

INTRODUCTION

It is our intention to publish in the *Philippiniana Sacra* six chapters from the *Historia de las islas e indios de bisayas* . . . 1668, Part Two, Book One, under the title "Piratical Raids and Native Uprisings in the Seventeenth-Century Samar and Leyte." This precious *Historia* is still one of the unpublished manuscripts penned by the eminent Jesuit scholar of the mid-seventeenth century Philippines, Father Francisco Ignacio Alcina. Other chapters shall follow these in successive installments and under their respective title headings as will be most fitting. Due to the fragmentary condition of this Part Two, the entire contents cannot be possibly published, and also because we have limited space in our publication. Therefore, only selections will appear. However, not to displease our readers who may feel curious in knowing the contents of the omitted portions, we shall give a summary of these in the 'Introduction' which will precede every installment, if the need arises.

Concerning the manuscript and its author, it would be well to add to the survey article of Father Cantius Kobak, found in the preceeding number of *Philippiniana Sacra*, that the manuscript is not the original of Alcina, but rather a fair transcript made by a Filipino *amanuensis* or secretary. This native scribe was more versed in calligraphy than in the language of Cervantes, judging from the number of errors — all of little consequence — noted here and there. He was not all too faithful in copying from the original as we can detect from the cited classical quotations or those from the Sacred Scriptures. His weakness in Spanish is clearly manifested by the frequent repetition, among others, of the words 'assí al' which should actually read 'hacia el'.

The literary style of Father Alcina, which must have been proper and acceptable for his age, is rather awkward and strange-sounding to the modern ear. Some of his chief peculiarities, from my point of view, are the following: illogical if not reckless punc-

tuation, lengthy paragraphs, excessive hyperbaton, numerous pious or philosophical reflections, which were fashionable in his day but now are a distraction to the flow of thought and a seemingly great waste of words and space; there are also numerous obsolete words and expressions with frequent digressions.

It is due to some of these factors that the task of translating this work into Spanish and modern orthography becomes a very painful and a difficult undertaking. To render the translation with as much clarity as possible, we have taken some liberty in adding, suppressing and changing certain letters, syllables and even words, which were manifest errors of the *amanuensis*. We have followed the same policy regarding the orthography, that is, the punctuation and the use of capital and small letters which, according to modern standards, would be somewhat odd and even misleading.

The author does not overlook the shortcomings and failures of the natives; this is somewhat understandable since at that time, these had not fully entered upon the paths of new development and the deepening of culture. On the other hand, he often reveals in his expressions a heart full of love and compassion towards them and frequently calls them "our Bisayans", mindful of the fact that, even in the midst of their wretchedness, they are his brethren in Christ.

In the historical narrative of Father Alcina we see a reflection of the tremendous endurance, perseverance and struggle of the Filipino people, so frequently harassed by Muslim and non-Muslim plunder and raids; not less infrequently by the misrule and misconduct of their civil Spanish conquerors, which led them to some bloody uprisings. In the midst of these trials, we cannot fail to observe the sacrificing posture of the Jesuit missionaries, who, as Alcina reports, stood behind them and for them, and occasionally shared with them the privations and miseries of a painful captivity.

Tentatively, our plan is as follows: to publish first in three installments the eight chapters of Book One, Part Two, which have survived the ravages of men and time; of these eight chapters, six shall fall under the heading *Piratical Raids and Native Uprisings*", because they deal with nothing else than this; the

last two under the heading "Loyal Subjects of a Provident King", because they treat of the Bisayan's submission of his native freedom in exchange for the protection, spiritual and temporal, of the King of Spain. The extant chapters of this Book are the fragmentary chapter sixteen and the complete ones as far as chapter twenty-four. A summary of the fragmentary chapter sixteen will be given here at the end of this 'Introduction'. All the above-mentioned chapters are extremely interesting and some full of historic and dramatic value; all interspersed with a variety of incidents which keep the reader's attention in lively suspense. Alcina, being a keen observer, does not seem to overlook any important detail.

Book Two of Part Two, God willing, will furnish us with enough material for three installments dealing with the early celebrations of church feasts, administration of the Sacraments and with the works of mercy of the Jesuit missions on Samar and Leyte especially. Finally, in Book Three, we hope to be able to present to our readers the history of some Samar towns. It seems, that of the three books, the first is the most interesting and dramatic; the second, most instructive and especially because it is most complete; the third book, although fragmentary is enriched with thrilling episodes.

The preliminary translation has been made as literal as possible so as to preserve the original meaning of the author and was rendered by Father Pablo Fernández; Father Cantius Kobak made an attempt to give it a more flowing and readable style. In the final version of the translation, at times, we deemed it necessary to depart from the totally original style of the author in order to give it greater clarity and preciseness. Idiomatic expressions, archaic words and certain thought-patterns, which go back to over three hundred years, made it difficult and even impossible to find an equivalent in English.

Also, to make the text more readable and more delightful, we have broken-up the lengthy Spanish sentences into shorter ones in the translation; we have done the same with the rather long paragraphs.

FRAGMENTARY CHAPTER 16, Part II, Book 1: A Summary

Father Alcina writes, of what remains of chapter sixteen, how much the missionaries accomplished by means of frequent

exhortations to keep in their loyalty those who had not yet revolted, who were the majority and to strengthen those, a minority, who were wavering in their fidelity to Spain. How they also made efforts to utilize their moral power and spiritual authority to bring back to the path of submission some of the more outstanding 'principales' along the coast of Dulac, even though it was found necessary to use more severe measures with them and inflict upon them due punishment. This task fell upon the shoulders of Captain Francisco Rodríguez de Avila who had been appointed politico-military governor and war commander in that region. He was unable to complete his commission because he died; however, prior to his demise, he appointed a successor whom the colonial Government confirmed in office in the person of Captain Alonso de Pedraza. Soon he arrived in Dulac where he remained in office for two years preoccupied with administering stern justice. "There were not a few of those who paid with their lives for their infidelity and presumptuousness; some from Dulac and some from other places were sent to the gallows." Many of those who had collaborated with the Mindanaoans, openly or secretly, also lost their heads on the scaffold.

After having concluded all this in Dulac, Captain Pedraza visited other towns, well-informed in advance about the culprits guilty of crimes not necessarily related to the uprising, and hanged some who were guilty of having murdered his brother some years before. He was unable, however, to put his hands on the individual directly responsible for that murder because he fled to the hills. Father Alcina adds that some years later, he made an acquaintance with that particular individual who became "a well-known herbolario, which among us is a little less than a witch."

Due to these severe punishments the populace was plunged into fear, terror and panic. Soon however, former peace and security and prosperity were restored and personal communication re-established. The rule of Pedraza, harsh but effective, resulted in an adage among those in the Dulac region: "San si Pedraza pa, pamitai pa," meaning that during the time of Pedraza they were really hanged when ordered to be hanged." Those who succeeded Pedraza in his post as military governor must have been very much different from him; perhaps, condescending and lenient individuals, who followed a policy of extreme moderation and as

a result crime lifted its ugly head and again plagued the land. Alcina deplored the situation with these words: "... at present, since many years have elapsed that the criminals have been subjected to hanging, there are too many of them. As a result there are more deaths and misfortunes than is reasonable and almost all treacherously inflicted at night or on the roads. Among these Bisayans when they say 'Lingo' (death by treachery) the aggressor is seldom known and if known is never reported. This is an ancient abuse or a superstition of theirs, not to reveal anything to anyone even if they know it well for fear that the same may happen to them." And so for this reason even if the aggrieved parties take the case to court, they do not dare to follow it up. Frequently, they do not even dare to introduce it for lack of money to carry it through a successful conclusion. If, however, anyone would dare to attempt this, he would only remain bereft of his father, or brother, or son whom the outlaw murdered. On the other hand, if one had a small amount of money saved it would be quickly spent in the litigation process. All in all, the "dead remain hopelessly dead, the evildoers without punishment and the door is left to such similar abuses."

FR. PABLO FERNÁNDEZ, O.P.
University of Santo Tomas
Manila

De Dios a su Mage. Catholico muchos
Ministros Tienen de su aumento, y del de la
fide, que es la Cabeza de todo, que con ellos se
podran argüir muchas cosas temporales,
en sus traxellos, y espinas en las almas
de los buenos Christianos; que uno, y otro de
ponen no, pero en todas partes, y por esta
muchos mas, del zelo, Religión de unos, y
y apuñalando a los ministros de ambos
Magistrados. —

CAP. I

De otros asaltos de los mes-
mos enemigos, y de otros, que
a su imitacion persiguieron esta
Christianidad; y un frasco
que sucedio a un
hombre nuestro. —

Fue tambien a los Mandanicos,
y Caragas en su primera venida, a robar
a estas partes Birayas, que les quedaron los
monjes robados, pues tan a su saber, y sin
avisar quien les robaba: porque habian es-
tado en, quanto antes quisieron, y havi-
endo sido muchos mayores: sin embargo
incomunicacion de la confederacion, que algunos
de los principales (como desconfianza) ha-
bieron con ellos; con lo qual defendiendolos a su
poder, como caso suyo, robaban a su
vidua, cargados de despojar de los Indios
as, y de carniceros de los pueblos: y no me-
-

cho despues boluio el Mandanico a robar
estas Islas, y en algunas se fue a las de
Leyte y Samar: fue ab de Ilog.
(pues que nuestro aunque entonces no le era
aun) que esto en la Isla de Siparay
que comunmente llaman a la San Espiritu
las Isla de rayes, por sus rayes pueriles, y
propios moradores segun alzado como los
de Yucatan, e hicieron en aquel pueblo, que fu-
y de Birayas (porque ademas de la Isla
Isla, como lo son sobre los plebeos de ella)
fueron en el pueblo de Ilog que era un
no asido, que es de la mar, mandaban
de estas Islas) los de los de Toba, mas los
Cariceros, y de otros, como los que antes ha-
cho en si en por esta; aunque es necesario
de confederacion, ni amistad con
ellos.

En este mismo tiempo, que fue el año de
1617, y de 1618, vino a imitacion de
los Caragas sus vecinos; el Biragal, que
es una nacion llamada en este nombre que
vive en la Isla de Mandanico mas con-
ta que los Caragas en la parte arriba de
dicha Isla, y que esta mas confederado a las
Islas Malucas; y en esta Isla era
el alcaide de Bonora, que es una Isla en
entre la de Leyte, y de Mandanico, y don-
de se fue al Tug (de desconfianza) que
se le va apropiando de las venidas para
pasar aca, o alla y dicen, primero un
de

y quedo d'indio su compañero solo. Al 7.^o días quedó ya se hallaba en fuerza, ni ríor; sintió que la embarcación avía rotado, estando la marea llena; y al bajar del agua como queda sacado ropo en las piedras, y se quedó en baja marea casi seco; entonces comencé a bregar, se fue avanzando sobre las arenas, y p'cedí, hasta que llegó a la playa pero tan flaca de fuerza, que ni dar reser podía, ni valía para fuerir alguna humana; procuré con todo apartarlo, porque quando la marea creciera, no lo alcanzare en la orilla, y le llevé: (y en esto estuvo recibiendo) porque ya después de medio día se vino, en que otro indio, que gran apuro, ya caro, llegaron a aquel paraje, (que era una sierra deshabitada, de las que están delante de Cebú) y reconociendo el bulto, que no podía hablar ya, ni llevarlo con la res, vino con suantre un poco de fuerza; se acercó; dióonle de un poco de arroz que traía, y comió; entonces un poco de Linogao, que llamaba aca (y al modo de las gaudas que he de arroz muy arido con agua); y con poco, que apenas podía traerlo: almorzando, empezando con fuego, y me peticion reser se iba dando algunas cosas; con que poco a poco volvió, a cobrar algun aliento; de modo que lo embarc

en un canoilla, o balero, que aca llaman, y lo llevaron a su casa, donde poco a poco fue arribando; y cobrando la fuerza se volvió a Cebú, y otro el mismo quedado; por que no se sabía del Hermano, ni sus compañeros con alguna y de su enfermo se supo; pues Dios le hizo solo a el. Buonanire, para los que naufragan por aca; que no es este otro solo, sino otros muchos (y algunos robar, zemos en esta Historia), porque no sean temerarios, e impetuosos, sino que rijan a los indios; pues como hemos dicho ya, pocos de los que hanjua se pierden; y este hermano, y otros muchos se perdieron por no lo queres hacer; que ellos como pose de estos mares saben mejor el modo con que se ha de navegar por ellos; y mas vale tarde que nunca, que por mucho madurar no a manere marahina. —

CAP.^o 18.^o

Cauivan los Sanguiles, y Caragas al P.^e Rector de Dagami, y otros daños que hicieron.



La perra de la Catocera de Cebú, su rabia a los Sangay, y Caraga ror promuchero, y bato; que no morderon mucho en bato, apenas la marea, y bato otros días de los pobres indios. Bugar

CAPITULO 17

DE OTROS ASALTOS DE LOS MISMOS ENEMIGOS, Y DE OTROS QUE A SU IMITACION PERSIGUIERON ESTA CRISTIANDAD, Y UN FRACASO QUE SUCEDIO A UN HERMANO NUESTRO.

Fueles tan bien a los mindanaos y caragas en su primera venida a robar a estos pobres bisayas que les quedaron las manos sabrosas, pues tan a su salvo y sin haber quien les dijera ¿por qué hacéis eso? hicieron cuantos daños quisieron y, hubieran sido mucho mayores, si no hubiera intervenido la confederación que algunos de los principales (como dijimos arriba) hicieron con ellos; con lo cual, dejándolos, a su parecer, como cosa suya, se volvieron a su tierra, cargados de despojos de las iglesias y de cautivos de los pueblos; y no mucho después volvió el mindanao a robar estas islas; y, aunque no llegó a estas de Leyte y Sámar, fue a la de Ilog (partido nuestro, aunque entonces no lo era aún) que está en la isla de Siparay, que comúnmente llaman acá los españoles isla de Negros, por ser sus primitivos y propios moradores negros atezados como los de Guinea; e hicieron en aquel pueblo, que fue y es de bisayas (aunque advenedizos a dicha isla, como lo son todos los playeros de ellos), y fueron en el pueblo de Ilog (que está en un río arriba, que es de los más caudalosos de

CHAPTER 17

CONCERNING OTHER ASSAULTS OF THE SAME ENEMIES, AND ABOUT OTHERS WHO AFTER THEIR EXAMPLE, PERSECUTED THIS CHRISTIANITY AND ABOUT A MISFORTUNE THAT OCCURRED TO ONE OF OUR BROTHERS

The Mindanaoans¹ and the Caragas² succeeded so well in their first attempt at plundering these poor Bisayans that they ventured to try again, because there was no opposition and no one to confront them with the question why all this. They caused as much harm as they pleased and this might have been even much greater had it not been for the mutual agreement that some of the *principales* (as we have mentioned above) made with them; thereby leaving them, with the idea in their minds that they were their subjects anyway. And so they returned to their lands heavily laden with spoils from the churches and with captives from the towns. Not long afterwards, the Mindanaoans returned to pillage these islands /again/; and even though they did not actually reach these Islands of Leyte and Samar, they did arrive at *Ilog* (a place wherein we are presently ministering, although at that time we did not), a place which is located on the Island of *Siparay*, which the Spaniards here commonly call, the Island of Negros, due to the fact that the early inhabitants here were very black in appearance and resembled those of Guinea. The enemies wrought heavy damages in this town which pertained and still pertains to the Bisayans³ even though /they are/ newcomers, as are all those settled along its coasts. This town of

estas Islas) los daños de robos, muertes, cautivos y destrozo, como los que habían hecho en lo de por acá; aunque no trataron de confederaciones ni amistades como con estos.

En este mismo tiempo, que fue el año de 1608, salió a robar, a imitación de los caragas sus vecinos, el sanguil, que es una nación llamada de este nombre, que vive en las islas de Mindanao más arriba que los caragas, en la parte austral de dicha isla, y que está más confinante a las islas Molucas. Entraron estos acá por el estrecho de Panaon, que es una isla entre la de Leyte y de Mindanao y donde se espera el TUIG (ya dijimos que es la sazón a propósito de las corrientes para pasar acá o allá) y dieron primero en el pueblo de Ogmuc, que está dentro de la isla de Leyte, y le robaron y destruyeron (en el libro siguiente daremos razón del sitio y los demás particulares de este pueblo y se dirá las otras veces que ha sido robado de los enemigos); y de allí pasaron al de Carigara, que se iba instituyendo cabecera de la residencia de Leyte (que por estar más cerca de la mar que Alang-Alang, y más a mano para los Padres misioneros, se había escogido para que lo fuera; y estaban ya en ella los más de los ornamentos de las iglesias, alhajas de los Padres y lo demás concerniente a su habitación y vivienda).

