

Capítulo 16

DE SUS ENTIERROS Y SEPULTURAS Y DE LAS COSAS QUE CON SUS MUERTOS ENTERRABAN

Por desdicha se tuvo siempre en todas las naciones, así políticas como bárbaras, el carecer de sepultura, como consta de todas las historias sagradas y profanas; y el cuidado en disponer sepulcros o sepulturas fue general, aun en muchos fue excesivo, como consta de los romanos y otros.

En nadie, empero, faltó lo necesario a que inclina la piedad natural, y por esto contamos entre una de las siete obras de misericordia corporales la de enterrar a los muertos. Y parece que innatamente la naturaleza desea volver en su fin a la tierra donde tuvo su principio, sin que la prevención de mármoles, jaspes y pórfidos, ni la diligencia de aromas, mirra y bálsamos, que tanto han usado, y aun muchas de las naciones políticas, haya bastado a eximir de la natural, y por eso forzosa corrupción de los cuerpos de los difuntos que, aunque tal vez se entretenga [y] dilate, finalmente todo viene a reducirse a polvo, censo y pensión, puesta por Dios al pecado, y de que solo el milagro puede eximir, ninguna prevención atajar.

Chapter 16

CONCERNING THEIR BURIALS, PLACES OF INTERMENT AND ABOUT THE THINGS THEY PLACED WITH THEIR DECEASED

It was always considered a misfortune among all peoples, be they civilized or uncivilized, not to be buried as is evidenced in all histories – sacred and profane. Concern in preparing burials or burial places was universal. Among many, it even became excessive as is obvious in the case of the Romans and others.

Among none of them, however, was there anything lacking what natural piety would demand or what was considered necessary. That is why we enumerate the burial of the dead, among the seven corporal works of mercy. It seems that it is almost an instinctive desire of nature to return, at its end, to the earth from which it had its origin. Neither the introduction of marble, precious stones, jasper, nor the outpouring of perfumes, myrrh and balsams (which were so widely used and are still being utilized in many civilized nations) could be of any use in preventing the natural and inescapable corruption of the bodies of the deceased. Although, perhaps, all this delays and slows it down, nonetheless all comes to be reduced to ashes. This is a demand a punishment placed by God on sin, and from which only a miracle can exempt and nothing can prevent.

Algo de los políticos tuvieron en este parte nuestros bisayas en la prevención, que ya dijimos, de los *longon*, o ataúdes que usaban de palo muy duros e incorruptibiles, que aun hoy en días se hallan algunos enteros y fuertes, habiendo resistido más lo recio de los troncos que lo sólido de los huesos, pues de éstos en muchos no se ven rastros sino una poca de tierra, quedando los ataúdes casi enteros, y no solo usaban de palos duros y *tugas*, que llaman ellos, sino de tinajas grandes, vidriadas y fuertes, en que ponían asentados los cuerpos y toda la riqueza que tenían cuando vivos.

Y, cuando eran niños pequeños, los enterraban en otras vasijas que llamaban *tibores*¹, que son como tinajas pequeñas, y otros vasos como orzas, algunas de ellas de porcelana fina de China, con su tapadera de lo mismo, que se han hallado no pocas veces en el lugar de sus entierros con algunas tinajas que llaman *ihalasan*², que quiere decir con culebras, por tenerlas hechas en los cascós con mucha curiosidad y primor. Y había tinaja de éstas que valía y aun hoy vale un esclavo y dos, segun su tamaño y calidad.

Y era de modo esto que no se sabe que en la antigüedad enterasen a difunto alguno, aunque fuera muy pobre, inmediatamente en la tierra, sino siempre con ataúd o algo de lo dicho, aunque hiciesen de palo baladi, y que presto se pudre el ataúd o *longon* de los pobres, y que no alcanzaba más.

Ya dijimos que el zumo de la hoja, que llaman *buyo*, les servía de bálsamo, llenando los *longon*, y aún los vacíos del cuerpo difunto, abriéndolo para esto, de zumo de dicha hierba, y demás de que estos eran de una pieza siempre la interior, les hacían las tapaderas tan bien ajustadas y clavadas y calafateaban tan apretadamente que ni salía mal olor alguno ni entraba aun el mismo aire más delicado, cooperando en ésto de la incorrupción, aunque en valde, de sus cuerpos. Veamos el lugar donde los enterraban.

Our Bisayans shared something with the civilized peoples in this regard, that is, in the preparations they made, as we have already said, concerning the *lungun* or the caskets which they have made out of very hard and incorruptible wood. Even today there are still some found whole and strong. The hardness of the fashioned timber proved more durable than the toughness of the bones. As a result, there is hardly anything found in these except a bit of dirt, but the coffins remain almost intact. They not only used hard wood and what some call, *tugas*, but also large jars, glazed and strong. Into these they placed the cadavers in a sitting posture, together with all the wealth they possessed while alive.

