pocas, fueron grandes y de más concurso que en otras partes, de modo que estas dos palabras en lo material de las casas y en lo formal de la junta de gentes significan "ciudad," "villa", o "lugar"; que no conocieron ellos estas diferencias hasta que, con nuestro trato y comunicación, las aprendieron; y, aunque en esto tienen ellos poca caridad ni jamás la tuvieron, contentándose sólo con el vivir en común, de lo que iremos diciendo se podrá conocer cuáles

mutual interaction. And because of the absence of this element among the primitive Spaniards — to whom the ancient histories refer as barbarians — they deserved to be judged in this manner. Afterwards, however, they redeemed themselves from this stigma so thoroughly that they went on to become the absolute masters of almost all the discovered lands. This was accomplished through no other means than inter-relationship with one another and through trade with everyone, as we can well see currently. The greatest portion of the lands discovered owe the Spaniards credit for their growth in social life, as the Spaniards in turn, owe a debt of gratitude to the ancient Romans who drew them out of the caves in which they dwelled and from the forests and mountains where they had so degraded themselves. And in truth, as we shall see in *Part Two*, these Bisayans, all these islands, the *ambas Indias*, together with the many regions are indebted greatly to the Spaniards for the Faith and all that has bearing on the Divine. All in all, in speaking about the Bisayans, the Spaniards did not find them so savage as not to have some sort of social life or even be estranged from all human intercourse that they would be lacking in a life that is human, although not to the extent they have it today, as we shall see later.

According to this language, there are two terms for populated places, depending upon the various regions: one term is known as *longsor*; the other is *bongto*. Now, both names, the prior and the latter, signify "población" and this is certainly indicative that they had towns. And although these towns did not have the grandeur of buildings and houses as the "poblaciones" of Europe, these *Indios*, due to their natural mental ability, are no less inferior even in great numbers.

Some of these (pueblos), although few, were large and showed greater activity than elsewhere. And, thus, in such a manner that these two words as far as the material aspect of the houses and the formal, in regard to the gathering of people, signify 'city', 'village', or 'place', they were unfamiliar with these differences until they learned about them through their dealings and communication with us. And although in these matters they are not so advanced and they never were, being content only in living together, yet, from what we shall gradually relate, one will be able to conclude which of these towns deserved the name of

merecieron el nombre de “ciudad” y cuáles los demás, que entre nosotros se diferencian por lo grande y numeroso, y por lo honroso que los reyes les fueron concediendo entre nosotros a las nuestras, y aun acá después a las que hay, donde viven españoles mezclados con estos naturales.

Y, comenzando por la que se tiene ahora por más principal entre estos bisayas, aunque entre sí ellos ni la reconocieron ni reconocen, pues son, como veremos, y fueron independientes todos, y la primera en que hicieron pie los españoles cuando vinieron a estas Islas, que es: *Sugbo* (que este es su nombre en bisaya) que tiene dos significaciones a propósito para el puesto y lo material de población. La una es de *Ombro*; queriendo significar quizás los que este nombre le dieron, que era (como los hombros en el cuerpo humano) la que sustentaba y cargaba el peso de la comunicación y trato, como lo son todas las ciudades, o quizás le pusieron este nombre, que en otra significación de esta lengua quiere decir: *meterse el agua adentro*, porque estaba, y está aún hoy, lo que dura, aunque muy diminuto, en una playa o lengua de tierra que parece se va a meter en el agua de la mar, quedando, parejo con ella, una buena llanada, coronada casi por todas partes de montes, que, aunque no muy altos, fue bastante para que lo bajo mereciese esta denominación; y si, como veremos, todas o casi todas las poblaciones grandes que tuvieron antiguamente los bisayas, estaban adentro del agua totalmente, como se dice de Venecia, o parte dentro y parte en la playa, como hay algunas en Europa, a ésta que amenazaba a entrarse en ella, le vino conveniente este nombre; si ya no es que, moralizándolo (y es tercera significación de esta palabra *Sugbo*, que quiere decir, “tristeza”) fue presagio el de su nombre de la que había de tener el demonio, viéndose, como se vio, despojado de esta ciudad, que fue la primera en que comenzó a plantar la fe en estas Islas no sólo de Bisayas, sino de Filipinas o de Luzón, que son todas las de este Archi-

'city' and which merit the other names. For, among us, these were distinguished by their greatness, population density and by the honors the kings gradually bestowed among us and upon our (cities) which even here were later granted to the Spaniards who mingled with the natives.

And so, we begin with one (city or town) which is the principal one among the Bisayans, even though among themselves they did not consider it such, nor even consider it now; namely, *Sugbu*. For, as we shall see, they are and were all independent one from the other. And, thus, one of the foremost upon which the Spaniards set their foot, when they arrived to these Islands, is *Sugbu*. That is its name in Bisayan and it has two meanings; both quite appropriate as far as the site and the population is concerned.

One of the meanings is *ombro*; those who gave this name to it, perhaps, wished to convey the idea of human shoulders; that is, as if something that supported and carried the weight of communication and trade, as is the case with all cities. Or again, they gave it this name, which has another meaning in this language; namely, "Something into which water flows." For what remains of it (i.e. *Sugbu*) even today is something greatly eroded; it is a shoreline or a tongue of land seemingly as if trying to reach out into the sea. All in all, together with this, there is a fairly large area of good, flat land crowned almost on all sides by mountains. Although these are not very high, but only moderately so, they do make this flat area deserve such a said name.

As we shall see, all or almost all the large 'poblaciones' which the Bisayans had in their ancient times, were completely laid out on the waters, as it is reported about even Venice. Or, perhaps, partly in the waters and partly on the shoreline, as some are in Europe. And thus, that portion which stretched out into the waters was fittingly and appropriately named *Sugbu*. Now, if we should wish to give it a more symbolic significance, — this is the third meaning of the word *Sugbu* — it would be well to say "saddness". For this would presage the sadness that it brought Satan and which he experienced in seeing himself despoiled of this city, which was the very first in which Christianity was planted in all these Islands. And that is, not only in the Bisayas, but in Luzon and in all these islands which are in this Archi-

piélago, que, aunque no están aun muchas de ellas bajo de los estandartes de la fe cristiana, y no sé si es más lo que falta que lo que la tiene (como en la otra Parte veremos), con todo, para darle mucho pesar el demonio, como se lo dio y mostró bastantemente al principio, le vino nacido el nombre de “tristeza” que le pusieron o significa dicha palabra, pues no fue poca la que por ella le comenzó, ha proseguido después en otras, y querrá Dios se prosiga y aumente hasta que se acaben todas (¡ojalá así lo veamos todos!) de sujetar al yugo del Evangelio.

Del sitio en especial de esta Ciudad; el cuándo y cómo comenzó en ella nuestra santa fe católica trataremos en otra parte, y de las cosas notables que tiene hoy en el estado presente: de su numerosidad y extensión en la antigua y antes que acá viniesen los españoles, que es la materia de este Capítulo.

Diremos algo de lo que hemos oído a algunos de sus naturales; que yo alcancé no pocos de los que ya tenían uso de razón cuando acá llegaron de asiento los españoles, y de lo que ellos vieron y oyeron a sus mayores, que fueron los que en esta Ciudad halló Magallanes, que fue el primero que allá llegó cuando descubrió el estrecho que hasta hoy se llama de su nombre, y murió, como después diremos, en la isla de Magtang; tercera de Sugbu o Sibú, que ahora llaman los españoles, corrompido el vocablo, que sólo las divide un estrecho brazo de mar, y tanto que con una piedra alcanzará un buen tirador a la otra parte, y cualquiera arcabuz o mosquete con ventajas.

Es muy fondable y capaz de navíos de alto bordo, aunque sean muy grandes, y hace puerto suficiente para mucha cantidad de ellos, y seguro por estar por todas partes rodeado de tierra, quedando sólo la dicha canal por la parte oriental, que

pelago. Although many of these islands are still not under the banner of the Christian Faith — I do not know whether the area where the faith has been preached is larger than the one where it has not been preached (as we shall see in the other Part) — yet it did cause deep sorrow to the devil. For it gave him and showed him sufficiently enough, right from the very beginning, that the name “saddness” came to fit the situation most perfectly. Surely, it was not just a little “saddness” that he came to experience there and continues to experience, as a result of other places where the faith took roots later on. Would to God that this may be continued and that it may increase and spread until all of these islands are brought under the light yoke of the Gospel!

Concerning this place, especially this city, that is, when and how our holy faith saw its beginnings, we shall treat in the other Part (ie. Part Two of this *Historia*). About the matters worthy of consideration now concerning its present condition, regarding its population density and size in ancient times and prior to the arrival of the Spaniards, well, this is the subject matter of this chapter.

We shall now report something we have heard from some of the natives — for I have known not a few of those who have reached the use of reason when the Spaniards arrived here to settle down — and what they saw and heard from their elders. It was these people that Magellan found in this city upon his arrival here and upon discovering the straits which even until now bear his name. He died on the Island of Magtang, as we shall relate afterwards. The third meaning of Sugbu is Sibuyan, as it is called today by the Spaniards and which is a corrupted form of the original name. Only a narrow span of sea separates (this Island of Sugbu from the Island of Magtang). It is, in fact, only a stone-throw or within easy reach of an arquebuse or a musket shot.

It (i.e. the bay) is very deep and capable of carrying vessels of heavy tonnage and is sufficiently spacious for a good number of ships. The (bay) also has a secure shelter since it is surrounded on all sides by land. There is only the said strait on the eastern side, which faces what is called today, the Punta de Engaño. Many of those who are not familiar with the channel,

mira a la que llaman hoy Punta del Engaño, porque lo causa a muchos que no saben la canal, y no son pocos los que allí se han perdido; y por la parte que mira al Sur o Suroeste, sale otra boca que mira a lo que hoy llaman Sebu el Viejo, o Talisay.

Si lo que estos más viejos dicen, y yo les he oído varias veces, es verdad, se puede decir que era la población, llamémosla ciudad, antigua de Zibu, una de las mayores de estas Islas, o quizás la mayor; pues, corriendo la costa del Oriente a Poniente, aunque hace una ensenada como media luna de más de media legua, desde lo que hoy se llama Mandaue hasta lo que es ciudad de los españoles, pasaba desde dicha ciudad, que es hoy hacia el Suroeste, y llegaba a lo que hoy se llama Talisay, que hay más de otra media legua de la parte de Mandaue hacia el Oriente.

He visto yo, y se ven aún, los zoquetes de los que ellos llaman harigues, que son los postes, o columnas, en que se fundan, sustentan y edifican sus casas, más de un cuarto de legua; con que vendría a tener su legua y media de largo, siguiendo siempre la playa. Cuántos ordenes tenía de casas y cuántas calles, no lo he podido averiguar de cierto; sólo dicen que eran muchas, y que toda la llanada que hay hasta los montes, que hoy llaman de San José, por estar allí de este Santo una visita o iglesia de indios sujetos a los Padres de San Agustín, primeros maestros y predicadores de la fe en estas Islas, como en su lugar veremos, estaban llenas de casas, aunque sin orden; de modo que podía el principal o régulo de Cebu juntar a toque de campana, que ya dijimos usaban y usan de las que llaman *agong*, muchos millares de gente de armas tomar, como las juntó cuando se rebeló y apostató de la fe el principal de dicho Cebu, que se bautizó al principio, ganado de Magallanes, y se llamó Don Fernando, y con él su mujer, hijos, parientes y allegados hasta número de ochocientas personas, como se refiere en una historia de la India Oriental, que escribió Fr.

seem to lose their way; not a few have perished here. And in the other direction, which faces the south or south-west, there is another outlet which points to what is called Sugbu Viejo or Talisay.

If what the eldest among these people say is true, for I have heard this from them several times, we may state that the ancient population of Zibu, let us call it a city, was one of the largest in these Islands — perhaps, the largest. Moving along the coast from East to West — it forms a bay in the shape of a half-moon for more than a half-league, from what today is called Mandaue as far as the city of the Spaniards — it extended from the said city, which today is located towards the southwest, and reached, what we call today (i.e. 1668) Talisay. And thus, from this point, it then moves another half-league from the region of Mandaue towards the East.

I have seen, and these are still there, the stumps of what they call *harigues*; that means the post or columns upon which their houses were built as supports. These can be seen for a stretch of about a quarter of a league; this means that the city must have been about a league and a half in length and situated mainly along the seashore.

It is difficult for me to ascertain how many rows of houses and how many streets it had. The natives only state that there were many and that all the level land was filled with dwellings, but in a disorderly manner. These houses reached as far as the mountains which are called today San José, since there was found a 'visita' or a chapel for the *Indios* and administered by the Augustinian Fathers. The latter were the first teachers and preachers of the Faith in all these Islands as we shall see later. This (town) was so heavily populated that the *datu* or kinglet of Cebu was able to muster, at the sound of what they call the agong — we have already stated how they used them and still utilize them today — many thousands of individuals capable of bearing weapons. This fighting ability was well evidenced by the *datu* of the said Cebu when he summoned his fighting men in a rebellion and apostasy from the Faith. It was he who was baptized and named Don Fernando; he was won over by Magellan, together with his wife, children, relatives and associates to a number of about eight hundred persons. All this is recorded in

Antonio Román, imprimió un monge benito, fol. 344, donde se puede ver; y como su conversión no fue divina sino humana, y por interés de tener quien le ayudase contra sus enemigos, que, como luego veremos, todo lo eran *ad invicem*, muerto Magallanes, se acabó su fe y cristiandad, pues quiso matar a sus compañeros, como veremos más a lo largo en la Segunda Parte cuando tratemos de la fe de estos bisayas, que fueron los primeros que en este Archipiélago la recibieron y han conservado y conservan hasta hoy, como en su lugar diremos con todas sus circunstancias.