Llegó el enemigo una mañana a la barra del río (que es pequeña y por esto no capaz de embarcaciones de porte; y aunque, como ya había corrido la voz del robo de Ogmuc, habían procurado los Padres que se juntasen los naturales de dicho pueblo de Carigara y otros de los circunvecinos de Jaro y Alangalang, etc., que pasaban de cuatrocientos hombres, con sus armas ordinarias de lanza y pavés (que ya dijimos llamarse BANCAO y CALASAG, en su lengua), fue de muy poco efecto y de ningún provecho porque, aunque capitaneados y divididos en dos tropas, la una a cargo de Juan de Ballesteros (que después murió hermano de nuestra Compañía y por haber sido hombre de particular virtud, diremos en su lugar algo de su vida y muerte, cuando religioso; y de su mucho valor y valentía antes que lo fuese, que en uno y otro hizo raya a

Ilog is situated on the banks of a river which, among those of the island, carries the greatest amounts of water. There was no attempt at negotiations or friendship as was done here; as a result, great damages in plunder, deaths and captives resulted.

At about the same time, that is in the year 1608, there arrived the *Sanguils*,⁴ in the same fashion as the Caragas their neighbors did. They come from a land that bears the same name they do and is situated on the Island of Mindanao; that is, in the southern section of the said island and further inland than the Caragas and closer to the Moluccas Islands. This enemy made its way through the Strait of Panaon, which fronts the island between that of Leyte and Mindanao and where sailors await the *Twig*⁵ (we have already mentioned that this is the time for passage due to favorable currents). The first attack was made upon the town of Ogmuc,⁶ that is, inland of Leyte, and they plundered and destroyed it (in the succeeding Book we shall give an account of this place and its peculiarities; and about the other times that it has been pillaged by the enemy) and from there they passed on to Carigara⁷ which was being erected at that time as a *cabecera* for Leyte (it was selected because it was closer to the sea than Alang-Alang⁸ and more accessible to the missionary Fathers. Also, most of the church furnishings, sacred vessels of the Fathers and their personal belongings and furniture of the house had already been transferred).

The enemy arrived one early morning at the mouth of the river (which is rather small and, therefore, unable to carry larger ships) and, as the rumor of the sacking of Ormoc had been spreading far and wide, the Fathers had taken steps to bring together the natives to the said town of Carigara and others of the neighboring ones of Jaro⁹ and Alang-Alang, etc.; that amounted to more than four hundred men, with their ordinary weapons that were spears and shields (that we have said are called *bancas*¹⁰ and *calasag*¹¹ in their dialect). All this had little effect and no profit because even though they /the natives/ were commanded and divided into two troops. One was in charge of Juan de Ballesteros¹² (who afterwards died as a brother in our Society and who had been a man of rare virtues. We shall say in a proper place something about his life and death as a religious and about his great bravery and courage before he became such,

muchos); y en la segunda estaba un Ambueno, llamado Pedro Fernández, que no cedía a los más alentados en brío y valor, como lo mostró en varias ocasiones, antes y después de esta; y por parte de los cabos se tenía tan buena esperanza como satisfacción de sus personas.

Con todo, anduvieron los indios tan cobardes y viles, que, aunque al llegar a la playa las embarcaciones enemigas, se les acercaron guiados de sus cabos con buen orden; pero apenas dispusieron los sanguiles algunos versecillos que traían, aunque de poco porte, cuando, concibiendo más miedo que debieran, se retiraron los indios todos, valiéndose de sus pies, tan aprisa que cuando los dos cabezas de las tropas habían disparado, que solos ellos los tenían, sus arcabuces, en respuesta de los del enemigo, se hallaron tan solos que ni un indio tan solo quedó ni a sus lados ni cerca; con lo cual, juntándose los dos, aunque hicieron buen rato cara al enemigo pensando que con esto se animarían los compañeros, no pareció chico ni grande; con lo cual, retirándose ambos poco a poco, porque no les cogiesen las espaldas los enemigos, que sin resistencia iban desembarcando, fueron a dar a un Padre y a un hermano, que estaban aún en la casa de Carigara, nueva de cómo el enemigo iba desembarcando a toda prisa; y, aunque el Padre se dio no poca prisa a irse hacia el monte, por ser hombre impedido y gordo, fue milagro que se escapase y, a no haberse cebado en la presa de nuestra casa y del pueblo los enemigos, sin duda le cogieran, porque estaba bien cerca aún, y tanto que oyó todas las voces hasta que, a instancias de Juan de Ballesteros, se llegaron dos indios al Padre y, más arrastrando que caminando, le escondieron algo en las malezas del monte, con que no le toparon los enemigos.

El hermano, que era más ágil, desamparó postrero la casa, y, tomando (como yo le oí contar algunas veces) unos "tinapayes" que de la noche habían sobrado de la cena, se fue al río de Sogor (este corre a media legua de Carigara y se vadea para pasar a

for in both directions, he placed himself far ahead of many others). The other was commanded by a certain Ambueno, called Pedro Fernández,¹³ who did not tarry far behind the most courageous in bravery and in valour. This he demonstrated on various occasions, prior to this one and in succeeding encounters. As far as these commanding officers were concerned, they were considered as trustworthy and responsible individuals.

Notwithstanding all this, the natives responded cowardly and poorly; so much so, that when the vessels of the enemy touched the shore, the natives came close to them in fine order as led by their commanders, but as soon as the *Sanguils* set-up some small artillery pieces which they brought along with themselves (these were of very small calibre), the natives fell into excessive fear and promptly retreated. So quickly did they disappear that when the commanders of the troops had fired their arquebuses with which they alone were provided, in response to the volley fired at them; in no time they found themselves alone. Not even one native remained at their side or even anywhere near them. Even though they faced the enemy for some time hoping that the natives would gather enough courage and return, nobody came back — neither the small nor the big ones. Slowly, therefore, both commanders began retreating cautiously so as not to be caught from the rear where the enemy was landing and finding no opposition. They moved in haste to publish the news about the enemy's landing to the Father and the Brother who were still in the convent of Carigara. Although the Father left hurriedly for the woods, it was a miracle that he was able to escape since he was in poor health and also a heavy-set fellow. Had the enemy not been busied with the looting of our house and the town, undoubtedly they would have captured him, because he was still very near; in fact, he was so near that he could hear the shouting. At the pleading of Juan de Ballesteros, two natives went near the Father and dragging him more than giving him a change to walk, they hid him in the bushes of the woods. It was for this reason that the enemy was unable to lay hands on him.

The Brother who was more agile was the last one to leave the house taking along (as I once heard him relate) some *tinapay*¹⁴ which was left-over from the previous evening's supper and proceeded towards the Sogod River (this river flows about a half

los pueblos de Jaro y Alangalang), esperando algún aviso de lo que pasaba en el pueblo; pero el primero que tuvo fue el de las llamas y humo que sobresalía a los árboles y espesura del monte, y era el que hacía la casa e iglesia de Carigara, a la cual le pusieron fuego después de haber robado cuanto en ellas había, y, viéndola arder, se volvieron a sus embarcaciones, cargados de despojos sagrados, aunque con pocos cautivos, porque se habían prevenido las mujeres y niños y viejos a huir con tiempo; y los varones, que habían de esperar, les siguieron después; que todo este aliento tienen nuestros bisayas en semejantes ocasiones.

Con el aviso del humo y fuego, se partió a toda prisa el hermano para dar aviso a los Padres que se habían retirado a la IRAIA (ya dijimos qué es); y en el pueblo de TUMGA, que estaba en medio del de Carigara y Jaro, halló uno que, avisado con los indios, desamparando sus casas, se recogieron al monte.

No quiso Dios que el enemigo, como ya había hecho buena presa, tratase de entrar la tierra adentro, porque si hubiera entrado, aunque los indios tenían algunos emboscados en el camino (que este es su modo de pelear, no cara a cara) sin duda los hubiera saqueado, robado y quemado como al de Carigara, que quedó todo abrasado (yo vi algunos años después, aunque ya tenía casa e iglesia rehabilitada, alguno de los zoquetés de los postes o harigues que hasta la faz de la tierra se habían quemado, que a nada perdona el fuego).

Retirado el enemigo, que no tardó mucho en zarpar, bajaron no pocos de los indios, que tan feamente habían huído (quizá a ver si había algo que poner en cobro) y sólo hallaron las brasas en que se estaban ardiendo la casa e iglesia, hecho ya todo una hoguera (que todo había dado ya en el suelo, pues había casi dos días que ardía), con que pudieron decir: “aquí fue Troya,” pues a esta como a aquella acabaron las llamas.

Fueron a dar las malas nuevas a los Padres, que, conformándose con la voluntad de Dios, fueron volviendo a congregiar lo gente

a league away from Carigara and through which one may just wade in order to get to the towns of Jaro and Alang-Alang) in order to await some news as to what was transpiring in the town. But he soon learned everything from the flames and the smoke that were rising high above the trees across the woods; from this he also learned that the smoke was coming from the house and the church of Carigara. Obviously, the enemy put them to the torch after having sacked all that was found in them. The fires set well aflame, they returned to their vessels heavily laden with sacred spoils but with very few captives since the children and the women had taken precaution and fled on time; the men, who had to wait, followed them soon after. That is the kind of courage of our Bisayans on occasions such as these!

With a signal of smoke and fire, the Brother went in all haste to inform the Fathers, who had withdrawn to the *iraya*¹⁵ (we have already said what this is) and to the town of Tumga,¹⁶ which is half-way between that of Carigara and that of Jaro. On his way, he came across someone who informed him how the natives deserted their houses and sought refuge in the woods.

God did not permit that the enemy, as he had gathered such booty, would plan in entering further inland; because if he had, although the natives already had some men waiting to ambush them on their way (that is their way of fighting instead of face to face), he /the enemy/ would undoubtedly have sacked, plundered and burned down their houses as he did in Carigara wherein all was reduced to ashes (I saw this myself some years later even though the convent and church were already rebuilt; even the stumps of the posts or *harigues* had been burnt down to the very ground). A fire spares nothing in its path.

The enemy having withdrawn, for he did not delay in putting out to sea, not a few of the natives, who so shamelessly had fled, came down (perhaps to see whether there was anything that could be salvaged) but they only found the house and the church smouldering from the blaze (for everything had crashed to the ground, since it had been burning for almost two days), and as a result they could only exclaim: "Here was Troy!" since this as well as the former were both brought down by the flames.

They went to share the bad news with the Fathers who, conforming themselves to the will of God, began gathering the

poco a poco, en especial la de Carigara y Balugo, que se habían metido muy en los montes y expuestos a morir de hambre en ellos, pues se habían ido sin provisión alguna; y, a la verdad, a no haber acudido los varones en busca de sus hijos y mujeres, que fueron buscando a tientas en el monte (porque cada uno había tomado diferente vereda, y así todos se habían esparcido y dividido), es infalible que hubieran perecido no pocos, pero luego que ellos, hallando a la gente menuda, les fueron proveyendo de las comidillas del monte, hasta que volvieron a sus casas y sementeras, que hallaron de la misma manera que las habían dejado, sin faltarles cosa, porque el enemigo no se atrevió a alejarse, y así no llegó a ellas, y los amigos, como todos, habían huído; nadie se había cuidado de más que de cumplir el *in monte salvum te fac*, que esto los valió a todos y ha valido siempre por acá.

Luego que el hermano nuestro, que se llamaba Alonso Gómez, que estuvo en esta misión muchos años y después fue a Roma acompañando a un Padre Procurador de esta Provincia) supo el fin de la iglesia y casa, reducidas en pavesas, aunque le dio mucha pesadumbre, lo que le dio más cuidado fue saber del Padre, que ya dijimos que, como impedido, no había podido alejarse, y siempre tuvo mucho recelo de su persona, pues, aunque escapase de los enemigos el riesgo (dejando el susto que es fuerza fuese muy mucho), el de los años, que era ya de edad, el impedimento de poca agilidad en un monte sin abrigo ni sustento, era fuerza fuese muy grande, y así se dispuso para a irlo a buscar, llevando algún refresco de comida por si daba con él, que no le fue dificultoso, porque, tomando el camino para Carigara, acompañado de algunos indios (que, como ya el enemigo se había ido, iban acudiendo) en llegando al río de Sogor, que ya dijimos está cerca de Carigara, topó con otros que le dieron nuevas del Padre, al cual habían llevado más arrastrando que por su pie hasta dicho río donde, cansado ya y sin aliento, dijo que le dejasen allí en un ribazo, algo apartado del camino, donde, como otro Elías, "*petivit animae suae ut moreretur.*"

people together, especially those of Carigara and Balugo¹⁷ who had penetrated deep into the thickets and ran the risk of perishing there from hunger, since they had gone there without any provisions. In truth, if the men had not gone in search of their wives and children, for whom they had to grope as if in the dark (since each had followed a different trail and were badly scattered and divided) it would have been for certain that some would have perished. But soon a crowd was gathered and they began to provide them with food that was available in the forests until they returned to their houses and fields which they found just as they had left them. Nothing was missing because the enemy did not venture to go far away from the town and thus failed to reach them, and their friends /or the natives/ had fled as everybody did, and nobody cared for any other things except to carry out the *in monte saluum te fac*, /seek for your safety in the woods/; in this consisted their salvation and has been the salvation of all always around here.

As soon as a Brother of ours (whose name was Alfonso Gómez¹⁸ and who remained in this mission for many years and who afterwards went to Rome, accompanying the Father Procurator of this Province) became acquainted with the fate of the church and the house which turned into ashes, although he felt sorry for it, what he was most anxious about, however, was to get some news about the Father, who, we have already stated, as a man in poor health, could not have gone too far. He had always been concerned regarding the person of the Father, for even though he could have evaded the risks of the enemy (putting aside the shock, which by all means must have been great), his advanced age and the hindrance of his little agility in the forest, without shelter and food, must have made matters worse; so he readied himself to go in search of him, carrying along some refreshment and food, just in case he happened to find him and which was not difficult because taking the way to Carigara the natives accompanied him; this was because the enemy was gone and they were all returning. Upon reaching the River Sogod, as we have mentioned, that it is near Carigara, he came across other who gave him news about the Father whom they had taken there, dragging him more than having him walk, as far as that river where, exhausted already and almost breathless, he requested to be left there on a sloping bank, a little away from the road where,

Estuvo allí de tres a cuatro días, hasta que el Hermano le halló, expuesto a todas las inclemencias del cielo; aunque tuvo dicha en que no llovió, si bien por los arroyos que en el camino había pasado, y aun al mismo río que es algo caudaloso, estuvo mojado hasta que la ropa poca que le había quedado se le enjugó en el cuerpo; y dije poca, porque como los dos indios que le iban acompañando (y en que estuvo su vida) iban por lo más espeso de los matorrales y fuera del camino, por si el enemigo entrase por él, le habían hecho arapostada (?) la ropa, y aun las mismas carnes, de modo que, cuando el Hermano le halló, estaba casi en cueros y, tan exhausto, que apenas podía pronunciar palabra (que estos son los regalos de por acá más ordinarios en semejantes casos).

El consuelo de ambos, y más del Padre, discúrralo cada cual en sí propio, si se viera en otra tal.

Refocilóse con lo que llevaba prevenido; y con los otros indios que traía, le hizo cargar hasta Carigara, que ya dijimos no está lejos; y allá, en una casilla que se le hizo en *interim*, fue arribando del fracaso pasado.

Añadiré aquí una especial providencia de Dios, que por tal la contaba el Hermano, y se la oí yo alguna vez; y fue que cuando el Hermano se bajaba por las escaleras de la casa de Carigara, huyendo del enemigo (cuya gritería oía) oyó, según decía, otra como voz que le dijo: toma unos "candaquíes" y llévalos contigo (son los "candaquíes" unas mantas de algodón, tupidas y negras, que acá sirven para hacer nuestras sotanas).