When they were small children, they buried them in other vessels which they called *tibor*¹ or small jars. Or they buried them in other kind of small, glazed earthen jars, some of them made of fine Chinese porcelain with a lid to match. These have been recovered oftentimes from their burial places, together with some jars which they call *ihalasan*,² which means, with snakes. These were exquisitely and beautifully worked onto the jars. There were some jars of this type which were worth then, even as it is today, a slave or two, due to its size and quality.

Such was the practice in ancient times, that it is not known whether they ever buried a deceased, no matter how poor he may have been, directly into the ground, but always in a casket or something of this kind. This they always did in preparing a *lungun* even though they had to utilize soft wood and that easily corrupts. This was always for the poor and those who could not afford anything better.

We have already stated that the sap of the leaf known as *buyu* served them as balsam. They saturated the *lungun* and even the openings of the body of the deceased with the sap of the said herb. What more, these [*caskets*] were hewn out of a single trunk together with a tight-fitting lid. They caulked and nailed them so well that no stench ever escaped, nor could any air possible enter. Both of these factors did their work, but all in vain, since the corruption of the body took place anyway. Let us now consider the place where they did the burials.

En los datos o principales no había lugar señalado para entierro, sino a voluntad de los vivos. Cuando el dato era muy querido, y su mujer e hijos le tenían mucha voluntad, no le sacaban jamás de su casa, sino que bien tapado y cerrado el *longon* o ataúd, lo guardaban, o en un aposentillo que en su casa hacían para esto, o en lo más alto de ella; cerca del techo tenían colgados los ataúdes; y si acaso tal vez olía mal, hacían en el *longon* un agujero que correspondía al sitio del cadáver, y encajaban una caña, que vacían primero de sus ñudos, y la calafateaban muy bien, metiendo la una punta bajo de la tierra, y por allí se vaciaba el difunto de toda la vascosidad.

Y, al cabo del año, abrían otra vez el *longon*, lavaban muy bien los huesos, y luego los untaban con aceites olorosos, y en otra arca menor, de madera incorruptible, los guardaban dentro de sus mismas casas, colgadas; y, si sucedía mudarse de ellas, se llevaban sus difuntos a la casa donde se mudaban, y allí los guardaban hasta que, con el tiempo o con otros accidentes, se consumía todo.

A otros solían enterrar bajo de las mismas casas donde habían vivido, que llamaban *sirum*³; y en el suelo, que suele estar escueto a *quatuor ventis*⁴, que solo arriba viven, cuando enterraban algún muerto en dicho *sirum*, se estaban haciendo fuego alrededor seis o siete días con sus noches; cuando sacaban el cuerpo muerto de sus casas, para enterrarlos en otra parte, nunca bajaban por la escalera el muerto, porque decían era fatal y se morirían todos. Y así por el frontispicio de la casa, abrían una puerta para el efecto, que volvían luego a cerrar, porque el que saliese o entrase por allí moriría; pero, si el muerto era esclavo, lo echaban por lugar de la escalera, no le bajaban, y era ceremonia que usaban con los esclavos solos, y no dan razón de por qué.

Cuando les habían de bajar de la casa, antes de cerrar el *longon*, ponían a los muy principales, hombre o mujer, en lugar de

There was no special place set aside for the burial of the *datus* or *principales*; it all depended upon the will of the living. When the *datu* was well-liked, and his wife and children had great affection for him, they never took him out of his house. After having closed and sealed tightly the *lungun* or casket, they kept it either in a small room which they prepared for this purpose in the house. Or, again, they might suspend the coffins high and close to the ceiling. If, perhaps, this should emit a foul odor, they made a hole in the *lungun* which would lead to the corpse. After cleaning the knots in the bamboo, they placed one end into the hole of the casket and the other end into the ground. Thus the cadaver was emptied of all foulness.

At the completion of one year, they opened the *lungun*, washed well the bones, anointed them with scented oils and then placed them into a smaller chest of incorruptible wood and kept it suspended near the ceiling of their house. Should they move from one house to another, they would always take along these remains. Hence, there they kept them until, with the passing of time, or due to some misfortune, all came to naught.

It was customary to bury the others under the very house they dwelled in and which portion they called *sirum*.³ This is the ground level which is usually open to the four winds⁴ for they occupy only the floor above the ground. Whenever they buried someone in the said *sirum* they remained for six or seven days and nights making fires around it. Upon taking the deceased out of the house, so as to bury him elsewhere, they never took him out down the stairway. They said that would be fatal and all would die [since all had to use that stairway to go in and out]. Therefore, they made an opening in the front wall for this purpose and quickly block it up lest anyone who would go through, would die immediately. If the deceased were a slave, they would not lower him down the stairs but throw him down the stairway. This was a ceremonial they used for the slaves only and they gave no reason why.

