

CAPITULO 11

DE LAS NOTICIAS QUE LOS BISAYAS TUVIERON DEL VERDADERO DIOS, Y QUE CONO- CIMIENTO TUVIERON DE LA DIVINIDAD

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

CHAPTER 11

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

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

cuándo ni cómo fue; y a este *Malaon*, según lo que yo he podido alcanzar en cuanto he tratado, discurrido y comunicado con ellos, era al que reconocían por mayor y de más poder; y juzgan los más entendidos de estos tiempos que este es el Dios verdadero que les predicamos, sin principio, y el que es autor y creador de todo lo visible; pero ninguno he hallado, aun de los muy viejos, que oyese decir era Dios verdadero; aunque, como veremos abajo, le llamaban algunos *Diwata*; que, aunque esta palabra la usan ahora, y la usamos todos por acá, para nombrar los falsos dioses, juzgando que era nombre del Dios verdadero, como diré luego.

A este que llaman *Malaon* en lo de Ibabao y conocían por mayor, llamaban también *Macapatag*, que quiere decir “el que todo lo apareja y lleva por un rasero”; nombre con que significaban la igualdad de la justicia divina; y, aunque a su modo de concebir, por lo que he rastreado, lo tomaban por lo riguroso del castigar y no perdonar a nadie, de este su modo de sentir he discurrido yo que se les pegó este nombre de los hebreos que llamaban *Deus ultionum* a Dios, por los muchos castigos que vieron, y generalmente en la Escritura daban en la Ley escrita nombres de rigor, de Dios de las venganzas, que experimentaron en sus rigores, como pueblo incrédulo y de cerviz indómita; y éstos, por que son hijos del miedo comúnmente, y sin él no hacen cosa, como veremos en su modo de gobierno antiguo, por este nombre le temían y reverenciaban más; y de aquí vino lo que hallo en algunos apuntado, aunque juzgo fue mal entendido de los primeros que les trataron, y yo no lo he podido comprobar en lo que he averiguado, que dicen que a *Malaon* le tenían por mujer, porque era más blando y menos riguroso; mas, en lo que he he podido rastrear, el *Macapatag* era el mismo que *Malaon*; si bien, cuando querían poner miedo, le llamaban con el nombre riguroso, pues

this we shall see, in greater detail, when we come to speak about the *pag-anitos*, for thus do they refer to these among themselves. Those who have written about their affair with less certainty have called them 'sacrifices'; the above-mentioned is not as well substantiated as I shall try to make it here. This is no exaggeration: that important matters such as these need to be based upon many years of experience and a good knowledge of their affairs.

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

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

de la mentira, aunque tal vez con algunas apariencias de verdad, aunque por acá poco había de menester para borrarlo todo, pues lo que se escribe en la arena o en el polvo, presto se borra, y estos naturales son más frágiles que uno y otro.

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

Por esta causa a la primera causa (llamémosla así, a lo genético), o al que juzgaban por principio de todo, llamaban en su lengua *Malaon*, que quiere decir "El Antiguo", y corresponde al nombre que se da a Dios en el Apocalipsis: *Antiquus dierum*; que, como ellos no tenían noticia de la eternidad, ni hoy la entienden comúnmente, y se hallarán muy pocos que hagan concepto de ella, decían que el dicho *Malaon* era "El Antiguo", sin saberse

of lies, although, perhaps, disguised with some appearances of truth. However, over here, he needed little to eradicate it all; for what is written in the sand or on dust, quickly disappears. Now, these natives are even more changeable than the one and the other.

The most solid basis that I have found among these natives (to affirm) that they had some knowledge of the true God are the names with which they referred to Him in their antiquity. (These names taken) in their strictest sense indicated 'divinity', even though they did not recognize it or understand it that way. Even today, the more intelligent among the elderly men do not give any explanation of what they had heard. Only the most clever among them (i.e. the elderly men) say — according to what they now affirm of the true God Whom we announce to them — that they think that He might be One of those whom their ancestors pointed out as the beginning of all things and creator of the world. Although they did not know who He was, they thought that He was much more than a mere man, because they acknowledged and understood that man did not make himself but that he was made by another. Yet, as we have already stated, they gave such a low beginning to the first man and woman, as if they were two coconuts or two knots of bamboo. Nonetheless, they affirmed that this was the work of Someone Who existed before them. And so, without discerning or trying to discern whether or not the world was eternal, as some philosophers opined, or whether it had been created 'in time' (of this I have not found any trace in their ancient times and traditions), they believed that men had come into being after the world was made. Whether the time lapse had been long or short, they were unable to say. And in this manner, it seems, they understood the origin of visible things.

As a result, the first cause (let us call it so, in the manner of the gentiles) or what they judged as the beginning of all things, they called *Malaon* in their language. This (*Malaon*), in turn, means 'the Ancient One' and corresponds to the name that is given to God in the Apocalypse; namely, *Antiquus dierum*. Since they did not have any idea about eternity, nor do they ordinarily understand it even today — and few can be found who may take the trouble of investigating its nature — they say that the said *Malaon*

bien o librarse de algún mal, como lo veremos en particular tratando de los “paganitos”, que les llaman algunos que han escrito de sus cosas con noticias menos ciertas y no tan averiguadas como las que yo traeré, que no es mucho sean mayores, aunque últimas, con tantos años de experiencia y ciencia de sus cosas.

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

Diré lo que he averiguado con mucho cuidado en esta parte y deseo de rastrear lo que sabían y tenían entendido y con la diferencia que hallo entre ellos; y no me espanto; que, aunque juzgo que en sus principios tuvieron algunas noticias, apegadas quizás de los hebreos, como ya apunté, que vivieron o en la India Oriental o en el gran reino de la China, con quien estos confinan, como estas quedaron sólo en el libro de la memoria humana, sin más letras, libro ni escritura que la tradición de unos a otros, y todos ellos gente inculta y bárbara, no es mucho quedase con el tiempo tal que se duda, si fue o no fue del Dios verdadero, o si ilusiones diabólicas, que tuvieron no pocas, borraron aquella primitiva noticia, que me persuado tuvieron, tiznándola con las mentiras, embustes y embelecocos que él suele, como padre maestro que es, y ha sido siempre,

was the 'Ancient One' without knowing when or how He came into being. And this *Malaon*, according to what I have been able to gather from all that I have treated, discussed and communicated with them, was the One Whom they acknowledged as the most exalted and most powerful. And those better acquainted with the matter in our days, think that this One is the true God Whom we preach to them (Who is) without a beginning and Who is the Author and Creator of everything visible. However, I have not once come across anyone, even from among the very elderly ones, who might have heard that He was the true God; although, as we shall see below, some called him *Diwata*. For, although, they now use this term, and we all employ it over here, to name the false gods, I believe that it was the name of their true God, as I shall soon relate.

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

Hence, what I find written by some (authors), I think that it was misunderstood by those who first treated these (matters). I have not been able to verify what I have investigated. These (authors) affirmed that the (natives) considered *Malaon* a woman because of the greater mildness and a lack of sternness. However, in the course of my investigations, I have come to understand that *Makapatag* was the same as *Malaon*. Whenever they wanted to instill fear, they called Him by this stern name; cer-

de uno y otro nombre usaban comúnmente los indios de Ibabao para nombrar a su *Diwata*, o Dios, que eso quiere decir *Diwata*.

En Samar, que es la contracosta de Ibabao a la parte Occidental; que Ibabao es la Oriental de la isla, y lo mismo en otras partes, le llamaban comúnmente *Badadum*, que quiere decir "El dichoso" y el que daba las felicidades y dichas, y de este decían que gobernaba el mundo, causando los bienes y felicidades, y que era el señor del infierno; que cielo no lo conocieron como a bienaventuranza o premio.

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

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

tainly the *Indios* of Ibabaw commonly used both names to designate their *Diwata* or God, because that is what "diwata" means.

In Samar, which is the opposite coast of Ibabaw, and on the west, just as Ibabaw is on the east of that island — and similarly in other places — they commonly called their god *Badalum*; that means, "the Happy One" and the One Who bestowed happiness and good things. They said of Him that He governed the world, provided good things and happiness and that He was the Lord of Hell. They were not familiar with heaven as a place of bliss and as a reward.

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

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

Con los nombres dichos, y otros que habrá en otras islas muy diferentes, aunque en la significación casi conformes, reconocían algún genero de divinidad, o poder mayor que humano; y con nombre genérico, o general, llamaban *Diwata* a lo que nosotros llamamos Dios; pero como a este nombre, que en su origen y fuerza de esta lengua significaba al Dios verdadero, como *Anito*, “sacrificio que se hacia a Dios”; y de ahí *Paganito*, “sacrificar”, como diremos después, le hallaron los primeros ministros evangélicos tan maleado y aplicado, o por ignorancia o por malicia de los que en decurso de tantos años (quién sabe cuántos fueron) añadieron y quitaron, inducidos o engañados del demonio, sin duda tantas mentiras y embustes incapaces de la grandeza, majestad, saber y poder de nuestro gran Dios, y tan opuestas a las verdades de la fe que les predicaban y predicamos, los cuales hemos _____

mulgado, o mal aplicado y entendido, y comenzaron a entablar entre estos naturales el nombre de Dios, que nosotros usamos, para distinguirle de los otros con que ellos le llamaban, dejando el nombre de *Diwata* para sus dioses, sino fingidos totalmente en substancia, como hemos dicho, maleados ya con sus supersticiones, y que el demonio, afectando siempre divinidad, pues no salió con el *similis ero Altissimo*, se había aplicado a sí, engañándoles, como veremos, con varias apariciones, oráculos o repuestas que les daba; con lo cual ya hoy todos ellos, en diciendo *Diwata*, entienden a los dioses falsos, y nosotros les llamamos con este nombre, reprendiendo los sacrificios y ofertas que hacían a sus *diwatas*; que hallaron ya, cuando vinieron los Padres ministros evangélicos a estas Islas, tantos y de tan varios nombres que eran casi infinitos, y no sólo comunes (que los dichos arriba, y otros sus concernientes, fueron siempre como los mayores y generales a todos) sino particulares, y cada *Daetan* o *Bailana* tenía sus nombres puestos a su *diwata*, o inventados de ellos o intimados del demonio, y algunos tan feos que no podían serlo más,

(And thus), with such names and others quite different—which may be found on other islands, although almost similar in meaning—they acknowledged some sort of divinity or power greater than the human. What we call God, they designated by the term *Diwata*. However, as to this name, which in its origin and force of this language means the true God, so too *Anito* (means) “a sacrifice made to God”. Hence, from this is derived the term *pag-anito* (which means) “to sacrifice”, as we shall see later. The first Evangelical ministers found (this word) so corrupted and applied, either through the ignorance or the malice of those who in the lapse of so many years (who knows how many!), misled or deceived by the devil, added or took away, without doubt, so many lies and frauds, so improper with the greatness, majesty, wisdom and power of our great God and so opposed to the truths of the faith which they (i.e. former ministers) preached and we preach to them. (As a result, therefore), they began to promote the term *Dios* among themselves, which we today use to differentiate it from the others with which they called Him; thereby leaving the term *Diwata* for their gods. (Their gods) if not totally a product of human inventiveness substantially, as we have already stated, had been already altered by their superstitions. What more, the devil who always feigns divinity, since he could not accomplish in himself the *similis ero Altissimo*, had applied to himself (the name God) deceiving them, as we shall see, with various appearances, oracles or replies which were given them. All in all, today when they say *Diwata* it is understood that they mean the false gods. (We too), call them by this same name reproaching them for the sacrifices and offerings which they were accustomed to make to their *Diwatas*. When the evangelical ministers arrived to these Islands, they found so many and such a variety of these names that they were almost limitless. They were not merely the common ones, like those above and others related to them, but they were always as the most salient and general of all. Then too, they were also very proper and individual names, for each *Daetana* or *Bailana* had her own names affixed to her *Diwata*; either invented by them or inspired by the Devil. Some (names) were so ugly that they

y otros tan ridículos que mostraban bien ser su divinidad de risa, su poder fingido y corto, como constará de lo que diremos más abajo, tratando de algunos de ellos en especial.

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

could possibly have had no other source; while others were so outrageous that they clearly proved that their divinity was a farce, their power feigned and limited. (All this will be made) clear below when we will treat these things in a special way.

Hence, from all this we may conclude and from what we have said, we may deduce that although it seems evident that these *Indios* had a vague idea of the true God, and their ancestors had some knowledge of the One and only Maker of all things as these said names indicate; yet, with the passing of time, the lack of instruction, the inability to reason things out well, and most of all due to the deceits of the Devil, that concept was obscured very greatly. And this, so much so, that many of the older missionaries who came over here, have doubted very much whether they had such a knowledge, but rather felt that they worshipped the false gods. And although I hold as true that when the Gospel began to be preached to these Bisayans — for in Cebu they laboured the longest — about a hundred years ago (as we shall see in *Book 1* in the *Second Part*) the most important information that they discovered was about the imaginary or false gods. Nonetheless, this is what I have gathered from the most elderly — whom I knew in Ibabaw, Samar and Leyte (when arrived, most of them had received baptism as adults and quite a few in advanced age), for it had been hardly twenty six years that the preaching of the Gospel had been initiated in these Islands — I came upon some who were still heathens, but not many, since the first laborers were extremely diligent. It was thus that I was able to discover the said information and the fundamental tenet. Hence, one may conclude that they possessed a knowledge about the true God, although very limited and obscure. (Then too), not all of them had it as a rule, but only some of the keenest and most intelligent who preserved this knowledge which was handed down from father to son. It was from them that I gathered it all, although not in the very beginnings (of my arrival) because, in order to ascertain these matters well, it is necessary to have more than an average command of their language. And so, afterwards, little by little, impelled by the desire to grasp more deeply these matters, their language, customs and ancient practices, I discovered this fact and other matters which I shall report in the succeeding chapters and where we shall treat them with greater depth.

Y, para concluir de una vez con las noticias confusas que tuvieron de la creación del mundo, diluvio y demás cosas notables que a nosotros nos han enseñado las Divinas Letras, digo: que de la primera producción o creación de las cosas no hallo rastro alguno ni señal de que tuvieran noticias. Los más pensaban que este mundo había sido acaso, y, sin discurrir más, ni miraban las cosas creadas, sin alargarse a discurrir cómo, cuándo y quién fuese su Creador y Hacedor; y así ahora, cuando lo oyen, lo admiran mucho; y lo más que suelen responder cuando, contándoles el principio del mundo y las generaciones y discurso de él, su grandeza y variedad, etc., es decir: “bueno, bueno; nosotros nada de esto sabíamos ni jamás oímos a nuestros antepasados tratar de esto, ni tuvimos a quien preguntarlo”. Esto decían los más entendidos cuando preguntábamos de sus causas y principio.

