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## Tomás Pinpin and the Literate Indio: Tagalog Writing in the Early Spanish Philippines

Damon L. Woods

In 1610, several books were printed by the Dominican press located in the town of Abucay, in the province of Bataan, Philippines. One of those books, authored by Tomás Pinpin and entitled *Librong pagaaralan nang manga tagalog nang uicang Castila*, has long been recognized as the first book ever written by a Filipino.<sup>1</sup> It was not. It was simply the first work ever written by a Filipino to be published.<sup>2</sup> This distinction is important because Pinpin lived in a society that was literate before and after Spanish contact. He wrote to a public that could read and write--a fact he recognizes and assumes, and a fact which was widely acknowledged through the first half of this century. This scenario drastically alters our perception of the indigenous population at the time of Spanish contact, the work of the friars, and the process of Hispanization.

### Beginnings: The Spaniards in the Philippines

In 1565, Miguel López de Legazpi arrived in the Philippines with six Augustinian friars in his expedition. The Franciscans followed in 1577, the Jesuits in 1581, and the Dominicans in 1587. On April 27, 1594, Philip II instructed Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, governor and captain-general of the Philippines:

together with the bishop of those islands, to divide the

provinces, for the said instruction and conversion, among the religious of the orders, in such a manner that where Augustinians go there shall be no Franciscans, nor religious of the Society where there are Dominicans. Thus you will proceed, assigning each order to its provinces.<sup>3</sup>

This order was contrary to official Crown policy, which had been to disallow any one Order from controlling any "contiguous, ethnic-territorial area."<sup>4</sup> The reason for this open change from established policy, which in any case had only been partially effective up to that point, was the linguistic situation in the Philippines.<sup>5</sup>

The Philippines lacked anything resembling a *lingua franca*, unlike Central Mexico and Peru where Nahuatl and Quechua, respectively, were used to communicate in multilingual settings. Based on *encomienda* lists and tribute records compiled in 1591, the numbers of the indigenous population in the areas of the six major languages were: Tagalogs, 124,000; Ilocanos, 75,000; Bicol, 77,000; the Pangasinans, 24,000; the Pampanga, 75,000; and the Ibanag, 96,000. In fact, "on the island of Luzon alone there were six major languages, many minor ones and a host of dialects."<sup>6</sup>

By dividing the Philippines according to linguistic groups, each Order was able to concentrate its conversion efforts and linguistic studies on "two or three or at most four languages."<sup>7</sup> Each was assigned parishes in the Tagalog provinces which surrounded Manila, along with their assignments away from Manila. Thus, the largest number of indigenous-language works done by friars is in Tagalog. Between 1593 and 1648, twenty-four books in Tagalog were published, whereas only five in Bisayan, three in Pampanga, two in Bicol, and one in Ilocano were during the same period.<sup>8</sup> Each of the religious orders had its own printing press. The Dominicans established their press in 1593, which was first moved in 1602 to Binondo and later in 1608 to Abucay, Pinpin's town. It was probably there that he met fray Francisco Blancas y San José. Within two years, Pinpin's *Librong Pagaaralan* and Blancas' *Arte y Reglas de la Lengua Tagala* were published.

### The Life and Work of Tomás Pinpin

Tomás Pinpin was born in Abucay, Bataan, between 1580 and 1585. Unfortunately, the records pertaining to Pinpin were probably destroyed either in 1646 by Dutch marauders<sup>9</sup> or in 1896 during the conflict between Filipino revolutionaries and the Spaniards.<sup>10</sup>

While we know nothing of his ancestry or early life, the evidence clearly shows that Pinpin was a Filipino. He is referred to as a "natural de Bataan (tauo sa Bataan)."<sup>11</sup> Fray Roque de Barrionuevo, the censor of Pinpin's book stated that the work was composed by "Tomás Pinpin, a Tagalog,...the author being a native Tagalog."<sup>12</sup> Pinpin identifies himself as Tagalog in the introduction: "Paralang sulat ni Tomas Pinpin, tauong tagalog sa manga capoua niya tagalog na nag aabang magaral nang dilang macagagaling sa canila" (The letter from Tomás Pinpin, a Tagalog person, to his fellow Tagalogs waiting to learn the tongue that will do them good).<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, Bienvenido Lumbera refers to him as a *ladino* (a bilingual native).<sup>14</sup>

Pinpin was not the first or the only non-Spanish printer in the early colonial period in the Philippines. Two brothers, Juan and Francisco de Vera, and Luis Beltrán, all full-blooded Chinese, had served before as printers for the Dominicans. Vicente Rafael notes that the editor of the 1910 edition speculated that "Pinpin probably learned his trade from the Christianized Chinese Juan de Vera, who is credited with having printed missionary works in the vernacular in the sixteenth century."<sup>15</sup> Pinpin continued to work as a printer until at least 1639, working on some of the more significant religious and linguistic works of that era, including confessional guides, dictionaries, and grammars.<sup>16</sup>

Pinpin had a dual purpose for writing *Librong Pagaaralan*: to teach Tagalogs aspects of Catholic doctrine, particularly to prepare them for confession, and to teach them Spanish. Thus, his book is a bilingual production in a Tagalog/Spanish format. The Tagalog fits the first purpose, the Spanish the second. As a result the Spanish text dictates much of the meter, subject matter, and other aspects of the writing.<sup>17</sup> Lumbera describes Pinpin's book as five chapters of lessons,

ranging from simple vocabulary to complete sentences, all meant to be memorized....The part of *Librong Pagaaralan* for which Pinpin has been linked to the history of Tagalog poetry is the six songs (*auit*) inserted at certain points in the book as exercises to be chanted by the students.<sup>18</sup>

Thus, the book combines lessons, songs and a section on the Ten Commandments. Traditionally, the songs have been the focus of most studies of Pinpin.<sup>19</sup> Pinpin concludes his book with a glossary.

## The Text

On first reading the section I have translated below, the reader may be struck by the frankness of language and description of sexual activity, especially in the context of a religious work.<sup>20</sup> However, Pinpin wanted to help Tagalogs understand the questions they would be asked about their sexual behavior in confession. Compared to some of the works in Nahuatl, this material is mild.<sup>21</sup> Most importantly, however, in this section Pinpin reveals information about indigenous kinship organization and concepts and refers to Tagalog literacy.

ANG ICANIM(ICAANIM) UTOS NANG  
P.(PANGINOON) DIOS.  
EL SEXTO MANDAMIENTO<sup>22</sup>

(1) *Nagcasala ca caya sa di mo asaua nang gauang masama?* Has pecado con varon ó muger akena? (2) *May asaua caya yaong quinalaro no, con bagong tauo caya siya,t, con bauo caya?* Tiene muger aquel con quien pecaste ó era mozo ó viudo? (3) *Dalaga caya yaong babaying pinagcasalanan [mo], con bulandal caya?* Era doncella, moza por casar aquella con quien pecaste, ó era de las solteras de mayor edad que ya tuvieren marido? (4) *Dalaga caya yaong totoo na ualang bacas lalaqui, ay icao ang naunang nacasiae [nacasira] nang pagca dalaga niya?* Era virgen por ventura, de manera que tu fueses el primero que la corrompiese? (5) *Opan hinlog mo yaon?* Por ventura era pariente ó parienta tuya? (6) *Anong paghihinlog ninyo niyon?* Que parentesco hay entre vosotros? (7) *Opan anac mo yaon at ama caya at ina caya sa pag binyag at sa pagcompilman caya?* Era hijo ó hija ó padre ó madre de Bautismo ó de la Confirmacion? (8) *Opan casama mong, nag anac sa pag binyag at sa compilman caya?* O era tu compadre ó comadre de Bautismo ó de la Confirmacion? (9) *At cundi mo man hinlog yaon ay opan hinlog nang asau mo?* O aunque no fuese tu pariente por ventura los es de tu marido ó muger? (10) *Anong paghihinlog nila nang asua mo?* Que parentesco tienen aquel y tu marido ó aquella y tu muger? (11) *Yaong dalaua catauonng pinag casalanan mo ay opan maghinlog sila?* Eran parientes entre si aquellas dos

personas con que pecaste? (12)*Anong pag hihinlog nila con mag capatid con mag pinsan caya,t, con magdaga caya,t, con mag amain caya?* Que parentesco tienen si son hermanos ó hermanas, si primos ó primas, si tia y sobrina ó tio etc.? (13)*Nang magmula ca nang magcasala doon sa isa ay nacailan cang nagcasala doon sa isa?* Habiendo ya pecado con la una persona, cuantas veces pecaste con la otra? (14)*Opan nang magcasala ca doon sa icalaua minsan man lamang ay hindi na holi holing nagcasala doon sa nauna, opan at baquin at nagcasala ca na sa icalaua ay nag panibago ca ding nagcasala doon sa nauna?* Por ventura habiendo ya pecado con la segunda, no volviste ya jamás con la primera, ó es que habiendo ya pecado con la segunda volviste otra vez de nuevo á pecar con la primera? (15)*Opan pinaghahalihalili mo na ualang saysay?* O por ventura pecabas ya con esta; ya con la otra persona su parienta asi confusamente. (16)*May doon ca cayang salang ano anoman sa capoua mo lalaqui at sa capoua mo babayi caya?* Has pecado en alguna manera con otro varon como tu ó con otra muger como tu? (17)*Turan mo din con anong asal na calibugan ninyo, niyong catongo mo con nagsisiping cayo at con nag daramahan cayo at con nagbabauan caya cayo at con ano,t, con ano: icao na ang bahalang mabala?* Di ya en que manera de deshonestidad pecastes, si estabais juntos ó si habia entre vosotros tactos ó si os pusfstes [pusistes] uno sobre el otro, ó si esto ó si solo [lo] otro ó si [a ti] se remite de declararlo? (18)*Con nagsisiping cayo nang asaua mo may doon cayang anomang di ugaling asal na sucat maguin sala [sa] P. (Panginoon) sa Dios?* Cuando estais juntos tu y tu muger, usais de algún modo no ordinario de manera que pueda ser ofensa de nuestro Señor Dios? (19)*Pinababao mo caya ang asaua mo sa iyo?* Mandaste á tu muger mudar su debido lugar, que es decir subir encima de ti? (20)*Gongmaua ca caya nang anomang icalabas niyon con [ano] yaong marumi sa cataoan mo na dili na pa sa cataoan nang babayi, at nabobo din?* Haces algo que sea causa de tener polución de manera que lo que sale cuerpo se derrame fuera del lugar ordinario que es el cuerpo de la mujer? (21)*Sinadhiya mo caya yaon?* Hiciste esto de propósito? (22)*Pinagquiquimis mo i pinag dararama mo ó pinaglalamas mo ang caataoan [cataoan] mo nang malabasan nang tobod?* Has manoseado

