

Capítulo 13

DE SUS SACERDOTES Y SACERDOTISAS Y CÓMO LLEGABAN A ESTA DIGNIDAD; SI TENÍAN COMO TEMPLOS EN QUÉ HACER LOS SACRIFICIOS, ETC.

Aunque siempre el demonio fue, es, y será padre de mentiras y gran artífice de engaños, constante y aun conforme en serlo en todas partes, parece que en estas Islas entabló muchos de los que en otras aunque más políticas, más entendidas y más vanamente supersticiosas naciones de Europa, hemos leído usaban en su ciega gentilidad. Y no es mucho simbolice mucho si el autor acá y allá fue el mismo; aunque acá menos religioso o menos ceremoniático, y atemperándose al corto natural de estas gentes, a su poco caudal y policía, si bien más a lo tosco, no menos supersticioso, se hacía reconocer y adorar por Dios, borrándoles las pocas vislumbres que, como hemos visto, tenían del Dios verdadero, por medio de sus enredos y marañas, y valiéndose de sus ministros – llamémosles sacerdotes o sacerdotisas – que eran los que los engañaban más y traían de uno a otro engaño, enlazados en no pocas indecentes, vanas y mentirosas supersticiones, mirando el autor al engaño común, y ellos a sus intereses particulares, a que atendían más que a la religión o al útil de los miserables, que en sus enfermedades y necesidades acudían a ellos por remedio, y el que en ellos hallaban era sacarles lo

Chapter 13

CONCERNING THEIR PRIESTS AND PRIESTESSES AND HOW THEY ACQUIRED THIS DIGNITY; WHETHER THEY HAD SOMETHING LIKE TEMPLES IN WHICH TO OFFER THEIR SACRIFICES, ETC.

Satan was, is and always will be 'the father of lies' and a great artisan of deception, who is so constant and even consistent in this role everywhere. It seems that he brought to these islands many of those that we have read about as being common among others even more cultured, more intelligent and more vainly superstitious than the nations of Europe used in their blind paganism. This similarity is not very surprising [considering] that its author here and over there was the same. However, here less religious and less ceremonious accommodating himself to the natural weakness of these people, to their lack of intellectual training and social advancement. But rather, although in a crude manner, yet not less superstitious, he made himself be recognized and adored as god. Thus did he erase the few traces, as we have seen, that they had about the true God; that is, by means of his confusions, snares and by his ministers, let us call them priests or priestesses. [The latter] were those who deceived them most and led them from one falsehood to another, mingled with not a few indecent, vain and deceitful superstitions. Their author's [i.e. the Devil's intention] was to deceive the populace, while those others [i.e. priests and priestesses] had personal interests [in gaining profit] to which they paid more attention than to the religion or the welfare of the individuals, who in their illnesses and needs had recourse to them for some remedy. [And the one remedy] which they offered them consisted in depriving them of the little that they

poco que tenían de oro y otros haberes y morirse, lo más común, miserablemente.

Viniendo, pues, a sus sacerdotes, o sacrificulos, que eran en dos maneras y tenían en su antigüedad dos nombres, lo que hallo más asentado y menos dudoso es que eran comúnmente mujeres, no hombres, y, si había algún hombre que lo fuese, era *asog*,¹ que ellos llaman; (luego diremos lo que significan).

A estas mujeres llamaban en su lengua *daitan*² o *baylan*³, que estos dos nombres tenían. Llamábanlas *daitan*, porque *dait* quiere decir “amistad y paz”; y así, porque como personas cercanas a Dios, que habían de ser sus amigos y tener su amistad para mediar entre Dios y los hombres, les daban el dicho nombre que indicaba la obligación de su oficio.

Baylan era el otro nombre, y de él ha quedado llamar *bailanas* a dichas sacerdotisas; y, aunque uno y otro es nombre común para las que usaban este oficio, no eran igualmente estimadas todas, porque había entre ellas algunas que eran más asistidas del demonio o fingían serlo, y a éstas llamaban *catuuran*⁴, que quiere decir “que eran más fatídicas y de mayor crédito.” Y a éstas acudían más.

Las causas para qué acudían a ellas, y por qué mandaban hacer *paganitos*⁵, y el modo, diremos en el capítulo siguiente; y eran las más ricas, porque jamás hacían cosa de sus supersticiones sin que les pagasen muy bien, llevándose ellas siempre el provecho con seguridad, y los demás el gasto.

Y, aunque comúnmente las sacerdotisas suyas eran mujeres escogidas, como después diremos, por el demonio, él mismo escogía a algún hombre afeminado, que llamaban *asog* en su antigüedad, y lo que dicen comúnmente de estos *asog*, es que eran hombres impotentes y faltos para el uso del matrimonio, y así nunca se casaban, antes bien servían de las mujeres por ocultar más su falta y se llegaban más a los hombres que a ellas. Si acaso eran herma-

had in gold or other belongings; then, they permitted them to die, as a rule, miserably anyway.