Del diluvio, aunque ahora le llaman en su lengua *an pag-lunud sa calibutan*, o “la inundación del mundo,” tampoco rastrearon ni supieron cosa. Si algo saben es lo que han oído a los Padres predicadores, porque antes no he hallado alguno, y no son pocos a los que lo he preguntado de los más viejos que me sepan dar razón ni, que sepa, ni hubiese oído a sus mayores cosa alguna de él, cómo ni cuándo fue dicho diluvio, ni por qué causa; antes, cuando hoy lo oyen, lo admiran mucho y se espantan, dando naturalmente (que es señal entre ellos de admiración) castañetadas con la boca, que éste es el mayor aplauso que hacen a lo que les causa o más pasmo o más admiración en lo bueno y en lo malo; y así, aunque alguien ha escrito que del diluvio tuvieron estos filipinos alguna noticia, yo entre los bisayas que trato no la he hallado chica ni grande de él, ni de las demás cosas de que las Divinas Letras, a los que tenemos sus noticias, nos han hecho sabedores; que, como esta gente fue tan poca, sola, apartada y como dejada en estas Islas, o ángulos últimos del mundo, fueron muy pocas, muy faltas y falsas las pocas noticias que conservaron

And so to bring to a conclusion once and for all the confused knowledge that they had about the creation of the world, the deluge and other notable matters that we have been taught by the Sacred Scriptures, I put it thus: about the first origin or creation of things, I do not find any trace or sign that they had a knowledge of them. Most of them thought that this world had come to be by chance, without any further discussion. They did not bother to delve into the created things and made no deeper investigation about the how, the when and the who might be their Creator and Maker. And so now, when they hear all about it, they are greatly astonished; the only thing that they say when told about the beginning of the world, its evolution and development, its grandeur and variety, etc., is "Good, good! We knew nothing of this and never ever heard our ancestors speak about it; nor did we have anyone whom we might ask concerning it." This is how the more intelligent ones replied when they were asked about its causes and beginnings.

Concerning the deluge, even though today they say it in their tongue *an paglunud sa kalibutan*, which means "the inundation of the world", they did not describe it nor even say anything about it. If there is something they know about it, they have heard it from the Father preachers. I have not come across anyone who was able to tell me the story (about the deluge); yet I have questioned a good number of the elderly ones, who may have been able to tell something, how and when this flood occurred or what was the cause. When they hear of it today, they are greatly astonished and amazed at it, clacking their teeth with excitement (among them this is a sign of admiration. This is the greatest applause that they render for whatever causes them great astonishment for what is good or even undesirable). And so, although someone has written that these Filipinos had some knowledge about the deluge, I on the other hand, have not found any trace of it among the Bisayans I am dealing with, be it small or large. Nor even about the other matters that we have become familiar with through the Holy Writ. Because, as these people were so few, so isolated, separated and abandoned in these Islands and remotest corners of the world, they preserved very little knowledge from their forebears; even if they had any from them, it

de sus mayores; si tuvieron algunas ellos de ellas, pues vivían más como gente bárbara, *more ferarum*, que como hombres de razón, como se irá viendo por sus costumbres, debiendo sólo a la poca malicia de sus cortos caudales el no haberse afeado con pecados más feos y enormes, pues es cierto no tuvieron en su antigüedad tantos como otros bárbaros, menos noticiosos que ellos y más encenagados en torpezas, por haber crecido en más malicias, dejando Dios para los tiempos de la gracia, aunque acá más modernos por últimos, las noticias de todo lo que por medio de la predicación evangélica han ido alcanzando, y por el trabajo e industria de los predicadores mejorando, como veremos en la Parte Segunda siguiente; y, para que mejor se conozca, iremos poniendo, en los Capítulos que nos faltan de ésta, todo lo que de sus noticias, usos y abusos sabemos.

CAPITULO 12

QUE NOTICIAS TUVIERON DE LA OTRA VIDA; SI CONOCIERON ESPIRITUS BUENOS Y MALOS; QUE DE LAS ALMAS Y SU INMORTALIDAD

Materia es la de este Capítulo tan difícil de averiguar cuanto aun entre personas más políticas y cultivadas con ciencias mayores fue difícil de alcanzar. Quién ignora de los fieles que fue motivo de risa y aun de mofa en Atenas, emporio entonces de mayores ciencias del orbe, el haber oído nuevas de otra vida y de la inmortalidad de las almas y resurrección de los cuerpos, y los que menos mal pensaron lo quisieron oír otra vez? Pues, ¿qué harían estos pobres indios, cortos de caudal, faltos de enseñanza y nada deseosos de saber, sino vivir con una ceguedad

was very meagre and false. They lived more like an uncivilized people, *more ferarum*, rather than men of reason, as it will be seen from their customs. They owe what they have become entirely to natural intuition. (Thanks) to their scanty intellectual discipline that they have not deformed themselves with uglier and more enormous sins. It is a fact, that they did not have in their ancient times as many (sins) as other barbarians (had) who were less instructed than they and more immersed in turpitude since they have grown up in a more corrupt environment. Here God was put off until the time of grace; here all is rather recent since they were the last (to receive) the knowledge by means of the evangelical preaching and have been improving themselves in it by means of the labour and diligence of the preachers, as we shall see in the succeeding *Part Two*. And so that this may be better known, we shall be jotting it down in the remaining chapters of this (Part One); that is, all that we know about their knowledge, practices and abuses.

CHAPTER 12

CONCERNING THE KNOWLEDGE THEY HAD ABOUT THE OTHER LIFE; WHETHER THEY HAD ANY VIEWS ABOUT GOOD AND EVIL SPIRITS, SOULS AND IMMORTALITY

The subject-matter of this chapter is as difficult to investigate as it would be even if it were about individuals more civilized, cultured and more informed. Who does not know about the believers who became a laughing stock and a source of mockery in Athens, then an emporium of some of the best sciences in the world, upon hearing the news that there was another life, about the immortality of the souls and the resurrection of the bodies? Those who have given it a second thought, wanted to hear about it again. So it was with these poor *Indios*, so deficient in understanding, wanting in instruction and not desirous in knowing any-

torpísima y pensar, o imaginar, muy a lo bruto, pensando sólo y mirando a esto que se ve, sin acordarse un paso más allá del vivir en lo que se pudiera o esperar o temer?

Diré, pues, lo que he averiguado con no poco cuidado y diligencia con repetidas preguntas e intentadas dudas, sacándoles lo que en esta parte sentían o sabían, que no ha sido fácil.

Y así que, en común, los más de los bisayas ni sabían, ni creían ni pensaban en otra vida, ni alcanzaban que hubiese más que vivir y morir sin diferencia de las bestias, entendiendo que con la vida se acababa todo; pues aun hoy, después de más de sesenta años de enseñanza y sermones, en que incansablemente se les ha predicado y enseñado por tantos ministros como ha habido y hay, y tan celosos del bien de sus almas, no me atrevo a asegurar que los más, y lo más común hayan llegado aun a hacer concepto, no digo pleno, que raro se hallará, pero aun dimidiado, de que haya otra vida, y en ella premio para los buenos y castigo para los malos, pues me ha sucedido a mí no pocas veces, después de haberme cansado en esta materia, que procuro inculcarles, repetirles y declararles más que otra alguna, porque veo lo cortos que en ella están, responderme: “¿pues qué, después de muertos sienten, ni pueden sentir? eso fuera no haber muerto” — y quedarse sonriendo.

Otras personas más entendidas, y que hacen algún más concepto de lo que se les dice, y parece se adelantan más en entender, suelen decir, y a mí me han dicho no pocas: “Padre, verdad es sin duda lo que tu dices, que hay gloria y castigo, pues parece conforme a razón que los buenos sean premiados y castigados los malos; pero éso será para vosotros los españoles que sois gente entendida y sabéis todo eso; pero, para nosotros los bisayas, y así para los castilas, no dudamos que habrá cielo, pero para los

thing but to live in a shameful blindness and to think or imagine in a brute-like manner. (They were interested) only in having their thoughts fixed on and gaze upon that which can be seen, without considering anything more than to live according to what is either expected or feared.

I shall, therefore, report what I have found out with not little care and diligence through repeated questions and deliberate doubts, setting forth in this section what they felt or knew. This, certainly, has not been an easy task.

And so I say that, generally speaking, the majority of the Bisayans did not know or believe in, nor even thought about another life. Neither could they possibly conceive that there could be more to living and dying as is evident what happens to the beasts. They believed that with this life all is ended. Even today, after more than sixty years of instruction and preaching — with so many past and present ministers so untiringly concerned about the salvation of their souls — I do not hesitate to affirm that majority of the common people still have a long way to go in coming to grips with this concept, at least to some degree. Such an individual who could fully understand such an idea about life hereafter together with punishments and rewards is rare indeed; even those who could grasp this truth partially are hard to come by too. This has been my constant experience even to the point of exhaustion; namely, to impress them with this subject matter, to repeat and explain it all since I saw how little versed they were in matters such as these. Yet, they question: "How can we feel or even have any sensation after we have died? Then it is like not having died at all". And thus, they bring this to an end smiling.

Other individuals, who are more knowledgeable and who readily grasp what is said because of a keener understanding, oftentimes said and even told me: "Father, what you say is undoubtedly true; there must be glory and punishment. It seems reasonable that the good be rewarded and that evil-doers be punished. However, all this may be good for you Spaniards, who are knowledgeable people and know all that. But for us Bisayans and also for you Castilians, we do not doubt that there shall be a heaven. Yet, it seems to us that it is not so for the Bisayans,

bisayas parécenos que no, pues acá en el mundo nos crió Dios con tanta diferencia de vosotros; y, como vemos acá, ni aun en sus casas nos dejan asentar los españoles ni hacen caso de nosotros; ¿cuánto más allá, que, como vosotros decís, todo es grandeza, majestad y gloria sin fin?"

Estas y otras cosas a este talle he oído yo no pocas veces a estos pobres bisayas, y esto a los más entendidos, así hombres como mujeres, y que se hacen más capaces de las cosas de la otra vida, y este es su sentir común cuando ellos hablan entre sí de estas cosas; y por esto en todas las ocasiones que puedo, *impor-
tune, opportune*, les trato de esta materia en general y particular, procurando hacerles capaces de que Dios a nadie excluye de su Reino, y que ni hay castila, ni bisaya, ni negro para con Dios, y que todos somos unos, y que sólo al buen o mal vivir es el que mira Dios igualmente con todos para satisfacer a cada cual según sus obras; que aseguren con estas noticias su vocación y salvación; que en lo demás no duden que hallarán entrada en el cielo, etc.

Materia es esta de que se les debe tratar mucho, asegurar mucho y quitarles toda la duda, pues, como he dicho, viven la mayor parte con tanto engaño como de lo que acabamos de decir se colige. ¡Ojalá les abra Dios el entendimiento!

Digamos ahora lo que en esta parte tenían entendido y creído; aunque, sin luz de fe, todo eran mentiras. En general es cierto que nada, y que más eran ateístas que otra cosa. Lo que algunos de los más entendidos decían, y esto más por consejas que por tenerlo por cierto, era: que el alma nacía y moría nueve veces; conque parece estaban untados de la transmigración pitagórica que tanto ha cundido en el mundo, aun entre muy entendidos, y que al cabo de las nueve veces venía a quedar tan chiquita que, cuando moría la última vez, cabía en un ataúd que ellos llaman *longon*, del tamaño de un grano de arroz. ¡Tanto como esto se gastaba en el uso del repetido morir!

because here on earth God created us so different from you. For as we see it here, the Spaniards do not permit us even to sit down in their houses, nor do they even mind us. So much the less will it be the case for us there where you say everything is grandeur, majesty and glory without an end." These and other things of a similar nature I have heard not a few times from these poor Bisayans; this came from some of the most intelligent among them, both men and women, who are the most capable of understanding such matters as life hereafter. This is how they generally feel whenever they speak among themselves about these matters. And for this reason, on all the occasions possible, *importune* or *opportune*, I discuss this matter with them in general and in particular, trying to make them understand that God does not exclude anyone from the Kingdom. (Also), that before God there is no such thing as Bisayan nor Castilian nor Negro; we are all one and the only thing that God takes into account is whether we live a good life or an evil one, since He judges each one accordingly. Now, with the help of this knowledge, they should assure their call and salvation. And, as for the rest, they need not doubt that they will find their way to heaven, etc.

This is a subject that must often be brought home to them, repeated frequently so as to remove all doubts. As I have (often) said, the majority of them live under such misconceptions as I have just pointed out. Would to God that they would be able to understand (all this)!

Let us now relate what it is about this subject-matter that they had understood and believed, although without the light of faith, all of it was a deception. In general, it is a fact that (they grasped) nothing; more than anything else, they were simply atheists. What some of the more knowledgeable ones affirmed — and this more by way of myths than by something that they held as certain — was this: that the soul was born and died nine times. It seems, then, that they were imbued with the Pythagorean transmigration, which has become so widespread, even among very intelligent peoples. At the end of the ninth time of dying, the soul became so small that it could be accommodated in a casket, which they call *longon*, as tiny as a single grain of rice. In such a fashion did the soul waste away through its repeated dying.

Del cuerpo nuestro decían que, después de enterrado, se convierte en agua, de noche, y que de día vive junto con el alma; y, si les preguntaren ¿con cuál de los nueve cuerpos pasados vivía, pues, habiendo mudado nueve, era fuerza o con todos o con uno? — no saben responder a propósito.

Decían que los casados se juntaban allá después de muertos, teniendo el marido allá las mismas mujeres que había tenido acá, viviendo maridablemente y comiendo y bebiendo como acá antes que murieron; pero que las mujeres no parían más después de muertas acá una vez, ni tenían más hijos de los que acá tuvieron.

Después de muertos, decían que iban todos a un lugar que llamaban *saad*, que pintaban al modo de los Elisios; y que *Badadum*, el *diwata*, que ya dijimos que es el que gobierna el mundo, y que sabe cuándo uno muere, llamaba todos los parientes, como padres, abuelos y antepasados del difunto, y les decía que fulano su hijo era muerto, y así que le saliesen todos a recibir. Entonces tomaban todos sus lanzas y *calasag*, que son sus escudos y paveses, y, en compañía del dicho Badadum, iban a la boca del río, que era al modo de *letheo* de Virgilio y allí le aguardaban con grande fiesta y algazara.

En llegando el difunto, destapan el ataúd o *longon*, y el dicho Badadum preguntaba si era aquel fulano, y, en viéndole muy arreado con oro y otras preseas, que, como veremos cuando tratemos de sus entierros, les adornaban y enterraban con todo su oro, decía: “Verdad es, este es fulano porque trae mucho oro,” desconociendo a los que traían; y esta era la causa de ponerles todo el oro que podían, y luego decía a sus parientes que le llevarsen al pueblo de su padre del dicho Badadum, llamado *Ayao*, y al pueblo llamaban *Bariaas*; y que, llevado al dicho pueblo el difunto, se ocupaba en robos y *pangaiao*, que es “cautivar”: el labrador en cultivar la tierra; las mujeres en sus tejidos y costuras

Concerning the body they said that after the burial it is changed into water, but joined the soul during the day. And when they were asked with which of the nine bodies did the soul live (because having passed through nine, it was imperative either (to have lived) with all or with one only), they were unable to give a suitable answer. (Also), they stated that the married individuals were joined there after death; the husband having the same woman there as he had here on earth. (And so) they lived there in marital bliss, eating and drinking as before death. The women, however, were no longer fertile after dying here once, nor did they have more children than those they had here (on earth).

