

Capítulo 11

DE LAS NOTICIAS QUE LOS BISAYAS TUVIERON DEL VERDADERO DIOS, Y QUÉ CONOCIMIENTO TUVIERON DE LA DIVINIDAD

Aunque el príncipe de la elocuencia romana dejó escrito que no se hallaba en el mundo nación alguna tan bárbara que le faltase conocimiento de los dioses y templos en qué adorarles, nos habrá de dar licencia para que digamos en esta parte la excepción de esta general, en lo que hallamos entre estos indios bisayas y sus noticias, así del verdadero Dios, de que trataré en este capítulo, como de otros falsos, si es que los tenían, que no me atrevo a asegurar los tuviesen, ni reconociesen en general divinidad alguna ni ídolos como dioses, de que tratarán los capítulos siguientes; pero, si acaso reconocieron algún dios, verdadero o falso, que de lo que diremos se colegirá, es cierto que no tuvieron templos, chicos ni grandes, dedicados a divinidad alguna, o falsa o verdadera, ni sacrificio alguno, bueno ni malo, que hiciesen a dios alguno en cuanto tal y, en orden a alabarle o reverenciarle y reconocerle como tal, deuda natural en todas las criaturas, pues cada a su modo lo reconoce; sino que, si algo hacían, era en orden a sí solos, o por alcanzar algún bien o librarse de algún mal, como lo veremos en particular tratando de los “paganitos”, que les llaman algunos que han escrito de sus cosas con noticias menos ciertas y no tan averiguadas como las que yo traeré, que no es mucho sean mayores,

Chapter 11

CONCERNING THE KNOWLEDGE THE BISAYANS HAD ABOUT THE TRUE GOD AND WHAT IDEAS THEY HAD ABOUT THE DIVINITY

Although the Prince of the Roman eloquence has written that there could not be found anywhere in the world, even a single nation so uncivilized that would be lacking in the knowledge about the gods and about temples where to worship; yet we beg him, in this particular case, to make an exception to such a general statement. [For this is] based on what we have found among these Bisayan natives concerning their knowledge about the true God (for that is the subject of this chapter) as well as that concerning other false [gods]; that is, whether they had any such [knowledge]. I will not dare affirm whether or not they had or acknowledged, as a rule, about any deity or idols as gods. All this will be treated in the succeeding chapters. However if, per chance, they have acknowledged any god, true or false, which might be deduced from what we shall say, it is true that they did not have temples, either small or large dedicated to any deity, nor any sacrifices, good or bad, that they would offer to any god as such. [What more] neither did they have any particular place for the purpose of praising him, reverencing and acknowledging him as such. Since that is a natural duty among all creatures, each one acknowledges Him in his own way. And then again, if these people did something, it was done for their own sake, either to obtain some favor or to escape from some evil.

aunque últimas, con tantos años de experiencia y ciencia de sus cosas.

Comenzando, pues, a tratar de las noticias que tuvieron de Dios y el concepto de su divinidad, tan difícil de hacerse, aun de los muy entendidos y criados con las noticias de la verdadera fe, pues, como saben los teólogos y que cursan escuelas, aun en ellas se hace de dos maneras, sin llegar con infinitas distancias a lo que es: o negativo de todo lo que no es, o positivo, concediéndole todo lo bueno que se ve o imagina, negándole todo lo malo e imperfecto, etc., de que estuvieron muy lejos estos bisayas, como veremos.

Diré lo que averiguado con mucho cuidado en esta parte y deseo de rastrear lo que sabían y tenían entendido y con la diferencia que hallo entre ellos; y no me espanto que, aunque juzgo que en sus principios tuvieron algunas noticias, apegados quizás de los hebreos, como ya apunté, que vivieron o en la India Oriental o en el Gran Reino de la China, con quien estos confinan, como estas quedaron sólo en el libro de la memoria humana, sin más letras, libro ni escritura que la tradición de unos a otros, y todos ellos gente inculta y bárbara, no es mucho quedase con el tiempo tal que se duda, si fue o no fue del dios verdadero, o si ilusiones diabólicas, que tuvieron no pocas, borraron aquella primitiva noticia, que me persuado tuvieron, tiznándola con las mentiras, embustes y embelecos que él suele, como padre maestro que es, y ha sido siempre, de la mentira, aunque tal vez con algunas apariencias de verdad, aunque por acá poco había de menester para borrarlo todo, pues lo que se escribe en la arena o en el polvo, presto se borra, y estos naturales son más frágiles que uno y otro.

El mayor fundamento que hallo entre estos naturales de que tuvieron algún conocimiento del verdadero Dios son los nombres con que le llamaban en su antigüedad, que en su significación

We begin, therefore, to discuss the knowledge that they had about God and about the concept of His Divinity. This is so difficult to achieve, even by those who are very intelligent and who have been born into the knowledge of the true faith, as the theologians, and those who pursue studies in school well know. Even among these, it is explained in two ways; but notwithstanding this, these theologians are still far from defining what it is [i.e. the essence of divinity]. They either begin negatively, stating all that He is not, or positively, attributing to Him all the good that is seen or can even be imagined; denying to Him all that is evil or imperfect, etc. From all this, the Bisayans are very far, as we shall soon see.

In this portion, I shall relate what I have learned with great diligence and I wished to discover some traces of what they knew and understood [about the Divinity] together with the different views I find among them. And I do not wonder, as I opine that in their beginnings they had some knowledge borrowed, perhaps from the Hebrews. This I have already mentioned; namely, that the latter lived either in Oriental India or in the Great Kingdom of China, by which these people are surrounded. Now, since this [knowledge about God] was consigned only to the book of human memory, without any learning, text or writing except tradition, handed on from one to the other – and all of them being an illiterate and an uncivilized people – it is little wonder then that with the passing of time nothing much survived. One doubts, then, whether [that knowledge] was or was not about the true God, or just diabolic illusions of which they had not a few. It is these illusions, perhaps, that obliterated that original knowledge which, I am certain, they possessed, obscuring it with his [i.e. the devil's] lies, deceits and trickery. For that is customary for him as the father and master of lies that he is, and has always been, although disguised with some appearances of truth. However, over here, he needed little to eradicate it all; for what is written in the sand or on dust quickly disappears. Now, these natives are even more changeable than the one and the other.

