

Early Bisayan Culture as Depicted in the Povedano and Pavon Manuscripts*

by

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THE past is prologue to the present. What we are now we owe to what has gone before us. Many of the cherished institutions, values, norms, and practices of our present society had their beginnings hundreds of years ago. Some might have been born only in the past decades, and still others may be much younger; but all had their germinal or formative period sometime in the past.

For the purpose of this paper, I would like to attempt to reconstruct the kind of society obtaining in Negros (and Panay as well) before and during the early part of the Spanish regime in the Philippines.

This study is based on the Povedano Manuscripts of 1572 and 1578 and the Pavon Manuscripts of 1838-1839 all of which were written in Negros but also deal with Panay.

That Negros and Panay formed one cultural-linguistic area then, as they do now, is generally accepted.

The Povedano Manuscript of 1572 consisting of forty-five pages, and that of 1578 consisting of eighty-seven pages, were written by Diego Lope Povedano, the *encomendero* of Binalbagan, Negros Occidental, a Spaniard of noble birth, Bachelor of Philosophy and Letters, and a marshall of His Majesty King Philip II of Spain. He and his father, the Marquis of Povedano, fought side by side with Christopher Columbus on the battlefield of Granada. E.D. Hester of the University of Chicago believes that "Povedano was well educated, alert and perceptive compared with those others who comprised the famous band of 16th century *conquistadores*."¹ And John

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Carroll says "he deserves to be known as one of the first ethnologists of Southeast Asia."²

The 1572 manuscript was entitled **La Isla de Negros y las Contumbres de los Visayos y Negritos**. This was translated into English by Dr. James A. Robertson, one-time director of the Philippine National Library, and co-author of the famous 55-volume **The Philippine Islands** with Emma Blair. The 1578 manuscript was translated and annotated by Rebecca P. Ignacio, a scholar from Negros. Both the 1572 and 1578 manuscripts were published by the University of Chicago under its Philippine Studies Program in 1954.

On the other hand, the Pavon Manuscripts of 1838–1839 were written by Fr. Jose Ma. Pavon, a secular priest assigned in Himamaylan. He came to the Philippines in 1810 via British India. When he arrived in Negros is not definitely known but he was already there in 1830 because on July 17 of that year he recorded the legend of how the crow became black.

Robustiano Echaus in his **Apuntes de la Isla de Negros** mentions Pavon as the "cura insular" for Himamaylan "in 1849 and before."³ Dr. Robertson noted that Pavon was

"an observer and historian first and a priest (only) second."⁴ In preparing his manuscripts, Fr. Pavon had access to the works of Povedano, to the writings of Fr. Francisco Deza, a Jesuit who was stationed in Ilog in the 17th century which writings are perhaps now forever lost, and to several documents written in the ancient Bisayan script.

Though written at a later time, the Pavon Manuscripts deal with cultural subjects more or less contemporaneous with even earlier than those of Povedano's. As Pavon himself says in his prefatory note, the manuscripts are the "product of several years of labor. . . ."⁵

The manuscripts consisted of two leather-bound volumes, sixteen by eleven centimeters in size and 267 and 394 pages, respectively. These were acquired by the National Library in 1914 through Jose Marco of Negros Occidental when Robertson was the director but were lost in the fire that destroyed the library during the Battle of Manila in 1945. The eldest document included in the Pavon Manuscripts was dated 1372, or exactly 200 years before Povedano took possession of his *encomienda* in Binalbagan.

The manuscripts were never published during Pavon's lifetime because, as he himself wrote, "my su-

periors consider them very irreligious, passing grave and serious censures, in my opinion unjust."⁶ Yet Dr. Beyer, the father of Philippine anthropology, said that the Pavon Manuscripts are "most valuable for the early history and stories of Negros."⁷

Like the Povedano Manuscript of 1572, the Pavon Manuscripts were translated by Dr. Robertson and a limited number of copies were printed by the University of Chicago Philippine Studies Program in 1957.

Both the Povedano and Pavon Manuscripts are immensely important in the study of early Bisayan society and culture because they give descriptions of ethnographic materials of the people, their social and religious practices, their customs, and include a large body of their myths, folktales, legends, and superstitions.