After death, they said that all went to a place called *Sa-ad*, which they described as some sort of Elysian Fields. *Badadum*, the *Diwata* who, as we have already stated, governs the world and knows when one dies, summoned all the relatives as parents, grand-parents and ancestors of the deceased, and said to them that so and so, their son, had died. All were expected to come forth and welcome him. Then, all took up their spears and *kalasag* (which are their shields, larger and smaller ones) and together with *Badadum* they went to the mouth of the river which was as if that of Virgil's Lethe. There they awaited him with great feasting and merriment.

When the deceased arrived, they opened the casket or *longon*, while the said *Badadum* inquired whether he was the one. And seeing him well adorned with gold and jewelry (for as we shall see when we come to speak about their burials, how they laid them out and buried them with all their gold), he said: "Truly, it is so-and-so, because he brings along much gold!" Those who failed to do this, were not recognized. And this was the reason for placing with them as much gold as they could possibly gather. Next, he said to his relatives to take him to the town of the father of *Badadum*, called *Ayad*, and to a town called *Baraiaas*. And when the deceased was carried to the said town, he kept himself busy with the same matters as he was accustomed to do here when he was alive. In the same way, the valiant and the warrior busied himself with plunder and *pangiaw*, which means "taking captives". Meanwhile, if it was a laborer, he would cultivate the

como acá; y en esto se ocupaban siempre. Que parece copiaron esta mentira, como otras, de aquello de Virgilio: "... *quae gratia curruum armorumque fuit, quae cura nitentes pascere equos, eadem sequitur tellure repostos*", etc. (Virgilio, *Aeneidos*, Lib. VI, vv. 653-655)

De modo que este era su cielo o su infierno, sin discurrir en nada de esto; pero del cielo decían que, aunque cual o cual confiesan que conocieron siempre que lo hay, sólo vivía en él *Malaon*, que es el que dijimos arriba que reconocían los que sabían algo de esto, que eran los menos, y no muchos, al Dios verdadero, y como a tal le daban al cielo por su morada, que quizás se les quedó esto, como ya apuntamos, de algunas vislumbres que del verdadero Dios tuvieron, heredadas, a mi ver, de algunos de los primitivos, que serían decendientes de hebreos y habrían oído algo a sus mayores de lo que dice David: "*Coelum coeli Domino...*" etc., pero todo esto ni lo creían, ni entendían, ni se hacían capaces de ello, sino que repetían como otros muchos cuentos y consejas y fábulas que oían a sus viejos y viejas, que no eran pocos; y en otra parte diremos algo de ellas; de modo que, en lo tocante a la inmortalidad del alma y otra vida no tenían cosa cierta ni sabían; y aun lo que es más, a mi ver, ni pensaban en eso, sino sólo en vivir acá y pasar, conformándose con aquel: "*comedamus et vivamus, cras enim moriemur*," que decían los otros de quien trata el Sabio en la Sagrada Escritura, etc.

Acerca de los espíritus malos y buenos hallo aun más fundamento para creer y entender que tuvieron más noticias de ellos que de las otras cosas de la otra vida, y a éstos llamaban *humalagar*, palabra que en su lengua quiere decir "cosa que sigue y acompaña"; y, a mi ver, eran estos los que los antiguos llamaron genios; pues, en su modo de hablar y explicarse, dicen lo mismo casi que decían los antiguos de ellos; y en no poco concuerdan con los que llamamos nosotros tutelares y ángeles buenos y malos, pues

fields; and if women, with their weaving and neddlework, as here. This is how they were always occupied (in life hereafter). It seems that they copied this lie, as others, from Virgil: *quae cura nitentes armatum quae fuit vivis, eadem sequitur telluris repostos, etc.*

All in all, this was their heaven or their hell without elaborating upon any of it. But about heaven, even though only a few acknowledged it, they said that they always knew that it exists. The only one who lived there was *Malaon*. He is the one, as we have said before, who was acknowledged by those who knew something about the true God; such were very few and not many. And as such, they gave Him heaven as his abode. Perhaps, this was the result, as we have already noted, of some vague ideas that they had about the true God, inherited, as I see it, from some of the primitive men, who might be descendants of the Hebrews. They might have heard something too from their ancestors; something of what David uttered: *Caelum, caeli Domino, etc.* But they did not believe all this nor did they understand it, nor were they capable of it. But they repeated it as if it were one of the many stories, myths and legends which they heard from the old men and women and which were not only a few. Elsewhere, we shall say something about them. Similarly, what concerns the immortality of the soul and the life hereafter, they had nothing definite about it, nor did they know anything. What more, in my opinion, they did not even think about this except to live here only and to go about conforming to the maxim: *Comedamus et vivamus, cras enim moriemur*, as it is said of those about whom the wise man speaks in the Sacred Scriptures, etc.

Regarding the evil and good spirits, I find an even more solid basis to believe and to understand that they had a greater knowledge of these than other things about the life hereafter. These they called *humalagad*, a word which in their language means "something that follows or goes along together". In my way of looking at it, these were what the ancients called *genii* (i.e. fairies); because in their manner of speaking and explaining them, they almost say the same thing as the ancients said about them. And this agrees, in no small way, with those Whom we call guardians and angels, good ones and evil ones. They regarded these

en estas dos diferencias reconocían a los dichos *humalagares*, diciendo que eran dos que acompañaban siempre al hombre, uno bueno y que le hacía bien, y otro malo que le buscaba mal y desdichas; y así a este era a quien más temían y procuraban tener propicio con algunos sacrificios a su modo, como después veremos.

Y porque en esta materia, aun entre los ministros y que saben la lengua de estos naturales, hallo alguna diferencia en entender esta palabra *humalagar*, ocasionada de que aun los mismos bisayas no la usan como debieran, y la confunden en su modo de hablar, para mayores noticias e inteligencia diré lo que he hallado entre ellos tocante al *humalagar* y el modo de entenderlo de los más entendidos en su lengua y costumbres, que no todos lo son ni saben de eso.

Hallo, pues, a muchos que dicen que estos, que llaman *humalagar*, son las almas de los difuntos sus antepasados, de las cuales decían que podían ayudar a los vivos, y por esta causa las llamaban en su ayuda y les pedían favor en sus necesidades; y como decían *cun bu-ot sa diwata*, que quiere decir, "si Dios quiere"; decían también *bu-ot san humalagar*, "si así lo quisieren las almas de mis difuntos," etc., y, como sus sacerdotisas les solían decir cuando estaban enfermos: *Mangaraba ka sa diwata* o "pide favor a Dios", les decían también: *Mangaraba ka sa humalagar* o "pide favor a las almas de tus difuntos". Y a todo género de difuntos, o recién muertos o muy antiguos, siendo de sus antepasados, pedían favor; de modo que cada cual pedía, no en común a los difuntos, sino a los suyos, a sus padres, abuelos y antepasados.

Este modo de rogar a los difuntos, aunque no dudo lo usaron y usan muchos, y lo entendían así, y aun hoy, cuando están enfermos, les oímos decir muchas veces: *Pagkamataya an imo iroy*, que quiere decir: "¡Ay, madre, matadme!" que es como pedir a

humalagares as belonging to two different classes: some who were good and accompanied man and always did good to him, while the others were bad and sought out evil and misfortunes for him. Hence, it was the latter that they feared most and whom they tried to appease by means of various sacrifices in their particular way, as we shall see afterwards.

As far as this matter is concerned, even among the ministers and those who know the language of the natives, there is some diversity in understanding this word *humalagad*. (This difficulty is even compounded) by the fact that the Bisayans themselves do whom they call *humalagad*, are the souls of their deceased ancestors. These, they say, were able to help the living, and for this not use it as they should and confuse it when speaking about it. For a better clarity and understanding of the subject-matter, I shall relate what I have found out among them concerning this *humalagad* and the manner of understanding it as it came to me from the most learned ones who understand their language and customs. Not all of them are such, nor do they understand this.

Now then, I come across many who say that these (spirits) reason they called upon them for their assistance and sought favours from them when in need. Just as they said: *Kun bu-ot san diwata*, which means "If god so wills"; so too they also said: *Bu-ot san humalagad*, which is to say, "If the souls of my deceased (ancestors) so wish it", etc. And, as their priestesses were accustomed to tell them when they were sick, *Mangaraba ka sa diwata*, that is, "Ask a favour from god"; so too, they also said: *Mangaraba sa humalagad* or "seek or ask a favour from the souls of your deceased". They begged for favours from all sorts of dead, either recently deceased or even dead for a long time, just as long as they were their ancestors. And this in such a manner, that each one asked, not from the deceased in general but from his own (deceased) parents, grandparents and other forebears.

There is no doubt that they practiced this way of praying to their deceased; understood it in this manner and still do so today rather extensively. When they are ill, we often hear them repeat thus: *Pagkamataya an imo iroy*, which means to say "Oh, mother, kill me". All this is the same as if they were asking

sus muertos que se le lleven allá consigo; y este modo de depreciación vemos que lo usan aun hoy muchos españoles que en sus dolencias piden a sus padres difuntos que les maten, etc. Con todo, me persuado que esto de aplicar a los difuntos el nombre de *humalagar* ha sido y es corruptela y confundir estos con los genios o tutelares que decíamos, pues hoy entre los más entendidos vemos que hacen diferencia, y, cuando se confiesan, que lo he reparado y no pocas veces, distinguen el pedir ayuda a los *humalagares* del pedirla a las almas de sus antepasados, haciendo diferencia de uno y otro, y entendiendo que, cuando lo piden al *humalagar*, lo piden al genio bueno o malo, y, cuando a las almas de sus difuntos, sólo a sus antepasados.

Y así, si miramos a la fuerza de la palabra bisaya, es cierto que no se deben entender por *humalagar* a los difuntos, de los cuales ni decían ellos ni creían que seguían a los vivos, sino que estaban, como decíamos, en el *Sa-ad*, que eran sus Elisios; pero que podían ayudarles desde allí, o por sí, que ni esto saben decir, o por medio de *Badadum*, que, como decíamos de sus mentiras, decían era el que gobernaba lo sublunar, y a éste pedían los difuntos ayudase a sus hijos.

Pero la palabra *humalagar* sale de otra que quiere decir "seguir a otro" que es *agar*; y de aquí *alagar*, que es palabra y significación griega-hebrea.

Llaman al criado porque sigue a su amo: *agarun*; al amo a quien sigue, y de aquí *omalagar*, "el que va siguiendo a otro"; y de este *omalagar* decían lo que nosotros de los Custodios, que seguían siempre al hombre desde que nació; y así dicen en su lengua que era: *Dungan sa pagkatawo*, o "que nacía junto con el hombre", porque de hecho decían de algunos de ellos que nacían de un parto con el niño; de otros, que se lo señalaban al nacer.

their dead to carry them off where they are. Today, even many Spaniards use this mode of imploring their deceased parents, to kill them when plagued with pain and suffering, etc. Yet, notwithstanding all this, I am convinced that this practice of applying to the deceased the word *humalagad* has been, and is, a corruption. They confuse this with the genii or the protectors, as we have already stated. Nowadays, among the more intelligent, we see that they make a distinction (i.e. between the spirits of the ancestors and the *humalagad*). When they make their confession — I have observed it not a few times — they distinguish between asking help from the *humalagad* and requesting it from the souls of their ancestors. They understand that when they pray to *humalagad*, they are imprecating the good or evil spirits; when they seek help from the souls of the dead, it is understood that they are seeking help from their ancestors.

And so, if we reflect on the force of the Bisayan word *humalagad*, it is clear that by it is not meant their deceased. About the latter, they never say or even believe that these followed the living, but that they dwelled, as we have said, in the *sa-ad*; these were their Elysian Fields, (as we have already stated). Now, how could they (i.e. the souls) help them from there either by themselves or through *Badadum*, they could not explain. As we have already said about their deceptions, he (i.e. *Badadum*) is the one who governed everything that was found beneath the moon; it was from him that the deceased begged assistance for their children. However, the word *humalagad* is derived from another which means "to follow another"; this, in turn, is *agar*. Then again, the latter comes from the term *alagar*, which is a word of Graeco-Hebrew origin. A servant is so called because he follows his master; *agarun* is the master whom the servant is called to follow. Once again, from the latter is derived the term *omalagad* which means "he who follows another". About this *omalagad*, they said what we say about the guardians, who always follow one from the moment of one's birth. Therefore, they say in their language: *Dungan sa pagkatao*, which means "that he was born together with the man". As a matter of fact, they said about some of them that they were born in a single delivery with the child; about others, that these were appointed or assigned to them at birth.

Y por esto llamaban *omalagar* a unas culebras que nacían con el niño de un parto y le acompañaban todo su vida. De los muy valientes en su antigüedad solían decir que tenían *omalagar* que les ayudaba; y porque no se entienda que esto era ficción, solamente diré lo que he oído de sus antigüedades, y oído y visto en estos tiempos.

Es cosa constante entre estos naturales por su tradición de padres a hijos, y lo oímos en sus cantares antiguos, que estos son sus historias y anales, que antiguamente nacía con algunos de los hijos varones (de hombres no se dice), una culebra que se criaba siempre mansa y no lejos de la casa de los padres, y que seguía al niño cuando salía de su casa y le acompañaba dondequiera que iba, y mucho más en siendo grandes y valientes, que todos los que nacían con culebra decían lo erar, acompañándoles siempre en sus *pangaiiao*, que eran sus guerras y robos; y era de modo que, cuando iban embarcados, como solían y veremos después, se embarcaba con ellos y era como paje de armas, pues embestía cuando paleaba su hermano de vientre y le ayudaba a pelear, causando no poco miedo en los embestidos o enemigos, y debiendo a la ayuda de dichas culebras muchas de sus hazañas y victorias y la cantidad de esclavos que cogían en otras partes y traían a sus pueblecillos y *gamoros*, que así les llamaban.

Y no cuentan de uno solo y en una parte casos semejantes sino de varios en diferentes pueblos, islas y tiempos; y en esto no tienen ellos duda alguna, sino que dicen era realmente así, y que sucedió no pocas veces en su antigüedad (así lo he oído yo en varios cantares suyos antiguos, y que enseñan los padres a sus hijos con más cuidado que el rezo o las oraciones, que por ser difíciles de entender, como dije, los entienden pocos de los europeos, y así de los ministros, pues es menester estudio particular para entenderlos y flema aun para oírlos, porque son prolijos).

And so, this is the reason why they gave the name *omalagad* to some snakes which were born with a child during a delivery; these (snakes) kept close company with such a one throughout his lifetime. About the very brave (individuals) in their antiquity they were wont to say that these had such an *omalagad* to help them. So that this may not be understood as mere fiction, I shall only relate what I have heard about their ancient times and heard and seen in these times (i.e. currently).

