

Capítulo 14

DE SUS SACRIFICIOS, DÓNDE, CÓMO Y POR QUÉ CAUSAS LOS HACÍAN

Como antiguamente a la palabra diwata la tenían estos naturales para significar al Dios verdadero, que nombraban con los nombres que ya dijimos arriba, así también la palabra anito quería decir “ofrecer”; y paganito, “hacer sacrificio al Dios verdadero.” Pero, como con las pocas y cortas noticias que tuvieron, se borró aquel primer conocimiento, y en el curso de los tiempos los rastros que sus mayores tuvieron del verdadero Dios se borraron y trocaron en muchos y varios engaños que el demonio les fue introduciendo, y con ellos un sinnúmero de supersticiones, viciaron aquel nombre bueno y santo en su primer ser, aplicándolo al demonio, a los humalagar y a las almas de sus difuntos, a que confusamente llamaban diwatas. Y los sacrificios que es probable ofrecieron al Dios verdadero en sus principios, los ofrecieron después al demonio y a sus mayores, quedando uno y otro nombre detestables y sacrílegos. Y así oír decir ‘que rogó al diwata’, es decir que lo hizo al demonio o a sus falsos dioses, y decir que hizo paganito, es declarar que ‘hizo sacrificios sacrílegos y detestables,’ pues, faltando el motivo y conocimiento primero y variado, tanto se varió todo caso sucedido no sólo en estas, que de puro cortos y faltos de ense

Chapter 14

CONCERNING THEIR SACRIFICES; WHERE, HOW AND FOR WHAT REASONS THEY PERFORMED THEM

As in most ancient times, these natives employed the word *diwata* to signify the true God, Whom they called with the names already mentioned previously, so also, the word *anitu* meant 'to offer', and *paganitu* 'to make a sacrifice to the true God'. However, due to the meager and incomplete knowledge that they had [about these matters], their early understanding had vanished and the traces that their ancestors had about the true God also disappeared through the centuries and were transformed into many and varied falsehoods that the devil gradually introduced and together with these, numerous superstitions. Thus, was vitiated the good and holy name of old and then applied to the devil, to the *humalagad* and to the souls of their deceased, which they confusedly called *diwatas*. The sacrifices which they probably offered to the true God in their beginnings, they afterwards offered to the devil and to their ancestors, leaving both names 'detestable and sacrilegious'. And so, to hear it said 'that he prayed to the *diwata*' is equivalent to 'that he did it to the devil and his false god'. To say that 'he made a *paganitu*, is to declare that 'he performed a sacrilegious and an abominable sacrifice'. Since they lacked the fundamental motive and understanding, and being so greatly at variance, the entire original concept had changed. This has happened not

ñanza erraron quizás con menos culpa, sino en las naciones más entendidas, políticas y enseñadas de los Patriarcas y Profetas, como consta de no pocos lugares de las Sagradas Letras que saben los entendidos.

Y aun, lo que peor es, sacó de ellas el engañador común muchas de las cosas santas y buenas, que de ellos consta se hacían antes en honra del Dios verdadero, y las corrigió e hizo abominables, aplicandóselas a sí, por salir con aquella afectada divinidad que tanto le ha costado y tanto ha procurado introducir en el mundo para su mal, haciendo fundamento para sus mentiras, engaños y deidad sacrílega de las verdades ciertas, y atribuyéndose vanamente a sí lo que era solo y propio de Dios, como se colige de los libros de Platón y otros muchos de los filósofos antiguos, que convirtieron el agua clara de la Divina Escritura en el abominable, inmundo y desvariado cieno de las fábulas gentílicas.

Dejando, pues ésto, en que no hay duda, vengamos a lo que con ella hallamos platicado antiguamente de estos miserables. Y digo “con duda”, porque juzgo que ni antes, con las noticias del Dios verdadero, ni después cuando las perdieron, jamás hicieron actos de verdadera religión, ni ofrecieron sacrificios por reconocer, honrar y adorar divinidad alguna en cuanto tal, que es lo formal de la religión. Y así nunca usaron templos en común, sólo los más llevados de sus principales y ministros hacían lo que les decían y en particular instados de sus bailanas, buscando remedio para sus necesidades, o del cuerpo cuando enfermos, o de la falta de lo necesario para su sustento en tiempo de secas o esterilidad, o pidiendo favor para sus casas, pescas, navegaciones o caminos, nacidos todos estos actos más de miedo que de reverencia, más de necesidad que de voluntad, y más por interés propio que por culto divino, como se verá claro por lo que diremos de cada sacrificio de los suyos, o generales o particulares, como hallamos hacían en su antigüedad. Y son los que se siguen, hablando de los más generales y comunes a todos, porque en especial cada pueblecillo, que llamaban gamoro, que era junta de algunos hombres

only among these [Bisayans], who lacked in understanding, were wanting in instruction and who, perhaps, erred with less guilt, but also among nations more knowledgeable, organized and informed by the Patriarchs and Prophets, as indicated in not a few places in the Holy Scriptures which the learned men know about.

However, what is worse, the 'Common Deceiver' deprived them of many holy and good things, which evidently were done formerly in honor of the true God. [This enemy] changed them and made them abominable; thereby appropriating them to himself. Thus, with pretended divinity, which had cost him so much and which he has tried so hard to introduce into the world for evil, he made of evident truths a basis for his lies, tricks and sacrilegious divinity. Vainly did he attribute to himself what only and exclusively belongs to God. For thus, it may be deduced from the writings of Plato and many other ancient philosophers, that he turned the clear waters of the Divine Scriptures into the abominable, unclean, hapless mire of heathen myths.

Let us then put aside, since there is no question about it and let us describe with it [i.e. a doubt] that we discovered being practiced in ancient times about these wretched people. I speak with doubt because it seems to me that neither before, with the knowledge of the true God, nor afterwards, when they lost it, did they ever perform true acts of religion nor even offer sacrifices in order to acknowledge and adore any divinity as such. This is [what is known as] the formal [element] of Religion. As a result, they never used temples in common; only the more high-ranking chiefs and practitioners did what they told them and especially when urged by their baylanas to seek a remedy for their needs, either of the body when ill, or for the lack of necessities for their sustenance in times of drought, unproductivity or asking favors for their households, fishing expeditions or travels. All these acts sprang more from fear than from reverence; more from necessity than from choice; more from self-concern than as a matter of divine worship. [This] will be clearly seen from what we shall say about each of their sacrifices, either the general or the particular, and how they performed them in ancient times. They are as follows: we speak here of the more general and common to all, because in a very particular way each hamlet, which they call gamuru, which

(después veremos cómo eran), tenía los suyos. Y no pongo en especial nombre alguno de sus diwatas, porque comunes tenían pocos, y en especial cada bailana, o daitan, fingía los que quería o los que el demonio les decía; y todos ellos tenían los nombres, o muy sucios y abominables, o muy campanudos y soberbios, o terroríficos y que causaban miedo. Y éstos eran los más; que verdaderamente todas estas naciones, y en general todos los indios, son hijos del miedo y sólo por él obran y no de otra manera.

