

Alcina's History of the Bisayan Islands and their people ...1668. — Editor's Introduction

It would be well to recall that during the past four and a half years, beginning with the May-June 1979 issue of this journal, we have been publishing regularly all the extant chapters of the Alcina manuscript entitled *Historia de la islas e indios de Bisayas ...1668*, which is the fragmentary Part Two of that invaluable piece of cultural history.

Our reason for initiating the publication of Alcina's Part Two was an earnest desire to make available and familiarize interested research scholars with its rich contents, since the *Philippine Studies Program*, under the directorship of Dr. Fred Eggan of the University of Chicago, had earlier circulated a typescript of a preliminary translation of Part One in Four Books. It was seemingly a highly restricted and limited edition, made available, perhaps, as a study text for eventual publication and which has never materialized. Our efforts were intended to complement the noble and highly meritorious achievements of the above-mentioned group.

This Second Part of the Alcina manuscript, if we remember, is a treatise concerning the supernatural and ecclesiastical matters reflective of and pertinent to the Faith: that is, the mode of proclamation of the Gospel, instruction in the *doctrina*, administration of the sacraments, celebration of liturgical feasts and solemnities; reduction or the organization of the Christian communities within the hearing distance of the Church bells; local and regional uprisings, so detrimental to the faith; Muslim and non-Muslim piratical plunder and raids; life-style of the Jesuit missionaries and their mode of organizing their mission stations and a historical record of the origin and growth of the various settlements and their respective ancient names.

This latter portion of Alcina's invaluable *Historia* was also more extensive than the First Part, since the original manuscript was made up of five books rather than only four. Of the possible 126 chapters seemingly attributed to this Second Part by Pedro Torra, a Jesuit Bibliographer, only about 43 of these chapters remain intact in the three fragmentary books preserved today in the *Real Academia de la Historia*, in Madrid. It was Don Juan Bautista Muñoz, the distinguished founder of the *Archivo de Indias*, who discovered this fragmentary Part Two of Alcina in a *botica* of Seville, where a greater portion of these folios were used for wrapping powders and ointments.

It is from Alcina's occasional references, found in the chapters of Part One and Part Two, that we learn about the existence of Books Four and Five that made up the Second Part. We are also able to surmise or deduce that these two respective books, totally destroyed, contained much ancient history and description about the early *gamoros* or settlements of the Bisayans.

The present issue of the Santo Tomas University graduate journal, *Philippiniana Sacra*, initiates the publication of the Alcina manuscript *Historia de las islas e indios de bisayas*... 1668, Part One, in Four Books. This portion of the invaluable manuscript, which contains a wealth of pre-Hispanic ethnographic material, still remains unpublished, except for an unannotated facsimile publication of the *Museo Naval Copy*, Books One and Two by Ma. Luisa Martín-Mera y Ma. Dolores Higuera in the year 1974.

It would be well to mention at this point that the original Part One of the *Historia* has thus far not been recovered and seems to have perished. However, there are four extant copies, two of which were made from the original; namely, the *San Cugat Copy*, which may go back to the first quarter of the 18th century and the *Palacio Real Copy* or the *Muñoz Text*, which dates back to the last quarter of the 18th century. The other two copies are the *Museo Naval Text*, a transcript of the *San Cugat Copy*, made about the middle of the 18th century and the *Lenox Text* made, in turn, from the *Museo Naval Copy* in the final quarter of the 18th century. Only the *Palacio Real Copy*, fortunately, includes all Four Books, while the other three texts contain only Books One and Two.

What is often referred to as the Alcina original, that is, one actually penned by the author himself, has never yet surfaced anywhere. However, what was really available was a rather fair transcript of Alcina's actual work by a Filipino *amanuensis* or secretary. This amanuensis transcript or copy has seemingly perished too and what remains currently is Muñoz's transcript. Don Juan Bautista Muñoz, who made an excellent transcript of Part One, complete in all four books, felt that it was the original copy of Alcina, since it seemed like the hand of the author himself and with apparent corrections and additions in the same pen.

Father Pablo Fernández, a well-known scholar and historian of Philippine culture and history and my co-author on the Alcina manuscript project, is strongly inclined to believe that neither the fragmentary Part Two nor the text utilized by Muñoz could be the original of Alcina, but apparently fair copies made by a Filipino *amanuensis*. The reasons for this posture were clearly and cogently expressed in the "Introduction" published with our very first installment of Alcina in this journal. May I here, add another pertinent observation: while doing the paleographical work or preparing the Spanish transliteration of large portions of the Muñoz Text, the San Cugat and Lenox copies, I have become clearly aware of the carelessness regarding the Bisayan or Waray-Waray terminology, phrases and sentences. Oftentimes, the terms or words are scrambled or even a series of words just lumped together, with numerous other inconsistencies. Alcina,

who knew the language well and had an excellent, polished command of it, would hardly be guilty of such repeated errors throughout the manuscript. Also certain omissions of phrases or lines in the course of the text, may also be indicative of a transcriber's lack of close attentiveness or even fatigue. Hence, reconstruction, identification and translation of the Waray-Waray terminology is a very challenging, arduous and demanding undertaking also.

In fact, the Alcina manuscript as a whole is rather difficult to comprehend, due to the awkward, heavy, archaic Spanish orthography, the unfamiliar 17th century style, obsolete vocabulary, illogical, if not erroneous punctuation, lengthy sentence structure and similarly over-drawn paragraphs. Of course, once these complex and ill-features are remedied and the Spanish text 'cleaned-up', rendering an English translation is thus greatly facilitated. The present writers have accomplished much of this challenging and demanding task and thus paved the way for, perhaps, a less painful task of translation and a more readable, clear and accurate text, hopefully. However, what will follow in these pages of this journal, will still remain only a preliminary translation, since there are still a number of insurmountable obstacles to be hurdled at this particular stage. For example, idiomatic expressions, the evidence of phrases peculiar to Valencia and Catalonia and certain thought-patterns that were popular some three hundred years ago, but today would sound or read awkwardly.

The wealth of pre-Hispanic ethnographic and cultural material about the Bisayans in Alcina's *Historia...1668*, is incredibly phenomenal. His data is based on personal inquiry, discovery observation and gathering of information for a period of some 34 years. This Jesuit missionary's knowledge of our Bisayans was extremely extensive and his experience very broad and far-reaching. He lived with, laboured with, and observed closely the people under his spiritual care and visited the greater part of the Bisayan Islands and related with these people quite closely. He not only communicated with the Bisayans a great deal, but quite intimately, especially with the elderly and those more knowledgeable, so as to learn about their ancient life-ways. He jotted down and kept a close record of all his precious findings and dis-

coveries on paper. He had a tremendous facility and a great expertise in the Bisayan languages and particularly in the language of the Samar and Leyte folk, or Waray-Waray.

This great historian of the mid-17th century Philippines, began making his final draft of the rough material collected through the years only in the year 1668. And in a span of only nine or ten months he completed the voluminous and gigantic task of re-writing it all in a logical manner and bringing it to completion by October 1671 and readying it for publication by May 21, 1672. The reasons why this precious manuscript was never published are still unknown. Ignacio Francisco Alcina died on July 30, 1674, after some 42 years of dedicated ministry and labour in the Philippines.

Alcina's Part One deals primarily with the Bisayan antiquity or pre-Hispanic customs, traditions, beliefs and life-ways. This author himself states in his "Preface": "All this affords material... about their language, sciences and arts and all the rest (as it will be seen in their own places) which they used as far as it was reasonable and as such; about their ancient mores and ways — because what they do as Christians and as already converted to the knowledge of the faith of the true God, will be dealt with at length in Part Two..." or again in another place, "In matters and situations concerning these *Indios* and especially whatever pertains to their antiquity..."

It is our intention to offer the readers of this journal only the most interesting, the most valuable and some of the most relevant chapters of Alcina so as to cater to the widest possible scope of interest possible. Hence, we shall not publish the manuscript in its logical sequence, but we shall give priority to the material and chapters which carry anthropological, ethnological, sociological, demographic and historical content. Material which will be highly contributive to the deepening of pre-Spanish research in Philippine culture, ethnology, linguistics, cosmogeny and other related matters.

The highly specialized treatises of the *Historia*, although quite curious and interesting will be by-passed in favour of some more distant and future date of publication. The above-mentioned

chapters treat matters of this nature: animals, birds, fish, reptiles, buffalos, deer, wild hogs, elephants, smaller quadrupeds (rats, dogs, cats, monkeys, crocodiles, alligators) silkworms, water worms, insects, pests, turtles, shell-fish, sea-life, bees, wasps, locust, butterflies, root crops, bananas, *abaca*, fruit trees, coconut palm and other types of palms, bamboo, varieties of timber, the *balite* or *nonoc* trees, aromatic plants and trees, medicinal herbs, leaves and roots; sugar cane and garden plants. Also, agricultural preoccupations of the ancient past and present (1660's); mechanical arts and uses; looms and other arts; silver and gold smiths and precious stones; construction of vessels and ships; methods of sailing; about tides, currents, gathering of wax, mines, panning for gold, winds, *baguios*, volcanos, etc.

Therefore, beginning with this particular issue of the *Philippiniana Sacra*, and in the subsequent installment, we shall concentrate our efforts in preparing the Spanish transliteration, translation and substantial annotation on the following topics of great interest: the name "Bisaya" and the origin of the Bisayans in central Philippines, their physical characteristics, mode of dress and personal adornment in terms of costume jewelry, their practice of tattooing and a geographical survey description of the Bisayan Islands and region. All these above-mentioned matters will be culled from Book One, the first five chapters.

In the ensuing articles or installments, we shall treat at the material found in the first three chapters of Book Four; namely, the types of ancient Bisayan settlements which existed and have fallen into oblivion, important centers of trade, description of settlement patterns, kinds of dwellings and their manner of construction.

Next, we shall proceed to Book Three, omitting chapters five to ten, and presenting the following subjects: the Bisayan language (of Samar and Leyte) and its characteristics; syllabic writing and its characters; literature and poetical compositions; cosmogeny and time calculations; astronomy and the art of navigation; music, songs and musical instruments; the Bisayan concept of God and their divinities; immortality and after-life, good and evil spirits; ancestor worship; priests and priestesses and the manner and kinds of sacrifices; rituals for the deceased and burial

practices and places; festivities and celebrations; witchcraft, spirits, curses and witch-doctors; impressions about the social and personality traits of the people; characteristics of their system of interpersonal relations; their vices and undesirable inclinations and other natural characteristics; kinds of physical illnesses, diseases and deformities that plagued these people. All this type of demographic information, we may say in observation, is probably among the earliest to be found in the Philippines.

Finally, from the remaining chapters of Book Four again, we shall treat the following matters: the system of social stratification, particularly the kinds of social classes, including slavery. The manner by which the people governed themselves — the relations between the *datus* (headmen) and their subordinates; their laws, the mechanisms of social control and how these were taught and enforced. Means of social mobility and socialization, that is, transmission of social norms. Trade and commerce, domestic and foreign, the medium of exchange or what kind of money they used and exchange transactions in general. The principal objects of wealth and means of acquiring them. Recreation patterns of different age groups: their festivals, feasts, dances and other amusements and games. Their rest days and holidays, the occasion for these activities. War and their weaponry and avenues of mobility such as strength, valour and agility. Marriage customs and family relationships; adoption, inheritance patterns. Notions concerning body proportions and accounts about giants and dwarfs and kinds of physical abnormalities with associated behaviour patterns. Methods of creating kinship ties by means of blood-letting, called "sandugo", etc.

And so, therefore, any student or scholar of ancient Philippine society and culture today will find Alcina's *Historia 1668* an extremely valuable and profitable source of knowledge and information.

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Historia de Las Islas e Indios De Bisayas

PARTE MAYOR Y MÁS PRINCIPAL DE LAS ISLAS
FILIPINAS, DIVIDIDA EN DOS PARTES:
LA PRIMERA, NATURAL (DEL SITIO,
FERTILIDAD Y CALIDAD DE ESTAS
ISLAS, Y SUS MORADORES, ETC.)
LA SEGUNDA, ECLESIAÍSTICA
Y SOBRENATURAL (DE SU
FE Y AUMENTOS EN ELLA,
CON EL MAGISTERIO Y
ENSEÑANZA DE LOS
PADRES DE LA
COMPAÑÍA DE
JESÚS).

*In doctrinis glorificate Dominum;
in insulis maris, nomen Domini.*

Isai. 24 (:15)

Recogido uno y otro, y compuesto por el P.

Francisco Ignacio Alzina, de la mis-

ma Compañía, después de más

de treinta años en ellas,

y entre ellos, de

ministerio.

AD MAIOREM DEI GLORIAM, DEI
ET MARIAE MATRIS EIUS SINE LABE CONCEPTAE.
Año 1668

The History of the Islands and Indios of the Bisayas

THE HISTORY OF THE ISLANDS AND *INDIOS* OF THE
BISAYAS¹ THE MOST EXTENSIVE AND THE PRINCIPAL
REGION OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, IS DIVIDED
INTO TWO PARTS: THE FIRST PART TREATS WHAT
IS NATURAL (THAT IS, THE LOCATION, THE
FERTILITY AND THE NATURE OF THESE
ISLANDS AND THEIR INHABITANTS,
ETC.) ; THE SECOND PART TREATS
WHAT IS SUPERNATURAL AND
ECCLESIASTICAL (THAT IS,
MATTERS CONCERNING
THEIR FAITH AND
THEIR GROWTH
IN IT THROUGH
THE TEACHING
AND
INSTRUCTION
OF THE
FATHERS
OF THE
SOCIETY OF JESUS).

*In doctrinis glorificate
Dominum; in insulis maris, nomen Domini.*²

Isaiah, 24

The one and the other were gathered and composed by Father
Francisco Ignacio Alzina of the same Society,
thirty years³ in them
and among them

FOR
THE GREATER
GLORY OF GOD; OF GOD
AND OF MARY, HIS MOTHER, CONCEIVED
WITHOUT SIN.

1668⁴

PARTE PRIMERA — NATURAL

Que trata del origen, nombre y calidad de estos indios bisayas; del sitio, fertilidad y clima de estas Islas; abundancia de árboles, plantas y hierbas, cuyos frutos les sirven de sustento, y las hojas y raíces de medicina; variedad de animales, aves, peces, culebras y otros mixtos e insectos, y de sus diferencias, propiedades y útiles; de la lengua, costumbres, artes, usos y abusos de sus habitantes; de su modo de vivir, en común y particular; guerras y contratos, y otras cosas notables de su antigüedad o gentilismo y antes que fuesen cristianos. Dividido todo en cuatro Libros, como se van sucediendo.

PART ONE — (THE) NATURAL (HISTORY)

This portion deals with the origin, the name and the nature of the Bisayan *Indios*; the location, the fertility and the climate of these islands; the abundance of trees, plants and herbs, the fruits of which serve them as nourishment and the leaves and roots as medicine; the variety of animals, birds, fish, snakes and other species and insects together with their varieties, properties and usefulness; the language, customs, arts, usages and about the ill-practices of its inhabitants; their way of living as social beings and as individuals; wars, contracts and other remarkable matters pertaining to their ancient times or heathenism prior to the arrival of the Christian Faith. All (this material) is divided into Four Books and arranged in order.

Dedicatoria al glorioso San Francisco de Borja,
duque antes cuarto de Gandía, después
tercer Prepósito General de la
Compañía de Jesús, Apóstol
de las Indias
Occidentales.

Son tantas, Santo Padre, las causas, y tan forzosos los motivos que me necesitan (sin dar lugar a otra elección) a poner a vuestros pies este tal cual desvelo de no pocos meses y cuidado de muchos años, de poner en orden y sacar a luz esta *Historia Natural de las Islas e Indios Bisayas o Pintados*, antes que conociesen a Dios, y Eclesiástica, o Sobrenatural, después que le conocieron, y fueron (no sé si "Pintados" mejor, o "rubricados") con el rosicler de su Divina Sangre, que por medio de la fe sagrada se les ha comunicado, y comunica, siempre; que, no pudiendo negarme a mí ni a ellos por lo obligado, como ni excusarme tampoco por lo agradecido, quise con ella dar al mundo algunas noticias de lo mucho y singular que en uno y otro orden depositó Dios en ellos, y les franqueó, manirroto; y con esto satisfacer de mi parte (aunque es corta correspondencia) a las muchas obligaciones que me corren (sic) y constriñen para ofrecerla a vuestras soberanas plantas; pues, no menos por lo temporal y humano que por lo espiritual y divino, debo a vuestras influencias y reconozco, derivado de vuestros influjos, todo cuanto tengo y valgo, que, si algo es, es derecho vuestro.

Dévoos, cuanto a lo natural y humano, vasallaje y sujeción, pues nací vuestro vasallo en Gandía, cabeza de vuestro "ditado" o ducado, de quien os hizo Dios duque, cuarto en sucesión, y en estimación el primero, no menos por la Real Sangre de Aragón-hablo en la human... [falta algo]

A
dedication
to the glorious St.
Francis Borgia, at first the
Fourth Duke of Gandía and later, the
Third Superior General⁵ of the Society of Jesus,
Apostle of the West Indies

So numerous are the causes, Holy Father, and so pressing the motives that compel me (without giving me a choice) to place at your feet this rather modest undertaking of not a few months (of editing). It was a task which took many years of gathering and bringing to light as a *Natural History of the Islands and Bisayan Indios or Pintados*, prior to their knowledge (of the True) God; and as an *Ecclesiastical or Supernatural (History)*, after they were familiarized with (the True) God. That is, when they were (I do not know whether it is better to say) 'painted' (i.e. tattooed) or 'sealed' with the bright rose-color of the Divine Blood, which was proclaimed and is still being announced to them by means of the sacred Faith. It is not possible for me to deter myself or even to deprive them (i.e. the natives of such a relation), for I am obliged to relate through this *History* the many singular blessings that God has bestowed upon them with boundless generosity in both orders, the natural and the supernatural. In this manner, on my part, I wish to fulfill (although this is a poor way of compensating) the many obligations that urge and compel me to place this (i.e. work) at Your Sovereign Feet — and this not only for temporal and human reasons, but also for the spiritual and divine. I am indebted to Your influence and realize that all I have and all that I am worth comes through Your intercession. And if there is something of value in this *History*, it must be attributed to You.

From the natural and human point of view, I owe you vassalage and submission because I was born Your vassal in Gandía, the Capital of Your Dukedom and of which God made You a Duke — the fourth in line and the first in esteem and not only because of the Royal blood of Aragon. Here, I speak merely from the human point of view...⁶

primero de que nacisteis Vos, nieto y heredero en el valor y nobleza; siendo el cuarto, no sin misterio, porque quedase en Vos, cuadrado, el timbre o círculo de la mayor nobleza que está hoy día mezclada con lo más calificado de Europa, y también fundada, como en cuadro firme, que no ha faltado hasta hoy la línea masculina directa en vuestra casa, antes la ha dado a otras.

Y, para que el cuadro fuese perfecto, juntasteis lo sólido de la verdadera santidad (siendo Vos uno de los que mejor han enseñado en el mundo a hermanar la nobleza con la virtud, la santidad con el señorío), esmaltando el oro de la Real sangre con lo precioso de las virtudes cristianas; mereciendo por uno y otro el ser llamado y conocido, aun en el siglo, por el “Duque Santo”; pues, si os nací sujeto en cuanto Duque, sirva esta de tributo a lo de vasallo, y de servicio y obsequio a lo de criado rendido.

Pero, dejemos lo humano (que, aunque tanto en Vos, estimasteis tan en poco, como todo el mundo sabe, para ganar a Dios por un Ducado), os debo mejor, aun por lo espiritual y divino, obediencia y subordinación religiosa, como a General Padre (porque no hubiese en Vos cosa de particular) que la divina disposición os hizo después de su mínima Compañía de Jesús, siendo Vos el tercero y medianero de sus mayores aumentos; pues, dejando los extensivos, que por Vos fueron muy grandes, los intensivos fueron mayores, afianzando Dios por Vos en aquellos principios (no las llamo niñeces; que siempre nació muy crecida y grande) de su escogida Religión, el crédito, estimación y aprecio; y, por vuestra santidad, se acreditó más, y con razón fuisteis “tercero,” porque a ninguno “segundo”; y en la virtud y santidad siempre primero; alentando a todos para la perfección religiosa, que con obras más que con consejos, adelantaisteis; y, si ya no fuisteis en esta sagrada Religión el “tercero” como en Dios la tercera persona (o Espíritu Santo) lo ha sido y será en la militante Iglesia

... the first from whom you were born, grand-child and heir in valour and nobility; being the fourth, not without a mystery, so that it might remain in You, perfected, the crest of the coat of arms or the circlet of the greatest nobility of Europe. And so well-founded as if in a solid square, that until this day the direct male succession has not been interrupted in Your House; still more, it has been lent to others.

And so, that the square would be made perfect, you put together the soundness of true sanctity (You being one of those who have taught best how to join nobility with virtue, sanctity with lordship) embellishing the gold of the Royal blood with the preciousness of Christian virtues; deserving, because of the one and the other, to be called and known, even in the world, as the "Saintly Duke". Therefore, if I was born your vassal let this (i.e. dedication) be a tribute as far as vassalage is concerned and as a service and a courtesy of a dedicated servant.

However, let us put aside the human (element) (which is so worthy in you, and which you have considered so insignificant as everybody well knows, in order to gain God through a Dukedom). Better yet, from the spiritual and divine point of view, I owe you religious obedience and subordination as a Father General (so that nothing in you would ever be underestimated), so that Divine disposition will afterward make you the Superior of this "the least" Society of Jesus. For you were the third (General of the Society) chosen, as if by God and as an intermediary and an intercessor for its greater advancement. Therefore, setting aside its growth in size, which was quite extensive because of you; the ardour was even greater, for in the beginnings it was God Who was directing everything through you in this chosen Religion (I will not call it the stage of infancy for it was always well developed and great from its birth), its credibility, its esteem and its appreciation. And through your sanctity it grew even more in prestige; most fittingly you were the 'third' because you were 'second' to none, and always 'first' in virtue and in sanctity, encouraging all to the religious perfection which you promoted more with deeds than with words, with example better than with counsel. And perchance you were the 'third' in this sacred religion as God the Third Person (or the Holy Spirit) has been, and

de todas las virtudes y santidad, que con él y por él enviaron las otras dos al mundo, que llenó de sus divinos dones y gracias.

Pues, si soy y me confieso, aunque indigno, por súbdito vuestro, sirva ésta de señal de sujeción, y como oblación, de lo que, como a Prelado, como a Padre y como a Santo os debo; y, como al General el menor de vuestros soldados, que inscrito debajo de esta bandera con el nombre de Francisco Ignacio, debo no menos al uno y otro nombre que a la profesión, toda devoción, imitación y obsequio; ¡ojalá no indigno ellos!

Apóstol os llamo de las Indias Occidentales (con novedad quizás, aunque no sin razón), movido no de adulación (que no es moneda que pasa para con los santos y más de vuestra calidad), sino por obligación y devoción, ésta particular, aquélla común en general, con que os deberían, y deben, llamar todos. Que, si al gran Gregorio, y de los Pontífices el máximo, llamó el Venerable Beda, y después los doctores eclesiásticos *Apóstol de Inglaterra*, apellido y nombre que califica, y aun canoniza, la Santa Madre Iglesia con estas palabras: “Vere a Beda presbitero Angliae vocatus apostolus”; porque, por su mandato y orden, pasaron a aquel reino predicadores apostólicos que le convirtieron, a Vos que enviasteis tantos y tan señalados obreros apostólicos y predicadores de la fe verdadera al Brasil, al Perú, a la Florida y a México o Nueva España, siendo ellos los primeros que en no pocas provincias de sus extendidos imperios pusieron el primer arado de la fe, echaron el primer surco y rompieron la tierra de aquel gentilismo; siendo los más de ellos enviados por Vos a la labor que entonces comenzaron, después prosiguieron y hasta hoy prosiguen otros, y todos apóstoles, o “missi”, que es lo mismo.