Estuvo por no hacerlo por el miedo del enemigo; pero, pareciéndole que era aquella voz cosa rara, volvió y sacó dos o tres piezas, de las primeras que le vinieron a las manos, y se las encajó en el cingulo, porque le impidiesen menos, y con ellas hubo de darse tanta prisa, que ya el enemigo llegaba a las puertas de hacia

like another Elias, *petivit animae suae ut moreretur* /he asked that he might die, I Kings 24:4/. He remained there from three to four days where the Brother found him exposed to all the inclemencies of the heavens; he was fortunate, however, that it did not rain. But, on the other hand, due to the many brooks that he had crossed on his way and because of the above-mentioned river which carries abundant waters, he was totally drenched and had very little clothing left to dry on his body. I mentioned 'little' because as the two natives were accompanying him, and to this he owed his very life, through the tickets and out of view for fear the enemy may follow them, these bushes tore his clothing to shreds, and even his flesh to such a degree that when the Brother discovered him, he found him almost naked and so exhausted that he could barely utter a word. Such are the blessings commonly experienced here under such and similar circumstances!

What was the consolation for the both of them, especially for the Father? Let each one imagine it for himself just in case he were to undergo an ordeal such as this.

He nourished himself with what the Brother had prepared. And with the assistance of the natives whom he brought along, he was carried on their shoulders as far as Carigara which, as I already have mentioned, was not too distant. It was there, in a make-shift shelter constructed provisionally, that he recovered from the calamity.

At this point may I add a special intervention of God as the Brother was accustomed to narrate it and as I heard it from him on one or another occasion. It happened this way: as the Brother was going down the stairs, fleeing from the enemy (whose shouting was audible) he heard, as he was accustomed to say, as if a voice urging him 'take along some *candaquies* with yourself'. These *candaquies* are blankets of cotton, closely woven and black in color, which are used here in making cassocks.

He was hesitant about doing this for fear of the enemies; but as it seemed to him that this voice was as if a little out of the ordinary, he returned and took two or three pieces that first came into his reach and placed them behind his sash so as to minimize any hindrance. And so along with these he had to move on hurriedly because the enemy was nearing the doors which were

la mar, cuando el Hermano salía por las contrarias, que estaban hacia el monte; y, aunque para caminar, le estorbaban su poco (y más a quien teme, como él temía), las llevó consigo; y en esta ocasión se acordó de ellas, que las había dejado en los pueblos de arriba, y las envió a buscar para hacerle al Padre una sotana, que estaba sin ella; que a trozos se la habían ido quitando las espinas y malezas (que ya dijimos cuáles son las de estos montes); y entonces conoció la providencia divina, pues ni había otra materia de que hacerla, ni se hallaba entre los Padres otra que le pudiesen prestar, pues nadie tenía entonces segunda; tanta era la pobreza de estas misiones, que la atención solamente la tenían puesta sus ministros más en ganar almas para el cielo que en cuidar de sus cuerpos en la tierra.

Llamábase el Padre, a quien sucedió esta desgracia, casi recién llegado de Manila a estas misiones, el Padre Miguel Gómez, hombre grave y muy docto, que había leído algunos años Teología en nuestra Universidad de Manila, con no vulgar aplauso.

Vino a esta provincia de la de Aragón, donde había leído Artes, y aun pienso que Teología antes de venir, y dejó algunas obras dignas de la luz común, que, para que luciesen, fueron a Roma; pero quedaron allá (como otras muchas, muertos sus autores, quedan sepultadas en la librería común de manuscritos); y, con deseo de hacer algo de mayor gloria divina y de lograr los intentos que le habían sacado de Europa (que algunos por acá olvidan, poco agradecidos a aquel impulso divino que de allá los sacó, no para cátedras, pues las dejan, sino para enseñar a estos pobres), había venido a estas misiones de Pintados, donde, a los primeros pasos, comenzó a gozar de lo que en ellas se halla muchas veces, y a gustar del pan bendito que acá se amasa, cuece y come con mucho gusto, pues es el sainete de los otros manjares ordinarios; que todos son de zozobra, afán y trabajo y a los principios fue sin duda más (aunque el peligro y riesgo de los enemigos siempre es el mismo); y con tal agasajo tuvo por más acertado, pues a la verdad

facing the sea, while the brother was leaving through the opposite ones, which were facing the hills. And although these were no little hindrance to him, especially to one in the grip of fear as he was, he took them along anyway. It was on this occasion when he recalled that he left these in the upper towns. He sent someone to look for them so as to have a cassock made for the Father who was left without one, because little by little the thorny bushes had torn off his cassock for we have already mentioned what kind of thorns grow in these forests. Since there was no other material available, it was there and then that he was made aware of Divine Providence. Also, among the Fathers, there could be found no one who could offer him a cassock because no one at that time had a second one. Such was the poverty of these missions, that the ministers were concerned more with saving souls for heaven than even caring about their bodies on earth.

The name of the Father who suffered this misfortune, a recent arrival to these missions from Manila, was Father Miguel Gómez.¹⁹ He was a serious and a very learned man who had taught theology for some years in our University of Manila with no uncommon repute.

He arrived to this Province from Aragon where he had taught the Arts and also, I believe, Theology, prior to his arrival here. He prepared some works which were deemed worthy of publication and these were sent to Rome. But these labours suffered the same fate as all others after the demise of its authors; that is, all remained buried in the common library for manuscripts. He was prompted by a desire to accomplish something more profitable for the greater glory of God and to satisfy the goal that had drawn him from Europe. These are matters some out here forget and are little thankful for that divine impulse which attracted them from there, not for professorial chairs, for they gave these up, but to instruct these unfortunate ones. And so he arrived to these missions of the Pintados where soon he began to enjoy the trials one often encounters; where he tasted the blessed bread that is kneaded, baked and eaten here with great delight for so is flavoured here this food; that all is anxiety, solicitude and travail and at the beginning it was undoubtedly even more, although the dangers and menace of the enemies were always the same, and therefore because of this situation he deemed it

estaba impedido y menos ágil para los peligros acá cotidianos, retirase; y así primero fue a Cebú, y de allí a lo de CATUBIG (como veremos después), y, finalmente, a Manila, donde aprendió lengua tagala y sirvió algunos años en aquel ministerio, que, por serlo también de indios (aunque con menos salsa y salmorejo que los de por acá) es glorioso y de no poco servicio de Dios, que lo llevó a gozar de Sí después de algunos años; y quizás este primer lance de acá no fue el de menos correspondencia y gloria allá; pues, ¿qué serán muchos como él?

Quiero acabar este Capítulo con otro que le sucedió a un hermano nuestro, morador del pueblo de CARIGARA, y que ayudó no poco a su reedificación, en especial de la casa e iglesia, abrasados de los enemigos, como acabamos decir, y sucedió tres años después de su quema, cuando ya estaban reedificadas, en el mes de septiembre de mil seiscientos y once.

Este fue que, habiendo ido dicho Hermano, que se llamaba Juan Díaz, en un *biroco* (ya dijimos qué embarcación es por acá) con algunos indios a buscar algunas cosas necesarias para dicha cabecera al estrecho de SAMPUETAN, que no está muy lejos de dicho pueblo, volviendo ya para casa, al salir de él (que tiene una bahía de largo de seis a siete leguas hasta la isla de PANAMAO, y de ancho como tres leguas poco más o menos), navegaba con buen viento a popa, aunque algo recio; avisáronle los indios con tiempo que asegurase la vela y la bajase, por si el viento arreciase mucho, como a las veces suele, más aprisa que quisieran; parecióle que era miedo, y, con deseo de volver presto a casa, y de llegar a la barra, que no estaba ya lejos, dejó correr y no quiso asegurar la vela, cuando, arreciando de golpe el viento, les cogió, como dicen, con todo el trapo, y dio al barco una /manchiquepa/, volviéndole de arriba abajo; de modo que el árbol y la vela servían de quilla, y la del navío era lo que solamente salía encima del agua, que por tener (como hemos dicho ya), las embarcaciones los cates de cañas, que los que acá se usan y son como una balsa, es imposible volverlas a ladear ni poner derechas; los indios y el mismo hermano se asieron, como mejor pudieron, de los dichos

more prudent to withdraw from here, for in truth, he was quite powerless and not strong to face the dangers of each day. And so, he first went to Cebu; from there he assumed the ministry of Catubig,²⁰ as we shall see later, and finally he settled in Manila where he learned the Tagalog language and served for a number of years in that ministry which was also composed of natives; however, those over there possess less maturity and fervor in comparison to these over here. It is a glorious matter and of no little service to God who took him to his joys after several years. Perhaps this incident here did not result in a lesser reward or glory over there. Therefore, to how much will amount many sufferings like his?

I wish to bring this chapter to conclusion with another incident which happened to our Brother, who lived in the town of Carigara and who contributed greatly to its re-building, especially the church and the house which were burned down by the enemy, as we have already mentioned and which occurred three years after the conflagration. The reconstruction was completed in the month of September in the year 1611.

This incident about the said Brother, whose name was Juan Diaz,²¹ concerns the voyage he made in a *biroco*²² with several natives in order to obtain some necessities for the said cabecera. They sailed as far as the Strait of Sampuetan which is not far from the said town, and were making their return trip (that bay was approximately six to seven leagues in length, reaching the Island of Panamao, and about three leagues in width) with full sails and favourable winds, although somewhat too strong. The natives cautioned him early enough to lower the sails and secure them just in case the winds grew fierce unexpectedly as they often did. He felt they were perhaps over-concerned or eager to reach the estuary and return home, which was not too far. And so he let things go and did not bother to secure the sails when suddenly the wind grew stronger and caught them with their sails fully rigged, thus causing the vessel to turn 'bottoms-up'. This resulted in the mast and the sails exchanging positions with the keel of the vessel. Only the keel was above water, for as we have said, these vessels have bamboo outriggers, which are commonly used here and which resemble a raft. It is impossible to turn these sideways or even set them aright. The natives and

cates, y, unos aferrados a ellos; otros, y entre ellos el dicho Hermano, caballeros en la quilla, se procuraron escapar de aquel primer peligro, cuando zozobró la embarcación; pero fue sin fruto, pues, aunque no se ahogó alguno de ellos entonces, que todos eran buenos nadadores, sólo uno escapó después.

Y fue el caso que, como no tenían ni con qué remar, ni guiar la embarcación, que todo se había ido al hondo; ni modo (por estar a más de legua de la tierra apartados) para coger, nadando, la orilla, se dejaron hechos juguete de la corriente, que suele ser no poca en mareas grandes, llevar de ella adonde y cómo los mares querían.

De esta manera fueron llevados hacia adelante, ya hacia atrás, ya a un lado ya a otro, más de ocho días; y, como todos ellos estaban dentro del agua y sin recurso humano ni refrigerio alguno, sin comer ni beber, expuestos al frío, viento y golpes de mar, se iban poco a poco cayendo muertos, o de hambre, o de frío, o de todo junto.

De esta manera se fueron acabando todos, y sólo quedaron los últimos un indio de los de más fuerza y el hermano Juan Díaz, sin que en todos ocho días vieses embarcación alguna que les pudiese socorrer, ni se llegase la embarcación (que fue caso raro) a parte donde pudiesen hacer pie y coger alguna isleta.

Al octavo día se cayó el Hermano muerto encima de la quilla, donde había estado asido, sin remedio alguno, y quedó el indio, su compañero, solo.

Al noveno día, cuando ya se hallaba sin fuerza ni vigor, sintió que la embarcación había varado, estando la marea llena, y, al bajar del agua, como quedó ladeada, topó en las piedras y se quedó en bajamar casi en seco; entonces, tomando aliento, se fue arrastrando sobre los arrecifes y piedras hasta que llegó a la playa, pero tan flaco de fuerzas que ni dar voces podía, ni valerse para acción alguna humana; procuró con todo apartarse, porque cuando la marea creciese, no lo alcanzase en la arena y le llevase (y en esto estuvo su dicha), porque ya, después de medio día, la tuvo en que otros indios que iban a pescar y acaso llegaron a aquel paraje (que era una isla despoblada de las que están delante de Catbalo-

the Brother himself held on tightly and as best as they could to the outriggers; some clung to these while others and the Brother, riding on the kneel, tried to escape from the first calamity when the vessel capsized. Although no one drowned then, for all were good swimmers, eventually only one survived.

As a result, they did not have anything to row or steer the vessel, since everything went to the bottom. Neither was there a possibility of reaching the shore by swimming since they were more than a league away from the shore. They allowed the currents and the waves, which are not very small in height, and the tides to carry them to and fro.

In this manner they were carried forward and backward and either to one side or to another for more than eight days. And because they were all on the waters without human help or any comfort, without eating and drinking, exposed to the cold winds and surges of the sea, they began, one by one, to fall dead either from hunger or cold or from both.

In this manner all were slowly dying off; the last ones who remained were one of the stronger natives and the Brother, Juan Diaz. All during these eight days they have not seen any other boat that could have aided them nor could their vessel come aground or touch upon some islet.

On the eight day, our Brother fell dead upon the keel to which he clung so tenaciously, deprived of all human recourse. And so, his companion remained alone.

On the ninth day, when he found himself already without any strength or life, he sensed that the boat had run aground, even though the tide was high. When the waters receded, the boat was turned on its side. Then it struck some stones and remained in shallow waters and almost upon dry land. Regaining some courage he began dragging himself over the shoals and stones until he reached the beach. However, he was so drained of strength that he could not even shout or help himself in any way. Notwithstanding all this, he made an attempt to get away lest the tide, which was rising, reach him on the sand and carry him away again. In this rested his good luck, because soon after mid-day, he had the good fortune that other natives, who were out fishing, arrived by chance on that spot. That was an uninhabited island of the group that lies in front of Catbalogan.²³

gan, y, reconociendo el bulto, que no podía hablar ya ni llamarlos con la voz sino con levantar un poco los brazos, se acercaron, diéronle de un poco arroz que traían, y cocieron entonces un poco de LINOGAO, que llaman acá (y es al modo de las gachas, que se hace de arroz muy cocido con agua), y tan poco que apenas podía tragarlo; alentáronle, enjugáronle con fuego y repetidas veces le iban dando algunos sorbos, con que poco a poco volvió a cobrar algún aliento, de modo que lo embarcaron en su canoilla *baloto*, que acá llaman, y lo llevaron a su casa, donde poco a poco fue arribando y, cobradas las fuerzas, se volvió a Carigara y contó el fracaso sucedido, porque no se sabía del hermano ni sus compañeros cosa alguna, y de su informe se supo, pues Dios le libró sólo a él.

Buen aviso para los que navegan por acá, que no es este caso solo sino otros muchos, y algunos tocaremos en esta historia, para que no sean temerarios e impetuosos, sino que sigan a los indios, pues, como hemos dicho ya, pocos de los que les siguen se pierden; y este hermano y otros muchos se perdieron por no lo querer hacer; que ellos, como peces de estos mares, saben mejor el modo con que se ha de navegar por ellos, y más vale tarde que nunca, que por mucho madrugar no amanece masahina /más ahina?/.

CAPITULO 18

CAUTIVAN LOS SANGUILES Y CARAGAS AL PADRE RECTOR DE DAGAMI Y OTROS DAÑOS QUE HICIERON

La presa de la cabecera de Carigara le salió a las sanguiles y caragas tan provechosa y barata, que no tardaron mucho en volver y probar la mano y robar estas islas de los pobres indios bisayas que, reducidas a mayores y mejores poblaciones que las suyas antiguas, fueron objeto de sus robos y sujetos de sus presas; y

Noticing his presence and seeing his condition and inability to even speak or even to call upon them, but only by raising his arm slightly, they approached him and gave him a little rice that they brough along and cooked into *linugao*,²⁴ as they call it here. That is a kind of porridge made of rice and cooked in water. Although they gave him very little, he could hardly swallow it. They urged him on, made him dry with a fire and repeatedly gave him sips. Little by little with their help he began to gather strength to such an extent that they put him aboard their small canoe or *baloto*, as they call it here, and took him to their home where slowly he recovered. Having regained his strength, he went back to Carigara and reported the misfortune that had befallen him; because as yet, nothing was known about the Brother and his companions. It all became known only through him whom God spared.

This is a good lesson for those who sail around here and that is not the only incident here; there are many others. A few others we shall mention in this history, so that they may not be rash and impetuous, but pay heed to the natives. As we have mentioned previously, few are they who follow their advice and become lost.

This Brother and many others suffered a loss for not following their advice. These natives, like fish in the seas, knew well how to sail. It is better to arrive late than never; what more, rising earlier than the dawn does not make it dawn.

