

Capítulo 15

DE OTRAS SUPERSTICIONES Y SUERTE QUE ECHABAN LOS VIVOS PARA SABER SI ERAN DICHOSOS, Y DE LO QUE USABAN CON SUS DIFUNTOS

Nadie puede negar ser infeliz verdad lo que dijo Cristo Nuestro Redentor que, cuando un ciego guía a otro, ambos caen en el profundo hoyo. Así les sucedió a estos pobres y desventurados bisayas, que guiados por otros mayores ciegos, como eran sus sacerdotisas, y sin más luz que las tinieblas del engaño, sin más conocimiento que las mentiras de un engañador, con ser todo lo que hemos dicho y nos queda por decir, cosas sin fundamento ni apariencia alguna de verdad, se dejaban llevar a ciegas, sin reparar ni advertir en sus hierros.

Después de haber hecho las suertes, que dijimos, de la *abiog1* y *tare2*, en particular cada uno, para saber la dicha o desdicha, en que creían como si fuera cosa de fe, solían juntarse cantidad de ellos y ellas, y, saliendo a la playa en los pueblos que estaban cerca de ella, solían llevar, si ya no estaba de antemano allá, una mala figura burda y tosca, hecha de un palo que acá llaman *dapdap*, que sirve con corcho.

Chapter 15

CONCERNING OTHER SUPERSTITIONS AND LOTS THE LIVING CAST IN ORDER TO KNOW IF THEY WOULD EMERGE FORTUNATE; WHAT THEY DID WITH RESPECT TO THEIR DECEASED

It is an undeniable truth what Christ, our Redeemer, had said; namely, when a blind person leads another who is also blind, both fall into a deep pit. So it has happened with these poor and unfortunate Bisayans who were led by others who were more blind – as were their priestesses – without any other light than the darkness of falsehood; without any other knowledge save the lies of the deceiver. Notwithstanding what has already been said, and even what remains to be stated, all these things were baseless and without the least shadow of truth. They were left to carry on in their blindness without even being aware of their chains.

After having cast the lots of *abiug*¹ and *tari*,² each one separately, as we have already mentioned, to learn one's fortune (in which they believed as if it were an article of faith), a number of them, men and women, would gather. Then they would go out to the seashore (in towns that were close to it) carrying, unless it was there beforehand, an evil-looking statue, rather rough, crude and made from a tree which is called here *dapdap* and which is also a substitute for cork.

A esta figura llamaban *aman dai hari*³, y era de un hombre fiero que tenía la una mano en el pecho, y la otra en las partes bajas tapándoselas. Y éste, decían, era el *diwata* de los flojos y que no trabajan, y se andan vagando, significando con la postura de las manos los efectos de la ociosidad, que son fraguar en el pecho hurtos y engaños; y en la otra parte, lascivias y torpezas.

Delante de esta figura, cuando querían hacer alguna grande fiesta, echaban sus suertes, y, para que se las diese buenas, la engalanaban con mucho oro y otros aderezos. Comían y bebían todos largamente, danzaban y bailaban; que éste era siempre el remate de sus fiestas; y, volviendo a despojar al desventurado ídolo de su oro, se volvían a sus casas, esperando que tendrían dicha por medio del que era *diwata* de los desdichados holgazanes y viciosos.

Llaman estos a la dicha *bara*⁴, que quiere decir, fortuna; y *baradun*, al dichoso; y de ahí *sinbara*, es explorar la buena dicha. Y, además de los modos dichos, lo hacían de otras tres maneras, y todas ellas sin traza: la una era en sus casas, y en ella tomaban uno que los Bisayas llaman *nigo*⁵ y los Tagalos *bilao*, que son a modo de arneros redondos con cabos.

El que quería saber si su sementera saldría buena o no, o si moriría su enfermo, ponía este *nigo* en el suelo y decía: “*Guibang, guibang*, que quiere decir “menearse o dar bordos.” Si se meneaba, decían que era buena señal, o que tenía mucho arroz que aventar, que para eso sirven los *nigus*; pero, si se estaba quedo, era mala señal.

Lo mismo hacían con sus báculos que llamaban *calasag*⁶ (ya dijimos que son largos, como paveses y que casi cubren a un hombre; su echura diremos en otro lugar). Puesta, pues, una de estas *calasag* atravesada cerca de la cama del enfermo, o en otro lugar de su casa, que estos hacen lo más común por ver si morirán.

This image they called *amun dai hadi*;³ it was a fierce-looking man who had one of his hands on the breast and the other on his lower parts, as if covering them. This, they said, was the *diwata* of the lazy ones; people who do no work and who simply go about roaming around. The position of the hands symbolized the effects of idleness: the hand on the breast signified scheming thefts and deceits; while the hand on the privates, symbolized lasciviousness and immorality.

Whenever they wished to hold a great celebration, they cast lots before this image. So that they may have good fortune, they adorned it with much gold and other decorations. All ate and drank copiously, frolicked and danced about, for this is how they always brought their feasts to an end. Finally, they would strip the wretched idol of its gold and would return to their houses, hoping that they would have good luck through him who was the *diwata* of the miserable, the idle and the immoral ones.

What these people call *bara*,⁴ means "luck"; what they refer to as "happiness" is called *baradun*. And "to determine one's fortune" is known as *sinbara*. Aside from the mentioned methods, they did it in three other ways – all of them without any semblance of order. One of these was performed in their houses where they took something the Bisayans call *nigu*⁵ (and the Tagalogs, *bilao*) and which are like the round sieves, but with edges.

If one wished to know whether or not his field would be productive or not, whether the sick one would die, they placed this *nigu* on the ground and said: *Gibang, gibang*, which means "to stir about or to move at its sides." If it stirred about, they said that it was a good sign and that they would have rice aplenty to winnow (for that is the purpose of the *nigu* anyway). Then again, it was taken as a bad sign if it did not stir about.