Con cuánta razón se os deberá también el *vere* de la Iglesia Universal, pues lo llenasteis con tanto cuidado, y con tantas atenciones lo perfeccionasteis, durando hoy lo que Vos comenzasteis; y así séame lícito decir que *vere* sois y debéis ser llamado “Apóstol del Occidente,” como del Oriente el otro Francisco nuestro.

will be, in the militant Church (an exemplary cause) of all virtues and sanctity — which (virtues and holiness) with Him and through Him the other two sent to the world and which he filled with His divine gifts and graces.

Therefore, if I am and acknowledge myself as your unworthy subject, let this dedication be as a sign of subjection and as an oblation of what as a Prelate, as a Father and as a Saint I owe you. And as to a General (of the Society), I am the least of your soldiers who, enlisted under the standard with the name of Francisco Ignacio, I owe not less to the one and the other name than I owe to my religious profession all the devotion, imitation and obsequiousness. Would to God that I may not be unworthy of them!

I call you an "Apostle of the West Indies" (with novelty perhaps, but not without reason) prompted not by flattery (which is not a coin of value for the saints, especially for one such as you), but out of obligation and devotion whether as an individual or as a part of a group, and all must call you in this way. For if Gregory the Great, the most outstanding among the popes, by the Venerable Bede was referred to as the "Apostle of England", and later the Doctors of the Church did the same, so too Holy Mother Church promotes this appellation and even canonizes it with these words: *Vere a Beda presbitero Angliae vocatus apostolus*⁷, so through Your command and order there passed apostolic preachers of the true faith to Brasil, to Peru, to Florida, to Mexico or New Spain (as it is called). These were the first who in not a few provinces of its extensive domains put in the first plow of faith, opened the first furrow and loosened the soil from that heathenism. The majority of them have been sent by you to the labours which they commenced and then others continued and still carry on to this day; all were apostles or *missi*⁸ which is the same.

(If this is so), then how appropriately must be applied to you the *vere* of the Universal Church, because you fulfilled it with such great diligence and perfected it with so much solicitude. All that you have initiated endures till this very day. And therefore, I beg permission to say that 'truly' You are and ought to be called "the Apostle of the West", as the other Francis⁵ of ours

ennoblecendo Dios con uno y otro Francisco ambas Indias, Oriental y Occidental; y de vuestro apostolado quiso el Cielo, no sólo entrar a la parte, mas llevar los primeros frutos, recibiendo de una vez cuarenta mártires que, enviados por Vos al Brasil, dieron su sangre en la mar para aportar con toda seguridad al Cielo; siguiéndose después otros muchos que en todas las Indias Occidentales la han dado liberalísimos; que todos pueden con Vos, y Vos con ellos, como su primera causa, decir con San Pablo: “signa apostolatus nostri haec sunt,” pues aun me parece que oigo los ecos de las palabras que les diríais al enviarlos, como el otro evangélico Profeta: “Ite, angeli, veloces ad gentem convulsam et dilaceratam, etc.” que tanto convienen (como saben todos los que han visto y conocen las naciones de toda la América) a sus moradores, objeto de vuestros desvelos entonces, y campo ya copiosísimo y fertilísimo de vuestro apostolado, para cuyo cultivo ha ido, y va Dios siempre, enviando obreros conforme a aquello del Salmo: “Pro patribus tuis nati sunt tibi filii, etc.”; que, siéndolo vuestros en la profesión, lo son en la ejecución en todas estas partes; y, para que no fuesen solos, los acompañasteis Vos con vuestra Imagen milagrosa, que obró, y obra, no pocos prodigios en el nuevo reino de Granada, sudando repetidas veces para mostrar que sentís aún en el Cielo los trabajos y afanes de vuestros hijos, supliendo Vos por ella lo que en persona no pudisteis, no por falta de deseos sino por sobra de impedimentos.

Pues, si de la América lo fuisteis, no menos de esta Provincia o Islas Filipinas, ni con menos título por cierto; pues fue el primero de la Compañía que a ellas vino, abrió las zanjias de la fe y comenzó a echar los cimientos de esta Provincia, que tanto se ha adelantado en la enseñanza de estas naciones todas, y en especial de la de los bisayas (de que trata esta *Historia* en especial), el Padre Antonio Sedeño, a quien Vos enviasteis primero a la Florida, a México después, y últimamente vino a estas Islas, donde vivió en este ministerio y murió en el de Cebu, que era entonces cabeza del bisayismo, y lo es hoy de todo aquel Obispado, dejando sus huesos en aquella iglesia y entre los bisayas, por testigos ciertos de esta verdad y por predicadores (mejor que la sangre de Abel) de la verdadera fe, que, muerto, fomenta entre estos naturales, si la comenzó a plantar vivo; y, pues todo esto son señales

was of the East. God has ennobled with the one and the other Francis both Indies, the Eastern and Western. And of Your apostolate heaven wanted not only to be a partner, but also wished to appropriate for itself the first fruits; that is, receiving all at once forty martyrs who, sent by You to Brasil, shed their blood on the sea so as to land with all safety in heaven. (There were also) many others who shed their blood in total generosity in all the West Indies. And so, all of them with You and You with them as their promoter, may say with St. Paul: *Signa apostolatus nostri haec sunt*.¹⁰ For I still somehow perceive the echo of the words that You might have uttered to them, like another evangelical prophet: *Ite, angeli, veloces ad gentem convulsam et dilaceratam, etc.*,¹¹ which fit so well (as those who have seen and are acquainted with all the nations of Americas) its inhabitants. At that time, these were the object of your concern, and now a most abundant field of Your apostolate where God has been sending and still sends workers to cultivate it, for as the Psalmist says: *Pro patribus tuis nati sunt tibi filii, etc.*¹² Since they belong to you as a result of profession, they are also so in execution (of Your will) in these parts. And so, that they did not have to go alone, You accompanied them with Your miraculous Image which has worked, and still works not a few wonders in the new Kingdom of Granada, perspiring repeatedly to show that even in the Kingdom of Heaven You feel the sufferings and anxieties of Your children. All this is due not to a lack of solicitude but to an excess of impediments.

Father Antonio Sedeño,¹³ whom you first sent to Florida, then to Mexico and who finally arrived to these Islands, was the first of the Society to be here. It is he who dug the foundations of the faith and began to lay the base of this Province (of the Society of Jesus) which has made such great progress in the instruction of all these nations, especially among these Bisayans (about whom this *History* deals in a special way). He lived in this ministry and died in Cebu which was a "cabeza" of the Bisayas at that time and today is the head of the entire Bishopric. His bones were left in that church and among the Bisayans as a genuine witnesses of this Truth and as preachers (better than the blood of Abel) of the True Faith which even after death he promotes among these natives, having had begun to plant it while

de vuestro apostolado, Santo glorioso Francisco, y Dios (tan sin merecerlo) me trajo acá por uno de los obreros de esta labor, y por peón de aquesta viña, que he cultivado más de treinta y tres (¡ojalá sea con crecido esquilmo!), sirva ésta de una parte de él, y de un corto reconocimiento a vuestras aras.

Atended, santo mío, al afecto del que lo ofrece más que al don; recibidlo, con muestras de cariño afectuoso, para que conozca yo y reconozca, avivado con la avenida de los divinos dones (que por vuestra intercesión espero copiosísima), lo mucho que con Dios podéis y valéis; y pues yo tal cual, y otros muchos de los que acá trabajamos, y han trabajado, en casi setenta años que se comenzó esta labor de los bisayas, hemos en parte cumplido con lo que Vos (así lo podemos pensar piadosamente) decíais a los que enviábais a estas y otras islas de este inmenso océano: “In doctrinis, in insulis quae procul sunt, dicite quoniam Dominus veniet,” animando a todos a tan soberana, apostólica y gloriosa empresa.

Favorecedla siempre, Padre glorioso, disponiendo con Dios que envíe muchos y muy buenos operarios de su viña, para que prosigan, adelanten y perfeccionen esta labor; pues, si de Vos tuvo los principios, reciba los medios y logre los fines dichosísimos; que así os lo rogamos todos y repetimos incansablemente: “Res-pice de coelo et vide et visita vineam istam, et perfice eam quam plantavit dextera tua”; para que, con muchos frutos y proven-tos, vayamos todos a ver y gozar con un sinnúmero de los convertidos, en vuestra compañía, de la presencia y faz de aquel Señor que, como por Vos envió tantos, los llamará a todos, diciendo: “Voca operarios et redde illis mercedem, incipiens a novissimis usque ad primos.” ¡Ojalá yo lo vea, y sea así! ¡Sea! ¡Sea!

El menor de todos ellos, y humilde siervo vuestro,

Francisco Ignacio Alzina

still alive. And, therefore, all these are signs of Your apostolate, O Glorious Saint Francis! And God (without my deserving it) brought me here as one of the labourers of this task and as a labourer of this vineyard which I have cultivated for more than thirty three years (would to God that this be to overflowing!). May this (History) be a part and may it serve as a small offering before your altars.

Be attentive, O my Saint, more to the love of the one making an offering than to the gift itself; receive it with an assurance of affectionate love so that I may know and come to realize fully—animated by the flow of the divine gifts (which I hope will be very copious because of your intercession) — how much You can accomplish and how powerful you are before God. It is almost some seventy years¹⁴ since this work among the Bisayans was initiated. I, and many others of those who have laboured and still labour, have tried to make operative what You (as I piously believe) have said to those whom you have sent to these and to other islands on this immense ocean: *In doctrinis, in insulis quae procul sunt, dicite quoniam Dominus adveniet*,¹⁵ encouraging them all to such a sublime apostolic and glorious undertaking.

Look with favour upon it always, Glorious Father, and plead before God that He may send many and very good labourers to His vineyard so that they may carry on, promote, and perfect this work. For, if it drew its origins from you, may it attain through you its purpose and arrive at a felicitous conclusion. Thus, do we ask this of you and repeating without end: *Respice de coelo et vide et visita vineam istam, et perfice eam quam plantavit dextera tua*.¹⁶ And this, so that with much fruit and profit, together with the numerous converts, we may go to see and enjoy in your company the presence and the Face of that Lord Who, as He sent many through you, may call them out saying: *Voca operarios et redde illis mercedem, incipiens a novissimis usque ad primos*.¹⁷ Would to God that I may come to see it, and that it may be so! Amen! Amen!

Your humble servant and the least of them all,

Francisco Ignacio Alzina

PROEMIO E INTENTO DE
ESTA OBRA PARA QUIEN LA LEYERE

El príncipe de la Natural Historia, Plinio, tratando de las cosas varias y nuevas de la Africa, dijo: “Semper Africa affert nobis aliquid novi”; que nunca a la Africa le faltaban novedades para la historia, y siempre supeditaba nuevas cosas para ella.

Si esto dijo del Africa este autor, siendo tan próxima, común y conocida en Europa, como su colateral, mayor lo podremos decir de estas Islas y Archipiélago filipino, que tan apartado de lo restante del mundo, tan retirado de los más, noticioso y tan poco visto de muchos, no sólo es nuevo todo y lo parecerá a todos, sino que a la verdad tiene muchas cosas muy particulares y no sabidas; muchas y notables, nada o tan poco divulgadas que es lo mismo que ignoradas; y todas ellas dignas del empleo de un nuevo y otro Plinio.

Confieso que ni mi estilo, ni genio e ingenio, tienen que ver con aquel primero, ni menos lo erudito con el segundo; pero no puedo negar que en lo que emprendo a escribir en esta *Historia*, tengo más noticias que uno y otro, más experiencia que muchos, más deseos de que se sepa todo, como es y pasa por acá (que lo más común es llegar a lo lejos muy alterado), que ninguno quizás de los que han escrito (de paso todos ahora) de lo de por acá y raro de vista; y así, aunque movido más a los principios de la curiosidad que de otros motivos plausibles, fui en espacio de más de treinta y cuatro años que he tratado, vivido y corrido lo más de las islas de Bisayas, de quienes escribo, comunicando con sus naturales y moradores mucho, e informándome no poco que, para

THE PREFACE AND THE PURPOSE OF THIS WORK
(FOR THE BENEFIT)
OF THE ONE WHO MAY READ IT

The Prince of Natural History, Pliny, treating the diverse and new things found in Africa remarked: *Semper Africa affert nobis aliquid novi*.¹⁸ Africa was never wanting in new material for history and somehow always provided something novel for it.

If the above-mentioned author said this about Africa, it being so near, so familiar and so well-known in Europe as its neighbor, still more so we can apply it to the Archipelago of the Philippines, which is so removed from the rest of the world, so distant from whatever makes news and so little seen by many. In it not only everything is new, and it will seem thus to everyone, but in truth it has very many unusual things which are not well known; these, indeed, are numerous and remarkable and so little revealed that it seems as if they are not known by anyone. Now, all of these are certainly worthy of a new and another "Pliny".

I must confess that neither my style nor my genius or talent can compare with that of the First One (Pliny the Elder), nor my erudition with that of the Second One (Pliny the Younger). However, I cannot help but acknowledge that of what I am about to write in this *History*, I have more extensive information than the one and the other; more experience than many others, and a greater desire that everything should be known as is and what takes place here (for it is a common occurrence that these things reach distant places very much altered) than anyone perhaps among those who have written (all up until now merely in passing) about the matters over here which are rarely seen elsewhere. Although, at the beginning, I was motivated more by curiosity than by any justifiable motives, I gradually began — for a span of more than thirty-four years during which I have dealt with, lived in and visited the greater part of the Bisayan Islands — communicating a great deal with the natives and inhabitants, about whom I am writing here and from whom I have received not a little of this information. In order to aid my me-

ayuda de la memoria, fui apuntando y guardando, ayudado de algunas más que medianas noticias de su lengua y habla (que es la llave que mejor abre todos los secretos), no sin impulsos extrínsecos me determiné después, convidado de la ocasión de algún mayor descanso, y movido de la comodidad de algún retiro más a propósito que el tropel del ministerio (tarea forzosa e inexcusable a un ministro de almas, y más tan solos como por acá vivimos), de sacar en limpio lo que tenía en borrón, y librar de un laberinto de papeles sueltos y sin orden muchas de las novedades curiosas, y curiosidades nuevas, que estaban como en ovillo; y, así, corriendo la hebra (como el otro Dédalo), fui por ella sacando, o descogiendo, el ovillo o enredo, y en espacio de nueve o diez meses poniendo en limpio lo que con tantos años tenía a montón o en borrón; y es lo que en esta *Historia Natural de las Islas e Indios de Bisayas* se contiene y ofrezco.

Divídola, por más claridad y menos escabrosidad de pasar de lo humano a lo divino, en dos Partes: la Primera es toda natural, del sitio, climas, árboles y hierbas, frutas de ellos; de sus animales, aves, peces, culebras, y otras sabandijas notables; y cuanto en la tierra, mar, aire y aun fuego se halla en ellas digno de saberse y diferente de lo que hasta ahora se supo; y esto da materia a los dos Primeros Libros, siéndolo de los otros dos (que cuatro son los de esta Primera Parte) lo general, racional y común que estos naturales, en cuanto tales, usaron, y usan, de sus antiguas costumbres y modos, porque, de lo que como cristianos y reducidos ya al conocimiento y fe del verdadero Dios hacen, dará largas noticias la Segunda Parte, que, con la ayuda de Dios, se sacará también en limpio, y no le faltarán muchas cosas de particular edificación y enseñanza general.

No he seguido (ni tuve a quien seguir), en lo que trato, a otro autor alguno, pues, si algunos tratan algo de lo que yo acá con más claridad, distinción y no menos verdad escribo, es muy

mory, I kept jotting down and retaining all this with the aid of a more than an average knowledge of their language (which is the key that best opens all secrets). Without any outside encouragement, I made up my mind afterwards, taking advantage of some free time and motivated by the opportunity of being away for some time from the ministerial tasks (which ministry is an unavoidable and an inexcusable responsibility for a pastor of souls — and more so for us who are so few here) to rewrite in an orderly manner what I had in a rough draft. And, therefore, from the labyrinth of loose and disorderly papers, which contained many curious items and interesting material — which were like a ball of yarn — I began unravelling the threads. I succeeded (like the other Dedalus)¹⁹ in pulling apart and untangling that ball and thereby preparing a neat copy within a space of some nine or ten months. For so many years, I had all that in a heap or a rough draft. This is what I offer and what is contained in this *Natural History of the Islands and the Bisayan Indios*.

For greater clarity and less difficulty in making the transition from the human to the divine, I will divide it into two parts: *Part One* is all about the natural; that is, about the location, the climate, trees, herbs and their fruits; about everything that is found on land, sea and air — and even about fire²⁰ that is found in them — and worthy of being known and different from what has been known until now. All this affords material for the first two books, while the other two offer something (there are Four in the First Part), which is general, rational and common to these natives as such: about their language, sciences and arts and all the rest (as it will be seen in their own places) which they used as far as it was reasonable and as such; about their ancient mores and ways — because what they do as Christians and as already converted to the knowledge and faith of the true God, will be dealt with at length in *Part Two*; of this I shall also make a clean copy with the help of God, and this too will not be wanting in many things of special edification and of general instruction.

What I present herein, I have not imitated (nor could I have followed anyone) any other author. If per chance, someone has dealt with some of the material I treat here with seeming clarity, distinction and no less truth, it is only in passing and most of

de paso, y lo más por noticias adquiridas de relaciones, o escritas u oídas al vuelo, que siempre fueron, y serán, más expuestas al engaño que a la verdad, y a la causa... [falta algo]. Si se hallare en esta *Historia* algo, o menos conforme o totalmente opuesto a lo que otros han escrito, atribúyase no a oposición o menos atención a los otros, sino a mayor cuidado mío y más prevención, porque, de lo más que escribo, soy testigo de vista, y en no pocas ocasiones con deseo de apurar la verdad de lo que, o había oído a otros o leído en algunos; y cuando hablo de oídas lo digo también, porque en estas cosas es fácil el añadir y quitar, y no los tengo a todos por tan legales que no se pudiesen engañar; si bien he procurado decir lo que me parece menos expuesto a eso, y la calidad de las personas persuaden por sin duda, como también refiero con ella lo que a mi parecer la tiene, o muestra tenerla.

En las cosas y casos tocantes a estos naturales, y más en lo de su antigüedad, como no tenemos a otros maestros ni doctores, es fuerza seguir sus dichos, y aun en ellos me arrimo siempre a la parte que me parecía la daba con más atención y con más expresión, y por esta causa pongo en muchas cosas sus mismas palabras y lo que significan en su lengua, porque los que las supieren (que en lo de allende serán pocos, y por acá no muchos) se pueden informar más, si quisieren; y en los que no las entienden de su significación en nuestra lengua, conozcan la mayor o menor conexión en lo referido, y a los que la entienden en especial (y sirva de recuerdo), si no la saben bien, que quizás hallarán muchas cosas que no las habían entendido; así que, para entender mucho una lengua, es menester saber también mucho de ella, y de mí digo que en muchas cosas he hecho con los años y segundas noticias muy diferente concepto que con las primeras; pues "nemo repente fit summus."

that information was gleaned from written reports or from hearsay and were perhaps tainted more with misconceptions than with conformity to truth and to the point... (some phrases or lines seem to be missing here)²¹ If something is found in this *History*, either less in conformity with or totally opposed to what others have written, let it be attributed not to contradiction or inattentiveness to others, but to a greater diligence on my part and to a greater cautiousness. Many of the things that I write about are written as an eyewitness. On many an occasion I was prompted by the desire to search for the complete truth of what, either I had heard from others or read somewhere. When I speak of hearsay, I also mention this, because in these matters it is easy to add or subtract; neither do I consider all of them so infallible that they could not fall into error. Otherwise, however, I have tried to state what seems to me less exposed to that (error) and the quality of the persons lead me to believe that they are not subject to doubt. On the other hand, I state in it what to me seems doubtful or appears to be so.

In matters and situations concerning these natives and especially whatever pertains to their antiquity — since we do not have other teachers and doctors — it becomes imperative to follow what they say themselves. And even when it comes to their testimonies, I always tend to favour those who seemingly present a more plausible point of view and thus select it with more care and with greater precision. It is for this reason that I often quote many things in their own words and then state what it means in their language so that those who know it (who over there (in Spain) will be few, and over here not too many) may obtain a better understanding, if they so wish. And especially those (and let them be mindful of this), who do not know it (the language) well, shall perhaps come across many matters which they had not as yet understood. Therefore, to have a fine grasp of a language it is important to master it well. About myself, I can say that through the years and with better understanding, I have arrived at a different concept than I did with my previous knowledge, because *nemo repente fit summus*.²²

El intento de todo ha sido, y es, dar a conocer al resto del mundo lo que Dios dejó escondido en este ángulo de él, y motivo a todos para que en todo y siempre le alabemos, pues se hallarán no pocos en esta *Historia* que conviden a ello.

El estilo es corriente, sin afectación alguna; antes, si algo se ha afectado, es lisura y suavidad en él, de modo que no canse ni enfade, pidiendo sobrada atención (cosa que a muchas historias hace cansadas por lo de afectadas).

Tal vez hay alguna digresión, o moral o política; breves siempre, que a alguno le parecerán grano de sal; y, si la hallare algo desabrida o picante, no la trague, que a lo libre y voluntarioso nadie obliga.

Pongo también algunos lugares de Escritura que se vinieron a pelo, o de alguno u otro santo; son pocos, porque no hago lección de erudición sino historia, y lo que ayuda a su inteligencia o expedición no estará por demás; y por la misma causa cuál palabra en valenciano o catalán, que, además de ser maternas y naturales mías, dan más viveza (pues la tiene de suyo dicha lengua como más confinante con la latina) y es más expresiva que la castellana, como lo conocerán los que la entienden; y los que no, hallarán en lengua castellana sus significaciones; y lo mismo digo de algunos refranes, o paremias, que traigo de la lengua bisaya, por dos causas: la una, por lo moral que contienen (pues ni esta calidad le faltó a esta lengua); la otra, por lo que indican de las calidades de los animales u otras cosas de donde ellos los sacaron. Con lo cual se conoce mejor su naturaleza y propiedades; todo al fin de traerlas todas y no omitir algunas.

The purpose of all this has been, and is, to acquaint the rest of the world with what God left hidden in this corner of the globe and as an incentive for all of us that we may praise Him in everything and always. There will be not a few such incentives found in this History to which the (reader) is invited.

The style is simple and without affectation; rather, if there has been any of such, it is candid and suave. It is presented in such a way that it may not be tedious or cause irritation by demanding excessive attention from the reader (this is something that makes many histories rather tedious; namely, affectation).

Perhaps there is one or another digression, either of a moral or of an informative nature; always, however, brief and rendered in such a way that they may appear like a grain of salt. If, per chance, someone happens to find it insipid or too spicy, let him not swallow it — for no one is bound to accept what is freely and voluntarily proffered.