When they were taking them down from the house, before closing the *lungun*, they would place a plate [under the head] in the place of a cushion. This, however, was done only for the more prominent *principales*, either men or women. This [plate] they

almohada, un plato, que ellos llaman *bahandi*⁵; que, siendo *cadaan*⁶, quiere decir de su antigüedad, era y es de mucha estima entre ellos, y, a la verdad, algunos lo son. Solamente para nosotros tienen malo que son muy gordos y pesados, pero son de media porcelana y algunos de lindas labores de medio relieve, otros pintados. Valen hoy estos platos entre ellos uno o dos *taes*, que son 8 ó 16 pesos, y esto de plata u oro, que los otros platos que no son de aquella ley, valen mucho menos.

Además de este plato grande, si era mujer, le ponían en los pechos dos escudillas de porcelana de China, una en cada uno, y otra mayor en la frente, que le tapase la cara. Esta aun los hombres la ponían, y las demás joyas que el difunto más estimaba, y algún buen paño labrado o bordado, porque todo esto, decían, les servía en la otra vida.

Con ésto, antes de bajar al muerto de su casa, apagaban el fuego que en ella había; y después, en algunos días, ni había de pedir fuego de fuera, ni darlo a otro alguno del que encendía; que había de ser con el *bagir*, a fuerza de manos con alguna caña o *bacacai* o palo sacado de la casa del muerto, y no de otra parte ni madera porque era *paglihi* inexcusable este.

Y a que los querían bajar, daban al ataúd, o lo que servía de él, que tal vez en los muy pobres eran cañas partidas y duras, más, aunque palos, atados con unos cinchos o fajas de bejuco, en algunas partes nueve vueltas, en otras siete y en otras cinco *bagcus*⁷, que son bueltas enrededor, y de ésto no se podía discrepar.

En todas estas costumbres, si se faltaba, decían que se morirían o sucedería alguna desgracia. En algunas partes se usaba, y aun lo usan hoy, si el ministro no tenía cuidado, al querer meter

called *bahandi*⁵ which was also a *kadaan*;⁶ that is to say, something coming down from ancient times. It was, and still is, greatly esteemed among them. In all truth, some of them should be [so valued]. Only for us, these have a bad feature since they are so bulky and heavy. However, they are partly porcelain and some are of fine workmanship and in demi-relief, while others are painted. Among them, these plates are worth one or two *taes*, which is equivalent to eight or sixteen pesos in silver or gold. The other plates not made according to these standards, are worth much less.

Aside from this large plate, if it was a woman, they placed on her breasts two bowls of porcelain from China; that is, one on each. Also, a larger one over the forehead which may even cover the face; this they also placed on the deceased male. Then too, they also placed other pieces of jewelry which the deceased esteemed most, together with some fine and well-worked out or embroidered clothing. All this, they said, was of use to them in life hereafter.

All this done, and before taking down the deceased from the house, they first put out the fire that was burning. Afterwards, even for several days, they did not ask for fire from the outside, nor even give to any other person from what was burning. If a fire had to be kindled, it had to be done with a *bagir*; that is, by force of one's hands and with the aid of some cane or *bagakay* or wood taken from the house of the deceased and not from elsewhere, nor from any other kind of wood. This was a *paglihi* that had to be observed, come what may.

Once they decided to take them down, they wrapped about the casket, or that which served as such, (which in the case of the very poor consisted of split and durable bamboo, or even vines) wide straps or strips of rattan. In some places they gave it nine turns and in others, seven; still in other places only five. This is called *bagkus*⁷ and means "complete turns". About this there should be no discrepancy.

In all these practices, they said, should anything be omitted, they would die or some disaster would strike them. In some regions it was customary, and it is even so now, that before the deceased was placed into the grave – the ministers should be careful not to

en la sepultura al difunto, rasgarle la mortaja o ponérsela por encima de la barriga; y ésto, dicen, que lo hacen para que no los pidan *paganitos* de muchas comidas, que si no se hace dicha abertura, dicen volverá a pedirlo.

También suelen sacar de sus casas, en habiendo muerto, las semillas para sembrar, cualquiera semilla que sea, porque estando en ellas cuando hay muertos, dicen que se mueren también. Y así las sacan luego, y hasta haber enterrado el muerto no las volvían.

En algunas partes tenían diputados lugares que eran comunes para enterrarse todos en general, excepto los datos, como dijimos, y sus hijos, como diremos, que llamaban *tampucan*. Y así los isleños, que los más de estos indios lo son de islas pequeñas, que de grandes todos tenían una isla para el efecto, en que nadie vivía y sólo servía para los muertos. En otras partes tenían cuevas que servían para el efecto, juntando allí sus muertos.

A las orillas del mar, en Zibu, era su entierro antiguamente. Y yo ví en un pueblecillo, que está hoy a nuestro cargo, llamado Mandavi, que en su antigüedad fue muy grande y aun el mismo de Zibu, que con cierto temporal corrió la mar algo dentro la tierra, y fue descubierta mucha cantidad de *longones*, y tantos que parece que estaba todo el suelo y la ribera llena; y me dijeron los naturales corría aquel hilo de ataúdes más de una legua. Y entonces supe como habían sacado de ellos no pocas cantidades de oro y otros platos y vasijas.