To show that myths, legends, and folktales or what are in general called folk literature, are also relevant to our study, we only have to remember that William Bascom calls folklore as "a mirror of culture,"⁸ and that according to Herskovits, folklore "is more than the literary expression of a people. It is, in a very real sense, their ethnography which. . . gives a penetrating picture of their way of life."⁹

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The inclusion of pre-Spanish data on Bisayan culture in the Pavon Manuscripts were made possible because the early inhabitants of Negros had their alphabet. Pavon was able to get hold of old manuscripts, some written on dried skin of young deers with the letters burned into with a pointed metal; some on parchment made from crops of hens or birds; some on various hard wood or on the inside of split bamboo tubes.

Bisayan Syllabary

According to a document of 1543, the early Bisayan people had a syllabary of fourteen letters and three combined sounds. They had symbols for A, Ba, Da, Ga, Ha, Ka, La, Ma, Na, Pa, Sa, Ta, Va, and Ya. The combined sounds are EI, OU, AND NG. There is also a sign for the guttural sound.

At the time Povedano arrived in Negros, he noted that "those who knew how to form these letters were very few for only the headmen of a few towns knew them."¹⁰ Those who could write were called *tomatahad*. According to Pavon, however, the priests of the *Diwatas* or the *baylanes* also knew how to write.

The early Bisayans wrote the lists of their animals, their business transactions, their land and sea songs, the tales of their men of war and bravery, myths and superstitions, legends of their dances, the tradition of their sacred trees, and how they performed their religious rites. The ceremonial writings were called *talamdanan*.¹¹

Aside from the syllabary, the early Bisayans also had a calendar by which they told the days, months, and years. The calendar was made of a piece of hard, black *kamagong* wood on which were engraved twelve months which they people called as follows:

Ynaguinid	— January
Ulalen	— February
Dagancahoy	— March
Daganenan	— April
Elquilin	— May
Ynabuyan	— June
Cavay	— July
Tagulalol	— August
Yrarapun	— September
Manalulsul	— October
Biraohan	— November
Catimogan	— December

The months had thirty days except Catimogan which had thirty-six. Their year therefore had 336 days. The days of the week were called: Yua— Monday; Ania— Tues-

day; Cania— Wednesday; Atong— Thursday; Maren— Friday; Tagalon— Saturday; and Sablolahay— Sunday. They reckoned the months by observing the heavenly bodies and reckoned the day from sun to sun. By this is meant that they did not count the hours of darkness.

The people then did not keep tract of the passage of years as we do today with the birth of Christ as the time of reference. With this problem, it is a wonder how the good Fr. Pavon arrived at his calculations of the dates which he gave to the old documents he found. For example, he gave the date of 1372 to a document on burial practices. My guess is that he might have resorted to the use of family trees (if there were any) in reckoning the dates. He gave no clue as to his procedure in dating. It is suggested therefore, that some dates given in the Manuscripts should be taken not as accurate but as approximations.

Social Structure

Now what kind of people used the aforementioned alphabets and calendar? They were not known as Ilongos then, nor even as Bisayans, at least not until after the middle of the 16th century.¹³

By the time of Povedano the people who inhabited Negros were

known to the Spaniards as the Pintados.¹⁴ and the Negritos (Agtas). The Pintados or Bisayans were divided into three linguistic groups: the Higuecina who lived along the sea-coast; the Haraya who lived on the lowlands near the rivers; and the Igneine who lived in the uplands.

In a legend included in the 1578 Povedano Manuscripts, it says that in the olden times there lived Si Pulong and his three companions, Si Ignono, Si Jaraya, and Si Jaguine. These four understood the speech of animals and sounds of the birds, they went to various places of the earth teaching the mountainers, the river-dwellers, and those along the shores. Thus, those who lived by the sea talked the tongue of Si Jaguine; those of the mountains that of Si Ignono; and those along the banks of the rivers that which Si Jaraya gave.

It is interesting to note that the Haraya speech must have evolved to our Kiniray-a (Hiniray-a) dialects and that many people today still call the Hiligaynon as Hagnosisina or simply Sinâ.

The social structure was divided into three classes: the *sidungog*¹⁵ or ruling class headed by the *nong agorang* who was the head of a com-

munity and minor chieftains; the *timaau* or freeman; and the *ulipon* or the slave.

System of Laws

Pavon had the distinction of having recorded the famous Code of Kalantiaw which was found in Panay in 1614 but is believed to have been promulgated in 1433. The original of this code is supposed to be in Spain, its last known possessor being Don Marcelino Orfila in Zaragoza.