El mayor paganito, y más célebre que hallo usaron en su antigüedad estos bisayas, es uno que llamaban *pagtigman*¹, y significa “junta de muchos”, y para él se juntaban todos, chicos y grandes, de toda calidad y sexos. El lugar era donde el dato, que son sus cabezas o señores que, como veremos después, eran absolutos e independientes unos de otros, les señalaba para esta ocasión.

Mataban muchos puercos, o de monte o caseros, y, para coger los de monte y congregar la gente que, con sus redes que llaman *batong*², salían todos los hombres, subía uno de ellos de buena voz, a una palma de las más altas, y daba muchas voces, convocando los hombres, y a estas voces llamaban *paratigman*, que quiere decir “lo que congrega o junta”; y al que daba las voces llamaban *parayao*³, que quiere decir “voceador o pregonero”; y todos cuantos puercos o venados se cogían entonces, aunque fuesen muchos, y, no lo siendo, añadían caseros y todo el pescado que podían coger, con todo el arroz y otras raíces comestibles, lo juntaban, y, asada la carne y cocido lo que servía de pan, en gran abundancia, de modo que hubiese para todos, lo ofrecía la bailana.

Luego comían y bebían cuanto podían, danzaban y bailaban hasta no poder más; que en ésto se remataban todas sus fiestas. Y para solo este fin las hacían, mirando más a tener un buen día y llenar sus barrigas que otra religión y culto. Y con ésto, acabada

is a grouping of a few families (and about which we shall speak afterward) has its own. I shall not put down any special names of their diwatas, because they did have a few common names. Interestingly enough, each baylan or daitan pretended to have as many as she herself desired, or those which the devil suggested to her. All of these had names which were very foul and abominable, sophisticated and arrogant, or even terrifying so that it would instill fear; the latter were the most abundant. Certainly, all these nations, and in general, all these natives are children of fear; only because of it will they perform, and not otherwise.

The most important paganitu and the most popular that I have found practiced by these Bisayans in antiquity is one which they called pagtigman,¹ which means 'the gathering of many'. For this one, all gathered: the young and the adults alike, from every social standing and both sexes. The place was selected by the datu, who is their chief or lord – and as we shall see later – and absolute [master] and independent from other [datos].

On this occasion they butchered many pigs, either wild or domesticated. In order to hunt the wild ones, all the people went out together with their nets, which they call batong.² One of them, gifted with a powerful voice, climbed one of the highest palm trees and did the summons. They called this 'cry' paratigman, which is to say 'that which congregates or comes together'; while to the crier, they gave the name parayaw,³ which means 'town crier'. Then, whatever wild boars or deer they hunted, no matter how many, if these were not sufficient, they added some domesticated ones and all the fish that they were able to catch, a lot of rice and other edible root crops that they were able to gather, they put it all together. Then having roasted the meat and cooked what served as bread in a large quantity, so that there would be enough for everyone, the baylana offered it up.

Then, they ate and drank as much as they were able and danced unto exhaustion. This was the reason for all their celebrations and only for this purpose they held them; that is, being more concerned about having a grand time and filling their bellies, than any kind of religion or cult. At this point, after finishing the meal,

la comida, la junta deshecha, se iban a sus casas, y con aquello les parecía a que dejaban aseguradas sus cosechas y abundancia de frutos, etc. Y a este convite, y otros grandes, llamaban kangay⁴, que significa “conformidad.”

El segundo paganito, que era también general y de todos, era el que llamaban tinganor⁵ o paginganor, que quiere decir “entregar a la corriente”. Este le hacían en las orillas de sus ríos, en lo que llaman iraya, que es lo más cercano a sus nacimientos, aunque no era necesario ir muy lejos.

Puestos a las orillas del río, de un lado y de otro, hacían varias balsas de cañas y en ellas ponían variedad y abundancia de todas sus comidas y las dejaban arrebatarse de la corriente, que se llevaban las balsas río abajo.

Esta comida no la comían ellos sino que la dejaban para que sus diwatas, o humalagar la comiesen, obligándoles con esto a que cuidasen de sus sementeras y se las guardasen de los animales nocivos. Y así a las balsas dichas amarraban ratones, langostas y todos cuantos animales podían coger, de los que hacen daño a las sementeras, que se llevaba también la corriente; con lo cual decían que quedaban seguras, y que, si no hacían este sacrificio, que se malograban y perderían.

Y cuando este modo de paganito era de menos concurso, se llamaba pagadap⁶; uno y otro a fin de asegurar sus cosechas y de no padecer hambres.

Estos dos solos paganitos generales hallo que usasen en común los bisayas; los particulares son más, de que hablaremos después.

Pongamos aquí el modo de hacerlos y los instrumentos, o aderezos, que para ellos hacían, y casi en todos eran unos, o con

the gathering dispersed and they returned to their houses. So, with all this, they were convinced that their harvests would have to be good and the fruits plentiful, etc. This festive gathering, and other grand ones, they called *kangay*,⁴ which means 'solidarity'.

The second *paganitu* which was also quite general among all of them, was the one which they called *tinganor*⁵ or *paginganor*, which means 'to hand over to the current [of a river]'. This was performed on the banks of their river, in what they call the *iraya*, which is near the point of the river's origin. However, they did not find it necessary to go that far.

On the banks of the river, that is on both sides, they made several rafts of bamboo and upon them they placed a wide variety of food and then, permitted the current to carry it downstream.

This [sacrifice] of food was not meant to be eaten by them, but was set aside for the *diwatas* or the *humalagad* to partake. [In this way], they obliged them to care for their fields and to protect them from harmful animals. To the above-mentioned rafts, they also tied rats, locusts and whatever kind of pests they managed to catch, which were responsible for destroying their fields, and sent them all down-river. As a result, they said that they now felt secure; for if they would not perform this sacrifice, all would be destroyed and lost [in terms of planted fields].