The most solid basis that I have found among these natives [to affirm] that they had some knowledge of the true God are the names with which they referred to Him in their antiquity. [These names taken] in their strictest sense indicated 'divinity', even

rigurosa indican divinidad, aunque ellos no la conocían ni alcanzaban, ni hoy los más entendidos y viejos, de más razón, dan alguna noticia de lo que oyeron; sólo el que más se adelanta dice, según lo que ahora dicen del Dios verdadero que les predicamos, que entienden sería alguno de los que sus antepasados decían o nombraban como principio de las cosas y hacedor del mundo que, aunque no sabían quién era, juzgaban era más que hombre, pues confesaban y entendían que el hombre no se hizo a sí, sino que lo hizo otro; que, aunque como dijimos, ya daban tan vil principio al hombre y la mujer primeros, como eran dos cocos o dos cañutos de caña, con todo decían que estos fue disposición de alguno que era antes que ellos. Y así, sin distinguir ni discurrir si el mundo era eterno, como quisieron algunos filósofos, o si era obra en tiempo (que de ésto no he hallado rastro en sus antigüedades y tradiciones), entendían que los hombres habían comenzado después de hecho el mundo; si había mucho o no, no lo alcanzaban; y con ésto parece daban principio a las cosas visibles.

Por esta causa a la primera causa (llamémosla así, a lo gentílico), o al que juzgaban por principio de todo, llamaban en su lengua *Malaon*, que quire decir “El Antiguo”, y corresponde al nombre que se da a Dios en el Apocalipsis: *Antiquus dierum*; que como ellos no tenían noticia de eternidad, ni hoy la entienden comúnmente, y se hallarán muy pocos que hagan concepto de ella, decían que el dicho *Malaon* era “El Antiguo”, sin saberse cuándo ni cómo fue; y a este *Malaon*¹, según lo que yo he podido alcanzar en cuanto he tratado, discurrido y comunicado con ellos, era al que reconocían por mayor y de más poder.

Y juzgan los más entendidos de estos tiempos que este es el Dios verdadero que les predicamos, sin principio, y el que es autor y creador de todo lo visible; pero ninguno he hallado, aun de los muy viejos, que oyese decir era Dios verdadero; aunque como veremos abajo, le llamaban algunos *Diwata*²; que, aunque esta

though they did not recognize it or understand it that way. Even today, the more intelligent among the elderly men do not give any explanation of what they had heard. Only the most clever among them say – according to what they now affirm of the true God Whom we announce to them – that they think that He might be One of those who their ancestors pointed out as the beginning of all things and creator of the world. Although they did not know who He was, they thought that He was much more than a mere man, because they acknowledge and understood that man did not make himself but that he was made by another. Yet, as we have already stated, they gave such a low beginning to the first man and woman, as if they were two coconuts or two knots of bamboo. Nonetheless they affirmed that this was the work of Someone who existed before them. And so, without discerning or trying to discern whether or not the world was eternal, as some philosophers opined, or whether it had been created ‘in time’, of this I have not found any trace in their ancient times and traditions, they believed that people have come into being after the world was made. Whether the time laps had been long or short, they were unable to say. And in this manner, it seems, they understood the origin of visible things.

As a result, the first cause (let us call it so, in the manner of the gentiles) or what they judged as the beginning of all things, they called Malaon¹ in their language. This [Malaon], in turn, means ‘the Ancient One’ and corresponds to the name that is given to God in the Apocalypse; namely, *Antiquus dierum*. Since they did not have any idea about eternity, nor do they ordinarily understand it even today – and few can be found who may take the trouble of investigating its nature they say that the said Malaon was the ‘Ancient One’ without knowing when or how He came into being. This Malaon, according to what I have been able to gather from all that I have treated, discussed and communicated with them, was the One Whom they acknowledge as the most exalted and most powerful.

And those better acquainted with the matter in our days, think that this One is the true God Whom we preach to them [Who is] without a beginning and Who is the Author and Creator of everything visible. However, I have not once come across anyone, even

palabra la usan ahora, y la usamos todos por acá, para nombrar los falsos dioses, juzgando que era nombre del Dios verdadero, como diré luego.

A este que llaman *Malaon* en lo de Ibabao y conocían por mayor, llamaban también *Macapatag*³, que quiere decir “el que todo lo apareja y lleva por un rasero”; nombre con que significaban la igualdad de la justicia divina; y, aunque a su modo de concebir, por lo que he rastreado, lo tomaban por lo riguroso del castigar y no perdonar a nadie, de este su modo de sentir he discurrido yo que se les pegó este nombre de los hebreos que llaman *Deus ultionum*⁴ a Dios, por los muchos castigos que vieron, y generalmente en la Escritura daban en la Ley escrita nombres de rigor, de Dios de las venganzas, que experimentaron en sus rigores, como pueblo incrédulo y de cerviz indómita; y éstos, porque son hijos del miedo comúnmente, y sin él no hacen cosa, como veremos en su modo de gobierno antiguo, por este nombre le temían y reverenciaban más.

Y de aquí vino lo que hallo en algunos apuntado, aunque juzgo fue mal entendido de los primeros que les trataron. Y yo no lo he podido comprobar en lo que he averiguado, que dicen que a *Malaon* le tenían por mujer, porque era más blando y menos riguroso; mas, en lo que he podido rastrear, el *Macapatag* era el mismo que *Malaon*; si bien, cuando querían poner miedo, le llamaban con el nombre riguroso, pues de uno y otro nombre usaban comúnmente los indios de Ibabao para nombrar a su *Diwata*, o Dios, que eso quiere decir *Diwata*.

En Samar, que es la contracosta de Ibabao a la parte Occidental; que Ibabao es la Oriental de la isla, y lo mismo en otras partes, le llamaban comúnmente *Badadum*⁵, que quiere decir “El dichoso” y el que daba las felicidades y dichas. Y de éste decían que gobernaba el mundo, causando los bienes y felicidades, y que

from among the very elderly ones, who might have heard that He was the true God; although, as we shall see below, some called him Diwata.² For, although, they now use this term, and we all employ it over here, to name the false gods, I believe that it was the name of their true God, as I shall soon relate.