I insert some quotations from the Scriptures which are pertinent and some (sayings) from one Saint or another. These, however, are few for I do not wish to make a show of erudition but merely to present history and whatever promotes its better understanding or explanation — for these prove helpful and should be welcome. For the same reason I utilize one or another word in the dialects spoken in Valencia or Catalonia²³ which, being **my mother and natural tongues**, add some lustre (because such **a language has it** (i.e. liveliness) of itself since it is closer to the Latin language) and is more expressive than Spanish. Those who know this will appreciate it; those who do not, will find their meaning in the Spanish language. I do the same with some of the popular sayings or proverbs which I quote from the Bisayan language for two reasons: the first because of its moral content, for even this quality is not wanting in this language; the second because of what these sayings project about the characteristics of animals and other things from which they (the natives) draw them — for in this way the nature of things is better understood or known. This is all done for the purpose of making observations about them all and not to by-pass anything.

No he procurado, ni pretendo, en esta obra calificación de los entendidos ni menos de los necios (que nunca faltan en el mundo, antes siempre sobran), y, por esto, como no he afectado guisarla para todos gustos (que esto es muy difícil de alcanzar), tampoco me pesará que lo sea del de los entendidos, que tal vez son mejores de contentar, como quien sabe cuán difícil es el escribir para muchos, y mucho más para todos.

Y así cada cual, según su sentir y alcanzar, le dé el apodo que quisiere, que ni me engreirá el plausible ni acobardará el vilipendioso; pues sabe Dios que no busco ni afecto aplausos humanos de entendido; que quien en más de treinta años de monte y retiro (entre medio bárbaros, o por lo menos toscos), aun cuando la edad y las ocasiones podían convidar, excusó si no huyó los aplausos, menos los buscará a la vejez! Sea, pues, de lo que hubiere malo para mi el oprobio, pues eso sólo es lo mío y lo que yo merezco.

Tampoco niego que, en cuanto he podido y he alcanzado, he procurado sujetarme a las condiciones que dan los entendidos por necesarias a toda historia, que no las repito, pues todos los que lo son las saben; holgaréme de haber cumplido con las que cierto autor le señala cuando dijo, tratando de los que escriben historia, que deben: "*Materiam eligere pulchram, utilem et iucundam*"; de que dejo la calculación al que la hubiere leído toda; ni olviden el consejo de San Agustín que fue "*Nova ponenda sunt priusque, ut firmitus probemus, afferamus et vetera*"; como se verá en las ocasiones en que la novedad ha obligado a allegar, o acotar, con alguno de los escritores o historiadores antiguos o modernos que tratan casas semejantes o mayores.

I have not sought, nor do I claim (to seek) in this work, the approval of the learned and still less the censure of the unlettered (for such are never hard to find in this world; in fact, there is always a surplus of such (the foolish). Therefore, it is for this reason that I have not ventured to (cook this up) so that it may please or suit all tastes (for this is something difficult to achieve). As a result, I shall not have any regrets if it is not well received by the learned whom, perhaps, it is much easier to please. It is a well known truth that it is difficult to write for many and even more so when one writes for everyone.

And so, let each one point to its merit as he wishes according to his judgment and knowledge; for neither a favourable one will bolster my ego nor will an unfavourable (evaluation) discourage me. For God knows that I do not look, nor am I eager, for human applause and to be considered a learned man. For example, after more than thirty years of living in these far and remote places (in the midst of half civilized or, at least, unpolished people) and even when the age or the occasions did invite him, he declined — nay, he even shunned all applause. How can he look for them in his old age now! And so, for whatever is defective, I accept the censure, because that is only what is mine and what I deserve.

Neither do I deny that, in so far as I have been able, and it has been within my power, I have tried to abide by the principles determined by the experts as indispensable for (writing) all kinds of history. Therefore, I do not repeat them, because all those who are historians, know them. I shall feel satisfied for having fulfilled some (conditions) which a certain author ascribes to it (history) when he said about those who write history; namely, that they ought to: *Materiam eligere pulchram, utilem et iucundam*.²⁴ And in my case, I leave the judgment to him who might read it all (i.e. Alcina's *Historia*). And let them not forget either the advice of Saint Augustine which is: *Nova ponenda sunt priusque, ut firmitus probemus, afferamus et vetera*; "In order to be more certain of what we state, before narrating past events, let us give preference to the more recent ones." As it will be seen on the occasions in which the latest news has compelled me to bring in or quote from one or another of the ancient or modern writers, who speak about similar or matters of greater importance.

Ultimamente el intento, y no menor, ha sido, y es, mover (¡ojalá se me logre!) a los que leyeren esta Parte, y más la Segunda, a que se alienten para venir de lo más lejos, como vinimos otros, de España y Europa a ayudar a estos pobres y proseguir con la labor comenzada, que puede ser (y lo temo no poco) que, por falta de obreros, cuales deben ser los que logran ocupaciones y hacen acciones tan apostólicas como por acá se ejercen, se acabe lo mucho bueno que está empezado y se pierda lo que está con tantos trabajos ganado y adquirido para Dios.

¡Ojalá Su Divina Magestad, cuyo es el escoger, mueva los ánimos a muchos, invitándolos a esta empresa verdaderamente apostólica; acordándoles en sus mayores y más estudiosos empleos (lo que también San Francisco Javier pedía muchas y muy afectuosas veces al mismo Señor) “videte regiones quia iam albae sunt ad messem”; para que vengan a lograr acá sus estudios y talentos; y a todos, en general, suplico lo otro de Cristo Nuestro Redentor: “Rogate ergo Dominum messis ut mittat operarios in messem suam”; que, si algo de esto alcanzo, me tendré por dichoso, y por bien logrado el poco o mucho trabajo que en ello he puesto; pidiendo las oraciones de todos que cooperen a ello, y a mi me alcancen del mismo Señor el dichoso fin de aqueste empleo y ministerio, cerrándolo o sellándolo (¡oh, quién lo mereciera!) con la sangre de mis venas. ¡Ojalá que así sea! — Siervo en Cristo de todos — Francisco Ignacio Alzina.

Lastly, my purpose, and one not less significant, has been and is to move (would to God that it may be realized!) those who may happen to read this Part (One) and still more the Second (Part) to take courage in order to come from far-away lands, as we have come, to help these poor ones and to carry on the work initiated, because it may happen (and I am greatly fearful of it) that for lack of labourers, such as must be the ones who undertake occupations and perform actions so apostolic as are those being performed here all the good that has been begun may come to an end and all that might have been gained for God, may be lost.

Would that His Divine Majesty, to Whom such a calling belongs, move the hearts of many, inviting them to this truly apostolic undertaking and reminding them, as occupied as they are in their relevant and scholarly occupations (what St. Francis Xavier asked of the same Lord lovingly many times): *Videte regiones quia iam albae sunt ad messem*,²⁵ so that they (the scholars) may come here to make the best use of their studies and talents. And from everyone, in general, I request that other pleas of Christ, Our Redeemer (be heard) as such, *Rogate ergo Dominum messis ut mittat operarios in messem suam*.²⁶ If, therefore, I obtain something of this, I shall consider myself fulfilled and well rewarded for the little or much effort that I have put into it. I beg everyone to cooperate with their prayers for this and that they obtain for me, from that same Lord, the happy end of this undertaking and ministry, closing it or sealing it (Oh, who would be deserving of it!) Servant of all in Christ Francisco Ignacio Alzina.

COLOFON Y BREVE COMPENDIO DE ESTA OBRA

Por remate de esta Primera Parte añadido en este lugar una *Selva* o *Soledad* que el año de 1641, poco más de siete que estaba en este ministerio, en puesto algo lejos de la mar y libre de sus borrascas, hice y remití a Manila al Padre Rafael de Bonafé, que esto quiere decir Bonfrido, que habíamos venido juntos de España, y partimos de Zaragoza a 19 de abril, día de la Aparición de San Miguel Arcángel, del año 1631, y llegamos a Manila el de 1632 a 26 de mayo, donde su Reverencia acabó un año de estudios que le faltaba y yo dos; y, habiendo uno y otro defendido un Acto de toda la Teología, su Reverencia quedó en Manila, donde yo le dejé leyendo Gramática y después Filosofía y Teología, que leyó muchos años con mucho caudal y aplauso por su mucho ingenio y letras en todo género de erudición humana y divina.

Yo vine a estas misiones, donde he vivido treinta y cinco años cuando esto escribo, y es un año puntualmente después que murió en Manila su Reverencia, siendo segunda vez Provincial de esta Provincia, con mucho sentimiento de ella por la falta de un tan grande y cabal sujeto, de cuyas virtudes y talentos otros darán más largas noticias.

Y, porque diciéndole yo acá la última vez que nos vimos, cómo tenía acabada la Primera Parte de esta *Historia* y comenzada gran parte de la Segunda, se acordó de la *Selva* o *Soledad*, que es una breve suma de lo más especial de por acá que le había enviado en nuestros primeros años, aunque más por entretenimiento entonces y desahogo de algunos años de la tarea de la lengua bisaya, me dijo que la podía poner muy bien en este lugar, y que, “aunque cosa hecha en el monte, podrá salir a plaza”, que fueron palabras suyas.

THE COLOPHON²⁷ AND A BRIEF SUMMARY
OF THIS WORK

In conclusion to this Part One, I add here a *Selva* or a *Soledad* which I have written in the year 1641, when it was only a little over seven years that I have been in this ministry and in a mission station somewhat far from the sea and free from its storms. I wrote this and sent it to Manila, to Father Rafael Bonafé,²⁸ for such is the meaning of "Bonfrido". Both of us came from Spain together; we departed from Zaragoza on April 19, on the Feast of the Apparition of Saint Michael the Archangel, in the year 1631 and we arrived to Manila on May 26, 1632. Then, his Reverence completed one more year of studies while I had to complete two years of the same. Once we have defended the 'thesis' covering the entire theological course, his Reverence remained in Manila, where I left him teaching "Grammar" and later Philosophy and Theology; these he taught for many years with excellence and with widespread popularity since he was unusually brilliant and well disciplined in every sort of human and divine knowledge.

I arrived to these mission (the Bisayas) and I have been living here for the past thirty-five years already, as I write this; it is also exactly one year now since his Reverence died in Manila as Provincial during his second term. He was mourned deeply by everyone, since it was indeed a loss of a great man — one accomplished both in virtue and in intellectual achievements. About this matter, others will provide more extensive information.

The last time that we had an opportunity to meet each other, I mentioned to him how I have already completed Part One of this *Historia* and how I had begun a good deal of *Part Two*. He then, recalled the "Selva" or the "Soledad" which I have written and sent him during my first years and which was a kind of a brief summary of the most unusual things found here. At that time, this was written not so much for enjoyment but as a respite or a break from the many years of pouring over the mastery of the Bisayan language. And so, he stated that I could well insert this (Selva) here at this point; or as he put it: "Although it was something produced in the mountains, it could be well brought out into the public square."²⁹

Siguiendo, pues, su parecer, cuando pudo ser mandato, que en cualquiera género de ciencias fue muy acertado por el erudito en todas; y, aunque no me resolví entonces, lo dispuse después, instado de muchos otros que la han leído, añadiendo por remate o colofón esta *Soledad*, que quizás a alguno le será, sino de gusto, de entretenimiento por ir en metro; que, aunque se hizo en lugar y en tiempo que pudiera yo estar medio olvidado, cuanto y más ahora después de tantos años, de la lengua española, habiendo llegado a tener mayores noticias de esta de los bisayas que de cuantas otras he sabido y aprendido; que todavía son seis las que he tal cual usado y hablado, pidiendo a los grandes poetas que la enmienden, y a los no tales, de quien hay más que recelar, que, cuando la calumnien, se acuerden y adviertan, si acaso después de muchos años que no oyeran ni hablaran en español como yo, se olvidaran algo o mucho de la lengua española; que la que yo he conservado por acá ha sido a fuerza de libros en ella, que he leído los ratos que han servido de algún paréntesis al ministerio y lengua bisaya; y, si supieran ésta, dirían que sucede lo de Horacio, "Serpit anguis inter flores"; que con esto se conocerá la diferencia que hay de unos a otros; que, por concluir esta *Soledad* a las noticias que en este Primer Libro he dado de las cosas de acá, y ser una suma breve, la añadido en este lugar, dándole a los mayores y mejores ingenios para que lo que élla y esta historia contienen, lo adelanten mucho; que para mí será de mucha gloria, sino lisonja, motivar semejantes asuntos.

Therefore, I followed his advice, which could have been a command as well, since it was very much to the point as regards the various sciences and because he too was so well-versed in all of them. However, at that time, I did not give the matter any due consideration, but later since many have read it and made a request, I added this "Soledad" as a colophon. Perhaps, this may be of some use to some; if it does not appeal to their taste, it may be read as a distraction. It is written in a poetic manner. It was penned at a place and at a time when I almost forgot the Spanish language; how much more now after all these years that have elapsed. Now, I have already acquired a better grasp of this Bisayan language than I have of the any other six which I have used and spoken with considerable degree of perfection. All in all, I requested the well-versed in the art of poetry to revise it. Those who are not such experts, should be feared particularly; when they begin to criticize it adversely, they should remember and bear in mind the fact that they too would forget a little or even much of their Spanish if they would not hear or speak it for a long time, as is the case with me. The only way I managed to preserve some of my Spanish is by means of reading books during some of my spare moments, or as break between the ministry and the study of the Bisayan language. And if they (the critics) knew this, they would remember what Horace states: *Serpit anguis inter flores*.³⁰ In this manner, the difference between the one and the other will be known, because this "Soledad" is like a conclusion to the information which I have given and in regards to the things that are found here in this *First Book*. And, as a brief summary, I add it in this place, entrusting it to the more renown and better scholars so that they may greatly improve what it and this *History* contain. As for me, it will be a great privilege, nay even flattering, to urge others to similar undertakings.³¹

LIBRO PRIMERO

NATURALEZA, PRINCIPIO Y ORIGEN DE LOS INDIOS BISAYAS; FERTILIDAD DE SUS ISLAS Y SU SITIO; ARBOLES, PLANTAS Y FRUTAS PROPIAS DE ELLAS Y SUS CALIDADES

Doy por asentado con el doctísimo Padre Francisco Suárez y lo más granado de los santos y teólogos, que las islas que en general (pues entro a tratar en especial de las de los Bisayas) fueron por disposición divina creadas juntamente con lo demás del mundo, cuyo orbe perfecto, ovado, o en figura de omega (como quisieron algunos de los antiguos) recibe de las aguas su figura esférica, y que las plantó Dios, o ya para hermosura del universo, cuya belleza (como dijo el Orfeo de Italia) consiste en su mucha y frecuente variedad; o ya para estorbos de la tierra que, combatida de tantas aguas (si bien con precepto de no injuriarla en lo esencial), necesitaba de arrimos, o ya para desahogo de los navegantes que, cansados tal vez, y aun muchas, de lo extendido de los golfos, parece se refrigeran y alientan a vista de una de estas islas, como en habitación y posada, más conforme a nuestra humana naturaleza; o por otros fines que lo inmenso e inapelable de su infinita sabiduría dispuso darnos pie, y aun mano, para que en todas partes, en la tierra y en los mares, en los llanos y en los montes, en el continente y en las islas,uviésemos qué admirar

BOOK ONE

CONCERNING THE NATURE, THE BEGINNINGS AND THE ORIGIN OF THE BISAYAN INDIOS; THE FERTILITY OF THEIR ISLANDS AND THEIR LOCATION; ABOUT THEIR TREES, PLANTS AND FRUITS PECULIAR TO THEM, AND ABOUT THEIR CHARACTERISTICS

I take it as an established fact, together with the most learned Father Francis Suárez and those among the best of the saints and theologians, that the islands as a whole (for I am going to deal in particular with those of the Bisayans) were created by divine disposition together with the rest of the world, whose sphere — a perfect oval or in the form of an omega — (as some ancient writers affirmed) received its spherical form from the waters. God planted them either to enhance the beauty of the universe which (as the Italian Orphaeus said) consists in its abundant and constant variety or to serve as buttresses for the soil which, beaten by so many waters (although they received the command not to damage it totally), needed some protection. Or even, perhaps, for the relief of the sea-travellers who, frequently become so tired out from the vastness of the waters, seem to draw comfort and new hope at the sight of one of these isles as a place of respite or a shelter, as it befits our human nature. (Still perhaps, He may have created these) for other reasons which His immense, unfathomable and infinite wisdom so pre-ordained in order to aid us in such a manner that in all places on this earth, on the seas, on the plains and on the mountains, on the continents and on the islands we may have some-

en su divina sabiduría y qué alabar en su inmensa misericordia, pues escogió a tantas, tan grandes, tan apartadas y casi infinitas islas que, sembradas en lo anchuroso de los mares, son, han sido y serán espacioso campo de sus maravillas y misericordias; para que nos previno el evangélico profeta Isaías, y han logrado copiosamente estas islas de los Bisayas (como veremos en esta *Historia*, aunque las más remotas quizás y más apartadas del mejor mundo, que es el europeo), que las singularizó el mismo Profeta con la palabra de lejanas y apartadas, *ad insulas quae procul sunt*, no teniendo lejos la divina misericordia sino para los que determinadamente quieren apartarse, y, como otro Caín, huir de la divina presencia, que en los inescrutables senos de su predefinición infinita tenía guardado lugar, deputado centro y señalado puesto infalible a la multitud de escogidos, a la variedad de predestinados y al sinnúmero de fieles que en estas Islas, y en las adyacentes a ellas, han logrado la divina vacación, y que, rubricado con la sangre del Cordero sin mancilla Cristo lo interior de sus almas, mudando en este divino tinte y blanqueando lo que oscurecieron antes con las pinturas materiales con que pintaban antiguamente sus cuerpos; costumbre que les dió el nombre, entre los españoles, de “pintados,” que conservan aún hoy, aun sin pintarse ya los cuerpos (como costumbre menos decente a la cristiana hermosura que tiene su viveza y gracia en la variedad de las virtudes que agracian mejor sus almas hoy, que supieron agradecer, a su modo de entender, primero con las pinturas sus cuerpos).

De esta costumbre, y otras que tuvieron en su antigüedad, ha de tratar esta *Historia*, que con la divina gracia comienzo a poner en forma hoy día, primero de octubre, dedicado a la celebridad del Angel Custodio, patrón de estas Islas, para que, el que lo es de estas islas de Bisayas, enderece mi mano para que escriba lo que en ellas labró la antigüedad en su rusticidad bárbara (que, ni aun en medio de su barbaridad, ignoraron las atenciones de los divinos tutelares, como en su lugar veremos), y mejor lo que, re-

thing to admire of His wisdom and something to praise of His profound mercy. He chose so many, so extensive, so distant and almost infinite number of islands which — scattered about the vast seas — are, were, and will be a wide field of His marvels and mercies about which the bearer of Good News, the Prophet Isaiah had foretold. It is these very mercies that these Bisayan Islands have been blessed with so abundantly (as we shall see later in this *Historia*, although they are perhaps the most remote and the most distant from the best part of the world, which is Europe). The same Prophet singled them out with the terms *distant* and *remote*: “ad insulas quae procul sunt”; but for God nothing is remote except those who willingly run away from Him — and like another Cain, flee from His Divine Presence — Who in the inscrutable bosom of His infinite predestination reserved a place, assigned a niche, and prepared an eternal seat for the multitude of the predestined ones. The various predestined ones and the numerous faithful who in these islands — and those adjacent to them — have been favoured with the Divine vocation and their inner-most souls have been marked with the Blood of the Spotless Lamb of Christ. Thus changing into this Divine hue and whiteness that which formerly they had blackened with their tattooing; that is, with which they were wont to ‘paint’ their bodies in ancient times. This was the custom which gave rise to the name “Pintados” which the Spaniards gave them; this appellation endures even to this day. However, they do not ‘paint’ their bodies any longer (as it was their practice and so contrary to Christian decency; for it receives its brightness and beauty from the variety of virtues which adorn their souls better today than they did — in their way of seeing things — formerly with the tattooing of their bodies).

This practice and others which they had in former times will be treated in this *Historia* which, with Divine help, I am beginning to put in order today, October the first (1668). (This day) is dedicated to the Feast of the Guardian Angels, Patrons of these (Bisayan) Islands; (it is my hope then) that they who are (the patrons) of these islands may set aright my style, guide my pen and unburden my hand so that I may write that which antiquity in its barbaric ingenuity has built up around them (who even in the midst of their absence of civilization were somehow aware of the guardianship of their angels, as we will see in its

ducidos ya al gremio de la Santa Madre Iglesia, ha ido puliendo el arte, genio e ingenio de los Padres de la Compañía de Jesús, solos y únicos ministros de los indios bisayas, o de lo más principal de ellos; y, no sin especial providencia, comienzo también a abrir hoy las zanjás del espiritual edificio de los bisayas en día, como lo es, dedicado al Beato Padre Francisco de Borja, duque de Gandía, mi patria, y a quien en lo natural debo vasallaje, y tercer Prepósito General después de la Compañía, y el primero que envió misioneros apostólicos a las Indias Occidentales, debiendo por este motivo todas, con la América tan dilatada en su ser material y variedad de naciones, y las de estas Islas tan apartadas en su situación y climas, a aquellos ministros (pues de los de la provincia de México fue primero hija esta Provincia) ensalzar a este glorioso Santo como a primer fundador de las misiones occidentales y pagarle debido, continuo y colmado retorno; y así, aunque el menor de los que se han ocupado en esta labor, para retribuir a tan gran Padre tan felices principios como dio a esta fe, fundándola con los primeros obreros con que la comenzó, tengo por buen agüero el que la comience en su día, esperando en lo sobrenatural de su influjo (que nunca el de los padres fue corto para los hijos) el dar feliz fin a ella; y serálo si todo lo que se escribiere cede, como confío, deseo y pido a su divina Majestad, para su mayor honra y gloria, exaltación de la fe y motivos de continuas gracias a su divina Majestad, que a nadie desprecia, antes, como cuidadoso Padre de familias, solicita y dispone que haya quien llame siempre a su divina casa y mesa, aun a los más olvidados del mundo, mandándonos a sus siervos y enviados por tan gran Señor a convocarlos con aquel misterioso *compelle* a que les obliguemos a entrar en ella, que quizás (como veremos en la Segunda Parte) de otra manera no entraran ni participaran de sus divinos regalos.

proper place) and especially once they had been brought to the fold of the Holy Mother Church. This has been gradually brought to a polish by the skill, genius and resourcefulness of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, who are the only ministers of the Bisayan *Indios*, or at least, the greater part of them. And it is not without a special providence that today I also begin to lay the foundations of the spiritual edifice of the Bisayans which is consecrated to the Blessed Father Francis Borgia, Duke of Gandía — which is also my fatherland, and to whom I owe vassalage in the temporal order — who afterwards became the third General of the Society (of Jesus) and the first to send apostolic missionaries to the West Indies. All of them are indebted to him for this reason: the Americas, so vast in their physical extension and variety of nations; these Islands so remote in their location (and so different) in climate. The ministers too (for this Province (of the Society of Jesus) was first a daughter of the Mexican Province from whence it originated) ought to praise this glorious Saint as the first founder of the missions of the West Indies, and they should pay him (rightful) due which should be total and constant. Therefore, although I am the smallest among those who have undertaken this labour in order to repay such a great Saint for such happy beginnings which he gave to the Faith — founding it through the first laborers here — I do take it as a good omen, the fact that I begin on his day. I do hope that with his supernatural aid (for never do the parents cut short their help in favour of the children) I may bring this work to a happy conclusion. And (presumably) it will be so, if everything I write contributes, as I hope, wish and pray, to the honor and glory of His Divine Majesty, to the exultation of the faith and a source of uninterrupted thanksgiving to His Divine Majesty. For He is One Who does not despise anyone; rather, like an interested father of the family, He inspires and provides that there always be someone calling upon his divine house and table — including those who are most forgotten by the world. And sending us servants and messengers of so Great a Lord, so as to summon them with that mysterious *compelle*, in order to force them to enter it (i.e. His house); for perhaps, (as we will see in Part Two) otherwise they would not enter and would not share His Divine blessings.