It is a well-established fact among these natives, as a result of tradition which is passed on from father to son, and which we have also heard in their ancient songs—for these are their histories and annals—that in times past there was born with some of their male children (nothing is said about the females) a serpent. It grew up tame, crept about near the house of the parents and followed wherever the child went. This was even all the more so when such children grew up and became brave—for they said that all who were born with a serpent were so—for these always accompanied them on their *pangiauw*, that is their wars and depredations. It happened that when these were on board a vessel, as they were accustomed to and as we shall see later, (the serpent) too went along with them and acted as if their armor-bearer, joining them in combat when its uterine brother fought and helped him in the struggle, causing no little fear to the ones being attacked or the enemy. The assistance of these snakes was responsible for many of their feats of prowess, victories and increased the numbers of slaves whom they captured in various places and brought to their little towns and *gamoros*, as they called them. They relate not only about one such occurrence which has happened in one particular place, but about several in different *pueblos*, islands and times. About these matters they have no doubts whatsoever; for they say that it was really so, that it happened not a few times in the ancient past. In like manner, I have heard it in several of their ancient songs, which the parents teach to their children with greater diligence than prayers and supplications. (These songs) are difficult to understand, as I said, and only a few Europeans and ministers understand them, because a specialized study is demanded in order to grasp them and even a lot of patience to listen to them, since they are so lengthy.

Añadiré lo que he visto y oído, y me ha quitado mucha de la duda que en este particular tenía antes, y dejé para este lugar de industria el contarle, y fue que, estando yo en el pueblo de Borongan, de que ya hemos hecho mención, y haremos más, me dijeron cómo habían venido a vivir a dicho pueblo de Calbiga, que está en la contra-costa de la isla de Ibabao y en la parte que llaman Samar, dos o tres casados parientes, y que la mujer del uno de ellos había parido, junto con el hijuelo, una culebra de las que vamos diciendo. No fue necesario enviarlos a buscar, como yo quise, porque vinieron a verme el padre y madre, marido y mujer, de quien se decía el parto. Informéme despacio y vi al niño, que, cuando me lo trajeron, tendría un año, poco más a menos, y andaba ya; que por acá a los nueve meses suelen comenzar a hacerlo, y era, para indio, muy bonito.

Preguntéles si era verdad que con aquel niño había nacido una culebra, el tamaño de ella y lo demás que me pareció, a que me respondió la misma madre, delante de otros muchos (que unos habían oído el caso y otros no), lo siguiente: “Sabrás dijo, Padre, que habiendo yo parido en el pueblo de Calbiga a este niño, nacido él, sentí que tenía aun cosa viva en la barriga, pues se meneaba; díjeselo a la partera que me asistía y a mi madre que estaba presente, y, haciendo ellas su oficio, eché una culebra del tamaño del dedo índice y de más de palmo y medio de larga, desde la cabeza hasta el medio cuerpo colorada, de medio abajo negra, pero relucientes todas las escamas.

“Así como la vi, tuve miedo y di un grito, y aun me aparté del lugar donde estaba. Nadie se atrevió a echarle mano, y así se caló por entre las rendijas del suelo (que ya hemos dicho son de cañas o *bahes*, partidos y amarrados; y en estas ocasiones, por las inmundicias que acompañan a los partos, no les ponen las es-

I shall add what I have seen and heard, since this had moved me to put away many of my doubts which I entertained about this matter. Intentionally, I decided to relate it here at this particular point (of the narrative). This happened when I was in the town of Borongan, of which we have already made mention and will do so again; there they told me how two or three couples, who were relatives, had come to live in Calbiga, which is the opposite coast of the island of Ibabaw and in the region which they call Samar. The wife of one of them had given birth, along with an infant son, to a snake of the kind we are speaking about.

It was not necessary to send for them, as I have intended, since the father and mother, husband and wife, about whom the delivery was reported, came to see me. They related the episode to me in great detail and I saw the child who, when they brought to me, was about a year old, more or less and already walking about. Here they ordinarily begin to walk at nine months. He was very comely taking into account that he was an *Indio*.

I made an inquiry whether it was true that together with the child a serpent had also been born; I also asked about its size and some other things that occurred to me. To this, the mother herself answered me in the presence of many people (for some had heard of the case while others did not) in the following manner: "Padre, you must know," she said, "that after I had delivered this child in the town of Calbiga, I felt that I still had something living in the womb, since something was moving about. I called the attention of the midwife assisting me and of my mother who was then present. With their help I was able to expel a snake which was about the size of an index finger and more than a palmo and a half in length. It was reddish in color from the head to the middle of its body, and from its middle down, it was black and with very shiny scales.

"As soon as I caught sight of it, I screamed out loud; terribly afraid I ran away from the place where I was. And since no one dared to get hold of it, it got away between the slats of the flooring; for as we have already said, these were made of split and bound bamboo called *bahes*. On such occasions (i.e. during childbirth) by reason of the impurities (i.e. after-birth) which accompany the birth, it was not customary to lay out their mats

teras que suelen en sus camas), y todos comenzaron a decir que era *omalagar*, y que mi hijo sería valiente y bien afortunado.

“No vi en aquel día ni el siguiente a la culebra, que luego se escondió en la espesura y malezas de cerca la casa; pero, yendo al tercer día a dar de mamar a este niño, hallé la dicha culebra a su lado y tendida en el *baha* (así llaman a un género de cunas que suelen hacer o de cañas o de bejuco, a que suelen llamar también *duyan*, cuando es mayor). Tuve miedo y sacudila, con que se cayó abajo, y de esta manera la topé no pocas veces, y algunas, cuando yo me quedaba dormida con mi hijuelo en el regazo, hallaba en él a mi culebra enroscada, y siempre al lado del niño, hasta que viéndome perseguida de ella, temerosa porque nunca me he podido vencer el tocarla, aunque ella da ocasiones para ello, nos hemos mudado acá por huir dicha culebra. Veamos si nos sigue acá lejos.”

Esto me contó la dicha mujer, que confirmó su marido y madre, que ambos y el niño estaban juntos allí, sin otra mucha gente que oyeron lo referido.

Preguntéles si habían visto rastros en el camino, o después de haber llegado, de dicha culebra, y me respondieron que no; pero que otros que después de ellos habían salido de su casa, que estaba en lo más lejos del río de Calbiga, que llaman Iraya, la habían visto en su dicha casa dos o tres días después que ellos habían salido de ella, y que parece buscaba al niño que echaba de menos.

Esto me contaron los dichos, que concuerda con lo que ellos cuentan de sus antigüedades; y es cosa muy sin duda entre ellos, y yo la tuve menos después que vi al dicho niño y oí a su madre todo lo referido.

Qué género de culebras sea este, cuál la causa eficiente que las produce en las entrañas, de qué y cómo se conservan dentro del vientre y fuera de él, del instinto de buscar a su hermano de vientre, llamémosle así, de seguirle y acompañarle, como ellos cuen-

in their houses the usual way. Everyone about began to say that it was an *omalagad* and that my son would be valiant and extremely fortunate.

"I did not see the serpent for the rest of the day nor even on the following day; it must have hid itself in the thicket and underbrush near the house. On the third day, however, while going to breast-feed the child, I found the snake at his side lying on the *baha* (for this is what they call a kind of a cradle which they are accustomed to make either of *bejuco* or bamboo. When it is larger, they call it a *duyan*). Frightened again, I shook it out and it fell below somewhere. I came upon it like this several times. Sometimes when I happened to fall asleep with my child at my bosom, I found the snake curled up at the side of the child. Finally, seeing that I was so plagued by it everywhere, and fearful because I could never get myself to touch it, even though I had many opportunities to do so, we moved here to get away from this serpent. Let us see if it follows us here, at such a distance (I said to myself)."

This is what the woman related to me, and her husband and mother confirmed it, since they were there together along with many other people who heard what has been told.

I had asked if they had seen any traces of the snake on the road after they had arrived (to Borongan); they answered that they did not. Others, however, who had left their dwellings after them, which was located in the most remote part of the Calbiga River, which they call *iraya*—had seen it in their said house two or three days after they had left it. It seems that it must have been searching for the child, whose absence it noticed.

This is what was told to me by these (individuals) and it agrees with what they relate about their ancient traditions. About all this they have not the slightest doubt; I too, after having seen the said child and having listened to all that the mother reported, began to doubt a little less.

What species of snakes could these be, what is the efficient cause which produced them in the womb, in what way and by what means were these preserved within and then outside of the womb; its instinct for seeking its uterine brother—let us call it so—of following him (as they relate), and accompanying him

tan, en sus guerras, y de todas las demás circunstancias, discurren los filósofos las causas, que yo no me atreveré a dar razón natural de algunas de ellas; y si hubo o no algo en que concurra el demonio para engañarles por este camino, ni ellos lo saben decir, ni es fácil conjeturar. Lo cierto es, como vimos, que en esta mujer no hubo voluntad ni cooperación a ello; y, pues huyó, señal es que no consintió en pacto o beneplácito.

En qué paró no lo he podido averiguar después, porque no apunté entonces los nombres de los padres y del hijo, que sin ellos no se pudo hacer diligencia competente. Y esto baste en cuanto al dicho *omalagar*, que de los sacrificios que les hacían trataremos en los capítulos siguientes.

CAPITULO 13

DE SUS SACERDOTES Y SACERDOTISAS Y COMO LLEGABAN A ESTA DIGNIDAD; SI TE- NIAN COMO TEMPLOS EN QUE HACER LOS SACRIFI- CIOS, ETC.

Aunque siempre el demonio fue, es, y será padre de mentiras y gran artífice de engaños, constante y aun conforme en serlo en todas partes, parece que en estas Islas entabló muchos de los que en otras aunque más políticas, más entendidas y más vanamente superticiosas naciones de Europa, hemos leído usaban en su ciega gentilidad; y no es mucho simbolice mucho si el Autor acá y allá fue el mismo; aunque acá menos religioso o menos ceremoniático, y atemperándose al corto natural de estas gentes, a su poco caudal y policía, si bien más a lo tosco, no menos supersticioso, se hacía

in his wars and of all those other circumstances, let the philosophers discuss its causes. I shall not dare to forward a natural explanation about these matters. Also, I do not know whether or not there was any diabolical intervention to deceive them in this manner. They themselves do not know how to explain it, nor is it easy to find out. It is certain, as we have seen that in this woman there was no will or cooperation with him. And since she fled, it seems to be a sign that she did not consent to any pact or agreement (with Satan).

I have not been able to determine the final outcome, because at that time I failed to jot down the names of the parents and the child; without them, no fitting investigation could have been made. Let this suffice as far as this *omalagad* is concerned, because about the sacrifices that they made to them, we shall treat in the succeeding chapters.

CHAPTER 13

CONCERNING THEIR PRIESTS AND PRIESTESSES AND HOW THEY ACQUIRED THIS DIGNITY; WHETHER THEY HAD SOMETHING LIKE TEMPLES IN WHICH TO OFFER THEIR SACRIFICES, etc.

Satan was, is and always will be "the father of lies" and a great artisan of deception, who is so constant and even consistent in this role everywhere. It seems that he brought to these islands many of those (deceptions) that we have read about as being common among others even more cultured, more intelligent and more vainly superstitious than the nations of Europe used in their blind paganism. And this similarity is not very surprising (considering) that its Author here and over there was the same. However, here (He was) less religious and less "ceremonious" accommodating Himself to the natural weakness of these people, to their lack of intellectual training and social advancement. But

reconocer y adorar por Dios, borrándoles las pocas vislumbres que, como hemos visto, tenían del Dios verdadero, por medio de sus enredos y marañas, y valiéndose de sus ministros — llamémosles sacerdotes o sacerdotisas — que eran los que los engañaban más y traían de uno a otro engaño, enlazados en no pocas indecentes, vanas y mentirosas supersticiones, mirando el autor al engaño común, y ellos a sus intereses particulares, a que atendían más que a la religión o al útil de los miserables, que en sus enfermedades y necesidades acudían a ellos por remedio, y el que en ellos hallaban era sacarles lo poco que tenían de oro y otros haberes y morirse, lo más común, miserablemente.

Viniendo, pues, a sus sacerdotes o sacrificulos, que eran en dos maneras y tenían en su antigüedad dos nombres, lo que hallo más asentado y menos dudoso es que eran comúnmente mujeres, no hombres, y, si había algún hombre que lo fuese, era *asog*, que ellos llaman (luego diremos lo que significan).

A estas mujeres llamaban en su lengua *daitan* o *bailan*, que estos dos nombres tenían. Llamábanlas *daitan*, porque *dait* quiere decir “amistad y paz”; y así, porque como personas cercanas a Dios que habían de ser sus amigos y tener su amistad para mediar entre Dios y los hombres, les daban el dicho nombre que indicaba la obligación de su oficio.

Bailan era el otro nombre, y de él ha quedado llamar *bailanas* a dichas sacerdotisas; y, aunque uno y otro es nombre común para las que usaban este oficio, no eran igualmente estimadas todas, porque había entre ellas algunas que eran más asistidas del demonio o fingían serlo, y a éstas llamaban *catooran*, que quiere decir “que eran más fatídicas y de mayor crédito”, y a éstas acudían más.

Las causas por qué acudían a ellas, y por qué mandaban hacer *paganitos*, y el modo, diremos en el Capítulo siguiente; y eran las

rather, although in a crude manner, yet not less superstitious, He made himself be recognized and adored as god. Thus did he erase the few traces, as we have seen, that they had about the true God; that is, by means of his confusions, snares and by his ministers, let us call them priests or priestesses. (The latter) were those who deceived them most and led them from one falsehood to another, mingled with not a few indecent, vain and deceitful superstitions. Their author's (i.e. the Devil's) intention was to deceive the populace, while those others (i.e. the priests and priestesses) had personal interests (in gaining profit) to which they paid more attention than to the religion or the welfare of the individuals, who in their illnesses and needs had recourse to them for some remedy. (And the one remedy) which they offered them consisted in depriving them of the little that they had in gold or other belongings; then, they permitted them to die, as a rule, miserably anyway.

Now, therefore, as far as their priests or petty sacrificers, who were of two different classes and who in ancient times had two names, I have discovered with very little doubt that they were commonly women and not men. If there was some man who might have been one (a priest), he was called *Asog*, as they put it; later, we shall explain its meaning.

Now, these women they called in their language *daitan* or *bailan*; they were known thus by both names. They called them *daitan* because the word *dait* means "friendship and peace"; they gave them this name because some persons close to god had to be his friends and enjoy his friendship in order to mediate between god and men. This was indicative of the obligations of her office.

Bailan was the other name, and hence the custom of calling the said priestesses *bailanas*. Although both names were common to those who engaged in such an office, not all were equally esteemed, because among them there were some who were better assisted by the Devil or at least feigned to be so. And so, these were called *katooran* which means "they who were more reliable and more credible"; hence, people had greater recourse to them.

The reasons why they approached them and why they demanded that they perform the *pag-anitos* and its manner, we shall

más ricas, porque jamás hacían cosa de sus supersticiones sin que les pagasen muy bien, llevándose ellas siempre el provecho con seguridad, y los demás el gasto.

Y, aunque comúnmente las sacerdotisas suyas eran mujeres escogidas, como después diremos, por el demonio, el mismo escogía a algún hombre afeminado, que llamaban *asog* en su antigüedad, y lo que dicen comúnmente de estos *asog*, es que eran hombres impotentes y faltos para el uso del matrimonio, y así nunca se casaban, antes bien servían de las mujeres por ocultar más su falta y se llegaban más a los hombres que a ellas. Si acaso eran hermafroditas no lo saben decir; que no tuvieron en su antigüedad noticia de tales individuos.