This One Whom they called Malaun in the region of Ibabao and acknowledged as supreme, they also called Makapatag,³ which means 'he who sets everything in order and makes everything equal', a name by which they gave to understand the equality of the divine justice. However, in their manner of understanding it, as I have traced the matter, they took it to mean rigorous in punishment and unforgiving toward anyone. Yet, I have come to conclude that due to this way of thinking, they adopted this name from the Hebrews who called God 'Deus ultionum',⁴ as a result of the many punishments they saw inflicted. Generally, in the Sacred Scriptures, they gave stern names, such as, "God of vengeance" which they experienced in their hardships as an unbelieving and stiff-necked people. The [natives], since as a rule they are children of fear – and without it they do nothing, as we shall see in their mode of ancient government – feared and revered Him all the more due to this name.

Hence, what I find written by some, I think that it was misunderstood by those who first treated these [matters]. I have not been able to verify what I have investigated. These [authors] affirmed that the [natives] considered Malaon a woman because of the greater mildness and a lack of sternness. However, in the course of my investigations, I have come to understand that Makapatag was the same as Malaon. Whenever they wanted to instill fear, they called Him by this stern name; certainly the natives of Ibabao commonly used both names to designate their Diwata or God, because that is what diwata means.

In Samar, which is the opposite coast of Ibabao, and on the west, just as Ibabao is on the east of that island – and similarly in other places – they commonly called their god Badadum;⁵ that means, 'the Happy One' and the One Who bestowed happiness and good things. They said of Him that He governed the world, provided good things and happiness and that He was the Lord of

era el señor del infierno; que cielo no lo conocieron como a bien-venturanza o premio.

En otro capítulo veremos lo que sentían o creían tocante al infierno o las penas y premios de los difuntos, que es cosa más larga y necesaria, según lo de San Pablo, para hacer algún concepto de lo que es Dios, pues aun a los fieles pide por necesario el conocer qué es Dios y que es remunerador; y éstos, aunque tan en su ceguedad gentilica, parece tenían algún concepto, aunque muy natural y lleno de mil mentiras, de que había quien premiaba y castigaba, como después diremos.

Por otro nombre (aunque otros lo diferenciaban en Samar) le llamaban Macaobus⁶, que sin tener fin veía el fin de todas las cosas; que concuerda también con el Alfa y Omega⁷ del Apocalipsis. De este Dios decían que vivía en un monte muy alto; del cielo no sabían servía de morada, o casa, propia de Dios y de los bienaventurados, como diremos después; que le servía como de atalaya, de donde El lo registraba todo; y que cuando quería matar a alguien, por haberse llegado su hora, o por otro fin, enviaba al Yava⁸ que llaman ellos, que es el demonio, que era su Fiscal de Ejecuciones, y éste mataba a todos, dando a entender que todos los hombres morían ahogados a sus manos, no sólo los que mueren dentro del agua sino en sus casas y camas, porque el Yava los ahogabas a todos. Y con esto mezclaban otros embustes que cada cual fingía, en particular los ministros del demonio que, como veremos, eran comúnmente mujeres, que fingían mil embustes y contaban mil mentiras para tener más provecho.

Con los nombres dichos, y otros que habrá en otras islas muy diferentes, aunque en la significación casi conformes, reconocían algún género de divinidad, o poder mayor que humano; y con nombre genérico, o general, llamaban Diwata a lo que nosotros llamamos Dios; pero como a este nombre, que en su origen y fuerza de este lengua significaba el Dios verdadero, como Anito⁹, “sacri-

Hell. They were not familiar with heaven as a place of bliss and as a reward.

In a separate chapter, we shall see what they felt or believed in regard to hell or the punishments and rewards of the deceased. This is a very lengthy and a necessary subject, as far as saint Paul is concerned, in order to form some idea about Who God is. Since He deems it necessary that even the faithful know Who God is and that He is a rewarder. And these [natives], even though so immersed in their heathen blindness, it seems, had some idea – although very natural and full of thousands of deceptions – that there was [a God for Someone] Who rewarded and punished, as we shall see later.

[What more] He was even called by another name as Makabubus⁶ (although others in Samar referred to Him differently). Who without having an end, saw the end of all things. This, also, agrees with the Alpha and Omega⁷ of the Apocalypse. About this God they said that He dwelled on a very high mountain. They did not know whether heaven was a proper dwelling or a house of God and the blessed, as we shall relate later. [It seems] that it served Him as a watchtower from which He would see everything; should He wish to kill someone, because it was the right moment or for another reason, He sent the Yawa,⁸ as they call him, who was the Devil and who was his hangman. The latter killed everyone, having it understood that all people died in his clutches; not only those who died in the water, but these in their houses and beds, because the Yawa strangled all of them. And with this, they mixed in other frauds which someone devised, particularly the ministers of the devil who were commonly the women, as we shall later see. The latter again, invented a thousand frauds and told a thousand lies in order to obtain a greater profit.

[And thus] with such names and others quite different – which may be found on other islands, although almost similar in meaning – they acknowledged some sort of divinity or power greater than the human. What we call God, they designated by the term Diwata. However, as to this name, which in its origin and force of this language means the true God, so too anitu⁹ [means] 'a sacrifice made to God'. Hence, from this is derived the term paganitu¹⁰ "to sacri-