The existence of the code proves that long before the coming of the Spaniards the people of Panay and Negros already had a system of laws to govern their social conduct. If we read through the eighteen orders of the Code of Kalantiao, we will notice that it recognizes such crimes as murder, theft, estafa excessive lust, trespass of dwelling, grave or sacred place, breach of promise, abduction, kidnapping, destruction of property, and sacrilege. We cannot also fail to notice that no person was above the law because the last order provides that headmen and *agorangs* who violate it should be punished by death.

The punishments, like cutting of fingers, drowning and being fed to sharks and crocodiles, may seem too

cruel in the light of modern penology but seen in the context of the time and compared with penal codes of the same period from other places, the Code of Kalantiaw is relatively humane.

The Code emphasizes respect for age and authority. It even recognizes sex education. Order No. 10 of the Code provides that every mother should teach things of sex to her daughters and prepare them for womanhood.

Polygamy was practiced, but, according to the Third Order, no one should have women that are very young; nor more than he can support; nor be given to excessive lust. It was also unlawful for the children of the chiefs to marry the children of the poor people or of slaves and *vice versa*.

Courtship and Marriage

Courtship was done by the parents and marriage agreements were usually made even before the birth of the children. For example, Mother A and Mother B agreed that if A bore a male child and B bore a female child the two children would be married on growing up.

The courtship ceremony usually started at the first new moon when the boys' parents and elder relatives,

accompanied by a good singer, would visit the house of the girl bringing with them a large basket of *buyo*,¹⁶ *suman*,¹⁷ cooked rice, *tuba*,¹⁸ and other food items.

Very secretly they would take station under the house of the bride from which the parents had purposely removed the ladder. Then the singer would sing a song like what follows as translated:

*O, sovereign parents,
Here we come to explore
Whether, perchance, you will
harken to us,
With the holy purpose of
courting
Your beloved daughter for our
son.*

Thereupon her parents, who were already prepared, would respond from above:

*Strange people, who are ye
Who come to disturb the quiet
of the night
With your songs which ye
offer?
If your purpose is acceptable
to us
Show us your desire.*

Those below the house would answer thus:

*Although great is our desire,
And poor our presents,
May your goodwill order
Them to be sent up and see
them,
We are your humble servants.*

At this point those above would throw out a rope and draw up the basket with its contents. Then they would sing as they drop down the ladder.

*This fortunate ladder
Is a sign of invitation
For the most happy suitor
Who wishes to take a beloved
pledge
To mount thereby.*

Those below would answer:

*We are (so-and-so) your ser-
vants,
And as dower we give him good
(such-and-such things)
So that they may live on this
earth with fervency,
In order that they may after-
ward be good consorts
In the terrestrial paradise.*

Those above would finally answer:

*Our daughter (so-and-so) hum-
ble
And the best that the sun has
seen,*

*Has as dower a large house
Plus the goodwill
Of him who gave her being.
Come up beloved companions,
Let us celebrate the event.*

The groom's parents and party would now ascend the house amidst cheers and shouting. Then the parents of both parties would chew the *buyo* and soon everyone present would do the same. Food would be eaten and a date would be set for the final ceremony of marriage.

Here is how Pavon described the wedding ceremony: "When that day came they would prepare a large black pig, or a wild pig, and would then go to the house (of the bride). The old man (*agorang*) who officiated would read in a loud voice the writing of an old parchment which it was said was called *ca-asoyan*.¹⁹ At the end of these ceremonies, the old man would utter a cry, and all would rise and form a circle about him. Then another person, an old woman (*tagalona*), all clad in white, would come into the midst of the circle bearing in her hands a jar containing hulled rice.

The old man on seeing it would turn his back on it. Then the old woman who brought it would utter some few written words, and would

retire, taking (with her) the jar that contained the rice. Then the old woman would do the same thing again and the old man would utter words with head bowed. Thereupon the old woman would turn about, and they would be face to face. Then they would continue to utter other words. After that the bride and groom would enter the circle. Thereupon the old woman would join their two heads together, while, on the other hand, the old man, with majestic actions, would take the hands of the bride and groom, and place on top of the jar of rice, and the marriage was consummated amidst loud cries and shouts, another person scattering the rice upon their heads."

Perhaps the custom of showering rice on the newlyweds for good luck had its beginning in this practice of the early Bisayans.

When a child is born to the couple, he is baptized in the following manner. The *agorang* or the oldest man in the place would take the child in his right hand and then covered his eyes with a cloth and went out uttering loud cries. With his left hand he would catch hold of something and would open his eyes. Thereupon with great noise and merriment the child was named after the thing caught hold of by the

old man. If the thing was a spear then the child was baptized "Sibat."