De lo dicho se colige, que es el fin por qué se trajo, que fue esta ciudad de Cebu muy grande y populosa y que fuese de mucho comercio así de las otras islas circunvecinas como de las más apartadas, como Brunei, Macassar, ambas Javas, etc., lo dicen los rastros, que aun hoy duran, de tinajas, platos grandes y otras cosas que de estas islas les traían, y hoy no se traen porque no comercian con ellos, si no cuando mucho los macasares.

Y de la dicha historia de la India se saca que era escala para el Maluco a los portugueses que venían de la India o de Malaca, pues la razón de una gran nao de portugueses que llegó cuando los compañeros de Magallanes estaban más apretados, y, como vio la feria revuelta, ni los quiso ayudar, que pudiera, aunque no fuese sino por ser cristianos, ni se quiso detener porque temía; y así alzó velas y se pasó al Maluco.

De lo mucho que esta ciudad está diminuta en todo lo temporal, trataremos en la dicha Segunda Parte, si Dios nos deja llegar a ella.

Además de esta ciudad tan populosa de Cebu, sabemos que en la isla de Pangao, adyacente a la de Bohol, de que en su lugar trataremos, en un estrecho que hace la mar entre ambas islas, y en bajamar queda con tan poca agua que se puede y suele pasar a pie, aunque no enjuto, en una punta llamada *Davis*, o *Rawis*,

the *Historia de la India Oriental*, penned by Father Antonio Román and printed by a Benedictine monk; these facts can be found in folio 344. It is obvious, then, that their conversion was not divine (in origin), but human and motivated by the fact of having someone to aid him against his enemy. As we shall well see, all were inimical to one another. When Magellan died, their faith and Christianity perished also. Since he (i.e. the Datu) also wanted to kill his companions, as we shall discuss at greater length in *Part Two* when we shall treat about the faith of these Bisayans who were the first to embrace it in this archipelago. They held on to the faith and still cling to it today, as we shall describe it all in its proper place and with all its details.

From all that has been stated, one may safely conclude — for this was the reason in relating it — that this City of Cebu was very large and well populated. Also, that it carried an extensive trade with the neighboring islands, as well as with the distant ones such as Brunei, Macassar, both Javas, etc. Proof of all this has come down to us today in the remains of jars, large plates and other items which were imported from these islands. Today, these are no longer brought in, simply because they no longer trade with them except perhaps the Macassars.

Also, from the above-mentioned *Historia de la India*, it may be deduced that it (i.e. Cebu) was a stop-over port of the Portuguese on their way to Malacca from India. It writes about a large Portuguese vessel which had called at port when the companions of Magellan were most hard-pressed. Those on the Portuguese ship, seeing their plight and ill-fortune did not wish to come to their aid. Of course, they could have done so, for the single reason that both were Christians. Regretably, that vessel did not wish to tarry perhaps because of fear and hence it set sail and continued her trip towards the Maluco.

About the matter how the city (of Cebu) has so deteriorated materially, we shall treat in the Second Part (of this *Historia*), God willing!

Aside from this very populous City of Cebu, we know of another one on the Island of Panglao, situated near the larger Island of Bohol, which we shall treat in its proper place. The strait in which it is situated becomes so shallow at low tide that people are able to cross it on foot, at a point called *Dawis* or

que esto quiere decir esta palabra, hubo en la misma mar una población muy grande, y yo he visto, y se ven hoy, muchos de los pies de los *harigues*, o postes, de las más que duran aún dentro del agua, y, cuando está bajamar se vén no pocos (aunque los más con la carcoma y años se pudrieron ya).

Estaba, como otra Venecia, fundada dentro del agua y ocupaba no poco espacio, como muestran las ruinas, que, como los boholanos (eran estos los más principales) son gente que viven de pescar (que esto quiere decir “boholano”, “pescador”, tenían en dicho puesto más comodidad. Duró esta población (no sabemos su principio) hasta que los terrenates, con quienes tenían guerra los boholanos, que han sido siempre y son de los más alentados y valientes de estas islas todas, vinieron sobre ella y la destruyeron y llevaron muchos cautivos, y otros se fueron a otras partes echados de su tierra, y de ellos fueron los que fundaron o poblaron el cerro de Dapitan, que hoy conservan en la isla de Mindanao, como veremos en su lugar.

La otra parte se fue rehaciendo y fundó el pueblo de Bacलयon, que está hoy en la isla de Bohol, no lejos de Rawis, y tienen su pueblo en la playa, que es de los mayores de Bisayas. Han sido siempre valientes, como lo mostraron pocos años ha contra una armada de mindanaos que se desembarcó en la playa de dicho pueblo; y, aunque estaban desapercibidos y no acudieron muchos, bastaron a rechazarles y hacerles volver a embarcar, mal pareciendo, dejando algunos muertos, y entre ellos al que venía por su general; de que dieron muestras los enemigos quitando todos sus gallardetes y banderas de colores y poniendo negras en su

Rawis, for such is the meaning of this word. In the sea itself there was also a very large population; I myself have seen them and there are still today some stumps of the *harigues* or posts which can be seen at low tide. Although the majority of them have rotted or became victims of the woodlouse or ultimately it all suffered the ravages of time.

And so, the populace of Panglao was like another Venice, built on the waters and which occupied no little area, as is evident from the ruins. But unlike the Boholanos, these people were more prominent, because the Boholanos worked out their livelihood by means of fishing. In fact, the name 'Boholano' means "a fisherman". But these folks found it more comfortable to reside here (i.e. on Panglao Island).

This *población* (of Panglao) prospered — we do not know anything about its beginnings — until the Terrenates attacked it, destroyed it and carried off many captives. These Boholanos were always at war with this enemy; they are the bravest and most courageous in all these Islands. The others who were driven away went elsewhere; some made their settlements in the hills of Dapitan, where they dwell to this very day and which is situated on the Island of Mindanao, as we shall see in its proper place.

The inhabitants who remained (on the said Island of Panglao) rose up from the ashes gradually and founded the town of Baclayan, located today on the Island of Bohol. It is not too far from Dawis, and the said town is situated on the seashore; what more, it is one of the largest in the Bisayas.

They (i.e. the Boholanos) have always been a valiant people; they have demonstrated this a few years ago when they stood up against the fleet of Mindanao which made a landing on their shores of Baclayan. And even though they were caught by surprise, with hardly any men around to rise in their defense, they managed to drive the enemy back to their vessels, and forced them to retreat and leave behind some of their dead. One of those killed was their general of the armada. As a confirmation of this great loss, the enemy withdrew the pennants and colored banners, and raised and unfurled the black ones instead. And although

lugar; y, aunque juraron de volver para vengarse (a que todos estos son muy inclinados) no han vuelto hasta hoy, aunque ha más de tres años que esto pasó cuando yo lo escribo.

A la parte oriental de la isla de Cebu (que Bohol cae a la occidental) en la isla que llaman ahora de Leyte, aunque tuvo varios nombres antiguamente, según sus parajes, cerca de un monte que llaman *Pangsanghan*, que quiere decir “que tiene ramas”; porque se hiende por lo superior en dos brazos o montes, siendo uno solo abajo, y es el mayor o de los mayores de esta isla de Leyte, en una playa de bajos que llaman *oquiviu*, que quiere decir “abejas pequeñas” (de que ya tratamos), y hace punta a la ensenada que se llama de Ogmuc, donde desagua un río llamado también Pagsanghan, del nombre de dicho monte, porque corre por sus faldas, había antiguamente otra población, también grande y fundada en la mar, encima de los dichos bajos, de modo que en ellos mariscaban, cuando la bajamar, muchas diferencias de mariscos, de que abunda dicha costa por allí, y, cuando pleamar, navegaban con sus embarcacioncillas para ir de sus casas a otras.

Está esta punta casi pareja por la parte del Norte con una isla llamada *Posong*, que confronta con la de *Poró*; parajes todos muy abundantes de pescado, y se hallan muchos *duiones* (de que ya tratamos), tortugas muy grandes, y otras de muchas, buenas y varias especies. Entre otros, hay unos que llaman *balu*, que son al modo de las merluzas de España. Crecen hasta lo largo de una braza, poco más a menos, comúnmente; algunos más, y son mayores que el molledo del brazo, y con el hocico muy duro y que saca, como un gеме poco más o menos de largo, uno como pico de aves. Es muy duro y agudo y lleno de puntas como dientes que encajan arriba y abajo. Este suele saltar muy largos saltos en el agua, y, si topa con alguno, se clava como un dardo, siendo muy difícil de arrancar por los dientecillos que dijimos, y no son pocos los indios que mueren heridos de estos peces; y, entre otros, yo vi uno a quien le atravesó el lagarto el brazo de parte a parte y

these Midanaos swore to return and avenge themselves (these people are so readily inclined to vengeance), yet they still have not returned even to this very day. It is already three years that this has occurred, as I am writing this.

And so again, on the eastern side of the Island of Cebu (Bohol is located towards the west), there is another island now called Leyte — in ancient times it had several different names, depending upon the region — and near a mountain called Pagsanghan (which word means "that which has branches" because it splits at the top into two as if arms of hills and which is one of the highest on the Island of Leyte) a *población* they called *Quiuot*, a word which means "small bees" (something which we have already treated previously). It faces or points towards a bay known as Ogmuc and where the River Pagsanghan (named after the mountain) flows through its folds. In ancient times, this too was another *población*, also quite large and founded upon the sea. At low tide, the people were accustomed to gather many varieties of molusks in which that coastline abounds; at high tide, they sailed about in their small vessels moving from house to house.

Now, this point almost pairs up on the northern side with another island called *Posong*, and which faces *Poro Point*. All these regions abound in fish and where are also found many of the so-called *duiones* (about which we have already written), very large turtles and many other excellent varied species. Among others, there are some called *balu*, which are similar to the 'merluza' of Spain. Normally, these grow to about a fathom in size, more or less; some grow larger and are somewhat bigger than the 'mollado del brazo' and have a very tough snout about a 'gome' in size, and like the beak of some birds. It is very hard, sharp and lined with pointed teeth, both the uppers and the lowers. This particular fish leaps out of the water and travels a good distance; should someone or something get in its way, it lodges like a dart and in such a manner that it is extremely difficult to remove, due to its sharp teeth, as we have already described. There are not a few of these *Indios* who have died from wounds inflicted by this fish. Among others, I saw one whose 'lagarto' of the arm was pierced through by this fish, and subsequently died as a result of this. Again, there was still another

murió de ello; aunque otro, a quien dio en el pecho, sí escapó porque fue al soslayo.

Estos peces, pues, crecieron en tanta cantidad y se cebaron tanto contra los moradores de dicho *Quivut*, que ni de día ni de noche estaban seguros, aun dentro de sus casas; y, viéndose sin remedio, se fueron ausentando y desamparando el pueblo, de modo que quedó solo y sin morador alguno, yéndose a otros parajes; y, aunque esto me lo habían contado en dicho paraje a mí varios indios en el pueblo de Oton, que es, como dijimos, la contracosta de lo de Panay, me contó un principal viejo con ocasión de que les fui a predicar el día de la ceniza, convidado del ministro de dicho pueblo, que son Padres de San Agustín, y la lengua bisaya; con que les prediqué era la de Leyte, que era su antigua lengua, que en lo de Otón está muy variada y mezclada con la de los propios indios de la dicha isla, como él era descendiente de este pueblo de *Quivut*, aunque nacido allí; porque sus padres, con la dicha ocasión de los peces que he dicho, habían desamparado su pueblo, y con toda su gente, que eran de los más principales, se habían venido a aquella isla y fundado dicho pueblo de Otón, y que así entendían muy bien aquella lengua, porque era la que sus padres hablaban y les habían enseñado; aunque al presente con la comunicación de tantos años (pues esto pasó, según se puede colegir, más de sesenta antes que acá llegasen los españoles), estaba su lengua muy alterada y mezclada con la de los naturales, que, aunque toda es lengua bisaya, que llaman *higueña*, o *alaia* (de que en otra parte daremos la diferencia) no se puede negar sino que ya en la pronunciación, ya en la significación, aun de las mismas palabras, se diferencian no poco; aunque con facilidad quien sabe la una bien, entiende la otra, y con el uso las sabe ambas.

De modo que, por la infestación de estos peces, se acabó dicho pueblo, sin que hasta hoy se haya vuelto a fundar en dicho paraje otro; aunque es uno de los más abundantes de caza, pesca, cera y otros frutos de la tierra de estas Islas.

individual who was struck by this fish in the chest; however, he was able to survive the ordeal because he was in a crouching position at that very moment.