CAPITULO PRIMERO

DEL NOMBRE BISAYA, SU SIGNIFICACIÓN Y DE SU ORIGEN EN ESTAS ISLAS

Llámanse los naturales de estas Islas Bisayas, comúnmente, con dos nombres, porque los españoles que viven en ellas les llaman así: el uno es de bisayas, de que hemos de tratar en este Primer Capítulo; el otro de "pintados", de que tratamos en el Cuarto, que es tomado del uso que tenían de pintarse antiguamente.

El Príncipe de la Filosofía dice que el nombre es un "tanto monta" del ser o esencia de la cosa nombrada; por lo menos debía de serlo de su persona, si es verdad lo que otro poeta dijo, que los nombres concuerdan comúnmente con la propiedad personal o esencial, y, es cierto que el acierto en dar nombres no depende de vulgares circunstancias sino de superiores conocimientos, como se los infundió Dios a Adán para que acertase a llamar a cada cosa con el nombre que competía a su ser y calidad, Dios le dió su acierto diciendo que, de verdad, el nombre que Adán puso a cada cosa, ése era su verdadero nombre.

El nombre, pues, de bisaya, si le derivamos de su misma lengua, quiere decir "hombre alegre, de buena condición y entretenido," que de la raíz de sus palabras se saca esta significación, porque AYA, SAYA o CAYA, que todo es uno, significan, compuestos, MACAYA "hombre de buena condición"; MAMICAYA "hombre afable y de muchos amigos"; MASAYA "hombre alegre"; MIMAYA "alegría," y de ahí bisaya "hombre entretenido y alegre," que, como después veremos, cuando tratemos de la lengua bisaya, según la variedad de partículas con que se juntan, componen varias significaciones; y del discurso de esta historia se verá si les vino este nombre; lo cierto es que no sabemos quién se lo puso, pues ni es de las islas donde moran (que cada cual tiene diferente nombre), ni por herencia, que sepamos, de alguno que tuviese tal nombre; si ya no es que ellos, al dividirse de otros, escogiesen éste como señal de su modo de vivir, que, como vere-

CHAPTER ONE

CONCERNING THE NAME *BISAYA*, ITS MEANING
AND THE ORIGIN (OF THE BISAYANS) IN
THESE ISLANDS

The natives of these Bisayan Islands¹ are commonly known by two names, because the Spaniards who live here refer to them thus. One name is "Bisaya" about which we shall speak in this first chapter; the other is "Pintados" about which we shall speak in Chapter Four and which is a result of the practice they had in ancient times of tattooing themselves.

The Prince of Philosophy says that the name is an equivalent of the essence or being of the thing that is named; this, at least, may be true in his case, if it is also true what another poet had stated; namely, that names usually are reflective of the personal or essential property of a thing. It is true, then, that the ability to give names does not depend upon ordinary circumstances, but rather upon superior knowledge, such as was the knowledge that God infused into Adam in order that he may have the ability to name each particular thing with an appropriate term which would truly reflect its being or quality. God endowed Adam with such an ability that when he gave a name to things, those names were truly reflective of their true nature.

The name "Bisaya", therefore, if we are to draw it out from its own language mean "a happy man," "a man of a fine and pleasant disposition". This meaning is derived from certain root-words: for example, *Aya*, *Saya* or *Caya* are all one and the same thing and in compounded forms as *Macaya*, it means "a person of a fine disposition"; *Mamicaya*, "an affable individual or one who has many friends"; *Masaya*, "a happy man"; *Mimaya*, "joy"; *Eisaya*, therefore, would mean "a pleasant and a happy person". The root-words, as we shall see later, when we deal with the Bisayan language, take on different meanings as we combine them with different prefixes. As we unravel this *Historia*, we shall see whether that is a fitting name for them.² What is certain is that we do not know who gave this name to them, for it is not a name of any of the islands on which they live (for each one has a different name). Nor did they inherit it from someone who had it before, unless they themselves chose this name for

mos, todo era enderezado a pasar la vida sin pesadumbres ni afanes, que siguen más a los que no se contentan con menos, y ellos se contentaron con tan poco para pasar la suya, que aun buscaban menos de lo que aconseja San Pablo, y ésto no por virtud, pues no la conocieron (aunque sí su sombra, como veremos), sino por flojedad y pereza innata a todos ellos.

Más dificultad nos costará señalar su origen que el declarar su nombre, porque, como gente que se cuidaba poco de honra, calidad ni ciencias, ni de dejar nombre a los venideros, ni usaron ni supieron en su principio letras; no hallamos entre ellos rastros de su descendencia y origen, ni aun con alguna certidumbre de la tradición de padres a hijos; pues, aunque he hecho varias diligencias, no he podido sacar en blanco cosa alguna fundamental; diré lo que con alguno he podido restrear más por conjeturas que por ciencia.

De que estos bisayas descenden de malayos, me parece no hay duda, porque su lengua lo confiesa, cuando otras circunstancias lo dudaran; pues la lengua bisaya es rama de la malaya, así en lo substancial como en lo artificial de su significación o composición, si bien en la pronunciación se diferencian no poco, causa que ha dividido a la lengua malaya en muchas lenguas que parecen (por los muchos accidentes que la han añadido) otras, siendo de verdad unas con ella, como después veremos tratando del artificio y elegancia de esta lengua bisaya.

Pero no por constar que sale de la malaya la lengua bisaya, podemos fácilmente determinar quién la trajo a estas Islas, pues son sinnúmero las naciones que en casi todas las islas y tierras desde la India *extra Gangem* que llaman, hasta este Archipiélago, usan de ella, o en su ser natural o alterada como lo está en estas Islas, en tanta variedad como hay en ellas que, aunque simbolicas casi todas en el artificio, varían en la pronunciación y significa-

themselves as a sign of their way of life when they separated from one another. For as we shall see, everything was so arranged as to spend their life without any troubles or worries — for worry works havoc with those who are not satisfied with little. The Bisayans, on the other hand, were satisfied with so little in seeking out their existence that they were even content with less than what Saint Paul recommends — and this not out of virtue, for they did not know it at that time (although they knew its shadow, as we shall see later), but rather out of sluggishness and indolence, so seemingly inborn in all of them.

We shall find a greater difficulty in pointing out their origin³ than in assigning them a name; for so it happens with people who care not about fame, nobility or sciences or even about passing their name to their children for posterity. They neither knew or even used the alphabet in the beginnings and so as a result we do not find any trace of their origin and descent — not even with any degree of certainty based on the tradition passed on from fathers to sons. Although I have done some research about the matter, I have not been able to arrive at any fundamental conclusion; however, I will report what I was able to trace more by guess-work than by way of observation.

It seems to me that there is no doubt that these Bisayans are the descendants of the Malaysans⁴ because their language points to it, even if other circumstances might cast some doubts. The Bisayan language is a branch of the Malayan⁵ in its substance as well as in its structure and composition. It is because of this that the Malayan language has split into so many other languages and because its variations seem to be different when in actuality they are one with it, as we shall see later when we treat the grammar and the elegance of this Bisayan language.

Whence it is quite obvious that the Bisayan language springs from the Malayan language, but it is not so evident as to who brought the Bisayan language to these islands. Countless are the nations, islands and lands which employ this language, beginning with India, *extra Gangem*⁶ as they call it, as far as this archipelago. These use this language either in its original form or in some altered manner, such as exists in these Islands — in such a great variation among them that although they are all similar in structure they do vary in pronunciation and meaning. And this

ción, que, aunque sea una misma la palabra, la tiene diferente en unas partes de otras, sin la multitud de naciones que en la tierra firme de Malaca y extendido reino de Achen en Sumatra, en las dos Javas, en Macasar (o isla de Mateo que llaman otros), en Burney y otras muchas usan de la dicha lengua malay.

Y así a algunos les ha parecido que los bisayas vinieron de Macasar, y no sin fundamento, por haber en aquella extendida isla alguna nación que se pinta, como se pintaban los bisayas; pero por esta misma razón pudieran haber venido a ellas de otras muchas partes donde sabemos que se pintan, como los que vió y refiere Pedro Fernández de Quirós en una isla que llamaron La Magdalena, en graduación de diez grados de esta parte del norte que está más cerca de estas Islas que Macasar, y más a barlovento para venir a ellas, en particular en tiempo de brisas, pues, ha pocos años que vinieron a parar a la de Ibabao, junto a Guiwan, varios indios, hombres y mujeres, en una embarcación que derrotó la brisa o viento leste, sin saber ellos dar razón de dónde habían partido, y estos eran también pintados, aunque de diferente lengua, y así de muchas otras naciones que se pintaban también como estas.

Que viniesen de las Javas, o Mayor o Menor, que están más acá del estrecho de Sincapura, tiene también mucha probabilidad, pues en vasijas, platos y otros trastos domésticos, dan evidentes señales, y en el traje que usaban antiguamente los bisayas lo parecían; y a algunos de los antiguos y muy viejos he oído (preguntándoles algo de esto) decir que según oyeron a sus antiguos, les parece vendrían de allá, y lo confirma el nombre que aún hoy dan a los que no son cristianos, llamándolos *Yawa-pa*, que quiere decir que son "Yawas" aún, o sujetos al demonio a quien llaman *Yawa*.

A otros bisayas he oído decir que vinieron sin duda del Burney, y pruébanlo; porque, antes que viniesen los españoles, solían venir todos los años embarcaciones de burneyes y les traían varias cosas que rescataban acá con frutos de la tierra y algún oro que

in such a way that the same word has a different meaning and a different pronunciation in different places. Here we do not take into consideration the multitude of nations which are on the mainland of Malacca⁷ and in the extensive kingdom of Achen⁸ in Sumatra, in the two Javas,⁹ in Macassar¹⁰ or on the Island of San Mateo as some call it, in Borneo and in many others which make use of the said Malayan language.

As a result, some feel that the Bisayans have their origin in Macassar and not without basis; on that vast island there were some people who tattooed themselves just like the Bisayans. However, for this same reason they could have originated from many other places where we know that people tattooed themselves, as Pedro Fernández de Quirós says he saw on an island which they called La Magdalena, located about ten degrees in this Northern Hemisphere which is nearer to these Islands than Macassar and more in the direction of the northern winds in order to reach these Islands. Only several years ago a few *Indio* men and women arrived on the Island of Ibabao near the town of Giwan, in a small vessel which was thrown up off its course by the northeastern winds. These people were unable to explain their point of departure; they were also tattooed and spoke a different language. Thus it was with many other nations which were accustomed to tattooing themselves like these people here.

There is also a great possibility that these Bisayans have come down from the Greater or Lesser Javas which are located on this side of the Strait of Singapore. Concerning this, we find proofs from the pottery, the plates and other domestic utensils and in the clothing which the Bisayans were accustomed to wear in time past. I have learned from some of the elderly men (when I inquired something about this) who said that they heard from their ancestors that it seemed that they did come from there. This may be confirmed by the name they still give to the non-Christians of these regions calling them "Yawa-pa", which means "they are *Yawas* or still subjects of the demon whom they call *Yawa*."

I have heard other Bisayans say that they came, without doubt, from Borneo and they attempt to prove it by saying that prior to the arrival of the Spaniards, yearly there would arrive ships loaded with these Borneans bringing various items to be bartered here for native fruits and the gold which some of these

tenían, y con sus hijos que los vendían o daban a los burneyes por trueque de alguna ropa o comidas, en especial en tiempo de hambres generales y grandes que padecieron antiguamente, como veremos en otro lugar.

Pero, si del trato con los burneyes se puede colegir que descienden de ellos, también lo tuvieron muchos años antes con los bisayas los chinos que venían a comerciar con ellos ropa y oro, platos o porcelanas y otras vasijas; y más, si estas Islas (como se tiene por cierto) fueron sujetas antes como las demás adyacentes a la India, al gobierno de los chinos, como lo dicen algunos de los historiadores de aquel gran reino y apuntan otros de la India Oriental en sus escritos.

Pero, por no dejar indeciso este punto, si mi alucinación (fundada en varias preguntas que repetidas veces y en diferentes pueblos e islas he hecho a los naturales más viejos) puede afijar algo lo que tan sin fundamento se dice, digo que me parece que no todos los naturales de estas islas de Pintados (y lo mismo digo de los tagalos y otros que habitan este Archipiélago) vinieron de una parte sino de muchas y varias, pues son muchas las naciones circunvecinas, así de la tierra firme como de otras islas mayores, de donde se pudo hacer esta transmigración, o ya por guerras que los apartaron y obligaron a los vencidos a dejar sus tierras (como dicen les sucedió a los que poblaron la isla de Manila o lo marítimo de ella que, según refiere en su *Parenético* el licenciado Don Salvador Gómez de Espinosa, oidor que fue de la Real Audiencia de estas Islas) fue un hermano mayor que, vencido del menor (que es muy antiguo en el mundo y usado en él) se vió obligado a dejar sus tierras y venirse con los que le quisieron seguir en su adversa fortuna, y se embarcaron en unas embarcaciones de remos, que acá llaman *barangayes*, y en la división que acá hizo entre los suyos, a cada cabo o capitán de su embarcación con su gente dividió sus tierras, y de aquí ha quedado el uso de llamar "cabezas de barangay" a los principales, y aun a las familias suelen llamar con este nombre de *barangay*; (costumbre entablada en todas estas Islas). Esto, el dicho.

natives had and also their children whom they sold or gave over to the Borneans in exchange for some clothing or food, especially in times of great and widespread famine which they suffered in ancient times, as we will see in another place.

But if it can be concluded that these Bisayans descend from the Borneans as a result of the trade they carried with them, we must also admit that they likewise had dealings with the Chinese even many years earlier, since these came to trade with them in clothing, gold, plates or porcelain and other types of vessels. What more, it is held as certain that these Islands were subject to the Chinese, as were all those adjacent to India, as some historians of that great kingdom say and as some others from Eastern India point out in their writings.

And so as not to leave this point unresolved, and if I am not mistaken, I can base myself on several questions that I put in several towns and islands to the elderly people which can shed some light on what is rumoured about these matters. I must state that as far as I am concerned, it seems to me that not all the natives of these islands of the "Pintados" (and I may say the same about the Tagalogs and others who live in this archipelago), did originate from one particular place only, but from many and different ones. It should be remembered too, that there are many neighboring countries on the continent as well as many other larger islands from where such a migration could have taken place. Perhaps too, it may have been due to wars which have separated them and compelled them to leave their lands (as they say it happened to those who settled in the Island of Manila or along its coasts, as the Licentiate Salvador Gómez de Espinosa, who was once a member of the *Real Audiencia* in these Islands, relates in his *Parenético*). It happened, the story goes, that an elder brother who, defeated by the younger one, (a story as old as the world and often repeated) was forced to leave his lands and set out with those who wanted to share his ill luck and embarked in some oar-vessels which they call here *barangayes*. And so, in the apportionment, he made everyone of them a *cabo* or a captain of each vessel and to their followers he assigned a piece of land. This was also the origin of calling these "cabezas de barangay" the "principales"; even the families were known by this term "barangay" (a custom introduced throughout the islands). This is what he (i.e. Espinosa) says.

Como ellos vinieron de hacia la India y poblaron en dicha isla de Manila, pudieron poblar otros en las de Bisayas con la misma ocasión; o, ya viniendo para el comercio de otras pobladas, se pudieron con los tiempos desgarrar y quedarse para siempre en otras; como de las islas de Los Ladrones (aunque sin tratar ni contratar) se han hallado por esta causa arrebatados de los vientos, en varias ocasiones, navichuelos que, echados a las costas de estas islas de Bisayas, se han quedado para siempre en ellas, y hay hoy en algunos pueblos de Ibabao gente de esta generación, mezclados con los antiguos que acá estaban; y de esta manera pudieron venir chinos, camboyas, asianes u otros de los que comerciaban por estos mares y quedarse perdidos por ellos, que, si traían mujeres fue más connatural y más fácil para la propagación; y, si no traían, las pudieron rescatar y buscar de otras partes; cosa aun usada entre ellos que, con tenerlas en su tierra, las buscan de lejos y más cuanto más principales son y más poderosos.

También de las islas mayores, como la de Mindanao, Burney y otras que están más cerca de la tierra firme de la India, o Malaca, pudieron venir e irse poco a poco extendiendo, como la experiencia muestra que, en la parte de la isla de Leyte que mira a Caraga, en talles, facciones y muchas de sus costumbres, son hoy como los caragas, y hablan o pronuncian como ellos y tienen recíprocos contratos de casamientos, y otros con que parece conservan en parte la antigua comunicación y dependencia, la cual también se halla, y con mucho parentesco, en la costa de Ibabao, o Palapag, que hace embocadero con la isla de Manila y montes de Bulusan mucha semejanza en la lengua y costumbre, etc. con los de Camarines.

Los de la Isla de Cebu, Bohol y lo marítimo de la isla de Siparay que comúnmente se llama isla de Negros (por haber muchos en su mediterráneo, tan atezados como los de Angola y con el cabello como ellos ensortijado), es lo más verosímil que descenden o de los macasares o de los burneyes, que están más cerca de ellos y no lejos de las Malucas (si acaso aquellas fueron pobladas primero que estas) y antiguamente tenían más trato y comuni-

Just as they came from the direction of India and settled on the Island of Manila, so also others could have inhabited the Bisayas at the same time. Or perhaps when they arrived from other populated islands to trade, they may have lost their bearings and thus remained here for good. Something of this nature had happened to those hailing from the *Islas de los Ladrones* (although not a result of seeking trade) where on several occasions the ship have been swept away by the winds and placed on the shores of these Bisayan Islands. And hence, they remained here permanently and today there are in some of the towns of Ibabao people of this sort mixed with those who were here long before. In a similar manner, there could have come the Chinese, Cambodians, Asians and others among those who were trading on these seas and were lost. And if they brought along women, it was easier and more conducive in fostering a progeny; if they did not bring them along, they would be forced to purchase them or look for them elsewhere. It is a common practice among them to search for women in far-away places even if they have them at home, especially among the more influential and the more powerful.

It is also possible that they migrated from the larger islands like Mindanao, Borneo and others which are nearer to the mainland of India or Malacca and then began to spread little by little. Experience shows that on that side of the Island of Leyte which faces Caraga the people's height, features as well as many of their customs today are similar to that of the Caragas. Their speech and pronunciation is also similar and they frequently intermarry. And thus they seem to continue their ancient communication and dependence. Similar strong ties can be found also among those people on the coast of Ibabao or Palapag which forms the mouth of the channel together with the Island of Manila and the mountains of the Bulusan, who in turn have some similarity in language and customs with those of the Camarines.

Those on the islands of Cebu, Bohol and the coasts of Siparay Island, usually called Negros Island (because there are many in the hills as black as the people of Angola and who have kinky hair just like them) mostly probably come either from the Macassar Islands or from Borneo; these are much closer to them and not far from the Moluccas⁴¹ (if the former were populated prior to the latter) and in ancient times they had better relations and com-

cación entre sí que tienen ahora que, por la oposición de la religión cristiana que estas profesan y la de Mahoma que las otras, hoy son enemigos y se cautivan unos a otros como tales.

Finalmente pudieron de unas islas circunvecinas, o mayores o menores, irse comunicando a otras como es constante entre ellos, que los de Bantayan, que está cerca de Cebu, descienden de Samar, que es contra-costa de Ibabao hacía el poniente, y hoy se conocen por parientes, por ser más moderna su población; y en el pueblo de Oton, que está en la parte austral de la isla de Panay me dijeron a mí algunos principales, que eran descendientes de un gran pueblo que antiguamente hubo en la isla de Leyte (de que trataremos después, y se deshizo por la causa que diremos); y de dicho pueblo fueron a poblar la parte marítima de dicha Isla; y hoy en la lengua, traje y costumbres se distinguen no poco de otros pueblos sus circunvecinos con notable diferencia; de donde se colige que unas por necesidad, o apremio de guerras o temporales, otras por vecindad y otras por vía de comercio, se fueron mezclando y llenando de pobladores estas islas de Pintados y otras sus circunvecinas, comunicando hoy casi todas en la lengua bisaya, si bien hay algunas islas adyacentes a ellas, aunque menores, que conservan entre si otra lengua con que ellos se entienden, sin que los otros los entiendan, que es manifiesta señal de la diversidad de origen.

CAPITULO SEGUNDO

ESTATURA, TALLE, FACCIONES Y TRAJES ANTIGUOS DE LOS BISAYAS

Son comúnmente los indios bisayas más corpulentos, rehechos y de más altos cuerpos que los tagalos, y aun en algunas islas (o en la misma tal vez) se diferencian no poco en ser más cor-

munication with them than at present. This is due to the religious differences; the former are Mohammedan and the latter are Christian. As a result of this difference, there is much animosity between them and for this reason they carry each other into captivity.

Finally, it could have happened that people from various larger or smaller islands passed over to the others as is an established fact among them. For instance, those on the Island of Rantayan, which is near Cebu, are actually descendants of the people living on Samar Island and on the western side or opposite of Ibabao.¹² Today, they admit that they are related by blood due to the fact that the latter were populated in more recent times. In the town of Oton, which is on the southern part of the Island of Panay, some of the chieftains there told me that they descend from a great settlement which existed in ancient times on the Island of Leyte (as we shall see later and which disappeared for reasons that will be given later on) and from that town they went to inhabit the coastlands of the said island. Even today they distinguish themselves very strikingly from the neighboring towns in their language, manner of dress and customs. It may be concluded from all this that some have migrated here out of necessity or pressure of war or storms; others due to their proximity, and still others because of trade have migrated to these islands of the "Pintados" and began to mingle with one another. Today all of them communicate with each other in the Bisayan language.¹³ However, there are some nearby islands, although smaller, which preserve among themselves a language which is completely unfamiliar to the others,¹⁴ but familiar to them and which is a clear sign of their different origin.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCERNING THE PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS AND THE ANCIENT MODE OF DRESS AMONG THE BISAYANS

The Bisayan *Indios* are usually more corpulent, better built and somewhat taller than the Tagalogs. Even on some other islands (or on the same one perhaps) they distinguish themselves, not a little, by their larger bulky body, for some are more

pulentos unos que otros según el puesto; el color no es igual en todos, que en la parte de Samar y su confinante la isla de Leyte son más blancos que los de Davao, que son algo más morenos, aunque no negros (como dice cierto autor que no los vio como yo), y, aunque algunos dicen que es su color de membrillo cocho, no me parece que son tan morenos, aunque tiran a ello; en particular lo más común de los hombres que, como desde niños, o desde que nacen hasta edad de diez o doce años, solían andar desnudos al sol y al aire y al agua, con facilidad se volvían prietos, y mucho más en los pueblos marítimos, por ser aún hoy muy común entre ellos andar chicos y grandes, o pescando o mariscando y bañándose en la mar.

Las mujeres son comúnmente más blancas, las mediterráneas o apartadas del mar, y entre ellas las principales que llaman *Binocot*, con notable diferencia, porque las tales (que esto quiere decir *binocot*) se conservan encerradas en sus casas, sin bajar sino raras veces de ellas, y algunas sin poner aun el pie en el suelo (pues las solían cargar en hombros cuando tal vez era necesario) y así han conservado siempre el color como las facciones más blancas, y algunas lo son tanto como las mismas españolas por las causas dichas. Sus hijos comúnmente, cuando chiquitos, suelen ser blancos y rubios y muy españolizados; si bien, en creciendo, a los varones les dura poco, a las mujeres algo más, si no son de las dichas principales; que éstas, por su ordinario retiro o reclusión, y no asolearse, se conservan mejor.