Lo mismo sucedió en Panglao, isla de *Bohol*, en una punta llamada *Davis* que había servido de *tampucan* en su antigüedad; y en estos días se labró casa e iglesia para los Padres. Y, al cavar para los *harigues*, oi decir a los indios no se con qué verdad, que se habían sacado mucha cantidad de vasijas. Yo vi algunas y mucho oro, tanto que corrió la voz, y muchos, aun españoles de Zibu,

forget – a tear should be made in the shroud over the area of the belly. And this, they say, should be done so that they [i.e. the living] may not be asked to make *paganitu* consisting of large quantities of food. If this opening is not made, it is said they will come back to demand it.

As soon as someone dies, it was also their custom to take out of the house the seeds intended for planting and it did not matter what kind they were. They believed that if they keep these seeds in the house, in the presence of the dead, these seeds would also die. Hence, they immediately take them out and do not return them until the deceased is buried.

In some areas they set aside sites, known as *tampukan*, which were common burial grounds for all except the *datus*, as we have said, and for their children. Thus, the islanders (most of the natives come from the small islands) who dwell on the larger ones, had their burial places exclusively on the islets where no one lived. Still in other places, they used caves which served this purpose and where they brought together their dead.

In ancient times, the shoreline of Cebu was also used as a burial place. This is the little town known as Mandaue which falls under our ministry today. In years long past, it was very large and perhaps even the largest on Cebu. Due to the passage of time and the elements, the land mass was eaten away by the sea and thus uncovered a large quantity of *lungun*. In fact, these were so numerous that it seemed that the entire shore was filled with them. What more, the natives told me that a string of coffins extended for more than a league. It was then that I learned how they were able to recover a good amount of gold and other kinds of plates and jars.

The same thing happened on *Panglaw*, an island of Bohol, at a point known as *Dawis*; this one also served as a *tampukan* in their antiquity. Recently, a church and a house for the Fathers was built. When holes were being dug for the *harigi*, I heard it said by the natives – how true it is, I do not know – that they had come upon a considerable quantity of jars. I had seen some of them with a lot of gold; in fact, there was so much that the news spread far and wide which even attracted the Spaniards from

que no está lejos, iban a cavar y sacar; y, si la mitad de lo que se decía se habrá sacado de dicho lugar y de las tinajas y vasijas mayores y menores que servían de *longon* y de ellas mismas fuera verdad, pudiera enriquecer algunos mucho; pero en estas materias siempre es más el ruido que las nueces.

En algunos pueblos que estaban, y están, en las *irayas* (ya hemos dicho qué es *iraya*) de los ríos, que solían hacer sus entierros a las orillas del río, algo apartados hacia dentro, y después con el tiempo se han ido y van derrumbando, de modo que se ven muchos ataúdes, se hallan muchas tinajas y vasijas de lindos vidriados y aun cantidad de oro. Y, aunque yo me he hallado en varias partes donde se ha hallado, y tal vez no poco, según decían, nunca a mi me trajeron cosa de monta. Sólo algunos platos o escudillas, o a algún vaso de loza buena, y sólo en una me trajeron dos “arracada de hombre,” de muy fino oro y de hechura muy particular. La una me dió el indio que la halló y la otra se la compré por el precio corriente, y ambas las envié a España, por curiosidad más que por el valor, pues no valían ambas seis pesos.

Otras muchas diferencias de varias cuentas de oro, de grandes tamaños y hechuras, abalorios finos, cornelinas y otras cuentecillas de vidrio de varios colores, he oído decir muchas veces y visto algunas que se han hallado en estos lugares donde se hallan sepulturas; pero el que tiene suerte de verlas primero, logra su dicha y lo esconde, y, si no es cuando riñen por la partición, si fueren dos o más, rara vez se puede sacar en limpio lo que sacaron, porque todo lo niegan y esconden.

Y en cosas de interés he afectado yo siempre mucho deshaogo [sic], porque quiero que entiendan, crean y experimenten que busco más sus almas que sus haciendas; y fuera bien que todos, y máxime los ministros evangélicos, lo hiciéramos así siempre, que cediera en much crédito de nuestra santa fe, y lo contrario en

Cebu, which is not far away, who went there to dig. And even if it were true, that half of what they claimed was recovered from that place, from the jars and vessels, large and small, which were used as *lungun*, and even from the coffins themselves, some would have become extremely rich. However, in these matters, the rumors are always greater than the reality!

In some of the *pueblos* which were, and still are, in the *irayas* (we have already said what this *iraya* is) of the rivers, they used to make their burials on the banks of the river and at some distance, toward the origin of the river. Afterwards, with the passing of time, as the banks wash away and crumble, many caskets are exposed, together with many jars, finely glazed porcelain and even quantities of gold. Although I myself have come across several places where it has been found, perhaps a considerable amount according to what they said, yet, they never brought me anything of value, except some plates or bowls and a very fine porcelain vase. Yes, only on one occasion they brought me two "men's earrings with a pendant," made of very fine gold and of exceptional craftsmanship. One was given to me by a native who recovered it, and I bought the other from him at the current price. I sent the pair to Spain more in consideration of its unusual workmanship than for its value. Both were not worth more than six pesos.