They performed this the same way with their shields which they called *kalasag*⁶ (we have already said that these are long, similar to the oblong ones, which just about protect the entire body of the man; about the way it is fashioned, we shall speak elsewhere). They placed, therefore, one of these *kalasag* crosswise near the bed of the sick person, or even in another area of the house. They normally do this to see if the sick ones will die. At the side

Con el enfermo, allí está la *daitan*⁷ y le repite las dichas palabras, y si éste se menea arcando por lo largo, es buena señal; si por el lado no tan buena, aunque no es mala; pero, si no se menea, es mala señal.

Y es de advertir, que las dichas *daitan* o con el pie al descuido si están de pie, o con la mano, si sentadas, lo hacen menear para sacar con esto más provecho y engañarles; y no son uno ni dos los que he oído yo que decían que, después de haberles dado muy bien, porque a las dichas apenas se había bajado de la casa, cuando morían los enfermos, y es cierto que aun en su antigüedad, hoy mucho más, lo tenían por embuste y trazas de las *daitan* para sacar dinero.

Más célebre es el tercer modo de hacer *guibang*, y este lo hacían con sus embarcaciones, o pequeñas que llamaban *baloto*, lo más común, porque de estas usan más; o con las grandes y de más porte. Y el modo era éste: embarcábanse los que querían, y, para saber el fin que había de tener su navegación, si era lejos, cuando iban a sus guerras y *pangayao*, o cerca a sus pescas y cazas, decía el uno de ellos: “*Guibang, guibang cun magtolos kami;*” si hemos de proseguir en nuestro viaje, haz que se menee este *baloto*, o embarcación.

Cuando el *baloto* se meneaba de un lado a otro era buena señal, y, cuanto más se meneaba, mejor; en meneándose decían, ¿Quién era el que hace menear al *baloto*? ¿Es el *diwata*, o almas de nuestros difuntos? Si al nombrar al *diwata* o al alma, se meneaba, cuando nombraban al *diwata*, era señal suya, no que las almas lo meneaban; y de este movimiento, que llamaban *pagsinbara*, que quiere decir: “buscar la suerte o la dicha”, colegían la buena o mala que habían de tener. Y, aunque es verdad, como lo he oído a muchos, que sucedía verdaderamente, y que el *diwata* tal vez lo hacía para conservarlos en dicho engaño, que el demonio, que lo inventó cooperaba a ello, pero lo más común, o las más veces, hacían ésto los mismos que van embarcados, fingiendo ser del *diwata*.

of the ill one, there is the *daitan*⁷ repeating the said words. Should the *kalasag* move lengthwise, it is a good sign; if it moves to one side, it is not such a good omen. However, it is a bad sign if it does not move or stir at all.

Attention should be called that these *daitan*, either stealthily with the foot, if they are standing, or with hand, if seated, made the shield move in order to make a profit out of this or simply to deceive them. I have heard not only one or two say that after having paid them very well, such hardly went down from the house when the sick individual expired. It is true that in their ancient times, and today even much more so, they looked upon all this as a hoax and trickery of the *daitan* to enrich oneself. Today, it is even much more so.

More widely known is the third way of performing the *gibang*; they did this with their boats, either the small ones, which they called *balutu* (these are most commonly used) or the larger ones whose tonnage capacity is greater. It was performed in this manner. Those who so wished went aboard in order to learn what the outcome (if it was some distance) of their voyage would be and whether it would be far, when they would venture upon their wars and *pangiyaw*; if nearby, about their fishing and hunting. Then, one of them would say: "*Gibang, gibang, kun magtulus kami*," which means, in effect, that if we are to go on with this voyage, please make this *balutu* or vessel rock.

It was a good sign when the *balutu* rocked from side to side; the more it rocked, the better. Once it began moving about, they began to say: "Who is it that makes the *balutu* rock? Is it the *diwata* or the souls of our deceased?" If it began to rock when the name of the *diwata* was mentioned, then it was understood that it was he and not the souls. And so, from this movement, which they called *pagsinbara*, which means, "to go in search of good luck or happiness," they concluded about the good or evil that they were going to experience. It seems to be true, as I heard it from many, that it really happened and that the *diwata* did it maybe to keep them in their error. The devil, who contrived it, cooperated in it. But more commonly and even most often, those who were aboard did the rocking and pretended that it was the *diwata*.

Cuando iban a sus cazas, de que ya dijimos hay mucha abundancia en estos montes, tenían un *diwata*, a quien llamaban *bantanun*⁹, que quiere decir “el que vive en los montes.” A éste le hacían una casilla en el monte, que llamaban *pagyaua*¹⁰. Era esta alta y de solo un *harigue*. En ella ponían el primer puerco que cogían, del cual nunca ellos comen, o la cabeza, y el intento era dárselo al *yaua*, que en este nombre llamaban al demonio, porque decían que, si no era de esta manera, no cogerían puercos, porque el *yaua* lo impediría como señor del monte.

En las pescas hacían lo mismo, poniendo el primer pescado que cogían, o todo, o la mayor parte, en alguna peña o lugar alto, porque con esto tenían propicio al *diwata* del mar y cogerían mucho pescado.

Cuando iban a cazar o pescar si les pedían parte, que ellos llaman *paat*¹¹, se volvían, porque decían era mal agüero, y con aquello se ahuyentaban los puercos y los peces; y en ésto tenía otros *paglihis*, de que trataremos [en el] capítulo siguiente, que eran muchos y para todas las cosas.

Ni faltaban por acá mujeres como en España las gitanas, que les decían la “buenaventura” y quitaban la mala; el modo era como allá (mirando las rayas de la palma de la mano; y, porque en esta lengua *palad*¹² es la palma de la mano; *himalar* quiere decir ventura, y *paghimalar* decir la “buenaventura.”

No eran pocos los embustes que en ésto mezclaban; y, según las rayas, decían que se había de morir de parto sino se quitaba la “malaventura”, o que se le moriría el marido o la mujer a éste y enviudaría; a los hijos que sus padres; y a este modo otros embustes.