Now, therefore, as far as their priests or petty sacrificers, who were of two different classes and who in ancient times had two names, I have discovered with very little doubt that they were commonly women and not men. If there was some man who might have been one [i.e. priest], he was called *asug*,¹ as they put it; later, we shall explain its meaning.

To these women they called in their language *daitan*² or *baylan*³; they were known thus by both names. They called them *daitan* because the word *dait* means 'friendship and peace'; they gave them this name because some persons close to God had to be his friends and enjoy his friendship in order to mediate between god and people. This was indicative of the obligations of her office.

Baylan was the other name, and hence the custom of calling the said priestesses *baylana*. Although both names were common to those who engaged in such an office, not all were equally esteemed, because among them there were some who were better assisted by the devil or at least feigned to be so. And so, these were called *katuuran*⁴ which means 'they who were more reliable and more credible'; hence, people had greater recourse to them.

The reasons why they approached them and why they demanded that they perform the *paganito*⁵ and its manner, we shall treat in the succeeding chapter. They were the wealthiest because these never performed any superstitious rite unless they were paid very well. Unfailingly, they derived the greatest profit and left the others with the expenses.

Although their priestesses were ordinarily women selected by the devil, as we shall tell later, some effeminate men were also chosen by him and were called *asug* in their antiquity. What they commonly say about these *asug* is that they were impotent men, incapable of entering into marriage. So, they never married; but rather they used women as a shield to better hide their deficiency and consorted more with men than with women. If, per chance, these were hermaphrodites they were not able to tell; since in

froditas no lo saben decir; que no tuvieron en su antigüedad noticia de tales individuos.

Ahora me dijeron por cosa cierta había en cierto pueblo uno (no lo he averiguado, y así no lo sé de cierto; que estas cosas, de semejante calidad y ocultas, se averiguan mal y ellos lo niegan); lo cierto es que los dichos *asog* más se trataban como mujeres que como hombres en el modo de vivir, de andar y aun de sus faenas, aplicándose algunos de ellos a las obras mujeriles como de tejer, labrar, *etc.*, y en el vestir, aunque no se ponían *sayas*,⁶ que ni aun las de las mujeres en su antigüedad lo eran, sí unos *lambon*⁷, que acá llaman, que es un modo de sayos largos, como hasta los pies, en que aun por el traje eran conocidos.

Diré lo que en esta parte vi en un pueblo de Ibabao, llamado Sulat, donde estaba un indio mudo, a quien ellos llamaban *asog*, y decían que, si fuera en su antigüedad, hubiera sido *daitan*. Este era tan amujerado que en todo parecía más a mujer que hombre, aunque dicen lo era con la falta dicha. Su vestir era hasta en piernas, y con un bajaque ancho, que imitaba, bajo del dicho *lambon*, a sus sayas antiguas. Todas las cosas que hacen las mujeres, hacía, como tejer mantas, labrar y coser ropa, hacer ollas, que es ocupación de ellas, y danzaba tan bien como ellas; nunca como hombre, que es diferente su baile, y en todo parecía más mujer que hombre. Huía de las mujeres en todo, y tanto que ni aun a sus parientes permitía se le hallasen cerca, y mucho más cuando dormía, y también de los hombres, pues jamás se dejaba tocar, ni aun se bañaba jamás delante de otros.

Era, aunque mudo, muy entendido, y se explicaba con acciones que tenía propias, y, en sabiéndolas, se entendía muy bien, y con notable facilidad se explicaba.

Confeséle yo algunas veces con suficientes noticias de sus pecados; pero en materia de sexto mandamiento, ni rastro; antes,

their ancient times they did not have knowledge about such individuals.

Now, they related as a fact that there was such a one in a certain town. I do not know this for sure, because it is difficult to ascertain matters of this nature and which are so secret. What more, they very easily deny all this anyway. What is true is that the said *asug* behave more like women than men in their manner of living, walking, and even in performing certain tasks. Some of them apply themselves or are engaged in womanly tasks such as weaving, needle work, etc. As regards to their dress, although they did not wear *sayas*,⁶ for the women in ancient times did not wear these, they did wear some sort of a *lambung*,⁷ as they are called here. This is a kind of a long gown reaching to the feet; as a result, they were always recognized by this vesture.