ficio que se hacía a Dios”; y de ahí Paganito¹⁰, “sacrificar”, como diremos después, le hallaron los primeros ministros evangélicos tan maleado y aplicado, o por ignorancia o por malicia de los que en decurso de tantos años (quién sabe cuántos fueron) añadieron y quitaron, inducidos o engañados del demonio, sin duda tantas mentiras y embustes incapaces de la grandeza, majestad, saber y poder de nuestro gran Dios, y tan opuestas a las verdades de la fe que les predicaban y predicamos, los cuales hemos sucedido, dejaron el nombre de diwata, como descomulgado, o mal aplicado y entendido, y comenzaron a entablar entre estos naturales el nombre de Dios, que nosotros usamos, para distinguirle de los otros con que ellos le llamaban, dejando el nombre de Diwata para sus dioses, sino fingidos totalmente en substancia, como hemos dicho, maleados ya con sus supersticiones, y que el demonio, afectando siempre divinidad, pues no salió con el similis ero Altissimo¹¹, se había aplicado a sí, engañándoles, como veremos, con varias apariciones, oráculos o repuestas que les daba; con lo cual ya hoy todos ellos, en diciendo Diwata, entienden a los dioses falsos, y nosotros les llamamos con este nombre, reprendiendo los sacrificios y ofertas que hacían a sus diwatas; que hallaron ya, cuando vinieron los Padres ministros evangélicos a estas Islas, tantos y de tan varios nombres que eran casi infinitos, y no sólo comunes (que los dichos arriba, y otros sus concerrientes, fueron siempre como los mayores y generales a todos) sino particulares, y cada Daitana¹² o Bailana tenía sus nombres puestos a su diwata, o inventados de ellos o intimados del demonio, y algunos tan feos que no podían serlo más, y otros tan ridículos que mostraban bien ser su divinidad de risa, su poder fingido y corto, como constará de lo que diremos más abajo, tratando de algunos de ellos en especial.

De lo cual se sacará, y de lo dicho se puede rastrear, que, aunque parece evidente que tuvieron estos indios algunos vislumbres del verdadero Dios, y sus progenitores algún conoci-

ficé", as we shall see later. The first evangelizers found [this word] so corrupted and applied it, either through the ignorance or the malice of those who in the lapse of so many years (who knows how many!), misled or deceived by the devil, added or took away, without doubt, so many lies and frauds, so improper with the greatness, majesty, wisdom and power of our great God and so opposed to the truths of the faith which they [i.e...former ministers] preached and we preach to them. [As a result, therefore], they began to promote the term *diwata* among themselves, which we today use to differentiate it from the others with which they called Him; thereby leaving the term *diwata* for their gods. [Their gods] if not totally a product of human inventiveness substantially, as we have already stated, had been already altered by their superstitions. What more, the devil who always feigns divinity, since he could not accomplish in himself the *similis ero Altissimo*,¹¹ had applied to himself [the name god] deceiving them, as we shall see, with various appearances, oracles or replies which were given them. All in all, today when they say *diwata* it is understood that they mean the false gods. [We too], call them by this same name reproaching them for the sacrifices and offerings which they were accustomed to make to their *diwatas*. When the evangelical ministers arrived to these Islands, they found so many and such variety of these names that they were almost limitless. They were not merely the common ones, like those above and others related to them, but they were always as the most salient and general of all. Then too, they were also very proper and individual names, for each *daitana*¹² or *baylana* had her own names affixed to her *diwata*; either invented by them or inspired by the Devil. Some [names] were so ugly that they could possibly have no other source; while others were so outrageous that they clearly proved that their divinity was a farce, their power feigned and limited. [All this will be made] clear below when we will treat these matters in a special way.

Hence, from all this we may conclude and from what we have said, we may deduce that although it seems evident that these natives had a vague idea of the true God, and their ancestors had some knowledge of the One and only Maker of all things as these said names indicate; yet, with the passing of time, the lack of

miento del solo y único Hacedor de todas las cosas, como lo indican los nombres dichos, con el decurso de los tiempos, falta de enseñanza, cortedad de discurso, y, lo que fuere más, por engaños del demonio, se perdieron tanto que han dudado muchos de los ministros mayores que por acá han venido, que tuviesen tal noticia, sino que adoraban dioses falsos. Y, aunque juzgo que de bisayas (que donde más ha que fue en Zibu, como veremos en el Libro Primero de la Segunda Parte, no ha más de cien años)¹³ las noticias mayores que hallaron fueron de dioses fingidos o falseados; con todo, por lo que he averiguado con los más viejos que alcancé yo en Ibabao, Samar y Leyte (que, cuando yo vine a ellos, los más habían recibido el bautismo en pie y no pocos de edad mayor; y apenas había veintiséis años que en dichas islas había comenzado la predicación evangélica, y alcancé algunos aunque no muchos, por el cuidado grande de los primeros obreros, que eran gentiles aún) rastree las dichas noticias y el fundamento dicho, de que se saca tuvieron conocimiento, aunque cortísimo y obscurísimo del verdadero Dios, aunque no en general todos, sino algunos de los más entendidos y de mejor capacidad, que guardaron las noticias que de padres a hijos fueron conservando. Y de ellos las alcancé yo, aunque no luego a los principios, que, para averiguar estas cosas es menester más que medianas noticias de su lengua, sino después, poco a poco, cuando, llevado del deseo de saber de raíz sus cosas, lengua, costumbres y antiguallas, hallé lo dicho y lo demás que diré de sus cosas en los capítulos siguientes, donde iremos tratando con alguna claridad de ellas.

Y, para concluir de una vez con las noticias confusas que tuvieron de la creación del mundo, diluvio y demás cosas notables que a nosotros nos han enseñado las Divinas Letras, digo que de la primera producción o creación de las cosas no hallo rastro alguno ni señal de que tuvieran noticias. Los más pensaban que este mundo había sido acaso, y, sin discurrir más, ni miraban las cosas creadas, sin alargarse a discurrir cómo, cuándo y quién fuese

instruction, the inability to reason things out well, and most of all due to the deceits of the devil, that concept was obscured very greatly. And this, so much so, that many of the older missionaries who came over here, have doubted very much whether they had such a knowledge, but rather felt that they worshipped the false gods. Although I hold as true that when the Gospel began to be preached to these Bisayans – for in Cebu they labored the longest – about a hundred years ago (as we shall see in Book One, in the Second Part)¹³ the most important information that they discovered was about the imaginary or false gods. Nonetheless, that is what I have gathered from the most elderly – whom I knew in Ibabao, Samar and Leyte (when I arrived, most of them had received baptism as adults and quite a few in advanced age), for it had been hardly twenty six years that the preaching of the Gospel had been initiated in these Islands – I came upon some who were still heathens, but not many, since the first laborers were extremely diligent. Thus, I was able to discover the said information and the fundamental tenets. Hence, one may conclude that they possessed knowledge about the true God, although very limited and obscure. [Then too], not all of them had it as a rule, but only some of the keenest and most intelligent who preserved this knowledge which was handed down from father to son. It was from them that I gathered it all, although not in the very beginnings [of my arrival] because, in order to ascertain these matters well, it is necessary to have more than an average command of their language. And so, afterwards, little by little, impelled by the desire to grasp more deeply these matters, their language, customs and ancient practices, I discovered this fact and other matters which I shall report in the succeeding chapters and where we shall treat them with greater depth.