CHAPTER 18

THE SANGUILS AND CARAGAS CAPTURE THE FATHER RECTOR OF DAGAMI AND OTHER DAMAGES THAT THEY CAUSED

The plunder of the Carigara *cabecera* was so fruitful and so uncostly for the Sanguilis and the Caragas that they did not hesitate for a moment to return quickly. Now that these Bisayans gathered in bigger and better towns than previously, they raided them uninterruptedly; they were made the objects of their plunder

fue tanta la prisa que se dieron que en el año de seiscientos y trece salieron dos veces, y se volvieron ambas llenos de cautivos y despojos.

Y no fueron los que llevaron presos a sus tierras tan pocos que no pasasen de dos mil personas, según lo hallo apuntado en un papel de aquellos tiempos, en que se hizo el cómputo de los pueblos a que dieron asalto y de las embarcaciones que en el mar cogieron, que dice en él el que lo escribió que no serían menos de dos mil indios los cautivos en ambas veces; sin alguno u otro español de los que navegan a sus tratos, o iban y venían de conducir los tributos, con que todo dio en sus manos, y se volvieron cargados de despojos, y más de los pobres cautivos que fueron en dicha cantidad.

Uno de los que en la segunda vez que en dicho año fueron presa de los enemigos, fue el Padre Pascual de Acuña, que era rector de la residencia de Dagami. Habíase mudado la cabecera, que estaba antes en el pueblo de Dulac, después que le robaron (como dijimos arriba) los mindanaos, al pueblo de Dagami, por ser más mediterráneo y menos fácil a las invasiones, que ya repetidas veces habían dado los enemigos en los pueblos playeros, como lo era el de Dulac.

Y, aunque en esta ocasión (ni aun hasta hoy) llegaron a dicha cabecera de Dagami los enemigos, si empero al pueblo de Palo, que es uno de los sujetos a dicha cabecera, y no muy lejos de ella (pues distará por tierra de cuatro a cinco leguas cuando mucho).

Hallábase en dicho pueblo el Padre Rector a visitarlo, que, por la falta de obreros fue, y es forzoso andar siempre los Padres ministros en continuo movimiento (como veremos en el Libro siguiente cuando tratemos en especial de este ministerio, y de nuestro modo de doctrinas). Alcanzéronle las nuevas al dicho Padre Rector de los enemigos que andaban pirateando aquella costa; y, aunque se previno poniendo *bantayes* (así llaman en esta lengua a los centinelas o guardas), fue sin provecho, porque ellos (como es ordinario aún hoy) se echaron a dormir; y así, al cuarto del alba, el primero que los despertó y maniató fue el enemigo, a quien guiaron ellos mismos hasta el pueblo de Palo, que distará río arriba menos de media legua de la mar; y, aunque el río es mediano, en entrando la barra (que es algo baja) tiene

and subjects of their looting. They operated so efficiently that in the year 1613 they made two expeditions and on both occasions they left laden with spoils and captives.

Now those whom they have taken as captives to their lands were no less than two thousand individuals. This I found recorded on paper at that time wherein an estimate was made of the towns that were assaulted and the vessels captured at sea. He who made a record of this noted that there were no less than two thousand natives captured both times. This does not include one or another Spaniard who was at sea trading or coming or going to gather tributes and there fell into their hands; thus they sailed back weighed down with booty and still more with poor captives who amounted to the above-mentioned number.

One of those captured during the second raid was Father Pascual Acuña¹ who was the Rector of the Dagami² residence. The *cabecera*, which formerly was in the town of Dulac, had been transferred to Dagami after it was sacked by the Mindanaoans, as we have stated above. Dagami situated more inland becomes less accessible to the raids which the enemies repeatedly undertake against these towns located on the coastlines such as Dulac.³

And though up until now the enemies have not reached this said *cabecera* of Dagami, they did enter the town of Palo. This is one of the towns subject to the above-mentioned *cabecera* and not far from it; overland it is about four or five leagues at most.

The Father Rector was then in Palo on a passing visit. It is necessary for the Father ministers to be constantly on the move because of the lack of ministers; as well shall see in the next Book when we treat this ministry in a special way and the peculiarities of these mission stations. The news of the enemy, who was raiding the coast, reached the mentioned Father Rector. And so, even though he made provisions against such attacks by setting up *bantayes*, thus are called the sentries or guards in this language, it was all in vain, because the sentries, as ordinarily happens even today, gave themselves to sleep; so during the last nightly watch the first to awake them and shackle them was the enemy whom they had to guide to the town of Palo. This is upstream, less than a half-league distance from the sea. Although this river carries a moderate amount of water for entering its mouth (which is little below normal level) it has sufficient depth for

suficiente fondo para las embarcaciones ordinarias y de pequeño porte, como son comúnmente las de los enemigos.

Llegaron estos al amanecer al pueblo, tan a la sorda que cuando el Padre bajaba de su casa para ver qué nuevas había, y si habían los centinelas venido a dar aviso de los enemigos, dio con ellos de manos a boca, quedando asido de sus manos y amarrado de sus cordeles (que de ellos hacen más provisión que de armas cuando vienen a robar; tan a lo seguro como esto vienen a estas islas y tan a cosa hecha, como si fueran a un rebaño de reses a amarrar a su voluntad las que quieren).

Poco o nada pudo resistir el Padre *qui tamquam ovis coram tondente se obmutuit*, a imitación del mejor y mayor pastor Cristo. Dábanle, empero, más pena sus ovejas, que, a no haberlas espantado con el ruido y algazara que hicieron en la presa del pastor, hubieran sido sin duda muchas más (pues estaban descuidadas sin saber el riesgo que tan cerca tenían) las que hubieran caído en las uñas de los carniceros lobos; pero, avisados, y aun atemorizados, con el ruido; *sorio* le llaman en esta lengua, que, como de cobardes, entre ellos es mayor y más ruidoso (por causar mayor espanto), y, ayudados de la escasa luz del día, pues no había amanecido bien el sol, se fueron escondiendo unos entre las espesuras, y huyendo otros hacía el monte; con que fueron los cautivos menos de los que ellos pensaban; y, ocupados los que salieron al pueblo en despojar la iglesia, que era la que tenía algunas alhajas de monta (que en las casas del pueblo ni las había, ni los indios aun en tiempo de paz traen a él cosa de monta (si alguno tiene alguna) por la poca seguridad que hay en ellos.

Recogido lo poco que había en la iglesia, y despojados los altares a vista del mismo sacerdote que pensaba decir en ellos misa aquella mañana, se llevaron al dicho Padre y a los pocos que hubieron a las manos, a sus embarcaciones, que parte estaban dentro y parte fuera de la barra, que suele ser mala por unos bancos de arena, que los vientos y corrientes se dejan en ella; pero hay allí cerca una isletilla, que, aunque pequeña, sirve de abrigo a las embarcaciones de mayor porte, como le sirvió al enemigo en esta ocasión para las suyas, que parte habían estado

ordinary vessels of light tonnage, as those of the enemies commonly are.

They reached the town so stealthily that when the Father came down from his house to inquire about the news and whether the sentries had any information about the enemy, he unexpectedly ran into their clutches and was bound with their ropes (they are better prepared with these than with weapons when they come to plunder, so certain are they of their prey when they arrive to these isles, as if these were ready and waiting just for them), as if they were going to a herd of cattle to tie-up those whomsoever they please!

The father put up little or no resistance, like a lamb in the presence of the shearer he kept silence, in the manner of the best and greatest Shepherd. However, the sad plight of his sheep increased his anguish; that, had not they frightened them off with the noise and clamour which they had made while capturing the shepherd, undoubtedly many more would have fallen into the hands of these blood-thirsty wolves. And so they were warned and frightened-off with that *Soriao*,⁴ as they call it here in this language. Since they are a rather cowardly people, they make more noise so as to cause a greater fear. Although there was not enough light, dawn was just breaking, they began to hide, some into the brush and others taking flight into the hills. As a result, there were fewer captives than expected /by the predators/. Those who entered the town busied themselves with stripping the church, for this was the only one which had anything of some value. In the houses of the town there was nothing of great worth; neither do the natives store any valuables in case they possess them even in time of peace since there is little assurance of security in them.

After having pillaged the little that was available in the church and having stripped the altars before the very eyes of the priest who was contemplating in offering Mass on them that very morning, they carried off the said Father and a few others whom they caught, to their boats. Some of these vessels were on this side of the river while the others were beyond the mouth of the river. The reason for this is the many sandbars which the winds and currents build up. Nearby there is also an islet which, although very tiny, provides a good shelter for vessels of larger tonnage as it did for the boats of the enemy on this

allí al abrigo, aunque poco, y parte habían corrido hacia el estrecho, que ya dijimos llamarse de San Juanillo (que en este año fue cuando se le dio dicho nombre, pues en él pasaron los dos naos, aunque de mediano porte) que en este pasaron para Manila de vuelta de Méjico, como dijimos arriba.

Vengamos ahora al trato que hicieron al Padre los dichos enemigos (aunque no son ellos los que peor tratan a los Padres, que por acá se cautivan), pero de su trato (como yo se lo oí años después al mismo Padre) se colegirá cuán malo será el de los otros, si es peor que este, siendo malísimo.

Lo primero que hicieron fue despojar al Padre de su sotana, y aun casi de todos sus vestidos, porque es (y son todos los enemigos de acá) tan soeces que de cualquiera trapo hacen mucho caso y andan unos con otros a la rebatiña.

Metiéronle en la embarcación del que le había cogido, adocenado y a montón con los otros cautivos que habían cogido, que todos estaban casi en cueros. Tánta como esta es su barbaridad, sin perdonar aun a las mujeres ni atender al resguardo debido a su honestidad.

No parece que se halló en la presa del Padre el indio que venía más principal por cabeza de todos. (Llamémosle cabo, a uso de guerra, porque ellos en la suya no tienen pies ni cabeza), y así cuando lo supo, mandó que llevasen al Padre, que era la presa de más importancia que traían, a su embarcación. Así como le vio, que la buena sangre aun entre bárbaros tiene no sé qué especial y de mayores atenciones, se compadeció de él, hablóle con buenas palabras, y que no se afligiese, que presto se acabaría aquel trabajo, pues no tardarían mucho los Padres y españoles en rescatarle. Mandó que le volviesen su sotana, que fue harto se hallase aún entera; y fue lo que el Padre más estimó en aquella ocasión; y, deteniéndole en su embarcación, o que por hacerle más agasajo, o que para que le hiciesen menos befas (aunque los caragas, que no eran mahometanos sino gentiles son más templados en mofar de los ministros de los cristianos), si bien, en

occasion. Some of these had been sheltered there for a short time while some others had moved towards the strait which, as we have said, is called San Juanillo; it was in this particular year that this name was given it because through it sailed two ships of light tonnage. These two ships were returning from Mexico and were on their way to Manila that year, as was stated before.

Let us now speak about the manner in which this enemy treated the Father. Although there are among them many kinds of enemies, this one does not show the most vile treatment of captives. From the manner of dealing with him, as I heard many years later from that same Father, one may conclude how possibly terrible could be the treatment shown by the others or even whether it could be much worse than this one.

The first thing that they did was to strip the Father of his cassock and eventually from all his clothing. This enemy is so cruel, as are all enemies around here, that out of any piece of rag they make a big issue and vie with each other for it.

They placed him in the boat of the one who had caught him and threw him among all the other captives they have seized — all totally naked. So barbarous were they that they did not even spare the women, showing no respect for their modesty whatsoever!

It seems that the leader of the Moros was not present during the capture of the Father. (Let us call him a chief or a corporal in military usage since among themselves in warfare they have neither head nor foot; that is, they do not keep any military rank). However, when he learned about this captive, he demanded that the Father, who was the most valuable catch they made, be brought to his ship. As he gazed upon him he was moved to compassion, for even among barbarians there is some kind of a special acknowledgment of noble blood which inclines them to a little respect in dealing with people. He spoke to him in kind words urging him not be sad because the Father and the Spaniards will not delay the ransom. Then he ordered that his cassock be returned to him and surprisingly it was still in good condition. This is what the Father appreciated most at that moment. Perhaps he kept him in his vessel either to provide better treatment for him or spare him the ridicule from others. The Carágas who were not Muslims but pagans were more moderate in deriding the ministers of the Christians. However, in truth, the

realidad de verdad, fue para asegurar más su persona y el cuantioso rescate que de ella esperaba (que esta sola es la causa por qué no matan algunos de estos enemigos a los Padres), el interés del rescate, que en otra parte veremos cuán grandes son los que piden en semejantes casos.

Llegados a Caraga, que caragas fueron los que cautivaron al Padre, no sanguiles, cuando el Padre esperaba más hartura (que las hambres que en la navegación había pasado, como todos los cautivos sus compañeros, habían sido de marca mayor), y más comodidad, pues ni aun para tender las piernas la había donde venía embarcado; aunque halló más anchura, no más desahogo. Hallóse casi en cueros; que la sotana se la dejaron poco encima; tan falto de comida que cuando le daban un poco de arroz prieto y hediondo, lo tenía por regalo. Lo común era darle, como a los otros cautivos a quienes él consolaba en sus trabajos, los afrechos del arroz, que son tan insulsos (que aun los de la cerda los comen mal). Carne ni pescado u otro condumio, ni por imaginación; mandábanle cargar leña y agua para los ministerios domésticos como a los otros esclavos, y también (como a los que sabían) que fuese a echar la *atarraya* (ya dijimos ser género de red con que pesca uno sólo), si quería comer algún pescadillo, que sólo lo tenía cuando otro de los cautivos, diestros en este ministerio, le daba alguno. Si bien tal vez, aquejado del hambre, probaba también el Padre echar su atarraya, y se iba ya haciendo a su manejo (que el hambre es gran maestra).

Pero lo más de que se sustentó, cautivo, fueron algunas raíces, que le enseñaban los otros cautivos como él a buscar en el monte, y algún marisco que buscaba en las playas; que, por no sustentarle su mismo amo (tanta como esta es su miseria y vileza), le dejaba que se fuese a buscar qué comer; si bien algunas veces le deparaba Dios algunas indias (que son más pías siempre las mujeres) que le daban algo, aunque poco, para suspender la hambre, ya que no quitarla, y algún trozo de manta para cubrirse algo mejor.

real reason for such concern was perhaps that the Father would not escape or because of the high ransom that was expected for his person. This is the only reason why these enemies do not kill the Fathers, their interest in the ransom. Elsewhere we shall see how high are the ransoms that they demand in such cases.

Once he arrived in Caraga, for it was the Caragas and not the Sanguils who captured the Father, he expected to receive better nourishment and a bit more comfort (for the hunger that he and the other captives experienced had been extremely great and on the boat there was nowhere even to stretch ones legs). Now although he found more room, there was no let-up in the discomfort. He soon found himself almost naked for they did not allow him to wear the cassock for long. The food too, was very meagre so much so that when they brought him rice, even though rather dark in color and ill-smelling, he welcomed it as if a delicacy. It was a common procedure to give him the same serving as they had given to the other captives, that is, the left-overs of rice which are so tasteless that even the pigs would not relish them. Under these dire circumstances he tried to console all of them /captives/. About meat, fish or any other food one would not even dare to dream. They also ordered him to carry firewood and fetch water as a domestic chore, just like the other slaves were required to do. They also made him go out and cast the *atarraia*⁵ (we have explained already that that is a kind of net with which one may fish alone) as they also did to those who had the know-how. The only time he was able to have a small fish was when another of the captives, skillful in the art of fishing, gave him one. Eventually, driven by hunger, the Father also made an effort to cast his *atarraia* and was becoming skillful in its art of handling. Certainly, hunger is a great teacher!

His common fare in captivity were root-crops which some other captives taught him to find or one or another kind of a shellfish for which he searched along the sea-shore. Such is their niggardliness and vileness that their own master would not even feed them. But they did allow him to go in quest for something to eat. Sometimes God moved some native women, women are always more pious, to provide him with something, even though a little bit, to alleviate his hunger, since he was unable to satisfy it or even a piece of cloth to cover himself a little more.