When this type of *paganitu* was offered by a smaller gathering it was called *pagadap*.⁶ The one and the other sacrifice were made to assure a good harvest and so that they would not suffer hunger.

The Bisayans, I have discovered, commonly practiced only these two general *paganitu*. The particular kinds are more numerous; these we shall treat later on.

We shall set down here the manner of performing them and the instruments or trappings which they prepared for them. Almost in all cases, these were the same with but little variety. Should

poca variedad; y, si en algo había cosa especial, lo diremos después.

Lo primero que, en ocasiones de paganitos, o generales o particulares hacían, era hacer uno como entablado, que acá llaman pantaw⁷, y suele ser de una braza, poco más, de alto, y de ancho según la cantidad de las cosas que se habían de ofrecer. A este tablado, que era de trozos de palmas comúnmente (ya dijimos llamarse bahes), hecho con más o menos curiosidad según su poder, llamaban pararatgan⁸, que quiere decir “lugar donde había de llegar, o venir, el diwata”, porque, estando dispuesto y aderezado, venía allí sin duda. Este lugar lo engalanaban con cadenas y otros arreos, hechos de lucay⁹, que es el cogollo blanco de las palmas, de los cuales hacen varios juguetes y adornos que llaman sariman¹⁰, que en esto paraban todas sus colgaduras y telas, que a tales dioses tales altares.

Para la bailana, o sacerdotisa, hacían uno que llamaban bancaso¹¹, y era como una cama donde se tendía ella, porque allí, decían, venía el diwata a juntarse con ella y decirle lo que quería. A esta bailana en esta ocasión llamaban pangatubang¹², “la que se carea y pone delante del diwata”; pero no se tendía en dicho bancaso hasta que ponían en orden las gallinas, puercos y otras comidas que se habían de ofrecer.

Cuando el paganito era por alguna enfermedad grave, pedía la daitan, en nombre de su diwata, que lo hiciesen otra cama, que llamaban pinto¹³, la cual se hacía en lo más alto y cerca del techo de la casa. Y éste era el último remedio; y a aquella cama llamaban también ginarahan¹⁴ sa diwata, que quiere decir “lugar donde quiere ir el diwata”, que tantos lugares mudaba; señal clara de su inconstancia.

Cuando el sacrificio era por enfermedad de alguno, hacían una casilla pequeña a la orilla del río, que llamaban langtangan¹⁵.

there be something out of the ordinary, we shall speak about it afterwards.

The first thing they prepared on an occasion of a general or a particular paganitu was to make something like a platform, which they call here a *pantaw*.⁷ Customarily, this was about a *braza* or a little more in height; its width depended on the amount of things that would be offered. This platform, as a rule, consisted of pieces of bamboo (we have already stated previously that these were called *bahi*) designed rather curiously and depending upon the skill [of an individual making it]. They called the [platform] *para-ratgan*,⁸ which means, 'the place where the *diwata* had to arrive or come to'. They had no doubt, that when it was all arranged and duly adorned, the *diwata* descended. They decorated this setting with garlands and other trappings made from *lukay*,⁹ which is the white bud of the palms, from which they make various toys, and decorations called *sariman*.¹⁰ This, in turn, was all their draperies and cloth; for such gods/such altars!

Now, for the *baylan* or the priestess, they fashioned one which they called *bankaso*;¹¹ it was like a bed where she stretched out. They believed that it was there that the *diwata* came down to unite with her and tell her what she wanted [to know]. On such occasions, the *baylan* was referred to as *pangatubang*,¹² which means 'one who is face to face in the presence of the *Diwata*'. However, she did not stretch out on this *bankaso*, until they arranged as offerings the pigs, hens and other foodstuffs.

When the paganitu was [performed] for someone [suffering] a grave illness, the *daitan*, in the name of her *diwata*, asked that they make another bed which they called *pinto*.¹³ This was erected as high as possible near the roof of the house. This was the ultimate [attempt] or recourse. The bed was also called or referred to as *ginarahan*¹⁴ *sa diwata*, which means to say, 'the place where the *diwata* wishes to go'. Now, being so fond of changing places constantly, is a clear sign of his fickleness.

When the sacrifice was performed due to someone's illness, they built a small hut on the bank of a river, which they called *langtangan*.¹⁵ In this hut they only placed some rice cooked in

En esta casilla sólo ponían arroz cocido con agua, que llaman loto, o, cuando mucho, teñido de amarillo que llaman ginayao¹⁶. Sacaban agua del río y regaban la casilla y las comidas dichas, y, tomando parte de dicha comida, la llevaban a sus casas como cosa bendita; la otra parte, con casa y todo, la echaban al río porque se la llevase la corriente, que con eso decían se llevaba consigo a la enfermedad río abajo. Y en tiempo de peste se hacía esto con más solemnidad, porque hacían una balsa grande de cañas, y en ella ponían un asiento.

Ibanse a la orilla del río, y, después de haber comido y bebido a su gusto, llamaban a la peste, diciendo damat [incomplete(?)] ngadto, que quiere decir “peste, véte en este asiento y con esta balsa”; a la cual echaban luego al agua, y con ella, según creían, a la peste o enfermedad contagiosa. ¡Gente sencilla, bárbara y corta, pues tan fácilmente creían cosas tales!

Si el enfermo era algún principal de calidad, el paganito que hacían para que cobrase salud era este que llamaban itatanom¹⁷. Enviaban gente armada a otro pueblo o gamoro, y allí procuraban coger algún esclavo, al cual, si daba la dolencia lugar, le tenían un mes en casa sustentándole bien. Al cabo de dicho mes le llevaban todos sus súbditos de aquel dato a algún lugar, alto monte o peña tajada. En la superior parte de él se ponía a bailar la bailana, y, en cansándose, decía que el diwata pedía un hombre para dar salud al enfermo, y con eso al desdichado esclavo le mandaban beber sus orines, que decían que causan locura o abstracción de sentidos, y, bebidos, le despeñaban. Pero, si al quererle despeñar, resistía o lloraba, buscaban otro que lo hiciese con gusto, lo cual hecho, se iban todos a la casa del dato y bebían largo a la salva del dato, del cual era lo que Dios quería (sic).