Los rostros, lo más común, son redondos y de buena proporción, los ojos negros (que rara vez se verá indio o india que los tenga garzos o de otros colores tan varios como hay entre los europeos) son comúnmente pequeños y las narices chatas, facciones ordinarias en casi todas estas Islas, como lo son comunes a los chinos y japones, de quien sin duda se les pegó a los de estas Islas, como circunvecinos todos; en los dientes tienen mucha curiosidad, amolándoselos así hombres como mujeres (que para esto hay oficiales que tienen sus piedrecitas largas con que los amuelan y emparejan) y aun tal vez quitan la mitad de un diente o colmillo si acaso feamente se apartaba de los otros; con que así en

stout than others depending upon their occupation in life. Their complexion varies: for example, those of Samar and Leyte are fairer in appearance¹ from those in Davao who are a little more brown, although not black as one author maintains who has not seen them as I did. Some, however, believe that their color resembles cooked quince; I, of course, do not think they are that brown, although they do some quite close to it. (This is true) especially of the males who were accustomed to go about naked in the sun, in the wind and on the seas from their birth till about the age of ten or twelve years; as a result, they became very dark-skinned.

The women ordinarily are much more fair in complexion and particularly those who live a great distance from the coastline and even more especially the *principalas* who are called *binocot*.² The latter differ greatly in color because they remain at home (that is what the word *binocot* means) rarely going out and sometimes not even setting their feet upon the ground (for whenever there was a need for them to go out, they were carried by the men in in kind of a hammock).³ And thus, they have preserved their white features. Some are just as fair as the Spanish women for the said reasons. Their male offspring are usually fair-complexioned in their early infancy and resemble the bionds and Spaniards, but as they grow up a little their skin darkens somewhat. This occurs to a lesser degree among the female offspring except, of course, among the *principalas* who, due to their isolation and seclusion and not seeing the sun, keep their fair color much better.

Their faces are usually round and of fine proportions; their eyes are black. Seldom can one find an *Indio* with blue eyes or any other color for that matter as it is found among the Europeans. These people are small in stature and have flat noses; these characteristics are a common feature in almost all these islands — common also to the Chinese and the Japanese. Undoubtedly, it is from these that they acquired such characteristics, since they are neighbors. Also, there is something very curious about their teeth; that is, both the men and the women file their teeth⁴ (for this they already have experts who put to work their small, long-shaped stones and thereby sharpen and file their teeth). They even file down a half a tooth if necessary and if it is not even or in line with the others. And thus, they have

lo largo como en lo contiguo los traen muy parejos. Usaban antiguamente, así hombres como mujeres, el teñírselos negros con un betún que los ponía como si fuesen de azabache, cosa fea para nuestros ojos, pero enmendábanla las mujeres poniéndose en cada diente, así arriba como abajo, una puntilla de oro que llamaban *bansil*; era de figura piramidal, encajábanla por la parte de abajo en la encía, taladraban cada diente por medio, y con un clavillo que cada punta tenía en medio, los claveteaban en los dientes remachándolos por adentro, con que nunca se les caían, sino con ellos. Adornaban algo, pero siempre con fealdad; y de este uso tomaron ocasión algunos que escribieron que estos indios (aunque no he visto que ningún hombre los usase) traían dientes de oro. No era sino uno como adorno, que ya lo dejaron, como otros muchos usos antiguos, que, con la policía cristiana, han enmendado los que lo son. Duran en algunas partes donde hay aun gentiles.

El cabello es negro (si bien tal vez se vé por desmán de la naturaleza algún indio pelirrubio, blanco y con pecas coloradas, como si fuera flamenco); y los años pasados bauticé yo un niño tan rubio y blanco, ojos azules y demás señales, como si hubiera nacido en Holanda, siendo los padres muy morenos (y sin peligro — moralmente hablando, así por lo apartado y no llegar otras gentes, como por lo mal tallado de la madre — de otra conmixción) sino que la imaginación u otro accidente alteró el curso de la naturaleza; y no es tanto de maravillar esto, — aunque entre indios algo morenos — cuando yo ví un niño nacido entre los papúas (tierra cercana a Terrenate y contigua a lo que se entiende con la Nueva Guinea, pues todos los naturales de allí son negros atezados y con pecas como guineos), el cual era tan blanco y rubio, con pecas coloradas, como un holandés, y solamente las facciones eran como de negro, y los cabellos tan ensortijados como los de aquellos, excepto lo rubio; y de esta misma manera tenía en Manila una señora otra muchacha nacida en su casa, de padres cafres, de las mismas calidades, y uno y otra veían muy poco de día por lo muy garzos.

well-aligned teeth both lengthwise as well as side-wise. In ancient times, both the men and women were accustomed to dye their teeth black with a kind of pitch which turned them jet — something repulsive to our sight. The women, however, remedied that by placing into every tooth, both the upper and the lower ones, a golden little peg in triangular form and which they called *bansil*.⁵ They fitted these on lower portion of the tooth by drilling through it; each peg had a little nail in its center which was then fitted onto the tooth itself, rivetting them on the inner side of the same tooth so that it never fell loose, unless the tooth itself became loose. Thus did they adorn themselves a little, and yet it was still somewhat unbecoming. This practice prompted some to write that these *Indios* had gold teeth (although I have not seen any man wearing such). However, this was only a type of decoration which they already abandoned just like many other ancient practices out of deference and respect for Christianity and thereby correcting their ancient customs. Nevertheless, some of these traditions still endure in some places where there are still non-Christians.

Their hair is black; however, sometimes due to nature's whim one sees some red-haired *Indios* of white complexion and with some reddish specks as if they were Flemish. Some years ago, I baptized a child who was so blond and white and with blue eyes, together with other similar characteristics, as if he had been born in Holland. The parents were very brown and free from any immoral suspicion, due to the fact that they lived in an out of the way place and without any contact with white people; the mother too had no mixture of blood. This was due, perhaps, to some freak of nature where the normal nature's course was altered. This is nothing unusual even among the *Indios*, for I saw a child born among the Papuans, near the region of Terrenate, not far from what is known as New Guinea. The natives there are black and with freckles, like those from Guinea; but this child was white and blond like the Dutch. Only the facial features resembled that of a negro together with the curly hair, except that the hair was red. Similarly, a woman in Manila had in her home a girl, born of Kaffir parentage, with the same characteristics and both had poor sight in the daytime because of their very blue color.

Volvamos a los cabellos, de que cuidaban más los bisayas, y mucho más las mujeres, que de otra parte de su cuerpo. Críanlos estas muy largos, y tantos que a algunas les arrastran por el suelo, y tan espesos que hacen una grande mata de ellos. Cuidan mucho de traerlos muy peinados y limpios; lávanse los muchas veces al año con una corteza de palo que es como el jabón, úntalos con varios aceites, y todos olorosos; el más común es de ajonjolí (que dicen hace crecer el cabello y mata los animalejos que suelen criarse en la cabeza). Confeccionánlo con flores y hierbas olorosas, y los principales con algalia, ámbar y almizcle, con que huele siempre muy bien. Tiénenlo muchas de ellas crespo, con que, sin hierros ni instrumentos, los traen enrizados cerca de la frente, juntándolo con alguna gracia en el cogote o colodrillo, algo alto hacia la coronilla con una rosa que hacen de ellos, tan grande a veces como la cabeza (que en hacerla mayor tienen su gala), y así rara es la que no añade un mazo de cabellos, que los compran a las veces para añadir a los suyos, y les hacen con el mismo beneficio, y, encajándolos en medio de los suyos, hacen otras rosas, que por ser tan grandes y pesadas algunas, aunque asientan en la cabeza, suelen tirar tanto de los cabellos, en particular de los de la frente, que a muchas se les arrancan presto y vienen a hacerse medio calvas, aun en lo mejor de sus años, pagando con esta fealdad (por más que la encubren) la gala que quisieron añadir a sus cabellos; a que suelen también añadir (encajadas en la flor dicha) varias flores y hierbas olorosas, que llaman *tagon-báisat*, que quiere decir “cosa que añade hermosura” (pensión o achaque común en todas las mujeres, pues aun a éstas en su barbaridad no les faltaba, que, por feas que sean, quieren parecer hermosas). El mayor sentimiento que tienen es que se lleguen a ellos y se les quiten o corten; y la mayor demostración que hacen de su sentimiento es cortárselos, que es señal de luto en la muerte de los padres o maridos cuando les tenían mucha voluntad; y al que por otra causa se lo quitó, es como un modo de religión y despedirse del mundo.

Los varones no usaban uniformemente el criar cabello largo como las mujeres, aunque en algunas partes lo dejaban crecer, (quizás lo conservaron de los chinos y curaban, como lo usa esta

Let us return and see how much attention the Bisayans gave to cultivating their hair especially the women; it received more care and time than any other part of the body. Often, they would permit it to grow so long that it would sometimes touch the ground; it was so thick that they would bunch it up and bring it to the top of the head. They take extreme care in keeping it clean and well combed, washing it many times a year with some bark of a tree which acts like soap. They treat it with various types of fragrant oils of which the most common is *ajonjolí*⁶ (which makes the hair grow better and also kills the lice). [The women] perfume it with flowers and aromatic herbs while the *datus* massage it with civit, ambergris and musk so that they always have a pleasant scent. Many of them have a curl which they wear in ringlets about the forehead without any irons or instruments (metal pins). They tie up the hair with some gracefulness at the back of the head, rather high and in a rose-like fashion almost as large as the head itself. They take great delight in making it bigger and bigger; so much so that rare is the woman who does keep adding a large mass of false hair into her own so as to create a spiral-like effect (or rosettes).⁷ Although these hair arrangements do fit well, they cause a great strain on the hairline near the forehead and thereby bring about baldness to some of them even in their youth. And so, for the adornment which they so sought to add to their hair, they had to pay for it with eventual ugliness. Also, to this said rosette of hair they added flowers and fragrant herbs which they called *tagonbaisat*⁸ and which means "something that adds to the beauty" (this seem to be a habitual weakness of all women with which even this unpolished civilization is tainted with for no matter how uncomely one may seem, there is always a strong penchant to appear beautiful. It was considered a most serious sign of disrespect and shame if someone would dare to disarrange or pull off this added hair-piece. Then, too, they also manifest their deepest sorrow by cutting it off themselves; this is done as a sign of mourning for parents or husbands and especially if they loved them deeply. Another reason for cutting off their hair would be some religious motive or upon leaving the world.

The men ordinarily did not grow their hair as long as the women, although some few did. Perhaps, they were influenced by the Chinese for they imitated them and the people of Borneo.

nacion sínica, y la usan también los burneyes). Otros usaban cercenar el cabello hasta los hombros, con coletas, al modo que lo usan los javas, que se los debieron dejar así a sus descendientes. Otros se trasquilaban a nuestro modo antiguo de España antes que se introdujese, como está ahora (según dicen) y sí será, pues acá ha llegado éste, no sé si diga femenil, y mal visto, uso de criar cabelleras los hombres (que con nombre de "torpe" lo calificó San Pablo). Por lo menos, nadie le escapará de afeminado, entablado los españoles nuevamente este antiguo uso y fiero (si es verdad que así lo usaron antiguamente los españoles, que con el extremo que hoy lo dudo mucho) en el mundo viejo, cuando acá, en el nuevo, estamos los españoles, ministro Evangélicos; reformando los antiguos de estos indios y amansando su antigua fiereza con la blandura del Evangelio y amonestándolos segunda vez (ya que no paríéndolos, como dijo el Apóstol de las Gentes) para ir juntamente criándolos o imponiéndolos en la policía cristiana y española; y, cuando ya estaban todas estas islas bisayas reducidas a estar sin cabellos, trayéndolos a nuestro modo, han mudado el suyo los españoles, volviéndolo a criar largo, con que han comenzado a imitarlos ya; que todo lo malo se les pega mucho más fácilmente que lo bueno, y entablado en parte la gente moza, ya ladinada. Perdóneseme esta digresión que se vino tan por los cabellos muy a pelo.

En las orejas usaban, así los hombres con las mujeres, traer arracadas de oro, que ellos llaman *panicas* o *pamarang*, con esta diferencia que, aunque es verdad que todos se agujereaban las orejas, haciendo dos o tres agujeros en ellas, el de abajo, que hacían en la paletilla de los oídos, lo venían a ensanchar tanto con el tiempo que podía sin exageración entrar todo el puño dentro del agujero, haciendo crecer o ensanchar tanto el pellejo como eso. En este primer agujero encajaban, y encajan hoy aún, las mujeres unas que llaman *pamarang* o *barat*, redondas como una rueda de carro pequeña, algunas con sus rayos que atraviesan de banda, y con su flor de oro también en medio, en que suelen encajar sus perlas o piedras preciosas, y otras sin tener cosa en medio a modo de un viril redondo, aunque con los bordes más salidos afuera y labrados. Estas, que por el borde o circunferencia están acana-

Others were accustomed to cut their hair to the shoulders and braided it into queues as the Javanese who, undoubtedly, passed on this custom to their descendants. Still others were wont to cut their hair very short in the manner of the Spaniards, prior to the present style which was recently introduced, so they say. The trend of wearing long hair has again returned to them and is perhaps something we may term effeminate or as St. Paul had characterized it, highly improper. Certainly, no one will deny that it is really effeminate and that the Spaniards introduced this old and ugly practice. I am inclined to doubt whether they did follow this custom in the ancient times and to such a great extent as it is seen today. Here, in this new world, we Spanish ministers of the Gospel are making an attempt to reform the ancient customs if these *Indios*, taming their ferocity with the gentleness of the Gospel and admonishing them over and over again (if not giving them birth, as the Apostle of the Gentiles has said) in order to bring them up and form them in Christian and Spanish graces. Just when the men in these Bisayan Islands were beginning to wear their hair as short as ours, now the Spaniards change their custom and begin wearing it long again. And so, these men now begin to imitate the Spaniards, for they learn much more readily the undesirable things than the desirable ones. Therefore, this fashion has become very commonplace among the youth and the more sophisticated. Do forgive me for this lengthy digression which, however, I feel was to the point nonetheless.

Both men and women customarily wore earrings of gold which they called *panica*¹⁰ or *pamarang*,¹¹ but with some interesting peculiarities. Although it is true that everyone pierces the ears, (these Bisayans) were accustomed in making two or three piercings in the ears. The lowest piercing was made in the earlobe and in the course of time the hole was made so large that without exaggeration one could put his entire fist through the opening, while the flesh grows or enlarges in proportion. Into the first opening, even today, the women insert what is known as the *pamarang* or *barat*. These are similar to the small wheels of a cart with some spokes on one side and the other, and with a golden flower in the middle to which they customarily fasten pearls or some precious stones. Others simply have nothing in the middle and thus they are like a small round locket although with the edges extending outward and decorated. These latter

ladas o cóncavas, las encajan en dicho agujero, de modo que se encubre el pellejo y no se vé sino el oro. Otro segundo abren más arriba, que ensanchan de modo que puede caber un dedo o dos en lo ancho, y en este lugar ponen otra arracada, redonda también aunque vacía por dentro, del grosor de un dedo que llaman *penica*, que, eslabonándola con el agujero de dicha oreja, no se puede caer. A estas suelen poner unas antejuelas, también de oro, de varias hechuras, que cuelgan de la parte de abajo como rapacejos o arpitería, que llaman *caiong-caiong*, que les añade gala.

Estas dos maneras de arracada usaban comúnmente los hombres y las mujeres, aunque las de los hombres eran de otra hechura, y las encajaban en particular en la parte de abajo de otra manera; que era (por ser huecas las dichas arracadas y hendidas por la parte superior o interior, y por ser redondas, aunque no cerraban totalmente por arriba) apartando un poco el borde de la hendidura y en aquel pellejo que quedaba colgando de lo último de la oreja, lo encajaban, de modo que quedaba dentro el pellejo y el oro sólo se veía, quedando siempre hueco el medio y como una O, sin echarse de ver el encaje.

Otra tercera arracada usaban sólo las mujeres, y aun no todas, menos que las otras dos, y era encima de un tercer agujero que hacían en los oídos en la parte superior a los dos dichos, aunque siempre en la membrana gruesa o cartagilásea, sin llegar a lo más sólido, y este agujero era como el que usan las españolas en sus oídos o algo mayor, y en él encajaban una rosa de oro pequeña que llaman *palbar*, o *pasoc pasoc*, encajando el pezoncillo que tienen, en medio de otras rosas, el cual estaba agujereado, de modo que por la parte de atrás se atravesaban uno como alfilerillo (también de oro), con que aseguraban que no cayesen; con lo cual, en cada oreja traían tres arracadas: la mayor, que sería algo menos que la palma de la mano, abajo; arriba la pequeña, como una flor de mosqueta de España, pequeña; y la de en medio, que tendría dos dedos y más de ancho, redonda como el dedo meñique, aunque chata en lo interior o medio, que verdaderamente no parecían mal, antes con lo moreno del rostro que es lo más común (aunque no negro ni amulatado) brilla más el oro; y, cuando se ponen todas tres

earrings are fluted or concave all around. And so, they fit these into the said piercing in such a way that the flesh is not seen but only the gold. Then they open a second piercing above the first one and widen it in such a way that one or two fingers can pass through; here they insert an earring which is also round, hollow on the inside within to about the size of a finger which they call *panica*. It is so fastened to the piercing that it cannot fall out. To these they were also accustomed to fasten spangles of gold of various sizes which are attached to the lower adge like a fringe or frills called *calongcaiong*¹² which creates a more gala effect.

These two types of earrings were commonly used by both men and women; however, those used by the men were of a different shape and were fitted into the lower part of the ear in a slightly different manner. These earrings were hollow and cleaved both on the upper and lower portions and circular in shape with an open portion at the top or a fissure where both ends do not meet. It is fitted into the piercing made in the lower portion of the ear in such a way that the fissure in the earring, which resembles the letter 'O' cannot be detected.

The third type of earring was only worn by the women and not by all of them; in fact, fewer wore this type than the two mentioned above. It was worn in the third piercing made above the other two and always in the thick membrane or cartilage without ever touching the harder portion of the ear. This opening was similar to the one made by the Spanish women or perhaps somewhat larger. Into this piercing they fitted a little golden rosette which they call *palbad*¹³ or *pasoc-pasoc*..¹⁴ This rosette was held in place by a stem which had a tiny hole at its end and into which a golden peg was fitted, in the midst of other rosettes, at the back of the ear to hold it in place and prevent it from falling off. And so, they wore three earrings in each ear: the largest, which was a little smaller than the palm of a hand, in the lower portion of the ear; the smaller one was worn above it and it was like a small flower of the Spanish white mush rose; in the middle or between these two they wore a kind of a flat one which fitted into the opening of about two or more finger in size. In all truth, this did not look bad at all; since all that gold contrasts very well with their common brown complexion (which is not black or even tawny) and glitters more brightly. When they adorn themselves with all

arracadas, llevan de peso de oro dos *taes*, que llaman acá, que es peso de veinte reales (por pesar cada *tae* diez reales) y según eran de más sólidas, mucho más.

Y, si dudare alguno cómo podían y pueden (que aún hoy lo usan, aunque en las más propinquas apuestas, donde viven españolas, se va entablando el uso de los zarcillos y arracadas a nuestro modo) hacer tamaños agujeros, siendo la paletilla de las orejas tan pequeña, digo, para satisfacer la curiosidad de quien no lo ha visto, ni lo discurrirá con facilidad que, recién nacidos, o de uno o dos años, hacían antiguamente a los niños y niñas, ya hoy a las niñas solas, dichos agujeros con una aguja de alambre comúnmente, y dejaban en el agujerito un torzadillo, o hilo, algo gordo de algodón hasta que quedaba la herida sana, sin hinchazón o postilla alguna (que se pasa algunos meses o año entero). Luego, de cañas o de otro palo, que no llame humor ya seco, les encajaban unos como pezoncillos o taruguillos, que tienen cuidado de ir remudando y acrecentando poco a poco, hasta que viene a ser capaz de poder entrar el dedo meñique más o menos. Entonces cogen una hoja de un árbol que llaman *bariu* que es dos o tres dedos de ancha y una braza o más de larga a modo de espadañas de España, aunque más sólidas y más lisas y bruñidas. Déjanla secar algo, y luego cogen un pedazo de tres dedos, poco más o menos de largo, y lo arrollan poco a poco, dándoles tres o cuatro o más vueltas; la cual hoja, así arrollada, la encajan en dicho agujero y la van mudando a sus tiempos, añadiendo siempre más vueltas, las cuales, como naturalmente hacen su fuerza para extenderse por estar con los dobleces como violentadas, con aquella moderada violencia se va, sin sentir ni sin dolor alguno, ensanchando el agujero hasta que viene a tener veinte o más vueltas la hoja, y es capaz el agujero para ponerse una de aquellas arracadas; pero no de oro sino de cuerno de *carabao* (que llaman acá y son los que llaman búfalos en Italia, donde los hay) muy bruñida, negra. También las hacen de márfil o de conchas de tortugas marítimas, que aquí hay muchas, como veremos, y de estas van mudando poco a poco y acrecentado, hasta que hacen tan capaz el agujero que,

three earrings, the weight of the gold amounts to about two *taes*,¹⁵ as they call it here. This weight is equivalent to about twenty *reales* (for every tael is worth about ten *reales*) or even much more when these are more solid.

And if, per chance, some would doubt as to how it could be and really is possible for them (for they do it even to this day, although in the places nearest to where the Spaniards live they are beginning to use and wear earrings and ear decorations in our fashion) to make such large holes since the cartilage of the ear is so small, I will describe it so as to satisfy the curiosity of those who have not seen it nor can they imagine it readily. In ancient times, they pierced the ear of the newly-born or those who were already one or two years old, both male and female; today, however, the practice is restricted to the female infants only. This was usually done with a needle made of copper wire; in the pierced hole they would leave a small cord or a kind of a thick thread of cotton until the wound healed free from swelling or scab (this took several months or even a year). Then with a piece of bamboo or with another type of wood which does not secrete any humors and is dry, they inserted something like a leaf-stalk which they kept replacing with one that was gradually larger and larger until it became possible to pass the little finger through the opening. Then they took a leaf from a tree called *bariw*,¹⁶ about two or three fingers in width and about a fathom or more in length, like the great cat-tails of Spain but a little more firm, more smooth and polished. They allow it to dry somewhat and then cut a piece of about three fingers in length, more or less, and then roll it up little by little three or four turns and thus insert it into the hole of the ear. They change this insertion from time to time and each time add several more windings to it. These compressed windings, when inserted into the hole, tend to unroll creating a force of expansion; with this moderate tension, the opening tends to be enlarged without any seeming sensation or pain. Often as many as twenty windings make up the insert, whence the opening is ready to hold one of these earrings. These are not the golden ones, but ones made from the *carabao* horn (for so they call this animal here which resembles the buffaloes of Italy); these are black and well-polished. They also make these of ivory and from the shells of sea-turtles of which there are many here as we shall see later. And so, they keep changing and enlarging these until they

cuando está suelto el pellejo, suele colgar más abajo que la barba, y, cuando está con su *barat* o *pamarang*, hace el círculo menos feo; y, aunque al principio verdaderamente parece mal a los que no habíamos visto orejas semejantes, y más cuando están sin oro, pero cuando lo tienen y con el uso parecen bien y les añade hermosura.