These fish, then, multiplied in such a great quantity that it resulted in a plague, which preyed so greatly on these inhabitants of Quiuot, that they were not safe either day or night, nor even in their houses. Hence, in desperation, they began to abandon the town; eventually all the people migrated to other regions and the pueblo was left totally deserted. Although all this has been related to me by several *Indios* in the Pueblo of Oton, which as we have said is on the Island of Panay, I also heard the same from an elderly datu on an occasion when I had gone to the said town to preach on one Ash Wednesday. (Oton) was administered by the Augustinians and the people there spoke Bisayan. I preached to them in the Leyte language which was their ancient tongue. This language there, in Oton, has been greatly altered since it was mixed with the one spoken by the *Indios* who dwelled there originally. Now, this elderly *datu* was a descendant of this town of Quiuot, although he himself was born (in Oton). It was his parents who abandoned that town (of Quiuot), because of the obnoxious fish, I have spoken about. These parents of his left that town with all their followers, who belonged to some of the most prestigious *datos*, and settled in Oton. And, therefore, they understood well the language in which I have spoken to them, since it was the one their parents taught them. However, at present, with so many years of mixture of languages (this transfer occurred about sixty years prior to the arrival of the Spaniards), the present language has changed greatly. And even though the language is Bisayan, there it is called *Higueña* or *Alaia* (we shall point out the difference in another place). It cannot be denied, however, that there is a difference in pronunciation, in the meaning of words and in the vocabulary itself. Yet, one who understands one of these well, will certainly understand the other; by trying to speak it, one will come to master both.

And, therefore, due to the infestation of this particular fish, the said pueblo saw its end. To this very day, no other has been established in this same place; although that region has abundant resources of game, fish, wax and other products peculiar to these Islands.

De parte de las ruinas de esto pueblo se fundó el de *Ogmuc*, que dura hoy; y de él trataremos en la Segunda Parte.

Vamos ahora a otros de su antigüedad de mayor número (que de los menores, que eran muchísimos, trataremos en el Capítulo siguiente).

Por otra plaga de peces semejantes, algo mayores y llaman acá *halo*, en unas partes, y en otras *bulus*; y los españoles llaman acá "picudas"; aunque los picos son mucho menores que los del *bulu* y más blandos, se despobló en la costa de Ibabao otro pueblo grande en su antigüedad, sin que haya quedado más que la memoria en algunos viejos a quien lo he oído contar por tradición de sus antepasados; y en la parte de Samar se despobló otro por infestación de una grande culebra de las que llaman *sawa*, y lo era ésta tanto (consta de uno de sus cantares antiguos que he oído yo algunas veces a sus viejos, y ya hemos dicho que son sus historias o lo que suple por ellas) que se tragaba los hombres enteros, y entre otros dice dicho cantar (no sé si es hipérbolo) que se tragó a una mujer que estaba tejiendo en su casa, llevándosela a ella y al telar; y, aunque sus telares, como ya hemos dicho, son sin los armatostes y perchas de España, sino de pocas cañas, con todo fue mucho si así fue; y, si consideramos la grandeza a que tal vez llegan estas *sawas*, que se tragan de un resuello un venado muy grande, entero, con todas sus hastas, no sería mucho tragarse a dicha mujer, que estaba tejiendo, y lo más de su telar, que es lo que está a mano para dicha obra.

De que dicho pueblo se deshizo por la dicha causa, además de dicho cantar, lo he oído a muchos, y aun los niños lo repiten por haberlo oído contar a sus mayores y a las viejas, como suelen también en España hacerlo a la lumbre en invierno, donde enseñan muchos cuentos y consejos a la gente moza, de que por acá hay también algo.

On some of the ruins (of the ancient pueblo of Quiuot) the present pueblo of Ogmuc was founded and thrives to this day. We shall speak about it in Part Two (of this *Historia*).

Let us now proceed to some other towns of antiquity with large populations; those with a small number of inhabitants were very numerous and, of course, those we shall treat in the next chapter.

Due to another plague of similar fish, but somewhat larger and called *halo* in some places and in others *lulus* — the Spaniards call them 'picudas', the snouts of these are somewhat smaller and softer than those of the *balu* — another large ancient *pueblo* was abandoned on the coast of Ibabao. Only a memory of it remains with some of the elderly from whom I heard it related, as if from a tradition of their ancestors. Then, again, on the coast of Samar there was also another town depopulated as a result of an infestation of a large reptile called *sawa*. This particular one was so large that it swallowed a woman who was working at home and carried her off together with her loom, this is no exaggeration! This is recorded in one of their ancient songs which I have once heard from an elderly man; as we have already noted previously, their songs are really their ancient histories, or its substitutes. And by the way, the looms of these people here are not as bulky as those of Spain. Over here, these looms are made simply of a few bamboos only. All in all, I feel that that was all too much to swallow anyway, if it really happened this way. And yet, on the other hand, if we take into account how large some of these sawas grow and how they are able to swallow a large deer in its entirety, it would certainly not be much to swallow a woman together with her loom.

It was on account of this occurrence that this town fell into oblivion. Aside from what the above-mentioned chant related, I have also heard this some episode from many others, even children who continue to repeat it. Certainly, the children hear or learn it from their elders, especially the elderly women. This was also the practice in Spain which took place at the fire-side during the winter time, where they taught many stories and fairy tales to the youngsters. Matters of similar nature are also taking place here.

CAPITULO 2

DE OTRA POBLACION EN IBABAO; DE SU ANTIGUEDAD,
Y POR QUE CAUSA SE DESHIZO, Y DE LAS MUCHAS
OTRAS QUE TENIAN PEQUEÑAS

Ya hemos dicho que la parte oriental de la isla primera que para venir a éstas se reconoce y hace embocadero con la de Luzón, donde está la ciudad de Manila, cabeza de todas las Filipinas, se llama Ibabao, que quiere decir "alto", porque es toda de serranías, unas más, otras menos lejos de la costa de la mar, la cual comienza por la parte del Sur en la punta de Guiuan, que está de 7 a 8 grados de la línea y acaba por la del Norte con la de Balinquatum, de 11 a 12 grados; la más célebre por lo temido y la más peligrosa por las corrientes que allí se dividen y encuentran de todo este Archipiélago que está en 72 grados, poco más a menos.

Y, por la parte occidental, desde dicha punta de *Baliquatum* hasta el mismo Guiuan, o, por lo menos, hasta la punta de *Capines*, que está entre dicho Guiuan y Basey, que cae cerca de la boca del embocadero pequeño, que llaman San Juanillo, se llama Samar, de que hablaremos individual y más extensamente en la Segunda Parte de esta *Historia*, cuando tratemos de las poblaciones que hay hoy en toda esta isla por ambas partes.

Pero, prosiguiendo la materia del Capítulo pasado, de estas poblaciones antiguas, y antes que viniesen acá los españoles, cuando vivían en su gentilidad, y, por ser notable lo que en esta costa de

CHAPTER TWO

CONCERNING ANOTHER TOWN IN IBABAO [or Samar],
ITS ANTIQUITY, THE REASONS FOR ITS
EXTINCTION AND ABOUT THE MANY
OTHER NUMEROUS ONES THEY HAD

We have already stated that the eastern side of the Island [of Ibabao or Samar] is the first one to be sighted when sailing to these Islands through the *embocadero*, which is formed together with the Island of Luzon. It is on the latter that the City of Manila is located and which is the capital of all the Philippines. That eastern portion of the island is called Ibabao, which means 'high' and has reference to the mountain range. Some of these mountains are closer to the coastline while others are further inland; it has its beginning at the southern tip of the island near the town of Giwan. The jurisdiction of the island extends from seven or eight degrees in the south and about eleven or twelve degrees to the north reaching to the *Balicutum* Island group. The latter group of islands is situated in the celebrated but treacherous and dangerous [Straits of San Bernardino] which instils fear in the navigators because of its cross-currents. It is located in this Archipelago at about seventy two degrees longitude, more or less.

The western coast of this island is called Samar; we shall speak about it separately and more extensively in Part Two of this *Historia*, when we come to discuss the towns that are found today on both sides of this island. Meanwhile, it would be well to know that the western coast of Samar begins at the Point of Balicutum and runs south as far as Giwan. Or, if you wish, at least as far as Capines Point, which in turn is located between Giwan and Basey and situated near the small *embocadero* or strait, called San Juanillo.

Now, let us continue the material from the previous chapter about the ancient towns which existed prior to the arrival of the Spaniards and at a time when these people were still in their pagan state. All this is certainly worth remembering and deserves to be recorded in history. Therefore, I begin this chapter with what had happened [in one of the towns] located on this coast of Ibabao.

Ibabao sucedió en una y digno de ponerse en Historia, comienzo este Capítulo con ella.

Hay en medio casi de la costa de Ibabao que mira al Norte, entre el célebre cabo de Espíritu Santo, que es lo que comúnmente vienen a reconocer los pilotos de esta carrera, y el dicho de Bali-quatum dos islas, sin otras menores que están pareadas en la misma altura del embocadero, poco más a menos.

Llámase Batag la mayor, que está más afuera y más al Norte; y Lawang, la que más arrimada a la costa de la isla principal de Ibabao, y entre ella y dicha de Lawang desagua en la mar el mayor río de esta isla llamado Catubig; y la punta que hace la barra de dicho río en la tierra firme se llama Rawis, como la otra de Bohol, de que tratamos en el Capítulo pasado.

Delante de esta punta de Rawis, que es de arena, está en la dicha isla de Lawang otra de piedra de arrecifes durísima acantilada, y tan alta que representa un lienzo de muro, hecho muy al natural, llamad *Macarato*.

En esta punta, que está rodeada de mar por los tres lados, y tan profunda que están las aguas casi como negras por lo hondo, había antiguamente una población, aunque no muy grande, porque el espacio, o placer, que se ve, no lo es mucho, aunque es más largo tres veces que ancho; era muy fuerte, pues naturalmente estaba fortalecida por lo alto de las peñas, y como con fosos por los tres lados que la rodea el mar, y el cuarto de la tierra atajado con estacada de recios palos, dejando la naturaleza, al un lado de las peñas, una ensenadilla con su playuela de arena que apenas tendrá hoy de veinticinco pies de ancho hasta treinta, que les servía como de puertecillo, aunque, por lo pequeño, incapaz de más de una embarcación, si es algo grande.

Vivía en este lugar un principal, llamado Caragrag, que era su señor y régulo. Estaba éste casado con otra principal (no pude averiguar si era del mismo pueblo; lo más probable es que era de las *Irayas* de Catubig, hija del régulo de allá). Llamábase Bingi, y le venía nacido el nombre por su honestidad, como veremos. Era esta principal, según ellos dicen y cuentan, dotada de

Almost half way down the coast of Ibabao, looking North and between the celebrated *Cabo del Espiritu Santo*, which the pilots usually sight when making landfall, and between the already mentioned Balicuatum, there are two islands. Of course, we are not taking into account here the many other smaller ones which lie close together in the same latitude of the *embocadero*, more or less.

The larger island [on that northern coast of Ibabao] is named Batag Island and is located far off shore and towards the north, while Lawang Island hugs the coast of the mainland Ibabao. It is between the latter and the Island of Lawang that the largest river of the island, called Catubig, flows and empties into the sea. The place where the sandbar of the river is found near the mainland, is called Rawis; it is similar to that of Bohol, as we have already mentioned in the previous chapter.

On the opposite side of Rawis, on Lawang Island, which is a sandbar, there is a solid ridge of rock. It is fashioned by nature itself and it is so steep that it looks like a facade of a wall; it is called Makarato.

On this promontory, surrounded on three sides by the sea and with such deep waters that it all looks black, there existed a town in ancient times. However, it was not very large, because the place or the bank upon which it was situated, was not too extensive. Nonetheless, it was about three times longer than wider.

It was a natural fortification, due to its great height of massive rock; it was also secured as if by a moat which encircled its three sides. The fourth side was blocked off by a palisade of strong logs. Then too, nature also formed on one side of this rock something like a small cove with its little beach. Today, it is hardly twenty or thirty feet wide. This, of course, served them as a small harbour; even though it was somewhat small, it was capable of berthing at least a single vessel of the larger type.

There lived in this place a *Datu*, named Caragrag, who was its lord and chief. He was married to a lady of noble station. Somehow, I was unable to learn whether she was from the same town; very likely, she hailed from the *irayas* of Catubig. She was apparently, a daughter of another *Datu*, and was called *Bingi*. This name was evidently given her because of her integrity, as we shall see. She was a *principalala* according to what they say

muchas y muy buenas calidades y muy celebrada por hermosa entre estos naturales; tanto que, movido de la fama de su hermosura, armó cien embarcaciones el dato o régulo de Albay, que es en la tierra de Manila, aquel famoso volcán de que ya tratamos y se ve en dicho pueblo de Lawang, aunque está más de veinticinco o treinta leguas lejos, con mucha distinción por su gran altura. Llamábase este principal Dumaraug, que quiere decir “el vencedor”, y con todas éstas se levó de su tierra y amaneció dentro poco tiempo a vista de dicho pueblo de Macarato.

Alborotóle la improvisa venida, pero como estaba tan fuerte de su naturaleza, y en tiempo de vendabales, que era el más a propósito para ir de Albay allá, es la rebentazón de la mar y sus olas muy grandes y recias, no se atrevió a llegar allá de golpe, antes se arrimó a la playa que hace dicha punta de Rawis, de arena muy menuda y limpia de bajos, que, por tener algo fuera en la mar una isleta atrevesada, hace menos estorbo la resaca, y está el mar manso y templado.