tus partes vergonzosas ó tu miembro natural para tener polución? (23) *Binobotinging,t, tinitiltil mo ang quinalalaquinan mo nang dumating yaoñg mahalay?* Andas jugando con tus verguenzas provocandote a que llegue aquella inmundicia? (24) *Nalabasan caya ang cataoan mo niyon?* Tuviste polución? (25) *Opan nang icao ay gongmagayÖc nang maquisiping sa asaua mo ay nabigla na di mo loob at labasan na ualan bahala?* Por ventura estando ya para llegar á tu muger se aceleró sin tu pretenderlo, y sin más ni sin menos se derramo? (26) *Opan caualan mong iñgat yaon?* O por ventura fué la causa el no tener tu cuidado en ello? (27) *Tinatanguihan mo caya ang asaua mo con siya,y, macaibig macaisiping sa iyo?* Resistes á tu marido cuando quiere llegar á ti? (28) *Masaquit caya ang pag tangui mo sa caniya?* Es mucho y con fuerza la resistencia que le hases? (29) *Mapilit man siya ay dili mo din siya ibig pasipingin sa iyo?* Aunque lo procuras con veras tu le despidas de ti? (30) *Dati [ca] cayang maliuag sumunot [somonod] nang loob niya sa gayong gaua?* Suelo [Suele] ser eso de ordinario en ti, que te le muestras dificultosa? (31) *Nacapanaguinip ca caya nang mahalay na panaguimpan?* Has soñado sueños torpes? (32) *Nang maguising ca na natotoua ca caya doon sa panaguimpang yaon?* Cuando despertaste tenias gusto de [en] aquel sueño? (33) *Ang uica mo caya sa loob mo ay siya naua yaon?* Decias por ventura en tu corazon ojala fuera ello asi? (34) *Opan inauacsi mo?* Desechastelo de ti? (35) *Na pa Jesus ca caya at ga nagsisi ca na sa loob mo?* Dijiste [Dijiste] Jesús y tuviste pesar ó pena por ello? (36) *Nang icao ay natotua doon sa panaguimpang yaon ay naguiguising ca cayang totoo, opan na aalimpongatan ca lamang?* Cuando [Queando] te holgabas de aquel sueño, estabas del todo despierto ó estabas todavía medio dormido? (37) *Nag hatol ca samañga capoua mo tauong magcasala sa P. [Panginoon] Dios?* Has aconsejado á algunos para que pecasen? (38) *Anong lagay niyong mañga tauong pinag hatulan mo con mañga may asaua etc.* Que estado tenian aquellos á quien concertaste si son casados etc. (39) *Icao cay,y, napasolohan sa capoua mo tauo?* Has sido alcahuete ó tercero de otros? (40) *Anong asal niyong mañga tauong pinag solohan mo con may mañga [mañga may] asaua caya at con mañga baong tauo caya at manga*

*dalaga at con ang isa man lamang caya ang may asaua?* Que estado tenían aquellos á quien serviste de tercero para amancebarse si casados, si mozos solteros, si mozas ó si alguno de los dos era persona casada? (41)*Nacailan mo cayang pinagsohannan [pinag solohanan] yaong mañga may asaua at nacailan naman yaong ualang asaua?* Cuantas veces serviste de eso á los que eran casados y tambien cuantas veces á los que no lo eran? (42)*Casang bahay ca caya niyong nag sosolohan say iyo?* Vives en las misma casa de aquel de quien [aquien] sirves de alcahute? (43)*Pinilit ca caya niyang utusan nang gayon?* Hacete fuerza a que le sirvas de oso? (44)*Napautos ca at napapintacasi ca caya sa capoua mo tauo nang anomang gauang calibugan?* Obedeciste y ayudaste a alguna cosa tocante a deshonestidad? (45)*Con baga nasa [nagbasa] ca caya nang sulat at cong songmulat ca caya nang canilang ipinagparparalahan?* Es decir si leiste cartas ó si escribiste sus demandas y respuestas? (46)*Pinatutuloy mo caya sa iyona [yiong(iyong)] bahay ang mañga tauong nagaagolo?* Has dado posada en tu casa á los que se amanceban? (47)*Naaalaman mo caya yaong canilang loob na masama bago mo binasa yaong sulat at bago mo caya tinangap sa bahay mo?* Sabias su mal designio é intención antes que leyese sus cartas ó recibieses en tu casa? (48)*Di mo man natatanto,y, alli [dili] caya nahahalata mo din?* Dado que no lo supieses de cierto: no se te traslucia? (49)*Ay nahahalata man ay sinunod mo din ang loob nila?* Y no obstante que lo imaginabas con todo eso viniste en lo que querian? (50)*Nagsosolohan ca caya sa capoua mo tauo?* Haste servido de algun tercero? (51)*Ilan caya yaong sinosolohan [sinolohan] mo?* A cuanto has hecho alcahuetes tuyos? (52)*Yaong mañga sinugo mo at mañga pinipintacasi mo nang ganang [gauang] masama con ilan caya?* Cuantos habran sido aquellos de que te has ayudado enviandolos con mensajes ó por otro modo alguno? (53)*Anong panimintacasi mo sa canila con pinabasa mo caya nang sulat at con pinatanod mo caya sa inyong pagcacasala?* De que manera te ayudaste de ellos, si leyendo las cartas, ó guardandote las espaldas? (54)*Yaong babaying yaon,t, yaong lalaquing yaong sinisinta mo opan pinag dayaan mo ñg [nang] anomang icaiibig niya sa iyo, con bagà guinayuma mo siya,t, con*



*inisalat mo caya at pina parayaan mo caya siya nang gayon sa ibang tauo? Aquella persona á quien amabas, por ventura le has hecho algunos hechizos para que te quisiese ó has procurado que alguno otro la hechizase? (55)Nagsasabi ca caya sa capoua mo tauo nang mahalay na sabi? Has hablado con tus projimos palabras torpes y deshonestas? (56)Nag auit ca caya nang auit na masasama? Has cantado cantares malos y torpes? (57)Con nag sasabi ca at nag aauit caya nang masasama [masama] ay taos na taos caya yaon sa loob mo? Cuando tratas ó cantas cosas deshonestas, aquello pasa al corazon? (58)May aha din caya ang loob mong gumaua nang masama? Tiene tambien el corazon aquel deseo deshonesto? (59)Con cabirobiroan lamang caya yaon at con ano? O es burla todo, y palabras al aire, ó que? (60)Nanasa ca caya nang sulat na pinagpapalamnan nang mahalay na uicang sucacat icaalaala nang masama? Lees libros, que contienen cosas sucias y palabras que traen a la memoria torpezas? (61)Quinatotouaan mo cayang paquingan an maña sabin g calibugan di ca man naquiqui dugtong nang uica? Haste holgado de oir conversaciones deshonestas aunque tu no hablastes en ellas palabras? (62)Nag bubuti ca caya sa cotaoan [cataoan] mo? Engalanas y hermosteas tu cuerpo? (63)Anong dahilang ipinagpapacabuti mo? Que es el motivo que tienes en hermostearte? (64)Opan ang ibig mo ay [ycao ay (icao ay)] ibiguin nang tauo sa masama? Por ventura, por ser deseada para mal? (65)Opan nag papapuri ca laman at caparañgalanan lamang nang loob mo? Por ventura solo porque te alaben de hermosura y por aquella vana ostentación? (66)Tiquis ca cayang hahanda handa at napatatanyag sa manga lalavui [lalaqui]? De propósito andas de aca para aculla placera mostrándote á los varones? (67)Anong sadya mo niyon? Que pretendes [pretendes] en eso?*

## THE SIXTH COMMANDMENT OF THE LORD GOD

(1) Have you sinned against someone who is not your spouse by doing something wrong? (2) Does the one you played with have a spouse, is he/she young or a widower/widow? (3) Is that woman you sinned with young or a spinster? (4) Was she really a virgin untouched by a man, were you the first to destroy/break her womanhood/deflower her? (5) Is she your relative? (6) How are you related to each other? (7) Is he/she your child or mother or father by baptism or confirmation? (8) Were you together as godparents in baptism or confirmation? (9) If she is not related to you, is she related to your wife? (10) How is she related to your wife? (11) Were the two you sinned against related? (12) How are they related, sisters or cousins or aunts or uncle/stepfather? (13) Since you sinned against the one, how many times have you sinned against the other? (14) When you are sinning with the second, not once were you caught with the first, then why after sinning with the second did you sin anew with the first? (15) Did you go back and forth with them senselessly? (16) Do you have any other sin against your fellow man or fellow woman? (17) Tell me also what are your sexual habits when you are in bed with the one with whom you are relating and if you were touching and if you were on top of each other or whatever you wish. (18) When you are in bed with your spouse, do you have any bad habits which became sin to God? (19) Did you allow your spouse to be on top of you? (20) Did you do anything so that something filthy came out of your body but did not enter the woman's body and was spilled? (21) Did you do it on purpose? (22) Did you caress or squeeze your body with your hands so that your semen would come out of your body? (23) Did you play with your manhood to bring about something obscene? (24) Did it come out of your body? (25) When you were preparing to be in bed with your spouse, were you surprised when it unintentionally came out? (26) Was it because of your carelessness? (27) Do you refuse your spouse when he/she wants to go to bed with you? (28) Is your refusal painful? (29) Even if she insists, do you still not wish to be in bed with her? (30) Has it always been hard for her heart to obey that? (31) Do you dream obscene dreams? (32) When you wake up, are

you happy about that dream? (33) Did you say in your heart that you wished it were true? (34) Did you turn away? (35) Did you utter Jesus in your heart and have regret in your heart? (36) When you were happy about that dream, were you really awake or half asleep? (37) Did you judge your fellowman who sinned against the Lord God? (38) What is the status of those you judge, were they married, etc.? (39) Have you been taken advantage of by other people? (40) What was the status of those you took advantage of, were they married, widowed, virgins, or was either one of them married? (41) How many times did you take advantage of those who are married and how many times those who are not married? (42) Did you live in the same house with the one who took advantage of you? (43) Did he/she force you to do that? (44) Did you allow yourself to be ordered and to be admired by anyone for doing something obscene? (45) Did you read the letter and did you write their demands? (46) Do you allow into your house those who engage in concubinage? (47) Did you know their bad intentions before you read that letter and before you received them into your house? (48) Even though you were not certain, did you become aware? (49) When you became aware, did you still follow their ways? (50) Do you take advantage of others? (51) How many did you take advantage of? (52) How many did you send and how many admired you for doing wrong? (53) Do they admire you for letting them read the letter or for letting them watch you in your sin? (54) That woman and man, the one you care for, when you cheated that person of something that he/she loved in you, did you touch him or her or did you let others touch him or her? (55) Do you say something obscene to another person? (56) Do you sing bad songs? (57) When you say something or sing something bad, was it from your heart? (58) Do you desire in your heart to do wrong? (59) Or was it only a joking matter or what? (60) Did you read writings that contain obscene words? (61) Do you delight in listening to lustful words even if you do not add words? (62) Do you do good to your body? (63) For what reason do you improve your body? (64) Do you want to be liked by people for doing wrong? (65) Do you want in your heart to be praised and honored? (66) Do you intentionally prepare yourself so as to be

well-known to others? (67) What is your purpose in that?

### Terminology and Social Implications

Unlike some other religious books, Pinpin's work is not merely a translation from a Spanish text. Consequently, Pinpin's original composition reveals a great deal about indigenous customs and social organization. In questions 7 and 8, Pinpin uses a Tagalog form of the Spanish verb *confirmar* (to confirm), *compilman*. In question 7, he adds the Tagalog prefix *pag* and duplicates the first syllable to create the word *pagcocompilman*.<sup>23</sup> However, he does not indigenize the Spanish word for baptism (*bautizar*). Instead, he takes an indigenous word, *binyag*, and substitutes it for the Spanish *bautismo*. The origin of the word "binyag" as the Tagalog word for baptism (*bunyag* in Bisayan and Ilocano) is worth noting.<sup>24</sup> In his Tagalog dictionary of 1613, San Buenaventura defines "binyag" as "to wet with a certain washing" and explains:

This word is not Tagalog but Borneo, which a minister brought from that country to teach the law of Mahoma, and in teaching it to them, made a certain washing and they called it binyag, and those such manga binyag, i.e., the purified and renovated in the law.