Ahora me dijeron por cosa cierta había en cierto pueblo uno (no lo he averiguado, y así no lo sé de cierto; que estas cosas, de semejante calidad y ocultas, se averiguan mal y ellos lo niegan); lo cierto es que los dichos *asog* más se trataban como mujeres que como hombres en el modo de vivir, de andar y aun de sus faenas, aplicándose algunos de ellos a las obras mujeriles como de tejer, labrar, etc., y en el vestir, aunque no se ponían sayas, que ni aun las de las mujeres en su antigüedad lo eran, si unos *lambong*, que acá llaman, que es un modo de sayos largos, como hasta los pies, en que aun por el traje eran conocidos.

Diré lo que en esta parte vi en un pueblo de Ibabao, llamado Sulat, donde estaba un indio mudo, a quien ellos llamaban *asog*, y decían que, si fuera en su antigüedad, hubiera sido *daetan*. Este era tan amujerado que en todo parecía más a mujer que hombre, aunque dicen lo era con la falta dicha. Su vestir era hasta en piernas, y con un bajaque ancho, que imitaba, bajo del dicho *lambong*, a sus sayas antiguas. Todas las cosas que hacen las mujeres, hacía, como tejer mantas, labrar y coser ropa, hacer ollas, que es ocupación de dellas, y danzaba tan bien como ellas; nunca como hombre, que es diferente su baile, y en todo parecía más

treat in the succeeding chapter. They (i.e. the *katooran*) were the wealthiest because these never performed any superstitious rite unless they were paid very well. Unfailingly, they derived the greatest profit and left the others with the expenses.

Although their priestesses were ordinarily women selected by the Devil, as we shall tell later, some effeminate men were also chosen by him and were called *Asog* in their antiquity. And what they commonly say about these *Asog* is that they were impotent men, incapable of entering into matrimony. And so, they never married; but rather they used women as a shield to better hide their deficiency and consorted more with men than with women. If, per chance, these were hermaphrodites they were not able to tell; since in their ancient times they did not have knowledge about such individuals.

Now, they related as a fact that there was such a one in a certain town. I do not know this for sure, because it is difficult to ascertain matters of this nature and which are so secret. What more, they very easily deny all this anyway. What is true is that the said *Asog* behave more like women than men in their manner of living, walking, and even in performing certain tasks. Some of them apply themselves or are engaged in womanly tasks such as weaving, needle work, etc. As regards their dress, although they did not wear *sayas*, for the women in ancient times did not wear these, they did wear some sort of a *lambong*, as they are called here. This is a kind of a long gown reaching to the feet; as a result, they were always recognized by this vesture.

I shall speak of what I saw in town of Ibabaw, called Sulat, where an *Indio* mute lived and who was called an *Asog*. They said that had he lived in the ancient times, he sure would have been a *daetan*. He was so effeminate that in everything he looked more like a woman than a man; they even say that he had the mentioned deficiency. His manner of dress reached down to his ankles with a wide *bahag* which resembled the ancient *sayas* and was worn under the said *lambong*. He did all the things that the women do, such as weaving blankets, embroidering, sewing clothing, making pottery—all occupations of women. He also danced as well as they did and never like a man whose dancing is quite dif-

mujer que hombre. Huía de las mujeres en todo, y tanto que ni aun a sus parientes permitía se le hallasen cerca, y mucho más cuando dormía, y también de los hombres, pues jamás se dejaba tocar, ni aun se bañaba jamás delante de otros.

Era, aunque mudo, muy entendido, y se explicaba con acciones que tenía propias, y, en sabiéndolas, se entendía muy bien, y con notable facilidad se explicaba.

Confeséle yo algunas veces con suficientes noticias de sus pecados; pero en materia de sexto mandamiento, ni rastro; antes, si se le preguntaba de la materia, se demudaba y como azoraba; y, si por burla, alguno le decía en la materia alguna chanza o palabra fea, por señas se enojaba y tapaba los ojos con las manos, como avergonzándose de cosas semejantes; de modo que de esta manera dicen eran sus *asog* antiguamente, y que todos los que lo eran hacían oficio de sacrificios, porque los escogía el *diwata* para este ministerio.

Digamos ya el modo de escogerlos; que, aunque en estos *asog* no hallo más de que todos cuantos lo eran, por serlo, tenían dicho oficio, en las mujeres había más elección; y ya dijimos arriba que solían ir ellas muy llenas de oro y galas, a su modo, a los *nonoc*, donde habitaba el *diwata*, y que allí escogía él a su gusto, teniendo con ellas sus congresos, — de ellos trataremos en otro lugar — con los cuales quedaban iniciadas (no digamos consagradas, que no merecen tal nombre para serlo), y la señal exterior era que les daba un género de locura, o fingían ellas que les daba, haciendo muchos visajes, poniendo los ojos en blanco y enfureciéndose a las veces, como hallamos de algunas de la sibilas antiguas y de las vestales, con lo cual se entendía que era ya poseída del *diwata*, y comenzaba a contar algunos embustes y a decir que

ferent. In all things he was more of a woman than a man. He fled from the women altogether, so much so that he did not even allow his own relatives to be near him, especially when sleeping. Similarly, he also shunned men; he would never allow himself to be touched, nor would he even ever bathe in anyone's presence.

Even though he was a mute, he was extremely intelligent and made himself understood through his own signs (i.e. motions). Once people caught on to these motions, he was well understood and explained himself remarkably well. I confessed him sometimes in such a manner and obtained a satisfactory knowledge about his sins; however, as regard the sixth commandment, nothing has surfaced at all. In fact, should he be asked about such matters, he would become agitated and remain silent. Or again, if someone spoke to him, in jest, about some joke or an off-color matter, he indicated his resentment through some motions and covered his eyes with his hands as if ashamed of such things. This is what they say about their *Asog* and who they were in the olden times. All those who were such, performed their tasks of sacrifices since (it was believed that the) *Diwata* selected them for this ministry.

Let us now speak about the method by which they chose them. About the *Asog*, all I have been able to find out is that all those who were such, and as many as there were of them, held such an office. Yet, among the women, there was (some sort of) a selection. We have already stated before that they were accustomed to go about well-dressed and heavily adorned with gold. In this manner, they went to the *nonoc* where the *diwata* (supposedly) dwelled; for it was there that he selected them at his pleasure while they held their intimacy with him (i.e. the *Diwata*). About these matters, we shall treat in another place. Through these (intimate unions) they were "initiated" (let us not say 'consecrated' for it does not merit such a name). The external sign was that he communicated to them a kind of a madness, or they feigned that he did so. They made many grimaces, producing a blank stare in the eyes, plunging into a rage at times, just as it was sometimes in the case of the ancient Sybils and the Vestals. All this was now meant to be an indication that she was possessed by the *Diwata*. She, then, began to narrate some

le hablaba y daba razón de lo que había de suceder, y decían *gintitingan ako*, que quiere decir, “ya me habló el *diwata*”; y con estas demostraciones, algunas causadas verdaderamente del demonio, otras fingidas de ellas para acreditarse y ser tenidas por *catooran*, que dijimos, quedaban ya tenidas por tales y comenzaban a hacer su oficio.

Y porque aquel modo de locura, o furor, a que llaman *twiao* en su lengua, aun hoy se halla más de lo que quisiéramos, diré lo que he podido averiguar así de los que lo padecen, o han padecido, como de otros que con alguna mayor atención lo han admirado. Y así, dejando a parte la locura natural que por lesión de la potencia padecen estos, como otros muchos de lo restante del mundo, que es enfermedad, y a los que la padecen llaman *tutuiawen*, que es lo mismo que “loco”, que en esto no hay cosa extraordinaria, diré de la que causa el demonio, o por sí solo o cooperando ellos — lo que lleva más fundamento —, y es lo siguiente:

El modo de decir que padecen o han padecido este género de locura es diferente del otro; y así dicen en su lengua *gintutuiiao ako*, o *ginpatuiiao ako*, que quiere decir: “he padecido locura, o me han hecho loquear”; y como el efecto de este, o furor, o locura, o abstracción de juicio, es temporáneo y a ratos, yo siempre rastreando la causa y los efectos, hallo que algunos, *máxime* los hombres, lo padecen contra su voluntad; las mujeres algunas también; otras porque cooperan, y otras porque lo fingen; que de todo hay.

Contóme un indio de razón, y que, a mi ver, ha sido uno de los mejores cristianos que por acá ha habido, y murió ya como tal, llamado *Bactis*, que conocí y traté mucho, y le tuve por hombre de mucha razón, y que en más de diez años que le comuniqué,

stories and to say that he was speaking to her and giving her knowledge about what was going to happen. Then, she said: *Gintitingan ako*, which means to say, "the *Diwata* has just spoken to me". With these demonstrations, some of them certainly produced by the devil, others feigned by them so as to gain prestige and be acknowledged as a *katooran* — they gained the reputation, as we have already stated, of being such and thus began to perform their office.

Now that this sort of madness or rage, which they call *tuiaw* in their language, is still found today even more than we would wish it to be. I shall speak about what I have been able to ascertain from those who suffer or have suffered from it. Or even others who with greater interest have wondered about it. And so, we shall leave aside natural madness, which is due to a loss of mental powers that these individuals suffer in common with others throughout the world. Those who suffer this illness they call *tutuyaon*, which is the same as insanity; yet, about this latter there is nothing extraordinary. I shall speak about the one which the Devil causes, either by Himself or with the cooperation of others, and which has a more sound basis in reality. It is as follows:

The manner of describing this kind of insanity by those who are suffering or have suffered from it is different from the other. And hence, they say in their language: *Gintutuiaw ako* or *Ginpatuiaw ako*, which is to say, "I have gone insane" or I have been driven to madness." What more, the effects of this rage, insanity or aberration of judgment is temporary and only for a short span of time. Even though it is not always possible to trace out the cause and effect, some were found, especially the men, to suffer against their will, some of the women also. Again, there are some who go along with it while still others pretend; there is a little of everything.

An intelligent *Indio*, name Bactis, related to me that he suffered this type of madness for many years. (In my opinion, he has been one of the finest Christians which we ever had here and is now already dead. I knew him well and had many dealings with him and considered him an extremely reasonable man. I have communicated with him for more than ten years; aside from fre-

además de la frecuencia de sacramentos, que era muy ordinaria su devoción, asistencia a la iglesia casi continua, vida inculpable y otras muchas obras buenas (si acaso hay alguna seguridad acá de la salvación, me parece se puede presumir de este), que padeció muchos años este género de locura, y veía un hombre fiero delante de sí, que con una espada a su modo se le ponía delante y amenazaba de muerte; con lo cual, sin estar más en su mano, se huía y escondía en el monte hasta que se pasaba y se volvía a su casa.

Algunas veces tardaba más, otras menos, tan flaco, macilento y desfigurado que su mujer (que siempre fue muy buena cristiana, de las primitivas, muy ejemplar, y, si por acá hay alguna india que se pueda llamar "santa" pienso lo fue ella) se lastimaba mucho, lloraba y comulgaba muy a menudo, compadecida de él; ayudándole no menos con el sustento del cuerpo, pues se pasaba tal vez uno y dos días sin comer, que con el del alma, con buenos consejos y amonestaciones.

Era este indio, antes que lo sucediese esto, muy gran bebedor porque tenía oficio de hacer vino, que entre ellos es de mucho provecho; y éste, porque era indio de razón, lo hacía bonísimo, y así tenía más salida de él que otros.

Aconsejóle su mujer que dejase aquel ministerio, y mucho más el beber, e invitóle en que hiciese voto de no beber vino, y que Dios se dolería de él. Pudieron sus ruegos, y Dios le quería por este camino librar; tanto que hizo voto de no beber vino, y tan de veras que, cuando a mí me lo contaba, había más de doce años que lo había hecho, sin haberle jamás quebrantado ni una vez tan sola, que puede ser ejemplo no sólo de indios, pero aun de muy constantes españoles; en lo cual no ví más dicho hombre, y se le quitó aquel género de miedo que le enagenaba de sus sentidos y volvía como loco el tiempo que le duraba.

Todo esto me contó él mismo, y es cierto que fue contra su voluntad, y quizás en castigo de sus embriagueces antiguas. Esto pasó en el pueblo de Bangahun, de la residencia de Samar.

quenting the sacraments, he was very steadfast in his devotion, assisted in church uninterruptedly, lived a blameless life and did so many other good deeds. If, perhaps, there is any assurance here of salvation, it seems to me that it may be presumed in him. He used to see before him a fierce man, brandishing a sword in their fashion, in his presence and threatening him with death. Since he had no other alternative, he fled and hid himself in the mountains until it passed away and then returned to his house).

At times all this lasted longer and then again for a shorter period of time. He became so emaciated, haggard and disfigured that his wife (who was always a fine Christian among the early ones, very exemplary; if there ever was here any *india* who may be called 'a saint', I think she should be the one), out of pity, wept a great deal, received Holy Communion frequently, and aided him no less with bodily nourishment. She had passed at least, one or two days without eating, except the food of the soul, offering good advice and admonitions.

This *Indio* was a very heavy drinker before these things happened to him, because he was engaged in the making of wine, which is a very profitable business among them.

Since this *Indio* was a very capable individual, he prepared such an excellent wine that it sold faster than all others. His wife urged him to give up that trade and even more his drinking. She pleaded that he make a vow and stop drinking wine and then God would have mercy on him. Her prayers were answered and God desired to set him free in this way, so much so that he vowed to cease his drinking. He was in such earnest about it that when he related this to me, twelve years had already elapsed and he had never broken his vow once. He can serve as an example not only for the *Indios*, but even for the strong-willed Spaniards. That man did not return, as far as I know, to his former habit and was set free from that kind of fear which deprived him of his senses and led him to insanity temporarily.

It was the above-mentioned individual himself who related all this to me, and it was clear that it happened against his will, and perhaps, in punishment for his past acts of drunkenness.

Más singular es, y quizás no sin culpa, lo que pasó en otro de Ibabao, llamado Sulat, con una principala, hermana de un cabeza de *barangay*, que acá llamamos *ginaopan*, que quiere decir "hombre que tiene vasallos", y corresponde entre estos naturales a los títulos y señores de España.

Esta principala, pues, con serlo de las mayores de dicho pueblo, padecía este género de locura, y, cuando le daba, con ser mujer harto flaca y delicada, se solía subir a los más altos *nonoc* (ya dijimos ser los árboles consagrados antes a sus *diwatas*), y en lo más alto de ellos se desnudaba totalmente en cueros, dejando sus vestidos en las ramas más levantadas; unas veces se bajaba sin ellos, otras a medio vestir, según le duraba la locura; y, si acaso se le daba estando allá arriba, daba muchas voces, hasta que la ayudaban a bajar, porque no podía, y mucho menos subir, pues, cuando estaba sin dicha pasión, ni a un árbol muy bajo subía ni podía subir.

Una vez, habiéndose dejado sus vestidos en lo más alto del árbol, la encontró otro principal, que me lo contó después, totalmente en cueros, y viéndola bajar del árbol dicho. Era después de mediodía, que estaba la gente recogida en sus casas. Reparó en que se venía hacia la iglesia. Salióle al encuentro y preguntóla dónde iba, pero no le respondió a propósito, porque hablan diversas palabras y que los otros no entienden en semejantes locuras, sino la que las padece.