Desde allí, con su señal de paz, envió una embarcación pequeña, avisando del intento de su venida, y que sólo era para llevarse, para que fuera su mujer, a dicha Bingi, de que la fama, sólo de su mucha hermosura, le traía enamorado; que con ésto no más se volvería luego a su tierra, sin hacerles hostilidad alguna, antes obligado para quedas siempre por su amigo y defensor, pues siendo tanto más poderoso que ellos, lo podría hacer con ventajas.

Mostróles, antes de dar la respuesta, Caragrag cuán bien prevenido estaba; agasajóles, y, habiendo dado parte a su mujer de los intentos de Dumaraug, respondió ella primero que volvieran a su señor y le dijese que se espantaba mucho que, por una cosa de tan poca monta, hubiese hecho semejante demostración y armado tantas embarcaciones; que ella estaba contenta con el marido que tenía y no quería trocar por otro alguno, aunque fuere mucho más

and relate; endowed with many fine qualities and well renowned for her incredible beauty among these natives. So irresistible and captivating was her exquisite beauty that a certain kinglet or *Datu* of Albay, fitted out some hundred vessels and sailed for the Town of Lawang. Now, Albay is located on the Island of Manila where the famous [Mayon] Volcano is situated and so well-known for its great height. It is about twenty-five or thirty leagues away from Lawang Island. Now, this said *Datu* was named Dumaraug; the word itself means "the conqueror". And so, he left his land with all his ships and in no time appeared in the said town of Makarato.

[*Datu Dumaraug's*] unexpected appearance stirred up a great commotion even though the *pueblo* was well-fortified by nature itself. The voyage from Albay was highly favourable since it was the time of the *vendabales*. And since the pounding of the waves was so great and powerful in this region, he did not venture to enter too quickly. Rather, he came close to the shores of Rawis, where there was a sandbar and shallows. Also, somewhat out on the sea there is a little island which acts as a breakwater; hence, the surf is less turbulent and as a result a milder and a calmer place of anchorage.

And so bearing signs of peace from that vantage point, he dispatched a small vessel to disclose the purpose of his arrival: namely, to carry-off Bingi and make her his wife. He had grown in love for her simply by listening to reports about her charming beauty. Should this be realized, he would return to his land without provoking any hostility. On the contrary, he would feel obliged to remain their friend and a defender forever since he obviously was much more powerful than they and would be able to accomplish all this with the greatest facility and ease.

Caragrag demonstrated his state of preparedness prior to giving him a reply; while so entertaining the unexpected visitors, he sent word to his wife about the intentions of Dumaraug. She, in turn, replied that first they should go back to their lord and tell him how truly surprised she is in seeing so great a display and with so many armed vessels for so small and insignificant a matter. Then, she quickly added, that she was very content with her husband and does not wish to exchange him for any other — even though he be more powerful. And as long as she remains alive, she has no thought of ever leaving him; what more, should her

poderoso, y que mientras él viviese no tenía que esperar que le dejase; y, si su dicha fuese tan corta que viniese a sus manos cautiva, que entendiase que bien podría llevarla y mandarla como a su esclava pero que casarse con ella no lo conseguiría; que estaba dispuesta a dejar primero la vida.

Animado con tan varonil respuesta el marido Caragrag, sólo añadió: "que él estaba allí esperando con su gente en orden y que, aunque no era mucha, era muy buena, y el lugar donde estaban muy seguro; que tratase, si venía a pelear, de menear las manos; que ellos harían su deber; y, si les venciese, sería dueño de su mujer y hacienda; y, si no, se volvería con nada a su tierra, si es que escapaba con la vida de aquélla".

Con esta respuesta y con la vista de lo fuerte e inexpugnable del lugar para ellos, que no tenían más armas que lanzas y paveses, y, cuando mucho algunas flechas, quedó el principal dudoso, y, aunque se detuvo algo, fue poco; y, sin intentar más ni aventurar su gente, se volvió a su casa como se había venido, quedando gustosos así el principal como su mujer Bingi que, para prevenir semejantes lances y evitar otro peligro mayor se retiraron a lo mediterráneo de la isla mayor, y con eso quedó aquel pueblo medio desamparado.

Sucedió este caso pocos años antes que vinieran los españoles, y está muy fresca su memoria entre los naturales del pueblo de Lawang, que son hoy los descendientes de aquellos, y yo encontré, no muchos años ha, un principal de dicha isla, que ya era de más de setenta años, cuyos padres estaban vivos cuando sucedió este lance; y un hijo suyo que se lo oyó varias veces, me lo refirió a mí con todas las circunstancias dichas, y fue en ocasión que yo mudé (por haberse destruído con un *baguio* y no estar en parte cómoda) el pueblo antiguo de Lawang y le puse en la misma cera y cerca de la peña tajata, aunque mucho más adentro y cerca de un arroyo de agua, que el antiguo no la tiene; con que quedó

fortune be so bad that she should fall into his hands a captive, then he may well seize her and hold her as a slave only. She would never give herself away to him in marriage; in such a case, she would rather give up her life first.

Profoundly encouraged and moved by such a spirited reply of his Bingi, her husband Caragrag only added: that he is here waiting with all his men deployed; though they are not many, they are very well trained and the place where they are entrenched is extremely secure. Hence, if he dares to do battle, he must proceed immediately because they are well prepared to do their duty. And should he defeat them, he may be master of his wife and his properties. However, should it turn out otherwise, he will have to return to his home and his lands empty-handed — that is, should he emerge alive from such an encounter.

Upon receiving such a response and after seeing how strong and impregnable the place was in comparison with his lack of weapons other than spears, shields and some arrows, Datu Duma-raug gave the matter a second thought. Although he hesitated for a while — and this was extremely brief — without any further ado and without endangering the lives of his men, he returned home the same way he arrived. Datu Caragrag and his wife Bingi, on the other hand, were extremely pleased with the outcome. And so as to prevent similar threats and to minimize risks, they withdrew deeper inland and onto a larger island. And so as a result, that town was left half-deserted and abandoned.

This incident occurred only a few years before the arrival of the Spaniards; its memory is still very fresh among the natives of the town of Lawang Island, who are today's descendants of those people. Not many years ago, I chanced upon a *datu* of the said island who was more than seventy years in age and whose parents were still alive when this incident took place. A son of his, who heard it from them several times, related it to me with the above mentioned circumstances.

I learned about this episode during an occasion on which I transferred the ancient *pueblo* of Lawang. Now, the reason for the transfer was because it was destroyed by a *baguio*; what more, it was not a comfortable place anyway. Therefore, I established the town in the same area, but somewhat further inland, near a cliff and a creek which the previous one did not have. This move

muy mejorado; y con esta ocasión me contaron lo referido de nuevo, aunque ya yo lo había oído los años atrás.

En el lugar donde estaba dicho pueblo, o muy cerca de él, hice enarbolar una grande Cruz que señorea y se ve muchas leguas la mar afuera y sirve hoy de defensa a la boca del río contra los enemigos y contra los caimanes o cocodrilos, que hay no pocos en él; y, para que se sepa que es tierra de cristianos, con tan famoso estandarte como se ve enarbolado a la entrada de dicho río.

Hubo también en la mediterráneo de esta isla, y casi en igual distancia de una y otra costa de Samar e Ibabao, por la parte de Borongan, otro pueblo llamado *Magtaon*, que duró hasta que, convertidos ya a la fe y cristianos, se redujeron a su elección a las poblaciones de una y otra banda, por lo difícil de los caminos, por ser esta isla, al revés de la de Leyte, casi toda montes, y los más de ellos de piedras durísimas, y los caminos de piedras como de arrecifes, de la más durísimas y muy agudas, a que no pueden resistir nuestros zapatos pues, a pocos pasos, se quedan dañados a pedazos en las agudas puntas de las peñas; y bien lo experimentaron esto mucho los españoles que los años pasados fueron y vinieron por tierra, casi por el mismo camino que lo había sido de *Magtaon* o Borongan, donde se perdió la nao *San Francisco Javier*, como veremos en la Segunda Parte de esta *Historia*.

Fue este pueblo de *Magtaon* no muy grande, aunque sí muy temidos sus moradores por ser gente montaraz y fiera, como gente criada entre breñas, y tan suelta que corría como gamos por ellas. Y así, por ésto como por lo lejos y difícil de los caminos, estaban más seguros que otros pueblos de las continuas invasiones que, como veremos más abajo, se hacían unos a otros.

Hállanse aún hoy muchos rastros de lo que fue, no por ruinas de edificios que, como veremos en el Capítulo siguiente, todas sus casas eran de palos, cañas o *bajes* (ya dijimos lo que son), sino por hallarse no pocas veces muchas de sus alhajas antiguas de tinajas, tibores, platos de valor y otras vasijas de su antigüedad, o ya escondidas en las cuevas de que abunda aquel paraje, o en que-

was a great improvement and it was on this occasion that they have repeated what I have related here. However, I have heard all this some years earlier.

In the said town where, or very near it, I had a large cross fashioned and erected there so that it would dominate and lord it over for many leagues even out into the sea. What more, it may also serve as a protection against the enemy, the alligators and crocodiles — all which are quite numerous — that find their way near the mouth of the river. Another reason for erecting this cross in such a prominent manner is that all may know that this is the land of the Christians and that it may be a tribute to them.

In the interior of this island, equidistant from the coast of Ibabao and Samar and not too far inland from the *pueblo* of Borongan, there was also another ancient town called Magtaon. This latter *pueblo* thrived there until the people became Christians and willingly submitted to the reduction; it was then that they freely transferred to one coast or the other. Perhaps, another compelling reason for the transfer or abandonment of that place was the extremely poor road. Unlike the Island of Leyte, this one is extremely rugged, mountainous, and its paths strewn with sharp rocks. As a result, our shoes wear out quickly and have a very short life or wearing span. The early Spaniards experienced the impossibility of the road leading to Magtaon from Borongan when the galleon *San Francisco Javier* was shipwrecked there, as we shall learn in Part Two of this *Historia*.

This town of Magtaon was not very large; however, its inhabitants were greatly feared because they were a fierce and a savage-like people. They were as if a people who drew their life from the jungle fastness, for they moved through the forests with the spriteness of deer. Notwithstanding this town's obstacles of remoteness, difficult trails and so on, it was safer than many others from the continuous invasion they waged against each other, as we shall see below.

All in all, there are still many traces of its ancient past quite evident; not in the ruins of buildings, as we shall see in the next chapter (all their houses were made of posts, bamboo and *bahes*), but because frequently one finds many of their household items. For example ancient vessels, jars, valuable plates and other *vasijas*. These were sometimes hidden in caves which abounded in them, in crevices of cliffs, near rivers and also in their ancient

bradas de las peñas o arroyos, o ya en los sepulcros antiguos, en que, como dijimos, solían meter con los muertos su hacienda; y en Misoras halló un indio, descendiente de los moradores antiguos de aquel pueblo y que había estado en él muchos años huído (cosa que suelen hoy hacer fácilmente, como veremos), mucha cantidad de vasijas y ciertos vasos de barro, muy pintados y curiosos y de muy linda loza y fina, aunque más basta que la de China, y que ellos estimaban más por ser demás dura y, entre ellos, una buena cantidad de oro, y bastante para quedar rico, si, como él decía (Dios sabe la verdad) no se la hubiera escondido otro a quien el dio parte de lo hallado, y dijo dónde lo dejaba escondido; si bien, cuando volvió allá halló el oro menos y muchas de las vasijas mejores. Trájome a mí algunas, y me ofreció que tomase las que quisiese, y sólo tomé un plato mediano por ser de particular hechura y como de lechuguillas, al modo de los cuellos antiguos que se usaban en España y alcancé yo aun siendo niño, y de muy buen barniz, lo escogí por raro y que nunca yo le había visto ni se ven hoy por acá, y dos escudillas pequeñas, también de muy buen barniz, que me sirven hoy, que por ser de más cuerpo que las de China, deja más. Del oro, aunque me pidió hiciésemos diligencias, no pudimos decaer(?) rastro, porque, como él era solo e indio de otro pueblo, le desmentían los demás; y, si fue verdad que lo halló, se quedó sin él, pues sólo le había quedado una como cadenilla o cordón, por mejor decir, de oro, que ellos llaman *pinaragmoc* (ya dijimos como son), de que yo no quise parte, porque no entendieran que me movía el interés para ayudarles.

Producen estos montes de Magtaon una especie de árboles que, heridos, destilan un género de resina, cuando nueva, de color pardusco, como el ámbar, aunque se va ennegreciendo con el

burial places. It was with their deceased, as we have already said, that they buried their wealth. In Misoras [sic] there was an Indio, a descendant of the ancient inhabitants of that *pueblo*, who stayed there for many years and upon fleeing (that is, escaping from social life, something they readily do even today, as we shall point out later) discovered a great quantity of vessels and a kind of earthenware, exquisitely painted or decorated; others were very beautifully made and of fine porcelain. The latter, however, was just a little more crude than that which comes from China; yet, they appreciated these more because they were more durable. Among the [jars, this Indio also discovered] a good quantity of gold, sufficient to make him wealthy. That is if, as he said (God knows the truth!) the other individual with whom he shared his discovery, would not have hidden it from him. In fact, when he had returned to that spot, he learned that a good portion of the gold and many of the better jars were already gone.

In fact, he even brought some of those [ancient relics] to me and requested that I choose several pieces if I wish. I had selected, therefore, only a plate of moderate size because of its unusual design in the fashion of a frill and resembling the old collars used by those in Spain and with which I was even familiar as a boy. And, besides, I selected this particular piece because it also had a very fine glaze and seemed like a rarity, and something I had never seen here before, nor can you even find one like this today. Aside from the above-mentioned piece, I also picked out two small bowls, very beautifully glazed and I use them till this very day especially because these have a larger capacity than those coming from China.