Another Tagalog dictionary (circa 1610-15) by fray Francisco Blancas de San José describes "binyag" as "the act of baptizing. Binyagan: a Christian. This word is derived from a ceremony which the Borneans used anciently, purifying themselves with water."<sup>25</sup>

Dictionaries in other languages confirm the origin and evolution of *buñag*. The Bisayan dictionary (circa 1615) by Mateo Sánchez states: "Buñag: To sprinkle with water or liquid...and metaphorically they call baptism *pabuñag*. It is to be noted that the word *buñag* cannot be used in the formula of baptism." Alonso Méntrida's Hiligaynon dictionary of 1637 defines "buñag" as "to water plants by throwing water over them, or the floor of the church...it has been introduced for baptizing: the use has a meaning it never meant among the indios." Andrés Carro's late eighteenth-century Ilocano dictionary lists the following:

Buniag: A word the ancients used in baptism, and it means, to give a name. It was abolished as improper in

the Synod which Señor García held in Calasiao in 1773, and fixed *buggo*, which instead means to wash. Despite this, the natives of Ilocos Sur take it in the sense of baptism even today.

According to Raul Pertierra, in Ilocano the word "buñag" means to give someone a name. His explanation is intriguing but unconvincing.<sup>26</sup> Rafael also states that in Tagalog, "binyag" means "literally to give one a nickname." That is the modern meaning, which no doubt is the result of the child receiving a name at baptism. In the same way, "binyag" has taken on the meaning of initiation or initial experience. Yet, as late as 1754, Noceda and Sanlucar noted the term's Islamic origin. Rafael points out that friars were cautioned in this work to avoid the use of "binyag."<sup>27</sup>

Pertierra states that in contemporary Ilocano society, "buniag" is "reserved for the more formal church ceremony officiated by the priest or minister in the presence of sponsors and followed by a feast." On the other hand, the Spanish term *bautizar* ("to baptize") is used for the indigenous ceremony employed when a child is seriously ill, at which a senior kinsman baptizes the child.

This informal rite, called *bautizar*, employs the standard Catholic baptismal formula...two interchangeable forms: (1) 'Buniaganka iti nagan ti ama ken ti anak ken ti spiritu sancto, amen' (I name thee in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, amen) or (2) 'Bautizarenka iti nagan etc.' (This ceremony is performed in the house of the child and does not involve sponsors).<sup>28</sup>

In his article "Anak ti Digos: Ilokano Name Changing and Ritual Kinship," Daniel Scheans shows that the ritual kinship ties established in baptism (*compadrazgo*) occur also in the events surrounding the bathing of the sick child.<sup>29</sup>

While a close philological analysis of Pinpin's book elucidates the origins and development of Filipino traditions and concepts, his text also reveals some basic underlying patterns of kinship organization. Adultery was (and is) considered a sin by the Catholic Church regardless of the relationship of the two parties involved. However, Pinpin makes ritual kinship ties an issue by extending the laws of consanguinity to include godchildren, godparents and co-godparents. Therefore his concern is not adultery, but rather incest in questions five through twelve. In questions five

through twelve, Pinpin asks about the nature of the relationship between the person confessing and the other party involved in the adultery. Question 5 begins with the broad question, "Is she your relative?" and question 6 "How are you related to each other?" asks for a precise definition of the adulterers' relationship. He also asks in question 7, "Is he/she your child or mother or father by baptism or confirmation?" and in question 8, "Were you together as godparents in baptism or confirmation?"

In *Compadrazgo: Ritual Kinship in the Philippines*, Donn Hart gives historical background to compadrazgo and its development in the Philippines. Using Pitt-Rivers' definition, he writes:

The participants recognize a bond which is likened to, though it is not confused with, kinship. These are commonly defined under the headings of blood brotherhood and ritual co-parenthood, or compadrazgo, and they are all best classified as ritual kinship. To refer to them as 'fictive kinship,' as many authors have done, is to invite confusion, since no fiction is involved; these institutions are conceptually distinct from and frequently contrasted with natural kinship.<sup>30</sup>

Ritual kinship is created through Church-required sponsorship at baptisms, confirmations, and marriages (Hart does not include marriage). Three sets of relationships are created: between godparent and godchild--"if there is more than one sponsor, they are ritually linked among themselves"; between the sponsor and the parents of the godchild; and between the godchild and the godparents' children.<sup>31</sup> Sidney Mintz and Eric Wolf have also shown in their study of the historical antecedents of ritual kinship that as early as the ninth century, "The incest group, biological as well as ritual, was extended to cover seven degrees of relationship." They assert that, "The outstanding characteristic of the *compadre* mechanism is its adaptiveness to different situations. As the structure of the situation changes, so we may expect to see the *compadre* mechanism serve different purposes." In modern Latin America, the emphasis appears to be on the co-parenthood aspect where, "The *compadre*-*compadre* relationship outweighs the godparent-godchild relationship." To Pinpin, both are important. Ritual kinship is unlike the involuntary ties of natural kinship, in that the relationship is based on choice.<sup>32</sup>

George M. Foster examined the *cofradía* and compadrazgo in

Spain and Spanish America. I would include the Philippines in this discussion. He asserts that "In all societies there is a minimal cooperating group which is necessary for the functioning of daily life." He argues that in the late Middle Ages, there were two such groups with "remarkable facilities for meeting the challenge of crisis periods and for integrating society." One was the *cofradía* or religious brotherhood and the other was,

what is known in Spanish America as the *compadrazgo*, a web of interpersonal relationships based on spiritual kinship recognized by the Catholic Church, achieved through sponsorship of a neophyte at baptism, confirmation or marriage.

He concludes that the *cofradía* became more prominent in Spain, while the *compadrazgo* "won the preeminent place" in the New World.<sup>33</sup> In Spain the basic relationship is between the godparents and the godchild, while in Latin America it is between the godparents, or the *compadres*. The concept of *compadrazgo* quickly became a part of social and religious life in the New World. Foster argues that among the reasons for its quick acceptance are: the tremendous changes experienced by the indigenous population, requiring new adaptive mechanisms; its similarity to existing indigenous forms; and a direct substitution for a clan system. I believe that its adaptability to different situations and its similarity to existing forms best explains its acceptance in the Philippines. The problem is the absence of any evidence to support that conclusion.<sup>34</sup>

That the concept of *compadrazgo* had taken root in the Philippines is seen in a Spanish edict of the Philippine Audiencia on May 17, 1599, a decade before Pinpin's book, which prohibited Chinese from serving as sponsors. According to the edict, the Chinese supposedly had "a great number of godchildren, both Christian and infidel, in order to have them ready for any emergency that may arise."<sup>35</sup> One wonders what was the nature of the relationship involving a godchild that was an infidel.

Pinpin's book shows that *compadrazgo* had also taken root in Filipino society. That an alternative system of kinship could take root so quickly is even more interesting in light of the fact that the Philippine society was "just emerging from the kinship stage" in contrast to societies in Latin America which "had developed a political state."<sup>36</sup>

## Indigenous Literacy and PreHispanic Precedents

While the section translated is rather extended, I have included the entire passage for two reasons. First, it is a unit in Pinpin's work, encompassing his discussion of sexual impropriety in the context of the sixth commandment.<sup>37</sup> Second, it is within that context that Pinpin casually mentions the fact that his audience can read and write; that they can do so is not questioned. His primary concern is whether or not they have used those abilities to participate in what he considers sexual misconduct.

When Pinpin asks: "Did you read the letter and did you write their demands? Did you know their bad intentions before you read that letter and before you received them into your house? Do they admire you for letting them read the letter or for letting you watch you in your sin? [and] Did you read writings that contain obscene words?" he refers to sexual impropriety which involves reading and writing (questions 45, 47, 53, and 60, respectively).<sup>38</sup> Questions 45 and 47 mention the use of letters (*sulat/cartas*) as a means of communicating. Today, the exact nature of such letters remains unclear, but Pinpin assumed that the Filipinos of his time would understand his reference. In question 53, Pinpin asks if the reader is somehow admired for allowing others to read "the letter" or for allowing them to watch him in his "sin." Pinpin continues with another issue in question 60 by asking about the reading of obscene material. This is clearer in the Spanish "*Lees libros*" than the Tagalog because "*sulat*" simply refers to writing.

Leaving aside the specifics of the letters or obscene material, I wish to point out the manner in which Pinpin brings the issue of literacy into his presentation. That Tagalogs read and write is not questioned by Pinpin; he simply assumes as much. Pinpin explicitly wrote to a literate Tagalog audience. Furthermore, he did not exclusively associate literacy with dutiful Tagalogs who read Church material. Instead, he suggests that Tagalogs independently wrote letters to each other and read material which the Church would have considered obscene.

There seems to be little disagreement that pre-Hispanic Filipinos had a system of writing and an alphabet called "*baybayin*" that could be found from the north to the south. Scholars debate the nature and origin of the alphabet, as well as the direction in which Filipinos wrote; however, scant attention has been paid to the related topics of indigenous literacy and social history.





A ma mi á addá cat sadi Langit, pasantificar mo ti nagan mo:  
 pagténg mo cadacam(cadacami) ti paghariam: paannugut mo ti  
 naquemmo ditoy dagá, cas sadi Langit. Itdém cadacám iti aldáo  
 itoy ti canén mi á patinayon á aldáo, quet pauaném muet ti utang  
 mi, cas muet pammaauán mi iti utang daguiti mautang cadacami.  
 Duna cam muet baybayáan á umannúgut iti sairo, isalcannacám  
 quet iti daques. Amén Jesús.

*Ama Mi*

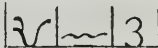
*Amá mi á addá cat sadi Langit, pasantificar mo ti nagan mo:  
 pagténg mo cadacam(cadacami) ti paghariam: paannugut mo ti  
 naquemmo ditoy dagá, cas sadi Langit. Itdém cadacám iti aldáo  
 itoy ti canén mi á patinayon á aldáo, quet pauaném muet ti utang  
 mi, cas muet pammaauán mi iti utang daguiti mautang cadacami.  
 Duna cam muet baybayáan á umannúgut iti sairo, isalcannacám  
 quet iti daques. Amén Jesús.*

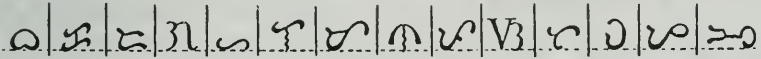
Figure 1: The Lord's Prayer in Tagalog written in the indigenous script, *baybayin*.

William Henry Scott defined baybayin as one of twelve or more:

indigenous alphabets from such Southeast Asian islands as Sumatra, Java and Sulawesi, which are ultimately derived from ancient India and share the Sanskrit characteristic that any consonant is pronounced with the vowel *a* following it, diacritical marks being added to express other vowels.<sup>39</sup>

It is generally considered to have consisted of three vowels, which could serve for five, and between twelve and fourteen consonants.<sup>40</sup> The consonants included both a consonant and a vowel value. The following are the Roman alphabet equivalents:

VOWELS  
 A E/I O/U  


CONSONANTS  
 BA KA DA GA HA LA MA NA NGA PA SA TA VA YA  


The consonants without diacritical marks (called *kudlit* in Tagalog, *corlit* in Spanish) included the vowel "a." The consonant with a dot above it meant that either "e" or "i" was added. A dot below meant that either "o" or "u" should be pronounced with the consonant. The letters designating vowels were used when placed at the beginning of a word or syllable.