Al fin, se la llevó por fuerza a su casa y la mandó cubrir o tapar hasta que volvió en sí, y, avergonzada de verse desnuda y que había de aquella manera ido por el pueblo, se puso a llorar y dar alaridos, que, por no estar lejos de la iglesia, oí yo desde mi casa.

This took place in the *Pueblo* of *Bangahon*, in the residence of Samar. More worthy of note, and perhaps not without fault, is what happened in another town of *Ibabaw*, called *Sulat*, to a *principala* — a sister of a *Cabeza de Barangay*, whom we call here *ginhaopan* which means "a man who has vassals" and which corresponds among these natives to the titled nobility in Spain.

This *principala* then, notwithstanding that she, was one of the most prominent members of the said town, also suffered this kind of madness. And when she became afflicted, although she was extremely frail and delicate woman, she was able to climb to the highest point of the *Nonoc* (we have already stated that these were the trees formerly dedicated to the *Diwatas*). Upon reaching its very top, there she disrobed completely and left her clothing on the highest branches. Sometimes she came down from the tree totally naked; at other times only half-dressed, depending upon the intensity of her frenzy. If, per chance, the attack of madness would leave her while she was there at the very summit, she would scream for a long time, until someone would come to her rescue; for she was unable to get down. While she was free from this seizure, she was unable to climb a single tree, even the smallest.

Once, after she had left her clothing at the highest peak of tree, another datu found her, as he told me afterwards, completely naked coming down from the said tree. It was an afternoon when all the people were already in their homes that he noticed the woman making her way toward the church. He approached her and inquired where she was going, but she did not give any sensible answer. Obviously, those who experience such fits of insanity numble all sorts of things which others surely do not understand except, perhaps, the one caught in the grip of that seizure. Finally, he took her to her home forcibly and demanded that she put some clothes on, or at least cover herself somewhat until she returns to her senses. (At long last, coming to realize) that she was naked and that she had gone about town in that manner, she became ashamed and wept loudly. Since all this took place not far from the church, I myself heard it all in my house.

Mandé llamar al dicho principal, que me contó lo referido, y entonces supe que había muchos meses que andaba con aquellas locuras, y cómo eran rastros o señales de ser *daetan*.

El remedio por entonces fue, juzgando que tenía culpa, mandarle dar una buena vuelta, que aunque su hermano fue el que se la dio de buena gana, avergonzado de lo dicho; y valióle tanto que, en más de un año que yo estuve después de esto en dicho pueblo, nunca le dio la locura dicha; de lo cual se saca que no fue sin culpa.

De otras mujeres he oído, aunque no visto (que delante de nosotros no se atreven ni de mil lenguas), que toman brasas de fuego en las manos y en el regazo, sin quemarse ni chamuscarse la ropa. De otra, que esparcía sus cabellos en medio de una grande llama sin que se los chamuscasen; y otras cosas, de que se echa de ver no son sin pacto ni comunicación del demonio.

Otras dicen que ven hombres fieros y que se las quieren llevar al monte o a lo escondido para forzarlas, y estas se suelen esconder en sus casas y pedir ayuda a los suyos, que, como no ven lo que ellas, se ríen y hacen mofa; y no faltan otras que se ponen a danzar y bailar a su modo, cantando cosas que los demás no entienden, y, de puro cansadas, se suelen caer y quedar como amortecidas, y aun dormidas muchas horas, hasta que, en despertando, quedan sosegadas.

El remedio de todas estas ilusiones, o irrisiones, decían que era ponerse a bailar con la *bailana* verdadera, y con eso las dejaba el demonio. o se iban las figuras o sombras que veían, y ellas quedaban buenas.

El sentir común de todos los bisayas más entendidos en esta materia es que todas estas cosas, o las más de ellas, son fingidas ahora por querer imitar lo que de otras antiguas *daetan* oyeron a

I had summoned the mentioned *datu*, who related all that has been said. Then I knew that she had gone about in this state of madness for many months and that it was meant to be a sign or an indication that she had now been a *Daetan*.

The remedy then was, since I judged that she was at fault, to give her a good thrashing. However, it was her own brother who gave it to her eagerly since he was so embarrassed about all this. This cure proved to be so effective that in more than a year that I stayed in that town, that said madness had never recurred. From this it may be deduced that she was not without blame.

I have also heard about other women, although I did not see it myself (they would not dare to do this before us within a thousand leagues), who take live coals in their hands and in their lap without burning themselves or even scorching their clothing. (I have also heard) about another one, how she spread out her tresses in the midst of a large flame without even singeing them. There were also other feats, from which one may conclude that these cannot happen without (entering) into some pact or in communication with the devil. Still others say that they see fierce men who wish to carry them off to the hills or to some hidden places in order to abuse them. These (women) used to hide themselves in their homes and ask help from their relatives; the latter, in turn, not seeing what they saw, ridicule and mock them. There is also no lack of others who begin dancing and gyrating in their own fashion, singing things which the others cannot understand. When totally exhausted, they would collapse and lie there as if half-dead and even sleep for many hours until upon awakening they would regain their composure.

The over-all remedy for all these illusions and derisions, they said, consisted in holding a dance with the true *bailana*. When this was performed, the Devil then departed or the phantoms they were seeing had vanished and thus they became well.

The general feeling among all the more intelligent Bisayans about this matter is that all these things, or at least the majority of them, are now being feigned, as some wish to imitate what they had heard from their ancestors about the other ancient *daetan*. All of this, for the most part, is a fraud for which

sus mayores, y que lo más es embuste, y este con ninguna cosa se quita mejor que con una buena disciplina; que pocas son las que no sanan en sintiendo el dolor.

Con todo, de algunas más fidedignas, y que ellas vienen a pedir remedio, a las veces se puede entender que el demonio tal vez las persigue a incita a mal; y, con animarlas a una buena confesion, de que las más necesitan, y a frecuentar sacramentos, suelen quedar libres de estas invasiones; y no es mucho que el demonio, que antiguamente las tenía a su disposición, y tan lejos de huir de su comunicación que antes la buscaban, y, aun sin tenerla, la fingían, sienta el verse ahora impedido por medio de la fe [*ilegible*] y, dejando por Dios que con diferentes modos, y todos santos y honestos, se las va sacando de tan miserable sujección y tan indecente servidumbre como padecían antes; y así es cosa constante en Ibabao que algunas veces lo he oído yo repetir a personas viejas y fidedignas, y alguna de ellas se halló presente que, estando una vez en mucha fiesta y algazara, algunos años antes que llegase a ellos la fe, aunque, según las circunstancias, ya habían llegado los españoles a Zibu última vez, desde la cual quedaron siempre acá, habiéndose quedado absorta y como arrebatada una de estas *daetan*, que a este modo de raptó llamaban *lahos* o *culang*, vuelta en sí dijo que el demonio le había dicho que se holgase mucho, que presto tendrían entre sí quien les impidiese el hacerlo de aquella manera, y que ya estaban en Zibu los que les enseñarían otras cosas; que les tenía lástima de que ya no se podrían holgar como hasta allí.

Esto les dijo el demonio, y, aunque padre de mentira, no mintió, pues sucedió así. ¡Ojalá que logren la dicha con que Dios les sacó de aquella miserable servidumbre y les trajo a su conocimiento.

A todas estas *daetan* o *bailana* llamamos ahora *diwatahan*, que quiere decir “gente que seguía al diwata”; y, a la verdad, algunas de ellas y que tuvieron antiguamente mucho nombre de *ca-tooran*, o “verídicas,” en este oficio, han ayudado no poco a los

there is nothing better than a good punishment, since few are those who do not get well unless they feel some pain. Nonetheless, there are some more worthy of credence, for at times they come to seek help and hence it may be understood that perhaps, at times, the Devil vexes them and incites them to evil. By encouraging them to make a good confession, which most of them badly need, and by suggesting a more frequent reception of the Sacraments, they usually become free of these assaults. It is not surprising (to see) that the Devil, in ancient times, held them in his grip; far from fleeing his association, they sought it out in the past. And even if they did not have it, they made one believe that they did. They feel to see themselves restrained now by the faith... abandoned by God, Who in various ways, all holy and righteous, is drawing them out from such a wretched subjection and shameful servitude as they have suffered before. And so, it is a well-known fact in *Ibabaw* (for sometimes I have heard it repeated by elderly and trustworthy individuals, some of whom were present there) — that on an occasion of much feasting and revelry (this happened some years before the faith began to be preached to them, although judging from the circumstances the Spaniards had already arrived in Cebu for the first time, from which time they then stayed for good) one of these *Daetan* (having fallen into a trance called *lahos* or *kulang*), upon recovering (from the trance) said that the Devil had told her to have a good time, because soon they would have among them someone who would prevent them to live in the way they were living. Already there were in Cebu those who would teach them other things. And that he (i.e. the Devil) pitied them because they would no longer have such a grand time as they had until then.

This is what the Devil had told them! And even though He is the Father of lies, he did not lie in this case because it really happened. Would that they would obtain this (happiness) to which God drew them from that miserable servitude and brought them to know Him!

All these *Daetan* or *Bailana* we now call *Diwatahan*, which means "people who followed (or were guided) by the *Diwata*". In truth, some of these (women), who were well-known by their task as *katooran* or meaning "truthful", in ancient times, have been

Padres en la enseñanza y doctrina de sus compatriotas los bisayas, y han sido maestras (que así las llamamos acá) que han servido mucho a la fácil conversión de muchos y muchas de ellas, sirviéndoles de desengaño mayor las que fueron antes medianeras del engaño, o engañador; y no es una sola de estas a quien he oído decir que todo eran embustes, bellaquerías y maldades cuanto antes sabían y las enseñaba el demonio; que de tal maestro ¿qué otra enseñanza se podía esperar?

Y, como su creencia era tan sin traza, tampoco su devoción tuvo raíces, ni su religión lugar diputado para actos de ella; y así, contra aquella máxima de Cicerón, ni tuvieron templos ni altares ni lugar alguno diputado para hacer en él reverencia a sus dioses, y, como a gente poco o nada política y menos hacendada, se contentaba el demonio con sólo apariencias y no les pedía más que lo que podían dar, pues a menos costa los tenía por suyos, y así nunca les mandó labrar templos, ni casas de oración ni hacer altares; que en la casa del enfermo, en la orilla del río, en el monte o dondequiera, con cuatro palillos armaban lugares y altares donde le ofrecían sacrificio, como veremos en el Capítulo siguiente que nos dirá el modo de ellos.

CAPITULO 14

DE SUS SACRIFICIOS, DONDE, COMO Y POR QUE CAUSAS LOS HACIAN

Como antiguamente a la palabra *diwata* la tenían estos naturales para significar al Dios verdadero, que nombraban con los nombres que ya dijimos arriba, así también la palabra *anito* quería decir “ofrecer”; y *paganito*, “hacer sacrificio al Dios verdadero”; pero, como con las pocas y cortas noticias que tuvieron, se borró aquel primer conocimiento, y en el curso de los tiempos los ras-

of no little service to the Fathers in the teaching of the *doctrina* to their fellow-Bisayans. They have become "maestras" (as we call them here) and were very helpful in facilitating the conversion of many (men and women). Those who before were the go-betweens of deception and the deceiver, now serve them greatly by rescuing them from error. It is not only from one of these that I have heard it said that all that they knew before and all that the enemy taught them were lies, trickery and wickedness. What other kind of instruction can be expected of such a teacher?

As their beliefs were so disorderly, so too their piety had no roots; neither did their religion have any assigned place for (worship, praise and ritual). Hence, contrary to the Ciceronian maxim, they did not have temples nor altars nor any place designated for worship of their gods. And, as a people of little or no polity and even less endowed, the Devil was satisfied with mere appearances and did not require more of them than they could give. It cost Him so little to have them in his clutches; as a result, He never ordered them to build temples nor houses of prayer, nor even to put up altars. But in the house of the sick person, on the bank of the river, on the hill or wherever, with four sticks they put up places and altars where they offered sacrifices. We shall see this in the coming chapter, which will describe how all these things were done.

CHAPTER 14

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

As in most ancient times, these natives employed the word *diwata* to signify the true God, Whom they called with the names already mentioned previously, so also, the word *anito* meant "to offer", and *pag-anito*, "to make a sacrifice to the true God". However, due to the meagre and incomplete knowledge that they had (about these matters), their early understanding had vanished

tros que sus mayores tuvieron del verdadero Dios se borraron y trocaron en muchos y varios engaños que el demonio les fue introduciendo, y con ellos un sinnúmero de supersticiones viciaron aquel nombre bueno y santo en su primer ser, aplicándolo al demonio, a los *humalagar* y a las almas de sus difuntos, a que confusamente llamaban *diwatas*; y los sacrificios que es probable ofrecieron al Dios verdadero en sus principios, los ofrecieron después al demonio y a sus mayores, quedando uno y otro nombre detestables y sacrílegos; y así oír decir “que rogó al *diwata*”, es decir “que lo hizo al demonio o a sus falsos dioses”, y decir que hizo *paganito*, es declarar que “hizo sacrificios sacrílegos y detestables,” pues, faltando el motivo y conocimiento primero y variado, tanto se varió todo caso sucedido no sólo en estas, que de puro cortos y faltos de enseñanza erraron quizás con menos culpa, sino en las naciones más entendidas, políticas y enseñadas de los Patriarcas y Profetas, como consta de no pocos lugares de las Sagradas Letras que saben los entendidos —y aun, lo que peor es, sacó de ellas el engañador común muchas de las cosas santas y buenas, que de ellas consta se hacían antes en honra del Dios verdadero, y las corrigió e hizo abominables, aplicandóselas a sí, por salir con aquella afectada divinidad que tanto le ha costado y tanto ha procurado introducir en el mundo para su mal, haciendo fundamento para sus mentiras, engaños y deidad sacrilega de las verdades ciertas, y atribuyéndose vanamente a sí lo que era solo y propio de Dios, como se colige de los libros de Platón y otros muchos de los filósofos antiguos, que convirtieron el agua clara de la Divina Escritura en el abominable, inmundo y desvariado cieno de las fábulas gentílicas.

Dejando, pues esto, en que no hay duda, vengamos a lo que con ella hallamos platicado antiguamente de estos miserables, y digo “con duda”, porque juzgo que ni antes con las noticias del Dios verdadero ni después cuando las perdieron, jamás hicieron

and the traces that their ancestors had about the true God also disappeared through the centuries and were transformed into many and varied falsehoods that the Devil gradually introduced and together with these, numerous superstitions. Thus was vitiated the good and holy name of old and then applied to the Devil, to the *humalagad* and to the souls of their deceased, which they confusedly called *diwatas*. The sacrifices which they probably offered to the true God in their beginnings, they afterwards offered to the Devil and to their ancestors, leaving both names "detestable and sacrilegious". And so, to hear it said "that he prayed to the *diwata*" is equivalent to "that he did it to the devil and his false god". And to say that "he made a *pag-anito*" is to declare that "he performed a sacrilegious and an abominable sacrifice". Since they lacked the fundamental motive and understanding, and being so greatly at variance, the entire original concept had changed. This has happened not only among these (Bisayans), who lacked in understanding, were wanting in instruction and who, perhaps, erred with less guilt, but also among nations more knowledgeable, organized and informed by the Patriarchs and Prophets, as indicated in not a few places in the Holy Writ which the learned men know about. However, what is worse, the "Common Deceiver" deprived them of many holy and good things, which evidently were done formerly in honor of the true God. (This Enemy) changed them and made them abominable; thereby appropriating them to Himself. And thus, with pretended divinity, which had cost Him so much and which He has tried so hard to introduce into the world for evil, He made of evident truths a basis for His lies, tricks and sacrilegious divinity. Vainly did He attribute to Himself what only and exclusively belongs to God. For thus, it may be deduced from the writings of Plato and many other ancient philosophers, that He turned the clear waters of the Divine Scriptures into the abominable, unclean, hapless mire of heathen myths.