About the gold items, although he begged me to help him search for it most diligently, we were unable to find any trace of it whatsoever. Since this particular *Indio* was a native of another town, the others contradicted him. And so, if it is true that he had discovered all this, well, he now lost it. Yet, he was able to recover only something like a small chain, or a cord of gold which they call here *pinarogmoc* (we have already described what this was). I did not accept this item so that they would not think that I was motivated by some interest in helping him with the venture.

Now, again, the forests of Magtaon produce a kind of tree that when tapped it yields a kind of greyish resin when, fresh, resembling amber, and which blackens with time. It is rather

tiempo. Es de muy buen olor, y fue en su antigüedad y es hoy, entre ellos, de mucha estima, que llaman *rapodapo* (de que ya dijimos algo arriba); sólo no huele mucho como ninguno de los demás aromas solo; pero, confeccionado, huele bien.

Era este el mejor sahumerio que tenían las indias de esta isla, y sé que en sus cantares se hace más mención que lo cogían y cogen hoy en dichos montes y venden a muy buen precio, y no sabemos se halle en otras partes de esta islas, aunque hay muchas otras, o gomas o resinas olorosas y que sirven para lo mismo; pero ninguna de las que yo he visto llega a este *rapodapo*. Pero, es tanta la incuria o envidia de estos nuestros, que cortan los árboles, o por coger algo más o porque (y, a mi parecer, es éste el mayor motivo) otros no lo gocen; que en este particular son, y han sido, siempre notablemente o envidiosos o groseros.

No dudo que habría en otras islas otros pueblos grandes, en su antigüedad, de estos naturales; lo cierto es que fueron los pequeños, y que ellos llamaban *gamoros*, muchos más, y tantos que apenas había río moderadamente grande, ensenada de mar o isla en que no hubiese alguno o algunos; porque como éstos, como diremos después, estaban encontrados unos con otros y se hacían robos unos a otros, cautivándose y matándose con mucha facilidad y nunguna fidelidad, por eso se fiaban poco entre sí, y así se fueron dividiendo por parentelas, que es lo que llaman en otras partes barangaies; y entre las bisayas *haop* o *sacop* o *dolohan*, que quiere decir “junta” o “congregación”; y de este nombre llamamos ahora a los principales que están juntos en un pueblo, y antes estaban apareados con muchos *gamoros ginaopan*, o *gindolohan*, que es lo mismo que “el que tiene súbditos” o “sujetos” o “vasallos”; y los *timawas* y gente ordinaria suelen decir *sacop aco ni coan*; “y soy sugeto” o “súbdito de fulano”; que era lo mismo en su antigüedad que “vasallo de fulano,” pues, como veremos, todos lo eran, y aun con mucha más estrecha sujeción que lo son en España y otras partes los que están sujetos a varios señores o al Rey nuestro y señor.

fragrant and in ancient times it was greatly esteemed by them, as it is even today, and is called *rapo-dapo* (about which we have already spoken above). This resin, of itself, is not very fragrant; however, just like all other aromatic elements, this one becomes extremely fragrant when compounded.

This was the finest aromatic which the *Indios* had on this island and which is frequently mentioned in their songs. They were accustomed to gathering this, as they still do today, from the said forests and sell it for a very good price. We do not know whether this is also found in other parts of these islands. There, are, however, many other fragrant gums and resins which serve the same purpose. Nonetheless, none of those that I have come to know can match that of *rapodapo*. What more, the greed and envy of some of these people is such, that they cut down the entire tree so as to get as much as possible of it quickly (this is their primary motive); or they do this so that others may not take advantage of these trees themselves. In such matters, they have always been somewhat envious or perhaps even uncouth.

I do not doubt that there were other large, ancient towns on other islands. What is certainly true is that the small ones called *gamoros*, were much more numerous. In fact, these were so plentiful that there was hardly a river, moderately large, a bay or an island where one could not find some or a few. For these people, as we shall point out later, were at odds with one another with greatest ease and without any feeling of guilt. As a result of their distrust of one another, they began keeping their distance by groups with blood-ties and which, in other regions, were called *barangays*. Now, among the Bisayans, this same grouping is termed *haop*, *sacop*, or *dolohan*, which means a 'junta' or a 'gathering'. Today, we employ this term in reference to the *datus* who live together in one *pueblo*; previously these lived separately in many *gamoro*(s), *ginaopan* or *gindolohan*, which means the same as 'to have subjects' or 'people who are subject to him' or even 'vassals'. The *timauas* or the ordinary people were accustomed to say '*sacop ako ni kuan*', which means "I am a subject of so-and-so," and which was the same in their antiquity as "a vassal of so-and-so". For, as we shall see, all of them were more strictly regimented than those in Spain and in other regions so subjected to various lords or to the king, our lord.

Estos que ellos llamaban *gamoros*, que aun hoy los llaman así, eran y son junta de algunas casas, sin orden de pueblo ni división de calles ahora, porque tienen sus sementeras, cada cual la suya, y es sólo una cercanía o vecindad que se oyen con facilidad y se acuden a una voz que den. Antiguamente estaban más unidas y juntas las casas para estar más a mano cuando se ofreciese algún rebato, para acudir unos a otros, porque tenían poca seguridad, que no tenían hora segura; y así, aunque tenían, como como veremos en el Capítulo siguiente, unas casillas en las sementeras para sestar de día, y espantar de noche las puercos y animales que se las maltratan, no se atrevían antiguamente a dejar en ellas ni mujeres ni muchachos, porque cuando volvían por ellos, no los hallaban allí, y por esta causa estaban en continua vela y sobresalto, y ésta era la más principal causa de juntarse al modo dicho y en pocas casas para poderse defender mejor y ayudarse cuando la necesidad lo pedía.

Por esta misma causa buscaban lugares de suyo ásperos, para que fuere más difícil el ir a ellos; y a los que lo eran menos, si naturalmente no estaban cercados de malezas y de monte cerrado, solían plantarles a la redonda pies de caña, de las que llaman *cabugawan*, y son espinosas y, cuando crecidas, muy difíciles de dar paso, así por lo espinoso como por lo espeso; con que les servían la dichas cañas como de muro o barbacana; aunque, según he oído decir, no era ni es saludable vivir entre las matas de las cañas, no solo por ser madrigueras de culebras y serpientes venenosas, sino porque dicen que inficionan el aire; pero todo esto pasaban por vivir con alguna seguridad y estar menos expuestos a las invasiones de sus enemigos, que casi todos entre sí lo eran, aun los muy cercanos, como veremos después.

También usaron en su antigüedad, y era lo más común, buscar algunos lugares levantados, o montecillos, y a veces montes bien altos; de peña tajada éstos, aquéllos de riberas profundas; y en ellos, que llamaban *elihan*, hacían sus *gamoros* o poblaciones. Duran hoy aún muchos de aquellos, aunque sin habitantes, y

Those which they call *gamoros*, they refer to them in this manner even today, were and are clusters of such houses without any plan of a *pueblo* or even division into streets. This is so, because today they have their houses where their fields are, each to his own. As a result, it is merely a kind of vicinity or neighborhood, sufficient to be able to hear one another's summons for help. In ancient times, the houses were closer together and clustered to facilitate mutual help in case of an attack; for they hardly had a moment of calm and even much less, any security. They also had, as we shall see in the succeeding chapter, some huts in the [rice]fields for taking a rest during the day and to guard these by frightening away any wild boars or animals that may tend to destroy [the crops]. [Of course, in these huts], they would not dare to leave behind their women or children, for if they returned for them, they would certainly not find them there any more. Hence, for this reason, they were always vigilant about sudden attacks, and brought themselves together in the manner already described, so as to be able to defend themselves better and assist one another when a need presented itself.

Again, it is for similar reasons that they sought out very rugged places for themselves in order to make access for the enemy more difficult. Anything less than this, would not suffice. If nature failed to hedge them in security with heavy vegetation or if the forests were not within reach, they would surround themselves with plantings of bamboo, especially the variety called *cabugawan*. The latter is extremely thorny and as it grows it spreads and forms a thick, tangled wall or something like a barbican. However, it is said that living near this type of bamboo is unhealthy and even unsafe not only because it becomes a lurking place for reptiles and poisonous snakes, but also because it seems to infect the air around it. All in all, they endured all these hardships, if only they could live in some security and so as not to be exposed to the incursions of the enemy. And yet, somehow, all of them were enemies to each other, even those closely related, as we shall see later.

Also, in days of antiquity, they were accustomed, and this was very common, to search for elevated places, high mountains at times, hillocks, deep slopes and steep cliffs. And in these places they built their *gamoros* or *poblaciones* and called them *elihan*. Many of these have survived to this very day, although they no

en algunos pueblos, como en Dapitan, Maripipi y otros, tienen sus *elihan* cerca del pueblo, al cual se retiran aún hoy en tiempo de enemigos; y son tales algunos de ellos que apenas tienen camino para una persona, y éste muy áspero; y, con serlo tanto, hacen más con industria, cortando y acantilando o las peñas o la tierra, y teniendo escaleras de mano que, por acá, con las cañas dichas se hacen con facilidad, y muy largas, que quitan y ponen, tirándolas para arriba; con que viven allá arriba segurísimos de todas las invasiones, y teniendo allí con qué sustentarse, están muchos días, cuando la necesidad les obliga, retirados en ellos; que, con prevenirse, como suelen, de cantidad de tinajas de agua, donde no la tienen de pie; que en algunos la hay en abundancia, les es fácil; en otros *elihan* solían tener, y tienen hoy, sus casillas donde guarecerse o guardar las cosas de más valor y estima que, dejando allá, como lo hacen, quien lo guarde, están seguras; y es cierto que, en algunos de ellos, solo un hombre con cuatro piedras se puede defender, y se defiende, no pocas veces de mucho número de enemigos, se queda riendo de ellos; porque, si no es volando, no es fácil el subir, sino muy difícil. Duran aún hoy pueblos, de buen número de gente, en *elihan*, como lo es el de Bulusan, que hace embocadero con Baliquatum, por donde entran las naos cuando van y vienen a la Nueva España, prósperamente y a sus tiempos que, no lo siendo, suelen ir a otros puertos, por la incomodidad, y peligros.

En lo de Samar hubo antiguamente otros pueblos, aunque no grandes, cerca del embocadero de San Juanillo, en una isleta que era enfrente de él, harto pequeña, y tiene una peña que fue en su antigüedad muy segura, llamada *paet*, que quiere decir “amarga”; y, aún después de ser cristianos, vivieron algunas años en ella por su seguridad.

Alancé yo algunos de sus moradores, aunque transplantados a otros pueblos, porque, estando aún en dicha peña, llegó el caraga,

longer dwell in them now. In some towns, such as Dapitan, Mari-pipi and others, they had their *elihan* near the town. And so, in case of an attack, they withdrew to these as they even do now when attacked. Some of these *elihan* are so constructed that they hardly allow passage to a single person; the path leading to it is simply impossible. And no matter how rugged it may be originally, they still add to it by cutting the rock or the earth and making it steeper. They have a sort of hand-ladders which they readily fashion out of bamboo and easily set in place or draw them up even if they are rather long. And so, they dwell on high quite secure from all attacks and assaults. [In these refuges] they store food supplies and thus remain sheltered for days, if need obliges them to retreat to these. They also make sure that they store a large number of earthenware jars filled with water, if there is no running water nearby — for some places have an abundance while others lack it altogether. In other *helian* [sic] they were accustomed to have as they still have today, their little huts as safe-keeping places for their more precious things and valuables. As they left someone there to guard these things, all was safe and secure. Often enough a single individual, armed with at least four rocks, managed to defend himself even against a large number of enemy, even scorning them with ridicule. Unless such an enemy can managed to fly, he is unable to scale the precarious approach.

Even today, there are in the *pueblos* a good number of people in the *elihan* as in the case of Bulusan, which forms the *embocadero* with Balicuatum. It is through this strait that the *naos* enter and exit when coming from or leaving for New Spain, and when the waters are favourable. Otherwise, when the sea is contrary, they sail for other harbours so as to minimize risks and dangers.

In the regions of Samar there were other smaller towns in ancient times, near the mouth of the San Juanillo Strait. It was a small one situated on an islet of rock near the above-mentioned and called Paet and which means "bitter". Since this was a secure place for them, the people continued living there for some years even after they embraced Christianity.

I knew some of its inhabitants, although now they have been transferred to other towns. When they were still dwelling on that said rock [of Paet], there arrived the *Caragas*, who at that

y entonces era enemigo de estas bisayas, y, aunque intentó el darles asalto, fue en balde; y, viendo su imposibilidad, fingió que quería ser su amigo, y con buenas palabras y alhagos les engañó, con lo cual bajaron ellos con la seguridad fingida; y, aunque les recibieron bien y con agrado al principio, con pretexto de convidarles a comer y beber en sus embarcaciones, a todos los que fueron fáciles y se embarcaron, se los llevaron cautivos, y yo vi al principal de dicha peña y pueblo que, después de algunos años, volvió del cautiverio. Era indio corpulento y pintado todo, llamado *Casilagan*, que quiere decir “envidiado”, y a su mujer, no menos corpulenta que él; y uno y otro no ha muchos años que murieron, habiendo vivido no pocos después del cautiverio en el pueblo de Catbalogan, que, fue donde se agregaron, después de este robo, las reliquias de la gente de dicho *Paet*, y duran hoy sus descendientes.