Solo añadiré, por remate, de semejantes orejas que tal vez, cuando riñen entre sí las mujeres, suelen cogerse de las orejas y rasgárselas feamente, y lo remedian, o volviendo luego a juntar las partes (que luego amarrándolas, y con cierta hierba que se ponen, sueldan muy bien), y, cuando no, acaban de quitarlo enteramente, sin que después se eché de ver; pues, poniéndose las segundas arracadas que son las que traen siempre sin quitárselas (que las mayores en sus casas no las suelen traer puestas, y ni aun cuando salen, sino es de gala) cubren la falta dicha, y mucho más si son largos los rapacejos que, a modo de lentejuelas de oro, les cuelgan en cantidad, y con el viento o movimiento del cuerpo se menean y hacen sus visos lustrosos, con que enmiendan lo roto.

make such a large hole that when the skin hangs loose, it extends below the chin. When the *barat* or the *pamarang* is inserted, it appears less uncomely, although at first it really seems ugly in appearance especially to those of us who had never seen such large ears. The appearance is even more distasteful when it is not adorned with gold; its presence, however, gives it some elegance and adds to their attractiveness.

In conclusion, we may add this concerning the ears: when the women quarrel among themselves, they reach out for each other's ears and rip them up terribly. Oftentimes, they heal them by bringing the torn portions together and tying them up with certain type of herbs which aid the healing process quite well. At other times, they remove the torn portions completely and one does not even notice it because they wear the second earring at all times (for they do not wear the large ones at home nor even every time they step out, but only when they are fully dressed) and thus they cover up the defect. This is especially true if the fringes are rather long and hang in great quantity like little golden spangles. What more, with the movement of the body or the blowing of the wind, these are made to glisten and thus detract from what has been marred.

Footnotes

INTRODUCTION and PREFACE

¹ For a comprehensive background and understanding of this invaluable manuscript and its author, it would be well to consult and peruse the following: Cantius J. Kobak, "Ignacio Francisco Alcina: The Great Samar-Leyte Bisayan Missionary of the 17th Century," *Philippiniana Sacra*, Vol. XIII, Number 39, September-December, 1979, pp. 401-429; Evett D. Hester, "Alcina's Historia de Visayas: A Bibliographical Note," *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 10, Number 3, July 1962, pp. 321-365; Paul S. Lietz, "More About Alcina's Historia de Visayas," *ibid.*, pp. 366-378.; Ma. Luisa Martín-Mera y Ma. Dolores Higuera, *La Historia de la Islas e Indios Visayas del Padre Alcina*, (1668), (Madrid: Gráficas Lormo-Isabel Méndez, 1974), pp. vii-cii.

² The precise scriptural reference is to Isaiah 24:15, which reads in its entirety: "Therefore glorify Ye the Lord in instruction: the name of the Lord God of Israel in the islands of the sea." (From the Douay Version). A more readable translation comes to us from the *Jerusalem Bible*: "Therefore in the islands they give glory to Yahweh, in the islands of the sea, to the name of Yahweh, the God of Israel." (Isaiah 24:15).

³ The given dates of ministerial labours in the Bisayas vary throughout the entire work depending on the time during which a particular portion of the *Historia* was actually written. Alcina spent about thirty-four years or more in the Bisayas alone; he arrived to the Philippines on May 26, 1632, completed two years of theological studies in Manila and arrived to his first assignment in the Bisayas (Borongan, Samar) about September, 1634. He was ordained to the priesthood in Manila or Cebu in June of the same year. Due to some illness and infirmity, Alcina spent almost two years convalescing in Manila, that is, between 1660-1662. He left the Bisayas in the year 1670.

⁴ Although Alcina dates his work 1668, the *Historia* was not ready for publication until October 15, 1671. Actually, the author began gathering data and material for this monumental work from the very beginning of his ministry in Samar and only after some thirty-four years, in 1668, did he begin arranging and re-writing it in a systematic manner. Obviously, the more appropriate date would be 1672, when the third and final approval was granted for its publication, on May 21, by the Governor of the Bishopric of the Most Holy Name of Jesus in Cebu, to whose jurisdiction the Bisayan Islands pertained.

⁵ He governed the Society of Jesus (1565-1572) in a very excellent manner. It was during his leadership that the Jesuit missions were established in Spanish America: the mission in Florida was opened in 1566; the Peru mission in 1568 and that of Mexico in the year 1572. cf. Horacio de la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1901), pp. 4-5.

⁶ A sentence or two are missing here. Perhaps, an inadvertant omission of the *amanuensis* of Alcina or Muñoz's copyist.

⁷ Translated roughly, the Latin phrase reads: "Truly, he had been called an apostle by Bede, a priest of England."

⁸ A Latin term, meaning 'sent'.

⁹ Meaning to say, Saint Francis Xavier (1506-1552). He was canonized a Saint by Pope Urban VII on August 5, 1623. It is interesting to note that Francis Xavier, according to the Bull of Canonization, visited the great Island of Mindanao and spent some time evangelizing the natives. Pastells, in Colin's *Labor evangelica*, maintains that Francis Xavier preached the Holy Gospel in Mindanao during the months of September-November in the year 1546. Cf. a highly informative and lengthy footnote in Francisco Colín, *Labor evangélica*, Pablo Pastells, ed. (Barcelona: Henrich, 1900-1902), Tom. I, Lib. 2, c. 1, p. 253, footnote 1, pp. 253-258.

¹⁰ Apparently a reference to the First Letter of St. Paul to the Corinthians: "Even if I were not an apostle to others, I should still be an apostle to you who are the seal of my apostolate in the Lord." (9:3).

¹¹ A very appropriate reference to Isaiah 18:2: "Go, swift messengers to a people tall and bronzed, to a nation always feared, to a people mighty and masterful, in the country crisscrossed with rivers."

¹² "Your ancestors will be replaced by sons [whom you will make lords of the whole world]." (Psalm 45:16, Jerusalem Bible).

¹³ Sedeño was born in San Clemente, in the Diocese of Cuenca, Spain in the year 1535. "In his youth he followed the profession of arms. He sojourned for a time in England, when Mary Tudor was queen, as a page to the Duke of Feria. Only with difficulty was the duke persuaded to release him in order that he might enter the Society of Jesus. Admitted at Loreto in 1558, he made his studies at Padua and was subsequently appointed minister of the German College in Rome — that is, assistant to the rector of this important Jesuit institution. Here he came under the personal observation of St. Francis Borgia, who had shortly before been elected general. St. Francis saw in Sedeño the markings of a missionary and in 1567 sent him to Lisbon with orders to join the expedition being fitted out to reinforce the Portuguese stations in the Far East. When Sedeño reached Seville, however, he learned that the Portuguese fleet had already sailed. He wrote back to Rome for instructions and was told to choose between the missions of Peru and Florida. He chose Florida; and on March 13, 1568 set sail with a group of Jesuits headed by Juan Bautista de Segura, who were being taken to that inhospitable coast by its governor, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés.

"Meanwhile, St. Francis Borgia had decided that the Florida mission was too barren of results and too much of a drain on precious manpower to be maintained any further. In 1572, Sedeño was instructed to close it and proceed to Mexico City, where he was to prepare the way for his brethren who were being sent at the urgent and repeated request of the citizens. Thus, Sedeño was the first Jesuit to enter Mexico; and it was while he was acting rector of the college there that Plaza informed him that he was once again to be a pioneer, as superior of the first Philippine Mission.

"Since the mission had been requested by the government, Sedeño and his companions traveled at the king's expense. They began the voyage in January of 1581 on the Galleon San Martin which because of a late start forced them to anchor at Ibalon (Sorsogon) and made the rest of the journey, together with Bishop Salazar overland. Two months later, they arrived to Manila on September 17, 1581, and were hospitably received by the Franciscans with whom they stayed for some three months. Eventually they were given a small lot in a place called Lagyo, about a mile south of the city and one hundred paces from the beach (i.e. in the present districts of Malate and Ermita).

"In June 1595, when the Jesuit mission was created a Vice-Province, Sedeño was named vice-provincial. Immediately, the following month, on July 16, 1595 he established mission stations in Carigara and Dulag, Leyte.

"Wishing to establish a mission in Cebu, Sedeño, together with Alonso de Humanes and Mateo Sánchez, left Leyte and sailed for their destination. With no cabins aboard, the undecked caracoa ran into stormy weather and thus they were drenched to the skin. When they finally arrived at Cebu on July 21, after three weeks of exposure, Sedeño was not feeling well.

"When Chirino, together with Pereira and Garay reached Cebu in the middle of August, they were shocked at the condition in which they found their vice-provincial Sedeño. A high fever had wasted his frame down to skin and bones and his old complaint, asthma, racked him badly. Knowing that his end was not far off, he called his men together and made the decisions that still had to be made. Humanes and Sanchez were to go to Leyte, Humanes as superior of all the Jesuits there. They were to keep Carigara and open a second mission station at Dulag. Chirino, Pereira, and Brother Garay were to remain at Cebu, with Chirino as superior. At his death the sealed letter that had come with the other dispatches from Rome was to be opened. It contained the name of his successor. He then requested Chirino to get the new residence ready for occupancy as soon as possible, because he wanted to die at home, in a Jesuit house. Chirino was able to have him carried there on August 21. He rallied a little, and then began to sink. They gave him the last sacraments, which he received devoutly, just before he fell into a coma. He died on September 2, 1595, and was buried in the domestic chapel on the ground floor of the house. Three years later, when the Jesuit church was finished, Chirino transferred his remains to a wooden urn beneath the main altar, and placed over it the following epitaph:

"FATHER ANTONIO SEDEÑO, after having for several years administered the German College in Rome, was among the first members of the Society of Jesus to preach the Gospel of Christ in Havana and Florida, and the first to do so in Mexico and the Philippines. He was a truly apostolic man, and the recipient, though from so great a distance, of the gifts and favors of the Apostolic See. He merited well of the Society of Jesus, the King, the royal government, the people, and the Catholic religion as the first Jesuit rector of Manila and the first vice-provincial of the Philippines. Born at Cuenca, he went to his reward while laying the foundations of this Jesuit college of Cebu on September 2, 1595, in the sixtieth year of his age. To him, with filial affection, as to his father in the Society and in Christ, Pedro Chirino humbly dedicates this memorial and trusting in the resurrection of the flesh, places his venerable bones in this small repository on the fourteenth of the calendar of March, which is the sixteenth day of February, of the year 1598." de la Costa, *op. cit.*, passim.

Actually, the founders of the Philippine Jesuit missions were four in number: Antonio Sedeño, Superior; Alonso Sánchez; Gaspar Suárez, a scholastic theologian who died on the passage shortly after leaving Acapulco; and a lay-brother, Nicolas Gallardo. From the moment of their arrival they dedicated themselves to ministries among the Spaniards while learning the language and preparing themselves for labours among the natives. Three years later, on June 7, 1584, the small mission was reinforced by four other men: Hernan Suárez, Raimundo del Prado, Francesco Americi and a lay-brother Gaspar Gómez. See further details in Miguel Saderra Maso, S.J., *Philippine Jesuits 1581-1768 and 1859-1924*, (Manila: Mimeo format, 1924), pp. 1-ff.

¹⁴ More concisely, it should read "more than seventy years" or to be exact, seventy-three years of Jesuit missionary activity in the Bisayas which began in July, 1595 in Leyte and the following year in Samar.

¹⁵ "Listen, nations, to the word of Yahweh. Tell this to the distant islands: 'He who scattered Israel gathers him, he guards him as a shepherd guards his flock.'" Jeremiah 31:10, Jerusalem Bible.

¹⁶ It is difficult to ascertain the precise citation, but we have two possibilities: "Look down from heaven, look down from your holy and glorious dwelling. Where is your ardour, your might, the yearning of your inmost heart?" Isaiah 63:15. The other possibility is Deuteronomy 26:15 and both from the Jerusalem Bible.

¹⁷ A citation from the Gospel of Matthew: "In the evening, the owner of the vineyard said to his bailiff, 'Call the workers and pay them their wages, starting with the last arrivals and ending with the first.'" (20:8)

¹⁸ "Africa always brings us (or offers us) something new."

¹⁹ A mythological personage to whom is attributed the construction of the labyrinth of Crete.

²⁰ Perhaps, a reference to the numerous volcanoes found in the archipelago of the Philippines.

²¹ Several phrases or lines were inadvertently omitted in Ms.

²² "No one suddenly becomes the greatest."

²³ It is precisely these dialects of Valencia and Catalonia from which Alcina utilizes frequent words or phrases that make the translation doubly difficult and burdensome, not to mention the awkward Castilian of the mid-17th century in which the manuscript is written.

²⁴ "One should choose material which is attractive (captivating), useful and entertaining (pleasant)."

²⁵ "Look around you, look at the fields; already they are white, ready for harvest!" (John 4:35)

²⁶ "The harvest is rich but the laborers are few, so ask the Lord of the harvest to send laborers to his harvest." (Matthew 9:38 or Luke 10:2)

²⁷ The *Colophon* properly falls at the end of Part One and Book Four in Alcina's manuscript. However, the writers are placing it here at this particular point since it throws some additional and interesting light on the person of Alcina.

²⁸ Father Rafael de Bonafe was born in Palma, Mallorca in the year 1606. He entered the Jesuit Society in the Province of Aragon in the year 1622 and arrived to the Philippines with Alcina in 1632. On July 31, 1642 he made the religious profession of the four vows.

He was engaged in teaching "Grammar" for a period of some four years; philosophy for a term of three years and theology for almost six years.

On two separate occasions he was Rector of the *Real Colegio de San José*, and also of the residences of Silang and Antipolo. He also spent two years as Rector of the *Colegio de Manila* and was elected provincial of the Society of Jesus in the Philippines for two terms. His first term is registered during the years 1663-1665; the second term (1667-1668) was terminated by a sudden death.

Father Bonafe had a well-earned reputation as an excellent preacher, held in admiration as a fine administrator and was looked upon with great esteem as a model religious.

On December 2, 1651 he fell into a very grave illness and felt that he was on the verge of death. He pleaded with the Heavenly Father with such intensity of faith and hope that he would be given some remedy. Absorbed deeply with the Divine, he made a special vow to St. Francis Xavier,

on the eve of his feast. Afterwards, he made another vow to St. Raphael, promising that he would make known his excellence, if he interceded for his health and his life.

Upon his recovery, which almost seemed miraculous, he quickly set down to making preparation for research on the book he intended to write about the Archangel, so as to fulfill his vow. As he was engrossed in writing the book, he began to experience the recovery of health all along. The completed work was entitled: *Excelencias y oficios de piedad del Archangel S. Rafael*. It was printed in Madrid, *en quarto*, in the year 1659. There was a note in the library of the Society, that the above mentioned work was one of great piety and erudition.

This kindly and pious Jesuit died during his second term as provincial on September 26, 1668 and was buried in Manila. Cf. Pedro Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la provincia del Philipinas de la Compañía de Jesús*; segunda parte, (Manila: Imprenta de la Compañía de Jesús, 1749), Lib. IV, Cap. 5, fols. 302-ff, #701.

²⁹ We know from this statement that Alcina was writing this particular introductory piece to the colophon on September 26, 1669, for as we have stated previously, Father Bonafe passed into eternity on September 26, 1668.

³⁰ "A snake slithers along among the flowers."

³¹ Regretably, due to a lack of space in this journal, we shall not publish the *Soledad* here at this time, perhaps at some distant and future date.

The "Soledad de Alcino, pescador y cazador de estos mares y montes de Bisaya, a Bonfirdo, su amigo y compañero en Manila..." is a hendecasyllabic and heptasyllabic poem consisting of some seven hundred and five lines. The poem makes a very successful effort in extolling the admirable beauty and wonders of nature in the Bisayas. Its versification is excellent and it reflects a fine command and knowledge of Greek and Roman mythology. The term 'Alcino', which is a wild basil (*clinopodium vulgare*), is a play on Father Alcina's surname

CHAPTER ONE

¹ The seven thousand, one hundred and seven (7,107) islands which comprise the Philippine Archipelago are generally divided into three geographical portions; namely, Luzon, Bisayas and Mindanao. The Bisayan Islands, geographically speaking, are all the islands centrally situated between Luzon and Mindanao and consist of the following major islands: Samar Island (5,124 sq. mi.), the third largest in the archipelago, Negros Island (4,903 sq. mi.), the fourth largest in the nation, Panay Island (4,448 sq. mi.), Leyte Island (2,799 sq. mi.), Cebu Island (1,695 sq. mi.), Bohol Island (1,534 sq. mi.). See Louis Dupree, "A Survey of the Geography and Geology of the Philippines with Emphasis on the Pleistocene," *Journal of East Asiatic Studies of the University of Manila*, Vol. III, No. 2 (January, 1954), pp. 186-188.

Designation of specific islands that comprise this group, however, varies with different authors and authorities. Wernstedt-Spencer, for example, include the following to the already above-mentioned Bisayan group: Masbate, Romblon, Sibuya, Tablas and Siquijor (Palawan) and numerous intervening and satellite islets (F. L. Wernstedt and Joseph Spencer, *The Philippine Island World: A Physical, Cultural and Regional Geography* (Berkely & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), p. 25.

Then again, all of these major Bisayan Islands have numerous satellite or dependent islets. Samar, for example, has at least a total of some 259 dependent islets and the Island of Leyte about 40. These satellite islets range from 144 square miles in area to a half-square mile or less. Biliran Island, pertaining to Leyte, is the largest with 144 square miles and Panaon Island with 76 square miles. Daram Island, belonging to Samar, has a total of 30 square miles and Homonhon Island, where Magellan and his discoverers tarried for some eight days in 1521, has a total of 26 square miles in area. Samar Island is the giant of the Bisayan group and the third largest island in the Philippines.

The Bisayan region today is also divided into Western Bisayas, Central Bisayas and Eastern Bisayas and with the following arrangement into provinces: Western Bisayas comprise the provinces of Iloilo, Capiz, Aklan, Antique and Negros Oriental; Central Bisayas comprise the provinces of Negros Occidental, Cebu and Bohol; Eastern Bisayas comprise the provinces of Samar, Northern Samar. Eastern Samar, Leyte and Southern Leyte. (Cf. Bureau of Census and Statistics, Manila, 1972).

Since Alcina's *Historia* deals primarily with the Bisayan region, it would be well, perhaps, to give a tiny topographical perspective of each major island.

Samar, the easternmost of the Bisayan group lies to the east of the main Philippine fault zone and trend lines on the island continue those of the Bicol Peninsula. This island could not be classed as truly mountainous, but rather as high hill country. There are no major plains on the island and even the coastal lowlands are of very limited extent, reaching their maximum size along the narrow San Juanico Strait, separating Samar from Leyte. On other parts of the island both slopes and elevations are moderate. The general elevation of the hill summits reaches between 300 and 650 meters with the highest peak, Mount Capotoan in north-central Samar, touching only 850 meters or 2,789 feet. Samar is a mature hill country with little really flat land on either the hilltops or the valley bottoms. Slopes are not so excessive as to prevent the planting of three crops.

Leyte Island is bisected by the main Philippine fault and the uplands and lowlands on this island are more distinct and precisely delimited than on Samar. Through the center of the land axis of Leyte is found a high rugged backbone of mountains. This mountain ridge is almost continuous from the north to the south coast of the island, but is broken by a low gap, now occupied by a highway, at the island's narrow waist, about two-thirds of the way from north to south. Elevations of the peaks along this backbone average 700 and 1,100 meters, with Mount Kankahanay in the center reaching 1,350 meters.

To the east of this mountain backbone, a plain extends from Carigara Bay on the north to Leyte Gulf at the south. This well-populated area is the most extensive plain on Leyte and is floored with Quaternary sediments, many of which are of volcanic origin. This plain does not extend all the way to San Juanico Strait, but is cut off from the Strait, from Tacloban and from a very narrow coastal plain, by a range is composed primarily to the central mountains. This 20-mile hill range is composed primarily of ultra-basic rocks and culminates in Bogahupi Peak which rises to 495 meters. West of Leyte's central range the extent of plains area is more limited, but plains are to be found both north and south of Ormoc City, which acts as the natural focal point of this area.

Cebu Island, a long, ribbon-like island, extends south-southwest. It has very limited areas of level land and large areas of steep slope and severe erosion, yet it is one of the most densely populated islands in the Philippines. Cebu has two well-defined anticlines, separated by a synclinal fold running almost the entire length of the island. In many places, particularly on the southern half of the island, massive beds of Tertiary limestone are

exposed at the surface and many features of karst topography, such as sink holes and underground stream channels, are present.

Cebu's meridional ridges have an average elevation of some 400 and 900 meters with the higher elevations closer to the southern end of the island. Maximum elevation on Cebu is 1,034 meters. Level land on Cebu is limited to discontinuous coastal lowlands on both the east and west coasts. The largest single continuous lowland area measures some 35 miles by two to five miles, and centers at Cebu City on the east coast.

Immediately offshore from Cebu City, lies rectangular-shaped Mactan Island, made famous by the killing of Magellan by Lapu-lapu, the first Philippine hero. Mactan is a low island whose long side measures only a little over six miles. Its coralline surface is slightly rolling and nowhere is more than a few meters above high tide level. To the north and south of the island, broad coral flats extend for considerable distance beyond the shore.

Negros, the fourth largest island in the Philippines, is dominated by four volcanic mountains, three dormant and one very much active. These mountains are arranged along an axis west of and roughly parallel to the axis of Cebu. To the north of the island, Mount Silay, Mount Mandalagan, and Kanlaon Volcano have spewed forth the volcanic materials from which the gently sloping, broad, and extremely fertile plains of north and north-western Negros have been built. The magnificent Kanlaon, the only currently active mountain on the island, peaks at 2,465 meters and dominates the landscape. At the southern end of the island the extinct Magaso Volcano, whose crater is occupied by a series of four small lakes, rises majestically to 1,903 meters, behind the city of Dumaguete. The northern and southern volcanic peaks are joined by a series of complex but lower mountains running parallel and close to the east shore of the island. South-western Negros is occupied by a series of rugged hills and low mountains extending to the coast. Here level land is limited, soils are not as rich as in the northwest, and agriculture has not been as intensively developed.

Lying between Leyte and Cebu and somewhat to the south is the toughly circular island of Bohol. The topography here suggests that uplift has taken place along a single fault line paralleling the southeast-facing coast. Immediately behind this coast are found names such as Tayong Peak, Sagungan Mountain, and Mount Batuanan, in a line extending northeast-southwest. The names, however, are somewhat misleading as the highest of the "mountains" reaches an elevation of only 870 meters. From this ridge line the surface slopes steeply southeastward toward the Mindanao Sea only seven miles away. From the ridge line toward the northwest, slopes are far more gentle and sea level is not reached for some 35 miles. That these same slope characteristics continue under the present sea level is indicated by the fact that the 100-meter water depth is reached within one mile of the southeast coast, while to the northwest this same depth is nowhere reached closer to the shore than eight miles.

The northwest sloping surface of this 40-mile diameter island is composed entirely of Tertiary and Quaternary sediments, mostly limestone and coral. This surface has been attacked by agents of erosion and typical humid area karst features abound. Polje, sink holes, caves, and underground drainage patterns are common. This removal of water from the surface gives Bohol a much more arid appearance than the rainfall data alone would warrant.

Where the surface slopes gently under the Camotes Sea to the northwest a host of reefs, sandbars, mudbanks, and mangrove forests fringe the shore to a width of eight to ten miles. Many of the reefs and sandbanks stand clear at low water, but are covered at high tide. Others hover a few inches below low water level while many stand a few inches above high tide

levels. This is a forbidding coast for shipping, but a truly impressive sight from the air.