En otras partes, como en Caraga, hacían por la salud de sus principales el sacrificio que dijimos de varar la embarcación por encima del esclavo. Y en Ibabao también solían sacrificar hombres para el dicho efecto de la salud de sus datos.

water, which they call lutu; when tinged with yellow, they called it ginayaw.¹⁶ Then, they drew water from the river and watered down the hut and the food with it; next, they took a portion of that food with themselves home, as if something that was blessed. The remainder of the food, together with the hut, they dumped into the river so that the current may carry it away. It was said that with this, the sickness was carried away by the river. In times of pestilence, they performed this with even greater solemnity because they made a large raft of bamboo and placed a seat on it.

They went to the river-bank, and after having eaten and drunk to their heart's content, they called upon the pestilence, saying *Damat pagpasi nga adto*, which means, 'pestilence, go away on this seat and with this raft'. Then they pushed it into the current and with it, they believed, the pestilence or contagious disease also. Oh, simple uncivilized and people of little understanding! How readily you believe in such things!

If the sick individual was some principal of distinction, the *paganitu* that they performed, in order that he recover his health, was one they called *itatanom*.¹⁷ They sent armed men to another town or *gamuro*, and there they tried to get hold of a slave whom, if the illness permitted it, they kept at home giving him fine food. At the end of the said month, all the subjects of the said *dato* took him to a high hill or a cliff. At its highest point, the *baylana* began to dance and reaching a point of exhaustion, she said that the *diwata* was asking for a man in exchange for the health of the sick one. As a result of this, they ordered the poor slave to drink his urine which they said would cause madness or loss of consciousness. After having drunk this, they would cast him off the cliff, but if he resisted strongly or cried, they went looking for another who would do it all more willingly. Once that was accomplished, they all returned to the house of the *dato* and drank plentifully to his health. The *dato* could do as he truly wanted.

In other places, as Caraga for example, aside from performing the above-mentioned sacrifices for their principales, they also rolled a boat over the slave. In Ibabaw, they were also accustomed to sacrifice men so as to obtain the health of their *datu*.

Pagabo¹⁸ o saragunting¹⁹ era otro paganito que hacían al diwata del fogón, o de la ceniza, al cual ofrecían uno que llaman linangang²⁰, que es un género de juguete de figura como de un pájaro, que hacen de hojas de palma de las más blancas; y éste le llenaban de comida de arroz. Era casi como una gallina de grande, y le llamaban ginawig²¹.

Otros mataban una gallina montés, que juntaban con dicha figura, llena de arroz cocido, que llaman poso²², y le ofrecían esto para que no se secasen las hojas de los arroces, gaveyes, caña-dulces y otros géneros de sus comidas que con las secas se suelen marchitar; y de este sacrificio cada uno era el sacerdote, porque cada cual lo hacía a solas en su casa.

De la misma manera convidaba, quien quería, a las almas de sus difuntos cuando estaban comiendo, y más si comían arroz nuevo, y lo que llaman pilipig²³, y decían: himulao, himulao, mga calag ayao cami pagsuli; “Comed, comed almas de los difuntos, que estáis padeciendo, nuestra comida, y no hagáis de modo que nos haga mal lo que comemos”. Porque ellos pensaban que dichas almas apetecían sus comidas que llamaban pagibug; y que, si no les daban dicha comida, les doldrían las barrigas y no les harían provecho; y así, para evitar éso, apartaban a un lado parte de lo que comían, y lo dejaban para las dichas almas.

Los embustes y marañas, con que las dichas daitan engañaban a estos pobres, eran muchos; y, aunque todos sin traza, los creían por el miedo que les tenían. Pondremos algunos, que todos fuera cosa larga; y así dijimos que una de sus supersticiones era creer que había balio, que transformaba las gentes en bestias o las desaparecía.

Para que este balio no les hiciese daño, iba la daitan a su casa de ellos y mandaba hacer una casilla de un carrizo como cañas pequeñas, que llaman tigbao. Esta casilla la esteraban, o enramaban, en el suelo con hojas de una hierba que llaman anagasi. Encima

Pagabo¹⁸ or saragunting¹⁹ was another paganitu which they performed to the diwata of fireplace or ashes to whom they offered something called linangang.²⁰ The latter is a kind of a plaything fashioned into a shape of a bird which they made of the whitest possible palm leaves. This, which was like large as a hen, they filled with rice preparation called ginawig.²¹

Still, others killed a wild hen, which they put together with the said figure filled with cooked rice, which they called pusu.²² It was offered this way (wrapped in leaves) so that the rice, the gabi, the sugar cane and other kinds of food, which usually dries up, would stay fresh. Concerning these sacrifices, it seems, each one was his own priest, for each one performed it in his own house.

In the same manner then, they invited whoever they wished from among the souls of their deceased, when they were eating. Especially, if they were eating freshly harvested rice which they called pilipig,²³ they would say: Himulaw, himulaw mga kalag, ayaw kami pagsuli; that means, "Eat, eat our food you souls of the dead, you who are suffering, grant that what we are eating too, may not do us any harm!" Now, they thought that the said souls had a longing for their food, which they call paibug; and if they were not served such food they would end with hunger pains. To prevent this, they set aside a portion of what they ate and left it for the said souls.

The frauds, stratagems with which the said daitana deceived these poor people were numerous; yet even though all were without any basis, they nonetheless accepted it all because of fear. We shall set down a few of these, since to jot down them all, would be a tedious affair. Now, as we have already said that one of their superstitions was to believe, in what they called baliw.²⁴ That was, [a kind of a curse] which transformed people into beasts or caused them to disappear.

So that this baliw would not do them harm, the daitana went to the house of one of them and commanded that a hut be built from something like small reeds which they call tigbaw. They covered the floor of this hut with a matting of leaves from a certain kind of plant called anagasi. On top of these leaves, they placed

de estas hojas ponían la comida – que ésto era lo que ellas buscaban – y llamaban dasag²⁵, y solía ser de un puerco casero, ya muerto. Luego la daitan tomaba una lanza y sin escudo, y, de esta manera armada, daba vueltas a la dicha casilla, llamando al balio en su lengua, y diciéndole que bajase. En acabando ella de llamar, o retar, al balio, todos los de la casa contigua daban golpes en el suelo de ella, que llamaban panatag²⁶, porque, al que no hacía ruido, a ése investía el balio, y, haciéndolo todos, se libraban de él.

Cogía entonces la bailana su parte del puerco, que era siempre la izquierda del medio puerco, y se la llevaba, porque ninguno se atrevía a comer de la parte que a ella le tocaba, ni ella quería de la otra, y, llevándose de comer para algunos días, los dejaba engañados, llevándose su paga, además de la dicha mitad del puerco, o gallina, o lo que ella señalaba.