Such a system presented problems for non-Filipinos because it could not be used to write consonant-final words. "The final consonants are supplied in all expressions. Thus, in order to say 'cantar' [i.e., 'to sing'], one writes 'cata,' only a 'c' and 't.' To say 'barba' [i.e., 'beard'], two 'b's' are sufficient."<sup>41</sup> Fray Gaspar de San Agustín pointed out that often baybayin letters could signify many possibilities in Spanish-based orthography.<sup>42</sup>

In the first book published by the Spaniards in Ilocano, *Libro a Naisurátan ámin ti bagás ti Doctrina Cristiana*, (Book in Which is Written all the Contents of Christian Doctrine[1621]), fray Francisco López tried to solve the problem of paired consonants and

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Figure 2: A sample of fray Francisco López' innovation: a small cross underneath the character to indicate a consonant-final syllable.

vowels in order to be able to end words with consonants and to write the double consonants common to Ilocano.<sup>43</sup> He introduced another diacritical mark: a little cross to cancel the vowel value, similar in function to the Sanskrit *virama*. His work seems to be the only Philippine text to make use of the *virama*.<sup>44</sup> (See Figure 2: The Lord's Prayer in Ilocano for an example of this diacritical mark.)

Fray Cipriano Marcilla y Martín, who served in Batac, Ilocos Norte in the late nineteenth century and whose work was published in 1895, also criticized baybayin:

This script...cannot be any less than illegible...it presents great difficulties not for him who writes it but for him who reads it...[We are thus] far from believing that this alphabet could provide the simplicity and clarity of Latin. Also it is absurd to say that with a few points and commas these characters can be made to signify everything that one might want to write as fully and as easily as our own Spanish alphabet.<sup>45</sup>

This prejudice against the indigenous method of writing says more about those who objected to its weaknesses than it does about the system of writing itself.<sup>46</sup> As Geoffrey Sampson states, "It is well-known that written language is not straightforwardly a transcription of spoken language."<sup>47</sup> Apparently, some non-baybayin writers saw it as inferior for its alleged inability to communicate as do languages written with the Roman alphabet.

While López sought to correct what he and others considered a problem, Father Pedro Chirino, S.J., a sixteenth-century figure who often wrote about Filipino literacy, had no objection to vowel-final syllables.

Final consonants are omitted in all words....In spite of this, they understand and make themselves understood wonderfully well and without ambiguities: the reader easily and skillfully supplies the omitted consonants.<sup>48</sup>

In addition to debating the usefulness of baybayin, scholars have discussed the number of alphabets and the direction of writing. As to the number of baybayin-based alphabets, there were examples listed for each area of the Philippines. Cipriano Marcilla y Martín mentions at least seventeen baybayin-based alphabets in his book<sup>49</sup>; however, Scott argues that any variations are simply

the result of different handwriting.<sup>50</sup>

Another debate surrounding baybayin centers on the direction of writing. If one writes vertically, a possible ambiguity arises with regard to the diacritical mark--does it represent an "e" or an "i" for a certain letter or an "o" or "u" for the letter above it? Conflicting testimony remains regarding the direction of writing.

A variety of opinions have been expressed as to the direction of the writing. Chirino, San Antonio, Zuñiga, and Le Gentil say that it was vertical, beginning at the top. Colin, Ezguerra, and Marche assert that it was vertical but in the opposite direction.<sup>51</sup>

Although Chirino suggests that the direction of writing changed after the arrival of the Spaniards this seems unlikely.<sup>52</sup> Antonio de Morga noted that "the method of writing was on bamboo, but is now on paper, commencing the lines at the right and running to the left, in the Arabic style."<sup>53</sup> Scott suggests that the direction of reading has always been left to right, though the writer may have appeared to be writing from top to bottom. The reason for the discrepancy was the result of the materials used. Writing on bamboo with a sharp object would be better done if pointing away from the body.<sup>54</sup>

In addition to the speculation over the direction of writing, there are a number of theories regarding the origin of the alphabet used in the Philippines.<sup>55</sup> This topic captured the attention of the earliest writers. López wrote that it derived from the Malays; Chirino held the same position. The issue of the when and where this system first take root remains unresolved. Vicente Rafael notes that baybayin refers to

the seacoast, or the act of coasting along a river. This sense of the word highlights the seeming randomness involved in the reading of the script as one floats, as it were, over a stream of sounds elicited by the characters.<sup>56</sup>

A simpler explanation is that the name reflects its origin, from or across the sea.

Antonio Pigafetta, who reached the Philippines in 1521 with Magellan, noted that the natives were apparently much taken with the European art of writing, as they did not have any such practice. He reported that Rajah Colambu, "a gold-bedecked

chieftain of sufficient attainment to be able to use Chinese porcelain as containers for unpounded palay [unhusked rice], was amazed to see this art demonstrated from the first time."<sup>57</sup> Yet López reported some forty-six years later that "they can all read and write." Miguel de Loarca, an *encomendero* on the island of Panay, wrote in 1582 that the Bisayans had no script; Chirino himself confirmed Loarca's report saying that they had only adopted one a few years before. By the mid-seventeenth century, however, Francisco Colín and Francisco Alcina explained that the Bisayans had an alphabet that they derived from the Tagalogs.<sup>58</sup> Thus, it appears that baybayin developed first in the Tagalog provinces and later spread throughout the Philippines.<sup>59</sup>

Overwhelming evidence of Filipino literacy comes from the statements of friars and others, publications, and manuscripts. Reports dating from 1567-1750 from throughout the Philippines attesting to Filipinos' ability to read and write are abundant. López wrote in 1567 from Cebu:

They have their letters and characters like those of the Malays, from whom they learned them; they write them on bamboo bark and palm leaves with a pointed tool, but never is any ancient writing found among them nor word of their origin and arrival in these islands, their customs and rites being preserved by traditions handed down from father to son without any other record.<sup>60</sup>

Referring to Tagalogs in the Manila area, Father Alonso Sánchez, S.J. recorded in 1587 that "Almost all of them read and write in the language they have of their own."<sup>61</sup> Moreover, Chirino, who was assigned to a variety of locations including Balayan in Batangas, Taytay in Rizal, Tighawan in Panay, Carigara in Leyte, and Silang in Cavite,<sup>62</sup> wrote that Filipino literacy was so common that there existed, "scarcely a man, and much less a woman, who cannot read and write in the letters proper to the island of Manila, very different from those of China, Japan and India."<sup>63</sup> He further commented:

There is scarcely any man and much less a woman that does not possess one or more books in their language and characters, and in their own handwriting, on the sermons they hear or on the sacred histories, lives of the saints, prayers and pious poems composed by them. This is some-

thing unheard of among any other people so recently Christianized. And I can bear witness of this because I was recently charged with the *examen* of those books in this year 1609 by order of the Treasurer, Procurator and Vicar General of the Metropolitan See of Manila, who had them all inspected in order to correct the errors.<sup>64</sup>

Even more detailed remarks can be found in a late sixteenth-century manuscript. The author is anonymous, but C.R. Boxer believes it was compiled for the then-Governor General Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas:<sup>65</sup>

They have certain characters that serve them as letters with which they write what they want. They are very different looking from the rest that we know up to now. Women commonly know how to write with them and when they write (they) do so on the bark of certain pieces of bamboo, of which there are many in the islands. In using these pieces which are four fingers wide, they do not write with ink but with some stylus that breaks the surface and bark of the bamboo, to write the letters. They have neither books nor histories, and they do not write at length except missives and notes to one another. For this purpose they have letters which total only seventeen. Each letter is a syllable and with certain points placed to one side or the other of the letter, or above or below, they compose words and write and say with these whatever they wish. It is very easy to learn this and any person can do so in two months of studying. They are not so quick in writing, because they do it very slowly. The same thing is (true) in reading; which is like when schoolchildren do their spelling.<sup>66</sup>

Moreover, fray Marcelo de Ribadeneira, O.F.M., added in 1601 that although Filipinos had their own writing system, "the natives had no knowledge of the sciences, or any acquaintance with knowledge as in laws or schools."<sup>67</sup> In 1609, Antonio de Morga observed that, "Almost all the natives, both men and women, write in this language. There are very few who do not write it excellently and correctly."<sup>68</sup> Fray Francisco de Santa Inés, O.F.M. attempted to explain why writing was more common among women:

they do not have any other way to while away the time, for it is not customary for little girls to go to school as boys do, they make better use of their characters than men, and they use them in things of devotion, and in other things that are not of devotion.<sup>69</sup>

Nearly a century later Fray Juan José Delgado commented on the survival of baybayin in the Visayas even after the introduction of the Spanish alphabet.<sup>70</sup> The testimony of Morga and López and the anonymous sixteenth-century report are not church sources; thus they answer Scott's objection that reports of indigenous literacy were merely "pious exaggeration." Confirming Spanish testimony, Pinpin attests to indigenous literacy in his address to other Tagalogs:

It is not good that I continue this lesson of mine if I do not first teach you, my fellow Tagalogs, how to recognize and remember other letters that we are not accustomed to recognizing and remembering, and that are absent from our Tagalog language, but that are often used in Castilian, and that are difficult to recognize for one who is not used to them. Though they are difficult, you can learn them well if you force yourself.<sup>71</sup>

The numerous statements by secular and ecclesiastic Spaniards and by Pinpin about Filipino literacy are verified by the existence of church imprints and notarial documents that contain words in baybayin. These materials are the subject of the following section.

### Books and Notarial Documents with Tagalog Characters

To cope with the difficulties of the many new languages in colonial Mexico alone, the friars wrote books for their own use and that of the indigenous population. These included grammar books, dictionaries and "the *doctrinas*, or catechisms, the *confesionarios*, translations of the Gospel, the Epistles, lives of the saints, etc., manuals for every day services."<sup>72</sup> In 1593, the first two books printed by the Spaniards in the Philippines were produced. Both were *doctrinas* (books of Christian doctrine); one for China and one for the Tagalog population in the Philippines.<sup>73</sup> On the reverse of the titlepage of the Tagalog *doctrina* is written, "Tassada en dos reales" (priced at two reales), with the signature and rubric of



Juan de Cuéllar. "It will be observed that the price is half that allowed for the *Shih-lu* (the doctrina in Chinese), which in fact has nearly twice as many pages."<sup>74</sup> The Tagalog doctrina covered the usual subjects: the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, the Apostles' Creed, Salve Regina, the fourteen articles of faith, the Ten Commandments, the five commandments of the Church, the seven sacraments, the seven capital sins, the fourteen works of mercy, and the act of general confession.