I shall speak of what I saw in a town of Ibabaw, called Sulat, where a native mute lived and who was called *asug*. They said that had he lived in the ancient times, he sure would have been a *daitan*. He was so effeminate that in everything he looked more like a woman than a man; they even say that he had the mentioned deficiency. His manner of dress reached down to his ankles with a wide *bahag* which resembled the ancient *sayas* and was worn under the said *lambung*. He did all the things that the women do, such as weaving blankets, embroidering, sewing clothing, making pottery – all occupations of women. He also danced as well as they did and never like a man, whose dancing is quite different; in all things he was more of a woman than a man. He fled from the women altogether, so much so that he did not even allow his own relatives to be near him, especially when sleeping. Similarly, he also shunned men; he would never allow himself to be touched, nor would he even bathe in anyone's presence.

Even though he was a mute, he was extremely intelligent and made himself understood through his own signs. Once people caught on to these motions, he was well understood and explained himself remarkably well.

I confessed him sometimes in such a manner and obtained a satisfactory knowledge about his sins; however, as regards to the

si se le preguntaba de la materia, se demudaba y como azoraba; y, si por burla, alguno le decía en la materia alguna chanza o palabra fea, por señas se enojaba y tapaba los ojos con las manos, como avergonzándose de cosas semejantes; de modo que de esta manera dicen eran sus *asog* antiguamente, y que todos los que lo eran hacían oficio de sacrificios, porque los escogía el *diwata* para este ministerio.

Digamos ya el modo de escogerlos; que, aunque en estos *asog* no hallo más de que todos cuantos lo eran, por serlo, tenían dicho oficio, en las mujeres había más elección; y ya dijimos arriba que solían ir ellas muy llenas de oro y galas, a su modo, a los *nunoc*, donde habitaba el *diwata*, y que allí escogía él a su gusto, teniendo con ellas sus congresos, – de ellos trataremos en otro lugar – con los cuales quedaban iniciadas (no digamos consagradas, que no merecen tal nombre para serlo), y la señal exterior era que les daba un género de locura, a fingían ellas que les daba, haciendo muchos visajes, poniendo los ojos en blanco y enfureciéndose a las veces, como hallamos de algunas de la sibilas antiguas y de las vestales, con lo cual se entendía que era ya poseída del *diwata*, y comenzaba a contar algunas embustes y a decir que le hablaba y daba razón de lo que había de suceder, y decían *ginititingan aco*, que quiere decir, “ya me habló el *diwata*”; y con estas demostraciones, algunas causadas verdaderamente del demonio, otras fingidas de ellas para acreditarse y ser tenidas por *cataoran*, que dijimos, quedaban ya tenidas por tales y comenzaban a hacer su oficio.

Y porque aquel modo de locura, o furor, a que llaman *tuyao*⁸ en su lengua, aun hoy se halla más de lo que quisiéramos, diré lo que he podido averiguar así de los que lo padecen, o han padecido, como de otros que con alguna mayor atención lo han admirado.

sixth commandment, nothing has surfaced at all. In fact, should he be asked about such matters, he would become agitated and remain silent. Or again, if someone spoke to him, in jest, about some joke or an off-color matter, he indicated his resentment through some motions and covered his eyes with his hands as if ashamed of such things. This is what they say about their *asug* and who they were in the olden times. All those who were such, performed their tasks of sacrifices since (it was believed that the *diwata* selected them for this ministry).

Let us now speak about the method by which they chose them. About the *asug*, all I have been able to find out is that all those who were such, and as many as there were of them, held such an office. Yet, among the women, there was [some sort of] a selection. We have already stated before that they were accustomed to go about well-dressed and heavily adorned with gold. In this manner, they went to the *nunuk* where the *diwata* [supposedly] dwelled; for it was there that he selected them at his pleasure while they held their intimacy with him. About these matters, we shall treat in another place. Through these [intimate unions] they were 'initiated' (let us not say 'consecrated' for it does not merit such a name). The external sign was that he communicated to them a kind of a madness, or they feigned that he did so. They made many grimaces, producing a blank stare in the eyes, plunging into a rage at times just as it was sometimes in the case of the ancient Sybils and the Vestals. All this was now meant to be an indication that she was possessed by the *diwata*. She, then, began to narrate some stories and to say that he was speaking to her and giving her knowledge about what was going to happen. Then, she said: *Gintitingan aku*, which means to say, "the *diwata* has just spoken to me". With these demonstrations, some of them certainly produced by the devil, others feigned by them so as to gain prestige and be acknowledged as a *katuuran* – they gained the reputation, as we have already stated, of being such and thus began to perform their office.