There were many other different varieties of gold necklaces of a large size and exquisite craftsmanship, carnelians and other small necklaces out of glazed beads in various colors recovered. I have heard about these many times and have seen a few of them which have been unearthed in these places where the burials were. However, he who has the fortune to see it all first, reaps the harvest and hides it. When there are two or more who made the discovery, and they begin to quarrel about their proper share, it is then the chance to be able to learn what they actually discovered; because they conceal and deny it all.

In matters of material gain, I have always been very reserved, because I wish them to understand, believe and experience that I go more after their souls than their temporal goods. It would be well, and more so, that the evangelical ministers would have this attitude. This would greatly enhance our holy faith, since the

descrédito y escándalo, de que quizás diremos algo de mucho que había que decir en la Segunda Parte, cuando tratemos en especial de nuestros ministros y de otros, etc.

A los hijos de los principales, que se morían de pocos años, tenían cuidado sus padres hacerles sepulturas apartadas y lejos del pueblo, más o menos suntuosas, según su amor y poder; y en ellas ponían un esclavo, y era de los que había de ser del hijo sirviente. Este era guarda del sepulcro, y en su lengua le llamaban *dayo*⁸.

Mientras vivía, este esclavo no se podía apartar de aquel lugar tiempo considerable, porque tenía cuidado de limpiar y barrer la dicha sepultura, y no se le mandaba otra cosa. Podía, empero, tomar de las sementeras lo que quisiera para su sustento y volver luego a su puesto; y, por ésto, eran preludio de los solitarios y que viven solos, y también de los que son perpetuos en un oficio y ocupación, porque éstos nunca se mudaban, y así solían decir: *bagadayona, quita dinhi*. “Yo soy como el *dayo* que nunca me mudan, etc.”

El entierro de los *daitan* o *bailana* era diferente. En muriéndose alguna de ellas, o de los *asog*⁹ a que tenían el mismo oficio, si era *catuoran*, que ya dijimos significa “fatídica” y que tenía trato familiar con el *diwata*, y, por ésto, estimado y de grande opinión, le hacían su sepultura a la orilla de la mar, mirando al oriente del sol, o junto de la misma casa donde solía vivir y tratar con el *diwata*, pero a la parte que miraba al oriente, encima de su sepultura, como entre nosotros so ponen un guión o un capelo, etc., a los capitanes generales, obispos, etc., a ella le colgaban una hoja de *anahao*, que llamaban *banay*¹⁰, y es como un abanico que se dobla y desdobla, porque esta hoja es la que tienen en sus manos cuando hacen sacrificios, y con ella varias acciones. Y, así, en señal de ésto, lo cuelgan, o colgaban, dicha hoja en señal de sus trofeos; pero cuando la *daitan* no era de las de fama, lo enterraban a un lado de su casa donde caía bien.

opposite brings about discredit and scandal. Considering that there is so much to say about this, we shall say something in the *Second Part*, when we discuss in particular our ministers and others, etc.

The sons of the *principales*, who died very young, were cared for very solicitously by their parents. Away and some distance from the town, they built tombs for them, more or less expensively in proportion to their love and means. At the grave side they placed a slave; he was meant to be a servant to the deceased son; a sentinel at the tomb and in their language they called him *dayo*.⁸

As long as he was alive, this slave was not permitted to leave this place for any considerable period of time. He was entrusted with the duty of cleaning and seeping the said burial place. No other task was expected of him. As his sustenance, he was permitted to take anything from the fields he wished and then had to return to his post. So, he seems to have been the forerunner of the hermits, who live alone and also those who took on a permanent job or occupation and never changed. Hence, they were accustomed to say: "*Baga dayu-na kita dinhi*" which means, "We are like the *dayu*, for no one will ever move us, etc."

The burial of the *daitan* or the *baylana* was different. When burying one of these or the *asog*,⁹ who held the same office, if she were a *katuuran* (we have already said that it means "a prophetess of gloom" and who was one who had intimate relationships with the *diwata*, and therefore, esteemed and held in high honor) they built such ones a tomb near the sea, facing the rising sun, or near the same house where these lived and dealt with the *diwata*. However, on the side that faced east, on top of the tomb (as among us it is customary to place a standard or a hat, etc., that of Captain Generals, bishops, etc.) they strung up the *anahaw* leaf, which they called *banay*.¹⁰ This is like a fan which folds and opens. For this is the leaf that they hold in their hands and make all sorts of actions when they prepare sacrifices. Therefore, as a sign of their office they placed, and still place, this leaf as a symbolic memorial. But if the *daitan* was not so well known, they buried her on one side of her house, as they saw fit.