In 1602, the *Libro de Nuestra Señora* (Book of Our Lady) by fray Blancas de San José was printed "en lengua y letra tagala de Filipinas (in the Tagalog language and letters of the Philippines)."<sup>75</sup> P. Van der Loon notes that according to Alonso Fernandez, it was exclusively in Tagalog script.<sup>76</sup> The following year in his *Libro de los Sacramentos* (Book of the Sacraments), Blancas de San José used "ambas letras, suya y nuestra," (both scripts, theirs and ours).<sup>77</sup> In the dedication to, *Libro de las quatro postrimerías del hombre en lengua tagala y letra española* (Book of the Last Stages of Man in Tagalog and Spanish Letters [1604]), Blancas wrote:

This opuscle will at least serve to inform you, Reverend Fathers, how through the mercy of our Lord God we now have in these islands complete and perfect printing for a more perfect fulfillment of our ministry. For we shall now be able, not only verbally by preaching but also in writing, to teach these our brothers, and write for them, either in Spanish characters for those who know how to read them, or in their own Tagalog script, everything which will seem to us to further the progress of this mercy which the Lord has done to them in making them Christians.<sup>78</sup>

Yet in his next book, *Memorial de la vida christiana en lengua tagala* (A Memorial of the Christian Life in Tagalog [1605]), Blancas in the dedication "defends his use of the Latin alphabet and rejects the Tagalog script as being unpractical."<sup>79</sup> By impractical, he referred to the mechanics of printing, rather than linguistic problems.<sup>80</sup>

There is disagreement as to the number of words printed in baybayin found in Blancas' *Arte y reglas de la lengua tagala* (Grammar and Rules of the Tagalog Language [1610]). More important than the number is the statement by the author:

For which reason those who wish to talk well should learn to read Tagalog characters, since it is such an easy matter that they can be learned ordinarily in one hour, although reading the Tagalog language in its own characters without faltering as we read our own Spanish language no Spaniard will ever be able to do in all his life, though it might be as long as Adam's.<sup>81</sup>

*Librong ang pangalan ay Caolayao nang Caloloua na quinathang bago* published in 1610 and *Enchiridion de la Conciencia* in 1617 also contained words in baybayin.<sup>82</sup>

The first book printed in Ilocano was published in 1621. Entitled *Libro a Naisuratan Amin ti Bagas ti Doctrina Cristiana (nga Naisurat iti Libro ti Cardenal Agnagan Belarmino Quet Inaon ti Fr. Francisco Lopez)* (Book in Which is Written all the Contents of Christian Doctrine Written in a Book of the Cardinal Named Belarmino and Translated by fray Francisco López), it was significant, as mentioned above, for López' introduction of a new diacritical mark to indicate that a consonant symbol should lose its vowel value. The book contains twenty-three pages of text in baybayin. López explained that he used the Tagalog letters as they were most widely recognized.<sup>83</sup>

Other imprints indirectly reveal the presence of an indigenous system. In his *Arte*, Blancas used the verb *sulat* (to write) as the example for conjugation.<sup>84</sup> Moreover, San Buenaventura's dictionary (1613) defined "pen (*pluma*) as 'Panulat: instrument with which they write, a pointed tool, knife, etc., from *sulat* because they write with it on bamboo, palm leaves and other things.'<sup>85</sup> Pinpin writes in one of his *auit* that is also a vocabulary list: ang panulat, pluma,(pen) ang *sulat*, la letra (writing).<sup>86</sup>

The existing physical evidence of the use of the indigenous script is not limited to colonial publications alone. There are notarial documents and other kinds of manuscripts which use the baybayin, showing that Spanish authorities recognized indigenous documents as legally valid. In his work, *La Antigua Escritura*, Ignacio Villamor includes fascimiles of two bills of sale (see appendix). One is dated February 15, 1613, and the other December 4, 1615. Beyond the fact that they are written in baybayin, these documents reveal the role of women as buyers and sellers of property and, therefore, can be used to assess women's socioeconomic status. Additionally, the documents refer to irrigated land, implying the existence of other types. They also mention a potential dispute and

possible solutions, and economic mechanisms including credit and interest. Santamaría also mentions two complete notarial documents in his article, "El 'Baybayin' en el Archivo de Santo Tomás" (1938). While one of them could be one contained in Villamor's book, the other dated 1625, is undoubtedly another document. Moreover, in *A Visit to the Philippine Islands* (1859), Sir John Bowring reproduced a sale of land in Bulacan dated 1652 which he copied from the work of Sinibaldo de Mas. Though Bowring doubted its antiquity and its authenticity, he did include a reproduction of it in his book. These types of Tagalog notarial records can be used to illustrate indigenous concepts and adaptation to the Spanish system during the colonial period.

Finally, while signatures may not provide evidence of full literacy, the presence of Tagalog signatures in baybayin on indigenous and Spanish documents reveal at least some degree of literacy. Villamor reproduced fifty-three signatures in his book: forty-two with the title "don"; four with the title "doña"; and nine without any title.<sup>87</sup> Santamaría also included reproductions of signatures. Scott reports that the archives of the University of Santo Tomás contain "more than a hundred specimens of Filipinos' signatures between 1603 and 1645, as well as two complete documents."<sup>88</sup> He states that the baybayin "continued to appear in testators' signatures all during the seventeenth century--and as late as 1792 in Mindoro--and was still being used for poetry in Batangas in 1703."<sup>89</sup> Perhaps among the strongest evidence for the literacy of the Tagalogs and other Filipinos at the time of Spanish contact is the continuing existence and use of similar systems of writing among the Tagbanuas of Palawan and Mangyans of Mindoro.<sup>90</sup>

### The Distribution of Literacy

Unfortunately, the material on the nature of the classes within Tagalog society is unclear. It appears that one can safely divide Tagalog society into the following categories: *datu*, the head of the village (barangay)--referred to as *cabeza de barangay*; *maginoo*, the noble group from which the datu came; *maharlika* and *timaua/timagua*, clients or followers of the maginoo--referred to as *gente común* (Morga) or *plebeyos*; and *namamahay* and *alipin*, two different groups of "slaves"--referred to as *pecheros* and *esclavos*. Since Pinpin wrote his book within the context of a class society, to whom is he writing--one particular group or all of society? The answer to this question could help reveal the extent of literacy

among Filipinos before and after the conquest and deserves careful analysis.

The evidence presented above could be argued in two ways: that literacy was universal or that it was restricted to a particular class within Filipino society. The arguments for universal literacy include the testimonies of the Spaniards and the availability of materials for writing. Some scholars deny universal literacy. They insist that the Spaniards primarily dealt with the elite of society and spoke of them as if they represented all of society. The Jesuit scholar Father Horacio de la Costa, S.J., is one of the most articulate proponents of this view. He disputes the claim by Father Alonso Sánchez, S.J., who wrote: "They have a lively wit, and easily learn Christian doctrine and how to read and write in our alphabet; most of them read and write in their own." De la Costa argued that:

Sánchez probably got this impression of a high degree of literacy among the Tagalogs because of the proximity of Malate. In the days before the coming of the Spaniards, Malate was where the *maharlika* of Maynila had their country seats, their orchards, and their pleasantries. When Maynila was taken away from them, it was here that they removed.<sup>91</sup>

The argument for limited literacy can be based on the manuscript evidence which consists of documents acknowledging and recording the buying and selling of land, activities limited to the elite. Thus, one finds in the two documents above, that the seller is designated as a *maginoo* or *principal* in Tondo; the titles *don* and *doña* also show elite status. Another document recording the formal acceptance of Spanish sovereignty, describes the participating Filipinos as, "all the governors, chiefs, headmen, and lords of the barangay, and most of the *timaguas*, and common people of all the villages of the said provinces."<sup>92</sup> Beyond this is the fact that after the matter was explained to them, "those who could do so signed their names, also the said father definite and guardian and the said lieutenant, as I certify."<sup>93</sup> It appears that the leaders of the various villages are those who signed their names to the document.

The issue then becomes one of society. How was it divided and what abilities or skills were true of each division? Using Spanish sources, Scott attempted to reconstruct Filipino class structure before and after Spanish contact. Benedict Anderson criticizes Scott's re-

construction of indigenous society at the time of Spanish contact, saying that the "'class structure' of the precolonial period is a 'census' imagining created from the poops of Spanish galleons."<sup>94</sup> Rafael points out the impossibility of extracting a "pure" image of Tagalog society. Scott also contends that Tagalog social structure was undergoing changes in the period of 1590-1630, the time of Pinpin's writing. Thus, the problem of securely defining early colonial Tagalog society remains.

Pinpin may also be pointing to an elite. He writes to his audience of the desire to imitate Spaniards:

No doubt you like and imitate the ways and appearance of the Spaniards in matters of clothing and the bearing of arms and even of gait, and you do not hesitate to spend a great deal so that you may resemble the Spaniards. Therefore would you not like to acquire as well this other trait which is their language?...Would not a person who dressed like a Spaniard but did not have the other trait of the Spaniard be like a corpse? So why should you bother to appear Spanish in your dress if you do not have the traits of the Castilian: so that when you are spoken to in Castilian, you merely gape like fools. And if this happens, then what?...Therefore it is this [Castilian] that is the source of a lot of other things and it is like the inside of things, and everything else is only its external covering. So if we look like them in our manner of dressing but speak differently, then where would things come to?<sup>95</sup>

Pinpin also writes of the possibility of being laughed at for speaking incorrect Spanish, further suggesting that his audience consisted of the elite members of society, who would be in contact with Spaniards:

It is indeed wrong, and the Spaniards will laugh a great deal at this statement, *bueno casa es esto*, which should be *buena casa es esta*[this is a good house]....Well, what else but laughter will meet this statement, *mucha palabras*, and this one, *casa grandes*, and others of this sort; and it should be changed to *muchas palabras* [many words] and *casas grandes* [big houses]<sup>96</sup>

## Conclusion

In his pioneering work *Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses, 1565-1700*, the eminent historian of the Philippines, John Leddy Phelan, insisted that:

The Filipinos were no mere passive recipients of the cultural stimulus created by the Spanish conquest. Circumstances gave them considerable freedom in selecting their responses to Hispanization. Their responses varied all the way from acceptance to indifference and rejection. The capacity of the Filipinos for creative social adjustment is attested in the manner in which they adapted many Hispanic features to their own indigenous culture....I have placed considerable attention on the religious aspect of Hispanization. Events themselves suggest such a stress. The Spaniards put a heavy emphasis on Christianization as the most effective means of incorporating the Filipinos into Spanish culture, and the Filipinos themselves responded enthusiastically to the multiform appeal of the new religion.<sup>97</sup>

By adding that Filipino society was a literate society at the time of contact, one could argue even more forcefully that they were not passive recipients of Hispanization (but then no indigenous population ever was). Filipinos such as Pinpin who wrote, published and printed books, participated in the intellectual life of society. What the Spaniards did seek to impart was their version of Christianity, which was in some ways open to adaptation. The presence of Filipino literacy in baybayin made the possibilities of adaptation and/or misunderstanding even greater.<sup>98</sup> While it is true that the Spaniards gave Filipinos Spanish terms for particular religious concepts (*Dios, virgen, Espíritu Santo, cruz, doctrina cristiana*), they undoubtedly understood these terms somewhat differently than the Spaniards intended.

Chirino's report from the central Philippines suggests one way that syncretic religion may have developed:

Not only do they, as good students, write their lessons (Doctrina), mainly in their own characters, and using a piece of reed as a book of memorandum, and an iron point as a pen; but they always carry with them these materi-

als, and whenever one ceases his labors, whether at home or in the field, by way of rest he takes his book and spends some time in study.<sup>99</sup>

Not only did Filipinos learn Christian doctrine, with Spanish terms for various aspects of the faith, but they also wrote them down in baybayin.<sup>100</sup> Thus, they took a foreign concept expressed in word(s) introduced into their language and wrote it down in baybayin. Spanish and Tagalog terms underwent changes, sometimes as strikingly ironic as the use of the Ilocano term "buniag" (from the Tagalog binyag) to describe Christian baptism, and the Spanish "bautismo" to connote an indigenous rite, which itself may have been an indigenized Catholic practice.