A este modo hubo en su antigüedad muchos otros que, por no tener cosa especial y ser todos de un modo, no refiero. Basta decir que con todas sus prevenciones nunca se vieron libres de asaltos, robos y cautiverios, y de no pocas muertes, habiendo en esta parte alcanzado al presente por medio de la fe y sujeción a Dios y al rey de España mucha seguridad, como veremos en la Segunda Parte que, aunque no les faltan enemigos, y hartos, que les molestan, perturban y llevan en mucha cantidad cautivos a otras partes, es mucho menos de lo que antes era, y se pudiera remediar mejor si los ministros de S. M. cuidaran, como deben, de ello y cumplieran con lo que está por S. M. ordenado, y ellos contribuyen y pagan para su defensa; pero, por acá cada cual cuida de sí y

time were still the enemy of the Bisayans. And although the enemy made an attempt to storm that *pueblo* on the rock, their efforts were all in vain. Since they were unable to penetrate the stronghold and make captives, they resorted to feigned overtures in friendship through cunning words and seeming gestures of kindness. And so, deceived by all this soft-talk and empty promises, some of these inhabitants came out and joined their company. The enemy welcomed them most graciously as if all was well and fine; shortly thereafter the enemy invited them to their vessels under the pretext of serving dinner and offering drinks. When all were assembled there, [the Caragas] took them captives and carried them off. I personally met the said *datu* of this said cliff and *pueblo* [of Paet] when he returned from captivity after some years.

This *Indio*, called Casilagan, a term which signifies "envied", was very stout and completely tattooed. [It would be well to add that] his wife too was no less corpulent than he himself. Both of them have died only several years ago, upon their return from captivity in the town of Catbalogan. For this was the place where the survivors gathered after an assault. The rest of the people of this said Paet are still there as their descendants.

There were many other towns of this type in their ancient times, but since there is nothing special about them and are rather similar, I shall make no reference to them at all. May it suffice to say this: that with all their preventive measures, they never found themselves free from assaults, plunder, captivity or more than their share of deaths. Presently, however, they have achieved greater security in this matter since they have embraced the faith and yielded to the rule of God and to the King of Spain, as we shall see in Part Two. And even though today there is no shortage of enemies to harass them, cause them harm and to carry away large numbers of them into captivity to strange places; nonetheless, all this has diminished somewhat and there is much less of it now than previously. However, this still could be remedied further if the ministers of His Majesty would only take better care of them, as they ought to. Would that they would comply attentively with what is ordered by His Majesty or even get them to contribute or pay a tax for their own defense. And yet, here are those who care only for themselves and search for ways to increase their wealth, be it justly or unjustly. And as for our poor *Indios*, let the dogs eat them!

sus aumentos, justos o injustos, y a los pobres indios que se los coman los perros. Negocio es éste que carga mucho las conciencias de los que, pudiendo remediarlo, no lo hacen; que S. M. (Dios le guarde) bien prevenido lo tiene todo y dispuesta la ejecución, pero de esto trataremos más despacio en su lugar.

CAPITULO 3

TRATASE EN ESPECIAL DE SU MODO DE CASAS Y HABITACIONES; LAS DIFERENCIAS QUE TENIAN DE ELLAS Y LAS CAUSAS POR QUE

Ya dijimos en lo pasado el modo que tienen en fabricar sus casas y cómo todas son con postes o columnas, que acá llaman *harigues*, y con un sobrado por lo menos; que ninguno de estos vive en el suelo o sobre la tierra, como suelen los indios de Méjico y otras partes. Diremos ahora con más extensión la diferencia que usaban de casas en su antigüedad y usan hoy aun comúnmente, aunque de algunas no tanto, por cesar las causas que antiguamente tenían. Estas hallo que eran en cuatro diferencias mayores, según el lugar y causas por qué las hacían, y son las siguientes:

Los principales de mayor calidad, que acá llaman *dato*, y eran, como veremos en el Segundo Capítulo, en dos diferencias, hacían sus casas mayores y más ostentativas; y, cuanto era mayor principal y tenía más vasallos, la hacían mayor.

Alcanzé yo algunas de siete o nueve, y aun once postes, por banda, que, según la distancia con que los suelen enarbolarse, que es de dos brazas poco más a menos, tendrían unas quince, otras

This is a matter which should weigh heavily upon the consciences of those who, being able to remedy these situations, fail to do so. His Majesty, on the other hand, (may God preserve Him) has provided well for all of this and has taken measures to rectify much of it. It is the actual implementation [of these measures] that is lacking; we shall deal with this at greater length in its proper place.

CHAPTER THREE

CONCERNING THE PARTICULAR STYLE OF THEIR HOUSE CONSTRUCTION AND DWELLINGS; THE DIFFERENCES FOUND AMONG THEM, AND THE REASONS FOR SUCH A VARIETY

Previously, we have already discussed their manner of constructing houses and how these consisted mainly of posts or columns, known here as *harigues*. These (houses) are always erected above ground and never at ground level as is the practice of the *Indios* of Mexico and in other regions. Presently, we shall dwell at some length on the variety and types of houses they had had in ancient times. Some of these are still the same today, although others have falling into disuse.

About these (types of dwellings), I wish to say that there are four major types, depending upon the location and the particular need. Hence, these are as follows:

The chiefs of the highest rank, whom they call *datu* over here — and of which there were two different categories, which we shall see in the next chapter, — built larger and more ostentatious dwellings. The higher the rank of the *datu*, and the more slaves he had, the more spacious was the house he constructed. I was still able to catch a glimpse of these houses which had seven, nine or even eleven posts on each side. Since they had spaced them at about a span of two *brazas* apart, this means that some of these would be about fifteen *brazas* long, while others about

diecinueve o veinte brazas. Los postes o *harigues*, que llaman *palahosan*, que quiere decir “que sobrepujan”, porque llegan hasta el caballete del techo que se sustenta sobre ellos por no poner los cabrios, que acá llaman *sarguntin*, debajo del caballete primero que estriba en dichas *palahosan*, sino encima, y luego otro y otro; de modo que suele tener cada casa, de las grandes, tres palos o caballetes, que unos encima de otros le forman: el de abajo, que lo sustentan los dichos postes altos, y encima de ellos, *sarguntines*, o tijeras, u otro que lo fortalece y sirve de asiento para otras varas que llaman *casao*, que son las varas sobre que se pone el techo último y sirve de tejas, que ya dijimos hacerse de hojas de varias palmas que son muy al propósito para el efecto; y sobre dichos quilos corre otro palo algo menor, que es el último caballete, y por no poner tantos postes altos o *palahosan*, como los *harigues*, sino interpolados por que caiga en medio de la casa el uno de ellos, ponían siempre nones los unos y los otros; y ellos son toda la fortaleza de sus fábricas, por hincarlos en tierra muy profundos, y ser palos rollizos y de *tugas*, que son muy duros e incorruptibles comúnmente.

Por esto llamaban a sus casas, y llaman hoy a las que hacen de propósito y para durar mucho, *gitugasi*, que quiere “de madera dura e incorruptible”, de que hay las diferencias que dijimos arriba.

Los suelos, aunque fuesen grandes principales, nunca los hacían de tablas, que para ellos era menos limpieza, sino de los *bahes*, que ya dijimos; con lo cual, aunque se derrame agua y otras inmunicias, como son a modo de enrejado, aunque espeso, y cuando mucho podrá pasar la mano extendida, todo se cae abajo.

El dicho suelo nunca le hacían todo seguido y que corriese toda la casa por parejo, sino que lo dividían en dos, echando por

nineteen or twenty brazas approximately. These posts or *harigues* are called *palahosan* which, in turn, means "to go over and beyond the required length", because these had reached as high as the ridge of the roof. These houses do not place the beams, called here *sarguntin*, under the first ridge, which rests upon the said *palahosan*, but on top, one upon the other. In this way, therefore, each house of these (high ranking *datus*) had three ridge poles or ridges, one set above the other; hence, the beams below supported the said high posts. Finally, on top of these they added the *sarguntines* or crossed-beams, or something of the type that added greater strength and served as a base for other poles which they call *casao*. The latter are shingles which are placed on top of the structure and serve as roofing in the manner of tiles; these, as we have stated, are made from leaves of various palms and serve the purpose well. And over the said *quilos* runs another pole somewhat smaller which is the last piece or beamlet to be set in place. Thus they avoid utilizing too many high posts or *palahosan*, as *harigues*. And it is thus that they spaced them out since one of these is located in the center of the house, they place them in uneven numbers in each direction. For it is in such a pattern that the strength is built into it. Then, too, these posts are set deeply into the ground, they are round, hard wood or *tugas* and, as a rule, incorruptible.

And so, they were accustomed to refer to their houses — as they even do today when these are built of such hard timber — with the term *gitugasi*; which means to say, "of hard and incorruptible lumber". Among these, there are the different kinds which were mentioned already.

The floors (of these houses), even though these belonged to the more prominent chiefs, were never made of boards, but of *bahes*, as we have already said. And so, these floors are laid out in a grille-like fashion, with the slats about a finger apart. This arrangement permits spillage and droppings to fall through the floor, thereby maintaining a greater semblance of cleanliness.

The above-mentioned floors were never laid out in a single level throughout the area of the house. Rather, it was divided into two different levels just about midway. They divided the

el medio de la casa, cuanto tiene de largo, un palo cuadrado que llaman *puthanan*, y a los extremos otros tan grandes como él, y entre uno y otro palo encajábanselo en los de los lados; fabricaban y fabrican los que ellos llaman *bugbung*, que es el tabique que sirve de pared.

Este en las casas de los *datos* era comúnmente de tablas muy bien labradas y lisas, y algunas con muchas molduras de harta curiosidad; y yo alcancé algunas de no poco primor.

Por el palo que cae en medio, que ya dijimos se llama *puthanan*, pasaban todos cuantos vivían, entraban y salían en la casa del *dato* cuando dormía, por que no hiciesen ruido y lo despertasen, que en lo demás del suelo suele ser considerable, allí ninguno por estar muy firme y con sus horquillas o rodrigones en que encaja; que toda esta atención y cortesía tenían a sus *datos*, que aunque el suelo, donde ellos y sus mujeres dormían (úsalo aun hoy), era más alto una o dos gradas, y algunas en segundo sobrado de la misma casa, con todo, con la correspondencia de los suelos era fácil hacer algún ruido, y, por evitarlo, se ponía dicho palo que, además de esto, servía de fortalecer más y hermostear el suelo a su modo, que al nuestro sirviera de tropiezo y embarazo. Cada cual según su uso.

En estas casas de los *datos*, que por eso las hacían tan capaces y grandes, además de los varios aposentos o divisiones que tenía el *dato* para sí, para sus mujeres, y para las *sandil*, que eran las concubinas, había divisiones en que pudieran dormir otros muchos sin mezclarse, y dejaban una sala capaz para sus fiestas, bebezones, danzas y otros entretenimientos, que todo se hacían en casa del *dato* solamente, no en ninguna otra, aunque fuese de parientes del *dato*. A ellas acudían las esclavas, que siempre eran muchas, a tender las telas y telares para tejer con desahogo y limpieza, que

structure into two lengthwise and made a square log to run from end to end and called it *puthanan*. Next, they also set in such similar logs at both extremities. It was also along these that they put in partions or walls called *bungbung*. They did this in the past and continue building in this manner even today.

Now, in the houses of the *datus*, these walls were made of boards which were made smooth and well polished. Some of these were elaborately carved or worked and I myself saw some of these executed rather exquisitely.

The large squared log that ran through the center of the house, which we said was called *puthanan*, was used as a passageway for all who dwelled in these. This also served as an entrance and an exit for those who live there while the *datu* was asleep. What more, this arrangement minimized the noise which otherwise would be considerable, should they walk on the floors instead. The log was solid, firm and noise-proof, for it was fitted into forked posts which supported them. Unimaginable, all this just to show a little respect and courtesy for their *datu*. The flooring upon which the *datus* and their women slept on was elevated by one or two steps (this is still the practice today). Still, some others slept on an upper floor of the same house. All in all, since the floors were not level, this was a contributing factor in intensifying the noise. Hence, to minimize further the noise level, the above-mentioned log was again utilized so as to strengthen and even beautify the said floor in this fashion. For us, all this would only serve to encourage tripping and remain as an obstacle. However, to each his own!

In these houses of the *datus* — and that is the reason why they built them so large and spacious — aside from the various rooms or divisions which the *datu* had had for himself, his wives and the *sandil*, who were the concubines, they had partitions where many others may sleep without mingling together. Then, also, they set aside a large room for their celebrations, drinking bouts, dances and other entertainments. All the activities were held exclusively in the house of the *datu* and in no other place. And this, even if the celebrants may be the relatives of the *datu* himself. This is the same room in which the slaves gathered — there were always great numbers of these — to spread out their

con doblarlos en alzando de obra, como ellas suelen siempre, los arriman o cuelgan a un lado, sin que sirvan de estorbo alguno.