To bring to a conclusion once and for all the confused knowledge that they had about the creation of the world, the deluge and other notable matters that we have been taught by the Sacred Scriptures, I put it thus: about the first origin or creation of things, I do not find any trace or sign that they had a knowledge of them. Most of them thought that this world had come to be by chance, without any further discussion. They did not bother to delve into the created things and made no deeper investigation about the how,

su Creador y Hacedor; y así ahora, cuando lo oyen, lo admiran mucho; y lo más que suelen responder cuando, contándoles el principio del mundo y las generaciones y discurso de él, su grandeza y variedad, etc., es decir: “bueno, bueno; nosotros nada de estos sabíamos ni jamás oímos a nuestros antepasados tratar de esto, ni tuvimos a quien preguntarlo”. Esto decían los más entendidos cuando preguntábamos de sus causas y principio.

Del diluvio, aunque ahora le llaman en su lengua an paglunudsa calibutan¹⁴, o “la inundación del mundo,” tampoco rastrearon ni supieron cosa. Si algo saben es lo que han oído a los Padres predicadores, porque antes no he hallado alguno, y no son pocos a los que lo he preguntado de los más viejos que me sepan dar razón ni, que sepa, ni hubiese oído a sus mayores cosa alguna de él, cómo ni cuándo fue dicho diluvio, ni por qué causa; antes, cuando hoy lo oyen, lo admiran mucho y se espantan, dando naturalmente (que es señal entre ellos de admiración) castañetadas con la boca, que éste es el mayor aplauso que hacen a lo que les causa o más pasmo o más admiración en lo bueno y en lo malo; y así, aunque alguien ha escrito que del diluvio tuvieron estos filipinos alguna noticia, yo entre los bisayas que trato no la he hallado chica ni grande de él, ni de las demás cosas de que las Divinas Letras, a los que tenemos sus noticias, nos han hecho sabedores; que, como esta gente fue tan poca, sola, apartada y como dejada en estas Islas, o ángulos últimos del mundo, fueron muy pocas, muy falsas las pocas noticias que conservaron de sus mayores; si tuvieron algunas ellos de ellas, pues vivían más como gente bárbara, more ferarum¹⁵, que como hombres de razón, como se irá viendo por sus costumbres, debiendo sólo a la poca malicia de sus cortos caudales el no haberse afeado con pecados más feos y enormes, pues es cierto no tuvieron en su antigüedad tantos como otros bárbaros, menos noticiosos que ellos y más encenagados en torpezas, por haber crecido en más malicias, dejando Dios para los tiempos de la gracia, aunque acá más modernos por

the when and the who might be their Creator and Maker. And so now, when they hear all about it, they are greatly astonished; the only thing that they say when told about the beginning of the world, its evolution and development, its grandeur and variety, etc., is "Good, good! We knew nothing of this and never ever heard our ancestors speak about it; nor did we have anyone whom we might ask concerning it." This is how the more intelligent ones replied when they were asked about its causes and beginnings.

Concerning the deluge, even though today they say it in their tongue an paglunud¹⁴ sa kalibutan, which means 'the inundation of the world', they did not describe it nor even say anything about it. If there is something they know about it, they have heard it from the Father preachers. I have not come across anyone who was able to tell me the story [about the deluge]; yet I have questioned a good number of the elderly ones, who may have been able to tell something, how and when this flood occurred or what was the cause. When they hear of it today, they are greatly astonished and amazed at it, clacking their teeth with excitement (among them this is a sign of admiration. This is the greatest applause that they render for whatever causes them great astonishment for what is good or even undesirable). Although someone has written that these Filipinos had some knowledge about the deluge, I, on the other hand, have not found any trace of it among the Bisayans I am dealing with, be it small or large. Nor even about the other matters that we have become familiar with through the Holy Writ. Because, as these people were so few, so isolated, separated and abandoned in these Islands and remotest corners of the world, they preserved very little knowledge from their forebears; even if they had any from them, it was very meager and false. They lived more like an uncivilized people, more ferarum,¹⁵ rather than people of reason, as it will be seen from their customs. They owe what they have become entirely to natural intuition. [Thanks] to their scanty intellectual discipline that they have not deformed themselves with uglier and more enormous sins. It is a fact, that they did not have in their ancient times as many as other barbarians [had] who were less instructed than them and more immersed in turpitude since they have grown up in a more corrupt environment. Here God was put off until the time of grace; here all is rather recent

últimos, las noticias de todo lo que por medio de la predicación evangélica han ido alcanzando, y por el trabajo e industria de los predicadores mejorando, como veremos en la Parte Segunda¹⁶ siguiente; y, para que mejor se conozca, iremos poniendo, en los capítulos que nos faltan de ésta, todo lo que de sus noticias, usos y abusos sabemos.

since they were the last [to receive] the knowledge by means of the evangelical preaching and have been improving themselves in it by means of the labor and diligence of the preachers, as we shall see in the succeeding Part Two.¹⁶ So that this may be better known, we shall be jotting it down in the remaining chapters of this [Part One]; that is all that we know about their knowledge, practices and abuses.

Chapter 11

ANNOTATIONS

[1] *Malaon*. Alcina, here, makes a grand contribution for having searched-out thoroughly the ancient Bisayan concept of their Highest Being or God. He provides posterity, history, culture and religion with four names for their Highest Divinity: *Malaon*, *Makapata*, *Badadum* [or *Baradun*], *Makaubus* and also as *Diwata*.

Documented sources and written histories about pre-Hispanic culture are very meager and sparse, especially for this Bisayan Region in the Philippine Islands, aside from Alcina's precious, valuable contribution the editors are preparing.

The name or term *Malaon* cannot be located in any of our classic dictionaries. However *Malaon* is derived from the root *laon* along with its variations *laun*, *laud*, all of which mean: old, aged, ancient.