De esta manera pasó hasta el año siguiente de seiscientos y catorce el buen Padre que, ayudado de su natural robusto y fuerte, pudo tener con tantas necesidades; hasta que llegó el tiempo de su rescate, a que acudió la Compañía con la diligencia y puntualidad que suele. Pero la distancia de los lugares, la falta del caudal (que en estas islas el de los Padres que vivían en ellas era poquísimo), lo alargó más de ocho meses; hasta que de Manila vino lo necesario y se llevó a Caraga, con que volvió el Padre Pasqual de su cautiverio a la misma cabecera de Dagami, cuyo Rector actual era, como dijimos ya, cuando le cautivaron en Palo.

Con ocasión de este cautiverio, y de los muchos otros que iban haciendo tan a su salvo los caragas (que era cuando enemigos, y son hoy amigos ya y cristianos, los más cercanos a esta nuestras doctrinas de Bisayas y parte de ellas) dispuso el Gobierno (era entonces gobernador de estas Islas don Juan de Silva, cuya diligencia y esfuerzo militar es comparable con el de los más nombrados capitanes del mundo, como lo mostró en las ocasiones que acá tuvo, en especial contra los holandeses, que nadie como él los amedrento y ahuyentó de estas Islas; y, si la vida le hubiera durado, puede ser que aun de la India; que para todo tuvo ánimo y valor sobrado, y no me alargo más en su alabanza por no meter la hoz en mies ajena).

Lo que dispuso, pues, el Gobierno, y con acierto, fue que se hiciese jornada a Caraga para reprimir los insultos de este enemigo tan doméstico y cercano; y para castigarle en su misma tierra y pagarle en la misma moneda de contado lo que al fiado había él hecho en la ajena.

Atención tan necesaria por acá que, además de ser prevención para lo venidero, la experiencia muestra que es el medio más eficaz, cierto y provechoso que se halla para castigarles y reprimirles el meterles la guerra en casa.

In this manner, the good Father carried on like this onto the following year of 1614 when, thanks to his strong and determined nature, he was able to withstand so many privations until the ransom money was gathered and negotiated by the Society with its customary diligence and promptness. However, due to the great distances from place to place, and the dire lack of money (in these islands the funds of the Fathers are very meagre) the ransom was delayed for more than eight months. For whatever was needed had to come from Manila from whence it was sent to Caraga. And so, Father Pascual returned from his captivity to the same *cabecera* of Dagami where he was the actual Rector as we have already mentioned, and where they got hold of him in Palo.⁶

As a result of this capture and of the many others which the Caragas made without any opposition (this occurred when they were hostile, because today they are already living in friendship, are Christians and very close to those of our Bisayan missions and even a part of them), the government decided (the Governor of these Islands at the time was Don Juan de Silva, whose zeal and military courage may be compared with that of the more renowned captains of the world, as he demonstrated it on the occasions that he had here, especially against the Dutch. He, like no other, put fear into their hearts and frightened them away from these islands. Would that he would have lived longer, he might have expelled them even from India. In all undertakings he had more courage and valour than one can hope for. I shall not prolong any further these praises so as not to harvest from another's field, so as not to dwell on matters that are the concern of others).

The Government decreed, with good judgement, that an expedition should be undertaken against the Caragas in order to check the incursions of this enemy. This domestic enemy so nearby had to be punished on his own territory and paid out in the same fashion as what he had done on credit in another's home.

Such measures are a requisite around here and as a deterrent to future incursions. Experience teaches us that to bring the war to their regions is one of the most certain, effective and profitable means of holding back these raids and bringing them to their knees.

Escogieron para esta empresa al general Don Juan Manuel de la Vega (el mismo que el año antecedente había embocado por el estrecho, como dijimos, de San Juanillo) en ocasión que por poco se hubiera topado con el mismo enemigo en él; pues, apenas habían pasado las naos cuando él vino. Lo acertado de la elección mostró lo feliz del suceso, pues, habiendo ido a Caraga con doscientos soldados españoles, compañía ésta bastante para esta tierra, y número suficiente para cualquiera empresa, si se dispone como se debe; que el modo de pelear por acá es muy otro que el de Europa; y de los naturales de estas Islas llevó también hasta dos mil indios auxiliares que, aunque estos de suyo son para poco, con el arrimo de los españoles han valido en algunas ocasiones mucho, pues son cuña del mismo palo.

Acompañaron también esta facción dos Padres nuestros: el uno fue el mismo Padre Pascual de Acuña, que con muchas y muy buenas obras que les hizo en esta ocasión, se vengó de las muchas malas que había recibido de los caragas en tiempo de su recién acabado cautiverio; el otro fue el Padre Román, que fue Procurador de esta Provincia en Manila, y el que solicitó tanto como el que más esta jornada; que le fue más fácil por la mucha cabida, conocimiento y mano que tenía en la ciudad de Manila, y aun con el mismo señor Gobernador, que hacía mucho caso, y con razón, de su persona y talentos; de modo que, según he oído decir, fue lo más, sino el todo de esta empresa la solicitud y diligencias del dicho Padre y de su buen expediente.

Fue importantísima la persona del Padre Pascual de Acuña, así para la buena disposición y aliento de los indios auxiliares, que los más eran bisayas y conocían al dicho Padre, como para en Caraga donde había ganado con su buen trato el tiempo de su cautiverio el arrimo de muchos de ellos, así principales como *timauas*, que, como le conocían, acudían a él con más seguridad, y por su medio se redujeron mucho más presto de lo que se esperaba y se compusieron las cosas muy a satisfacción de ambas partes.

They chose for this undertaking General Don Juan Manuel de la Vega. He is the same individual who, a year earlier, entered the mouth of the San Juanillo Strait, narrowly missed running into the same enemy; for the galleons had just passed it when the enemy suddenly appeared. The sweeping success confirmed the wisdom of this move in going to Caraga⁷ with some two hundred Spanish soldiers. This is usually a sufficient force in conquering these lands and a sufficient number for any undertaking if planned properly. The manner of engaging in warfare out here is very different from that which takes place in Europe. He also took along two thousand natives from these islands as auxiliaries; although these, left to themselves, are not so good in battle, together with the Spaniards they accomplish much on occasions such as these, since these are a chip from the same block, so to say.

Two of the Fathers went along with this expedition: one of them was the same Father Pascual de Acuña who showed much kindness to them on this occasion and in this way he repaid the Caragas for their bad treatment shown him during his captivity; the other was Father Roman who was the Procurator of this Province /Jesuits/ in Manila; he is the same individual who worked harder than anyone else for the promotion of this expedition. This was rather easy for him due to the influence, knowledge and expertise which he had in handling matters in the City of Manila. And even his relationship with the Governor who held him in high regard and as a person of unusual talents, and rightly so. For I have often heard it said that the Father was extremely resourceful. In fact, he made most of the preparations, if not all, for this undertaking.

The presence and participation of Father Pascual de Acuña was extremely important for the morale of the native auxiliaries, who were mostly Bisayans and who were familiar with the said Father. His presence in Caraga was beneficial as well, for there he had gained a fine reputation in his dealings with the people there during his captivity; he won the good will of many, the *principales* as well as the *timawas*. Knowing him, they approached him with greater confidence and through him they submitted themselves sooner than expected and matters were settled more readily to the pleasure and satisfaction of both sides.

Llegado el General y su Campo a Caraga, tomó tierra con menos estorbos de lo que se esperaba y aun temía; que, aunque es verdad que ningún enemigo se debe despreciar, y estos caragas han sido y son de los más valientes y alentados de estas Islas, como lo muestran siempre que los llevan a la guerra que en otras partes se suele hacer por nuestros españoles; con todo, el verse de repente con tan buen número de españoles, cuando ellos no esperaban ni la mitad; con el de los indios, que no eran pocos para la facción, y más yendo los más de ellos picados por los robos que en sus pueblos habían padecido, y no pocos de sus parientes que estaban aún cautivos entre los caragas; que, aunque toda esta gente es de poco valor comúnmente, con el deseo de venganza (*adhuc formicae inest sua bilis*, como dijo el otro), cuánto y más a los que estaban tan lastimados e injuriados.

Ocupada la tierra, se trató primero de fortificar con palos y fajina; y poco a poco se dio principio a una fortaleza de cal y canto que hoy está en Tanda, y ha sido y es el freno, no solo que detuvo sus ímpetus, pero que les tiene hoy a raya, y mucho más después que son cristianos doctinados y asistidos de los Padres Augustinos Recoletos, que han sido y son los ministros y maestros de los caragas, y tienen hoy una muy extendida y bien cultivada cristiandad, en un buen número de pueblos, que comienzan por la costa oriental de la isla de Mindanao, en una punta que se llama CARAGA, y da el nombre a aquella provincia, y corre al Nordeste primero y luego hacia el Poniente hasta BUTUAN, que ya dijimos fue a los principios doctrina de la Compañía, y a que acudieron algunos años nuestros Padres, plantando allí la santa fe; pero después se dejó lo de Butuan y todo lo dicho de Caraga que estaba asignado por campo de los ministerios y conquista espiritual desde desde sus principios a la Compañía de Jesús, que cedió en dichos Padres Recoletos, que muy apostólica y debidamente lo han admi-

The General and his camp having arrived in Caraga, landed with much less opposition than expected or even feared. It is true, however, that no enemy should be underestimated; for these Caragas have been and are known as some of the most daring and courageous people in the Islands. This is in evidence whenever they are engaged in war with the Spaniards elsewhere. And now they see themselves suddenly confronted with such an overwhelming number of Spaniards, not having expected even half as many, and with such a great number of natives; really, a number which is not small for an engagement. What more, those going there were still bothered by the raids and plunder which they suffered in their towns and some still had members of their families in captivity among these Caragas. Although these people have very little courage normally, yet they were prompted by a desire for vengeance, as someone once put it this way: "adhuc formicae inest sua bilis" [still an ant retains its bitterness]. What more about those who had been so hurt and injured?

Once the land was subdued they first planned to construct a fort of logs and faggots; later, little by little they began to erect a fortress of mortar and stone which today stands in *Tanda*. It is and has been a deterrent which not only brought to a stop their incursions but today keeps them at bay. This is much more true now that they are Christians, instructed and assisted by the Agustinian Recollect Fathers, who have been and are the spiritual Fathers and mentors of these Caragas. Today they have very extensive and well-cultivated Christian communities, with a good number of towns which begin in the western coast of Mindanao Island at the Cape of Caraga, which gives its name to that Province, and runs towards the west as far as Butuan. At the beginning, as we have already stated, Butuan was administered for some years by our Fathers who planted there the holy faith; afterwards the missions of Butuan were given up together with that of Caraga, which had been assigned from their beginnings to the Society of Jesus as a field for its ministry and spiritual conquest, had been given to the said Recollect Fathers who have been administering it until today in a very apostolic and conscientious

nistrado hasta hoy y, aunque ha habido sus alteraciones y motines (por allá las llaman los alzamientos o sublevaciones), con todo nunca han salido con su intento; y, desde que se les puso la fortaleza y presidio, han tenido y tienen echados los grillos. Ojalá, y se echasen muchos otros, y no se quitase los echados, ya que cediera en mucho aumento de la fe y del imperio de su Majestad Católica.

CAPITULO 19

COMIENZAN A PAGAR TRIBUTO A SU MAJESTAD LOS DE PALAPAG, JUNTA DE PUEBLOS EN CATBALOGAN, Y ALZAMIENTO DE BOHOL Y BAYBAY

Mientras estaba don Juan de la Vega castigando a los caragas y disponiendo el presidio que allí dejó puesto, que sirvió no menos de freno a los caragas, que después no salieron más a robar, que de estorbo a los sanguiles, que por estar más arriba en la misma isla (como ya dijimos) en la costa austral, no podían venir a robar por allí, como solían, juntándose con los caragas, y así no habían de salir la mar afuera que no se puede sin gran riesgo, por lo hinchado de las olas que revientan allí desde Nueva España, y por lo arrebatado de los corrientes que, con el mismo tumbo del mar y la furia de las aguas que se angostan allí para embocar entre la isla de Mindanao y la de Ibabao, es casi innavegable; y así se pusieron con una fuerza sola (tanto va en escoger buen parecer) grillos a los cercanos caragas y cadenas a los distantes sanguiles, que les cerraron el paso por la costa; que, aunque pueden, dando la vuelta a toda la isla de Mindanao (que algunos la dan mayor que a Europa), venir a robar a estas Islas; pero es la distancia mucha y los riesgos no pocos, y así rara vez han vuelto

ous way. Aside from the fact that there have been some tumults and conspiracies (there in Spain they call them uprisings and insurrections), nonetheless they have never had their own way. Now, ever since the fortress and the garrison were placed there, they were and are restricted. Would to God that the others would be impeded in a similar fashion; and those restricted would never be granted freedom again. This would contribute greatly to the increase of the faith and to the welfare of the empire of his Catholic Majesty!

CHAPTER 19

THOSE OF PALAPAG BEGIN TO PAY TRIBUTE TO HIS MAJESTY. THE MERGING OF THE TOWNS UNDER CATBALOGAN AND THE UPRISING IN BOHOL AND IN BAYBAY

While Don Juan de la Vega was punishing the Caragas and setting-up the garrison there so that it may serve not only as a deterrent against the Caragas, who ceased to sail in for plunder, but also as a hindrance to the Sanguils, who are settled further inland on that same island /Mindanao/ and on its southern coast, as we have said; and so they could no longer make their raids by land as they customarily did, getting together and making an alliance with the Caragas. As a result, they had to either go by way of the sea, which they were unable to do without running into the danger of high waves that beat against the coast, which is situated in the direction of Nueva España, or because of the strong currents. The very surge and fury of the waters that make their way into the narrow strait between the Island of Mindanao and that of Ibabao almost make it impossible to navigate. Hence, the erection of the fort (it is so important to follow some worthwhile advice) arrested the nearby Caragas and impeded the more distant Sanguils from utilizing the passage along the coast. That although they can go around the entire Island of Mindanao to come and pillage these islands which some believe to be larger than Europe, however the distance is considerable and the dangers are not a few; therefore, the Sanguils have

después acá los sanguiles a estas islas de los bisayas, porque les costará mucho rodeo y cansancio.

En esta sazón, pues, comenzaron los naturales de la costa de Ibabao y del pueblo de Palapag, que está cerca del nombrado cabo del Espíritu Santo, a pagar tributo a su Majestad y reducirse a su Real servicio, que, por estar, como ya hemos dicho, aquella costa como la de Caraga (aunque ocho grados más hacia el norte) en los mares grandes que vienen de todo el mar del sur, es y ha sido difícil de navegarse; y así llegaron allá más tarde los españoles, aunque fueron recibidos con tan poca contradicción como dijimos de los de SAMAR y LEYTE; aunque después han dado sus corcobos, como veremos en su lugar (mayores que otros de que trataremos en este Capítulo); con todo fueron antes y son hoy muy sujetos; que tal vez el mejor caballo se descuida en dar una coz, o engrifarse, y dar con el caballero abajo.

En este pueblo de Palapag se puso después, juntando con él los de la isla de BATAG y otros, como veremos en el Libro siguiente, la cabecera que llamamos hoy de PALAPAG, y lo es de todos los pueblos que en aquellas dos partes oriental y boreal de la isla le están sujetos, al modo que en dicho Libro diremos; que, por no repetir, lo dejo para cuando tratemos de cada cabecera en particular, y sus sujetos, dando cuenta de todos ellos.

El año de catorce fue el principio de dicha cabecera de Ibabao, y el de dieciséis se mudó la de Samar, que había estado desde sus principios (como dijimos) en el pueblo de TINAGOB, al de Catbalogan; juntando en el paraje que tiene este nombre y fundando un nuevo pueblo con agregación de otros que le estaban cerca, como fueron, el de Cotay, Cauayan, Canahauan y otros que diremos cuando tratemos en especial de dicha cabecera; que aquí sólo apunto su principio y la junta que en ella se hizo en general; dejando lo especial para su lugar, por no andar repitiendo dos veces lo particular de cada uno.

Sólo añadido aquí (porque sucedió en esta sazón y quizás no se ofrecerá otra, dando entre más al justo), como en los principios

seldom returned here to these islands of the Bisayans because it would necessitate a great detour and much fatigue.

At this time also, the inhabitants on the coast of Ibabao¹ and in the town of Palapag², which is near the said Cape de Espiritu Santo, began to pay tribute to his Majesty and began to submit to his Royal service. This coast, as we have already mentioned, is similar to that of Caraga, although about eight degrees north. It is situated along the vast sea which is an extension of the South Sea. Sailing here is and has been found difficult and therefore the Spaniards reached that place /region/ much later even though they were received with little opposition, as we have already stated about those of Samar and Leyte. As we shall see later in its proper place, they have not always proven themselves loyal; we shall speak, in this chapter, about the uprisings of greater consequence. In spite of it all, they were in the past and are today, loyal subjects. For it often happens that even the best horse occasionally kicks back or looses his control and throws the rider to the ground.