Fuera de esto, en estas casas se juntaban y guardaban todo el arroz, legumbres y otras comidas que se guardan, así de las que el *dato* cogía de su sementera — que todos acudían a trabajar cuando eran llamados — como de las de sus esclavos y parientes, que de allí se les daba a todos lo necesario para su sustento, y para esto tenían un despensero que llamaban *paragahin* que lo recibía y entregaba con cuenta y razón según la disposición del *dato*. De modo que de estas casas, que eran las mayores y mejores, hacía cada principal la suya en qué vivir, y era el recurso de todos, como hemos dicho.

La segunda calidad de sus casas era mucho menor, aunque eran decentes y fuertes, unas de *tugas*, otras no, según la posibilidad de sus dueños. Estos eran los parientes de los principales, o los más confidentes suyos, que vivían con sus hijos y mujeres en casas aparte, y, aunque muchos de ellos tenían muchos esclavos y posible para edificar sus casas con la ostentación que los otros, no se les permitía, así por el recelo (que siempre vivieron con él estos indios en su antigüedad; que faltando la fe faltó siempre la lealtad) de no verles con grandes alientos y crecida ostentación, por no tenerse por seguros aun de sus mismos hermanos, como por evitar conversos y bebezones en dichas casas, pues de ellas salieron siempre los movimientos; y así no daban lugar los *datos* a que se hiciesen casas ostentativas, sino moderadas y bastantes solo para una moderada habitación. Eran éstas más o menos labradas, según la curiosidad de los dueños, porque los que tenían esclavos buenos carpinteros, que los hubo siempre

weaving material and looms and thus work in comfort and cleanliness. And so, when bringing their work to an end, they would put all these things together and take them outdoors and thus keep them out of the way.

What more, they also used these houses for gathering and storing all the rice, vegetables and other food supplies. This was also a storehouse not only for what the *datu* gathered from his fields — for all had to report for work when summoned — but also the food supplies of the slaves and relatives. All, as a result, had a claim and a right to obtain from this storehouse whatever they needed for their sustenance. Due to this arrangement, there was assigned a cellar-keeper or a *paragahin*, as he was called. It was his task to receive and distribute the stocks by keeping records and accounts according to the pleasure of the *datu*. And so, it was with these types of houses which were the largest and the best, and which each chief planned in his own way, as to where to dwell and how to have everyone at his service, as we have already stated.

The second type of their houses were much smaller, and yet suitable and strong; some were of *tugas*, while others not so, but only according to the means of its owners. Ordinarily, there were houses of the relatives of the *datus*, or even his more intimate friends, who lived in separate houses with their wives and children. Now, even though these families had numerous slaves themselves and the resources to build more lavishly, they were not permitted to do so. And the reason: fear that they may be goaded by ambition (these *Indios* always lived in such suspicion in their antiquity and loyalty was always somehow in abeyance) and an ever growing drive for ostentation. Somehow, they did not even consider themselves safe even with their own brothers. (Another reason for such smaller houses was) so that they may not assemble in large gatherings and for drinking sprees on their own, since from such arise all sorts of uprisings. This was why the *datus* would not permit them to build lavishly, but only moderately, and sufficiently suitable dwellings.

These houses were, more or less, quite well constructed, depending of course upon the artistic tastes of its owners. Always, they had slaves who were excellent carpenters; for it seems that

(hay algunos que parece se nacen maestros), pues, teniendo como tienen y hemos dicho ya, y más fue antiguamente, tan pocas herramientas, y pocos o ninguno que les enseñan, es cierto que ha habido y hay algunos entalladores, no de relieve entero o bultos de imágenes, que de esto saben poquísimo, sino de follajes, rasgos y otros labores de media talla, más que medianamente peritos; y de estos labores tenían en sus casas, más antiguamente que tienen hoy, y menos que les mandasen, que ahora tienen muchos.

Este tamaño de casas de segunda magnitud (llamémoslas así) que eran de cinco *harigues*, o postes, por banda, o de siete cuando más, es el que hoy usan más, así los principales en sus casas propias de las sementeras, como en los pueblos que hacen con más disposición, orden y traza que solían antiguamente, como diremos cuando tratemos de sus reducciones y junta a mayores pueblos, como están al presente con sus iglesias y casas para los ministros; que los antiguos, como los hacían más para defenderse de los asaltos que padecían unos de otros, miraban más en ellos a su unión y fortaleza que a otras comodidades.

Y, a la verdad, ellos fueron en esto, y son hoy, tan contentadizos, no sé si por flojos, o porque no tenían, ni tienen, en eso su puntillo de honra, que ni antiguamente las harían, sino es apretados de sus *datos*, ni ahora sino comprimidos de los ministros; pues, como veremos, vivían, y viven hoy, en sus sementeras en unas casillas que apenas tienen comodidad alguna, ni menos curiosidad, *ut plurimum*.

Y esta es la tercera diferencia que tenían de casas, que son las que llamamos “de las sementeras”, las cuales hicieron siempre, exceptos los *datos*, y hacen a poco más a menos y con palos poco fuertes, porque como ellos no duran más que uno o dos años en una sementera, y luego la mudan para sembrar en tierra nueva

there were even some who were born masters (in this craft). It is simply incredible, as we have already stated, how with so few tools and with so little training, there were, even in ancient times, such fine wood carvers. These sculptors did not produce perfect reliefs or busts of personages, for they were poorly acquainted with such. However, they were more than moderately skillful in executing foliage work, intricate lines and bas-reliefs. These artistic features of skill were much more common in ancient days than they are at present in their houses. Then too, there are less people today making such requests; yet, today, they still have quite a bit of it all.

The size of the houses of the second magnitude, let us call them such, which consisted of five *harigues* or posts on each side — or at most seven — is the same type the *datus* constructed in their fields today, as well as in the towns. The latter, they build with greater care, order and plan than even in the days of old, as we shall discuss when we deal with the “reducciones” or their coming together to the larger towns where they presently have their churches and houses of the ministers. The Bisayans of old, built these houses in order to defend themselves from the attacks they suffered from one another and hence, were concerned more about utility and strengthen than with any other advantage.

And, in truth, about this matter they were, and still are, quite contented; that is, unless they be hard pressed by their *datus*, as in ancient times, or even compelled by the ministers today, they would not make any efforts to build something decent. Now, whether this attitude is one of simply sluggishness or unconcern, I do not know. For, as we shall see, they lived and still live in their farms in such huts which hardly afford any convenience, or even much less have any artistic appeal, *ut plurimum*.

And so, this is the third type of houses that they had and which we shall call “farm huts”. These are always built by all of them; in fact, they even continue building them today with little variation, except the *datus*, who erect them a little larger or smaller and with somewhat weak poles, since they do not stay more than one or two years in one field. Soon they move on to new sites in order to plant their rice since it is not very profitable to cultivate the same land for too long. As a result, they

el arroz que en la ya cansada se da mal, no hacen casas de dura ni que les esté mucho trabajo; porque así como así las dejan y labran otras de nuevo en el lugar donde abrieron nueva sementera.

En estas casas de las sementeras, aunque hacen siempre su división o aposentillo para dormir, que tapan más y cercan de algún tabique, *bungbung* o *dindin*, que acá llaman, más fuerte, lo demás de la casa lo tienen comúnmente sin *dindines*, que por todas partes las taña(?) el viento y las entra el sol; para cuya defensa solo tiene de hojas de palmas, un cayancillo de los que ya dijimos, *olepelepe*, que es una sarta de dichas hojas del largor suyo natural sin añadirle más; los cuales tienen atados con dos vencejos de bejuco, que suben y bajan cuando quieren; que a esto se reducen todos sus tapices, alcatifas y peñosderas; *contenti vivere parvo*. A estas casas, o casillas, se reducen otras que tienen aun mucho menores, divididas en sus sementeres. Estas les sirven de día para sestar y recogerse del sol cuando arde mucho, y de noche para guardar sus sementeras, y las comidillas que en ellas tienen siempre, y sacan cada día lo que han menester para sus comidas ordinarias, como ya dijimos arriba.

Y así, a estas casillas menores, que lo común no tienen mas lugar de cuanto ocupa un hombre tendido y cuando mucho dos, las llaman a unas *bugaban*, que quiere decir "donde se espanta", o los puercos o animales que las infestan, o las aves que para uno y otro sirven. Otros las llaman *horonan*, que quiere decir, "lugar donde se sesteaa o duerme"; y con este nombre llaman por esta misma causa a las casillas que suelen hacer en los montes cuando van a cazar, o en las playas cuando a pescar, o también cuando navegan en el lugar donde se paran o detienen; que, como tienen tan a mano los palos y hojas de varias palmas que sirven de techo, con mucha facilidad las arman, y en los caminos de tierra las suelen tener armadas cerca de los arroyos acomodados para sestar o hacer noche, que les es de alguna comodidad y alivio; y a éstas suelen llamar también *lagcawan*, que corresponde

do not construct durable houses, nor the kind that may call for more intense labour. Hence, they abandon them and build others at a place where they are making a clearing for a new field.

In these "farm houses" they always make some divisions or small sleeping rooms in such a way as to minimize the curiosity of those around. This necessitates some kind of board, a *bung-bung* or a *dindin*, as it is called here. These sections are even stronger than the walls of the rest of the house which is well ventilated and even bathed by the sun. The only defense against the elements are palm leaves, a *cayancillo* about which we have already spoken. Sometimes it is called an *olepelepe*, which are actually leaves strung together in their entire length without adding anything more to them. The latter (i.e. the shingles) are attached to the house with two rattan strips and thus may be raised or lowered at will. These houses are completely bereft of any tapestries, carpets, *peñosderas* (sic); *contenti vivere parvo*.

To these houses or huts others may be added which they have and which are even smaller; these are scattered in their fields. These serve them during the day as a relief from the heat of the sun and a place for a *siesta*; while during the night it serves as shelter from which to guard the plantings. Also, their food supplies are kept in them and it is from there that they draw their daily needs, as we have already stated previously.

And so, these smaller huts, which normally have enough room for a single person, and at most for two, are called by some *bugawan*. The latter term means: "that which frightens away" either hogs, or animals which invade the crops or the birds which use it for one purpose or another. Still others, call these huts *olonan*, which is to say, "a place where one takes a *siesta* or where one sleeps". They also use this term for the huts which they put up in the forests when they go hunting or have them on the seashores while fishing. Also, while sailing, they have these in certain places as stop-overs. Since there is so much at hand of these poles, various palm leaves which provide a roof, it is all setup with the greatest ease and facility. Then too, along the pathways, they usually have them set up conveniently for taking a rest or passing the night. Since these brought them some relief and comfort, they were also accustomed in calling them *lagcawan*, which corresponds to our simple inns. However,

a las ventas nuestras, aunque estas tuyas son solo las dichas casillas sin otra prevención; y unas y otras se suelen llamar con nombre general *balay-balay*, que significa “casilla”; porque *balay* quiere decir “casa”, y la repetición, entre estos, disminuye y a veces aumenta. Estas casillas eran habitación y suelen ser hoy (de día por lo menos) de los esclavos y de la gente deputada para guarda de las sementeras, porque, en dejándolas solas, tienen muchos que se las infestan; y, como no tienen comúnmente otros trojes ni alóndigas donde buscar su sustento, les es necesario mucho cuidado para que, o no se las maltraten los animales o hurten los hombres, que de todo hay.

La cuarta diferencia de casas que tenían en su antigüedad, mucho más que ahora, aunque todavía hacen algunas en lugares infestados de forajidos y gente que se van a los montes, es las que llamaban *hele*, que de esta palabra viene la que dijimos *helia*, de los montes o peñas fuertes, etc.

Fabricaban estas casas, llamadas *hele*, en árboles, algunas muy altas, otros no tanto, aunque la más baja estaría seis o siete brazas de la tierra, algunas diez o doce, y hasta veinte he visto yo algunas.

El modo de la fábrica era escoger algún árbol grande y de ramas gruesas y desparramadas. De éstas quitaban las de en medio porque no embarazasen la habitación; de las otras disponían de manera que, atravesando por abajo asentando sobre ellas y amarrando los palos a propósito, hacían su suelo como el de las más casas, y en las ramas colaterales ataban los demás palos necesarios para atar el techo, *díndines* o tabiques, y todo lo necesario de las demás casas.

Eran algunas de moderada grandeza y en que podían vivir uno o dos casados con su familia; otras eran menores. No tenían estas más columnas, o postes, o *harigues*, que el pie del árbol, y procuraban escogerle rollizo y solo, apartado de otros y que no se pudiese subir a él.

En las casas, donde vivían solos hombres, no ponían escalera sino que ataban, de bejuco entero y recio y otro género que acá

the above-mentioned are only simply huts without any other furnishings; the one and the other are customarily called by the general name *balay-balay*, which means a "small house". Now, the duplicated form always signifies diminution or even, at times, augmentation.

These small huts were dwelling places and are still such to-day (in the daytime, at least) of the slaves and those assigned to watch over the crops. Should these planted fields be left unguarded, they would surely be plundered or uprooted. Ordinarily, since they do not have granaries or storehouses upon which they might depend for their sustenance, they must take precautions in preventing the animals from destroying the crops or even men from pilfering from them — there is always that danger from both sides.

The fourth type of houses that they had in ancient times, are those which they call *hele*. These were much more common then than today; however, even nowadays they build some of these in places infested with thieves and people who have fled into the forests. (This word *hele*) is derived from their term *helia*, as we have stated previously; it means in the mountains or in inaccessible cliffs, etc. They constructed these houses, called *hele*, high on top of trees; others somewhat lower, but not less than six or seven *brazas* above ground. I have also seen some that were about ten, twelve or even twenty *brazas* above ground.