Pasado algún tiempo y corrompido ya el cuerpo de las *bailanas catuuran*, les sacaban los huesos del *longon*, o ataúd, y en él o en otra caja los enterraban y llevaban a uno de los árboles del *nonoc*, en especial al que ella acudía cuando vivía para tener sus juntas con el *diwata*, y la encajaban entre dos ramas de las mayores de dicho árbol, y a ésto llamaban *pagsancat*¹¹, y todo el tiempo que allí estaba dicha caja, que era hasta que, o con los temporales o se quebraba o caía, todas las mujeres que por allí pasaban, se tapaban con las manos la cara, sin detenerse allí, ni atreverse a levantar los ojos, porque era cosa sacrílega. Y de esta manera toman otras muchas supersticiones, sin traza ni modo.

Nueve días después de muerto uno y enterrado, y no antes ni después, hacían *paganito*, que llaman *pagpasaca*, que significa “hacer subir.” Para esto cogían dos cañas verdes con sus hojas a uno *cagingquing*¹², que llamaban estos y son las ramas que echan estas cañas, arrimábanlas a la casa y adornábanlas con cadenas de las hojas de palma, y hacían una como escalera de las mismas que llegaban hasta el suelo. Aparejaban allá cerca puerco muerto, gallinas, *linopag*, que es comida de arroz guisado aceite y pareña, que es sahumerio oloroso.

Dispuesto ésto, subía la *bailana* y recibía, estando arriba, de alguno de los de abajo, primero el sahumerio y luego el aceite. Recibíalo ella y fingía que le temblaban los brazos, y entonces decían que el alma del muerto venía a recibir lo que ella le ofrecía y lo dejaba caer abajo, como que se lo entregaba, y luego pedía la comida, y se llevaba ella su parte, y quedaba para los parientes del difunto la otra. Y, con esta diligencia, decían que quedaba el difunto contento y no volvería a buscar a su mujer e hijos, o parientes, para llevarlos consigo, y vivirían, que sin ella, decían que habrían de morir luego alguno de ellos.

También el viudo o viuda que sobrevivía, cogía *posos*¹³ unidos (*posos* es un envoltorio lleno de arroz cocido, hecho de hojas de

After some time had elapsed when the corpse of the *baylana-katuuran* was already corrupted, they removed the bones from the *lungun* or coffin, placed them in another box and carried and buried them by one of the *nunuk* trees; that is, especially by the one to which she came for intimacies with the *diwata*. There they hung it between the two largest branches and called it *pagsangkat*.¹¹ Hence, these remains hanged until some storm burst it open or it simply crashed down. All the women who passed by covered their faces with their hands, without stopping there or even daring to raise their eyes – for this would be a sacrilege. In this manner, they had many other superstitions, all without any semblance of substance or form.

Nine days after the death and burial of someone, not earlier and not later, they performed a *paganitu* called *pagpasaka*, which means, “to cause to ascend”. For this, they get hold of two green bamboos together with its leaves which they call *kaginking*.¹² They are branches which these bamboos grow. They leaned them against the house and decorated them with garlands of palm leaves. From these also they made a kind of stairway which led from the entrance to the ground. Nearby they prepared a butchered pig, chicken, *linupak* (which is a dish of cooked rice), oil and *parina*, which is a fragrant [incense].

When all were readied, the *baylana* went up and received from those who were below, first the fragrant incense and then the oil. She received it all with a simulated trembling of the arms, for they said that the soul of the deceased was coming to accept what was an offering to it. As it was being placed into her hands, she let it fall down below. Next, she asked for the food, carrying, offering her portion and leaving the rest for the relatives of the deceased. So, having performed [these rites], they said, that the deceased would rest content and would not return to claim his wife, children or relatives and carry them away with him. [All was assured] that they would continue to live; otherwise, without this rite, one of them would die immediately.

Then, again, the widower or the widow who outlived the [deceased] gathered *puso*¹³ tied together (a *puso* is a cooked rice

palmas de tamaño de la mano cerrada, poco más); y, puestos en un plato grande con agua, venía la *daitan* y los dividía, apartando el uno del otro, y con ésto decían que no moriría el que había quedado vivo. Y a ésto llamaban *pagbotas*¹⁴, que quiere decir “apartar,” como si no lo estuvieran más con la muerte.

Cuando moría alguna mujer u hombre, aunque en las mujeres se estimaba más, que llamaban *bingil*¹⁵, que quiere decir “que había vivido castamente,” sin haber conocido jamás otro hombre más que a su marido, habiéndose casado sola una vez, enterraban junto con ella medio coco y el *pati*, que es ástil de sus hachas, que ya dijimos ser agujereados ellos, no el hierro que es cuadrado por la parte superior, y lo que con esto querían significar era que supieran los venideros que topasen después con aquel ataúd, que aquella mujer había vivido castamente y sin haber conocido otro hombre que a su marido en toda su vida. Y esto significaba el medio coco; que jamás se halla una mitad de coco, aunque partan infinitos, que ajuste con otro medio sino es con lo que hacía un entero; y lo mismo del ástil del hacha, que no se ajusta sino a su hierro, a cuya medida se hizo, estimando con ésto a las que eran honestas y que toda su vida habían vivido como tales. Y lo mismo a las que morían vírgenes e intactas de varón.