To this town of Palapag was transferred afterwards, in a merging fashion, the people of the Island of Batag³ and others, as we shall see in the succeeding Book. The *cabecera* which today we call Palapag is really such, for it is the head of all the towns which are subject to it on the eastern and northern parts of this island /Samar/, as we shall say in the above-mentioned Book. In order not to be repetitive, I shall treat it when we write about each *cabecera* in particular and about its *visitas*, giving there a report about all of them.

The year 1614 marked the beginning of the mentioned *cabecera* of Ibabao; in the year 1616 that of Samar had been transferred to the town of Catbalogan and which had been located from its beginning, as we have said, in the town of Tinagob.⁴ Here a new town was formed on this spot which bears this name to which were merged others close by such as Cotay, Cawayan, Canahawan and others, as we shall see when speak in particular about the said *cabecera*. Here I only note down its beginning and the grouping that was made in forming it, and leaving other particulars for its proper place so as not to repeat the peculiarities of each.

I also add here, since it took place at about this time and perhaps it will not happen again, rendering each its due, how

de este año dieron fondo en la isla de Capul, sujeta a esta cabecera de Catbalogan, y que está (como ya hemos dicho) en el mismo embocadero que llaman de San Bernardino, seis naos de holandeses, los cuales no hicieron daño alguno a los indios, antes los agasajaron mucho; qué fin tuviesen no se supo. Lo cierto es que estuvieron allí algo despacio, y fue en la misma coyuntura que Don Juan de Silva salió de Manila para Malaca con diez naos y cinco galeras (cantidad de bajeles que después acá jamás se ha visto en estas Islas, ni aun casi la mitad).

En esta jornada murió Don Juan de Silva, y podemos decir que casi murieron con él las naos, galeras y otras embarcaciones de guerra de este Archipiélago; aunque no totalmente el valor español; que en las ocasiones que ha habido y otro escribirá, lo han mostrado bastantemente.

Ya que estas dos cabeceras estaban, aunque en sus principios aún, muy adelantadas en gente ya bautizada, pues quedaban por este tiempo bien pocos que bautizar en las islas Samar e Ibabao; aunque estos fueron postreros por las causas dichas.

Se comenzó a alborotar la isla de Bohol y la costa de Baybay en la isla de Leyte hasta Cabalian, y la isla de Panaon. Las causas de este alzamiento no las sabemos de cierto; si acaso fue arrepentimiento de los naturales de dichas islas, de haberse dejado tan fácilmente sujetar de los españoles; que como estos, no todos, tienen las atenciones debidas (y más cuando son gente vil y soldadillos de pocas obligaciones, que son los peones, y suelen demasiarse en palabras y obras contra los pobres indios, que son el blanco de todas sus rebatiñas, raptos, violencias y otras cosas insufribles) aun a los que fueran mas lerdos y apocados que los bisayas; que, aunque verdaderamente lo son, tal vez, y aun muchas veces, han mostrado que son hombres que sienten, y en especial los boholanos que son de los más alentados y briosos de estas islas y que antes no se dejaban sopear de ninguna nación de ellas, pues tuvieron muchos años guerras, robándose recíprocamente, con los

at the beginning of this year there anchored off the Island of Capul,⁵ a *visita* of this *cabecera* of Catbalogan, which is located, as we have said, at the very mouth of the strait that they call San Bernardino, six Dutch ships. These did not cause any damage to the natives; on the contrary, they entertained them. Just how it all ended is not known. What is certain is that they remained there biding their time; this occurred about the same time that Don Juan de Silva left Manila for Malaca with ten galleons and five galleys, a number of vessels that since then and until how has not been seen in these Islands — not even one half of these.

During this expedition Don Juan de Silva died; and we can say that with him died almost the galleons, galleys and other war vessels of this Archipelago. Although not totally, we may even say that the Spanish valour also died. That they have given proof of this valour on such occasions as presented themselves. Another will write about them.

Although still in their beginning, these two *cabeceras* had townsfolk who were already baptized, because at this time there were only a few people who were left unbaptized on the Islands of Samar and Ibabao, even though these were the last to receive baptism for the above-mentioned reasons.

On the Island of Bohol, the coast of Cabalian⁶ and on the Island of Panaon⁷ a stir of rebellion began to grow. We are not well acquainted with the causes of this uprising, but perhaps the natives of the said island had some regrets about their easy submission to the Spaniards. Not all Spaniards are fair in their treatment of the natives; and even more so when they are base people and despicable soldiers with a small sense of responsibility, as soldiers commonly are. Often they go beyond proper limits in words and actions and in their dealings with the poor natives. These are usually the targets of their attacks, outrages, violences and other unbearable deeds; a behaviour painful even regarding those who may be more slow-witted and weak-willed than even the Bisayans for although they are truly so, they have given nonetheless signs that they are sensible men, people who are sensitive to injuries. This is especially true of the Boholanos who are among the bravest and most courageous in these islands. They did not permit themselves to be down-trodden by any tribe; they waged wars for many years, harassing one another reciprocally

terrenates, hasta que estos (algunas años antes que acá llegasen los españoles) vinieron con más prevención y fuerzas que esperaban los otros, y así hicieron mucho destrozo en la isla de Bohol y en la de Panglao, su adyacente (como dijimos ya), y en ella quemaron y destruyeron el famoso pueblo que allí tenían los boholanos, en lo que hoy se llama Daus, donde se ven aún algunos de los zoquetes o trozos de los harigues, a postes, de las casas que estaban fundadas en el agua; y hasta hoy no ha vuelto a levantar cabeza aquel pueblo, si bien está en la misma punta, aunque fundado en tierra no en la mar, el pueblo de Daus, donde están avecinados los de Panglao, como diremos cuando tratemos de la cabecera de Loboc e isla de Bohol.

La gente de la costa de Cabalian no es menos alentada; antes algo más arrebatada que la boholana por ser descendientes de caragas, cuyos fronterizos son, y hoy no sé si son más los caragas que habitan dicho pueblo de Cabalian que los bisayas naturales de él, y están mezclados con sus recíprocos matrimonios que en lengua (aunque es la bisaya, si bien más gruesa y menos pulida que la de los otros pueblos de dicha costa) más parecen caragas que gente de Leyte.

De estos siguieron los de Sogor y Baybay que son casi vecinos, y los de la isla de Himasaua que está entre Bohol y la punta de Nan ngi puen, aunque más cerca de esta que de la de Bohol. El cabeza y principal mayor era Mancao, hijo de Mangaris, que fue el primero que agasajó y recibió los españoles de paz en su isla; y, avisado su Majestad de Felipe II (que acá vinieron en su tiempo) de lo bien que el dicho Mangaris lo había hecho con los españoles, le envió un aderezo de oro, o dorado, intitulándole "Príncipe de Himasaua," don que él estimó mucho, y con razón, siendo, como era, del mayor monarca del mundo a un pobre indio, descalzo y aun casi desnudo, como vimos en sus trajes en el Libro Primero de la Primera Parte de esta *Historia*.

También la isla de Panaon, que está fronteriza de la de Himasaua y entre Sogor y Cabalian (pues hace un muy breve estrecho

especially the Ternates. It was so, until a few years before the Spaniards arrived here; these Ternates came better prepared and with greater force than the Boholanos expected. Thus they caused much havoc on the Island of Bohol and upon its neighboring island of Pangalo, as we have already mentioned. There they burned and destroyed the famous village which the Boholanos had and what today is called Daus. Some of the stumps or remains of the *harigues* or posts of the houses which were built over the water, can still be seen. Even to this very day, that village is still not what it used to be previously, even though it is still located near the same cape; however, now it is built on land and not on the sea. The people of Panglao settled in the village of Daus as we shall see when we come to speak about the *cabecera* of Loboc and about the Island of Bohol.

The coastal people of Cabalian are not less courageous but even more daring than the Boholanos since they are descendants of the Caragas, whose neighbors they are. I do not know whether the Caragas dwelling in the said town of Cabalian are more numerous today than the native Bisayans. There has been a fusion of these peoples through inter-marriage which is reflected in their language; although the language is Bisayan even though coarser and less polished than that of the other towns along the said coast. In appearance they seem to be more Caragas than people from Leyte.

The next that followed /i.e. joined the rebellion/ were those of Sogor and Baybay, neighboring towns, and the Island of Himasawa,⁸ which is located between Bohol and the Cape of Nangipuen and closer to the latter. Its head or chief was Mancao, son of Mangaris, who was the first to welcome and entertain the Spaniards onto his island peacefully. His Majesty, Philip II (during whose reign they came here) aware of the fine treatment that the said Mangaris had extended to the Spaniards, sent him a set of gold-plated jewelry and conferred upon him the title 'Prince of Himasawa'. It was a gift which he esteemed greatly and rightly so because it came from the greatest monarch in the world for a poor, barefooted *indio*, almost naked (as we have seen when speaking of their dress in Book One of Part One in this History).

Likewise the Island of Panaon, which borders Himasawa and which lies between Sogor and Cabalian (creating a very short

con esta de Leyte entre ambos pueblos) se acomodó con los malcontentos y siguió a los demás pueblos de dicha costa y a los de la isla de Bohol; que casi todos se sublevaron a un tiempo, o con muy poca diferencia.

Si estaban concertados o no, no se pudo averiguar, si bien por estar tan cercanos, aunque de industria no se agavillasen, por comunicación parece que sí, pues cosa de tanta monta no se podía disponer sin que lo supiesen, y más tratando siempre y teniendo reciprocas idas y venidas de unos pueblos a otros entonces, como las tienen hoy, y de los efectos se puede sacar que la causa fue una misma en todos.

La mayor que, a mi parecer, hubo no fue tanto el descontento del gobierno español (aunque por las conjuras que hacían contra los españoles no se puede dudar de que hubo algo), cuanto maña diabólica y ardid de Satanás que les comenzó a poner desabrimiento y tedio en las cosas de la fe y algún gusto en las memorias de sus pasados *paganitos*, convites y fiestas que antes hacían en su antigüedad, como les sucedió allá a los israelitas, que, sustentados a sabor de su paladar con el maná del cielo, apetecieron, y aun suspiraron, por las ollas podridas de Egipto, apeteciendo más los pepinos, cebollas, rábanos y otras verduras con que llenaban sus ollas de carne que la comida del cielo.

Este sinsabor atizaban las sacerdotisas que (como dijimos), eran las más mujeres y algunos sacrificulos que se levantaron con nombre de DIWATAS y llenaron los cascos (y más si fue después de bien bebidos) de viento y de mil engaños, prometiéndoles muchas dichas que jamás alcanzaron; muchas vitorias que nunca tuvieron; y, lo que a ellos les llenaba más, mucha hartura y abundancia de todo lo necesario para la vida humana, en especial de comidas y bebidas, que fue siempre lo que el demonio los enseñaba antes, y porque se les llevaba ahora, y todo sin fundamento.

Baliana hubo, o sacerdotisa, que les ofreció en el monte montones de arroz, ya limpio y apilado, y fuentes de vino y otras

strait with this /island/ of Leyte between both towns), sided with the malcontents and espoused the cause of the other towns of the said coast and also followed the towns of the Island of Bohol; so much so, that almost all of them rose up in rebellion at the same time or just a bit later.

Whether they have plotted or schemed this cannot be ascertained /about the uprising/. However, this may have been the result of living so closely together, not necessarily a plot. Since, on the other hand, a matter of such serious consequences could not have been hatched-up without their knowledge; what more, there was a continuous mutual inter-relationship among themselves; a constant coming and going from one town to another, as happens today. And so from these signs one may conclude that the causes /for rebellion/ were the same for all of them.

The most important reason, it seems to me, was not so much the dissatisfaction with the Spanish Government, although judging from the conspiracies and plots against the Spaniards, there is no doubt that there was something to it than a diabolical cunning artifice of Satan. It was he /Satan/ who began leading them into a distaste and tediousness in matters of the faith and to a longing for their past *pag-anitos*,⁹ banquets and feasts which they observed in olden days. This is just like it happened to the Israelites whose palate was nourished with the manna from heaven and yet they longed and even sighed for the flesh-pots of Egypt; yearning more for the cucumbers, onions, radishes and other vegetables with which to fill their pots of meat rather than for the nourishment of heaven.

This dislike was abetted by the priestesses, who were mostly women, as we have mentioned and by some sacrificers who appeared with the title of *diwatas*.¹⁰ These filled their heads, more so after they had drunk to excess, with wind and a thousand deceits, promising them many pleasant things which they never really received; many victories which they never achieved. What gratified them most was satiety and abundance of things necessary for bodily life, especially food and drink. These are things which the enemy always taught them before and by which he misled them now. All was without any foundation.

There was a *Baliana*,¹¹ or a priestess, who offered them heaps of rice in the mountains, already cleaned and pounded, and springs

bebidas con que sacasen el vientre de mal año; y, según dicen, usó de un ardid notable que, para los que estaban ya ciegos, fue de mucha satisfacción, aunque en la verdad una ficción ridícula. Esto fue (según he oído referir varias veces) que llenó un género de cañas delgadas y de largos canutos, que acá llaman *bacacai* o *boos*, estando aún en su mata (si fue con ayuda del demonio, como parece por lo difícil de quitar los ñudos, y esto sin cortarlos, y de irlo infundiendo a cada una, Dios lo sabe) de arroz limpio, etc., y, llevando consigo algunos de los ya depravados, les dijo: para que veáis si yo os daré lo que os he ofrecido, cortad esas matas de bacacayes; y, como fueron cortando, fue saliendo el arroz y el vino que en ellos había puesto; y esta sola demostración, tan ridícula, bastó para que corriese la voz y creyesen por cosa sin duda una cosa tan fingida; que tan fáciles como esto fueron y son nuestros bisayas para creer cualquiera cosa de su útil, aunque no tenga fundamento alguno, cuanto más esta que tiene alguno, aunque engañoso y fingido.

Otra *daetan* hubo que les ofreció que, si se fuesen con ella para hacer sus *paganitos* al demonio, que ella cegaría a todos los españoles y otros cualquiera que fuesen en su seguimiento, de modo que no los verían aunque estuviesen cerca; y, si es verdad lo que ya dijimos del *tagulipuen*, no era difícil, dándoselos a cada cual, pero no fue así, sino que, esparciendo en el aire un poco de arena, o tierra, hecha polvos (decía) que con ello los cegaría; pero de cuánta verdad fue su promesa lo veremos más abajo.

Ni faltó ridículo que se hizo *diwata*, el cual les ofreció que no temiesen las balas de los mosquetes y arcabuces de los españoles, que él haría que las balas volviesen atrás y que hiriesen y matasen a los mismos que los disparasen. Promesas todas de engañabobos,

of wine and other drinks so as to put an end to their hunger. As it is said, she used notable stratagems; to those who were blind it brought satisfaction, but in truth, it was a foolish deceit. It happened this way, as I heard it related a number of times: she filled a kind of thin canes with knots at intervals, which here are called *bacacai* or *boos*, while they were still in the process of growing as a bush. She poured rice into the reeds still uncut; this rice went down to the very bottom in spite of the fact that the knots were not pierced. When they cut down the reeds /bamboos/ at its base, the rice came flowing out inspite of the knots. Only God knows whether this has happened with the help of Satan, as it seems. It is difficult to remove the knots without cutting down the bamboos or even pouring clean rice into each of them. And then, taking some of those who were associated with her, she said: "So that you may see whether I shall give you what I have promised you, chop down the *bacacai* plants!" When they began cutting them down, the rice and wine that she had placed inside began to flow out. This demonstration alone, ridiculous though it was, was enough to spread the rumor around and they believed as authentic something that was really a deception. How easily our Bisayans are prone to believe anything that delights them, even though it has no basis. How much more, this occurrence that seemingly had some, although in reality it was feigned, a deception!

There was another *Daetan* who promised them that if they went along with her to make their *paganito* to the devil, she would blind all the Spaniards and those whoever accompanied them. This would occur in such a way that the Spaniards would not see them /the natives/ even though they would be very near to them. And if it is true what we have said about the *tagunlipun*, it would not be difficult to carry it out, providing each of them with a little soil. But it was not to be done so, but only by scattering into the air a little pounded sand-dust, with this she said she would blind them. But how true the promise was, we shall see very soon.