Cuando dudaban de las rayas, por no estar bien señaladas, cogían un huevo de gallina y lo quebraban en la palma de la

Whenever they went after game, of which we have already stated that there was a great abundance in these forests, they had recourse to a *diwata* whom they called *banwanun*⁹ and which means "he who dwells in the forests." To it they erected a small house in the forest which they called *pagyawa*.¹⁰ This was rather high and had only a single *harigi*. Into it they placed the first boar that they hunted; this one they never ate, or they placed its head. The intention was to present it as an offering to *Yawa* which is a name given to the devil. They said that they performed this ritual this way, because if not, then *Yawa* would prevent them from capturing any wild pigs, since he is the lord of the forests.

In fishing ventures, they did the same thing; they placed the first fish that they caught, either whole or a portion, on top of some rock or some high place. In this manner, they had appeased the *diwata* of the sea and hence, would catch an abundance of fish, this way.

When they went out hunting or fishing and if someone should ask for a portion which they call *paat*,¹¹ they would go back. This they felt to be an ill-omen because that part caused the boars and the fish to flee. In these matters they had other *paglihi*, which we shall deal with in the succeeding chapter; these were very numerous and they had one for every occasion.

Here there was no lack of women as gypsies in Spain who spoke of good fortune and tried to keep the evil at bay. The procedure was the same as over there [i.e. in Spain], studying the palm of the hand. In this language *palar*¹² is the palm of the hand; *himalar* again means "fortune"; while *paghimalar* means "to tell a good fortune".

The deceptions that they mixed in with this were not a few. Depending upon the formation of the lines [i.e. on the palm] they would be able to foretell that the woman would die at childbirth, unless she did something to evade the bad omen; or whether the husband would die or his wife and leave him a widower. Or even whether the children would loose their parents. There were many other frauds in all this.

When they had some doubts about the lines on the palm, because they were not clearly visible, they took a hen's egg and

mano, poniendo en ella lo interior del huevo. Si la yema era limpia y de buen color, decían que era dichoso; si salía blanca, que era desdichado.

De las buenas o malas rayas, que ellos llamaban, *guhít*¹³, colegían si habían de ser rico, *dato* y poderoso; y, si pobre y desdichado; si había de morir alanceado o a manos de algún caimán, o culebra, u otra desgracia. Y en ésto daban tanto crédito como suelen los bobos a las gitanas en España; y hay acá algunas mujeres que viven de ésto.

Para quitarles la “malaventura” decían que era necesario hacerles *sibít*¹⁴, que es sacar de la palma de la mano lo que la causa, y esto hacían con una aguja, hiriendo la parte donde decían estaba la mala suerte, y sacando una poca de sangre, con la cual decían se salía la malaventura. Esto era siempre en la mano derecha, donde dicen está la buena o malaventura, que de la izquierda no hacían caso, al revés que algunos quirománticos de Europa, que de una y otra mano se valen.

Algunas untaban con aceite la palma de la mano y levantaban el brazo de la persona a quien decían la ventura; si el aceite escurría hasta abajo y llegaba hasta el codo, era buena señal, y que ya se había salido toda la malaventura. Y, si no llegaba, era mala. Otras medían el brazo con sus palmos desde la muñeca hasta el hombro, subiendo y bajando. Y, si de vuelta emparejaba su mano o palmo con los dedos del otro, decían que era dichoso, y *palaran*¹⁵, que es “afortunado,” pero sino emparejaban, no. Y de este modo otros embustes sin traza.

La paga, aún ahora, que aún no han olvidado este uso de hacer *sibít* y quitar la malaventura, es un real que se lleva la que cobra, quedando la otra sin su real y herida y con tan mala ventura como antes.

broke it on the palm. If the yolk was clear and had a good color, one would find happiness; if it appeared white, he was considered a bad sign.

Depending upon the favorability or unfavorability of the running lines, which they call *guhít*,¹³ they concluded whether the individual would be rich, a *datu* and powerful; whether poor and unfortunate; whether one would die by means of a spear or in the clutches of a crocodile, a snake or in some other disastrous manner. In all this, they placed as much credence as the gullible do in regard to the gypsies in Spain. Here there are some women who make a [good] living out of all this.

In order to prevent bad luck, they say that it was necessary to perform the *sibit*;¹⁴ that consists in drawing out of the palm of the hand that which seems to cause it. This they accomplished with a needle, piercing the portion where they believed the ill-luck was lodged and drew a little blood. In this way, they said, the bad fortune was made to leave them. This was always done on the right hand because, they say, that is where the good or ill-fortune is localized. They did not pay any attention to the left hand in contrast to some of the chiromancers of Europe who dealt with either the one or the other hand.

Some women spread oil over the palm of the hand and had the arm of the person raised as they were telling the fortune. If the oil trickled downwards and reached the elbow, it was a good omen and an assurance that the ill-luck had left the individual; if not, it was a bad sign. Others measured the arm with their palms from the wrist to the shoulder, upwards and downwards. If, in turn, their hand or palm tallied to the finger upon the arm of the other, they said that one was lucky and *palaran*,¹⁵ that is, fortunate. But if it failed to come out exactly, one was not lucky. In this way, there were other deceptions, without any semblance of truth.

The payment even now (for they have not yet forgotten this practice of doing *sibit* and ridding themselves of bad luck) is one real which (the said woman) carried off. Thus, they leave the one in need, without a real but even with the same illnesses and with the same bad fortune as before.

Pasemos ya a sus difuntos y el modo de sus entierros, que es parte de religión. Y en ésto lo fue de muchas supersticiones; y dejando lo que ya apuntamos de las almas y como las llevaban al *sayar*¹⁶, donde las recibía *badadun* con los parientes del difunto, etc.

Veamos lo que hacían con el cuerpo muerto; y antes que tratemos de ellos, quiero advertir de un yerro o engaño grande de los bisayas que, cuando muere alguno, y más si es principal, en su edad florida, antes de llegar a viejo o vieja, que de esto no era ni es tanto, luego decían *ginaswang*¹⁷, que quiere decir “que el brujo le había comido el hígado”; o *ginbabarang* que significa “que le han muerto con ponzoña o yerbas que matan,” o *gindalodonga*, y es lo mismo que decir “que lo mataron con hechizos.”