The *ma-* in *Ma-laon* is an adjectivizing element; adjective-ish; an adjectivizing prefix for nouns or a nominalizing prefix for nouns in Samar-Liñeyte Bisayan, as Tramp puts it in his introductory remarks to his *Waray-English Dictionary* [1995], *op. cit.*, p. xxvii.

De la Rosa-Alcázar [1914] offer these interesting notes concerning the prefix *Ma-*. "*Ma-* With this particle, placed before the root nouns are formed in the way: *ma-upay*, *ma-raut*, *ma-tangis*, etc.

"*Ma-* With the same particle adjectives are formed, repeating the first syllable of the root, changing the first letter, if it is commutable, v. gr. *ma-nanagat*, a fisherman; *mananaug*, winner.

"With the same particle placed before are formed substantive nouns in the following manner: *Manunubus*, Redeemer; *mananambal*, a medicine-man. We may add here: *Ma-laon* or better *Malalaon*.

Here is how Sánchez's entry [1711] reads for "*laon*: The old part of the harvest lasting to the next one". For "*Laud*: The old, the same as *laun*, that due to lack of a better way some say *laun* others *laud*."

It is interesting how Tramp [1995], came up with this entry for *laon*: "*Leyte*: Creator-God, the 'Ancient of Days.' *Op. cit.*, p. 224. Under the entry *malaon*, Tramp

offers this: "Creator-God (Bisayan), *Ibid.*, p. 256. It almost carries the overtures of Alcina's thought.

An early Spanish-Tagalog *Vocabulario*, printed in 1613 and prepared by the Franciscan Fr. Pedro de San Buenaventura, offers the same term *lauon* for ancient or *antiguo* [Ancient: *Lauon*: very old thing; Ancient, *lauon*: of many days; *taunglauon*: ancient old man, aged of many days." *Op. cit.*, p. 56. Hispanization of the word *lauon* is evident; so is that of *tawo* [tao] as *tauong* and *lauon* as *laon*.

The Tagalog term for God or *Dios* is "*Bathala*: thus these people called God before; although they worshipped their idols, little devils still called God *Bathalang may kapal. Salanat*. The God who created all things; according to others he is the greatest of all the *Anitos*." San Buenaventura, *op. cit.*, p. 630 and p. 256. This is obviously the influence of the Muslim traders in and around Manila who brought along some of their Indian influence and culture. It must be remembered that the Southern Region of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago and Manila were settled with Muslims who arrived there long, prior to 1450's. Business and trade were a bit more brisk in the Manila-Tagalog Region than in Cebu, hence the transfer of the Spanish central rule from Cebu to Manila in 1571. This move collapsed and crushed the Muslim presence there. The impact on language and culture remained. The Muslims undermined and over-powered the Bisayan influence upon the Manila-Tagalogs.

N.M. Saleeby, in exploring the Deity concept among the ancient Filipinos, states: "The Muslims (in Southern Philippines) entertain higher conceptions of deity and have preserved superior accounts of the ancient gods.

"The most prominent figure in their mythology and traditions is *Indra Batara*. *Indra* is the Hindu 'King of the heavens'. *Batara* is a Malay and Filipino word signifying 'God'. *Indra Batara* is the great *raja* who moves in the air with the swiftness of lightning. He is the savior of Mindanao from the pernicious beasts who devoured human beings and de-populated Magindanao. *Indra Batara* is only one of many mythological characters whom the Lanao and Magindanao Muslims believe to have superhuman powers." Academy on November 1911, pp. 11-12.

W.E. Retana, in his edited *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, of Antonio de Morga, has this note in the 'Glosario' section:

"*Batala*: is the sanscrit *Bhattara* venerable; and without any doubt. *Civa* [*Sival*] This is a clear proof that the tagalogs' were indianized and civilized, as the inhabitants of Sumatra and other Indonesian islands were touched by India where the name of the supreme divinity, *Batra Guru* (sanscrit *Bhattara Guru*) resembles somehow to *Civa*.

[2] *Diwata*. Since Alcina stated that he believes that the ancient God of the Bisayans was also called *Diwata*, let us explore this phase briefly.

The early Jesuit missionary in Samar, Mateo Sánchez [1562-1618], who penned a classic Samar-Leyte Bisayan *Vocabulario*, which was published only in 1711, identifies the term "*Diwata*: as *Dios*"; however, immediately clarifies it all by saying that it is used to refer to the false and abominable gods of these people, deceived by the devil. *Maniwata*, vel, *magdiwata*.

To involve the *diwata* or take them as gods. "*Lunlun pagdiwatahun san Bisaya an budi, an kahuy, an buaya, an durung, etc. Gindwita niyo ngatanan.*" Sanchez, [1711], *op. cit.* Interesting! A statement is made: *Diwata* as *Dios* and then it is all white-washed, discolored, discounted as superstition and devil worship.

In the Bisayan *Diccionario* of 1914, the term *diwata* is given in its well-down-graded form thus – "*Diwata*: Idol, false god, witch, superstition, false beliefs, idolater, to idolize, believe in false things, to practice witchcraft, foretell." De la Rosa-Alcázar, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

Further entries in the same as above: "*Diwatahan*: idolater, witch, superstition, fortune teller, the one who believes or practices superstitions, the one who adore false gods." *Ibid.*, p. 112.

"*Dios-dios*: idol, false god." *Ibid.*

"*Diosa*: *Diosdios nga babayi nga pinakadios sa mga diwatahan.*" *Ibid.*, p. 192. Here and above, the concept of *Diwata* as God is completely corrupted, dismantled and down-graded. Also, it is a natural process.

"*Idol: anito, diwata, diosdios nga buaon.*" *Ibid.*, p. 315. Here the concept of *Diwata* is mixed up with *anitu*: a term which means a sacrifice, an offering; or better *paganitu*: to make a sacrifice, to make an offering to the *diwata*.

Idolater: adj. "*Diwatahan, panganituhun.*" *Ibid.*, p. 315. Again, the two different terms are mixed together.