As regards the naming of children, Bobadilla says, ". . . they name according to the incidents that happen at their birth. One child is called Maglente, because of the thunder clap sounded at the time of his birth; for *lente* signifies a clap of thunder. Another will be called *Gubaton*, because the enemy appeared on the coast at the same time; for *gubat* signifies enemy. . . ." ²⁰

Burial Practices

Povedano reported that the early Bisayans buried their dead in caves and with them they buried gold ornaments and the idols that the dead worshiped while alive. The Igneine buried their dead under the houses.

Pavon gives a detailed description of how the people of Negros buried their dead five hundred years ago. As soon as a man died, the first care of the family was to prepare the coffin. This was done by hallowing out a big log, which was hard labor and was done by two men who were called *matutum* (experts). Then coconut oil is poured into the mouth of the corpse. This had two objectives: to help prevent putrefaction and to facilitate the entrance of the *calag* (soul) into the *sumпой*, or

place of punishment. It is believed that the passage to the *sumпой* is difficult, for it is through a long bamboo tube.

After that the body was laid on the *bancaian* (deathbed) and sprinkled with water in which were boiled sweet-smelling herbs and roots. Sometimes they scarified the corpse bit by bit as far as the stomach and drew out the blood thoroughly by washing it with vinegar. In this case the scars were filled with salt. The body was then wrapped with *badiang* leaves and bound by abaca rope.

Burial was usually done within three days because it was believed that on the third day the evil spirit *Macbarubac* or *tictic* might touch the coffin and it will burst open to exude a very strong stench. Throughout the time that the body lay on the *bancaian*, the people kept night watch to prevent the *aswang* (witch) from eating the liver, if the deceased was young, or the guts if he was old.

For the burial ceremony, the whole family formed a circle under the house where the deceased was to be buried. An old man would chant a sad song that was written on a manuscript which would be buried with the dead. In that manuscript was recounted the vir-

tues of the deceased and the god Lallahon was besought to provide good food for his soul.

The coffin was next dropped into the grave and the people threw branches and leaves over him to the accompaniment of the tearful wails of two women mourners. The women then threw handfuls of earth into the grave which action was followed by the rest. This practice is still widespread in Panay and Negros today.

For several days the family of the deceased observed the *laraw* (mourning) in which time they did not eat but indulged in much intoxication. They assuaged sorrow by merry-making and drinking.

Song and Music

So much for the sad topic of death and burial. Let us now come to the brighter side of early Bisayan life. Our ancestors were a singing and music-loving people. Among their songs were those which told of the lives and deeds of their warriors and forebears. The Harayas called these songs *lintoy* or *kalintoy*. The Igneines called them *kurintog* while the Haguencinas called them *karbay*. They also had songs that narrated the lives of great voyagers. These were called *hibai* or *iboyi*.

According to Povedano, some of the songs were indecent and lewd, however.

Of musical instruments, the early Bisayans had the following:

1. **Toltog balanog**—this was made of baked clay in the form of a small cask with three holes on top and two on the sides. When blown on top hole, the sound produced is like that of a flute.

2. **Subing**—made from a piece of seasoned bamboo, hollowed in the middle, flexible and soft, and when blown with the lips it gives a sound like that of a clavichord.

3. **Budiong**—made of shell, with its upper part cut off. When blown it produces a sound like that of a cornet's.

4. **Buktot (hunchback)**—This is so named for it has a hump on its back. This string instrument is made of strong, hard wood which is covered with the dry skin of fish. The strings are mounted on bridges on the upper part of the instrument. The *buktot's* sound is like that of a viola's.

5. **Igot**—made of two pieces of wood which are crushed and flattened. In the middle is a wedge which when moved back and forth produces a screeching sound.

6. **Patikan**—similar to Spanish drum but made of hollowed wood

and covered with the skin of ray fish (*pagi*).

7. **Tultogan**—a piece of bamboo which is beaten with a smaller piece in the manner of drums.

The people played their instruments during leisure time and during ceremonies and festivals.

Dances

Povedano observed in 1578 that the people of Negros had several dances. The most graceful of these was the *harito*. This is how Povedano described this particular dance: "It is participated by five boys and five girls. Three of them are on the left and three on the right. They are accompanied by girls who play the role of nymphs and queens. The girl in the middle carries a crown of aromatic branches. . . This is a very beautiful dance, movements of the bodies so rhythmic and gracefully harmonious with music. . . ."