It is striking that the early Spanish records and their authors are not the least bit reluctant to inform the reader about the ability of the Filipinos to read and write. The silence about this matter is purely a late twentieth-century phenomenon. Those who do mention it, fail to explore its significance. Lumbera (1986) oversimplifies the matter, stating: "The result [of the Conquest] was a loss of literacy, that was characteristic of Tagalog society at contact times."<sup>101</sup> Indigenous literacy at the time of Spanish contact merits further scholarly investigation, for it changes the complexion of the colonial relationship between Spaniards and Filipinos.

In time, the use of baybayin among most Filipinos faded. The explanations for its disuse are conjectures at best. From the evidence, we can say that at the time of the Spanish contact and even before, some segments of Filipino society were literate. They used their writing for religious as well as personal use. The Spaniards knew this to be true.

The Filipinos were not helpless or passive in their response to the new ideas, new ways and a new religion brought by the Spaniards. They were literate and had the capacity to interact with the different aspects of the forces of colonialism. Tomás Pinpin composed his book, not only to teach his fellow Tagalogs some basic tenets of Catholicism (for example, how to respond in confession), but also to teach them Spanish. He did this to help them interact with and better understand both secular and ecclesiastic Spaniards. Pinpin's readers selectively chose what aspects of Spanish life they wanted to imitate and decided what to ignore. This was also true of their response to Catholicism, which Pinpin hoped to propagate. Pinpin's book was unique because it was written by a Filipino for Filipinos (perhaps with help from fray

Blancas de San José--just as Pinpin undoubtedly helped Blancas with his works). Since Pinpin's book is not simply a translation of an European work, it reveals that at least to some degree Tagalog society was composed of literate individuals.

## Appendix: Samples of Tagalog-language Notarial Documents

### Document A

*Sa bayan nang Tondo, sa ika labing limang araw nang buwan nang Febrero sa taong isang libo't anim na daang taon at labing tatlong taon, Ako si Doña Catalina Bayiya, maginoo sa Tondo, ako'y may lupang manga kabahagui ko sa kapatid ko na si Doña Cecilia. Ipinagbili ko i kay Don Andres Kapiit taga Dilaw nang pitong poong salapi ang ganang kahati niyong tubigang yaon ang tipan namin ni Don Andres Piit ay kung itong lupang ito'y magkausapin ay siyang magbabayad si Doña Catalina Bayiya at kung diyan ang salaping pitong puo siyang isasauli kay Don Andres Piit at yaong lupa'y mauwi kay Doña Catalina Bayiya na gang kahati na tubigan na ipinagbili ko. At pagkatotoo ay saksi namin nitong aming tipanan si Don Agustin Casa, si Doña Maria Guitui na may asawa. Ako'y pumirma nang ngalan ko sampua nang mang saksi. Akong sumulat Luis Paudata.*

In the town of Tondo on the fifteenth day of the month of February in the year one thousand six hundred and thirteen, I, doña Catalina Bayiya, a principal woman in Tondo, own land in common with my sister doña Cecilia. I have sold to don Andrés Kapiit of Dilaw, for seventy half-pesos one half of that irrigable land. Our stipulation with don Andrés Piit is that should the same land be disputed, the expenses will be defrayed by doña Catalina Bayiya and should the seventy half-pesos be returned to don Andrés Piit and the land shall revert to doña Catalina Bayiya which is one-half of the irrigable land which was sold by me. And as this is true, our witnesses contract (are) don Agustin Casa, doña María Guitui who is married. I sign my name, likewise the witnesses do. I wrote (this), Luis Paudata.



Document B

*Sa ulat bilang libo anim na raan taon may ikatlong limang taon sa iaapat na araw nang buwan nan Diciembre. Ako si Doña Maria Sila, maginoo dito sa bayan nang Tondo, ako nagbili nan lupa kay Doña Francisca Luga na isang pabuwisan salapi na may halaga. Ang kahangga sa dapit Timug, si Don Pedro Salukila, ang kahangga sa dapit Hilaga ang kahangga sa dapit Hilaga ay si Doña Maria Gada. Ang pagbili ni Doña Francisca Luga kay Doña Maria Sila ay tatlong daa't limang puong salapi ang pagbili nang tubigan apat na puong salapi ni Doña Francisca Luga maginoo sa bayan nang Dilao yaon lupang tubigan sa Sumada ang kahangga si Doña Maria Gada a nagmula kay Amadaha sa libibs nang Sumada munting tubigan. Ang halga nitong tubigan apat na puong salapi. Sa pagkatotoo nitong sulat ko pumirma ako. Ang saksing humahanda si Don Agustin Casa, kolas patalunan Mateo Domingo, Lucia Tayasi, Doña Maria Sila.*

As reckoned in the year one thousand six hundred fifteen, on the fourth day of the month of December, I doña María Sila, a principal woman here in the town of Tondo, have sold land to doña Francisca Luga for money value with interest. The adjacent land-owner (is) on the South, don Pedro Salukila, the land-owner on the North, the adjacent land-owner on the North is doña María Gada. The purchase made by doña Francisca Luga from doña María Sila is for three hundred fifty half-pesos, the purchase of the irrigable land for forth half-pesos was made by doña Francisca Luga, a principal woman in the town of Dilao. Of that irrigable land in Sumada, the adjacent owner (is) doña María Gada which came from Amadaha on the terminal of Sumada, a small irrigable land. The price of this irrigable land (is) forty half-pesos. And as this writing of mine is true, I sign. The ready witnesses (are) don Agustin Casa, the only one certifying Mateo Domingo, Lucia Tayasi, doña María Sila.

(The signatures on this document are puzzling. There are no women among the signers. The signers are don Antonio, don Mateo Pasabongan, Banaag, and don Agustin Casa. Only don Agustin Casa is mentioned in the document.)

(The documents are from Ignacio Villamor 1992: 92-97, translations my own.)

## Notes

1. In his work, *From Indio to Filipino*, Domingo Abella explains the mistake that historians can and have made in identifying individuals referred to as Filipinos prior to the nineteenth century as natives of the Philippines. A peninsular was a Spaniard born in Spain, a criollo one born in Latin America, and a Filipino was a Spaniard born in the Philippines. Thus, the Filipino Miguel Lino de Espeleta, who became Archbishop of Manila in the second half of the eighteenth century, was a "full-blooded Spaniard born in the Philippines" (1971: 30). The indigenous inhabitants were referred to as *indios* or *naturales de la tierra*. I will use Filipino in this paper to refer to the indigenous population and at times I will use Tagalogs and Filipinos interchangeably.

2. This must be clarified, as there were poems written by one Fernando Bagongbanta which were included in a book printed in 1605. The book was *Memorial de la vida cristiana en lengua tagala*. It included poems by Bagongbanta, an anonymous native poet, and a Spanish friar, Francisco de San José. It was a religious work meant to explain the basic doctrines of the Catholic Church. Lumbea 1986: 27.

3. Blair and Robertson 1903-1909: 120-121. This 55 volume set, which is a massive collection of Spanish materials translated into English, will be referred to as BRPI in other endnotes.

4. "A notable exception to this policy was the Seven Missions that the Jesuits organized in Paraguay in 1630. The Crown tolerated such a territorial concentration of power because these missions acted as an effective barrier against further Portuguese penetration from Brazil" (Phelan 1955: 157). This exception also occurred after the precedent had been set in the Philippines.

5. The question inevitably arises: Which came first, the policy as stated by the Crown or the situation to which the Crown simply assented? That is, did the friars wait for the Crown to divide the Philippines among them or had they already done so and the Crown simply made official Crown policy what in fact was already a reality?

6. Phelan 1955: 153.

7. *Ibid.*, 157.

8. *Ibid.*, 159.

9. Zaide: 409-410.

10. Zoilo M. Galang. *Encyclopedia of the Philippines*, p. 185. This is mentioned in the introduction to the 1910 version of Pinpin's work, in which the priest of Abucay wrote to Artigas that no record of Pinpin's baptism can be found since the revolution has destroyed all records. "Enterado de la atenta de V. referente á la partida de Bautismo de Tomás Pinpin, debo participarle que los libros canónicos viejos de esta Parroquia, ya no existen y has desaparecido por la revolución, principalmente el de Baustimos," 1910: 132.

11. From the title page.

12. Fray Roque de Barrionuevo was the examiner of Pinpin's book before it was published. "Por mandado del Señor Gobernador Capitan General y Presidente de estas Islas, yo Fr. Roque de Barrionuevo, Prior del Convento del santísimo nombre de Jesús de Tondo, de la orden de N.P.S. Agustin, ví y examiné con advertencia este libro intitulado, *Librong pagaaralan nang manga Tagalog nang uicang Castila*, que en nuestro castellano, quiere decir; libro en que aprendan los tagalos la lengua Española, compuesto por Tomás Pinpin Tagalog;" (no page available).

13. Cited in Rafael 1988: 57. The English translation is Rafael's.

14. Lumbera 1986: 27. It has been suggested that his surname points to some Chinese ancestry. See Zaide, p. 410. This argument is strengthened by the fact that almost all the early printers for the Dominicans were full-blooded Chinese.

15. Rafael 1988: 57, note 6.

16. Books listing Pinpin as the printer (authors in parentheses): 1610, *Librong Pagaaralan Nang Mga Tagalog nang Uicang Castilla* (Tomás Pinpin); 1610, *Arte y Reglas de la Lengua Tagala* (Fr. Francisco de San José); 1613, *Vocabulario Tagalog* (Fr. Pedro de San Buenaventura); 1623, *Relacion Verdadera del Insigne y excelente Martyrio* (Fr. Melchor de Manzano); 1623, *Virgen San Mariano* (Fr. Juan de los Angeles); 1625, *Relacion de Martirio* (anonymous); 1625, *Relacion Verdadera y Breve de la Persecucion y martyrios* (Fr. Diego de San Francisco); 1626, *Triunfo del Santo Rosario y Orden de S. Domingo en los Reynos del Japon* (Fr. Francisco Carrero); 1627, *Arte de la Lengua Iloca* (Fr. Francisco López); 1630, *Vocabulario de Iapón declarado primero en Portugues* (anonymous); 1630, *Ritual para Adminstrar los Sanctos Sacramentos Sacado casi todo del Ritual Romano, i lo de mas del Ritual Indico* (Fr. Alonso de Mentrída); 1636, *Confesionario en lengua tagala* (Fr. Pedro de Herrera); 1637, *Sucesos Felices* (anonymous); 1639, *Relacion de lo que asta agora se a sabido de la Vida y Martirio del Jesuita P. Mastrilli* (Fr. Geronimo Perez). In W.E. Retana 1911: 79-128.

17. Lumbera 1986: 38. Lumbera's section on Pinpin focuses on his place in Tagalog poetry. He describes the relationship between the Tagalog and Spanish--while Pinpin is writing to Tagalogs, giving the Tagalog first then the Spanish, it is in fact the Spanish which dictates the structure of the *auit*. "The Spanish lines are consistently hexasyllabic with assonantal *a-e* rhymes. The Tagalog lines do not follow a consistent meter and they do not rhyme....Pinpin himself refers to the songs as 'songs in Spanish' (*manga auit sa Castila*)."

18. *Ibid.* Pinpin's book begins with a song followed by the first chapter which contains eight lessons and the second chapter with three. Chapter three consists of two lessons and three songs, followed by a third lesson and another song. The fourth chapter begins with a lesson which is largely made up of a song, followed by two lessons. The fifth chapter has nine lessons, the ninth being made up of sections of each of the ten commandments. I have included the entire section on the sixth commandment (taken from the fifth chapter) in this paper.