Cuando las llamaba para el enfermo, – y lo más común no esperaban a que las llamasen pues aun hoy, que son cristianos, lo hacen los que han quedado con aquellas mañas antiguas, que no han acabado de olvidar hasta ahora – solían ir a visitar los enfermos y decirles: “Esto no tiene remedio sino que le hagamos algún paganito.” Y para engañarles más, echan sus suertes, por las cuales dicen que conocen la vida o muerte del enfermo. Estas son en tres o cuatro maneras, y aun más, según se les antoja.

Las usadas y comunes eran pagtari²⁷, que se hacía tomando una piedrecilla larguilla, que llamaban tingting, y con aquel retintín decían que ahuyentaban a los brujos que venían a comerse el enfermo; y, si volvía, como sucede muchas veces, de algún paroxismo, decía la daitan: “Ya le hemos librado de las uñas de los brujos”, cantando victoria; y, si no, decía: “Ya yo [dije] que este no escaparía”.

Paguli²⁸ era otro embuste que hacían cuando ya quería expirar, y entonces ponían en un ongote²⁹ agua, y, asentado dicho

the food; now, that for which they were seeking was called *dasag*.²⁵ The latter, in turn, consisted of a slaughtered domestic pig. Next, the *daitana* took hold of a spear without buckler, and armed in this manner, circled around the hut several times, calling upon the *baliw* in her language and begging him to come down. Once she had finished calling upon or challenging the *baliw*, all those in the nearby houses, struck blows upon the floors, which was called *panatag*.²⁶ Those who did not make the noise would be plagued by the *baliw*; those who died, would be free from it.

Then the *baylana* took her portion of the pig; it was always the left half of the pig which she carried away. Yet, no one dared to eat that portion which had come in contact with her, nor did she desire it either. Having provided herself with enough food for several days, she left them deceived. Taking in addition to half of the pig, a hen or whatever else she indicated, she also took her renunciation.

When they called upon the sick [to help them], more often she did not wait until summoned – because even today, now that they are Christians, they still do the same and still have not discarded their ancient ways, nor have they forgotten them – but would go and visit the sick and say to them: “This has no remedy unless we perform some *paganito*”. To deceive them even further, they cast lots by which they said that they knew whether the sick man will live or die. These [lots] may be divided into three or four different kinds or even more, if they so would wish.

The more common ones were known as *pagtari*:²⁷ this they performed by taking an elongated little stone, which they called *tingting*, and by clinking it, they said, they put to flight the witches who come to devour the sick man. If he returned to consciousness after some paroxysms, as it often happens, the *daitana* would say in a chanting manner: “We have already rescued him from the clutches of the witches”. And if [there is no sign of recovery] these would then say: “I have already stated that this one would not recover”.

The *paguli*:²⁸ was another deception which was performed when [the sick one] was about to expire. They filled an *unguti*:²⁹

ongote encima del vientre del enfermo, daba vueltas por él, y daba voces diciendo: Oli, oli calag, que quiere decir: “vuelve alma, vuelve”, y, según volvía o no, entablaban sus embustes.

Otro tercero era el que llamaban panggiribit³⁰. Esto hacían matando una gallina y sacándole el hígado delante del enfermo, que ellas, cuando querían, solían pellizcar, y decían cuando estaban así pellizcando: “Ya a este le va comiendo el brujo los hígados” y con éso era irremediable su mal.

A otros enfermos, cuando se quejaban de la barriga o estómago, tomaba la bailana un huevo y le quebraba encima de ellos. Si la yema salía entera, decían que viviría; y, si quebrantada, decían que ya el brujo se le había comido las entrañas y que era sin remedio.

Y de este modo otros embustes, sacando tal vez varias viscosidades que llevan guardadas, como burujones de pelos o cabellos, pedazos de tiestos, piedrecillas y otras cosas que decían ellas que las sacaban de las entrañas.

Y lo bueno o malo era que la paga, viviese o muriese el enfermo, nunca había de faltar, llevándose, según la calidad de las personas, más o menos, sin perdonar a nadie, porque decían que ninguna medicina ni remedio, ni ningún paganito ni deprecación valían ni aprovechaban si no se pagaban. Y con esto les tenían prevenido el oro, los platos, ropa u otras cosas, que se llevaban dichas bailanas sin remisión, quedándose los enfermos o peores o muertos. Y, si alguno escapaba, era porque – como suelen decir: “al que es de vida la agua le es medicina”; no porque sus remedios tuviesen alguna eficacia comúnmente.

Más acertados eran los de los médicos que llamaban tambalan, de que trataremos abajo.

with water and then placed it on the belly of the sick one and spinning it about she chanted: Uli, uli, kalag, which means 'Return, o soul, return.' Whether it returned or not, they went on with their deception.

The third kind was one which they called paggiribit³⁰ and was performed by killing a hen and taking out its liver in the sight of the ailing individual. [The baylana, at the same time] was accustomed to pinch [the sick one] saying: "The witch is already eating out the liver of this one." As a result, this illness is completely irreversible.

Concerning the other infirm individuals, whenever they complained about stomach or intestinal illnesses, the baylana took an egg and broke it over them. If the yoke remained unbroken, they said that the sick one would live; if it broke, they stated that the witch had eaten out his entrails and that the situation was hopeless.

So, in this manner, they performed other deceptions, bringing out various unsightly things which they hiddenly carried; such as clumps of fur and hair, pieces of pottery, little stones, and other objects which they said, that they recovered from the entrails [of the sick person].

Now, whether you wish it or not, the curious thing about all this was that the payment, whether the sick one recovered or died, had to be made by all means. The remuneration had to be made in proportion to the social standing of the persons. No one was exempted, for they said that no medication, no remedy, no paganitu, or even imprecation had any value unless an offering was made. And, therefore, they had the gold, the plates, cloth and other objects ready, which the said baylana carried off without ever entertaining the slightest idea of not accepting or refusing to accept anything of it. Meanwhile, the sick were left behind, oftentimes even in a worse condition and even dead. Should anyone survive it was because, as the common saying goes "To him who is destined to live, a little water itself serves him as medicine," not because their remedies were commonly speaking of any efficacy.

More effective were the prescriptions of the physicians whom they called tambalan, about whom we shall treat later on.