Let us then, put aside, since there is no question about it and let us describe with it (i.e. a doubt) that we discovered being practiced in ancient times about these wretched people. And thus, I speak "with doubt" because it seems to me that neither before with the knowledge of the true God nor afterwards when they

actos de verdadera religión, ni ofrecieron sacrificios por reconocer, honrar y adorar divinidad alguna en cuanto tal, que es lo formal de la religión, y así nunca usaron templos en común, sólo los más llevados de sus principales y ministros hacían lo que les decían y en particular instados de sus *bailanas*, buscando remedio para sus necesidades, o del cuerpo cuando enfermos, o de la falta de lo necesario para su sustento en tiempo de secas o esterilidad, o pidiendo favor para sus casas, pescas, navegaciones o caminos, nacidos todos estos actos más de miedo que de reverencia, más de necesidad que de voluntad, y más por interés propio que por culto divino, como se verá claro por lo que diremos de cada sacrificio de los suyos, o generales o particulares, como hallamos hacían en su antigüedad, y son los que se siguen, hablando de los más generales y comunes a todos, porque en especial cada pueblecillo, que llamaban *gamoro*, que era junta de algunos hombres (después veremos cómo eran), tenía los suyos; y no pongo en especial nombre alguno de sus *diwatas*, porque comunes tenían pocos, y en especial cada *bailana*, o *daetan*, fingía los que quería o los que el demonio les decía; y todos ellos tenían los nombres, o muy sucios y abominables, o muy campanudos y soberbios, o terroríficos y que causaban miedo, y estos eran los más; que verdaderamente todas estas naciones, y en general todos los indios, son hijos del miedo y sólo por él obran y no de otra manera.

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

Mataban muchos puercos, o de monte o caseros, y, para coger los de monte y congregar la gente, que, con sus redes que llaman *batong*, salían todos los hombres, subía uno de ellos, de buena voz, a una palma de las más altas, y daba muchas voces, convocando

lost it, did they ever perform true acts of religion nor even offer sacrifices in order to acknowledge and adore any divinity as such. This is (what is known as) the formal (element) of Religion. As a result, they never used temples in common; only the more high-ranking chiefs and practitioners did what they told them and especially when urged by their *bailanas* to seek a remedy for their needs either of the body when ill, or for the lack of necessities for their sustenance in times of drought, unproductivity or asking favours for their households, fishing expeditions or travels. All these acts sprang more from fear than from reverence; more from necessity than from choice; more from self-concern than as a matter of divine worship. (This) will be clearly seen from what we shall say about each of their sacrifices, either the general or the particular, and how they performed them in ancient times. They are as follows: We speak here of the more general and common to all, because in a very particular way each hamlet, which they call *gamoro* (which is a grouping of a few families and about which we shall speak afterwards) has its own. I shall not put down any special names of their *diwatas*, because they did have a few common names. Interestingly enough, each *bailana* or *daetan* pretended to have as many as she herself desired, or those which the Devil suggested to her. All of these had names which were very foul and abominable, sophisticated and arrogant, or even terrifying so that it would instill fear; the latter were the most abundant. Certainly, all these nations, and in general, all these *Indios* are children of fear; only because of it will they perform, and not otherwise.

The most important *pag-anito*, and the most popular that I have found practiced by these Bisayans in antiquity, is one which they called *pagtigman*, which means "the gathering of many". For this one, all gathered: the young and the adults alike, from every social standing and both sexes. The place was selected by the *Datu*, who is their headman or lord — and as we shall see later — and absolute (master) and independent from other (datus). On this occasion they butchered many pigs, either wild or domesticated in order to hunt the wild ones, all the people went out together with their nets, which they call *batong*. One of them, gifted with a powerful voice, climbed one of the highest palm trees and

los hombres, y a estas voces llamaban *paratigman*, que quiere decir “lo que congrega o junta”; y al que daba las voces llamaban *paraiao*, que quiere decir “voceador o pregonero”; y todos cuantos puercos o venados se cogían entonces, aunque fuesen muchos, y, no lo siendo, añadían caseros y todo el pescado que podían coger, con todo el arroz y otras raíces comestibles, lo juntaban, y, asada la carne y cocido lo que servía de pan, en gran abundancia, de modo que hubiese para todos, lo ofrecía la *bailana*.

Luego comían y bebían cuanto podían, danzaban y bailaban hasta no poder más; que en esto se remataban todas sus fiestas y para solo este fin las hacían, mirando más a tener un buen día y llenar sus barrigas que otra religión y culto; y con esto, acabada la comida, la junta deshecha, se iban a sus casas, y con aquello les parecía que dejaban aseguradas sus cosechas y abundancia de frutos, etc. Y a este convite, y otros grandes, llamaban *cangai*, que significa “conformidad.”

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

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

Esta comida no la comían ellos sino que la dejaban para que sus *diwatas*, o *homalagar*, la comiesen, obligándoles con esto a que

did the summons. They called this 'cry' *paratigman*, which is to say "that which congregates or comes together"; while to the crier, they gave the name *paraiaw*, which means "towncrier". Then, whatever wild boars or deer they hunted, no matter how many, — if these were not sufficient, they added some domesticated ones — and all the fish that they were able to catch, a lot of rice and other edible root crops that they were able to gather — they put it all together. Then having roasted the meat and cooked what served as bread in a large quantity, so that there would be enough for everyone — the *bailana* offered it up.

The manner of making the sacrifice, which is the same in all cases, we shall describe later; it is for all their *Diwatas* in general without naming anyone in a special way. They simply plead for help and that they may have an abundant and a good harvest with plenty to eat and of everything that serves them for sustenance.

Then, they ate and drank as much as they were able and danced unto exhaustion. This was the reason for all their celebrations and only for this purpose they held them; that is, being more concerned about having a grand time and filling their bellies, than any kind of religion or cult. At this point, after finishing the meal, the gathering dispersed and they returned to their houses. And so, with all this, they were convinced that their harvests would have to be good and the fruits plentiful, etc. This festive gathering, and other grand ones, they called *kangai*, which means "solidarity".

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

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

This (sacrifice) of food was not meant to be eaten by them, but was set aside for the *diwatas* or the *humalagad* to partake. (In this way), they obliged them to care for their fields and to

cuidasen de sus sementeras y se las guardasen de los animales nocivos, y así a las balsas dichas amarraban ratones, langostas y todos cuantos animales podían coger, de los que hacen daño a las sementeras, que se llevaba también la corriente; con lo cual decían que quedaban seguras, y que, si no hacían este sacrificio, que se malograrían y perderían.

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

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

Pongamos aquí el modo de hacerlos y los instrumentos, o aderezos, que para ellos hacían, y casi en todos eran unos, o con poca variedad; y, si en algo había cosa especial, lo diremos después.

Lo primero que, en ocasiones de *paganitos*, o generales o particulares hacían, era hacer uno como entablado, que acá llaman *pantao*, y suele ser de una braza, poco más, de alto, y de ancho según la cantidad de las cosas que se habían de ofrecer. A este tablado, que era de trozos de palmas comúnmente (ya dijimos llamarse *bahes*), hecho con más o menos curiosidad según su poder, llamaban *pararatgan*, que quiere decir "lugar donde había de llegar, o venir, el *diwata*", porque, estando dispuesto y aderezado, venía allí sin duda.

Este lugar lo engalanaban con cadenas y otros arreos, hechos de *lucai*, que es el cogollo blanco de las palmas, de los cuales hacen varios juguetes y adornos que llaman *sareman*, que en esto paraban todas sus colgaduras y telas, que a tales dioses tales altares.

Para la *bailana*, o sacerdotisa, hacían uno que llamaban *bancaso*, y era como una cama donde se tendía ella, porque allí, decían, venía el *diwata* a juntarse con ella y decirle lo que quería.

protect them from harmful animals. To the above-mentioned rafts, they also tied rats, locusts and whatever kind of pests they managed to catch, which were responsible for destroying their fields, and sent them all down-river. As a result, they said that they now felt secure; for if they would not perform this sacrifice, all would be destroyed and lost (in terms of planted fields).

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

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

We shall set down here the manner of performing them and the instruments or trappings which they prepared for them. Almost in all cases, these were the same with but little variety. Should there be something out of the ordinary, we shall speak about it afterwards.

The first thing they prepared on an occasion of a general or a particular *pag-anito* was to make something like a platform, which they call here a *pantaw*. Customarily, this was about a *braza* or a little more in height; its width depended on the amount of things that would be offered. This platform, as a rule, consisted of pieces of bamboo (we have already stated previously that these were called *bahes*) designed rather curiously and depending upon the skill (of the individuals making it). They called the (platform) *pararatgan*, which means, "the place where the *diwata* had to arrive or come to". They had no doubt, that when it was all arranged and duly adorned, the *diwata* descended. They decorated this setting with chains (garlands) and other trappings made from *lukay*, which is a *cogollo blanco de palmas*, which is the white offshoot of the palms from which they make various toys and decorations called *sareman*. This, in turn, they adorned with all their draperies and cloth; such were the altars for such gods!

Now, for the *bailana* or the priestess, they fashioned one which they called *bancaso*; it was like a bed where she stretched out. They believed that it was there that the *Diwata* came down to unite with her and tell her what she wanted (to know). On

A esta *bailana* en esta ocasión llamaban *pangatubang*, “la que se carea y pone delante del diwata”; pero no se tendía en dicho “bangcaso” hasta que ponían en orden las gallinas, puercos y otras comidas que se habían de ofrecer.

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

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

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

Si el enfermo era algún principal de calidad, el *paganito* que hacían para que cobrase salud era este que llamaban *itatanum*. Enviaban gente armada a otro pueblo o *gamoro*, y allí procuraban coger algún esclavo, al cual, si daba la dolencia lugar, le tenían un

such occasions, the *bailana* was referred to as *Pangatubang*, which means "one who is face to face in the presence of the *Diwata*". However, she did not stretch out on this *bancaso*, until she arranged as offerings the pigs, hens and other foodstuffs.

When the *paganito* was (performed) for someone (suffering) a grave illness, the *daetan*, in the name of her *diwata* asked that they make another bed which they called *pinto*. This was erected as high as possible near the roof of the house. This was the ultimate (attempt) or recourse. The bed was also called or referred to as *ginnarahan sa Diwata*, which means to say, "the place where the *diwata* wishes to go". Now, being so fond of changing places constantly, is a clear sign of his (i.e. the *Diwatas*) fickleness.

When the sacrifice was performed due to someone's illness, they built a small hut on the bank of a river, which they called *langtangan*. In this hut they only placed some rice cooked in water, which they call *luto*; when tinged with yellow, they called it *ginaiaw*. Then, they drew water from the river and watered down the hut and the food with it; next, they took a portion of that food with themselves home, as if something that was blessed. The remainder of the food, together with the hut, they dumped into the river so that the current may carry it away. It was said that with this, the sickness was carried away by the river. In times of pestilence, they performed this with even greater solemnity because they made a large raft of bamboo and placed a seat on it.

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

If the sick individual was some principal of distinction, the *pag-anito* that they performed, in order that he recover his health, was one they called *itatanum*. They sent armed men to another town or *gamoro*, and there they tried to get hold of a slave whom, if the illness permitted it, they kept at home giving him fine

mes en casa sustentándole bien. Al cabo de dicho mes le llevaban todos sus súbditos de aquel *dato* a algún lugar, altomonte o peña tajada. En la superior parte de él se ponía a bailar la *bailana*, y, en cansándose, decía que el *diwata* pedía un hombre para dar salud al enfermo, y con eso al desdichado esclavo le mandaban beber sus orines, que decían que causan locura o abstracción de sentidos, y, bebidos, le despeñaban. Pero, si al quererle despeñar, resistía o lloraba, buscaban otro que lo hiciese con gusto, lo cual hecho, se iban todos a la casa del *dato* y bebían largo a la salva del *dato*, del cual era lo que Dios quería (*sic*).

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

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

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

De la misma manera convidaba, quien quería, a las almas de sus difuntos cuando estaban comiendo, y más si comían arroz nuevo, y lo que llaman *pilipig*, y decían: *Himulao, himulao, Mga Kalag ayaw kami pagsuli*; "Comed, comed almas de los difuntos, que estáis padeciendo, nuestra comida, y no hagáis de modo que nos haga mal lo que comemos". Porque ellos pensaban que dichas almas apetecían sus comidas que llamaban *pagibug*; y que, si no les daban

food. At the end of the said month, all the subjects of the said *datu* took him to a high hill or a cliff. At its highest point, the *bailana* began to dance and reaching a point of exhaustion, she said that the *Diwata* was asking for a man in exchange for the health of the sick one. As a result of this, they ordered the poor slave to drink their urine which they said would cause madness or loss of consciousness. After having drunk this, they would cast him off the cliff, but if he resisted strongly or cried, they went looking for another who would do it all more willingly. Once this was accomplished, they all returned to the house of the *datu* and drank plentifully to his health. Is that something that a god would desire?

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

Pagabo or *saragunting* was another *pag-anito* which they performed to the *Diwata* of fire-place or ashes to whom they offered something called *linangang*. The latter is a kind of a plaything fashioned into a shape of a bird which they made of the whitest possible palm leaves. This, which looked like a large hen, they filled with a rice preparation called *guinawig*.

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

In the same manner then, he invited whoever he wished from among the souls of their deceased, when they were eating. Especially, if they were eating freshly harvested rice which they called *pilipig*, they would say: *Himulaw, himulaw mga kalag, ayaw kami pagsuli*; that means, "Eat, eat, our food you souls of the dead, you who are suffering, grant that what we are eating too, may not do us any harm!" Now, they thought that the said souls had a longing for their food, which they called *pagibug*; and if

dicha comida, les doldrían las barrigas y no les harían provecho; y así, para evitar eso, apartaban a un lado parte de lo que comían, y lo dejaban para las dichas almas.

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

Para que este *baliw* no les hiciese daño, iba la *daetan* a su casa de ellos y mandaba hacer una casilla de un carrizo como cañas pequeñas, que llaman *tigbao*. Esta casilla la esteraban, o enramaban, en el suelo con hojas de una hierba que llaman *anagasi*. Encima de estas hojas ponían la comida — que esto era lo que ellas buscaban — y llamaban *dasag*, y solía ser de un puerco casero, ya muerto. Luego la *daetan* tomaba una lanza y un escudo, y, de esta manera armada, daba vueltas a la dicha casilla, llamando al *baliw* en su lengua, y diciéndole que bajase. En acabando ella de llamar, o retar, al *baliw*, todos los de la casa contigua daban golpes en el suelo de ella, que llamaban *panatag*, porque, al que no hacía ruido, a ése investía el *baliw*, y, haciéndolo todos, se libraban de él.