Y es en tanto grado que aun ahora no les podemos sacar de estos errores, ni darles a entender que, sean mozos o sean viejos, hombres o mujeres, principales o ricos, *timauas*¹⁸ o esclavos pobres, mueren de muchas y varias enfermedades que padecen los hombres, o dadas de Dios, o ocasionadas de causas naturales, porque, a su juicio, solo los viejos mueren muerte natural, los mozos violenta y por las causas dichas. Y así todo es echar juicios y muchas veces mover grandes pleitos, si le mató fulano o fulana, con yerba o maleficio; y el mismo enfermo suele ser el primero que dice: “Fulano, sin duda, me ha hecho mal,” etc.; que creen los demás, y pensarán vengarse del tal, sin más fundamento que la sospecha del otro, de que viven y mueren llenos, y es no poco lance para sus almas, y nos cuesta mucho trabajo persuadirles lo contrario; y, aunque a la verdad, hubo mucho y hay no poco aún de esto, pero es cierto que no en todos.

Vengamos, pues, a los muertos. La primera diligencia que hacían en algunas partes era lavarlos muy bien. Y, si era principal, hombre o mujer, o rico y potentado, le untaban la cara y cuerpo, y más los cabellos, con aceite obscuro del modo que solía el

We pass on now to their deceased and the manner of their burials which are a part of their religion and in which there were many superstitions. We set aside here what we have already pointed out concerning the souls and how they were carried away to the *sayar*¹⁶ where *Badadun* received them along with the relatives of the deceased, etc.

We come now to see what they did with the cadaver. [However], before we deal with this, I wish to call attention to an error or a great deception among the Bisayans. Namely, when someone dies, especially if it is a principal in the prime of life and before becoming an old man or an old woman, with these people here it was not, nor is it now, so old they would utter the word "*ginaswang!*"¹⁷ which means to say that: "the sorcerer had eaten his liver." Or, [they would say] "*ginbabarang!*" which means that they "have poisoned the deceased or killed him with herbs"; or [still they would say] "*gindaludunga!*" which means the same as to say "they have killed him with an evil spell."

They give credence to this to such an extent that even today we are unable to free them from their errors. Neither are we able to make them understand that whether young or old, men or women, principales or wealthy, *timawas*¹⁸ or poor slaves, all die of many and varied illnesses which befall humans. These are either sent by God or are occasioned by natural causes. The young die tragically for the said reasons. Thus, their entire thrust is to make quick judgments and oftentimes initiate great litigations whether So-and-So, without doubt, has killed one with herbs or some evil spell. The ill individual himself is the first to say that "So-and-So, without doubt, has done me this evil, etc." Others quickly believe this and set out to seek vengeance against the said person, without any other basis than the suspicion of the ill one. Thus, they live and die filled with [suspicion] and this is no little risk to their souls. It costs us much effort to persuade them that they are in error. All in all, truthfully, there was and still is much of this; yet it is certain that it is not among them all.

Let us come, then, to the deceased. The first thing they did in some places was to wash the body very well. If it was a principal – a man or a woman – or someone wealthy and powerful, they anointed the face, the body and especially the hair with heavy oil

hacerlo cuando estaba vivo y salía de fiesta. Luego los engalanaban, fuese hombre o mujer, con mucho oro y gargantillas y bocas y cuanto tenían de valor. Y aún en la boca le echaban oro, que llamaban *plaganor*¹⁹, porque, cuanto más oro llevaban, decían que eran mejor recibidos en la otra vida y conocidos por grandes *datos*.

Después de engalanados cabeza, cuerpo, cuello y manos, les amortajaban. Su uso antiguo y aún hoy era ponerlos todos los mejores vestidos que tenía cuando vivo, y luego su mortaja, que llamaban *sapot*, y a las veces eran tantas las mortajas cuantas, mantas daban sus parientes para ello, y solían llegar a diez; y, aún dentro de ellas, solían en sus antigüedades esconder oro y otras cosas de valor, como granates finos y cornelinas y otras piedras preciosas.

Amortajado el cuerpo, hacían en la mitad de su casa uno como andamio, que llamaban *bitana*²⁰, y era a modo de tarima alta del suelo, y en ella ponían el difunto. En algunas partes lo tenían allí siete días, hasta que no podían sufrir el hedor; en otras dos o tres, y, retirándose los parientes del difunto, marido o mujer, a un rincón de la casa, el más retirado, subían cuantos querían a ver al muerto.

Llaman *parahaya*²¹, que quiere decir plañideras, que comunemente eran mujeres, y tal vez hombres, que cantaban el *canugun*²², que quiere decir “lástima,” con un modo de endechas, todas en verso, repitiendo sus buenas costumbres: si era hombre, cuán valiente era y liberal; si mujer, cuán hermosa y trabajadora; y fecunda si tenía muchos hijos, y si no otras alabanzas a su modo; y de cuando en cuando daban, y dan hoy, los parientes unos ahullidos desaforados, tremendos que se oyen de muy lejos. Y, a lo que yo he reparado en muchas ocasiones de estas, raros son los que lloran de veras, sino es padre o madre, o mujer del difunto; los demás están los ojos secos, sin rastros de lágrimas.

just as they were accustomed to do when such a one was living or going out for a celebration. Next, they adorned the corpse, be it a woman or a man, with a lot of gold, necklaces and with whatever precious items they had. Even into the mouth they placed some gold which they called *plaganur*.¹⁹ They said that the more gold they carried away with them, the more warmly they would be welcomed into the next life and be recognized as great *datus*.

After adorning their head, ears, neck and hands, they shrouded them. It was an ancient practice, and it is even so today, to dress them up in their finest clothes which they wore when still alive; then came the shroud which they call *saput*. At times they were enshrouded as many times as the number of blankets provided by their relatives for this purpose; these would come up to as many as ten, sometimes. In their antiquity, they would even tuck-in, between these shrouds, gold and other items of value such as fine garnets, carnelians and other precious stones.