Fuera de la paga, habían de ofrecer varias cosas, y las más ordinarias eran estas: en los paganitos a los diwatas, puercos caseros y gallinas caseras; pero, si se ofrecían a las almas de los difuntos, habían de ser puercos de monte y gallinas silvestres, y estos, crudos, que ellos llaman guimilao³¹, porque así decían los comían las almas, a las cuales también ofrecían unos que acá llamamos tinapayes, y son como unos bollos pequeñitos, que llamaban también linangan³²; arroz cocido y mezclado con coco o con su leche, que llamaban sinabauan³³, y, cuando le mezclaban dulao y le daban color amarillo, que era lo más común, le llamaban ginayao³⁴.

El pilipig, que ya dijimos, o crudo o guisado con coco, que llamaban linupac. Y de este modo otras comidas suyas, que era lo principal, después de la paga, a que aspiraban las bailanas o daitan.

Aside from the payments they had to offer even much more, of which the most common were: in the paganitu to the diwatas, they had to sacrifice domestic pigs and hens; but if the offerings were made to the souls of the deceased, these had to be wild boars, undomesticated hens, and had to remain uncooked, called gimilaw³¹ – for that is how the souls ate them. To these souls they also sacrificed something which we call here tinapay: these are small loaves which are also called linangan.³² [They also offered] cooked rice mixed with coconut meat or with its milk; this they called sinabawan.³³ When they mixed it with dulaw and gave it a yellow color, which they customarily did then they called it ginayaw.³⁴

The pilipig, as we have already stated, either raw or cooked with coconut, they called linupak. In this manner, they prepared their meals which was the all-important thing, besides the payment, for which the baylana or daitana yearned for.

Chapter 14

ANNOTATIONS

[1] *Pagtigman*. This type of *paganitu* – *pagtigman* – was a ritual sacrifice or offering made upon leaving for a hunt into the hills and mountains. Cf. annotations # 9 in Chapter 11 of this Book Three, Part One.

[2] *Batong*. Or *batungun*, *batngun*: a strong and a thick net for hunting, trapping, catching wild boar. *Pamaratngan* or *baratngan* is a place for hunting. Sánchez, 1711, *op. cit.*

[3] *Parayaw*. Tramp has an entry for this term *parayaw* but it carries another meaning. “*Parayaw*: to boat; to flaunt; to take pride. *v. stat.* to be a show-off; to show off, put on the air; coquette; ostentation, soubrette, spectacle. 1995, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

The Bisayan word for to proclaim is *pagtawag* or *pagpahibaro* or even *pagbayabay*. De la Rosa-Alcázar, 1914, *op. cit.*, p. 473.

[4] *Kangay*. Or *kangayun*, *kangiun*: to invite, *dapit*, *tawo*. Also, *paghauid*, *pagalap*, *panagtao*, Sánchez, 1711, *op. cit.* An invitation for a celebration.

[5] *Tinganor*. Or *tinganud*, *hinganud*: a type of *paganitu* where many participate, in this way the devil deceives these simple people. *Ibid.*

[6] *Pagadap*. The word should read *pagalap*: an invitation to a dance. Tramp, 1995, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[7] *Pantaw*. A kind of a roof extending from the house which is a part of the kitchen where dishes are washed and clothes may be hung for drying. De la Rosa-Alcázar, 1914, *op. cit.*, p. 238. Today the word stands for any kind of a platform.

[8] *Pararatgan*. A rare word which cannot be located.

[9] *Lukay*. This *lukay* is an opened branch, or better a palm leaf. *Maglukay* means, a palm branch or leaf that is just opening in a fan shape and a very attractive sight.

[10] *Sariman*. This word *sariman* is just another of the many, many words that are not found in the classic Bisayan lexicons. Alcina presents

them and defines them clearly and some quite extensively. All of these need to be incorporated some day.

[11] Bankaso. There is no such term found anywhere. A bed in Bisayan is *higdaan*. There is no ancient term for bed since beds were not in use for most of the people and even today are still not found in numerous homes. A spot on the floor is it!

[12] Pangatubang. This *atubang* means to place one self or be in front of someone. A face to face encounter with someone. One who walks in front of or before another.

Tramp offers us a wider field of meanings: "to be present; to appear in person; to stand before an authority; to entertain; to face; to be confronted; to face a direction, place or person; to face a situation. *Atubangan*: appearance, frontispiece, foreground; front, facade. Also has reference to sexual organs or male organ, 1995, op. cit., p. 24. Also, a reference to a long chemise. De la Rosa-Alcázar, 1914, op. cit., p. 232.

[13] Pinto. It seems that *pinto* is primarily: "a hut or a stall which is made equally in width and in length and neither one much more for the one to sacrifice. A *paganituhan*: a place for making an offering or a sacrifice by the *baylana* or *Daitana* or the so-called *Diwatahan*, in ancient Bisayan ritual practices. *Nagpintu*: "to put up that house, or guard it." Sánchez, 1711, op. cit.

[14] *Ginarahan*. Unable to locate such a term as *ginarahan*, or *arahan*. There is a word like *arahal* (l in place of n): *sed*. *Uhaw*: thirst, a natural desire to quench one's thirst with a drink. Perhaps, the meaning here with Alcina is an insatiable desire to always move, to be in new or different places, as the context shows. *Ibid*.

[15] *Langtangan*. This is another term for the *paganituhan*: a hut, shack or some extension where the *maganito* is performed.

[16] *Ginayaw*. Again, as cited earlier the word *ayaw* (*ayao*) means: 'that which is completed, brought to a good end; something made complete.' Also, with the accent shifted to the first syllable "*áyaw*: to campaign, to go about inviting people to join together for a common purpose. To affix, to add to; to emend.

Also, *ayaw* means: don't; desist; stop it; no. Tramp, 1995, op. cit., p. 26.

[17] *Itatanom*. A term derived from "*tanum*, or *tanuman*, *tatanman*: to plant; transplant. Sánchez, 1711, op. cit. In Alcina's context: by murdering one individual, they took his life and transplanted it into the sick person's hoping this one would live and not die, it seems.

In *De la Rosa-Alcázar* – “*Tanum*: a plant, be it of a tree, rice, abaka, flower, etc.” 1914, op. cit., p. 344.

[18] *Pagabo*. The primary meaning of *abu*: ironic admiration. 2) It is the groan of the one who is complaining. *Nagabuabu*, to lament for the dead. *Pagabuabuh* niyo an minatay, diri pagabuabuhan an bata. 3) ash or fireplace,” a reference to an open fire or embers or cinders. Sánchez, 1711, op. cit. Currently, *abu!* is similar to *Ay!* an interjection of admiration or surprise!