19. The obvious exception is Rafael's work. While doing research for this paper, I was struck by the fact that most Filipinos were familiar with Pinpin as a printer and a writer of songs. Students in elementary and secondary schools in the Philippines are taught about Pinpin's *mangaauit* (songs).

20. There are several things I need to explain about my handling of the Tagalog text. First, I have worked from the 1910 version edited by Manuel Artiga y Cuerva and published under the title, *La primera imprenta en Filipinas* (pp. 135-259). Pinpin's book was republished in 1752 as an appendix to Blancas de San José's *Arte y Reglas de la lengua tagala*. During a recent visit to the Philippines, I was given access to an original copy of the 1752 version (which had been mislabelled as the 1610 version). I have used the 1752 version to correct mistakes in the 1910 version. Second, there are differences between spelling and pronunciation of certain words in Pinpin's work and modern Tagalog. Pinpin uses *con* (if) for the modern *kung*. The "c" is Spanish and changed to the Tagalog "ka." The "o" is changed to "u." Perhaps the most significant is the shift from "n" to "ng." This is found in other words

such as *gongmaua* to *gumawa* (to do or perform) and the ever present *opan* to *upang* (in order that). However, Pinpin is not consistent in his use of "n", sometimes using "ng" in *cong*, as in question 45.

21. For example: "*Cuix aca ticcuilonti, anoce aca mitzcuilonti: aco tehuatl ticpeualti, ticcuilaulty?*" ("Did you commit sodomy with (literally, pierced) someone, or did someone commit sodomy with you? Did you persuade and provoke him [to do it]?") The Spanish reads: "Has tenido parte con algun varon, o el contigo: persuadistelo tu y provocastelo?" From the same text cited above: "*Cuix ytech tacic, ytzcuintli, anoco yhcacatl, anoco totolin?*" ("Did you have sex with a dog, a sheep, or a chicken?") The Spanish reads: "Tuviste parte con alguna perra, oveja, o gallina?" Fray Alonso de Molina. *Confessionario breue, en lengua Mexicana y Castellana*. Mexico: Antonio de Espinosa, 1565, 11 verso -12 recto.

I am grateful to Barry Sell for this material, but more importantly for the discussions we have had about the issue of translation in the Americas and the Philippines. It has made it easier for me to compare and contrast the colonial situation in the two areas.

It is interesting that Pinpin does not deal with sodomy, an issue which is mentioned in some Nahuatl confessional guides. Phelan includes an extensive endnote dealing with the issue and the Spanish belief that sodomy was introduced to the Philippines by the Chinese. At the time of the Spanish contact, there was no word in the indigenous languages for sodomy according to Phelan 1959: 186, note 24. On the matter of confessional guides in Nahuatl, Sell has found two types: one for the lay person and one for the friar. Those for the lay person are substantially longer, while those used by the friars are more explicit. Any mention of bestiality and sodomy are found only in the confessional guides used by the friars and not in those used by the lay person. Since Pinpin's work is for the lay person, one should not expect to find references to sodomy.

22. I want to acknowledge and thank Paz de la Rosa, who was the greatest help, along with Siony Fuentes and Guia Silverio for their assistance with the translation of this section. I would like also to thank Professor Tania Azores for going over the translation and making helpful comments and corrections.

In the transcription and translation below, I have numbered the questions to help the reader match the Tagalog/Spanish with the English, and for easier reference in the following remarks. The 1910 edition used running lines of text, whereas the 1752 version began each sentence, Tagalog and Spanish, on a new line. (I have put the Tagalog portions in italics to set them apart from the Spanish.) I have corrected a few textual errors and made grammatical and spelling changes in the 1910 text based on the 1752 edition, placing the corrections and changes in brackets. I also occasionally emended the text where I considered it necessary, placing such changes in parentheses. In the title, "*Icanim*" is changed to "*Icaanim*", and while *P.* is understood by native speakers as *Panginoon*, the non-Tagalog reader will not know this. The major emendation I have made is in question 45, in which I have changed *baga nasa* to *nagbasa*. This is based in part on the Spanish text.

I have based my translation on the Tagalog and not the Spanish. I mention this for those who know Spanish and who will note the differences between the Spanish and the English translation. The differences between the Tagalog and Spanish are material for further study. While it is apparent at different points that Pinpin is speaking to a man/men, in other places it is not as clear. Since the pronoun in Tagalog does not specify gender, as is the word *asaua* (spouse), I have included both male and female when appropriate.

Lastly, the translation may seem stilted and overly literal, but I have done this so that the reader may have a more accurate sense of what is being said. In fact, my translation into English is more literal than Pinpin's translation into Spanish.

23. Cecilio López in a comparative study of Tagalog and Ilocano notes that "practically any word, no matter what part of speech, may be verbalized." Cited in Yabes 1936: 6. Thus, the *pag* serves as a verbalizing prefix.

24. I am extremely grateful to Dr. William Henry Scott for this information provided in a personal letter.

25. Blancas de San José in his *Arte y Reglas de la lengua tagala*, under the heading "Disposicion en el adviento para la Pasqua. Ecce advenit Rex: occurramus obviam Salvatori nostro," "Gumising na cayong manga binyagan, ang Haring darating" ("Wake up now you who are the baptized ones (Christians), your King is coming," no page number available).

26. "The verb *buniagan* means to give someone a name; it is derived for *buni*, a spirit associated with ricefields, and *nagan* (name). Hence, the verb may have originally implied a dedicatory rite in honor of the spirits associated with the rice fields." Pertierra 1988: 99.

27. Rafael 1988: 98 and 117. "Adviértase que esta palabra binyag es de Borney, y significa echar agua de alto: para esto venia de allá acá un ministro de Mahoma á enseñar á estos su perversa ley, haciendo esta ceremonia echando el agua de alto. Ahora lo han aplicado á la Sagrada ceremonia del Bautismo." Nocedo and Sanlucar 1860: 51. Bowring, stated that Nocedo and Sanlucar consulted 37 *artes* in writing their dictionary (1859: 218).

28. Pertierra 1988: 99.

29. Scheans 1966: 82-85. *Anak ti digos* means literally the child of bathing or of the bath. Scheans believes the rite to be composed of "a complex of pre-Christian practices," but offers no proof. He shows that both the baptism (*buniag*) and the bathing of the persistently sick child (*bautismo*) involve the establishing of ritual kinship relationships having the same titles in each system.

30. Hart 1977: 16.

31. Hart 1977: 19.

32. Mintz and Wolf 1950: 341-368.

33. George M. Foster: 1-28. The *cofradia* became a significant institution in the nineteenth century and has been tied to the development of independence movements in the Philippines. See Reynaldo C. Iletto's work: *Pasyon and Revolution: Popular Movements in the Philippines, 1840-1910*, 1979.

34. "If more information of this sort were readily available, it would be possible to reconstruct the historical process by which ritual coparenthood blended into or destroyed preconquest kinship relations or created new kinship ties." Phelan 1959: 78. Foster adds, "It is hard to avoid the conclusion that in Mexico a probable former widespread clan system contributed in significant measure to the success of the *compadrazgo*." page 24.

35. Cited in Hart 1977: 38; BRPI, vol 11: 75-77.

36. Phelan 1959: 27.

37. Pinpin's approach is all negative. He does not mix in "You should do this" along with the "Have you done that?" (implying that you should not have done that); rather, he simply focuses on sexual misconduct. This is the nature of his confession guide and it stands in contrast to the recently discovered (1976) Tagalog manuscript written by fray Juan de Oliver, O.F.M. This manuscript is the subject of *A Study of a 16th Century Tagalog Manuscript on the Ten Commandments: Its Significance and Implications* by Antonio Ma. Rosales, O.F.M. Oliver's work is primarily didactic.

38. I have emended the text to read *Con nagbasa ca caya* instead of *Con baga nasa ca caya*. I have also taken *ipinagparparalahan* to be *ipinagpapadalan*.
39. Scott 1989: 58.
40. Father Pedro Chirino, S.J. notes twelve, Father Francisco Colin, S.J. mentions thirteen, and Father Francisco López, O.S.A., fourteen.
41. Colin in BRPI, vol. 40: 49.
42. Cited in Lumbera 1986: 25. *El compendio de la lengua tagala*, page 144.
43. In a comparison of Tagalog and Ilocano, Cecilio López noted that in Ilocano there is a prevalence of double consonants, while there are none in Tagalog. Cited in Yabes 1936: 6.
44. Scott 1989: 57-58, 61. Scott uses virama because he believes the source to ultimately be India and baybayin shares the Sanskrit characteristic that any consonant carries with it the vowel "a" and diacritical marks are used to express other vowels. I think the average person would simply assume that López used the mark of a cross to serve as a diacritical mark.
45. Rafael 1988: 46.
46. A prominent modern scholar seems to overemphasize the problem of reading the baybayin, quoting from Blancas de San José, Francisco López, Agustín de Magdalena, Gaspar de San Agustín, and Cipriano Marcilla as to its difficulties. *Ibid*.
47. Sampson 1985: 26.
48. Father Pedro Chirino, S.J. *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas*. Translated by Ramon Echevarria, 1969: 47, 281. (This work is one of the many produced by the Historical Conservation Society in Manila. The first part of the book is the Spanish text and the second part an English translation done for the Historical Conservation Society.) "Las consonantes últimas se suplen en todas las dicciones....Pero con todo y eso sin muchos rodeos se entienden, y dan á entender maravillosamente: y el que lee suple con mucha destreza y facilidad las consonantes, que faltan."
49. Marcilla y Martín 1895: 18-29.
50. Personal communication.
51. BRPI, vol. 16, 1903-1909: 117, note 135. Marche's work was published in 1887 and as such is derivative. Ezguerra's grammar (1747) was of Bisayan and not Tagalog.
52. They have taken after us by writing horizontally from left to right, but formerly they used to write from top to bottom, putting the first vertical line on the left side (if I remember well) and continuing towards the right, quite differently from the Chinese and Japanese who (though they write from top to bottom) proceed from the right hand side towards the left (Chirino 1969: 281).
53. Morga 1971: 116.
54. Scott 1989: 58.
55. Francisco lists five possible origins of baybayin: (1) Isaac Taylor believes the system was introduced into the Philippines from the coast of Bengal some time before the eighth century A.D. Taylor also claimed the Tagalog alphabet, as he referred to it, was the prototype from which the alphabets of the Celebes and Makasar were derived; (2) Fletcher Gardner points to the similarity between the Aoka alphabets with the Karosthi and Pali with the living Indic alphabets of Mindoro and Palawan. The alphabets used by the Mangyans on Mindoro and the Tagbanuas of Palawan differ from the baybayin under discussion; (3) David Ciringer argued that the alphabet came from Java. Conklin and Fox held to this position; (4) Lendoyro held that the Buginese of the Southern Celebes brought the alphabet through

their traders; (5) and the Dravidian theory held that the Philippine scripts had their origin in the Tamil writings (1973: 6-9).

56. Rafael 1988: 49.

57. Scott 1989: 55.

58. Ibid.

59. Juan Francisco writes about a pot found in the Philippines, dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which has writing on it similar in some letters to baybayin (pp. 31-41).