Upon shrouding the cadaver, they made something like a platform which they called a *bitana*.²⁰ It was a kind of a movable high platform upon which they placed the deceased. In some places they kept it there for some seven days until they were unable to bear the stench; still in other places, for only two or three days. The relatives of the deceased, husband or wife, withdrew to the most isolated corner of the house; as many as wished came up to view the deceased.

Those known as the *parahaya*,²¹ which means to say "the mourners", who were ordinarily women but at times even men, began chanting the *kanugun*,²² which means "regret", rendered in a kind of a dirge and all in verse reviewing the deceased's good deeds. If it was a man, [they would chant] how brave and generous; if a woman, how beautiful, industrious and prolific (if she had children); if not, other appropriate eulogies according to custom. At intervals, the relatives would burst out and still do, with some loud and weird screeching which was heard at great distances. What I have observed on many occasions like these was that rare were those who wept sincerely, unless they were father or mother or wife of the deceased. They rest kept their eyes dry, without a trace of a tear.

Mientras lloran los parientes, los demás que suben y bajan a la casa, comen y beben largamente; y, para el efecto llevan mucha *tuba*, vino u otras de sus bebidas, puercos y otras comidas, a que acuden todos.

En este tiempo, los esclavos u otros parientes van al monte y cortan un palo de los más duros (*ipil* suele ser lo más común) y le hacen el ataúd, que ellos llaman *longon*²³. Algunos más prevenidos y mayores, más principales, de antemano lo tenían mucho cuidado, y hoy lo tienen; que, siendo principal u hombre rico, todos piden ser enterrados con *longon*, y tienen por caso de menos valer el que no se les conceda; que, por las muchas supersticiones que en ellos tenían u otras causas e inconvenientes, se procura no sean muchos los ataúdes, y que sean de palos blandos y que se pudran en breve, porque llenaban la iglesia de ellos.

En el tiempo en que el difunto o difunta estaba en la tarima dicha, con todo su adorno, si era casado o casada, el que sobrevivía se cortaba los cabellos y mucho más las mujeres, y era señal de mucho amor a los maridos muertos. Estos cabellos, o los metían en el ataúd de sus maridos, o los guardaban, y de cuando en cuando los sacaban y, teniéndolos en las manos, lloraban.

El que quedaba viudo, fuera hombre o mujer, había de pasar siete veces por encima del cuerpo del difunto, de un lado a otro, porque, si no hacía esta diligencia, decían que se habían de volver locos, y, dadas las siete vueltas, se sentaban. En algunas partes añadían a esta diligencia el quemar tres días a reo, o partir encima de la cabeza del viudo o viuda, que ya estaba sin cabellos, un coco verde o seco, y lo dejaban caer el agua, que dichos cocos tienen, encima de la cabeza, porque con esto decían que no se volvería loco.

Esta diligencia se hacía al canto del gallo, antes de amanecer, y la que lo hacía era una vieja o *baylana*.²⁴ Y la paga de ésto era que, cuando el viudo o viuda se casaba otra vez, le había de dar los

While the relatives weep, the others who come up and down to the house, eat and drink abundantly. It is for this reason that they provide plenty of *tuba*, wine and their other drinks, pork and various foods to which all flock.

At about this point, the slaves or other relatives go to the forest and fell a tree from among some of the hardest varieties (*ipil* is most commonly selected) and hew a coffin out of it which they call *lungun*.²³ Some of the more prominent ones and those having a great sense of foresight prepared these long in advance, even as they do so today. Being principales and wealthy men, they all request to be buried in a *lungun*. They feel disgraced if their request is not granted, since they have many superstitions regarding all this. As a result of inconveniences, we see to it that the caskets not be multiplied and that they be made of soft wood which deteriorates quickly, because they fill the churches with them.

During the time that the deceased man or woman was laid out on that platform with all his/her jewelry and if they were married, the one who survived cut off the hair, especially that of the woman. It was a sign of love for the deceased spouse. This hair they either placed in the casket or kept it with themselves; then from time to time, they would bring it out, and holding it, they would caress it and weep.

The one left as a widow or widower was obliged to pass over the body of the deceased seven times from one side to the other. Should this ritual not be complied with, they said, one would turn insane. Upon completing the seven passings, they sat down. In some places they added to all this the burning of a sea trout for three days. Also, they would open over the head of the widow or widower, whose head was already shaven clean, a green or a dry coconut. They permitted the coconut water to spill over the head because, they said, with this such a one would not become crazy.

All this was completed just about at cockcrow or before dawn; the one who performed this [ritual] was an elderly woman or the *baylana*.²⁴ The payment for this service was that when the widower or the widow married again, her or she would have to give her [the *baylana*] the clothing worn at their wedding. Those

vestidos con que se casaba; y tenían otras muchas supersticiones los que estaban viudos en comer o no de varias cosas, en hacer fuego en su casa, en vestir y demás cosas sin fundamento.

El luto que estos se ponían antiguamente era blanco, como lo usan también los chinos y las más de las naciones circunvecinas, porque, con el negro, dicen que cegaban. El llanto y entredicho era muy grande, porque, si el que se moría era el principal, cabeza y señor del pueblo, o su mujer, hijo o pariente cercano, había lo primero *lalao*²⁵, que es como entredicho, y, a voz de pregonero, mandaba el *dato*, o su hijo o pariente que sucedía al *dato*, a todos en general que hicieran *lalao*, y decían: “manda el *dato* que en señal de tristeza nadie, mientras no levantara el entredicho, se ría ni hable recio; que nadie, ni aún las mujeres, se peine, ni una los cabellos, ni los componga, que nadie se cubra las cabezas, que no canten los gallos ni griten los perros ni lloren los niños, ni haya otro género de ruido alguno; que nadie se bañe, ni mude vestido, ni se ponga oro o galas, hasta que el *dato* ordene otra cosa.”