Now that this sort of madness or rage, which they call *tuyaw*⁸ in their language, is still found today even more than we would wish it to be. I shall speak about what I have been able to ascertain from those who suffer or have suffered from it. Or even others

Y así, dejando a parte la locura natural que por lesión de la potencia padecen estos, como otros muchos de lo restante del mundo, que es enfermedad, y a los que la padecen llaman *tutuyauen*, que es lo mismo que *loco*, que en ésto no hay cosa extraordinaria, diré de la que causa el demonio, o por sí solo o cooperando ellos – lo que lleva más fundamento, y es lo siguiente:

El modo de decir que padecen o han padecido este género de locura es diferente del otro; y así dicen en su lengua *gintutuyao aco*, o *ginpatuyao aco*, que quiere decir: “he padecido locura, o me han hecho loquear”; y como el efecto de éste, o furor, o locura, o abstracción de juicio, es temporáneo y a ratos, yo siempre rastreando la causa y los efectos, hallo que algunos, máxime los hombres, lo padecen contra su voluntad; las mujeres algunas también; otras porque cooperan, y otras porque lo fingen; que de todo hay.

Contóme un indio de razón, y que, a mi ver, ha sido uno de los mejores cristianos que por acá ha habido, y murió ya como tal, llamado *Bactis*, que conocí y traté mucho, y le tuve por de hombre de mucha razón, y que en más de diez años que lo comuniqué, además de la frecuencia de sacramentos, que era muy ordinaria su devoción, asistencia a la iglesia casi continua, vida inculpable y otras muchas obras buenas (si acaso hay alguna seguridad acá de la salvación, me parece se puede presumir de éste), que padeció muchos años este género de locura, y veía un hombre fiero delante de sí, que con una espada a su modo se le ponía delante y amenazaba de muerte; con lo cual, sin estar más en su mano, se huía y escondía en el monte hasta que se pasaba y se volvía a su casa.

Algunas veces tardaba más, otras menos, tan flaco, macilento y desfigurado que su mujer (que siempre fue muy buena cristiana, de las primitivas, muy ejemplar, y, si por acá hay alguna india que se pueda llamar “santa” pienso lo fue ella) se lastimaba

who with greater interest have wondered about it. We shall leave aside natural madness, which is due to a loss of mental powers that these individuals suffer in common with others throughout the world. Those who suffer this illness they call *tutuyawun*, which is the same as insanity; yet, about this latter there is nothing extraordinary. I shall speak about the one which the devil causes, either by himself or with the cooperation of others, and which has a more sound basis in reality. It is as follows.

The manner of describing this kind of insanity by those who are suffering or have suffered from it is different from the other. And hence, they say in their language: *gintutuyaw aku* or *ginpatuyaw aku*, which is to say, "I have gone insane" or "I have been driven to madness." What more, the effects of this rage, insanity or aberration of judgment is temporary and only for a short span of time. Even though it is not always possible to trace out the cause and effect, some were found, especially the men, to suffer against their will, some of the women also. Again, there are some who go along with it while still others pretend; there is a little of everything.

An intelligent native, named *Baktis*, related to me that he suffered this type of madness for many years. In my opinion, he has been one of the finest Christians which we ever had here and is now already dead. I knew him well and had many dealings with him and considered him an extremely reasonable man. I communicated with him for more than ten years; aside from frequenting the sacraments, he was very steadfast in his devotion, assisted in church uninterruptedly, lived a blameless life and did so many other good deeds. If, perhaps, there is an assurance here of salvation, it seems to me that it may be presumed in him. He used to see before him a fierce man, brandishing a sword in their fashion, in his presence and threatening him with death. Since he had no other alternative, he fled and hid himself in the mountains until it passed away and then returned to his house.

At times all this lasted longer and then again for a shorter period of time. He became so emaciated, haggard and disfigured that his wife (who was always a fine Christian among the early ones, very exemplary; if there ever was here any native who may

mucho, lloraba y comulgaba muy a menudo, compadecida de él; ayudándole no menos con el sustento del cuerpo, pues se pasaba tal vez uno y dos días sin comer, que con el del alma, con buenos consejos y amonestaciones.

Era este indio, antes que le sucediese ésto, muy gran bebedor porque tenía oficio de hacer vino, que entre ellos es de mucho provecho; y éste, porque era indio de razón, lo hacía bonísimo, y así tenía más salida de él que otros. Aconsejóle su mujer que dejase aquel ministerio, y mucho más el beber, e invitóle en que hiciese voto de no beber vino, y que Dios se dolería de él. Pudieron sus ruegos, y Dios le quería por este camino librar; tanto que hizo voto de no beber vino, y tan de veras que, cuando a mí me lo contaba, había más de doce años que lo había hecho, sin haberle jamás quebrantado ni una vez tan sola, que puede ser ejemplo no sólo de indios, pero aun de muy constantes españoles; en lo cual no ví más dicho hombre, y se le quitó aquel género de miedo que le enagenaba de sus sentidos y volvía como loco el tiempo que le duraba.