Idolatrize: "*Paganitu, pagdiwata.*" *Ibid.*

Idolatrous: *ca.* adj. "*Panganituhun, diwatahun.*" *Ibid.* All of this is reflection of a gradual change, confusion and mix-up in the understanding of the concepts *diwata*, *anitu*, etc. One of these editors here, who lived in Samar knows and remembers that the people from the more remote areas of Samar, and even the students in the College of Christ the King in Calbayog, Samar, would relate episodes about the presence of *banwanuns* and *anitos*. These, they would say, are spirits, fairies who must be appeased and always treated courteously. Rarely was there a mention of a *diwata*, however. All this even between the years 1959-1970's!

In the entire *Vocabulario* of Sánchez, one of the editors was able to locate names of the following *diwatas*: 1. "*Kayakay*: idol, imaged of any false divinity. 2. "*Amandayday*: A *diwata* made of wood, of poor ssape, a symbol of those who have an ugly figure. 3. "*Ibay*: Name of a *Diwata*. There is also a certain herb by the name *Quiniguinibay* or better *kiniginibay*." 4. *Daligmata*: The *diwata* that is said is filled with eyes, as Argus in ancient times. *Op. cit.*

[3] *Makapatag*. Again, we must focus on the root word *patag* in drawing out the words meaning. *Maka-* is an adjectivizing prefix for nouns or verbs; the *maka-* is an enabler, of what the root stands for; it makes it do what the root stands for. It also carries the flavor of '*fond of* for what the root stands for.

Patag means something level, smooth, even; it also means firm, needing nothing, not compromising. *Magpatag*: to make something level, flat, or even. *Kapatagan*: leveler, equalizer, flatener. Sánchez, 1711, *op. cit.*

Thus, it is that Alcina drew out the meaning of the Bisayan God from the term *Makapatag* as the Great Equalizer, the Supreme Leveler. That was a great concept of God that the ancient Bisayans had in referring to their Great God thus!

[4] *Deus ultionum*. This is a Latin phrase which means: "The God of Anger" E.g. In *Book of Numbers*, we have this sentence: "The anger of the Lord burned against them and He left them." Num. 12:9.

[5] *Badadum*. This term *Badadum*, *Baradun* or *Bararun* has for its meaning: blissful, happy, content, joyful. Another Samar-Lifeyte Bisayan term for the same meaning is *baraan*, with a bit of twist toward: fortunate, blessed, lucky, etc.

It derives from the root: *Bara*: joy, happiness, fortune. Sánchez, [1711], *op. cit.* Through the centuries of Christianity it also took on the meaning of: blessedness, holiness, saintliness, sacredness, etc., as Tramp has it in his entry. *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

[6] *Makaubus*. The Bisayan God was also given the name *Makaubus*: *Maka-* is a prefix which makes one become what the root that follows stands for. The term *ubus* means: end, consumation, conclusion, termination. Hence, *maka-ubus* means: fond of bringing something to an end, to completion, to conclusion, to a finish. The word *ubus*, also has a secondary meaning: to be lowly, humble, submissive. Cf. Sánchez, 1711, *op. cit.* and De la Rosa-Alcázar, 1914, *op. cit.*, both under *ubus* or *obus*, *obos*.

[7] *Alpha and Omega*. These words: *Alpha* and *Omega* are the first and last letters of the Greek alphabet and applied in the Book of Revelation to Christ: 1:8; 21:6 and 22:13. "*I am the Alpha and the Omega*," says

the Lord God “who is, and who was, and who is to come, the Almighty.” [Rev. 1:8].

[8] *Yawa*. This word *Yawa* is cited in Sánchez’s *Vocabulario* thus – *Iawa*: demon; as a metaphor it is used for non Christians. *Op. cit.* In his *Historia*, Alcina mentions that the Bisayans referred to people coming from Java as *Yawa*. It is uncertain whether this is how the Bisayan word *Yawa* came to be.

“*Yaua*: Satan, demon, devil. Also an expression of surprise, admiration, disgust or indignation – *Yaua!*” De la Rosa-Alcázar, *op. cit.*, p. 381.

[9] *Anitu*. Spirits. *Paganitu*. This is a verb – to sacrifice, to offer. *Naganitu ka ba?* *An iganito* vel, *iginanitu*: that which is sacrificed or offered. *Pagaanituhan* or *ginanituhan*: For whom the sacrifice is offered, or through or the one who offers. In such of way the idol or *diwata* or *umalagad* is *paganituhan*, and *ginanituhan* is the place where the sacrifice is made. *Ex antecedentibus*, vel, *consequentibus*, will be understood what is talked about. *Iganitu* also means the person for whom the sacrifice is made. *Masakit si Ana*, vel, *si Ana ta iganitu ta sila sining babuy*, vel, *paganituhan ta sila sining babuy*, vel, *Iganitu ta ining babuy sa diwata tungud kan Ana kun kan anak nga masakit*. *An paganituhan itun bangkasu nga daan ginanituhan*. *Pinanganituhan nila, an anak nga masakit, ngan humay an ipinanganitu*.

Throughout [this *Vocabulario*] there appear various types of *paganitus*, some of which are: *pagkatigman* (*tigum*); *kaliga* (*liga*); *tinganud* (*anud*), etc. Sánchez, 1711, *op. cit.*

It is clear from the above that *paganitu* means: to sacrifice, to make an offering to the *Diwata* in request for a favor. We cited above Father Mateo Sánchez’s entire entry from his *Vocabulario*, to underscore how extensive the ancient religious rites and practices of the Bisayans were.

Father Mateo Sánchez was one of the first Jesuit missionaries assigned to Leyte in 1595. He mastered the Bisayan language in a rapid pace and within a span of some five years brought together, in a manuscript form, almost 600 folios of Samar-Leyte Bisayan vocabulary. This work circulated among the early Jesuit missionaries already in the 1600’s. Father Sánchez died at the age of 56 in Dagami, Leyte in 1618 and is buried there.

Let us now make an effort to bring all the possible *paganitus* we can as which appear in Sánchez’s *Vocabulario*.

1. *Pagtigma* – der. from *Tigum* or *matigum*, *matgum*: to congregate. *Katigman*: A *paganitu* offered when they go hunting to the forest.

2. *Kaliga* – der. from “*Liga*: a roar, a loud noise which prevents others from hearing.” No description of the *paganitu* can be found.