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

Cuando las llamaba para al enfermo, — y lo más común no esperaban a que las llamasen pues aun hoy, que son cristianos, hacen los que han quedado con aquellas mañas antiguas, que no han acabado de olvidar hasta ahora — solían ir a visitar los enfermos y decirles: “Esto no tiene remedio sino que le hagamos

they were not served such food they would end up with hunger pains. To prevent this, they set aside a portion of what they ate and left it for the said souls.

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

So that this *baliw* would not do them harm, the *daetan* went to the house of one of them and commanded that a hut be built from something like small reeds which they call *tigbaw*. They covered the floor of this hut with a matting of leaves from a certain kind of plant called *anagasi*. On top of these leaves, they placed the food; now, that for which they were seeking was called *dasag*. The latter, in turn, consisted of a slaughtered domestic pig. Next, the *daetan* took hold of a spear and buckler, and armed in this manner, circled around the hut several times, calling upon the *baliw* in her language and begging him to come down. Once she had finished calling upon or challenging the *baliw*, all those in the nearby houses, struck blows upon the floors, which was called *panatag*. Those who did not make the noise would be plagued by the *baliw*; those who die, would be free from it.

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

When they (i.e. the *Daetan*) called upon the sick (to help them), more often she did not wait until summoned — because even today, now that they are Christians, they still do the same and still have not discarded their ancient ways, nor have they forgotten them — but would go and visit the sick and say to them: "This has no remedy unless we perform some *pag-anito*". To de-

algún *paganito*;" y, para engañarles más, echan sus suertes, por las cuales dicen que conocen la vida o muerte del enfermo. Estas son en tres o cuatro maneras, y aun más, según se les antoja.

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

Pagoli era otro embuste que hacían cuando ya quería expirar, y entonces ponían en un ongote agua, y, asentado dicho ongote encima del vientre del enfermo, daba vueltas por él, y daba voces diciendo: *Oli, oli Kalag*, que quiere decir: "vuelve alma, vuelve; y, según volvía o no, entablaban sus embustes.

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

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

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

ceive them even further, they cast lots by which they said that they knew whether the sick man will live or die. These (lots) may be divided into three or four different kinds or even more, if they so would wish.

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

The *paguli* was another deception which was performed when (the sick one) was about to expire. They filled an *ongote* with water and then placed it on the belly of the sick one and spinning it about she chanted: *Uli, uli kalag*, which means "Return, o soul, return!" And whether it returned or not, they went on with their deception.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Aside from the payments they had to offer even much more, of which the most common were: in the *pag-anitos* to the *Diwatas*, they had to sacrifice domestic pigs and hens; but if the offerings were made to the souls of the deceased, these had to be wild boars, undomesticated hens, and had to remain uncooked, called *gimilaw* — for that is how the souls ate them. To these souls they also sacrificed something which we call here *tinapay*: these are small loaves (or rolls) which are also called *linangan*. (They also offered) cooked rice mixed with coconut meat or with its milk; this they called *sinabawan*. And when they mixed it with *dulaw* and gave it a yellow color, which they customarily did, then they called it *ginaiaw*.

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

BOOK REVIEW

HERIBAN, Jozeph. — RETTO ΦΡΟΝΕΙΝ Ε ΚΕΝΩΣΙΣ. — Studio Esegetico su Fil 2,1-5. 6-11.

(The Right φρονεῖν and κενώσις. — Exegetical Study on Philip. II 1-5. 6-11.

We are presenting the most thorough study on the two ideas φρονεῖν and κενώσις "to mind" and "emptying" so relevant in the doctrine of Saint Paul. The author analyzes them in the eleven verses, 1-11, of the second chapter of the Epistle to the Philippians. He works on the presupposition, that he also examines, of our verses being a "hymn" existing independently before Paul made use of it. Our readers must be warned that we are not confronted with a commentary on the "hymn", which will be monstrous as a total of 140 words will end in being explained by over 200.500 in our volume, but by scholarly research.

After the Presentation and the Summary we find a very large list of abbreviations indicating the initials of publications and collections meant to lessen the length of the quotations and references to follow. A Bibliography of twenty-eight "texts and instruments of research", sixty-two commentaries to the Epistle to the Philippians, and three hundred forty-seven "works and articles used in the search" show the materials dealt with by the author. Browsing the pages of the book, and seeing the footnotes which in many occasions cover half, or even two-thirds of the pages in rather small print, we can verify that such a monumental bibliography is not pure make-belief.

In the Introduction (pp. 29-34), the author formulates his methodology as "trying to discover the methods followed by the scholars", "critical analysis and evaluation of the advanced hypotheses" and verifying, putting in order and evaluating critically" the contributions attained without entering into a "new and exhaustive analysis of the materials". Fortunately, the personality of the writer does not fade away during the research as much as this methodology might suggest.

The first chapter tackles the "General Questions on the Epistle to the Philippians": the unity of it, the existence of some peculiar "adversaries" aimed at by St. Paul, the pastoral and religious "problematics" of the Philippians and of the missionary actuations in the place where Paul was a prisoner. The conclusion is that the letter has a thematic unity in the paranetic, or exhortatory purpose of St. Paul's address to the Philippians; he takes into consi-

deration their lack of personal humility and of eschatological zeal and calls them to an intimate verification of the proper imitation of Jesus Christ (pp. 59-60).

The second chapter (pp. 51-101) is a search for the author of the "hymn" Phil. II 6-11. It is a redactional problem which tackles the Pauline authenticity, the author following at the scholars' grants to the "christian community"; the redactional work of St. Paul for integrating it; the organic integration of the "hymn" into the context of the epistle; the meaning and function of the textual link, Phil. II 5; the correlation of the "hymn" and the exhortation that the author concludes to be the center of the christian mentality on the imitation of Christ (p. 101).

The third chapter is devoted to the interpretation of Phil. II 5-11. A. FEUILLET is quoted: "...one of the most vigorous expressions of the great law of the imitation of Christ that regulates christian life and christian morals, something that is completely away from just an abstract code" is the conclusion shared by HERIBAN (p. 110).

Chapters IV to VII constitute a "second part" of our study, which is to be taken as the gist of it all. It takes into consideration the whole text of Phil. II 1-11 and searches thoroughly the concepts $\Phi\omicron\rho\nu\eta\epsilon\iota\mu$ and $\kappa\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma\iota\varsigma$. Surprisingly enough, another word and concept is taken up for analysis $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon\eta$ the LORDSHIP of Jesus Christ, which is not introduced in the title of the study (pp. 111-370).

The general questions on the "hymn": the literary genus, the structure and the "Sitz im Leben" (pp. 112-130), as well as the historic and religious background (pp. 131-162), leading towards an exegesis of it, located in the proper actual context (pp. 162-170) fill up the whole of the fourth chapter. The conclusions arrived at in the article 1. (p. 130) tell the whole truth: "In brief: 1. All the presumed allusions to baptism, or to the Last Supper within the christological 'hymn' are rather vague and do not have the convincing strength to demonstrate their "Sitz im Leben" one way or another. — 2. At most, in the hypothesis that we have to deal with a 'hymn' that is pre-pauline, it could be said that it should have had a primitive "Sitz im Leben" of its own within some sort of celebration of divine service at the primitive Church. — 3. Yet it would be convenient to be on guard when talking about the use of the 'hymn' during the cultural liturgy. A precise determination of the "Sitz in Leben" goes beyond the text of whatever it mean to express". Elaborations on the conflict between Satan, Adam and Christ as well as those on the "Servant of Yahweh" and His voluntary humiliations go somewhat too far. So Heriban comes to formulate the "few but fundamental concepts of christian life which he thinks St. Paul intended to teach the Philippians: 1. The duty to behave in a way worthy of the Gospel; 2. Firm-

ness and unity in the eschatological consciousness of an elimination of the 'adversaries' and of salvation of the faithful; 3. The present struggle as a special gift of God to connect the christian with the sufferings of Christ parallel to the faith in Him; and 4. The perseverance of the faithful not only in believing in Christ but in suffering for Him.

The application of the preceding conclusions to the intimate persuasion, which is meant by the verb $\phi\omicron\pi\eta\epsilon\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$ in Philippians II 1-5, is done in chapter V (pp. 171-209) in a very thorough research analysing its foundation on four great privileges that every christian possesses: Vocation in Christ, the inspiration of charity, the community in the Spirit and the tenderness and pleasure of piety (p. 173 ss.); then fixing its content (pp. 181-191), its projection (pp. 192-202) and its efficiency in the society (pp. 203-207).

In a very similar way we find the $\kappa\epsilon\omicron\nu\omicron\sigma\iota\varsigma$ of the humble Christ studied in chapter VI, (pp. 210-320). It refers to Philippians II, 5-8. It appears as a treatise by itself, having for preliminary questions the selection of a method of research, the determination of the formal structure, and the finding of the subject (pp. 210-252); proceeding to the exegetical analysis of our text denominated "kenotic" from the word 'kenosis' by searching on the divine conditions of Christ, His self-denial and His "auto-kenosis" (pp. 253-294); adding an exegetical analysis of the text "a tapeinotic", or self-humiliating, in the human realization by Christ, in His "auto-tapeinosis", and in His obedience into death upon the cross (pp. 295-315); at last concluding that St. Paul had written the section to call the Philippians to mend their "auto-sufficiency", "autoglorification", "concentration on their personal interest" and "on the demands of their social position" with the consideration of the humble Christ.

Suddenly, and unannounced in the very title of the work, comes chapter VII with a subject and title most relevant in the Epistle and in the whole mentality of St. Paul "The $\kappa\upsilon\pi\iota\omicron\tau\eta\epsilon$ (The Lordship) of the Christ glorified" (pp. 321-370). The interference is demanded by the real perspective of St. Paul expressly stated in Phil. II 9-11. Heriban sees the sequence as "an unsuspected and decisive twist" (p. 321), then he explains with St. Paul the exaltation of the humbled Christ to the supreme dignity and to the highest name (pp. 323-334); the universal homage to the glorified Christ of the whole cosmos in adoration and confession of the Lordship of Jesus Christ; and ends by commenting the final doxology with which the 'hymn' is rounded up. We confess that we are surprised by the statement of Heriban: "General Conclusions — 1. The philological, literary and exegetical analysis of verses 9-11 (notwithstanding the change of subject, of style, of language and of the syntax of the fragment) confirms the literary and themat-

tic unity of the christological "hymn") (p. 367). A misinterpretation has crept somewhere in the research.

The work ends with a retrospective general view that is most welcome (pp. 371-376). Three additional notes offered as appendix clarify the sense of the word ϕPHN , sketch the history of the opinions on KENΩΣΙΣ , hint a projection of the concept and its life into a world of doctrinal upheaval, and report two very recent works on the 'hymn' (pp. 377-426).

Five indexes of citations, Greek words on discussion, subjects, authors, and systematic render the use of the work handy.

Perhaps our book is an exception to the sensible statement that to judge a book by its cover is superficial, for in reality the cover is telling us very much about the author and his work. We read in the back cover that Joseph Heriban, a Salesian from Czechoslovakia, after having obtained his Licentiate in Sacred Scriptures and his Doctorate in Theology in Rome, has been "for many years a professor of biblical sciences at the Theological Studium of the Salesian Fathers in Tokyo, and of New Testament Exegesis at the Faculties of Theology of the 'Sophia' University of Tokyo and of the University 'Sapientia' of Osaka. Presently, he teaches the Exegesis of the Pauline and Catholic Epistles as well as the Greco-Biblical Language at the Pontifical Salesian University in Rome. He has authored numerous studies, articles and comments on the Pauline Epistles in Japanese language. The monumental, thorough and well assimilated accumulation of data and documentation finds its explanation in being the conscientious work of extended professorship. At times even the structures of several courses and treatises appear in what might be taken for repetitions. But all in all the work on the "hymn" is excellent.

We miss in such a lengthy and well informed study a discussion and definition of the time of the Church and of the period of the life of St. Paul when he wrote the Epistle to the Philippians and put to use, or composed the 'hymn'. The question is vital for its proper understanding. Probably the perfunctory dismissal of the early gnostic incursions into christianity through the upsurging mystery religions that the author borrows from Culmann (p. 135), should have been substituted by a careful investigation of the phenomenon that haunted St. Paul moments before his martyrdom, when he was writing to his Timothy (II Tim. III) and to the Colossians (II 16-23), that alarmed St. Peter (II Pet. II), that would creep through the Apocalypse and the Johannine letters, and from which shall start the Trinitarian and Christological heresies of later epochs.

We miss again a little reference to the voluntary acceptance of death by Isaac when he was placed on the altar by Abraham,

which the rabbinic theology stresses so much and which could be related to the "acceptance" of Jesus when dealing on His "auto-tapeinosis" (pp. 305-312), and when dealing with the enthronement of Christ (p. 321 ss.), some reference to Psalms II, LXXM, LXXXIX and CX.

The absence of a direct use of the Fathers and Doctors recognized in the Church, whose names do not appear at all in the index of authors and whose casual opinion appears to have been quoted from borrowed citations is to be deplored, when a multitudinous crowd of authors appears examined.

Heriban seems to have accepted as his guiding hypothesis that of the 'hymn' propounded by E. Lohmeyer (p. 61 ff.) somewhat too quickly. Surely, that is the prevalent fad now-a-days. But in his keen and excellent investigation to find the paranetic and pastoral use made of the 'hymn' by St. Paul, in the need he had to accept in inserting a whole chapter VII on the *KYPIOTHE*, or Lordship, of the glorified Christ, as well as in the all pervading Pauline psychological flashes, he should have sensed both the doctrinal and christological gist of the 'hymn' and the similarity, not to say identity, it has with frequent outbursts of St. Paul's genius and enthusiasm for his Jesus Christ. It would be easy to isolate as 'hymn' used by Paul Acts XIII 32-41, on the promise; XVII 23-31, on God in Man; and XX 28-35 on Pastors for God from his addresses; and from his writings, Rom. I 1-7, as profession of Faith; I 18-32, on paganism; V-XII, which could provide not one 'hymn' but a whole 'hymnal', on christian privileges; I Cor. I 18-II 15, on the wisdom-language of the Cross; XII 31-XIII 13 on christian love; Gal. II 16-21; on the unity Jesus-Christian; Eph. I 3-14. Jesus-Christ key of God's plans; Col. I 24-29, on the glory of suffering; Thes. V 14-24, on the ideal life of a christian; and also in II Tim. II-IV, his tender farewell; or in Hebr. I 1-II 13, on the glory of the Son; IX 1-28, on Jesus, the Priest; XI 1-XII, faith at work in the Fathers and in us. To fly high up into poetry is connatural to the spirit of St. Paul, as, by the way, it was connatural to Jesus whose poetical 'hymn' we have in the gospels, specially in that according to St. John.

The foregoing remarks and exceptions are not meant to blur our recommendation and high esteem for the excellent work we are reviewing. Ordinary readers, even the common seminarians and students of the Holy Scriptures, will not be capable of tackling the constant reference to the original Greek and comments in French, German, Italian and English, overloaded with very diligent technical parlance; but it is a real treasure of information for Professors and Libraries.

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