Todo esto me contó él mismo, y es cierto que fue contra su voluntad, y quizás en castigo de sus embriagueces antiguas. Esto pasó en el pueblo de Bangahun, de la residencia de Samar.

Más singular es, y quizás no sin culpa, lo que pasó en otro de Ibabao, llamado Sulat, con una principala, hermana de un cabeza de *barangay*, que acá llamamos *ginaupan*, que quiere decir “hombre que tiene vasallos”, y corresponde entre estos naturales a los títulos y señores de España.

Esta principala, pues, con serlo de las mayores de dicho pueblo, padecía este género de locura, y, cuando le daba, con ser mujer harto flaca y delicada, se solía subir a los más altos *nonoc* (ya dijimos ser los árboles consagrados antes a sus *diwatas*), y en lo más alto de ellos se desnudaba totalmente en cueros, dejando sus vestidos en las ramas más levantadas; unas veces se bajaba

be called 'a saint', I think she should be the one), out of pity, wept a great deal, received Holy Communion frequently, and aided him no less with bodily nourishment. She had passed at least, one or two days without eating, except the food of the soul, offering good advice and admonitions.

This native man was a very heavy drinker before these things happened to him, because he was engaged in the making of wine, which is a very profitable business among them. Since this Bisayan was a very capable individual, he prepared such an excellent wine that it sold faster than all others. His wife urged him to give up that trade and even more his drinking. She pleaded that he make a vow and stop drinking wine and then God would have mercy on him. Her prayers were answered and God desired to set him free in this way, so much so that he vowed to cease his drinking. He was in such earnest about it that when he related this to me, twelve years had already elapsed and he had never broken his vow once. He can serve as an example not only for the natives, but even for the strong-willed Spaniards. The man did not return, as far as I know, to his former habit and was set free from that kind of fear which deprived him of his senses and led him to insanity temporarily.

It was the above-mentioned individual himself who related all this to me, and it was clear that it happened against his will, and perhaps, in punishment for his past acts of drunkenness. This took place in the *pueblo* of Bangahon, in the *residencia* of Samar.

More worthy of note, and perhaps not without fault, is what happened in another town of Ibabaw, called Sulat, to a *principal*a, a sister of a *cabeza de barangay*, whom we call here *ginhaupan*, which means 'a man who has vassals' and which corresponds among these natives to the titled nobility in Spain.

This *principal*a then notwithstanding that she was one of the most prominent members of the said town, also suffered this kind of madness. When she became afflicted, although she was extremely frail and delicate woman, she was able to climb to the highest point of the *nunuk* (as we have already stated that these were the trees formerly dedicated to the *diwatas*). Upon reaching its very top,

sin ellos, otras a medio vestir, según le duraba la locura; y, si acaso se le daba estando allá arriba, daba muchas voces, hasta que la ayudaban a bajar, porque no podía, y mucho menos subir, pues, cuando estaba sin dicha pasión, ni a un árbol muy bajo subía ni podía subir.

Una vez, habiéndose dejado sus vestidos en lo más alto del árbol, la encontró otro principal, que me lo contó después, totalmente en cueros, y viéndola bajar del árbol dicho. Era después de mediodía, que estaba la gente recogida en sus casas. Reparó en que se venía hacia la iglesia. Salióle al encuentro y preguntóla dónde iba, pero no le respondió a propósito, porque hablan diversas palabras y que los otros no entienden en semejantes locuras, sino la que las padece.

Al fin, se la llevó por fuerza a su casa y la mandó cubrir o tapar hasta que volvió en sí, y, avergonzada de verse desnuda y que había de aquella manera ido por el pueblo, se puso a llorar y dar alaridos, que, por no estar lejos de la iglesia, oí yo desde mi casa.

Mandé llamar al dicho principal, que me contó lo referido, y entonces supe que había muchos meses que andaba con aquellas locuras, y cómo eran rastros o señales de ser *daitan*.

El remedio por entonces fue, juzgando que tenía culpa, mandarle dar una buena vuelta, que aunque su hermano fue el que se la dió de buena gana, avergonzado de lo dicho; y valióle tanto que, en más de un año que yo estuve después de ésto en dicho pueblo, nunca le dió la locura dicha; de lo cual se saca que no fue sin culpa.

De otras mujeres he oído, aunque no visto (que delante de nosotros no se atreven ni de mil leguas), que toman brasas de

there she disrobed completely and left her clothing on the highest branches. Sometimes she came down from the tree totally naked; at other times only half-dressed, depending upon the intensity of her frenzy. If, per chance, the attack of madness would leave her while she was there at the very summit, she would scream for a long time, until someone would come to her rescue; for she was unable to get down. While she was free from this seizure, she was unable to climb a single tree, even the smallest.