3. *Tinganud* – or *Hinganud*: a certain *paganitu* of the many used by the devil to deceive these natives.

4. *Dalikmata* or *daligmata*: stemming from the terms: “*Maaligmata* or *maligmata*, *mapuka*, *matukaw*: A vigilant man who never get tired of keeping vigil: *Matukaw nga tawo, dili pipirawun, dili padaug sa piraw*. *Dalikmata* it is said to be a *diwata* companion to *damat*. Others say it is a *paganitu* done because of evil sight, almost like a *daligmata*.”

5. “*Abiug*: It is a kind of a *paganitu* to know the fate. The first meaning of the word *abiug* is to swing or to sway, like in a hammock, rope or some other object. Perhaps the *Baylana* or *Daitana* did a lot of swinging and swaying when she performed this *paganitu*.

6. “*Pababuto* or *pababutu*: It is the *paganitu* performed so that the dog will become a great hunter. In the *punut*, in the fish, and the *balatik* to catch pies. They burn some knots and toasted, they break them over the dog, *punut*, or *balatik*. *Pabuthan an ayam, balatik, punut, etc.*”

7. “*Pabtu*: A kind of a *paganitu*, through which they heal the dog or the *batung*. When they presume it has been done badly and because of this it cannot catch pies it is called *pabtu*, quasi *pabutu*, thus what they do is to take a knot of *bagakay*, almost new in the stem and heat it at the fire and when very hot: they hit the ground with it and a noise is made in front of the dog or of the *batung* and they say *Palas na an palhi*, out the ill omen, go away from here. With this they believe the dog is free and good or the *batung*, *magpabtu itun taga ayam ba an magpabtu, makuha sin bias бага bagakay, naga langbo pa nga bukuhan gilio, sunugun ngan digukan sa haraan san ayam upay hiolian kun hipalhian anay.*”

8. “*Tawag*: A certain *maganitu* to invoke the demons, asking them to return the soul they took away. *Nagatawag.*” The first meaning of the word *tawag* means: to summon, to call someone, etc.

9. “*Tingaluk*: a kind of *maganitu*. *Ba an aluk, como kumutul sa atay sa tawo kun iya buut, ngan kun ubus na cutli dida matikang pag kasarut, igtingaluk na sa diwatahan, agud mahawli itun atay, ba dili pagani-tuhan kanhiun liwat san aluk an masakit ngan makaun na san atay, ngan an pagkamatay na.*”

The *aluk* was a witch, sorcerer, an imagined spirit or a witch called in Bisayan *aswang* or *bakbak* or *unglu*. Such a creature would feed upon the individual who would be sick. In the above, *tingaluk*, a *paganitu* would be made to prevent the *aluk* or *aswang* from eating the liver of the individual who is ill. All from Sánchez, 1711, *op. cit.*

Finally, let us add six more elements pertaining to the *paganitu* *maganitu* rituals:

- a] *Kanugun*: a call, or a summons for the *Diwata* by the *Baylana* or *Daitana*.
- b] *Lantangan* or *Paganituhan* is a hut or house where the *maganitu* is performed.
- c] *Pintu*: is a small or a tiny hut where the *paganitu* is performed.
- d] *Buga*: also means: to sacrifice or to make an offering.
- e] *Kalatung*: is a tambourine which would be made to jingle during a *paganitu* along with a dance for about an hour. Obviously performed by the *Baylana*.
- f] "*Dangin*: to capture something and offer it to the *Diwata*." *Ibid*.

All these above-cited ancient Bisayan elements of ritual and sacrifice are indicative how organized and widespread these cults, rituals, religious practices of the Bisayans were.

Father Alcina treats all these above matters and more beginning with this Chapter 11 and all the way through Chapter 18 in a most interesting and detailed manner.

[10] *Paganitu*. Cf. the above annotation [9] which described all the phases of the ritual sacrifice or offering called *paganitu*.

[11] *Similis ero Altissimo*. A Latin phrase which can be translated "the likeness which would be that of the Most High," or "I shall be like the Most High".

[12] *Daitana*. The word is derived from the root "*dait*: friend; *kadait* means friendship or peace. *Magdarait* or *paradait* means, a peace-maker or the one who pacifies or restores the friendship between enemies *nakadait*. *Magkadait* or *nagkakadait*, to live together and live in peace and friendship. *Panait*, a gift given to the peacemaker; *nahadait kami dinhi* – we have established friendship here. *Nagdarait*, is like *nagbibila*, to promise not to do such a such a thing up to the night time. *Pagkadait*, the peace. Sánchez, 1711, *op. cit*.

De la Rosa-Alcázar offer us this entry – "*Dait*: peace, tranquility, rest. To be at peace, to have peace. Also means: to join, to unite, to assent to. That which brings all together. *Op. cit.*, 1914, p. 103.

"*Daitan*: the *Bailana*, the one who performs the *paganitu*. *Nagda-daitan*, when the demon enters a person *gindaitan*, the one in whom the devil dwells. Sánchez, 1711, *op. cit*.

Hence, the *Daitana* is one who cultivates a deep friendship with the *Diwata* and means to promote this among all others. The other two names for her are: *Baylana* and *Katuuran*.

[13] Regrettably, Chapters 1-15 in *Book One*, all are missing, non-extant and destroyed. The rest are fragmentary and a few chapter are complete.

[14] *Paglunud. Lunud*, which means a flood also rendered as *Lulunurun*, or *lunlundu*. Sánchez, 1711, *op. cit.* It is very interesting that De la Rosa-Alcázar, in their Spanish-Bisayan Section, frequently offer Bisayan synonyms that are not even entered in the Bisayan-Spanish section of the *Vocabulario*. For example, taking this word "*Lunud: labu, bulabud, gunub, ludiug, lapiak, ulunud, unlud, timpag, parik, bungkag, guba, yutsu. Fig. pagdaug daug.*"

[15] *More Ferarum*. A Latin phrase: "Living in the manner of the wild-life, in the manner of wild beasts."

[16] *Part Two* of Alcina's *Historia...1668*, treats the christianizing element, the evangelizing aspect along with the history of the settlements, Muslim plunder and devastation of Christian communities, *pueblos*; taking captives as slaves and Jesuits ransom, etc.