[19] *Saragunting*. This *saragunting* seems to be some sort of a symbolic sign having a reference to scissors or shears: “*Inde saragunting* are the pillars of the house or other posts crossed in the shape of scissors.” *Ibid*. This above statement was located under *gunting* [*burungan*]: scissors.

[20] *Linangang*. The *linangang* are certain kind of tortillas or cakes made from rice and coconut meat. *Ibid*.

[21] *Ginawig*. This is just another ancient ritual term which is no longer found in any of the dictionary entries; Alcina preserves it in his description.

[22] *Pusu*. Or *puso* means a heart. These *pusu* are kind of rice cakes wrapped in palm leaves or banana leaves. Or better “*Pusu*: It is a something in the form of a *Herat* made of palm leaves; they fill it with rice; they boil it inside. *Magpusu*, to prepare these *pusos*, or *pusus*.”

There is a great variety of these *pusu*, all according to different shapes and figures, as for example: *kumul sin datu*, *langbay*, *binaubau*, *linalaki*, *binabayi*, *binituun*, *tambung*, *sinaup*, *bungan gapas bayubayu*, *tinikud*, *binayran*, *pinawikan*, *yamu*.

Pusu: it is said of the rice still in the process of becoming, or the wheat, when the head is going to come out...” Sánchez, 1711, op. cit.

[23] *Pilipig*. Also, “*pilipigun*, *piliiipgnun*: The new toasted/roasted. The tender rice ready to be used as *pilipig*. *Katpilipig* – the time of *piliping*.” *Ibid*.

[24] *Baliw*. Contrary thing. To happen the opposite. To change one thing into another. *De la Rosa-Alcázar*, 1914. Op. cit., p. 32.

This *baliw* is one of the many types of sorcery, witchery, spells, charms or enchantments in ancient Bisayan witchcraft. Just a mention of this term, for example, in the presence of elderly persons in Samar, excites them with such fear that they clasp their ears not to hear it.

“*Baliw*: A certain devil who inflicts evil to people. When someone becomes sick, they offer him a *paganitu* so that the devil will leave the

house and set him free. Nagbaliw. Ginbaliwan an masakit. In a different spelling, Sanchez offers this entry: "Baleu: to transform or change one thing into another; Baliun ka sa diwata, to become stone, a beast, etc. Baliun ka! or Binaliw-ka!: is a curse, a spell, sorcery. Binaliw, the devil or the person he transforms into. Binaliwan, the place. The thing the devil becomes. The binaliw, is also a person whose eyes or hands become twisted, etc. Thus it is a great curse to say binaliw ka. May evil come to you, may you die suddenly. About the witches that become invisible it can be said binaliw." Sánchez, 1711, op. cit.

To this very day, in Samar, Leyte and a number of other Bisayan places, this is still a curse, a spell and a real evil bit of sorcery which arouses terror.

Let us now explore some of the kinds of witches, sorcerers, spirits, brujos, duende and spells that obtained among the ancient Bisayans.

1. Pagaswang, pagbarang, pagbusong, pabdulungdong, pagkubol are terms for casting a spell, a curse and some witchery.

2. Salingkapaw, talunhayag or kuhakuha: These are names for the individuals working the spells or sorcery.

3. Aswang: sorcerer, witch, some imagined spirit. De la Rosa-Alcázar, 1914, op. cit., p. 22. The more ancient Bisayan lexicon offers us a more detailed entry. "Aswang: witch Aluk, ungo, bakbak, are similar names for a witch. Nagaswang: the witch – aswang – is eating the infirm individual or the deceased. Aswangay: apart from being a diminutive of aswang, it mean a tree that has red branches; the leaves applied to uguihap, are medicinal in purge. Aswanga: a large karukua (sea-vessel). Sánchez, 1711, op. cit.

4. Alok: a witch, a sorcerer, a goblin, wizard. Pangangalukan or pinangangalukan is a place that is bewitched or upon which a spell was cast. Sánchez, 1711, op. cit.

"Alukalok: a certain tree which is known to be aswangan, or upon which a spell was cast. Ibid.

5. Awog, also "aawugan or aawgan: a spell cast upon the coconut trees or fruit trees, so that people will not climb the tree to steal the fruit. Naawog or nagawog: one who places the spell, charm or enchantment upon it. Inawgan: is the coconut palm which was bewitched or upon which the spell was cast. Hakawog or inawog: the spell. Hinwgan or hiawgan ka di ka sumaka. – It means to assign something to someone, as for example with whom he/she is going to get married. Ibid.

The 1914 lexicon does have an entry for this term, but Tramp provides a more modern version among the Bisayans today. "Awog: charm or talisman hung on a branch of a fruit-bearing tree to ward off thieves. A magic spell cast on a plant to ward off thieves; an evil concoction prepared to cause illness and death and so discourage stealing (in Merida)". Tramp, 1995, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

5. Bakbak: this is mentioned as a spell but not description is given pertaining to it. Only this matter is offered "bakbak: to shell, to remove a peel from a banana or any other fruit. To break off branches or leaves; to peel-away leaves which have seeds in them, etc. Also, to hit, to hammer, to pound. De la Rosa-Alcázar, *op. cit.*, 1914, p. 24.

6. Balbal: witch. Bewitchment eating away the liver". Sánchez, 1711, *op. cit.*

7. Balug: a duende (goblin); some sort of a creature that cannot be seen, throws stones. De la Rosa-Alcázar, 1923 *Suppl. op. cit.*, p. 6.

8. Barang, "barangun, badngun: a spell or a charm that is deadly and kills. Nagbarang. Barangan or Nanhimarang, to call a person a witch." Sánchez, 1711, *op. cit.*

"Barang: witch, wizzard. They say it a snake introduced by the ancient in a jug; thus they felt secure nothing serious would happen to them." De la Rosa-Alcázar, 1914, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

"Barang: Sorcery, witchery; witchcraft; the power of witches or sorcerers to inflict harm on people by using insects. Also, a tiny insect with a painful bite which may cause death, etc. Tramp, 1995, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

9. Buringit or "Buringot, buringuton, burington: a spell or some magic ointment or potion against lumay [see under lumay], because the lumay is to awake love but the buringot is to make things hateful. Butingutan: one who has this or knows about it; ginburingut, the one to whom evil was done with the pagburingutan ka. Same. The buringut conferred courage in front of danger. Sánchez, 1711, *op. cit.*

"Buringut: To have the face dirty, stained. To be dirty. Courage to challenge danger. Bewitchment to make things hateful. To bewitch in the said way. Tramp describes this word simply as: dirty; untidy; grotesque; maladroito; to be dirty, p. 63.