Once, after she had left her clothing at the highest peak of the tree, another *datu* found her, as he told me afterwards, completely naked coming down from the said tree. It was noon time when all the people were resting in their homes that he noticed the woman making her way toward the church. He approached her and inquired where she was going, but she did not give any sensible answer. Obviously, those who experience such fits of insanity mumble all sorts of things which others surely do not understand except, perhaps, the one caught in the grip of that seizure. Finally, he took her to her home forcibly and demanded that she put some clothes on, or at least cover herself somewhat until she returns to her senses. [At long last, coming to realize] that she was naked and that she had gone about town in that manner, she became ashamed and wept loudly. Since all this took place not far from the church, I myself heard it all in my house.

I summoned the mentioned *datu*, who related all that has been said. Then, I knew that she had gone about in this state of madness for many months and that it was meant to be a sign or an indication that she had now been a *daitan*.

The remedy then was, since I judged that she was at fault, to give her a good thrashing. However, it was her own brother who gave it to her eagerly since he was so embarrassed about all this. This cure proved to be so effective that in more than a year that I stayed in that town, that said madness had never recurred. From this it may be deduced that she was not without blame.

I have also heard about other women, although I did not see it myself (they would not dare to do this before us within a

fuego en las manos y en el regazo, sin quemarse ni chamuscarse la ropa. De otra, que esparcía sus cabellos en medio de una grande llama sin que se los chamuscasen; y otras cosas, de que se echa de ver no son sin pacto ni comunicación del demonio.

Otras dicen que ven hombres fieros y que se las quieren llevar al monte o a lo escondido para forzarlas, y estas se suelen esconder en sus casas y pedir ayuda a los suyos, que, como no ven lo que ellas, se ríen y hacen mofa; y no faltan otras que se ponen a danzar y bailar a su modo, cantando cosas que los demás no entienden, y, de puro cansadas, se suelen caer y quedar como amortecidas, y aun dormidas muchas horas, hasta que, en despertando, quedan sosegadas.

El remedio de todas estas ilusiones, o irrisiones, decían que era ponerse a bailar con la *bailana* verdadera, y con eso las dejaba el demonio o se iban las figuras o sombras que veían, y ellas quedaban buenas.

El sentir común de todos los bisayas más entendidos en esta materia es que todas estas cosas, o las más de ellas, son fingidas ahora por querer imitar lo que de otras antiguas *daitan* oyeron a sus mayores, y que lo más es embuste, y éste con ninguna cosa se quita mejor que con una buena disciplina; que pocas son las que no sanan en sintiendo el dolor.

Con todo, de algunas más fidedignas, y que ellas vienen a pedir remedio, a las veces se puede entender que el demonio tal vez las persigue o incita a mal; y, con animarlas a una buena confesión, de que las más necesitan, y a frecuentar sacramentos, suelen quedar libres de estas invasiones. Y no es mucho que el demonio, que antiguamente las tenía a su disposición, y tan lejos de huir de su comunicación que antes la buscaban, y, aun sin

thousand leagues), who take live coals in their hands and in their lap without burning themselves or even scorching their clothing. [I have also heard] about another one, how she spread out her tresses in the midst of a large flame without even singeing them. There were also other feats, from which one may conclude that these cannot have happened without [entering] into some pact or in communication with the devil.

Still others say that they see fierce men who wish to carry them off to the hills or to some hidden places in order to abuse them. These [women] used to hide themselves in their homes and ask help from their relatives; the latter, in turn, not seeing what they saw, ridicule and mock them. There is also no lack of others who begin dancing and gyrating in their own fashion, singing things which the others cannot understand. When totally exhausted, they would collapse and lie there as if half-dead and even sleep for many hours until upon awakening they would regain their composure.

The overall remedy for all these illusions and derisions, they said, consisted in holding a dance with the true *baylana*. When this was performed, the devil then departed or the phantoms they were seeing had vanished and thus they became well.

The general feeling among all the more intelligent Bisayans about this matter is that all these things, or at least the majority of them, are being feigned, as some wish to imitate what they had heard from their ancestors about the other ancient *daitan*. All of this, for the most part, is a fraud for which there is nothing better than a good punishment, since few are those who do not get well when they feel some pain.

Nonetheless, there are some more worthy of credence, for at times they come to seek help and hence it may be understood that perhaps, at times, the devil vexes them and initiates them to evil. By encouraging them to make a good confession, which most of them badly need, and by suggesting a more frequent reception of the Sacraments, they usually become free of these assaults. It is not surprising [to see] that the devil, in ancient times, held them in his grip; far from feeding his association, they sought it out in

tenerla, la fingían, sienta el verse ahora impedido por medio de la fe [*ilegible*] y, dejando por Dios que con diferentes modos, y todos santos y honestos, se las va sacando de tan miserable sujeción y tan indecente servidumbre como padecían antes.