Nor was there ever a clown lacking who would make himself a *diwata* and then offer them the assurance that they should not be afraid of the bullets of the muskets and arquebuses; he would arrange it in such a manner that the bullets would wound and kill him who fired them. These are all promises of deceivers because

pues ninguna les salió como pensaban, sino muy al revés, si bien fueron bastantes a mover los ánimos de muchos que, ciegamente y sin mirar a los daños a que se exponían y a las pocas fuerzas que tenían, se empeñaron, que no debieran, y se declararon por la parte del *diwata*, y siguieron al monte, donde se retiraron a un lugar por su naturaleza fuerte; aunque no les valió, como luego diremos. No fueron, empero, todos los boholanos, que los menos fueron los necios que se dejaron engañar de embustes mujeriles y de promesas que ni cumplieron ni podían cumplir, pues eran palabras al aire, y todo viento, como mostró el efecto. Los más cuerdos y mejores cristianos no hicieron movimiento alguno sino que quedaron fieles y atendieron a guardar sus pueblos por si los sublevados intentasen algo contra los pacíficos y más considerados.

Esto pasaba en la isla de Bohol; de lo cual, avisado el general Don Juan de Alcarazo (soldado acá de conocido valor y pericia militar), que entonces era cabo superior de Pintados, alcalde mayor y castellano de Cebú, trató de ir en persona a castigar a los amotinados o sublevados, y a asegurar a los demás que estaban pacíficos, antes que, a río revuelto, creciese más el daño y quedase ganancioso el demonio, que era el principal autor de aquellos movimientos por medio de sus ministros las *balianas*, que todas eran mujerillas tenidas por hechiceras, o que tenían algún pacto con el demonio, porque con cosas aparentes y ridículas, los engañaban; y cual o cual hombre (que alguno de ellos había sido criado de los Padres y sacristán mucho tiempo), que mostró bien que su cristiandad había sido como la devoción que dicen de sacristán, pues se fue a ser sacristán del *diwata* y ministro de Satanás; pero no le salió el sueño, sino como el del perro, que perdió lo primero y no ganó lo segundo, antes él y otros fueron castigados; y todos, arrepentidos, conocieron que se habían dejado engañar sin traza, y siguieron sin fundamento a los que les pusieron en el peligro y no supieron sacarles de él.

not even one happened as expected, but much differently. And yet, they were clever enough to entice many of them who so blindly and without considering the risks and all their powerlessness, placed their trust in them — something they should not have done. And so, they declared themselves in favour of the *divata* and took to the hills; there they withdrew to a well-fortified place but it profited them nothing as we shall soon relate. Of course, not all the Boholanos did this; on the contrary, the foolish ones were in the minority who permitted themselves to be duped by womanly artifice and promises which they neither fulfilled nor were able to fulfill. For they were words thrown to the wind and all of them were a lot of air as the succession of events have borne out. The more sensible ones and the better Christians did not make any such move, but remained faithful and took care of looking after their own towns, just in case the rebels ventured to do something against the peaceful and prudent ones.

This was happening on the Island of Bohol and about which the General, Don Juan de Alcarazo, a soldier here of renowned courage and military skill, who was at that time the military governor of the *Pintados*, *alcalde mayor* and *castellano* of Cebu, made up his mind to go personally and punish the rebels and insurgents and to make certain the loyalty of those who were peaceful, before by taking advantage of troubled waters, the evil would spread and Satan would profit from it, he who was the prime-mover of all those commotions through the instrumentality of the *balianas*. All of them were corruptible women and considered as witches who entered into a pact with the devil, because apparently they were able to deceive them with ridiculous things or this or another man, some of whom had been house-servants of the Fathers and sacristans for a long time; now they demonstrated well that their Christianity had been like the devotion, as the saying goes, of a sacristan, because they went to become 'sacristans' of the *divata* and ministers of Satan. But their dream was not realized as they hoped; it was like the saying about the dog who lost the first /bone/ and did not gain the other. On the contrary, they and many others were punished; and all having repented, learned that they had allowed themselves to be deceived miserably, and without much reason they had followed those who placed them in danger, but were incapable of freeing them from it.

NOTES

NOTES TO CHAPTER 17

¹ More properly *Maguindanaos*. "Malayo-mahometanos. Se hallaban comprendidos desde el cabo de San Agustín hasta punta Flechas" Francisco Combés, *Historia de Mindanao, Joló y sus adjacentes*, (Madrid: Herederos de Pablo del Val, 1667), Re-edited by W. E. Retana, Madrid: Viuda de M. Minuesa, 1897, "Vocabulario etnográfico," Tabla Quinta, col. 780.

It would be well also, at the very outset, to correct the erroneous opinion that all pirates, raiders, and human predators coming from Mindanao and many of its adjacent and dependent islets are Muslims. Some of these were Muslims while others were simply pagans. Too frequently all were and are referred to as Moros. "Moros was a generic name given by the Spaniards to the Malayo-mahometanos de Mindanao, Joló, Paragua and other islands." *Ibid.*

² De *calagan*, gente animosa. La nación de los caragas, que no constituye raza especial propiamente dicha, se extiende desde el cabo de San Agustín hasta la punta Bilás, de Surigao. Combés, *op. cit.*, cols. 777-778.

³ See, *Leyte-Samar Studies*, "Alzina's Historia de las islas e indios de Bisayas... 1668," Vol. III, No. 1, 1969 and Vol. IV, No. 1, 1970. These are a preliminary translation of Alzina's *Historia... 1668*, Part I, Book 1, chapters 1-5. These chapters are extremely interesting for they describe the meaning of the name 'Bisaya', the origin of the Bisayans, their custom of tattooing, their location, characteristics, etc.

For a good description of the Bisayans see: Combés, *op. cit.*, 776-777.

⁴ These are non-Muslim pirates. "Denominación genérica de los pobladores infieles que habitaban parte de la península comprendida entre los senos de Sarangani y de Davao. En la actualidad, los sanguiles, moros, ocupan una pequeña zona del litoral Sur de Mindanao, entre la ensenada de Tuna y el citado seno de Sarangani. *Ibid.*, cols. 780-781.

⁵ Current Samarnon usage of the word is seemingly limited, though not exclusively, to mean 'year', 'time' or "epoch". (See, Fr. Antonio Sánchez de la Rosa y Fr. Antonio Valeriano Alcázar, *Diccionario Español-Bisaya para las Provincias de Sámar y Leyte*, 3 ed. (Manila: Santos y Bernal, 1914), p. 371

In ancient times, the word was mainly used to convey the concept of 'time' in general; an appropriate moment, an opportune time, proper moment. It was also a term used for the menstrual period. See, fol. 533 in *Vocabulario de la Lengua Bisaya* compuesto por el R.P. Mateo Sánchez de la Sagrada Compañía al uso y comodidad de los PP. Ministros de los Partidos de Bisayas, (Manila: D. Gaspar Aquino de Belén, 1711), 351 fols. + 45. It would be well to mention here that this work is extremely important in annotating and interpreting Alcina's usage of Bisayan terms, words and phrases. Since this work is so highly valuable, it would be well to place it here in its proper perspective.

This *Vocabulario* is a very rare work and according to Father Horacio de la Costa, in his monumental work *Jesuits in the Philippines* (1961), the only single copy is located in the British Museum in London. (p. 625).

W. E. Retana, in his *Aparato Bibliográfico de la Historia General de Filipinas*, Vol. I (Madrid: Imprenta de la Sucesora de M. Minuesa de los Ríos, 1906) Reimp. al offset Pedro B. Ayuda y Compañía, Manila, 1964, pp. 232-234, states that there are only three other copies extant, aside from the one found in his collection. One is found in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid with some pages missing; one in the Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar which lacks a frontispiece, and one in the British Museum. He also makes the following observation: "Sánchez" entries are heavily laden with Bisayan examples of word usage almost to a point of complication, thereby making its study rather tedious. It is, however, a reflection of the author's profound knowledge of the idiom and expertise in understanding the intricacies of the language." (p. 233).

In the year 1914, Manuel Artigas y Cuerva noted: "Del vocabulario solo existen cinco ejemplares: uno en la Biblioteca Nacional de España, faltándole hojas; otro en el Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar, Madrid, que carece de portada; otro en el British Museum y que registra Pardo de Tavera en su *Biblioteca Filipina*; otro sin portada y careciendo de la páginas en que figuran las licencias, que posee la Universidad de Santo Tomás, y uno en perfecto estado, con encuadernación de lujo, que figura en la División Filipina de la Biblioteca de Filipinas, adquirido de la Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas." (*Reseña de la Provincia de Leyte*, (Manila: Imp. Cultura Filipina, 1914), p. 286.

This writer, therefore, acquired a micro-film copy of this *Vocabulario* from the British Museum with the kind assistance of the British Embassy in Manila in the year 1971. Photo-copies and enlargements were made from the micro-film for transcription. Don José C. Gómez of Calbayog, Samar, a noted linguist, was commissioned to prepare the Spanish transcript. It was a difficult, demanding and a painstaking task, but the work was completed in two years.

This writer is inclined to believe that there are other copies still extant and preserved in the Archivo de Pastrana of the Franciscans of Guadalajara. Shortly prior to the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Philippines in 1768, Father Joseph la Guardia, Procurator of the Franciscans in Manila, requested the Government to release the Jesuit Bisayan Dictionaries, Grammars and other Bisayan publications for his frairs who would soon be assigned to continue the work of evangelization in Samar and Leyte. (Archivo de Pastrana, Ms. Caj. 31, leg. 3, "Manila y agosto 8, de 1768." 2 fol).

We learn, from the above-mentioned correspondence that all the books of the Jesuits were inventoried and gathered at the College of San Ildefonso in the District of Sta. Cruz, which was at that time the residence of the Jesuit Provincial and the General Procurator (de la Costa, *op. cit.*, p. 503). In the same correspondence, it is obvious that the Vocabularios were made available to the Franciscans for the sum of three reales each (Archivo de Pastrana, *op. cit.* fol. 2)

⁶ This is an ancient name for modern Ormoc in Leyte. Combés, in his work, referred to the townsfolk as cauOGMUCanos (*op. cit.*, col. 778). Elsewhere, writing about the origin of this name, he states: "Es contracción de LUMO-LOC, pueblo metido en el fondo de la ensenada. Está en la isla de Leyte." (*ibid.*, col. 758).

Ormoc is situated on the western coast of Leyte, and on the North-East shore of the bay of Port Bello, near the delta of the Bao River and about thirty-six miles SW of Tacloban. For an interesting historical survey of Ogmuc and all the towns of Leyte which will be mentioned by Alcina, it would be well to refer to Manuel Artigas y Cuerva's *Reseña...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 321-326.

This is one of the first of the five towns of Leyte established and evangelized by the Jesuit missionaries in the year 1595; the other four were: Carigara, Dulac, Palo and Alang-Alang. The first two Jesuits assigned to Ogmuc were Fathers Alonso Rodríguez and Leonardo Celsi. Francisco Colín, *Labor evangélica*, Pablo Pastells, ed. 3 vols. (Barcelona: Henrich, 1902),

Tom II, cap. IX, p. 123. For an excellent and a detailed early history of the Bisayan towns, this work is incomparable.

⁷ This pueblo is situated on the northern coast of Leyte and on the south shore of the bay of the same name. It is the very first town in Leyte where the Jesuit missionaries arrived and established a *doctrina*. It was here that Father Chirino arrived with his companions on Sunday, July 16, 1595, on the Feast of the Exultation of the Holy Cross. "...and going ashore they offered Mass on the beach where Brother Garay received Holy Communion. Then they planted there a wooden cross as a memorial; then they passed the night not far from the mouth of the river of Carigara... All the people of the region were then convoked not only to initiate their instruction but also to treat about building a dwelling place for us, inasmuch as a good-sized chapel that the encomendero had would serve as a church.

"To celebrate the beginning of the instruction in the Faith, a feast was set for the following Sunday, the octave of the Holy Cross. This was the titular chosen for the town because we have arrived on its feast or solemnity. Our words did not fall on deaf ears, for on Saturday night the people of the *encomienda* were gathered in front of the church, men, women, and children, celebrating the day in their own fashion with games and merriment. Early on Sunday morning, after a religious procession, the Mass of the Holy Cross was offered. The feast was concluded with a solemn baptism in the afternoon of six children of the age of reason who had been duly prepared for it." (*Ibid.*, Lib. II, Cap. 1, p. 12)

"This station in Carigara having been selected, Fathers Juan del Campo and Cosme de Flores, the new arrivals, remained, with Brother Garay to learn the language." Father Diego Sánchez in his *Annual Letter* of 1595-1596 to Father General Claudio Aquaviva, dated June 27, 1597, wrote: "This is the best and most populated of the islands which the Company has in these Philippine Islands and because of this has been much coveted by the Friars, but God had reserved it for this Company and thus the friars never got there..." (Colín-Pastells, *op. cit.*, Lib. III, Cap. 1, p. 13).

We learn from Father Chirino that an exact census was taken in the year 1600 on the Island of Leyte and the result was seven thousand and three hundred eighty tributes, which is more than 30,000 souls. (*Ibid.*, Cap. IX, p. 122).

⁸ This town is situated near the Cabahong River in Leyte and about eleven miles WSW of Tacloban. This was one of the first towns established and evangelized by the Jesuits in 1595. It would be proper, perhaps, to cite here a brief quotation to show that the missionaries did not baptize en masse and indiscriminately, but always with due preparation. "The fourth *doctrina* and residence on this Island of Leyte was that of Alang-Alang. Father Cosme de Flores, well loved by all the Indios of the island for his affability, organized and founded the town. In one of his accounts dated in June of 1597 he wrote: 'the church was completed on the day of the Holy Trinity, to Whom it was dedicated with great solemnity and with a large gathering of people present. We had solemn vespers and I baptized eighteen persons, no more, because only those knew the doctrine well...' (Colín-Pastells, *op. cit.*, Lib. II, Cap. IX, p. 134). See also, Manuel Artigas y Cuerva, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-238 and Félix Huerta, *Estado Geográfico, Topográfico, Estadístico, Histórico-Religioso... en las Islas Filipinas*, (Binondo: Imprenta de M. Sánchez y Cia, 1865), p. 356.

⁹ A town situated nine miles SE of Carigara, on the shore of that bay, and fifteen miles W. of Tacloban. This town seems to have been short-lived. We learn from other sources that it was established as a town in 1851 from a *visita* of Barugo. See, Félix Huerta, *op. cit.*, pp. 355-456.

¹⁰ This is a rather general term for lances and spears of various shapes and sizes. Some of these were called *songil* which were about a *palmo* and

a half in length at the iron part and about four fingers wide. Still another type of these ancient weapons was called *pinamascan*; these were fashioned in fine proportion. They had a kind of a raised figure de "azocar" or "dalongcaque" or silver, either round or sharp-pointed like little flames which they fastened through the iron from one side to the other with nails so well-secured that besides never falling out, they appeared to be made as if of one piece. (Alcina, *Historia...1668*, Part I, Lib. 3, Cap. 10).

Sánchez de la Rosa and Alcázar in their classic *Samar-Leyte Bisayan — Spanish and Spanish-Bisayan Dictionary* of 1914 have no entry for this term. It must have fallen into oblivion long before the 20th century. On the other hand, Mateo Sánchez's *Vocabulario* of 1711 (It was actually compiled and in use by many missionaries in 1614) gives a very lengthy and interesting entry for the term. He enumerates about sixteen different types of lances and spears with their corresponding descriptions. Mateo Sánchez, *op. cit.*, fol. 59v)

¹¹ This is an ancient Samar-Leyte word for a shield used in Bisayan warfare. "It is similar to the ancient shields of Spain, about six *palmos* in length and about two *palmos* in width. These *calasag* were in general use everywhere in the region. They were fashioned from a species of very light wood, almost like cork, and so filacreous that when a strong blow was given, it became difficult to withdraw the lance. Rarely was it possible for a lance to pierce through these interlacing fibers of wood. The Bisayans gave these *calasag* a curious workmanship; they would kind of quilt it with a weave of bejucos in a design form. Also they would apply to this a fragrant pitch. Other would first paint the shield red, make it colorful, glossy, strong and incapable of breaking. These were sufficient protection for the conventional ancient Bisayan weapons, but not good enough for the Spanish arquebuses or muskets. (Alcina, *ibid.*)

¹² This Jesuit was born in Albuera, Province of Badajoz, Extremadura. He had an early inclination toward military pursuits and was well endowed with a martial spirit. Stealthily he left his home for Córdoba and then on to Madrid where he placed himself in the service of a certain gentleman. Later, he returned to Córdoba and then journeyed to Seville, where he took a ship for Mexico

In the year 1605, he arrived in the Philippines and with a select army, led personally by Don Pedro Bravo de Acuña, Governor General of the Philippines, he took part in the assault and conquest of Ternate in the Moluccas that same year.