The procedure in constructing (these *elihan*) consisted first in selecting some large tree with heavy and widespread branches. Next, they pruned out the inner branches in order to make room for the dwelling. The framework was then arranged to rest on the heavy branches to which it was then secured. The floor, the roof and the *dindines* or the thin walls, were all arranged as in the other houses we described.

Some of these (*hele*) were fairly spacious and could accommodate one or two married couples with all their family; others were somewhat smaller. These houses did not have any columns, posts or *harigues*, since the three trunk served this purpose. They always made efforts to select the thickest of trunks so that it would be extremely difficult to climb them.

In these houses where only the men lived, they did not place a ladder but only a length of rattan which they fastened to the

llaman *balagun*, y, asidos a él, subían los hombres, que todos ellos trepan como monos, y no hay árbol en los montes, por alto que sea, a que no suban, si tienen alguno de los dichos, o bejuco o *balagun*, en que pueden asirse, mejor que los grumetes en las naos, y subir trepando, que ellos llaman *calanicat*. En las que vivían mujeres con sus maridos o sus padres, etc., ponían escaleras de dos cañas, y a veces de una sola, dejándole las ramas que suelen echar dichas cañas en cada nudo, que ellos llaman *cagingwing*, que cortaban de modo que quedaba un palmo, poco más a menos, de dicha rama en el mismo pie de la caña; que por éstas aun las mujeres suben fácilmente por estar hechas a esto, y pueden con alguna decencia. Así las recogían estos haciendo un rollo que dejaban en una de las ramas encajado. Las otras atravesándolas dentro de sus casas, o fuera en los tabiques, y, cuando era tan alta que no alcanzaban las cañas, solían dejar alguna rama en medio del tronco en que hacían andamio, que ellos llaman *pantao*, que servía de descanso; y allí acababa la una escalera, que era la más larga siempre, y comenzaba la otra hasta el suelo de la casa, y ésta que era más corta, no la guardaban sino en tiempo de necesidad que obligase a ello.

La causa de hacer estas casas era el asegurarse de noche y aun de día, y más cuando quedaban solas las mujeres, de los enemigos y sus asaltos repentinos; porque, como ellos iban como ladroncillos a hurtar, no tenían hora segura. Con esto tampoco les podían hacer mal de noche ni de día; que, como sus ánimos comúnmente fueron y son atraidorados; y por otra parte cobardes —que siempre los traidores lo son— solían, y suelen hoy, no pocas veces ir debajo las casas; y, como los suelos son de *bahes* o cañas, como enrejados, y no de tablas (ya hoy usan hacer parte de ellas

upper branches or even some other kind of vine called *balagun*. And so, with the aid of these vines, the men climbed up or down with the agility of the simians. There is no tree in the forests, however high it may be, which they cannot climb with the help of the said *bejuco* or *balagun*. They climb these with greater facility than the ship-boys do on the ship's masts. They climb by clambering and which they call *calanican*.

In these *hele*, where the women live with their husbands or their parents, etc., they place a ladder made of two bamboos. Sometimes, they would utilize a single bamboo, saving the branches which these customarily produce at each knot, and which they call *cagingguing*. They cut these branches off so that there remained about a *palmo* of his branch, more or less, on each side. And thus, with the aid of these, the women readily go up and down for they are accustomed to it and find no offence to modesty.

After having climbed up (to the *hele*) the vine was drawn up, rolled up and tucked into one of the upper branches, while the ladder was pulled up and placed at the side of the house. Should the house be situated so high that the bamboo ladder would not reach the dwelling, they constructed below the house a kind of a platform called *pantao*, which served as a rest area. Here, the long ladder meant to reach this scaffold only; they had another and a shorter one from the said *pantao* to the house's entrance. The latter was usually permanently set up and not removed except under compelling circumstances.

The reasons for building these houses was to protect themselves by day or night from the constant attacks of the enemy, especially when the women were left alone. The thieves go about stealing and not permitting them even an hour's security or respite. As a result of this setup (i.e. the *heles* at great height) the enemy were not given an opportunity for wrong-doing day or night. For they were always at odds with one another and dealt with each other treacherously; they are quite deceitful on the one hand and on the other, quite cowardly. In the past, and even nowadays, they would place themselves under the houses and usually there where the people were asleep, and thus thrust their spears through the slats and wound them mortally. And so, they were caught unawares and while fast asleep, for their

algunos de los más atentos, por lo menos donde duermen o viven los más), solían por entre ellas hacer golpe y dejar atravesado con la lanza al que estaba descuidado y durmiendo.

A este modo de matar llaman *lingo*, que quiere decir “a traición” o “a escondidillas”; y es cosa muy cierta y constante entre ellos que, en diciendo *ginlingo si coan*, “a fulano mataron a traición”, jamás se sabe quien fue, y, si alguien lo sabe, jamás lo dicen. Lo cual no sucede cuando dicen *Binono si coan*, “a fulano alancearon”; que suelen decirlo y suele rastrearse mejor.

Cosa es esta en que han reparado todos cuantos saben sus costumbres de estos bisayas; y nadie ha sabido que en diciendo *lingo*, se haya conocido ni manifestado el matador. No sabemos si hay entre ellos, aunque se presume, alguna superstición que les obliga a tanto y tan tenaz silencio en descubrirse.

Por esta causa usaban de dichas casas tan altas; y también porque desde lo alto se defendían con solas piedras y *bacayanes* uno o dos de muchos enemigos, y los que usaban de flechas, que eran raros, eran más temidos, porque de lo alto no perdían tiro; y, como eran pocos los que usaban de flechas en su antigüedad, pasaban menos peligro entonces de ser quemados con flechas de fuego, que ahora que ya están más diestros en todo género de armas arrojadizas, fuera más fácil el quemárselas; y desde lo alto hasta las mujeres peleaban echando agua caliente, tiestos, palos y otras cosas que hacían más difícil el poder ser vencidos; y por esto estas casas fuertes, llamémoslo así, por lo alto, eran su refugio y como retirada en su antigüedad, y el “dormi secure” entre sus mayores riesgos, que, como veremos, eran no pocos siempre y a todas horas, y ahora las suelen hacer en parajes infestados de gente foragida y huidos a los montes, en que, como vere-

flooring was made of *bahes* or bamboo, like lattices and not of planks (today some of the more prominent individuals, use planks in those places where they sleep).

Now, this manner of killing is called *lingo*, which is to say, "treacherously" or "unexpectedly and stealthily"; this is a well-established fact among them that by saying *ginlingo si kuan*, meaning "they killed so-and-so treacherously" it is never known who did it. And should anyone ever know it, he will never dare reveal it. However, it is not the case when they utter *binono si kuan*, that is, "so-and-so was speared to death". This latter manner of stating it, leaves room for determining who inflicted the mortal blow.

Such matters can only be understood by those who know the customs of these Bisayans; and yet, no one has known that in saying *lingo* the murderer may be made known or identified. We do not know if there is among them, although it may be presumed, any superstition which binds them to such a strict secrecy and not revealing it if they do know.

And so, the reason for building these houses so high (becomes clear); it is from such a height that they are able to defend themselves more readily with only some rocks and *bacayanes*. That is, one or two (individuals from the top can overpower) a large number of the enemy down below. Those who used arrows, such were rare, were even more greatly feared, because from such an advantageous height they could strike their target more easily. Since there were few who used arrows in their antiquity, they were less exposed to being burned out by the flaming arrows than now. Today, they have more expertise in all kinds of weapons that are hurled and hence, it is easier to burn them out (in their heels). Also, from such a height even the women joined in the battle by pouring out hot water, throwing flower pots, sticks and other such items which made it more difficult for the enemy to overpower them. Finally, these ancient strongholds, let us put it that way — because of their height — were fine shelters and places of refuge and even their *dormi secure* in the midst of their greater difficulties, which as we shall see, were not always just a few but continuous. Nowadays, they usually build them in places or forests teeming with thieves or fugitives. In these matters, as we shall see, the Bisayans are very adept and even

mos, tienen mucha facilidad, hoy más que en su antigüedad, los bisayas, y lo hacen con menos peligro ahora que lo hicieron en su antigüedad, pues entonces o les mataran o hicieran esclavos por lo menos, por las causas que en la Segunda Parte diremos más largamente.

Concluyo este Capítulo con una cosa bien notable y que fue digna de loa en su antigüedad y mejor observada que ahora, y es que ni en sus casas grandes los *datos*, ni en las menores los otros, ni aun los esclavos en las suyas más pequeñas tenían puertas ni cajas cerradas con llave, porque estas no las conocieron en su antigüedad; y, si tenían algun *abobote*; que eran pocos, o *capipis*, que era a modo de cajuela de hojas de palma, como ya dijimos, los amarraban solo con un cordel o con un bonsejo de bejuco, sin que jamás los faltase nada de sus casas, ni de las sementeras, sino algo de comida tal vez, que el vientre muchas veces obliga a más que los otros sentidos, porque no había entre ellos comúnmente ladrones, y después de llamar a uno “brujo”, que era su mayor baldón, era el segundo, y que sentían mucho el que le llamasen *macawat*, que quiere decir “ladrón”; de modo que de un mismo *gamoro*, o junta de casas, estaban seguras en todas ellas sus alhajas aunque fuesen de oro. Puede ser que fuese no tanto por virtud cuanto porque, entre pocos y todos conocidos, no se podría esconder el hurto, que no podían sin riesgo de la vida llevar a otra parte a vender o enajenar; o quizás fue porque castigaban con mucho rigor antiguamente los hurtos, aun de cosas muy livianas, haciéndoles esclavos por ello, y, si eran de cosa grave, al ladrón y a toda su generación; y, aunque de verdad todos ellos vivían de robarse unos a otros, que por esto eran enemigos todos, con todo fue de mucha loa y estima que entre sí los de un mismo pueblo o *gamoro* se tuviesen tanta fidelidad, la cual no se halla aun entre gente muy política.

more so now, than in ancient times. In fact, today they are subjected to lesser risks than they were in the days of old. In the past, they either killed them or, at least, made slaves of them. We shall explain all this in the Second Part at greater length.

I conclude this chapter with something very unusual in their antiquity which deserves praise, for it was even better observed than now. Namely, that neither in the large houses of the *datus*, nor in the other smaller ones, not even in those of the slaves which were the tiniest, could there be found any doors, or chests under lock and key; these things were just unknown in their ancient days. If they had anything similar, it was in *abobote* which was not so common or a *capipis*, which was a kind of a small box made of palm leaves. This, as we have already pointed out, they secured with only a cord or with a *bonsejo de bejuco*. Yet, there was never anything missing from their houses or anything from the huts in the fields, except perhaps, something to eat. It seems that the demands of the belly are more demanding at times than that of the other senses. Among these Bisayans, as a rule, there were hardly any thieves. To be called a *brujo* (more appropriately, *asuang*) was the greatest insult among them; to be called a *macawat*, that is to say "a thief" was the second most serious offense. Hence, this is the reason why in the same *gamoro*, or cluster of houses, all their jewelry, even if it be gold; was always safe.

Perhaps, the reason for this attitude was not so much their virtues, as the fact that since they were so few (in the *gamoro*), and knowing each other so closely, the theft would not be able to remain unknown. Then too, a stolen item could not be taken elsewhere to be sold without risking one's reputation. Or again, perhaps, it was that they punished theft very rigorously in ancient times. Even for some petty theft, they would be made slaves as a consequence. If, however, the theft was considerable, the thief and all his progeny (were made slaves). And although, in truth, all of them lived from plundering each other — in this regard they were enemies to one another — yet it was worthy of praise and recognition that among themselves in the same village or *gamoro*, they were loyal to each other—something that is not even found among more progressive peoples.

Y podemos decir que se les acabó ya esta fidelidad a los bisayas, y aun a todos los de por acá; muestra clara de que no era virtud ni les salía del corazón; que hoy había de ser mayor si esto fuera, pues ven, los que con tener ya llaves ellos y cajas y escritorios, y cerrar sus puertas hoy y sus casas, no hay seguridad, pues aun a los mismos Padres nos hurtan las escribanías, y han hurtado no pocas hasta ahora que escribo esto, aunque a mi, a Dios gracias, en tantos años, no me han hurtado cosa de monta; y la causa es la mezcla ya de muchos y la libertad de todos, pues pueden trasponerlo sin riesgo a otros pueblos, y hallan quien se los guarde y compre, o trueque, lo cual en su antigüedad era muy difícil, y por esto raro el hurto.

Today (i.e. 1668) we are able to say that this fortunate state of affairs has changed as far as the Bisayans are concerned, and even among all the other people here. This may be a sure indication that (honesty) did not emanate from virtue nor was it a matter of the heart; otherwise there would have resulted a better and a greater impact as regards integrity. Already now, they have their keys, trunks and writing desks and today lock their doors and houses. There is no more security; now they even pilfer things from the writing desks of the fathers (i.e. the ministers). This has been happening now even as I am writing all this. However, from me, thanks be to God, they have never stolen anything valuable all these years. The reason for this is the greater number of people now and the greater freedom with which they move from place to place. As a result, they can now dispose of stolen items in other towns without great risks. Hence, they are now more able to find someone to purchase a stolen item more readily, or barter it or even hold it for them. Since this was much more difficult in olden times, stealing was a more rare incidence.