Panay Island is roughly the shape of an equilateral triangle whose base runs north and south and whose apex faces east. The predominant landform feature here is the range of anticlinal mountains running meridionally along the west coast. These folded mountains of Mesozoic basement rock extend over a distance of 80 miles and reach a maximum width of some 25 miles. Peaks here average between 900 and 1,200 meters, with Mount Toc-tocan in the north central section achieving the maximum height of 1,337 meters. These mountains are rugged, almost unpopulated, largely forested, and crossed by roads only at their extreme northern and southern ends. They act as an effective barrier between the province of Antique, lying to the west of the crest, and the other three provinces of Panay. In many places, spurs of these mountains extend to the west coast and brake the continuity of the already narrow coastal plain of Antique. During World War II, the rugged and inaccessibility of these mountains provided excellent cover for guerrilla forces. Several settlements in this area were so isolated and so well-protected that they never fell to the Japanese.

A 25-mile range of hills and mountains cuts across the northeastern section of Panay in an alignment parallel to the western range.

Between these two ranges of mountains, the well-populated Central Plain of Panay occupies a synclinal basin which extends completely across the island from the Sibuyan Sea at the north coast to the Panay Gulf at the south. This plain is partly intermountain and partly coastal in character and is, by far, the most heavily populated and most important agricultural section of the island. A narrow plain of coastal character lies seaward of the eastern hill ranges. Roughly wedge-shaped coastal plain areas are found extending west from the Central Plain along both the Aklan Coast to the north and the Iloilo Coast to the south. Cf. Robert E. Huke, *Shadows on the Land: An Economic Geography of the Philippines*, (Manila: Bookmark, 1963), pp. 15-19

² Alcina's analysis and explanation of the term "Bisaya" is certainly interesting and informative. However, it would be well to add another simple note to its possible origin.

The term "bisaya" seems to be of Sanskrit origin or of an Indian origin allied to Sanskrit and means "slave". See, N. M. Saleeby, "The Origin of the Malayan Filipinos," a paper read before the Philippine Academy on November 1, 1911, p. 27, acquired in microfilm from the Newberry Library of Chicago University, in 1967.

Classic writers of Philippine history, such as Colín and Santa Inés, state and conjecture that the Bisayans (including the Bicolanos) originally hailed from Makasar (today known as Ujung Pandang) a region on the great island of Celebes (or today known as Sulawesi and pertaining to the Indonesian Archipelago). Cf. Fray Francisco de Santa Inés, O.F.M., *Crónica de la Provincia de San Gregorio Magno...* 1676, (Escolta: Tipo-Litografía de Chofre y Comp., 1892), Tom. I, p. 25 and Francisco Colín, *Labor evangélica*, Pablo Pastells, ed. (Barcelona: Henrich, 1900-1902), Lib. I, Cap. 4, pp. 15-18

Is it possible that our Bisayans were known as slaves already while in Makasar and then turned seafarers and made their homeland eventually to what is known now as the Bisayan region of central Philippines? For it seems that many of the Sanskrit terms or those of Sanskrit origin in the Philippine languages "were used by the Malaysians in general and Filipinos in particular long before the invasion of Java and Sumatra by the Hindus of the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D." (*Op. cit.*, Saleeby, pp. 25-26). Or, perhaps, was this term "bisaya" meaning 'slave' foisted upon the peoples

of central Philippines as a result of the relentless plunder of the region and slave-taking by the Muslim and non-Muslim peoples of Mindanao and the Jolo-Sulu Archipelago? Prior and even during the entire Spanish regime in the Islands, the Mindanaos, the Caragans and Joloans made the Bisayas kind of 'happy hunting grounds' and an inexhaustible source of captives for themselves and the slave-markets of Borneo and its environs. The Jesuit and Franciscan mission reports are heavily documented with such an enslaving of the Bisayan region throughout most of the Hispanic period.

There is yet another very interesting possible explanation of the term 'bisaya' and a host of other words ending in —AYA. W. E. Retana presents a very plausible clue and tries to resolve the enigma in the following manner. He maintains that a number of the words ending in —AYA are derived from the word IRAYA, ILAYA or ARAYA, as for example; Mandaya, Bisaya or even Malaya. *Iraya* in Bisayan Waray, as well as in other Philippine languages, means "one who comes from up the river; one who dwells inland, in the interior, in the hills or in the mountains." The root of IRAYA or ILAYA, if you wish, may be reduced to —ILA as in MAN+ILA or Manila. The particle MAN means 'a native' and ILA, a contraction of ILAYA, means from 'up the river' or from the 'interior'. The natives of pre-Hispanic Manila did not have settlements on the coast of Manila Bay, but up on the Pasig River, or inland; hence, people or a person coming from 'up the river'. Was the name MAN+ILA perhaps given to the settlers on the mouth of the Pasig River given by the foreign traders who visited and did business with them? In fact the entire Island of Luzon, in early written histories, is known as the Island of Manila and not as Luzon.

Father Mateo Sánchez, in his *Vocabulario* composed in 1620 and published only in 1711, states that the particle MAN— when placed before some root-word denotes plurality of whatever the root signifies. For example, MAN+ILA means "people (or those) coming from 'up the river'". DANAOC means a lake, MAN (or MIN) + DANAOC means 'many lakes.'

In a similar trend of thought, although this does not pertain to our subject-matter at hand, let us make a brief excursus about the word LUZON. Tracing the meaning to the term 'leson' which is a mortar for pounding rice need not necessarily be definitive. Perhaps, there is a more basic or a more substantial concept conveyed by the terms 'luzon' or even the term 'tagalog'. What is it? Again, W. E. Retana makes some fine scholarly inroads into the matter when he states that Luzon, with its variant 'luson and lugon (with a cedilla or a small 'z' placed after or under a 'c' to indicate a sibilant pronunciation or better a mark placed under the latter 'c' (as c) to show that the 'g' is to be pronounced like 's'), comes from the root LUC or LOOC which means 'to enter into the bay, a gulf or a creek'. This same root is found in similar words as CALOOCAN, ILOCON (Ilocano), MOLUCON (Moluccas in Indonesia), MALUCO, MALLACA, HILOLO, ILO-ILO, TAGLOC, TAGALOOC, CAMUCON, etc. For example, the word 'bay' in Indonesian means TELUK: again the root LUK or LUC appears. Perhaps, TAGALOK means, 'people living on the bay'. Cf. Francisco Combés, *Historia de Mindanao y Jolo*, W. E. Retana, ed. (Madrid: Viuda de M. Minuesa, 1897), Appendix: "Notas y Tablas Metódicas, col. 755-756. In another place, Retana shows that the word TAGALOG is derived from TAGA+ILO or meaning 'one coming from the *ilaya*'. The term may also mean, 'a merchant'. Tagalooc was the ancient name for a bay in Mindanao known today as Seño de Davao. Tagolano or Tagoloanos, meaning a tribe of people hidden in the interior, which is what is meant by the word TAGO-LOC-AN, a place where. (Ibid., p. 763). Concerning Manila, cf. Joseph Baumgartner, S.V.D., fine observation entitled "Manila—Maynilad or Maynila?" in Philip-

pine Quarterly of Culture and Society," Vol. III, No. 1, March 1975, p. 52-54.

Lastly, a final comment on the term 'bisaya' comes from Goiti who stated that these people were called (or known) in his time as 'Virreys, Virrayas, Vilayas'. This term is similar or like ARAYA, IRAYA and MANDAYA, derived from ILAYA. Cf. Combés, *op. cit.*, Col. 740.

Cf. also a highly interesting essay and survey article treating the meaning, derivative and possible origin of the term *Bisaya*: Juan R. Francisco, "Sri Vijaya and the Philippines," in *The Philippines and India*, (Manila: National Book Store, Inc., 1971) pp. 17-37. In fact, the above-mentioned author in his essay cites this very curious work: John Carroll. "The Word Bisay in the Philippines and Borneo," a paper presented to and read at the *Borneo-Philippine Cultural Seminar*, at Kuching, Sarawak, June 6-12, 1961 and published in the *Sarawak Museum Journal* (1961), pp. 499-541.

³ "It is believed that the Bisayans were the first to arrive to these Islands and even prior to the Tagalogs." (See, Combés, *op. cit.*, col. 776). Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro, in his scholarly *Catálogo de las lenguas de las Naciones*, offers a similar conviction and conclusion when he writes: "If we examine the meaning of the names of the islands of the Philippines, we shall find that almost all are from the Bisayan language, for it seems that the Bisayans, also called *Pintados*, were its first settlers." Or again, in another place of the above-mentioned, "...all are led to believe that the Bisayans arrived even before the Tagalogs... If the Bisayans and the Tagalogs would have arrived at the same time, is it not strange that the first tattooed themselves and that the second did not? The differences that exist among the dialects of the Bisayans and that of the Tagalogs are something also to make me affirm more in such a belief. Ultimately, and beyond doubt, the peoples had to remain excessively separated and thus bound to degenerate. Being less politicized than the Tagalogs, the natives of the Bisayas demonstrated their greater ancient permanency or presence in the Philippines." Hervás y Panduro, Lorenzo, *Catálogo de las Lenguas de las Naciones conocidas*, (Madrid: Imprenta del Real Arbitrio de Beneficencia, 1800-1805) Seis tomos en 4.^o — Filipinas, en el II, pags. 26—y siguientes, in W. E. Retana, *Aparato Bibliográfico de la Historia General de Filipinas* (Madrid: Imprenta de la Sucesora de M. Minuesa de los Ríos, 1906 (in offset at Manila, 1964), Vol. I, No. 442, pp. 441-450 *passim*.

The Bisayans, as a whole, were also the most numerous of all the regional groups that populated the archipelago. The Bisayan language has various dialects and Cebuano is the most polished and elegant of them all. In the Bicol region, which is found in the southern portion of the Island of Luzon, the language also seems to be a variant of *Binisaya*. Cf. Combés, *op. cit.*, cols. 776-777.

It was the Bisayans who aided Goiti and Legazpi in the conquest of Manila and the Island of Luzon with great enthusiasm and determination.

At least during the period of the conquest, the Bisayans had some customs that were more terrible than those of any other regional group in the islands, and in everything they seemed to have reflected greater backwardness. Among them, it was a sign of manliness to engage in drunken stupor, and an insult for a woman to remain a virgin. (*Ibid.*)

It was also their custom to tattoo their bodies and as a result the early Spaniards referred to them as the "Pintados" or the painted ones (or tattooed). This practice, however, was not exclusively cultivated among the Bisayans only, it was also a strong tradition among the Bicolanos and some of the pagan tribes of Northern Luzon, such as the Tinguians and Igorrots. (*Ibid.*)

Colin, like so many other writers, groups the Bicolanos together with the Bisayans. He writes: "The peoples of the Bisayas and the *Pintados*, who

dwelt in the Provinces of Camarines on the Island of Luzon, and those of Leyte, Samar, Panay and other neighboring islands, I heard it said, arrived from the regions of Macassar where it is shown that the Indios there also tattooed their bodies in the manner of our Pintados." (Colin-Pastells, *op. cit.*, Lib. I, Cap. IV, pp. 16-17).

⁴ It is imperative that we explore this complex issue in greater detail so as to present and posit a clear perspective as regards the origin of the present-day Bisayans and other peoples of the Philippines.

The study of the origin of the inhabitants of the Philippine Archipelago is principally deduced from the linguistic elements which are of undeniable scientific value. It was generally believed, in the not long and distant past, that the indigenous races of the Philippines could be reduced to two: the *Aetas* or *Negritos* and the Malaysians. Such was the opinion of the distinguished ethnographers and among them Professor Blumentritt. However, it was his good will not to hide other opinions, for he wrote in the year 1887: "The Englishman Wallace and the wise Dutchman, the linguist H. Kern and the ethnologist P. J. B. C. Robidevan de Aa, published this year a new hypothesis: the Papuas and the Malays belong to the same race, basing their discovery on the study of languages." What more, according to the same Blumentritt, the *Negritos* of the Philippines constitute a branch of the great race of the 'Negro or Papuan', so that in accord with the new hypothesis of the erudite Dutchman and the wise Englishman already cited, the Philippine races must be reduced to only one. Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro, in his *Catálogo de las lenguas de las naciones conocidas*, published in 1800-1805 in six volumes, anticipated no less than a century earlier, the Wiseman's thesis so eruditely cited by Blumentritt. Cf. *Aparato Bibliográfico...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 441-442

Colín writes, "...nearest the continent of Malacca (today's Malaysia) there is a place known as *Malayo*, which is the origin of all the Malaysians who have spread throughout all these archipelagos." (*Op. cit.*, Lib. I, Cap. 4, p. 15)

Colín further holds fast to the probability that the large island of Borneo, in the past centuries, was connected to the southern tip of Palawan Island and that Borneo's north-eastern portion was connected by land-bridges to the Sulu Archipelago. And "if this be so, as testified by the ancient Indios of these places, this is a well-known and an opportune place for the Borneans to make their way into the Philippines." It is also the Island (Indonesia) made their way into Borneo too, "which is a very large piece of land, joining the continents of Malacca and Malaya. In the middle of this large Island of Sumatra there is a spacious and an extensive lake populated all around by many and varied peoples, from whence comes the tradition in ancient times that these people populated the diverse islands of the Philippines..." (Colin, *op. cit.*, p. 16)

A more recent and modern writer, Ramón Jordana, summed up his scientific investigations about the origin of the archipelagos in these terms:

"The facts which we have summarily expounded, lead one to the following conclusions: 1) that in an era very, very remote, an immense continent must have existed which in its totality or greater part must have filled the vast space which extends from the Celebes (today known as Sulawesi, Indonesia) and other oriental isles of the Malayan Archipelago as far as the more distant islands of Polynesia on the eastern portion, and from New Zealand on the south as far as the Mariana and Sandwich Islands on the North; 2) that this continent always remained separated from the rest of the surface terrain, or if it was united to the asiatic continent, it should be during an era prior to the first times of the second period or the mesozoic; 3) that in such a case the separation should have taken place even before the islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo and the Philippines have

been separated from the above-mentioned continent of which they have formed a part in the relatively modern era; 4) that other phenomena and partial cataclysms have undoubtedly exercised its action afterward in the great masses of land and dismembered the terrain which determined the actual structure and physical-natural conditions of all the islands from which they come.'

"As the conclusions of the above-mentioned naturalists about the origin of the archipelago are not contradictory, but, in effect, complement those of Abbe Hervás y Panduro, based on its languages, let us come to the conclusions that the *Aetas* and the natives of the Philippine Islands belong to the same mother-race, the Malayan, and consequently that this is the only one to which all the races must be affiliated today known as indigenous races of the Philippines."

When did the *Aetas* arrive to what is now known as the Philippine Islands? Hervás y Panduro continues: "...from very, very remote times, people such as the *Aetas* left Asia to inhabit determined regions of this vast territory. Even if the land-mass was no longer joined [land bridges] the passage should have been realized without great difficulty, given the proximity between the island of Sumatra and the Peninsula of Malacca, a proximity which should be greater during those remote and early eras. When the cataclysm took place, that is, when the great transformation was verified as acknowledged by the geologists, the only inhabitants of the Philippines were the *Aetas* or *Negritos*. And so, due to the action of time and a more inferior environment than with their asiatic ancestors on the continent, the *Aetas* deteriorated into a subrace in the same manner as the Papuans". W. E. Retana adds a footnote to the above and writes: "The greater majority of the anthropologists agree that the Papuans constitute a subrace of the great Malayan race."

And so as time moved on, the Malaysians began to invade the Philippine Islands, as they invaded many others in the Pacific... These new Malaysians (in contrast to the old Malaysians, the *Aetas*) in their arrival must have had contact with other people even superior to them. (A few authors suspect the Malays who invaded the Philippines have had dealings with Arab tribes and that there might have been intermarriages between the two races).

However, it does not seem possible that there existed great struggles between the *Aetas* and the Malayan new-comers. The *Negritos*, the original settlers of these islands, because of their native condition were nomads and forest people and definitely went to live in the mountains, deeping aloof from the intrigues of the new wave of settlers. Meanwhile, these new-comers occupied the large coastal areas and as time passed, they even began occupying the plains in the interior.

Summarizing, therefore, all that has been said, let us put forth the following conclusions:

1) That the *Negritos*, who constituted the autochthonous race of the Philippines, descended from the early Malaysians; that with the passing time and the medium of environment of the new region, which they came to occupy, transformed them into a subrace, slowly but progressively degenerating. A subrace which ultimately will extinguish itself.

2) That after the *Negritos*, with an elapse of a long, long period of time, the new Malaysians followed and these occupied the islands of Mindanao and the other group of islands in the Bisayas, and much later, the region of Southern Luzon.

3) And then, again after some time, there followed other new Malaysians. These were the Tagalogs who occupied first the regions of Manila, Batangas, Laguna and others on the coasts of central Luzon.

4) That all the others, who are ordinarily called the indigenous races of the Philippines — Cultural Minorities — are a result of inter-marriage

between the *Negritos* — the Aetas — and the so-called new Malaysans. Hervás y Panduro, in *Aparato Bibliográfico...*, *op. cit.*, passim, pp. 442-450.

And thus, according to Professor Blumentritt, the *Negritos* of the Philippines constitute a branch of the great race of the 'Negro or Papuan'.

The Jesuit historian, Colín, made some pertinent observation already in the year 1656, when he completed his *Labor evangélica*, about the *Negritos*.

"Another type of people, totally in contrast to the previous ones, are the *Negritos* who inhabit the forests and the vast mountain regions with which these islands abound. These are an uncivilized people who live on fruits and roots of the forest. They go about naked, with only their privates covered. They have neither laws or letters, nor even a government or a republic except parentage, obeying all the lineage or family to the head. Concerning their religion or divine cult, they have very little or nothing at all. In Spanish they are known as *negrillos* and there are very many of them; because of their color and their kinky hair, they resemble the Ethiopians. Of these, there are still a great number in the interior of the forests; especially on one of the larger islands known as Negros Island.

It seems probable that these Negroes were the first inhabitants of these islands, from whom these lands were seized by the politicized peoples who afterwards arrived from Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Madagascar and other islands or more western regions. And if anyone asks, from where did these *Negritos* come to these islands... I would say that they have come from the outside or *citra Gangem*, which in ancient times was populated by the Ethiopian negroes and known as Ethiopia. Well then, from where did the inhabitants arrive to Ethiopia? This we shall prove in another place... Another diverse group of people, neither so politicized as the first (meaning new Malaysans) nor so aboriginal as the second (*Negritos*), are those other peoples who were accustomed to dwell at the mouths of rivers or near their regions known as Llaguas, Tingues, Manguianes, Zembales... It should be understood that these are mestizos of the politicized and uncivilized people (*negrillos*).” Colín, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

Señor Abbé Fuente wrote the following to Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro upon consultation: “Know well that the castes of Negro peoples discovered by Cook in Calico, New Caledonia, and on other islands of the South Seas, are perfectly similar to those of the Philippines and that from these peoples they descended, as also the Negroes from New Holland and those of New Guinea. The *Negritos* of the Philippines are of two kinds: one believed to be descended from the Malabares or Sipayos, since their skin is totally black, their hair is long, delicate and shiny as that of the other *Indios* and they do not have distorted features regarding the nose and the lips, as those of New Guinea do. These Negroes, who were slaves and are now free live quite civilly. There is another class of negroes known as *Agta*; these are scattered through the mountains; and these have deformed features, curly or kinky hair as the Negroes of New Guinea. Of this type there are some on the Island of Luzon and very many on the Island known as Negros (the Guinea of the Philippines). This mentioned class of Negroes seems to be under the curse of heaven, since it lives in the forests and in the mountains, as if children of untamed families, separated from others and always wandering. They subsist on fruits which these places produce and it seems that none of these live in towns. (*Ibid.*)

Let us again, look into the matter from the very modern point of view and based on the advances made in the study of linguistics.

Who were the early Bisayans, or for that matter, the early Filipinos? Where did they come from? What was the probable homeland of those who migrated to what is known today as the Philippine Archipelago? What possible routes did they utilize in order to reach these shores?

It is rather difficult to find answers to such questions, as interesting and important as these may be. Ultimately, it is really only by inferences from the data available at present that one can painfully reconstruct the prehistoric origins and migrations of the early Bisayans and all Filipinos.

So that we may pursue and probe this matter in a more highly scientific manner, it is imperative that we turn to Philippine pre-history. So as to begin our investigation, we need to bring into play the excellent suggestion of Teodoro A. Llamzon, who writes: "A possible starting point for a discussion of Philippine pre-history is the present, since much of what can be surmised about the past is based on facts available at present, and past events tend to leave traces on contemporary empirical data. At this point, a word of caution is in order. Although the data on which pre-historic reconstructions are based are incontrovertible *per se*, the reconstructions themselves may be open to question; either the data on which they are based are insufficient, or the inferences drawn from them are unwarranted — at least in the opinion of some scientists. It is, therefore, necessary to present the views of several authorities and the data on which their views are based. In this way one can probably achieve a more balanced picture of the situation." See further, Teodoro A. Llamzon, *Handbook of Philippine Language Groups*, Published for UNESCO (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1978), p. 1.

A thorough study of the Philippine indigenous languages yields clues and leads us to a farther comprehensive view of Philippine pre-history in regard to the origin of the Bisayans and the Filipinos as a whole.

"It is safe to say that all the Philippine languages known to date belong, without exception, to the Austronesian [Southern Pacific Islands] family of languages. It has been estimated that there are about 100 to 150 of these languages today...

"If all the Philippine languages now known being, without exception, to the Austronesian family of languages, then all these people must have ultimately come from the original homeland of the Austronesians and gradually found their way to the Philippines...

"The location of the original Austronesian homeland has been the subject of much archaeological, anthropological, and ethnolinguistic investigation. The ethnolinguistic evidence available so far, however, seems to indicate that this homeland was most probably in south China...

"Perhaps the most cogent set of ethnolinguistic data presented so far to determine the original homeland of the Austronesians is that of H. A. Kern (1889). By analyzing vocabulary items which can be reconstructed on the basis of the forms and meanings of words which present-day Austronesian languages have in common, he narrowed down the probable location of the homeland to the east coast of southern China, or as he called it, "Farther India," i.e., the region whose northern boundary was the Tropic of Cancer and whose southern boundary was Java.

"...the early Austronesian-speaking Filipinos left their original homeland, together with some other groups who went on to other places, about 1,300 B.C.

In tracing the migration routes of the early Bisayans and the rest of the regional groups of Filipinos from their original homeland, Llamzon assumes that (1) they left the homeland at various times together with other groups of Austronesians who were 'seafaring'; (2) that they landed and then lived for some time in the various islands along their path, until they found it necessary (e.g. because the food supply had run out) or attractive (e.g. the island ahead seemed promising) to push on further, leaving their companions behind; (3) then, by alternately settling and moving onwards, they finally reached the locations in which we now find them; and lastly, (4) they left behind traces of their migrations both in the language

and the culture of the people who stayed behind and now live the lands they once occupied.

When the early Bisayans and other Filipinos left their south China place of origin, what was their probable route? Again, it is quite reasonable to assume that they went by sea, since they had a very convenient means of transportation in their outrigger vessels.

"It is reasonable to suppose that the early Bisayans, as well as the rest of the islanders, came down from south China hugging the coast of Indochina and the Malay peninsula. They then separated from the rest of the group by going up the coast of western Borneo instead of following their companions to the eastern regions of the Indonesian archipelago and out to Melanesia, Polynesia and Micronesia.