Y, al que lo quebrantaba penaban si remisión alguna; y era bastante para que fuese esclavo el que lo quebrantaba; y lo que más era, al amo del perro que aullaba, al del gallo que cantaba, al padre o madre del niño que lloraba les hacían esclavos; con lo que se muestra no solo el rigor con que se había de guardar, sino su tiranía y violencias.²⁶

Otro *lalao* había, y era que de cortezas de bejuco mal cortado, u otros semejantes, se llenaban las muñecas de los juntados brazos y parte de ellos, y las gargantas o cuellos, de uno que llamaban *baclao*²⁷, que son entretejidos como cinchos, que eran muy buen género de cilicio y escocía muy bien, y nadie se lo podía quitar mientras duraba dicho *lalao*, o *luto*, porque era castigado también.

En este tiempo del luto solían también los parientes del difunto; y, si eran hombres iban a otros pueblos de enemigos a

who were widowed had many other superstitions; such as, eating or not eating certain foods, about building fires in the house, in dressing and other baseless practices.

The mourning dress which these people wore in ancient times was white, just like the Chinese and most of the other neighboring peoples do. They believed that if they wore black they would go blind. The period of weeping and the abstention from certain tasks was very severe. If the one who passed away was a principal, head or lord of the pueblo; or if it were his wife, son or near relative, the first thing that they did was to proclaim a *lalaw*,²⁵ which is something like an interdict. The *datu*, or his son or a relative who succeeded the [deceased] *datu*, commanded everyone, in general, to observe the *lalaw*. The town-crier, then, proclaimed: "The *datu* orders, as a sign of grief, that as long as the interdict is not lifted, none may laugh or speak loudly; that nobody, not even the women, may comb or arrange their hair; that no one may cover his/her head; that the roosters may not crow, nor may the dogs bark or the children cry; there must not be any other noise whatsoever; no one may bathe or change clothing; and there should be no wearing of any gold or jewelry until the *datu* orders otherwise."

Anyone who broke this [*lalaw*] was punished without any consideration whatsoever. In fact, to disobey it was enough to reduce one to slavery. What is even worse, they enslaved the owner of the dog that barked, or the owner of the rooster that crowed, or the father or mother of the child that cried. This shows not only the rigor with which they had to observe all this, but also their tyranny and violent ways.²⁶

They also had another kind of *lalaw* which consisted of rattan strips, somewhat crudely worked or taken from other similar plants. They wound them around the wrists and a portion of the arms; around the throat and neck along with some known as *baklaw*.²⁷ These were interwoven like belts which became like a fine hair shirt effectively irritating the person. It was not permissible to take these off as long as the *lalaw* was in effect; otherwise, it would be punishable.

Throughout the period of mourning the relatives of the deceased ordinarily left the pueblo; the men, on the other hand,

cautivar o matar a éstos, según la calidad del difunto, hasta que les parecía que tenían suficiente correspondencia. Y, si eran mujeres, se estaban muchos días en sus casas sin salir de ellas, ni aun iban a casas de sus parientes; y en este tiempo tejían todas ellas mantas las que podían, y con ellas iban a algún pueblo de los amigos y vendían sus mantas, las que las habían hecho, o pedían a sus parientes las que no, si allá las tenían; y unas y otras volvían a sus pueblos, y de lo que traían hacían vestidos de fiesta, que se engalanaban, comían y bebían largamente, y era ésto señal de que se acababa el luto, y de allí adelante podían los hombres ponerse *bahagi*²⁸ colorados, y las mujeres sayas de color, que en tiempo de luto era vedado a unos y a otros vestirse de colorado. Y, finalmente, se acababa con bailes y danzas y borracheras todo el luto.

Y como remate de él, cuando el muerto era muy principal, hacían *paglalar*, que quiere decir “unas como honras,” y para ellas labraban o tejían de abaca, de varios colores, unos paños grandes, en ellos ponían la figura del dato o principal; y, pintadas o labradas, islas, cicales, *mananguetes*²⁹ que sacaban *tuba*, esclavos que mataban, puercos; y hacían otras cosas de servicio del *dato*. Y a estos paños los sacaban a la playa y los colgaban cerca de ella, o poniendo cañas, o en algunos árboles, y delante de ellos danzaban y cantaban, bebían y comían y se emborrachaban; y éstas eran las honras o memorias honoríficas de sus *datos*.

Y, después de bien bebidos y cansados, los que tenían juicio para ello, descolgaban los paños dichos y los llevaban al lugar donde el *dato* estaba, o enterrado o guardado, porque no enteraban a todos, y allí los dejaban colgados como trofeos suyos, y en su memoria, hasta que se hacían pedazos o, por otras causas, se rasgaban y se caían, o el viento los llevaba.

went to other enemy towns capturing or killing others, in proportion to the social standing of the deceased, until it seemed to them that it was all sufficient. If they were women, they remained at home for many days without going out even to the houses of their relatives. During this time all those who had the ability or the means, wove blankets and then took them to the towns of their friends. There, they sold the mantas which they had made or others who had begged them from their relatives – if these had any. Both, then, returned home and from what they earned or gathered, they made holiday clothing, adorned themselves, ate and drank aplenty. This was all a sign that the mourning period was over. Now, the men were again permitted to wear red *bahagi*²⁸ and the women red dresses. For, during the entire time of mourning it was forbidden to wear red clothing. Finally, the whole period of mourning ended with balls, dances and drinking bouts.

To sum it all up, when the deceased was very renowned, they performed the *paglalar*, which means “something like a tribute.” For this, they prepared large pieces of cloth in various colors woven out of abaka. On these they placed the image of the datu or the principal; also paintings, embroidery, islands, coconut groves, *manangiti*²⁹ gathering *tuba*, killed slaves, boars. And they did other things in the service of the *datu*. Then they took these banners to the seashore and fastened them there on bamboos or some trees. Before these they danced, sang, drank ate and immersed themselves in debauchery. Such were the honors and memorial tributes paid to their *datu*.

After having become heavily drunk and completely exhausted, some of those who had a bit of sobriety took down the banners and carried them to the place where the *datu* was, either buried or guarded; not all of them were buried. There they left them hanging like trophies in his memory until they became tattered, weather-beaten, gone to pieces and carried away by the wind.