Acabemos este capítulo con una conseja o, si era verdad, que por tal la tenía superstición antigua suya, en que decían que los *diwatas* codiciaban algunas personas de las vivas en el mundo, si era hombre, porque era sabio y entendido, y si mujer por hermosa; a ésta la querían para mujer y aquél para prohiarle y tenerle como a hijo; y así lo arrebatado, que llamaban *daaing* y *gindaian* “arrebatado;” Y ésto lo hacían de dos maneras: la una matando a la tal persona de repente o con muy leve enfermedad y

wrapped in leaves of the coconut palm and the size of a clenched fist, or little more), and placed them in a large plate of water. Then, the *daitan* came and separated them from each other; as a result of this, they believed that the one who was still living would not die now. This [*ceremonial*] they called *pagbutas*¹⁴ which means “to set apart or separate”. In this way, they would no longer be in the company of death.

When some man or a woman died – this was more highly [*practiced*] and esteemed among the women whom they called *bingil*¹⁵ (which is to say, “that she had lived chastely”, without ever having sexual relations with any other man but her husband; that she was married only once), they buried together with her half a coconut and a *pati*. This [*pati*] is a handle of their axes and, as we have already mentioned, it had the hole made in it and not the iron which is square-like at its top. What they meant by this was that any newcomer who may stumble upon that casket, would immediately know that woman had lived chastely and without knowing any other man than her husband in her lifetime. This is the meaning of the half-coconut: although an infinite number of coconuts have been split into halves, no other can match it except that which was originally a part of it. It is the same with the handle of the ax: it will only fit that piece of iron for which it was properly fitted. In this manner, they manifested their high regard towards those who were chaste and who had lived all their lives as such. It was also the case with those who died as virgins and remained untouched by men.

Let us bring this chapter to a conclusion with something which is either a myth or a truth. They considered as factual an ancient superstition of theirs in which they said that the *diwatas* coveted some persons who were still alive in the world. If it were a man, it was because he was wise and learned; if a woman, it was because of her beauty. The latter, they desired to have as a wife, while the former as an adopted son. And thus, either she or he were whisked away and this is called *daaing* and *gindaayan*. They did this in two ways: the first by killing such a person suddenly or by means of slight and a brief illness; and [*secondly*] by making such

breve, o desapareciéndoles totalmente, sin que se supiese más de ella ni se hallase pelo ni hueso.

El ser arrebatado del primer modo sucedía solo a ciertas castas o generaciones de los mayores principales que había entre estos bisayas. Y la señal era que oía uno como trueno sordo, a modo de tiro de artillería, que se oye de lejos, y este ruido, decían, se hacía cuando el *diwata* abría la puerta del *tangub*¹⁶, que así llamaban, y que por allí llevaban a su cielo o Elisios a tal arrebatado.

El segundo modo de arrebatar hacía el demonio, y a éste llamaban *pagbukot*, que quiere decir “encerrar en algun aposento,” y al demonio *Yava*; lo más comun era arrebatar mujeres de buen talle y hermosas que para abusar de ellas. Y así decían a sus mujeres hermosas que se cubrieran las caras para que no las codiciase el *diwata*, o el demonio que parece tiene alguna alusión a aquello de San Pablo, que mandaba se tapasen las mujeres las cabezas *propter angelos*¹⁷ que en sentir de muchos expositores, era por los malos ángeles o demonios.

one disappear completely. The latter in such a way, that nothing could be known about them again; no trace of bones or hair was left behind.

To be snatched away so violently in the above-mentioned manner happened only to certain castes or relatives of the more prominent *principales* among these Bisayans. The sign was that there was heard a deafening thunder similar to the firing of an artillery piece that is heard from afar. That loud thunder, they said, was made when the diwata opened the gate of the *tangob*,¹⁶ as they called it. Through it they carried off to their heaven or Elysian fields those whom they snatched.

The second manner of this violent snatching was attributed to the devil and was called *pagbukut*, which means "to lock in a room". They called the devil, *Yawa*. The most common thing was to snatch women who were beautiful and had a lovely figure in order to abuse them. Hence, they urged their beautiful women to keep their faces veiled so that the *diwata* or the devil would not desire them. This seems to have an allusion to what Saint Paul commanded: namely, the women should cover their heads *propter angelos*,¹⁷ which, in the opinion of many exponents it was for the bad angels or the demon.