Another dance was the *biro-iro* performed by a young, slender lively girl who sang as she danced. The other dances were the *balitaw*, *madia*, *leay*, *lalong-kalong*, *iray*, *imbong*, and *inay-inay*. All of these, according to Povedano, were graceful and attractive.

There were also weapon and war dances which were performed on rare occasions, accompanied only

with drums and cries. Unfortunately, both Povedano and Pavon failed to describe them for posterity.

Farming, Fishing, Hunting

At the time of Spanish arrival the people of Negros lived by farming, fishing, and hunting. Among the crops they raised were rice, *kamote*, *gabi* and *obi*. Their planting and harvesting activities were supported by rituals intended to gain the blessing of supernatural beings or to placate their ire. For example, before they cultivated a certain piece of land they always performed the *panabitabi*, a ceremony by which they informed the environmental spirits of their desire to cultivate the land and to ask their permission. The same they did before they fished or hunted in a place, except that here it was called *tuhoy*. This was done by beating two pieces of sticks to produce a *tok tok tok tik tik tik* sound. They repeated the beating until they heard a rustling noise of dry leaves. When this was heard the friendly spirit called *mamantas* was present to help the fishermen. If no sound is heard, they left for another place.

In fishing, the people used poisonous plants to catch the fish. Among these poisonous plants are the *tubli*,²¹ the *lagtang*,²² and

tigao.²³ The roots of the *tubli* were squeezed to extract the juice which was then poured into the water of a small rivulet or brook. In the case of *lagtang*, it was the nuts that were roasted, pulverized, mixed with shrimps, and thrown into the water. As for *tigao*, the leaves were used. These were mixed with lime and ashes, together with the roots of *lampuyang*²⁴ and some *katumbal*.²⁵ The mixture could kill all the fish, shrimps and crabs that came in contact with it. The people caught the poisoned fish and removed the intestines before cooking.

The devices and contraptions used in hunting animals and birds were: *tiksohot* (tigsuhot), a lasso that caught the prey by the neck; *tiklapak* (tiglapak), a lasso spread on twigs on the ground so that it caught the prey by the leg. The third was the *tigalbong*, a large pit dug on the ground, having its mouth camouflaged by twigs, leaves, and a thin layer of earth. When the animal stepped on the frail covering this would give way and the prey would fall into the pit. Still another method was the use of the *katian* (decoy) that attracted the animals into traps. These methods are still being practiced by hunters especially the Bisayans living in the hills and mountains.

Weapons and Tools

As regards the weapons used by early Bisayans, Fr. Pavon made a list based on an older list made by Fr. Francisco Deza in Ilog in the year 1678. These weapons are:

1. **Sumbiling**— a throwing spear made of a mountain bamboo (probably *bolo*) with two barbs at the end. This was usually poisoned with the juice from the flower of the *katsubong*.

2. **Sibat**— a throwing spear of great penetrating power, with a point like a gaff.

3. **Bankaw**— another missile weapon made of strong wood and an iron tip. It had a sharp form and sharp sides. This was supposed to have been invented by a chief named Bankaw in 1332.

4. **Sanduko**— a hand weapon about one and a half *palmos* long, sharp at both ends, generally with one sharp edge. It was used in hand-to-hand combat.

5. **Talibong**— a formidable hand weapon, shaped like a medium-sized short sword, but with only one sharp edge while at the back it was thick and heavy. Usually it had a very sharp point with haft and shaft of carabao horn.

6. **Balaraw**— a hand weapon used in order to ward off blows and to

assail when wounded. It has two edges, a hilt made of cow's horn, and an iron handguard. In form it is like a serpent twisted backward. It was carried in the belt.

7. **Sumpit**— made of bolo bamboo, about three *baras* (yard) long and straight. It is loaded with poisoned spines of the ray fish fastened to feathers. It works by blowing with the mouth.

Religion and Worship

By the time the Spaniards arrived, the early people of the Bisayan region had their own form of religion and worship. They believed in one omnipotent god whom they called *Makaako*, the creator, and a number of other gods. The best of these other gods was *Kabunian*²⁶ who lived in the highest part of the sky. The god of the earth was *Kaptan* and of the sea was *Magwayan* and the first man and woman were born of their union. For in the place where they had their first romance grew up a bamboo and when the bird *Manaul* picked on that bamboo it split and out came *Lalaki* and *Babae*.²⁷

Another lesser god was *Lalaon* who lived in Mt. Kanlaon. It was to her that the people prayed for the safekeeping of the soul of the dead.