Chapter 15

ANNOTATIONS

- [1] *Abiug*. This is a type of a *paganitu* in order to know one's strength. The term's primary meaning is: "to rock, to move in a hammot, mecate, etc." Sánchez [1711], *op. cit.* Interesting to note that the later lexicons no longer give the above meaning that Sánchez gives. Sánchez compiled his dictionary long before 1618 and it circulated in manuscript form among his Jesuit evangelizers. It was not published until 1711 in Manila; it is truly a monumental classic in Philippine linguistics.

The Bisayan term *anito* needs to be clarified: its primary meaning is *to offer sacrifice; to sacrifice*. The *anito* is not the idol or *diwata*, but a sacrifice offered to the idol or *diwata*. Tramp, in his dictionary entry, bundles all these elements into one.

Father Sánchez is our best arbiter: "*Anito*: to sacrifice. *Naganito ka ba? Will you offer sacrifice?* The place for this sacrifice is called, *paganituhan* or *ginanituhan*. For whom, or to whom is the sacrifice offered. In such a way that the idol o *diwata*, or *umalagad* is *paganituhan*, and *ginanituhan*, is the place where the sacrifice is offered. *Iganitu* also jeans the person for whom the sacrifice is made. Sánchez mentions that there are various *paganitus*, running through his *Vocabulario*: e.g. *pagkatigman* from *tigum*; *kaliga*, derived from *liga*; *tinaganud* deriv. *anud*, etc. Sánchez, 1711, *op. cit.*

De la Rosa-Alcázar preserve this authentic meaning of *anito* when they describe it in their entry: "*Anito*: to offer sacrifices (superstitions). 1914, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

- [2] *Tari*. "A baylana's divinations by means of certain signs or charms. *Napapagtari*. that which is commanded. *Ibid*. Again, we find no entry for this ancient term in the more modern lexicon of De la Rosa-Alcázar [1914].
- [3] *Amun dai hadi*. The meaning here is loosely "our king". This was one of the ancient Bisayan godlets or idols called 'a *diwata*': or one of the spirits that dwell in the mountains, in the trees, in the caymans, etc.

A very interesting find and discovery came by, paging through Sánchez's classic Bisayan dictionary concerning the above. Alcina missed or did not capture *fully* the description of this ancient figure. Sánchez's entry has this: "*Amandayday*: A diwata made of wood, of ugly figure a symbol of those who are physically defective".

The second portion of the word '*daydayi* or '*dayaday*' means a vagabond, a wanderer, a vagrant, a tramp, which fits Alcina's description.

A *diwata* was the 'God' of the ancient Bisayans. As was customary by the evangelizers, these were always labeled false gods "and abominable beings engaños del diablo." The terms *maniwata* or *magdiwata* means to invoke the *diwata* or "hacerlos ó reputarlos tales." Lonlon pagdiwatahun san Bisaya an *bukid*, an *kahuy*, an *buaya*, an *durun*, etc." Cf. Sánchez, 1711, *op. cit.*

A much later lexicon has this entry for "*Diwata*: Idolo; falso dios. -- Hechicero, hechicera. Superstición, falsa carencia. Idólatra. -- v. Idolatrar, creer en cosas falsas, hechizar, agorar, presagiar supersticiosamente. -- *Diwatahan*: Idólatra; hechicero, supersticioso, agorrero; que cree ó hace cosas supersticiosas; que adora á los falsos dioses." de la Rosa-Alcázar, 1914, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

[4] *Bara*. Also *baraan*, *tubangan*, *bulahan*: a fortune, luck, joy. *Babaraan*, fortunate. Sánchez [1711], *op. cit.*

[5] *Nigu*. This *nigu* is a sifting tray for winnowing rice. "A kind of sieve woven out of the barbo f the cane; it is used to clean the *palay*, rice or similar things." Rosa-Alcázar [1914], *op. cit.*, p. 212.

"*Nigu*: The sieve used for rice; a filter for cereals. Winnover." Sánchez, 1711, *op. cit.*

[6] *Kalasag*. Shields used in battles which Alcina further describes in his chapters about ancient warfare methods. Two of his drawings shows a *datu* holding a shield in his left hand and a spear in the right and on another drawing two men doing a war dance with two different types of shields.

"*Kalasag*: A buckler, a shield made out of wood or some other material 'much longer than wider'. v. *Pangalasag*. To shelter oneself, the defend oneself." De la Rosa-Alcázar, 1714, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

[7] *Daitan*. The word is a derivative of *dait* which means 'peace', 'friend'. *Magdarit*, or *paradait*, is one who makes peace, "the one who pacifies or makes peace between enemies. *Nagkadait* or *nagkakadait*: t olive together and t olive in peace and become friends. *Panait*: gift given to the one who brokers peace." *Pagkadait*: peace.

Hence, a *daitan* is a *baylana*: one who does a *paganitu* or one who makes the sacrifice or offering of friendship. Sánchez [1711], *op. cit.*

Now, the more modern Bisayan lexicon has these entries for *Dait*: "to joint, to unify, to settle down; adj. something united, placed together and settled down."

Daitan: "A fruit from the coconut. A kind of a red circle of the coconuts, near the edge from which they hang." Now, it is obvious and evident how important it is to go back as far as possible in time to catch the real flavor of the words and their meanings which get obscured and lost with the passing of time.

[8] This is a raid against the enemy at sea; *mangiyaw* is a raid against an enemy on land. Alcina gives detailed descriptions of all this in Book Four, Chapter 10.

[9] *Banwanun*. The word is derived from the root *banwa* which means a mountain, shrub, herb or wild trees. It also has a reference to climate, region and disposition; to a country or to a land; mountain folks. Sánchez [1711], *op. cit.*

“*Banua*: grass, fields, mountains and forests. Nation or province. –Weather or climate”. De la Rosa-Alcázar, 1914, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

One of these editor’s who lived in Samar constantly, heard the reference made by the Samareños to *banwanuns* as some sort of spirits, who must never be offended in any way; otherwise, ill fortune will follow.