CHAPTER 16

ANNOTATIONS

- [1] *Tibores* or *Tibor*: “a large earthenware [or stoneware] vase from China or Japan, in the ordinary shape of a jar, with the exterior portions enamelled.” De la Rosa-Alcázar [1914], *op. cit.*, p. 351.
Another term is *tadyaw*: “a jar which is, more or, less large and of fired earthenware with a capacity of 16, 12, 8, 7, 6, 5 gantas, more or less; from the base up it becomes wider and capable, it forms like a big belly, all the way to the neck where it becomes narrower.” *Ibid.*
- [2] *Ihalasan*. It should read: *Hinalasan*: “...with snakes or dragons in relief etc.” The word is derived from the term *halas* or snake; *halasun* is the hiding place of snakes. E.g. *Hinalasan nga tadyaw, tampilik, bahandi*, etc. Sánchez [1711], *op. cit.*
- [3] *Sirum*. Or *Silum*: dark, obscure, lacking all light or clarity. A dark place. *Ibid.*
- [4] *Quatuor ventis*. A Latin phrase: “to the four winds”.
- [5] *Bahandi*. “jewel, property, plate. It differs from the *ginamitun*, because this one is a normal jewel, plate, pot, etc. But *bahandi*, something of great value, precious. *Bahandiay* or *barubahandi*: small jewel.” Sánchez [1711], *op. cit.*
This Bisayan term *bahandi* is derived from the Arabic or Sanskrit *bandahara*: treasure. “*Bahandi*: jewel, furniture, property, wealth.” De la Rosa-Alcázar, 1914, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
- [6] *Kadaan*. Its root form is “*daan*: something old; *kadaanan*, antiquity. The old people who remember things or the past, or add jewels.” *Kadaan*: is something very, very old. *Ibid.*
- [7] *Bagkus*. Or *bakus, bakusun, baksun*: A belt or a sash. Also *bakgung, takgung*. It is also the horse’s cincture, a wooden ark, a pail, etc. *Ibid.*
- [8] *Dayo*. “A sentinel who is placed at the grave or burial place of a *datu*.” *Ibid.*
- [9] *Asog*. Or *bantut, bayug*: effeminate. Similar to animals or trees that bear no fruit which they call female not male. It is to call one effeminate and it is *buyayaw* and an insult. *Babayinun. Ibid.* *Bayug* or *Bayugun*: A male who has all the mannerisms of a female and dresses like a woman. Also *bayug* is a type of a tree. *Ibid.* *Calbayog* in Samar derives its name from this tree and in ancient times read as *Kanbayog*: i.e. a person coming from the place called *Bayog* (or where the *bayug* or *bayog* trees abound).
- [10] *Banay*. “The leaf of the *anahaw* [*anagasi*]; a certain tree of hand wood that does not become wet, called *manaybanay* and the leaves of the *anahaw* are used as fans.” *Ibid.*
“*Anahaw*: fan palm, *Livistonia rotundifolia*: a large tree used for fish corral posts and with wide leaves used as fans and for hat-making.” Tramp, 1995, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
“*Anahaw*: Wild palm. It rises to a height of the coconut tree or the areca. They do not thrive in the poblacion but in the more remote areas, in the hills. Its trunk is very straight; its wood or first layer is very strong. Inside it has a soft narrow like the other palms. It has the leaves in the form of a fan, with blended points. This palm is used in building and as hedges, canals and other usages. With the leaves the house are roofed. The leaves of this palm are used as medicine against pimples and dog bites, placing the green leaves over the affected part,

changing it frequently; in this way it lessens the pain and makes the growth disappear." De la Rosa-Alcázar, 1914, *op. cit.*, pp. 390-391.

- [11] *Pagsangkat*. Its root form is *sangat*: to attache, especially the clothes on something els, like a tree, brambles, etc. To seize or take the *sinipit*." *Ibid*.
- [12] *Kagingking*. "Branch or splinter of the cane or of the thorns of the same cane. *Pangagingkingan an kawayan*: to remove the thorns." *Ibid*.
- [13] *Poso. Posos. Puso*. Or *pusuan, pusan*: It is the heart that gives the bunch of bananas. It means also to remove the *puso*. – It is also a like- heart made of the palm leaves, interwoven and filled with rice that will be boiled inside that woven heart. *Magpusu*: to make these *pusus*. Various kinds of *pusos*, according to different figures and designs: *kumul sin datu, langbay, binawbaw, linalaki, binabayi binituun, tambung, sinaup, bungan gapas, bayubayu, tinikud, binairan, pinawikan, inamu*. *Ibid*.
- [14] *Pagbutas*. The term is derived from *butas*: to separate, to release, to untie, as Alcina describes it. *Ibid*.
De la Rosa-Alcázar give the entry an added dimension: "A pig of around five to eight gantas of meat. – v. To faint, to die." *Op. cit.*, p. 69.
- [15] *Bingil*. Or *bingilun, binglun*: a virgin or one who cultivated chastity even though married; or one who knows no other than her husband." Sánchez [1711], *op. cit*.
- [16] *Tangob*. Also "*tatanguban, tatangban*: a cave where its entrance points west; when a *datu* was ill it could be heard closing with great noise and later he died. *Tarangban*, a deep prison, very dark. The hell, *lalangban, langub*." *Ibid*.
- [17] *Propter angelos*. A Latin phrase meaning: 'on account of the angels,' because of the angels A clear reference of I Cor. 11, 10: "*Ideo debet mulier potestatem habere supra caput propter angelos*" (Vulgate). "For this reason a woman should have a sign of authority on her head, because of the angels."