10. Busung: Bewitchment from the datos to make the stomachs of those they hate swell. v. Busong: Bewitchment used by the principales. Lator, gutung, are the same. They used this bewitchment to be respected by others. This bewitchment is patuk sin dalungdung, and cannot be

applied to a God, as some people thought, because God is not Dalungdungan ni aswang." Sánchez, 1711, op. cit.

"Busung: a spell which the ancient Bisayan datus used to be respected by others. v. To bewitch, to use the said bewitchment. De la Rosa-Alcázar, 1914, op. cit., p. 56.

11. Kubol: "a certain poisonous powder, sap or root derived from this tree known as 'kubol, they say it has this property – nga bisan kusutlun an dahon diri dudutlan; kublan, the one who has the tambal. 2. Kubul, some people say it is ubul, hulup, [or hulupun, hulpun: laziness, fear suspicion; also fear or to be suspected] to become disconnected, to give up a project, not to accept". Sánchez, 1711, op. cit.

"Kubol: A tree so-called; a power which is obtained from this tree, be it in pieces of bark, leaves, or sap and carried by an individual, will prevent such a one from harm, wounds, even from canon balls or firearm shots. De la Rosa-Alcázar, 1914, op. cit., p. 95.

12. Dalungdong: a spell that is worked by preparing a poisonous and a deadly herb. Sánchez, 1711, op. cit. Evil-intentioned individuals work it into food or especially into drink during the drinking sessions.

One of these editors [Cantius J. Kobak] is very familiar with this practice which still obtains in the more remote areas as a means of revenge or vengeance.

Several islets, off the western coast of Samar and Calbayog region, like Kamandang, Almagro, Tagapulan and Capul, near the San Bernardino Straits, still prepare and use all sorts of deadly, poisonous herbs especially in powder form. Most often, one seeking vengeance packs the poisonous powder under one of his thumb-nails and cleverly releases it into the drink of the individual he wishes to harm or kill. When the poisonous herb begins to show its effect, another individual, in league with the culprit, offers an antidote to him if he or his family will offer big money, land, or precious jewelry. This incident happened to one of our Franciscan missionaries on the Island in Kamandang in 1958, who carried along a handgun. One of the mean individuals wanted the weapon badly. While sharing a welcome drink of tuba, this poisonous powder was released into the glass of the missionary. When the effects began to show in the priest's contortions, and weakening, the wife of this culprit began to plead with the other men for an antidote to be administered which it was. The friar recovered, and the gun had to be surrendered to the one who offered the antidote; the latter gave it to the one who administered the poisonous herb. Notwithstanding this episode, all lived happily ever after.

“Dalungdong: A tree so-called. – A herb or a root used in preparing a powder or potion as a spell. Bewitchment – Witchcraft – v. To bewitch; to tie with grass or roots to inflict evil or to kill. De la Rosa-Alcázar, 1914, op. cit., p. 126.

13. Unglu: “Diwata, yawa, diablo nga hataas kuno, ngan daku, nag linkud sa lawaan, usa ka dangaw an kulu. Sánchez, 1711, op. cit.

“Onglo: the Bisayans say that it is a very tall man who lives in the forests. Witch, wizard, phantom. De la Rosa-Alcázar, 1914, op. cit., p. 221.

14. Lumay or “paglumayun, paglummyun: a love-spell; the person given the love-spell cannot rest without the person who gave it to him. Naglumay to give the said spell. Lumayan, the witch who knows how to do it. Those attached to something. Lumayun: it is said of the posts or pillars placed in between big pillows. Sánchez, 1711, op. cit.

The following ancient Bisayan spells and charms are mentioned in passing in various parts of the dictionaries but not defined:

15. Dagas, 16. Hulup, 17. Dangab, 18. Gutung, 19. Hakit, 20. Gaba, Hilwan, 21. Lator, 22. Pangun, 23. Tari. Sánchez, 1711, op. cit.

In Part One, Book I, Chapters 25, 26 and 27 treat these matters in good detail and even cite spells that were not included here in our count.

[25] Dasag. This dasag means offering, hadang, bating, bayaw sa diwata. Dasag nani an manuk an babuy, ngan san linanggang kun ibubutang sa paganituan, nga бага idayag na sa diwata. 2. Nadasag: to menú well like broken/disjoined bones. 3. Dasag, dinasag: something square; nagdadasag, pagdasagun mu inin harigui.” Sánchez, 1711, op. cit.

[26] Panatag. The word panatag is derived from the root patag which means: something level; a plain or to make even or smooth. This was discussed in earlier chapters concerning makapatag: the Bisayan name for their God, who makes every equal, level.

[27] Pagtari. This pagtari is derived from tari: The capacity of the baylana to forsee from certain signs and bewitchment. Sánchez, 1711, op. cit.

[28] Paguli. To return to the place which one has left; to come back, to return. To go home or to come home.

[29] Unguti. Or ongote, hungut or hongot: a half of a coconut shell, scraped out and cleaned and utilized as a bowl, a drinking vessel, a scoop, etc. Also called: paya. De la Rosa-Alcázar, 1914, op. cit., p. 297.

[30] Paggiribit. This term paggiribit is derived from gibit or even gibay: to stip-off the fat from a pig. Also, something torn-up, peeled-off, destroyed; like the leaves of bananas or clothing. Sánchez, 1711, op. cit.

“Gibay: a thick piece of meat, fat or similar thing. To divide into meat pieces. Also, big tree or a bumblebee. De la Rosa-Alcázar, 1914, op. cit., p. 127.

[31] Gimilaw. This term seems to be derived from the root – “hilaw: something green, raw, uncooked, unprepared. E.g. Hinilaw nila an isda ngan san babuy – they eat the fish and the meat now. Sánchez, 1711, op. cit.

[32] Linangan. Cf. previous chapter, annotation # 22.

[33] Sinbawan. This sinbawan cannot be located anywhere. It is, perhaps, one of the kinds of pusu mentioned here earlier in this chapter, and as is obvious from Alcina's context.

[34] Ginayaw. Again, the term ayaw, means complete; nothing lacking anymore, as mentioned earlier in the chapter also.