"The rationale for postulating such a roundabout route instead of a more direct one across the China sea is the legendary sailor's fear of 'dread space' beyond the horizon. After all, there is no evidence that the Austronesians knew of any type of compass nor the art of navigation by heavenly bodies. The only alternative to the barrier of a seemingly endless sea is to follow the littoral course, with the eye never losing sight of land

"Even though linguistic experts differ in details in subgrouping of the Philippine languages, they have agreed generally that there are three main groups among them, namely: the northern Philippine, the central Philippine, and the southern Philippine groups. The glottochronological studies of David Thomas and Alan Healey indicate that these groups separated about 1,100 B.C.

"The first group of Filipinos came to this archipelago through Borneo and apparently reached the northern sections of Luzon in due time. Some members of this group moved up to Batanes Islands and even reached Formosa. An indication is the presence on the island of Formosa of the Itneg tribe, who are apparently identical to the Itnegs of Abra. Another indication is the Yami language on Botel Tobago Island, just off mainland Formosa, whose characteristics resemble those of Ivatan and Itbayat (Erin Asai [1936] even goes so far as to consider it a dialect of these languages). Even if Itnegs of Formosa migrated there only recently, they still furnish an important clue with regard to the direction of the migration. It was, apparently, from the Philippines to Formosa and not vice versa. Always, it seems, from the south to the north. The date of separation of these northern Philippine languages, according to the calculations of Thomas and Healey, is about 700 B.C.

"To this first, above-mentioned group belong the different languages of the northern Philippine subgroup, among others: the Ifugaw, Igorot, and Kalingga languages, Itneg (Tinggian), Isne (Apayao), Ilonggot, Dumagat, the Ibanag languages (i.e. Ibanag, Itawes, Malaweg, Yogad, Gaddang, Iraya), Pangasinan, Sambal, and Pampanggo.

"The next group, which are the Bisayans of the Central Philippines, arrived to these islands apparently by way of Borneo also. This is suggested by the Tausug language, which is geographically located in the Sulu archipelago, but genetically related closely to the Bisayan or central Philippine languages. The date of separation of this central Philippine group, according to Thomas and Healey, is approximately 100 B.C. Its member languages are Tagalog, Bikol, Bisaya (Sebuano, Hiligaynon, Waray, Butuanon, Jaun-Jaun, Kamayu, Ratagon, Naturalis, Cuyunon, Banton, Masbateño), Tausug, the Magyan languages (Hanunoo, Alagan, Buhid, Iraya, Tadyawan).

"The third group or southern Philippine seemingly arrived in trickles. This is suggested by the coordinate subdivisions in the family tree, i.e., they show less cohesion in the sub-grouping compared with the northern and

Bisayan languages. Two of these — the Manobo and "Moro" language groups — which were sizeable, included the following:

1. the Manobo language group — Dulangan (Cotabato), B'lit (Cotabato), Tasaday (Cotabato), Kulaman (Saranggani), Bukidnon (eastern Bukidnon), Bukidnon (western Bukidnon), Tigwa (southern Bukidnon), Salug (southern Bukidnon), Bagobo (northern Davao), Atta (northwestern Davao), Camiguño (Camiguin Is.), Cagayancillo (Cagayan Island between Palawan and Negros Occidental).

2. the "Moro" languages — Maranaw (Lanao), Magindanaw (Cotabato), Yakan (Basilan Island), Samal (Bajau), Siasi (Tapul and Jolo Islands), Simunul (Simunul Is.), Sibuto (Sibuto Is., Tawi-Tawi Is.), Kapul (off northern Samar), Pallun Mapun (Cagayan de Sulu and southern Palawan), Balangingi (Tonguil Is.).

"The rest of the group were fewer in number, i.e., the Mandaya-Mansaka group, which includes the Tagakaolo (Davao del Sur), Davaweño (Davao City and environs), Isamal (Island of Samal in Davao Gulf) Mandaya (Davao Oriental), Mansaka (Davao del Norte and Agusan). Then there were the Bilaan, the T'boli, and the Tiruray of Cotabato, the Tagbanwa of Palawan, the Subanon of Zamboanga, the Maranaw and Magindanaw (Lanao), and the Sangil and Sangir (southern Cotabato). This last group may have arrived much later by way of northern Celebes." (Llamzon, *op. cit.*, passim, pp. 1-3).

⁵ In today's linguistic parlance we would say Austronesian: that is, of relating to, or constituting a family of agglutinative languages spoken in the area extending from Madagascar eastward through the Malay peninsula and archipelago to Hawaii and Easter Island and including practically all the native languages of the Pacific islands with the exception of the Australian, Papuan and Negrito languages. *Austr.*, *austr.* or *austral* all mean southern or south Pacific Islands.

Since Alcina uses this term *Malayan* or *Malay*, it would be well to pinpoint its origin and the areas it covers in Asia. Francisco Colín, points to its origin when he writes: "...nearest the continent of Malacca where there is a place known as *Malayo*, which is the origin of all the Malaysians who have spread throughout all these archipelagos." (*Op. cit.*, p. 16).

A Malay, we learn from Webster, is a member of a people of the Malay peninsula, eastern Sumatra, parts of Borneo and the adjacent islands.

⁶ Perhaps, the phrase, *extra Gangem* means 'farther India' or Indochina which refers to Southeast Asia and includes Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Malay Peninsula, Thailand and Vietnam.

⁷ Currently shown on the map as *Melaka* and situated on the southeastern coast of what is known today as Malaysia. Obviously an ancient capital of this great land-mass from which the Strait of Malacca derived its name. Alcina is evidently having reference to all the region known as Thailand, Cambodia or Kampuchea, Vietnam, etc. It is interesting to note that the Franciscans of Manila, founded a friary and a mission-center in Malacca sometime before the year 1582, which shortly thereafter passed on to the Portuguese Franciscans. Also, Malacca was already a Bishopric at the time. In fact, the chief bases, whence the Portuguese and Spanish Franciscans sought to evangelize this vast Indonesian archipelago were Malacca and Manila. Though there were Franciscans in the Orient continuously from 1500 onwards, there is no documentary evidence to prove that they ventured into Indonesia before the founding of their friars in Malacca and Manila, in 1581 and 1578 respectively.

The Franciscans of Malacca continued their work of evangelization up to the year 1641, when the Dutch and their allies besieged Malacca and captured it, forcing the Franciscans to leave. (cf. Achilles Meersman,

O.F.M., *The Franciscans in the Indonesian Archipelago 1300-1775*, (Louvain-Belgium: Nauwelaerts, 1967), pp. 23-27, passim.

⁸ Today known as Banda Atjeh and situated on the northernmost tip of the great Indonesian Island of Sumatra. One cannot help but notice that the ancient cartographers gave the name Achan to the Island of Samar. Were they confusing the Island of Sumatra with that of Samar Island? Cf. Dr. Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, "Notas para una cartografía de Filipinas," in *Cultura Filipina*, Año I, Nu. 8, Noviembre de 1910, pp. 157, 172-173.

We know from Franciscan history in Asia, that Blessed Odoric de Portu Naone, O.F.M., visited at least three of the Indonesian islands: Sumatra, Borneo and Java about the year 1323 or 1324. He entered the harbour Lamori which many authorities identify as the port of Achin or Atjeh. He is the first author to use the name SUMATRA but he spelled it SUMOLTRA. However, he does not use the name to indicate the entire island, but only a kingdom situated in the southern part. (*Op. cit.*, Meersman, p. 18).

⁹ Formerly these were known as Greater Java and Lesser Java of the Indonesian Archipelago, situated SE of Sumatra. The Indonesian capital of Jakarta (Batavia) is situated on this large and most important island.

¹⁰ Better and more properly Makasar and today known as Ujung Pandang, situated on the southeastern portion of the Sulawesi Island of Indonesia and formerly known as Celebes.

It would be well to remember that ancient historians and chroniclers often referred to the various islands by the names of the largest settlement on the particular island. For example, Achen for Sumatra, Terrenate for Halmahera and the other Mollucan Islands and Makasar for the Celebes.

When Alcina asserts that the Bisayans possibly migrated from Makasar (Sulawesi or the Celebes) it is interesting to note that Colín is also of the same opinion when he states that the "Bisayans and Bikolanos arrived from Makasar." (*Op. cit.*, p. 15) The chronicler, Santa Inés, also maintains an identical position when he writes: "...the Bikolanos, the Pintados [Bisayans] who dwell in the provinces of the Camarines, which is on the Island of Luzon, and those of Leyte, Samar, Panay and other neighboring islands, all arrived from the regions of Makasar, where they say that the Indios tattooed and painted their bodies in a manner similar to our Pintados." (Santa Inés, *op. cit.*, p. 25).

Retana, in his annotation of Combés' *Historia* has a very interesting item on the ancient name Makasar. He maintains that the word *makasaar* comes from the root *saar* or *saad* and means 'a country of *juramentados*'. It may also be a contraction of Samar or Sa(m)ar and it then may signify an island of mariners or navigators. (See, Combés, *op. cit.*, col. 756). It is popularly maintained that Samar comes from the Waray Bisayan word *samad*, meaning wound or a hurt. Samar it is said is wounded geographically, topographically and climatically.

Makasar was a great political and commercial centre already in the early 1600's on the giant octopus-shaped Island formerly known as Celebes. It was also called Mateo by early writers of reports and travelogues: "...as far as the isles of Celebes, or, as it is otherwise named, Mateo..." See, Antonio de Morga, *The Philippine Islands, Moluccas etc.*, p. 251. The Portuguese Franciscans had missions on Makasar and on another great centre of Manado on Sulawesi in 1610-1624.

¹¹ The early Spanish and Portuguese chroniclers used the term 'Molucas' to indicate the five islands or island-groups situated to the west of Halmahera (Jailolo/Gilolo) Island and famous for its spices. They were Ternate,

Tidore, Moutel, Maquien and Bachan. The spelling of these names varies. One may find Terrenate for Ternate; Motir, Motiel, Moutiel for Moutil; Makian, Maquiem for Maquien; Bachao, Batjan for Bachan, etc.

In the beginning of the 16th century there were four Sultanates in this area: Ternate, Tidore, Bachan and Jilolo or Moro. The two important ones were Ternate and Tidore and of the two Ternate was the more powerful and influential. To him belonged both Moutel and Maquien. Moreover for many years the Sultan of Bachan was closely allied to the one of Ternate.

The first Moluccan ruler to embrace Islam was the King of Tidore. Around the year 1500 the ruler of Ternate followed his example. See more information, quite interesting, in Meersman, *op. cit.*, pp. 56ff.

Molucas comes from the word *mo* + *looc*. The root LUUC, or *Look* has been explained well in footnote 2 of Chapter One. See also, Combés, *op. cit.*, col. 758, under Moluco. In modern Indonesian it is written Maluku.

¹² An ancient name for the eastern coast of Samar. The word is Waray Bisayan and means 'on top'. There is a mountain range which begins in southern Samar and rises steadily toward the northern portion of Samar separating the eastern coast from the western. As a result of the two different names for the same Island, many chroniclers and writers confused it for two separate islands.

¹³ Throughout the narrative, Alcina fails to make it clear that the Bisayan language is a family of several languages, such as: Sebuano, Hiligaynon, Waray, Masbateño, etc.

¹⁴ There is hardly a doubt that Alcina has in mind the Islands of Capul and Biri. The Islet of Capul is situated on the western coast of the mainland of Samar and at the entrance to the San Bernardino Strait. It measures twelve square miles; eight miles north and south and three and a half miles east and west. It is a large oval-shaped island and has two high peaks southernmost in the vicinity of the municipality and one of which is some 794 feet high. The terrain is rolling with the largest level areas along the north-eastern coast.

The municipality of Capul Island is located on the eastern part of the islet which lies north-west of the mainland of Samar. In ancient times, the *población* was known as Abak and the entire island as Capul. On the islets northern tip, about 165 meters from the extremity, a lighthouse is situated which played an extremely important role especially during the Manila Galleon Trade era. It is located some 143 feet above the sea.

The linguist scholar, Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro, made a very interesting record of this seemingly unusual language spoken by the Capuleños.

"Sailing from the Marianas towards the Philippines, just before coming near the Island of Luzon, which is the main one among them all, we encounter the Island of Capul, called Abac by the islanders. Their language is a Malayan dialect. Don Francisco García de Torres, who was a missionary on the said island, had written a dictionary, a catechism and other works in the said Capuleño language. He also understood well the Bisayan, Tagalog, Pampango and other languages which are spoken in the Philippines. He had written to me from the city of Rome, on January 18, 1784 thus: 'I agree with you that the language is Malayan, which is spoken in the region of Malacca, just like all the other languages of the Philippine Islands... I, who know perfectly the language of Capul or Abac, discussing with one from Borneo, noticed or observed the dialects to be identical, that is, that of Capul and Borneo, with some slight differences in words. On the Island of Capul or that of the Abaknons, as its natives are called, there are three languages or dialects. One of these is spoken on the island which looks toward midday, and is known as *Inagta*, which means to say *Negrito*, because

on this island there are Negroes. In the portion facing the north is another language called *Inabaknun*. On the same islet, there is also another general language spoken in which we preach and administer the holy sacraments [i.e. Waray-Waray]. I understand the three languages and composed a dictionary, catechism, etc., in the *Inabaknum* language." Hervás y Panduro, op. cit., p. 444.

It is gratifying to learn that in June 1980, Marc R. and Suzanne Jacobson of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, had traced down and resolved the seeming mystery of the Capuleño or *Inabaknon* language and its origin.

The language of the people on Capul Island does belong to the Austro-nesian family of languages. Their language is a member of the Sama Bajaw group which stretches from Indonesia, through Sabah, to the Sulu Archipelago of the southern Philippines. Cognate percentages between Sama Abaknon and these southern relatives are in the mid to high sixties (Walton 1979-87) with many of the differences due to the fact that Abaknon is the only Sama language which has not come under the influence of Arabic (via Islam). Heavy influence from Spanish, however, began in the late 16th century and continued until early in this century.

The Abaknon people of Capul have been separated from their nearest linguistic relatives for about 800 years (This is based on the cognate percentages and an estimated rate of language change (cf. Pallesen 1977)).

The language is called *Inabaknon* by native speakers and Capuleño by the residents of mainland Samar. *Abaknon* has also been used, but is more appropriately the name of the people, meaning 'one who comes from *Abak*', the pre-Spanish name of Capul Island.

The Sama Abaknon is noteworthy among Philippine languages because of its phonological interaction with Spanish, resulting in two distinct phonemic subsystems.

Today, Sama Abaknon is spoken by approximately 20,000 speakers; 12,000 of them live on the island municipality of Capul, located in the San Bernardino Strait between Sorsogon and Northern Samar. The remaining 8,000 speakers are scattered throughout the country with large concentration living in the coastal towns of Northern Samar and in Manila. Most adult speakers are bilingual in one or more of the following languages: Waray, English, Cebuano, Bikolano, Pilipino and Masbateño. Marc R. Jacobson and Suzanne N. Jacobson, "Sama Abaknon Phonology," *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*. Vol. 11, Number 1 (June 1980), pp. 32ff.

In a passage of his *Historia*, Alcina also mentioned that prior to his time, on the Island of Biri, the Balicuatro Group off the northwestern tip of Samar, the people there spoke still another language. However, prior to the year 1634, all of them plundered, captured as slaves and killed-off by the Mindanao plunderers. Hence, every vestige of this particular was totally wiped out and only a memory remained.

CHAPTER TWO

¹ Colin seems to make a contrary observation stating that, "the natives of Mindanao, Jolo, Bohol and part of Cebu are more fair in appearance and demonstrate greater strength in many respects than the pure Bisayans; if they are not Borneans, then surely they are from Terrenate..." (Colin, op. cit., p. 16) Santa Inés repeats the same observation in an identical manner, while Delgado, on the other hand, states that the Bisayans are not too dark and that some are very white. Also, that the men are well-built. Cf. Juan J. Delgado, *Historia General Sacro-Profana...* (Manila: Imp. de el Eco de Filipinas de D. Juan Atayde, 1892), Tom. I, p. 371.

Blumentritt, in his *An Attempt at Writing a Philippine Ethnography*, has some general observations about the Bisayans, one of which is very striking even if he does not give any proof or any solid authority backing it up; namely. "Without falling back to the older sources it may be asserted that the Bisayans are more civilized or are in possession of a higher civilization than the Tagalogs." Translated by Marcelino N. Maceda, (Cebu: G. T. Printers, 1980), pp. 120-121. This writer is inclined to believe that the *Historia* of the Bisayans, penned by Alcina, quite well substantiates Blumentritt's gratuitous assertion. For no regional group of the entire Philippines has such a rich, extensive and voluminous pre-Hispanic cultural history as the Bisayans, indicative and reflective of a greatness that has been.

² This Bisayan-Waray term comes from *bocot*, *bocton*, *bocoton* and means 'hidden, secluded or a private room'. A *binocot* is one, usually and exclusively a woman, who withdraws into privacy. This term always has reference to a *Datu's* wife. Chapter 13, of Book Four has more to say about this matter, when it treats of marriage.

³ Mateo Sánchez, in his *Vocabulario*, under the term *binocot* makes the observation: "...today [i. e. 1620] she is no longer carried in such a manner when she goes out. *Op. cit.*, fol. 82.

⁴ Anthropologists and archaeologists on the Philippine scene maintain that tooth-filing was a general practice throughout the islands and is still practiced by some cultural minorities. In fact nearly all the adults had filed teeth. In the Calatagan excavations, two types of filing were encountered, that is, concave on the face of the tooth and square on the biting edge. The filing formula varied and in many cases more teeth were filed in the upper jaw than in the lower jaw. Briefly, the usual case was for the upper and lower six incisors to be filed. And, if the pre-molars were included in the filing it was invariably in the upper jaw.

The teeth were not filed until the late teens and the practice included both males and females. See, Robert B. Fox, "The Calatagan Excavations," in *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 3, August 1959, pp. 353-355.

⁵ This term simply means decorating teeth with gold but Alcina is applying it to the tiny gold pegs that were inserted into the incisors, uppers and lowers. This present writer had recovered a number of these gold-pegged teeth from ancient burial sites on the Island of Samar during the 1960's. Some of these pegs were cylinder-like in shape and others in pyramidal or triangular form. Still others were like tiny worked shields of gold attached to the front of the tooth with a peg behind it running into the tooth. "Gold pegs in incisor teeth have been widely encountered in Philippine sites... but more frequently in the central and southern Philippines." (Fox, *op. cit.*, p. 355).

Gold pegging, fronting and capping must have been an extremely popular practice among the Bisayans and definitely among the Samar-Leyte peoples. This is evident from the abundant terminology that had been in use regarding this ancient practice. Plowing through a very early Samar-Leyte dictionary, compiled by Father Mateo Sánchez in about 1620, I was able to recover the following terms which hardly appear in any of the better and more recent *Vocabularios*.

Garanggasang or *Binaritan* are terms which have reference to gold work on teeth which has a delicate or intricate design ("...son los dientes que están labrados y como feligrana). Those teeth that were worked in plain gold, without any ornamental or decorative work or design, were called *bansil nga madalano*.

Then again, *pusad* is a general term for a tooth made of gold. The author of the *Vocabulario*, placed four different types under this particular

category: 1) *bansil*, 2) *binacba*, 3) *marong*, 4) *dinucnay*. Regretably, only one type of gold worked teeth of the ancient Samareños and Leyteños was described; no description has been given anywhere in the dictionary for *binacba*, *marong* and *dinucnay*. We learn too, that the practitioner of this art was called *mamumusad* and the person carrying such gold work on his teeth was referred to as *pamumusaran* (pamusaran).

Another interesting term recorded for posterity concerning this matter is *pansil* which was like a gold-leaf which served to adorn the tooth or teeth or as Father Sánchez put it, "...las chapillas de oro que se ponen los Bisayas en los dientes". One wearing such gold work or gold facing on his teeth was referred to as *pansilan*.

Halop or *haclop* was another term for gold work that presumably covered the entire tooth, that is, gold capping, or as he put it again, "...cubierta o cobertor... o la que tiene los dientes dorados y como cubiertos." One who had this type of work done on his teeth was called or referred to as *hinalopan*.

The final, simple and inexpensive way of adorning their teeth was by staining them deep red with *buyo* or betel nut or blackening them with tobacco. This practice is called in Bisayan *alop*, which Alcina failed to mention earlier.

⁶ In Waray it is called *lunga* and is known as Oriental sesame (*sesamum orientale*), benne, sesame, an oily grain. It is a medicinal plant. The *lunga* is a plant of about three varas in height, with narrow leaves; its flower is small and white in color; its fruit contains some fine seeds from which oil is extracted. This oil, mixed with lime water, makes a fine remedy for burns. The fruit when toasted and ground up makes a beverage similar to a chocolate drink. (También hacen almíbar con dicha fruta, y *calamay* derretido). This plant is also called *sesamo de Indias*. (Antonio Sánchez de la Rosa y Antonio Valeriano Alcázar, O.F.M., *Diccionario Español-Bisaya/Bisaya Español*, (Manila: Imp. y Lit. De Santos y Bernal, 1914), Suppl., p. 407).

⁷ This arrangement is called by the following names: *talabhoc*, *pinanta*, *talorabung* and *bangloy*. See Sánchez, *op. cit.*, fol. 493 and de la Rosa & Alcázar, *op. cit.*, p. 6, 333 & Suppl., p. 23.

⁸ Perhaps more properly 'tago nga baysay' and meaning to say 'hidden beauty'. The word 'baysay' means something precious, beautiful and something affecting elegance and neatness; something pretty.

⁹ Earrings or small wheels of gold resembling the wheel-works of a watch which is placed by the Bisayans into an open hole in the lower part of the ear (de la Rosa & Alcázar, *op. cit.*, p. 237). Sánchez, in his 1711 *Vocabulario* describes it in a similar manner, cf. fol. 397.

¹⁰ Described simply as a type of earring used by both men and women (Sánchez, *op. cit.*, fol. 396).

¹¹ This type of earring is described by Sánchez as one made of ivory or gold, while de la Rosa & Alcázar add that it may also be fashioned from some other material, see respectively, *op. cit.*, fol. 66 and *op. cit.*, p. 38.

¹² A kind of a frill of filigree work in gold or silver also known as *palir-palir* (palid-palid) or *bitaybitay*. Both, *palir-palir* and *bitay-bitay* mean or refer to something that is suspended, an ear pendant, an earring tondril, small hoops or loops. Several other terms for the same are given but not described and are: *biao sa taling*, *ariyos*, *cambud sin balagon*. Cf. de la Rosa, *ibid.*, fol. 119 and Sánchez, *Ibid.*, p. 49 and 627.

¹³ A type of an earring worn by women only. It is another one of these terms not found in the better class of more modern lexicons, see Sánchez, *ibid.*, fol. 394.

¹⁴ Presumably from the word *pasoc* or *pascan*, which has reference to a wooden peg which joins two boards or pieces of wood, *ibid.*, fol. 401.. Or in a later edition of the lexicon, it is presented as *pas-oc* and meaning something thick, dense, gross; close, contiguous, compressed and joined or brought close together. Cf. de la Rosa & Sánchez, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

¹⁵ More properly the spelling should be *tael*. It was a silver coin used in the Philippine Islands; in weight it was equal to about 39 grammes.

¹⁶ More appropriately, *bariou*. It is a plant with narrow, indented leaves and as large as about five *varas* in height. It is thorny at the center rib but is used for weaving or making mats. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 393, supplement. Sánchez, in turn describes it as a 'small bush whose leaves are woven into a mat, cf. *op. cit.*, fol. 68 (he spelled it, *bariu*).