60. Gaspar de San Agustín, O.S.A. *Conquista de las Islas Filipinas* (1565-1615) first published in 1646. "Tienen sus letras y caracteres como los malayos, de quien los aprendieron; con ellos escriben con unos punzones en cortezas de caña y hojas de palmas, pero nunca se les halló escritura antinua alguna ni luz de su origen y venida a estas islas, conservando sus costumbres y ritos por tradición de padres a hijos sin otra noticia alguna."

61. *Relacion de la calidad y estado de estas islas en general* in Colin's *Labor Evangelica*. Vol 1, pp 368-9.

62. Espallargas 1974: 21. I am greatly indebted to this work for pointing the way to Spanish citations regarding Filipino literacy.

63. Chirino 1969: 45. Son tan dados todos estos isleños a escribir y leer, que no hay casi hombre y mucho menos muger, que no lea y escriba en letras propias de la isla de Manila, diversisimas de las de China, Japon, y de la India.

64. This comes from Chirino's manuscript "Historia de la provincia de Philipinas" which is included in Francisco Colin's *Labor Evangelica* edited by Pablo Pastell, vol. 1: 223. Cited in Escallargas 1974: 21. Chirino appears to have been favorably disposed toward Tagalog: "Of all these languages the one that I have found most satisfying and admirable is Tagalog, for as I have told the first Bishop and other persons of authority both here there I have found in it four qualities from the four finest languages in the world, namely Hebrew, Greek, Latin and Spanish. From Hebrew, the intricacies and subtleties; from Greek, the article and the distinctions applied not only to common but also proper nouns; from Latin, the fulness and elegance; and from Spanish, the good breeding, civility and courtesy....The other two languages of the Bisayans have none of these refinements, or at least very little, being as they are coarser and less polished." *Relacion*, pps. 275-276.

65. Boxer 1950: 37-39.

66. "Tienen ciertos carates que les siruen de letras/con los quales escriuen l que quieren. Son de muy/diferente echura de los demas que sauemos hasta/oy. Las mugeres comunmente sauen escriuir/con ellos y quando esciuen es sobre ciertas ta- /blillas echas de cañas, de los que ay en aquellas/yslas, ensima de la cortesa. El uso de la tal tabilla/que es ancho quatro dedos, no escriuen con tinta/[46a] sino con unos puncones con que rompen la tez y/corteza de la cana, y contener letras. No tienen libros/ni ystorias ni escriuen cosa que sea de tomo sino sola-/mente cartas y rrecaudos unos a otros. Y para esto so/lamente se siruen de estas letras las quales son so-/lamente diez y siete. Es cada letra una silaba y con/ciertos pantillos que les ponen a un lado o a otro de/la letra o a la parte de arriba o a la de abajo, hazen/dicion y escriuen y dizen con esto lo que quieren. / Y es muy facil de deprender por queriendose dar a ello/alguna persona en poco mas de dos meses se deprende./ No son muy prestos en el escriuir porque lo hazen/muy despacio. Y lo mismo es en el leer que es como/quando delectean los muchachos en la escuela" (Quirino and Garcia 1958: 424-425).

67. "...y aunque usaban de particulares letras y caracteres de distinta forma de los nuestros, no tenían ciencia, ni alcanzaban los secretos de las

cosas naturales" (Ribadeneira 1971: 50, 342). I find this reference one of the most intriguing for the almost grudging way in which the author acknowledges the ability to read and write. He immediately seeks to neutralize any such ability with the absence of science and any knowledge of laws or schools.

68. Morga 1971: 269. Morga also noted that: "Throughout the islands the natives write very well, using certain characters, almost like Greek or Arabic, fifteen in number, three of them being vowels equivalent of our five. The consonants are twelve. All are used with certain dots and commas, and in combination they express what they wish to write with all the fluency and ease of our Spanish alphabet." His full statement in the original was: "Escribese muy bien en todas las islas; con unos caracteres, casi como Griegos, o Arabigos, que por todos son quinze; las tres, son vocales, que siruen de las cinco nuestras; las consonantes, son doze, que unas y otras, con unos puntillos y comas, conbinan y significan, todo lo que se quiere escribir, tan copiosa y facilmente, como se haze en nuestro alfabeto español....Escriben en esta lengua, casi todos a los naturales, asi ombres, como mugeres, y muy pocas ay que no las escriban muy bien, y con propiedad." Morga 1909: 189-190. Miguel López de Legazpi was the leader of the expedition which established a permanent Spanish presence in the Philippines and who later founded a Spanish settlement in Manila

69. Santa Ines 1676: 41-42.

70. Delgado 1892: 331-333. "Almost everybody in the Visayas can write in their own characters....After the arrival of the Spaniards at these islands, even they (the natives) preserved their alphabet--mainly the Visayans--to write among themselves, yet the men devoted themselves to the use of our writing. With these characters they could communicate pretty well, and even now they still communicate in many places and they note down their things not to forget them, and their poems to sing." ("Casi todos en Visayas saben escribir en sus caracteres....Después que llegaron los españoles á estas islas aunque conservaron entre sí sus caracteres, principalmente los visayas; sin embargo los hombres se han aplicado ya al uso de nuestras letras, y escriben con ellas sus cartas, por ser más fáciles é inteligibles....Con estas letras se entendían ellos muy bien, y aun ahora se entienden en muchas partes, y apuntan también sus cosas, porque no se les olviden, y sus versos para cantar.") Delgado includes information on the materials used and the poetry written by the Visayans.

71. Rafael 1988: 72.

72. Ricard 1966: 48.

73. The Tagalog doctrina is described as "Blockprint, 38 leaves, sewn in four gatherings. Titlepage in Spanish, single rule border, 20.5 by 14.2 cm. Text in Spanish, Tagalog romanized, and Tagalog in Tagalog script, consisting of 37 unnumbered leaves, pages without border, printed area circa 18 by 12.5 cm (with considerable variations), 14 lines. Van der Loon 1966: 8.

74. Ibid.

75. Medina 1896: 3. Retana lists this book as *Libro de las excelencias del Rosario de nuestra Señora, y sus misterios*, and continues "en lengua [y letra?] tagala" (brackets are his). Yet he lists the reference, *Historia eclesiástica* by Fr. Alonso Fernández: "El P. Fr. Francisco Blancas ha impresso *en letra* y lengua Tagala del Filipinas un libro de nuestra Señora del Rosario el año de mill y seiscientos y dos, que fue el primero que desta, ni de otra materia allá se ha impresso." (Emphasis by Retana.) Retana 1906: 68. Espallargas lists *Libro de las excelencias* but not *Libro de Nuestra Señora*.

76. Van der Loon 1966: 40.



77. Ibid., 4.  
 78. Ibid., 37.  
 79. Ibid., 38.  
 80. The system of printing used for baybayin was the xylographic method.  
 81. Rafael 1988: 45.  
 82. Retana 1911: 88, 93. Medina 1896: 14-15.  
 83. López, page LXII. "El haber puesto el texto de la Doctrina en letra Tagala (que es la mas universal de estas Islas) ha sido para dar principio á la corrección de la dicha escritura Tagala, que de suyo es tan manca, y tan confusa (por no tener hasta ahora modo como recibir las consonantes suspensas, digo las que no hieren vocal;) que al más ladino le hace detenerse, y le da bien en que pensar en muchas palabras para venir á darles la pronunciación que pretendió el que escribio: Y este es comun sentimiento de todos."  
 84. Blancas de San José: 36-46.  
 85. Scott 1989: 55.  
 86. Rafael 1988: 80.  
 87. Villamor 1922: 99-102.  
 88. Scott 1989: 53-54. The article Scott refers to is found in *Unitas*, XXVI, Feb., 1938.  
 89. Scott 1989: 56.  
 90. For more information, see Venturello 1907; Postma 1971; and Gardner 1940.  
 91. De la Costa 1961: 14. This is de la Costa's translation based on "Relacion de la calidad y estado de estas islas en general" by Sánchez found in Colín's *Labor Evangelica*, vol. 1: 368-369.  
 92. BRPI, vol 10, 1903-1909: 282. The significance of this event and the circumstances which led to it are detailed in Phelan 1957: 237-239.  
 93. BRPI, vol 10, 1903-1909: 287.  
 94. Anderson 1993: 166-167. Scott, however, has admitted the ambiguity of his sources: "The problems are many....They do not, for example, distinguish legislative, judicial and executive functions in native governments nor do they even indicate whether datu is a social class or a political office. On one page, they tell us that a ruling chief has life-and-death authority over his subjects, but on the next, that these subjects wander off to join some other chief if they feel like it. They describe a second social class as "freemen"--neither rich nor poor as if liberty were an economic attribute while one account calls them "plebeians" and another "gentlemen and cavaliers." The maharlika whom modern Filipinos know as "noblemen" show up as oarsmen rowing their master's boats or fieldhands harvesting his crops. And a third category called slaves everybody agrees are not slaves at all; yet they may be captured in raids, bought and sold in domestic and foreign markets or sacrificed alive at their master's funeral. Moreover, if the data as recorded in original documents is confusing, they are even more so by the need to translate sixteenth-century Spanish terms which have no equivalent in modern English. Thus, pechero becomes "commoner" and loses its significance as somebody who renders feudal dues" (1982: 96-97).  
 95. Cited in Rafael 1988: 58, his translation. Pinpin 1910: 142-3. "Di baquin ang ibang manga caasalan at caanyoan nang manga Castila ay inyong guinalogdan at ginagagad din ninyo sa pagdaramitan at sa nananandatan at paglacadman at madlaman ang magogol ay uala rin hinahinayang cayo dapouat macmochochamocha cayo sa Castila. Ay aba itpang isang asal macatoochanan sapangongosap nang canila ding uicaang di sucat ibigang camtan?...Bancay na nga cayo, con anong dating nagbisting Castila an tauo, cun

ualang asal asal na tantong icamuchang Castila niya? Caya nga ang iba, y, bquit na cacasti-castila nang pagdaramit na ualang di cacastila ang asal solual: bagong con saca sila dologui,t, paquiusapan nang uicang castila ay totongong tongog na sa hahangal. Ay condi gayon nga,y, ano?...Bagcos nanga ito ang naguiguig puno nang ibang marami at paran laman ito, at ang iba,y, cabalat cayohan lamang. Di con macamomocha nang tayo nila nang pagdaramit ay con any pangongosap ay iba, ay anong darating?"

96. Cited by Rafael 1988: 72-73; from Pinpin 1910: 171, 167. "Dili nga matouid at tatauanang lubha nang Castila iton uica bueno casa es esto, cundi buena casa es esta. Ay ano mangyari cayang di tauanan iton uicang mucha palabras, at ito caya casa grandes at iba pang gaganito; at con pagpalitan caya, muchas palabras; casas grandes." Pinpin is referring to the absence of agreement in gender and number.

97. Phelan 1959: viii-ix.

98. Rafael deals with this problem at length in his book.

99. Cushner 1971: 93. This is a quote from Chirino, S.J. Echevarria's translation differs somewhat: "Like the good students that they are, not only do most of them write the lessons in their own writing (using a bamboo cylinder for book or journal and an iron point for pen) but having their book always with them, they refer to it whenever they have an interval of rest, whether at home or in the field, and study awhile" (Chirino 1969: 396).

100. The use of writing in religious matters probably had prehispanic origins. Chirino reports that a certain individual "possessed a book of a certain kind of poem which they call *golo*, very pernicious because it expresses a deliberate pact with the devil" (Chirino 1969: 289).

101. Lumbea 1986: 27.

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