Soon after, he joined another expedition directed against the Mindanaoans which ended in failure. As a result of this, prompted by an interior impulse, he gave up his military pursuits in exchange for the service to the Lord in the Society of Jesus as a lay-brother in the residences of Carigara and Alang-Alang.

He was admitted as a member of the Society in Manila, on April 26, 1620. Soon he returned to the Bisayas but only for a brief duration; in the year 1637 we find him back in Luzon in charge of the temporalities of the Society. His final assignment was in Carigara where he passed into his eternal reward on August 16, 1646 at the age of sixty-nine years. After his conversion, he had given an example of a most mortified and a holy life in the service of the Lord and to his fellow men. (Cfr. Murillo Velarde, *Historia*, 161-168)

¹³ It was unusually difficult in locating any data on this particular Jesuit in even some of the finest sources available. Only in my micro-film collection of the Jesuit personnel catalogues did I succeed in locating his name. In an undated folio (perhaps the 1600's) he seems to have been assigned in Dulac. A note following his name reads: "frater bonae indolis et in labore assiduus; pacificus et quietus." (ARSI (Archivum romanum

Societatis Jesu, *Phil.* (Philippinarum) 2a, Catalogi rerum, fol. 6v). Again his name appears on an incomplete folio and no date where the notation reads: "homo bonae indolis, religiosus, et ad officia domestica valde aptus." (*Ibid.*, fol. 14v) Finally, in the year 1620, his name appears as one of the seven Jesuits assigned to the *residencia* of Tinago (Samar) with the same remark as above. (*Ibid.*, fol. 27v)

¹⁴ In Samarnon-Bisaya, *tinapay*. This word is now commonly used for bread. "Pan, masa de harina fermentada y después cocida generalmente en horno." (Sánchez de la Rosa y Alcázar, *op. cit.*, p. 356. Mateo Sánchez, in his dictionary of 1711 gives two forms: TAPAY or TINAPAY. "El pan assado y barreta de hierro. *Baol, balitan*. Tortilla que hazen de arroz para echar en la pitarrilla, y tortilla de güebos, o de otra cosa." (*Op. cit.*, fol. 505).

¹⁵ The word as used today means in general from the hills, from the mountains or the farms. Alcina, in his *Historia...1668*, states: "...this was done on the banks of their rivers on what they called 'yriaia', which is nearest to their places of birth." (*Op. cit.*, Part I, Lib. 3, cap. 14). "IRAYAHAN or IRAYHAN. Parte superior del rio, como *ilavod*, la parte inferior que corre a la mar. YRAYANUM, los que viven hasta la parte superior del río." (Sánchez, *op. cit.*, fol. 277).

¹⁶ Should read properly TUNGA and which means half or divided into two equal parts. "Mitad, medio, cada una de las dos partes iguales en que se divide un todo, en algunas cosas. v., Dividir o partir una cosa por mitad, o en dos partes. (Sánchez-Alcázar, *op. cit.*, p. 372. This was also an ancient town which eventually disappeared. "The number of new Christians in Tunga from April of 1601 to April of 1602 rose to 76." (Colín-Pastells, *op. cit.*, Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, footnote (1), p. 386).

¹⁷ This town is situated on the Northern coast of Leyte and on the SE shore of Carigara Bay, 20 miles W. by N. of Tacloban.

It was founded and evangelized by the Jesuits in the 1600's. In the year 1768, when the Jesuits were expelled from the Philippines, the Augustinians were assigned jurisdiction and held it until 1843 when it passed on to the Franciscans. (Huerta, *op. cit.*, p. 345)

¹⁸ No Jesuit by the name of Alonso can be located in any of the better sources. There were three Gómezes in the Philippines working at about the same time: Brother Gaspar Gómez who died in Manila on February 9, 1622; Father Luis Gómez who died in Manila on March 1628; Fr. Miguel Gómez who died in Manila on December 18, 1622. (de la Costa, *op. cit.*, p. 612)

¹⁹ Born in Villaluenga, Diocese of Tarragona, entered the Society of Jesus in Alcalá in April 1582. In March of 1596 he sailed for the Philippines with fourteen other priests and brothers. (Colín-Pastells, *op. cit.* Lib. III, Cap. 1, pp. 9-10)

²⁰ Situated on the Island of Samar, third largest island in the Archipelago. It is located on the left bank of one of the great rivers entering on the N. coast, opposite of Laoang Island. It is about nine miles inland and 48 miles N. of Catbalogan. (*Gazetteer of the Philippines*, *op. cit.*, p. 799)

We learn from one of the early annual letters of Father Raimundo de Prado that Catubig was one of the three early mission stations on the Island of Samar (the easter coast was also called Ibabao). "Five made their residence in Ibabao, Samar, a town of the Indios and one in Catubig which is on the same Island and two in Leyte; one in Carigara and one in Dulac...) ARSI, Phil. 14, Ms., fol. 17v, Manila, June 18, 1597, *Litterae Annuae*). The residence in Ibabao was Palapag, the one in Samar was Tinago.

In the year 1601 the residences in the Bisayas were reduced to six central mission stations. The two on the Island of Samar and Ibabao were Tinago and Palapag. On May 21, 1601, Father Francisco de Otazo wrote: "With the order which Father Visitor gave last year, reducing the many houses into central residences as Your Paternity has decreed, the Society moves along now in greater security, orderliness and our community life is now more meaningful... With this new arrangement... we experience greater solidarity and unity, improved ministerial efficiency and an atmosphere which promotes spiritual growth. All this is due with great credit to our Provincial, Raimundo de Prado, who sees to it that all runs well and efficiently in all of Leyte and Samar." (ARSI, *Litterae Annuae*, *Phil.* 10, Ms. fol. 51-51v, Dulag-Dagami).

What seems to be the first annual report concerning the mission station of Catubig puts it this way: "The second principal house here is that of Catubig. Very little about it can be written since it had been occupied only in the latter part of the previous year. But within this short span of time, the goodness of God has been wonderfully manifest in the praises which these inhabitants are giving to God.

"One priest and one lay-brother went there to establish this house in Catubig... they arrived at this town situated at the mouth of a beautiful river which gives this town its name. After such laborious and difficult trip, God comforted our travels with the kind hospitality and loving welcome of these Indios who were very happy and greatly surprised to hear the new priest address and speak to them in their own language. Immediately the children sang the *doctrina*, the priest gave a short exhortation... (ARSI, *Phil.* 5, *Annual Report* for the years 1596-1604, Ms. Father Raimundo de Prado, Manila, July 27, 1597, fols. 53-53v).

²¹ For some additional details regarding the Brother and the tragic accident, see: Colín-Pastells, *op. cit.*, Tomo III, Lib. IV, Cap. XIX, p. 285).

²² Actually BIROC. These were ancient vessels with high sides used for transporting cargo. Actually ancient "Bisayan vessels used in transporting goods. Originally these had a small capacity, but with the arrival of the Spaniards its carrying capacity was increased. The smaller type was used for trade and both types were propelled by oars. The champans caused these to become obsolete." (Alcina, *op. cit.*, Ms. Part I, Lib. 3, chapter 10, "Concerning the differences and sizes of the ships they had; their lightness, their oars, and method of sailing, etc.")

Mateo Sánchez describes this vessel this way: "Embarcación o navío largo y hondo que carga mucho y es muy ligero." (*Op. cit.*, fol. 79).

Both Mateo Sánchez (1711) and Sánchez de la Rosa y Alcázar (1914) give the entry under BIDOC.

²³ Present capital of Western Samar and situated on the western coast and on the shore of a small bay at the mouth of a river of the same name.

Catbalogan is an ancient *cabecera* and goes back to about the year 1618 when it was transferred from the original Jesuit center of evangelization, Tinago or the present municipality of Dapdap. The reasons for the transfer were the total damage and burning of Tinago by the Moslem pirates and raiders. (See Huertas, *op. cit.*, pp. 290-291)

²⁴ "Sopa de arroz muy caldosa y sin manteca ni sal." (Sánchez, *op. cit.*, fol. 342 (Arroz guisado como menestra, o parerela). Sánchez-Alcázar, (*op. cit.*, p. 194) define this Waray-Waray term this way: "Cosa con mucha agua como arroz, camote u otra cosa, cuando se cuece, o mezcla de cal y arena para batirla con más facilidad."

NOTES TO CHAPTER 18

¹ As a layman he went to India to trade and there he suffered shipwreck in which he lost most of his fortune and, at the same time, ran the risk of losing his life. Later, in Mexico, he joined the Society at the age of twenty eight and in the year 1596. He arrived in the Philippines in the year 1603 and shortly thereafter was assigned to the Bisayan missions. In the year 1607 he preached the Gospel in Dapitan while chaplain of a Spanish punitive force. While ministering in Dagami, he was captured by the Caragas in the year 1613. About a year and a half later, he was freed (ransomed) and went to Manila; from there he returned to Caraga as a chaplain of a military expedition in 1614. He spent his last years in Manila. He died on May 3, 1643. He was born in the year 1568, in Madeira islands, Portugal. (Murillo, *op. cit.*, 132v-133v)

² On a river bank of the headwaters of the Binahaan River, and about sixteen miles SSW. of Tacloban. This is one of the earliest Jesuit evangelization centers for the Island of Leyte. In the year 1595, when the Jesuits arrived to Leyte, Dulac was selected as a *cabecera*. However, because of the Moslem plunder and devastation, it was moved to Dagami and inland for greater safety and security; Dulac was exposed to raids because it was situated on the coast.

³ This pueblo is located on the eastern coast of Leyte and at the mouth of the Catbassag River and nineteen miles S. of Tacloban.

See Huerta, *op. cit.*, pp. 343-344 and Valentín Marín y Morales, *Ensayo de una síntesis de los trabajos realizados por las corporaciones religiosas españolas de Filipinas*. (Manila: Imprenta de Santo Tomás, 1901).

⁴ Or SURIYAO and derived from the word TUAO. "Clamor de muchos como los que trabajan para aliviarse o los que han cogido pressa." (Sánchez, *op. cit.*, fol. 483) A more modern Waray-Waray dictionary give us this definition: "Deslumbrar, ofuscar la vista, confudirla con la demasiada luz. Alborotar, vocear, dar voces o gritos. — Suriyao. Aclamar, dar voces." (Sánchez-Alcázar, *op. cit.*, p. 319).

⁵ This seems to be an archaic Spanish word for a casting-net. The Samarnon-Lineyte term is LAYA which has reference to the method of fishing and to the net.

In ancient times, among the Bisayans, this was one of the most common methods of fishing and as it is still today among the more remote coastal regions of Samar.

⁶ This is a very ancient town of Leyte situated at the mouth of the river entering on the W. shore of San Pedro and San Pablo Bay, about six miles S. of Tacloban.

It would be well to mention here that for all the above-mentioned towns of Samar and Leyte, and those that will follow, Colin-Pastells is a very rich source of the early history of evangelization processes, the people's response to the Gospel, the Moslem depredations, etc. This writer, (C. Kobak) also has in his collection thousands of folios of missionary reports which emanated from the Bisayan ministries beginning with the year 1595 to the early 1700's. These will be soon transcribed, translated, annotated and published.

⁷ This was one of the four ancient provinces in the region (Mindanao) and formed from the territories of Iligan and Dapitan. In olden times, it was known as CALAG-AN. The settlers from this area were known as *Caragas* and as pirates of the meanest notoriety and a people of vileness and viciousness. (Combés, *op. cit.*, col. 758).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 19

¹ This is a Waray-Bisayan term which means *on top, above*. Even in pre-Hispanic times, the entire eastern coast of Samar, facing the Pacific Ocean, has been always called Ibabao. The western coast with all of its barrios and *pueblos*, on the other hand, was always-referred to as Samar. Historians sometimes confused these two names for one island as separate and distinct islands.

² This is the most N. town on the mainland of Samar and NE shore, opposite Batac Island and 58 miles N. by E. of Catbalogan. See "Historical Survey of Palapag, Samar, and the Sumoroy Rebellion of 1649," in *Leyte-Samar Studies*, Vol. II, No. 1, 1968, pp. 44-91.

³ The most N. and largest dependent island of Samar, off the N. coast, forming the E. shore of Palapag port, about five and a half miles N. and S. four and a half miles E. and W. Total area of the islet is some twenty square miles.

⁴ Actually it should read TINAGO. It is a Waray-Waray word and it means *hidden*; *pagtago* means *to hide*. This is the first Jesuit Mission station established on July 16, 1596. This pueblo was totally destroyed by the Muslim pirates around the year 1614-1616 and this *cabecera* was transferred to Catbalogan. Today's municipality of Dapdap is situated where the ancient Tinago once flourished.

"La fundación de este pueblo (Dapdap) data del año de 1769, debida a nuestro celoso misionero el R.P. Fr. Juan Salguero. Ocupa el mismo sitio donde estuvo fundado el primero y más antiguo pueblo de la isla de Samar, llamado Tinago, aunque ya no existía mucho tiempo antes de encargarnos de la administración de esta isla. Desde su fundación fue erigido en parroquia independiente de su matriz . . ." (Huerta, *op. cit.*, p. 329).

⁵ This island is situated on the western coast of the mainland of Samar and at the entrance to San Bernardino Strait; it runs eight miles N. and S., three and a half miles E. and W. The total size in square miles is twelve.

⁶ This pueblo is located on the extreme SE, point of Leyte and seventy miles S. by E. of Tacloban.

⁷ This island is separated from the SE. part of Leyte by the strait of the same name. It is mountainous, long and narrow, and extends over nineteen miles from NW to SE. It is six miles from E. to W. The E. coast has a picturesque appearance with beautiful cascades and many little creeks. It is a rather large islet measuring some seventy-six square miles. (*Gazetteer of the Philippine Islands*, "Leyte" (U.S. Government Press: 1905), p. 595.

⁸ Historians through the centuries give various different spellings of this islet. Masawa, Limasaua, Imasaua, etc.

⁹ The word in Waray-Waray means *to offer sacrifice* and *anito* means a *sacrifice*. The term also means an idol or a god. (Sanchez, *op.cit.*, fol. 52-25v.)

¹⁰ The word should read more properly, DIWATAHAN meaning a priestess. These priestesses were also called *BALIAN* or *DAITAN* which, in turn, means a person guided by the *dawata*. (Alcina, *op.cit.*, Ms. Part I, Lib. 3, cap. 13).

¹¹ This was an ancient priestess who appeased the gods and more familiarly known among the Samar-Leyte folk as the *DAETAN*. The *waray-waray* term is *DAET* or *DAIT* and means peace or friendship. They called them *daitan* because it means persons close to god; the people believed them to enjoy close friendship with god and hence these acted as intermediaries between god and men.

"There was another class of priestesses seemingly assisted by the devil and whom they called *katooran*; these were supposedly better prophets and more reliable and therefore more people approached them.

"Although their priests were ordinarily women, . . . also some effeminate men were priests in ancient times and called *Asog*. It was commonly believed that these *asog* were impotent men and incapable of living in marriage. And so they never married; instead, they fled from women to better hide their defect. They consorted more with men than with women. These *asog* also considered themselves more like women than like men in their manner of living, going about and even in their occupations." (Alcina, *op. cit.*, Part I, Lib. 3, cap. 13).

In the course of the description of these priestesses, Father Alcina makes this pertinent observation: "... in truth, some of these women, *daetan*, *balian*, *catooran* who practiced their ancient art, have rendered no little assistance to the Fathers in the teaching of the doctrine to their Bisayan fellowmen. They have been *maestras* as we call them here; they have been most useful in the easy conversion of many of the men and women here. They serve to enlighten better those who formerly were intermediaries of deceit and the deceivers. (*Ibid.*)

PABLO FERNANDEZ, O.P.
CANTIUS J. KOBAK, O.F.M.
Manila