[10] *Pagyawa*. Unable to locate the term in this form; however the second syllable *yawa* means: non-Christians coming from Java, Indonesia. Perhaps, the early missionaries attributed this title to mean satan, devil. “*Iawa (Yawa)*: Satan and by means of a metaphor a reference to those who are not Christians.” Sánchez, 1711, *op. cit.*

[11] *Paat*. Perhaps it should read *paun*; there is no *paa* in the dictionaries. *Paun*: feed for fishing, place in the fishing hook- v. To place the feed in the hook. De la Rosa-Alcázar [1914], *op. cit.*, p. 238.

“*Paun*: or *Paunan*, *panan*: A feed with which the Bisayans catch fish, birds and other animals.” Sánchez, 1711, *op. cit.*

[12] *Palad*. “The palmo of the hand; to seek the good fortune. *Palaran*, *baraan*, *tubangan* are the same. Sánchez [1711], *op. cit.*

Or *manhihimalad*: to divinize through the marks of the hands. *Panhimalarna mu aku*. To try the good fortune. Also *palad*: a very flan fish; it is called *bobo* [or better *bubu*].” *Ibid.*

[13] *Guhit*. A letter or a stroke, or better, as Alcina describes it in that context.

[14] *Sibit*. The word *sibit* means: “to extract to a thorn with a sharp pointed instrument. To prickle, to pinch, to hurt, to wound with something very sharp.

Also *sibit*: A type of a necklace or chain of gold. --Also a small bird by this same name. Also *sibit*: to sow the nipa palms, to roof the building. De la Rosa-Alcázar [1914], *op. cit.*, p. 295.

[15] *Palaran*. As mentioned above under *palad*, the word refers to luck, fortune or to win something in modern Bisayan terms.

[16] *Sayar*. Unable to find the term *sayad* anywhere. Perhaps, it should read “*sayag*: Happy, peaceable. v. To be or to show up happy.” De la Rosa-Alcázar, 1914, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

"Sayag: Masayag. A happy and peaceful man." To welcome well the guest. *Masayag, maalayhan*." Sánchez, 1711, *op. cit.* Sánchez explains this term to mean: To receive a guest well or warmly; that is what the *badadun* is doing, it seems; he is welcoming the deceased.

There is also a term in Bisayan such as "*Bandan*: Happy, blessed, joyful." De la Rosa-Alcázar, 1914, *op. cit.*, p. 26. Could this term have some connection with the word *Badadun*? *Badadun* cannot be found anywhere.

- [17] *Ginaswang*. Also *Aluk, unglu, bakkak* which are the same. *Ginaswang* is a form of *aswang*: 'a witch, sorcerer'. *Asuangay*, aside from being a diminutive, provides *aswang*: "it means a tree with red branches; the leaves applied to the *ugihap*, are medicinal. The water in which roots are boiled serves as a purge. Also *asuangan* is a *karakua grande*." Sánchez [1711], *op. cit.*

- [18] *Timawas*. Or *pagtitimawaun, pagtitimawun*; A slave who has some freedom and fits somewhere between the *datu* y and a complete slave. *Matitimawa*, to obtain the freedom, to become free. *Nagtitimawa*, to grant the freedom. Sánchez [1711], *op. cit.*

Again, how the term gets watered-down through the centuries: *Timawa*: plebeian, of humble, low or poor condition; it is neither noble nor distinguished. De la Rosa-Alcázar [1914], *op. cit.*, p. 355.

- [19] *Plaganur*. Unable to locate this term; Alcina's description is clear, however.
- [20] *Bitana*. Again, the term *bitana* appears under this description: "*bitana*: small hammock; *Butung, bugkat*, have the same meaning. Sánchez, 1711, *op. cit.* A 'chinchorro' was known also as a net, a rowing boat or an Indian hammock. This *butung*, above, among many things also means "the big hammock of many different pieces. *Pagayod* [or *pagayur*], also means the same as *butung*." *Ibid.* All uncertain!
- [21] *Parahaya*. Term derived from the word *haya*; to weep for the dead. The one who does that is called a *parahaya*. Sánchez [1711], *op. cit.*
- [22] *Kanugun*. This is a mournful chant for the deceased "also to chant, to lament and pay homage to the dead, or better to say to chant something that should be prohibited, because in these chants they invoke the dead and the *diwata*." *Ibid.*
- [23] *Lungun*. A wooden casket used in burial. *Lurungun*: tree or strong wood used to for the *lurungun*." *Ibid.*
- [24] *Baylana*. Or *Baylana* or even a *daitana*: a woman ritualist. We have described these names in our previous chapters.
- [25] *Lalaw*. Also *dawig - Pamuraw*: A mourning period of a *datu* announced upon the death of his son or wife. A decree is posted that no one must climb trees, that there be no fishing from such and such a river and that there be total silence and sadness. All must see to it that the

roosters do not crow and the dogs do not bark; con *maglalaw an datu waray matarauk nga manuk*.

It is also *lalaw* the *pikit* or *bankurung* placed around the wrists, the neck, some rounds of rattan or other *balagun*. It means also pact made by these two part ways of not to eat or drink anything until they will see each other again." Sánchez [1711], *op. cit.*

[26] The underlined text was found on the left-hand margin of the manuscript.

[27] *Baklaw*. A bracelet or a bangle which they wear on their wrists. These are strictly for women and not men. *Ibid.*

[28] *Bahagi*. More properly *bahag*: a breechcloth used in place of trousers. *Pamahagan, balahagan*: the waist around which they are tied; it refers also to the "shameful parts" of the men. For women; even some or many have little modesty and shame and go in front of men naked they are called *Pagtapisan, paghalungan, paghablan*. *Ibid.*

[29] *Manangiti*. Derived from the root-word *sanggut* - *Manaranggut*: One who prepares the coconut tree for gathering and distilling the *tuba*; the one who gathers the *tuba* of the palm tree, *managuetes, mananguitero*. De la Rosa-Alcázar [1914], *op. cit.*, p. 203.