Y así es cosa constante en Ibabao, que algunas veces lo he oído yo repetir a personas viejas y fidedignas, y alguna de ellas se halló presente que, estando una vez en mucha fiesta y algazara, algunos años antes que llegase a ellos la fe, aunque, según las circunstancias, ya habían llegado los españoles a Zibu última vez, desde la cual quedaron siempre acá, habiéndose quedado absorta y como arrebatada una de estas *daitan*, que a este modo de raptó llamaban *lahus*¹⁰ o *culang*¹¹, vuelta en sí dijo que el demonio le había dicho que se holgase mucho, que presto tendrían entre sí quien les impidiese el hacerlo de aquella manera, y que ya estaban en Zibu los que los enseñarían otras cosas; que les tenía lástima de que ya no se podrían holgar como hasta allí.

Esto les dijo el demonio, y, aunque padre de mentira, no mintió, pues sucedió así. ¡Ojalá que logren la dicha con que Dios les sacó de aquella miserable servidumbre y les trajo a su conocimiento.

A todas estas *daitan* o *bailana* llamamos ahora *diwatahan*, que quiere decir “gente que seguía al *diwata*”; y, a la verdad, algunas de ellas y que tuvieron antiguamente mucho nombre de *catooran*, o “verídicas,” en este oficio, han ayudado no poco a los Padres en la enseñanza y doctrina de sus compatriotas los bisayas, y han sido maestras (que así las llamamos acá) que han servido mucho a la fácil conversión de muchos y muchas de ellas, sirviéndoles de desengaño mayor las que fueron antes medianeras del engaño, o engañador; y no es una sola de estas a quien he oído decir que todo eran embustes, bellaquerías y maldades cuanto antes sabían y las enseñaba el demonio; que de tal maestro ¿qué otra enseñanza se podía esperar?

the past. And even if they did not have it, they made one believe that they did. They feel to see themselves restrained now by the faith... abandoned by God, Who in various ways, all holy and righteous, is drawing them out from such a wretched subjection and shameful servitude as they have suffered before.

It is a well-known fact in Ibabaw (for sometimes I have heard it repeated by elderly and trustworthy individuals, some of whom were present there) that on an occasion of much feasting and revelry (this happened some years before the faith began to be preached to them, although judging from the circumstances the Spaniards had already arrived in Cebu for the first time, from which time they then stayed for good) one of these *daitan* (having fallen into a trance called *lahus*¹⁰ or *kulang*),¹¹ upon recovering [from the trance] said that the Devil had told her to have a good time, because soon they would have among them someone who would prevent them to live in the way they were living. Already there were in Cebu those who would teach them other things. And that he [i.e. the Devil] pitied them because they would not longer have such a grand time as they had until then.

This is what the Satan had told them! Even though He is the Father of lies, he did not lie in this case because it really happened. Would that they would obtain this [happiness] to which God drew them from that miserable servitude and brought them to know Him!

All these *daitan* or *baylan* we now call *diwatahan*, which means 'people who followed (or were guided) by the *diwata*'. In truth, some of these [women] who were well-known by their task as *katuuran* or meaning 'truthful', in ancient times, have been on no little service to the Fathers in the teaching of the *doctrina* to their fellow-Bisayans. These have become '*maestras*' (as we call them here) and were very helpful in facilitating the conversion of many. Those who before were the go-between of deception and the Deceiver, now serve them greatly by rescuing them from error. It is not only from one of these that I have heard it said that all that they knew before and all that the enemy taught them were lies, trickery and wickedness. What other kind of instruction can be expected of such a teacher?

Y, como su creencia era tan sin traza, tampoco su devoción tuvo raíces, ni su religión lugar diputado para actos de ella; y así, contra aquella máxima de Cicerón, ni tuvieron templos ni altares ni lugar alguno deputado para hacer en él reverencia a sus dioses, y, como a gente poco o nada política y menos hacendada, se contentaba el demonio con sólo apariencias y no les pedía más que lo que podían dar, pues a menos costa los tenía por suyos, y así nunca les mandó labrar templos, ni casas de oración ni hacer altares; que en la casa del enfermo, en la orilla del río, en el monte a donde quiera con cuatro palillos armaban lugares y altares donde le ofrecían sacrificio, como veremos en el capítulo siguiente, que nos dirá el modo de ellos.