She was represented as an old woman with a hole in the head, large misshapen eyes, no hands and the feet gathered together. A cigar was placed in its mouth as an offering.

Maquined was the god that had the power to give bad weather and bad harvest. *Aropayang* was the god of rain and good harvest.

On Mount Madyaas in Panay lived another powerful god, *Sidapa*, guardian of the tree of life. On the tree of life called the *siasad*. *Sidapa* marked a man's life since his birth and when the hour of his death came, he cut off the branch and the man died. *Sidapa* was represented in the Bisayan temples as a big old man with an open mouth and three teeth. The arms and body were large and the feet were small. On its head was a halter and a hat like a tiara. It always had a tree by its side.

How did the people conduct their worship? They set aside certain trees, especially the *lunok*, as sacred, under which they built their altar *olangan* which the Spaniards called *oratorios*. Here they placed their idols and every month they held a religious celebration called the *dogok*.

The male priest was called *baylan* and the female *tagalona*.

The people also believed in environmental supernatural creatures like the *tamawo*,²⁸ *kama kama*,²⁹ and *lulid*.³⁰ The places where these supernatural beings lived were considered enchanted.

In all their daily activities the people always tried to please the gods and the spirits. Before starting anything they invoked the spirits in a ceremony called *tuhoy* and for any failure or success of their work they made offerings called *daga*.

The people performed their worship religiously because they believed in the *gaba* which is a punishment for disobedience or irreverence.

CONCLUSION

A reading of the Povedano Manuscripts of 1572 and 1578, and of the Pavon Manuscripts of 1838-39 shows that the people of the Panay and Negros Area had a culture uniquely their own. They had three closely related cultural-linguistic groups, namely, the *Haguecina* or *Yliguenes* (Hiligaynon) along the coast; the *Haraya* (Hiniray-a) in the lowlands; and the *Igneine* in the mountains.

There were three social classes: the *sidungog* (dunganon), the *tima-*

wa, and *olipon*. The people lived by farming, fishing and hunting, and were seafaring as evidenced by their numerous sea songs. They had their own syllabary and had a body of written and oral literature as well as a system of laws. They also had their own world-view of the universe and believed in life in the hereafter. Although they had several gods they believed in one supreme being.

Nowhere in the Povedano and Pavon Manuscripts could be found indications that the early Bisayans were barbarians or savages. On the contrary, evidences show that by the time Diego Lope Povedano landed in Negros to take possession of his *encomienda* in Binalbagan, the people had a culture and a civilization that we of the present can be proud of. ■

NOTES

1. In his introduction to *The Robertson Text and Translation of Povedano's "The Island of Negros and the Customs of the Visayas and Negritos"* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1954), p. v—vi. Hereafter cited as *Povedano Manuscript of 1572*.
2. John Carroll, "The Word *Bisaya* in the Philippines and Borneo," *The Sarawak Museum Journal*, IX (July—December, 1960), p. 523.
3. Manila: *Tipo-Litografia de ChoFRE y Compania*, 1894, p. 12.
4. James A. Robertson, "Social Structure of, and Ideas of Law Among Early Philippine Peoples, and a Recently Discovered Pre-Hispanic Criminal Code in the Philippines," in H. Morse Stephens and Herbert E. Bolton, *The Pacific Ocean in History* (New York, 1917), p. 161.
5. *The Robertson Translation of the Pavon Manuscripts of 1838—1839* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1957), Transcript No. 5-A, p. x. Hereafter cited as *Pavon Manuscript*.
6. *Ibid.*, Transcript No. 5-D, p. 49.
7. *Outline of Philippine Archaeology* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1949), p. 293.
8. William Bascom, "The Four Functions of Folklore," in Alan Dundes, *The Study of Folklore* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965), p. 285.
9. Melville J. Herskovits, *Man and His Works* (New York, 1948), p. 418.
10. *Povedano Manuscript of 1572*, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
11. *Povedano* writes it as "Tolandanan."
12. A tree of the ebony family, *Diospyros discolor* Willd.
13. See John Carroll, *op. cit.*, pp. 522—525.
14. Miguel de Loarca in his *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas*, Arevalo, Panay, 1852 (Blair and Robertson, V, pp. 115), writes: "The men tattoo their entire bodies with very beautiful figures, using therefore small pieces of iron dipped in ink. This ink incorporates itself with the blood, and the marks are indelible."