As their beliefs were so disorderly, so too their piety had no roots; neither did their religion have any assigned place for worship, praise and ritual. Hence, contrary to the Ciceronian maxim, they did not have temples, nor altars, nor any place designated for worship of their gods. And, as a people of little or no polity and even less endowed, the Devil was satisfied with mere appearances and did not require more of them than they could give. It cost Him so little to have them in his clutches. As a result, he never ordered them to build temples nor houses of prayer, nor even to put up altars. But in the house of the sick person, on the bank of the river, on the hill or wherever, with four sticks they put up places and altars where they offered sacrifices. We shall see this in the coming chapter, which will describe how all these things were done. □

Chapter 13

ANNOTATIONS

[1] *Asog*. *Asug*. Also spelled less correctly as *asog*: A very effeminate type of male also called *bayug* or *bantug*. These terms are also used in reference to animals and trees which fail to bear offspring or fruit, called male or female. *Nanhingasug* means to call one effeminate and it is *buyayaw* and an insult. Also, *babayinun*, effeminate.

The meaning of the above *buyayaw* is a curse. “*Buyayaw*: a curse like *gintartar ka*, *sinibar ka*, *sinugur ka sin halas*, etc. *Ginpaskan*. If said to a woman it is something dirty and also it is a curse. *Nagbuyayaw* or *namuyayaw*, *nagpamuyayaw*, to curse. *Pamuyayaw*, cursing. *Buyaw* in Samar is the same as *buyayaw*. *Nagbuyaw*, *pagbuyawun*, *ginbuyaw*, etc. Sánchez, 1711, *op. cit.*

[2] *Daitan*. In the previous chapters we have already fully described and detailed these terms, *Daitana* and *Baylana*, are ancient Bisayan priestesses.

[3] *Baylan*. *Baylan*, *babaylan*, *bailana* are all variations of the same and familiar throughout the Philippines.

[4] *Katuuran*. The term *katuuran* is derived from the word *tuud*, *tutuurun*, *tutudun*: truth, honesty, integrity, etc.

[5] *Paganito*. Cf. Chapter 11, where these *paganito* were greatly detailed.

[6] *Sayas*. *Saya* is today’s Bisayan’s reference to a woman’s dress. *Sayo*, in ancient times referred to a male’s garment or any piece of clothing. *Saya* and *sayo* are both originally Spanish words.

There is a small number of words which have reference to ancient Bisayan clothing; some described others merely mentioned.

1. *Bado* or *baro*: simply some vesture, dress or piece of clothing; a shirt with a rounded-out opening at the neck and no collar.

2. *Sukbot*: “a tunic used by the Bisayans”.

3. *Panapton*: “clothes, dress, to dress, to adorn the body with a dress. De la Rosa-Alcázar, 1914, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

4. ‘*Limugan nga panapton*’: a dress to be used as a substitute. Sánchez, 1711, *op. cit.*

5. *Dugnit*: ‘worn out clothes, *dugnitun*; poor cloth’. *Ibid.*

6. *Dasuras*: “daily and very old dress; no attention is given to repair it or wash it.” *Ibid.*

7. *Sukob*: "a blanket of blue dark color."

8. *Bahag*: "a cloth used as a kind of briefs." *Pamahagan*, *balahagan*, the waist where they fix these briefs. It also refers to the private parts of men.

9. *Tapis*: "A kind of wide waist band used by Filipino women, placed in such a way as to go around at the back and so mark the shape of the body." De la Rosa-Alcázar, 1914, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

10. Some of the undefined pieces of clothing or material used in garment making: *gubat*, *mamuraw*, *halung*, *habul*, *hulun*.

[7] *Lambong*. This *lambong* is "a tunic used by the Bisayans, and like *sukbut*, *sayu*, and *badu*." Sánchez, 1711, *op. cit.*

[8] *Tuyaw*. Stunned, out of tune, deranged, mad, confused, etc. *Ibid*. In De la Rosa-Alcázar – "*Tuyaw*: crazy, who has lost the mind"; of little judgment, mentally disturbed. 1914, *op. cit.*, p. 374.

[9] This *pueblo* of Bangahun is today's Gandara, one of the rare ancient interior-settlements, off the western coast of Samar.

[10] *Lahus*. Or *tahus*. Both words mean to pass over. *Linahus in kamaty*, sudden death. – *Nawadan*, *kinawadan*. It was found among the Bisayans that some remained like dead for two or three days and later came back to their senses and spoke of visions." Sánchez, 1711, *op. cit.*

[11] *Kulang*. In ancient Bisayan times *kulang* referred to some lack in proper weight or measure. Sánchez, 1711, *op. cit.*

"*Kulangkulang*: A person lacking in judgement, stupid, idiot, somewhat crazy. De la Rosa-Alcázar, 1914, *op. cit.*, p. 97.